THE SYSTEM OF ADDRESS IN SAMBAS MALAY SPEECH COMMUNITY: A REPRESENTATION OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC COMPETENCE

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Abstract:

Within the scope of kin and neighbourhood relationship, this study was conducted for two purposes. The first was to identify the system of address used in the Sambas Malay speech community. The second was to interpret how the system represents the speakers’ sociolinguistic competence. The data were collected through fieldwork. Participant observation, unstructured interview and voice recording were simultaneously implemented. The componential analysis and the analysis of alternation rules were applied as the model. The findings show that the address terms in Sambas take various linguistic forms of the language. Birth order labels are typical kinship terms of the community, and these terms are also commonly used as address terms in both kin and neighbourhood relationship. Some address terms from other languages also exist. Beside indicating the role relationship between the addresser and the addressee, the use of an address term indicates the physical characteristics and the social status of an addressee, in addition to reciprocity or otherwise. Honorific, academic and other status terms refer to the higher status of the addressee and the social distance between participants. The use of such terms denote solidarity, intimacy and power relationship.

KEYWORDS: SYSTEM OF ADDRESS, SOCIOLINGUISTIC COMPETENCE, RULES OF ALTERNATION

INTRODUCTION

Every single speech community has its own system of address. The system does not only represent the language the speakers share but also the rules of how to use the exponents of the system. The address terms in a Malay speech community, in particular, take various linguistic forms. They are not only limited to second person pronouns but also include proper names, status terms, titles, kinship terms and labels, and epithets. The system of usage is usually in accordance with the socio-cultural system of the community (Amat Juhari Moain, 1989; Sumalee Nimmanupap, 1994; Media Sandra kasih, 2004). The Sambas Malay speech community is a Malay speech community which inhabit the Sambas Regency (Kabupaten Sambas), located in the Northern part of West Kalimantan Province, Indonesia. Being a representation of the bigger Malay speech community spread all over the Malay Archipelago, the Sambas Malay speech community definitely has its own characteristics in terms of its socio-cultural system which has a bearing on the system of address in the community.

The Sambas which is the subject of this study has its own kinship system with a number of kinship terms. In addition, other terms not indigenous to the community, are also used. When it comes to usage, the community members normally have the ability to choose which address form can or cannot be used to address someone. Being an addressee, he/she has the competency of how to categorize or identify the addressee’s status in terms of the social relationship to himself/herself, as well as the addressee’s
rank in terms of age and gender. To some extent an addresser may use the addressee’s ethnic identity that may help in choosing address terms.

A communicative competence such as the one described above shows that the people in the community share not only the linguistic codes but also the ways in using them appropriately in any given situation (Saville-Troike, 2003, p.18). Furthermore, it is also stated that this competence will allow the speaker to be polite according to the situation he/she is in and to be able to infer the intention of others. Specifically, this kind of competence is called sociolinguistic competence. It is about knowing how to use and respond to language appropriately, given the setting, the topic, and the relationships among the people communicating (Savignon, 1997; Boersma, 2001). In other words, the appropriate usage of a particular address form in addressing someone in a given situation represents the addresser’s sociolinguistic competence.

Referring to such a conceptual framework, this present study was conducted for two purposes. The first was to identify the system of address occurring in the Sambas Malay speech community. The second was to interpret how the system represents the speakers’ sociolinguistic competence. Data collection was conducted through fieldwork, using the techniques of participant observation, recorded unstructured interviews, and note-taking.

The Socio-Cultural System of Sambas Malay Speech Community

In this study, the Sambas Malay speech community is defined as a group of people who are identified as Sambas Malay ethnic origin. However, due to an almost impossible effort to strictly split them from those who are not, for the purpose of this research this particular speech community is identified as the people who speak Sambas Malay and practice the socio-cultural system of the community.

From the sociolinguistics perspective, language and society or language and culture are like two sides of a coin, as they are interrelated, or in Sapir’s words, ‘deterministic’ (in Wardaugh, 2006, p.222). Casson (1981, p.19) clarifies this relationship by stating that language competence is a variety of cultural competence, and speech behaviour is a variety of social behaviour.

If the usage of address forms occurs in Sambas Malay speech community is regarded as a part of language system in the community, it should be in accordance with the socio-cultural system pursued by that community. A social system usually consists of elements which are interrelated and interdependent, and is influenced by several factors, such as geography, demography, culture, personality or psychology and historical background (Jacobus Ranjabar, 2006; Doddy Sumbodo Singgih, 2007). With reference to this conceptual framework, the Sambas Malay speech community can specifically be identified or characterized through the elements of the social structure, the systems of belief, values and norms, and kinship. The rest is about the language used in their daily communication.

As for demography, the population of Sambas (as of 2009) stands at 496,464, the majority being Malays (82.43%), followed by Chinese (8.24%), Dayak Selako (6.54%), Bugis, Jawa, Madura and some others (2.20%) as given in Bakran Suni, 2009. In terms of social structure, the Malays can be categorized into several groups based on the following factors: geography, economy, politics, social status, education and occupation. As such, they can be identified as the urban (orang kote) versus the rural people (orang kampong); executives and law-makers versus the common or laypeople; the rich versus the poor; government officers and professionals versus farmers and fishermen; scholars and educated people versus the uneducated ones, the elderlies versus the youngsters, and so forth.
On the basis of their system of belief, Islam provides the fundamentals for their social values, norms, customs and other ways of life. In daily life these guiding principles exist in the forms of proverbs or wise words, and the like (Amat Juhari Moain, 1989, p.20). There are three key terms which guide them in their social relationship, i.e. salam, ta’am and kalam, which are words taken from Arabic. Salam means to always greet and visit each other; ta’am to always give and serve (especially food); and kalam means always interact, communicate, cooperate, compromise and conciliate. These three guidelines are in consonance with the native concepts of gotong royong or belallê (togetherness and sharing).

Their kinship system, similar to that of the Malays in Sumatera and Malaysia, is that of the bilateral or cognatic type (Djamour, 1979; Banks, 1983). The system indicates that all the relatives from both the father’s and the mother’s sides are equally important to the ego. In addition, there are concepts of saudara sedarah or blood relation (consanguinity) and saudara ipar or marriage relation (affinity). Address terms for these classes of relatives are the same although this is not the case with the kinship terms. Differences and similarities between these terms are shown through the application of the componential analysis of the lexical terms concerned, and the analysis of alternation rules (Ervin-Tripp, 1972 and Tyler, 1972).

**Address Terms in Sambas Malay Speech Community**

Address terms used in the Sambas Malay speech community are not only limited to personal pronouns but also take the forms of nouns, personal names, titles, status terms, kinship terms, interjections, epithet, and the like, as in other Malay communities (Johari Moain, 1989 dan Sumalee Nimmanupap, 1994). The following are the various kinds of address terms that are commonly used in Sambas.

**Second Person Pronouns, Common Nouns and Personal Names**

Previous studies of address terms in European language speech communities have illustrated how the second person pronouns in the languages are used as address terms (Brown and Gilman, 1960; Lambert and Tucker, 1976; Ferguson, 1991; and Winchart, 2001). For the purpose of explicating the usage of second person pronouns in Sambas Malay, three different levels of Asmah Haji Omar’s sociolinguistic categorization of personal pronouns in Malay – neutral, polite, and intimate – is adopted (see Asmah Haji Omar, 2008, p.72). They are given in Table 1 below.

| Category  | The first person pronouns | The second person pronouns | The third person pronouns |
|-----------|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Neutral   | Sambas Malay | English | Sambas Malay | English | Sambas Malay | English |
|           | saye          | I       | kau           | You    | diye          | he/she |
| Polite    | kamek         | we      | kittak        | You    | biak, biak    | they |
|           | saye, kule    | I       | diri’         | You    | diye          | he/she |
| Intimate  | Aku           | I       | kau, kittak   | You    | Biak          | they |
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According to (Brown and Ford 1966) as well as Lambert and Tucker (1976) personal pronouns in English are mutual-reciprocal. However, this is not the case with Malay personal pronouns, where factors of relationship such as age, social distance, and rank (kinship as well as social) are taken into account in the choice of the appropriate pronoun(s) to be used.

Common and proper nouns may also play the role of address terms in many languages (Brown dan Ford, 1966; Ervin Tripp, 1972; Amat Juhari Moain, 1989; Luong, 1990; Asmah Haji Omar, 2008). So is the case in Sambas where kinship terms, such as bapak/ayah (father), ibu/umak (mother), nenek/uwan (grandmother) or long, ngah, ude are also used to address to those who are not of one’s kin. Certain kinship terms are used to address personalities with a designated status in the village, such as Pak Pung for Kepala Kampung (village head), Pak Kades for Kepala Desa (village head), Pak Camat (district head), Pak Penghulu (the qadhi solemnizing a marriage), Bu Bidan (midwife), and Pak Haji/Bu Hajjah for a man or a woman who has done the Hajj pilgrimage in Mecca.

Titles and Epithets

Titles from various types of social groups are also used as address terms. (See also Amat Juhari Moain, 1989; Dickey, 1996). In historical times when Sambas was a sultanate, titles from the palace were only awarded to those of the royal family, and these were handed down through the generations. Table 2 below shows some of these heritage titles which are still used by those concerned although the sultanate no longer exists.

Table 2: Heritage Titles of the Sambas Sultanate

| Position         | Titles                      |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| Sultan           | Sultan                      |
| Wazir I          | Pangeran Adi                |
| Wazir II         | Pangeran Bendahara          |
| Wazir III        | Pangeran Paku Negara        |
| Wazir IV         | Pangeran Cakera Negara      |
| Citera (Citta) I | Pangeran Temenggung         |
| Citera (Citta) II| Pangeran Amar Diraja        |
| Citera (Citta) III| Pangeran Kesuma Negara     |
| Citera (Citta) IV| Pangeran Cakra Negara       |

(Abdullatif Abubakar, 2001, p.279)

Beside the above heritage titles held by descendants of the royal family, there are other indicators of royal heritage and this type is seen in the use of certain proper names, showing a historical royal connection, perhaps secondary to the one given in Table 2. Uray or Urai is used as a prefix to both male and female names, such as in Uray Salam (male), Uray Arfan (male), Uray Muzdalifah (female), Uray Henny Novita (female), and the like. Another title is ‘Tan’ which is an identity for someone who is a spiritual kinsman to the royal family, as in Tan Husni (male), Tan Arifin (male), Tan Herlina (female), and so forth.

In addition, there are academic titles which are used by Indonesians in their daily life. The common ones are Insinyur (Ir.) for engineer, dokter (dr.) for medical doctor, Doktorandus (Drs. for men) or Doktoranda (Dra. For women) for those holding a degree equivalent to a Master’s degree, Doktor (Dr.)
for a Ph.D. holder. Examples are Drs. Muhammad Sidik, Dra. Salsabila, Ir. Uray Mustakim, dr. Haryanti, Dr. Aswandi, etc.

A number of epithets are usually used to label particular physical appearances. This form of address is used to indicate an intimate-friendly or antagonistic relationship (Asmah Haji Omar, 2013), as in Si Panjang for a tall person, Si Pendek or Si Cebol for a short person, Si Gemuk for a fat person, Si Tuyak or Si Bungol for someone who is a bit slow or thoughtless, Si Dajjal for a naughty kid (especially a boy), and Si Bogoh for someone who likes to eat a lot. The label Si is commonly used in animal stories, such as Si Landuk (from the word ‘pelanduk’ which means a mousedeer. Epithets (without Si) are also used to label smart people, as well as members of the family according to their order of birth, such as Itam (for the fourth or fifth child), and for the youngest.

Kinship and Address Terms in Consanguinal Kinship

Consanguinal or affinal relationship refers to one where interactants are kinsmen, in the collateral as well as in the lineal axes. They are specifically within the scope of two levels of generation above and two below the ego, as well as within the two-step-sided cousins (saudara dua pupu) from both the mother’s and father’s side. With reference to such a frame, the following tables display the list of kinship terms as well as address terms used in the community.

Table 3: Address Terms in Nuclear Family

| Relationship | English Kinship Terms | Sambas Malay Kinship Terms | Sambas Malay Address terms |
|--------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Father       | father                | ayah                        | ayah                      |
| Mother       | mother                | umak                        | uma’                      |
| child (male) | son                   | anak (lelaki)               | son’s personal name       |
| child (female) | daughter              | anak (perempuan)           | daughter’s personal name  |
| elder brother | elder brother         | abang                      | (bang)+birth order label  |
| elder sister | elder sister          | kakak                      | (kak)+ birth order label  |
| younger brother | younger brother     | adek (lelaki)              | younger brother’s personal name |
| younger sister | younger sister      | adek (perempuan)           | younger sister’s personal name |

For the purpose of brevity, Table 3 gives only ayah and uma’ to refer to father and mother respectively. However, in reality, there are several alternatives to each of these two terms, and it is for the family to choose. These alternatives or synonyms are taken from other languages which have had an influence in the community, from standard bahasa Indonesia, from Arabic which came with Islam, and through community contact and education. From standard bahasa Indonesia one gets ibu, bunda, bapak, and ayahanda. Arabic contributes abah (father) and umi (mother). Papa and mama which originate from the English speaking world could have come via bahasa Indonesia (originating in the mass-media), while papi and mami appear to be traces of the Dutch colonial period and could have entered Sambas through bahasa Indonesia. These alternatives are usually chosen by those who live in the Sambas city, especially by families with a particular social status, marked by education, wealth or a high place in the governance of the community. On this basis, these kinship terms are status indicators.
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Although their denotations imply the direction of usage from child to parent, they are also used laterally by husband and wife in addressing one another, such that *ayah* is used by the wife when addressing her husband, and *bunda* by the husband when addressing his wife. The same goes with *abah – umi, papa – mama* and *papi – mami*. This follows the tradition in Malay communities where tekonyms seem to be the preferred choice when one becomes a parent or a grandparent, where a tekonym consists of the kinship term followed by the name of the eldest child. For example *ayah Fatimah*, or *emak Abdullah*. (See Asmah Haji Omar, 2006, pp. 199 – 203). The only difference is that in Sambas, the name of the child does not appear in the system of address.

The kinship and address terms for siblings are used in accordance with their gender, such as *bang* and *kak* to refer to elder brother or sister by the younger ones. These terms are usually followed by the addressee’s personal names. In addition, there are ‘birth order labels’, given according to the chronological order of birth of siblings in a single family. For example, *along* refers to the first born, *angah* and *usu*, there are variations for the choosing. Among these are *anjang, acik, uning, uteh* and *andah*. When in use among siblings, each one of these terms is preceded by *bang* or *kak* by the younger sibling, such as *Bang/Kak+Long; Bang/Kak Ngah, Bang/Kak Uteh*, and so on.

The next is the list of the kinship and address terms consisting of those used to address and refer to members of the extended family. Given in Table 4 are those showing lineal as well as collateral kin relationship within two levels of generation above ego. No differentiation is made for terms used for relatives on the father’s and mother’s sides.

Table 4: Kinship Terms in Extended Family: Lineal Relation Two Levels of Generation aboveEgo

| Relationship | English Kinship Terms | Sambas Malay Kinship Terms | Sambas Malay Address Terms |
|--------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| father of father/mother | grandfather | (nek)aki | (nek)aki |
| mother of father/mother | grandmother | (nek)uwan | (nek)uwan |
| father of grandfather/grandmother | great-grandfather | Datok | Datok |
| mother of grandfather/grandmother | great-grandmother | Datok | Datok |

Table 5 shows kinship terms labelling relatives who are of the same generation as one’s mother and father. This being the case, the usage of each of these terms begins with the ‘prefix’ *pak or mak* depending on the gender of the referent, followed by the label which indicates his or her order of birth. Hence, *Pak Long, Mak Ngah, Pak Uteh, Mak Usu*, and such like.

Table 5: Address Terms in Extended Family: Relatives of the Same Generation Level as Mother and Father

| Relationship | English Kinship Terms | Sambas Malay Kinship Terms | Sambas Malay Address Terms |
|--------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| elder brother of mother/father | uncle | *pak tua* | *pak*+birth order label |
| elder sister of mother/father | aunt | *mak tua* | *mak*+birth order label |
| younger brother of mother/father | uncle | *pak tua* | *pak*+birth order label |
| younger sister of mother/father | aunt | *mak tua* | *mak*+birth order label |
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In addressing cousins, the format is the same as that applied to one’s own siblings, i.e. with bang or kak followed by the birth order label. However, in referring to this type of relationship, the word sepupu (cousin) is used. See Table 6.

Table 6: Address Terms in Extended Family: Relatives of the Same Generation as Ego

| Relationship | English Kinship Terms | Sambas Malay Kinship Terms | Sambas Malay Address Terms |
|--------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| son of uncle/aunt from both mother’s and father’s sides | male cousin | older: abang sepupu | older: bang + birth order label |
| | | younger: adek sepupu | bang + personal name |
| daughter of uncle/aunt from both mother and father sides. | female cousin | older: kakak sepupu | older: kak + birth order label |
| | | younger: adek sepupu | kak + personal name |

The terms for nephew and niece are anak kemenakan and anak buah which are synonymous with one another. Uncles and aunts from both sides address them by their personal names, as shown in Table 7.

Table 7: Address Terms for Nephew and Niece: One Level below Ego

| Relationship | English Kinship Terms | Sambas Malay Kinship Terms | Sambas Malay Address Terms |
|--------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| son of elder brother/sister | nephew | anak kemenakan, anak buah | personal name |
| daughter of elder brother/sister | niece | anak kemenakan, anak buah | personal name |
| son/daughter of younger brother/sister | nephew, niece | anak kemenakan, anak buah | personal name |

Relatives of both genders who are two levels below ego (grandparent) are identified as cucok, only that in the collateral context the component kemenakan modifies the main term cucok, hence cucok kemenakan. That is to say cucok refers to one’s own grandchild, while cucok kemenakan to that of one’s siblings, or of the siblings of one’s spouse. See Table 8 below.

Table 8: Address Terms in Extended Family: Lineal and Collateral Relatives Two Levels below Ego

| Relationship | English Kinship Terms | Sambas Malay Kinship Terms | Sambas Malay Address Terms |
|--------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| son/daughter of son/daughter | grandson/granddaughter | cucok | personal name |
| son/daughter of nephew/niece (in-law) | grand-nephew, grand-niece | cucok kemenakan | personal name |
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Kinship Terms and Address Terms in Affinal Relationship

Besides blood relationship as discussed above, kinship also includes that engendered through marriage. This type of relationship is known as affinal kinship. In the Sambas Malay speech community the term used is keluarge ipar or saudare ipar, and its signification is confined to two levels above and two levels below ego (husband or wife).

Table 9: Address Terms in Affinal Kinship

| Relationship                        | English Kinship Terms | Sambas Malay Kinship Terms | Sambas Malay Address Terms |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| husband                            | husband               | suami/laki                | (i) bang + personal name of husband |
|                                     |                       |                           | (ii) bang +birth-order of husband |
| wife                               | wife                  | istri/bini                | (i) personal name of wife (ii) adek |
| father of husband                  | father in-law         | bapak mertue              | ayah/bapak |
| mother of husband                  | mother in-law         | mak mertue                | umak/ibu |
| father of wife                     | father in-law         | bapak mertue              | ayah/bapak |
| mother of wife                     | mother in-law         | mak mertue                | umak/ibu |
| grandfather/mother of husband      | grandfather/ grandmother of husband | nek aki/nek uwan dari belah suami | nek aki/nek uwan |
| grandfather/grandmother of husband | grandfather/ grandmother of husband | nek aki/nek uwan dari belah istri | nek aki/nek uwan |
| husband of daughter                | daughter in-law       | anak minantu              | personal name |
| wife of son                         | brother-in-law        | anak minantu              | personal name |
| husband of elder sister             |                       | abang ipar                | bang + birth order label |
| wife of elder brother               | sister-in-law         | kakak ipar                | kak + birth order label |
| husband of younger sister           | brother-in-law        | adek ipar                 | personal name |
| wife of younger brother             | sister-in-law         | adek ipar                 | personal name |
| husband of aunt (from both sides of father and mother) | uncle-in-law | pak tua’ipar | pak + birth order label |
| wife of uncle (from both sides of father and mother) | aunt-in-law | mak tua’ipar | mak + birth order label |
| husband of brother’s/sister’s daughter | nephew- in-law | minantu kemanakan | personal name |
| wife of brother’s/sister’s son      | niece-in-law          | minantu kemanakan         | personal name |
From Table 9, it is obvious that there are various linguistic forms used to refer to the relatives with their various designations in affinal kinship. In general, the word *ipar* is used as modifier to designate such kinship relation, as in *abang ipar*, *kakak ipar*, and *adik ipar*. Other words which indicate the ‘in-law’ or affinal relationship are *mertua*, in *ayah/ibu mertua*, and *minantu*, such as in *anak minantu* or *kemenakan menantu*. In addition, descriptive phrases are also used to refer to relatives with the status of affinal kinship, as in *nekb uwan dari belah isteri/suami*, and *nek aki dari belah isteri/suami*. In short, the system of address in Sambas Malay kinship does not distinguish ‘mother’s family from father’s family.

**Address Terms in Neighbourhood Relationship**

In the Sambas Malay speech community, neighbours are considered as relatives, especially the ones who just live next door or nearby. Usually, a neighbour is always present whenever the other needs him/her for a favour or support. A metaphorical expression ‘*Tetangga lebih dari keluargê*’ (Neighbours are more esteemed than relatives) is commonly stated by the people in the community. A neighbourhood relationship is viewed as figurative blood relationship, and in Banks’ terms (1983) it is called ‘spiritual kinship’. To a certain extent, their social relationship is considered even more intimate or much closer compared to the real blood relationship itself, because they do not only live nearby but also perform social activities together and share things in their day-to-day life. Therefore, they always try to maintain their social interaction and communication with each other. Accordingly, the address terms used between neighbours represent the closeness or the distance in the relationship between them. Table 10 gives the various alternatives of address terms in the context under discussion.

Table 10: Address Terms in Neighbourhood Relationship

| Relationship                           | Interaction                      | Sambas Malay Address Terms                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| between adult neighbours               | between men of about the same age | (1) personal name/ birth order label + (personal name)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|                                        | to an older man                  | (2) Pak + personal name                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|                                        | to a younger man                 | (1) birth order label + (personal name)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|                                        | between women of about the same age | (2) Pak + personal name                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|                                        | to an older woman                | (1) personal name, birth order label + personal name                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|                                        | to a younger woman               | (2) Bu + personal name                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|                                        | between neighbours with different generation level | (3) *Mamak (umak)* + personal name of the woman’s eldest child.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|                                        | to a neighbour of the same generation as own mother/father | (1) birth order label + personal name                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|                                        | to a neighbour of the same generation as grandmother/grandfather | (2) Bu + personal name                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                                        | to a neighbour of the the same generation as own children | personal name/ Bu + personal name                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|                                        |                                   | (1) (Mak/Pak) + birth order label – (male)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|                                        |                                   | (2) Bu/Pak + personal name – (female)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|                                        |                                   | (1) Wan/Aki + (birth order label + personal name)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|                                        |                                   | (2) Bu/Pak + personal name personal name                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
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| Relationship | Address Terms |
|--------------|--------------|
| Between children, teenagers or youths | personal name, nickname |
| To a neighbour of the same generation as own mother/father | Kak + (personal name/birth order label) – (male) |
| | Bang + (personal name/birth order label) – (female) |
| To a neighbour of the same generation as own grandmother/grandfather | Pak (male) + birth order label + (personal name) |
| | Pak (male) + birth order label + (personal name) |
| By an adult to a teenager or a child | Wan/Aki + (birth order label + personal name) |
| | Pak/Bu + personal name |
| | Pak/Bu + status term/title |

From Table 10 above, it is clear that certain kinship terms such as birth order label (BOL), Pak, Mak, Uwan, Aki, Bang or Kak are normally used to address a neighbour. Nevertheless, other alternative address terms such as ‘Pak/Bu + personal name’ and ‘Pak/Bu + status term/title’ are also used to address a neighbour who has a particular status or position in the society. Beside being indicators of respect, such address terms are also used to indicate the distance between the addressee and the addresser. Furthermore, it is not only chosen to refer to a particular social status of the addressee but also to refer to the addressee’s identity that he/she does not belong to a member of Sambas Malay ethnic; in other words he or she belongs to an outgroup.

## Rules of Alternation in Kin Relationship

The rules of alternation or co-occurrence can be applied to describe further the address system of particular speech communities (Ervin-Tripp, 1972 and Tyler, 1972). Mutual exchange or reciprocity in solidarity relationship on the one hand, and non-reciprocity in power relationship on the other are also discussed in many studies of address system (Brown and Gillman, 1960; Brown and Ford, 1966). Such rules do occur in the system of address in Malay speech communities in general (Amat Juhari Moain, 1989), and this includes the Sambas Malay speech community.
To decide which term must be used to address a member of the kinship, especially within the extended family and between affinal members, the addresser has to take various factors into consideration. Besides having to bear in mind the status in the kinship existing between them, the addresser also has to consider factors relating to generation level, age and gender. Following the rule of alternation introduced by Ervin-Tripp, the process of choosing an appropriate address term within the kin relationship of Sambas Malay speech community can be drawn through flow charts (see flow chart 1, 2 and 3).
Firstly, Flow Chart 1 illustrates how the rule of alternation occurs in the system of address in a nuclear family. In this case, the process of choosing an appropriate address term is not complicated because the role relationship between members of a nuclear family is still simple and restricted. They only include the relationship between husband and wife, parents and children or vice versa as well as between siblings.

Secondly, the illustration of how the rule of alternation occurs in the system of address in an extended family is drawn in Flow Chart 2. From this flow chart it is obvious that whenever a member of an
extended family wants to address another family member, he/she has to firstly start identifying the generation level of the addressee. The next is to identify his/her age. At the same time, he/she has to take into account the factors of gender, status, and birth order. Finally, the rule of alternation for affinal kinship is illustrated in Flow Chart 3, using the same factors applied in Flow Charts 1 and 2.

**Flow Chart 3: Address System in Affinal Kinship**

*Rules of Alternation in Neighbourhood Relationship*

The rules of alternation occur in neighbourhood relationship stipulating the addressee to consider the factors in determining the address term to be used appropriately in addressing a neighbour. The first one is identifying the addressee’s ethnic identity (in-group or out-group), the other is the status of his/her generation level as well as his/her special status in the society. This process is illustrated in flow chart 4 below.
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Notes: BOL = birth order label
PN    = proper name

Flow Chart 4: Address System in Neighbourhood Relationship

Conclusion

As mentioned in an earlier part of this article, kinship and address terms in the Sambas Malay community take the form of various lexical categories: personal pronouns, personal names, common nouns, proper names, status terms or labels, titles, kinship terms as well as epithets. Birth order status of a child in a single family creates a number of kinship terms. Certain kinship terms are also used in relationship with neighbours. At the same time, there are also those which are borrowed from other languages as a preferred choice of families with a certain standing in the community.

The rules of both reciprocity and non-reciprocity occur in the address system. They indicate solidarity and power relationship. In both kin and neighbourhood relationships, the non-reciprocal use of second person pronoun and personal name to an addressee indicates his/her status (in terms of age) as lower to the addresser, but both are in intimate social relation with one another. Honorific and academic titles
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are a reflection of social status; in other words they refer to the higher social standing of the addressee as well as the social distance between the two participants in the interaction.
The rules of alternation apply when an addressee is having to choose an appropriate term to address someone with a certain status in terms of gender, age, family ranking or social standing in society. They require that choice is made from the stock of address terms in existence in the speech community. Correct application of these two blocks of rules is a testament to the sociolinguistic competence of the speaker.

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