

# Perception towards the Code-Mixing of *Bahasa Indonesia*<sup>1</sup> and English

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## Abstract

The growth of English worldwide has attracted many attitudinal studies towards English. In expanding circle, however, there is a limited literature which focuses in Indonesia. This article's objective is to explore attitudes given towards varieties of English used in Indonesia. The method of this study is a quantitative analysis using an adapted version of matched-guise questionnaire which was utilised hypothetically in daily interaction and computer-mediated communication contexts. There are 251 respondents in total who are of different ages and all of them have been exposed to English for more than nine years. There are mainly two varieties of English: the standardized English and the local varieties of English, and *Bahasa*, which become the guises to be perceived by the respondents. These varieties are then perceived into four traits - intelligence, sociability, likability and kindness – of the utterers. The findings of the study show that the variety of English and Bahasa which is grammatically independent, i.e. alternation, is perceived as more socially attractive, while the standardized English is perceived as more intelligent. The conclusion is that the ideological and social factors may affect people's perception towards the use of English in Indonesia.

**Keywords:** Code-mixing; cross-cultural linguistics; expanding circle; language attitudes; matched-guise technique.

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## Introduction

Attitudes often cannot be observed yet can be inferred through certain responses and or techniques. For this reason, attitudes become hypothetical constructs (McKenzie, 2010) that evaluate the use of English language. This article will explore the attitudes towards these language varieties in both the real world (daily interaction) and virtual world (computer-mediated communication). Several studies have suggested that language attitudes may be affected by social components such as generalised stereotyping (Garrett, 2010), 'linguistic imperialism' (Kachru & Nelson, 2006, p.306) and 'social context of the linguistic market' (O'Rourke, 2010, p.15). In

other word, language attitude is the result of human socialisation (Garrett et al., 2003, p.4).

It is evident that English is used in many contexts in many countries (Warschauer et al., 2010). The growth of English inevitably gives rise to varieties of Englishes in the global context. There is a suggestion that the new variety of English in World Englishes paradigm occurs because of contacts between English and the local languages. Examples in expanding circles are Korean English (Kachru & Nelson, 2006; Hadikin, 2014; Fayzrahmanova, 2016), Japanese English (Kachru & Nelson, 2006) and Chinese English (Kachru & Nelson, 2006; Zhang, 2012). Moreover, these varieties exist in: (1) phonology, the different accents, (Deterding, 2010), (2) syntax, the

different grammatical features, (Kortmann, 2010) and mixed codes, the mixing of two or more languages, (McLellan, 2010). One focus of this study is the code-mixing of English with Bahasa. Several studies have proven that code-mixed varieties of English exist on the Internet (McLellan, 2010; Zhang 2012; Abdurahman 2016a), in daily interactions (Akbar 2007) and in workplaces (De Socarraz-Novoa 2015). In short, code-mixing has been proven as a common phenomenon for multilingual speakers. For this reason, attitudes towards the code-mixed varieties of English are also analyzed in this paper. For the sake of this article, classification of these code-mixed varieties follows Muysken's (2000) classification of code-mixing patterns. According to Muysken (2000, p.1), code-mixing is intra-sentential code-switching. There are three patterns of code-mixing (Muysken, 2000): (1) insertion, (2) alternation and (3) congruent lexicalization.

Examples of insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalization, respectively, between English and Bahasa can be seen below:

- (1) Oke aku otw (Okay, I am on the way)
- (2) Whoever you are, this one cracks my night!! Hahaha! Kreatif, dan ngegemesin (Whoever you are, this one cracks my night!! (laugh) creative and adorable)
- (3) Quality time... It's favorit Banget! Kurang mainstream kalo gak difoto (quality time, it is very favorite (favourable), (it will be) less mainstream without any pictures taken)

N.B: Bold Words are in Bahasa (Indonesian language)

Source: Adapted from Abdurahman (2016a)

Preposition 'on the way' in (1) is abbreviated and inserted into Bahasa sentences. The second example (2) has two clauses in different languages. Each clause can stand by itself; therefore, the whole clauses are categorised as an alternation. The final example (3) is the congruent lexicalization because each language's grammatical structures are inseparable. An example is the clause 'It's favorit banget'. The word 'it's' signals an English clause. Nonetheless, the noun phrase 'favorit banget' is in Bahasa grammar. In Bahasa, the adverb (banget) is put after the adjective (favorit).

When mixing multiple languages, language attitudes are also often socio-linguistically affected by the judgements of the 'better' or 'worse' language (i.e. stereotyped features) although such judgments are unlikely to be proven (McKenzie, 2010). McKenzie (2010, p.25) argues that intensity, individual's level of vehemence, serves as an important attribute for such judgments. Furthermore, a more recent study conducted by O'Rourke (2010, p.6) found out that classification of the 'better' or 'worse' language and

its varieties are often related to 'the status and prestige' of the languages involved. These components are the ones which may possibly affect attitudes of individuals towards certain languages/varieties. In this article, I analysed attitudes of Indonesian students towards varieties of languages in Indonesia, particularly Bahasa, English, and a code-mix variety of these languages. Before I start discussing about my study, I would like to discuss about English and the existence of English-Bahasa code-mixing in Indonesia.

McKenzie (2010, p.1) noted that the use of English grew unprecedentedly worldwide especially after World War II. The case was similar in Indonesia. English was designated as the only official foreign language in Indonesia in 1955 by the Ministry of Education (Smith 1991). Since then, English language planning and policies have been made to support this designation. Nonetheless, English was virtually non-existent in public during 1960s-1990s. The reason was because English was thought to pollute Indonesian culture (Smith 1991, p.41) and be a threat to the national value (Kartono, 1976, p.124). During this time frame, English was ideologically stamped negatively.

Post reformation era (post 1998), Indonesian government decreed a new law in 1999 (Law No 22 Year 1999 about Regional Autonomy) to allow the use of local languages in certain governmental occasions as well as education to smooth the decentralisation process (Muhyidin, 2015, p.10). During this transition era, i.e. post-diffusion era (see table 1), there was a more flexible use of English. When previously it was not allowed to use a signage of English in public, it can now be found easily in public.

Table 1. Bahasa Indonesia's development history (adapted from Ravindranath and Cohn, 2014 p.67)

Bahasa Indonesia Development Stages	Time Period
<i>Establishment and Development of Bahasa Indonesia</i>	~1920s – 1940s
<i>Diffusion of Bahasa Indonesia</i>	~1950s – 1980s
<i>Post-diffusion</i>	~1990s – 2000s
<i>The future</i>	~2010s

On the one hand, this allows a more flexible use of local and foreign languages. On the other hand, it decreases the occasions for Bahasa Indonesia to be practised. Because of this, Sugono et al. (2011) found the use of Bahasa Indonesia variety such as Jakarta Malay to be more frequent in popular culture such as

magazines, TV shows or box office cinema. Sugono et al. (2011, p.168) also found that Jakarta Malay variety gains a more favourable position and is commonly used as Indonesians' lingua franca, especially by the youth. Lie (2007) also found an increasing number of urban youths who mix English utterances in both their informal spoken and written discourses. In fact, the code-mixing of English and Jakarta Malay is seen as a social marker in urban community. In other words, the millennium era saw an increasing number of language varieties used in Indonesia.

Most of previous studies mentioned in this article does not make clear distinguishable boundaries between attitudes towards varieties of Englishes in the expanding circle. Therefore, this study aims to address this issue by classifying it into standardised English, variety of English and local languages, i.e. code-mixed varieties, and Bahasa. This study tried to find the differences of attitudes given by Indonesian respondents towards these classifications in both face-to-face interaction (daily interaction) and social media (computer-mediated communication). In the next section, methods of this study will be given.

For above reasons, Indonesians' attitudes towards the use of English may have changed due to the language's ideological changes. This is especially true in daily interaction (DI) such as face-to-face conversations. However, there are only a few accessible studies which explored the attitudes towards English in Indonesia. In addition, these studies often focus only on either the English teaching and learning attitudes or the use of English (see Zacharias, 2003; Sugono, 2011). In internet communication (computer-mediated communication), however, Indonesians' attitudes towards the use of English are still unknown. Existence of code-mixing between English and Bahasa (Abdurahman, 2016a; Abdurahman, 2016b, Abdurahman, Gandana & Novianti, 2018) is not sufficient to conclude Indonesians' attitudes. Therefore, perception towards the use of English in both DI and CMC is worth exploring.

## **Method**

This is a quantitative research of language attitudes utilising modified matched-guise technique (MGT). In this section, I will discuss about the guises used as the variable in the questionnaire, the respondents and the analysis. The analysis was conducted using SPSS 22.0.

### **The Guises**

The indirect approach was utilized, particularly matched-guise technique. This approach guises the attitudinal questions by asking for impressions of the

speaker based on the given texts. In this technique, the participants were asked to rate either spoken texts or written accents (Giles 1970). The texts are rated using five-point Likert scale based on the given traits. Recently, these traits have been compressed into two salient dimensions (Giles, 1970; Garrett, 2010; McKenzie, 2010): competence and social attractiveness. In this article, competence was translated into intelligence trait, while social attractiveness was divided into three traits: kindness, sociability and likability. These traits are chosen because in many studies employing indirect approach (Giles, 1970; McKenzie, 2010; O'Rourke, 2011), these four traits can represent the prestige of a language as well as the prejudice accompanying it.

To avoid misunderstanding, the question for the guises is in Bahasa Indonesia. Moreover, the questions were made to ask utterer's use of the language instead of the language itself. Garrett (2010, pp.27-28) suggests to instead of asking the judgments towards the language directly, the question can be disguised into asking whether they like the use of the language and rate it. Similarly, this study intends to analyse participants' attitudes towards the use of English, not the English itself. The examples of the trait assessments are:

(1) Diucapkan dalam percakapan sehari-hari, seberapa pintarkah sang penutur menurut anda? (Spoken in daily interaction, how intelligent is the utterer in your opinion?)

(2) Ditulis di media social, seberapa ramahkah sang penutur menurut anda? (Written in social media, how kind is the utterer to you?)

These assessments were the adapted version of MGT. It provides several benefits. Firstly, it can be analyzed statistically because there are certain variables which allow the use of measuring analysis such as ANOVA (McKenzie, 2010, p.47). Moreover, it provides latent attitudes because it indirectly asks participants to judge certain evaluation categories such as competence (traits such as intelligence) and social attractiveness (traits such as kindness, sociability and likability). Kristiansen (2009) found that the indirect approach allowed him to find two sets of attitudes (one of which is unconsciously held by the participants) of Danish participants. The third benefit, furthermore, allows the findings to be compared. MGT has been replicated and employed to measure attitudes towards English variety in the inner and outer circle contexts (see Garrett, 2010, pp.53-69).

All impressions were asked about ten texts produced by Indonesians in Twitter because they are publicly available data and various types of languages were used. Moreover, due to its word limit, the difference in length of each text is not great that it may less affect participants' impression. The texts were picked

based on Abdurahman’s (2016a) study. There will be the following table.  
two tweets for each variety, which can be seen from

Table 2. Texts for part 2 of the questionnaire (based on Abdurahman 2016a)

No	Variety	Text
1	Bahasa only	Kapan <i>Redline</i> buka lagi, info donk buka dimana selanjutnya? ( <i>When will Redline reopen. Please the information for its next reopening</i> )
2		Sampe sini, semuanya pada tutup. Ada 1 yang buka, dia ga mau nyetak. ( <i>When I arrived, everything is closed. There is one open, but it refuses to print it</i> )
3	English only	<i>Music helps me escape from the reality I live</i>
4		<i>Back to campus life</i>
5	Code-mixing types	Dasar Couple yang maksa ( <i>What a forceful [annoying] couple</i> )
6		Insertion Oke aku <i>otw!</i> ( <i>Okay, I am on the way [on my way]</i> )
7		Alternation <i>Good night!</i> Rontok badan karena belum tidur dari kemaren ( <i>Good night! [It feels like my whole] body is torn apart for no sleep since last night</i> )
8		<i>Whoever you are, this one cracks my night!!</i> Hahaha! Kreatif, dan ngegemesin (Hahaha [laugh]! Creative and cute)
9		Congruent Lexicalization Quality time... It’s favorit Banget! (It’s so favorite [favourable] Kurang mainstream kalo gak difoto ([it would be] anti-mainstream without any picture taken)
10		Get well soon ve... Aku kangen seeing kamu (I miss seeing you)

Text number one (1) has one English noun; nevertheless, because it is a proper noun of a place in Indonesia, the whole text is still classified as Bahasa only. The rest of the texts were classified based on Abdurahman’s (2016a) findings. The respondents were asked for their impressions towards the utterer of the texts in two situations, daily interaction (DI) and computer-mediated communication (CMC). One thing to note, however, is that it is hypothetical. This may pose a problem because people may have different attitudes when they hear the text directly. Nevertheless, there are some justifications for using it hypothetically. The first one is because the focus is attitudes towards the use of English, and the speaker’s accent may affect respondents’ attitudes when spoken texts are utilized. Giles’s (1970) finding supports this reason. He found that accents with ‘specific prestige value’, especially when other social interaction cues are absent, may create a stereotyped impression.

The second justification is time restriction. Data collection time for this study is limited. Moreover, identifying participants and arranging rooms for them

to take the tests were also problems. If the real recordings were played, the time for the researcher to prepare the questionnaire items and the time for the respondent to complete the whole questionnaire would be longer. Therefore, this situation is not ideal.

**Respondents**

The respondents were 251 staffs and students of Tanjungpura University, Pontianak, Indonesia. Each participant has been exposed to English (either spoken or written English) for at least 9 years. Respondents were aged around 18-40 during data collection in 2016. They also were also active in computer-mediated communication by spending approximately more than one hour a day in this type of communication (i.e. using social media and online chatting media). The respondents came from nine different faculties. Apart from the guises, participants’ social backgrounds (age, gender, and exposure to English) were also asked in the questionnaire. Initially, multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was employed to examine the effects of respondents’ background information on their responses. Nonetheless, MANOVA analysis

using SPSS on each of these variables did not provide significant results, hence they were excluded. One speculation for these is the imbalanced composition of each social background.

Data Analysis

To answer research questions, the questionnaire was analysed with one-way repeated measures Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) using SPSS. This analysis allows the analysis of three or more sets of scores (McKenzie, 2010, p.99). The items of the questionnaires will be analysed per trait using the ANOVA. This technique is also useful to estimate different means within-groups, especially within large sample sizes as in this study. The next section is the result of the study.

Result and Discussion

As mentioned before, the results were obtained through ANOVA analysis. This section will be divided into two subsections: the marginal means comparison and the trait-based comparison. The former will illustrate the comparison of each pattern classification based on the traits. The latter will show a more in-depth comparison between each trait according to the classification based on the contexts, i.e. DI and CMC contexts.

Marginal Means Comparison

In this part, the trait-based evaluations given by respondents towards Bahasa, English and the code-mixed varieties are presented. There are two figures based on the contexts (daily interaction and computer-mediated communication). The means given in this section derived from the ordinal data (Likert-scale items).

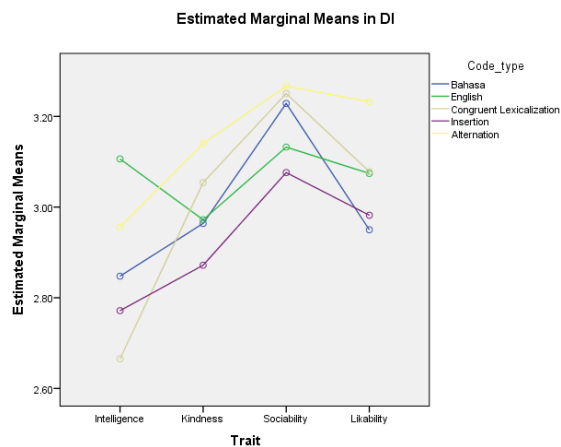


Figure 1. Means comparison in daily interaction

The figure depicts the comparison of each language variety’s evaluation in each trait when hypothetically

spoken in the face-to-face interaction. Generally, Alternation is the most highly perceived variety. It ranks second in intelligence (mean = 2.96, SD = 1.01) and first in the other traits. Insertion is generally the least favoured variety in kindness and sociability traits.

Based on the figure, people who use English are regarded the most intelligent (mean = 3.11, SD = 1.04), while those who use congruent lexicalization mixing are considered the least intelligent. Interestingly, when it comes to the likability (i.e. possibility to befriend), people who use Bahasa are evaluated the least (mean = 2.95, SD = 0.85).

Figure 2 depicts the comparison of each language variety’s evaluation in each trait when written in social media (CMC). Quite similar to the DI, alternation is the most favorable type in three trait evaluations: kindness, sociability and likability. Furthermore, English users are also considered the most intelligent (mean = 3.18, SD = 1.04), while those using congruent lexicalization mixing are evaluated as the least intelligent in CMC (mean = 2.70, SD = 1.05).

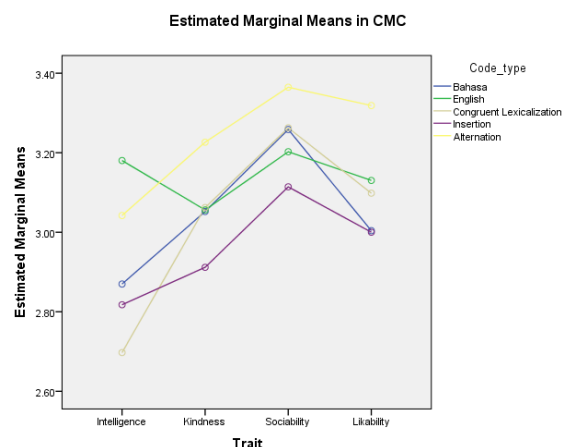


Figure 2. Means comparison in computer-mediated communication

People who use insertion in CMC are evaluated the least in terms of sociability (mean = 3.11, SD = 1.08) and kindness (mean = 2.91, SD = 1.03). Although Insertion are the least likable language varieties (mean = 3), it is surprising to see that Bahasa falls into the same position as the Insertion.

From figure 1 and figure 2 above, it can be seen that the use of alternation between English and Bahasa is evaluated higher than other varieties in three traits in both DI and CMC. Using one-way repeated measures ANOVA, overall mean evaluations in both DI and CMC of the five varieties showed a significant overall effect for all five varieties (F (4, 2004) = 11.023, p <.001); Mauchly’s Test: .824, hence the

sphericity<sup>4</sup> was assumed. From this result, it may be insightful to see how each variety is compared by the rated traits. These results will be discussed in the discussion section. The next subsection is the trait-based comparison of each variety.

**Trait-Based Comparison**

As mentioned before, it is interesting that alternation becomes the most favourable variety (i.e. higher

mean score). This subsection will explain in detail the mean score of each variety. When a mean score is less than 3 (mean < 3), it is assumed that participants have negative trait evaluation towards the variety. On the other hand, a mean score higher than 3 (mean > 3) might mean that participants have positive trait perception towards the variety. The results of each trait in both DI and CMC are presented in table 3.

Table 3. Trait-based comparison in daily interaction and computer-mediated communication

Trait	Varieties	DI	CMC
		Mean (SD)	Mean(SD)
Intelligence	Bahasa	2.85(0.9)	2.87(0.9)
	English	3.11(1.07)	3.18(1.04)
	Congruent Lexicalization	2.67(1.02)	2.70(1.05)
	Insertion	2.77(1.1)	2.82(1.12)
	Alternation	2.96(1.01)	3.04(1.04)
Kindness	Bahasa	2.96(0.91)	3.05(0.92)
	English	2.97(0.92)	3.06(0.96)
	Congruent Lexicalization	3.05(0.99)	3.06(0.96)
	Insertion	2.87(1.04)	2.91(1.03)
	Alternation	3.14(0.93)	3.23(0.94)
Sociability	Bahasa	3.23(0.9)	3.26(0.93)
	English	3.13(0.96)	3.20(0.96)
	Congruent Lexicalization	3.25(1.03)	3.26(0.99)
	Insertion	3.08(1.08)	3.11(1.08)
	Alternation	3.27(0.93)	3.36(0.92)
Likability	Bahasa	2.95(0.85)	3.00(0.89)
	English	3.07(0.97)	3.13(1.01)
	Congruent Lexicalization	3.08(1.03)	3.10(1.04)
	Insertion	2.98(1.1)	3.00(1.1)
	Alternation	3.23(0.92)	3.32(0.93)

In general, varieties from table 3 are perceived quite similarly in both types of interaction (DI and CMC), although CMC is rated slightly higher. Respondents rated the intelligence of Indonesians who use each variety slightly negatively. The exception is for the use of English in both DI and CMC and alternation in CMC. Indonesians who use the congruent lexicalization of English and Bahasa are perceived as the least intelligent in both DI and CMC.

In term of friendliness (i.e. kindness), Indonesians who use the congruent lexicalization and alternation are considered kind in DI. In CMC, however, the use of insertion is the only variety perceived slightly

negatively. For the sociability trait, participants responded quite positively (mean > 3.0) towards each variety. Similar to the two previous traits, each variety in sociability trait is perceived slightly more positively in CMC. In both types of interaction, alternation is evaluated the highest (mean 3.27 and 3.36 respectively). Insertion is rated the negatively (2.87 and 2.91).

In term of pleasantness (i.e. likability), alternation is rated slightly positively and is the most likable variety in both DI and CMC (mean 3.23 and 3.32 respectively). Bahasa, in contrast, is the least likable variety in DI. In CMC, however, both the use of

*Bahasa* and insertion of English are rated as the least likable varieties.

It is clear from the results presented that some patterns exist amongst the participants' responses. A high degree of consistency has allowed some inferences to be drawn. The first one is that the use of language in CMC tends to be rated slightly higher than in DI. Moreover, the use of standard varieties of English tends to be rated most positively in term of competence of the speakers (i.e. intelligence) although it is rated less in sociability traits. On the other hand, Alternation is more attractive socially and rated slightly higher (i.e. on traits such as kindness, sociability and likability) than the other four varieties. Another interesting finding is regarding the pleasantness (i.e. likability) of *Bahasa*, which is rated the least in both daily interaction (DI) and computer-mediated communication (CMC). This finding shows that Indonesians negative perception towards their language variety may be the results of the language ethnocentrism. A further discussion of the result will be in the next section.

## **Discussion**

In this section, the findings from previous section are discussed and compared with other similar studies. To maintain the focus of the study, the discussion will be presented according to the previous section's results. An adapted version of matched-guise technique was employed to penetrate and distinguish the attitudes below the respondents' level of conscious awareness. Based on the presented findings, there are different attitudes towards the use of English only, Bahasa only and the code-mixed varieties.

The first is that the standard variety of English is perceived the highest in terms of competence of the speaker in both DI and CMC contexts. This is consistent with some other studies' findings (e.g. see Qi, 2009; Sykes, 2010; McKenzie, 2010; and Tokumoto & Shibata, 2011), which compared the ratings given towards varieties of English pronunciation (i.e. accents). McKenzie (2010) found that Japanese-accented English speakers are evaluated as the least competent, although the heavily-accented English is perceived the most socially attractive. McKenzie (2010) found that speakers who use the inner circle standard variety of English are evaluated as more intelligent than those from the outer/expanding circles. Nevertheless, in term of attractiveness, speakers of non-standard varieties are socially more attractive (McKenzie, 2010). Although the results cannot be compared directly, code-mixing of English and Bahasa can be classified as one variety of English, while the grammatically-correct English-only texts (i.e.

standardised English texts) are the standardised ones. Thus, the English-only speaker is perceived to be more competent than speakers of other geographically-bound varieties, in this case the code-mixings. This is interesting because compared with other analysed varieties, English is the only variety rated positively for intelligence of the speaker (see table 3). Therefore, they might perceive the ones who are able to speak/write English as intelligent. This finding is in line with Lauder's study of English in Indonesia (Lauder, 2008, p.14) which claimed that English is seen as a symbol of educated person. When the respondents rated English positively, it may mean that the use of English has a higher hierarchical value in Indonesia.

The findings of this study also support those of Akbar (2007), Qi (2009) and McKenzie (2010) who found the stronger the variations is perceived by the listener, the more negative attitudes to the competence are. The non-standard variation of English mixing, congruent lexicalization, however, was considered the least intelligent of all (i.e. having negative mean scores). The overlapping grammar of Bahasa and English in the text may be the reason. This overlapping grammar may indicate to the hearer/reader that the utterer struggle to use the correct English. This cognitive struggle, as Garrett (2010, p.31) suggests, may affect respondents' opinions. Garrett (2010, p.90) also noted that the lexical diversity of language combinations affects the judgments towards the speaker's intelligence. The less intelligible the language used, the less the speakers are judged. However, he noted that (p.90) the lexical diversity has less impact towards the social attractiveness traits. This may explain why congruent lexicalization is on the middle positive category when it comes to other traits.

Whereas English is barely used in daily conversation in Indonesia, the opposite happens in the computer-mediated communication. This current social situation in Indonesia also shows that there is an increasing trend where youths prefer to combine English with Bahasa in their social media status (Abdurahman, 2016a). Lie (2007) suggested that the use of English phrases is common in the young middle class, especially in the urban area. In fact, this may boost speakers' urban lifestyle (Lie, 2007, p.3). She suggested that this trend is due to a growing number of idolized celebrities who mixed English in their utterances (Lie, 2007, p.3). Thus, social force in the community affects the attitudes given by the respondents to a certain degree. When it comes to the social attractiveness traits, the non-standard varieties were given ambivalent ratings. In both DI and CMC contexts, alternation is perceived more positively, while insertion is perceived more negatively in social

attractiveness traits. This implies that there may be different perception and intensity of stereotyped language towards the use of English.

The alternation is the most highly perceived variation in kindness, sociability and likability traits. The alternation may be given a higher judgement due to its nature which has distinguishable English and Bahasa grammatical structures. On the one hand, the use of English mode positively increases the judgement towards utterer's intelligence. On the other hand, Bahasa gives the feeling of solidarity. This makes the alternation texts be judged more positively in the social attractiveness traits. Another possible explanation for this finding is regarding the cognitive ability when using the languages. Abdurahman (2016b, pp.43-44) found that many Indonesians were not confident to use a 'full' English due to low English ability. They were afraid to be thought 'stupid' by their conversing partner when producing error English. Hence, they also welcome the mix of distinguishable Bahasa-English mixing by the interlocutors.

In contrast, insertion is perceived the least positively in these three traits. This result may imply that respondents have different attitudes depending on the degree of mixing. Moreover, these findings may provide the notion that the use of English lexis in the Bahasa texts may not be welcomed well by the Indonesian respondents. Abdurahman's (2016b, p.44) study found that some of his participants felt pressured when mixing English sparingly in daily conversation, especially when The English is used grammatically incorrectly. Some other also thinks that mixing English and Bahasa is a sign of low English ability (Abdurahman 2016b, p.43) The finding of this research may reflect the pressure given to the speakers who mix English in their Bahasa

It is interesting that Bahasa-only texts are rated less. It is even the least likable variety in both world interactions (i.e. DI and CMC). One possible speculation is the different variations of Bahasa between the texts and respondents. The texts rated in this study were obtained from Abdurahman's (2016a) study, which used the Jakarta Malay variety, while the respondents in this study mostly speak Pontianak Malay. The negative attitudes towards Bahasa variety of the questionnaire may be affected by respondents' attitudes towards Jakarta Malay, not Bahasa in general. This finding may be explained by Garrett's argument about the ethnocentrism value of the hearer variables (Garrett, 2010, pp.98-99). The Jakarta Malay is considered as an outgroup language by the respondents, and hence is seen negatively. Although English is not their mother tongue, the use of Jakarta Malay as the variety of Bahasa in this study may intrude the local accents, and hence is rated less

likable. Nonetheless, the focus of this study is the attitudes towards the use of English and the Bahasa variety is used as the comparison for the participants when rating the speakers.

To sum up, there are different perceptions given towards the English-only, Bahasa-only and their code-mixed varieties. English is perceived highly when it comes to the competence of the speakers. In other words, it has high 'linguistic market' value (O'Rourke, 2011, p.15) and, hence, instrumental value (Baker 1992, Mckenzie 2010). This is also true in other studies (Qi, 2009; Sykes, 2010; Tokumoto & Shibata 2011). Moreover, the contrasting ratings given towards each code-mixed variety (alternation, insertion and congruent lexicalization) may be the evidence of the influence of the 'degree of mixing': the more English grammar overlaps, and hence is less identifiable, with Bahasa's, the less attractive the text is. Thus, alternation, in which two grammars can be identified, is given higher ratings. Bahasa is often rated negatively due to respondents' ethnocentrism.

### **Conclusion**

Language attitudes have been the main subject of many World Englishes research. In the World Englishes paradigm, there has been a growing number of emphasis to focus on the Expanding Circle countries. Language attitudes towards the use of English in these countries, however, often more complex than in the Inner or Outer Circles. There are often ideological and social factors affecting the attitudes. There is also the struggle of power between the national language and English status as the foreign language. Moreover, differences of English and local languages may often create a new pattern of language that may or may not conform to the grammatical rules of each language. This pattern may make the attitudes varied towards each variety. On the one hand, speakers often have several language choices depending on to whom they interact. On the other hand, inappropriate language choices may affect them negatively socially.

In expanding circle, it is hard to find literature of language attitudes which focus in Indonesia. Therefore, I tried to untangle the complexity of attitudes given towards varieties of English in Indonesia. The growing popularity of computer-mediated communication and existence of the use of English in this platform also makes a study in this platform worth investigated. From the previous two sections, we can see the following:

- (1) The use of grammatically correct English was perceived intelligent.
- (2) Adjoined variety of English and Bahasa, i.e. alternation, is perceived more positively than the



'broken English' varieties, i.e. congruent lexicalization and insertion.

(3) Bahasa may be perceived more negatively due to the different variety, i.e. dialects, of Bahasa spoken by the respondents.

These findings suggest that Indonesian respondents do have different attitudes toward different varieties of English in Indonesia. Despite the negative historical ideology of English in Indonesia during the new order regime, many respondents still perceive the use of standardized English as the symbol of an educated person. Moreover, social affection towards celebrities may affect respondents' attitudes towards the code-mixed varieties of English. The analysis of attitudes in both DI and CMC may have implication not only for learners of English, but also for other stakeholders such as researcher and teachers in Indonesia. In addition, the findings of this study indicate that code-mixing has some effect on the attitudes given towards the speakers, especially regarding the competence and social attractiveness traits. It may be concluded that the use of code-mixing between English and Bahasa may, to some extent, influence the listener's perception, either negatively or positively, toward the utterer. This study provides a modest contribution to the body of knowledge on language attitudes and World Englishes. It also puts some light towards the perception of English code-mixing in Indonesia.

Indeed, there are some limitations from the findings, especially regarding the location of research which is only in Pontianak, Indonesia. Nonetheless, it is sufficed to say that the results may represent a specific area in Indonesia, West Kalimantan. Moreover, due to the limited number of previous studies on the topic in Indonesia, it is even harder to generalise these findings in Indonesia. This study may be used as a foundation of language attitudinal study towards the use of English in Indonesia. For future research, I suggest conducting systematic probability sampling according to respondents' ages and widen the area of research to provide more representativeness. This will also allow the generalisation of the findings.

### Endnotes

1. Bahasa Indonesia in this article is Bahasa Indonesia as well as its variations in Indonesia.
2. For the purposes of this study, text is the discourse presented either in spoken or written form.
3. Within-groups mean analysis means that the different ratings given by similar participants towards different categories such as traits and varieties are included during the statistical process using the repeated measures ANOVA.

4. Assumption of Sphericity is one of the basic requirements to run and validly present a one-way repeated measures ANOVA.

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