

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### LANGUAGE CHOICE IN INTRA DIALECT GROUP INTERACTIONS IN THE UNIVERSITY

#### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter and Chapter 8 analyse the language choice of the Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates belonging to the Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah dialect groups during intra and across dialect group interactions in the university. The findings through quantitative and qualitative analysis demonstrate that the patterns of code choice represented a recognised norm among the rural and urban Bidayuh undergraduates during intra and across dialect group interactions in the university. The main code choice helped to establish the extent of Bidayuh, Sarawak Malay, Bahasa Melayu and English used during intra and across dialect group interactions. The qualitative analysis in this chapter and in the next provide a micro analysis for the university domain to supplement the macro data from the analysis in Chapter 5.

The 213 Bidayuhs undergraduates were a minority group in the university with an enrollment of 4,620 students (see Chapter 1 Section 1.5). The respondents in intra dialect group discourse consisted of 15 rural and 13 urban Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates respectively. The data for intra dialect group discourse consisted of audio recordings of 9 conversations that totaled up to 4 hours.

Since there were not many Bidayuh undergraduates belonging to the three main dialect groups namely, Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah, it was not always easy to find the Bidayuh undergraduates interacting with other Bidayuh undergraduates who were from their own dialect groups.

The conversations were transcribed and later analysed to determine the main code used by the Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates in intra and across dialect group discourse in the university. Interviews with the respondents after the recordings and observations with field notes throughout the study further triangulated the data collected.

The main language in intra and across dialect group discourse was determined by the frequency of sentences in the utterances using Bidayuh, Bahasa Melayu, English and Sarawak Malay or mix as made by the respondents. The different patterns, whether stand-alone or code-switching were identified and counted for frequency with a percentage for each category. The sentences in the utterances by each of the respondents were calculated in order to show the most frequent pattern of language used. If Bidayuh, then it signals that there is no loss of the heritage dialects among the Bidayuh undergraduates. The reasons for language choice of the rural and urban Bidayuh undergraduates from the most frequently to the least used pattern are then explained. It is not the aim of this analysis to investigate language choice between gender even though the data collected consisted of language used by male and female undergraduates in the university.

## 7.2 Forms of accommodation in the university

While Giles and Smith (1979) used the Theory of Accommodation which focussed on language accommodation among people of different ethnicities, this chapter and the next will extend the concept to include the extent of Bidayuh i.e. the heritage dialect, Bahasa Melayu i.e. the national language (a language used as the medium of instruction), English and the use of Sarawak Malay, in intra and across dialect group interactions in the university.

The language choice of the Bidayuh undergraduates in the university was influenced by Bahasa Melayu, Sarawak Malay and English. While Bahasa Melayu was the dominant code in formal domains such as official functions, Sarawak Malay was the dominant code in informal domains such as social interactions. English as the medium of instruction in UiTM also influenced the language choice of the Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates among themselves and with Bidayuh lecturers (see Chapter 5 section 5.20).

The language used by the Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates in intra and across dialect group interactions in the university showed four major forms of accommodation namely:- a) accommodating to Bidayuh undergraduates from the same and other dialect groups by using Bidayuh, b) accommodating to Bidayuh undergraduates from the same and other dialect groups by using Bahasa Melayu, c) accommodating to Bidayuh undergraduates from the same and other dialect groups by using Sarawak Malay and d) accommodating to

Bidayuh undergraduates from the same and other dialect groups by using English.

The use of other codes besides Bidayuh was not only caused by the need to accommodate or because of limited proficiency. The use of stand-alone codes and code-switching in intra and across dialect group discourse were activated for various reasons.

The discussion of language choice in the university domain begins with language choice of the rural Bidayuh undergraduates followed by language choice of the urban Bidayuh undergraduates belonging to the Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-sadong and Biatah dialect groups in intra dialect group discourse. Examples are provided to show the patterns of language used in intra dialect group interactions. Further details to show the regularity of this data can be found in Appendix F. Translations in all examples are given within parenthesis.

### **7.3 Language choice of the rural Bidayuh undergraduates in intra dialect group interactions**

Table 7.1 shows clearly that the patterns of language choice of 15 rural Dayak undergraduates in intra dialect group interactions consist of:-

1. Stand –alone Bidayuh
2. Code-switches using more Bidayuh and less Bahasa Melayu.
3. Code-switches using more Bidayuh and less English

*Table 7.1  
Language choice of the rural Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates  
in intra dialect group interactions*

No.	Gender	Trans. No.	S – A Bid	C-S more Bid less BM	C – S more Bid less Eng	Total utterances
<b>BAU-JAGOI</b>						
1.	M	30	17 63%	9 33.3%	1 3.7%	27 100%
2.	F	30	22 81.5%	4 14.8%	1 3.7%	27 100%
3.	F	31	20 95.2%	1 4.8%	0 0%	21 100%
4.	M	31	14 82.4%	3 17.6%	0 0%	17 100%
5.	F	32	30 100%	0 0%	0 0%	30 100%
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>103 84.4%</b>	<b>17 14%</b>	<b>2 1.6%</b>	<b>122 100</b>
<b>BUKAR-SADONG</b>						
6.	M	24	18 64.3%	10 35.7%	0 0%	28 100%
7.	M	24	11 55%	9 45%	0 0%	20 100%
8.	F	24	19 100%	0 0%	0 0%	19 100%
9.	F	25	13 100%	0 0%	0 0%	13 100%
10.	F	25	19 90.5%	0 0%	2 9.5%	21 100%
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>80 79.2%</b>	<b>19 18.8%</b>	<b>2 2.0%</b>	<b>101 100%</b>
<b>BIATAH</b>						
11.	M	17	18 62.1%	11 37.9%	0 0%	29 100%
12.	F	27	22 95.7%	0 4.3%	1 4.3%	23 100%
13.	M	9	31 96.9%	1 3.1%	0 0%	32 100%
14.	M	10	20 71.4%	8 28.6%	0 0%	28 100%
15.	F	12	24 85.7%	4 14.3%	0 0%	28 100%
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>115 82.1%</b>	<b>24 13.6%</b>	<b>1 4.3%</b>	<b>140 100%</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>			<b>298 82.1%</b>	<b>60 16.5%</b>	<b>5 1.4%</b>	<b>363 100%</b>

*Key: Trans. No. : Transcription Number; S – A Bid: Stand-alone Bidayuh; C-S more Bid less BM: Code-Switching using more Bidayuh less Bahasa Melayu; C-S more Bid less Eng- Code-switching using more Bidayuh less English; Total utter – Total utterances*

## **7.4 Stand-alone Bidayuh**

Table 7.1 clearly shows that 82.1% of the total utterances made by the rural Bidayuh respondents in intra dialect group discourse are in stand-alone Bidayuh. Stand-alone Bidayuh comprises 84.4% of the total sentences uttered by the rural Bau-Jagoi, 79.2% by the rural Bukar-Sadong and 82.1% by the rural Biatah undergraduates. This indicates that stand-alone Bidayuh was the most preferred choice among the rural undergraduates in intra dialect group interactions in the university.

Bidayuh was used to represent the speech of the rural Bidayuh undergraduates in intra dialect group interactions. The need to create closer rapport and solidarity triggered an extensive use of Bidayuh among the rural Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates in intra dialect group interactions. Using Bidayuh also indicated that it was a transfer of *comfortability zone* (Asmah, cited in David 2001) whereby the rural Bidayuh undergraduates who used Bidayuh at home (see Chapter 5: 5.9.1) transferred it to the university when speaking to Bidayuh undergraduates from the same dialect group. The data showed a number of reasons why stand-alone Bidayuh was used.

### **7.4.1 To create closer rapport**

The Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah rural Bidayuh undergraduates were not extensively affected by the use of dominant codes such as Bahasa Melayu and Sarawak Malay in intra dialect group interactions because they came from

rural areas where Bidayuh was the main code used during social interactions at home (see Chapter 6). In the university, stand-alone Bidayuh was the main choice to create closer rapport with peers from the same dialect group (see Example 7.1).

*Example 7.1*

*Rural Bidayuhs: Stand-alone Bidayuh to create closer rapport in intra dialect group*

<p><i>a) Rural Bukar-Sadong female (RBF) with Rural Bukar-Sadong male (RBM)</i>  <b>RBF:</b> Tirawe lagi aku matik wang aku luah, kaik dapat kiraja. Rebeh asung mambu' aku. (<i>I'm afraid that I'll be unemployed when I graduate. It's going to be difficult. My family will be disappointed.</i>)  <b>RBM:</b> Susah lagi kan adup ngampan kiraja pirintah, mene susah raye' iti' ne. (<i>Of course it'll be difficult but only if you're waiting for jobs in the government sector.</i>)  <i>(Transcription 24)</i></p>
<p><i>b) Rural Bukar-Sadong female (RBF1) with Rural Bukar-Sadong female (RBF2)</i>  <b>RBF1:</b> Matik aku nyiken ne, pak bala ne mong inya bidaruh boh. Tirawe' aku ira nyindek ne. (<i>I'll ask him later, but it looks like they are arguing. I don't dare to go near</i>)  <b>RBF2:</b> Nyuhon lagi angun bala ne. Aba nyindek ne. Odog dakep lagi amu matik. (<i>Their voices are getting louder. Don't go near. Otherwise you'll be caught by them.</i>)  <i>(Transcription 25)</i></p>
<p><i>c) Rural Bau-Jagoi male (RJM) with Rural Bau-Jagoi female (RJF)</i>  <b>RJM:</b> Manik nyam kuk yak natong sosuak eh noh. Paguh kuk blajar diok. Bak mok nog masa eh kuk natong ba'uh. (<i>I'm lazy to think about that yet. It's better for me to study first. Once the time arrives, then I'll start thinking about it.</i>)  <b>RJF:</b> Adin leh nya' a natong sosuak eh dekh munok neh. (<i>People should start planning now.</i>)  <i>(Transcription 30).</i></p>
<p><i>d) Rural Bau-Jagoi female (RJF) with Rural Bau-Jagoi male (RJM)</i>  <b>RJF:</b> Nuak tong idoh geh dik dapod kai duit dekh slingit. Pi'in kong sosuak eh ma'al. (<i>You can't buy drinks with just one ringgit.</i>)  <b>RJM:</b> Tek jok ba otok mok kloja, ba stakat gaji dekh slibu lolah leh tiak otok neh maan pasir. (<i>Earning a salary of just one thousand ringgit is not enough.</i>)  <b>RJF:</b> Ki ogik nya'a la'an kloja ba gaji eh skia isok. Sedoik- doik eh kadu slibu stengah tong mok boleh geh. (<i>Nobody wants to work for a small salary. It has to be about one thousand five hundred ringgit.</i>)  <i>(Transcription 30)</i></p>

*Key: Times New Roman: Bidayuh dialects of Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah*

### 7.4.2 To make request

According to the 15 rural Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates, they preferred making requests using stand-alone Bidayuh because they were sure to get an answer. More specifically, a Bau-Jagoi undergraduate said:

*'Cuba awak tanya dalam Bidayuh dan dia cakap bahasa sama dengan kamu, cepat dia jawab. Senang minta tolong bila guna bahasa sendiri sama kita sendiri.'* (You'll get a quick respond by asking in Bidayuh. It's easier to get help when using Bidayuh.)

(Respondent 3)

Key: Times New Roman Bold: Bahasa Melayu

#### Example 7.2

*Rural Bidayuhs: Stand-alone Bidayuh when making requests in intra dialect group*

*a) Rural Biatah male (RIM) with Rural Biatah female (RIF)*

**RIM:** Abah aku adi sadik nuh. Manguh aku dapud pengarah. Suba kuu tundak akuk. (I don't want to go alone. I'm embarrassed to see the Director, Can you follow?)

**RIF:** Mating ani- ani rek mok gago. Duh ayuh nang kuu. Kuu suma rek siken pasar tepat di asrama aduk. Ani taru muk duh. (There's nothing to worry about. He won't scold you.) (Transcription 29)

*b) Rural Bukar-Sadong male (RBM) with Rural Bukar-Sadong male (RBM)*

**RBM:** Gapih amu nyandun ne? (Where did you go yesterday?)

**RBM:** HEA, nyiken pasal duit PTPTN, wang manih ne luah. Aku mbuh inyap duit lagi. (Went to HEA to ask whether or not the PTPTN loan is available. I've no money left.) (Transcription 24)

*c) Rural Bukar-Sadong female (RBF) with Rural Bukar-Sadong female (RBF)*

**RBF:** Boleh aku minjam buk da' binacha amu sien? (May I borrow the book which you are reading?)

**RBF:** Ngampan sampei aku mbuh obo minan nu'. Anten nu' pagi boleh aku nyugon nu' ndug amu. (Wait until I've finished. Perhaps tomorrow I can pass it to you.) (Transcription 25)

*d) Rural Biatah female (RIF) with Rural Biatah male (RIM)*

**RIF:** Akuk agik klas nug pukur num. Kok anuk bisak rah. Manyah tingge akuk. Akuk an guh suak. Agik kayuh an kuk mirih. (I've classes until six in the evening. Perhaps after that. Don't leave me behind. I want to come along. There's something I want to buy.)

**RIM:** Bisak akuk suak kah? Akuk mating klas. Akuk janji duh nug rambat. Anuk janji batur anuk bisak angan psayak. (Can I come along? I don't have class. I promise not to be late.) (Transcription 27)



### 7.4.3 To advice

In Example 7.3, when giving or getting advice in stand-alone Bidayuh, the rural Bidayuh undergraduates stated that they were less offended. More specifically, a Bukar-Saong undergraduate said:

*‘When my friend from Bukar-Sadong dialect group wants to advise me in our dialect, I can still take it because it shows she cares about me just like my family. If other languages, I think she wants to keep a gap (a distance) and maybe bossy’*  
(Respondent 8)

#### Example 7.3

*Rural Bidayuhs: Stand- alone Bidayuh to give advice in intra dialect group*

<p><i>a) Rural Bukar-Sadong female (RBF) with Rural Bukar-Sadong female (RBF)</i> <b>RBF:</b> Paguh amu nganchet wangi taye’ sibayuh meret jamban. Kaik amu bilugog. (Better for you to spray the toilet with fragrance before entering. In that case you won’t vomit.) <b>RBF:</b> Susah-susah minan kitupeng jawi. Mong sien lagi silamat amu masu bala ered. (Since it’s so difficult, let’s wear masks. In that case, you’ll be safe from all germs.) (Transcription 25).</p>
<p><i>b) Rural Biatah male (RIM) with Rural Biatah female (RIF)</i> <b>RIM:</b> Desah man jamu. Kuu puan kayuh man mun nuk baguk kesan ik d purung. Muh dog baru muk kinyam. (Don’t eat jamu {traditional medicine}. Do you know that there are side effects from eating jamu? You will feel the pain much later.) <b>RIF:</b> Stakat ati mating nuk teruk. Anuk gik suma ngutak nga pusor aduk. Anuk pun kan nuh man rabih sok biasa. (At the moment there are no serious cases. The ones which happened only involved those who vommitted and had stomach ache. Even that is due to overeating.) (Transcription 27)</p>
<p><i>c) Rural Bau-Jagoi male (RJM) with rural Bau-Jagoi female (RJF)</i> <b>RJM:</b> Manik nyam kuk yak natong sosuak eh noh neh. Paguh kuk blajar diok. Ba mok nog masa eh kuk natong ba’uh. (I don’t want to think of all that now. I better study first and think later.) <b>RJF:</b> Adin leh nya’a natong sosuak eh dek munok neh. (It’s better to plan now.) (Transcription 30)</p>
<p><i>d) Rural Bau-Jagoi female (RJF) with rural Bau-Jagoi female (RJF)</i> <b>RJF1:</b> Ba skia bongoh, monam bak kuk neh. (When it is hot, I’ll get a headache.) <b>RJF:2</b> Ba wat inoh lihat ja leh. (Perhaps you should take a rest.) (Transcription 32)</p>

Key: Times New Roman: Bidayuh dialects of Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah

## 7.5 Rural Bidayuhs using Bahasa Melayu in dominant Bidayuh in intra dialect group

Table 7.1 shows clearly that the second most frequent pattern of language choice by the rural Dayak Bidayuh is code-switching using more Bidayuh and less Bahasa Melayu. This pattern consists of 14% of the total utterances made by the rural Bau-Jagoi, 18.8% by the rural Bukar-Sadong and 13.6% by the rural Biatah undergraduates.

### 7.5.1 Habitual use

When minority groups, who are fluent in their own language, look to other dominant languages for referents not available in their hereditary language, it shows flexibility in language use (David, 2006:10), and this also occurred among the Bidayuh undergraduates in this study.

There were evidence in the data to indicate that code-switching in intra dialect group interactions were not triggered by limited proficiency but by other conditions which made it favourable. In the example below Bahasa Melayu lexical items were used in dominant Bidayuh because Bahasa Melayu was the medium of instruction when the Bidayuh undergraduates were in school and they were more familiar with these words in Bahasa Melayu due to habitual use. Some of the words used were **gaji** (*salary*), **pengarah** (*director*), **kongsi** (*share*), **asrama** (*hostel*), **mi** (*noodles*), **nyaman** (*delicious*), **mentega** (*butter*), **gereja** (*church*) etc (see Example 7.4).

Example 7.4

Rural Bidayuh: Dominant Bidayuh and less Bahasa Melayu in intra dialect group

<p>a) <i>Rural Bukar-Sadong male (RBM) with rural Bukar-Sadong male (RBM)</i> <b>RBM:</b> <u>Gaji</u> kiraja mong sien sade dada indi urang lai. <u>Lagipun</u> kiraja rendah misti jera'. (The <u>salary</u> for a job like that is just enough for one person. <u>Moreover</u>, low paid jobs must be difficult.) <b>RBM:</b> Mong anih lagi boh, kan setakat minan <u>ijazah</u>, aba ngarap gaji bahas. (What to do. With just a <u>degree</u> don't expect to get a good salary.) (Transcription 24)</p>
<p>b) <i>Rural Biatah male (RIM) with Rural Biatah female (RIM)</i> <b>RIM:</b> Ani nang akuk branja angan <u>aiskrim</u>. Akuk mirih ndik angan dueh <u>kongsi</u>. (How about I treat you to <u>ice-cream</u>. I 'll buy one but you have to <u>share</u>.) <b>RIF:</b> Kieh atik bukan anak anduk an main <u>kongsi</u>. Duh sihat kambui kongsi kayuh man. (We're not children and we don't want to <u>share</u>. It's unhealthy to share food.) (Transcription 29)</p>
<p>c) <i>Rural Biatah male (RIM) with Rural Biatah female (RIF)</i> <b>RIM:</b> Abah aku adi sadik nuh. Manguh aku dapud <u>pengarah</u>. Suba kuu tundak akuk. (I don't want to go alone. I'm shy to see the <u>director</u> alone. Perhaps you'd like to follow me.) <b>RIF:</b> Mating ani-ani rek mok gago. Duh ayuh nang kuu. Kuu suma rek siken pasar tapat di <u>asrama</u> aduk. Ani taru muk duh. (There's nothing to worry about. He won't scold you. Furthermore, you're asking him about a place in the <u>hostel</u>. What are you afraid of?) (Transcription 29)</p>
<p>d) <i>Rural Bau-Jagoi male (RJM) with Rural Bau-Jagoi female (RJF)</i> <b>RJM:</b> <u>Mi</u> kanok on eh sidik. Sungu yoh li'iang sit <u>nyaman</u>. (The <u>noodles</u> sold there are good It so <u>delicious</u> too.) <b>RJF:</b> Samak kuk alit ja milih kuweh noh. Wat ki <u>mentega</u> eh sit eh geh. Loga eh tong mok ma'ad geh tiak adin neh. (My father always buys the bun. The <u>butter</u> is just a little. The price has risen now.) (Transcription 30)</p>
<p>e) <i>Rural Bau-Jagoi female (RJF) with Rural Bau-Jagoi male (RJM)</i> <b>RJF:</b> Mu'u tih alit ogik dek <u>gereja</u> keh. Jadin <u>paderi</u> noh suka dek mu'u. Yoh leh mu'u alit ja tulung onik dek <u>gereja</u>. (You're always in <u>church</u>, that's why the <u>priest</u> likes you. Moreover, you always help out in <u>church</u>.) <b>RJM:</b> Misti leh kan samak kuk ulang dolas <u>gereja</u>. Jadin ko'ih nunak ja. Dek diok <u>projek</u> Dolod Singai samak kuk suak geh. (Of course because my father is one of those active people in <u>church</u>. So we follow him too. Last time my father was involved with the Mount Singai <u>project</u>.) (Transcription 31)</p>

Key: Times New Roman– Bidayuh dialects of Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah; Arial-Bahasa Melayu code-switches

## 7.6 Rural Bidayuhs using less English in dominant Bidayuh in intra dialect group

Table 7.1 shows that the third and least frequent category of language choice preferred by the rural Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates is using English in dominant Bidayuh. This consists of 1.4% of the sentences in the utterances of of the rural Bidayuh undergraduates. More specifically, English in dominant Bidayuh is used by 1.6% of the rural Bau-Jagoi, 2.0% of the rural Bukar-Sadong and 4.3% of the rural Biatah undergraduates.

### 7.6.1 Habitual use

English lexical items were used as code-switches due to habitual use for common referents. However, there were less English used compared to Bahasa Melayu because the rural Bidayuh undergraduates were not quite proficient in English. According to a Biatah undergraduate:

*'Sudah jadi tabiat saya guna perkataan English yang biasa digunakan bila bercakap Tapi tak banyak saya banding dengan BM' (It's only my habit to use common English words when talking. I use less English compared to Bahasa Melayu.)*

*(Respondent 13)*

Some of the English words used were *suspense, novel, semester, degree, and inspector*. (see Example 7.9).

### Example 7.5

#### Rural Bidayuhs: Dominant Bidayuh and less English in intra dialect group

<p><i>a) Rural Bukar-Sadong female (RBF) with Rural Bukar-Sadong female (RBF)</i> <b>RBF:</b> Aba' pidaan cirita sien ndug aku, aku lagi macha nu ti'. Matik inyap lagi <u>suspense</u> aku macha nu. (<i>What're you talking about? I'm busy reading. Wait for a while, this part is full of suspense.</i>)</p> <p><b>RBF:</b> Inya ti' kan pasal <u>novel</u> da' pirawe' inya, memang kaik dapat lawan. Da abih jamban pun nu macha nu. Tuhai nu da jamban. (<i>You can't beat her when it comes to reading novels. She even reads in the toilets.</i>) (Transcription 25)</p>
<p><i>b) Rural Biatah female (RIF) with Rural Biatah male (RIM)</i> <b>RIF:</b> Ani har parik sraru duh? Aku sok awar <u>semester</u> nug madin Bauh parik ka arun. (<i>Why do you have to go back so often? I will only go back at the end of the semester.</i>)</p> <p><b>RIM:</b> Kuu duh parik pun duh har. Pimas muk duh guh payak. Duh guh bara ik sawuk-sawuk rindu di kuu. (<i>It doesn't matter even if you don't go back. Nobody wants you. My family misses me.</i>) (Transcription 27)</p>
<p><i>c) Rural Bau-Jagoi male (RJM) with Rural Bau-Jagoi female (RJF)</i> <b>RJM:</b> Doliak kuk,. Ba doik kloja dek bokon dapod leh. Kalik peluang dek bokon diok. (<i>I don't want. If there's no other job, perhaps I'll try that But I let me look for opportunities first.</i>)</p> <p><b>RJF:</b> Paguh bih suba mu'u jading polis neh. Kai <u>degree</u> dapod jadin <u>inspector</u>. Tamah lagik gonan muk dek togap noh. Misti paguh mun eh neh. (<i>Perhaps you should join the police. With a degree you can be an inspector . Moreover, you look fit and strong. You'll surely get it, if you apply.</i>) (Transcription 30)</p>
<p><i>d) Rural Bau-Jagoi male and female (RJF, RJM) with urban Bau-Jagoi female (UJF)</i> <b>RJF:</b> Dik patut mu'u dik muk palik ba <u>Easter</u>? Dek maok eh nya'a palik kupuak ba <u>Easter</u>. (<i>Don't tell me you are not going back during Easter? Usually people go back to their villages during Easter, so won't you?</i>)</p> <p><b>UJF:</b> Nang kedak ia rancang kamek urang, ningak diok oni nang samak kuk. (<i>That's my plan but see what my father says.</i>)</p> <p><b>RJM:</b> Musim <u>Easter</u> nanti gereja di Bau mesti bogok aktiviti. Setiap kali kalau <u>Easter</u> mesti saya dapat telur <u>Easter</u> dari paderi di gereja St Stephen. Sejak saya sekolah rendah dulu boon kuk so'on tuluah <u>Easter</u>. (<i>During Easter season, there're lots of activities in Bau church. Each time during Easter, I'll get an Easter egg from the priest in St Stephen's. Ever since I was in primary school, I've got that for Easter.</i>) (Transcription 35)</p>

Key: Times New Roman- Bidayuh dialects of Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah, Times New Roman italic underline-English code-switches

## 7.7 Summary of languages used by the rural Bidayuh undergraduates in intra dialect group interactions

There were three variations in language used by the rural Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates in intra dialect group interactions in the university. At home and

in the university, the rural Bidayuh undergraduates showed parallel patterns of language use. Stand-alone Bidayuh was used by the rural Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates belonging to the three dialect groups in order to create closer rapport and solidarity in the university which was far from home. Bahasa Melayu and English code-switches in dominant Bidayuh were due to habitual use over time.

The extensive use of Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah dialects by the respective dialect groups of rural Bidayuh undergraduates demonstrated that Bidayuh was the language to represent rural Bidayuh undergraduates in intra dialect group discourse in the university domain.

The use of Bahasa Melayu demonstrated the influence of Bahasa Melayu which was their medium of instruction when they were in school. However, there was no evidence to show that either Bahasa Melayu or English were displacing the heritage dialects in intra dialect group interactions because Bahasa Melayu and English were only habitually used for common referents.

### **7.8 Language choice of urban Bidayuh undergraduates in intra dialect group interactions**

Table 7.2 clearly shows the patterns of language choice of 13 urban Bidayuh undergraduates in intra dialect group interactions in the university consist of:-

1. Code-switches using more Bidayuh and less Sarawak Malay
2. Stand-alone Bidayuh

3. Code-switches using more Bidayuh and less English.
4. Stand-alone Sarawak Malay

Table 7.2: Language choice of the urban Bidayuh undergraduates in intra dialect group interactions in the university

No.	Gender	Trans. No.	S-A Bid	C-S more Bid less SM	C-S more Bid less Eng	S-A SM	Total utter
<b>BAU-JAGOI</b>							
16.	M	30	4 22.2%	10 18.9%	3 16.7%	1 5.6%	18 100%
17.	F	31	5 23.8%	12 22.6%	3 14.3%	1 4.8%	21 100%
18.	F	32	6 25%	15 28.3%	2 8.3%	1 4.2%	24 100%
19.	M	32	6 24%	16 30.2%	1 4%	2 8%	25 100%
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>21</b> <b>23.7%</b>	<b>53</b> <b>59.1%</b>	<b>9</b> <b>10.2%</b>	<b>5</b> <b>5.7%</b>	<b>88</b> <b>100%</b>
<b>BUKAR-SADONG</b>							
20.	M	24	7 25.9%	14 27.5%	3 11.1%	3 11.1%	27 100%
21.	F	25	5 25%	12 23.5%	1 5%	2 10%	20 100%
22.	M	26	7 26.9%	14 27.5%	2 7.7%	3 11.5%	26 100%
23.	M	26	4 22.2%	11 21.5%	1 5.6%	2 11.1%	18 100%
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>23</b> <b>25.3%</b>	<b>51</b> <b>56%</b>	<b>7</b> <b>7.7%</b>	<b>10</b> <b>11%</b>	<b>91</b> <b>100%</b>
<b>BIATAH</b>							
24.	F	27	8 28.6%	17 21.8%	2 7.1%	1 3.6%	28 100%
25.	M	27	4 20%	14 17.9%	1 5%	1 5%	20 100%
26.	F	28	4 17.4%	17 21.8%	1 4.6%	1 4.3%	23 100%
27.	M	29	7 28%	14 17.9%	2 8%	2 8%	25 100%
28.	F	29	6 23.1%	16 20.6%	2 7.7%	2 7.7%	26 100%
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>29</b> <b>23.8%</b>	<b>78</b> <b>63.9%</b>	<b>8</b> <b>6.6%</b>	<b>7</b> <b>5.7%</b>	<b>122</b> <b>100%</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>			<b>73</b> <b>24.3%</b>	<b>182</b> <b>60.4%</b>	<b>24</b> <b>8%</b>	<b>22</b> <b>7.3%</b>	<b>301</b> <b>100%</b>

Key: *Trans. No.* : Transcription Number; *S – A Bid*: Stand-alone Bidayuh; ; *C–S more Bid less SM*- Code-switching using more Bidayuh less Sarawak Malay; *English C–S more Bid less Eng*- Code-switching using more Bidayuh less English; *S – A SM* – Stand – alone Sarawak Malay; **Total utter** – Total utterances

### **7.8.1 Urban Bidayuhs using Sarawak Malay in dominant Bidayuh in intra dialect group**

Table 7.2 shows clearly that the most frequent language pattern used by the 13 urban Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates in intra-dialect group interactions is code-switching using more Bidayuh and less Sarawak Malay. More specifically, this pattern consists of 59.1% of the sentences in the utterances made by the urban Bau-Jagoi, 56% by the urban Bukar-Sadong and 63.9% by the urban Biatah undergraduates.

#### **7.8.1.1 To create closer rapport with urban Bidayuhs**

Bidayuh was the dominant language used by the 13 urban Bidayuh undergraduates in intra dialect group interactions even though it was used more as code-switches than as a stand-alone code. According to the urban undergraduates, the need to create closer rapport and solidarity among urban Bidayuhs led to code-switching pattern being more popular than stand-alone Bidayuh. More specifically a Biatah undergraduate said:

*“Sarawak Malay mixed with Bidayuh is always used when we talk among us urban Dayaks even when we are Bidayuhs who speak the same dialect. Maybe we are used to this style already and this makes us close. I don’t speak Bidayuh only .Surely mixed with Sarawak Malay even with same dialect Bidayuh friends in campus. But Bidayuh still more, only less Sarawak Malay.”*

*(Respondent 24)*

The code-switching pattern was not due to limited proficiency of Bidayuh dialects as all the 13 urban Bidayuhs stated (see 5.3) that could speak their heritage dialects. In fact the dominant use of Sarawak Malay in the city of



Kuching had influenced the language choice of the urban Bidayuhs even in intra dialect group interactions (see Example 7.6).

Example 7.6

Urban Bidayuhs: Dominant Bidayuh and less Sarawak Malay in intra dialect group

<p><i>a) Urban Biatah female (UIF) with Urban Biatah male (UIM)</i>  <b>UIF:</b> Angan duel <u>nang teruk</u>. Panu matik manuk agik-agik aduk an digen kayuh. Kambui duh dapud sigien, munki? (Both of you're <u>really terrible</u>. You like to touch things while walking. If you can't get rid of the paint, what are you going to do?)  <b>UIM:</b> Dapud kambui mun <u>ko make</u> nyok tanak. Nak di tapat anuk dog tejah. Kok munuk, nguk <u>make</u> sabun. (You could if you <u>use</u> kerosene. Just rub it on the affected part. Then clean it <u>using</u> soap.) (Transcription 28)</p>
<p><i>b) Urban Biatah male (RIM) with Urban Biatah male (UIM)</i>  <b>UIM:</b> Duh tui <u>naip kertas projek bah</u>, duh nug dueh jam. (It won't take long just to type a project paper (particle bah), it won't come up to two hours.)  <b>UIM:</b> Akuk <u>nang sik</u> dapud, bagus gik kerja bukun bayuh bok. (I <u>really can't</u> do it, as a lot of work still needs to be done.) (Transcription 29)</p>
<p><i>c) Urban Bau-Jagoi male (UJM) with Urban Bau-Jagoi female (UJF)</i>  <b>UJM:</b> Noh muuh doliak nai suom. <u>Kamek</u> moh obok suo. Osi sikien muuh <u>sik</u> nai suom? (That's why you didn't want to do it early. <u>I've</u> done mine. Who asked you not to do it early?)  <b>UJF:</b> Sikien muuh <u>nikah</u> duoh osi? Nya'a kupuak mu'u geh doh? (Who is your brother <u>marrying</u>? Is she from the same village?)  <b>UJM:</b> Onu itih doik nyaa ninga suo itih. Asal muuh ogik duit, <u>benar ke sik?</u> (Nowadays people don't consider anything else. As long as you have money, <u>isn't it?</u>) (Transcription 32)</p>

Key: Times New Roman- Bidayuh dialects of Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah; Arial- Sarawak Malay

7.9 Stand-alone Bidayuh

Table 7.2 clearly shows that the second most frequent category of language used by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates in intra dialect group interactions is stand-alone Bidayuh and this consists of 24.3% of the sentences in the total utterances by urban Bidayuhs. More specifically, stand-alone Bidayuh consists of 23.7% of the sentences in the utterances made by the urban Bau-Jagoi,

25.3% by the urban Bukar-Sadong and 23.8% by the urban Biatah undergraduates.

### 7.9.1 To create closer rapport with rural Bidayuh

In the interview conducted, the urban Bidayuh undergraduates stated that they only used stand-alone Bidayuh with rural Bidayuh undergraduates to create closer rapport. The urban Bidayuh were aware that the rural Bidayuh undergraduates were more comfortable with their heritage Bidayuh dialect and were less proficient in Sarawak Malay (see Example 7.7).

#### Example 7.7

##### *Urban Bidayuh: Stand-alone Bidayuh in intra dialect group*

<p><i>a) Urban Bukar-Sadong female (UBF) with Rural Bukar-Sadong female (RBF)</i>  <b>UBF:</b> Aba kambut ngaban not aku matik. (<i>Don't forget to bring my notes.</i>)  <b>RBF:</b> Adeh da' bilik amu. (<i>It's already in your room</i>) (Transcription 24)</p>
<p><i>b) Rural Bukar-Sadong male (RBM) with Urban Bukar-Sadong male (UBM)</i>  <b>RBM:</b> James nyimpan ne'. Cuba amu ga-in ndug bilik ne'.  <i>(James is keeping it. Perhaps you should go to his room.)</i>  <b>UBM:</b> Ahi gambar amu dengan bala dayung.  <i>(You have many photographs taken with girls.)</i> (Transcription 26)</p>
<p><i>c) Urban Bau-Jagoi female (UJF) with Rural Bau-Jagoi female (RJF)</i>  <b>UJF:</b> Koih ogik nunda noh toban bata. Monam geh kloja noh neh. Suba muk piker eh sosuak batuh dek kai eh nai greja noh obuah kakat sok debah. (<i>We carry the bricks too. It's a difficult task. Just imagine carrying the bricks all the way up the mountain to build the church</i>)  <b>RJF:</b> Noh leh usha nya'a dek ma'ad dolod inoh tiap onu minggu ka'an smayang. Misti topak blokat nya'a dek munok. (<i>That's the efforts of those who climb the mountain every weekend. God will bless them.</i>) (Transcription 32)</p>

*Key: Times New Roman- Bidayuh dialects of Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah*

## **7.10 Urban Bidayuhs using English in dominant Bidayuh in intra dialect group**

Table 7.2 shows that the third most frequent category of language used by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates is English in dominant Bidayuh. This pattern comprises 8% of the sentences in the utterances of the Bidayuh undergraduates. More specifically, English code-switches in dominant Bidayuh are preferred by 10.2% of the urban Bau-Jagoi, 7.7% of the rural Bukar-Sadong and 6.6% of the urban Biatah undergraduates.

### **7.10.1 Habitual use**

Many of the urban Bidayuh undergraduates were from homes where their fathers who were government civil servants often used English in dominant Bidayuh. (see Chapter 6). All the 13 urban Bidayuhs stated that the use of English in intra dialect group interaction was because of habitually used over time. However, they were not proficient enough to have their conversation in stand-alone English. More specifically, a Bau-Jagoi undergraduate said:

*“What’s wrong if we use English mix with Bidayuh in the university? I mean, some words which I’m using are in English. So I use English, since I know them and always use them”*

*(Respondent 17)*

Some of the English words habitually used were *boyfriend*, *test*, *strawberry*, *burger*, *overseas* and *scholarship* (see Example 7.8).

Example 7.8

Urban Bidayuhs: Dominant Bidayuh and less English in intra dialect group

<p><i>a) Urban Bukar-Sadong male (UBM) with Urban Bukar-Sadong male (UBM)</i>  <b>UBM:</b> Adik aku mbuh adeh boyfriend. (My sister has a boyfriend.)  <b>UBM:</b> Mbuh kinde mirih kayuh du nanchak nu lecturer? (Have you bought the things asked by the lecturer?) (Transcription 26)</p>
<p><i>b) Urban Biatah female (UIF) with Rural Biatah male (RIM)</i>  <b>UIF:</b> Test duh kah makin sinduk. Dum tirok aduk ba. (The test is near. It is really soon.)  <b>RIM:</b> Manyah susah asung (Don't worry too much.) (Transcription 27)</p>
<p><i>c) Urban Biatah male (UIM) with rural Bau-Jagoi female (RJF)</i>  <b>UIM:</b> Muh bsawak aku duh man strawberry. (I've not eaten strawberries for a long time.)  <b>RJF:</b> Aku ragik masuk ik dingek. (I'm worst) (Transcription 29)</p>
<p><i>d) Urban Bau-Jagoi male (UJM) with Rural Bau-Jagoi female (RJF)</i>  <b>UJM:</b> Doik biguna duit slinggit. Dapod man burger kosong ajak. (One ringgit has less value now. You can only buy an empty burger with it.)  <b>RJF:</b> Nuak tong idoh geh dik dapod kai duit dek slinggit. (You can't buy that now with one ringgit). (Transcription 30)</p>
<p><i>e) Urban Bau-Jagoi female (UJF), with Rural Bau-Jagoi female (RJF)</i>  <b>UJF:</b> Mu'u tih ba okuk kaya geh mungkin okuk yak blajar dek overseas. Ba ogik pluang oku raan blajar overseas. (If I were rich, I'll study overseas. I will look for an opportunity to study overseas)  <b>RJF:</b> Osi dek dik la'an.? Sosuak nya'a la'an ba so'on pluang dek wat inoh. Lugi suba yoh doliak. (Who doesn't want? Everyone wants to have that chance. It's a waste to throw that chance.)  <b>UJF:</b> Dapod scholarship doliak muk geh? (Don't you want to go if given a scholarship?) (Transcription 31)</p>

Key: Times New Roman- Bidayuh dialects of Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah; Times New Roman Italic English

### 7.11 Urban Bidayuhs using stand-alone Sarawak Malay in intra dialect group

Table 7.2 above indicates that there are complete sentences in Sarawak Malay used by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates in intra dialect group interactions in the university. Stand-alone Sarawak Malay consists of 7.3% of the total sentences in the utterances of the urban Bidayuh undergraduates. More specifically, stand-alone Sarawak Malay is used by 5.7% of the urban Bau-

Jagoi, 11% of the urban Bukar-Sadong and 5.7% of the urban Biatah undergraduates.

### **7.11.1 To scold**

Although code-switching using Sarawak Malay in dominant Bidayuh was the most common pattern used by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates, complete sentences in Sarawak Malay occurred when making negative comments in intra dialect group interactions. All the 13 urban Bidayuh undergraduates said they used stand-alone Sarawak Malay with Bidayuhs from the same group if they had something negative to say. A Bukar-Sadong undergraduate:

*'I always mix Biayuh and Sarawak Malay language with my Bukar friend. But when I'm not happy with him I speak Sarawak Malay only. I use Sarawak Malay because I don't want him to feel very bad after I have scolded him.'*

*(Respondent 21)*

The urban Bidayuh undergraduates used stand-alone Sarawak Malay when scolding in order not to alienate the listener (see Example 7.19).

*Example 7.9*  
*Urban Bidayuhs: Stand-alone Sarawak Malay in intra dialect group*

<p><i>a) Urban Bukar-Sadong male (UBM) with urban Bukar-Sadong male (UBM)</i>  <b>UBM:</b> Puan pun mung sien. Eboh amu punting agi. Kelak mu kai puan anih-anih, nyap inya pidaan amu kan amu kaik nyiken. (<i>You shouldn't have escaped classes. Otherwise you won't know anything. Nobody will inform you if you didn't ask.</i>)  <b>UBM:</b> <u>Lantak nya sia.</u> Selalu ajak buus. Sik anyap keja bekun. (<u>Go to hell with him. He is always sleeping. He doesn't have anything else to do.</u>) (Transcription 26)</p>
<p><i>b) Urban Biatah male (UIM) with Rural Biatah male (RIM)</i>  <b>UIM:</b> Kanak man pau, ragik sidik. <u>Eboh gago ngan sidak ia.</u> (<i>It's better to eat bun. Don't bother about them.</i>)  <b>RIM:</b> Sabut pasar man pau. (<i>Let's talk about food.</i>) (Transcription 28)</p>
<p><i>c) Urban Bau-Jagoi male (UJM) with Urban Bau-Jagoi female (UJF)</i>  <b>UJM:</b> <u>Nya tok nang suka jalan kaki.</u> Eboh ko nak ngira ngan nya. Nang kuat <u>jalan sia sitok.</u> (<i>He likes walking. Don't care about him. He walks everywhere he goes.</i>)  <b>UJF:</b> Ba wat inoh lihat ja leh. <u>Eboh mahu fikir macam macam.</u> Eboh susah odok muuh. (<i>Why don't you take a rest? You don't have to think too much. Don't trouble yourself.</i>) (Transcription 32)</p>

*Key: Times New Roman- Bidayuh dialects of Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah; Times Arial Underline- Sarawak Malay*

### 7.12 Summary of languages used by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates in intra dialect group interactions

There were more variations in language used in intra dialect group interactions by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates compared to the rural Bidayuh undergraduates. Sarawak Malay code-switches in dominant Bidayuh was the most preferred pattern of language used by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates during social interactions. Stand-alone Bidayuh was used when speaking to rural Bidayuhs because the urban Bidayuhs were aware of the limited proficiency of the rural Bidayuhs in the local Malay dialect. So the urban Bidayuh undergraduates were accommodating to the rural Bidayuh undergraduates in an urban setting Stand-alone Sarawak Malay was also used by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates when making negative comments.

Similarly, the use of English was due to habitual use as common referents for words which do not exist in Bidayuh.

### **7.13 Overview of languages used in intra dialect group discourse**

The patterns of language choice of the Bidayuh undergraduates in intra dialect group interactions in the university showed clearly that not only the Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah dialects were used but also Bahasa Melayu, Sarawak Malay and English but to a lesser extent and in code-switches only with Bidayuh being dominant.

#### **7.13.1 Adapting to the linguistic environment**

According to Heller (1988) and Carol Myers- Scotton (1993) people often adapt their speech to fit the environment in which they are speaking. Myers–Scotton’s Markedness Model for Codeswitching suggests that certain languages are expected in certain circumstances and this prompts codeswitching. She uses the example of a person speaking Swahili with a security guard and English to a receptionist. The choice of when to speak which language usually depends on who is speaking to whom.

Likewise, all the 28 Bidayuh participants in the audio recordings were able to speak their own Bidayuh dialects but Bahasa Melayu, Sarawak Malay and

English were also used depending on who they talked to and the topics of the conversation. According to a Bau-Jagoi undergraduate:

*'Walaupun kami bercakap dialek yang sama, kadang kadang kita campur juga. Susah nak kata kami tidak campur. Sebabnya kita tahu bahasa lain juga. Jadi tengoklah kita cakap dengan siapa dan tentang apa juga. Di universiti ini kita kena ikut bahasa orang guna untuk bercakap.'* (Even though we speak the same Bidayuh dialect, still we use other codes. It is difficult not to mix languages. Perhaps we know other languages and that's why it makes us code-switch when we talk. It depends on who we talk to as well as the topics of conversation. In the university, we have to adapt ourselves using the common codes used.)

(Respondent 4)

Key: Times New Roman Bold-Bahasa Melayu

### **7.13.2 Bidayuh dialect group identity**

The Bidayuh undergraduates were very conscious of their Bidayuh identity and regarded their own dialect as a marker for their dialect group identity in the university. Using their own Bidayuh dialect signals the 'we' code (Gumperz, 1982) which gives them a Bidayuh identity in the university. The 'we' code is a valuable element in strengthening their minority group status in the university. Therefore besides being conscious of their identity, the Bidayuh respondents also wanted to accommodate by using the code/s which other Bidayuhs undergraduates were most comfortable with. They did not want to make the listeners feel being left out. The mixing actually shows a lot of politeness as well (Personal communication with David: May, 2008). An urban Biatah undergraduate also said:



*'Not so many Biatah students study here. Also not so many Bidayuhs students here compared to Malays. So when we go together, we use our dialect even though we **campur campur**. Tapi that's alright. That's our style when we talk, mix mix. We can understand enough. We can show our identity and also make our friends happy because we use the language everybody understands.'*

*(There are not many Biatah and Bidayuh students in the university compared to Malay students. So when get together, we speak our dialect even though we **mixed it with other codes**. But that's fine with us as we can understand our way of talking...)*

*(Respondent 22)*

*Key: Times New Roman Bold-Bahasa Melayu*

The difference between the 15 rural and the 13 urban respondents was the extent of Bidayuh used. Stand-alone Bidayuh was used in more utterances by the rural Bidayuh undergraduates compared to the urban Bidayuhs. Speaking Bidayuh with other Bidayuh undergraduates from the same dialect group gave the Bidayuh undergraduates greater group solidarity in the university setting.

A Bau-Jagoi said this:

*'Bila kita cakap bahasa kita iatu Jagoi di sini, kita rasa kuat sikit. Kita rasa macam united bah. Saya rasa selesa bila cakap Jagoi di sini. Saya tahu ramai orang cakap local Malay.'* *(When we speak Jagoi dialect here, we feel stronger as a group. We feel more united. I feel comfortable speaking Jagoi dialect. I know many students speak Sarawak Malay here.)*

*(Respondent 5)*

*Key: Times New Roman Bold-Bahasa Melayu*

The urban Bidayuhs were more influenced by the dominant codes in the larger linguistic setting and their social networking was much wider compared to the rural Bidayuhs (see Chapter 5, Section 5.9). The urban Bidayuhs preferred to code-switch by using Sarawak Malay in dominant Bidayuh. Apart from maintaining their urban Bidayuh identity such a pattern also made them seemed less rural in the university. Stand-alone Bidayuh was a 'rural' language with older family members at home (see Chapter 6 and also Gal, 1979). Using

Sarawak Malay code-switches in dominant Bidayuh also made them appeared less rural in the urban areas. An urban Biatah undergraduate said:

*“I can tell who comes from here (Kuching) and who comes from **kampong** (village). In Kuching people mix when they talk. In the **kampong**, (village) not so. Here we use Sarawak Malay when we mix with Bidayuh. In the **kampong** (village) they don’t speak Sarawak Malay.*

*(Respondent 21)*

*Key: Times New Roman Bold-Bahasa Melayu*

All the Bidayuh respondents looked upon the Bidayuh dialects with pride and were glad that they could speak Bidayuh. Generally, all the Bidayuh undergraduates mentioned that they were not ashamed to use Bidayuh in the university. If the younger generation of *Orang Miriek* were ashamed and regarded *Bahasa Miriek* as *bahasa kuno* or outdated language, (Tunku Zainah, 1978), the Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates, on the other hand were more conscious of their Bidayuh identity and used Bidayuh as the dominant code in intra group discourse. However, the extent of Bidayuh used by the rural Bidayuh undergraduates was more than the urban Bidayuh undergraduates due to linguistic influence from the urban environment. A rural Bukar-Sadong undergraduate said:

*“Tak kami tak rasa malu cakap bahasa Bidayuh. Apa nak malu. Itu bukan bahasa buruk. Sekarang ini ada berita mereka mahu ajar Bidayuh di sekolah rendah tidak lama lagi. Kampung kami sudah ada kelas tadika dalam Bidayuh Ibu bapa yang hantar anak anaka mereka nampak gembira saja. Kita tak patut rasa malu tapi rasa bangga macam orang Iban yang bangga dengan bahasa mereka.”*

*(We don’t feel ashamed speaking Bidayuh. There’s nothing to feel embarrassed about. It’s not a rotten language. Now there’s news that soon Bidayuh might be taught in primary schools. The kindergarten in my village is already using Bidayuh. Many children go there. Their parents seem happy. We should not feel ashamed but proud of our language just as the Ibans who are proud of theirs.)*

*(Respondent 9)*

*Key: Times New Roman Bold-Bahasa Melayu*

### 7.13.3 Language usefulness

According to the 24 Dayak Bidayuh respondents who were interviewed, they were aware that many of the items which they habitually referred to during intra dialect group interactions were available in the Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah dialects. However, they said that the Bidayuh dialects lacked the vocabulary in matters related to education which were relevant to the Bidayuh undergraduates. Therefore, the Bidayuh undergraduates looked to Bahasa Melayu and English for such referents (see wordlist in Appendix E for common Bahasa Melayu and English referents).

In the interviews, the 12 rural Bidayuh respondents said they preferred using more Bahasa Melayu as referents whereas the 12 urban Bidayuh respondents preferred using more English as referents. This was because the urban Bidayuhs were more proficient in English compared to the rural Bidayuh undergraduates (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2.3). It was also because the 12 urban Bidayuh respondents regarded English as a language of prestige.

English being the medium of instruction at UiTM was also viewed as a useful language for further education and getting jobs. All the respondents stated that Bahasa Melayu would be less useful once they have completed their education compared to English. They also said that their own Bidayuh dialects were only useful when speaking with Bidayuhs from the same dialect group and that itself is a minority

## 7.14 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the language choice patterns of the Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates during peer interaction within the same dialect group in the university. There was a difference of language selected by the rural and urban undergraduates belonging to the Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah dialect groups. The language used by the rural and urban undergraduates in intra dialect group interaction in the university was similar to the language used with their educated siblings at home (see Chapter 6). The language choice patterns of the rural and urban Bidayuh undergraduates belonging to the Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah dialectal groups are summarised below (see Table.7.3).

*Table 7.3: Language choices of the Bidayuh undergraduates in intra dialect group interactions in the university.*

<b>BIDAYUH UNDERGRADUATES</b>	<b>RURAL</b>	<b>URBAN</b>
Bau-Jagoi Bukar-Sadong Biatah	i.. Stand-alone Bidayuh  ii. Code-switching using more Bidayuh less Bahasa Melayu  iii. Code-switching using more Bidayuh less English	i. Code-switching using more Bidayuh less Bidayuh  ii. Stand-alone Bidayuh  iii Stand-alone Sarawak Malay  iv. Codeswitching using more Bidayuh and less English

The linguistic pressures were tremendous among the urban undergraduates. Stand-alone Bidayuh was not even a choice in the urban Bidayuh's intra dialect

group interactions except when accommodating to the rural Bidayuh. In contrast stand-alone Bidayuh was the main choice among the rural Bidayuh undergraduates in intra dialect group interactions. Although the urban Bidayuh undergraduates stated that they were proud of their dialects, without realising it, they were moving away from their hereditary dialect to Sarawak Malay (see Table 7.2). The next chapter will discuss the findings across dialect group interactions in the university.