

CHAPTER EIGHT

LANGUAGE CHOICE ACROSS DIALECT GROUPS IN THE UNIVERSITY

8.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the language used by the Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates across dialect groups in the university. The main aim was to determine the main code choice of the rural and urban Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah undergraduates in naturally occurring conversations among themselves in the university. Without a common Bidayuh language it would be interesting to establish the extent of Bidayuh, Sarawak Malay, Bahasa Melayu and English used when accommodating with one another and obtain reasons for code choice. The utterances made by the 20 urban Bidayuh male undergraduates, 16 urban Bidayuh female undergraduates, 17 rural Bidayuh male undergraduates and 13 rural female undergraduates across dialect group discourse were analysed.

8.2 Language choice of rural Bidayuh undergraduates across dialect groups in the university

Table 8.1 (Appendix C) shows that the language choice of the rural Bidayuh undergraduates across dialect group interactions consists of 8 patterns:

I. Stand-alone Bahasa Melayu

- II. Code-switches using more Bahasa Melayu and less Sarawak Malay
- III. Code-switches using more Bahasa Melayu and less Bidayuh
- IV. Code-switches using more Bahasa Melayu and less English
- V. Stand-alone Bidayuh.
- VI. Code-switches using more Bahasa Melayu and less Sarawak Malay, English and Bidayuh
- VII. Stand-alone Sarawak Malay
- VIII. Stand-alone English

8.2.1 Stand-alone Bahasa Melayu

Table 8.1 (Appendix C) shows that 33.3% of the total sentences in the utterances by the rural Bidayuhs are in stand-alone Bahasa Melayu. Stand-alone Bahasa Melayu makes up 33.4% of the total sentences uttered by the rural Bau-Jagoi, 35.8% by the rural Bukar-Sadong and 31.0% by the rural Biatah undergraduates.

Bahasa Melayu was the main or matrix language used by the rural Bidayuh undergraduates when coming into language contact with one another in the university. There were more sentences in stand-alone Bahasa Melayu compared to English, Sarawak Malay and English.

Bahasa Melayu was used to represent the speech of the rural Bidayuh undergraduates across dialect groups. The variations in the Bidayuh dialects and the medium of instruction in Bahasa Melayu triggered an extensive use of Bahasa Melayu among the rural Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates. The rural

Bidayuh undergraduates were accommodating to one another by using the national language which was their medium of instruction in school and was understood by all Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates in the university. By using Bahasa Melayu, it indicated a transfer of *comfortability zone* whereby the rural Bidayuh undergraduates who used Bahasa Melayu in school transferred it to the university. In the data analysed stand-alone Bahasa Melayu was used for the following reasons:

8.2.1.1 Practical convenience due to dialectal variations

The issue of practical convenience due to Bidayuh dialectal variations was the main reason for choosing stand-alone Bahasa Melayu across dialect groups when talking to other Bidayuh undergraduates about themselves, events or things that had occurred. As a relatively small group the rural Bidayuh undergraduates were facing strong linguistic pressure which could be expected to lead to them choosing Bahasa Melayu when communicating across dialect groups. In the transcribed data, stand-alone Bahasa Melayu was recurrent in functions of language such as to inform, to enquire, to discuss educational matters and to make suggestions.

8.2.1.1.1 To inform

As a relatively small and linguistically divided community the multilingual Bidayuh undergraduates were being practical when they chose the national language i.e Bahasa Melayu as the common code to be used when informing other Bidayuh undergraduates about various matters in inter dialect group interactions (see Example 8.1).

Example 8.1

Rural Bidayuhs: Stand-alone Bahasa Melayu to inform across dialect groups

<p><i>a) Rural Bukar-Sadong (RBM) male with Rural Biatah male (RBM)</i> RBM: Memang penuh bilik TV itu .Gila betul Wahid itu, hisap pepet dia. (<i>The television room is full. It feels like crazy to watch Wahid sucking his pacifier again.</i>) RIM: Udah pun nama dia Wahid Pepet, cerita dia dah semakin okay sekarang. (<i>He has been named Wahid the Pacifier and his show is getting better nowadays.</i>) (<i>Transcription 16</i>)</p>
<p><i>b) Rural Bau-Jagoi female (RJF) with Rural Biatah female (RIF)</i> RJF: Atuk saya ada juga bercerita. Bila orang Jepun datang Sarawak dulu mereka mahu menyerang rumah panjang di sini. (<i>My grandfather once told us a story. When the Japanese came to Sarawak they wanted to attack our longhouses.</i>) RIF: Yalah tu belum lagi kamu tahu cerita. Temenggong Jugah bila berjumpa dengan Queen of England. Queen itu amat tertarik dengan nya dan di bawa mereka ke ladang kuda di raja. Seronoklah Temenggong dapat tengok kuda Queen. (<i>Well, you haven't heard much yet. Temenggong Jugah {i.e. the Iban chief} met the Queen of England. The Queen was fascinated by Temenggong Jugah and brought him to see her horses. Temenggong Jugah was happy that he could see the Queen's horses.</i>) (<i>Transcription 17</i>)</p>
<p><i>c) Rural Bau-Jagoi male (RJM) with Rural Biatah male (RIM)</i> RJM: Suatu hari nanti memang aku mahu masuk politik. (<i>I want to join politics one day.</i>) RIM: Bagus kamu ikut, nanti kami undi kamu. (<i>Good for you and we'll vote for you.</i>) (<i>Transcription 22</i>)</p>

8.2.1.1.2 To enquire

The rural Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates preferred to ask one another questions using stand-alone Bahasa Melayu because they wanted to be understood easily. Although other codes were also used when making enquiries, stand-alone Bahasa Melayu emerged as the most recurrent pattern (see Example 8.2).

Example 8.2

Rural Bidayuhs: Stand-alone Bahasa Melayu to enquire across dialect groups

RIM: Kamu pandai buatlah? (<i>Could you do it?</i>)	(<i>Transcription 14</i>)
RBM: Kamu orang mahu pergi mana? (<i>Where're you going?</i>)	(<i>Transcription 15</i>)
RBM: Ada kamu tengok Scenario malam tadi? (<i>Did you watch Scenario last night?</i>)	(<i>Transcription 16</i>)
RJM: Berapa lama dapat jadi pelawak macam itu? (<i>How long can one be a comic actor?</i>)	(<i>Transcription 16</i>)
RBF: Ada kah dia pernah pergi ke England? (<i>Has he ever been to England?</i>)	(<i>Transcription 17</i>)
RBF: Dapat kamu dapat hadiah? (<i>Did you get a present?</i>)	(<i>Transcription 18</i>)
RJM: Mana kamu dapat duit melabur? (<i>Where did you get money to invest?</i>)	(<i>Transcription 19</i>)
RJF: Hello saya ada berita baik, mahu dengar? (<i>Hello, I've good news, do you want to hear?</i>)	(<i>Transcription 23</i>)

Key: RIM-Rural Biatah male; RBM-Rural Bukar-Sadong male; RJM-Rural Bau-Jagoi male; RBF-Rural Bukar-Sadong female; RJF-Rural Bau-Jagoi female

8.2.1.1.3 To discuss educational matters

The rural Bidayuh undergraduates stated that stand-alone Bahasa Melayu was the most practical code when discussing educational matters because their medium of instruction in school was in Bahasa Melayu and they were used to it. So, it was just a transfer of the same code used when discussing educational matters either in school or in the university (see Example 8.3).

Example 8.3

Rural Bidayuh: Stand-alone Bahasa Melayu to discuss educational matters across dialect groups

a) Rural Bukar-Sadong male (RBM) with Rural Bau-Jagoi male (RJM)

RBM: Pada akhir tahun 2010 semua guru sekolah rendah mesti ada ijazah. Jadi kalau gurubesar ini belum pencen dan masih tidak ada kelayakan susahlah. Mahukah kamu jadi cikgu. Gaji sekarang sik macam dulu. (*By the end of 2010 all primary school teachers must have a degree. If the headmaster has not retired and does not have such qualification it will be difficult. Do you want to become a teacher? The salary nowadays is better.*)

RJM: Okay juga tapi mahu cuba cari kerja lain dulu. (*It's alright but I also want to look for other jobs.*) (Transcription 14)

b) Rural Biatah male (RIM) with Rural Bau-Jagoi male (RJM)

RIM: Jangan risau sekarang ini kalau orang tidak bayar balik loan MARA yang diambil akan dipotong gaji mereka. (*Don't worry those who do not pay back their study loan from MARA will get their salaries deducted.*)

RJM: Bagus lah begitu, kalau tidak mereka nak ambil mudah saja. (*It's better that way as they're not serious about it.*) (Transcription 19)

c) Rural Biatah male (RIM) with Rural Bau-Jagoi male (RJM)

RIM: Belajar dengan rajin saja. (*Just study hard*)

RJM: Tentang itu saya kurang setuju. Setakat belajar dengan rajin saja tidak cukup. Mesti juga tahu teknik berfikir dan menjawab. Itu paling penting. (*I don't agree with that. Just studying hard is not enough. You must have thinking skills and techniques when answering. These are more important.*) (Transcription 22)

8.2.1.1.4 To make suggestions

The rural Bidayuh undergraduates also used stand-alone Bahasa Melayu when making suggestions across dialect groups. Ten of the respondents said that to suggest something in other codes besides Bahasa Melayu might not get entertained. They also said that it was practical to suggest using a code everyone understood as their Bidayuh dialects have many variations (see Example 8.4).

Example 8.4
Rural Bidayuhs: Stand-alone Bahasa Melayu to make suggestions across dialect groups

<p><i>a) Rural Bau-Jagoi male (RJM) with Rural Biatah male (RIM)</i> RJM: Itulah lain kali kalau beli motorcar beli yang besar. (<i>Buy a bigger car in future.</i>) RIM: Aku memang tidak mahu beli Kancil walaupun ia murah dan ekonomi minyak. (<i>I don't wish to buy Kancil (Malaysian car) even though it's cheap and economical.</i>) RJM: Tidak usah beli yang baru. (<i>Don't buy brand new.</i>) (Transcription 16)</p>
<p><i>b) Rural Bukar-Sadong female (RBF) with Rural Biatah female (RIF)</i> RBF: Cuba kamu pergi ke Klinik Kesihatan. Pagi ini ada doktor di dalam. Jangan kamu main sekarang ini banyak jenis penyakit. (<i>Perhaps you should go to the Health clinic. There's a doctor available this morning. There're a lot of diseases nowadays, so be careful.</i>) RIF: Mula mula dulu saya fikir cuma flu biasa tapi sekarang mahu jadi resdung. (<i>Initially, I thought it was just flu but now it looks like sinus.</i>) (Transcription 18)</p>
<p><i>c) Rural Bau-Jagoi female (RJF) with Rural Biatah female (RIF)</i> RJF: Saya pun begitu bagus kita kerja di sektor swasta. (<i>I feel the same way and it's better for us to work in the private sector.</i>) RIF: Pada usia muda kita mesti kerja kuat. (<i>We must work hard while we're still young.</i>) (Transcription 21)</p>
<p><i>d) Rural Bau-Jagoi female (RJF) with Rural Biatah male (RIM)</i> RJF: Datang bilik saya lagi bagus. Saya akan ajar kamu tengok hantu. Datang tepat pukul 12, nanti saya bawa limau dan pisau kecil. (<i>It's better to go to my room. I can tell you how to look for ghost. Come at midnight with a lime and a small knife.</i>) RIM: Cadang awak pergi ke kubur belakang tu. (<i>I suggest that you go to the graveyard behind.</i>) (Transcription 23)</p>

8.2.2 Code-switches using more Bahasa Melayu and less Sarawak Malay

Table 8.1 clearly (Appendix C) shows that the second most frequent pattern of language used by the rural Bidayuh undergraduates across dialect groups is code-switching using more Bahasa Melayu and less Sarawak Malay. This pattern makes up 18.5% of the total sentences uttered by the rural Bidayuh undergraduates. This pattern is used by 20.5% of the rural Bau-Jagoi, 14.7% of the rural Bukar-Sadong and 19.9% of the rural Biatah undergraduates.

8.2.2.1 To adapt to the university setting

The main reason given by the rural Bidayuh undergraduates for using Sarawak Malay code-switches was to accommodate to the university linguistic setting. All the 18 rural Bidayuh undergraduates who were interviewed said that by using Sarawak Malay code-switches, they were adapting to the linguistic environment in the university where the local Malay dialect was widely used. According to a Bukar –Sadong undergraduate:

*“Last time my Sarawak Malay was not so good. Now o.k (improving). **Mesti mahu guna sebab semua orang di universiti guna**” (I must use it as everyone here in the university is using it.)*

(Respondent 11)

Key: Times New Roman Bold: Bahasa Melayu

8.2.2.1 Common Sarawak Malay words

The rural Bidayuh undergraduates were not as proficient in Sarawak Malay as the urban Bidayuh undergraduates. In the data collected, the rural Bidayuh undergraduates tried to assimilate to the larger setting by using common Sarawak Malay words such as **nang**, (*really*), **sik** (no) , **kelak** (*otherwise*), **kenak** (*why, will be*), **mun** (if), **kamek** (*we, I*). The use of these common single Sarawak Malay lexical items by the rural Bidayuh undergraduates were recurrent in the data (see Example 8.5).

Example 8.5

Rural Bidayuh: Dominant Bahasa Melayu less Sarawak Malay across dialect groups

<p><i>a) Rural Bukar-Sadong male (RBM) with Rural Biatah male (RIM)</i> RBM: Lorry itu jaguh jalan benar ke <u>sik</u>? (<i>Lorries are kings on the road, isn't it true?</i>) RJM: Nyawa kamu sentiasa <u>kenak</u> ancam. (<i>You life is always <u>in</u> danger.</i>) RIM: Tapi mun sudah langgar siap kamu, nasib <u>mun</u> dapat selamat. (<i>Once you get knocked, lucky if you are safe.</i>) (Transcription 16)</p>
<p><i>b) Rural Biatah female (RIF) with Rural Bukar-Sadong female (RBF)</i> RIF: <u>Nang</u> pun. <u>Sidak sik</u> sangka anak dia boleh dapat sampai 5A. (<i>Really. They didn't expect their son to get 5As</i>) RBF: <u>Nang</u> seronok kamu. (<i>You must be <u>really</u> having fun.</i>) (Transcription 18)</p>
<p><i>c) Rural Bau-Jagoi male (RJF) with Rural Bukar-Sadong female (RBF)</i> RJM: Jangan tak bayar, <u>kelak</u> orang lain <u>sik</u> ada peluang. (<i>Don't forget to pay otherwise others will <u>not</u> have a chance.</i>) RBF: Nak <u>nganok</u> orang kedekut, bukan duit kamu. (<i>You want to <u>scold</u> me stingy but it's not your money.</i>) (Transcription 19)</p>
<p><i>d) Rural Bukar-Sadong female (RBF) with Rural Bau-Jagoi female (RJF)</i> RBF: Biasalah, tempayan yang <u>sik</u> pandai penuh. (<i>It is normal for an empty barrel which <u>can't</u> have enough</i>) RJF: Asalkan mulut <u>sik</u> becok macam murai dahlah. (<i>As long as I'm <u>not</u> as talkative as a parrot, that's fine.</i>) (Transcription 20)</p>

Key: Arial Underline: Sarawak Malay; Times New Roman: Bahasa Melayu

8.2.3 Code-switches using more Bahasa Melayu and less Bidayuh

Table 8.1 (Appendix C) shows that the third most frequent category of language used by the rural Bidayuh undergraduates is code-switching using more Bahasa Melayu and less Bidayuh. This pattern makes up 22.2 % of the total sentences uttered by the rural Bidayuh undergraduates. Bidayuh code-switches in dominant Bahasa Melayu sentences are made by 22.6 % of the rural Bau-Jagoi, 22.8% of the rural Bukar-Sadong, 21.4% of the rural Biatah undergraduates.

8.2.3.1 To show Bidayuh identity

By using Bidayuh in dominant Bahasa Melayu, 18 of the rural Bidayuh respondents stated that that it was a way to display their ethnic identity. According to the respondents it was not easy to communicate in Bidayuh across dialect groups because there are too many variations in the various dialects. One word in one dialect may mean other things in another dialect (see Chapter 2). According to a Biatah undergraduate:

“Susah mahu faham bahasa Bidayuh semuanya, tapi saya guna sedikit Bidayuh campur sama BM juga, yang mereka boleh faham sebab kita nak tunjuk kita orang Bidayuh”. (It’s difficult to understand all the Bidayuh dialects, but I use common Bidayuh words as code-switches with Bahasa Melayu to show that we are Bidayuh people).

(Interview with Mika Anak Sujat, December, 2007)
Key: Times New Roman Bold: Bahasa Melayu

8.2.3.1.1 Common Bidayuh words

Common Bidayuh words and expression were used across dialect group interactions to indicate that they were interacting with Bidayuhs who could understand some Bidayuh words belonging to the Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah dialects. All the respondents also said that using Bidayuh code-switches in dominant Bahasa Melayu was the best they could do to show ethnic identity because they were aware that they do not have a common Bidayuh language (see Example 8.6).

Example 8.6

Rural Bidayuh: Dominant Bahasa Melayu less Bidayuh across dialect groups

<p><i>a) Rural Biatah male (RIM) with Rural Bukar-Sadong male (RBM) and Rural Bau-Jagoi male (RJM)</i></p> <p>RIM: Kampung saya pun banjir juga tapi tidak arap mun kampung kuu. (My village floods too but hopefully not this time.)</p> <p>RBM: Puan amu ada perempuan di kampung kami terpaksa beranak dalam perahu. (Don't you know that a woman delivered her baby in a boat) (Transcription 15)</p>
<p><i>b) Rural Bukar-Sadong male (RBM) with Rural Bau-Jagoi male (RJM)</i></p> <p>RBM: Pu-an lagi amu jalan kampung walaupun tar tapi sempit. Dreber lori itu orang luar su apin nuh puan selok belok jalan kampung. (Surely you know that the village roads are narrow Eventhough they are tarred. The lorry driver was an outsider and he didn't know the roads in the village)</p> <p>RJM: Nasib, kalau orang lain mungkin sudah kobos. (Fortunately for him, as it may have been death for others. (Transcription 16)</p>
<p><i>c) Rural Bau-Jagoi female (RJF) with Rural Bukar-Sadong female (RBF)</i></p> <p>RJF: Tiak oku lesing kamu sekali terus pergi bulan kamu tak balik balik. (If I kick you once, you will end up in the moon and there's no return.)</p> <p>RBF: Bayuh lagi kamu tengok lejang saya sekali kena terus masuk bulan. (You haven't seen my punch yet as you too will end up in the moon.) (Transcription 17)</p>
<p><i>d) Rural Biatah female (RIF) with Rural Bukar-Sadong female (RBF)</i></p> <p>RIF: Macam mana mahu beza nyamuk Aedes dengan prungang biasa? (How do you differentiate between Aedes mosquitoes and other mosquitoes?)</p> <p>RBF: Yang biasa itu kecil tapi yang kecil itulah yang madam singut nya. (The ordinary ones are smaller but their bites are very painful.) (Transcription 17)</p>
<p><i>e) Rural Bau-Jagoi female (RJF) with Rural Biatah female (RIF) and Rural Bukar-Sadong female (RBF)</i></p> <p>RJF: Onu noh kuk kinin mu-uh buang makanan dalam tong sampah. (The other day I saw you throwing food into the dustbin.)</p> <p>RIF: Kamu ni sebelum buang nyikien kieh diyuk. Tidak ada duit lagi, sampai atin muk. (Perhaps before you throw food away, ask us first. We have no more money left, and you have the heart to do that.)</p> <p>RBF: Tirawe pula kamu kata saya bagi kamu sisa makanan saya. (I was afraid that you might be thinking I was giving you leftovers.) (Transcription 18)</p>

Key: Times New Roman Bold:-Bidayuh; Times New Roman: Bahasa Melayu

8.2.3.1.2 Bidayuh kinship terms

When talking in the university, Bidayuh kinship terms were used by the rural Bidayuh undergraduates when referring to their family members. A total of 28 Bidayuh kinship terms from the Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah dialects were identified in the data. Fifteen of the rural Bidayuh undergraduates stated that it was more polite to refer to their family members using Bidayuh terms. Many of these were so commonly used that even Bidayuhs from other dialect groups could understand them.

Some of the Bidayuh kinship terms used were **tuwak dayung** (aunt-Biatah dialect), **umbu** (brother-Bukar-Sadong dialect), **dingan dayong** (girlfriend-Bau-Jagoi dialect) **teyong** (grandmother-Biatah dialect), **madih** (cousin-Bau-Jagoi dialect), **amang** (father-Bukar-Sadong dialect) (see Example 8.7).

Example 8.7

Rural Bidayuhs: Bidayuh code-switches for kinship terms

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| <p>RIM: Ada saya rasa makanan tuwak dayung kamu.
(<i>I've tasted your aunt's cooking.</i>)</p> | (<i>Transcription 14</i>) |
| <p>RBF: Umbu amu pun juga pandai pilih yang bagus. Bukan senang sekarang mahu dapat dingan dayong yang cantik dan bijak. (Your brother is clever when it comes to choosing. It's not easy to get a pretty and intelligent girlfriend.)</p> | (<i>Transcription 21</i>) |
| <p>RIM: Lawak dia memang sesuai untuk semua orang. Teyung di kampung pun dapat faham juga. (<i>His jokes are for everybody. My grandmother can understand them.</i>)</p> | (<i>Transcription 16</i>) |
| <p>RJM: Madih oku mengajar di sekolah rendah sudah ada ijazah. (<i>My cousin who is teaching in a primary school already has a degree.</i>)</p> | (<i>Transcription 14</i>) |
| <p>RBM: Kalau orang kutok amang ku mata orang itu akan bengkak kena saya. (<i>Anyone who criticizes my father will get a blue eye.</i>)</p> | (<i>Transcription 20</i>) |

Key: Times New Roman Bold:-Bidayuh; Times New Roman: Bahasa Melayu

8.2.3.1.3 Bidayuh pronouns

The rural Bidayuh undergraduates often used Bidayuh pronouns in their dominant Bahasa Melayu conversations. Fifteen of the rural Bidayuh undergraduates stated that using Bidayuh pronouns was also another way to reflect Bidayuh identity. The pronouns were so frequently used during social interactions and were generally understood across dialect groups. Some of the Bidayuh pronouns used were **ioh** (he), **mu-uh** (you) [Bau-Jagoi dialect]; **bara** (they), **ara** (we), **eyuh** (he), **kuu** (you) [Biatah dialect]; **amu** (you) [Bukar-Sadong dialect] (see Example 8.8).

Example 8.8

Rural Bidayuhs: Bidayuh code-switches as pronouns

RJM: Masih hidupkah ioh ? (<i>Is he still alive?</i>)	(Transcription 16)
RIM: Bara ik selalu fikir jalanraya itu tempat mereka berlumba. (<i>They always think that the roads are racing tracks.</i>)	(Transcription 16)
RIM: Itu pun kalau ara mampu. (<i>That depends on whether or not we can afford it.</i>)	(Transcription 16)
RIM: Eyuh pencen terus beli Kenari tapi jarang bawa. (<i>He retired and bought a Kenari [brand of a Malaysian car] but seldom drove it.</i>)	(Transcription 16)
RJF: Cuba sapu badan mu-uh guna Vicks bila tidor. (<i>Try to rub your body with Vicks before going to bed.</i>)	(Transcription 17)
RJF: Mu-uh minta ganjaran saja. Sebab itu mu-uh patut kerja di pasar. (<i>You like to ask for incentives. That's why you should work in the market.</i>)	(Transcription 18)
RIF: Puan kuu bara datang kampus cari saya? (<i>Do you know they came to the campus looking for me?</i>)	(Transcription 19)
RIM: Itulah kuu suka makan benda manis. (<i>That's why you like eating sweet stuff.</i>)	(Transcription 20)
RBF: Amu , kalau pijak semut, semut memang tak mati. (<i>Even if you're to step on ants, they won't die.</i>)	(Transcription 21)

Key: Times New Roman Bold:-Bidayuh; Times New Roman: Bahasa Melayu

8.2.4 Code-switches using more Bahasa Melayu and less English

Table 8.1 (Appendix C) states that the fourth most frequent category of language used by the rural Bidayuh undergraduates is code-switching using more Bahasa Melayu and less English. This pattern makes up 16.8% of the total sentences made by the rural Bidayuh undergraduates in their utterances. This pattern is used by 14.6% of the rural Bau-Jagoi, 16.7% of the rural Bukar-Sadong and 18.9% of the rural Biatah undergraduates.

8.2.4.1 Habitual use

Fifteen of the rural undergraduates who were interviewed stated that due to habitual use over time many English lexical items often emerged in their conversations. According to a Bukar-Sadong undergraduate:

“Dalam universiti ini ada orang suka cakap English campur dengan bahasa lain. Saya ikut juga. Saya guna English words yang easy, yang biasa people use”. (In this university there’re people who like to code-mix when they talk. I do the same too. I use easy English words which are commonly used.)

(Respondent 13)

Key: Times New Roman Bold: Bahasa Melayu

The English words in dominant Bahasa Melayu used were habitually used as common referents. Some of the English words habitually used were *exam*, *carry marks* (marks for coursework), *chance*, *paper*, *lecturer*, *accident*, *spray*, *roommate*, *spray* and *trick* (see Example 8.9).

Example 8.9

Rural Bidayuhs: Dominant Bahasa Melayu less English across dialect groups

a) Rural Biatah male (RIM) with Rural Bukar- Sadong male (RBM) and Rural Bau-Jagoi male(RJM)

RIM: Hei Jay aku bingung lah, susah betul *exam* tu. Harap *lecturer* itu beri peluang.
(*Hei Jay, I'm so worried because the exam was difficult. I hope the lecturer will give me a chance.*)

RBM: *Carry marks* kamu bagus, tinggi lagi, tambah berapa saja sudah lulus kamu. Tidak tahu lah apa *target* kamu? (*Your course work marks are already good. I don't know your target.*)

RJM: Beri *chance* pada saya lagi. Jadi kalau kali ini awak tidak bagus satu *paper* tidak lah banyak kesannya. (*Give me a chance instead. As for you, doing not so well in a paper will not affect your performance.*) (Transcription 14)

b) Rural Biatah male (RIM) with Rural Bau-Jagoi male (RJM)

RIM: Tapi bila dalam kelas kita selau ditegur oleh *lecturer* kerana tidak dapat berfikir secara kritis. (*In class, the lecturer always says that we don't think critically.*)

RJM: Tak tahulah, adakah mereka mengkaji sedalam dalam nya apa yang mereka ajar kita atau ikut *syllabus* saja. (*Well, we don't know whether they themselves have done research before teaching or merely following the syllabus.*) (Transcription 22)

c) Rural Bukar-Sadong male (RBM) with Rural Biatah male (RIM) and Rural Bau-Jagoi male(RJM)

RBM: Ada kamu orang tengok *accident* dekat simpang pagi tadi? (*Did you see the accident at the junction?*)

RIM: Lagipun dia tu tidak pakai *helmet*. Mana ada *chance* lagi. (*He wasn't wearing a helmet. There's no more chance*)

RJM: Kalau sudah ajal pakai *helmet* pun boleh mati. (*If you're fated to die, wearing a helmet makes no difference.*) (Transcription 16)

d) Rural Bau-Jagoi female (RJF) with Rural Biatah female (RIF)

RJF: Macam mana banyak awak *spray* pun tak ada kesan nya. Hari itu saya guna banyak sangat sampai *roommate* saya hampir pengsan, teruk betul. (*No matter how much you spray there's no effect. The other day, I sprayed so much until my roommate almost fainted.*)

RIF: Itu lah kamu nanti *roommate* kamu jadi mangsa. Nyamuk sekarang ini banyak *trick* nya. Bila kita *spray* lari mereka. (*Your roommate will be a victim if you're not careful. Mosquitoes have many tricks. When we spray, they will go away.*)

(Transcription 18)

Key: Times New Roman Italic: English; Times New Roman: Bahasa Melayu

8.2.5 Stand-alone Bidayuh

After stand-alone Bahasa Melayu, the next most frequently used stand-alone code was Bidayuh. Table 8.1 (Appendix 3) shows that stand-alone Bidayuh makes up 3.6% of the total sentences uttered by the rural Bidayuh undergraduates. Stand-alone Bidayuh is used by 3.5% of the rural Bau-Jagoi, 4.4% of the rural Bukar-Sadong and 2.9% of the rural Biatah undergraduates.

8.2.5.1 To exclude non Bidayuhs

The rural Bidayuh undergraduates used stand-alone Bidayuh across dialect groups if they have something which they did not want the non- Bidayuh undergraduates to understand. According to 13 rural Bidayuh respondents, using when making personal remarks, stand-alone Bidayuh was commonly used (see Example 8.11).

Example 8.10

Rural Bidayuhs: Stand-alone Bidayuh across dialect groups

- | |
|--|
| <p>a) RBM: <u>Beken aku de bakok</u>. Saya fikir tentang anak buah saya yang berusia tiga tahun. Mesti ada cara untuk jadi kan dia lebih pandai. (<u>I'm not a fool</u>, <i>I'm thinking of ways to make my three years old nephew smarter.</i>) (Transcription 22)</p> <p>b) RIF: <u>Awas guli eyuh</u> Mahu tunjuk kuat masing-masing. Gigit semut pun sakit. (<u>She is so strong</u>). <i>You want to show how strong you really are. Getting bitten by ants is already painful for you.</i> (Transcription 17)</p> <p>c) RJM: <u>Oku maan ikian</u>. Kamu yang tak makan ikan makan daging saja, nanti jadi harimau. (<u>I eat fish too</u>. <i>Since you only eat fish and don't eat meat you will soon turn into a tiger.</i>) (Transcription 19)</p> <p>d) RJF: Kalau macam tu saya mahu pergi juga. <u>Pasal maan mu-uh dapod ngila oku</u>. <i>In that case I want to go as well.</i> (<u>When it comes to food, you can include me.</u>) (Transcription 21)</p> |
|--|

Key: Complete sentence in Bidayuh: Times New Roman Bold underline ; Times New Roman: Bahasa Melayu

8.2.6 Code- switches using more Bahasa Melayu and less Sarawak Malay, English and Bidayuh

According to Table 8.1 (Appendix C) the sixth category of language used by the rural Bidayuh undergraduates is code- switching using more Bahasa Melayu with less Sarawak Malay English and Bidayuh. This pattern consists 2.8% of the total sentences made by the rural Bidayuh undergraduates in their utterances. This pattern is used by 2.4% of the rural Bau-Jagoi, 3.1% of the rural Bukar-Sadong and 2.9% of the rural Biatah undergraduates.

8.2.6.1 To facilitate communication

According to seventeen of the rural Bidayuh undergraduates, those who used Bidayuh, Sarawak Malay and English in a single sentence of dominant Bahasa Melayu was largely because of the influence of being in a multilingual society. When the rural Bidayuh undergraduates used different codes in a single sentence, the speakers wanted to show their flexibility of using different codes.

The words used in the mixed pattern were common words which were habitually used during social interactions and therefore could be easily understood. Some of the words used were **molah** (to do), **sik** (no), **kenak** (has to), **eboh** (don't), **mengkali** (maybe) [Sarawak Malay]; *college, problem, see you* [English]; **aba** (don't), **nu** (he) [Bukar-Sadong dialect] **bogok** (many) **diok** (overthere), **oku palit diok** (I've to go back first) [Bau-Jagoi dialect] **tanon**

(informed), **madin** (now) and, **sudek ku** (younger brother) [Biatah dialect] (see Example 8. 10).

Example 8.11
Rural Bidayuhs: Code-mixing in a single sentence

- a) **RBM:** Boleh kamu memohon KPLI yang satu tahun molah di college, **aba** bimbang.
(You can apply to do the one year KPLI course in college , so **don't** worry)
(Transcription 14)
- b) **RJM:** **Bogok** bas **di-ok** jadi sik ada problem. (There're **many** buses **overthere**, so there's no problem.)
(Transcription 15)
- c) **RIF:** Semua nya kenak **tanon** family. (The family has to be **informed** everything)
(Transcription 18)
- d) **RJF:** **Oku palit diok**, see you dan eboh keluar sebab mahu jumpa kamu kelak. (**I have to go back first**, see you and don't go out as I still want to see you later.)
(Transcription 21)
- e) **RIM:** Itu mengkali dulu but **madin** nampaknya semakin berubah. Saya lihat buku buku **sudek ku** banyak yang ada CCTS atau *critical thinking skills*. (That was maybe before but **now** things have changed. I noticed that my **younger brother's** books have a lot of CCTS or critical thinking skills.)
(Transcription 22)
- f) **RBF:** **Nu** coach, banyak lemak ke sik **nu** tetap coach yang dilantik
(Whether **he's** a good coach or not , he's been appointed.) (Transcription 23)

Key: Times New Roman-Bahasa Melayu; Times New Roman bold-Bidayuh; Arial -Sarawak Malay

8.2.7 Stand-alone Sarawak Malay

Table 8.1 (Appendix C) also states that complete sentences in Sarawak Malay only makes up 2.5% of the total utterances made by the rural Bidayuh undergraduates. Stand-alone Sarawak Malay was used by 3.0% of the rural Bau-Jagoi, 2.2% of the rural Bukar-Sadong and 2.5% of the rural Biatah undergraduates.

8.2.7 1 To scold

Although the rural Bidayuh were not proficient in Sarawak Malay, they adapted to the linguistic environment by using Sarawak Malay especially when scolding. Complete sentences using Sarawak Malay were used when scolding others. Twelve of the rural respondents stated that using Sarawak Malay when scolding was actually meant to scold but not to lose friendship (see Example 8.12).

Example 8.12

Rural Bidayuh: Stand-alone Sarawak Malay across dialect groups

a) Rural Bau-Jagoi male (RJM) with Rural Biatah male (RIM)

RJM: Kamu senang nak dapat *girl* tak macam kami. (*It's so easy for you to get a girlfriend.*)

RIM: Muka nok basik kedak kamu sepa maok. (Nobody wants an ugly face like yours.) (Transcription 15)

b) Rural Bukar-Sadong male (RBM) with Rural Bau-Jagoi male (RJM)

RBM: Kamu ni mun nanga lama lama ada iras sedikit macam buaya. (*Looking at you longer reminds me of an alligator*)

RJM: **Mu-uh** lah buaya, buaya kurus, buaya berpenyakit, buaya kudis. Nak nganok rang, ko pun buaya darat. (*You're a skinny and diseased alligator. You want to tease me but you are an alligator yourself.*) (Transcription 20)

c) Rural Bukar-Sadong female (RBF) with Rural Bau-Jagoi female (RJF)

RBF: Senyum senyum saja, dari jauh sudah nampak muka kamu. (*You're smiling from a distance*)

RJF: Nang lah ko maok aku masamkah? Kalau sudah senyum tu baik lah. Kamu macam mana?(Of course, perhaps you want me to put on a sour face? If I'm smiling that's good enough. How about yourself?) (Transcription 17)

Key: Complete sentence in Sarawak Malay - Arial underline; Bahasa Melayu- Times New Roman; English – Times New Roman italic; Bidayuh- Times New Roman Bold

8.2.8 Stand-alone English

Table 8.1 (Appendix C) shows that the least popular complete utterance is in stand -alone English. This pattern makes up 0.4% of the total sentences uttered by the rural Bidayuh undergraduates across dialect group interactions. Complete sentences in English were used by 0.3% of the rural Bukar-Sadong and 0.5% of the rural Biatah undergraduates.

8.2.8.1 To take leave

Sentences in English were only recurrent when taking leave from a discourse. Some English sentences used to take leave were *Bye bye now*, *Bye and see you*, *See you* (see Example 8.13).

Example 8.13

Rural Bidayuhs Stand-alone English to take leave across dialect groups

- | |
|--|
| <p>a) RBM: <i>Bye bye now</i> . (Transcription 16).</p> <p>b) RBF: Makan saja siapa larang. Kamu nak cari pasal tentang makanan apa hal. Buat saya lapar saja. <i>Bye and see you</i>. (Just eat as nobody will stop you. You want to create trouble for that is useless. Talking about food makes me hungry...) (Transcription 19)</p> <p>c) RBM: Ya kah? Kalau macam tu biar balik dulu asrama. Lepas tu baru lah aku boleh komen. <i>See you</i>. (Is that so? In that case, I better go back to the hostel and have something to eat. After that then can I give my comments...) (Transcription 20)</p> |
|--|

Key: Complete sentence in English; New Times Roman Italic underline

8.2.9 Summary of languages used by the rural Bidayuh undergraduates across dialect group interactions

The extensive use of Bahasa Melayu by the Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah rural undergraduates indicated that the national language was the main choice for accommodation across dialect group discourse. Bahasa Melayu was preferred because there was no common Bidayuh language and they learnt the language as their medium of instruction when they were in school.

Sarawak Malay was the next preferred code used by the rural Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates across dialect groups to indicate that they were adapting to the linguistic environment. Bidayuh was used to show Bidayuh identity by using certain Bidayuh terms and expressions which could be understood by Bidayuhs from other dialect groups. The rural Bidayuh undergraduates also used English as common referents due to habitual use.

8.3 Language choice of urban Bidayuh undergraduates across dialect groups in the university

Table 8.2 in Appendix D clearly shows that the language choice of the urban Bidayuh undergraduates consists of 7 patterns:

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

5. Code-switches using more Sarawak Malay, less Bahasa Melayu, English and Bidayuh
6. Stand-alone English
7. Stand-alone Bahasa Melayu

8.3.1 Stand-alone Sarawak Malay

Table 8.2 (see Appendix D) shows clearly that 41.5% of the sentences uttered by the urban Bidayuhs across dialect group discourse are in Sarawak Malay. Stand-alone Sarawak Malay is used by 43.6% of the urban Bau-Jagoi, 39.5% of the urban Bukar-Sadong and 41.3% of the urban Biatah undergraduates.

Sarawak Malay was the main or matrix language for the urban Bidayuh undergraduates when coming into language contact with one another in the university. There were more utterances in stand-alone Sarawak Malay in the conversations of the urban Bidayuh undergraduates compared to English, Bahasa Melayu and Bidayuh.

8.3.1.1 Practical convenience due to dialectal variations

The issue of practical convenience due to dialectal variations was also the main reason for the urban Bidayuh undergraduates to choose Sarawak Malay across dialect groups when telling other Bidayuh undergraduates about themselves, events or things that had occurred. The urban Bidayuh undergraduates were merely transferring their *comfortability zone* from school to the university. According to 15 of the urban Bidayuh undergraduates, they used Sarawak

Malay when speaking to their *Bumiputera* (sons of soil) friends) in the university. The urban Bidayuhs were proficient in Sarawak Malay which was the most dominant code used for social interactions in the university. The 15 urban Bidayuh undergraduates also said that it was most practical to use Sarawak Malay across dialect groups because there is no common Bidayuh language and using Bahasa Melayu was too formal as it was their medium of instruction when they were in school. In the transcribed data, the recurrent use of stand-alone Sarawak Malay was to inform, to tease, to enquire and to scold.

8.3.1.1 To inform

The urban Bidayuh undergraduates were being practical when they chose Sarawak Malay as the common code to be used when informing other urban Bidayuh undergraduates about various matters across dialect group interactions.

According to a Biatah undergraduate:

*“When I want to say something to Bidayuh people who speak different dialect, I use **Bahasa Sarawak** (Sarawak Malay) because easy to understand. My friend all use **Bahasa Sarawak**. Everybody in Kuching can speak **Bahasa Sarawak**. Now even those from **kampung** (village) can speak **Bahasa Sarawak**. Everybody can understand **Bahasa Sarawak** here (in the university). So better use it to tell people things we want to tell”.*

(Respondent 28)

Key: Times New Roman Bold: Bahasa Melayu

(see Example 8. 14).

Example 8.14

Urban Bidayhs: Stand-alone Sarawak Malay to inform across dialect groups

<p><i>a) Urban Bau-Jagoi male (UJM) with Urban Bukar-Sadong male (UBM)</i> UJM: Ujuknya sidak ia main. (<i>They played a lousy game.</i>) UBM: Yalah molah aku pedih ati aja nanga. (<i>Exactly and it makes me upset.</i>) (Transcription 4)</p>
<p><i>b) Urban Biatah male (UIM) with Urban Bau-Jagoi female (UJF)</i> UIM: Semua nok kacak, Bawang Putih kacak gilak. (<i>Everyone is beautiful including Bawang Putih.</i>) UJF: Nang kacak, nang semua nok lakon cerita ia. Tapi bapa nya udah kenak bunuh jadi okay, kurang sorang sik kacak. (<i>All the actors in the movie are good looking. The father is dead and that makes one less good looking l character.</i>) (Transcription 6)</p>
<p><i>c) Urban Biatah male (UIM) with Urban Bau-Jagoi male . (UJM)</i> UIM: Aku maok jumpa nya kechap. (<i>I want to see him for a short while.</i>) UJM: Jom lah jumpa ngan nya. (<i>Go ahead and see him</i>) (Transcription 8)</p>
<p><i>d) Urban Biatah female (UIF) with Urban Bukar-Sadong female (UBF)</i> UIF: Kat Bau, ada jual mi make daging labi-labi, udah aku makan dolok. (<i>Can you eat turtle meat? I've tasted noodles cooked with turtle meat in Bau.</i>) UBF: Sik kalak aku rasa mi ngan labi-labi, tapi labi-labi selalu. Masak kicap agik nyaman. Mak aku pande masak, makan ngan sambal, nyaman, betul sik? (<i>I've never tasted noodles cooked with turtle meat. However, I've tried turtle meat cooked in soy sauce. My mother can cook that and eating it with paste is very delicious.</i>) (Transcription 11)</p>

Key: Times New Roman: Sarawak Malay

8.3.1.2 To tease

When teasing one another, stand-alone Sarawak Malay was preferred because it was less formal compared to Bahasa Melayu or English. According to fifteen of the urban respondents, using stand-alone Sarawak Malay when teasing was most common in the urban areas and when they were in school. They also said that using Bidayuh dialects would be better but not chosen because of dialectal variations and the issue of incomprehensibility (see Example 8.15).

Example 8.15

Urban Bidayuhs: Stand-alone Sarawak Malay when teasing across dialect groups

<p><i>a) Urban Bukar-Sadong male (UBM) with Urban Bau-Jagoi male (UJM)</i> UBM: Jadilah molah taik kambing bulat, bulat. (<i>Well, you can make your goat's shit round shaped.</i>) UJM: Apa madah ko ia. Sia pergi nya, nang taik kambing bulat bulat bongok. Kambing ko taiknya sik bulat? (<i>What're you talking about? Simply talking about goat shit. Your goat shit isn't round, is it?</i>) UBM: Bulat juak tapi aku sik kalak nanga. Mun ko maok tau nemu bapak aku, nanya nya. (<i>It's round too but I haven't really noticed. Perhaps you can ask my father if you see him</i>) (Transcription 1)</p>
<p><i>b) Urban Biatah female (UIF) with Urban Bau-Jagoi male (UJM)</i> UIF: Ish! ko tok, mun ko jual diri ko berapa rega? Sik maok urang beli ko, banyak gilak lemak. (<i>Oh dear, if you want to sell your body, how much does it cost? N body wants to buy because you're too fat.</i>) UJM: Nang juak, lemak ia lah dapat nahan sejuk. (<i>Oh really, fat is good for cold weather.</i>) (Transcription 2)</p>
<p><i>c) Urban Biatah male (UIM) with Urban Bukar-Sadong male (UBM)</i> UIM: Tom Cruise apa, mata cepet., rambut celup. (<i>You don't look like Tom Cruise, especially with your bleached hair , slit eyes and dyed hair</i>) UBM: Suka ati urang lah, ko tok make seluar nok lelong sik urang nganok. (<i>It's up to me but you don't seem to bother those who wear second hand trousers.</i>) (Transcription 9)</p>
<p><i>d) Urban Biatah female UIF) with Urban Bau-Jagoi female (UJF)</i> UIF: Pelente na, nasib bait nama ko bukan Nona. (<i>Trying to be funny and lucky that your name is not Nona.</i>) UJF: Ko tok maok nyindir aku aku ajak-ajak. (<i>You always want to tease me. </i>) (Transcription 10)</p>

Key: Sarawak Malay- Times New Roman

8.3.1.3 To scold

Fifteen of the urban Bidayuh undergraduates said that using Sarawak Malay when scolding friends across dialect groups would just hurt for the moment but would not end their friendship as it was common to tease, joke and scold using the local dialect in the university. They also said that using Sarawak Malay when scolding friends was taken not seriously among the urban Bidayuh

undergraduates compared to using Bidayuh which their parents' used when scolding them at home (see Example 8.16).

Example 8.16

Urban Bidayuhs: Stand-alone Sarawak Malay when scolding across dialect groups

<p><i>a) Urban Biatah female(UIF) with Urban Bau-Jagoi Female (UJF)</i> UIF: Udah agik, pecah otak ko kelak, baca ajak ajak. Ney Wes ney? Nya nang mande janji tapi nya pun sik datang. <i>(It's enough, you'll damage your brain by reading too much. Where's Wes? He makes appointments but doesn't keep them.)</i> UJF: Datang nya, palak angin ia. <i>(He'll come, the mood swing person that he is.)</i> UIF: Sik aku tau nya lambat.. Mun aku tahu sik aku minjam nya. Nyapun sik maok polah, suka minjam barang kita ajak. <i>(I didn't know that he'd be late. If I had known, I won't have lent mine to him. He didn't do his and expected to borrow from others.)</i> <i>(Transcription 3)</i></p>
<p><i>b) Urban Bukar-Sadong male with Urban Biatah male</i> UBM: Ko udah kenak anak Miss Azlin. <i>(You were scolded by Miss Azlin in class.)</i> UIM: Gago, makan sia. Sukati ku pun kelak ku neranjang ko sekali. <i>(Busy body and just continue eating your food. It's my problem and perhaps I'll just give you a kick.)</i> <i>(Transcription 4)</i></p>
<p><i>c) Urban Biatah female with Urban Bukar-Sadong female</i> UIF: Sampe kedak ia, ketaklah ko nanga urang gugok. <i>(So terrible of you to laugh at someone who fell down.)</i> UBF: Mun ko nanga pun ko sik nahan juak. <i>(Even you would have laughed if you were to see it.)</i> <i>(Transcription 10)</i></p>
<p><i>d) Urban Bukar-Sadong female with Urban Bau-Jagoi male</i> UBF: Siapa main ngan ko ia? <i>(Who wants to play with you?)</i> UJM: Aok nganok kamek. <i>(Alright, you're scolding me.)</i> <i>(Transcription 11)</i></p>

Key: Sarawak Malay- Times New Roman

8.3.1.4 To enquire

Sixteen of the urban Bidayuh respondents said that stand-alone Sarawak Malay was the easiest code to use when asking questions across dialect groups.

According to a Bau-Jagoi undergraduate:

“Mun maok kenak jawab cepat, just speak local Malay ajak.” (If you want to get a quick respond just ask in Sarawak Malay only.)

(Interview with Anthonia Anak Doyah, November, 2007)

Key: Times New Roman Bold- Sarawak Malay

(see Example 8.17)

Example 8.17

Urban Bidayuhs: Stand-alone Sarawak Malay to enquire across dialect groups

<p><i>a) Urban Bau-Jagoi male (UJM) with Urban Biatah female(UIF)</i> UJM: Sik ngembak aku sekali. Sampe juak ati ko, sabar ajak aku. Lamak kitak urang pergi sinun? <i>(You’re not inviting me. You’re heartless. Will you be there long?)</i> UIF: Duak minggu, terus ngabas kakak aku. Nya sik balit cuti tok. <i>(Two weeks and we’ll visit my sister who won’t go home during the holidays.)</i> <i>(Transcription 2)</i></p>
<p><i>b) Urban Bau-Jagoi female (UJF) with Urban Biatah female (UIF)</i> UJF: Sik sakit mata kitak orang baca ia.? <i>(Aren’t your eyes painful when you read it?)</i> UIF: Mun sakit sik urang make, bodoh juak ko. <i>(If painful, we won’t be using it, stupid.)</i> <i>(Transcription 3)</i></p>
<p><i>c) Urban Bau-Jagoi male (UJM) with Urban Biatah male (UIM)</i> UJM: Ko balit kampong ke sik hari limak tok? <i>(Will you be going back to the village this Friday?)</i> UIM: Mengkali balit mengkali sik. <i>(Maybe or maybe not)</i> <i>(Transcription 4)</i></p>
<p><i>d) Urban Bau-Jagoi female (UJF) with Urban Biatah female (UIF)</i> UJF: Ko pergi seney? <i>(Where were you?)</i> UIF: Ada dalam bilit. <i>(In my room)</i> <i>(Transcription 5)</i></p>
<p><i>e) Urban Biatah male (UIM) with Urban Bau-Jagoi male (UJM)</i> UIM: Tau ke sik nya? Kelak salah, buang masa ko ajak. Kenak maok nyuruh nya? <i>(Does he know about it? You may be wasting time. Why did you ask him?)</i> UJM: Nya nak nolong, agik pun ko sik tau nak polah. <i>(He wanted to help and moreover you can’t do it either.)</i> <i>(Transcription 8)</i></p>

Key: Sarawak Malay- Times New Roman

8.3.2 Urban Bidayuh using English in dominant Sarawak Malay across dialect groups

Table 8.2 (see Appendix D) shows that the second most frequent category of language used by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates across dialect groups is code-switching using more Sarawak Malay and less English. This pattern makes up 27.8% of the total sentences uttered by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates. Code-switching using Sarawak Malay and less English is used

by 24.7% of the urban Bau-Jagoi, 30.9% of the urban Bukar-Sadong and 28.0% of the urban Biatah undergraduates.

8.3.2.1 Habitual use

The use of certain English words over time such as *chewing gum, sandwich, booking, roadblocks, pen, draw, line, road tax, serious, van, roommate, partner, hostel, bully, off* etc. have caused them to become common expressions in the discourse of urban Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates in the university. According to the speakers in the conversations below, no such words exist in their own Bidayuh dialects and the English words were habitually used in their conversations. A Bau-Jagoi undergraduate said:

“Kadang –kadang tak sedar bila I guna English. Selalu sangat guna perkataan yang sama jadi rasa rasa macam sudah biasa saja. Bukan semua perkataan, tapi yang tertentu saja”. (*Sometimes I don't realise that I'm using English. Some of the words have been habitually used over a long time and so they are part of our daily usage. Not all the words but only some.*)

(Respondent 36)

Key: Times New Roman bold: Bahasa Melayu

(see Example 8.18).

Example 8.18

Urban Bidayuh: Dominant Sarawak Malay less English across dialect groups

<p><i>a) Urban Bau-Jagoi (UJM) male with Urban Biatah female (UIF)</i> UJM: Kawan aku sebelah makan <i>sandwich</i>. (<i>My friend sitting next to me is eating sandwich.</i>) UIF: Sik ko malu gilak mun makan <i>chewing gum</i>. (<i>It won't be too embarrassing if you're to eat chewing gum.</i>) (Transcription 2)</p>
<p><i>b) Urban Biatah female (UIF) with Urban Bukar-Sadong female and Urban Bau-Jagoi female (UBF)</i> UIF: Kita jadi <i>roommate</i> ajak maok ke sik? (<i>Why don't we become roommates?</i>) UBF: Aku dah kenak <i>booking</i>. <i>Roommate</i> aku awal udah madah ngan aku, selesa bah. (<i>I have been booked. My roommate has told me earlier, and it's comfortable to be her roommate</i>) UJF: <i>Roommate</i> nya sabar ajak bah, sengsara. Betul sik nya udah <i>booking</i> ko? (<i>Her roommate has to be patient. Are you sure that she has booked you?</i>) (Transcription 7)</p>
<p><i>c) Urban Bau-Jagoi male (UJM) with Urban Bukar-Sadong male (UIM) and Urban Biatah male (UJM)</i> UJM: Eboh <i>bully</i> aku ajak-ajak. Mun ko maok, ko boleh <i>partner</i> ngan urang lain, aku sik kesah. Agikpun kitak duak tok selalu <i>clash</i> ajak. (<i>Don't always bully me. If you don't like it I can partner with others because I don't care. Moreover, the two of us always clash</i>) UIM: Kali tok ajak, nok lain kita <i>partner</i> ngan urang lain. Tok dah <i>last minute</i> kedak ney nak tukar. Semua dah ada <i>partner</i>. (<i>Only this time and next time we'll partner with others. It already last minute and it's not possible to change. Each one already has a partner.</i>) UBM: Jeff, selalu sik ada di <i>hostel</i>. <i>Handphone</i> nya selalu sik dipake nya. Nang <i>off</i> nya, susah nar tok. (<i>Jeff is never in the hostel. He doesn't always use his handphone. He always turns it off.</i>) (Transcription 8)</p>
<p><i>d) Urban Bukar-Sadong male (UBM) with Urban Bau-Jagoi male and urban Biatah male (UIM)</i> UBM: Nanga lok, mun ujan pake <i>van</i> ajak. (<i>Just wait and see first, and if rains, I'll take a van</i>) UIM: Senang agik pake <i>van</i>. <i>Road tax</i> aku udah mati ari marek belum sempat agik aku pergi JPJ. (<i>It's easier to go by van. My road tax has expired since yesterday and I haven't gone to renew it.</i>) (Transcription 10)</p>
<p><i>e) Urban Bau-Jagoi male (UJM) with Urban Bukar-sadong female and urban Biatah female (UIM)</i> UJM: Ada ko <i>pen</i> orna merah, minjam lok? (<i>Do have a red pen which I may borrow?</i>) UIF: Apahal ko maok <i>pen</i>? (<i>Why do you need a pen?</i>) UJM: Sekejap jak, maok <i>draw line</i>. Aku sik ada <i>pen</i> orna ia. Kitak urang eboh main agik aku <i>serious</i> tok. (<i>Just for a while to draw lines. I don't have a pen of that ink. Stop playing and I'm serious about it.</i>) UBF: Tok ngambik tok, <i>draw line</i> ko sia, eboh bising gilak. (<i>Take this, draw your lines and don't bother us.</i>) (Transcription 12)</p>

Key: English code-switches: Times New Roman Italic

8.3.3 Urban Bidayus using Bahasa Melayu in dominant Sarawak Malay across dialect groups

Table 8.2 (see Appendix D) states that the third common pattern of language used by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates across dialect groups is code-switching using more Sarawak Malay and less Bahasa Melayu. This pattern makes up 11.9 % of the total sentences uttered by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates. This pattern is used by 22.4% of the urban Bau-Jagoi, 20.5% of the urban Bukar-Sadong and 23.2% of the urban Biatah undergraduates.

8.3.3.1 Habitual use

Bahasa Melayu code-switches were also habitual used as referents to words which which they were used over time. Since their medium of instruction was in Bahasa Melayu, the Bidayuh undergraduates were more familiar with terms and concepts in Bahasa Melayu compared to other codes in their linguistic repertoire. A list of Bahasa Melayu used as referents in interactions is given in Appendix E.

Some of the common Bahasa Melayu referents used were **cetak rompak** (*pirated copy*), **nota** (notes), **sebulan**, **perjumpaan Blok** (*Block meeting*), **bergaya** (*stylish*), **baju kurung** (*Malay dress*) (see Example 8.19).

Example 8.19

Urban Bidayuhs: Dominant Sarawak Malay less Bahasa Melayu across dialect groups

<p><i>a) Urban Bukar-Sadong male (UBM) with Urban Biatah male(UIM)</i> UBM: Jeff ada, nok <u>cetak rompak</u> pun. (Jeff has the <u>pirated copy</u>) UIM: Berapa rega CD <u>cetak rompak</u>? (How much does the <u>pirated CD</u> cost?). (Transcription 8)</p>
<p><i>b)Urban Bau-Jagoi female (UJM) with Urban Biatah female UIM)</i> UJF: Kelak aku datang sitok agik, baca ajak <u>nota</u> ko ia. Sebelum aku lupak malam tok kita ada <u>perjumpaan di blok</u>, jangan ko sik datang. (I'll come back and meantime you just read your <u>notes</u>. Before I forget, tonight there'll be a <u>meeting in our block</u> and remember to come.) UIF: <u>Perjumpaan</u> ney tok? Sik ada <u>notis</u> pun. (Which <u>meeting</u>? There is no <u>notice</u>) UJF: Lewat jua ko sik nanga <u>notis</u> nok besar ada ia. Dah <u>sebulan</u> ia, nang ko sengaja sik maok nanga. (You didn't see the big <u>notice</u>. It has been there for <u>a month</u> but you just ignored it.) (Transcription 3)</p>
<p><i>c) Urban Bau-Jagoi female (UJM) with Urban Biatah female(UIF)</i> UJF: Ko tok mun ko ada baju kurung maok aku sebab <u>baju kurung</u> aku semua nya dah lama. (If you have a particular <u>Malay dress</u> give it to me as as mine is rather old.) UIF: <u>Baju kurung</u> sik main lah, tapi kakak aku nang banyak. Urang udah kerja <u>mestilah bergaya</u>. (I don't wear <u>Malay dresses</u> but my sister has a lot. Working people <u>need to be stylish</u>.) (Transcription 5)</p>

Key: Bahasa Melayu code-switches: Arial underline;

8.3.4 Urban Bidayuhs using Bidayuh in dominant Sarawak Malay across dialect groups

Table 8.2 (see Appendix D) indicates that the fourth most frequent category of language used by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates across dialect groups is code-switching using more Sarawak Malay and less Bidayuh. This pattern makes up 3.4% of total sentences uttered by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates. This pattern is used by 3.3% of the urban Bau -Jagoi, 3.8% of the urban Bukar-Sadong and 3.1% of the urban Biatah undergraduates.

8.3.4.1 To show Bidayuh identity

According to seventeen of the urban Bidayuh respondents using Bidayuh code-switches showed their Bidayuh identity especially when talking in the university where there were many races and the Bidayuhs were just a minority group. By using Bidayuh code-switches it showed others around them that they were Bidayuh undergraduates. The seventeen urban undergraduates also said that by using Bidayuh code-switches, they were actually proud of their Bidayuh identity even though they spoke different Bidayuh dialects.

8.3.4.1.1 Common Bidayuh words

The urban Bidayuh undergraduates used common Bidayuh words with Sarawak Malay dialect among close Bidayuh friends who could understand words in other Bidayuh dialects. According to seventeen of the urban Bidayuh undergraduates, using Bidayuh with new Bidayuh friends would also create closer rapport and win friendship because it showed their Bidayuh identity in the university where the dominant race was Malay. Some of the common Bidayuh words used were **sama kuk** (my father), **sangon jupuo** (beautiful dress) [Biatah dialect]; **mu-uh** (you), **si-ok so-wok** (noisy chickens) [Bau-Jagoi dialect]; **bu-us** (sleep), **andu bejek** (aunt), **ma-an ot-ot** (eating pork) [Bukar-Sadong dialect] (see Example 8.20).

Example 8.20

Urban Bidayuhs: Dominant Sarawak Malay less Bidayuh across dialect groups

<p><i>a) Urban Bau-Jagoi male(UJM) with Urban Biatah female (UIF)</i> UJM: Genting sik pergi kitak? (<i>Are you going to Genting?</i>) UIF: Nanga lok mun sama'kuk ngembak maok ajak. (<i>It depends on my father whether or not he wants to bring us.</i>) (Transcription 2)</p>
<p><i>b)Urban Bau-Jagoi female (UJF) with Urban Biatah female (UIF)</i> UJF: Okay, mun mu-uh balit ujung minggu tok madah ngan aku, ngekot ko. (<i>If you go back, this weekend inform me and I'll follow you.</i>) UIF: Kelak aku <i>call</i> ko mun aku balit. (<i>I'll call you if I should go back.</i>) (Transcription 3)</p>
<p><i>c) Urban Biatah female (UIF) with Urban Bau-Jagoi female (UJF)</i> UIF: Sangun jupuo ko, seney ko beli? (<i>Your dress is beautiful, where did you buy it?</i>) UJF: <i>Boyfriend</i> aku beri. (<i>My boyfriend gave it to me.</i>) (Transcription 5)</p>
<p><i>d) Urban Bukar-Sadong female (UBF) and Urban Bau-Jagoi female (UJF)</i> UBF: Biasa lah ia, mun sik maok dengar dengkur bu-us kandang ayam. (<i>That's common. If you don't want to hear noise, then sleep in the chicken coop.</i>) UJF: Si-ok so-wok juak tengah malam, pagi awal. (Chickens make noise at night too.) (Transcription 7)</p>
<p><i>e) Urban Bukar-Sadong male UBM) with Urban Biatah male (UIM)</i> UBM: Benar nolong andu bejek aku molah tempoyak, mun ko maok. (<i>Really, to help my aunt to make durian paste.</i>) UIM: Sik maok, bagus agik aku kerja KFC ajak. (<i>I don't want to. I rather work in KFC.</i>) (Transcription 12)</p>
<p><i>f) Urban Bukar-Sadong female (UBF) with Urban Bau-Jagoi male (UJM)</i> UBF: Ko tok suka ma-an ot, ot ajak. Selalu juak kitak orang makan ia? (<i>You like to eat pork. Do you always eat that?</i>) UJM: Rumah aku selalu. (<i>Always at home.</i>) (Transcription 11)</p>

Key: Bidayuh code-switches: New Times Roman bold;

8.3.5 Urban Bidayuhs using stand-alone English across dialect groups

Table 8.2 (see Appendix D) shows that the fifth most frequent category of language used by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates across dialect groups is stand-alone English. Stand-alone English makes up 3.0% of the total sentences uttered by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates. Stand-alone English is used by 3.5% of the urban Bau-Jagoi, 3.3% of the urban Bukar-Sadong and 2.1% of the urban Biatah undergraduates.

8.3.5.1 Habitual use

Language choice among the Bidayuh undergraduates was controlled initially by the question of which codes were easily available to the interlocutors to draw upon when starting or later when ending a conversation. According to seventeen of the urban Bidayuh undergraduates using English when greeting or taking leave from someone was due to habitual use over time and was common among the Bidayuh undergraduates in the university.

8.3.5.1.1 To start a conversation

According to the urban Bidayuh undergraduates, it was a habit to start a conversation in English and to use expressions such as *hello*, *good morning* and, *give me a five*. When using ‘*give me a five*’ it made them modern youngsters who were imitating the African Americans’ way of greeting one another. They would slap each other’s hand in the air when greeting and said ‘*give me five*’. Based on the researcher’s observation, the Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates never used ‘*give me a five*’ with *Bidayuh* lecturers’ when greeting them. They only used *hello* and *good morning*. The respondents said that it would not be proper to use ‘*give me five*’ when greeting someone older (see Example 8.22).

Example 8.21
Urban Bidayuhs: Using stand-alone English to open conversations

<p><i>a) Urban Bau-Jagoi male (UJM) with Urban Biatah female (UIF)</i> UJM: <i>Morning, how are you this morning?</i> Senyum ajak, kenak ada berita bait? Mun udah senyum kedak ia mesti ada sesuatu. (... <i>Are you smiling because you have good news? Once you started smiling as such, there must be something.</i>) UIF: Ada mun ko maok tau ujung tahun tok kamek maok pergi holiday. (<i>If you should know, we're going for a holiday at the end of this year.</i>) (Transcription 2)</p>
<p><i>b) Urban Biatah female (UIF) with Urban Bau-Jagoi female (UJF)</i> UIF: <i>Hello everybody, I'm already here.</i> Aku udah sampe tok, ney dak lain. <u>Where is she?</u> (... <i>I've arrived and where are the others? ...</i>) UJF: Uдах ko madah ngan nya, udah ke sik? Mun udah kita nunggu ajak sitok. (<i>Have you informed him. If so then we can just wait</i>) (Transcription 10)</p>
<p><i>c) Urban Bukar-Sadong male (UBM) with Urban Bau-Jagoi male (UBM)</i> UBM: <u>How are you?</u> UJM: <i>Fine thank you</i> Ko apa khabar? (Are you fine yourself?) UBM: <i>Great man. Join minum?</i> (... <i>join us for a drink.</i>) UJM: . Nang aku sitok maok minum, haus bah. (<i>I came here to have a drink.</i>) (Transcription 4)</p>
<p><i>d) Urban Biatah male (UIM) with Urban Bau-Jagoi male (UJM)</i> UIM: <u>Hello give me five.</u> Bagus tek? Kede baru, pernah ke sik ko pergi kede ia? Apa jual nya sia, nanga ko rami urang pergi sia. (... <i>Are you fine? Have you been to the new shop? What are they selling there? A lot of people are going there.</i>) UJM: Sik pernah, nang kueh ngan makanan. <i>Kiosk</i> baru, lama udah sidak jual sia. (<i>I haven't, but surely cakes and other food. It's a new kiosk and they have been selling food there.</i>) (Transcription 13)</p>

Key: Key: Times New Roman–Sarawak Malay;; Times New Roman Italic underline -Complete sentences in English

8.3.5.1.2 To end a conversation

The common expressions used by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates when ending a conversation were *see you* and *bye*. The urban Bidayuh respondents said that those were common expressions used by undergraduates in the university and were habitually use over time when taking leave from a conversation (see Example 8.23).

Example 8.22
Urban Bidayuhs: Stand-alone English to end a conversation

<p><i>a) Urban Biatah male(UIM) with Urban Bau-Jagoi male(UJM)</i> UIM: Marah dah member. Aku jalan lok, okay aku balit lok. <u>See you, bye.</u> (He's angry. I've to go back first...) UJM: Jom kitak pergi library lok. (Let's go to the library first.) (Transcription 1)</p>
<p><i>b) Urban Bau-Jagoi female(UJF) with Urban Bukar-Sadong female (UBF)</i> UJF : Nun ada cashier diri belakang nun. (There's a cashier standing behind.) UBF: Kamek jalan dolok. Maok ngambik barang kat kede fotostat. <u>See you in the shop later.</u> (I'm going first. I've to take things from the photostating shop.) (Transcription 7)</p>
<p><i>c) Urban Biatah female (UIF) with Urban Bau-Jagoi male (UJM)</i> UIF: Mun maok belanja ikut kamek. (If you want a treat, follow me.) UJM: <u>Next time only, see you soon.</u> (Transcription 11)</p>
<p><i>d) Urban Bau-Jagoi male (UJM)</i> UJM: Aku maok singgah kede depan nun, nak jumpa geng. <u>See you again.</u> Don't forget meeting esok pagi, janji jangan sik datang.(I want to stopover at that shop to meet my friends. See you again. Don't forget about the meeting tomorrow morning and promise me that you will come.) (Transcription 13)</p>

Key: Times New Roman–Sarawak Malay; Times New Roman Italic underline -Complete sentences in English

8.3.6 Urban Bidayuhs using stand-alone Bahasa Melayu across dialect groups

The least popular category of language used by urban Bidayuh undergraduates across dialect group interactions is stand-alone Bahasa Melayu. Stand-alone Bahasa Melayu sentences make up 1.5% of the total utterances by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates. Stand-alone Bahasa Melayu is used by 1.7% of the urban Bau-Jagoi, 1.0% of the urban Bukar-Sadong and 1.7% of the urban Biatah undergraduates.

8.3.6.1 Language usefulness

The urban Bidayuhs regard stand alone Bahasa Melayu as only useful when they have serious academic matters related to which they need to make known. It makes their intention more formal and serious (see Example 8.24).

8.3.6.1.1 To discuss academic matters

Fifteen urban Bidayuh undergraduates said that they only used stand-alone Bahasa Melayu when speaking to the university non- academic staff and to discuss academic matters with undergraduates who were also their Bidayuh coursemates (see Example 8.24).

Example 8.23

Urban Bidayuhs Stand-alone Bahasa Melayu across dialect groups

<p><i>a) Urban Bukar-Sadong male (UBM) with Urban Bau-Jagoi male (UJM)</i> UBM: <u>Aktiviti universiti biasanya pelajar dalam tahun pertama dan kedua yang banyak terlibat.</u> Nok udah lamak ia mula sidak gago dengan tesis sidak ia. Takut aku juak masa ia mun udah mula tesis, nang sik ada masa agik. Aku nengar ada urang sampe sik abis. (<u>Usually first and second year undergraduates are involved in university activities.</u> <i>The senior students are more concerned about their thesis. I know that of some them didn't complete.</i>) UJM: Sik maok aku kedak ia, rugi. (<i>I don't want to be like that.</i>) (Transcription 1)</p>
<p><i>b) Urban Biatah male (UIM) with urban Bau-Jagoi female (UJF)</i> UIM: <u>Di universiti pun, kita guna juga Bahasa Melayu secara rasmi walaupun banyak dialek Melayu lain.</u> Aku rasa sikap patut di ubah. Sik senang nak campuradukkan dialek-dialek dan jadikan satu bahasa, mustahi, sik suk nenganya kelak. (<u>In the university, we're using Bahasa Melayu as a formal language even though we have many other Malay dialects.</u> <i>I feel attitude should change. It's impossible to create a new language by mixing so many dialects and moreover it will sound funny.</i>) UJF: Ada FM101.3 cuba campur dialek-dialek, pelik juak. (<i>FM101.3 mixes the various dialects.</i>) (Transcription 12)</p>
<p><i>c) Urban Bukar-Sadong male (UBM) with Urban Bau-Jagoi male (UJM)</i> UBM: <u>Ada ko dengar berita? Mungkin tahun depan pelajar tahun akhir mesti tinggal di luar.</u> Sik cukup tempat diam. (<i>Have you heard the news? Maybe final year students will be asked to stay out next year. There's not enough place to stay in the campus.</i>) UJM: Apa nak di susah ko ia, diam di rumah ko pun agik bagus. (<i>Why should that bother you as staying at home is better</i>) (Transcription 13)</p>

Key: Complete sentence in Bahasa Melayu-Arial underline; Times New Roman: Sarawak Malay

8.3.7 Urban Bidayuhs using Bidayuh, Bahasa Melayu and English code-mixes in dominant Sarawak Malay across dialect groups

Table 8.2 (see Appendix D) shows that the least popular pattern of language used by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates across dialect group discourse is code-switching using more Sarawak Malay less Bahasa Melayu, English and Bidayuh. This pattern makes up only 0.8% of the total sentences uttered by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates. This pattern is used by 0.8% of the urban Bau-Jagoi, 1.0% of the urban Bukar-Sadong and 0.6% of the urban Biatah undergraduates.

8.3.7.1 To facilitate communication

Like the rural Bidayuh undergraduates, there were urban Bidayuhs who mixed various codes in a single sentence to indicate their proficiency, flexibility and that they could switch to any code easily. According to a Bukar-Sadong undergraduate:

“Sometimes one sentence can have three or even four languages- English, Sarawak Malay, Bidayuh and Bahasa Melayu., all mixed together. We can choose the words that we know, so we mix. I think it is already common for some of us who can speak all the different languages.”

(Respondent 44)

According to fifteen of the urban Bidayuh respondents using Bidayuh, Bahasa Melayu and Bahasa Melayu with Sarawak Malay in a sentence was less popular because many people regarded that as showing off (see Example 8.21).

Example 8.24
Urban Bidayuhs: Code-mixing in a single sentence

<p><i>a) Urban Biatah female (UIF) with Urban Bau-Jagoi male (UJM)</i> UIF: Berapa lama boleh stay digijih? (<i>How long can you stay there?</i>) UJM: <u>Seminggu</u> mun sik ada urang numpang sia. (<i>One week if there's nobody.</i>) <i>(Transcription 2)</i></p>
<p><i>b) Urban Bau-Jagoi female (UJF) with Urban Biatah female (UIF)</i> UJF: Sidak madah <u>jadual</u> exam tukar, bonar kah? (<i>There's no mention about the change in exam timetable, isn't it?</i>) UIF: Arap- arap sik, maok <u>relek</u> tok. (<i>Hopefully not as I just want to relax.</i>) <i>(Transcription 3)</i></p>
<p><i>c) Urban Bukar-Sadong female (UBF) with Urban Biatah female (UIF)</i> UBF: Nang <u>ternampak</u> gilak siberek over. (He really <u>looks</u> so desperate.) UIF: <u>Roommate</u> aku sik <i>sporting</i> juak, sik <u>diangkatnya</u> jupuo kamek. Palaknya selalu koneknya dengan <i>ear phone</i> ajak ajak. (<i>My roommate is not sporting as he doesn't help to bring in my clothes. He plugs in his earphones all the time.</i>) (<i>Transcription 7</i>)</p>
<p><i>d) Urban Bau-Jagoi female (UJF) with Urban Biatah male (UIM)</i> UJF: Caya ke sik ko di <u>asrama lelaki</u> nun <i>full</i> juak sidak ia ninga cerita Bawang Putih. Mun ko sik caya pergi ko sinun. (<i>Do you believe that in the male hostel, they like to watch Bawang Putih</i>) (<i>i.e TV Indonesian drama series</i>). If you don't believe me just go and find out. UIM: Laki tok semua nanga sidak nya. (<i>The males watch everything.</i>) <i>(Transcription 6)</i></p>
<p><i>e) Urban Bau-Jagoi female (UJF) with Urban Biatah male (UIM)</i> UJF: <i>One umbrella share</i> du-oh urang , mestilah basah. (<i>One umbrella sharing between two people will surely makes us wet.</i>) UIM: Ya lah <u>Tuan Puteri</u>, kelak basah. (<i>Yes Princess, we'll be wet.</i>) <i>(Transcription 6)</i></p>
<p><i>e) Urban Bukar-Sadong female (UBF) with Urban Bau-Jagoi male (UJM)</i> UBF: Simbat nya koh, nampak sendat gilak, <i>ugly</i> tapi dapat juak jadi <u>pengacara</u>. (<i>She is too much, looks ugly but can still be a host.</i>) UJM: Ialah bagus. (<i>That makes it better.</i>) <i>(Transcription 11)</i></p>

Key: Bidayuh - Times New Roman bold; English- Times New Roman italic, Bahasa Melayu-Arial underline

8.3.8 Summary of languages used by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates across dialect group interactions

Sarawak Malay was the main code used by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates in inter dialect group discourse in the absence of a common Bidayuh language.

The extensive use of Sarawak Malay by the Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and

Biatah urban undergraduates indicated clearly that the university was the zone for using Sarawak Malay.

The most common code-switching pattern was more Sarawak Malay and less English. English code-switches were due to habitual use as common referents over time. Bahasa Melayu was considered a formal language and was also habitually used as referents for words which they did not know in English, Sarawak Malay or Bidayuh. The Bidayuh dialects were the least used by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates. This was because they could not understand other Bidayuh dialects and also they did want to impose their dialects on others. The use of Bidayuh was therefore limited to code-switches of common Bidayuh words but enough to act as a marker of their Bidayuh identity.

8.4 Overview of languages used by Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates across dialect group discourse in the university

The Bidayuh undergraduates in this study automatised the use of different codes in their speech and seemed to construct mixed sentences effortlessly. They used the different codes in such a way as to allow them to converse with ease among themselves. It was difficult to propose exact reasons for specific examples of different codes used, especially in an environment of multilingual speakers. It was necessary to record more interlocutors. A total of 66 interlocutors were audiotaped and analysed across dialect group interaction compared to 28 for intra group interactions in the university in order to gauge the exact language choice patterns (see Chapter 4).

The Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates chose to code-switch, even though they were clearly able to communicate very well in stand-alone Sarawak Malay and Bahasa Melayu. From the results of numerous discussions with the Dayak Bidayuh interlocutors in the recordings, it was possible to summarise the reasons for language choice among Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates across dialect group interactions in the university as follows:

8.4.1 In order not to be misunderstood

Although all the Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates could speak their own Bidayuh dialects well, they were not proficient in other Bidayuh dialects. This lack of competence made them insecure to use stand-alone Bidayuh when conversing with Bidayuh undergraduates from other dialect groups. The Bidayuh undergraduates did not want to impose their dialects on others as that would give the impression of being egoistic and could cause embarrassment. A Bau-Jagoi undergraduate said:

“I mix many codes in one sentence because it makes me easy to say what I want to say. “

(Respondent 39)

8.4.2 Attitude towards Bidayuh, English, Bahasa Melayu and Sarawak Malay

Bidayuh was used more by the rural Bidayuh undergraduates compared to the urban Bidayuh undergraduates because using Bidayuh created closer rapport with other Bidayuh undergraduates. A Bukar-Sadong undergraduate said:

“Bila kita cakap Bidayuh, walaupun tidak sama kita rasa macam saudara. (When we speak using Bidayuh, eventhough there are so many dialects, we feel like brothers.) I cannot understand all tapi sikit saja (some) .So we don’t use difficult Bidayuh words.

(Respondent 54)

Key: Times New Roman Bold: Bahasa Melayu

Although the urban Bidayuh undergraduates were only using Bidayuh code-switches it served as a marker of their urban Bidayuh identity when they mixed it with Sarawak Malay. A Biatah undergraduate said:

“I cannot understand all the other Bidayuh dialects. But some words are common and I try to use them. I know my other friends are also doing the same. I think when we mix Bidayuh with Sarawak Malay, we can say we are Bidayuh people eventhough not fully use Bidayuh (not using Bidayuh completely.)”

(Respondent 62)

All the Bidayuh undergraduates were proud of their own dialects and did not see the need to learn other Bidayuh dialects seriously. Compared to learning other Bidayuh dialects, mastering English would have more economic value and could ensure them of employment in the future. A Biatah undergraduate said:

“Many graduates cannot get jobs. Why? They cannot speak English .I think it is sad. So, I think we should improve our English. Never mind, we can speak Bidayuh at home.”

(Respondent 65)

The urban Bidayuh undergraduates were better exposed to the English language at home and among their social circles in their urban areas compared to the rural Bidayuh undergraduates. They were exposed to urban lifestyles where English is considered an elite language. A Bau-Jagoi undergraduate said:

*“Speaking English makes me feel educated. All my friends speak some English mix with some Malay and some Bidayuh. Good to speak some English because it gives me **style** (makes me modern).”*

(Respondent 36)

In sharp contrast, the rural Bidayuhs were less proficient in English compared to the urban Bidayuh undergraduates (see Chapter 4). They regarded the university as a good venue to improve their English language proficiency. A Bukar-Sadong undergraduate said:

“At home we always speak Bidayuh. In our school, last time also we spoke Bahasa Melayu and Bidayuh outside class. We didn’t dare to speak English. Afraid people will laugh. Now alright because UiTM subjects are in English (It’s alright to speak English now because the medium of instruction at UiTM is in English.)

(Respondent 49)

By speaking Bahasa Melayu the rural Bidayuh respondents were transferring the language used as their medium of instruction in school to the university. When using Sarawak Malay across dialect groups the urban Bidayuh undergraduates were also transferring the language used in the urban setting to the university.

For the urban Bidayuhs undergraduates they were more comfortable with Sarawak Malay as the “we code” (Gumperz, 1982). It was their safest choice across dialect groups in the university. The rural Bidayuh undergraduates were less proficient in Sarawak Malay and their safest choice was Bahasa Melayu. However both the rural and urban Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates found it easier to discuss educational related matters in Bahasa Melayu.

8.4.3 For socialising functions

The Bidayuh undergraduates often mixed codes when starting a conversation. For the urban undergraduates, it was quite common for them to greet and take

leave using English and Sarawak Malay. For the rural undergraduates, it was also common to end a conversation using English and Bahasa Melayu. The Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates used English when greeting and taking leave due to habitual use. A Bau-Jagoi undergraduate said:

“People in the university always use English when they greet. Maybe it’s the common and modern way used by young people. It makes me feel good.”

(Respondent 33)

Sometimes when they were angry with their friends they would know which language to use to maintain friendship. Both the rural and urban Bidayuh respondents preferred to use more Sarawak Malay when scolding across dialect groups because it would not hurt as much as using Bidayuh. A Bukar-Sadong undergraduate said:

*“When my friend scolding (scolds) me in Sarawak Malay, I’m very o.k lah (fine). Maybe he is not serious. But if my friend scolding (scolds) me in **Bahasa Bidayuh** (Bidayuh language), I think he must be very **marah** (angry) and I don’t like it. **Tak bagus** (not good)”*

(Respondent 17)

Key: Times New Roman Bold: Bahasa Melayu

As for urban Bidayuh undergraduates, it was more natural to tease using more Sarawak Malay compared to the rural Bidayuh undergraduates who preferred using Bidayuh. A Biatah undergraduate said:

*“More cheeky if I use Sarawak Malay when disturbing girls, especially from the City. If I use Bidayuh, they think I so **kampong** (I’m so rural)”*

(Respondent 66)

Key: Times New Roman Bold: Bahasa Melayu

8.5 Conclusion

The language choice of the rural and urban Bidayuhs undergraduates across dialect group discourse is summarised below (see Table 8.3).

Table 8.3: Language choice of Bidayuh undergraduates across dialect groups

RURAL BIDAYUHS	
1.	Stand-alone Bahasa Melayu
2.	Code-switching using more Bahasa Melayu and less Sarawak Malay
3.	Code-switching using more Bahasa Melayu and less Bidayuh
4.	Code-switching using more Bahasa Melayu and less English
5.	Code-switching using more Bahasa Melayu and less Sarawak Malay, English and Bidayuh
6.	Stand-alone Bidayuh.
7.	Stand-alone English
8.	Stand-alone Sarawak Malay
URBAN BIDAYUHS	
1.	Stand-alone Sarawak Malay
2.	Code-switching using more Sarawak Melayu and less English
3.	Code-switching using more Sarawak Malay and less Bahasa Melayu
4.	Code-switching using more Sarawak Malay and less Bidayuh
5.	Code-switching using more Sarawak Malay and less Sarawak Malay, English and Bidayuh
6.	Stand-alone English.
7.	Stand-alone Bahasa Melayu

This chapter has highlighted the language choice of the Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates across dialect group interactions in the university. It was based on language used by Bidayuh undergraduates belonging to the Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah dialect groups. There were differences between the rural and urban Bidayuh undergraduates belonging to the three dialect groups.

The Bidayuh dialects were used more in the conversations of the rural Bidayuh undergraduates compared to the urban Bidayuh undergraduates. The Bidayuh dialects were used by the rural Bidayuh undergraduates not only when code-

switching in dominant Bahasa Melayu, but also as a stand-alone code. Table 8.3 above clearly shows that the code preferred by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates across dialect groups was Sarawak Malay and the rural Bidyuh preferred Bahasa Melayu.

Discussion with the Bidayuh undergraduates to obtain reasons for code choice showed that the rural undergraduates used Bahasa Melayu and the urban undergraduates used Sarawak Malay extensively in order to accommodate to one another when there was no common Bidayuh language. Chapter 9 which follows will give a conclusion and summary of the findings of this study.