

CHAPTER SIX

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS LANGUAGE CHOICE IN HOME DOMAIN

6.1 Introduction

The linguistic environment in the Bidayuh home domain often does not only see the use of stand -alone Bidayuh dialects but also other codes. Sarawak Malay, Bahasa Melayu and English are also spoken by the younger generation of Bidayuhs at home today. Home conversations were used in this study in order to uncover the patterns of language used by the rural and urban Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates when interacting with different generation of family members. The conversations of twenty four Bidayuh undergraduates from the Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah dialect groups with grandparents, parents and siblings which totaled up to 8 hours were tape recorded in their rural and urban homes.

This chapter provides a qualitative analysis based on twenty four audio recordings of language used by the Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates at home. The language used with grandparents, parents and siblings helped to establish the extent of the use of the hereditary Bidayuh dialects, Bahasa Melayu, English and Sarawak Malay by the Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates in the home domain. Although the data collected consisted of both male and female

interlocutors, it should be noted that it was not the aim of this study to investigate language choice between gender.

In analysing the data for home domain, first the utterances made by twenty four Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates with their grandparents, parents and siblings were identified. They used both stand-alone codes and code-switching in their discourse. The number of sentences using stand-alone codes and code-switching patterns were counted. The percentage of the sentences using each pattern was then calculated. The main aim of this was to determine the main or dominant pattern used by the rural and urban Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates belonging to the Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah dialect groups with different generation of family members at home. The other aim was to determine the reasons for using the different codes at home. All the 12 rural and 12 urban Bidayuh respondents were interviewed and the recordings were replayed to them.

6.2 Forms of Accommodation at home

The Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles and Smith, 1979) contends that closer rapport and solidarity are more easily established if the speaker switches to the preferred code of the recipient. This chapter will extend the concept to include the extent of use of Bidayuh i.e. the hereditary dialect, Bahasa Melayu i.e. the national language (a language used as the medium of instruction), English and Sarawak Malay used with different generations at home.

Language accommodation at home takes different forms. Firstly, the Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates accommodate to the home language used by grandparents, parents and non-school going siblings. Accommodation also refers to the extent of Bidayuh, Bahasa Melayu, Sarawak Malay and English used at home. Therefore, the term *accommodation* means the adoption of the language preference of the speech partner.

In the Bidayuh villages, the hereditary dialects were so widely used and it was expected that more Bidayuh was used at home. In the urban setting, the dominant language was Sarawak Malay and it influenced the language used by the Bidayuh undergraduates and siblings at home. The medium of instruction for Bidayuh undergraduates' parents who went to school before 1977 was English. The medium of instruction for the Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates and siblings who went to school after 1977 was Bahasa Melayu. This influenced language used by the educated parents and siblings at home.

The following section discusses the findings based on transcriptions, interviews, observations and field notes. Examples are provided to show the patterns of language used at home. Further details to show the regularity of this data can be found in Appendix F. Translations in all examples are given within parenthesis.

6.3 Language choice of the rural Bidayuh undergraduates at home

Table 6.1 shows clearly the patterns of language choice of 12 rural Dayak undergraduates with family members at home consist of:-

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

Table 6.1

Language choice of the rural Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates at home

No.	Gender	Trans. No.	S – A Bid	C-S more Bid less BM	Total utterances
BAU JAGOI					
1.	M	49	28 (68.29%)	13 (31.71%)	41 (100%)
2.	M	50	22 (78.57%)	6 (21.43%)	28 (100%)
3.	F	51	25 (78.13%)	7 (21.87%)	32 (100%)
4.	F	52	16 (94.12%)	1 (5.88%)	17 (100%)
TOTAL			91 (77.12%)	27 (22.88%)	118 (100%)
BUKAR-SADONG					
5.	M	41	16 (64%)	9 (36%)	25 (100%)
6.	M	42	13 (76.47%)	4 (23.53%)	17 (100%)
7.	F	43	23 (92%)	2 (8%)	25 (100%)
8.	F	44	17 (73.91%)	6 (26.09%)	23 (100%)
TOTAL			69 (76.67%)	21 (23.33%)	90 (100%)
BIATAH					
9.	F	33	16 (94.12%)	1 (5.88%)	17 (100%)
10.	F	34	23 (88.46%)	3 (11.54%)	26 (100%)
11.	M	35	18 (81.82%)	4 (18.18%)	22 (100%)
12.	M	36	17 (85%)	3 (15%)	20 (100%)
TOTAL			74 (87.06%)	11 (12.94%)	85 (100%)
GRAND TOTAL			234 (79.86%)	59 (20.14%)	293 (100%)

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

6.3.1 Stand-alone Bidayuh

Table 6.1 shows that 79.86% of the total utterances made by the rural Bidayuh respondents at home are in stand-alone Bidayuh. More specifically stand-alone Bidayuh comprises 77.12% of the total sentences uttered by the rural Bau-Jagoi, 76.67% by the rural Bukar-Sadong and 87.06% by the rural Biatah undergraduates.

Stand-alone Bidayuh was the most preferred pattern used by the Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates at home. The data showed a number of reasons why stand-alone Bidayuh was used.

6 3.1.1 To accommodate monodialectal grandparents

Most of the rural Bidayuh undergraduates' homes in Bau, Serian and Kuching rural districts consisted of their grandparents, parents and siblings. The rural Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates' grandparents did not have any formal education and were farmers in their villages. They could only speak their heritage Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah dialects. The rural Bidayuh undergraduates used stand-alone Bidayuh with their grandparents. According to a Bau-Jagoi undergraduate:

'I only speak Bidayuh with my granparents. They cannot speak other languages like me'.

(Respondent 2)

Key: Times New Roman Bold: Bau-jagoi dialect

It is also considered rude in the Bidayuh community to use a language which excludes the elders even if the discussion has no direct relevance to them. Therefore, only stand-alone Bidayuh was used with grandparents at home (see Example 6.1).

Example 6.1
Rural Bidayuhs: Stand-alone Bidayuh with grandparents at home

a) Rural Biatah female undergraduate (RIF) with First Generation female (FG1)
 GI: Jak susah tak raan tengak dayak bujang pari ka kapung madin ih. Di pasar beguk kayuh kenak. Si an pari ka kapung sraru. (*It's difficult nowadays to see young people returning to the villages. In the town there are many good things. They will not come back so often.*)
RIF: Yarah, pak ku pari goh. Beguk dayak pari kari ti. (*Yes, but I go back.. A lot of people go back this time.*) (Transcription 34)

b) Rural Biatah male undergraduate (RIM) with First Generation male (MG1)
 MG1: Utung nga tungang brajar. Eih jah yah keja di teyak edo ih. (*You're so fortunate to be able to study. We had to become farmers before.*)
RIM: Yarah. Ku pajak utung. Madin duh samah mun jah yah. (*It's true, I'm really grateful. The time has changed compared to your time.*) (Transcription 35)

c) Rural Bukar-Sadong female undergraduate (RBF) with First generation male (MG1)
RBF: Kaie jaji anih lah. Siken umbu darik ku wang adup' nuh' marik matik. Adup' nuh' sampe ramin pukul enem lambet andu. (*It's alright. Ask my brother when he comes later. He'll be home at six p.m.*)
 MG1: Dapih omon ku. Ijen ata ku kuduk nuh'. E-ti mbuh magan. Barangkali aduh' inya mbuh nyehup nuh. (*Where's my drink? I put it here just now. It's gone now. Perhaps someone has taken it.*) (Transcription 43)

d) Rural Bau-Jagoi male undergraduate (RJM) with First generation male (MG1)
 MG1: Muu nang muu yak tulung oku nai krisi tih. Daki mu odi? (*You told me that you were going to help me fix this chair. Where have you been?*)
RJM: Doik daki daki. Daang bori sija. Ngin de oku. Tia ku nai eh. (*Nothing. I'm at home. Give it to me. I'll fix it later.*) (Transcription 49)

e) Rural Bau-Jagoi female undergraduate (RJF) with First generation female (FG1)
RJF: Asal nyak boos daang bilit de modud modud lagi paguh. (*It's nice to sleep in a cool room.*)
 FG1: Kupuo tih de onu pagi sukup sukup nyam modud eh. Ogi onu eh oku ninga muu sampai pakai duoh japuo. Doik sukup modud eh keh noh. (*It's cooling enough being in the village in the morning. Sometimes I saw you using two blankets. Perhaps it's too cold.*) (Transcription 51)

Key: Times New Roman- Bidayuh dialects: Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah; FG1-grandmother, MG1-grandfather

6.3.1.2 To accommodate parents

All the 12 rural Bidayuh undergraduates' parents during the the interview stated that they were proud of their own Bidayuh dialect and it should be used at home with their children.

According to Minos (2000:126):

'It is the older Bidayuhs' desire to keep alive, enrich and perpetuate their respective dialects... they regard their dialects as a vital part of their group identity'.

The rural Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates' parents were either farmers or labourers who only spoke Bidayuh at home even though they were also able to speak some Bazaar Malay (pidgin variety of Bahasa Melayu). Although all the rural Bidayuh undergraduates' parents attended at least primary school education in the English medium before 1977, they could not speak English. The rural Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates were also expected by their parents to speak to them using Bidayuh since it was the home language. All the twelve parents said they wanted to ensure that their children do not marginalise their own heritage dialect despite being educated in Bahasa Melayu. More specifically a Bau-Jagoi father who spoke in Bazaar Malay said:

'Sekarang banyak pandai budak tahu banyak bahasa. Sebab mereka pergi sekolah. Saya mahu mereka cakap Bidayuh sama saya. Itu bahasa kami penting juga. (Children can speak many languages nowadays because they attend school. I still want them to speak Bidayuh with me. Our dialect is important too.)'

(Interview with Ringos Anak Mamat, September, 2006)

In the data collected, the most recurrent topic which used stand-alone Bidayuh in the discourse with parents was discussing daily domestic matters.

6.3.1.2.1 To discuss daily domestic matters

All the twelve rural Bidayuh undergraduates stated in the interview that they would use only Bidayuh with their parents in order not to show-off their proficiency in other codes. Using stand-alone Bidayuh also strengthened the bond between the Bidayuh undergraduates and their less educated parents (see Example 6.2).

Example 6.2

Rural Bidayuhs : Stand-alone Bidayuh with parents at home

a) Rural Biatah female undergraduate (RIF) with Second generation male (MG2)
MG2: Nga dinuk bisin edo ih. (*You people overthere are very noisy*)
RIF: Bekun. Nak ati an man edo ih. TENGAK, tein ih muh gomuk (*This boy loves to eat. Look, his body is fat.*)
MG2: Sak ih. Kambui yuoh muh bagak panei ih kurus pari. (*Let him be. He'll be thin when he grows up.*) (Transcription 34)

b) Rural Biatah male undergraduate (RIM) with Second generation male (MG2)
MG2: Pajak baya kambui u duh nakit ih. Ku miris motosikar anak sak u senang pakei brajar. (*I'll punish you if you're not careful. I bought you the motorcycle for your convenience to go to campus.*)
RIM: Ku suma pakei yuoh ka skurah edo ih. Bon ku di juok. Paring juok pun ka pasar kusing edo. (*I'm using it to go to campus only. I have never gone far. The furthest is Kuching town.*) (Transcription 35)

c) Rural Bukar-Sadong male undergraduate (RBM) with Second generation male (MG2)
MG2: Aku ra maan tubi. (*I want to eat rice.*)
RBM: Kita nyihup tayuk. Angah rayu inyam asung mu. (*Let's have a drink first. You're hungry*)
MG2: Aku pun muh siburuk inyam naih ku. Ra maan kolok mi inyam ku tiah. (*I'm very hungry. Perhaps I should eat noodles.*) (Transcription 42)

d) Rural Bau-Jagoi male undergraduate (RJM) with Second generation male (MG2)
MG2: Boy, oku doik suka ninga muu ponu katik kanih duoh Meg inoh birang konu. Oni obuoh muu tih? Doik kroja de bokon keh de nai mu masa kimisi tih? (*Boy, I don't like to see you loitering with Meg everyday. What's the matter with you? Don't you have anything to do during this holiday?*)
RJM: Oni salah eh duoh Meg, nak eh yoh nyaa de jaat. Walaupun yoh idoh morot IPT, perangai yoh paguh. Lagipun koih moh bidingan sok sekolah geh. (*What's wrong with Meg? He is not a bad person. Even though he doesn't go to IPT, his behavior is good. Moreover, we have been friends since schooldays.*) (Transcription 49)

Key: Times New Roman- Bidayuh dialects: Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah; MG2-father

6.3.1.3 To accommodate non-school going siblings

Since the home language was Bidayuh, the rural Bidayuh undergraduates used only stand-alone Bidayuh with non-school going siblings at home. The data showed that the rural Bidayuh undergraduates used stand-alone Bidayuh with non-school going sibling so as to assert authority.

6.3.1.3.1 To assert authority

All the twelve rural Bidayuh undergraduates stated in the interview that scolding their younger siblings using stand-alone Bidayuh was effective. More specifically a Bukar-Sadong undergraduate said:

*'Once I scolded my younger brother in English. He thought I was playing with him. He continued playing with my laptop. When I used Bidayuh, he **terus nangis** (cried immediately).'*

(Respondent 9)

Key: Times New Roman Bold: Bahasa Melayu

When the rural Bidayuh undergraduates used other codes such as English and Bahasa Melayu with the non –school going sibling, they would not be taken seriously because their non-school going siblings could only speak and understand their own Bidayuh dialects (see Example 6.3).

Example 6.3
Rural Bidayuhs: Stand-alone Bidayuh with non-school siblings at home

<p><i>a) Rural Biatah female undergraduate (RIF) with non –school going male sibling (MG3)</i> RIF: Pak kambui yuoh petak susah ku tiek. Koh ku pakei jepoh pesu. (<i>If it breaks, it will be difficult for me. You don't want to wear dentures, do you?</i>) MG3: Koh ku. Tiek menam beba ku tiek. (<i>Don't want. It will hurt my mouth</i>) <i>(Transcription 34)</i></p>
<p><i>b) Rural Biatah male undergraduate (RIM) with non –school going female sibling (FG3)</i> RIM: Sak ku pakei diok. Sminu tiek ku nak dinok. Nga duh main sakur ati. Petak keja nga baru nga puan. (<i>Let me use it first. In the afternoon, I will put it back. You fellows don't play with the hoe. You'll hurt yourselves.</i>) FG3: Kon ku pak yuoh anak sraru nyakur di kerning ajieh. (<i>Not me, but them as they are always digging behind.</i>) <i>(Transcription 36)</i></p>
<p><i>c) Rural Bukar-Sadong female undergraduate (RBF) with non-school going male sibling (MG3)</i> RBF: Anih tundah bala kinde a-ien? Main dakes' lagi. Kaie amu pu-an omon parit sien dakes? Matik bikudis baru pu-an? (<i>What are you doing there? Playing with dirt again. Do you know the drain is dirty You can easily get scabbies</i>) MG3: Kapal ku jatuk abih parit. Aku ngumbit aja. (<i>My toy boat fell into the drain. I 'm just picking it up.</i>) <i>(Transcription 43)</i></p>
<p><i>d) Rural Bukar-Sadong male undergraduate (RBM) with non-school going male sibling (MG3)</i> RBM: Muu onak opot, obuoh pasak tia moke mu puan eh. (<i>You're a little boy and you might step on nails.</i>) MG3: Idoh bih. Oku toban koyuh sija. (<i>No. I'll carry wood only.</i>) <i>(Transcription 49)</i></p>

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

6.3.2 Rural Bidayuh undergraduates using Bahasa Melayu in dominant Bidayuh at home

Table 6.1 shows that only one fifth or 20.14% of the total utterances made by the rural Bidayuh respondents at home are code-switches using more Bidayuh and less Bahasa Melayu. More specifically this pattern consists 22.88% of the total sentences uttered by the rural Bau-Jagoi, 23.33% by the rural Bukar-Sadong and 12.94% by the rural Biatah undergraduates.

Malaysians tend to code-switch in discourse (David, 2003: 9). The rural Bidayuh undergraduates used Bahasa Melayu code-switches in dominant Bidayuh with their educated siblings. Such habitual code-switching was not triggered by limited proficiency. The Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates and their educated siblings used the ‘we’ code (Gumperz 1982) because it was the most comfortable pattern for them.

The rural Bidayuh undergraduates used Bahasa Melayu code-switches with their educated siblings at home because Bahasa Melayu was their medium of instruction in school. Although they had learnt English as a second language in school for eleven years and the medium of instruction in UiTM is also in English, there was hardly any utterance using English with educated siblings at home.

6.3.2.1 Habitual use

About 83% or ten of the rural Bidayuh undergraduates stated in the interview that the main reason for using Bahasa Melayu code-switches were due to habitual use for referents of words used over time. A Biatah undergraduate said:

“At home, saya selalu cakap Bidayuh tapi kadang –kadang campur BM juga. Ialah dengan kakak dan abang yang sudah berkerja dan yang belajar di niversiti” (At home, I always speak Bidayuh but sometimes with my siblings who are already working or in the university, we mix with Bahasa Melayu too.)

(Respondent 17)

Key: Times New Roman Bold-Bahasa Melayu

In the discourse of the rural Bidayuh undergraduates with their educated siblings Bahasa Melayu code-switches were used when talking about their studies and entertainment (see Example 6.4).

Example 6.4

Rural Bidayuhs: Dominant Bidayuh less Bahasa Melayu at home

a) Rural Biatah male undergraduate (RIM) with Third generation male (MG3)
 MG3: Bekun semua dayak bujang munok. Anok an rumba edo ih. Anok bekun biasa edo ih. (Not all the youths are behaving that way. Only some are speeding. I'm not like that)

RIM: Buntu otak ku muh duh goh puan mungki re terang yuoh bara ih. kan malang itu tidak berbau . (I'm already tired of explaining to you the dangers of speeding. You can't tell when danger comes) (Transcription 35)

b) Rural Biatah male undergraduate (RIM) with Third generation male (MG3)
RIM: Jak tunak ku di ka karan. Gik berita sensasi ku daan yuoh u. (Come follow me to that pace. Don't you know, there's sensational news .)

MG3: Berita sensasi ni? Ku mit separ diok. (What kind of sensational news? Let me take my slippers first.)

RIM: Raju nisok. O doh ramat. Tiek dog ketinggalan. (You better hurry up or else we'll be late. We'll be left out.) (Transcription 36)

c) Rural Bukar-Sadong male (RBM) with Third generation female (FG3)
RBM: Kumishi indi minggu ti biguna tinan ngendai, ti ira ngundah kiraja kursus.Kaie ripu bilajer dak maktab. (This one week break is useful to complete assignments. It's not easy studying in the college.)

FG3: Sien mah pengorbanan nyadi guru pilatih. Dapih aduh' kumishi mung bala kinde. (That's the sacrifice made by a trainee teacher.) (Transcription 41)

d) Rural Bukar-Sadong female (RBF) with Third generation female (FG3)
 FG3: Tirawuk ku. (I'm worried.)

RBF: Bukan amu kaie kenal nuh'. Lagipun ti pasel hal universiti, misti adup' nuh' nulung amu. (It's not that you don't know him. Moreover, it's university matters and he'll surely help you.) (Transcription 44)

e) Rural Bau-Jagoi female (RJF) with Third generation female (FG3)
RJF: Nyaa de dapod suo eh A dapod samung blajar de sekolah asrama penuh. (He scored all As and can surely study in a residential school.)

FG3: Oggi de obuoh kotod blajar de Semenanjung Malaysia geh. (There are others who study in Peninsular Malaysia.) (Transcription 51)

Key: Bahasa Melayu - Arial underline; Bidayuh:Biatah , Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong-Times New Roman

6.3.3 Rural Bidayuh undergraduates accommodating to different generations in the same discourse

In the rural Bidayuh homes accommodation often occurred to allow the participation of the greatest number of people of different generations in one conversation. The reason given was to maintain good family relationship.

In Example 6.5 the Bau-Jagoi undergraduate was code-switching with a female sibling. At the same time he was using stand-alone Bidayuh with his grandfather who was monodialectal. Due to habitual use, both the Bau-Jagoi undergraduate and his sister used Bahasa Melayu code-switches as common referents.

More specifically in Example 6.5.1 the Bukar-Sadong undergraduate explained her reason for language use with her father and her sister:

*'Kita rasa selesa cakap macam ini (We feel comfortable talking like this). My father can understand me. My sister and me always talk talk mix (code-mixing). I use the words **pinjaman**, (loan) **hal-hal universiti** (university matters) in Bahasa Melayu because we always talk like that among us. We can understand.'*

(Respondent 11)

Key: Times New Roman Bold: Bahasa Melayu

Such interlocutor directed language choice satisfies the *comfort zones* (Asmah cited in David, 2003: 10) of those who were monodialectal and those who were multilingual (see Example 6.5 and 6.5.1).

Example 6.5

Rural Bidayuh: To accommodate different generations in one discourse

a) Rural Bau-Jagoi male undergraduate (RJM) with Third Generation female (FG3) and First generation male (FG1)

RJM: Paguh ku tulung babai ku baiki krisis eh de pugat sija eh. (*It's better for me to help my grandfather repair his broken chair.*)

FG3: Yoh tengah nai sadik sadik eh. Pegang tukul tong payah geh. (*He's fixing it alone. It's difficult for him to hold the hammer.*)

RJM: Babai, okuk riak nai kroja skorah kuk diok. Tiak ngumi okuk toban kresi noh. Onie bincang muu tik eh? (*Grand father, let me discuss my studies first. I'll fix the chair and bring it this afternoon. What were we talking about?*)

MG1: Yoh gereh. Nyek doh komut mit eh tiak ngumi. (*Alright then. Make sure that you won't forget this time.*)

FG3: Pasar kursus di riak koih nai eh nyuang semester tih. (*About the course during the semester holidays.*) (Transcription 49)

Example 6.5.1

b) Rural Bukar-Sadong female undergraduate (RBF) with Third Generation female (FG3) and Second generation male (MG2)

RBF: Um-mbuh amu nga-gau pinjaman tinan pinjaman mu? (*Do you have any study loan?*)

FG3: Bayuh lagik. Susah rayuk asung ku. Matik lambat boring ku nga-gau ngiraja. (*Haven't yet. I'm very worried. It's boring looking for a job.*)

RBF: Napuh amu nyiken umbu ku. Misti nuh' ira. Adup' nuh' sien suka nulung hal hal mung ta. (*Perhaps you can ask my brother. He surely can help you. He likes to help people with such problems.*)

FG3: Tirawuk ku. Mayak pun aduh'. (*I'm afraid. I'm also shy.*)

RBF: Kaie nuh' manang amu. Ra' mayak anih. Bukan amu kain kenal nuh'. Lagipun ti pasel hal universiti. Misti adup' nuh' nulung amu. (*He won't scold you. Don't feel shy. You have already known him. Furthermore these are university matters. He'll surely help you.*)

FG3: Susah rayuk ku e-ti. Aduh' kuduk urang mbuh ku nyiken, bala nuh' kaie sanggup. Tirawuk aku fail. (*I'm very worried. My brother has asked a few people but can't get any help. I'm scared that I'll fail*)

RBF: Sien mah cuba jak nyiken dengen umbu ku. (*I'll try asking my brother for you.*)

MG2: Siken adup' nuh'. Amu tirawuk anih. Bukan nuh' ma-an amu. (*Just ask him first. Why do have to be afraid He won't eat you.*)

RBF: Adup' nuh' ta tirawuk odog tulak. Bayuh pu-an lagi. (*You are worried he will turn you down. You haven't asked yet.*)

MG2: Bayuh nyiken mbuh tirawuk. (*You're scared even before asking.*)

(Transcription 44)

Key: Key: RJM-Rural Bau-Jagoi male; FG3- Third Generation female; MG1: First generation male; Arial underline: Bahasa Melayu; RBF-Rural Bukar-Sadong female; FG3- Third Generation female; MG2: Second generation male; Arial underline: Bahasa Melayu

6.3.4 Summary of languages used by the rural Bidayuh undergraduates at home

In summary, the rural Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates accommodated to their grandparents, parents and non-school going siblings by speaking stand-alone Bidayuh. When speaking to their educated siblings, Bahasa Melayu code-switches were used as referents. This was because some of the words they referred to did not exist in Bidayuh and they were more familiar with those words in Bahasa Melayu which was their medium of instruction in school. The rural Bidayuh undergraduates did not use English at home.

The rural Bidayuh undergraduates used stand-alone Bidayuh with their non-school going siblings and Bahasa Melayu code-switches in dominant Bidayuh with educated siblings. Therefore, there were different patterns of language used with different family members at home. Nevertheless, Bidayuh was the main language used by the rural Bidayuh undergraduates in the home domain

6.4 Language choice of the urban Bidayuh undergraduates at home

Table 6.2 shows clearly that the patterns of language choice of 12 urban Dayak undergraduates with family members at home consist of:-

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

Table 6.2
Language choice of the urban Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates at home

No.	Gender	Trans. No.	S – A Bid	C – S more Bid less Eng	C – S more Bid less SM	C – S more Bid less BM	Total Utter.
BAU-JAGOI							
13.	F	53	28 (56%)	5 (10%)	14 (28%)	3 (6%)	50 (100%)
14.	F	54	6 (54.55%)	4 (36.36%)	0 (0%)	1 (9.09%)	11 (100%)
15.	M	55	16 (47.06%)	6 (17.65%)	7 (20.59)	5 (14.70%)	34 (100%)
16.	M	56	17 (53.12%)	3 (9.38%)	11 (34.38%)	1 (3.12%)	32 (100%)
TOTAL			67 (52.76%)	18 (14.17%)	32 (25.20%)	10 (7.87%)	127 (100%)
BUKAR-SADONG							
17.	F	45	23 (60.53%)	3 (7.89%)	10 (26.32%)	2 (5.26%)	38 (100%)
18.	F	46	26 (60.47%)	6 (13.95%)	9 (20.93%)	2 (4.65%)	43 (100%)
19.	M	47	14 (41.18%)	9 (26.47%)	10 (29.41%)	1 (2.94%)	34 (100%)
20.	M	48	22 (51.16%)	7 (16.28%)	13 (30.23%)	1 (2.33%)	43 (100%)
TOTAL			85 (53.80%)	25 (15.82%)	42 (26.58%)	6 (3.80%)	158 (100%)
BIATAH							
21.	M	37	20 (41.67%)	9 (18.75%)	13 (27.08%)	6 (12.5%)	48 (100%)
22.	M	38	11 (52.38%)	4 (19.05%)	5 (23.81%)	1 (4.76%)	21 (100%)
23.	F	39	14 (45.16%)	5 (16.13%)	8 (25.81%)	4 (12.90%)	31 (100%)
24.	F	40	25 (64.10%)	5 (12.82%)	7 (17.95%)	2 (5.13%)	39 (100%)
TOTAL			70 (50.36%)	23 (16.55%)	33 (23.74%)	13 (9.35%)	139 (100%)
GRAND TOTAL			222 (52.36%)	66 (15.56%)	107 (25.24%)	29 (6.84%)	424 (100%)

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

6.4.1 Stand-alone Bidayuh

Table 6.2 shows clearly that the most frequent language pattern used by the urban Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates at home is stand-alone Bidayuh. This pattern consists of 52.76% of the total sentences in the utterances of the urban Bau-Jagoi, 53.80% of the urban Bukar-Sadong and 50.36% of the urban Biatah undergraduates.

Stand-alone Bidayuh was the most preferred pattern used by the Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates at home. The data showed a number of reasons why stand-alone Bidayuh was used at home.

6.4.1.1 To accommodate monodialectal grandparents

Most of the urban Bidayuh undergraduates' homes in did not have grandparents, but the 12 urban respondents' grandparents came to visit them regularly in the city of Kuching. The grandparents when interviewed stated that they preferred to stay in their ancestral homes in the Bidayuh villages. This supports Minos (2000:143) who said that:

'The older Bidayuhs have very strong feelings of attachments and sentimental to their villages, no matter how far or how remote or how primitive such villages are as their villages are like their world'.

Since the grandparents could only speak their own dialects the urban Bidayuh respondents did not have any choice but to accommodate using stand-alone Bidayuh (see Example 6.6).

Example 6.6
Urban Bidayuhs: Stand-alone Bidayuh with grandparents at home

<p><i>a) Urban Bau-Jagoi female undergraduate (UJF) with First generation male (MG1)</i> UJF: MJC bogo kodia kasut. Tia otto odi kanok. (<i>MJC has many shoe stores. We'll go there later.</i>) MG1: Oku raan kasut kain. Kasut kurit dak poon ku monam. (<i>I want cloth shoes. Leather shoes hurt my feet.</i>) <i>(Transcription 53)</i></p>
<p><i>b) Urban Bau-Jagoi male undergraduate (UJM) with First generation male (MG1)</i> MG1: Doik guna suo de munok. Paguh odi sekolah sija. Tia oggi geh cuti lagi. (<i>There's no need to follow. Better for you to study. There will be holidays again.</i>) UJM: Yoh raan nunak. Podo sikia doik parik Sibu lagi. (<i>He wants to go. He won't go back to Sibu again.</i>) <i>(Transcription 56)</i></p>
<p><i>c) Urban Bukar-Sadong female undergraduate (UBF) with First generation female (FG1)</i> FG1: Ichuk pun kai' tirawu. Anak inya iti neh ngan meng' en. Ami tayuk neh kaping mi anih kuan bala namba. (<i>He's not afraid.. Children nowadays are not like before. In the past we listened to our elders.</i>) UBF: Anak inya ti ngan susah ichuk. Anih kuan anduk ku pun agak neh kaping. Anih lagi da kuan akam yung. Mati takan inyam neh. (<i>He's a bit difficult. He doesn't even listen to my mother. He won't listen to you either. Wait, I'll get him.</i>) <i>(Transcription 45)</i></p>
<p><i>d) Urban Bukar-Sadong male undergraduate (UBM) with First generation female (FG1)</i> FG1: Kaping ati. Ka namba nyanda aba musing baak tempat bukun. (<i>Listen here. When elders talk, don't turn your face away.</i>) UBM: Bukun ogik akam yung. (<i>No, mother is over there.</i>) <i>(Transcription 48)</i></p>
<p><i>e) Urban Biatah female undergraduate (UIF) with First generation male (MG1)</i> UIF: U duh beguk nuok. Kambui an beguk tiek ku ngien. (<i>Don't drink too much. If you want more, I'll give you later.</i>) MG1: Sak ih kupur. Tiek eih duwuh kajon sina nug miris. (<i>Let him take it. We'll wait for the Chinese who comes later to buy more.</i>) <i>(Transcription 39)</i></p>
<p><i>f) Urban Biatah male undergraduate (UIM) with First generation female (FG1)</i> FG1: U re di ka maki? (<i>Where have you been?</i>) UIM: Meting maki-maki. (<i>No where in particular.</i>) <i>(Transcription 38)</i></p>

Key: Times New Roman- Bidayuh dialects: Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah; FG1-grandmother, MG1-grandfather.

6.4.1.2 To accommodate parents

Although the 12 urban Bidayuh parents could speak English, the dominant home language of the urban Bidayuh undergraduates with their parents was stand-alone Bidayuh. Like the 12 rural Bidayuh parents, the 12 urban parents were also proud of their Bidayuh identity and wanted their children to speak their hereditary dialect at home. The 12 Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates used stand-alone Bidayuh when talking to their parents (see Example 6.7).

Example 6.7

Urban Bidayuh: Stand-alone Bidayuh with parents at home

a) Urban Bau-Jagoi male undergraduate (UJM) with Second generation female (FG2)

UJM: Kasut ku moh koot. Sama odi sija sadik ingan diok. (*My shoes are too tight. Perhaps you should go alone.*)

FG2: Ki oggi yoh odi sadik eh. Oggi sama Patrick kajon yoh di sokap oran. (*He is not going alone. Patrick's father is waiting for him at the junction.*) (Transcription 56)

b) Urban Bukar-Sadong female undergraduate (UBF) with Second generation female (FG2)

FG2: Amu ti ngan suka ra kasar ngan adik mu. Anak ti ngan neh nakal pak tau manang neh. Aba sampe jadi mangsa mu. (*You should not be too rough with your younger brother. He is naughty but that is no reason for you to abuse him.*)

UBF: Puan kam neh main da sungi? (*Don't you know he played near the river?*) (Transcription 45)

c) Urban Biatah female undergraduate (UIF) with Second generation female (FG2)

UIF: Nok, piin tin anak samak miris pakei krismas maseh gik kah? (*Do we still keep the canned drinks which we bought for Christmas?*)

FG2: Diki gik. Buok nuok bara sidiek mu. (*No more left. Your younger siblings have finished them.*) (Transcription 39)

d) Urban Biatah male undergraduate (UIM) with Second generation male (MG2)

MG2: U gik bara sediek mu anak bekun. Bara ih an pakei duit goh. (*You're aware that you have younger siblings. They need money to study as well.*)

UIM: Pun ku Nok. Ku duh goh re dak brajar ku ati sia-sia. (*I know Mum. I won't waste this opportunity.*)

FG2: Tiek kambui u muh kreja dop mu anak di senang. (*It'll be easier for us once you get a job.*) (Transcription 38)

Key: Times New Roman- Bidayuh dialects: Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah; FG2-mother, MG2-father.

6.4.2 Urban Bidayuh undergraduates using Sarawak Malay in dominant Bidayuh at home

Table 6.2 above shows that the second most frequent category of language used by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates at home is Sarawak Malay in dominant Bidayuh. This pattern makes up 25.24% of the total utterances made by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates. More specifically, this pattern makes up 25.20% of the total sentences uttered by the urban Bau-Jagoi undergraduates, 26.58% of the urban Bukar-Sadong undergraduates and 23.74% of the urban Biatah undergraduates.

Sarawak Malay code-switches in dominant Bidayuh at home occurred more with siblings than with parents. Sarawak Malay code-switches in dominant Bidayuh with siblings were used when making fun and scolding one another as shown in 6.4.2.1 and 6.4.2.2 respectively.

6.4.2.1 To tease siblings

Due to the influence of Sarawak Malay used in the larger setting, all the 12 urban Bidayuh undergraduates said in the interview that they teased their siblings using some Sarawak Malay lexical items mixed with Bidayuh (see Example 6.8).

Example 6.8

Urban Bidayuhs: Sarawak Malay code-switches in dominant Bidayuh when teasing siblings at home

<p><i>a) Urban Bau-Jagoi male undergraduate (UJM) with Third generation male (MG3)</i> UJM: Dak Council takap kosuong kosuong de munok. Kosuong liar kasuo sija mun sik hati- hati kita pun kena gigit. (<i>Ask the Council to catch the dogs. The stray dogs are a nuisance and if you're not careful you will get bitten.</i>) MG3: Ada aku talipon, sik juak sidak datang. Cuba ko try gak? Mukin kan yoh ngojit sina dayung <i>desperate</i>, terus nyaa de munok nog. I did phone, but nobody came. Why don't you try? <i>Maybe if they hear a desperate female's voice, they will come quickly.</i> (Transcription 55)</p>
<p><i>b) Urban Bau-Jagoi male undergraduate (UJM) with Third generation female (FG3)</i> FG3: Daki mu yak odi? (<i>Where're you going?</i>) UJM: Jaman, ko maok ngekot kah? (<i>Toilet and do you want to follow?</i>) FG3: Odi sija sadik mu. Doik nyaa raan nunak mu. (<i>You just go ahead. Nobody wants to follow you.</i>) (Transcription 56)</p>
<p><i>c) Urban Bukar-Sadong female undergraduate (UBF) with Third generation male (MG3)</i> MG3: Neh slesa maan da sapa. (<i>It's nice to eat outside the house.</i>) UBF: Kedaklah sik ada dapur make makan. Mati ku ngaban pingan sungkoi luah. (As if you don't have a dining place to have a meal. Anyway, let me take the plates.) (Transcription 46)</p>
<p><i>d) Urban Bukar-Sadong male undergraduate (UBM) with Third generation female (FG3)</i> UBM: Ko pun sama juak baju semua ira da aduh <i>brand</i>. (You too, since all your clothing are branded) FG3: Sebab en amang mu pun slalu anyap duit. (<i>That's why your father is always short of money.</i>) (Transcription 48)</p>
<p><i>e) Urban Biatah female undergraduate (UIF) with Third generation female (FG3)</i> FG3: la lah ko suba sraru pari ka kapung. (<i>That's why you should always go back to the village.</i>) UIF: .Nang selalu bah pajak sraru buoh. U anak di duh puan ku sraru meri. (<i>I go back very often . It is you who are not aware of it.</i>) (Transcription 40)</p> <p>Key: Arial Bold-Sarawak Malay; Times New Roman- Bidayuh dialects –Jagoi, Bukar, Biatah</p>

6.4.2.2 To scold siblings

All the 12 urban Bidayuhs undergraduates also said they used Sarawak Malay when scolding their siblings because they wanted to use the language understood by their siblings (see Example 6.9).

Example 6.9

Urban Bidayuhs: Sarawak Malay code-switches in dominant Bidayuh when scolding siblings at home

<p><i>a) Urban Biatah female undergraduate (UIF) with Third generation female(FG3)</i> FG3: Nya mula dolok. Mai u tiwas yuoh ku? Yuoh anak saru jiruoh har. (He started first. <i>Who asks him to scold me. He always makes trouble.</i>) UIF: Samah nga duwoh. Kedak asuk ngan pusa. Duh bisin. Sinok ka maki? (<i>The two of you are the same. Quarrelling just like cats and dogs.</i>) (Transcription 40)</p>
<p><i>b) Urban Bukar-Sadong female undergraduate (UBF) with Third generation male (MG3)</i> UBF: Mun sik dengar mati ko. Agak kaping sanda. Umon daras susah ra nyalamat inde ka mun perangkap. (If you don't listen, you'll drown. <i>If the current is fast , it'll be difficult to save you once you're trapped.</i>.) MG3: Sik bah. Panai ku nyaga adup ku. Kai sah gago. Mati ku pidaan ngan amang amu narik kaping ku. Tubek ti t ok bidaya. (No, <i>I know how to look after myself. You don't have to worry. I will tell father that you pull my ear.</i>)<i>My ear is bleeding.</i>) (Transcription 45)</p>
<p><i>c) Urban Bukar-Sadong female undergraduate (UBF) with Third generation male (MG3)</i> UBF: Ceridak nar kitak urang tok makan. Ubo dakus mija. Paguh kinde ngulap neh mati. (<i>You people are so messy when eating. The whole table is dirty. You better wipe later.</i>) MG3: Mati ami ngulap neh. Ko eboh susah. Bukun neh susah ngulap. (<i>We'll wipe later. You don't have to worry. It's not difficult to wipe.</i>) (Transcription 46)</p>
<p><i>d) Urban Bau-Jagoi female undergraduate (UJF) with Third generation male (MG3)</i> MG3: Sik ada kerja lain. Malas aku bah. Nak eh suo nyaa mori gawia itih. (Nothing better to do. <i>I'm tired. I'll go back during Gawai.</i>) UJF: Ko sik mahu sik. Nyaa de bokon raan mori. Muu roo de bori sija. Jaga bori jak oggi pinoku. Masa kimisi itih, pinoku puan doik nyaa de bori. (It's alright if you don't want to. <i>Others will go back. You stay behind and take care of the house. The thieves know that people are not at home during the holidays.</i>) (Transcription 53)</p>

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

6.5 Urban Bidayuh undergraduates using English in dominant Bidayuh at home

Table 6.2 shows that 15.56% of the total utterances made by the urban Bidayuh respondents at home are English code-switches in dominant Bidayuh. More specifically, this pattern makes up 14.17%% of the total sentences uttered by

the urban Bau-Jagoi, 15.82% by the urban Bukar-Sadong and 16.55% by the urban Biatah undergraduates.

6.5.1 Habitual use

The urban Bidayuh undergraduates used English code-switches in dominant Bidayuh when speaking to educated siblings at home. It should be noted that their fathers were government servants and could speak English. Although Bidayuh was the main language used by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates with their fathers, there were instances when English words were used for words which were habitually used over time. According to a Bukar-Sadong undergraduate:

*'We use English, especially for the words we always use in English I think we are already used to it because everytime we speak we use the same words in English. Maybe the English words already stuck to our **bahasa** (borrowed in our language).'*

(Respondent 18)

Key: Times New Roman: Bahasa Melayu

Therefore, the urban Bidayuh would use English to fill in the gaps for words which were habitually used (see Example 6.10).

Example 6.10
Urban Bidayuhs: Dominant Bidayuh less English at home

<p><i>a) Urban Biatah female undergraduate (UIF) with Second generation male (MG2)</i> MG2: Gik yuoh man. Yuoh pikir nang kasang mera, <u>green peas</u>. (He has eaten it . He thought red beans were <u>green peas</u>.) UIF: Anok duhar. Gik, muh ku man <u>green peas</u> anak. (Not really. I've also eaten <u>green peas</u> before.) (Transcription 40)</p>
<p><i>b) Urban Bukar-Sadong female undergraduates (UBF) with Second generation male (MG2)</i> UBF: <u>Traffic jam</u> anten' neh. iti neh da <u>flyover</u> BDC en slalu <u>jam</u>. Wang anih <u>flyover</u> en ira siap? (Maybe <u>traffic jam</u>. The <u>flyover</u> in BDC is always <u>jam</u>. When will the <u>flyover</u> be completed?) MG2: Indi buran lagi. Ka muh siap, <u>traffic</u> mesti lancar. Anyap lagi jam meng iti neh. (In one month. Then the <u>traffic</u> will be smooth flowing. There'll be no more jam again.) (Transcription 46)</p>
<p><i>c) Urban Bukar-Sadong male undergraduate (UBM) with Third generation female (FG3)</i> UBM: Semua inya muh sampe. <u>Uncle Peter</u> muh manug? (Everyone is here. Has <u>Uncle Peter</u> arrived yet?) FG3: <u>First-first</u> muh manug. Jagu' neh manug. (He was the <u>first</u> to arrive.) UBM: Dapih adup neh? Aduh ne ngaban <u>football boots</u> Markson? Ku ra minan neh mati. (Where is he? Did he bring Markson's <u>football boots</u>? I want to wear it later.) (Transcription 47)</p>
<p><i>d) Urban Biatah male undergraduate (UIM) with Third generation male (MG3)</i> UIM: Raju temit buk Sains muk. Akuk riak <u>check</u> kerja muk.(<u>Quickly take your Science book and let me check your exercises</u>) MG3: Ati susah jadi akuk bayuh nai <u>photosynthesis</u>? (This is difficult. I haven't done it yet. What's the meaning of <u>Photosynthesis</u>?) (Transcription 37) <i>Key: Times New Roman italic underline- English code-switches; Times New Roman- Bidayuh dialects: Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah;</i></p>

6.6 Urban Bidayuh undergraduates using Bahasa Melayu in dominant Bidayuh at home

Table 6.2 shows that the fourth and the least frequent category of language choice preferred by the urban Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates is using Bahasa Melayu code-switches in dominant Bidayuh at home which makes up 6.84% of the total sentences in the utterances of the urban Bidayuh undergraduates. More specifically, Bahasa Melayu in dominant Bidayuh is used by 7.87% of the

urban Bau-Jagoi, 3.80% of the urban Bukar-Sadong and 9.35% of the urban Biatah undergraduates at home.

6.6.1 Habitual use

All the 12 urban Bidayuh undergraduates stated in the interview that Bahasa Melayu was the least preferred code because the national language was considered too formal for social interactions. Bahasa Melayu was also their medium of instruction in school for not less than eleven years. A Bukar-Sadong undergraduate said:

*‘Sometimes I use words in Bahasa Melayu. So when I talk Bidayuh and I find words to say what I want to say in Bahasa Melayu, I just use them. It’s already a habit, I think. Maybe **akibat belajar dalam Bahasa Melayu di sekolah dulu**. Maybe due to the Malay medium of instruction before.)*

(Respondent 20)

Key: Times New Roman Bold: Bahasa Melayu

Example 6.11

Urban Bidayuhs: Dominant Bidayuh less Bahasa Melayu at home

<p><i>a) Urban Biatah male undergraduate (UIM) with Third generation male (MG3)</i> MG3: Tetu Indon lawan China. (Of course it’s Indonesia against China.) UIM: Mati muh terlepas iklan. (It’s interrupted by advertisement.) MG3: Tengak iklan anak. (Watch the advertisement first.) (Transcription 37)</p>
<p><i>b) Urban Bau-Jagoi male undergraduate (UJM) with Second generation male (MG2)</i> UJM: Idoh kasut sama obuoh lumpur wat itih. (Father’s shoes shouldn’t get as muddy <i>as this</i>). MG2: Oku ponu ke toyak nyaa de punuok noh. Oran eh bibatuh. Tia pagi muu suba nunak oku. (I walked on somebody’s vegetable garden overthere. The road was full of debris. Perhaps you should come along tomorrow.) (Transcription 55)</p>
<p><i>c) Urban Biatah female undergraduate (UIF) with Third generation female (FG3)</i> UIF: Dapod duit bah byre jua tin kosong. Sak nya. (He gets money by selling empty cans. Let him be.) FG3: Ku dapod seringgit. (I’ve got a ringgit.) (Transcription 39)</p>

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

6.7 Summary of languages used by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates at home

Like the rural Bidayuh undergraduates, the urban Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates also used stand-alone Bidayuh with grandparents and parents. Sarawak Malay, English and Bahasa Melayu code-switches were habitually used as common referents with siblings. Generally, the language used by the urban Bidayuh at home consisted of more Bidayuh than any other codes.

6.8 Overview of languages used by the Bidayuh undergraduates at home

The reasons for language choice of the Bidayuh undergraduates at home can be summarised as follows 1) to accommodate family members with different language proficiency, 2) due to influence of Bahasa Melayu used as the medium of instruction in school, 3) due to the influence of Sarawak Malay used in the larger linguistic setting. Evidence from the transcribed data was supported by open-ended interviews with the twenty four respondents.

6.8.1 To accommodate family members

Language accommodation in the Bidayuh undergraduates' homes refers to the Bidayuh undergraduates adopting the code which was always used by their family members. Bidayuh was the home language in the rural areas with monodialectal grandparents, parents and non-school going siblings while

code-switching using more Bidayuh and less Bahasa Melayu was used by the rural undergraduates with their educated siblings.

In the urban areas, stand-alone Bidayuh was used by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates with their grandparents. All the 24 rural and urban Bidayuh respondents during the interview regarded stand-alone Bidayuh as a language used with monodialectal family members and did not use it when speaking to educated family members. A rural Bukar-Sadong undergraduate said:

'Sekarang, kalau saya cakap di rumah sama adik beradik, selau campur dengan Bahasa Melayu. Sekarang ini saya cakap betul betul Bidayuh di kampung saja dengan nenek dan emak bapa.' (When I speak to my siblings I mix with Bahasa Melayu. I only speak stand-alone Bidayuh in the village with my grandparents and parents.)

(Respondent 5)

Key: Times New Roman Bold: Bahasa Melayu

However when talking to their parents the urban undergraduates used both stand-alone Bidayuh and code-switching using more Bidayuh and less English, the latter was used more with their educated fathers. When talking to their siblings the urban Bidayuh used Sarawak Malay code-switches in dominant Bidayuh. Since the Bidayuh undergraduates were able to speak Bidayuh and other codes, they accommodated by using the code which the family members were used to. According to an urban Biatah undergraduate:

*'I speak to my grandmother using Bidayuh just like when I was small. To my mother I also speak Bidayuh because she speaks Bidayuh since we were born. To my father got mix a little bit with English. To my brothers and sisters we use **bahasa rojak** (mix language), always mix Bidayuh with Sarawak Malay.'*

(Respondent 21)

Key: Times New Roman: Bahasa Melayu

The rural Bidayuh undergraduates were using more Bidayuh at home compared to the urban Bidayuh undergraduates. The code-switching at home reflected the flexibility of language used by the rural and urban Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates with their educated family members. It showed the polyglossic nature of the interlocutors which they were comfortable with.

6.8.2 Habitual use of Bahasa Melayu and English

The use of the national language, Bahasa Melayu and English learnt as a second language in school emerged during Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates' interactions at home. According to Minos (2000:125) due to the Malaysian language policy the Bidayuh have adopted English and Bahasa Melayu expressions as part of their vocabulary for words such as *towel* (bathing towel), *pasar* (bazaar), *sabun* (soap) and *sembahyang* (praying). In this study, the researcher compiled a wordlist list for words borrowed from English and Bahasa Melayu used by the Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates (see Appendix E).

Bahasa Melayu and English were habitually used when discussing homework with siblings. The use of English and Bahasa Melayu code-switches helped to facilitate communication on school based or academic topics. According to a rural Biatah undergraduate:

'When I do revision with my younger brother I use English and BM (Bahasa Melayu). I never use Bidayuh. When I help him with Science, Maths and English I use English. When we do other subjects I use BM'.

(Respondent 12)

6.8.3 Use of Sarawak Malay due to influence of larger setting

The urban Bidayuh undergraduates had a shared knowledge of Sarawak Malay with their siblings because the local Malay dialect is widely spoken in urban areas. In the home recordings the urban Bidayuh did not always use Bidayuh with their siblings because they were also able to switch with ease using Sarawak Malay. An urban Bau-Jagoi undergraduate said:

'Everyone in my housing area in Batu Kawah can speak Sarawak Malay very well. I learnt Sarawak Malay when I mixing (mixed) with other friends We played games in our playground and we speak local Malay (Sarawak Malay).'

(Respondent 14)

6.8.4 To show identity

There was evidence to indicate that the rural Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates and their siblings were comfortable using Bahasa Melayu code-switches in dominant Bidayuh which was a marker of identity for educated rural Bidayuh. All the 12 rural Bidayuh undergraduates stated during the interview that Bahasa Melayu code-switches in dominant Bidayuh occurred only among the younger generation of Bidayuh. A rural Bukar-Sadong undergraduate said:

*'I went to Malay medium schools. My brothers and sisters also. So it is common to use BM. It is our **cop** (identity) for us who go to Malay medium school. We don't use pure Bidayuh with our sisters and brothers if they know Bahasa Melayu very well.'*

(Respondent 7)

Key: Times New Roman Bold: Bahasa Melayu

In the urban areas there was also evidence to indicate that the Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates and their siblings were comfortable using Sarawak Malay code-

switches in dominant Bidayuh which was also a marker of identity for the urban Bidayuhs. All the 12 urban Bidayuh undergraduates said that they were proficient in Sarawak Malay (also see Chapter 5.) According to an urban Bau-Jagoi undergraduate:

'I think many Bidayuh families in Kuching, (city of Kuching) can speak Sarawak Malay. When rural Bidayuh people hear me and my brothers speak Sarawak Malay mix with Bidayuh, they say we are Kuching city Bidayuhs

(Respondent 15)

6.8.5 Language usefulness

All the 24 respondents also said that they were proud of their heritage Bidayuh dialects but considered the dialects less useful compared to English, Bahasa Melayu and Sarawak Malay. According to an urban Biatah undergraduate:

'I don't see how Bidayuh can be more useful than English or Bahasa Melayu. There is no common Bidayuh language. I did not learn it in school. Even some of my Bidayuh friends speak Sarawak Malay with me. I also want to better my English when I write so that I can get jobs. My Bahasa Melayu is already good and it is number two important. Most important language is English, then Bahasa Melayu.'

(Respondent 22)

6.9 Conclusion

The multilingual Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates accommodated with ease at home to create closer rapport with family members who were monodialectal, bi and multilingual. The shifting patterns indicated the flexibility of the Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates to switch codes in order to accommodate the different speech partners. Such participant-related shifts dominate the data collected in the home domain in both the rural and urban areas. In contrast, David's (2001)

study indicated that accommodation was made by the older generation of Sindhis when speaking to the younger generation. The language choice of the Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates with different generations at home can be better presented in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3 Language choice of Bidayuh undergraduates with different generation of family members at home

UNDERGRADUATES	WITH GRANDPARENTS	WITH PARENTS	WITH SIBLINGS
<i>RURAL</i>			
<i>Bau-Jagoi Bukar-Sadong Biatah</i>	Bidayuh	Bidayuh	Bidayuh Code-switching: More Bidayuh less Bahasa Melayu
<i>URBAN</i>			
<i>Bau-Jagoi Bukar-Sadong Biatah</i>	Bidayuh	Bidayuh Code-switching: More Bidayuh less English	Code-switching: More Bidayuh less Sarawak Malay Code-switching: More Bidayuh less English Code-switching: More Bidayuh less Bahasa Melayu

There was a variation in the codes selected depending on urban and rural undergraduates with interlocutors at home. This was validated by survey results and cross checked against recordings of real-time discourse. The next two chapters will provide a qualitative analysis of language choice among the Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates in the university.