

Code Choices and Reasons for Accommodation Among Urban Bidayuh Undergraduates in Intergroup Discourse

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ABSTRACT

The primary aim of this study was to investigate the dominant code of choice among the younger generation of urban Bidayuh undergraduates studying in a local tertiary institution. The Speech Accommodation Theory contends that closer rapport and solidarity can be easily established if the speaker chooses a code that is most preferred by the recipient. The data were collected through questionnaires and audio recordings of 13 casual conversations. The key findings of this study indicated that the heritage Bidayuh dialects were hardly used. Instead, Sarawak Malay is the dominant code of choice among the younger generation of urban Bidayuh undergraduates across dialect group interactions.

Keywords: Code choice, accommodation, Kuching, Bidayuh

INTRODUCTION

It is important to note that switching of codes is a form of accommodation in multilingual societies (David, 2003, p. 3). Ongoing language shift in a community is signalled by code-switching and is a recurring feature among the minority communities in Malaysia. Studies of various ethnic communities in Malaysia such as the Sindhi community (David, 2001), the Javanese (Mohd Yasin, 1996) and the Kelantanese Peranakan Chinese communities (Teo, 2003) have demonstrated inter generational pattern of language shift which is signalled by code-switching.

In a review of theoretical and regional issues with special reference to Borneo (which includes Sarawak), Sercombe (2002, p. 134) and Cullip (2000, p. 2) have identified similar factors which can influence language choice among ethnic minorities in Sarawak. These include the

language proficiencies of the participants; the formality of the situation (setting, participants, and topic); the need to project or reject identities and loyalties; the age; sex and level of education of the participants; the presence or absence of 'background' groups in the setting who may indirectly influence the participants.

Sarawak joined Malaysia on 16th September 1963 after over 100 years of being governed by three English autocrats, the Rajah Brooke (1839-1946), and 21 years of British Colonial Administration (1942-1963). Sarawak is the largest of the fourteen states in Malaysia and is located on the island of Borneo. It has a population of 2.3 million (Department of Statistics, 2008), with the majority being the Ibans, followed by Chinese, Malay, Bidayuh, and at least 22 other smaller ethnic groups. In Malaysia, the official language is Bahasa Melayu with English as a strong second language

especially in the urban areas (Gill, 2002). According to Madzhi Johari (1988, p. 1), Sarawak Malay has the most number of speakers compared to any other dialects or languages in Sarawak and is spoken widely without feelings of embarrassment in unofficial domains. It is the lingua franca in interethnic communication among the *Bumiputeras* (sons of soil). Asmah (1987, p. 58) stated that 'Malay has always been the lingua franca in intergroup communication in Malaysia since the colonial days'.

More specifically, accommodating to the setting is seen to have exercised a powerful influence over language choice. Tunku Zainah (1978) reported that the younger generation of *Orang Miriek* (Jati Miriek) chose to speak Sarawak Malay dialect and be identified as Sarawak Malays because they wanted to gain acceptance by other urban Sarawak Malays whom they considered as more superior. She also reported that some of the *Miriek* speakers she met described their language as "useless" and "silly"... (Tunku Zainah, 1978, p. 31).

McLellan (1992: 200) reported that Bidayuh speakers on a radio programme used more Malay (approximately 60%) than Bidayuh dialect. The radio station was seen as a formal setting and a prestigious code was deemed appropriate. According to Rensch *et al.* (2006, p. 21), the young generation of Bidayuhs preferred to use Bahasa Melayu and English at work and at home because they felt that their dialects were less useful as they lacked the industrial and scientific concepts necessary to express complex thoughts and life needs in the scientific and industrial society in their present time. Minos (2000) stated that the Bidayuhs faced a problem whether they should use Bidayuh with other Bidayuhs from other dialect groups in public and risked not being understood or being branded as rude.

Given the complexity and fragility of the linguistic ecology (Muhlhausler, 1998) of Sarawak, it is surprising as Martin (1992) notes in relation to Borneo that very few studies have been done to investigate the language usage patterns of the multilingual people. Asmah (1992, p. 77) stated that research in language choice is important, especially at the present time

when the linguistic communities of Sarawak are undergoing changes in their use of language arising from the Malaysian language policy.

Following the passing of the Interpretation (Amendment) Bill 2002 at the State Legislative Assembly in Kuching, Sarawak on 6 May, 2002, the Bidayuh communities were no longer to be referred to as 'Land Dayak', the terminology given by the Brooke and Colonial administrations in the olden days. Today, the Land Dayaks prefer to be known as Bidayuh. In their dialect, '*Bi*' means 'people' and '*Dayuh*' means 'Land'.

The biggest problem facing the Bidayuh is that there is no common Bidayuh dialect amongst the 29 dialectal groups. The 29 Bidayuh sub-dialects have been classified into four main groups, namely, Bau-Jagoi for Bidayuhs residing in Bau District; Bukar-Sadong for Bidayuhs residing in Serian District; Biatah for Bidayuhs residing in Padawan and Siburan District (also referred to as Kuching Rural District), and Salako Larra for Bidayuhs residing in Lundu District (also referred to as the Bidayuh Belt).

Although these 29 groups have been classified into 4 main dialectal groups based on the districts where their ancestral homes are located, the problem still exists in the sense that the Bidayuhs in these different districts do not understand one another completely. Some words in one dialect mean differently in other dialects. Asmah (1987, p. 148) discovered that there are also sub-dialects spoken. Among the Biatah sub-dialects are Penyua, Binah, Bipuruh, Tebia and Bebengo. Common Bau-Jagoi sub-dialects are Bisingshai, Biroh, Krokong and Bijagoi. Sub-groups are also found among the Serian Bukar-Sadong Bidayuhs. The Bidayuhs residing in the upper tributaries of the Sadong River speak a slightly different dialect from those residing in the lower reaches of the River and those Bidayuhs residing closer to the Sarawak/Kalimantan border speak different dialects compared to those living along the Kuching/Serian Road.

With each dialectal group having many variations and different talking styles, sound and

pronunciation, it looks very confusing even to the Bidayuh themselves. In such situations, they would begin to speak in other codes. To justify the need for this study is actually to ascertain to what extent the younger generation of urban multilingual Bidayuhs are using their heritage dialects apart from the Sarawak Malay dialect, English and Bahasa Malaysia.

AIMS

The primary goal of this study was to investigate the dominant code of choice among the younger generation of urban Bidayuh who are undergraduates in a local university in Kuching.

1. What is the most dominant code choice of the urban Bidayuhs in inter dialect group communication?
2. Are there other less dominant codes used?
3. What are the reasons for these code choices?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Speech Accommodation Theory developed from the work of Giles and Clair (1979) and Gumperz (1982) functions of code-switching formed the main framework of this study.

Speech Accommodation Theory

Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles & Clair, 1979) refers to the phenomenon whereby speakers change the way they are speaking depending on who they are speaking to. The Theory of Accommodation contends that rapport and solidarity are more easily established if a speaker shifts to the preferred language of the recipient or subject. The adherence to norms valued in human relationships and its social importance influence accommodation directly. Speech Accommodation Theory is phrased as the inner group (us) versus the outer group (them).

While Giles and Clair (1979) used the Theory of Accommodation which focuses on language accommodation among people of

different ethnicities, this study extends the concept to include the extent of the use of Bidayuh (i.e. the hereditary dialect), Bahasa Melayu (i.e. the national language, and a language used as the medium of instruction), English and vis a vis the use of Sarawak Malay among urban Bidayuhs.

Giles, *et al.* (1991) have used Speech Accommodation Theory to explain the social motivations of using different codes and code-switching. In this study, the concept is extended to explain reasons for accommodation during social interactions. Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles, *et al.*, 1991) explains why people shift their speech in different interactions with others. It centres round three main speech strategies of convergence, divergence and maintenance. Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles, *et al.*, 1991) suggests that, in many social interactions, speakers desire their listeners' social approval, and use modification of their speech towards the listeners' code as a tactic to get this approval. This is called *convergence* and they are seeking approval and possible rewards. In other situations, however, speakers may wish to disassociate themselves from listeners, and they do this by accentuating their linguistic differences. This is called speech *divergence*. *Maintenance*, on the other hand, refers to the absence of delectable speech modifications.

Reasons for Code-switching

Code-switching is defined by Gumperz (1982, p. 59) as 'the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passage of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems'. Code-switching refers to instances when speakers switch between language and dialects in the course of a conversation.

The four main reasons why people code-switched and these have been discussed by Gumperz (1982) as: firstly, due to the lack of knowledge of one's language or the lack of facility in that language on a particular subject; secondly, code-switching is useful in excluding certain persons present from a portion of the conversation if it is known that these persons

have no knowledge of the language used for switching; thirdly, code-switching is sometimes used as a stylistic device to indicate change in the 'tone' of the conversation at a certain point, and lastly, a person could code-switch in order to impress another person with his ability to speak in many languages or in a language of 'prestige'.

METHODOLOGY

A total of 123 urban Bidayuh undergraduates participated in this study. Of these, 45 were urban 9 Bau-Jagoi (henceforth *B-J*), 43 were urban Bukar-Sadong (henceforth *B-S*) and 35 were urban Biatah (henceforth *BI*) Bidayuh undergraduates.

Data were collected through multiple methods. The study utilised a questionnaire and recordings of naturally occurring conversations. Permission was obtained from the Bidayuh undergraduates before the audio recording. Recordings of 13 natural occurring conversations involving urban Bidayuh undergraduates of the three main dialectal groups were made by the researcher and the respondents.

The questionnaire was designed with reference to earlier studies on language interaction, which included code-choices among members in minority ethnic communities, such as Gal's (1979) study on Hungarian-German bilingualism in the town of Oberwart, David's (1996) study of language shift among the minority Sindhi community in Malaysia, Sankar's (2004) study on language maintenance and shift among Tamil Iyers in Malaysia and Roksana Bebe Abdullah's (2001) work on language choice and shift among the Malays in Singapore.

All the 55 items in the questionnaire for the larger study consisted of multiple-choice items. Questions 1-2 of the questionnaire provided the background information of the respondents, such as gender and dialect group, which were the two main variables of this paper. Also, for this paper, the author made use of the data obtained from five multiple choice questions from the sub-domain of interaction. Two questions dealt with language choice when

using electronic communication channels, such as voice mail, e-mail and SMS (Short Messaging System). Three other questions were designed to determine the language choice of the Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates when telling secrets, conducting group study, greetings and taking leave.

The data obtained from the questionnaire were analysed using frequency counts and percentages. Only the extracts from the 13 naturally occurring conversations, which did not contain matters sensitive to individuals, their families or the university where they were studying, were selected. The transcripts were analysed to determine the dominant language used by the Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates when they were with other urban Bidayuh undergraduates in the university domain. The number of sentences using stand-alone codes and code-switching of various codes were identified, categorised and counted manually. The percentage of each category was then counted in order to determine the dominant and different patterns used; namely, Stand-alone Sarawak Malay; Code-switch using more Sarawak Melayu and less English; Code-switch using more Sarawak Malay and less Bahasa Melayu; Code-switch using more Sarawak Malay and less Bidayuh; Code-switch using more Sarawak Malay and less Sarawak Malay, English and Bidayuh; Stand-alone English; and Stand-alone Bahasa Melayu.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The findings of five contexts of code choice in the questionnaire are given below. The first two contexts are on different modes of communication, namely, sending voice mail, e-mail and SMS. The other three contexts cover the different purposes of communication, namely, code-choice when greeting and taking leave, telling secrets and group study. Tables 1-5 summarise the results from the questionnaires, followed by a summary of the findings on the different modes of communication and the different purposes of communication.

Sending Voice Mail

Voice mail was found to be a popular form of transmitting information when the respondents were too busy to send SMS (Short Messaging System) or e-mails. The most preferred code among the Bidayuh undergraduates when sending voice mail to the Bidayuh undergraduates belonging to other dialect groups was stand-alone Sarawak Malay. The code was selected by 75% of the *B-J* male and 80% of the *B-J* female undergraduates, 70.6% of the *B-S* male and 69.2% of the *B-S* female undergraduates, 56.25% of the *BI* male and 52.63% of the *BI* female undergraduates.

Code-switching using more Sarawak Malay and less of the other codes was reported by 15% of the urban *B-J* male and 16% of the urban *B-J* female undergraduates, 23.5% of the urban *B-S* male and 26.9% of the urban *B-S* female undergraduates, 25% of the urban *BI* male and 26.32% of the urban *BI* female undergraduates when sending voice mail to Bidayuh undergraduates belonging to other dialect groups.

Code-switching using more English and less of the other codes was selected by 10% of the *B-J* male and 4% of the *B-J* female undergraduates, 5.9% of the *B-S* male and 3.9% of the *B-S* female undergraduates, 18.75% of the *BI* male and 21.05% of the *BI* female undergraduates when sending voice mail to Bidayuh undergraduates belonging to other dialect groups (see Table 1).

TABLE 1
Language choice when sending voice mail

Code choice	URBAN			
	MALE		FEMALE	
	Count	%	Count	%
BAU-JAGOI				
Bahasa Melayu	0	0	0	0
Sarawak Malay	15	75	20	80
Mostly BM less B+SM+E	0	0	0	0
Mostly SM less BM+B+E	3	15	4	16
Mostly E less SM+BM+B	2	10	1	4
Total	20	100	25	100

Table 1 (continued)

BUKAR-				
SADONG	0	0	0	0
Bahasa Melayu				
Sarawak Malay	12	70.6	18	69.2
Mostly BM less B+SM+E	0	0	0	0
Mostly SM less BM+B+E	4	23.5	7	26.9
Mostly E less SM+BM+B	1	5.9	1	3.9
Total	17	100	26	100
BIATAH				
Bahasa Melayu	0	0	0	0
Sarawak Malay	9	56.2	10	52.63
Mostly BM less B+SM+E	0	0	0	0
Mostly SM less BM+B+E	4	25	5	26.32
Mostly E less SM+BM+B	3	18.75	4	21.05
Total	16	100	19	100

Sending E-mail and SMS

When sending e-mail and SMS to Bidayuh undergraduates belonging to other dialect groups, the most preferred pattern among the Bidayuh undergraduates was more Sarawak Malay and less of the other codes. This pattern was selected by 70% of the *B-J* male and 64% of the *B-J* female undergraduates, 47.1% of the *B-S* male and 50% of the *B-S* female undergraduates, as well as 50% of the *BI* male and 42.1% of the *BI* female undergraduates.

Stand-alone Sarawak Malay was selected by 20% of the *B-J* male and 12% of the *B-J* female undergraduates, 41.1% of the *B-S* male and 30.8% of the *B-S* female undergraduates, 37.4% of the *BI* male and 42.1% of the *BI* female undergraduates when sending e-mail and SMS to Bidayuh undergraduates belonging to other dialect groups.

Code-switching using more Bahasa Melayu and less of the other codes was selected by 5% of the *B-J* male and 4% of the *B-J* female undergraduates, 5.9% of the *B-S* male and 7.7% of the *B-S* female undergraduates, 6.3% of the *BI* male and 5.3% of the *BI* female undergraduates when sending e-mail and SMS

to Bidayuh undergraduates belonging to other dialect groups.

Code-switching using more English and less of the other codes was selected by 5% of the *B-J* male and 16% of the *B-J* female undergraduates, 5.9% of the *B-S* male and 11.5% of the *B-S* female undergraduates, 6.3% of the *BI* male and 10.5% of the *BI* female undergraduates when sending e-mail and SMS to Bidayuh undergraduates belonging to other dialect groups (see Table 2).

TABLE 2
Language choice when sending e-mail and SMS

Code choice	URBAN			
	MALE		FEMALE	
	Count	%	Count	%
BAU-JAGOI				
Bahasa Melayu	0	0	0	0
Sarawak Malay	4	20	3	12
English	0	0	1	4
Mostly BM less B+SM+E	1	5	1	4
Mostly SM less BM+B+E	14	70	16	64
Mostly E less SM+BM+B	1	5	4	16
Total	20	100	25	100
BUKAR-SADONG				
Bahasa Melayu	0	0	0	0
Sarawak Malay	7	41.1	8	30.8
Mostly BM less B+ M+E	1	5.9	2	7.7
Mostly SM less BM+B+E	8	47.1	13	50
Mostly E less SM+BM+B	1	5.9	3	11.5
Total	17	100	26	100
BIATAH				
Bidayuh	0	0	0	0
Sarawak Malay	6	37.4	8	42.1
Mostly BM less B+SM+E	1	6.3	1	5.3
Mostly SM less BM+B+E	8	50	8	42.1
Mostly E less SM+BM+B	1	6.3	2	10.5
Total	16	100	19	100

Summary of the Findings on Language Choice Using Different Modes of Communication

In the context of Speech Accommodation Theory, it clearly indicated that Sarawak Malay was the most dominant code chosen when sending voicemails, e-mails and SMS. When sending voice mail, Sarawak Malay was extensively used both as a stand-alone dialect and as the dominant code when code-switching with other codes. The code was selected by 75% of the *B-J* male and 80% of the *B-J* female undergraduates, 70.6% of the *B-S* male and 69.2% of the *B-S* female undergraduates, 56.25% of the *BI* male and 52.63% of the *BI* female undergraduates. Moreover, when sending e-mails and SMS, a code-switching pattern of more Sarawak Malay and less of the other codes was selected by 70% of the *B-J* male and 64% of the *B-J* female undergraduates, 47.1% of the *B-S* male and 50% of the *B-S* female undergraduates, 50% of the *BI* male and 42.1% of the *BI* female undergraduates. The results of the findings above indicated that there was less influence on gender and sub-dialectal groups to determine code choice when sending voicemails, e-mails and SMS, as there was a greater need to accommodate by using Sarawak Malay due to the variations in the Bidayuh dialects.

However, the researcher wished to acknowledge the possibility of topic or purpose of communication confounding code choice as a methodological limitation in this finding. Nevertheless, the issue of mutual intelligibility, due to the variations in the Bidayuh dialects, was seen an important reason for the Bidayuhs to speak in Sarawak Malay dialect. After all, Sarawak Malay is the lingua franca in interethnic communication in Kuching.

Greeting and Taking Leave

The politeness conventions used by the Bidayuh speakers when realizing the speech act of greetings and taking leave clearly showed that they chose a code mix pattern of more English and less of the other codes. Such pattern was the code selected by 45% of the *B-J* male and 48% of the *B-J* female undergraduates, 52.94%

of the *B-S* male and 53.85% of the *B-S* female undergraduates, 50% of the *BI* male and 42.10% of the *BI* female undergraduates when greeting and taking leave from Bidayuh undergraduates belonging to other dialect groups.

Meanwhile, code-switching using more Bidayuh and less of the other codes was selected by 30% of the *B-J* male and 24% of the *B-J* female undergraduates, 29.42% of the *B-S* male and 23.07% of the *B-J* female undergraduates, 31.25% of the *BI* male and 31.54% of the *BI* female undergraduates when greeting and taking leave from Bidayuh undergraduates belonging to other dialect groups.

Code-switching using more Bahasa Melayu and less of the other codes was selected by 15% of the *B-J* male and 16% of the *B-J* female undergraduates, 11.76% of the *B-S* male and 11.54% of the *B-S* female undergraduates, 12.5% of the *BI* male and 15.78% of the *BI* female undergraduates when greeting and taking leave from Bidayuh undergraduates belonging to other dialect groups.

Stand-alone Bahasa Melayu was only selected by 10% of the *B-J* male and 12% of the *B-J* female undergraduates, 5.88% of the *B-S* male and 11.54% of the *B-S* female undergraduates, 6.25% of the *BI* male and 15.78% of the *BI* female undergraduates when greeting and taking leave from Bidayuh undergraduates belonging to other dialect groups (see Table 3).

TABLE 3
Language choice when greeting and taking leave

Code choice	URBAN			
	MALE		FEMALE	
	Count	%	Count	%
BAU-JAGOI				
Bahasa Melayu	2	10	3	12
Mostly B less	6	30	6	24
BM+SM+E				
Mostly BM less	3	15	4	16
B+SM+E				
Mostly E less	9	45	12	48
SM+BM+B				
Total	20	100	25	100

Table 3 (continued)

BUKAR-				
SADONG	1	5.88	3	11.54
Bahasa Melayu				
Mostly B less	5	29.42	6	23.07
BM+ SM+ E				
Mostly BM less	2	11.76	3	11.54
B+ SM+ E				
Mostly E less	9	52.94	14	53.85
SM+ BM+ B				
Total	17	100	26	100
BIATAH				
Bahasa Melayu	1	6.25	3	15.78
Mostly B less	5	31.25	6	31.54
BM+SM+E				
Mostly BM less	2	12.5	3	15.78
B+SM+E				
Mostly E less	8	50	8	42.10
SM+BM+B				
Total	16	100	19	100

Telling Secrets

The language the Bidayuh undergraduates chose when telling secrets in this sociolinguistic research was done in the context in which they became friends among themselves at the university. The Bidayuh undergraduates preferred code-switching using more Bidayuh with less of the other codes when telling secrets to Bidayuh undergraduates from other dialect groups. The code was selected by 50% of the *B-J* male and 52% of the *B-J* female undergraduates, 47.06% of the *B-S* male and 46.15% of the *B-S* female undergraduates, 50% of the *BI* male and 47.37% of the *BI* female undergraduates when telling secrets to Bidayuh undergraduates from other dialect groups.

Stand-alone Sarawak Malay was selected by 30% of the *B-J* male and 28% of the *B-J* female undergraduates, 29.41% of the *B-S* male and 30.77% of the *B-S* female undergraduates, 31.25% of the *BI* male and 31.58% of the *BI* female undergraduates when telling secrets to Bidayuh undergraduates from other dialect groups.

Code-switching using more Sarawak Malay and less of the other codes was selected by 20% of the *B-J* male and 20% of the *B-J* female undergraduates, 23.53% of the *B-S* male

and 23.08% of the *B-S* female undergraduates, 18.75% of the *BI* male and 21.05% of the *BI* female undergraduates when telling secrets to the Bidayuh undergraduates from other dialect groups (see Table 4).

TABLE 4
Language choice when telling secrets

Code choice	URBAN			
	MALE		FEMALE	
	Count	%	Count	%
BAU-JAGOI				
Bidayuh	0	0	0	0
Sarawak Malay	6	30	7	28
Mostly B less BM+SM+E	10	50	13	52
Mostly SM less BM+B+E	4	20	5	20
Total	20	100	25	100
BUKAR-SADONG				
Bidayuh	0	0	0	0
Sarawak Malay	5	29.41	8	30.77
Mostly B less BM+SM+E	8	47.06	12	46.15
Mostly SM less BM+B+E	4	23.53	6	23.08
Total	17	100	26	100
BIATAH				
Bidayuh	0	0	0	0
Sarawak Malay	5	31.25	6	31.58
Mostly B less BM+SM+E	8	50	9	47.37
Mostly SM less BM+B+E	3	18.75	4	21.05
Total	16	100	19	100

Group Study

The Bidayuh undergraduates preferred stand-alone Sarawak Malay when holding study group discussions with their fellow Bidayuh undergraduates. The code was selected by 60% of the *B-J* male and 60% of the *B-J* female undergraduates, 64.71% of the *B-S* male and 61.5% of the *B-S* female undergraduates, 62.5% of the *BI* male and 63% of the *BI* female undergraduates.

Code-switching using more Sarawak Malay and less of the other codes was selected by 30% of the *B-J* male and 28% of the *B-J* female undergraduates, 17.65% of the *B-S* male and 27% of the *B-S* female undergraduates, 18.75% of the *BI* male and 21% of the *BI* female undergraduates when holding study group discussions with Bidayuh undergraduates.

Code-switching using more English and less of the other codes was selected by only 5% of the *B-J* male and 12% of the *B-J* female undergraduates, 11.76% of the *B-S* male and 11.5% of the *B-S* female undergraduates, 18.75% of the *BI* male and 15.8% of the *BI* female undergraduates when holding study group discussions with Bidayuh undergraduates.

Code-switching using more Bahasa Melayu with less of the other codes was only selected by 5% of the *B-J* male and 5.88% of the *B-S* male undergraduates when holding study group discussions with Bidayuh undergraduates (see Table 5).

TABLE 5
Language choice during study group discussion

Code choice	URBAN			
	MALE		FEMALE	
	Count	%	Count	%
BAU-JAGOI				
Bahasa Melayu	0	0	0	0
Sarawak Malay	12	60	15	60
Mostly B less BM+SM+E	0	0	0	0
Mostly BM less B+SM+E	1	5	0	0
Mostly SM less BM+B+E	6	30	7	28
Mostly E less SM+BM+B	1	5	3	12
Total	20	100	25	100
BUKAR-SADONG				
Bahasa Melayu	0	0	0	0
Sarawak Malay	11	64.71	16	61.5
Mostly B less BM+SM+E	0	0	0	0

Table 5 (continued)

Mostly BM less B+SM+E	1	5.88	0	0
Mostly SM less BM+B+E	3	17.65	7	27.
Mostly E less SM+BM+B	2	11.76	3	11.5
Total	17	100	26	100
BIATAH				
Bahasa Melayu	0	0	0	0
Sarawak Malay	10	62.5	12	63.2
Mostly B less BM+SM+E	0	0	0	0
Mostly BM less B+SM+E	0	0	0	0
Mostly SM less BM+B+E	3	18.7	4	21.
Mostly E less SM+BM+B	3	18.7	3	15.8
Total	16	100	19	100

Summary of the Findings on Language Choice Using Different Purposes of Communication

There were three different codes preferred for different purposes of communication. When greetings and taking leave, English was much preferred as compared to other codes. A code mix pattern of more English and less of the other codes was the code selected by 45% of the *B-J* male and 48% of the *B-J* female undergraduates, 52.94% of the *B-S* male and 53.85% of the *B-S* female undergraduates, 50% of the *BI* male and 42.10% of the *BI* female undergraduates when greeting and taking leave from Bidayuh undergraduates belonging to other dialect groups. The results of the findings above indicated that there was less influence on gender and sub-dialectal groups to determine code choice when greeting and taking leave as *Hi* and *Bye* are commonly used by Malaysians.

Bidayuh dialects were chosen when telling secrets among themselves probably to prevent others from listening to them. A code-switching pattern of using more Bidayuh dialects with less of the other codes was selected by 50% of the *B-J* male and 52% of the *B-J* female undergraduates, 47.06% of the *B-S* male and 46.15% of the *B-S*

female undergraduates, 50% of the *BI* male and 47.37% of the *BI* female undergraduates when telling secrets to Bidayuh undergraduates from other dialect groups. The results of the findings above indicated that there was less influence on gender but the influence of the sub-dialectal group was important to determine code choice when telling secrets.

When studying in groups, the Bidayuh undergraduates selected stand-alone Sarawak Malay dialect as their code to hold discussions, largely due to the variations in the Bidayuh dialects. The code was selected by 60% of the *B-J* male and 60% of the *B-J* female undergraduates, 64.71% of the *B-S* male and 61.5% of the *B-S* female undergraduates, 62.5% of the *BI* male and 63% of the *BI* female undergraduates. The results of the findings above indicated that there was less influence on gender and sub-dialectal groups to determine code choice when studying in groups because it was also important to accommodate to one another.

Stand-alone Sarawak Malay as Matrix Language

Sarawak Malay was the main or matrix language for the urban Bidayuh undergraduates of both genders when coming into language contact with one another. Cross-reference of data obtained quantitatively showed similar findings qualitatively, whereby there were more utterances in the stand-alone Sarawak Malay in the conversations of the urban Bidayuh undergraduates as used by both genders compared to English, Bahasa Melayu and Bidayuh.

The issue of practical convenience and accommodation due to dialectal variations was the main reason for the urban Bidayuh undergraduates to choose Sarawak Malay when sending SMS, voice mail, e-mails and holding group discussions. The urban Bidayuh undergraduates were merely transferring their comfortability zone from outside into the university. Since the urban Bidayuh were proficient in Sarawak Malay, it was most

EXAMPLE 1
Stand-alone Sarawak Malay

<p>a) <i>Urban Bau-Jagoi male with Urban Bukar-Sadong male</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>)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 4)</p>
<p>b) <i>Urban Biatah male with Urban Bau-Jagoi female</i> UIM: Semua nok kakak, Bawang Putih kakak gilak. (<i>Everyone is beautiful including Bawang Putih.</i>) UJF: Nang kakak, nang semua nok lakon cerita ia. Tapi bapa nya udah kenak bunuh jadi okay, kurang sorang sik kakak. (<i>All the actors in the movie are good looking. The father is dead and that makes one less good looking character.</i>)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 6)</p>
<p>c) <i>Urban Bukar-Sadong female with Urban Biatah female</i> UBF: Nok tok bukan ajaknya mahal tapi sik sedap gilak. (<i>This is not only costly but also tasteless.</i>) UIF: Mi sapi iakah? (<i>Is it the beef noodles?</i>)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 7)</p>
<p>d) <i>Urban Biatah male with Urban Bau-Jagoi male</i> UIM: Aku maok jumpa nya kejap. (<i>I want to see him for a short while.</i>) UJM: Jom lah jumpa ngan nya. (<i>Go ahead and see him</i>)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 8)</p>
<p>e) <i>Urban Biatah female with Urban Bukar-Sadong female</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>)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 11)</p>

Key: Times New Roman: Sarawak Malay

comfortable to accommodate using Sarawak Malay when interacting with Bidayuhs speaking other dialects (see Example 1).

English for Opening and Closing Conversation

In the quantitative data, the respondents indicated their preference for English when greeting and taking leave. The transcribed data also showed that it was common to start a conversation in English and to use expressions, such as *hello*, *good morning* and, *give me a five* (see Example 2).

Similar to the quantitative data of selecting English, the transcriptions analysed indicated that the common expressions used by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates when taking leave were *See you* and *Bye* (see Example 3).

English Code-switches for Habitual Use

The transcribed data also showed that apart from greetings and taking leave, English was also habitually used for certain words, such as *chewing gum*, *sandwich*, *roadblocks*, *pen*, *draw*, *line*, *road tax*, *serious*, *van*, *roommate*, *partner*, *hostel*, *bully*, etc. These words were used with Sarawak Malay in the discourse of urban Dayak Bidayuhs (see Example 4).

Bahasa Melayu Code-switches in Group Study

Similar to the quantitative finding presented above, the transcribed data showed that the Bidayuh undergraduates preferred holding their group study using Sarawak Malay but there were instances where Bahasa Melayu code-switches were also found (see Example 5).

EXAMPLE 2
Using English when opening conversation

<p>a) <i>Urban Bau-Jagoi male with Urban Biatah female</i> UJM: <u>Morning, how are you this morning?</u> 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: 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>)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 2)</p>
<p>b) <i>Urban Biatah female with Urban Bau-Jagoi female</i> UIF: <u>Hello everybody, I'm already here.</u> 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>)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 10)</p>
<p>c) <i>Urban Bukar-Sadong male with Urban Bau-Jagoi male</i> UBM: <u>How are you?</u> UJM: <u>Fine thank you?</u> (Are you fine yourself?) UBM: <u>Great man, Join minum?</u> (... <i>join us for a drink.</i>) UJM: Nang aku sitok maok minum, haus bah. (<i>I came here to have a drink.</i>)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 4)</p>
<p>d) <i>Urban Biatah male with Urban Bau-Jagoi male</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. <u>Kiosk baru, lama udah sidak jual sia.</u> (<i>I haven't, but surely cakes and other food. It's a new kiosk and they have been selling food there.</i>)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 13)</p>

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

EXAMPLE 3
Using English to close conversation

<p>a) <i>Urban Biatah male with Urban Bau-Jagoi male</i> UIM: Marah dah member. Aku jalan lok, okay aku balit lok. <u>See you, bye.</u> (<i>He's angry. I've to go back first...</i>) UJM: Jom kitak pergi library lok. (<i>Let's go to the library first.</i>)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 1)</p>
<p>b) <i>Urban Bau-Jagoi female with Urban Bukar-Sadong female</i> UJF: Nun ada cashier diri belakang nun. (<i>There's a cashier standing behind.</i>) UBF: Kamek jalan dolok. Maok ngambik barang kat kede fotostat. <u>See you in the shop later.</u> (<i>I'm going first. I've to take things from the photostating shop.</i>)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 7)</p>
<p>c) <i>Urban Biatah female with Urban Bau-Jagoi male</i> UIF: Mun maok belanja ikut kamek. (<i>If you want a treat, follow me.</i>) UJM: <u>Next time only, see you soon.</u></p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 11)</p>

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

EXAMPLE 4
English code-switches for habitual use

<p>a) <i>Urban Bau-Jagoi male with Urban Biatah female</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>)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 2)</p>
<p>b) <i>Urban Biatah female with Urban Bukar-Sadong female and Urban Bau-Jagoi female</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 had 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 had booked you?</i>)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 7)</p>
<p>c) <i>Urban Bukar-Sadong male with Urban Bau-Jagoi male and urban Biatah male</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 expired yesterday and I haven't gone to renew it.</i>)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 10)</p>
<p>d) <i>Urban Bau-Jagoi male with Urban Bukar-Sadong female and urban Biatah female</i> UJM: Ada ko <i>pen</i> orna merah, minjam lok? (<i>Do you 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>)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 12)</p>

Key: English code-switches: Times New Roman Italic

Bidayuh Code-switches in Dominant Sarawak Malay

The urban Bidayuh undergraduates used common Bidayuh words with Sarawak Malay dialect among close Bidayuh friends who could understand at least some words in their dialects. Such a pattern was selected when they were with very close friends (see Example 6).

CONCLUSION

Cross reference of the data obtained from the questionnaires and transcriptions showed that Sarawak Malay was the dominant code used by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates across 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 in the university setting in Kota Samarahan clearly showed that they were comfortable with Sarawak Malay dialect.

The most common code-switching pattern was English code-switches in dominant Sarawak Malay. The functions of English code-switches in the opening, closing of conversations besides habitual use of certain English words showed that the educated younger generation of urban Dayak Bidayuhs were similar to other educated younger generation of urban communities in Malaysia [see David M.K. (1996) on the Sindhis; Sankar Vijaya (2004) on the Malaysian Iyers]. Bahasa Melayu was merely used as a referent during study group discussions (i.e. for words which have no equivalents in Sarawak Malay dialect). The Bidayuh dialects were the least

EXAMPLE 5
To discuss university related matters

<p>a) <i>Urban Bukar-Sadong male with Urban Bau-Jagoi male</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 ... I know that of some them didn't complete.</i>) UJM: Sik maok aku kedak ia, rugì. (<i>I don't want to be like that.</i>)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 1)</p>
<p>b) <i>Urban Biatah male with urban Bau-Jagoi female</i> UIM: <u>Di Malaysia pun, kita guna Bahasa Melayu walaupun banyak dialek Melayu lain.</u> Aku rasa sikap patut di ubah. Sik senang nak campuradukkan dialek-dialek dan jadikan satu ahasa, mustahi, sik suk nenga nya kelak. (<u>In Malaysia we're using Bahasa Melayu Eventhough we have many other Malay dialects.</u> <i>I feel attitude should change. It's impossible to create a new language bymixin 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>)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 12)</p>
<p>c) <i>Urban Bukar-Sadong male with Urban Bau-Jagoi male</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? Final year students maybe ask 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.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 13)</p>

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

used by the urban Bidayuh undergraduates because they did not understand much of other Bidayuh dialects besides their own. However, Bidayuh was their code-choice when telling secrets, especially to close friends, which were unable to be recorded, and so became a limitation of this study. The respondents were also unwilling to record their voice mails and show their e-mails and SMS because some contained vulgar language. Nevertheless, in the transcribed data, the common Bidayuh code-switches found were understood by the interlocutors and functioned as a marker of their Bidayuh identity.

This paper has highlighted and discussed the language choice patterns of the urban Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates in a university setting in Kota Samarahan, Sarawak. There was no difference between the three dialect groups of undergraduates, namely, Bau-Jagoi, Bukar-Sadong and Biatah. There was also no difference of language choice between the male and

female undergraduates when interacting across dialect. The Bidayuh dialects were noted but the pattern of code choice preferred by the Bidayuh undergraduates clearly indicated a preference for Sarawak Malay dialect. In short, the Bidayuh undergraduates used Sarawak Malay extensively to accommodate one another when there was no common Bidayuh language.

So far, there has been no study on code-choice among the educated younger generation of Bidayuhs in Sarawak, especially across dialect group interactions, and this study could add to the limited literature available on the Bidayuh community. There is a need to complement this study which focused on the younger generation of Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates by conducting a research to compare the language used by the three generations of Bidayuhs in the urban areas so as to investigate if there is any difference in the code choice across dialect group interactions within each generation.

EXAMPLE 6

Bidayuh Code-switches in Dominant Sarawak Malay

<p>a) <i>Urban Bau-Jagoi male with Urban Biatah female</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>)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 2)</p>
<p>b) <i>Urban Bau-Jagoi female with Urban Biatah female</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>)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 3)</p>
<p>c) <i>Urban Biatah female with Urban Bau-Jagoi female</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>)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 5)</p>
<p>d) <i>Urban Biatah female with Urban Bukar-Sadong female and Urban Bau-Jagoi female</i> UIF: Sik tahan aku, nya tidor bising gilak. (<i>He is very noisy when he sleeps.</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>) UIF: Si-ok so-wok juak tengah malam, pagi awal. (Chickens make noise at night too.)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 7)</p>
<p>e) <i>Urban Bukar-Sadong male with Urban Biatah male</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>)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 12)</p>
<p>f) <i>Urban Bukar-Sadong female with Urban Bau-Jagoi male</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>)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(Transcription 11)</p>

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

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