Kinship Terminology of the Bau-Jagoi Bidayuh in Sarawak, Malaysia

Yvonne Michelle Campbell[*]

Faculty of Language and Communication, Universiti Malaysia Sarawak, Kota Samarahan 94300, Sarawak, MALAYSIA

Abstract

This paper explores the kinship terms of the Bidayuh of Sarawak, focusing on the Bau-Jagoi subgroup variation as well as their cultural concept of kinship. The data for this paper was obtained through participant observation and interviews with four informants from two villages in Bau District, Sarawak, Malaysia, which are Kupuo Sarasot, located in the Jagoi area and Kupuo Barieng in the Singai area. The data analysis showed that the Bidayuh held on firmly to the Madih concept¸ in which all members of the village are considered 'one family'. The Bidayuh kinship terms do refer to birth order but with emphasis on the older generations. Gender is not emphasized in the Bidayuh kinship terms but refers to a specific gender. Two main adjectives are added after the kinship terms, which are dari' (male) and dayung (female). The address terms also focus on the older generations while most of the younger generations are addressed by their names. These two areas, even though considered under one subgroup, have their unique practices when it comes to kinship terms. However, due to modernization and urbanisation, the influence of the Malay and English language could be clearly seen in the Bidayuh address terms, replacing the Bidayuh equivalent.

Keywords: Kinship terms, Bidayuh language, Bau-Jagoi, community, Sarawak.

[*] Corresponding author, email: mvyvonne@unimas.my

1.   INTRODUCTION

Kinship and family are often based on genealogy (Scheffler & Lounsbury, 1971) and blood relation. In some communities, however, the kinship structure may be more elaborate and complex. In fact, they may well include those who are not directly related, especially in terms of genealogy and blood relation. According to Koentjaraningrat (2013) and Read (2015), the kinship system is used to illustrate the relationship between members of a speech community (Aziz et al., 2020). According to Schneider (1980, as cited in Aziz et al., 2020, p. 643), kinship can be defined as "a cultural system, in which a system of units (or parts) is defined in certain ways according to specific criteria". Wood and Kroger (1991) referred to kinship terms "as the establishment of the relative power and distance in a family and relative relations in a society" (Aziz et al., 2020, p. 644).

Different cultural communities around the world have their own rules and concepts concerning family and kinship. Alo (1989) stated that different cultures had different ways of looking at the notion of kinship and family and its arrangement. For example, in western societies in Britain and America, the nuclear family is the basic kinship structure, and in most developing societies, the extended family is the dominant kinship structure. It demonstrates that there is a difference between the understanding of the cultural concept of family and kinship as a whole from one community to others. As mentioned previously, kinship can go beyond genealogy and relationships with blood.

Such is the situation with the Bidayuh of Sarawak, an indigenous community from the Borneo Island of Sarawak. They are the third-largest ethnic group after the Iban and Malay and they make up 8% of the total population (Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia Negeri Sarawak, 2014). The Bidayuh are said to have originated from Sungkung, West Kalimantan, Indonesia (Chang, 2002). They later migrated to Rabak Mikabuh in Penrissen, Sarawak, and eventually to the various Bidayuh villages which some still exist today (Chang, 2002). At the moment, Bidayuh villages can be found mostly in the Kuching and Samarahan Divisions in Sarawak and are divided into six main groups based on their language variations. Bongarra et al. (2017) stated that these groups are the Bidayuh Biatah, Bidayuh Serian, Bidayuh Bau, Tringgus/Sembaan, Salako, and Rara. Each group resides in different districts and speaks different dialects as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Bidayuh languages in Sarawak (source: Bongarra, et al., 2017, p. 217).

Language (group)	District	Dialects
Salako	Lundu	Salako
Rara	Lundu	Rara
Bidayuh Bau	Bau, Lundu. Padawan	Jagoi, Singai, Serembu, Bratak, Gumbang
Bidayuh Biatah	Penrissen, Padawan	Biatah, Bibenuk, Bipuruh, Bistaang, Bisapug, Pinyawa', Biya and others
Tringgus/Sembaan	Bau, Penrissen, Padawan	Sembaan, Tringgus Raya, Tringgus Bireng
Bidayuh Serian	Serian	Bukar, Sadung Tebakang, Sadung Bunan, Sangking, Mentu Tapuh

This study, however, focuses on the Bau-Jagoi community, which resides in the district of Bau, some 35 km from Kuching, the capital of Sarawak, and consists of Jagoi, Singai, Serembu, Bratak, and Gumbang subgroups. The Bijagoi and Bisingai are the two main subgroups within the Bau-Jagoi group. Although they share similar

lexical terms, including those that refer to kinship, there exist some form of differences in their cultural concepts of kinship.

The subgroup from Jagoi, also known as Bijagoi, is said to have originated from the Bratak Mountain or Bung Bratak (Chang, 2002). A group of people later is believed to have moved down from Bung Bratak due to needs for farming lands and expansions and settled at the foot of Mount Jagoi. In the early 1830s, this group of people moved to the top of Mount Jagoi to avoid piracy attacks (Chang, 2002). The Singai group, on the other hand, resided on Mount Singai, Bau, and called themselves Bisingai based on the mountain in which they settled (Nuek, 2002). It is believed that from Sungkung, Kalimantan, a man named Panglima Ma Ganai or Ranai, led his followers to Mount Singai and settled there (Chang, 2002).

Although there has been a growing number of studies done on the Bidayuh recently, most have focused on the sociolinguistic aspects such as the study of Dealwis (2008) and Norahim (2010) on the language choice as well as Coluzzi et al. (2013) on the language vitality among the Bidayuh. There has also been linguistics research including those of Bongarra and Tan (2017) on Bidayuh adjectives, Tan (2017) who studied the Bidayuh affixes, as well as euphemism and dysphemism in the Bidayuh language by Ritos and Daud (2020). What is lacking in the literature is the study on the Bidayuh kinship terminology. This has led to this particular study on the concept of kinship within these Bau-Jagoi groups. For this purpose, there are two main objectives to this study. The first one is to investigate the different kinship terms within these two subgroups, and the second is to explore the cultural concept of kinship within these two subgroups. The research questions which guided this study are:
(1) What are the kinship terms used among the Bidayuh Bau-Jagoi, namely the Bijagoi and Bisngai groups?
(2) How do they address different family members?
(3) What is the Bidayuh Bau-Jagoi concept of kinship?

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Kinship terms refer to the categorisation and labelling of the relationship in a family and within a community. According to Yule (2014), kinship terms can be described as terms used to show the relationship between one person to another, especially in a family, within a speech community. Atadoga et al. (2017) stated that kinship terms include the systematic ways in which language is used to refer to people within a community who are related to one another.

Kinship terms are divided into address terms and reference terms. Address terms are used to address a person in a particular social context and show the speakers' relationships (Read, 2015). Usually, within a society, multiple address terms may be used, based on the relationship between the speakers (Read, 2015). Reference terms, however, are used to speak about or refer to the kin of the speaker.

Kinship terms can typically be divided into two types: consanguineal and affinal kinship terms (Read, 2015). Consanguineal kinship terms are those which are related through blood, and affinal kinship terms are those related through marriage. Although this division looks straightforward, in some societies, there are many other ways in which kin is established. It includes kinship through adoption, suckling, and godparents (Guindi, 2011) as well as more complex ones such as "name giving-name-

receiving relationship, food sharing, or co-residence" (Sahlins, 2013, in Read, 2015, p. 61).

Different societies have different kin terms due to the language and cultural differences concerning the meaning, content, structure, and organization of the kinship relations (Read, 2015). Kinship terms express the organization of conceptual interrelations among members of the kin (Leaf & Read, 2012). Aziz et al. (2020) stated that different social groups have different rules regarding kinship conventions.

Most kinship terms, however, distinguish between the sexes, generations, and blood or marriage relations (Al-Sahlany & Al-Hussein, 2018). In Arabic, the kinship terms distinguish between male and female relations and the paternal or maternal side of the kin. The Baduy of Indonesia also distinguishes between the genders of the kin but they also take into account the generation system which has a specific term for up to seven generations in the up-down system, which is similar to the Sudanese (Al-Rawafi et al., 2017). The Chinese look at four perspectives of relations regarding kinship terms including consanguineal, affinal, linear relation, which is the direct line of descent from an ancestor, and collateral relations which is the descended from a common ancestor but through different lines (Qian & Piao, 2007). For the Palestinian, they must know whom they are related to for heritability, rights and responsibilities, and marriage (Aqel, 2017). Therefore, each member in the extended family is given distinct terms to understand how they relate to one another (Aqel, 2017).

The terms of kinship are bilateral in certain cultures, such as the Javanese, meaning the terms used to refer to the kin are the same regardless of whether it is from the side of the father or mother, even though their terms of kinship differentiate between age and gender (Manns, 2014). For the Tabaq community, there are three perspectives to their kinship terms, which are consanguineal, affinal, and social system (Ismail, 2015). Their kinship terms play a vital socio-cultural role and as a sign of respect and solidarity, they need to designate the proposed term of address to the kin (Ismail, 2015).

In some communities, the kinship terms are based on birth order, such as in the kinship terms of the Tamiang language of Aceh (Aziz et al., 2020). The same refers to Malay kinship terms in Malaysia (Yusoff, 2007), which is based on not only birth orders but also the number of children and even dialects from which the speaker originates. In some cultural communities, kinship terms may be described minimally. For instance, in Hawaiian, aunts, and uncles are referred to as 'mother' or 'father' respectively, whereas cousins are often termed as either 'brothers' or 'sisters,' regardless of their gender (Schwimmer, 2001).

3.   METHODS

This study employed a qualitative descriptive method. Open-ended and unstructured interviews and participant observation were the two main methods used to collect the data for this study. The interviews were conducted with four informants from two villages in Bau District, Sarawak, Malaysia, which are Kupuo Sarasot, which is located in the Jagoi area, and Kupuo Barieng which is in the Singai area. The interviews were conducted with the informants based on the time and day for the interview. It is essential because most of those staying in the village are farmers and

would be at their farms during the days. Therefore, the interviews were done either in the evenings or during the weekends.

The informants for this study were selected based on Chambers and Trudgill's (1980) native language study (dialect) informant criteria, which is NORMF. NORMF stands for non-mobile, older, rural, male, and female. The non-mobile is a permanent community that has not migrated from the research area. The older is, preferably, the 50-year-old residents. The rural refers to those who have remained in the village to ensure that the language or dialect concerned is authentic. The male and female informants have been selected. It was to discover the language pattern and variant spoken by both males and females, thus producing a more balanced output.

Questions pertaining to the structure of kinship and Bidayuh words included those down the line of "what do you name your father/mother/brother?" The interviews were recorded using an MP4 voice recorder. The informants were 60 years old and above, three males and one female. All are native speakers of Bidayuh and so are their parents. The first informant, aged 80, from Kupuo Sarasot, has been living in the village all her life, while the second informant, aged 63, was born in the village and grew up in the village. The third informant, aged 95, is from Kupuo Barieng; Singai also has been living all her life in the village, while the fourth informant, also from the same village, aged 65.

For this study, the interviews and observation had been conducted by interacting with the informants for five days. Questions that were posed during the interview and communication with the informants were questions related to kinship terms and concepts, including how they call their grandmother, grandfather, father, mother, and sibling males. They were also asked how, particularly within the group, they are connected to each other. The interviews were recorded using an MP4 audio recorder and notes were made to help address the study questions. Besides, an observation was also conducted to see how the Bidayuh addressed different family members as well as their community members in general in their daily lives and activities. As an observer who participated in the daily lives and activities of the villagers, the researcher was able to observe and take note of prominent information that was necessary for the study, including how the people addressed their relatives and community members.

The data were transcribed, decoded, and classified based on the kinship terms stated by Read (2015). They were divided into two main categories which are consanguineal kinship terms (related by blood) and affinal kinship terms (related by marriage). Then the kin address terms were identified and grouped according to the different generations. Any additional terms and information were noted and taken into account, especially those related to the rank and social status of family members and members of the community which contributed to the Bidayuh concept of kinship.

4.   RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As stated above, the Singai and Jagoi subgroups belong to the Bau-Jagoi Bidayuh group, one out of the six Bidayuh groups in Sarawak. Based on the data gathered from the interviews with informants from both subgroups, there were no variations in the terminology of kinship used within the family and community. Both subgroups use the same kinship and address terms to identify and address their family members. These kinship terms go well beyond the extended family, from three

generations before the Ego which is the great-grandparents, and three generations below the Ego, which are the great-grandchildren.

Besides the Ego's own extended family, the Bidayuh kinship terms also extend to other members of the village and the Bidayuh community as a whole. As a form of respect, villagers who are elderly are termed appropriately as though they are one's own grandparents or relative i.e., uncles and aunts.

4.1 Bidayuh Bau-Jagoi Kinship Terms

The Bidayuh Bau-Jagoi Kinship terms, both consanguineal and affinal terms, reflect the importance of respect. The data of the study revealed that special kinship terms are designated for the members of the family who are older than the Ego and this includes gender-based terms. Even for the kinship address terms, the emphasis is given to the older generations whereby they are addressed by special terms as compared to those younger than the Ego who are usually addressed by their names. The data for this study are classified based on consanguineal and affinal kinship terms as well as address terms.

4.1.1 Consanguineal kinship terms

The Bidayuh system of kinship applies to the extended family. Each family member has various terms to refer to them, primarily because they are older or younger than their parents, depending on the order of birth. The Bidayuh kinship terms go three generations above the Ego and three generations below the Ego; therefore, they have kinship terms for great-grandparents and great-grandchildren.

Table 2. Kinship terms of extended family.

Relationship	Kinship terms	Generation to Ego
Great-grandfather (grandfather's/grandmother's father)	*Babai Raya*	G + 3
Great-grandmother (grandfather's / grandmother's mother)	*Sumuk Raya*	G + 3
Grandfather (Father's/Mother's father)	*Babai*	G + 2
Grandmother (Father's / Mother's mother)	*Sumuk*	G + 2
Father	*Samak*	G + 1
Mother	*Sindo'*	G + 1
Father's/Mother's Elder sister	*Noyung*	G + 1
Father's/Mother's Elder brother	*Somba*	G + 1
Father's/Mother's younger sister	*Tua' (dayung)*	G + 1
Father's/Mother's younger brother	*Tua' (dari)*	G + 1
Ego (child)	*Onak*	G + 0
Ego's elder brother	*Sikie (dari)*	G + 0
Ego's elder sister	*Sikie (dayung)*	G + 0
Ego's younger brother	*Sudi' (dari)*	G + 0
Ego's younger sister	*Sudi' (dayung)*	G + 0
Cousin (male)	*Madih (dari)*	G + 0
Cousin (female)	*Madih (dayung)*	G + 0
Nephew	*Pinanak (dari)*	G -1
Niece	*Pinanak (dayung)*	G -1
Grandchild	*Sukun*	G – 2
Great-grandchild	*Sukun siit*	G - 3

Table 2 showed the relationship among the extended family. Great-grandparents are collectively referred to as *Sumuk Babai Raya*, whereby *Babai Raya* refers to great-grandfather, and *Sumuk Raya* refers to 'great-grandmother'. The grandparents are collectively referred to as *Sumuk Babai*. *Sumuk* refers to grandmother while *Babai* refers to grandfather. These terms are used regardless of whether they refer to the paternal or maternal grandparents and great grandparents. Fathers are referred to as *sama'* and *sino'* means 'mother,' making the Bidayuh collective noun for 'parents' is *Sindo' sama'*.

An aunt who is the elder sister of the parent is known as *noyung*, regardless of whether it is from the father's or mother's sides, and 'uncle' who is the elder brother is known as *Soma*. An aunt or uncle who is the younger siblings of one's parent is called *tua'*. To differentiate between the younger aunt and uncle, the adjectives *dari'*, which means 'male/man' or *dayung*, which means 'female/women,' are put behind the noun *tua'* to distinguish the gender. However, in most cases, it is sufficient to say *tua'* simply:

(1) *tua' dari'* = younger uncle OR *tua' dayung* = younger aunt

For siblings, the terms used to refer to them are *sikie'* and *sudi'*, referring to siblings, regardless of gender. *Sikie'* is an older sibling, while *sudi'* is a younger sibling. However, again, to differentiate the gender, the adjectives *dari'* and *dayung* are used after the noun *sikie'* or *sudi'*:

(2) *sikie'dayung* = elder sister OR *sikie'dari'* = elder brother
(3) *sudi'dayung* = younger sister OR *sudi' dari'* = younger brother

The term given to a child is *onak*, which simply means 'child' or 'children,' and the term *sukun* is used when referring to 'grandchild/grandchildren'. Great-grandchildren are known as *sukun siit*, which means 'small grandchildren'. To distinguish between a daughter and a son, the two adjectives are *dari* and *dayung*. They are placed behind the noun *onak*, such as *onak dari*, which means 'son,' and *onak dayung* for 'daughter'.

Cousins are generally referred to as *madih*. The same rules apply when there is a need to differentiate between male or female cousins, which is the addition of the adjectives *dari'* and *dayung* after the noun *madih* such as madih *dari'* and *madih dayung*. There is also no indication of whether the cousins are older or younger from the Ego. The same rule also applies to nieces and nephews, whereby the Bidayuh term *pinanak* is used to refer to both. If there is a need to differentiate the gender, then again, the adjectives *dari'* and *dayung* are put after the noun *pinanak*.

As stated above, a child is referred to using the term *onak*. *Onak* is a noun, but it is used as an adjective to refer to other relatives' children, especially the aunts and uncles. For instance, *onak soma* means the children of the older uncle, *onak noyung* refers to children of the older aunt, *onak tua'* to refer to children of younger uncle/aunt:

(4) *Onak soma* = older uncle's children
(5) *Onak noyung* = older aunt's children
(6) *Onak tua' dari* = younger uncle's children
(7) *Onak tua' dayung* = younger aunt's children

There may be instances where one wants to specify the gender of the children, therefore the adjectives *dari'* and *dayung* are used to indicate the gender, although this depends on the context of the conversation and whether there is a need to do so.

Table 3. Kinship terms to differentiate gender of generations after Ego.

Bidayuh kinship terms	Relationship
Onak dayung soma	Daughter of elder uncle
Onak dari' somba	Son of elder uncle
Onak dayung noyung	Daughter of elder aunt
Onak dari' noyung	Son of elder aunt
Onak dayung tua' dari	Daughter of younger uncle
Onak dari'tua dari'	Son of younger uncle
Onak dayung tua'dayung	Daughter of younger aunt
Onak dari'tua'dayung	Son of younger aunt
Madih dari'	Male cousin
Madih dayung	Female cousin
Pinanak dari'	Nephew
Pinanak dayung	Niece
Onak sikie'	Elder brother's /sister's child
Onak sudi'	Younger brother's / sister's child

Table 3 showed the different kinship terms used to distinguish gender within the Bidayuh extended family of the generations after the Ego. These kinship terms for the Bidayuh could be summarized as follows, which the terms in the brackets being optional:

(8) Children of aunts/uncles: *onak* (gender) uncle /aunt (+ gender)
(9) Cousins/Nieces and Nephews: *madih*/*pinanak* (gender)
(10) Children of siblings: *onak* (gender) (position of sibling) (gender)

In practice, although gender differences are not much emphasized in the Bidayuh kinship terms, there may be instances whereby there is a need to refer to gender. For example, it is sufficient to say *onak soma* (child of elder uncle) instead of *onak dayung soma* (daughter of elder uncle), unless one wants to be specific.

However, members of the older generation and those older than the Ego's parents are given specific kinship terms to refer to male or female. It is similar to the Tamiang kinship terms, in which no specific terms are used to refer to the different genders, especially in the younger generations after the Ego (Aziz et al., 2020). It could be regarded as a form of respect towards the kin's position within the social structure.

The Bidayuh kinship terms could be regarded as emphasizing bilateral and generation and, to a certain extent, distinguished between age and gender. This is similar to the Javanese kinship system and terms that emphasize bilaterally and generation (Geertz, 1989). Within these communities, the kinship terms are the same regardless of whether the relatives are from the mother's or father's side.

4.1.2 Affinal kinship terms

Affinal kinship terms are those related through marriage. The 'husband' is known as *Bonon* and the 'wife' is known as *Sowon* in the Bidayuh culture. 'Parents-in-law' are commonly regarded as *tua*. The 'father-in-law' and 'mother-in-law', though, are respectively named *tua dari'* and *tua dayung*.

Table 4. Affinal kinship terms.

In-law relationship	Bidayuh kinship terms
Father-in-law	*Tua dari'*
Mother-in-law	*Tua dayung*
(Elder) brother-in-law	*Sikie ipar*
(Elder) sister-in-law	*Sikie ipar*
(Younger) brother-in-law	*Sudi' ipar*
(Younger) sister-in-law	*Sudi' ipar*

Table 4 showed the affinal kinship terms among the Bidayuh. The adjective *ipar* is put after the respective nouns of *sikie'* (elder brother/sister) and *sudi'* (younger brother/sister) to show the respective siblings' birth order based on whether they are older or younger than the Ego's spouse. *Ipar* is a common term used within the different communities in Malaysia to show an affinal relationship. For instance, the Iban (Fox, 1994) and the Malays (Banks, 1974) used the term *ipar* to refer to 'brothers-in-law' and 'sisters-in-law'.

Based on the kinship terms of the Bidayuh, it could be seen that gender is secondary in the Bidayuh community, but it is used to a certain extent in certain aspects and contexts. For one, gender differentiation may well be a form of respect for those in a senior position in the family, which is in line with an essential Bidayuh value of respecting the elders, which is why older people are given special terms to differentiate between the genders. Although it is not crucial to mention the gender of the younger positioned family members, it could be done if one wants to be specific.

4.1.3 Bidayuh address terms

In terms of the Bidayuh address terms, generally, it would not be much different from the reference terms, except that the reference terms are shortened. As seen in Table 5, the older generations have special address terms: the reference terms being shortened. However, for the generation of the same level as the Ego and after, they are usually addressed by their names.

Table 5. Bidayuh address terms.

Reference terms	Address terms	Kin
Babai Raya	*Bai*	Great grandfather
Sumuk Raya	*Muk*	Great grandmother
Babai	*Bai*	Grandfather
Sumuk	*Muk*	Grandmother
Sino'/ Tuak dayung	*Ndo'*	Mother/Mother-in-law
Sama'/Tuak dari	*Pak*	Father/Father-in-law
Noyung	*Yung*	Elder aunt
Soma	*Mba*	Elder uncle
Tua'dari/dayung	*Wak*	Younger aunt/uncle
Sikie dayung/dar/ipar	By name	Elder siblings/sibling-in-laws
Sudi'dari/dayung/ipar	By name	Younger siblings/sibling-in-laws
Madih dari'/dayung	By name	Cousins (male/female)
Sukun	By name	Grandchild
Sukun siit	By name	Great grandchild

Within the Bidayuh community, if one is married to a household person, he or she is considered part of the family. That is why the address terms for mother-in-law and father-in-law are *ndo'* and *pak*, similar to addressing one's parents. The same

applies to great-grandparents, grandparents, aunts, and uncles of the household. Even though one is not of blood and biological relation, they are considered part of the extended family.

4.2   Bidayuh Cultural Concept of Kinship

The Bidayuh is a communal, close-knit community, and they have close relationships with not only their family members but also the other members of the village as a whole. The fact that the Bidayuh lived in one longhouse as a community reflected this concept of Kinship where each member of the longhouse has their own roles and responsibilities, not only within their individual household but to the longhouse in general. Besides that, each person is expected to respect one another and this is reflected in the address terms used to address one another, especially the elders based on their social status and rank in the community.

4.2.1 Bidayuh concept of Madih

The Bidayuh concept of Kinship is based on the Cultural Conceptualisation of *Bimadih*. *Madih* in Bidayuh means 'relative' and is a general term used to refer to and address relatives in general. Adding the prefix *Bi-, Bimadih* means 'to be related to one another' (Campbell, 2020). A traditional Bidayuh village would consist of a longhouse or *botang romin* and an octagonal social headhouse known as *Baruk*. Ungang (2007) stated that the *Baruk* is a communal building used for social events and gathering in the olden days. This is where the concept of *Bimadih* begins. The concept of *Bimadih* relates that the Bidayuh regards members of their community, in particular, those of the same village as family. According to Campbell (2020), the Cultural Conceptualisation of *Bimadih* could also be found in the Bidayuh folktales, emphasizing the importance of this concept.

Within the Bidayuh household, the older generations are well respected and are often sought after for wisdom and advice. For each family unit, the father is the prominent leader and is assisted by the mother. In the olden days, each has their role in parenting, whereby the father was the primary provider and the mother the nurturer in the family (Campbell, 2020). Grandparents also played important roles in the family unit, where they act as advisors for the younger generations. The children of the household also have their roles in which they were required to help around the house, with the farming, rearing, and other household chores. In the evening, the youngsters would gather around their grandparents to listen to folktales (Campbell, 2020). Living in a longhouse, everyone knew each other and helped one another. It indicated how close the relationship was between the family members.

Within the *Bijagoi* group, the concept of *Bimadih* goes beyond the family unit and the village. According to the informant, if there were another *Bijagoi* from another village and had the same name as the person in that village, in the olden days, that person would be regarded as 'related' to the namesake. For instance, if there was a person named Ronai in that village and coincidently, another person by the same name, Ronai visited that particular village, she would be asked to visit the house of Ronai and even stayed there, even though they have never met before. Eventually, they would create a bond that may continue towards their lifetime and continue with their future generation. This practice, however, only applies to the *Bijagoi* community and not the

Bisingai. It could be considered as a unique practice because it reflects the concept of coming from the same heredity line as well as respect towards another person.

According to Read (2015), there were two types of terms related to kinship, which reference terms and address terms. Reference or Kinship terms are "overtly express the kinship relation understood to apply between the individuals of concern" (Read, 2015, p .61), and address terms are to "address a person during social discourse that reflects the kinship relation between the speaker and listener" (Read, 2015, p. 61). They are divided into consanguineal or biological/blood relations and affinal terms, kinship through marriage (Read, 2015). This applies to the Bidayuh kinship terms as well.

4.2.2 Rank address terms

In the Bidayuh community, respect is of utmost importance, and this is reflected in how a person addresses their kin, especially their elders. In this case, a person is addressed according to their age. For instance, in the *Bijagoi* community, the younger sibling or cousins would address or refer to the elder sister as *kakak* and elder brother as *abang*, Malay words adopted by some Bidayuh. In comparison, an older sibling or cousin would address the younger sister/cousin/brother as *adik.* However, in the case of the *Bisingai* community, how they call a cousin of the same generation or position depends on their parents' birth order within the family.

If the mother of the Ego is the elder sibling in the family, the younger cousins from the younger aunts would have to call the Ego *kakak*, regardless of their age. Therefore, it is not unusual to hear a *Bisingai* calling someone younger than them, *kakak* or *abang*. The same applies to all future generations, especially their children and grandchildren. Therefore, within the *Bisingai* community, it is vital that each person understand and know the genealogy of the family, if not specific, at least the necessary birth order of their ancestors.

4.2.3 Social status

The terms *babai* and *sumuk,* besides being used to refer to and address one's grandparents, are also generic terms used to address a senior as a sign of respect even though one is not related to them through the blood. As a sign of respect, calling an older adult *sumuk* or *babai* is a common practice among the Bidayuh. Addressing a younger person as *sumuk* or *babai*, on the other hand, is considered disrespectful. They would instead be called *soma*, *noyung,* or *tua'*, based on whether they are younger or older than ones' parents. Therefore, all five terms are considered generic terms to address someone older than the Ego.

Another interesting thing about the Bidayuh kinship system and how respect is shown is by referring to a child's parents by adding the noun *sindo'* and *sama'* in front of the child's name. For instance, if the first child's name is Damien, the parents would be referred to as *Sindo'* Damien or *Sama'* Damien. As a person grows old and has a grandchild, they would be called 'grandparents of' based on the name of their first grandchild. For example, if the grandchild's name is Mary, then the grandparents will be called *Babai* Mary or *Sumuk* Mary. These terms indicate the respect that the people of the community have towards a person regarded as elderly. It is indeed a privilege

for the Bidayuh since this shows that they are wiser and have reached a particular stage in their lives and community (Campbell, 2020).

5.   CONCLUSION

The data from this study, the Bidayuh kinship system, is a simple one, whereby kin, whether consanguineal or affinal, are often addressed similarly, therefore, is bilateral. In terms of reference terms, however, the kinship terms used may vary. Most reference terms are based on birth order, meaning whether they are older or younger than the Ego or the Ego's parents. However, unlike the Chinese (Qian & Piao, 2007) and Malay (Banks, 1974; Yusoff, 2007) kinship system, where birth order is emphasized, the Bidayuh terms are not as exhaustive. In the *Bijagoi* community, address terms that are used are based on the age of the speakers. However, for the *Bisingai*, the address terms are based on the birth order, regardless of age.

Gender is another thing that is not emphasised too much in the Bidayuh kinship terms; however, if there is a need to be specific on the gender of particular kin, the adjectives *dari'* and *dayung* are added to the front of the kinship terms. For those who are older than the Ego or the Ego's parents, specific kinship terms are used, again as a form of respect. However, the influence of the Malay language could clearly be seen in the Bidayuh address terms. Malay words such as *mak, pak, kakak, abang,* and *adik* replace the Bidayuh address terms. Besides that, due to modernisation and influence from the media, more and more English kinship terms are used in the family, including words such as mummy, daddy, mum, dad, auntie, and uncle as well as cousins to refer to *madih* and niece and nephews to refer to *pinanak*.

The concept of *Madih* is essential for the Bidayuh community. Within a Bidayuh village, all members from the same village, even those who are from the same area, in this case, the *Bijagoi* and *Bisingai*, are regarded as relatives. Respect is an essential value in the Bidayuh community, and this is reflected in their kinship terms, both address and reference terms. The elders in both the extended family and the village are appropriately addressed and accordingly as a sign of respect, even those related through marriage. The younger generations are often addressed by their names but as they get married and have children, they would be addressed as the 'father/mother of…'or *Sama'/Sindo'*… of their first child, and as they have grandchildren, they would then be address based on the first grandchild, which is 'grandfather/grandmother of…' or *Babai*/*Sumuk*…This is a sign of not only respect but growth in the social status of the person.

This study only covers the kinship terms of the Bidayuh of Bau, which is only one out of the six Bidayuh groups as stated by Bongarra et al. (2017). Since the Bidayuh speaks different variations, they might have not only different address and kinship terms but also their concepts of Kinship might differ. Future studies can examine the kinship terms of the other Bidayuh groups and even do a comparison study between the different Bidayuh groups to see whether there are any differences among these different groups and also to study the influence of other languages in the modern Bidayuh kinship terms.

REFERENCES

Alo, M. A. (1989). A prototype approach to the analysis of meanings of kinship terms in Non-native English. *Language Sciences, 11*(2), 159-176 https://doi.org/10.1016/0388-0001(89)90003-X

Al-Rawafi, A., Kurniawan, E. & Isnendes, R. (2017). The semantics of kinship terminologies of Baduy, Indonesia. In E. Malihah, S. Nurbayani. T. Aryanti & V. Ardiany (Eds.,), *Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on Sociology Education (ICSE 2017) Vol. 1* (pp. 5-11). SciTePress. https://doi.org/10.5220/0007091800050011

Al-Sahlany, Q. A., & Al-Husseini, H. A. (2018). Kinship terms in English and Arabic: A contrastive study. *Journal of University of Babylon, 18*(3), 709-726.

Aqel, F. M. A. R. (2017). Kinship terms in Palestinian Arabic and Standard English: A contrastive study. *British Journal of English Linguistics, 6*(1), 1-19.

Atadoga, F. T., Okorji, R. I. & Okeke, C. O. (2017). Lexical semantics of kinship terms in Igala. *Nsukka Working Papers in Language, Linguistics & Literature, 5,* 67-80.

Aziz, Z. A., Safhida, M., & Mahmud, M. (2020). Kinship terminology in the Tamiang language: A Malay variety spoken in Eastern Aceh, Indonesia. *Studies in English Language and Education, 7*(2), 642-656. https://doi.org/10.24815/siele.v7i2.16802

Banks, D. J. (1974). Malay kinship terms and Morgans Malayan terminology: The complexity of simplicity. *Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia and Oceania 130*(1), (pp. 44-68). https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90002706

Bongarra, M., Kayad, F. G., & Campbell, Y. M. (2017). The Bidayuh – languages or dialects? In M. Bongarra, M. Arrit & F. G. Kayad (Eds.), *Selected papers of the Bidayuh language development and preservation project (2003-2017)* (pp. 207-220). Dayak Bidayuh National Association.

Bongarra, M., & Tan, G. (2017). Some characteristics of Bidayuh adjectives. In M. Bongarra, M. Arrit & F. G. Kayad (Eds.), *Selected papers of the Bidayuh language development and preservation project (2003-2017)* (pp. 107-134). Dayak Bidayuh National Association.

Campbell, Y. M. (2020). *Bidayuh dondan oral folk narrative as a reflection of cultural worldview.* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University Malaya.

Chambers, J. K. & Trudgill, P. (1980). *Cambridge textbook in Linguistics: Dialectology*. Cambridge University Press.

Chang, P. F. (2002). *History of Bidayuh in Kuching Division*. Lee Ming Press.

Coluzzi, P., Riget, P. N., & Xiaomei, W. (2013). Language vitality among the Bidayuh of Sarawak (East Malaysia). *Oceanic Linguistics*, *52*(2), 375-395. https://doi.org/10.1353/ol.2013.0019

Dealwis, C. (2008). *Language choice among Dayak Bidayuh undergraduates.* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University Malaya.

Fox, J. J. (1994). Who's who in Ego's generation: Probing the semantics of Malayo-Polynesian kinship classification. In A. K. Pawley & M. D. Ross (Eds.), *Austronesian terminologies: Continuity and change. Pacific Linguistics Series C-127* (pp. 127-140). Australian National University.

Geertz, H. (1989). *The Javanese family: A study of kinship and socialization.* Waveland Press.

Guindi, F. E. (2012). Milk and blood: Kinship among Muslim Arabs in Qatar. *Anthropos: International Review of Anthropology and Linguistics 107*(2), 545–555. https://doi.org/10.5771/0257-9774-2012-2-545

Ismail, K. (2015). Tabaq kinship terms. *Dotawo: A Journal of Nubian Studies, 2*(11), 231-243.

Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia Negeri Sarawak. (2014). *Buku tahunan perangkaan Sarawak* [Sarawak yearbook of statistics]. Sarawak State Department of Statistics.

Koentjaraningrat. (2013). *Pengantar ilmu antropologi* [Introduction to anthropology]. Rineka Cipta.

Leaf, M., & Read, D. (2012). *The conceptual foundation of human society and thought: Anthropology on a new plane*. Lexington Books.

Manns, H. (2014). Youth radio and colloquial Indonesian in urban Java. *Indonesia and the Malay World, 42*(122), 43-61. https://doi.org/10.1080/13639811.2014.876156

Norahim, N. (2010). *Language choice of Bidayuh graduates in Kuching-Samarahan division* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Universiti Malaya.

Nuek, P. R. (2002). *A Dayak Bidayuh community rituals, ceremonies and festivals*. Lee Ming Press.

Qian, Y. & Piao, S. (2007). Chinese kinship semantic structure and annotation scheme. In M. Davies, P. Rayson, S. Hunston, & P. Danielsson (Eds.), *Proceedings of the Corpus Linguistics Conference CL2007* (Article #63). University of Birmingham.

Read, D. (2015). Kinship terminology. In J. D. Wright (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* (2nd ed., Vol. 13) (pp. 61-66). Elsevier.

Ritos, S., & Daud, M. Z. (2020). *Strategi penggantian disfemisme kepada eufemisme dalam komunikasi lisan masyarakat Bidayuh, Bau: Analisis pragmatik* [Strategies to replace dysphemism with euphemisms in the oral communication of the people of Bidayuh, Bau: A Pragmatic analysis]. *Asian People Journal (APJ), 3*(1), 64-83. https://doi.org/10.37231/apj.2020.3.1.153

Sahlins, M. (2013). *What kinship is and is not*. University of Chicago Press.

Scheffler, H. W. & Lounsbury, F. (1971). *A study in structural semantics: The Siriono kinship system*. Prentice-Hall.

Schneider, D. M. (1980). *American kinship: A cultural account*. University of Chicago Press.

Schwimmer, B. (2001). *Systematic kinship terminologies* [Lecture notes]. University of Manitoba. http://www.iheal.univ-paris3.fr/sites/www.iheal.univ-paris3.fr/files/03%20Systematic%20Kinship%20Terminologies%20-%20Schwimmer.pdf

Tan, G. (2017). One to many, many to one: The affixation of the imperative and the passive in Bukar Bidayuh. In M. Bongarra, M. Arrit & F. G. Kayad (Eds.), *Selected papers of the Bidayuh language development and preservation project (2003-2017)* (pp. 135-154). Dayak Bidayuh National Association.

Ungang, C. (2006). *Baruk: Sebuah institusi sosial dan budaya masyarakat Bidayuh* [*Baruk*: The Bidayuh social and cultural institution] [Unpublished master's thesis]. University Malaysia Sarawak.

Wood, L., & Kroger, R. (1991). Politeness and forms of address. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology, 3*, 145-168. https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X91103001

Yule, G. (2014). *The study of language* (5th ed). Cambridge University Press.

Yusoff, R. (2007). Translating kinship terms to Malay. *Translation Journal, 11*(3). https://translationjournal.net/journal/41malay.htm