



Faculty of Education, Language, and Communication (FELC)

**Hypercorrection in Multilingual Contexts: The Case of Bidayuh Speakers
of English**

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Hypercorrection in Multilingual Contexts: The Case of Bidayuh Speakers of English

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DECLARATION

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of Universiti Malaysia Sarawak. Except where due acknowledgements have been made, the work is that of the author alone. The thesis has not been accepted for any degree and is not concurrently submitted in candidature of any other degree.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Leonardo Ginyun", written over a horizontal dotted line.

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ABSTRACT

The current study investigates hypercorrection in a multilingual context among indigenous Bidayuh students speaking English. Hypercorrection is a sociolinguistic phenomenon where linguistic forms are overapplied due to perceived correctness or prestige; has predominantly been studied in European and widely spoken national languages. This qualitative study explores the types and influencing factors of hypercorrection in two age groups (younger: 11-13 years old and older: 15-18 years old) from three Bidayuh language varieties (Biatah, Serian, and Bau), with four participants from each variety, totalling 12 participants. Utilising Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) and the Monitor Hypothesis, hypercorrections were analysed and categorised into overapplication and underapplication. These were further classified into phonological, grammatical, and lexical hypercorrections. Results indicate that participants exhibited all three types, with phonological hypercorrection being the most prevalent, followed by phonological-grammatical overlap, grammatical, and lexical hypercorrection. Younger participants showed fewer hypercorrections than older ones. Qualitative coding identified factors influencing hypercorrection. Deductive coding highlighted age, education levels, phonemic competence, and multiple first languages as factors, while inductive coding revealed different language varieties, exposure to the target language, and language attitudes as additional factors. This study contributes to second language acquisition (SLA) research, informing pedagogical practices for indigenous students and illustrating the dynamic between dominant and minority languages in the context of hypercorrection.

Keywords: Hypercorrection, multilingual, Bidayuh, English speakers

Pembetulan Hiper dalam Konteks Pelbagai Bahasa: Penutur Bahasa Inggeris Bidayuh

ABSTRAK

Kajian ini menyelidik pembetulan hiper dalam konteks pelbagai bahasa antara pelajar pribumi Bidayuh yang menggunakan Bahasa Inggeris. Pembetulan hiper adalah fenomena sosiolingusitik di mana bentuk bahasa digunakan secara berlebihan kerana tanggapan ketepatan atau prestij; yang cenderung dikaji dalam bahasa Eropah dan bahasa kebangsaan yang digunakan secara meluas. Kajian kualitatif ini meneroka jenis dan faktor yang mempengaruhi pembetulan hiper dalam dua kumpulan umur (pelajar lebih muda: 11-13 tahun, dan pelajar lebih tua: 15-18 tahun) dari tiga variasi Bahasa Bidayuh (Biatah, Serian, dan Bau); empat peserta dari setiap variasi, berjumlah 12 peserta. Menggunakan Teori Penyesuaian Komunikasi dan Hipotesis Monitor, pembetulan hiper dianalisis dan dikategorikan kepada penggunaan berlebihan dan kurang. Ini selanjutnya disusun kepada pembetulan hiper fonologi, tatabahasa, dan leksikal. Dapatan menunjukkan bahawa peserta mempamerkan ketiga-tiga jenis, dengan pembetulan hiper fonologi yang paling ketara, diikuti oleh gabungan fonologi-tatabahasa, tatabahasa, dan pembetulan leksikal. Peserta lebih muda didapati kurang pembetulan hiper berbanding yang lebih tua. Pengekoden kualitatif telah mengenal pasti faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi pembetulan hiper. Pengekoden deduktif menunjukkan umur, tahap pendidikan, kecekapan fonemik, dan kepelbagaian bahasa pertama, manakala bagi pengekoden induktif: variasi bahasa, pendedahan bahasa sasaran, dan sikap terhadap bahasa sebagai faktor tambahan. Kajian ini menyumbang kepada penyelidikan pemerolehan bahasa kedua, memaklumkan cara pengajaran bagi pelajar pribumi, dan menggambarkan hubungan antara bahasa dominan dan bahasa minoriti dalam konteks pembetulan hiper.

Kata kunci: *Pembetulan hiper, pelbagai bahasa, Bidayuh, penutur Bahasa Inggeris*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SLA	Second Language Acquisition
CAT	Communication Accommodation Theory
L1, L2... etc.	First Language, Second Language, and so forth
NL	Native Language
TL	Target Language
MDH	Markedness Differential Hypothesis

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of Study

In an increasingly globalised world, speaking a second language seems to become more than just an additional skill, but is seen as almost a necessity. In multilingual societies like the ones present in Malaysia, where English holds a critical educational and social role, the challenge extends beyond just learning another language, but also to navigate the subtle pressures of speaking it “correctly.”

Second language errors are common and often expected in a non-native speaker. Typically, second language errors are attributed to negative transfers from the learners’ first language. However, when the specific errors displayed a feature *not* available in their native language, these instances prompt an inquiry into the possible origins of such an error. This is where hypercorrection becomes an intriguing sociolinguistic puzzle piece in second language acquisition: when speakers, in their effort to be right, end up getting it wrong.

Among Bidayuh speakers, the power dynamic between a dominant language associated with education and social mobility, such as English, and the linguistically minority Bidayuh language offers a unique perspective on the intersection of language prestige, education, and multilingualism. The prevalence of English as a language of interethnic communication among Bidayuh also provides another aspect to this linguistic dynamic. As Malaysia continues to evolve into a melting pot of languages and cultures, second language acquisition (SLA) research has gained increasing relevance.

How do individuals shift between languages, and what happens when they over-monitor their language output in trying to match what they believe to be prestigious speech patterns? This study investigates hypercorrection, particularly among Bidayuh speakers, a multilingual group balancing English, Malay, and other local dialects in their speech repertoire.

Hypercorrection arises from linguistic insecurity, as speakers overapply grammatical or phonological norms in striving to meet perceived standards of correctness. As Malaysia continues to develop linguistically, second language acquisition (SLA) research has become increasingly relevant in understanding these sociolinguistic dynamics. As speakers aim for linguistic accuracy, their attempts may unintentionally violate the very rules they seek to conform to, offering insights into both sociolinguistic behaviours and SLA.

One prominent theoretical framework in sociolinguistics that has garnered some attention in the 1970s is Giles' Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT). Initially developed in social psychology, and later expanded in applications for sociolinguistic and language learning provides a foundational framework for how individuals modify their communication patterns in reaction to various social and situational factors.

Anchored in concepts of social identity and intergroup dynamics, CAT provides context for the relationship between language usage and the social environments that encompass the communication users (or interlocutors). However, since its inception in the 1970s to at least as late as 2007 (Giles & Ogay, 2007), CAT was primarily a monolingual framework, and proved to be an insufficient guideline especially in multilingual or SLA studies. This prompts a necessity to integrate the more sociolinguistic CAT with the more cognitive and pedagogical SLA framework.

Krashen's Monitor Hypothesis, introduced around the same time, proposes that language learners have an innate "monitor" that oversees and regulates their language production based on the language rules and principles they have acquired. According to the Monitor Hypothesis (Krashen, 1977, 1981, 1982), this monitoring mechanism plays a crucial role in language acquisition, as learners self-correct their language output to align with the rules they have internalised. Both theories provide essential frameworks for understanding how speakers adjust their speech. CAT focuses on social adaptation, while the Monitor Hypothesis provides a cognitive lens on self-regulation during language acquisition. Together, these theories help explain how over-monitoring in multilingual contexts may lead to hypercorrection.

Especially in multilingual and multicultural societies, where it is crucial for effective communication across linguistic and cultural boundaries, the significance of SLA frameworks is particularly pronounced. One such example is Malaysia, which is also the population area of this current study. Malaysia is a multiethnic country where multilingualism is commonplace, and every child is expected to be at least functionally bilingual in English and *Bahasa Melayu* after their completion of secondary education (Ministry of Education Malaysia, 2013).

In this context, where language learning and bilingualism are fundamental aspects of education, speakers of a second language often regulate their speech consciously or unconsciously, to attain a certain standard of correctness (McCafferty, 1994). This regulation of speech production is consistent with aspects of the Monitor Hypothesis. It is when this monitoring overshoots the general speech norms, or in other words, self-regulates wrongly, that it becomes hypercorrection.

Hypercorrection is typically a sociolinguistic phenomenon, where speakers have a tendency to miss language norms in an attempt to correct some non-standard forms, by overapplying them even when unnecessary. This perceived correctness can be overshot phonologically (Akbar et al., 2020), grammatically (Collins, 2022) and lexically (Baugh, 1992). In essence, hypercorrection is an overcorrection aimed at counteracting presumed lapses in speech production. There is a common acknowledgement in previous studies that there is a conscious perception of prestige among speakers (Janda & Auger, 1992; Kroch & Small, 1978; Winford, 1978), which ultimately influences their hypercorrect tendencies.

The study of hypercorrection within the field of SLA, while not exactly recent, came fairly later on, with one of the earliest mentions of hypercorrection by Odlin (1989). Odlin characterised the phenomenon as an overgeneralisation from the speakers' first language (L1), a claim which was disputed by Eckman et al. (2013), who thought hypercorrection happens because of a gap of perceived prestige within the target language (L2). Which brings to attention, the apparent scarcity of hypercorrection studies across a multilingual context, across the usage of different languages.

Studies on hypercorrection usually approach the phenomenon within a monolingual context, meaning it was observed and documented from the view of a presumed lower prestige variety against the “standard” variety of one and the same language. This can be observed in the likes of Menner's (1937) American English hypercorrection, De Sifontes & Rojas-Lizana's (2013) hypercorrection of dialectal Spanish, and Hubers et al. 's (2020) hypercorrection in Dutch. In fact, Labov's (1986) study, which is considered by many as one of the seminary studies on hypercorrection, also observed the phenomenon in the variety of English spoken by lower-middle class against the “standard” English spoken by higher-middle class speakers.

Given the growing significance of multilingualism in Malaysia and the dynamics between language prestige, education, and social mobility, this study seeks to explore the occurrences of hypercorrection and the factors that might influence this tendency among Bidayuh speakers of English in a multilingual framework. By examining how Bidayuh speakers navigate specific linguistic insecurity and perceived correctness, this research contributes to a broader understanding of hypercorrection in SLA and highlights the complex sociolinguistic behaviours that emerge in multilingual contexts. The findings will not only offer insights into hypercorrection but will also inform education practices aimed at fostering more effective and accurate language use among minority language speakers.

1.2 English in Malaysia

English plays a vital role in Malaysia's communication environment, not only as a medium of instruction in schools but also as a second language (Azmi, 2013). Its prominence in the education system almost inevitably positions it as a language of both aspiration and necessity. This heightened status creates a desire among speakers to conform to its perceived standards, sometimes leading to hypercorrection in an effort to speak it "correctly."

In Malaysia's diverse linguistic setting, students come from various cultural and educational backgrounds and thus come with different language repertoires. These languages are either formally taught in classrooms (such is often the case for English and *Bahasa Melayu*) or acquired informally from the surrounding communities (e.g. Bidayuh and other indigenous languages). This amalgamation of languages and interlanguages influence the way speakers approach learning English as a second language. Pye and Chan (2023) highlight a key difference between multilingualism in Malaysia and that in European contexts, where languages are typically acquired sequentially (L1, followed by L2, then L3,

etc.). In contrast, Malaysians often develop multilingualism concurrently, using multiple languages interchangeably across both communal and institutional settings.

The association of English with a sense of success and upward mobility, particularly in non-English speaking countries, adds another layer to the existing dynamic. As Ricento (2015) and Sah (2024) observed, English often acts as a social marker, signifying educational attainment and professional success. This perception encourages speakers to align their speech with the standards they believe to be “correct,” modifying their natural speech patterns in the process. For instance, Scales et al. (2006) found that 62% of their sample of English learners in the United States aimed to sound more like native speakers, reflecting a broader desire among learners to strive for phonological accuracy (in whatever way they interpreted it). Consequently, it is likely that Bidayuh speakers may exhibit increased hypercorrection tendencies as they attempt to emulate features of native English speakers’ speech.

The prominence of English in Malaysia, coupled with its association with success and upward mobility, highlights its role as a significant linguistic aspiration for many speakers. The contextually unique multilingual landscape of Malaysia, where languages are often acquired more or less concurrently, can act as another challenge to English language learning. This intersection of multiple languages and the social prestige associated with English often leads to hypercorrection as speakers strive to align their speech to an internalised standard. As learners, including Bidayuh speakers, attempt to achieve linguistic accuracy, they may inadvertently amplify their hypercorrection tendencies. This phenomenon is not only influenced by the learners’ linguistic environment but also by educational factors.

1.3 Education and Age in the Study of Hypercorrection

It has been indicated by some studies that formal education has a significant effect on their hypercorrection probability, specifically the level or degree of the speakers' education (Bishop, 2020). However, as pointed out by Bishop (2020), there is an undeniable overlap with age as a factor, because education levels usually increase alongside the increase of age.

This heightened tendency for students to hypercorrect as their education levels increase, *and by extension*; as their age increases, could be caused by the tendency for older speakers to employ more compensation strategies in their speech compared to their younger counterparts (Chen, 2014; Sepasdar & Soori, 2014). While the increase in age is not necessarily equivalent to the increase of education level, it can be assumed to be highly interconnected as can be seen previously, and they have been shown to significantly influence the hypercorrection phenomenon.

Therefore, with this in mind, it is crucial to investigate age codependently with education levels to attempt a more comprehensive analysis of hypercorrection among student speakers. Since age does not always directly correspond to education level, it is instrumental to investigate whether hypercorrection occurs as a result of age, education, or even both simultaneously.

1.4 Bidayuh as A Multilingual Sample

Research on hypercorrection has primarily focused on monolingual contexts, particularly in examining standard versus substandard forms within the same language. However, hypercorrection in multilingual settings, where speakers navigate multiple linguistic systems, remains relatively underexplored. Given the unique linguistic pressure multilinguals experience, this gap is particularly significant. Bidayuh speakers present an ideal case for studying multilingual hypercorrection.

As a multilingual community, they commonly use their native Bidayuh languages, Malay (*Bahasa Malaysia*), and English, often switching between these languages depending on context (Norahim, 2010). In many cases, particularly in urban areas, educated Bidayuhs cultivate the use of English at home as a marker of social mobility and economic advancement (Riget & Campbell, 2020).

While the Bidayuh are the fourth-largest ethnic group in Sarawak and the second-largest indigenous community (8.4%) at approximately 210,000 people (Chua, 2007, p. 264), their language occupies a more precarious position. There is a clear shift towards dominant languages, even within Bidayuh households, especially in interethnic marriages where Sarawakian Malay or English often serve as intermediary languages (McLellan & Campbell, 2015). The increasing integration of English in Bidayuh daily life (Kayad & Ting, 2022) highlights the extent of this linguistic transition.

In a study on indigenous Sarawakian communities, Salleh et al. (2022) found that many ethnic groups frequently code-switch and mix languages in their speech. Specifically, among the Bidayuh participants, a high percentage reported mixing languages and code-switching, with 6.9% agreeing and 83.3% strongly agreeing that they often switch between

languages during communication (Salleh et al., 2022). In discussing Bidayuh community's attitude towards early childhood education, Kayad and Ting (2021) observed that many Bidayuh think that education in standard languages like English, Malay or Chinese to be of better quality. Waithaka (2017, cited in Kayad & Ting, 2021) observed a parallel among Kenyan rural parents who find utility in their children learning English even when they themselves do not speak or understand the language.

Parents of indigenous children, particularly in rural areas, believed that the exposure to more prestigious languages would open up opportunities for their children in a globalised world. This observation aligns with Rensch et al. (2012, p. 18) concerns about the declining use of the Bidayuh language. Rensch et al. (2012) attributed this decline to some Bidayuh parents not speaking their native language at home, under the belief that by using more English and Malay, it will improve their children's performance in schools. Despite the cultural pride and perceived prestige towards their own language, as observed in Kayad and Ting (2020), it is also apparent that the Bidayuh perceive English as a language of high utility and prestige (Kayad and Ting, 2021).

In correlation with language of perceived high utility, Kayad and Ting's (2022, p. 31) investigation of functional differentiation in polyglossic Bidayuh community observed that English is used extensively by Bidayuh across several social and communicative domains. Particularly, within a certain sampling constraint, English was used in religious places (67.21%), social media interactions (80.33%), conversation with friends (85.25%) and vendors (81.97%), communication with government officers (80.33%) and colleagues (77.05%), as well as access to mass media (newspapers, 88.52%; radio, 85.25%). These findings provide insight on the attitudes of Bidayuh speakers towards their native language and also to English. This can inform how Bidayuh speakers might hypercorrect based on the

heightened perceived prestige associated with English, as well as the heightened exposure and usage.

The Bidayuh community in Malaysia displays a dynamic multilingual landscape where code-switching between Malay and English is common. This also reflects the broader trends in indigenous Sarawakian communities. While the Bidayuh language continues to be used in daily interactions, there is a noticeable shift towards more dominant languages like Malay (particularly Sarawakian Malay dialect) and English, particularly in urban areas and interethnic marriages. This shift is influenced by perceptions of better education in standard languages and aspirations for social mobility and economic advancement.

Despite cultural pride in their native language, the Bidayuh regard English as a language of high utility and prestige. It is widely used across social and communicative domains, including religious places, social media, and interactions with friends, vendors, government officers, and colleagues. Consequently, concerns are rising about the declining use of the Bidayuh language, as parents increasingly use English and Malay at home to boost their children's academic performance and future prospects.

This multilingual tendency makes Bidayuh speakers particularly relevant for investigating hypercorrection. Unlike monolinguals who primarily navigate variation within a single language, Bidayuh speakers constantly negotiate between multiple linguistic norms. This exposure, combined with the increasing dominance of English, means they may feel heightened pressure to conform to perceived correct pronunciation standards.

Accent plays a crucial role in this process. Non-native English speakers, such as the Bidayuh, often retain phonological features from their native language when speaking a second language (Derwing & Munro, 2008). Many second-language learners strive to

approximate native pronunciation (Scales et al., 2006), and accents can become a basis for social categorisation and judgment, sometimes carrying stigma (Gluszek & Dovidio, 2010; Kinzler & DeJesus, 2013). As a result, speakers who are conscious of these social pressures may deliberately modify their pronunciation to align with perceived norms. In doing so, they may overshoot their adjustments, leading to hypercorrection.

Given the intersection of multilingualism, linguistic shift, and social pressures, the lack of research on hypercorrection among Bidayuh speakers represents a significant gap. Studying this phenomenon could provide valuable insights into how multilinguals navigate competing linguistic influences and offer practical implications for language education, particularly in addressing phonological challenges unique to Bidayuh students.

1.5 Phonological Features of Bidayuh Across Three Language Varieties

To make the distinction between negative transfer and hypercorrection clearer, it is crucial to address what forms of negative transfers are typically made by Bidayuh speakers when speaking another language. This requires an understanding of the existing phonological features within Bidayuh.

As previously discussed, there are three main varieties of the Bidayuh language: Serian, Biatah, and Bau. Each of these varieties has distinct phonological features. The following table presents the common phonological features across these three Bidayuh language varieties.

Table 1.1

Bidayuh Phonological Features Across Three Language Varieties (information compiled from Rensch et al., 2012).

Phonological category	Language Variety		
Consonants	Serian	Biatah	Bau
Obstruents	[p] [t] [s] [ʈ] [k] [b] [d] [dʒ] [g]	[p] [t] [s] [k] [b] [d] [dʒ] [g]	
Nasals	[m] [n] [ɲ] [ŋ]		
Liquid	[r] [l]	[r]	[r]*
Glides	[w] [ʷ] [j]		
Laryngeal	[ʔ] [h]		
Vowels	Serian	Biatah	Bau
High	[i] [u]		
Mid	[e] [ə] [ɛ] [ɪɛ] [ɪə] [ɪa] [o] [ɔ] [u] [uə] [uo] [uɔ] [ua]		
Low	[a]		

As illustrated in Table 1.1, there are no discernible differences in vowels of the three Bidayuh varieties: Serian, Biatah, and Bau. However, their consonantal systems are what set them apart, particularly in terms of obstruents and liquids.

While all three varieties share the obstruents [p], [t], [s], [k], [b], [d], [dʒ], and [g], the Serian Bidayuh variety, however, includes an additional phoneme, [ɟ], which is absent in both the Biatah and Bau varieties. When examining liquids, each variety showcased a distinct set: the Serian Bidayuh variety features both [r] and [l], while the Biatah Bidayuh variety only features [r]. In contrast, the Bau Bidayuh features a distinctive alveolar flap, a sound which falls between the /l/ sound and the /r/ sound, resulting from a merger of PAN [Proto Austronesian] *l and *r (Rensch et al., 2012). This alveolar flap is not found in the Serian and Biatah Bidayuh language varieties.

To summarise, the phonological features of the three Bidayuh varieties: Serian, Biatah, and Bau, highlight their distinct linguistic identities and the potential for various types of phonological negative transfer. This difference in phonological features would consequently lead to different manifestations of hypercorrection. By examining these different consonantal systems and their variations, we gain valuable insights into how these phonological distinctions influence language interactions. This is especially crucial for grasping the dynamics of language transfer, particularly in the distinction of negative transfer and hypercorrection. Ultimately, this awareness not only enhances our comprehension of Bidayuh linguistics but also contributes to broader discussions on multilingualism and phonological adaptation within sociolinguistic contexts.

1.6 Aim of Research

The aim of the study is to explore the occurrences and influencing factors of hypercorrection among multilingual Bidayuh.

1.7 Research Objectives

In achieving the aim of the research, the current study has narrowed down two research objectives:

- i. To describe the types of hypercorrections.
- ii. To determine the factors influencing the types of hypercorrections.

1.8 Operational Definition of Terms

In this section, key terms will be defined in alignment with the scope of the study.

1.8.1 Hypercorrection

The understanding of hypercorrection in this study is informed by various perspectives and understandings. A particularly foundational aspect in this study is the description by Eckman et al. (2013), which describes hypercorrection as a linguistic form that extends beyond its prescribed usage, periodically resulting in speech production error. The emphasis on ‘*speech*’ in this definition is crucial, as the current study primarily focused on hypercorrection within speech production (as opposed to written production).

The current study acknowledges that phonological hypercorrection can extend itself outside of just what is typically considered as ‘phonological hypercorrection’ to include morphological aspects, because the speakers’ speech productions are influenced by their phonological perception of the target language (Akbar et al., 2020; Isbell, 2016).

Therefore, based on these definitions, hypercorrection in the context of this current study is the erroneous speech production in the attempt to either *reduce the features of the L1* or to *overapply L2 rules* when speaking in the target language.

1.8.2 Bidayuh Speakers

The Bidayuh speakers in this study are native speakers of the three Bidayuh language varieties: Bidayuh Biatah, Bidayuh Serian, and Bidayuh Bau. The use of the term “native speakers” in this study is somewhat loose, in that many Malaysian Bidayuh speakers learn multiple L1s simultaneously alongside their mother tongue (Kayad & Ting, 2020; McLellan & Campbell, 2015; Norahim, 2010; Pye & Chan, 2023), which highlights the multilingual context of the Bidayuh participants.

To address the use of the term ‘language varieties’ instead of ‘dialects’, Chua (2007) discussed a sociopolitical approach that integrates the Bidayuh as a unified group. This perspective extends to their languages, emphasising a singular ‘Bidayuh language’ and its associated ‘dialects.’ While this approach is logically aimed at garnering support from the government as one cohesive community, it tends to overlook the distinct nuances and varieties among different linguistic diversity among Bidayuh speakers.

Therefore, while ‘dialects’ is a term often used traditionally (Rensch et al., 2012, p. xiii, footnote 1) in sociopolitical discussions about Bidayuh speech, this study adopts the term ‘language varieties’ to emphasise the linguistic diversity and mutual unintelligibility among Bidayuh-speaking communities. From these three language varieties, the Bidayuh speakers participating in this study are multilingual speakers, where they are at least conversational in the English language, and still communicate in their native Bidayuh

language variety at home, alongside the Malay language which they learned at school and used to communicate with other non-Bidayuh or Bidayuh of different varieties.

1.8.3 Younger and Older Students

In light of education and age as possible influencing factors for hypercorrection (Bishop, 2020; Hubers et al., 2020), this study examines two age categories of Bidayuh speakers: younger and older students. The younger group consists of participants aged 10 to 13, while the older group includes those aged 16 to 18. These participants are drawn from Upper Primary, Lower Secondary, and Upper Secondary levels.

Although the age gap between the two groups is relatively narrow, this was a deliberate choice. Rather than focusing on socioeconomic differences, this study prioritises the impact of education level and prescriptive approaches in English teaching, particularly in non-native English contexts where speakers are multilingual. Prescriptivism often persists even across small age gaps, influencing language use and hypercorrection tendencies. Differences in compensation strategies (Chen, 2014; Sepasdar & Soori, 2014) at various educational stages may lead to distinct patterns of hypercorrection.

For the purposes of this study, the terms “younger speakers” and “older speakers” refer specifically to the above classifications. Participants are equally distributed across three main Bidayuh language varieties: Biatah, Serian, and Bau.

1.8.4 Bidayuh English Speakers

As alluded to in earlier sections, Malaysian students are expected to at least be functionally bilingual in English and *Bahasa Melayu* as they complete their secondary school education (Ministry of Education Malaysia, 2013). Some Bidayuh, especially those residing in urban areas even use English extensively across various linguistic domains (Kayad & Ting, 2022).

Thus, it is highly plausible that while not a primary language in Malaysia, Malaysian students are not too unfamiliar with English as a language. The same could be said of the Bidayuh participants of this study. Nonetheless, the study made a point to include Bidayuh speakers who are at least conversationally comfortable with the use of English.

The study, however, made no attempts to measure fluency, nor will it be used as a parameter. As such, the Bidayuh speakers in this study are not at all expected to re-echo a one-to-one English pronunciation (be it American, British, or any major English accents). In fact, it is the study's anticipation of the students' native accent to act as a pivot for linguistic insecurity. This in turn is anticipated to cause them to try aligning their speech closer to their idealised standard of proficiency.

It is also worth noting that this perceived standard might very well be localised. This means what is deemed “prestigious” and “correct” might not match universal standards. For instance, the word ‘usually’, used by several participants in this study, was seen to be correct by them with the emphasis of the ‘sh’ /ʃ/ sound, as in /'ju:ʃəli/, instead of the ‘zh’ /ʒ/ sound more common in American and British pronunciation of /'ju:ʒəli/ (the current study postulates that the /ʃ/ was deemed ‘correct’ due to it aligning more with the spelling of the word). Keeping this in mind, the use of English (and by extension, its perceived prestigious forms) is expected to be localised to the area of research.

Therefore, to conclude, the current study defines Bidayuh English speakers as Bidayuh speakers who have a baseline level of conversational fluency with localised English pronunciation and vocabularies.

1.9 Significance of the Study

In previous sections, the lack of hypercorrection study in multilingual settings has been observed. The current study provides insight on hypercorrection occurrences within a multilingual setting, born of the intrinsic multicultural blending of ethnicities and languages in Malaysia. As noted by Pye and Chan (2023), the multilingualism in Malaysia is unique from the more sequential acquisition of European multilingualism. In other words, multilingualism in Malaysia usually is acquired simultaneously, either from formal education or induction exposure to other local languages like Iban and the local Malay dialect (Kayad & Ting, 2020). This provides a novel insight on multilingualism, second language acquisition, and hypercorrection.

In a theoretical sense, this study expects to contribute to the fields of sociolinguistics and Second Language Acquisition (SLA) on how different various factors can influence or encourage hypercorrection. This is especially expected in the integration of the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) and the Monitor Hypothesis. Through this integration, this study sets a premise for a more holistic framework for exploring hypercorrection, particularly in multilingual contexts. This will simultaneously add to the documentation of hypercorrection, especially on the Bidayuh language and its three main language varieties: Biatah, Serian, and Bau within varying levels of education and age.

Practically, when the source of hypercorrection errors is identified, precautionary and restorative approaches can be enacted to increase speaking proficiency and speech legibility in English. The outcome of this identification suggests a pedagogical implication, where it can be used as reference and supporting materials in the development of future studies and more effective teaching strategies for minority language learners, particularly Bidayuh students. The traditional standardised approach of the education system can overlook the

unique challenges faced by these learners. By focusing on specific phonological and grammatical challenges highlighted in this study, educators can develop tailored teaching strategies.

While this study cannot be generalised for other indigenous languages in Sarawak, it provides a specified investigation of Bidayuh hypercorrection across three specific language varieties. The study also has no control over the extent of the speakers' fluency in both their respective Bidayuh language varieties or English, because it cannot be measured or standardised perfectly. However, the hypercorrection phenomenon among English-speaking Bidayuh can be specifically studied, and provide a preliminary starting ground for future studies, despite the apparent scarcity of the topic in Sarawak.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

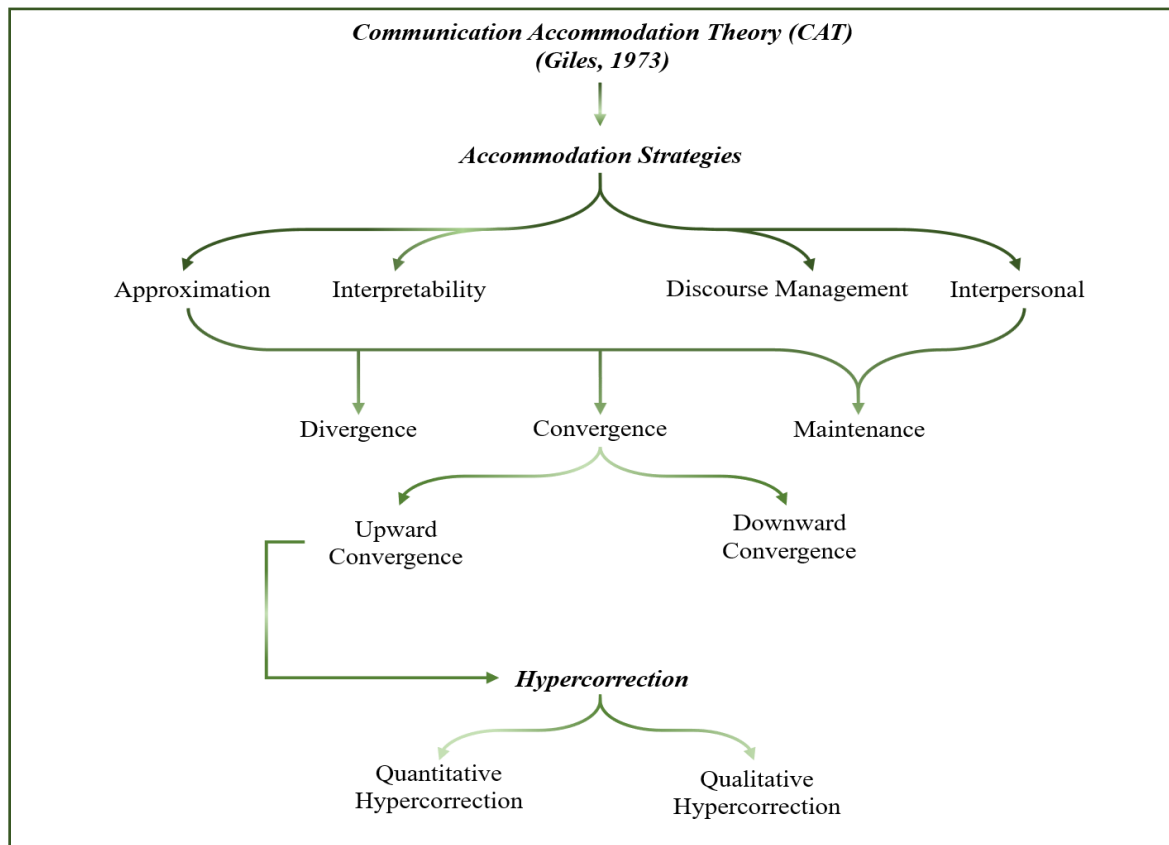
2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of existing research on hypercorrection, which outlines key theories and findings that inform the present study. The review begins with sociolinguistic foundations of hypercorrection, followed by an exploration of hypercorrection in Second Language Acquisition (SLA). This structure offers insights into the current state of knowledge while identifying gaps that the study aims to address.

2.1.1 Sociolinguistic Foundation of Hypercorrection

Figure 2.1

Communication Accommodation Theory and Hypercorrection



In the 1970s, Howard Giles introduced the Communication Accommodation Theory, which provides a framework for understanding how individuals adjust their language during social interactions. This can be done to either align with, or differentiate themselves from their conversation partners, or often known as ‘interlocutors’ (Giles & Ogay, 2007).

Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) as it is known now, was initially termed Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT) in its earlier conception (Giles, 1973; Zhang & Giles, 2018). However, in the following decade (1980s), the theory began a broader shift of focus to include aspects other than speech, reaching dimensions of both non-linguistic and discursive domains. This necessitates the name change to CAT to reflect this broadening scope (Dragojevic et al., 2015). Accommodation in this theoretical framework is characterised as the capacity to adapt, modify, or regulate one’s linguistic expressions and communication behaviours in response to their interlocutors, initial orientations, and self-systems such as stereotypes and existing attitudes (Zhang & Giles, 2018).

CAT suggests that speakers adapt their communication styles based on various social and contextual factors. This includes perceived social status, group identity, and communicative goals. Central to CAT are the concepts of convergence and divergence. Convergence refers to the tendency to adjust one’s speech to be more similar to that of their interlocutors, while divergence involves maintaining linguistic differences. Both of these dynamics are encompassed within the concept of accommodation (Giles & Ogay, 2007). In simpler terms, CAT posits that people change the way they speak to be more similar *to* or different *from* people they are talking to, depending on the situation.

Coupland et al. (1998 cited in Dragojevic et al., 2016) identified at least four accommodation strategies: (i) approximation strategies, (ii) interpretability strategies, (iii)

discourse management strategies, and (iv) interpersonal control strategies. **Approximation strategies** involve adjusting verbal and nonverbal behaviours towards (convergence) or away from (divergence) their interlocutors. **Interpretability strategies** include decreasing diversity of vocabulary, simplifying syntax, or becoming louder to increase clarity to aid comprehension. **Discourse management strategies** involve offering speaking turns and selecting or sharing topics of mutual interest or concern to address macro-conversational needs. **Interpersonal control strategies** encompass the use of interruptions or honorifics to remind partners of their relative status or role in the interaction.

Coupland et al. (1998) also identified three types of accommodation: (i) convergence, (ii) divergence, and (iii) maintenance. Both convergence and divergence fall under approximation strategies. Maintenance, while not explicitly stated in Dragojevic et al. (2016), can be construed as an overlap of both approximation and interpersonal control strategies. Maintenance can be seen as a form of approximation because individuals maintain certain linguistic traits or characteristics that align with particular social groups of identities, thus adhering to certain linguistic norms associated with those groups. Simultaneously, maintenance can be viewed as a form of interpersonal control, as individuals exert control over their linguistic behaviour to assert their identity, authority, or desired social distance, thereby controlling how they are perceived by others and asserting their autonomy in communication.

Within the dynamic of convergence, there is a conceptual distinction called “upward convergence” (Giles & Ogay, 2007, p.295) where a speaker adopts the interlocutor’s prestige speech pattern, especially if the interlocutors are deemed to be of a higher class. Inversely, “downward convergence” occurs when a speaker adopts the perceived low-prestige patterns of the interlocutor’s speech. Both upward and downward convergence are accommodative

strategies aiming to reduce linguistic gaps between speakers and interlocutors, thus enhancing mutual intelligibility and reducing “interpersonal distances” (Giles & Williams, 1992, p. 247).

The association of hypercorrection as a manifestation of a linguistic accommodation has been attested before, despite using several different terms and verbs such as “overcompensation” (Baugh, 1992, p. 317), “hyperconverge” (Giles & Williams, 1992, p. 345), “overaccommodating” (Giles & Ogay, 2007, p. 298) and “overaccommodative” (Dragojevic et al., 2016, p. 6). Perhaps the clearest allusion of hypercorrection in linguistic accommodation is in Giles and Williams’ (1992) “accommodating hypercorrection,” where the phenomenon of hypercorrection was investigated within the framework of CAT. The principles outlined in CAT lay the groundwork for understanding the phenomenon of hypercorrection.

Tying back to CAT, hypercorrection can be viewed as a manifestation of the approximation strategies within the CAT framework, particularly under the category of upward convergence. Upward convergence occurs when speakers adjust their speech to emulate a prestige variant, often perceived as being of higher social status (Giles & Ogay, 1992). This observation is consistent with Baugh’s (1992, p. 319) “hypercorrection always move from the lower social classes toward the speech of elites, never the other way around”. When individuals perceive a discrepancy between their own linguistic patterns and those of their interlocutors, they may adjust their speech in an attempt to converge with the perceived norms. This convergence, however, may lead to overadjustment, resulting in hypercorrection, or as termed by Giles and Ogay (2007), an overaccommodation.

Hypercorrection is typically a sociolinguistic phenomenon that emerges as a prominent issue that is linked with societal norms, linguistic prestige, and communicative contexts. Some earlier scholars have noted an inherent and subconscious tendency for speakers to overapply a corrective attempt in their speech production (Labov, 1966). This in turn, often results in the misplacement of grammatical markers in pursuit of prestige and perceived correctness (Beebe, 1981).

The target language or language variety that is deemed more prestigious or more correct serves as a marker of upward socioeconomic mobility, opening up a possibility of fostering linguistic insecurity among speakers of the perceived lesser esteemed variety. This heightened awareness in speech production is consistent with previous findings. Some studies suggest that speakers' linguistic insecurity prompts them to be cautious in their use of a relatively prestigious target language (Akbar et al., 2020; Bongiovanni, 2022; Eckman et al., 2013; Melisova, 2020). This vigilance then leads to imitation that can result in overshooting, and thus manifests as hypercorrection.

In the discussion of hypercorrection as a phenomenon, there is a commonly acknowledged dichotomy between quantitative (statistical) and qualitative (structural) hypercorrection. The terms 'quantitative hypercorrection' and 'qualitative hypercorrection' were coined in Janda and Auger (1992), which have been used as an alternative terminology in some research since (Bongiovanni, 2022; Hubers et al., 2020). Eckman et al. (2013) however, used the terms 'statistical hypercorrection' and 'structural hypercorrection' in which Labov was cited. The concepts of statistical and structural hypercorrection are indeed associated with Labov's seminal work on hypercorrection. However, the distinction is only clarified further in his later works.

In Labov (1963), the focus was mainly on structural changes in sound caused by social motivation, and is seminal in introducing the idea that linguistic changes can be socially motivated. However, it is in Labov (1966) where the statistical (or quantitative) aspects of linguistic variation were discussed thoroughly. Statistical hypercorrection involves the *frequency* or quantitative overuse of a linguistic feature in an attempt to align with a perceived norm.

For instance, this can be seen in the overpronouncing of rhotic sounds by lower-middle class speakers in emulating the speech of upper-middle class speakers (Labov, 1966). It was observed that lower-middle class workers tend to over-produce words in rhotic (in which R is pronounced before a consonant and at the end of words). For instance, words like “hard” were pronounced as /ha:rd/ instead of /ha:d/ and words like “far” were pronounced as /fa:r/ instead of /fa:/ when speakers are attempting to sound more formal, despite the absence of rhotic pronunciations in their regular speech. Labov suggested that the overproduction of rhotic R was an attempt to emulate upper-middle class speech patterns. This emulation led to erroneous applications of rhotic pronunciation, such as adding /r/ to the end of words where it does not belong, resulting in pronunciation like “idear” for the word “idea” (Campbell, 1998 cited in Eckman et al., 2013).

Chappell (2014) likewise, observed similar sociolinguistic findings in Nicaraguan Spanish where the [s] sounds are frequently reduced, or even omitted in casual speech. However, in formal contexts, Nicaraguan Spanish speakers have a partiality to exaggerate the production of [s] to the point of sibilance [ʃ]. A comparison with Dominican Spanish speakers reveals a similar phenomenon: where despite the reduction of [s] is thoroughly diffused in all social classes, hypercorrection can occur when presented in more formal settings, where [s] deletion is generally stigmatised.

In order to appear “correct”, Dominican and Nicaraguan Spanish speakers could inadvertently add [s] in words in an attempt to sound more formal and less colloquial. It can be then summarised, that hypercorrection typically arises from an attempt to rectify perceived linguistic deficiencies or to align with higher social class speech norms. This results in overcompensation of linguistic production, reflecting the influence of social perceptions and linguistic prestige on hypercorrection behaviours across different linguistic contexts. In these contexts, the emphasis is on how often these features were used, highlighting a statistical or quantitative dimension of hypercorrection in the emulation of prestigious varieties.

In contrast, structural (or qualitative) hypercorrection refers to the incorrect application of linguistic rules, often resulting in ungrammatical or phonologically inaccurate forms (Janda & Auger, 1992; Labov, 1966). For example, word-, morpheme-, and syllable-initial $< h >$ in the French language is always silent or at least never systematically an aspirate, unlike English which depending on the word, can be an aspirate. Therefore, in Janda and Auger (1992), on the accounts of the French subjects who speak English, it was observed that they put $< h >$ where it does not belong, such as “heating” instead of “eating”, presumably to counteract the lack of $< h >$ in their native language; making it a structural hypercorrection (Janda & Auger, 1992, p. 217). This type of hypercorrection focuses on the structural aspects of language such as how linguistic elements are incorrectly combined or applied to the speaker’s attempt to conform to perceived norms.

Janda and Auger (1992) further discussed that the distinction between statistical and structural hypercorrection can be fluid if the features under investigation are not categorical. In this context, “categorical” refers to the strict adherence to a specific linguistic pattern or feature in all instances. Thus, it will consistently be present or absent in certain linguistic

contexts without variation. Janda and Auger (1992) referred to Labov's (1966) study of the rhotic (*r*)-use variable, and discussed that the (*r*)-use variable is not strictly categorical for all social classes and speech styles in New York City.

In this case, Janda and Auger (1992) suggest that the pronunciation of the “r” sound is non-categorical because it occurs variably across all social classes and speech styles. Therefore, allowing for the interpretation of both statistical (quantitative) and structural (qualitative) hypercorrection, by (i) the overshoot by lower-middle class speakers who attempt to imitate the speech of upper-middle class speakers, and inversely (ii) the opposition in which the lower-middle class speakers lack the “r” sound (ø) as the relevant contrast also prompts qualitative hypercorrections. This is reminiscent of the lack of < *h* > in French which prompts structural hypercorrection as discussed in Janda and Auger (1992, p. 217).

In summary, statistical hypercorrection involves the quantitative overuse of linguistic features, while structural hypercorrection involves the misapplication of linguistic rules, leading to ungrammatical or phonologically inaccurate forms. Both types of hypercorrections are motivated by a desire to align with perceived prestigious norms, but they manifest in different ways: one through frequency and the other through structural application. In understanding hypercorrection as an endeavour to rectify perceived linguistic deficiencies or conform to higher social class speech norms, scholars such as Giles and Williams (1992) have described a related phenomenon termed “hyper-accommodation”. This concept, which mirrors the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT), suggests that speakers adjust their linguistic behaviours in response to social and contextual factors. In essence, hyper-accommodation and hypercorrection both highlight the relationship between language use, social perceptions, and linguistic prestige. This connection will be further explored in another section on hypercorrection in SLA.

2.1.2 Prevalence of Hypercorrection Studies in Monolingual Contexts

After Labov's influential and seminal sociolinguistic study on hypercorrection, there have been increasingly extensive studies on the phenomenon as a topic. Hypercorrection has received substantial attention in sociolinguistic, particularly in monolingual contexts. It is especially notable within the context of two varieties of the same language, such as a "standard" language alongside a "substandard" variety.

This attention is particularly evident in European languages, including English by American speakers (Menner, 1937), standard and dialectal Spanish (De Sifontes & Rojas-Lizana, 2013), and Dutch written production (Hubers et al., 2020). However, there has been relatively lesser exploration of this phenomenon in multilingual settings. This gap in research may be attributed, in part, to the geographical constraints and lack of cultural and linguistic diversity inherent in many seminal studies. Historically, much of the hypercorrection research has been conducted within European academic institutions, where scholars have primarily focused on languages prevalent in their immediate surroundings. As a result, hypercorrection phenomena observed in more linguistically diverse communities, such as those found in Malaysia, have received limited scholarly attention in the topic of hypercorrection. The emphasis of Eurocentric perspectives in linguistic research has inadvertently overshadowed the nuances of hypercorrection in diverse multilingual contexts, and thus hindering a comprehensive understanding of languages acquisition and usage worldwide.

In conclusion, while hypercorrection has been well-studied in monolingual and European contexts, its exploration in multilingual settings remains limited. This Eurocentric focus has restricted understanding of hypercorrection in diverse linguistic communities, highlighting the need for broader, more inclusive research.

2.2 Hypercorrection in Second Language (SLA)

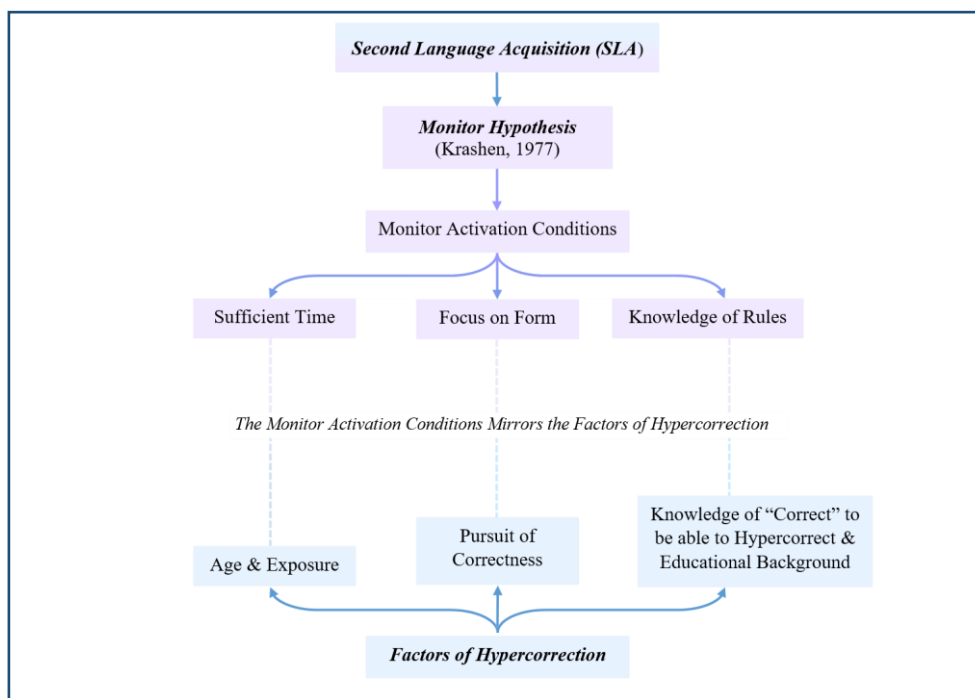
2.2.1 Theoretical Discussions of Hypercorrection in SLA

While Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) is inherently a social field across several disciplines (investigating communication in different social contexts and groups), there has been application in Second Language Acquisition (SLA). Even in seemingly sociolinguistic-focused studies there have been allusions to CAT in SLA.

In Giles and Ogay (2007, p. 301), they briefly referred to a satellite model of CAT which examines the attitude of “subordinate” group members towards learning a “dominant” group’s language. These differences in attitudes are attributed to acts of convergence in terms of intergroup accommodative behaviours. Furthermore, they attested that second language “failures” should not necessarily be attributed to incompetence, but as acts of convergence in terms of intergroup accommodative behaviours (Giles and Ogay, 2007, p.301).

The investigation of second language incompetence, and inversely second language competence has been a study area of theoretical appeal in CAT, especially in bilingual works. This is due to the suggestion that the acquisition of a second language to differing levels of native-like competency or proficiency constitutes an accommodative action. The difficulties faced in acquiring a second language encourage the speakers to take an accommodative approach (Zhang & Giles, 2018) in their efforts to speak correctly. The utility of CAT in the study of bilingualism, one could construe to be inherently a subdomain of SLA. This connection between the more sociolinguistic source of CAT and the more cognitive source of SLA are even clearer in Krashen’s Monitor Hypothesis (1985). Consider the following Figure 2.2 where the connections between CAT and the Monitor Hypothesis were observed:

Monitor Hypothesis Corresponding with Hypercorrection Factors



The Monitor Hypothesis assumes that the learner's knowledge of a language will cause the speaker to edit, or as the term suggests, to *monitor* their speech production (Krashen, 1977). However, Krashen's Theory of Language Acquisition (SLA), which encompasses several hypotheses including the Monitor Hypothesis, was only fully developed in his subsequent writings (Krashen, 1981; 1982). In regards to the Monitor Hypothesis, in Krashen's own words:

Our ability to produce utterances in another language comes from our acquired competence, from our subconscious knowledge. Learning, conscious knowledge, serves only as an editor, or monitor. We appeal to learning to make corrections, to change the output of the acquired system before we speak or write (or sometimes after we speak or write. (Krashen, 1985 cited in Neupane, 2019, p. 60).

According to the Monitor Hypothesis, there are two systems involved in learning a second language: the acquisition system and the learning system. The acquisition system helps develop real language skills and allows for natural language use. In contrast, the learning system provides conscious knowledge of grammar rules and acts as an editor, checking and correcting language but not contributing to fluent language ability (Lai & Wei, 2019).

In Krashen (1981) there are three necessary conditions for the monitor roles to activate: (1) **Sufficient time**: Language users have to have sufficient time to effectively select and apply grammar rules; (2) **Focus on form**: Language users have to concentrate on the form of the language, considering its grammatical appropriateness. In Neupane (2019), it was even added that the focus on form was in contrast with the focus of meaning. In other words, the speaker is more conscious of *how* something is being said, instead of *what* is being said.

This sentiment is also present in Krashen's (1981, p.3) own description of Monitor Use Conditions, where he suggests that the language user (or "*performer*", as he puts it) must be focused on form, or correctness. The third and final condition for the monitor roles to activate is (3) **Knowledge of rules**: Language users must possess an understanding of the grammar concepts and rules of the language they are learning. Krashen (1981, p. 4) also added by proposing that the Monitor Hypothesis model enables speakers to self-correct utilising their acquired knowledge of language, or their intuitive "*feel*" for grammaticality.

It is interesting to note the connections between the three Monitor constraints suggested by Krashen (1981) and the factors of hypercorrection as suggested by previous literature. The first constraint, **(i) Sufficient Time**, mirrors the age factor in hypercorrection, where it is suggested that older speakers employ more compensation strategies as opposed

to younger speakers (Sepasdar & Soori, 2014; Chen, 2014), and additionally supported by the increased tendency to hypercorrect especially when their education levels correspond directly with their age levels (Bishop, 2020; Hubers et al., 2020).

The second constraint, **(ii) Focus on Form**, aligns with the pursuit of correctness, which is a significant prevalence alluded to in literature, which suggests the connection between the effort to achieve linguistic accuracy and the propensity to hypercorrect (Beebe, 1981; Labov, 1966). The third constraint, **(iii) Knowledge of rules**, reflects another facet of hypercorrection tendency, where a speaker must in part, know what is correct (or what they perceive as correct) to be able to hypercorrect (Akbar et al., 2020; Eckman et al., 2003). These parallels give insight on how the principles of the Monitor Hypothesis can inform the understanding of hypercorrection in SLA.

There have been ongoing issues in describing and defining hypercorrection. Some differences are simply terminological, such as “overcompensation” (Baugh, 1992, p. 317), “hyperconverge” (Giles & Williams, 1992, p. 345), “overaccommodating” (Giles & Ogay, 2007, p. 298), and “overaccommodative” (Dragojevic et al., 2016, p. 6). These terms still emphasise the accommodative nature of hypercorrection.

Another term used is Bishop’s (2020, p. 4) “linguistic virus”, which serves as an analogy for how languages, upon emergence of a different linguistic system in a speaker, leave behind their lexical and semantic footprint, resembling an interlanguage and akin to a virus. Bishop (2020) uses this analogy as a preface to understanding hypercorrection. However, some distinctions are more fundamental. For instance, Odlin (1989) characterises hypercorrection as an overgeneralisation from the speaker’s first language (L1), a claim disputed by Eckman et al. (2013), who argue that hypercorrection occurs due to a perceived

prestige gap within the target language (L2), and not simply a native language overgeneralisation.

Eckman et al. (2013) identified three key arguments in describing hypercorrection: (i) hypercorrection as a crosslinguistic influence, (ii) hypercorrection as equivalent to overgeneralisation, *as previously suggested by Odlin (1989)*, and (iii) that hypercorrection emerges as an attempt to emulate a prestigious variety. While there is some degree of crosslinguistic influence and overgeneralisation, it is not as direct as initially thought. Hypercorrection in SLA cannot be straightforwardly characterised as a crosslinguistic overgeneralisation because they are not just over-extensions of a native language (NL) or first language (L1) patterns (Akbar et al., 2020; Eckman et al., 2013).

Consider the examples of hypercorrected pronunciation by Korean learners of English, pronouncing the English words “sin” and “pan” as “shin” and “fan”, despite the /ʃ/ (sh) and the /f/ sound being absent in the Korean Hangul sound system (Eckman et al., 2013). Similarly, Kuwaiti learners of English pronounce the English words “fine” and “bin” as “vine” and “pin”, despite the objective absence of the /v/ and /p/ sound in the Kuwaiti Arabic abjad (Akbar et al., 2020). Another example is Slovak learners of English, who pronounce the English words “very” and “veteran” as “weri” and “weteran”, despite the absence of /w/ sound in the Slovak language (Metruk, 2013).

If hypercorrection, as suggested, is merely a crosslinguistic overgeneralisation of the L1, then the English learners of these studies would effectively only be doing a negative transfer, and mispronounce English words using sounds or phonemes based on the constraints of what is available in their L1. In contrast however, the learners hypercorrect based on the *absence* of phonemes in their native language (NL), and subsequently

overgeneralise phonemes from the target language (TL). This phenomenon highlights a critical distinction: rather than simply carrying over L1 phonetic patterns into L2, learners are actively modifying their speech to align with perceived norms of the TL, sometimes resulting in the introduction of phonemes that are entirely absent in their L1. This suggests that hypercorrection is driven not just by crosslinguistic influence but also by an effort to adhere to the prestige forms of the TL.

While the notion of overgeneralisation from the L1, as suggested by Odlin (1989), is disputed by scholars like Eckman et al. (2013) and supported by recent findings, it cannot be entirely discredited. This is due to the fact that there is a degree of overgeneralisation in SLA hypercorrection. Take the hypercorrected phonemes used by the Korean speakers (Eckman et al., 2013), the Kuwaiti speaker (Akbar et al., 2020) and the Slovak speakers (Metruk, 2013) discussed earlier. These speakers recognised the absence of certain English phonemes in their native language, and consequently generalised that *all* the phonemic contrast between the phonemes available in their native language must be replaced with the more foreign English phoneme, thereby causing hypercorrected errors as a result of their attempt to approximate the target language more closely.

A similar notion is also found in Kapovic (2018, p. 337), where it is observed that speakers in the attempt of formality or standardisation might “approximate it by inconsistently changing” when the speakers “cannot fully reproduce the prescribed standard.” Approximation, as an adaptation method, is a process where individuals reestablish and maintain stability upon entering a new or changed environment (Kim, 2001 cited in Zhang & Giles, 2018, p. 9).

Zhang and Giles (2018) made an analogous comparison between the cultural adaptation of travellers or immigrants upon entering a new location, and the linguistic adaptation (or attempt at adaptation) as a motivation for approximation. An argument could be made that a more dominant language or language variant will be what the speakers approximate *towards*, which could present itself in overgeneralisation. In this context, approximation involves the speakers' efforts to closely align their speech with the target language, even if it results in hypercorrected errors due to overgeneralisation.

Addressing the third argument identified by Eckman et al. (2013), there has been evidence that the emulation of prestige variety is a significantly prevalent theme in studies across both sociolinguistic and SLA. It is especially apparent in sociolinguistic studies such as Labov's seminal studies (Labov, 1963; 1966; 1973) and already attested in other earlier studies (Janda & Auger, 1992; Kroch & Small, 1978; Winford, 1978).

This is also a permeating theme in SLA especially involving English as the prestige variety compared to other languages such as Korean, Kuwaiti and Slovak speakers as discussed earlier. In non-English speaking countries, English functions not only as the medium of educational and commercial language but also as a symbol of success and upward socioeconomic mobility (Ricento, 2015; Sah, 2024). The distinction between a perceived dominant language (English) and a perceived subordinate language (local language) is important as it explains the attempts at prestige emulation.

As suggested by Baugh (1992), hypercorrection always navigates from a perceived subordinate (less prestigious) towards a dominant (more prestigious). In discussing prestige, Kapovic (2018, p. 340) provides insightful observation that a language or its variants and accents are often prestigious in formal situations and only when they are "*de-localized*". This

perspective opens up a conversation about how hypercorrection might be influenced by the prestige (or lack thereof) of a more localised variant against a perceived “delocalised” standard. For instance, Malaysian English (Manglish) is often seen in contrast to media English (American or British English), which is perceived as the standard by proxy.

Before concluding, it is worth considering how hypercorrection fits within Krashen’s Monitor Hypothesis in Second Language Acquisition (SLA). According to this hypothesis, speakers consciously use learned grammatical rules to monitor their language production. This active monitoring mirrors the process of hypercorrection, where learners apply rules in an attempt to align their speech with what they perceive as the correct or prestigious form. The parallels between Krashen’s conditions for monitoring; sufficient time, focus on form, and knowledge of rules; and the factors influencing hypercorrection highlight the role of conscious linguistic effort in shaping hypercorrected speech.

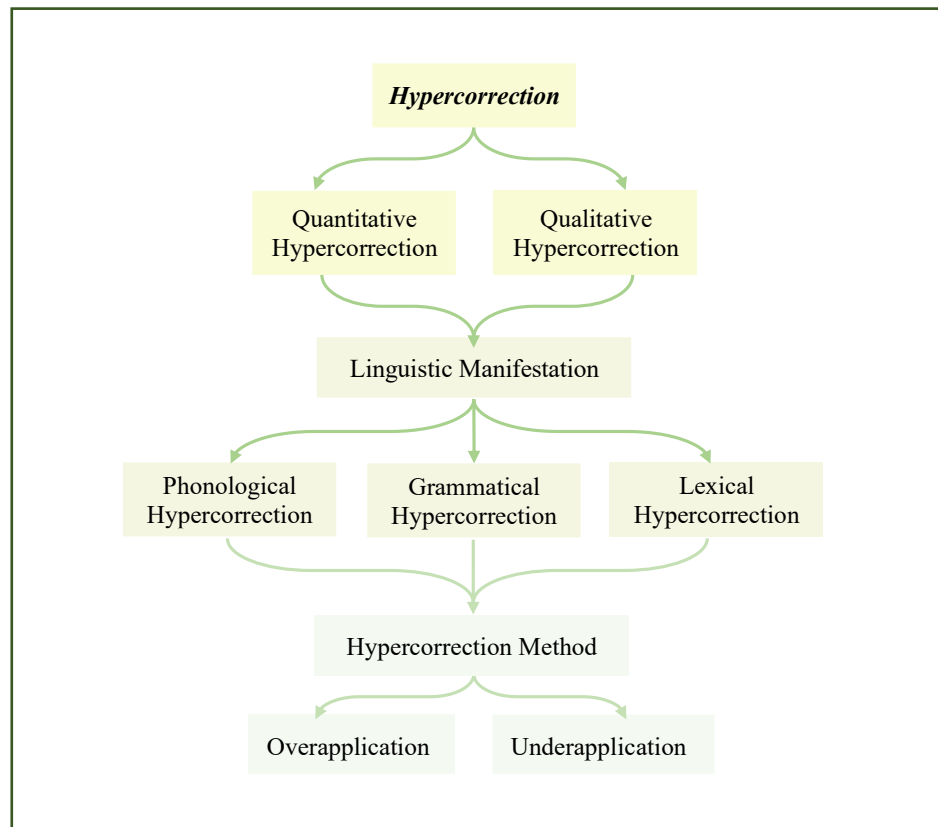
In conclusion, the integration of Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) with Second Language Acquisition (SLA) theories, particularly the Monitor Hypothesis, provides valuable insights into hypercorrection in multilingual contexts. The examination of hypercorrection through CAT highlights the sociolinguistic inherently at play; while the parallels drawn between Krashen’s Monitor Hypothesis constraints and hypercorrection tendencies illustrate the connections between learners’ awareness and linguistic accuracy. Furthermore, the distinction between hypercorrection as a result of crosslinguistic influence and as an attempt to align with prestigious language norms suggests that hypercorrection is not merely a linguistic misstep, but a conscious effort by learners to adapt and conform to perceived standards.

2.2.2 Empirical Studies of Hypercorrection

2.2.2.1 Types of Hypercorrections

Figure 2.3

Types of Hypercorrections



In the broader context of hypercorrection, literature has discussed two primary categories of hypercorrections. Namely, quantitative (statistical) and qualitative (structural) hypercorrection (Janda & Auger, 1992; Labov, 1963; 1966). To reiterate the definition, quantitative (statistical) hypercorrection highlights how often a feature was used, emphasising a more statistical or quantitative dimension of hypercorrection. In contrast, qualitative (structural) hypercorrection highlights what linguistic rules were misapplied which affects its structure or form (Janda & Auger, 1992; Labov, 1963; 1966).

It is observed that many phonological hypercorrections are quantitative, since it is usually an emulation of sounds associated with prestige or correctness. For instance, the hypercorrection of the /s/ and /p/ phonemes by Korean Anglophones (Eckman et al., 2013), the /f/ and /b/ phonemes in Kuwaiti Anglophones, the /h/ phoneme by French Anglophones (Janda & Auger, 1992), the /s/ in both Nicaraguan and Dominican Spanish speakers (Chappell, 2014) and many others.

On the other hand, many grammatical hypercorrections are qualitative, because they often involve the misapplication of a grammatical rule or structure. For instance, the swapping of the English case-marked pronouns “me” and “I”, due to the implication of “I” being more correct in constructions like “The candy was given to Mary and I” (Bishop, 2020, p. 14), alongside other kind of grammatical hypercorrection like overuse of the *-ly* adverb suffix, the overuse of the irrealis “were”, the misplacement of foreign noun suffixation in written forms (Collins, 2022), and the overuse and misplacement of ‘the’ article by Sri Lankan Anglophones (Makawita, 2022, p. 109: e.g., “*Sri Lanka's the best iconic and historical building is Ruwanweli Maha Seeya*”).

While phonological and grammatical (which includes syntactical and morphological) are the most common types of hypercorrections, they are not the only types of hypercorrections. Giles and Williams (1992, p. 347) also listed several other hypercorrection types including lexical, paralinguistic, discourse, and nonverbal. With the exception of lexical hypercorrection, which involves the misuse or overuse of a certain word the speaker associated with correctness or prestige, the other three types are observed to be more related to behavioural and body language aspects rather than purely linguistic ones. As noted in Giles and Williams (1992), paralinguistic hypercorrection includes exaggerated intonation

or stress patterns and pitch, discourse hypercorrection encompasses inappropriate adjustments in conversation management or politeness strategies, and nonverbal hypercorrection involves overcompensating in gestures, facial expressions, or other body language cues.

It is important to note that while Giles and Williams (1992) provided comprehensive coverage of various types of hypercorrections, they did not include empirical evidence for all the types presented. Specifically, while phonological hypercorrection, grammatical hypercorrection, and lexical hypercorrection were attested with empirical data and scholarly observation (Baugh, 1992; Janda & Auger, 1992; Labov, 1966), the other three more behavioural types regarding paralinguistic, discourse, and nonverbal hypercorrections were more theoretical in nature (Giles & Williams, 1992). These types are posited as probable occurrences based on the broader understanding of hypercorrection mechanisms, but empirical studies directly supporting these forms were not included in their 1992 work. In summary, the three main linguistic types of hypercorrections were phonological hypercorrection, grammatical hypercorrection, and lexical hypercorrection.

However, there has been relatively little focus given to the potential overlap between phonological and grammatical hypercorrection in existing literature, despite some allusions in earlier studies. Akbar el. (2020, p. 127), building upon Brown's (2000) model of L2 phonological acquisition, highlighted the significant influence of phonological perception on speech production. This idea is also supported by Isbell (2016), who, in examining the perception-production link in L2 phonology, observed that speakers' speech accuracy is shaped by their phonological perception of the target language. Specifically, Isbell (2016)

found that learners who accurately perceive the phonological contrasts in the target language are more adept at producing those contrasts correctly in their speech.

To bring this point further, research indicates that phonological perception also plays a crucial role in learners' ability to articulate grammatical structures with clarity and effectiveness, particularly in terms of comprehensibility (Derwing & Munro, 1997). Furthermore, Escudero and Boersma (2004, p. 564) conducted a thorough examination of phonological influence on grammar perception, analysing phoneme lengths and production times. They posited that "the knowledge behind the perception process is a formal perception grammar that determines an optimal output (e.g., a phonological category)." This indicates a connection between phonological and grammatical aspects of language acquisition, and suggests a potential overlap of phonologically and grammatically driven hypercorrection.

Among the three types of linguistic hypercorrection: phonological, grammatical, and lexical hypercorrection, there is a prevalent theme of overapplication. The overapplication of a linguistic feature has been documented since the inception of hypercorrection (Labov, 1963), whether in phonological contexts (Beebe, 1981), grammatical contexts (Labov, 1966), or lexical contexts (Baugh, 1992). This empirical pattern aligns with Baugh's (1992) notion that hypercorrection always goes upward to the language of perceived prestige. These observations provide directionality to the phenomenon of hypercorrection.

However, the prevalence of overapplication also implies the potential of underapplication, a discussion that has received less attention. Baugh (1992) discussed "hypocorrection", in which speakers intentionally attempts to speak a less prestigious variety in an effort for solidarity, consistent with the Interpretability strategies included in the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) (Coupland et al. 1998 cited in Dragojevic

et al., 2016). Yet, this concept does not account for situations where speakers underapply their native language features in pursuit of correctness in the target language. From a CAT perspective, this still involves an upward accommodation (Giles & Ogay, 2007), but the directionality of the hypercorrection has not been attested extensively before. Kapovic (2018, p. 340) hints at this phenomenon by suggesting that accommodation can aim to “*de-localize*”, aligning with motivations to underapply in the contexts of hypercorrection.

To summarise, hypercorrection falls into two overarching categories which includes quantitative (statistical) and qualitative (structural) hypercorrections. Within these two categories, there are three distinct linguistic types of hypercorrections, which includes phonological, grammatical, and lexical hypercorrection, with consideration given to the potential of a phonological-grammatical overlap. These types of hypercorrections can methodologically be done in two ways, that is through the overapplication or the underapplication of linguistic features.

2.2.2.2 Factors of Hypercorrection

There have been some recurring patterns in the study of hypercorrection, in terms of factors. Even in SLA, where the focus typically involves cognitive and pedagogical aspects, there is a recurring theme and discussion of prestige and perceived correctness (Eckman et al., 2013; Hubers et al., 2020). In the discussion of linguistic prestige and correctness, commentary on prescriptivism has been made on how it can be a determinant for hypercorrection due to the rigid enforcement of grammatical correctness (Akbar et al., 2020; Chappell, 2014; Collins, 2022; Eckman et al., 2013). Prescriptivism involves promoting a standard codified usage in a given language as the sole correct way of speaking or writing (Rataj, 2023). Bishop (2020) suggested that prescriptive language teaching is not so common nowadays, because of the

awareness of descriptive language teaching. It is indeed true that there has been a growing awareness and adoption of descriptive language teaching approaches, which prioritise describing and analysing how language is actually used in real-world contexts rather than prescribing rigid rules. However, in countries where English is not the native language, such as Malaysia and other Southeast Asian countries, there may still be a significant degree of prescriptivism in English language pedagogy (Wee & Samosir, 2023).

This is particularly evident in the Malaysian context, where English is often taught as a second language within a formal education system that places a strong emphasis on standardised testing and proficiency benchmarks (Marzaini et al., 2023). As a result, there may be a strong tendency among educators to prioritise teaching English according to established grammar rules and linguistic conventions, with an emphasis on correctness and adherence to standard forms of the language. As Wee and Samosir (2023, p. 358) puts it, this is not a criticism of prescriptivism because it can be a guide to language learning but it can also cross the threshold into “*unforgiving strictures*”. Furthermore, the perceived prestige associated with proficiency in English, especially in academic and professional settings (Ricento, 2015; Sah, 2024), may further reinforce prescriptive tendencies in language teaching and learning. Students may feel pressured to conform to perceived norms of correct English usage in order to achieve academic and social acceptance, such as the non-native speakers in Derwing and Munro (2008) who are inclined to sound as close to the English spoken in their area, which is American English.

This pressure to be correct highlights the influence of education on hypercorrection tendencies. Increased educational background has been shown to correspond proportionally with a higher propensity for hypercorrection (Angermeyer & Singler, 2003; Bishop, 2020;

Collins, 2022; Hubers et al., 2020). It is also important to consider how perceptions of being “well-educated” depend on the dominant, or more accurately, the more prestigious language in an area. In monolingual contexts, like Dutch in the Netherlands, the prestige and ultimately where the hypercorrection is directed towards, would be the standard variety of Dutch (Hubers et al., 2020). Similarly, in Taiwan, hypercorrection tends toward Beijing Mandarin or “mainland” Mandarin due to its perceived prestige as the correct and original variety (Chung, 2006). In countries where English has permeated mainstream society and acts as a *de facto* prestigious language, such as Korea (Eckman et al., 2013), Kuwait (Akbar et al., 2020), and Slovakia (Metruk, 2013), the “well-educated” are often those who speak English well. This perception of English’s prestige, as a symbol of upward socioeconomic mobility (Ricento, 2015; Sah, 2024), increases vigilance and hypercorrection in its use, despite not being the actual dominant language (or language of prevalent use).

In concordance with that, education and age often intersect as factors in hypercorrection. As noted by Bishop (2020), there is a frequent overlap between these factors, since higher levels of education typically correlate with increasing age. Age is a widely attested factor of hypercorrection, typically presented concurrently with education level as a factor of hypercorrection (Angermeyer & Singler, 2003; Bishop, 2020; Collins, 2022; Hubers et al., 2020). This aligns with how older speakers are observed to employ more compensation strategies in their speech compared to their younger counterparts (Chen, 2014; Sepasdar & Soori, 2014). Moreover, older speakers generally utilise a greater variety of language learning strategies than younger speakers, which may contribute to their increased tendency towards hypercorrection (Chen, 2014). In examining the impact of age on second language acquisition, Ozfidan and Burlbaw (2019) investigated three age groups: children, adolescents, and adults. They observed that older learners (adolescents and adults) tend to

engage in more conscious and strategic language learning efforts compared to younger learners. This suggests that age-related differences in language learning plays an influential role in the phenomenon of hypercorrection, and aligns with tendencies to hypercorrect as a form of compensation strategies.

This intersection is especially apparent in Hubers et al. (2020) study of Dutch students from three educational levels: Lower Secondary Professional Education (*lower level*), the Higher General Secondary Education (*intermediate level*), and the Pre-University Education (*highest level*). The students' age increases proportionately with the increase of their education level. Hubers et al. (2020) analysed the students' written production, focusing on their use of the comparative particle "*dan*" (than) and "*hen*" (them). The findings showed that students frequently used *dan* in contexts where "*als*" (as) would be correct, and "*hen*" instead of "*hun*" for dative objects. This tendency is especially prevalent the older the students are, and the higher their education level is, demonstrating how increased educational exposure can lead to the overapplication of perceived correct forms.

On the other hand, a study of Taiwanese Mandarin speakers by Chung (2006) found somewhat opposite results and is an outlier in this trend. It was observed that older speakers of Taiwanese Mandarin hypercorrected less than their younger counterparts. The younger speakers would hypercorrect by adding retroflex initial sounds (zh-, ch-, sh-) in Mandarin words even when it is wrong. This is observed to be caused by the perceived assumption that these retroflex sounds from the "original" Beijing Mandarin to be more prestigious. This assumption of prestige caused some speakers to erroneously substitute the dental initial sounds (z-, c-, s-) into retroflexes. Chung (2006) observed that these hypercorrect tendencies are more prevalent in younger speakers, and rarer in older speakers.

However, upon further evaluation of the data contributors of the study, it is observed that in both Chung's (2006) own data, and the summary of Rau and Li's (1994 cited in Chung, 2006) data, most of the younger speakers which contributed to the hypercorrect instances were speakers of a considerably higher educational background, and hypercorrected in academic settings like in an academic conference or when the context is performative in nature (e.g. speaking in a TV show, a TV interview, radio and TV broadcaster). This implies that age factor alone may not fully explain the tendencies to hypercorrect. In light of the findings from Hubers et al. (2020), where increased age correlated with increased hypercorrection tendencies, it appears that age as a factor is intertwined with education level. As education levels typically rise with age, particularly in academic environments, age seems only relevant to hypercorrection tendencies primarily due to its connection with educational background.

In the broader context of education, phonemic competency has been identified as another factor influencing hypercorrection (Akbar et al., 2020). Phonemic competence, often linked to acquired phonemic capabilities from educational settings, is suggested by Akbar et al. (2020) to correlate positively with the tendency to hypercorrect: the higher the phonemic competence, the higher the tendency to hypercorrect. Increased phonemic awareness is often associated with increased exposure to the target language (Erbeli et al., 2024; Paige et al., 2022). This is an observation also supported by Huang et al. (2020), where it is attested that second language input or exposure cultivates better listening comprehension.

Increased exposure and phonemic competence in the target language, when viewed in the lens of Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) and the Monitor Hypothesis, lead to hypervigilance, thereby increasing the tendency for hypercorrection. This

phenomenon explains why hypercorrection tends to be more prevalent among educated and older speakers (Hubers et al., 2020). This aligns with the notion that a speaker must at least partially understand what is correct to be able to hypercorrect (Eckman et al., 2013). Akbar et al. (2020) further exemplifies this by suggesting that speakers must have knowledge of the phonemic contrast to some extent, before the contrast can be hypercorrected.

To further this argument, it is important to note that education levels alone do not guarantee target language use outside of education settings, highlighting the role of exposure and usage. While education in part, can increase the initial intervals of exposure to the target language, it does not ensure the continued use or exposure outside of an academic setting. As observed by Huang et al. (2020), input or exposure received outside of the typical educational setting outweighs instructional input in garnering improved listening comprehension and speech production in the target language. These findings imply that speakers with higher education levels might have lower exposure or usage of the target language outside of academic contexts, providing important insight in approaching the topic of hypercorrection.

Another intriguing yet less explored factor of hypercorrection is the influence from multiple first languages (L1s) or multiple second languages (L2s). This phenomenon can be termed multidirectional hypercorrection. Blust (1983), in his study of the Bolaang Mongondow language in Sulawesi, conducted one of the earliest studies of hypercorrection in an Austronesian language. However, what makes this an instrumental starting point in the discussion of multidirectional hypercorrection is in Blust's (1983) introductory anecdotal account of a Malay speaker of English. In conversation, the English-speaking Malay man hypercorrected the word "prostitute" into "*frostitute*". It was observed that the phoneme /f/

is not native to the Malay language and usually limited to loanwords, typically from Arabic. In colloquial or ordinary speech, aligning with the phonemic constraints of Malay, the /f/ phoneme would be pronounced like a /p/ (e.g. “to think” is *fikir* in standard speech, but becomes *pikir* in colloquial usage). Blust (1983) observed that the speech of the English-speaking Malay man was hypercorrected in a multidirectional way, in such that a hypercorrected feature in Malay (/p/ to /f/) has seeped into English speech production. Blust (1983) aptly presented an illustrative schema for how the speech of the Malay man was hypercorrected:

Table 2.1

Model-Generalisation Hypercorrection Schema

<i>Model</i>	
“corrupt” <i>pikir</i>	“correct” <i>fikir</i>
<i>Generalisation</i>	
prostitute	frostitute

In the same branch of discussion, Aoki and Nishihara (2011), while not directly discussing hypercorrection, suggested that sound feature influence/interference could also happen to multiple L2 acquisitions. Nelson (2022) instead, investigated L3; a language learned or acquired after the acquisition of L1 and L2. Nelson (2022) then observed that adolescents experienced significant changes to their L1 and L2 overtime, in terms of phonological development influenced by the L3. This implies that linguistic influences can be multidirectional as opposed to the preconceived notion that language influence (and in extension, hypercorrection) is a case of first language (L1) transfer to a target language (TL) as presented by Odlin (1989).

While multiple L2s, and ultimately their influence on language use, has been accounted for in Aoki and Nishihara (2011), multiple L1s are not as well documented. Pye and Chan (2023) highlight the contrast between the more sequential multilingualism often studied in European contexts and the simultaneous multilingualism more prevalent in Malaysia. It is suggested by Pye and Chan (2023) that multilingualism in Malaysia frequently develops simultaneously because speakers already use multiple languages even in the same household. This concept of simultaneous acquisition of first languages presented by Pye and Chan (2023) sets a compelling case for multiple L1s, and sets a precedent in multidirectional language influence as a hypercorrection factor.

Upon reviewing literature on hypercorrection, a permeating theme that influences the tendency to hypercorrect is the attitude towards the target language. Attitude towards the target language, in most hypercorrection studies, was used as a background or to provide contexts to the situation. For example, Hubers et al. (2020) prefaced their study with an overview that the attitude of Dutch speakers gravitates positively towards the standard variety of Dutch. Labov (1966) on the other hand, touched on the attitudes of New York City speakers, specifically the lower middle class, who viewed the speech of the upper middle class as prestigious. However, there are surprisingly less instances where these studies investigate attitude as an individual factor of hypercorrection. Even in studies that do not explicitly discuss attitude towards the target language, the implications were quite apparent. Take for example, in Chung (2006), the hypercorrected forms approximated from Beijing Mandarin were perceived as more prestigious and prevalent in higher education and performative settings. This implies an attitude that the “standard” variety is the language of formality and career prospects.

In studies of monolingual contexts, hypercorrection typically involves adapting from one variety of the same language towards a more prestigious variety. These contexts, however, do not fully capture the nuances of a universal language's prestige in multilingual environments and the speakers' attitude for it. In most monolingual examples, speakers of a less prestigious variety attempt to emulate the more prestigious variety, typically by adopting the features they associated with it. Conversely, a different context is presented when a more universally dominant language acts as a prestigious alternative to the local language.

Consider the attitude towards English among Korean (Eckman et al., 2013), Kuwaiti (Akbar et al., 2020) and Slovak speakers (Metruk, 2013). The instances of hypercorrection observed were not due to the adoption of target language features, but rather the *de-adoption* of native language traits to align with the perceived ideal. This phenomenon is consistent with Kapovic's (2018) concept of delocalisation, where speakers, in an attempt to get as close to their ideal of the target language, would reduce features perceived as less prestigious in their native speech, to approximate their target language more closely. In these studies of multilingual contexts, the attitude of the speakers for the target language influences them not only to hypercorrect by adopting foreign features, but also by reducing native features.

In conclusion, the literature suggests several factors influencing hypercorrection. This review identifies four predetermined factors drawn from existing literature: (i) education levels, (ii) age, (iii) phonemic competence, and (iv) multidirectional influences. While these factors are prominent in existing research, the dynamic and context-specific nature of multilingual speech communities suggests that other influencing factors may yet emerge through further investigation.

2.3 Hypercorrection Studies in Asiatic Languages

Hypercorrection, a phenomenon where speakers overapply linguistic rules, is a significant area of study in sociolinguistics and second language acquisition (SLA). This review explores hypercorrection in various Asiatic languages, focusing on some selected literature in contexts of East Asia, Western Asia, and especially in Southeast Asia, culminating in studies specific to Malaysia.

In the linguistic context of East Asia, Chung (2006) investigated hypercorrection in the speech of Taiwanese Mandarin speakers. It was observed younger speakers, perceiving retroflex initial sounds (*zh-*, *ch-*, *sh-*) from the original Beijing Mandarin to be more prestigious, would often hypercorrect by adding retroflex initial sounds in Mandarin words even when it is wrong. This assumption of prestige caused some speakers to erroneously substitute the dental initial sounds (*z-*, *c-*, *s-*) into retroflexes.

Chung (2006) observed that these hypercorrect tendencies are more prevalent in younger speakers, and rarer in older speakers. Additionally, Chung's (2006) study provides essential context that the younger speakers were of a considerably higher educational background, and hypercorrected in academic settings like in an academic conference or when the speaker is in a performative state (e.g. speaking in a TV show, a TV interview, radio and TV broadcaster). Chung (2006) provides a crucial implication that age factor alone may not fully explain the tendencies to hypercorrect. As education levels typically rise with age, particularly in academic environments, age can easily be misconstrued as a sole factor in hypercorrection tendencies. Chung (2006) gives insight to the nuances of education and age on hypercorrection tendencies, as well as in performative contexts.

Chen (2014) also considered the learning strategies of Taiwanese Mandarin speakers. However, Chen (2014) investigated the phenomenon in a multilingual context, aligning with the globalisation of effective communication. While not a direct hypercorrection study, Chen (2014) observed that older Taiwanese speakers use compensation strategies in their English speech more frequently compared to younger speakers.

However, it is also observed that in Chen's (2014) study, the age groups correspond proportionately with their education level: primary school students (10-12 years old), junior high school students (13-15 years old), senior high school students (16-18), and tertiary institute students (20-22 years old). Chen's (2014) study reflects the previous discussion that age seems relevant to hypercorrection tendencies primarily due to its connection with educational background. It was also clarified by Chen (2014) that the older speakers, in this case: tertiary students (aged 20-22) put more emphasis on social and functional strategies. This highlights a social aspect, even in a more cognitive and pedagogically focused study.

Another study in East Asia is Eckman et al. (2013) study of Korean speakers of English. Eckman et al. (2013) suggested that hypercorrection in SLA cannot be simply viewed as a crosslinguistic overgeneralisation because it involves more than just extending of a native language (NL) or first language (L1) patterns. For instance, in Eckman et al. (2013), Korean speakers often pronounce the English words "sin" and "pan" as "shin" and "fan", despite the absence of the /ʃ/ (sh) and the /f/ sound in the Korean Hangul sound system.

If hypercorrection, as suggested by Odlin (1989), is merely a crosslinguistic overgeneralisation of the L1, then these learners would only mispronounce English words using sounds or phonemes available in their L1. However, learners also hypercorrect based on the absence of certain phonemes in their native language (NL) and overgeneralise

phonemes from the target language (TL). This highlights a significant differentiation that instead of merely transferring L1 phonetic patterns to L2, learners are actively adjusting their speech to conform to perceived norms of the target language (TL), occasionally leading to the incorporation of phonemes absent in their L1. This indicates that hypercorrection is influenced not only by crosslinguistic effects but also by a deliberate effort to conform to the prestigious forms of the target language.

In Western Asia, also commonly referred to as the Middle East, Akbar et al. (2020) examined the hypercorrection phenomenon in Kuwaiti Arabic speakers during their English speech. Akbar et al. (2020) found that Kuwaiti learners of English would pronounce the English words “fine” and “bin” as “vine” and “pin”, despite the absence of the /v/ and /p/ sound in the Kuwaiti Arabic phonetic system (Akbar et al., 2020).

The instances of hypercorrection observed did not involve the emulation of target language features but rather the suppression of their own native features to conform to the perceived ideal of the English language proficiency. This phenomenon aligns with Kapovic’s (2018) concept of delocalisation, where speakers modify less prestigious features of their native language to approximate their target language more closely.

In these multilingual studies, speakers’ attitude towards the target language influences them not only to hypercorrect by adopting foreign features, but also to diminish native features. These findings present an opportunity to investigate not only overapplication of target language features, but also underapplication of native language features, both aimed at achieving closer alignment to the target language.

Blust (1983) represents one of the earliest studies of hypercorrection within Austronesian languages, particularly in the South East Asian context. In his study of Bolaang

Mongondow, a language spoken in Sulawesi, Indonesia, Blust (1983) explored instances of hypercorrection. Blust (1983) observed the presence of an intervocalic /r/ in words with established etymologies in Bolaang Mongondow.

However, he discovered that this intervocalic /r/ does not result from a regular phonological process and does not naturally occur as a phonological shift. Blust (1983) proposed that this irregular /r/ epenthesis in Bolaang Mongondow is a historical vestige of hypercorrection. Understanding these hypercorrection phenomena is crucial for accurately interpreting phonological correspondences between Bolaang Mongondow and its related languages.

While the study is a precedent in Austronesian-contexts hypercorrection, it is ultimately done in a monolingual context, meaning it only uncovers the hypercorrection done in one language. The hypercorrection Blust (1983) observed in Bolaang Mongondow is due to some perceived correctness or prestige features which have been generalised and misapplied in the same language. This essentially predicts the same results as Labov's (1966) study. However, what makes this an instrumental starting point in the discussion of multidirectional hypercorrection is in Blust's (1983) introductory anecdotal account of a Malay speaker of English which has been discussed in an earlier section, alongside Aoki and Nishihara (2011) and Nelson (2022) in the role of multilingual and multidirectional influences as a hypercorrection factor.

Another study focusing on an Austronesian language is Saad et al. (2019), which investigates Abui speakers of Alor Malay. Saad et al. (2019) clarify that Abui is a Papuan language, while Alor Malay is an Austronesian language. The study examines the generalisation or simplification of a feature in Abui. The feature in question is the

differentiation between reflexive and non-reflexive possessive markers which does not exist in Alor Malay. Saad et al. (2019) observed that younger Abui speakers hypercorrect by generalising all possessive markets as reflexive.

What gives an intriguing aspect to this study, is how the Abui speakers, despite being a minority, acquired their languages in a manner described by Saad et al. (2019) as something in between sequential acquisition and simultaneous acquisition. Although both Abui (the native language of the Abui people) and Alor Malay are exposed and acquired during childhood, it is only after adolescence or in early adulthood that Abui becomes actively used. This study also demonstrates how a second language, or a partial simultaneously-acquired language can foster hypercorrection in speakers, reflecting Aoki and Nishihara (2011) and Nelson's (2022) notion of multidirectional influences.

An additional interesting aspect is that Alor Malay holds prevalence in the region of Alor Island, and is also used in broader communication, including education and professional settings. This would inherently provide it with more prestige. However, drawing from Baugh (1992), hypercorrection always shifts from a perceived subordinate (less prestigious) towards a dominant (more prestigious) language. This implies that despite the broader usage of Alor Malay, Abui speakers still perceive their native language, Abui, to be prestigious and a source of ethnic pride. This perspective gives an opportunity for a discussion about how hypercorrection would be affected when a speaker's attitude for both their native language and the language of prevalence are viewed positively. This challenges the clear dichotomy of "more prestigious" and "less prestigious" in other literature.

For instance, Kayad and Ting (2020) studied the perceptions of indigenous Sarawakian Bidayuh speakers in Malaysia towards their language. It is observed that despite

being a minority language and not used extensively in educational and professional settings, the speakers themselves perceive Bidayuh as prestigious and culturally significant. This parallels Saad et al. (2019), suggesting that when both the native language and the language of dominance are valued positively by speakers, considerations of utility become pivotal. Kayad and Ting (2020) observed that Bidayuh speakers perceive their language as important as an ethnic marker, but not of particular utility in terms of career prospects or broader communication.

In a study conducted by Zheng and Wang (2022), hypercorrection among Malaysians speaking with English speaking foreigners was observed. Zheng and Wang (2022) collected data from three malls in Malaysia with varying levels of perceived prestige: Pavilion KL (highest ranking), NU Sentral (middle ranking), and Sungei Wang Plaza (lowest ranking). To elicit the pronunciation of the phonological target [θ], interviewers approached salespeople in shops with questions intended to prompt [θ] elicitation such as “Where is _____?” expecting answers like “The third floor/fourth floor.” The questions were initially posed in English by a Malaysian interviewer and subsequently by a foreign interviewer. The study revealed that salespeople in higher-ranked department stores more frequently produced the standard /θ/ [θ] variant, connecting hypercorrection production with perceived prestige. The study included 398 participants from three different malls, yet the sample was broadly defined.

The salespeople targeted in Zheng and Wang’s (2020) study were Malaysian in general, without specific criteria based on linguistic backgrounds. This complicates identifying the precise sources of influences of hypercorrection observed. Despite this limitation, Zheng and Wang (2020) provided insights on how English, as a language

associated with high prestige, can prompt hypercorrection in attempts to approximate ideal correct English. These findings emphasise the importance of employing nuanced methodologies in hypercorrection studies, as highlighted in Zheng and Wang's (2022). The broadness of Zheng and Wang's (2022) participant linguistic background as simply "Malaysian" remains a challenge for pinpointing specific linguistic influences on hypercorrection behaviours.

In Southeast Asia, studies like Saad et al. (2019) on Abui speakers of Alor Malay reveal how multilingual environments can foster hypercorrection, influenced by the prestige attributed to different languages. This study suggests that despite the broader usage of Alor Malay, Abui speakers maintain a sense of ethnic pride and prestige towards their native language, influencing hypercorrection tendencies. Furthermore, Zheng and Wang's (2022) examination of Malaysian English pronunciation in department stores highlights how perceived prestige levels correlate with hypercorrection behaviour among speakers. Future research should continue to explore these nuances with refined methodologies to better understand the dynamics of hypercorrection in language acquisition and usage.

The exploration of hypercorrection across various Asiatic languages reveals its connection with different factors such as perceived prestige, educational background, and social context. From Chung's (2006) analysis of Taiwanese Mandarin speakers to Eckman et al.'s (2013) findings on Korean learners of English, it is evident that hypercorrection is not merely a mechanical transfer of native language patterns but a complex adjustment process influenced by societal norms and expectations. Similarly, studies in Southeast Asia, such as those by Saad et al. (2019) and Zheng and Wang (2022), highlight how multilingual contexts can simultaneously cultivate hypercorrection while preserving linguistic identity and pride.

In summary, this review of hypercorrection studies across Asiatic languages highlights its complexity, linking it to encompassing factors such as perceived prestige, education, and social context. In East Asia, Chung (2006) and Chen (2014) show how younger Taiwanese Mandarin speakers hypercorrect in formal and educational settings, illustrating the interaction between age and education. Eckman et al. (2013) extends this by showing that Korean learners adjust their speech to fit target language norms, not just transferring native patterns. Similarly, Akbar et al. (2020) in Western Asia and Saad et al. (2019) and Zheng and Wang (2022) in Southeast Asia reveal that hypercorrection is shaped by attitudes toward both native and target languages in multilingual environments. By examining these dynamics, researchers can further illuminate the implications of hypercorrection for language acquisition and its broader sociolinguistic significance in the region.

2.4 Studies on Bidayuh

2.4.1 Negative Transfer: Bidayuh to English

While studies specifically addressing negative transfer from Bidayuh to English are scarce, Rensch et al. (2012) provide extensive information on the phonological features of the Bidayuh language. This information allows us to make educated guesses or hypotheses on how these features might influence the acquisition of English.

For instance, Dealwis and David (2007) provide anecdotal evidence of phonological transfer, such as a Bidayuh Bau speaker pronouncing “shy” as “*sai*”, suppressing the /ʃ/ sound, which is absent in some Bidayuh language varieties. Interestingly, the person quoted for this anecdote is an ESL (English as a Second Language) teacher. This aligns with the possibility that the individuals with higher educational backgrounds, striving to speak

English as perfectly as possible, may exhibit hypercorrection rather than negative transfer, as initially reported by Dealwis and David (2007).

Additionally, earlier literature on Bidayuh, including Kroeger (1996), indicates that certain Biatah Bidayuh language varieties, such as those in the Penrissen area, exhibit a tendency to modify the final /s/ into an /-ih/ sound. For example, the word “*metas*” (to cross a river or a road) is pronounced as “*metaih*” [mətajh] in some Bidayuh varieties. While not directly referring to the use of the sibilant /ʃ/, there is indication that some Bidayuh speakers of Biatah and Bau now consider that the /ʃ/ sound is common in normal speech.

Rensch et al. (2012, p. 36) also observed that the /s/ sound “can vary in pronunciation from [s] to [ʃ], [c] or [ʂ], the exact pronunciation depending on the dialect and on which vowel follows it.” These observations present a contradiction: either the /ʃ/ sound is a native feature of some Bidayuh language varieties, making the pronunciation of “shy” as “*sai*” in Dealwis and David (2007) an attempt to reduce the /ʃ/ sound, and therefore not a negative transfer, *or* the /ʃ/ sound is an attempted hypercorrection itself, where speakers try to emulate the /ʃ/ sound from English. In that case, saying “shy” like “*sai*” would then be a negative transfer rather than a hypercorrection.

To determine whether the /ʃ/ sound is a native feature of Bidayuh or a result of language contact, a historical phonological analysis could be done comparing older and newer data. Analysis can then reveal the contexts in which the /ʃ/ sound is used to determine if it is consistent across all words, or only in specific contexts that might suggest hypercorrection.

By examining the phonological inventory detailed by Rensch et al. (2012), we can hypothesise other potential negative transfers. For example, if Bidayuh lacks certain consonant clusters or vowel distinctions present in English, speakers might simplify or merge these sounds when speaking English. Similarly, syntactic structures in Bidayuh, which might differ from those in English, could lead to sentence constructions that reflect Bidayuh grammar rather than standard English norms.

Additionally, insights from studies on other Austronesian languages learning English can help contextualise these hypotheses. For instance, speakers of Malay (both Malaysian and Indonesian), which share some phonological and syntactic similarities with Bidayuh, might exhibit similar transfer patterns. Sudrajat (2021, p. 84) reported syntactic negative transfers, such as the sentence “*They yesterday go Bali*”, reflecting Indonesian Malay sentence structure rather than standard English (“Yesterday they went to Bali”).

Puspita et al. 's (2017) found that Samba Malay speakers also exhibit negative transfers when speaking English, particularly with the pronunciation of /ʃ/. Samba Malay speakers often substitute /ʃ/ with /s/ in both word-initial like “shoes” and word-final like “clash”, which is more readily available in their native language. Interestingly however, the /ʃ/ in word-final were correctly pronounced more frequently, as in “clash” (57.14% of participants) and “bush” (71.42% of participants). Another example is the [ʒ] in word-final like “garage” and “beige” were pronounced with a [dʒ] instead, which is available naturally in their native language. A similar case is also seen in word initial [ʒ] like “genre”, where speakers tend to pronounce it with a [dʒ] instead (Puspita et al., 2017, p. 9).

What is clear from these literatures is that negative transfer involves a “carrying forward” of native language features due to difficulties in using the foreign language features. In contrast, hypercorrection involves a “carrying forward” of a feature *not* native to them in an attempt to converge to the speech of the foreign language. For example, Blust (1983) described a Malay speaker hypercorrecting by using the /f/ phoneme in the English word “prostitute”, saying “*frostitute*” instead. This is not due to the “carrying forward” of native features, as the /f/ phoneme does not naturally exist in Malay, but is found in loanwords, usually from Arabic. This sets a premise for the distinction of negative transfer and hypercorrection in the Bidayuh language and its varieties.

Based on analogous Austronesian studies of negative transfer, and the extensive phonological features provided in Rensch et al. (2012), we can postulate expected negative transfer from Bidayuh to English, and then ultimately identify features most likely to be hypercorrected by Bidayuh speakers using English. Given the absence of [ʃ] and [l] in Biatah and Bau, we might expect these sounds to be approximated to an [s] and an [r] as a negative transfer, respectively.

To further this postulation, foreign sounds such as [f], [v], and [z], which do not naturally occur in Bidayuh except as possible loanwords, are also likely candidates for hypercorrection. This distinction becomes particularly clear in loanwords, as the three different Bidayuh language varieties adapt these borrowings to fit their natural phonemic inventories. Consider the following Table 2.2 which highlights how different phonological features bring distinct concerns when speaking English.

Table 2.2*Malay Loanwords and Bidayuh Speakers' Adaptation (spoken samples)*

Malay loanwords	Bidayuh varieties			Highlighted phoneme
	Biatah	Serian	Bau	
<i>Cangkir</i> (cup)	<i>sakir/s^hakir</i>	<i>cangker/sangker</i>	<i>sakir</i>	[tʃ] /ch/
<i>Lalu</i> (to go beyond, in the sense that fruit is overripe)	<i>raru</i>	<i>lalu</i>	<i>raru</i>	/l/
<i>Fikir</i> (to think)	<i>pikir</i>	<i>pikir</i>	<i>pikir</i>	/f/
<i>Zirafah</i> (giraffe)	<i>jirapah</i>	<i>jirapah</i>	<i>jirapah</i>	/z/
<i>Kampung</i> (village)	<i>rais/kapong</i>	<i>binua/kampung</i>	<i>kupuo'</i>	mid-word nasal sound [ŋ] /ng/
<i>Bangku</i> (chair, bench)	<i>baku</i>	<i>bangku</i>	<i>baku</i>	
<i>Bepangkak</i> [Sarawakian Malay] (to crash into)	<i>maka'</i>	<i>mangka'/bipangka'</i>	<i>maka'</i>	

In summary, anticipating hypercorrection requires looking beyond negative transfer to the overuse of absent features from their native language. For instance, Biatah and Bau speakers would be more attentive to pronouncing /tʃ/ compared to Serian speakers. These differences necessitate the investigation of various Bidayuh varieties, as speakers hypercorrect differently based on their native phonemes. The Bidayuh linguistic and social identity was shaped by historical and cultural influences. Colonialism impacted both language structure and evolution, fostering enduring multilingualism. The diverse phonological features across Bidayuh varieties create linguistic richness but also challenges, especially negative transfer between Bidayuh and English, emphasising the need for a nuanced understanding of language acquisition.

2.5 Methodological Considerations

Hypercorrection, the phenomenon where speakers overapply linguistic rules in an attempt to avoid perceived errors, is a valuable area of study for understanding language use and variation. Researchers employ different methodologies to investigate hypercorrection, with corpus analysis and speech production studies being prominent approaches.

Corpus analysis is a powerful tool for examining hypercorrection, particularly in written data. Studies such as those by Collins (2023) and Kirner-Ludwig et al. (2023) have leveraged large corpora to identify syntactic and grammatical hypercorrection patterns. Corpus studies are advantageous due to their broad scope, allowing researchers to analyse vast amounts of data from diverse geographical regions.

For instance, Collins (2023) used the GloWbE corpus to investigate hypercorrection in English across both Inner Circle and Outer Circle countries. The Inner Circle refers to countries that set the English language as the “standard” and use it as the primary means of communication, including the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Ireland, Australia, and New Zealand. The Outer Circle includes countries where English is not the native language but is used extensively as a second language for administration, education, and official purposes, this includes some countries in South Asia, Southeast Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean, such as Sri Lanka, Singapore, Malaysia, Nigeria, and Jamaica (Collins, 2023).

However, corpus analysis is limited by its primary focus on written data, making it challenging to detect pronunciation and phonological hypercorrection. Moreover, corpus-based studies often categorise data based on geographic regions, which can obscure individual linguistic influences, like the global Inner and Outer Circle of English-speaking countries (Collins, 2023) or the analysis of post-transcript British and American English TV shows (Kirner-Ludwig et al., 2023). For example, English transcriptions from Pakistan may

be assumed to be from Pakistani speakers, but without detailed information on the speakers' native dialects, it's difficult to accurately determine the influences on their hypercorrection tendencies. Collins (2023) acknowledged the inherent linguistic diversity within regions complicates these assumptions, necessitating cautious interpretation of corpus data.

In contrast, speech production studies offer a more direct approach to examining phonological hypercorrection. These studies, such as those by Eckman et al. (2013), capture real-time speech and provide insights into how hypercorrection manifests in natural conversations.

Elicitation techniques are frequently used in these speech production analyses, where participants produce speech in controlled tasks. For example, in Zheng and Wang (2022), elicitation techniques were used to elicit certain phonological features, such as the /th/ [θ] sound investigated in their study. While these tasks help identify phonological hypercorrection, they often occur in isolated contexts, which may not fully represent spontaneous speech. Additionally, speakers tend to monitor their pronunciation more closely during elicitation tasks, potentially affecting the occurrence of hypercorrection.

Phonemic contrast analysis is another method used to identify phonological hypercorrection in speech production studies (Akbar et al., 2020). This approach, though less commonly highlighted, provides insights for examining phonological aspects of hypercorrection by analysing how speakers differentiate between phonemes in their speech.

For instance, Akbar et al. (2020) found that the phonemic contrasts of the Kuwaiti Arabic speakers when they speak English revealed hypercorrection tendencies associated with the target language (English), rather than phonemes available or natural in their native language (Kuwaiti Arabic).

Zsiga's (2003) study, while not directly focused on hypercorrection, provided crucial implications to the methodology of phonemic contrast analysis in hypercorrection studies. Particularly, it suggests that the non-native speakers might recognise a pattern from their target language and misapply it when speaking.

Zsiga (2003) observed that non-native Russian speakers overgeneralise the Russian word-final release pattern from heterorganic to homorganic consonant clusters in an attempt to sound more Russian. However, Zsiga (2003) notes that the speakers did not pay particular attention to the release or non-release of final consonants as an aspect of pronunciation when questioned after their interviews.

This implies that while there is a conscious attempt to match the phonemic features of target language as closely as possible, speakers might not be conscious of the inner linguistic mechanisms. Additionally, it is also important to note that phonemic contrast analysis is limited by its isolation in utterance/production, typically elicited by prompts and without the natural contextual cues of a sentence.

Another technique in analysing hypercorrection tendencies, though less common, is recording casual conversations (Melisova, 2020). This approach aims to capture naturalistic speech and sentence structures, providing a more authentic context for observing hypercorrection. Melisova (2020), in her study of the linking of words in French speakers of English recorded casual conversation about their hobbies and life, in addition with text reading and reading a list of phrases.

However, even in casual settings, the presence of a researcher can make participants more conscious of their speech, sometimes resembling an interview rather than a truly natural conversation. This heightened awareness, while limiting naturalistic speech, can still foster hypercorrection tendencies, particularly if the interaction is perceived as formal. This

is exemplified by Melisova's (2020) observation that the French native speakers' [h] insertion into English speech is more likely in formal and read-aloud speech rather than informal.

This increased vigilance when observed is also sometimes referred to as the observer's paradox, a term coined by Labov (1972). Labov (1972) acknowledges that the act of observing can influence the behaviour of those being observed, often causing them to alter their natural speech patterns. Labov (1972, p. 209) stated that "the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by systematic observation."

However, in the context of studying hypercorrection, this phenomenon could be advantageous. Hypercorrection occurs when speakers consciously attempt to adhere to perceived linguistic norms or prestige forms, often resulting in overapplication of certain rules. When speakers are aware that their language use is being monitored, they may become more conscious of their speech, potentially leading to hypercorrective behaviours. This conscious monitoring is exactly what researchers aim to capture when studying hypercorrection.

While existing literature frequently discusses the observer's paradox as limitations in sociolinguistic studies (Eckert, 2000; Labov, 1972) there are also discussions on how these phenomena can be utilised beneficially. For instance, Cheshire (2005) highlights how awareness of being observed can illuminate the sociolinguistic competence of speakers, particularly in how they navigate different speech norms. However, specific studies that directly focus on the observer's paradox as a beneficial factor in hypercorrection studies are less common.

Cheshire (2005) also discussed methods to mitigate the impact of the observer's paradox, such as long-term immersion and building rapport with participants.

In essence, both corpus analysis and speech production studies have their strengths and limitations in hypercorrection research. Corpus analysis provides extensive data on syntactic and grammatical patterns but is limited in phonological insights. Speech production studies offer detailed phonological data but are constrained by the artificiality of elicitation tasks and the observer's paradox in casual conversations.

In considering methods to capture the essence of both grammar and phonology in hypercorrection, it is deemed that combining elicitation methods with phonemic contrast tests and casual conversation recordings can create a comprehensive approach. Elicitation provides controlled prompts to gauge phonemic competency, while recordings of semi-structured interviews can capture close to natural speech despite the observer's paradox. This dual approach ensures a thorough understanding of hypercorrection, contextualising errors within real speech patterns.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

This chapter outlines the research design to explore hypercorrection among multilingual Bidayuh English speakers. The study pursues two primary objectives: (i) to describe the types of hypercorrections produced, and (ii) to determine the influencing factors; both those identified from existing literature (education levels, age, phonemic competence, and exposure) and additional factors emerging from the data.

3.1.1 Case Study Approach

The hypercorrection among multilingual Bidayuh speakers was approached as a case study. A case study is a detailed examination of a particular case or phenomenon within a real-world context (Bromley, 1986; Feagin et al., 1991). Cresswell (2007) describes a case study as an exploration of an issue through one or more cases within a bounded system, such as specific setting or context. In the current study, the bounded context is English-speaking multilingual Bidayuh students, and the phenomenon studied is hypercorrection. Multiple cases were explored within this study, bounded by similar contexts but varying in age group and language varieties. Two groups of participants were gathered and studied; both younger and older English-speaking Bidayuh students, from three different Bidayuh language varieties: Serian, Biatah, and Bau. To collect data on the use of hypercorrection by Bidayuh speakers when speaking English, speech production data from recordings of casual conversations, open-ended interviews, and phonemic competency tests were conducted. The data collected are presented categorically, with detailed descriptions and characteristics of the hypercorrection observed, making a descriptive design appropriate.

3.1.2 Qualitative Descriptive Design

To fulfil the objectives of the study, a qualitative descriptive research design was employed. Qualitative research involving human subjects typically includes an in-depth open-ended interview, direct observation, and written documents (Patton, 2005). Descriptive research is used to describe features of a population or a particular phenomenon that is being studied. In this context, while the study attempts to describe the characteristics of hypercorrection and what influences it, descriptive research design does not necessarily involve the study of the causal relationship of a characteristic within a phenomenon (Shields & Rangarajan, 2013).

Hypercorrection is a relatively nuanced linguistic phenomenon that involves subtle shifts in pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary. A qualitative approach allows for a comprehensive exploration of these subtleties, providing detailed descriptions of the types of hypercorrections made by Bidayuh speakers. Furthermore, qualitative research is well-suited to studying phenomena within their natural contexts. Understanding hypercorrection among Bidayuh speakers requires an appreciation of the sociolinguistic environment, including the speakers' interactions, language attitudes, and cultural influences. This design allows for the examination of how these contextual factors shape language behaviour, offering insights that would be difficult to obtain through quantitative methods alone.

Since the study aims to describe and identify factors influencing hypercorrection, a qualitative descriptive design is appropriate for exploring these areas without the constraints of predefined hypotheses. This flexibility is crucial for uncovering unexpected patterns and relationships, thereby providing a more holistic view of the phenomenon. A key objective in the study is to determine the factors influencing hypercorrections. Qualitative methods like interviews and recordings of conversation, facilitate the collection of detailed personal

narratives and perspectives from Bidayuh speakers. This participant-centred approach ensures that the study captures the speakers' experiences and insights, which are vital for understanding the motivations and contextual factors behind hypercorrection.

The goal of describing the types of hypercorrections and their influencing factors necessitates a design that can produce rich, descriptive data. Qualitative descriptive research provides detailed accounts and thick descriptions, enabling the study to present a vivid picture of the hypercorrection phenomena. This depth enhances the study's validity and reliability by providing a clear and comprehensive description of the findings.

Qualitative descriptive research allows for the use of various data collection methods, such as interviews, observations, and document analysis. This methodological flexibility is advantageous for triangulating data and ensuring a well-rounded analysis. By combining multiple sources of data, the study can achieve a more nuanced and credible understanding of hypercorrection among Bidayuh speakers.

In conclusion, the qualitative descriptive research design effectively addresses the study's goals by allowing for a detailed and contextualised examination of hypercorrection among Bidayuh speakers. This approach not only allows for the detailed description of hypercorrections and their influencing factors by using a participant-focused approaches, but also integrates relevant theories and hypotheses to maintain a grounded framework for analysis. By doing so, the study aims that its findings are not only rich in detail but also observable and potentially replicable. This balance between qualitative exploration and theoretical base enhances the validity of the research and provides valuable insights into the linguistic behaviour of multilingual Bidayuh speakers, contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon.

3.2 Sampling

3.2.1 Purposeful Sampling Method

Purposeful sampling involves the intentional selection of participants who are likely to provide valuable insights into a research question and contribute to its analysis (Cresswell, 2014). Thomas (2022) listed four types of purposeful sampling methods, consisting of (i) maximum variation sampling, (ii) homogenous sampling, (iii) typical case sampling, and (iv) total population sampling.

Maximum variation sampling, which is the most suitable for the current study, aims to capture a broad range of perspectives on the research subject (Thomas, 2022). This method involves selecting individuals or cases that represent the end spectrums of a particular characteristic or dimension. For this study, age differences within the participant group were chosen to capture a wide spectrum of these characteristics. Additionally, the participants were selected from different districts and speak different Bidayuh language varieties to ensure a reasonable range of diversity in the data.

The decision to include 12 participants as the initial baseline was based on the principles of purposeful sampling, which typically involves smaller sample sizes compared to probabilistic approaches that select informants randomly from the target population (Oliver, 2021). Non-probability sampling allows researchers to determine inclusion criteria based on specific characteristics and the willingness of individuals to participate in the study.

While the total number of participants could potentially increase to gather more information, maintaining balance was crucial. Thus, the distribution was kept equal, with the number of younger participants matching the number of older participants, and the number of male participants matching the number of female participants. Similarly, participants from

the Biatah group were matched with participants from Serian and Bau groups, respectively. This approach ensured a comprehensive exploration of hypercorrection phenomenon among multilingual Bidayuh speakers, achieving data saturation within the constraints of purposeful sampling.

3.2.2 Participants

3.2.2.1 Educational and Age Context

The participant criteria for the current study were informed by Hubers et al. (2020), who studied hypercorrection among Dutch students across three educational levels: Lower Secondary Professional Education (lower level), Higher General Secondary Education (intermediate level), and Pre-University Education (higher level). Hubers et al. (2020) found a correlation between higher educational levels and increased tendencies towards hypercorrection. Based on the Dutch educational system, typically in primary and secondary schools, age and educational levels are often directly proportional, which also matched the context in Malaysia closely.

To adapt these criteria to Malaysian educational contexts, participants were categorised into Primary School Students, Lower Secondary School Students, and Upper Secondary School Students. These categories were further refined into two groups: younger students (10 - 13 years old) and older students (14 - 18 years old).

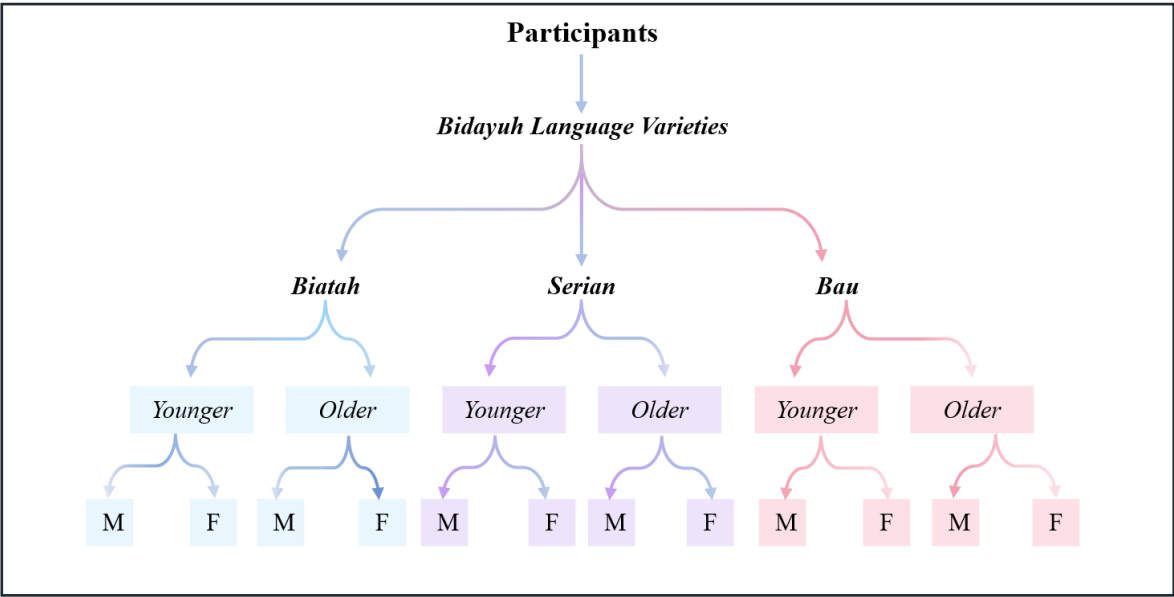
The decision to group participants into younger and older categories was based on several considerations. Firstly, the age range for younger participants was capped at 13 years old to explore implications related to the Critical Period Hypothesis. According to Paradis (2004), there is a critical period during early childhood when individuals are most receptive to language acquisition. This period is estimated to extend from early childhood up to

approximately thirteen years of age, after which language pronunciation and acquisition tend to stabilise or fossilise.

For younger participants, the study decided to start at 10 years old, which marks the upper primary stage (*Tahap 2*) in Malaysian education, ensuring that younger participants have already received substantial exposure to the English language (Lo & Rameli, 2020). This age range allows for an exploration of language acquisition dynamics during the critical period, contrasting younger students, who are still within this sensitive phase, with older students who may be less susceptible to acquiring new languages. Refer to the following Figure 3.1 Participants across language varieties:

Figure 3.1

Participants across language varieties (M = Male: F = Female)



3.2.2.2 Participant Criteria

A total of 12 students participated in this study, divided into two age groups: six older speakers (aged 15 to 18 years old) and six younger speakers (aged 11 to 13 years old). Within each age group, two speakers from each Bidayuh language variety (Serian, Biatah, Bau) were included, ensuring an equal representation of one male and one female per language variety in both age categories. The table below summarises the participants included in this study, detailing their native Bidayuh language variety, gender and age, along with their respective age categories:

Table 3.1

Participant Demographic and Language Variety

Age Category	Language Variety	Gender	Age
Older speakers	Biatah	Male	16
		Female	18
	Serian	Male	18
		Female	18
	Bau	Male	17
		Female	15
Younger speakers	Biatah	Male	10
		Female	13
	Serian	Male	11
		Female	11
	Bau	Male	13
		Female	11

The data were collected until it hits saturation, following these criteria:

1. Students from two age groups; younger students (10 -13 years old) and older students (14 – 19 years old).
2. Speakers for each of the Biatah, Serian and Bau Bidayuh language varieties.
3. Both male and female from each of the three Bidayuh language varieties.
4. Speakers exhibit no articulatory or physical abnormalities affecting sound production (Orton et al., 1978 cited in Waurdhaugh & Fuller, 2021).

Participants were recruited through indirect contact via community networks. Initial participant recommendations were obtained by posting an announcement that briefly outlined the purpose of the study, the need for Bidayuh participants fitting the specified criteria, and the assurance of confidentiality and voluntary participation on social media platforms, primarily through the WhatsApp Status feature. The announcement was also shared by others on platforms like Facebook.

Additionally, the researcher approached Bidayuh acquaintances to ask if they had relatives who fit the criteria and were willing to participate. Friends of friends or relatives of friends who were willing to be participants were then contacted. Especially for younger participants (Primary school students) who typically do not have mobile devices of their own, the parents were contacted. After the initial verbal consent and assent of both the participants and their guardians were received, either through phone calls or in-person meetings, appointments were made. During these appointments, both written consent/assent forms and audio recording consent/assent were obtained.

The researcher did not know the participants directly, but was introduced to them through friends and relatives. However, not all recommendations resulted in participation, as some early potential participants changed their minds and decided not to participate. These decisions were respected, and the search for participants continued until the desired sample was obtained.

The layout of the interview varied depending on the location. Initially, participants were accompanied by their guardians during the introduction, explanation, and consent form filling. However, during the actual interview and conversation, participants were only with the researcher. Most interviews took place in the participants' homes, with guardians either in another section of the same room or within close proximity, just a call away. Some

interviews were conducted in cafeterias, with guardians waiting at another table, while others took place in parks where guardians waited nearby but outside the immediate conversational space. Throughout the interview, participants always faced the researcher, who also served as the interviewer.

To create a more relaxed and comfortable atmosphere, the researcher provided light refreshments during the interviews. Additionally, time was taken at the beginning of each session to engage in casual conversation and build rapport with the participants before proceeding to the formal interview. This approach was particularly important given the young age of the participants, as it helped to ease initial tension and encourage more natural speech production.

3.3 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study integrates Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) and the Monitor Hypothesis to explore hypercorrection among multilingual Bidayuh speakers.

3.3.1 Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT)

Originally developed by Giles (1973), Communication Accommodation Theory explains how individuals adjust their speech patterns to either converge with or diverge from their interlocutor's speech. Accommodation strategies include approximation strategies, interpretability strategies, discourse management strategies, and interpersonal control strategies. These strategies can lead to different types of accommodation, which includes divergence, convergence, and maintenance.

Table 3.2

Accommodation Strategies (Giles, 1973)

Strategies	Function
Approximation	Adjust language to align with the interlocutors
Interpretability	Modifying speech to enhance understanding
Discourse management	Adapting communication to manage conversations effectively
Interpersonal control	Maintaining or altering social power dynamics

Table 3.3

Types of Accommodation

Accommodation Type	Function
Divergence	Adjusting speech to differentiate oneself from the interlocutor
Convergence	Adapting speech to become more similar to the interlocutor
Maintenance	Maintaining one's original speech pattern

Particularly relevant to the concept of hypercorrection is the Convergence Accommodation type, which can be categorised into upward convergence and downward convergence. Both types involve the adoption of linguistic features, but with distinct directional focuses. Upward convergence entails adopting features from a perceived more prestigious or standard variety, whereas downward convergence involves adopting features from a perceived less prestigious or substandard variety.

3.3.2 Monitor Hypothesis and Hypercorrection

Proposed by Krashen (1977) and further developed in his subsequent writings (Krashen, 1981; 1982), is the Monitor Hypothesis. The hypothesis suggests that language learners use a “monitor” that corrects their language output based on learned rules. This monitoring can lead to hypercorrection, when speakers overapply those rules. This leads us to the central phenomenon explored in this study, occurring when speakers apply language rules excessively or incorrectly.

3.3.3 Theoretical Perspectives on Hypercorrection

Eckman et al. (2013) provide a foundational framework for the understanding of hypercorrection that is central to the current study. Eckman et al. (2013) characterise hypercorrection as a linguistic form that extends beyond its prescribed usage, occasionally resulting in speech production errors. Eckman et al. (2013) also informed the stance against the direct labelling of hypercorrection as a native language interference, which simplifies and convolutes the identification of hypercorrection and how they can manifest.

The current study also incorporates Labov’s (1966) and Janda and Auger’s (1992) classification of hypercorrection into its analysis. Their concept of “statistical” (quantitative) hypercorrection refers to the overuse of certain linguistic features, which can be quantified

or counted and this has a more statistical nature. In contrast, “structural” (qualitative) hypercorrection involves the misapplication of linguistic rules, which reflects a deeper, structural understanding (or perceived understanding) of these rules.

Additionally, Giles and Williams (1992) categorise the linguistic manifestations of hypercorrection, which informs the current study’s examination of the domains in which hypercorrection occurs. According to Giles and Williams (1992), hypercorrection can manifest in three primary forms: (i) phonological hypercorrection, (ii) grammatical hypercorrection, and (iii) lexical hypercorrection.

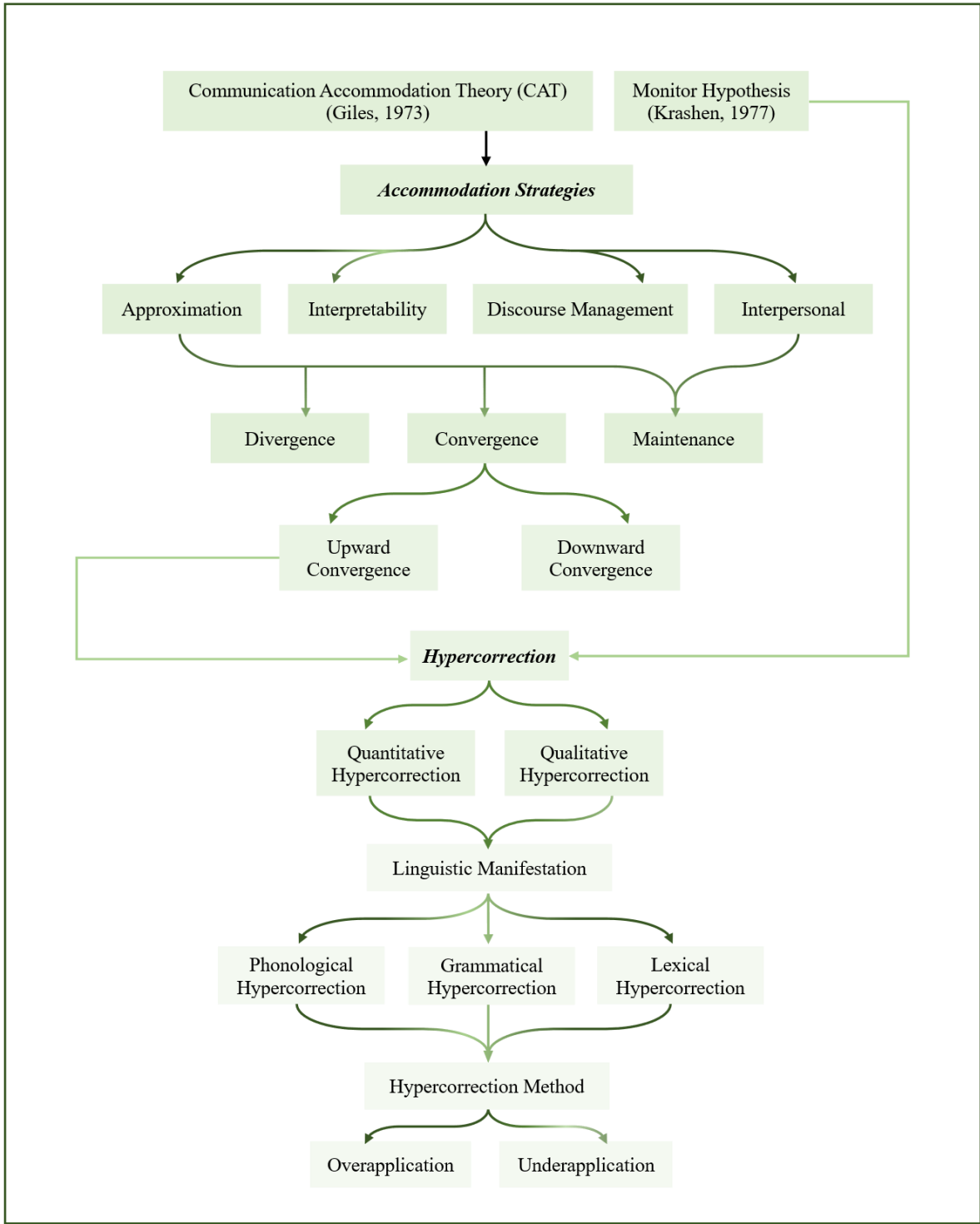
While overapplication is the most well-known basis of hypercorrection and has been attested since its inception, underapplication has been less accounted for in previous studies. However, Kapovic (2018) alludes to this phenomenon in his description of linguistic delocalisation, where speakers, in their effort to converge to a perceived prestigious variety, diminish their “nativeness” or “locality”. This sets a premise for the current study to anticipate both overapplication and underapplication as how hypercorrection methodologically manifests.

In conclusion, the framework established by Eckman et al. (2013) provides a foundational understanding of hypercorrection, which is expanded upon by incorporating the classifications and typologies from Labov (1966), Janda and Auger (1992), and Giles and Williams (1992). This study goes beyond the traditional focus on overapplication of linguistic features, by also accounting for underapplication, as suggested by Kapovic (2018). By combining these perspectives, the study attempts to offer a more nuanced methodological approach to analysing hypercorrection, addressing both structural and statistical aspects of hypercorrection. The following conceptual map (Figure 3.2) visualises the framework that

guides this analysis, encompassing the multi-faceted nature of hypercorrection as it manifests in Bidayuh speakers' linguistic behaviour.

Figure 3.2

Conceptual Map



The integration of CAT and the Monitor Hypothesis provides a comprehensive framework for understanding hypercorrection among multilingual Bidayuh speakers. By examining how Bidayuh speakers employ accommodation strategies and monitor their language output, this study seeks to uncover the factors influencing hypercorrection. The theoretical framework, as depicted in the conceptual map (Figure 3.2), guides the analysis of how hypercorrection manifests in this multilingual context.

3.4 Instruments

The current study opts to utilise speech production data rather than on corpora. Consequently, several instruments have been incorporated to facilitate the collection of speech recording for the study. These instruments include a semi-structured interview or conversation guide and a phonemic competency test, which features a section on phonemic contrasts and a formula to quantify phonemic competency.

3.4.1 Interview Guideline

The questions are designed with six components, each serving to both gather information about the participants and elicit their speech production. These questions are intended as guidelines, allowing the conversation to deviate based on the participant's responses. The primary aim of the interviews is to collect speech production data.

Additionally, the interviews gather information on the speakers' attitudes toward the use of Bidayuh and/or English, their perceptions of individuals using these languages, and their feelings about being corrected, among other aspects. The beginning of the conversation consists of demographic questions and casual inquiries, serving both as introductory questions to ease initial tension or awkwardness and as ice-breakers. At the conclusion of the interview, participants were asked to do a phonemic competency test (3.4.2).

Table 3.4*Conversation Guide for Demographic and Educational Background*

i. Demographic & Educational Background	
1.	Name
2.	Age? Class?
3.	Where do you go to school? Do a lot of people go there?
4.	Do you think your school is somewhere close to the city or closer to the village?
5.	How do you go to school? Do you go by bus?
6.	What do you like to do after school?
7.	Hobbies? Interests? (Ask them to explain, or elaborate). Note: Ask for types. E.g., if video games, do they like cosy games or more action-packed games? If sports, what kind of sports? (If football, whether it's field football or indoor, like futsal).
8.	Why do you think you like [insert hobby/interests]?
9.	Do you often had the opportunity/chance to play [insert hobby]?

Table 3.5*Conversation Guide for Native Language*

ii. Native language/language variety	
10.	What language variety of Bidayuh do you speak?
11.	Do you consider Bidayuh as your first/native language?
12.	What languages do you usually use with your mum/dad?

Table 3.6*Conversation Guide for Influence of Other Languages*

iii. Influence of other languages	
13.	Can you speak other languages? What other languages can you speak? (Do you mix your language when you speak?)
14.	With your school friends, what language do you think you usually use?
15.	With your siblings/brothers/sisters?
16.	What about in more formal situations, what language do you prefer to use? (Like speaking with teachers, or in a meeting for example?)
17.	When you're going out, talking to cashiers or at shops – what language do you use?
18.	Have you ever felt like it's difficult to speak to someone because they speak differently from you? Can you tell me about that experience? /What happened?

Table 3.7*Conversation Guide for English Exposure and Usage*

iv. English exposure/usage	
19.	Do you think that you are more of a reader or a watcher?
20.	What types of books/movies do you like to read/watch?
21.	Do you think that you're exposed to English media a lot? (If watching foreign movies, e.g., anime, what language is your subtitle? Are you more of a subtitle person, or a dub person?)
22.	Where did you learn English?
23.	What about your environment, are there a lot of English-speaking people around you?
24.	Do you use English a lot, and where do you usually use English?

Table 3.8*Conversation Guide for Attitude on English/Bidayuh*

v.	Attitude on English/Bidayuh
25.	Do you like using English/Bidayuh to speak?
26.	Why do people need to learn English/Bidayuh?
27.	When people can speak English/Bidayuh, what do you think about them? What is your first impression?
28.	What do you think about English/Bidayuh? How would you describe it?
29.	How do you feel when you use or hear English/Bidayuh?
30.	Do you enjoy learning or improving your English/Bidayuh? What makes you interested in it?
31.	Can you share any good or bad experiences you've had with English/Bidayuh?
32.	Why do you think English/Bidayuh is important? (Culture, identity, communication?)
33.	Do you think you speak English/Bidayuh well? Why/why not?
34.	Do you try to speak English/Bidayuh as correctly as possible? Pronunciation?
35.	Do you find any parts of learning English/Bidayuh difficult? How do you deal with those challenges?
36.	What are your goals or expectations for getting better in English/Bidayuh? Why are these goals important to you?
37.	Are there any interesting or fun things about English/Bidayuh that you like?
38.	Tips and strategies to improve English/Bidayuh?

Table 3.9*Conversation Guide for Attitude on English Hypercorrected Forms*

vi. Attitude on the hypercorrected English forms in their speech	
39.	How do you feel if you're corrected when speaking English?
40.	[Explain hypercorrection] Have you heard of hypercorrection? Do you think you've done it?
41.	Are you aware of your hypercorrection? How do you personally feel when you catch yourself doing it? Does it bother you, or does it feel like a normal part of using language?
42.	Did you realise when you did [insert hypercorrected form]?
43.	Why do you think you do it? Have you heard it being said like that before?
44.	Do you feel like when you use [HC form] in your speech, you feel more educated/sophisticated?
45.	Are there words or ways of saying stuff that you avoided when speaking in English? What influenced your decision?

Following the interview questions and casual conversations, participants engaged in a phonemic competency test and a phonemic contrast test. Both tests were adapted and expanded from Akbar et al.'s (2020) phonemic competency test.

3.4.2 Phonemic Competency Test

3.4.2.1 Phonemic Production and Perception Test

The phonemic competency test from Akbar et al. (2020) was adapted for this study. Akbar et al. (2020) assessed phonemic competency in Kuwaiti participants by playing recordings of words pronounced with English consonants (/p/, /v/, and /tʃ/), and comparing these with their Kuwaiti counterparts (/b/, /f/, and /ʃ/). Their test was focused solely on perception (listening and visual identification) and did not include production; it also targeted only these three consonants with direct counterparts in Kuwaiti Arabic.

In contrast, this study, which examines three variants of Bidayuh, expanded the phonemic competency test to encompass all English sounds, including vowels. This

adaptation aims to evaluate participants' overall phonemic competency and its potential influence on their speech production and hypercorrection.

Table 3.10

English Phonemic Chart: Identify and Produce Sounds in Red

Vowels	Monophthongs				Diphthongs			
	i:	ɪ	ʊ	u:	ɪə	eɪ		
	sheep	ship	good	shoot	here	wait		
	e	ə	ɜ:	ɔ:	ʊə	ɔɪ	əʊ	
	bed	teacher	bird	door	cure	boy	show	
	æ	ʌ	a:	ɒ	eə	aɪ	aʊ	
	cat	up	star	on	hair	my	cow	
Consonants	p	f	t	θ	tʃ	s	ʃ	k
	pea	fly	tea	think	cheese	see	shall	car
	b	v	d	ð	dʒ	z	ʒ	g
	boat	video	dog	this	June	zoo	television	go
	h	m	n	ŋ	r	l	w	j
	hat	man	now	singer	red	love	wet	yes

Note. To accommodate some younger students, these words have been printed with pictures onto cards. Refer to Appendix B.

3.4.2.2 Phonemic Contrast Test

The current study does not only examine the perception of English sounds but also assesses their production. Given that three variants of the Bidayuh language are investigated (Biatah, Serian, and Bau), no single phonological feature can be used to generalise across all variants.

The selection of specific sounds for the phonemic contrast test was guided by both linguistic literature and the phonological characteristics of the Bidayuh language varieties under investigation. Rensch et al. (2012) highlight that the /l/ sound, the /tʃ/ (ch) sound, and the variation of /s/ into /ʃ/ (sh) are generally absent across most Bidayuh language varieties, except in the Eastern variety (Serian area). These sounds were chosen because their absence

in the participants' native phonological inventories makes them more likely to be sites of hypercorrection or other phonological adjustments. Following the approach of Akbar et al. (2020), the current study tests these phonemic contrasts to capture the participants' perceptual and productive adaptations to English phonology, as follows in Table 3.11:

Table 3.11

Phonemic Contrast Test

r and l		s and ʃ		tʃ and ʃ		tʃ and s	
[r]	[l]	[s]	[ʃ]	[tʃ]	[ʃ]	[tʃ]	[s]
rake /reɪk/	lake /leɪk/	sin /sɪn/	shin /ʃɪn/	chore /tʃɔːr/	shore /ʃɔːr/	chip /tʃɪp/	sip /sɪp/

3.4.2.3 Phonetic Competency Percentage

While the current study is a qualitative one, there is a need to quantify what is meant by “competency”, in order to make informed assumptions based on the scales given from this result. The accuracy of both the phonemic competency test and the phonemic contrast test will be presented in percentage. The percentage will directly correspond to the participants’ overall phonemic competency, which include perception and production. The formula to calculate the phonemic competency is as follows:

Equation 3.1

Phonemic Competency Percentage

$$(\%) = \frac{n \text{ sounds perceived correctly} + n \text{ sounds produced correctly}}{\Sigma \text{ perception test} + \Sigma \text{ production test}} \times 100$$

3.5 Data Collection Procedure

Based on the methodological considerations discussed in the literature review (Chapter 2.4), the study is inclined to collect speech production data. This involves recordings of conversations and elicitation, alongside a phonemic competency test that also features a phonemic contrast test.

The initial step in the data collection procedure involved gathering information about the selected Bidayuh language varieties, including their geographic locations and phonological variations. This was achieved through observation, information from relatives, and primarily from Rensch et al. (2012) on the phonological characteristics of different Bidayuh regional language varieties. This preparatory work aimed to anticipate potential hypercorrection issues. The Bidayuh language varieties included in the current study were Biatah, Serian, and Bau.

Subsequently, fieldwork was organised, and appointments were scheduled with participants. Participants selected based on the predefined criteria (listed in 3.2.2.2) were asked to sign a consent form (refer to Appendix A) and provide verbal consent for recording. For younger participants, parental or guardian assent was also obtained if they were deemed unable to provide consent themselves.

Once consent/assent was secured, the conversation and interview sessions were recorded using audio recording devices. The phonological data collected were then transcribed verbatim (refer to Appendix C), excluding non-speech sounds such as filler words and stutters. For production where the hypercorrection is detected, phonetic transcription was also done.

For both Research Objectives 1 and 2, which involve describing the types of hypercorrections and the factors influencing hypercorrection among multilingual Bidayuh students, data were collected through recordings of the semi-structured interviews. These questions covered comfortable and familiar topics, such as self-introductions, hobbies, likes, and dislikes.

Participants were also asked to retell a story from a book or film they liked, or alternatively, to talk about their particular field of interest to elicit speech production. The interviews were designed primarily as speech elicitation tools rather than in-depth attitudinal interviews. The primary data collected were participants' linguistic production, encompassing phonological, grammatical, and lexical forms, rather than the factual content of their responses. While open-ended questions encouraged participants to share their opinions on languages, these self-reports served as background information to provide context for patterns of hypercorrection rather than as direct evidence of their attitudes or beliefs. The participants' responses were not evaluated for their content or meaning, but rather for the linguistic forms and patterns they produced.

All interviews followed an ethics-approved protocol that ensured participants were aware of the purpose of the recordings, with no coercion involved. Younger participants were asked open-ended questions on familiar, comfortable topics, and their participation was entirely voluntary, with both their assent and their guardians' consent obtained prior to the interviews.

The participants' phonemic competency was assessed through a phonemic competency test adapted from Akbar et al. (2020) and expanded to include all the vowels and consonants of English. Targeted phonemes were presented as words containing these

sounds, displayed on a screen, and participants were asked to pronounce these words out loud.

For younger participants, these words were printed with pictures on cards to aid identification. Subsequently, the words containing these sounds were played from an audio source, and participants were asked to identify the sounds in the recordings. Participants were not expected to identify the exact phonemic sounds using an IPA chart but to provide a close approximation of the sounds within the 26 letters of the alphabet. The data collected on their ability to identify and produce these English phonemes informed their phonemic competency.

3.6 Data Analysis Procedures

The data analysis procedures will be arranged according to each objective of this study.

3.6.1 Data Analysis: Research Objective 1

To analyse the speech production of the participants, this study primarily employs the framework provided by Eckman et al. (2013). Eckman et al. (2013) describe hypercorrection as a linguistic form that extends beyond its prescribed usage, often resulting in speech production errors. The emphasis on “speech” is crucial, as this study focuses on hypercorrection within speech production, rather than written production.

As outlined in the methodological considerations (Chapter 2, Section 2.4), this study opted for a speech production analysis method. The data gathered from speech production recordings were arranged and tabulated by (i) environment (where the hypercorrected forms present themselves within word distribution (e.g. word-initial, mid-word, word-final), by (ii) instances, by (iii) phonetic transcription based on participants’ pronunciation, their (iv)

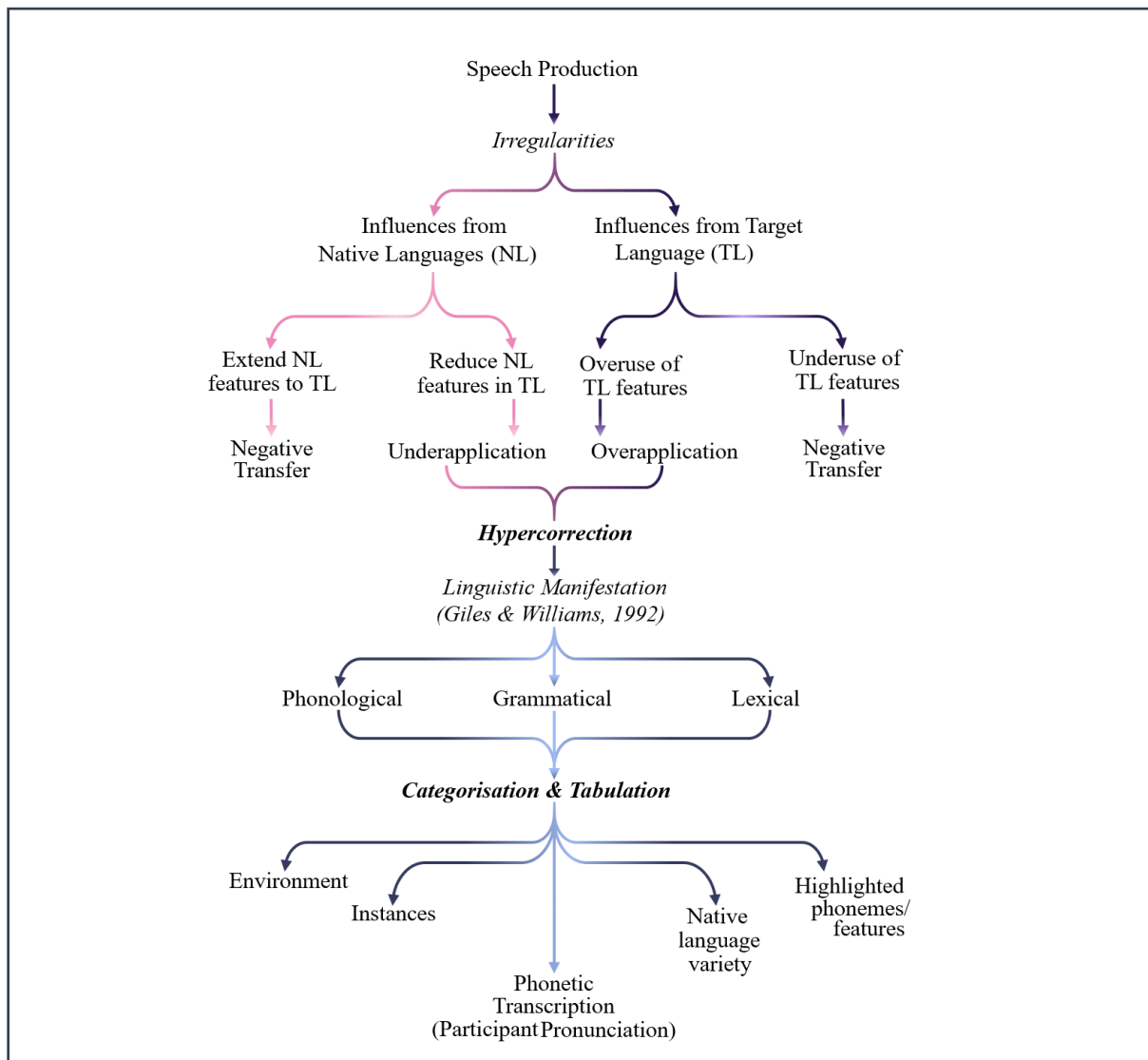
native language varieties, and finally the (v) highlighted phonemes or features that they hypercorrect.

The understanding and characterisation of hypercorrection in this study are also informed by significant contributions from other scholars in the field. Labov (1966) and Janda and Auger (1992) provide valuable insights into the quantitative (statistical) and qualitative (structural) aspects of hypercorrection. Additionally, Giles and Williams (1992) contribute to the categorisation of hypercorrection into linguistic manifestations: phonological, grammatical, and lexical.

Eckman et al.'s (2013) insights also helped this study distinguish between hypercorrection and direct negative transfer, highlighting overapplication of rules or features as a key characteristic of hypercorrection. Meanwhile, Kapovic (2018) offers insights on underapplication, which is also used as an identifying characteristic in this study. To identify and describe hypercorrection in the speech of multilingual Bidayuh participants, speech productions were analysed as illustrated in the following Figure 3.3.

Figure 3.3

Identification and Categorisation of Hypercorrection



From the audio recordings of speech production, alongside the transcribed conversation, irregularities (or errors) were identified based on irregular pronunciation or grammatical choices. These irregularities were then classified as either influenced by the native language (NL) or the target language (TL). In the context of this study, the NL refers to one of the three Bidayuh language varieties spoken natively by the participants (Serian, Biatah, Bau) and the TL refers to English.

If the speech irregularities stem from an extension of features from their NL while speaking the TL, they are classified as a negative transfer. Conversely, if the participants reduce their NL features when speaking the TL to the point of error, then it is distinguished as a hypercorrection, particularly in the form of underapplication. In the context of target language (TL) influence, if the speech irregularities stem from the underuse of TL features, it is classified as a negative transfer. In contrast, if the participants overuse the TL features to the point of error, then it is distinguished as a hypercorrection, particularly through overapplication.

3.6.2 Data Analysis: Research Objective 2

To determine the factors that influence hypercorrection tendencies and its types, a qualitative coding method was utilised. Qualitative coding, as a method, intercepts themes and patterns by analysing sets of data, and has been developed and revised multiple times. One prominent seminal work is Glaser and Strauss (1967), in which they included systemic qualitative coding techniques in the development of Grounded Theory.

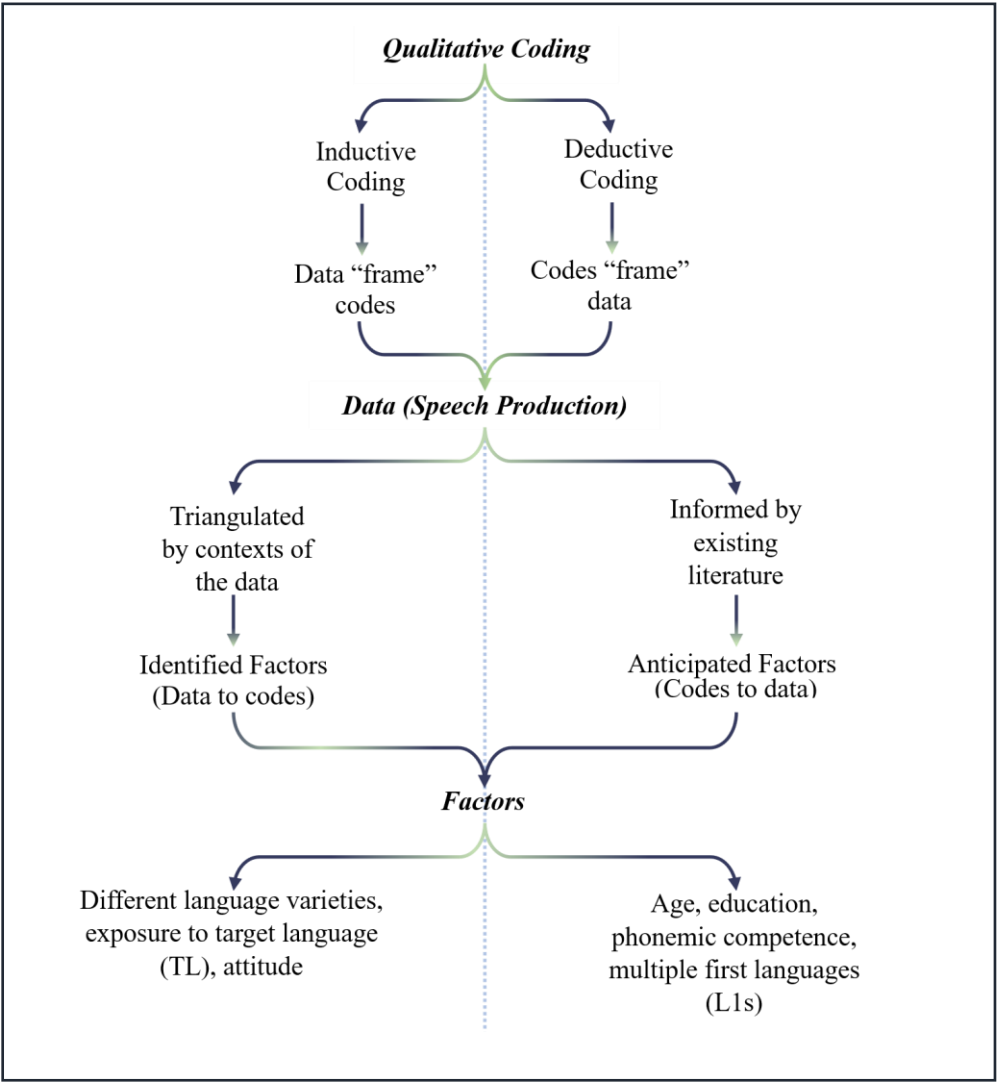
However, Grounded Theory is fundamentally inductive, in which there is an emphasis on the generation of theory *from* the data, instead of framing theory *unto* available data. In Miles and Huberman (1994), is when deductive coding was introduced, where researchers use existing theories or framework to guide their analysis, applying predefined codes to the data.

The current study approaches the identification of hypercorrection factors with both inductive and deductive coding, as to provide a holistic insight to the phenomenon. An inductive approach allows for the discovery of patterns and themes that emerge directly from the data. On the other hand, a deductive approach enables the testing and application of

existing theories, ensuring that the analysis is grounded in established knowledge and can be compared to existing studies. Consider the following Figure 3.4:

Figure 3.4

Qualitative Coding in Determining Hypercorrection Factors



Linneberg and Korsgaard (2019) described inductive coding as identifying segments of meaning in a set of data and labelling them with codes that assign a summative attribute to the data, effectively “framing” the data with codes. This is reminiscent of Glaser and Strauss’

(1967) approach. For deductive coding, on the other hand, a set of pre-defined list of codes is created to “code frame” a collection of data (Miles et al., 2014).

Based on previous studies, a pre-defined list of “codes” was anticipated to frame the deductive coding analysis method, namely age groups, educational background, phonemic competency, and influence from multiple first languages (L1s). Upon carrying out the study, several factors also emerged as factors. These factors emerged through the induction of patterns and themes that were triangulated by the context of the data and the case studied. This included differences in regional language varieties, the degree of exposure to the target language, and the participants’ language attitudes.

3.7 Pilot Study

The current study decides to discuss the pilot study *after* the main methodology to highlight its role in refining, rather than fundamentally altering the research design. Although the pilot informed significant refinements, these changes focused primarily on enhancing the methodology rather than shifting its core structure. This section is dedicated to the pilot study’s impact, explaining how its findings informed adjustments without reiterating procedural details already covered.

The decision to conduct a pilot study was driven by the relative scarcity of research on hypercorrection in multilingual contexts. While prior literature provided methodological frameworks, the pilot was crucial in ensuring the study’s framework was effective in this specific context. From the outset, the study’s approach to data collection focused on audio recordings of semi-formal interviews, which included spontaneous conversational elements. Additionally, a phonemic competency test was also incorporated early in the design. The pilot confirmed that the core methodology; audio recordings of semi-formal interviews and

phonemic competency tests were viable, but required some refinements to improve data quality and participant engagement.

Three Biatah Bidayuh speakers participated in the pilot: two male participants aged nine (9) and fourteen (14), and one female participant aged thirteen (13). The pilot data revealed several trends in hypercorrection that guided methodological adjustments. For example, Male, 14 exhibited a higher tendency to hypercorrect by adding verb agreement “-s” to verbs, even when the rule did not apply (e.g., “they *talks* English”). This suggests an overgeneralisation of English grammar rules, likely influenced by formal education and a lack of such morphological structures in the Bidayuh language. In contrast, Female, 13, and Male, 9 showed more frequent negative transfers but fewer instances of hypercorrection, likely due to less consistent use of English as a primary communication language. These observations led to the hypothesis that language exposure, more than age, plays a crucial role in hypercorrection tendencies.

Furthermore, the pilot indicated that hypercorrection often occurs in word-final (coda) positions, which helped refine the analysis focus for the main study. It also revealed the need for adjustments in the interview process, which is that “yes or no” questions discourage participants’ engagement, which in turn, reduces conversational data. This led to revising the interview guidelines to include more open-ended questions and provide time for the participants to acclimate or “break the ice,” encouraging more conversational speech.

Regarding the phonemic competency test, the primary adjustment was the introduction of printed picture word cards, which served as effective elicitation tools, particularly for younger participants. In the phonemic competency test, all three participants demonstrated high competency levels (none scored below 90%), suggesting that hypercorrection can occur even at higher competency levels. The results of the phonemic

test confirmed the method's efficacy, but also highlighted the need for additional participants to establish clearer patterns.

In summary, the pilot study was instrumental in refining the methodology without altering its core structure. It highlighted the role of language exposure in hypercorrection and led to practical improvements, such as open-ended interview questions and the use of picture cards for phonemic tests. The pilot validated the study's approach while ensuring a more effective and responsive data collection process for the main study.

3.8 Research Limitation

The current study is limited by several factors that might constraint the generalisability and control of the findings. Firstly, the data obtained cannot be generalised to other indigenous languages in Sarawak, as the investigation is specifically focused on Bidayuh hypercorrection across three distinct language varieties. Secondly, the study lacks control over the participants' fluency in both their respective Bidayuh language varieties and English, as these cannot be reliably measured or standardised.

Additionally, while the data collection method through semi-structured interviews and casual conversations offers valuable insights, it also introduces certain limitations. The researcher cannot fully mitigate the effects of tension, awkwardness, or personal shyness among participants, which may lead to reduced speech output or lower volume during recordings. These factors can pose a challenge during the transcription process, potentially affecting the accuracy and comprehensiveness of the transcribed data.

Labov's (1972) observer's paradox, which refers to the challenge of capturing naturalistic speech while participants are aware that they are being observed, is also a consideration. While this paradox can be useful in instigating hypercorrection tendencies, which the study aims to capture, it also means that the recorded audio may not reflect

naturalistic speech. To address this, the researcher makes efforts to build rapport with the participants, continuing to speak with them and ask follow-up questions even after the interview sessions. These efforts aim to create a more relaxed environment and encourage more natural speech patterns, though complete naturalism remains difficult to achieve.

In conclusion, while the study provides valuable insights into Bidayuh hypercorrection across specific language varieties, it is important to acknowledge these limitations. Future research could benefit from expanding the scope to include other indigenous languages, as well as the sample size. This could prove beneficial at improving the generalisability of the findings to at least the three Bidayuh language varieties included in the study. Furthermore, future researchers could develop methods to better control and measure the variables, such as participants' fluency, and a more conducive environment to encourage speech production. Despite these challenges, the current study makes a valiant attempt at contributing to the understanding of hypercorrection in multilingual Bidayuh speakers.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

In presenting the findings, it is beneficial to reiterate the aim and the objectives included in this study. The study aims to explore the occurrences and influencing factors of hypercorrection among multilingual Bidayuh when speaking English. In doing so, these two specific objectives were pursued: (i) to describe the types of hypercorrections, and (ii) to determine the factors influencing the types of hypercorrections. This chapter outlines the demographic profiles of the participants and their residential proximity to urban centres, a factor anticipated to contribute to their linguistic experiences. Following this, the types of hypercorrections observed in the participants' speech are categorised according to their phonological, grammatical, and lexical manifestations. The subsequent section examines the factors influencing hypercorrection, drawing from the participants' speech production and phonemic competency test performance, as well as contextual insights gathered from conversational data when speaking English.

4.1.1 Demography

This study included Bidayuh students from three language varieties: Biatah, Serian, and Bau. For each variety, four students participated: two older and two younger, with each age group consisting of one male and one female. This distribution is outlined in the following Table 4.1.

Table 4.1*Participants Demography*

Age Category	Language Variety	No.	Gender	Age	Label (Code)
Older students	Biatah	1.	Male	16	Biatah MO
		2.	Female	18	Biatah FO
	Serian	3.	Male	18	Serian MO
		4.	Female	18	Serian FO
	Bau	5.	Male	17	Bau MO
		6.	Female	15	Bau FO
Younger students	Biatah	7.	Male	10	Biatah MY
		8.	Female	13	Biatah FY
	Serian	9.	Male	11	Serian MY
		10.	Female	11	Serian FY
	Bau	11.	Male	13	Bau MY
		12.	Female	11	Bau FY

In labelling codes to the participants, the following approach was used. The participants were labelled with their language variety, followed by the gender tag ‘M’ for male students, and ‘F’ for female students. These gender tags were then followed by their age category tags, with ‘O’ for older students, and ‘Y’ for younger students. This labelling provides a comprehensive context to each participant, while maintaining their anonymity. For example, in Table 4.1, the first participant labelled Biatah MO, denotes a **male student** from the ‘**Biatah**’ Bidayuh language variety, and categorised within the **older** age group.

4.1.2 Participant Residences and Proximity to Cities

In the initial stages of the study, place of residence was not set as a participant inclusion criterion. However, upon carrying out the data collection procedures, it was discovered that half of the participants reside in cities, while another half resides in Bidayuh villages, illustrated in the following Table 4.2.

Table 4.2*Participant Places of Residence*

No.	Resides in cities	No.	Resides in Bidayuh villages
1.	Serian MO	7.	Biatah MO
2.	Serian FY	8.	Biatah FO
3.	Bau MO	9.	Biatah MY
4.	Bau FO	10.	Biatah FY
5.	Bau MY	11.	Serian FO
6.	Bau FY	12.	Serian MY

It was observed that *all* the Biatah participants reside in Bidayuh villages where their native Bidayuh language variety is spoken. In contrast, all the Bau participants reside in cities but would occasionally return to visit their villages. It is important to note that while the Biatah speakers in this study reside in Bidayuh villages, their community has a uniquely close proximity to urban areas. The Serian participants are evenly split between living in cities and Bidayuh villages. This variation provides an opportunity to examine how proximity to urban areas can influence the tendency to hypercorrect, which will be discussed in another section.

4.2 Types of Hypercorrections

Based on Giles and Williams (1992), there are three main types of linguistic manifestation of hypercorrection, namely phonological, grammatical, and lexical hypercorrection. The current study reports all three hypercorrection types, alongside the further categorisation of whether the instances are overapplication or underapplication. The findings will be presented in table forms, with headings including (i) environment, (ii) instances, (iii) phonetic transcription, (iv) native language variety, and finally, the (v) highlighted phonemes/features. Environment signifies the position within the words where the hypercorrection occurs, whether that is word-initial, mid-word, or word-final (coda).

4.2.1 Phonologically Driven Hypercorrection

As previously observed, many phonological hypercorrections were quantitative (*statistical*) hypercorrection because of sound emulation among the target language speakers when speaking it. This trend is also observed in the current study, where participants quantitatively regulate some sound features in their speech to sound as phonologically close to their target language as possible, despite the inaccuracies. This can manifest in two ways: by underapplication, or by overapplication. Identification of hypercorrection as either underapplied or overapplied involves filtering the data (instances) through the analysis procedure illustrated previously in Figure 3.3.

4.2.1.1 Underapplied Phonological Hypercorrection

Underapplication occurs when a feature from the native language (NL) is reduced or omitted when producing the target language (TL). This can happen when a speaker, aware of their accent, underutilises a language feature readily present in their NL, presuming it will negatively influence their quality. The research distinguishes underapplied phonological hypercorrection from negative transfer by determining the source of the underutilised phonological feature. If the reduced feature comes from the NL and is reduced in the TL to the point of inaccuracy, it is considered an underapplied phonological hypercorrection. Conversely, if the underutilised phonological feature comes from the TL, it is classified as a negative transfer, indicating an inability to accurately produce the TL's sound features. Consider the following Table 4.3 from the speech of a participant, Biatah FO.

Table 4.3*Underapplied Phonological Hypercorrection: Biatah FO*

No.	Environment	Instances	Transcription	Language Variety	Phoneme
1.	Coda	To me, Engli[sh] is fun	/tu mi, 'ɪŋɡlɪs ɪz fʌn/	Biatah (Penrissen)	/ʃ/
2.	Mid-word	“U[s]ually, my friend help me.”	/ju:suəli maɪ frend help mi/		

Table 4.3 illustrates the hypercorrection done by a Biatah speaker, particularly speaking the Penrissen variety. To preface, the Penrissen Bidayuh language variety has a tendency to palatalise their /s/ sounds in natural speech, becoming a /ʃ/ sound. While Kroeger (1996) recorded that those in the Penrissen area exhibit a tendency to modify the final /s/ into a sound that ends with /-ih/ (“*metas*” to “*metaih*”), he did not record the tendency to palatalise into a /ʃ/.

However, according to the participant (Biatah FO) in a follow up question, she said that the /ʃ/ sound is common in speech, especially in older speakers. The participant stated that “*mereka susah sebut ‘S’, macam kalau mereka kata word yang ada ‘S’ dia jadi ‘sh’*” (It is hard for them to pronounce the ‘S’ sound, for example, when they say words with an ‘S’, it sounds like “sh”). This is also reported in Rensch et al. (2012), and also from general observation of the Penrissen speech, as in the word “*keshuang*” kəʃuəŋ (dog) which generally is unpalatalised in other Bidayuh variety in Biatah. For word-end (coda) palatalisation, the word “*kebos^h*” (dead) can be observed.

Therefore, when the naturally occurring Bidayuh /ʃ/ sound is reduced or deducted in the English speech of the participant, it is characterised as an underapplication because the sound feature exists in their native speech, but reduced to conformed to a presumed standard.

From another perspective, it could also be reduced in response to a presumed “Bidayuh accent”, where they try to reduce sounding less like the target language.

In example No. 2 in Table 4.3, the palatal sibilant in the word “usually” was also reduced to a /s/ sound. Note that the sibilant in question, especially in American and British employs the /ʒ/ phoneme, typically transcribed as /'ju:ʒəli/. In normal circumstances, this would not warrant this word production to be categorised as an underapplication because /ʒ/ does not exist naturally in the Bidayuh language. However, in Malaysian English, the “acceptable” pronunciation is /'ju:fəli/.

To further assess this assumption, the participant (Biatah FO) was asked to pronounce the word “usually” in isolation, and the participant consistently pronounced it as /'ju:fəli/, emphasising the /f/ phoneme. This provides an overview indicating that this particular pronunciation variation was considered correct. Despite this personal emphasis in isolated instances, the presumed “correct” /f/ phoneme was still reduced within the context of a conversation because there is need for a broader generalisation as not to be too taxing to the mind to support a continuous conversation, making the reduction more apparent than it is in isolated instances. This observation aligns with the notion that speakers are more careful in isolated and curated speech (formal), and less so in continuous speech (informal) (Chappell, 2014; Kapovic, 2018; Labov, 1972; Melisova, 2020).

Other examples also include the underapplied hypercorrection of the /tʃ/ sound, particularly by Serian Bidayuh language variety speakers. In the Serian Bidayuh language variety, the /tʃ/ sound exists naturally within the language, and in fact, the only Bidayuh language variety with the /tʃ/ sound within its phonological constraints. Consider the following Table 4.4.

Table 4.4*Underapplied Phonological Hypercorrection: Serian FO*

No.	Environment	Instances	Transcription	Language Variety	Phoneme
1.	Coda	“...after school, I have lun[ch].”	/ˈaftər skul aɪ hæv lʌn/	Serian	/tʃ/
2.	Mid-word	“Ac[t]ually, I think about people who speak English is the most widely speak language in the world.”	/æk.suəli, aɪ tɪŋk əˈbaʊt ˈpiːpl hu spiːk ˈɪŋɡlɪz ɪz ðə most ˈwaɪdli spiːk ˈlæŋɡwɪʒ ɪn ðə wɜːld/		

(Note. Direct grammatical errors like “most widely speak language” in the participants’ sentences are preserved as they are.)

In the Serian language variety, the /tʃ/ sound exists in words like “*ngancak*” (to ask or to instruct someone), or “*pimincu*” (the youngest). These Serian words illustrate how the /tʃ/ sound is naturally embedded in the Serian Bidayuh lexicon. Therefore, in the reduction of /tʃ/ sound in the word “actually” (Table 4.4) to “/æk.suəli/”, and the complete omission of /tʃ/ in the word “lunch” into just “/lʌn/” suggests an underapplication. This is intercepted as such because /tʃ/ sound already exists naturally in their native language. Similar to Biatah FO discussed previously, it seems like there is an attempt to reduce the Bidayuh feature (despite inaccuracy to the point of underapplication) to mitigate a sense of “Bidayuhness.” This delocalisation is particularly apparent when speaking English, a language of considerable prestige and agency, aligning with Kapovic’s (2018) concept of delocalisation.

4.2.1.2 Overapplied Phonological Hypercorrection

Overapplication occurs when a feature from the target language (TL) is overutilised when speaking. This can typically occur when a sound feature is used beyond the usual requirement, which includes generalisation of sound features from the TL. The research distinguishes overapplied phonological hypercorrection from direct negative transfer by determining the source of the overutilised phonological feature. If the excessive feature comes from the TL and generalised to the point of inaccuracy, it is considered an overapplied phonological hypercorrection. Conversely, if the overutilised phonological feature comes from the NL, it is classified as a negative transfer, because the NL's feature overextends to the TL. Consider the following Table 4.5 from the speech of a participant, Biatah FO.

Table 4.5

Overapplied Phonological Hypercorrection: Serian MO

No.	Environment	Instances	Transcription	Language Variety	Phoneme
1.	Coda	...make you more fluent[s] in English...	mek ju: mor 'flu:əntz in 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ/	Serian	/s/
2.	Coda	“I think my favourite[s] English word is...”	/aɪ θɪŋk maɪ 'fevərɪts 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ wɜrd ɪz/		

In Table 4.5, participant Serian MO overapplied the /s/ sound usually present at the end of English words. In English, the /s/ sound often signifies word pluralisation or verb agreement suffixes. One might argue that hypercorrect use of the /s/ sound could be seen as a grammatical overapplication rather than a phonological one. However, since the words being hypercorrected in Table 4.5 (“fluent” and “favourite”) are adjectives, it is more accurate to classify this as phonological hypercorrection. This is because there is no grammatical

requirement to apply verb agreement to adjectives, thus eliminating grammatical pressure in this context.

Another form of phonological overapplication occurs when a speaker replaces phonemes in a target language word with more ‘foreign’ phonemes. These foreign phonemes are typically present in the target language but not appropriate for the specific words the speaker is using. This happens even though the speaker’s native language already has phonemes that match the target language word more closely. Consider the following Table 4.6.

Table 4.6

Overapplied Phonological Hypercorrection: Multiple Participants

No.	Environment	Instances	Transcription	Language Variety	Phoneme
Biatah FO					
1.	Coda	“Closer to the villa[ge].”	'klouzər tu ðə 'vilez/	Biatah	/ʒ/
Biatah MO					
2.	Coda	“I’m learning one more langua[ge] , but I don’t think I’m very confident in it.”	/aɪm 'lɜːnɪŋ wʌn mɔːr 'læŋgweɪz, bət aɪ doʊnt θɪŋk aɪm 'veri 'kɒn. fɪdənt ɪn ɪt/	Biatah	/ʒ/
Serian FY					
3.	Coda	“I think English is an important langua[ge] because it was an international langua[ge] ”	/aɪ θɪŋk 'ɪŋɡlɪs ɪs ən ɪm'pɔːrtən 'læŋgweɪz bɪ'kɔːz ɪt wəz ən ,ɪntər'næʃənəl 'læŋgweɪz/	Serian	/z/
Serian MY					
4.	Coda	“English is my third langua[ge] ”	/ɪŋɡlɪs ɪs maɪ tɜːrd læŋgwats/	Serian	/ts/

As can be observed in Table 4.6, more “foreign” phonemes were utilised despite the availability of the /dʒ/ phoneme in all varieties of the Bidayuh language, for words like “village” and “language”. Instead, the /dʒ/ phoneme, was replaced with objectively more foreign sounding phonemes relative to the Bidayuh language in general. For instance, the /ʒ/ sound was used by Biatah FO to say the word “village” and by Biatah MO to say the word “language”. On the other hand, the /z/ sound was used by Serian FY, and the /ts/ sound was used by Serian MY to say the word “language”. This replacement of natively available sounds into a more foreign one implies an overapplied phonological hypercorrection.

However, this observation can be disputed. While /dʒ/ is a fairly common phoneme in Biatah, it typically does not occur at the end of a word. Therefore, the simplification of the affricate could be seen as a natural phonological change rather than hypercorrection. To address this counterargument, it is important to consider the phonotactic rules of Biatah in more detail.

While it is true that /dʒ/ does not typically appear at the end of words in Biatah, the occurrence of /ʒ/, /z/, and /ts/ in the production of the words “village” and “language” might still indicate a form of hypercorrection. This is because the speakers are exposed to English phonological patterns, which influence their pronunciation choices. The replacement of /dʒ/ with /ʒ/, /z/, and /ts/ could reflect an attempt to adopt a more “English-sounding” pronunciation, perceived as more prestigious or correct in certain contexts. This form of hypercorrection, where speakers overshoot the target phoneme, aligns with the patterns observed in other multilingual contexts where speakers modify their speech to align more closely with the perceived norms of a prestigious language.

Additionally, the broader context of language use in the Bidayuh community, including the influence of English as a dominant language, supports the notion that hypercorrection is occurring. The phonotactic constraints of Biatah provides a plausible explanation of the observed phonemic changes, but the sociolinguistic factors influencing speaker behaviour also play a critical role. However, it is still beneficial to consider the specific investigation of hypercorrection in different word positions (word-initial, mid-word, coda) in future studies. Nonetheless, while natural phonological processes influenced by native language are significant, the evidence suggests that hypercorrection due to the influence of English remains a compelling explanation for the observed phonemic changes.

4.2.2 Grammatically Driven Hypercorrection

Previous observations indicated that many phonological hypercorrections were quantitative (*statistical*) in nature. In contrast, grammatical hypercorrections were often qualitative (*structural*), as it involves the inner workings of language beyond phonology. This trend is also evident in the current study, where participants adjust certain grammatical features in their speech to be as grammatically correct as possible in their language, despite resulting in inaccuracies.

Unlike phonological hypercorrection, which can manifest as both underapplication and overapplication, grammatical hypercorrection appears to manifest only as overapplication. It is plausible to speculate that the Bidayuh grammatical structure is so dissimilar to English, that even excessive reduction of Bidayuh grammatical features would not significantly impact speech as hypercorrection. These overapplications of grammatical rules are observed in these examples taken from the data set, starting from Table 4.7 below.

4.2.2.1 Verb Agreement

Table 4.7

Grammatical Hypercorrection: Verb-Ending /-s/ Suffix

No.	Language Variety	Environment	Instances	Transcription
1.	Biatah MO	Coda	...because English words sometimes have the same spelling and really rely[s] on the pronunciation.	/bɪ'kəz 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ wɜːdz 'sɑːm, tɑɪmz hæv ðə seɪm 'speliŋ ənd 'rɪli rɪ'laɪz ɒn ðə prəˌnʌn.si'eɪʃən/
2.	Serian MO	Coda	...to strengthen[s] the bond with my friends...	/tu 'streŋtəns ðə bɒnd wɪð maɪ frendz/
3.	Bau MO	Coda	Because it can connect[s] with other people from around the world.	/bɪ'kouz ɪt kæn kə'nekt s wɪð 'ʌðər 'pɪpəl frɒm ə'raʊnd ðə 'wɜːld/

In English, verbs that follow a singular pronoun typically conjugate with an /-s/ phoneme. For example, the verb “eat” in the sentence “He eats” or the verb “fly” in the sentence “It flies” adheres to this grammatical rule. This rule, which is a fundamental aspect of English grammar, ensures that verbs agree in number with their subjects.

However, when this grammatical rule is maladapted or overgeneralised, it can be applied incorrectly to *all* verbs, regardless of the subject’s number. This overgeneralisation is illustrated in Table 4.7, where speakers would conjugate verbs with the /-s/ ending even when the subject is non-singular. Examples from the study include the verbs “rely”, “strengthen”, and “connect” which incorrectly take the /-s/ ending, even though they follow subjects that are either plural or otherwise do not require this verb form. The overextension of grammar rules is also observed in other structural grammar suffixes, such as the /-ing/ suffix.

4.2.2.2 Gerund and Present Participle

Similarly, the /-ing/ suffix in English verbs is used to form gerunds and present participles, which have various grammatical functions. This includes forming continuous tenses (e.g., “He is **eating**”), gerunds (e.g., “**Eating** is fun”), and adjectives (e.g., “The **running** water”). Overgeneralisation of the -ing suffix involves its inappropriate application in contexts where it is unnecessary or grammatically incorrect, illustrated in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8

Grammatical Hypercorrection: Verb-Ending /-ing/

No.	Language Variety	Environment	Instances	Transcription
1.	Biatah MO	Coda	“I felt embarrass[ing] .”	/aɪ fɛlt em 'bærəsɪŋ/
2.	Serian MO	Coda	“...to releas[ing] the stress after learning.”	/tu: rɪ 'li:sɪŋ də strɛs 'ɑ:ftər 'lɜ:rnɪŋ/
3.	Bau MO	Coda	Yes, because people speak[ing] English.	/jɛs, bɪ 'kɒz 'pi:pəl 'spɪkɪŋ 'ɪŋɡlɪs/

Based on the context of Biatah MO’s speech, he seems to intend to say “I felt embarrassed”, but perhaps due to the mistaken adaptation of common constructions like “That was embarrassing”, he overgeneralised the usage and used “I felt embarrassing” instead.

In another case, Serian MO, while talking about playing sports, discussed that it is “to release stress after learning”, except, he used “releasing” as a form of continuous tense instead. Bau MO on the other hand, used the continuous form “speaking” in the construction of “Yes, because people speak English”. However, it is prudent to note that the term “speaking”, despite not grammatical in “standard” English, is a common way to convey that someone is an English speaker in context of Malaysia, particularly in Kuching Sarawak in this case (e.g. “*Dia pandai speaking*” – “He/she can speak English”). The overuse of /-ing/

as a continuous tense suffix is also used prominently by a younger participant: Serian FY, illustrated in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9

Grammatical Hypercorrection: Verb-Ending /-ing/: Serian FY

No.	Language Variety	Environment	Instances	Transcription
1.	Serian FY	Coda	“I like to us[ing] Bidayuh language to speak.”	/aɪ laɪk tu 'ju:zɪŋ bɪ'daɪju 'læŋgweɜ tu spɪk/
2.	Serian FY	Coda	“...because I like to runn[ing] around.”	/bɪ'kəz aɪ laɪk tu 'rʌnɪŋ ə'raʊnd/

While the overuse of the /-ing/ suffix is a plausible explanation for Serian FY's particular hypercorrection, it was also observed that she has a heightened tendency to overuse the infinitive “to”, which will be illustrated in Table 4.10. In English, an infinitive is the base form of verbs, often preceded by the word “to”. It is used in various grammatical contexts and does not change form based on the subject or tense. For instance, it can be used like “I want **to learn** English”, or “He likes **to eat** pizza”. This gives a logical reason on why Serian FY uses it primarily before verbs.

Table 4.10

Grammatical Hypercorrection: Infinitive “To” Usage: Serian FY

No.	Language Variety	Environment	Instances	Transcription
1.	Serian FY	Phrase	“I think people must to learn English because it [was] an international language.”	/aɪ tɪŋk 'pi:pəl mʌst tu lɜ:n 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ bɪ'kɔz ɪt wæz æn ,ɪntə'næʃənəl 'læŋɡweɪʒ/

As illustrated in Table 4.10, in response to the question “Do you think people must learn English?”, participant Serian FY replied “I think people must **to learn** English because it [was] an international language.” The researcher speculates that because the construction of the question is similar to “Do you think people **have to** learn English?”, it seems natural to generalise that the “must” also includes the infinitive “to”, and hypercorrected her answer to include it. This response indicates an overgeneralisation of verb structures, and consequently the overapplication of the infinitive “to” after verbs, which might also be a compelling explanation for previous instances like those in Table 4.9, if the overapplication of the /-ing/ suffix was not the case.

4.2.2.3 Past Tense

It was also observed that some speakers often demonstrated overapplication of the past tense forms. This overapplication was particularly noticeable in usage of English verbs, where past tense markers are often applied even in contexts that did not require them. This pattern reflects a challenge in grammatical rules when navigating between their native language and English. This suggests that the speakers' linguistic intuition may lead them to apply grammatical structures from English in an overly cautious or generalised manner. These tendencies are further illustrated in the following Table 4.11.

Table 4.11*Grammatical Hypercorrection: Past Tense Forms*

No.	Environment	Language Variety	Instances	Transcription
1.	Whole Word Form	Serian MO	“It’s fun and people [spoke] it around the world.”	/ɪts fʌn ənd 'pi:pəl spo:k ɪt ə 'raʊnd ðə 'wɜ:ld/
2.		Bau MO	“Maybe I [didn’t] use it every day, like English.”	/'meɪbi aɪ 'diðənt ju:z ɪt 'evri deɪ, laɪk 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ/
3.		Biatah FY	“She [was] a cobbler.”	/si wəz ə 'kɒblər/
4.		Serian FY	“I [went] to Sekolah Kebangsaan...”	/aɪ wɛnt tu sə'koʊləh kə'baŋsa'an/
5.		Serian FY	“I think English is an important language because it [was] an international language.”	/aɪ tɪŋk 'ɪŋɡlɪʃ ɪz ən ɪm'pɔ:tənt 'læŋɡweɪʒ bi'koz ɪt wəz ən ,ɪntər'næʃənəl 'læŋɡweɪʒ/

This tendency may stem from the learned grammatical rule in English, where past tense markers often are embedded within the verb itself such as the addition of /-d/ (e.g. lie – lied), /-ed/ (e.g. show – showed) or even morph the form of the verb itself, such as “speak” into “spoke.” Notably, this grammatical feature is not present in all varieties of the Bidayuh language, which lack a direct counterpart to this grammatical rule. Consequently, Bidayuh speakers may overapply past tense markers, even in contexts where it is not suitable.

4.2.3 Phonological and Grammatical Overlap Driven Hypercorrection

4.2.3.1 Underapplied Phonological and Grammatical Overlap

In previous sections, and as suggested by existing literature, hypercorrection has been recorded to manifest either phonologically, grammatically, and lexically. However, another category of hypercorrection was observed, where both phonological and grammatical factors

contribute simultaneously to speech patterns. The following Table 4.12 showcases this observation.

Table 4.12

Underapplied Phonological and Grammatical Overlap: /-s/ phoneme

No.	Language Variety	Environment	Instances	Transcription
1.	Serian MO	Coda	“I am eighteen year old.”	/aɪ æm 'eɪti:n jə 'ould/
2.	Bau MO	Coda	“I watch more movie.”	/aɪ wɑtʃ mɔr 'muvi/
3.	Bau MO	Coda	“Adventure movie.”	/əd'ventʃər 'muvi/

The examples in Table 4.12 involves the underutilisation of the /-s/ phoneme. Participant Serian MO provided the example, “I am eighteen year old.” Here, the omission of the plural “-s” in “year” could be interpreted as a grammatically driven hypercorrection. The speaker might be influenced by constructions like “I am an eighteen-year-old boy”, where the plural “-s” is not needed because “eighteen-year-old” in this particular context functions as an adjective modifying “boy”. In this context, Serian MO’s omission of “-s” reflects an attempt to maintain grammatical consistency with perceived established structures, despite being erroneous in different contexts.

However, phonological factors likely play a role in the omission of “-s” as well. In all varieties of the Bidayuh language, words ending with a vowel followed by the /-s/ phoneme exists, whereas consonant cluster combinations followed by the /-s/ phoneme are generally absent. This can be seen in Biatah words like “*ngetues*” (to wipe) and “*keris*” (to see, or to witness), Serian words like “*kabes*” (dead) and “*bihis*” (black), and Bau words like “*ko’is*” (dirty) and “*ringgies*” (crunchy). The suppression of a phonological feature inherent to the speakers’ native language signifies underapplication.

To add credence to the fact, within the dataset of hypercorrection instances involving the underapplication of /-s/ endings, all the hypercorrected words end with a vowel sound (at least as pronounced by the participants). This pattern suggests that the speakers are suppressing a phonological feature from their native language to sound more “correct” in English. However, this suppression leads to grammatical errors, illustrating the intersection of phonology and grammar in their hypercorrection.

4.2.3.2 Overapplied Phonological and Grammatical Overlap Hypercorrection

Another set of examples involves the overapplication of the contracted form “I’m” as a replacement for the first-person pronoun “I”, illustrated in Table 4.13 below.

Table 4.13

Contracted Form “I’m” Hypercorrection

No.	Language Variety	Environment	Instances	Transcription
1.	Biatah FO	Coda	“No, I’[m] use van.	/nʊ, aɪm jʊs væn/
2.	Bau FO	Coda	“I’[m] study at SMK...”	/aɪm 'stʌdi æt 'ɛs 'ɛm 'keɪ/

Exemplified in Table 4.13, participants Biatah FO and Bau FO extensively and excessively use the contracted form “I’m” as a replacement for the first-person pronoun “I”. Biatah FO stated that “No, I’m use van”, while Bau FO said “I’m study at SMK...”. While this can initially be seen as a grammatical hypercorrection, the participants’ exposure to the phonological elements of the contraction, specifically the /m/ sound at the coda, suggests a phonological influence.

However, it has been observed that the sentence “I’m *study* at SMK...” could also be corrected to “I’m *studying* at SMK...,” which requires the addition of the /-ing/ suffix to form the present continuous tense. Similarly, “No, I’m *use* van” could be corrected to “No, I’m

using [a] van.” These corrections highlight that the error may not solely be due to the overapplication of the contraction “I’m” but hints at a misunderstanding of the continuous tense formation.

The participants may be generalising the usage of “I’m” without fully understanding its grammatical constraints, indicating an intersection of both phonological and grammatical influences. Therefore, it is crucial to consider both grammatical and phonological aspects when analysing these hypercorrections. The overuse of “I’m” can be attributed to a learned phonological pattern of the contraction and a grammatical misapplication of the continuous tense, leading to errors in constructing sentences correctly.

4.2.4 Lexically Driven Hypercorrection

While phonologically driven hypercorrection can manifest as both underapplication and overapplication, lexically driven hypercorrection appears to follow a different trend. Lexically driven hypercorrection is easily observable when a word is used excessively, but its underuse is not as easily detected or interpreted. In phonological hypercorrection, both underapplication and overapplication can be observed. For instance, a speaker might overapply a phonological rule by pronouncing words more “correctly” than required or underapply it by avoiding native phonological patterns. This dual manifestation allows for a more comprehensive analysis of phonological adjustments made by the speakers.

In contrast, lexically driven hypercorrection primarily involves the overuse of certain words or expressions perceived as more appropriate or prestigious. When speakers excessively use specific words to conform to perceived norms, this overuse is noticeable and can be identified as hypercorrection. However, the absence or underuse of these words does

not provide a clear indication of hypercorrection; where it may simply reflect a lack of knowledge or preference rather than an active attempt to adjust language usage.

This pattern contrasts with grammatically driven hypercorrection, where errors typically result from an overapplication of grammatical rules. In such cases, there is no equivalent underapplication, as a lack of grammatical accuracy would then more likely be attributed to negative transfer rather than hypercorrection. Therefore, lexically driven hypercorrection is uniquely characterised by the observable overuse of certain words. In the current study, lexically driven hypercorrections are relatively scarce. Despite that, they are still observable in two participants, particularly Biatah MO and Serian FO, illustrated in the following Table 4.14.

Table 4.14

Lexically-Driven Hypercorrection

No.	Language Variety	Lexicon	Instances	Transcription
1.	Biatah MO	“necessarily”	“I practice on my own by just watching videos, and like playing games. That’s necessarily how I got my pronunciation.”	/aɪ 'præktɪs ɔn maɪ oʊn baɪ dʒʌst 'wɑːʃɪŋ 'vɪdiəʊz, ənd laɪk 'pleɪŋ geɪmz. ðætʃ ,nɛsə'serəli haʊ aɪ ɡɒt maɪ prəˌnʌnsi'eɪʃən./
2.	Serian FO	“actually”	“ Actually , I think they just fine as anybody else, actually . I like to try to talk with them in their language.”	/'æksuəli, aɪ tɪŋk ðeɪ dʒʌst faɪn æz 'ɛnɪbədi ɛls, 'æksuəli. aɪ laɪk tə traɪ tə tɔk wɪð ðəm ɪn ðeɪ 'læŋɡwɪdʒ./

As added context, participant Biatah MO actually manifested fewer hypercorrection tendencies than the other participants, as well as a reduced tendency for negative transfer. While previous literature hints that hypercorrection is frequently observed among people who have some knowledge of a particular linguistic rule and have higher levels of education,

there seems to be a threshold where hypercorrection becomes less prevalent. This might occur when individuals have a sufficient grasp of linguistic rules to avoid the pitfalls of hypercorrection. Despite these advantages, participant Biatah MO has been observed to have instances of lexically driven hypercorrection.

Exemplified in Table 4.14, participant Biatah MO repeated the use of the word “necessarily” in his speech. Notably, he also used a significant number of adverbs in his speech (e.g. particularly, surprisingly, etc.). The use of the word “necessarily” was regular at first, but Biatah MO then continued using it four times in the span of five minutes. On the fourth use, it was used awkwardly (and even erroneously) in “I practice on my own by just watching videos, and like playing games. That’s **necessarily** how I got my pronunciation.”

Serian FO, on the other hand, while also manifested fewer hypercorrection tendencies, displayed a considerable number of negative transfers, such as the inability to pronounce the /ʃ/ phoneme and syntactical misalignments (e.g. “Language can I speak is Bidayuh, *Bahasa Melayu*, English...”). However, Serian FO was influenced by lexically driven hypercorrection, especially in the word “actually”, exemplified in Table 4.14. It was observed that Serian FO tended to begin sentences with “actually” (with varying pronunciation, e.g., æksuəli, æzuəli, æsuəli), and used it to begin answering almost all questions asked of her.

The instances of lexically driven hypercorrection exhibited by Biatah MO and Serian FO reflect different underlying motives and cognitive processes. Biatah MO's repeated use of the word “necessarily” and other adverbs appears to stem from a desire to reinforce his identity as a competent English speaker. His inclination to use certain lexical items frequently may indicate an effort to assert his linguistic proficiency and confidence. The

excessive repetition of adverbs within a short time frame suggests that he is actively trying to incorporate new vocabulary into his speech, possibly to project a more polished and sophisticated image to the researcher (i.e., his interlocutor). For Biatah MO, these lexical items serve as a benchmark of proficiency, reflecting an active and conscious attempt to perform at a higher linguistic level.

In contrast, Serian FO's hypercorrection tendencies reveal a different approach to her language use. Her frequent initiation of sentences with "actually," coupled with varying pronunciations, may signify a strategy to patch up her English by relying on familiar lexical choices. This behaviour suggests a focus on using the lexicon as a safety net to navigate the complexities of English grammar and pronunciation. For Serian FO, the word "actually" operates more like a crutch or touchstone; a point of familiarity that provides speech security. This reliance may be rooted in her desire for coherence and fluency in conversation, even if it comes at the expense of grammatical precision. Her pattern of overusing "actually" could reflect an attempt to compensate for uncertainties in her linguistic abilities, resulting in a reliance on this lexical item to convey her thoughts.

Overall, while lexically driven hypercorrection was observed in only two participants, the patterns exhibited align with the linguistic nature of hypercorrection to overapply perceived target-like forms. Nonetheless, as both participants strive for proficiency in English, they reflect distinct yet deliberate attempts to approximate perceived norms. Biatah MO appears motivated by a need for self-affirmation as a skilled speaker, while Serian FO's overreliance on certain lexical items indicates a pragmatic approach to managing her language difficulties.

4.3 Factor Influencing Hypercorrection

Several factors have been observed to play a crucial role in the manifestation of hypercorrection in speech production. These factors were identified through both deductive coding, based on insights from existing literature, and inductive coding, derived from patterns and themes emerging directly from the current study's data. The predetermined factors, guided by previous studies, include (i) age, (ii) education, (iii) phonemic competence, and (iv) the presence of multiple first languages (L1s). These factors were selected prior to data analysis to frame the initial approach for identifying potential influences on hypercorrection. Meanwhile, the emerging factors were identified through inductive coding, where recurring patterns observed across participants' speech production and interview responses led to the formation of additional codes. These factors include (i) different regional language varieties, (ii) exposure to the target language (TL), and (iii) speakers' attitudes toward both their native languages and English.

4.3.1 Factors from Deductive Coding: Existing Literature

4.3.1.1 Age Factor

Previous studies suggest that the tendency to hypercorrect increases with age (Sepasdar & Soori, 2014; Chen, 2014). The findings of the current study also align with these prior observations, indicating that older students demonstrate distinctive patterns of hypercorrection compared to their younger counterparts. Consider the following Table 4.15.

Table 4.15*Distribution of Hypercorrection Types Across Age Groups*

Age Group	Phonological Hypercorrection	Grammatical Hypercorrection	Overlap of Phonological & Grammatical	Lexical Hypercorrection
Older Students	Present (High)	Present (High)	Present (Low)	Present (Low)
Younger Students	Present (Mid)	Present (Mid)	Absent	Absent

While the current study does not primarily focus on quantitative frequency, it is still observable that older students exhibit a higher tendency to hypercorrect across a broader range of categories. Moreover, older participants show a similar distribution of hypercorrections in both phonologically and grammatically driven categories. In contrast, younger participants also display a similar tendency, though to a lesser extent, with phonologically and grammatically hypercorrections being nearly equal.

A notable distinction is of the phonological-grammatical overlap and lexical categories. Although older participants demonstrate these types of hypercorrections (despite their lower frequency in the data set) younger participants do not follow the same trend. Given that most younger participants have had less exposure than their older counterparts, it is likely that their hypercorrection tendencies are primarily influenced by auditory input (phonological) and formal education (grammatical). This limitation restricts their exposure and capability of hypercorrecting in an overlapping context. Furthermore, younger speakers of this study (aged 10 to 13 years old) are limited by their vocabulary and tend to use simpler words and sentence structure. This may account for the absence of lexically driven hypercorrection among younger students in this study. Nonetheless, in discussion of age and education, age alone may not fully account for the observed variations in hypercorrection

tendencies. This influence-dependency relationship between age and education can be observed in the following section.

4.3.1.2 Education Level

Previous studies suggest that higher education levels are frequently associated with an increase in hypercorrection tendencies among speakers (Hubers et al., 2020). However, the majority of these studies focus on participants whose education levels are closely tied to their age groups. This is a typical pattern in most educational systems, where primary and secondary education are often segmented by age, with the exception of tertiary education, which typically includes students from a broader range of age groups. This closely tied pairing makes the correlation between age and education less straightforward. Consequently, while these studies provide valuable insights into the relationship between education and hypercorrection, they also suggest that age as a factor may be less reliable when viewed independently from education.

Nevertheless, the current study's findings are largely in agreement with these earlier studies, reporting similar correlations between education level and hypercorrection tendencies. Upon closer analysis, however, it was observed that among the three education levels examined in this study, there was a slight but noticeable decline in hypercorrection tendencies at the middle education level, specifically among students in Lower Secondary School.

This unexpected pattern contrasts with the general assumption that hypercorrection tendencies would consistently increase with higher education levels. These findings indicate that education level alone may not be the sole driver of hypercorrection tendencies, and other

factors, such as linguistic exposure and language learning context, may also play important roles. This trend is depicted in the following Table 4.16.

Table 4.16
Distribution of Hypercorrection Across Education Levels

Age Groups	Education level	Age range (years)	Hypercorrection (All Types)	
Younger students	Upper Primary School	10 - 13	Mid (20%)	Mid (25%)
	Lower Secondary School		Low (10%)	
Older students	Upper Secondary School	15 - 18	High (70%)	High (75%)

Table 4.16 illustrates the manifestation of hypercorrection across education levels, with an approximated percentage to better clarify the distributions. While education level emerges as a significant determinant of hypercorrection, further investigation reveals that its relevance is often intertwined with the increase of exposure level.

For instance, it was observed that a younger student Serian FY, who has comparatively lower education level that is limited by her age shows a higher exposure to English to her older counterpart, Serian FO, despite the higher education level afforded by her older age. This illustrates the reliance of education levels as a hypercorrection factor, to exposure levels. This connection will be explored in another section (4.3.2.2 Exposure).

4.3.1.3 Phonemic Competence

Phonemic competency has been identified as a key factor in influencing hypercorrection tendencies among speakers (Akbar et al., 2020). This competency is typically developed through a combination of formal education and personal exposure to the target language, and it tends to increase in tandem with overall language proficiency. As highlighted by Akbar et al. (2020), a higher level of phonemic competency is often correlated with a higher tendency toward hypercorrection, as individuals with stronger phonemic skills are more likely to overapply or misapply language rules in their attempts to sound more proficient.

Phonemic competency refers to an individual's ability to recognise and accurately produce the distinct sounds, or phonemes, of a given language. However, this competency extends beyond the formal education system and exposure to structured language learning environments. Even individuals with relatively limited linguistic exposure to the target language can develop strong phonemic competency through more immersive experiences, such as living in a community where the target language is widely spoken. This suggests that phonemic competency is not only shaped by instruction but also by direct interaction with the language in everyday contexts.

A strong phonemic competence enables speakers to pronounce sounds with heightened precision, following the phonological rules of the target language. This is evident in the way participants in this study approached the phonemic competency tests. The majority of participants demonstrated little difficulties in identifying and producing specific phonemes in response to word prompts.

This performance, reflected in their high scores, indicates that phonemic competency posed minimal difficulty for most of them. This suggests a strong phonological awareness among the participants, which aligns with the globalisation of English, especially among relatively young students. The scores from these tests are presented in following table 4.17.

Table 4.17

Phonemic Competency Scores

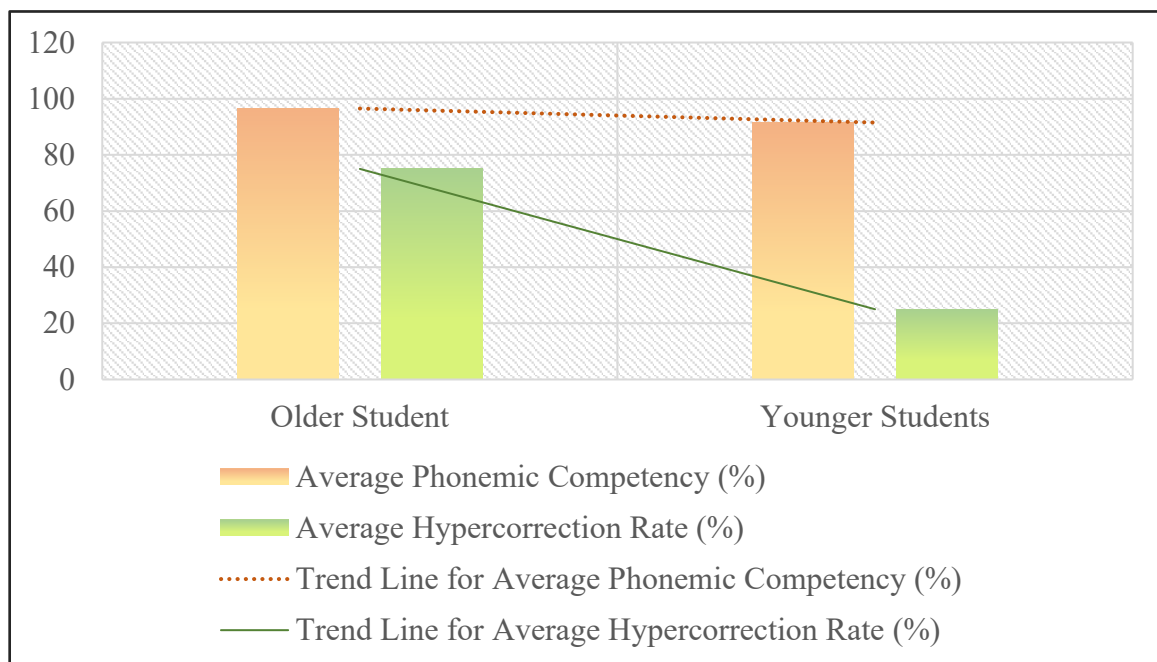
Older speakers	Phonemic competency (%, rounded off)	Average (%)
Biatah MO	99	96.5
Biatah FO	97	
Serian MO	96	
Serian FO	95	
Bau MO	96	
Bau FO	95	
Younger speakers	Phonemic competency	Average (%)
Biatah MY	97	91.5
Biatah FY	96	
Serian MY	94	
Serian FY	98	
Bau MY	98	
Bau FY	96	

The research conducted by Akbar et al. (2020) indicates that the individuals with a higher level of L2 phonemic competency are more prone to phonemic hypercorrection. This is consistent with the results of the current study, which compared the average (%) phonemic competency scores of older and younger speakers. The data shows that as phonemic competence increases, so does the tendency for hypercorrection.

However, it is important to note that the difference is slight, with 96.5% for older students and 91.5% for younger students (5% difference). However, this 5% difference still yielded a general conclusion that phonemic competency increases *with* hypercorrection tendency. Specifically, older speakers exhibited hypercorrection instances at an average rate of 75%, while younger speakers showed hypercorrection instances at an average rate of 25% (from Table 4.16). These findings support the idea that higher phonemic competency may lead to increased hypercorrection tendencies, as illustrated by the bar chart in Figure 4.1 below.

Figure 4.1

Age Group-Phonemic Competency Correlative Chart



However, it is also important to acknowledge how this result could simply be a pervasive influence from age as a factor. While the difference in average hypercorrection rate between older and younger students is significantly vast (50%, older students manifested close to double the hypercorrection manifestations of younger students), the difference in average phonemic competency is only 5%.

This might hint that this comparison is not sufficiently reliable to conclude that phonemic competency influenced hypercorrection tendencies. It might then be more beneficial to conduct paired comparisons. This includes comparing phonemic competency scores between participants of the same age, and their corresponding hypercorrection tendencies. For the purpose of this study, comparison was made between the highest and lowest scorers across matching ages, illustrated in the following Table 4.18.

Table 4.18

Phonemic Competency and Hypercorrection Tendency: Paired Comparisons

Age Pair (Years)	Participant	Phonemic Competency Score (%)	Hypercorrection Tendency (f)
18	Serian FO	95	10
	Serian MO	96	29
13	Biatah MY	96	3
	Bau MY	98	4
11	Serian MY	94	5
	Serian FY	98	10

Initially, distinguishing whether the observed hypercorrection tendencies were influenced primarily by phonemic competence or the pervasive factor of age posed a challenge. This concern arose because the current study indicates that older speakers exhibit a higher tendency for hypercorrection compared to younger speakers. Furthermore, individuals with greater phonemic competence also tend to hypercorrect more frequently than those with

lower scores. Although these findings match earlier expectations and align with previous literature, the analysis is complicated by the fact that older speakers typically possess higher phonemic competence (observable in Table 4.17), likely due to their prolonged exposure to formal education. This overlap makes it difficult to isolate the effects of age from those of phonemic competence.

However, as evident from the paired comparisons (Table 4.18) which were isolated from the age factor, there is a pattern that aligns with the current study's initial expectation. An apparent trend shows that hypercorrection tendency increases with phonemic competence across different age pairs. This approach provides a more focused analysis on the relationship between phonemic competence and hypercorrection tendency among participants, enhancing the reliability of the findings.

4.3.1.4 Multiple First Languages (L1s)

In concordance with previous literature such as Aoki and Nishihara (2011) and Nelson (2022), it is suggested that sound feature influences can occur in multiple L2 acquisitions, indicating a possibility of multidirectional hypercorrection. This observation is further solidified by Blust (1983), where hypercorrective influences cross the thresholds of two second languages (L2s). Specifically, Blust (1983) reported hypercorrection from Arabic (L2¹) loanwords to Malay (Native Language), and then to English (L2²).

However, the current study observed that the Arabic influence in Blust (1983) is not particularly a second language itself, but rather an inherent influence already existing in Malay from language contact (Ibrahim & Rahman, 2018). This conveys itself in more of a “sandwich” of influences rather than a unidirectional influence. This is characterised by how both Arabic and Malay acts as a collective of L1s, which then from both directions influenced English speech. Supported by Pye and Chan's (2023) observation of Malaysians

simultaneous multilingualism, this sets a precedent on how multiple first languages (L1s) could also influence the use of the target language (TL). This observation is also discovered in the current study. Consider the following Table 4.19:

Table 4.19

Multidirectional Prepositional Hypercorrection: Malay-Bidayuh-English

No.	Language Variety	Lexicon	Instances	Transcription
1.	Serian FY	“at”	“I am in Primary 5 Efficient [at] this year.”	/aɪ em ɪn 'praɪməri faɪv e 'fɪʃənt et ðɪs jər/
2.	Serian MY	“in”	“Ask [in] Google.”	/'ask ɪn 'gugəl/

Table 4.19, No. 1, illustrates an instance of erroneous usage of the preposition “at” in the sentence “I am in Primary 5 Efficient **[at]** this year.” The employment of prepositional markers, especially in this context, does not align with the grammatical conventions observed across all varieties of the Bidayuh language. For instance, in the Serian variety of the Bidayuh language, a corresponding sentence provided by participant Serian FY would conclude with “*Aku da Primary 5 Efficient sawa 'ti'* (I am in Primary 5 Efficient this year),” without the need for a preposition. This discrepancy suggests that the inclusion of the preposition “at” does not originate as a form of native language influence from the Bidayuh language itself, but rather arises from a generalised rule applied from external sources.

Given the significant prevalence of the Malay language, both as Malaysia’s national language and as a widely spoken language among Bidayuh speakers of various language varieties, it is plausible to investigate a potential pattern in this regard. In Malay, a comparable sentence structure would be “*Saya Tahun 5 Efficient **[pada]** tahun ini*” (I am in Year 5 Efficient **[at]** this year), indicating a clear parallel in sentence structure. Since this deviation does not stem from the speaker’s native language, it cannot be attributed to native

language transfer; rather, it represents a hypercorrection that seeps between language boundaries, manifesting across two languages or iterations.

In No.2 (Table 4.19) however, it is not as simple to decode. This is observed because looking something up “**at** or **in** Google” makes perfect sense in English. What the current study took into consideration was the word choice “ask” by participant Serian MY, in his sentence “Ask in Google.” If other words were used that are adjacent to the word “search” (as in “searching something on Google”), such as “look” or “find”, then the preposition would be warranted, even if not fully grammatical. In Malay, a similar construction could also be seen, but with a very important and distinct feature. In Malay “*Tanya* Google” (Ask Google), without any preposition, is a valid clause, denoting “Google” as an entity that can be “asked”. On the other hand, the Malay “*Tanya di* Google” (Ask in/at Google) with the preposition is also a valid clause, denoting “Google” as now, a location, where the act of “asking” is done. This feature is not applicable in Bidayuh, and as such, does not reflect it as a native language influence that can be transferred to English. This in turn, suggests a multidirectional hypercorrection from Malay to Bidayuh, and then consequently to English.

In this study, multidirectional hypercorrection was notably observed predominantly from Malay, while other local languages such as Iban did not exhibit similar patterns. This observation suggests the explanation that the Malay language is systematically taught within formal education environments, where its grammatical rules are explicitly prescribed and reinforced, in contrast to the treatment of other indigenous languages. Observable instances from Malay seem to be reserved only for a more lexical (and overlapping influence of grammatical) influences, and not on phonological features. A possible factor is that Malay and Bidayuh share a significantly high similarity in phoneme availability and phonotactic constraints. Though that is the case, loanwords in Malay that contain sound features not

common in Austronesian languages such as the /f/ phoneme could also be hypercorrected and manifest as multidirectional hypercorrection in English. A similar case can also be said of phonotactic constraints available in Malay but not in some Bidayuh varieties such as mid-word nasals such as /ŋ/. While this is not observed in the current study, these observations set a premise to investigate and validate multidirectional hypercorrection in future studies.

4.3.2 Factors from Inductive Coding: Themes and Patterns from Data

This section presents factors influencing hypercorrection that emerged from inductive coding, where themes and patterns were identified directly from participants' speech production and interview responses. These factors were not predetermined but surfaced during data analysis, offering additional insights into how hypercorrection manifests in multilingual Bidayuh speakers.

4.3.2.1 Different Regional Language Varieties

To present the patterns observed in hypercorrection tendencies by different language varieties, it is necessary to include the discussion of phonemic competency. As recalled, there were two parts in the phonemic competency test. The first one being an elicitation test, in which most participants showed high scores (no participants scored less than 90%). The second part includes a phonemic contrast test, in which some participants find difficulties.

Despite the high scores in the first part of the test, there are still observable constraints in phoneme production and phoneme perception. Phoneme production involves the correct utterance and pronunciation of the phonemes in question, while perception involves the correct identification and differentiation of phonemes. While phonemic competency is arguably an individual variable, there are discernible patterns that point to different native language varieties as a factor. The participants' native language varieties, to a certain extent, still shape their base phonotactic constraints, which consequently influence their

hypercorrection tendencies. Consider the following Table 4.20, which illustrates the difficulties experienced in producing and perceiving some phonemes by the older age group.

Table 4.20

Phonemic Obstacles: Older Participants

No.	Participant	Production Difficulties	Perception Difficulties
1.	Biatah MO	-	/dʒ/ vs /tʃ/
2.	Biatah FO	/s/	/ʃ/ vs /s/
3.	Serian MO	/ʃ/ /ʒ/	/ʃ/ vs /tʃ/
4.	Serian FO	/ʃ/	/ʃ/ vs /s/
5.	Bau MO	/s/ /ʒ/	-
6.	Bau FO	/s/ /l/	/l/ vs /r/

It is interesting to note that the hypercorrection done by the participants are often inversed with what they have difficulties with. For instance, participant Biatah FO has difficulties producing the /s/ sound without accidentally palatising it to a /ʃ/. However, participant Biatah FO would regularly reduce her /ʃ/ production to an /s/ in speech production, despite the /ʃ/ being necessary within the context of her sentence (e.g., Biatah FO: “To me, English [ˈɪŋɡlɪs] is fun”).

Another example would be Serian FO’s reduction of the /tʃ/ phoneme in the production of the word “lunch” “[lʌn], despite being able to produce the /tʃ/ phoneme and it being quite common in the Serian Bidayuh language variety. While an argument can be made that the /tʃ/ sound does not exist in word-end (coda) of Serian Bidayuh language variety words, it would be more plausible for a speaker to extend the /tʃ/ with a vowel ending, which is closer to the feature in the language (e.g., Serian Bidayuh variety word: *pimincu*

“youngest”). Considering the disyllabic nature of Bidayuh (Rensch, 2006), if negative transfer were to be observed, it is more likely to manifest as “lunch + vowel” (e.g., “lunche [lʌntʃə]”), instead of a reduction of /tʃ/ in a monosyllabic word.

To further explore this pattern, phonological hypercorrection availability across the three Bidayuh language varieties were observed. The following Table 4.21 illustrates the general manifestation of certain phonemes as either hypercorrected or not across language varieties.

Table 4.21

Distribution of Hypercorrected Phonemes in Bidayuh Language Varieties

Language Variety	Phonemes						
	/ʃ/	/tʃ/	/s/	/z/	/dʒ/	/l/	/r/
Biatah	HC	NHC	HC	HC	HC	NHC	NHC
Serian	NHC	HC	HC	HC	HC	NHC	NHC
Bau	HC	NHC	HC	HC	HC	NHC	NHC
	Specified	Specified	Across	Across	Across		

Note. HC = Hypercorrected: NHC = Not Hypercorrected

In Table 4.21, it is observed that specified hypercorrection instances correspond with a particular language variety’s unique phoneme availability. Particularly, the /ʃ/ phoneme which according to some participants, were used quite liberally in common speech, was only hypercorrected by language varieties that claim to use it extensively, unlike Serian, that while displaying some negative transfer in the difficulties to pronounce the /ʃ/, did not exhibit hypercorrective behaviours. On the flip side, the /tʃ/ phoneme, which is only linguistically available in the Serian Bidayuh language variety, is also the only variety to exhibit hypercorrective tendencies to this particular phoneme. This observation is considered a solidification of the current study expectation.

For phonemes that are hypercorrected across all three language varieties, they are also influenced by the availability of said phonemes in each variety's particular phonemic repertoire. This is exemplified by the tendencies to underutilise native language features (e.g., the /dʒ/ phoneme), and overutilise target language features (the /z/ phoneme). The /s/ phoneme which is available in all varieties, reflect the phonological underutilisation of word-end (coda) of the /s/ sound after vowels (a Bidayuh language feature), and simultaneously, the grammatical overutilisation of /-s/ suffix in the target language pluralisation system (an English language feature). Conversely, the /z/ which is not available in all varieties, reflect the phonological overutilisation of a foreign sound feature. The following Table 4.22 shows the degree of hypercorrection tendencies across the three Bidayuh language varieties.

Table 4.22

Distribution of Hypercorrection Tendencies in Biatah, Serian, Bau (%)

Language Variety	Phonological	Grammatical	Phonological-Grammatical Overlap	Lexical	Total
Biatah	(10%)	(9%)	(2%)	(2%)	(23%)
Serian	(33%)	(26%)	(0%)	(2%)	(61%)
Bau	(7%)	(5%)	(4%)	(0%)	(16%)
Total	(50%)	(40%)	(6%)	(4%)	100%

Hypercorrection tendencies seemed to be more substantial among Serian speakers, followed by Biatah, and then Bau. A recurring theme and correlation that can be observed is that the more a language variety's phonemic repertoire is similar to the target language, the more their tendency to hypercorrect is. Consider how the Serian Bidayuh language variety has the most available phonemes compared to Biatah and Bau, which includes the Serian-exclusive

/l/ and /ɟ/ phonemes. In light of how there is a tendency for speakers to underutilise their native features excessively when hypercorrecting, this extended phonemic repertoire aligns with the increase in hypercorrective tendencies as observed in Akbar et al. (2020).

Hypercorrection tendencies however, does not necessarily reflect the speakers' proficiency, nor does it suggest an indicator of poor language grasp. Contrarily, it further illustrates the influence that informs some linguistic awareness of phonemes availability or absence in their native language. This awareness, that is reinforced by exposure to the target language, is used to inform their speech production, regardless of whether it is used correctly. This bridges the discussion to the next section, which will discuss exposure to the target language as a factor of hypercorrection.

4.3.2.1 Exposure to Target Language

In previous sections, especially informed by prior literature, age and educational levels have been deemed instrumental factors of hypercorrection. However, the current study, without dismissing the insights from the reported factors, observed an overarching theme of increased exposure to the target language. This increased exposure serves as the core element which describes the increase of age and education levels. The extent of exposure to the target language significantly shapes individuals' language acquisition, proficiency, and usage patterns.

In the context of hypercorrection, exposure level plays a pivotal role in determining individuals' familiarity with the language's grammatical rules, pronunciation norms, and linguistic conventions. Therefore, examining exposure level offers insights as a determining factor of hypercorrection tendencies. Based on the findings, it seems that exposure and usage of English plays a crucial role in hypercorrection tendencies among the participants.

Speakers with higher exposure and usage of English may be more aware of the rules of English, which could make them more susceptible to hypercorrect their speech production. This can manifest in a few ways: (i) the desire to speak as fluently as possible to a native proficiency based on the exposure received, or (ii) reduce native language features that do not align with what they have been exposed to.

We could also make an argument that while education level in part increases the opportunity and period of English exposure, it does not guarantee that the speakers will use or be exposed to the English language outside of an educational setting. It is illustrated clearer in the following example of both older and younger speakers of the Serian language variety in Table 4.23. However, this pattern is also consistent in all other Bidayuh language varieties included in this study.

Table 4.23

The Influence of Exposure on Hypercorrection Tendencies

Speaker	Age	Education level	Exposure	Types of residence	Hyper-correction (%)
Serian MO	18	Upper Secondary School	Higher	Urban	29
Serian FO	18	Upper Secondary School	Lower	Non-urban	14
Serian MY	11	Upper Primary School	Lower	Non-urban	11
Serian FY	11	Upper Primary School	Higher	Urban	23
Total					77

This can be seen for the older speakers (Serian MO and Serian FO) who are students both in Upper Secondary Schools, yet exhibit different tendencies to hypercorrect. The older male speaker (Serian MO) who lives in an urban area, is more exposed to English especially in

his interactions, and regularly used English to communicate with friends, as well as in less casual settings like speaking in meetings or talking to shopkeepers.

On the other hand, the older female speaker (Serian FO), who lives further away from urban areas, within a generally monocultural village, is less exposed to English, and rarely interacts in English outside of an educational setting such as in classes and school examinations. She speaks exclusively in Bidayuh within familial interactions and with other Bidayuh speakers of the same variety, and utilises the Malay language in most of her daily interactions. It is observed that the older male speaker (Serian MO) hypercorrect more than the older female speaker (Serian FO).

Similarly, for the younger speakers (Serian MY and Serian FY), the most apparent factor influencing their hypercorrection tendencies when speaking English is their respective exposure and usage. Both Serian MY and Serian FY are students within the same education level of Upper Primary School (*Tahap Dua*) and yet, exhibit different tendencies to hypercorrect. The younger male speaker (Serian MY), who also lives further away from urban areas within a monocultural village, uses less English in his daily interactions except in educational settings like in English classes. He also speaks exclusively in Bidayuh at home, and utilises the Malay language when speaking with friends from school and also in other social and formal interactions.

As for the younger female speaker (Serian FY), who lives in a city closer to urban areas within a mixed/multicultural community, has an increased exposure to English and would speak in English with her family members. It is observed that the younger female speaker (Serian FY) hypercorrect more than the younger male speaker (Serian MY). Increased exposure also was observed in religious settings, and social media use. Participants

Serian MO and Serian FY reported that they attended church sermons occasionally in English, and on other times, in Malay. Serian FO and Serian MY on the other hand, attended an in-village church which primarily uses Bidayuh in their sermons. In inquiring about their entertainment and social media use (e.g., posts captions, media consumption, film subtitles), Serian MO and Serian FY reported writing photo captions in English, and have a tendency to consume English media.

It is worth to note that speakers with lower exposure and usage of English tend to hypercorrect less but exhibit higher levels of negative transfer and direct grammatical errors. These findings suggest that speakers with limited exposure to English may be less inclined to hypercorrect, but they may still demonstrate interference from their native language when speaking English.

4.3.2.3 Attitude

Attitude towards the target language plays a pivotal role in shaping hypercorrective tendencies, particularly in multilingual contexts. While previous studies have often treated language attitudes as contextual rather than causal factors, the current study observed that attitudes permeate participants' self-corrective behaviours. However, it is important to emphasise that self-reported attitudes are not taken as universal or static facts but rather as subjective perceptions that can inform hypercorrection tendencies. The patterns observed are not definitive statements about how attitudes always influence speech production but provide insights into how speakers' own perceptions of the target language may correlate with hypercorrection. By incorporating both correlative patterns from participants' speech production and self-reported perspectives, this section explores how positive or neutral attitudes toward English potentially align with different hypercorrective behaviours. The

study approaches these self-reports as reflective of participants' subjective language experiences, rather than as direct causal explanations.

For instance, participants who regard English as crucial for career prospects or international communication tend to exhibit more hypercorrection instances. This inclination may stem from a desire to adhere closely to perceived language norms or to demonstrate proficiency in formal settings. Conversely, participants who only view English as one among several languages they speak may demonstrate fewer hypercorrection instances. This approach to language use is more pragmatic, focusing on effective communication rather than rigid adherence to linguistic rules. Consider the following Table 4.24, which illustrates the influence of the participants' attitude towards English on their tendency to hypercorrect.

Table 4.24

Attitude-Tendency Correlative Influence: Older Participants

No.	Attitude aspects	Biatah MO	Serian MO	Bau MO
1.	Importance	Yes	Yes	Yes
2.	Perceived as more educated	No	Yes	Yes
3.	Perceived as having higher social status	No	Yes	Yes
4.	Emphasis on correct pronunciation	Yes	Yes	Yes
5.	Response to correction	Positive	Positive	Positive
6.	Hypercorrection tendencies (f)	Lower	Higher	Moderate

As observed in table 4.24, speakers who hold English in high regard and associate prestige with it tend to hypercorrect more frequently compared to those who were otherwise neutral. When participant Biatah MO was asked if he thinks people who speak English are more educated or of a higher social status, he answered “I used to think that way, but now I don’t.

I think it's equal now". While acknowledging its importance in securing a career and travelling, he expressed that "it's just another language". In contrast, participant Serian MO perceives people who speak English as "confident" and "smart". It is observed that Serian MO displayed a higher tendency to hypercorrect than Biatah MO. This pattern was also evident among younger speakers. Biatah MY, who shared similar sentiment of neutrality, exhibits fewer instances of hypercorrection compared to Biatah FY, who held English in higher regard. Consequently, Biatah FY demonstrated a higher tendency to hypercorrect than Biatah MY.

In another interesting facet of attitude and auditory (and to some extent, aesthetic) appeal, participants were queried as a follow up on what they perceive as more correct. It was observed that the participants' "sense" of correctness seems to be based on what they perceive as more aesthetically and auditorily appealing. This reflects Krashen's (1981, p. 4) allusion of intuitive "feel" for grammaticality, in language self-monitoring.

In testing this, the participants were presented with a few words that aligns with the trend of hypercorrected form, particularly the /s/ phoneme in word-end (coda) which forms the bulk of the current study's findings. The participants were asked to choose between words that they think sound more "correct" regardless of their meaning (or lack thereof), which include nonce words that have no real meaning. The words are illustrated in the following Table 4.25.

Table 4.25*Sense of Correctness Based on Aesthetic and Auditory Bias*

NO.	WORD SET A	WORD SET B
1.	Confident	Confidence
2.	Fluent	Fluence
3.	Patient	Patience
4.	Limerent	Limerence
5.	Sovereign	Sovereigns
6.	Flower	Flowers
7.	Print	Prints
8.	Drellant	Drellance
9.	Blavent	Blavence
10.	Turgent	Turgence

Remarkably, a significant number of participants perceive Word Set B as more correct, even for the nonce words starting from No. 8. In questioning a participant (Bau MO) on why he made those choices, he remarked that *“the words sound right after I said it.”* Other participants also show a surprising proclivity towards the same trend. Participant Biatah FY justified her choices with *“because it sound[s] more correct^{lah}”*. It was observed that many /-s/ (coda) sounds were hypercorrected, but it is difficult to accurately transcribe and differentiate from a “-ce” ending. However, this observation could explain its excessive use, especially if the speakers assume the “-ce” ending is more correct. This sets an interesting premise for future study to triangulate why some Bidayuh students has this perception. This also highlights that hypercorrection tendencies are often not explicitly understood by the speakers, but rather on a “feel” of correctness.

While the majority of participants exhibited a clear preference for Set B (nine participants, or 75%), a minority (three participants, or 25%) diverged from this trend. Notably, participant Biatah MO expressed a preference for Set A, stating, *“I am much more familiar with the words in word bank A since I have used them various times in essays.”*

Similarly, Bau FO demonstrated a more specific approach, selecting six words from Set A and four from Set B. Her chosen words included 'confident', 'patient', 'sovereign', 'flower', 'print', and 'turgent' from Set A, along with 'fluence', 'limerence', 'drellance', and 'blavence' from Set B. This observation suggests that familiarity may outweigh a subjective sense of correctness. In instances involving unfamiliar nonce words, Bau FO appeared to rely more on her intuitive sense of correctness, which aligns with the other participants' preference for words ending in a more mellifluous /s/ sound.

In conclusion, this chapter has presented key findings that reveal the significant influences of age, education level, phonemic competence, multiple first languages, regional language varieties, exposure to the target language, and attitudes on hypercorrection tendencies. These results highlight interactions in a multilingual context, particularly as the minority language Bidayuh is positioned against the perceived prestige of English, aligning with prior multilingual studies such as Eckman et al. (2013). However, the conflation of age and education level should be considered when interpreting these findings. The implications support both theoretical advancements in sociolinguistics and SLA, as well as practical applications for education and language pedagogy. In the next chapter, the current study will discuss these findings in greater detail and explore their broader significance.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

To effectively discuss the findings of this study, it is deemed essential to revisit the research objectives and analyse how the previous existing findings and emerging patterns relate to each one. The primary aim of this study is to explore the occurrences of hypercorrection among multilingual Bidayuh speakers and the various factors that could influence these phenomena. By systematically describing the types of hypercorrections and identifying the underlying factors, the study seeks to provide a comprehensive understanding of how hypercorrection manifests in this particular linguistic context. This section will address each research objective generally before delving into implications further into the chapter.

5.1.1 Research Objective 1: Types of Hypercorrections

The current study identified three main types of hypercorrections, along with an overlapping category: phonologically driven hypercorrection, grammatically driven hypercorrection, phonological-grammatical overlap hypercorrection, and lexically driven hypercorrection. While phonologically driven hypercorrection (Akbar et al., 2020; Eckman et al., 2013), grammatically driven hypercorrection (Collins, 2022; Makawita, 2022), and lexically driven hypercorrection (Baugh, 1992; Hubers et al., 2020) have been previously documented, the phonological-grammatical overlap has received limited empirical attention. This study, therefore, attempts to contribute to the understanding of how phonology and grammar may co-interact in the manifestation of hypercorrection. There is a significant majority in the current study's findings for word-end (coda) hypercorrections in the speech of Bidayuh students. While there is little direct explanation from previous study on why this could

happen specifically for Bidayuh speakers, some allusions in previous literature have been made, as to provide observable implication. Bongiovanni (2022) suggested syllable sensitivity as a plausible factor of coda-positioned hypercorrections. On the other hand, Eckman's (1977) concept of "markedness" in SLA also provides a compelling explanation of the coda-hypercorrection that is prevalent in this study.

5.1.2 Research Objective 2 Factors Influencing Hypercorrection Tendencies

Several factors have been observed to contribute to the hypercorrection tendencies of Bidayuh students in the current study. These include factors weaned from both deductive coding of existing literature and inductive coding triangulated by the data set. Factors informed by existing literature include age (Chen, 2014; Sepasdar & Soori, 2014), education levels (Bishop, 2021; Hubers et al., 2020), phonemic competence (Akbar et al., 2020), and the influence of multiple first languages (Aoki & Nishihara, 2011; Blust, 1983; Nelson, 2022). As for factors informed by the context of the collected data include influence of different regional language varieties, exposure to target language (TL), and language attitude. In analysing the data, particular attention was given to isolating phonemic competency from age-related factors, given that the participants' age often correlated with their education level. By carefully comparing phonemic competency and hypercorrection tendencies independently, the study seeks to avoid conflating these variables. After disentangling the control for age by doing an isolated paired comparison, the results are observed to still support the initial expectation: students with higher phonemic competency exhibited more hypercorrection tendencies compared to those with lower phonemic competency.

5.2 Summary of Major Observations

5.2.1 Discussion of Factors from Previous Literature

The findings of this study address several prevalent arguments in the existing literature. First, it supports the claim that older speakers exhibit higher hypercorrection rates compared to younger speakers (Chen, 2014; Sepasdar & Soori, 2014). An increase in formal education also proved to be an influential factor in this study, aligning with previous education-centred studies (Bishop, 2021; Hubers et al., 2020) where it is observed that students in the higher tier of education, tend to hypercorrect more.

However, this study also highlights the challenge of disentangling age-related effects from phonemic competence due to their intertwined nature in educational contexts. It also provides a strong argument on why some hypercorrection studies with age as a primary variable deviates from this trend. The current study reports how exposure functions as both an inherent and overarching factor that grounds and encompasses the other factors.

5.2.1.1 Eckman et al.'s (2013) Tri-Arguments

Corresponding with the current study, Eckman et al. (2013) identified three key arguments in describing hypercorrection: (i) hypercorrection as a crosslinguistic influence, (ii) hypercorrection as equivalent to overgeneralisation, and (iii) that hypercorrection emerges as an attempt to emulate a prestigious variety. While these arguments can initially seem to only discuss the “*what*” of hypercorrection, it is observed that the addressing of these issues can also provide insight into the “*how*” and “*why*” of hypercorrection. In other words, the factors of hypercorrection.

The findings of the current study corroborate the arguments of Eckman et al. (2013) to some degree, in stance and arguments. In regards to the first and second arguments, the current study observed an apparent alignment with Eckman et al. (2013). In particular, the argument that hypercorrection cannot be directly characterised as a crosslinguistic overgeneralisation from the native language (NL/L1) to the target language (TL). This argument can be supported by the current study's findings, particularly in the type of hypercorrection presented by the participants.

Generally, there are three main linguistic types of hypercorrections: phonologically driven hypercorrection, grammatically driven hypercorrection, and lexically driven hypercorrection (with added observation of phonological-grammatical overlap driven hypercorrection). In all these types of hypercorrections, none of the participants hypercorrected by the “carrying forward” of their native language (Bidayuh) features into the production of their target language (English). This particular influence was distinguished as simply a first language negative transfer. The current study postulates that this is a crucial distinction that needs to be highlighted in future study, in which some previous studies fail to make distinct, and thus convoluting the description and characterisation of hypercorrection.

The present study also recognises that while the concept of overgeneralisation from the L1, as proposed by Odlin (1989), has been contested by scholars such as Eckman et al. (2013) and supported by recent findings, it is not to be entirely dismissed. That is because overgeneralisation does indeed occur within the context of SLA hypercorrection, just with a different directionality. Take the overapplication of /-s/ endings among Bidayuh speakers in the current study. These speakers recognised the absence of this particular English grammatical feature in their native language, and consequently generalised that all

consonant-ending words (coda) to be extended or “completed” with an /-s/ ending. This constituted hypercorrected errors as a result of their attempt to approximate the target language more closely.

Odlin’s (1989) claim on overgeneralisation in language acquisition is not contested because overgeneralisation itself is in question. Indeed, it is a well-documented phenomenon. The contention lies in the directionality of these errors. Some scholars tend to attribute such errors primarily to the influence of the learner’s native language, viewing it as the main source of interference. However, as Eckman et al. (2013) and the findings of the current study suggest, this perspective may overlook a crucial factor, which is the influence of the “prestige” language, which can also be a significant source of overgeneralisation. Rather than being solely rooted in native language transfer, many of the errors observed in learners may actually stem from the overgeneralisation (from the approximation) of features of the target language or another prestigious language they are exposed to. This shifts the focus from native language interference to the broader context of language contact and the learner’s sociolinguistic environment, challenging the traditional view that the native language is the primary progenitor of errors.

Kapovic (2018, p. 337) observed that speakers in the attempt of formality or standardisation might “approximate it by inconsistently changing” when the speakers “cannot fully reproduce the prescribed standard.” Approximation, as an adaptation method, is a process where individuals reestablish and maintain stability upon entering a new or changed environment (Kim, 2001 cited in Zhang & Giles, 2018, p. 9) and undergo adaptation (or an attempt at adaptation) as a motivation for approximation. This perspective suggests that speakers are likely to approximate *towards* a more dominant language or language variant, leading to overgeneralisation. In this context, approximation involves the speakers’

efforts to closely align their speech with the target language, even if it results in hypercorrected errors due to overgeneralisation.

The current study also supports the third argument identified by Eckman et al. (2013), particularly regarding the influence of prestige on hypercorrection. This influence is evident when considering the contrast between localised variants, such as Malaysian English (Manglish), and a perceived “delocalised” standard, like media English (American or British English). The prestige associated with the latter often shapes language behaviours, as demonstrated in this study’s finding. Specifically, participants with a positive attitude towards English (the TL) were more likely to hypercorrect, indicating that their perception of English’s prestige directly influenced their linguistic behaviours.

This observation highlights the role of attitude towards the target language in motivating hypercorrection tendencies. In this study, several attitude-related aspects were examined, including the perceived importance of English, its association with being educated, and its link to higher social status. It was found that participants who view English more reverentially, or held it in high regards (e.g., Serian MO on English speakers: “confident”, “smart”), were more prone to hypercorrection compared to those with a more neutral stance (e.g., Biatah MO: “it’s just another language”).

The current study emphasises that, although many previous studies do not consider language attitude as a primary factor specifically in hypercorrection, it plays a crucial role. Attitudes toward the target language significantly influence self-corrective behaviours. When participants were asked about their perceptions of English, a clear correlation emerged between their attitudes and their tendency to hypercorrect. Those who regarded English as essential for career prospects or international communication exhibited higher levels of

hypercorrection, driven by a desire to conform to perceived norms and demonstrate proficiency.

Furthermore, in relation with language attitude and perception, the study's findings suggest that languages perceived as having higher "utility" (whether for economic, educational, or social mobility) tend to attain prestige status, even in regions where they are not the most prevalent. To recollect, the Abui indigenous speakers of Alor Malay (Saad et al., 2019) are reminiscent of Bidayuh speakers in this current study. Both Abui and Bidayuh (notably, both indigenous languages) viewed their language as a source of ethnic pride and prestige. For Bidayuh speakers at least, this sense of prestige is comparable if not closely equivalent to the sense of prestige associated with English. Yet, hypercorrection still persists.

When both native the language (NL) and the target language (TL) are viewed positively, the question arises: how do we determine the directionality of hypercorrection? This perspective challenges the existing clear dichotomy of "prestigious" and "less prestigious" languages in the study of hypercorrection, as well the notion of language prevalence. Rather, the current study observed that, ultimately, the perceived utility outside of cultural pride becomes a pivotal guiding force. Especially for Bidayuh speakers, while perceiving their language as culturally significant and a marker of ethnic identity, it is perceived as having less utility in career prospects and global communication compared to English (Kayad & Ting, 2020).

Overall, the current study aligns with and expands upon Eckman et al.'s (2013) tri-arguments on hypercorrection. It confirms that hypercorrection cannot be solely attributed to crosslinguistic influence or overgeneralisation from the native language. Instead, the findings suggest that hypercorrection is a complex phenomenon driven by a combination of factors, including sociolinguistic context and language prestige.

5.2.2 Sense and Feel of Grammaticality

Speakers often have inherent preferences for certain sounds over others. For example, softer consonant endings or more fluid vowel sequences can be perceived as more pleasing or “correct” due to easier articulation and a mellifluous quality. This can be seen in how participants in the current study preferred words ending in “-ce” (spelling), and /-s/ sounds over those ending in other consonants. These preferences are observed to not just be individual quirks but reflect broader phonological patterns within a language (Green & Birdsong, 2018). For instance, in English, words ending in “-ce” (like “peace” or “fleece”) often have a smoother, less abrupt ending compared to words ending in other consonants (like “test” or “dent”), which might contribute to their perceived correctness.

At this point in the argument, it is deemed appropriate to reintroduce Krashen’s (1981, p. 4) discussion of linguistic and grammatical “feel”, which suggests that language learners often develop an intuitive sense of grammaticality that guides their language use. This intuitive sense, acquired from extensive exposure to the language, helps speakers make judgements about what “sounds right” even if they cannot explicitly state the rules (Bybee, 2006).

This concept is also observed by Zsiga (2003), where non-Russian speakers overgeneralise a Russian sound feature (word-final release homorganic consonant clusters) in an attempt to sound more Russian. However, Zsiga (2003) found that these speakers did not consciously focus on the release or non-release of final consonants as a pronunciation feature. Corroborating Krashen’s (1981) “feel of grammaticality”, Zsiga (2003) implies that while speakers strive to approximate the target language (TL), speakers might not be conscious of the inner linguistic mechanisms. Consequently, the current study refrains from

the hasty compartmentalisation of phonological and grammatical hypercorrection, as to provide sufficient margin for these observations.

In conclusion, the current study illustrates the significance of intuitive linguistic preferences and their role in shaping perception of grammaticality. As observed in this study, the preference for softer consonant endings and more fluid vowel sequences, reflects broader phonological patterns and aligns with Krashen's (1981) concept of a "feel of grammaticality." This intuitive sense, as seen in Zsiga (2003), influences judgements about what "sounds right", even when explicit rules are not articulated.

Building upon this understanding of grammatical intuition, it is essential to explore how phonological and grammatical elements can intersect within the phenomenon of hypercorrection. The relationship between sound patterns and grammatical structures can further illuminate the mechanisms behind hypercorrection, particularly when speakers attempt to approximate the target language.

5.2.3 Intersection of Phonology and Grammar in Hypercorrection

Phonology and grammar are typically considered distinct areas in linguistics, yet they often intersect in complex ways during language acquisition and use. Hypercorrection is one such phenomenon where this intersection becomes particularly evident, where both underapplication and overapplication take place. Consider the instances presented in the findings of this study, which include both the underapplication and overapplication grammatical morphemes, such as the /-s/ phoneme in coda positions and the overuse of the "I'm" contraction when speakers intended to use the pronoun "I". These morphological misapplications, as discussed previously, can indeed be distinctly considered as a morphologically driven hypercorrection.

However, especially in the /-s/ phoneme in the coda position, sensitivity to pluralisation and verb agreements would more likely result in overapplication, rather than underapplication. For instance, adding /-s/ coda to compensate for the anticipated morphological changes not available in their native language (Bidayuh) despite not being used in the appropriate contexts. This overapplication of /-s/ coda as a result of hypercorrection among the Bidayuh speakers in this study is numerous and well-observed. However, when the /-s/ phoneme in the coda positions were *underapplied*, that consideration for a phonological influence takes place. Davies and Demuth (2023) provide interesting insight on the role of phonology in morphological acquisition, particularly in the language acquisition by younger children. Traditionally, it was thought that children often omit certain grammatical morphemes in speech (e.g., articles “the”, “a” or grammatical endings like “-s” or “-ed”) because their understanding of grammar and meaning was still developing. However, Davies and Demuth (2023) suggest that these “missing” parts are not random, but related to the child’s developing ability to handle the sound of the language.

Specifically, children are more likely to omit these grammatical morphemes in situations where they are harder to pronounce, such as before a stressed syllable or in complex consonant clusters. On the other hand, these grammatical parts are more likely to appear when they are easier to say in simpler or “unmarked” phonological contexts. Therefore, the morphemes that are being omitted are predictable and follow certain phonological patterns, rather than being random or purely based on grammar. Davies and Demuth (2023) further observed that this pattern of omission happens across different languages, supporting the idea that children’s speech errors are influenced by the ease of sound production, rather than just by their understanding of grammar.

Coming back to the discussion of the current study's findings, the overapplications of grammatical morphemes are expected and indeed has been showcased by the Bidayuh participants. For instance, the overapplication of past tense forms, as well as adding /-s/ coda to verbs in an attempt for verb agreement in places that do not warrant them. It was observed that these hypercorrections were done in anticipation of the difficult phonological constraints posed by their native language (Bidayuh), such as the complex coda-positioned consonant clusters so prevalent in English. This caused overaccommodation for that sense of insecurity, producing erroneous forms like “fluents” flu:ə[ntz] and “favourites” fevəri[ts] (Table 4.5). Note that overaccommodation (or overapplication) of these forms were observed because these particular words have relatively complex or “marked” coda-positioned consonant clusters if the /-s/ is added.

In contrast, the underapplication of /-s/ in pluralisation markers by the participants in this study are done in an otherwise relatively simple and “unmarked” phonological constraint. Particularly, the -VC (vowel-consonant) word ending with /-s/, in the supposedly plural form of words as pronounced by the participants. For example, the word “year” /jə/ and “movie” /muvi/ would be relatively simple or unmarked with the necessary addition of the /-s/ plural markers (/jəz/ and /muvis/). This is especially apparent when considering the structure of Bidayuh /-s/ in coda positions (e.g. Biatah words like “*ngetues*” (to wipe) and “*keris*” (to see, or to witness), Serian words like “*kabes*” (dead) and “*bihis*” (black), and Bau words like “*ko'is*” (dirty) and “*ringgies*” (crunchy)). This observation sets a crucial distinction for understanding the dual roles that phonological complexity and grammatical expectations play in hypercorrection.

The current study highlights that while overapplication of morphemes may stem from a hyperawareness of grammatical rules, underapplication is more likely driven by

phonological constraints inherent in the speakers' native language. This distinction is vital for linguists and language educators, as it reveals that hypercorrection is not merely a result of overcompensating for grammatical errors but is also deeply influenced by the phonological structure of both the native and target languages. Thus, any analysis of hypercorrection must account for these intersecting factors to accurately diagnose and address linguistic challenges in multilingual contexts.

5.2.4 Syllable Sensitivity, Markedness, and Coda Hypercorrection

As previously observed, the findings of the current study reveal a significant prevalence of word-end (coda) hypercorrection in the speech of Bidayuh students. While specific research on coda hypercorrection in the context of Bidayuh is scarce, insights from previously discussed studies on other languages offer valuable clues. This section revisits the research reviewed in earlier sections, but with a more focused examination on how hypercorrection occurs across different word positions.

De Sifontes and Rojas-Lizana (2013) and Chappell (2014) suggested that in response to their tendency to omit /s/ sounds in coda position, the speakers anticipate, and consequently overcompensate by re-adding the /s/ sounds at coda position even when it is not needed. On the other hand, Bongiovanni (2022) points to syllable sensitivity as a possible contributing factor to coda-positioned hypercorrections. Additionally, Eckman's (1977) discussion of "markedness" in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) offers a compelling framework for understanding the frequent occurrence of coda hypercorrections observed in this study.

De Sifontes & Rojas-Lizana (2013) and Chappell (2014) observed that Dominican and Nicaraguan Spanish speakers tend to hypercorrect the /s/ sound, particularly in coda position. As implied by Chappell (2014), when speakers are conscious of potential errors due to negative transfer from their native speech, they might overcompensate in anticipation of that error. In Chappell's (2014, p. 32) case, this involves the reinserting of /s/ in coda position even when it is not required. For instance, the transformation of the Spanish word *aquí* (here) /aki/ into /akis/ and the English loanword "okay" (spelled as *okey*) /okej/ into /okejs/.

A closely related phenomenon was also observed in Bongiovanni's (2022) investigation of Venezuelan Spanish speakers, but focused on word-internal coda. In the context of Bongiovanni (2022), word-internal coda refers to a consonant or group of consonants that occur at the end of a syllable within a word, but not at the very end of the word. In other words, it is the coda of the syllable that is located in the middle of the word rather than at the end, such as the <kt> in *actor* /aktór/.

It is noted that for some Spanish speakers, there is a tendency for word-internal coda deletion, known as debuccalisation (e.g., *costa* /kósta/ as /kóhta/) among Spanish speakers, where the /s/ consonant, is replaced by a sound produced at a less constricted point in the vocal tract, often resulting in a more open or glottal sound, such as /h/ or even a glottal stop. However, due to this syllable sensitivity, Bongiovanni (2022, p. 18) noted that some speakers attempt to ameliorate this by reinserting the /s/, sometimes even in instances where it is not needed (e.g., *fino* "fine" to *fisno*).

While Bongiovanni (2022) primarily focuses on the word-internal coda rather than the word-final (coda) observed in the current study, it did provide some implication for why there is a prevalence in coda-positioned hypercorrection. Bongiovanni (2022) suggested syllable sensitivity as a factor for these attempts at “repairing” the anticipated deletion. Syllable sensitivity, especially in the context of Bongiovanni (2022), refers to a speaker’s awareness and responsiveness to the structure and boundaries of syllables within words. It implies that speakers are attuned to the syllabic organisation of words and may modify their speech patterns to maintain or reinforce these syllabic structures.

These studies suggest that speakers, aware of their tendency to debuccalise /s/, overcompensate by hypercorrecting. This syllable sensitivity, when heightened, leads to hypercorrection, especially in coda positions where errors are anticipated. While these studies focus on monolingual Spanish speakers, they highlight the importance of syllable structure in triggering hypercorrection.

Shifting focus to English speakers, Labov’s (1963; 1966; 1972) work on the New York English speakers were observed to hypercorrect primarily in the overapplication of postvocalic rhoticity, which is the pronounced /r/ sound after a vowel (e.g. “car” or “floor”). In response to rhoticity as a social marker of the higher classes, many speakers who routinely omit /r/ in coda position started overapplying it to words, even if not necessary (e.g. “*idear*” for “idea”). For these speakers, the instances of hypercorrection were observed to be most prevalent in the coda position.

On the other hand, Eckman et al.’s (2013) study of Korean Anglophones highlighted hypercorrection instances in word-initial and word-internal coda positions, particularly for the consonants: /f/ and /ʃ/ (e.g. overapplying /f/ “fan” for “pan”, and overapplying /ʃ/ “*shin*”

and “*meshing*” for “sin” and “messaging”). These word positions are reminiscent of the Indonesian Samba Malay speakers and their difficulties of using /ʃ/ in those exact positions when speaking English (Sudrajat, 2021). Although Sudrajat (2021) focused on negative transfer rather than hypercorrection, the difficulties presented suggest potential sites for hypercorrection.

Hypercorrection in word-initial positions has also been documented in several studies. Metruk (2013) found that Slovak Anglophones overapplied the /w/ sound (“weteran” for “veteran”) due to the absence of /w/ in Slovak. Similarly, Akbar et al. (2020) observed that Kuwaiti Anglophones tend overapply /v/ and /p/ sounds in word-initial positions (e.g., “vine” for “fine”) to compensate for the absence of these phonemes in Kuwaiti Arabic.

French Anglophones also exhibited hypercorrection in word-initial positions by erroneously adding /h/, which is typically unsounded in French (Janda & Auger, 1992; Melisova, 2020). These studies demonstrate that hypercorrection occurs across various word positions, depending on the anticipated difficulties speakers face. This points to syllable sensitivity, where heightened awareness of marked linguistic structures leads to hypercorrection.

Building upon the pioneering principle of markedness by Trubetzkoy (1939) and Jakobson (1941), Eckman (1977) expanded on the idea by applying it to the study of language acquisition, particularly in second language acquisition (SLA). “Markedness”, as described by Trubetzkoy (1939) and Jakobson (1941) differentiate some phonological features as unmarked (meaning basic or default) and marked, meaning less basic and having additional features. While Trubetzkoy and Jakobson focused on first language acquisition,

Eckman (1977; 2008) aimed to explain why certain linguistic structures are more difficult for second-language learners based on their markedness.

In 1977, Eckman introduced the Markedness Differential Hypothesis (MDH) which directly correlates markedness with learning difficulty. Eckman (1977) provided a predictive framework: if a structure in the second language is marked and does not exist in the first language, it will be harder for learners to acquire. For instance, if a learner's native language (NL) lacks certain marked phonological contrasts (like voicing distinctions in consonants), learning these marked contrasts in the target language (TL) would pose more challenges than learning unmarked features (like basic consonant-vowel syllables).

The hypercorrection instances and their word positions among the English speakers discussed previously (e.g. Korean, Kuwaiti, French) were observed to be done in direct correlation with what is difficult (or anticipated to be difficult) for the speakers. Therefore, in the specific case of Bidayuh English speakers, the prevalence of hypercorrection in the coda position implies that the coda is the most "marked" linguistic structure for them when speaking English.

For Bidayuh speakers, English coda consonants, especially in clusters, represent marked structures, as they are uncommon in Bidayuh languages, which typically follow a CVCVC syllable pattern (Rensch et al., 2012, p. 145). The prevalence of coda hypercorrection in Bidayuh English speakers can be attributed to this markedness. The data show that overapplied phonological hypercorrection often involves consonant clusters in coda positions (e.g., "favourites" /fevərɪts/), which are rare in Bidayuh. Furthermore, English relies on morphological suffixes (e.g., "-s" in "movies," "-ed" in "killed") to convey pluralisation and verb tense, adding another layer of markedness for Bidayuh speakers.

In conclusion, heightened syllable sensitivity due to markedness would often lead to overcompensation. In particular, Bidayuh speakers of English tend to hypercorrect by either overapplying target language features (English) or underapplying native language features (native Bidayuh language variety) in coda positions. This hypercorrection reflects their anticipation of difficulties arising from the marked structures of English coda positions, which differ from their native Bidayuh syllable patterns. Bidayuh typically lacks the complex consonant clusters characteristic of English, making these features more challenging for speakers. Consequently, the hypercorrection observed is a response to the unfamiliar features in the target language.

5.3 Theoretical Implications

5.3.1 The Integration of CAT in SLA

Initially, Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) was largely confined to sociolinguistics and, for a substantial period; from its inception in the 1970s until perhaps as late as 2007 (Giles & Ogay, 2007); remained primarily a monolingual framework. This study's integration of CAT into second language acquisition (SLA) provides a more comprehensive approach to analysing hypercorrection, which can be characterised by its complexity and the potential for multiple directional shifts, such as overapplication or underapplication.

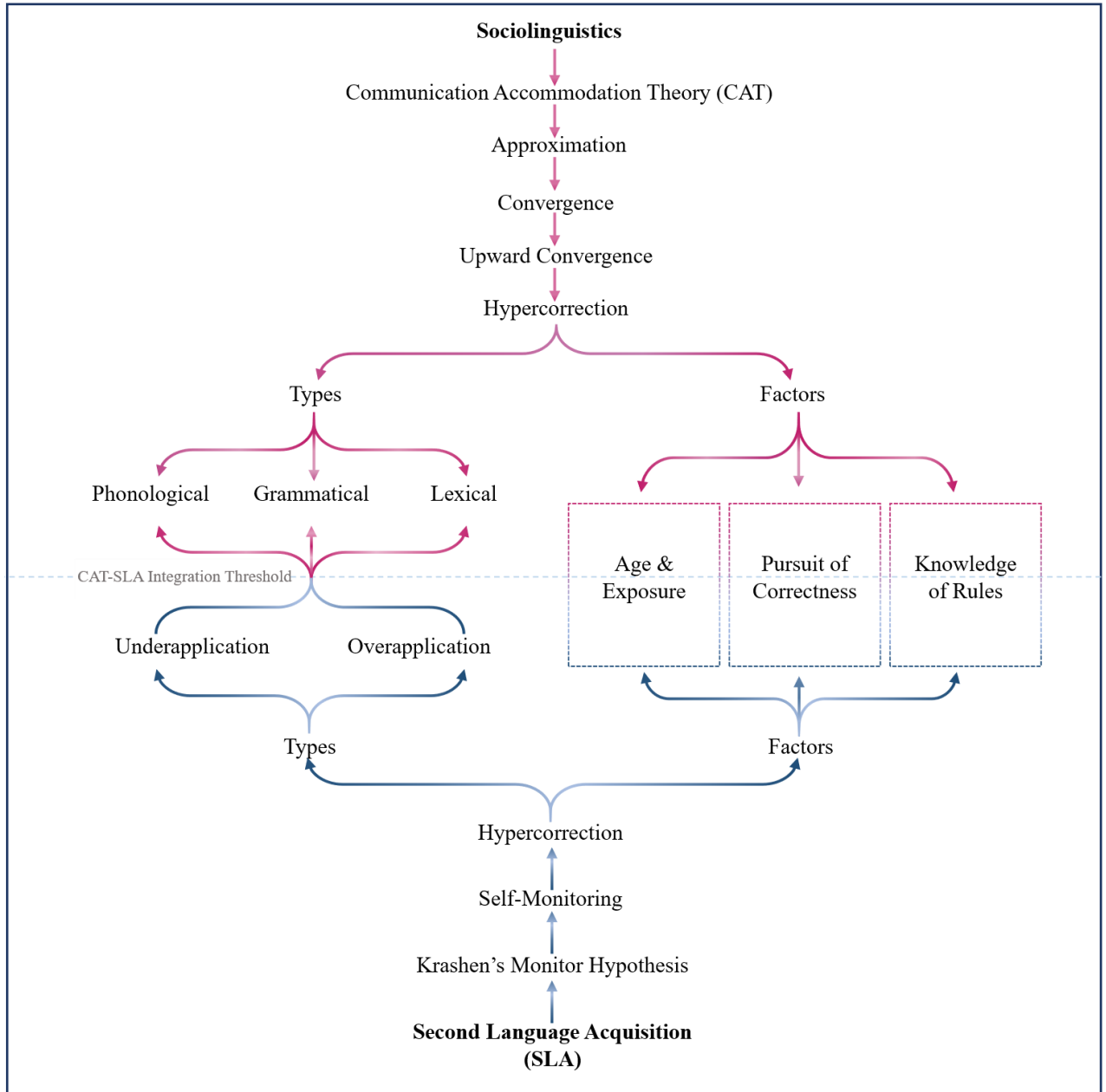
Both the native language (NL) and the target language (TL) can influence speakers to hypercorrect, but what determines whether these influences are merely instances of negative transfer (resulting from underuse of a TL feature or overuse of NL feature) or true instances of hypercorrection? This study seeks to clarify these distinctions to allow for a more accurate identification of hypercorrection within multilingual contexts.

The integration begins with applying CAT's concepts to SLA, particularly by drawing parallels between CAT's accommodative features and factors with Krashen's (1977; 1981; 1982) Monitor Hypothesis. Giles and Ogay (2007, p. 301) has already begun to show hints of this integration, even if not fully realised. This theoretical synthesis then informs the development of a specific method for identifying hypercorrection within SLA contexts, one that distinguishes it from simple negative transfer from a first language (L1).

In the current study, there also has been descriptions of this CAT-SLA integration in the literature review, particularly on the mirroring of factors from both domains. In terms of hypercorrection types, the methodology section of this study also illustrates the concepts and integration more extensively (Figure 3.2: Conceptual Map, Figure 3.3: Identification and Categorisation of Hypercorrection in SLA). Nonetheless, consider the following Figure 5.1 as an attempt of further clarification (refer to supplementary previous sections):

Figure 5.1

The Integration of CAT in SLA



As seen in Figure 5.1, originating in **sociolinguistics**, **Communication Accommodation Theory** (CAT) explores how individuals adjust their speech and communication style to align or differentiate themselves from their interlocutors. This theory is foundational in understanding the phenomenon of hypercorrection because it lays the groundwork for analysing how linguistic adjustments can sometimes lead to hypercorrection. In CAT, the concept of **approximation** was introduced, where speakers modify their language to align more closely to their interlocutors (speech partners). This can, in turn, lead to **convergence**, where their speech patterns increasingly resemble each other, sometimes resulting in **upward convergence**; a key factor in hypercorrection. Hypercorrection then, as a concept that emerges from this process, can be categorised into **types** and **factors**, each influenced by both linguistic and cognitive elements.

This is where CAT alone is not sufficient a framework, especially in a more multilingual SLA context, as presented in the current study. Considering the seamless integration of types and factors presented from a synthesis of Krashen's more cognitive and pedagogical (1977; 1981; 1982) Monitor Hypothesis and the sociolinguistic aspects of CAT, the current study integrated the two theoretical concepts as to provide a more coherent hypercorrection framework especially in a multilingual context. The **Monitor Hypothesis** suggests a **self-monitoring** tendency among second language learners which aligns with the concept of **hypercorrection**, particularly when the self-monitoring overshoots. This tendency highlights the need to integrate CAT with SLA theories, as it directly contributes to instances of hypercorrection.

At the conceptual point where CAT and SLA theories intersect (referred to here as the CAT-SLA integration threshold) the factors influencing hypercorrection often overlap. This overlap reflects the interconnection between phonological, grammatical, and lexical

elements within both frameworks. In CAT, phonological, grammatical, and lexical hypercorrection has been investigated, but it was in SLA studies (Akbar et al., 2020; Eckman et al., 2013) where phonological-grammatical overlap in hypercorrection was alluded to. This was then integrated into the framework of the current study to both identify and categorise hypercorrection instances produced by Bidayuh speakers.

Overapplication has been a well-documented premise in sociolinguistic hypercorrection studies across different linguistic contexts. Beebe (1981) explored overapplied phonological hypercorrection, while Labov (1966) expanded on grammatical overapplication, and Baugh (1992) discussed overapplied lexical hypercorrection. However, it is with the integration of SLA studies where underapplication has been implied, especially because of the dynamic between a more globalised (and thus, perceived as more prestigious) language, and a localised language (Akbar et al., 2020; Eckman et al., 2013; Kapovic, 2018; Metruk, 2013). By integrating complementary aspects of CAT with the Monitor Hypothesis, the study provides a more holistic analysis of hypercorrection. This approach is particularly useful for understanding how hypercorrection manifests in multilingual contexts.

In conclusion, the integration of Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) with Second Language Acquisition (SLA) theories, particularly the Monitor Hypothesis, provides a comprehensive framework for analysing hypercorrection, particularly in multilingual contexts. By synthesising the sociolinguistic aspects of CAT with the cognitive and pedagogical insights from Krashen's Monitor Hypothesis, this study offers a more thorough understanding of how hypercorrection manifests across different linguistic domains. The current study deemed this implicative, especially in the formulation of the framework illustrated in Figure 3.3: Identification and Categorisation of Hypercorrection in SLA, through this theoretical integration. This integrated approach not only deepens our

understanding of hypercorrection as a phenomenon but also has practical implications for language teaching in multilingual societies. Future research could further explore the interactions between these theories, potentially leading to more effective strategies for addressing hypercorrection in diverse linguistic environments.

5.4 Practical Implications

5.4.1 Implications for Language Teaching and Learning Among Bidayuh

The current study highlights some of the unique linguistic challenges faced by Bidayuh students learning English, particularly in their multilingual environment. Navigating between their native language varieties, other local languages, and English, they encounter specific difficulties, such as hypercorrection in phonemes, and grammatical structures. Lexical, or word choice hypercorrections, are relatively dispersed widely in the findings of this study, however, it does set a premise that students might use words they deemed correct erroneously in both frequency and context. Addressing these challenges requires educators to develop targeted strategies that account for the particular needs of this community's students.

In Malaysia, for example, the formal education system places a strong emphasis on proficiency benchmarks and standard grammatical conventions (Marzaini et al., 2023). This environment fosters a prescriptive teaching approach, where educators prioritise correctness and adherence to linguistic norms. As mentioned earlier in this study, Wee and Samosir (2023, p. 356) argue that while prescriptivism can serve as a useful guideline for language learning, it also imposes “unforgiving strictures” that contributes to hypercorrection. The perceived prestige of English in academic and professional contexts (Ricento, 2015; Sah,

2024) further intensifies this pressure, as students feel compelled to conform to these linguistic norms to gain social and academic acceptance (Derwing & Munro, 2008).

While standardised teaching is undeniably useful in ensuring consistency and establishing clear educational objectives, this study highlights the limitation of such approaches when applied universally and without the nuances of the specific contexts in which they occur. The current study's intention is not to criticise standardised education but to acknowledge that it can be limiting if the unique struggles of minority students are overlooked. For Bidayuh students, whose phonological and grammatical structures differ markedly from English, this prescriptive environment can exacerbate issues like hypercorrection. As these students strive to meet rigid linguistic expectations, they often overcompensate, leading to pronunciation and grammatical errors that might not otherwise arise in a more flexible and context-sensitive system.

By identifying the sources of hypercorrection specific to Bidayuh speakers, this study advocates for more nuanced and contextually-informed teaching methods. For example, phonological training that anticipates common areas of difficulty in English pronunciation, particularly in contrast to Bidayuh syllable structures, can prevent many hypercorrection errors before they occur. Similarly, restorative approaches such as targeted feedback and corrective exercises can help students correct existing errors, thereby reducing the risk of continued hypercorrection. These implications also extend beyond the classroom especially in consideration of Bidayuh speakers as a linguistic minority in Malaysia. A “one size fits all” educational model often overlooks their unique linguistic features, and by extension; their unique language learning needs. It is apparent that there is a need for creating teaching materials and instructional strategies that address these gaps, such as focus on specific areas of difficulties. These can include a focus on pronunciation, syllable structures, and word

stress, in which educators can better support Bidayuh students in navigating the complexities of English.

In practice, this means designing exercises that focus on the phonological and grammatical features that are most challenging for Bidayuh learners, such as coda consonants and complex clusters. These features are less frequent in Bidayuh but more common in English, leading to hypercorrection when students overcompensate by inserting unnecessary consonants to “complete” the words they are using. Pronunciation drills and exercises that emphasise accurate syllable structure awareness will also help students internalise the correct phonological rules, preventing overcorrection in both formal and informal settings.

Furthermore, this current study emphasises the need for a multilingual approach to language teaching. Bidayuh students are not learning English in isolation, but rather they are juggling between multiple linguistic systems, which can sometimes result in confusion or error transfer between the languages. Educators should therefore design materials that help learners distinguish between these linguistic systems, allowing them to navigate the differences between Bidayuh and English more effectively. The challenges associated with English morphological suffixes, such as pluralisation and verb agreements, further illustrates the need for targeted and specialised instruction. As Bidayuh employs different grammatical strategies, students may struggle to master these concepts without clear instructions and guidelines that address both word-final and word-internal coda positions. With the help of regular feedback, students can understand and correct these errors, reducing the likelihood of hypercorrection.

While formal education plays a critical role in developing English proficiency, this study emphasises that classroom instruction alone is insufficient for ensuring practical language fluency. Given the emphasis on correctness and proficiency benchmarks in Malaysia's formal education system, Bidayuh students need additional real-world exposure to English to mitigate hypercorrection and improve overall language proficiency. After all, real-world exposure beyond formal education plays a more pivotal role than classroom instruction in enhancing listening comprehension and speech production in the target language (Huang et al., 2020). Immersive learning experiences such as conversational practice, media exposure, and participation in English-speaking environments can help align classroom learning with real-world language use.

The phenomenon of English hypercorrection among Bidayuh speakers can largely be attributed to the marked nature of English coda consonants, given the typically CVCVC syllable structure of Bidayuh languages (Rensch et al., 2013, p. 145). As marked structures are more challenging, it is crucial that teaching methods address these linguistic features. Educators should elucidate why coda consonants present difficulties and provide strategies to mitigate these challenges, thereby aiding students in navigating the complexities of English phonology.

The study highlights a tendency among Bidayuh speakers to overcompensate by inserting /s/ or other consonants in coda positions, even when such insertions are not required. To counteract this, instruction should focus on helping students understand the appropriate contexts for applying specific phonological rules. Providing clear examples and practice opportunities will enable students to discern when and where certain phonetic elements are needed, thereby reducing instances of hypercorrection. Given the role of syllable sensitivity in hypercorrection, it is beneficial to incorporate exercises that heighten

students' awareness of syllable structures in English. Activities could include segmenting words into syllables, identifying coda positions, practicing pronunciation with focus on maintaining correct syllabic structures. This approach will assist students in developing a more accurate and intuitive understanding of English phonology.

The challenges associated with English morphological suffixes such as pluralisation and verb tense require specific instructional focus. Providing extensive teaching on the formation, pronunciation, and application of these suffixes should encompass both word-final and word-internal coda positions to ensure comprehensive coverage. Implementing regular feedback sessions is crucial for effective language acquisition. These sessions should focus on providing corrective feedback and clarifying the underlying reasons for phonological errors. By engaging in consistent correction and refinement practices, students will be better equipped to mitigate hypercorrection and achieve more accurate English pronunciation.

In summary, the “one size fits all” approach of the education system can leave minority language learners, like the Bidayuh, struggling with challenges that mainstream methods fail to address. By focusing on the unique phonological and grammatical needs of Bidayuh students and acknowledging their multilingual environment, educators can develop more effective, responsive teaching strategies. These tailored approaches will not only help learners overcome hypercorrection but also foster greater confidence and proficiency in English.

5.4.2 Addressing Hypercorrection in Language Instruction: Prescriptivism and Status of English Against a Minority Language

In discussions surrounding linguistic prestige and correctness, prescriptivism emerges as a significant determinant of hypercorrection. Prescriptivism advocates for a rigid enforcement of grammatical norms, dictating a singular, “correct” way of speaking or writing (Rataj, 2023). This prescriptive stance can exacerbate hypercorrection tendencies among learners, who are driven to adhere strictly to these prescribed rules (Akbar et al., 2020; Chappell, 2014; Collins, 2022; Eckman et al., 2013).

Bishop (2020) highlights a shift from prescriptive to descriptive language teaching, which focuses on analysing and describing actual language use rather than enforcing strict rules. However, prescriptivism remains prevalent in contexts where English is not the native language, such as Malaysia and other Southeast Asian countries (Wee & Samosir, 2023). In these regions, English language pedagogy often emphasises adherence to established grammar rules and standardised testing, reinforcing a prescriptive approach.

In Malaysia, for example, the formal education system places strong emphasis on proficiency benchmarks and standard grammatical conventions (Marzaini et al., 2023). This environment fosters a prescriptive teaching approach, as educators prioritise correctness and adherence to linguistic norms. Wee and Samosir (2023, p. 358) argue that while prescriptivism can guide language learning, it can also impose “unforgiving strictures” that contribute to hypercorrection. The perceived prestige of English, particularly in academic and professional contexts (Ricento, 2015; Sah, 2024), further intensifies this pressure, as students strive to conform to perceived norms of correct English usage to gain social and academic acceptance (Derwing & Munro, 2008).

The impact of education on hypercorrection is evident in the correlation between educational background and the tendency for hypercorrection (Angermeyer & Singler, 2003; Bishop, 2020; Collins, 2022; Hubers et al., 2020). In contexts where English is perceived as a prestigious language, such as Korea (Eckman et al., 2013), Kuwait (Akbar et al., 2020), and Slovakia (Metruk, 2013), educational attainment often correlates with a heightened focus on linguistic correctness. This perception of English as a symbol of upward socioeconomic mobility (Ricento, 2015; Sah, 2024) reinforces hypercorrection, even when English is not the dominant language in everyday use.

The identification of hypercorrection sources has significant practical and pedagogical implications. By recognising specific sources of hypercorrection errors, educators can develop targeted precautionary and restorative approaches to enhance speaking proficiency and speech legibility in English. Implementing precautionary measures involves designing instructional materials and exercises that address identified hypercorrection areas. Restorative approaches focus on correcting existing errors through targeted feedback and remedial activities. These approaches ensure that learners not only avoid hypercorrection but also improve accuracy where errors have already occurred.

5.5 Conclusion and Suggestions for Future Research

5.5.1 Summary of Contributions

This study offers several meaningful contributions to the understanding of language acquisition and hypercorrection, particularly within the unique context of multilingual Bidayuh speakers. By focusing on an often-overlooked area that is hypercorrection in multilingual contexts, the current study sheds some light on how Bidayuh speakers, with their three distinct language varieties, navigate the complexities of language learning. What sets this research apart is its exploration of Malaysia's multilingual landscape, where languages are frequently acquired simultaneously, rather than in a sequential fashion that is mostly prevalent in a more European context (Pye & Chan, 2023).

From a practical standpoint, identifying the specific sources of hypercorrection errors among Bidayuh English speakers allows for the development of targeted intervention strategies. These strategies include precautionary measures, such as designing instructional materials that address common phonological and grammatical errors, and restorative approaches, which involve correcting existing mistakes through focused feedback and practice. By creating tailored teaching materials and exercises that reflect the specific needs of Bidayuh learners, educators can enhance speaking proficiency and improve overall speech legibility in English.

Theoretically, this study contributes to the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) by examining various factors that influence hypercorrection tendencies, particularly through the lenses of Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) and the Monitor Hypothesis. The integration of these theories provides a comprehensive framework for understanding hypercorrection, highlighting how linguistic adjustments and self-monitoring

behaviours interact to produce hypercorrective errors. The study also explores whether hypercorrection can be multidirectional, assessing if multiple first languages influence second language hypercorrection. This research adds depth to the documentation of hypercorrection, especially within the Bidayuh language and its language varieties.

By synthesising CAT with SLA theories, particularly Krashen's Monitor Hypothesis, the study offers a more integrated and comprehensive framework for analysing hypercorrection. This integration addresses both sociolinguistic and cognitive aspects of hypercorrection, providing a holistic understanding of how hypercorrection manifests in multilingual contexts. The study's findings contribute to the development of more effective pedagogical strategies for addressing hypercorrection in diverse linguistic environments.

In essence, the research not only advances theoretical understanding by merging CAT with SLA theories but also offers practical implications for language teaching. It provides valuable insights into hypercorrection phenomena among Bidayuh speakers and highlights the importance of tailored instructional approaches to address specific linguistic challenges. Future research can build on these contributions by exploring broader linguistic contexts and refining methods for measuring and controlling variables related to hypercorrection.

5.5.2 Suggestions for Future Research

While the current study provides valuable insights into hypercorrection among Bidayuh speakers, it is constrained by several factors that impact the generalisability and control of the findings. To build on this research and address its limitations, future studies could consider these following suggestions:

Broaden Linguistic Scope: The findings of this study are closely tied to the Bidayuh language varieties and may not be applicable to other indigenous languages in Sarawak. Future studies should aim to expand the linguistic scope, examining whether similar hypercorrection patterns exist in other indigenous communities. This broader perspective would help determine if the phenomena observed here are unique to Bidayuh or represent a more common issue across different languages in the region.

Enhance Data Collection Methods: Although semi-structured interviews and casual conversations yielded insightful data, they also presented challenges such as participant shyness and technical difficulties with recording. Future research could benefit from diversifying data collection techniques. For example, more structured interviews or incorporating observational methods could help reduce participant discomfort and lead to more consistent data.

Address Observer's Paradox: Labov's (1972) observer's paradox, the challenge of capturing natural speech when participants are aware of being observed, remains a limitation. Future studies should explore creative ways to mitigate this effect. Longer-term observational studies or using methods that help participants feel more at ease could lead to more authentic speech patterns. While building rapport and creating a relaxed environment helped in this study, additional strategies could further enhance naturalistic data collection.

Increase Sample Size and Diversity: This study's focus on the three main Bidayuh language varieties, alongside its relatively small sample size, limits the broader applicability of its findings. While these varieties are represented, the study does not explore the finer distinctions between the subvarieties within each main variety. Future research should aim for a larger and more diverse participant pool, with a more granular focus on these

subvarieties to uncover potential variations in hypercorrection patterns that may not be captured at the broader level. A more extensive and varied sample would yield a more detailed and comprehensive understanding of hypercorrection across the full spectrum of Bidayuh linguistic diversity, thereby enhancing the depth and reliability of future findings.

In summary, while the current study contributes significantly to the understanding of hypercorrection among Bidayuh speakers, addressing these limitations and exploring the suggested avenues for future research will enhance the depth and applicability of the findings. By expanding the scope, improving measurement techniques, and addressing methodological challenges, future research can build on this foundation and further our understanding of hypercorrection in multilingual contexts.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Consent/Assent Letters (both in English and *Bahasa Melayu*)

Appendix A1: Consent/Assent Letter (English Version)

CONSENT/ASSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN INTERVIEW

Research title: Hypercorrection in Multilingual Contexts: The case of Bidayuh Speakers of English

Researcher: LEONARDO GINYUN

I.C. NUMBER: 980327-13-5377

Research supervisors: Dr Florence Gilliam Kayad, AP Dr Norazuna Norahim

You have been asked to participate in an interview conducted by Leonardo Ginyun from the Faculty of Education, Language and Communication, UNIMAS to gather data for the research study titled above. The purpose of this study is to document and analyse the self-correction of Bidayuh speakers when speaking in English to study the phenomenon and possible influencing factors that may cause this. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you are within the range of 10 -19 years old, a fluent speaker of Bidayuh, and can communicate in English.

- This interview is voluntary. You have the right not to answer any question and stop the interview at any time or for any reason.
- Due to the nature of interviewing younger participants, parents or guardians are also required to sign an assent/approval of proceeding with this interview if participants are below consenting age.
- In the interview, the investigator will ask questions about your background, the languages you use, and finally the reading of words that will be displayed.

Read the following and check all that apply, and sign according to the requirements.

No.	Items	✓
1.	I acknowledge and fully understand that the researcher will be asking for my personal identification information to validate my consent in order to participate in the interview.	
2.	I acknowledge that no names or any exposing identification aspects will be shared to any third-party entity and will only be used as a reference and kept safe by the researcher.	
3.	I acknowledge that this session will be recorded and fully understand the necessity of a recording for the completion of the study conducted.	
4.	I consent to the recording of this session and fully grasp that it will be used by the researcher only in serving the purpose of the research.	

On the agreement and consent of the informant/assent of the guardian, please fill in the details here and sign accordingly.

INFORMANT'S IDENTIFICATION

Name:	
Gender:	
I.C. Number:	
Signature:	Date:

If participant is below consenting age (below 18 years old), a parent or a guardian is needed to sign an assent as follows:

Name:	
Relation to participant:	
I.C. Number:	
Signature:	Date:

As the researcher of this study, I, Leonardo Ginyun, fully understand that in compliance with the confidentiality and respect on the privacy of the informants, all audio recordings will be used only for the completion and purposes of this study. All aspects of identification that is obtained will not be exposed to any third-party entity, and will only be kept by the researcher as record of a valid consent. Informants are allowed to withdraw from any involvement at any moment should they feel uncomfortable to proceed at any time, without prejudice. The utmost care will be taken to keep and safeguard the confidentiality within this research study.

Appendix A2: Consent/Assent Letter (*Bahasa Melayu* version)

SURAT PERSETUJUAN/KEBENARAN PENYERTAAN TEMUBUAL

Tajuk Kajian: *Hypercorrection in Multilingual Contexts: The case of Bidayuh Speakers of English*
(Pembetulan Hiper dalam Konteks Pelbagai Bahasa: Penutur Bahasa Inggeris Bidayuh)

Pengkaji: LEONARDO GINYUN

No. K/P: 980327-13-5377

Penyelia kajian: Dr Florence Gilliam Kayad, Prof. Madya Dr Norazuna Norahim

Anda telah diminta untuk menyertai sebuah temubual yang dijalankan oleh Leonardo Ginyun dari Fakulti Bahasa dan Komunikasi, UNIMAS bagi tujuan mengumpul data kajian di bawah tajuk yang dinyatakan di atas. Tujuan kajian ini adalah untuk mendokumentasikan dan menganalisis pembetulan-kendiri yang dilakukan oleh penutur Bidayuh ketika bertutur dalam bahasa Inggeris selain mengkaji sekaligus mengenalpasti faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi fenomena pembetulan-kendiri ini. Anda telah dipilih sebagai calon peserta temubual dalam kajian ini kerana anda telah memenuhi beberapa kriteria peserta yang ditetapkan, iaitu, anda berada dalam peringkat umur 10 hingga 19 tahun, fasih bertutur dalam bahasa Bidayuh, dan boleh berkomunikasi menggunakan bahasa Inggeris.

- Penyertaan dalam temubual ini adalah secara sukarela. Anda berhak untuk tidak menjawab mana-mana soalan dan memberhentikan temuduga pada bila-bila masa atas apa-apa sebab.
- Merujuk kepada keperluan untuk menemu bual penutur muda, ibubapa atau penjaga juga dikehendaki untuk menandatangani surat persetujuan/kebenaran untuk meneruskan temubual jika peserta temubual berumur bawah 18 tahun.
- Ketika temubual, pengkaji akan menanyakan soalan mengenai latar belakang anda, bahasa yang anda gunakan, dan akhir sekali, anda akan diminta untuk membaca beberapa perkataan yang akan diberikan oleh pengkaji.

Sila baca kenyataan di bawah dan tanda yang berkenaan, seterusnya, tandatangan berdasarkan keperluan yang dikemukakan.

No.	Item	✓
1.	Saya mengakui dan memahami sepenuhnya bahawa pengkaji akan memerlukan maklumat peribadi saya untuk memastikan keabsahan/kesahihan persetujuan/kebenaran saya dalam penglibatan saya dalam temubual ini.	
2.	Saya akui bahawa tiada nama atau apa-apa maklumat peribadi akan didedahkan atau dikongsikan kepada mana-mana pihak ketiga dan hanya akan digunakan sebagai rujukan pengkaji serta akan disimpan oleh pengkaji.	
3.	Saya akui bahawa sesi ini akan dirakam dan saya juga memahami sepenuhnya kepentingan rakaman ini bagi memenuhi keperluan kajian.	
4.	Saya bersetuju dan membenarkan sesi ini dirakam dan memahami sepenuhnya bahawa rakaman tersebut hanya akan digunakan oleh pengkaji sahaja bagi memenuhi keperluan kajian.	

Halaman 1 dari 2

Atas persetujuan dan kebenaran daripada informan dan/atau ibubapa/penjaga informan, sila isi maklumat yang diperlukan dan tandatangan berdasarkan keperluan di bahagian yang berikut.

MAKLUMAT PERIBADI PESERTA TEMUBUAL

Nama:	
Jantina:	
Nombor K/P:	
Tandatangan:	Tarikh:

Jika peserta temubual berumur bawah 18 tahun, ibubapa atau penjaga dikehendaki mengisi dan menandatangani persetujuan/kebenaran di bawah:

Nama:	
Hubungan dengan peserta:	
Nombor K/P:	
Tandatangan:	Tarikh:

Sebagai pengkaji kajian ini, saya, Leonardo Ginyun, memahami sepenuhnya bahawa dengan mematuhi *confidentiality* (kerahsiaan) dan menghormati privasi informan, semua rakaman suara hanya akan digunakan bagi memenuhi keperluan kajian. Segala aspek berkaitan maklumat peribadi/pengenalan diri yang diperolehi tidak akan didedahkan kepada mana-mana pihak ketiga dan hanya akan disimpan oleh pengkaji sebagai bukti dan rekod persetujuan yang sah. Informan juga dibenarkan untuk menarik diri daripada apa-apa bentuk penglibatan pada bila-bila masa sahaja tanpa prasangka/tindakan susulan jika informan berasa keberatan untuk meneruskan sesi temubual. Sebagai pengkaji, saya akan memastikan bahawa segala aspek penjagaan akan dititikberatkan dan diambil bagi menjaga dan melindungi kerahsiaan sepanjang kajian ini.

Appendix B: Samples of Printed Photo Word Cards for Younger Participants



sheep



ship



cheese



cOW

Appendix C: Sample of Transcribed Recordings and Coding

Serian MO Recording Transcription

Codings: age
education level
phonemic competence
multiple first languages
language variety
exposure to L2
attitude

[00:00.000 --> 00:13.000] Okay, so hi, my name is Leonardo Ginyun. I will be interviewing you about your language-use and before we begin, do you allow me to record the session?

[00:13.000 --> 00:15.000] **Yeah, you're welcome to.**

[00:15.000 --> 00:17.000] Okay, so hi, how are you?

[00:17.000 --> 00:20.000] **Yeah, I'm fine, thank you for asking.**

[00:20.000 --> 00:22.000] Can you tell me your name and how old you are?

[00:22.000 --> 00:26.000] **So, my name is [REDACTED] and I'm 18 years old.** *older speaker*

[00:27.000 --> 00:30.000] Okay, so where do you go to school?

[00:30.000 --> 00:35.000] **So, I go to school at [REDACTED] near Matang.** *MO*

[00:35.000 --> 00:40.000] **So, I learned there almost five years and now I'm already passed school.**

[00:40.000 --> 00:42.000] So, you're 18 years old?

[00:42.000 --> 00:45.000] **Yeah, just finished the SPM.**

[00:45.000 --> 00:52.000] Oh, I see. So, what do you like to do after school? Any activities outside?

[00:52.000 --> 01:08.000] **So, actually after any activities, sometimes I will do some sports or sometimes I will do my daily routine like washing my clothes, playing games with my friends, yeah, to releasing the stress of the learning.** *generalise from the other verbs?*

[01:08.000 --> 01:13.000] So, do you have something you like to do like a hobby or something?

[01:13.000 --> 01:24.000] **So, I think my hobby is playing volleyball actually because I think it's quite fun because I can play with my friends, communicate with others because of the teamwork, yeah.**

[01:24.000 --> 01:30.000] Is teamwork something that you appreciate while doing that?

[01:30.000 --> 01:38.000] **Yeah, I think teamwork is the really thing that I appreciate because it make me to strengthens the bond with my friends.**

[01:38.000 --> 01:45.000] **...so, we could do anything we want because we could communicate easily with others.** *Verb agreement hypercorrection*

[01:45.000 --> 01:52.000] So, you say volleyball. Can you tell me more about volleyball? How is it played?

[01:52.000 --> 02:10.000] **So, actually basically volleyball is a game - I think it's originated from Japan because I'm inspired with this player whose name is Nishida from Japan because - the game is actually it's just you playing a ball.**

[02:10.000 --> 02:21.000] **You just must make sure the ball is not touching the ground and it still can be played but it must be touched three times in one play, yeah.**

[02:21.000 --> 02:28.000] I see. So, let's go on to the languages that you speak. What languages can you speak?

[02:28.000 --> 02:40.000] **I think the language that I could speak is Bidayuh, BM, BI, French a little bit but not that...and I think that's all.** *multilingual environment*

[02:40.000 --> 02:45.000] Interesting. So, with your parents, what language do you use?

[02:45.000 --> 02:53.000] **So, with my parents, normally I speak Bidayuh because it's easy for me to speak with my parents.** *Speaks Bidayuh at home (Note: primarily uses Serian Bidayuh)*

[02:53.000 --> 02:55.000] What about with your friends in school?

[02:55.000 --> 03:07.000] **With my friends, I think some of them I speak English, some of them Melayu Sarawak and some of them Bidayuh because they are from my old school.**

[03:07.000 --> 03:13.000] So, your mom and your dad, are they from the same variety of Bidayuh?

[03:13.000 --> 03:19.000] **No actually, because my father is from Bidayuh Serian and my mother is from Bidayuh Bau.** *intermarriage*

but still within Bidayuh