

# The Bidayuh Mountain Framework: An Indigenous Model of Reversing Language Shift (RLS)<sup>1</sup>

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## Abstract

*In his ground-breaking work Fishman (1991) introduced and expounded the notion of Reversing Language Shift (RLS) using a "Richter Scale" typology, which became known as Fishman's GIDS (Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale). The use of "Richter Scale" provided metaphors to facilitate discussions of the language revitalization process that is useful in many situations. However, as it is, the metaphor is not always easily understood and applied by ethnic minority speakers engaged in their own language revitalization efforts. In our efforts to understand in a concrete way what was sought by Fishman's typology, we have developed an indigenous model.*

*The "Bidayuh Mountain Framework", which provides a straightforward account of the relationship between life and language in the Bidayuh context, is the model that was developed to help the Bidayuh people understand what is involved in "reversing language shift" and promoting the development and revitalisation of their language. The presenters will describe the model, its process of development and the way it is being used. They will also look at the potential for expanding the model so that it can be used to assist language revitalisation efforts in other minority language communities.*

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## ***Introduction***

### **Introduction to the paper**

This paper documents a session about reversing language shift (RLS) and Fishman's graded intergenerational disruption scale (GIDS), which was held at the inaugural meeting of the Bidayuh Curriculum Development Committee on 4 February 2003. Bidayuh leaders and intellectuals had gathered together to make further headway in activities planned by the Bidayuh Language Development Project (BLDP) Committee. In writing this essay we have further refined the indigenous model of language revitalisation, which was presented at that inaugural meeting. This model provides more structure and a deeper level of understanding of RLS to the Bidayuh community.

This paper will first introduce the historical context of the Bidayuh people as "people of the mountain" and indicate the importance of the mountain in their way of thinking. The background of the BLDP will also be described in this context. The paper will then chart Fishman's GIDS and Malone's adapted GIDS to contextualise interpretations within the Bidayuh context in specific and within the Malaysian context in general. The relationship between the GIDS and Bidayuh Mountain will be explored and a full discussion will follow as to why this model was helpful in clarifying RLS and how it presents some strategies for RLS that the community aims to employ. Finally, the essay proposes some challenges and suggestions for other minority language development projects to consider and for further discussions.

### **Historical background**

The Bidayuh people largely live in two divisions – the Samarahan Division and Kuching Division - which are in and around Kuching, the capital of Sarawak, Malaysia, an area also called the "Bidayuh Belt" (Dandot 1993). The population of Bidayuh people is 163,618 (Year Book 2001) and they live in approximately 332 villages. The political divisions coincide roughly with linguistic differences; i.e. the people who live in each

district speak varieties<sup>2</sup> which are linguistically closer related than they are to varieties spoken in the other districts (Lingam 2003). A survey done by SIL linguists reveals that they may speak up to 25 varieties, with many of these not mutually intelligible. The varieties comprise two languages groups - Bidayuhic and Malayic (Tan 2002). However, the people are known collectively as Bidayuh and consider themselves one people despite the linguistic variations (Lingam 2003).

*(See appendix 1 – Map of the Bidayuh areas)*

### **BLDP – Language Revitalisation Project**

A group of some concerned Bidayuh community leaders and intellectuals became aware of the need to promote the Bidayuh language. In the year 2000, they submitted a language development project proposal to the Sarawak State Government to increase the vitality of the Bidayuh language. The principle part of the proposal involved the development of a standardised writing system (unified orthography) for all varieties of Bidayuh. Other objectives stated in the proposal included the compilation of reading material embodying the Bidayuh cultural heritage and the production of dictionary and grammar write-ups (Tan 2002). The proposal was approved in December 2000 when Bidayuh community leaders officially extended their invitation to SIL Malaysia to help them achieve their language revitalisation goals and work began in January 2001. Thus, the community leaders of the Bidayuh people in Sarawak initiated the Bidayuh Language Development Project (BLDP), a language revitalisation project.

There are many issues confronting the Bidayuh community which contribute to language shift and attrition. The diversity of varieties is the most serious problem, resulting in no common Bidayuh language when the Bidayuh people come together. They are unable to communicate with each other in their own language and are forced to revert to dominant languages, English or Bahasa Malaysia. Though they are competent in these dominant languages, the languages themselves are inadequate to express what the Bidayuh can

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<sup>2</sup> Throughout this paper the word “variety/varieties” is referring to linguistic varieties or isolects of a language.

express in their language alone. Conversely, the vitality of the Bidayuh varieties is still high, as in many areas they are used in the home and religious domain extensively.

The second issue which has been a concern of the Bidayuh community is expressed by Ahi Sarok, "...it must be stressed here that none of the Bidayuh varieties has ever been used as a medium of instruction or as a third language to be taught in any school in the Bidayuh Belt in the State of Sarawak" (Sarok 1998:114). In their efforts to christianize the local community, missionaries in the early 1900s established mission schools where English was the medium of instruction. Some effort was made to engage indigenous teachers for instruction in the vernacular. However, this effort was short-lived and with the formation of Malaysia in 1963, the education policy went through drastic changes, eventually leaving Bidayuh varieties out of the education system altogether. In modern, industrialised Malaysia, formal languages of instruction are predominantly Bahasa Malaysia and English exclusively, though in some areas vernacular languages are offered upon request for 2 hours of after school instruction.

The third issue that has caused a sense of disquiet among the community is the lack of written materials. There have been some efforts by missionaries in the past to translate scriptures and stories using an orthography developed for a specific variety. Those from other Bidayuh varieties were unable to read this literature due to linguistic differences and conflicting orthographies. A unified working orthography was proposed by SIL linguists in 2002 to try to narrow this gap. This proposal was accepted by consensus in two Pan Bidayuh Orthography meetings on 19 July 2003 and 9 August 2003 after testing and negotiations.

The fourth issue is what Fishman (1991:83) calls the *unsympathetic insiders*, when the insider fashions his "new identity, based in part, on their greater and seemingly more rewarding association with Yish and with Ymen<sup>3</sup>" (Fishman 1991:83). In the Bidayuh case, a rapid intergenerational shift has occurred due to their proximity to the state capital

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<sup>3</sup> Fishman uses Yish and Ymen to mean the dominant language and the people of the dominant culture and Xmen and Xish to refer to the vernacular which is threatened and undergoing shifts.

Kuching. Many Bidayuh have benefited from education and modernisation and they now live and work in cities. “This has brought about a separation from the community and they do not speak the [Bidayuh] language to their children” (Tan 2002).

The fourth issue is exogamy, which results from taboos preventing marriage with one’s relatives. Tan (2002) observes that “in the modern world, this translated into a readiness to marry Bidayuh from the opposite side of the dialect spectrum, as well as people from other ethnic groups. In either case, it often means that English and Bahasa Malaysia, rather than any dialect of Bidayuh is spoken in the home”.

## ***Mountain typology***

### **Historical context**

Historically the Bidayuh people have lived in the mountains<sup>4</sup> and upcountry, and were formerly referred to by others as Land Dayaks, as opposed to the Ibans, who were coastal seafaring Sea Dayaks. The Bidayuh were largely shifting cultivators of hill paddy rice. They lived in longhouses and a *baruk* or *balū* or *panggah* ‘meeting house’<sup>5</sup> was a common feature in their villages. They observed a community life-style and most civil matters fell under native customary law. Writing about the value of community, the anthropologist Geddes (1954a:20) says: “The strongest of the forces binding the villagers (Bidayuh) together into a community are their common possessions, common work, common fears and common protection.”

The deep-rooted significance of land (mountains) in the life of the Bidayuh community is observed by Fr. Jerome Tamben, a Bidayuh Catholic priest:

“...the land and forest is the basis for livelihood and their life. Their most cherished traditions and spiritual beliefs are centered on their relationship to the land. Their profound knowledge of growing hill

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<sup>4</sup> Living in the mountains is generally the norm amongst Bidayuh communities but this is especially the case among the Bukar Bidayuh people of Serian district and Singai Bidayuh of Bau district.

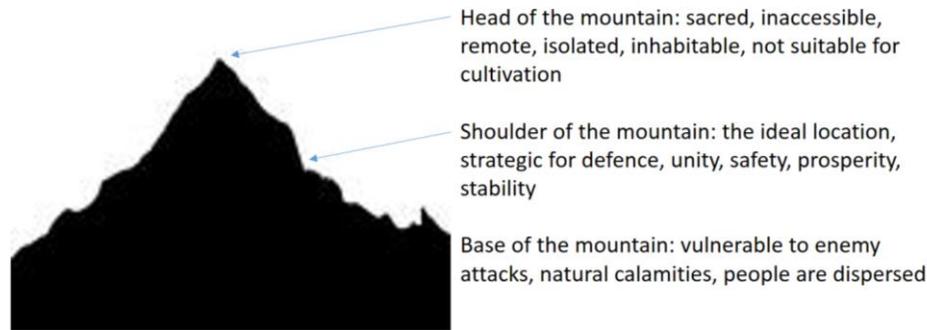
<sup>5</sup> A *baruk/panggah/balū* is a multi purpose communal ceremonial house. It is a courthouse, a school and a sleeping place for bachelors of the long house and male visitors. Heads taken in war are kept in this house because they (heads) are considered guests of the village people. Early European writers wrongly called the building a head house.

paddy rice and economic activity which has deep social, spiritual and religious significance, not only provided them with food, but has also given them an identity and a rich cultural heritage which they are proud of. Besides, it inspires them to have their own adapt (sic) law, customs and culture that are very local... Consequently, the Dayak Bidayuhs have a strong sense of home country, and that their right to live on the land, to be part of it, was ancient and inalienable. Their forefathers viewed themselves as people who belonged to mother earth, not the reverse. Man was seen as an agent of nature, nature itself was a manifestation of primordial religion. Respect for land is reverence for creator. Plants and animals that had to be used in ceremonies were treated with care. Therefore, although in economic sense, the Dayak Bidayuh possesses the land for agriculture, he does not treat the land as the master treats his slave” (Tamben 2000:31).

This information sheds some light on the worldview of the people and why living inland and upcountry was common. It also tells us something about the relationship between man and the world around him. Mountains surround the Bidayuh area. People built their longhouses and *baruk* ‘meeting houses’ up on the hills. Living on the mountain was strategically beneficial allowing the people to defend themselves against attacks by the Sea Dayaks. The thick virgin tropical jungle offered rich resources for their hunting-gathering practices and, when cleared, the land suited the Bidayuh agrarian society in their hill paddy cultivation because it was fertile and rich.

### **Desirable living areas**

The desirable zone on the hill for a *kampung* ‘settlement’ to be erected was neither the mountaintop nor the base of the mountain, but the middle ranges or shoulder of the mountain. The **top of the mountain** was inaccessible, isolated from the rest of the world and from trading partners. The climatic conditions there can be harsh and it was considered sacred ground which should not be inhabited. It was also unsuitable for cultivation.



**Figure 1: The Bidayuh Mountain, a historical perspective**

The **base of the mountain** was also far from a desirable zone. Since headhunting was still a major activity among the tribes and there were many tribal clashes, it would have been a grave mistake to settle at the bottom of the mountain, making the entire *kampong* vulnerable to enemy attacks. There was no way for the Bidayuh to employ defence strategies when they were not able to see their enemies from afar. A further disadvantage was that the land was prone to natural calamity like flooding and land slides.

Half way up the mountain, which is also called the **shoulder of the mountain**, was the ideal location. The longhouse and meeting house were built there. Hill paddy rice was cultivated there, and gathering and hunting of produce from the virgin jungle was abundant. We can say that it was a place of *safety* because it was good military strategy to build their village in a place where they would be able to see their enemies and defend themselves. It was a place of *prosperity* because the hillside provided fertile land with proper drainage for their traditional hill paddy cultivation. There was also *unity*, as the community places high value in their common binding forces (Geddes 1954a:20). As a group whose need for safety, prosperity and unity was met, they were then able to live in *stability*. They also had access to the world at large for trade purposes. The concept of common property/possessions, common fears, common work, and common protection was evident in their longhouse life-style. Water was another important element, where *piin pinawar* (healing water) was water used for curing certain sicknesses, which was abundantly available at the shoulder of the mountain.

## **Fishman's typology of threatened language status**

Joshua Fishman's (1991, 2001) GIDS is a typology derived from the "Richter Scale" which has eight stages. The different stages are listed below.

- Stage 8 - Most vestigial users of Xish are socially isolated old folks and Xish needs to be re-assembled from their mouths and memories and taught to demographically unconcentrated adults
- Stage 7 - Most users of Xish are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population but they are beyond child-bearing age
- Stage 6 - The attainment of intergenerational informal oralcy and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement
- Stage 5 - Xish literacy in home, school and community, but without taking on extra-communal reinforcement of such literacy
- Stage 4b - Xish in lower education (type a and b) that meets the requirements of compulsory education laws.
- Stage 4a - Public schools for Xish children, offering some instruction via Xish but substantially under Yish curricular and staff control.
- Stage 3 - Use of Xish in the lower work sphere (outside of the Xish neighbourhood/community) involving interaction between Xmen and Ymen.
- Stage 2 - Xish in lower governmental services and mass media but not in the higher spheres of either.
- Stage 1 - Some use of Xish in higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts (but without the additional safety provided by political independence).

## **Malone's adaptation of Fishman's scale**

Dennis and Susan Malone adapted Fishman's GIDS into a format, which has been helpful to elucidate the abstract concept of RLS (Malone 2001), as shown in Table 1.

Stage 8	<i>Weak Side</i>			<i>Strong Side</i>			
	Stage 7	Stage 6	Stage 5	Stage 4	Stage 3	Stage 2	Stage 1
There are so few fluent speakers that the community needs to re-establish language norms. Requires outside experts (e.g. linguists).	Older generation uses language enthusiastically but children are not learning it.	Language and culture socialization takes place in home and community	Language and culture socialization involves extensive literacy, usually including L1 schooling.	L1 used in formal education in conjunction with national or official language.	L1 is used in workplaces of larger society, beyond normal L1 boundaries.	Lower governmental services & local mass media are open to L1.	L1 is used at upper government level.

Table 1 – Malone’s (2011) adaptation of Fishman’s GIDS

## A gradual typology of threatened language status

Although Fishman’s scale and Malone’s adaptation of it are excellent ways of conceptualising language shift and how to reverse it, the model outlined in this paper may be more suitable for the Bidayuh since it utilises the metaphor of the mountain which is central to Bidayuh cosmology. In applying it, we have taken both Fishman’s scale and Malone’s adaptation into consideration in our model. In applying the mountain typology to RLS and employing GIDS, we have made these observations relating to the 3-level-continuum outlined in Figure 2.

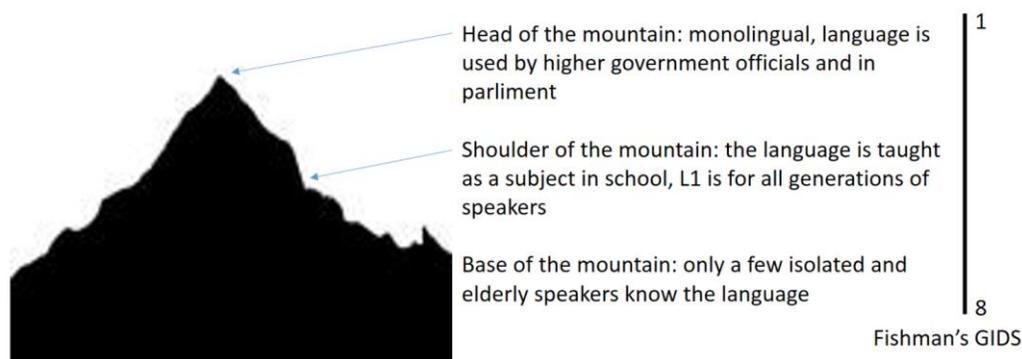


Figure 2: The Bidayuh Mountain, an indigenous model of RLS

The base of the mountain (corresponding to GIDS Stage 8) is vulnerable to attacks from other languages in a competitive multi-lingual situation and this will cause language

death. There are also other pressures mentioned above, like exogamy, lack of written materials and their own attitude to development and modernisation, which may expedite language attrition. So “base of the mountain” translates as “the language is dead”.

**The top of the mountain (corresponding to GIDS Stage 1)** is an unrealistic position to aim for because Bahasa Malaysia and English are popular languages which open up opportunities for economic gain and knowledge for a modern Bidayuh society. It is also not the desire of the people to be monolingual, making themselves an inaccessible group. They value contact with the outside world and are pragmatic in saying so. They perceive this position as isolated and monolingual, which is considered to be a weakness.

**The shoulder of the mountain** is the ideal location because it satisfies key criteria such as safety, unity, stability and prosperity.

*Safety* – the language should be “higher up” in the mountain, where their language will not “shift to death”. The threats are other popular languages, assimilation, and intergenerational loss of language due to modernisation. They instinctively want to defend their language and provide common protection. This is a concept that is very deep-rooted in Bidayuh societal organisation.

*Unity* – they believe that the common Bidayuh goal for RLS will give them a common identity to fight for a common purpose. They want to be united as a people group, while respecting their rich internal linguistic diversity. They have proposed and are working with SIL linguists on a common orthography while maintaining their different varieties. They value diversity and are using it as a strengthening point to achieve unity.

*Stability* – a community that is united in their vision and efforts will enjoy security and stability. They would like to promote the use of Bidayuh orthography for pre-school literacy programs to inculcate the Bidayuh identity in very young children.

*Prosperity* – the Bidayuh culture and language is indeed a rich heritage. The people recognise their uniqueness and prosperity. They would like to offer this wealth to the rest of the world.

A fuller chart comparing and contrasting Fishman GIDS, Malone’s scales and the Bidayuh mountain (a local interpretation) is included in Appendix 2

## ***How the mountain metaphor has helped the Bidayuh to think about RLS***

The mountain metaphor was useful in a number of ways to help the Bidayuh community in understanding and clarifying key concepts associated with RLS.

- It provided a whole set of relevant **vocabulary**, which draws on what is known about mountain living, including orientation metaphors; for example, *being powerful is up* and *being weak is down*. Spatial orientation provides “an extraordinarily rich basis for understanding concepts in orientational terms” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:25). So we talk about *climbing up to a more stable position*, *slipping down into language death*, and other metaphors like *scaling*, *settling*, *defending*, *unifying*, *prospering* etc. The key metaphor of mountains stimulates creative thinking and problem solving.
- The model helped **facilitate talk** and **negotiations** in a culturally competent manner. Though the Bidayuh leaders were unfamiliar with the concept of RLS and all the technical skills needed to explain the process, the model’s typology has provided them with appropriate competence. They are knowledgeable about the life style which the typology represents and thus they were able to draw on this when talking about language shift.
- The metaphor allowed a **local interpretation** of the corresponding stages and their indicators in Fishman’s GIDS. For example, GIDS 8 was interpreted as a dangerous situation, near death, whereas GIDS 1 was reinterpreted as an undesirable monolingual situation. They don’t want their language to be in GIDS stage 1,2 or 3. They are familiar with their context and the social and political pressures that they face, and therefore their interpretation becomes more realistic and sensible.
- Connected with interpretation is the **expression of desire**. The use of culturally appropriate typology has made it possible for outside consultants to find out what the people want. The Bidayuh desire to be connected to the outside world and to continue to be multilingual. This is a pragmatic approach that the outside consultant should honour. In doing so, the role of the consultant is to help the community define their

goals and achieve them through appropriate strategies. Conversely, the consultant could be tempted to decide on goals and strategies simply because they have worked somewhere else.

- In most dominant mainstream cultures, linear order is a natural way of communicating. Therefore, an eight-point scale is seen as logical and natural. However, the mountain model provides a different kind of **continuum** which involves vertical movement from the base of the mountain to half way up. For convenience sake, we can correlate stage 8 of Fishman's GIDS to the base of the mountain and stage 1 to the top of the mountain, with all the other numbers in between. The demarcation of one stage from another is fuzzy and gradual, making it a helpful tool to see movement as smooth and transitory. There are landmarks as indicators, but the boundaries between the phases are rather arbitrary.
- The mountain model also offers an inbuilt **perspective** of the direction to pursue while providing the people with **mental stamina** (presumably) for the task ahead. Typically, when climbing mountains, the bigger and higher they are the longer it takes. Taking less steep climbs and moving gradually uses less energy and has the potential to sustain movement for a longer time. It cannot be accelerated from the outside. It requires time to pause, reflect, monitor, evaluate and continue. The metaphor can be translated into language development efforts to help people channel their energy and harness it appropriately as part of making a carefully considered commitment.
- Though the outside "expert" may share his specialised knowledge, the local typology gives the people **empowerment to be experts** in the details of a locally adapted typology. When this does not happen and the outside expert relates to the local community from his own frame of reference, he runs the risk of not achieving local ownership. He ends up running the program himself.

### ***Outcome and Some Strategies for RLS***

The outcome can be categorised into two areas - **activities** and **attitudes**. The activities mentioned here include strategies that the BLDP had planned in previous meetings. The

main purpose of employing these activities is to continue to move up to a position where the Bidayuh language can enjoy stability.

Fishman (1985:66) says that “language shift of any kind is an indicator of dislocation. It implies the breakdown of a previously established societal allocation of functions...”.

One of the most salient strategies has been to promote the use of Bidayuh varieties in various domains where they were previously established, for example, in the home and in intra-dialect community meetings. Below is a list of other strategies, some of which, as mentioned, were earlier planned by the language development committee, but the mountain typology helped to clarify the purposes of the activities in their minds:

- Dictionary making, to document lexical items which are being forgotten, and to add them to their body of literature.
- Unified orthography development.
- Literacy material production for pre-schoolers through writers’ workshops and story-writing competition.
- Establishing a curriculum development committee to look into developing the infrastructure needed for introducing Bidayuh as ‘vernacular language classes/ethnic language classes’ in schools and eventually Bidayuh in bilingual schools.
- Setting up a Bidayuh website where information and resources pertaining to the language and project may be available to the public.
- Establishing a Bidayuh Language Foundation

An equally beneficial spin-off has been the change in attitude and enthusiasm towards the project. From their mountain typology, the Bidayuh leaders have recognised that getting to the ideal location on language maintenance requires a lot of hard work. It is equally hard to climb and to continue staying in one position without slipping down. They are aware that the task requires commitment, hard work, perseverance, unity, vision and encouragement.

## ***Conclusion and Challenge***

We have looked at the Bidayuh Mountain typology which is an indigenous model and an adaptation of Fishman's GIDS. The Bidayuh community, who are concerned that their language is going through rapid shifts towards extinction, have launched a language revitalisation project. Spolsky and Shohamy (2001:350) define revitalisation as "restoring 'vitality' or normal intergenerational transmission of language as a mother tongue." The BLDP has been actively promoting language use towards this end. In order to facilitate discussions and conceptualise RLS and GIDS, the Bidayuh Mountain typology was introduced first in February 2003 by the authors and it has since been evaluated and updated by Lewis and Simons (2009). It has proven to be a model which has helped the community to relate to the abstract concept of language revitalisation and reversing language shift. It has also served as an instigator for discussions and helped the people to make their desires known while bringing out their interpretation of GIDS. They became the owners and relaters of the concept, making them the 'experts' in their project. There is room for further development in the project, but this is a good beginning to start thinking about issues relating to language revitalisation.

When ethnic minority speakers themselves are engaged in their own language revitalization efforts, it is important for language planners to approach planning, be it corpus planning or status planning or acquisition planning, from the community's perspective, i.e. taking a bottom-up approach. We believe the Bidayuh Mountain has succeeded in its effort to help the community understand in a concrete way what was sought by Fishman's typology. The Bidayuh mountain model of RLS was developed based on both Fishman's and Malone's models. Furthermore, it is a predecessor to EGIDs (Lewis & Simons 2009) which also uses a mountain model.

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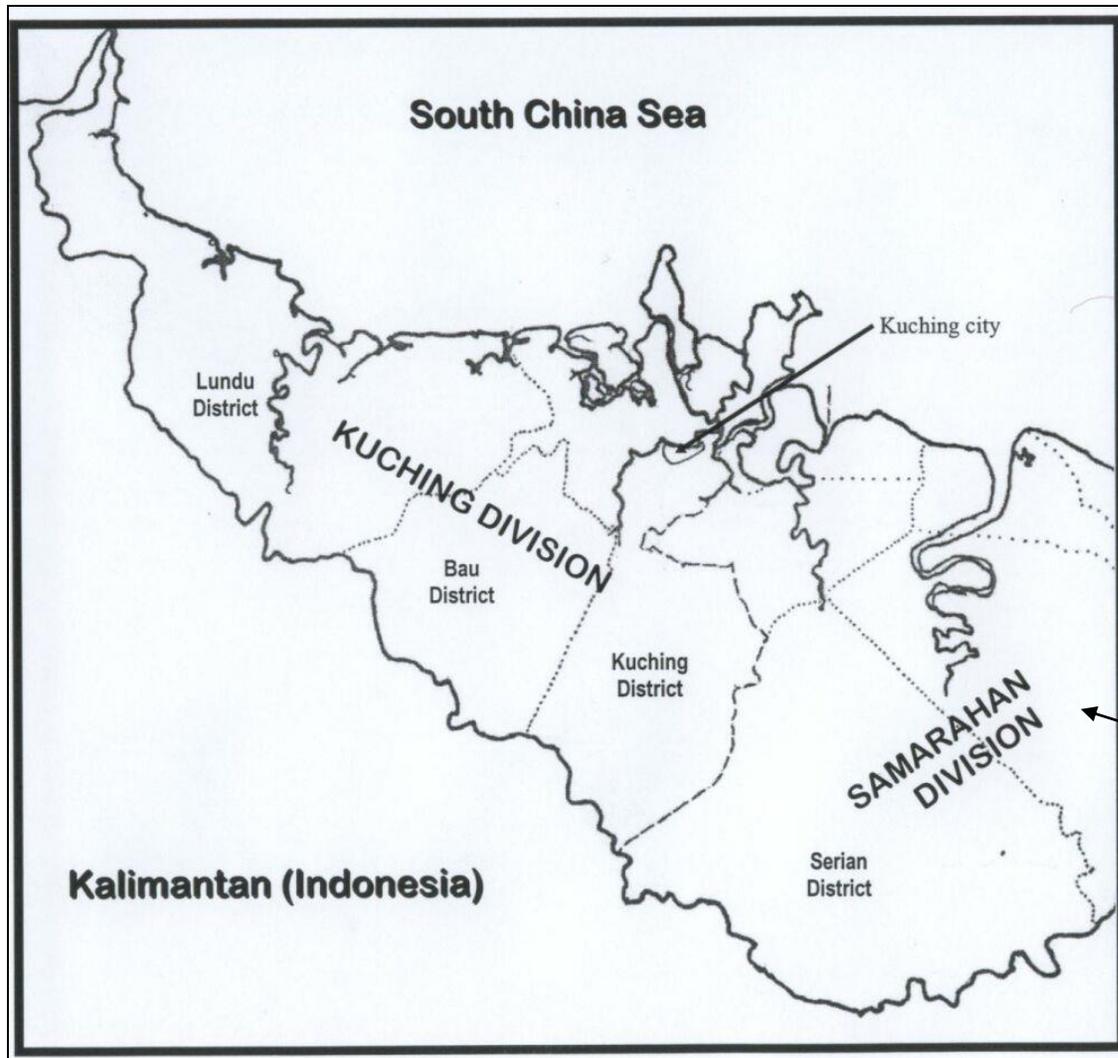
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**Bidayuh varieties spoken at different regions**

**Samarahan Division**

- Serian District— Bukar and Sadung.

**Kuching Division**

- Kuching District— Biatah, Penrissen, Padawan and Sembaan groups of varieties.
- Bau District— Singai, Jagoi, Gumbang and Tringgus group of varieties.
- Lundu— Salako, Rara and Jagoi.

**MAP OF MALAYSIA**



(Tan 2002)

Map of the Bidayuh areas

### Fishman's GIDS and Malone's adaptation of Fishman's scale contextualised

Stages	Fishman's GIDS (Fishman 1991, 2001)	Malone's adapted GIDS (Malone 2001)	Bidayuh Mountain – a 3-level-continuum
8	Most vestigial users of Xish are socially isolated old folks and Xish needs to be re-assembled from their mouths and memories and taught to demographically unconcentrated adults. (Restructuring Xish and adult acquisition of XSL)	There are so few fluent speakers that the community needs to re-establish language norms. Requires outside experts (e.g. linguists).	<p>Only a few speakers. They are socially isolated and old.</p> <p>In some cases, outside linguists have come to reassemble the language from the mouths and memories of the few remaining speakers.</p> <p>Adult Bidayuh as a Second language acquisition classes are being conducted.</p>
7	Most users of Xish are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population but they are beyond child-bearing age. Cultural interaction in Xish primarily involving the community-based older generation.	Older generation uses language enthusiastically but children are not learning it.	<p>The older generation, beyond child bearing age, are enthusiastic speakers of Bidayuh.</p> <p>Parents &amp; grandparents speak Bidayuh but the children are not learning it as they prefer to speak in BM or English.</p>
6	The attainment of intergenerational informality and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement. The intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighbourhood: the basis of mother tongue transmission.	Language and culture socialization takes place in home and community.	<p>Bidayuh is spoken at home with the family and neighbours.</p> <p>Bidayuh the is mother tongue for adults and children (orality)</p>
5	Xish literacy in home, school and community, but without taking on extra-communal reinforcement of such literacy. Schools for literacy acquisition, for the old and for the young, and not in lieu of compulsory education.	Language and culture socialization involves extensive literacy, usually including L1 schooling.	<p>Bidayuh is taught in a preschool literacy class which is community sponsored.</p> <p>Non-formal literacy classes are held.</p> <p>Co-curriculum, after school classes are arranged.</p>
4	Xish in lower education (type a and b) that meets the requirements of compulsory education laws.	L1 used in formal education in conjunction with national or official language.	<p>Bidayuh is an elective subject in school.</p> <p>Bidayuh is a subject in school.</p>

	Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under Xish curricular and staff control.		<p>Bidayuh is taught up to university level.</p> <p>Bidayuh is used as a medium of instruction in Bilingual primary schools.</p>
4b	Public schools for Xish children, offering some instruction via Xish but substantially under Yish curricular and staff control.		Bidayuh in full Bilingual schools such as Chung Hwa Schools or Tamil schools.
3	Use of Xish in the lower work sphere (outside of the Xish neighbourhood/community) involving interaction between Xmen and Ymen. The local/regional (i.e. non-neighbourhood) work sphere, both among Xmen (minority language speakers) and among Ymen (majority language speakers).	L1 is used in workplaces of larger society, beyond normal L1 boundaries.	<p>Bidayuh is used in workplaces such as private corporations, banks, post-offices, health clinics, quasi-government, and district government office.</p> <p>Bidayuh speakers from different regions communicate in Bidayuh instead of English or BM</p> <p>Non-Bidayuhs communicate with Bidayuh speakers in the Bidayuh language.</p>
2	Xish in lower governmental services and mass media but not in the higher spheres of either. Local/regional mass media and governmental services.	Lower governmental services & local mass media are open to L1.	<p>Bidayuh is used at division and state level government administration.</p> <p>Bidayuh news is broadcast on national television. Announcement booklets are available in Bidayuh. Signs are posted in Bidayuh as well.</p>
1	Some use of Xish in higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media efforts (but without the additional safety provided by political independence). Education, work sphere, mass media and governmental operations at higher and nationwide levels.	L1 is used at the upper government level.	<p>Bidayuh is used by the federal government, education sector, mass media, parliament and legislative council.</p> <p>Bidayuh monolingualism has been achieved. The language has the same status as the national language.</p>