Bookan Language Vitality: A Rapid Appraisal Sociolinguistic Survey

Angela Kluge and Jeong-Ho Choi
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Abstract

In Sabah, as in the rest of Malaysia, many indigenous languages are threatened by language shift to Sabah Malay. The present study examines to what extent Bookan, an Austronesian language spoken in Keningau district, in the southwestern part of Sabah state, is affected by these developments.

The main research objective was to examine Bookan language vitality by exploring language fluency and acquisition patterns, language use patterns, and language attitudes pertaining to Bookan and Sabah Malay. A secondary research objective was to determine the geographical extent of the language area and the different languages spoken throughout the area.

The survey findings suggest that the Bookan communities are in the process of shifting from Bookan to Sabah Malay with the child-bearing generation still being able to use the language among themselves, while the children acquire Sabah Malay as their first language. Hence, in terms of the EGIDS levels, the language vitality status of the language can be defined as Level 7 “Shifting.”
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1 Introduction

This paper reports on a rapid appraisal sociolinguistic survey conducted in four Bookan villages in Keningau district, in the southwest of Sabah state, Malaysia. Bookan is a Malayo-Polynesian, Murutic language within the Austronesian language family; the ISO code for Bookan is [bnb] (Simons and Fennig 2017). The language is spoken in the area around Sook in Keningau district.

The Bookan survey had two main objectives, namely to explore Bookan language vitality, and to ascertain the boundaries of the Bookan language area as well as the different languages spoken throughout the area.

The survey was carried out from 21 to 24 March 2016 by two researchers of SIL Malaysia, Jeong-Ho Choi and Angela Kluge.

After presenting, in §2, pertinent background information on the Bookan area, §3 briefly discusses the research questions, followed in §4 by a description of the applied methodology. The research results are presented in §5, followed in §6 by a summary and conclusion.

2 Background information

This section presents pertinent background information on Bookan. The linguistic setting is described in §2.1, the geographical setting in §2.2, the demographic situation in §2.3, the history in §2.4, and the religious situation in §2.5. Pertinent sociolinguistic factors are discussed in §2.6 and Bookan language development efforts in §2.7.

2.1 Linguistic setting

2.1.1 Bookan

Bookan is a Murutic language within the North Borneo group of the Malayo-Polynesian language family which, in turn, is part of the Austronesian language family (Lobel 2013:44).

While Lobel (2013) gives no further details, Smith (1984:21) classifies Bookan as a Central Murut language. Blust (2010:44, 49), by contrast, classifies Bookan as a Northern Murutic language within the Dayic subgroup of North Sarawakan languages. This classification is also the one adopted by the Ethnologue (Simons and Fennig 2017), such that:

Austronesian > Malayo-Polynesian > North Borneo > Sabahan > Murutic > Northern > Bookan

Bookan is comprised of two dialects, namely Baukan and Tengara (Spitzack 1984:198).1 In addition, the Ethnologue (Simons and Fennig 2017) lists Kokoroton Murut as a third dialect. Based on intelligibility test results, however, Spitzack (1984:175) concludes that Kokoroton is not a distinct dialect but belongs to Baukan proper. As for the relationship between the Baukan and Tengara dialects, Spitzack (1984:198) provides the following information:

These groups are found along the upper Sook River in Keningau District and around the headwaters of the Kinabatangan River in Kinabatangan District…. The true relation between these two dialects is not known. Obvious differences exist, however, as is seen in the different lexicons and the speech intonation. Still, intelligibility varied from very high in Tulid to minimal and low in the other two Baukan language villages. Due to the acknowledged differences and the ambiguity, Baukan proper and Tengara are considered separate dialects.

1 Spitzack (1984:198) refers to the language as “Baukan” rather than as “Bookan.”
During a two-day scouting trip to the Bookan area in April 2014, Anonby and Eberhard were told that Bookan is very similar to Tatana, a language spoken in the Kuala Penyu district of Sabah. They wrote:

The catechist, using a songbook, showed us how most of the words were the same. 20–25% of the words were not the same, but even these appeared to have only small phonological differences. This preliminary inquiry would seem to indicate that Bookan is intelligible with Tatana, and possibly other tribal language varieties (Anonby and Eberhard 2014:1).

So far, Tatana has been classified as a Dusunic language (Smith 1984:26). Based on phonological and morphological innovations, however, Lobel (2013:61) comes to the conclusion that Tatana is a Murutic language, like Bookan. The ISO code for Tatana is [txx] (Simons and Fennig 2017).

2.1.2 Neighboring languages

Besides the Bookan people, three other language groups live in the Sook area, namely Kadazan Dusun, Lanas Lobu, and Paluan. The three languages are classified as Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, North Borneo. Further subclassification within North Borneo is as follows (Simons and Fennig 2017):

- Kadazan Dusun [dtp]: Sabahan, Dusunic, Dusun, Central; alternative names for Kadazan Dusun are Central Dusun, Central Kadazan, or Kadazandusun.
- Lanas Lobu [ruu]: Sabahan, Paitanic, Upper Kinabatangan; an alternative name for Lanas Lobu is Keningau Lobu.
- Paluan [plz]: Sabahan, Murutic, Murut; it is spoken mainly in the Tenom, Keningau, and Pensioangan districts of Sabah.

The Dusunic villages are located in the area around Tulid, which is the central town of the Bookan language area; here the schools and the clinic are located.

In addition to these languages, the use of Sabah Malay [msi] is pervasive throughout the Bookan language area. This Malay language is used all over Sabah in practically all non-formal domains. Initially used as a language of wider communication for interactions with other ethnic groups for trading purposes, the language has expanded its functions, with an increasing number of children, especially those of mixed-ethnic parentage, acquiring Sabah Malay as their first language (Simons and Fennig 2017).

2.2 Geographical setting

The Bookan language area is located in the southwestern part of Sabah state, Malaysia, namely in the area around Sook in Keningau district (see map 1). The language area extends from Lanas Station in the northeast to Berasanon in the southwest, according to the findings from the Language Mapping tool (see §4.1.1). Most of the Bookan villages are located along or close to the major road that connects Sook in the south with Tulid in the north. A few villages are also found to the east and west of Sook. All villages are accessible by road due to the palm oil plantations in the area. In map 1 the locations of the Bookan villages are circled. (See also the maps in Appendix A.)
2.3 Demographics

Sizable numbers of ethnic Bookan populations are found in 15 villages in the Sook area, according to the findings from the Language Mapping tool (see §4.1.1; see also the maps in Appendix A). The 15 villages are listed in Table 1; the central village is Tulid. This listing differs slightly from that provided by Doi (1997), and Anonby and Eberhard (2014). Doi (1997) mentions two more potential Bookan villages, namely Nasaum, located in Tongod district, and Suan, south of Keningau. During the 2016 administration of the Language Mapping tool, however, neither Nasaum nor Suan were mentioned as Bookan villages. Anonby and Eberhard (2014) also mention Tiulon, based on the results of their 2014 scouting trip to Tulid. The participants of the Language Mapping tool in Mapila submitted, however, that Tiulon is not a Bookan- but a Paluan-speaking village. The language assistants in Bunang Lama confirmed this information, adding that there may also be a Dusun-speaking minority living there.

In ten of the 15 villages listed in Table 1, the Bookan constitute the majority or a major population group. In the remaining five villages the Bookan are a minority group while the majority are ethnic Dusun or Paluan populations. The population details in table 1 for 13 of the 15 villages are taken from the 2000 census data for Sook (Pejabat Daerah Kecil Sook 2008:6–11); for the remaining two villages, that is Mailu and Masuson, no census data are available. The population total for the 13 villages amounts to 3,568 inhabitants. The total of ethnic Bookan is expected to be considerably lower, however, given

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2 Doi (1997) refers to Berasanon as Barasanon, to Lanas Station as Lanas, and to Tulid Station as Tulid. His listing of villages with sizable ethnic Bookan populations does not include Bunang Ulu, Kawakahan, Kebulu, Mailu, Masuson, and Sook Pusat.
that only three villages are homogeneously Bookan, namely Bunang Lama, Lanas Station, and Mapila (the total population for these villages is 691). In another seven villages the Bookan constitute the majority or a major population group while in the remaining five villages they are a minority group.

Census data by ethnic group for these villages is not available. If one postulates, however, an ethnic Bookan population of 70% for those villages where they form the majority of inhabitants and one of 20% for those villages where they are a minority, one arrives at a population total of about 1,780 for the 13 villages for the year 2000.\(^3\)

Given an average annual growth rate of 1.7% for Keningau district (Department of Statistics 2011:1), the 2016 total for the ethnic Bookan population figures at about 2,330 for 13 of the 15 villages. Hence, the overall total for the ethnic Bookan population seems to number 2,400 to 2,500 individuals.

### Table 1. Bookan villages according to the findings from the Language Mapping tool

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th># of Houses</th>
<th>Bookan</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berasanon</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>Dusun minority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunang Lama</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>all</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunang Ulu</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>minority</td>
<td>Dusun majority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delayan Lama</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>Dusun minority and others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawakahan</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>minority</td>
<td>Dusun majority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kebulu</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>minority</td>
<td>Dusun majority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kindasan</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>Dusun minority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lanas Station(^b)</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>all</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mailu</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>minority</td>
<td>Paluan majority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mapila</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>all</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masuson</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>many</td>
<td>also many Dusun, Paluan minority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pauh</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>Dusun minority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sook Pusat</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>Dusun minority, Paluan minority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiong</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>minority</td>
<td>Dusun majority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulid Station</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>majority</td>
<td>Dusun minority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,568</strong></td>
<td><strong>433</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\) The map for the Bookan area (Jabatan Ukur dan Pemetaan Malaysia 2009) refers to Bunang Lama as Bunang, to Kindasan as Kindasan Polar, to Kawakahan as Kawakaan, and to Tulid Station as Tulid (see also map 1). During the administration of the Language Mapping tool, interviewees in Bunang Lama and Mapila also mentioned Mailu and Masuson as Bookan-speaking villages. While both are mentioned on the map (Jabatan Ukur dan Pemetaan Malaysia 2009), neither is listed in the 2000 census data for Sook (Pejabat Daerah Kecil Sook 2008:6–11). The 2000 census data for Sook (Pejabat Daerah Kecil Sook 2008:6) refers to Bunang Lama as Bunang Laut.

\(^b\) “Lanas Station” refers to the Murut section of the village of Lanas; the dominant language in Lanas is Lobu Lanas.

### 2.4 History

Little information is available about the history of the Bookan people and it seems difficult to establish where they originated from. Doi and Doi’s (1997:3) language assistants submitted that the Bookan originally lived up in the Sook valley, a one- to three-day hike from Keningau. The locations of their

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\(^3\) This total of 1,780 corresponds to the population total of 1,700 provided by SIL Malaysia for 2000 (Lewis et al. 2016). (For the late 1990s, Doi (1997) provides population data for nine of the 15 Bookan villages, giving a population total of 1,427 Bookan speakers.)
villages changed, however, “as people moved to open new land for planting. In other cases people abandoned villages during epidemics and moved to their present locations” (1997:3). It was only at the end of the British colonial period in the late 1940s that the Bookan settled in their present locations.

2.5 Religious situation

The Bookan adhere predominantly to Christianity. More specifically, most of them are Catholic with Anonby and Eberhard (2014:1) submitting that “Catholicism is a big part of being Bookan.” During their 2014 scouting trip to Tulid, Anonby and Eberhard were also told that there are “around ten families that had become Moslem” due to marriages with “Malays,” that is, Dusun or Kadazan Muslims (2014:2).

2.6 Sociolinguistic factors

2.6.1 Bilingualism and language vitality

During their 2014 scouting trip to Tulid, Anonby and Eberhard (2014:1) conducted two group interviews to explore Bookan language vitality in this central Bookan village. One of the tools applied was the Bilingualism Venn Diagram.

The result obtained from the Bilingualism Venn Diagram and statements made during informal interviews indicate that Bookan below the age of 40 years as well as Bookan who have left the area do not speak the heritage language any longer. Those above the age of 70 years, by contrast, are monolingual in the language. Bookan between the ages of 40 and 70 years speak both Bookan and Sabah Malay. As Anonby and Eberhard (2014:1) point out, however, it seems likely that Bookan and Sabah Malay language use patterns vary from family to family. That is, very likely some younger people still understand Bookan to some degree, while the elderly are likely to understand some Sabah Malay.

During informal interviews, some of the older Bookan commented on the language use patterns of the Bookan teenagers. They referred to them as “Malay” which suggests that the teenagers only speak Sabah Malay, the language of wider communication throughout Sabah. While the older generation did not seem to be happy about the language behaviors of the young people and expressed feelings of resignation, they also seemed to have come to the conclusion “that there was nothing that could be done to change the direction the language was going” (Anonby and Eberhard 2014:1). When the researchers told their Bookan interlocutors about the possibility of multilingual education (MLE) efforts, one elder asked them why they should go through all this effort, if Bookan was going to be lost anyway, regardless of what they do. Other Bookan noted that they did not have the funds needed to start an MLE program on their own (ibid.).

As mentioned above, Anonby and Eberhard (ibid.) limited their inquiries to Tulid, the central Bookan village, where the school and clinic are located. In terms of its population, Tulid is rather heterogeneous, with people from different ethnic groups living there, including migrants from other parts of Malaysia, Indonesia and East Timor. This ethnic mix could be an explanation for the apparently ongoing language shift from Bookan to Sabah Malay. The Bookan language assistants in Tulid submitted, however, that the language use patterns in the other Bookan communities were basically the same in all Bookan villages (ibid.).

Taken together these findings suggest that the Bookan language is somewhat endangered. One measurement for determining more precisely the current vitality status of a language within its linguistic repertoire is the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) (Lewis and Simons 2010), which, in turn, is a core component of the Sustainable Use Model (SUM), developed by Lewis and Simons (2015). The EGIDS scale is comprised of 13 levels and measures language vitality on a scale from zero.

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4 The EGIDS scale builds on Fishman’s (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS): its eight levels describe the different stages in reversing language shift.
('International') to ten ('Extinct'). That is, the lower numbers on the scale represent greater levels of
totality, while the higher numbers represent greater levels of endangerment. In terms of this scale the
Bookan language is “Threatened” (EGIDS level 6b), if not “Shifting” (EGIDS level 7). That is, the
“language is used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users” (6b
“Threatened”), or the “child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not
being transmitted to children” (7 “Shifting”) (Lewis and Simons 2015:100). Given that probably quite a
few of the Bookan in their 40s and early 50s are already grandparents, Anonby and Eberhard (2014:1)
submit that possibly only the grandparent and great-grandparent generation still speak the language.
This would indicate that the Bookan language is “Moribund” (EGIDS level 8a), that is, the “only
remaining active users of the language are members of the grandparent generation and older” (Lewis and
Simons 2015:100).

2.6.2 Language use patterns in the church domain

During their scouting trip to Tulid, Anonby and Eberhard (2014:1) also attended a Catholic church
service which was overflowing with congregants, most of whom were non-Bookan. Many of the
attendees were high school students from the Tulid boarding school. Most of the service was conducted
in Malay. For singing, however, a variety of languages were used (2014:1):

The hymnbook contained songs from many tribal languages (mainly Kadazan) as well as the
national language. The people appeared to know these songs and [sang…] them with gusto. The
hymnbooks looked well used, and some were even dog-eared. They sang one Bookan song as they
marched around the church. It appeared that only the choir knew that song, as they were the ones
singing it as they led the congregation on their Palm Sunday procession. The catechist showed us
another small booklet of hymns, of which two were in Bookan. It was the only copy of the booklet,
and no one seemed to remember the tunes. These Bookan songs were written in the 1970s, and
one of the composers has since passed away. Apart from these three songs, there was no evidence
of anyone writing new Bookan hymns.

2.7 Bookan language development efforts

From 1995 to 2005, two members of SIL International, Akira Doi and Keiko Doi, were involved in
Bookan language development efforts. During that time the SIL team and their Bookan consultants
developed a Bookan orthography, and produced a Bookan language learning book, four literacy booklets
with folk stories, and a picture dictionary. In addition, they translated parts of the Gospel of Mark.

Today, however, “it appears that there are practically no writers of Bookan,” according to Anonby
and Eberhard (2014:1). At the most, some Bookan may include “some Bookan words to reinforce their
tribal identity” when texting or Facebooking (2014:1). Other than that, the Bookan appear to prefer
using Malay for reading and writing.

3 Research objectives

The purpose of the Bookan survey was first to investigate the vitality of the language. A secondary goal
was to determine the extent and the boundaries of the Bookan language area and to ascertain the
different languages spoken throughout the area. With respect to the issue of Bookan language vitality,
the following questions were explored:

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5 A list of resources in and about Bookan, provided by OLAC (the Open Language Archives Community), is available
• What are the language fluency and acquisition patterns across generations for Bookan and Sabah Malay?
• What are the language use patterns in different social domains, both public and private?
• What are the attitudes of the Bookan people towards the Bookan language and Sabah Malay?

4 Methodology

This section discusses the tools and sampling procedures implemented for the Bookan study. The survey tools are described in §4.1 and the procedures for selecting the research locations and informants are discussed in §4.2.

4.1 Tools

Four different survey tools were administered to explore Bookan language vitality, and to ascertain the boundaries of the Bookan language area and the different language communities living there: the Language Mapping Tool (§4.1.1), the Bilingualism Venn Diagram (§4.1.2), the Domains of Language Use Tool (§4.1.3), and Individual Sociolinguistic Questionnaires (§4.1.4). The raw data elicited by means of these tools are presented in Appendix A.

4.1.1 Language Mapping Tool

The Language Mapping tool aids in determining the boundaries of the target language area and in identifying the languages spoken in addition to the target language in the villages throughout the area. This is achieved by presenting the participating community members with a photocopied map of the language area (see Appendix A). Starting with the location where the group interview is taking place, the researchers inquire from the participants which language communities are living in their village. Subsequently, the interviewees are asked to identify the language communities living in the surrounding neighboring villages in ever-widening circles. The researchers mark the respective languages on the map using different color codes for the respective languages. The most dominant language is indicated by underlining the village name on the map while less dominant languages are indicated by short vertical bars to the left and/or right of the village name. The participants usually find it easy to list the language communities found in nearby villages, while they find it more difficult to name the language communities found in villages located farther away.

Administering the tool in different locations throughout the language area provides the researchers with overlapping results. In their analysis of the results, the researchers compare the different maps and identify those villages for which the interviewed communities provided conflicting information. In evaluating these mismatches, the researchers note where the conflicting information for a given village was elicited. Subsequently, they choose the information that was elicited in the research location situated the closest to the target village.

For the present study, the Language Mapping tool was administered in three Bookan locations, namely in Lanas Station in the northeastern part of the language area, in Bunang Lama in the center of the language area, and in Mapila in the southwestern corner of the Bookan area. The results are discussed in §2.2 ‘Geographical setting’ and §2.3 ‘Demographics’; pictures of the raw results are presented in Appendix A.

4.1.2 Bilingualism Venn Diagram

The Bilingualism Venn Diagram tool serves to visualize the levels of fluency which the different subsets of the community reportedly have in the different languages spoken in their community (Hanawalt et al. 2015:3–4; see also Hasselbring et al. 2011:19–20; PA Wiki Contributors n.d.a). This is achieved by placing two overlapping loops of string on the floor. One loop represents those community members who
speak the vernacular language well, in this case Bookan, while the other loop represents those community members who speak the second language well, in this case Sabah Malay. The overlapping area represents those community members who speak both languages well. The respective language names are written on pieces of paper and placed at the top of the three language areas.

Before the administration of this tool, the researchers had prepared separate paper slips with the names of four different social subgroups. The subgroups were as follows: older people (aged above 60 years of age), adults (aged 20 to 59), school children (aged 8 to 19), and pre-school children (aged 3 to 7). In a first step, the participants discussed which subgroups speak Sabah Malay well. They were asked to place the paper slips representing the respective age groups inside the Sabah Malay loop. In the same way the participants discussed which age groups speak Bookan well, placing the respective paper slips inside the Bookan loop. Likewise, the participants discussed if any of the subgroups already placed within the two circles loops speak both Sabah Malay and Bookan well. They were asked to move the identified subgroups into the overlapping area of the two loops. In a second step, the participants discussed which one of the three sections comprises the most people in their village.

The Bilingualism Venn Diagram was administered in Bunang Lama, Lanas Station, and Mapila but not in Delayan Lama. The results are discussed in §5.1: Language fluency and acquisition patterns; pictures of the raw results are presented in Appendix A.

4.1.3 Domains of Language Use Tool

The Domains of Language Use Tool helps a community to identify the types of situations in which they use each of their primary languages (SurveyWiki Contributors 2012; see also Hasselbring et al. 2011:20; PA Wiki Contributors n.d.b). The tool also helps to depict the situations in which they use each language most. This is achieved by placing three headings on the floor: one to the left for the vernacular language, in this case “Bookan,” a second one to the right for their second language, in this case “Sabah Malay,” and a third one in the center for both languages, that is “Bookan and Sabah Malay.”

In a first step, the participants were asked to consider the situations in which they use Sabah Malay or the people with whom they use Sabah Malay. Each situation or group of people was written on a piece of paper and placed under the “Sabah Malay” heading. Next they recorded the situations in which they use Bookan, placing the labels under the “Bookan” heading. Likewise, they identified the situations in which they use both languages, placing the labels under the “Bookan and Sabah Malay” heading. In a second step, the participants ordered the labels within each language column according to the situations which occurred on a daily basis and those that occurred less often. As for the daily domains, the participants ordered the labels according to the amount of language used in the respective situations.

The Domains of Language Use Tool was administered in Bunang Lama, Lanas Station, and Mapila but not in Delayan Lama. The results are discussed in §5.2: “Language use patterns”; pictures of the raw results are presented in Appendix A.

4.1.4 Individual Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

The Individual Sociolinguistic Questionnaire was used to gather reported data in order to investigate the following topics: language use patterns in different social domains, language acquisition patterns and proficiency levels in Bookan and Sabah Malay, and language attitudes regarding Bookan and Sabah Malay. The initial questions were used to get a profile of the interviewee with respect to their gender, age, and other pertinent social categories.

The questionnaire was administered in all four research locations; that is, in Bunang Lama, Delayan Lama, Lanas Station, and Mapila. The results are discussed in §5: “Results”; a copy of the questionnaire is presented in Appendix B.
4.2 Selection of research locations and informants

4.2.1 Research locations

The research was conducted in four Bookan villages in the Sook area in Keningau district, namely in Bunang, Delayan Lama, Lanas Station, and Mapila. These four villages are spread out over the Bookan area, with Lanas Station being located the farthest north and Mapila being one of the most southern villages. Bunang Lama and Delayan Lama are located between the former two villages. In choosing these villages an attempt was made to get a geographically representative sample of the Bookan language area and to include both smaller and larger villages. Most importantly, however, the four villages were chosen because their populations were reportedly homogeneously Bookan.

- Bunang Lama: Chosen due to its location in the southern part of the Bookan language area and its middle size. Almost all inhabitants are Bookan.
- Delayan Lama: Chosen because of its location in the center of the Bookan area. The majority of inhabitants are Bookan.
- Lanas Station: Chosen because of its location in the northeastern corner of the Bookan area. Lanas Station refers to the Murut section of Lanas village which is located along the slopes of a hill. As mentioned in table 1, the dominant language in Lanas is Lobu Lanas [ruu]. The Lobu Lanas population lives on the lower parts of the hill, while the ethnic Bookan population lives on the upper parts of the hill. The Bookan and Lobu Lanas sections are divided by a little lane that runs across the slope.
- Mapila: Chosen because of its location in the southwestern part of the Bookan language area and its small size. Almost all inhabitants are Bookan.

As already mentioned in §4.1, all four survey tools were administered in Bunang Lama, Lanas Station, and Mapila. In Delayan Lama, only the Individual Sociolinguistic Questionnaire was administered; for the three group tools, that is, the Language Mapping Tool, Bilingualism Venn Diagram, and Domains of Language Use Tool, the researchers were not able to find participants.

4.2.2 Research subjects for the Individual Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

For the Individual Sociolinguistic Questionnaire, 32 subjects in total were interviewed, that is, between seven and nine subjects per village. The sample was comprised of 18 men (56%) and 14 women (44%), seven older adults above the ages of 60 years (22%), 12 middle-aged adults between the ages of 30 and 59 years (37%), and 13 young people between the ages of 14 and 29 years (41%). Table 2 gives an overview of the interviewed subjects.

Table 2. Bookan subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location SocGrp</th>
<th>Bunang-Lama</th>
<th>Delayan Lama</th>
<th>Lanas Station</th>
<th>Mapila</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>#</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a Abbreviations: O = old, M = middle-aged, Y = young.*
The research subjects were chosen by a combination of random sampling and quota sampling. In each research location, random sampling was used to choose the households to be visited, while quota sampling was used to choose the actual interviewees in each of the visited households. That is, in each village the survey team elicited from the mayor a list of all the heads of households. The team wrote down the names on slips of paper and drew ten names. Each researcher visited five of these households. Beforehand, the researcher determined that one of them would interview male subjects and the other one female subjects, alternating between the different generations.

5 Results

This section discusses the findings from the Bilingualism Venn Diagram, the Domains of Language Use Tool, and the Individual Sociolinguistic Questionnaires according to the following topics: language fluency and acquisition patterns (§5.1), language use patterns (§5.2), and language attitudes (§5.3).

5.1 Language fluency and acquisition patterns

Perceived language fluency and acquisition patterns in Bookan and Sabah Malay were explored with the Bilingualism Venn Diagram and the Individual Sociolinguistic Questionnaires. The findings for the surveyed villages indicate that no population segment is monolingual in Bookan. All community members know at least some Sabah Malay. Moreover, the children no longer acquire Bookan.

The findings from the Bilingualism Venn Diagram are presented first. In Bunang Lama and Lanas Station, the adult generation above the age of 40 years still speaks Bookan well. In addition, the adults are also fluent in Sabah Malay but their fluency does not match their Bookan fluency. As for the younger adults of 20 to 39 years of age, their fluency levels in Bookan and Sabah Malay are equally high. The young people of eight to 19 years of age speak Sabah Malay well while their Bookan fluency levels are much lower. The children of three to seven years of age are monolingual in Sabah Malay and do not speak Bookan any longer. The survey participants in Mapila reported slightly different language fluency levels for their community. Here it is the adult generation above the age of 60 years that still speaks Bookan well, while their Sabah Malay fluency levels are lower. The adults of 40 to 59 years of age speak Bookan and Sabah Malay equally well. The younger generations of eight to 19 as well as 20 to 39 years of age speak Sabah Malay well while their Bookan fluency levels are lower. As in Bunang Lama and Lanas Station, the Mapila children of three to seven years of age are monolingual in Sabah Malay and do not speak Bookan any longer.

During the administration of the Individual Sociolinguistic Questionnaires, the interviewees were asked which languages their community members acquire first and which languages they speak and/or understand. Regarding the language acquisition patterns, the following picture presents itself. Overall, the older subjects acquired Bookan as their first language (L1), while the younger subjects acquired Sabah Malay. The middle-aged generation is split with some of them first having acquired Bookan and others first having acquired Sabah Malay. The same patterns emerge with respect to the overall Bookan and Malay language fluency levels.

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6 In each of the four villages a number of houses were empty as their inhabitants lived and worked most of the year elsewhere, for example in Keningau or Kota Kinabalu. These households were excluded from the sampling procedures.
Data

When asked what language they learned first, 14/32 subjects (44%) gave Bookan, while 17/32 (53%) mentioned Malay. None of those mentioning Bookan were younger (that is below the age of 30 years), while none of those citing Malay was elderly (that is above the age of 60 years). In addition, one younger female stated that she first learned both Bookan and Malay. One of the 14 subjects reporting that Bookan was their first language (L1) said that he had also learned Paluan as an L1 in addition to Bookan. Among those subjects reporting to speak a second language (L2), half (14/28 or 50%) mentioned Bookan and half (14/28 or 50%) mentioned Malay. None of those speaking Bookan as an L2 were elderly as for all of them Bookan is their L1. Likewise, none of those speaking Malay as an L2 are younger subjects, as for all of them Malay is their L1. In addition, 7/8 subjects (88%) said that they speak Dusun as a third language (L3) and 1/8 subjects gave Paluan as an L3.

As for the children in their village, all 32 subjects agreed that children learn Sabah Malay before they start school. According to most subjects, this applies to ‘all’ (12/32 or 38%) or ‘most’ children (17/32 or 53%). The remaining 3/32 subjects (9%) thought that this applies only to ‘some’ children; one of them was a middle-aged subject and two of them were younger subjects.

When asked which languages they speak well, fairly well, and not so well, the interviewees mentioned Bookan and Sabah Malay as their primary languages. As for the languages they speak well, 9/32 subjects (28%) mentioned Bookan, 13/32 subjects (41%) gave Malay, and 13/32 subjects (41%) stated that they speak both Bookan and Malay well. None of those mentioning only Bookan was younger, while none of those mentioning only Malay was elderly. In addition, 13/32 subjects (41%) stated that they speak both Bookan and Malay well; this also includes two younger females. Regarding the languages they speak fairly well, 10/32 subjects (31%) mentioned Bookan, and 9/32 subjects (28%) Malay. Among those speaking Bookan only fairly well were no elderly subjects as all of them speak Bookan well. Along similar lines, among those speaking Malay only fairly well were no younger subjects as all of them speak Malay well. Some subjects also mentioned languages other than Bookan and Sabah Malay. One person stated that he speaks English fairly well and two subjects said that they speak English, but not very well. Also, one subject said he speaks Dusun fairly well while nine subjects reported speaking Dusun, but not very well. Other languages spoken, but not very well, are Paluan (1 subject) and Tagal (1 subject).

As for the Bookan fluency levels of the younger generation, the majority of subjects (22/32 or 69%) thought that the younger people (below the age of 20 years) no longer speak Bookan the way it ought to be spoken. Only 10/32 subjects (31%) thought they still do, namely 3/7 elderly subjects (43%), 3/12 middle-aged subjects (25%), and 4/13 younger subjects (31%).

Subjects were also asked which languages they understand but do not speak. Of the 26 interviewees responding to this question, 20 subjects (77%) mentioned Dusun, with five of them understanding it only with difficulty. Other languages mentioned were Paluan (2 subjects), Chinese (1 subject), and English (6 subjects). When asked whether they can always understand when people speak Sabah Malay, almost all subjects (31/32 or 97%) responded positively. Only one elderly male replied in the negative.

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7 Due to a translation error in the Malay questionnaire, subjects were asked twice which language they learned first in their childhood, namely in Question I.1 and Question II.2. That is, rather than asking “What language do children in this village learn first?” (Question I.1), the Malay questionnaire inquired which language the subjects spoke first when they were still small (Apakah bahasa yang pertama sekali kamu cakap semasa kecil?) (see Appendix B.1 and Appendix B.2). Notably, the answers for Question I.1 slightly differ from those given for Question II.2:

- Bookan: 16/32 subjects (50%) for question I.1, versus 14/32 subjects (44%) for question II.2; two younger female subjects gave conflicting answers.
- Malay: 13/32 subjects (41%) for question I.1, versus 17/32 subjects (53%) for question II.2.
- Bookan and Malay: 3/32 subjects (9%) for question I.1, versus 1/32 subjects (3%) for question II.2; two middle-aged subjects, one male and one female, gave conflicting answers.
When asked which languages they use when they want to make sure for a better communication with others, most subjects (23/32 or 72%) reported using Malay, namely 12/13 younger subjects (92%) and 9/12 middle-aged subjects (75%) as opposed to only 2/7 elderly subjects (29%). Another five subjects (5/32 or 15%) use both Bookan and Malay in such situations, that is 2/7 elderly subjects (29%), 2/12 middle-aged subjects (17%), and 1/13 younger subjects (8%). Only four subjects (4/32 or 13%) reported using Bookan; three of them were elderly and one was middle-aged.

The interviewees were also asked whether they know any Bookan who do not speak Bookan any longer. Most subjects (25/30 or 83%) responded in the positive. Only 4/30 subjects (13%) answered in the negative, including 1/6 elderly subjects (17%), 1/12 middle-aged subjects (8%), and 2/12 younger subjects (17%). The remaining subject (1/30 or 3%) was unsure. The subjects were also asked which age groups do not speak Bookan any longer. Those responding agreed that it is the younger generation who does not speak Bookan any longer. More specifically, slightly more than one third of the subjects thought that this applies to the children (9/25 or 36%) and teens (9/25 or 36%), while slightly less than one third (7/25 or 28%) said that this applies to the tweens. Also, most subjects (15/25 or 60%) thought that this applies to most of the young people, while 6/25 subjects (24%) suggested that this applies only to some of the young people; the remaining 3/25 subjects (12%) thought that this situation applies to all young people.

When asked whether there are people in their village who are monolingual Bookan speakers, the vast majority of subjects (25/29 or 86%) responded in the negative. Only 4/29 subjects (14%) answered positively, stating that these monolingual Bookan are elderly speakers.

The interviewees were also asked whether there are non-Bookan people living in their village who speak Bookan. Almost all subjects (28/30 or 93%) replied in the positive; only one subject (1/28 or 4%) responded negatively, while the remaining subject was unsure. The majority of those replying positively (21/28 or 75%) stated, however, that this situation applies to only a few of the non-Bookan people, while 6/28 subjects (21%) thought that this is true for some of the non-Bookan people. The remaining subject (1/28 or 4%) thought that most non-Bookan speak Bookan.

5.2 Language use patterns

Language use patterns across different domains were investigated with the Domains of Language Use Tool and also with the Individual Sociolinguistic Questionnaires. The findings indicate a loss of domains or functions for Bookan. Exclusive use of Bookan occurs, if at all, in domains in which the adult Bookan generation interacts, that is, in the gardens or during traditional ceremonies. In the home domain, by contrast, where the adult generation and the young people live together and interact, not only Bookan but also Sabah Malay are used. Especially among the younger generation use of Sabah Malay is pervasive.

Again, the findings from the Bilingualism Venn Diagram are presented first. In Bunang Lama, the interviewees reported exclusive use of Bookan when gardening or farming and for traditional ceremonies. During community gatherings, they use mostly Bookan but also some Sabah Malay. At home, the Bookan villagers use both Bookan and Sabah Malay. The interviewees also reported that children use Sabah Malay while playing. Furthermore they submitted that in mixed marriages, a Dusun spouse also speaks Bookan if he or she has lived in the community long enough. Tagal spouses also learn Bookan or keep using Tagal given that there is intelligibility between Tagal and Bookan.

In Lanas Station there is no domain in which exclusive use of Bookan occurs. In the home, in the gardens or farms, during traditional ceremonies, community gatherings, at the kiosk or food stall and in the local church, the Bookan villagers use both Bookan and Sabah Malay. As for the local school, they reported use of Sabah Malay but no use of Bookan; in addition, standard Malay as the national language, as well as some Dusun Lobu and English are also used in school.

In Mapila, exclusive use of Bookan occurs in the gardens and during traditional ceremonies. At home, during community gatherings, and at the kiosk or food stall both Bookan and Sabah Malay are used. In the local church, the Bookan villagers use Sabah Malay but not Bookan. In addition, the interviewees reported that they use Bookan among themselves but Sabah Malay with non-Bookan. As for mixed marriages, they reported the use of Sabah Malay with Dusun spouses; if the Dusun spouse has
lived in the community long enough, he or she may also speak Bookan. Between Bookan and Paluan spouses each spouse keeps using their vernacular language as there is intelligibility between both speech varieties; in addition, the spouses may also use some Sabah Malay.

During the administration of the Individual Sociolinguistic Questionnaires, the interviewees were asked which languages they use in different situations and with different interlocutors. For interactions within the home domain the following pattern emerges. Typically, the older generation uses Bookan, while the younger people use Malay. The middle-aged generation uses both Bookan and Malay. The same patterns emerge with respect to interactions outside the home domain.

**Data**

When interacting with their parents, 14/30 subjects (47%) use Bookan, only one of them being younger. Nine subjects (30%) use Malay, none of them being elderly. The remaining seven subjects (23%) use Bookan and Malay; five of them are younger and two of them are middle-aged. As for the subjects’ parents, most of them (21/30 or 70%) use only Bookan with the subjects, while 5/30 subjects (17%) reported that their parents use Bookan and Malay with them; both language use patterns were reported by all age groups. Another 3/30 subjects (10%) submitted that their parents use only Malay with them; none of these subjects was elderly. The remaining subject (1/30 or 3%) reported that his parents use both Bookan and Paluan with him.

With their siblings, a majority of subjects (14/31 or 45%) use Bookan, only one of them being younger. About one third of the subjects (10/31 or 32%) reported using only Malay, with eight of them being younger. The remaining 7/31 subjects (23%) use both Bookan and Malay; only one of them was elderly. As for the subjects’ siblings, they follow the same language use patterns. The exception is one subject who reported using Bookan and Malay while her siblings only use Bookan.

With their spouses, the majority of subjects (13/21 or 62%) use Bookan, with none of them being younger. Another 5/21 subjects (24%) use only Malay, with none of them being elderly. The remaining 3/21 subjects (14%) use both Bookan and Malay; this applies to all age groups. The same language choices apply to the subjects’ spouses. The exception is one elderly subject; while he uses Bookan with his wife, she uses both Bookan and Malay.

With the young children (below the age of 10 years) in the house, the majority of subjects (20/29 or 69%) use Malay; this applies to all age groups, including four elderly subjects. Only 4/29 subjects (14%) reporting using only Bookan with the children; again, this applies to all age groups. The remaining 5/29 subjects (17%) use both Bookan and Malay, with none of them being elderly. As for the young children’s language choices, almost all subjects (26/29 or 90%) reported that the children use Malay and not Bookan when speaking with the subjects. The remaining 3/29 subjects (10%) stated that the children use both Bookan and Malay.

For interactions with their friends, 13/32 subjects (41%) use Bookan, 12/32 (38%) use Malay, and 7/32 (22%) use both Bookan and Malay. Those using Bookan are either elderly or middle-aged, while those using Malay are either middle-aged or younger. With their non-Bookan neighbors, most subjects (28/32 or 87%) use Malay with one of them also using Dusun. Only 2/32 subjects, both elderly, use Bookan with their non-Bookan neighbors. The remaining 2/32 subjects (6%) use Dusun for these interactions.

At work or in school, 11/28 subjects (39%) use Bookan, 9/32 (28%) use Malay, and 8/28 (29%) use both languages; in addition, two subjects also use Dusun. Almost all subjects using Bookan are elderly or middle-aged; only one subject is younger. By contrast, all subjects using Malay are middle-aged or younger.

During village meetings, a majority of subjects (14/31 or 45%) use Malay, while only 8/31 subjects (26%) use Bookan; the remaining 9/31 (29%) use both languages. Those interviewees using Bookan include all age groups. Likewise, those using Malay include all age groups, although slightly fewer elderly subjects. During traditional ceremonies, a majority of subjects (15/32 or 47%) use Bookan and 12/32 subjects (38%) use both Bookan and Malay; only 5/32 subjects (16%) reported using only Malay. Most subjects using Bookan are either elderly or middle-aged (six each) versus only three younger
subjects. Interviewees using Bookan and/or Malay are either middle-aged or young. Those using Malay include one elderly, one middle-aged, and three young subjects.

When praying alone, most subjects (20/31 or 65%) reported using Malay, while only 5/31 subjects (16%) use Bookan. The remaining 6/31 subjects (19%) pray in either language; one of them also prays in English. Those praying in Bookan are either elderly or middle-aged. Among those praying in Malay, most are middle-aged or young versus only two who are elderly subjects.

5.3 Language attitudes

Language attitudes toward Bookan and Sabah Malay were examined by means of the Individual Sociolinguistic Questionnaires. The interviewees were asked how they and their families and friends feel about the current and anticipated future language use patterns in their community and what they think about the language attitudes and ethnolinguistic identity of the Bookan youth. The findings suggest that the pervasive use of Sabah Malay is considered normal. At the same time, though, the young Bookan are reportedly still proud of their language and do not abandon their traditional customs. Hence, it is anticipated that in the future the Bookan will still speak Bookan. A substantial number of interviewees, however, do not share this assessment with most of them feeling sad about the anticipated developments.

Data

The interviewees were asked whether they use Sabah Malay with their families and friends and what their families’ and friends’ reactions are with respect to these language choices. Almost all subjects reported that they do use Sabah Malay in their homes and/or with their friends (at home: 30/31 or 97%; with friends: 29/32 or 91%); those replying negatively were elderly or middle-aged subjects. The interviewees also stated that their families and/or friends do not have a problem with their use of Sabah Malay. That is, most subjects reported that the use of Sabah Malay was normal (at home: 24/27 or 89%; with friends 26/28 or 93%). Three younger subjects stated, however, their families were sad about their use of Sabah Malay. Likewise, one younger and one middle-aged interviewee reported that their friends did not like their use of Sabah Malay.

Along similar lines, the interviewees were asked about the language choices of the younger people and how they—the subjects—feel about these choices. All subjects (29/29 or 100%) reported that the youth below the age of 20 years are speaking Sabah Malay at home. The majority (17/28 or 61%) thought that this was normal. More than one third of the subjects (10/28 or 36%) submitted, however, that they were unhappy or sad about this situation, namely more than half of the middle-aged subjects (6/11 or 55%), versus only about one quarter of the elderly subjects (2/7 or 29%) and the younger subjects (2/8 or 25%). The remaining subject (1/28 or 4%) was not certain how to answer the question.

While acknowledging the pervasive use of Sabah Malay by the Bookan youth, almost all subjects (28/31 or 90%) thought that the young Bookan are proud of their language; the remaining three subjects (3/31 or 10%); that is two elderly and one middle-aged interviewee, were not sure. The majority of subjects also reported that the young generation is not abandoning their traditional customs (19/31 or 61%). A substantial number (12/31 or 39%), however, did not agree with this assessment and submitted that the youth are abandoning their customs, namely 5/7 younger subjects (71%) versus 4/8 middle-aged subjects (50%) and 3/7 elderly subjects (43%).

When asked how they view the future of the Bookan language, two-thirds of the subjects (21/32 or 66%) thought that their grandchildren will still speak Bookan, with five of them thinking that they would mix Bookan with Malay. A substantial number of subjects (9/32 or 28%), however, anticipated that their grandchildren will no longer speak Bookan; namely, 6/12 middle-aged subjects (50%) versus 3/13 younger subjects (23%). The remaining two subjects (2/31 or 6%) were not sure how to answer this question. As for the rather high percentage (66%) of interviewees anticipating the ongoing use of Bookan, one could argue that these responses express hope rather than realistic expectations, given that 26/29 subjects (90%) reported that the children in their home speak to them in Malay rather than in Bookan (see §5.2).
As for the remote future, slightly more than one-third of the subjects (12/32 or 38%) thought that the Bookan would still speak Bookan. The same number of subjects (12/32 or 38%) submitted, however, that at that point in time the Bookan people would speak Malay rather than Bookan; namely, 6/12 middle-aged subjects (50%) versus 3/13 younger subjects (23%) and 1/7 elderly subjects (14%). Another four subjects (4/32 or 13%) thought that the Bookan will use both Bookan and Malay.8 The remaining four subjects (4/32 or 13%) stated that they did not know what would happen in the future. As for the 12/32 subjects (38%) who felt that Bookan was not going to be used any longer in the future, three-quarters (9/12 or 75%) said that they were sad or unhappy about this prospect; the remaining three subjects (25%) submitted that this shift away from Bookan was normal with two of them being younger and one of them being middle-aged.

6 Summary and conclusions

The main purpose of the Bookan survey was to examine the vitality of the Bookan language by exploring language fluency and acquisition patterns, language use patterns, and language attitudes with respect to Bookan and Sabah Malay. Secondary goals were to determine the boundaries of the Bookan language area, and to ascertain the extent of the Bookan language area as well as the different languages spoken throughout the area. The survey results pertaining to the vitality of the Bookan language are summarized as follows.

With respect to the perceived Bookan and Sabah Malay fluency levels, the data suggest that no population segment is monolingual in Bookan, with the younger children no longer acquiring the heritage language. All community members know at least some Sabah Malay, with the younger children acquiring Sabah Malay as their first language.

Concomitantly, the Bookan language is experiencing a loss of domains or functions. Notably in the home domain, where the adult generation and the young people live together and interact, both Bookan and Malay are used, with the younger generation preferring to use Sabah Malay rather than Bookan. Overall, the pervasive use of Sabah Malay seems to be considered normal although some interviewees expressed their sadness about the decreasing use of Bookan by the younger generation. At the same time, though, the young Bookan are thought to be proud of their language and to not be abandoning their traditional customs. Concurrently, most interviewees thought that Bookan will still be used in the near future. Given the widespread use of Sabah Malay, however, it seems that the expressed opinions about the ongoing use of Bookan are expressions of hope rather than realistic expectations. Predictions for the ongoing use of Bookan in the far future were less optimistic.

Overall, these findings point to a pattern of loss of Bookan users and uses with Bookan, the heritage language, giving way to Sabah Malay, the language of wider communication. As Lewis and Simons (2015:121) point out, such a loss of users and uses “proceeds generationally with the youngest generation being the first to lose proficiency.” The survey findings suggest that this also applies to the Bookan communities, given that reportedly the young children no longer acquire Bookan. This development suggests a “disruption of the transmission of language proficiency from one generation to the next” (2015:119) which in turn is an indication of ongoing language shift.

In summary, the findings of the rapid appraisal sociolinguistic survey of the four surveyed Bookan communities indicate that the Bookan communities are in the process of shifting from Bookan to Sabah Malay with the heritage language undergoing decline and loss. In terms of the Sustainable Use Model (SUM) and its EGIDS (Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale) levels (Lewis and Simons 2015:98–113), it is therefore concluded that Bookan is at Level 7 “Shifting.” This level of language vitality is defined as follows: “The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not being transmitted to children” (2015:100).

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8 One of the younger subjects thought that the people would mostly speak Malay and just a bit of Bookan.
Appendix A: Village results

A.1 Bunang Lama

Map 2. Language Mapping Tool (Bunang Lama)

(Source: Jabatan Ukur dan Pemetaan Malaysia 2009. Used with permission.)
Figure 1. Bilingualism Venn Diagram (Bunang Lama).
The lexical items *kebun* and *dusun* both mean ‘garden’ or ‘farm’.

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9 The lexical items *kebun* and *dusun* both mean ‘garden’ or ‘farm’.
A.2 Lanas Station

Map 3. Language Mapping Tool (Lanas Station)

(Source: Jabatan Ukur dan Pemetaan Malaysia 2009. Used with permission.)
Figure 3. Bilingualism Venn Diagram (Lanas Station).
Figure 4. Domains of Language Use Tool (Lanas Station).\textsuperscript{10}

\textsuperscript{10} See footnote 9.
A.3 Mapila

Map 4. Language Mapping Tool (Mapila)

(Source: Jabatan Ukur dan Pemetaan Malaysia 2009. Used with permission.)
Figure 5. Bilingualism Venn Diagram (Mapila).
Figure 6. Domains of Language Use Tool (Mapila).
Appendix B: Individual Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

B.1 English version

Researcher: Date: Place:
Name: M/F: Age:
Completed education: Primary/ Junior High/ Senior High/ University
Place of birth: Place you were raised:
Status: Married/Unmarried Spouse comes from:
Length of time living in this community:
Language that was spoken in the home when you were a child:
Occupation:

I Language usage

1. What language do children in this village learn first?
2. Do children learn Sabah Malay before they start school?
   [If yes:] How many of them: all most some few
3. Do young people (below the age of 20 years) speak Bookan the way it ought to be spoken?
4a. What language do you speak:
    a) with your parents?
    b) with your siblings?
    c) with your spouse?
    d) with the children (≤ 10) in this house?
4b. What language do/does:
    a) your parents speak with you?
    b) your siblings speak with you?
    c) your spouse speak with you?
    d) the children in this house speak with you?
5. What language do you speak:
    a) with your friends?
    b) with your non-Bookan neighbors?
    c) at work/school?
    d) while praying by yourself?
    e) during village meetings?
    f) for traditional ceremonies like funerals, weddings, etc.?

II Bilingualism

1. What languages do you speak well?
   Fairly well? Not very well?
2. What language did you learn first?
   Second? Third?
3. What languages do you understand but not speak?
4. Can you always understand when people speak Sabah Malay?
5. What language do you use when you want to make sure for a better communication with Bookan children?

6. Do you know any Bookan people who don’t speak Bookan anymore?
   Which people?
   How many of them: all most some few

7. Are there people in this village who speak only Bookan?
   Which people?
   How many of them: all most some few

8. Are there non-Bookan people in this village who speak Bookan?
   [If yes:] How many of them: all most some few

III Language attitudes

1. Do young people (below the age of 20 years) speak Sabah Malay at your home?
   [If yes:] How do your parents/grandparents feel about that?

2. Are the young people abandoning the customs of your ancestors?
   [If yes:] How do you feel about that?

3. Are the young people proud of your language?
   [If no:] How do you feel about that?

4. When the children of this village grow up and have children of their own, do you think those children will still speak your language?
   How do you feel about that?

5. A long time from now, do you think people will still speak Bookan or will they just speak Sabah Malay?
   How do you feel about that?

6. Do you ever use Sabah Malay in your home?
   [If yes:] How does your family react to that?

7. Do you ever use Sabah Malay with your Bookan friends?
   [If yes:] How do they react to that?
B.2 Malay version

Pengkaji: Tarikh: Tempat: 
Nama: L/P: Umur: 
Taraf Pendidikan: Sekolah Rendah / Sekolah Menengah Rendah / Sekolah Menengah Atas/ Universiti 
Tempat lahir: Tempat yang kamu membesar: 
Status: Kahwin/Bujang Tempat asal laki/bini: 
Jangka masa tinggal dalam komuniti ini: 
Semasa kamu kecil orang di ruma pakai bahasa-bahasa apa: 
Pekerjaan: 

I Penggunaan Bahasa

1. Apakah bahasa yang pertama sekali kamu cakap semasa kecil? ¹¹
2. Budak-budak cakap bahasa Melayu Sabahkah sebelum diorang masuk sekolah?
   [Kalau ya:] Ada berapa ramai diorang?: semua kebanyakan beberapa sedikit
3. Orang muda (yang berumur di bawah 20-an) bercakap bahasa Bookan ikut yang macam biasa?
4a. Kamu cakap guna bahasa apa sama: 4b. Bahasa apa yang:
   a) bapa mama kamu? a) bapa mama kamu cakap sama kamu?
   b) adik-beradik kamu? b) adik-beradik kamu cakap sama kamu?
   c) laki/bini kamu? c) laki/bini kamu cakap sama kamu?
   d) budak-budak di ruma ini yang berumur di bawah 10 tahun? d) budak-budak di ruma ini cakap sama kamu?
5. Bahasa apa yang kamu cakap:
   a) dengan kawan-kawan kamu? b) dengan jiran yang bukan berbangsa Bookan?
   c) di tempat kerja/sekolah? d) masa berdoa sendiri?
   e) masa dalam mesyuarat di kampung? f) di upacara tradisional macam kematian, perkahwinan dan sebagainya?

II Dwibahasa (Bercakap Dua Bahasa)

1. Apa bahasa yang paling kamu pandai cakap?
   Yang sedang-sedang cakap? Yang tidak begitu pandai cakap?
2. Apakah bahasa yang kamu pakai pertama sekali semasa kamu masih kecil?
   Apa bahasa yang kedua? Apa bahasa yang ketiga?
3. Apa bahasa apa yang kamu boleh faham, tapi kamu tidak pandai cakap bahasa itu?

¹¹ As already mentioned in footnote 7, the Malay version for Question I.1 differs from the English version (see Appendix B.1): The English version inquires “What language do children in this village learn first?” (Question I.1). By contrast, the Malay version inquires which language the subject spoke first when they were still small (Apakah bahasa yang pertama sekali kamu cakap semasa kecil?).
4. Selalunya, kamu fahamkah kalau orang bercakap bahasa Melayu Sabah?

5. Kalau kamu mau pasti orang lain boleh faham kamu, kamu pakai bahasa apa?

6. Adakah orang Bookan di kampung ini yang tidak lagi bercakap bahasa Bookan?
   Diorang itu dalam umur berapa [budak-budak/belasan tahun/orang muda/orang tua]
   Ada berapa ramai diorang: semua kebanyakan beberapa sedikit

7. Adakah orang di kampung ini yang pandai cakap bahasa Bookan saja, yang tidak pandai cakap bahasa lain?
   Diorang itu dalam umur berapa [budak-budak/belasan tahun/orang muda/orang tua]
   Ada berapa ramai diorang:

8. Adakah orang yang bukan bangsa Bookan di kampung ini yang cakap bahasa Bookan?
   [Kalau ya:] Ada berapa ramai diorang: semua kebanyakan beberapa sedikit

III   Sikap ke atas bahasa

1. Adakah orang muda (yang berumur di bawah 20-an) yang bercakap bahasa Melayu Sabahkah di rumah?
   [Kalau ya:] Apa yang kamu [bapa mama/datuk nenek] rasa atau fikir tentang hal ini?

2. Adakah orang muda yang sudah tidak lagi peduli tentang adat-adat dari orang dulu?
   [Kalau ya:] Apa yang kamu rasa atau fikir tentang hal ini?

3. Adakah orang muda yang rasa banggakah/senang hati sebab diorang ada bahasa sendiri, iaitu bahasa Bookan?
   [Kalau tidak:] Apa yang kamu rasa atau fikir tentang hal ini?

4. Kalau budak-budak di kampung ini sudah besar, lepas itu diorang sudah ada anak-anak sendiri, kamu rasa-rasa diorang masih cakap bahasa Bookankah?
   Apa yang kamu rasa atau fikir tentang hal ini?

5. Nanti di masa hadapan, kamu rasa-rasa orang masih cakap bahasa Bookankah, atau hanya cakap bahasa Melayu Sabah saja?
   Apa yang kamu rasa atau fikir tentang hal ini?

6. Kamu pernahkah bercakap bahasa Melayu Sabah di rumah?
   [Kalau ya:] Apa yang keluarga kamu rasa atau fikir tentang hal ini?

7. Kamu pernahkah bercakap bahasa Melayu Sabah sama kawan-kawan kamu yang sama-sama bangsa Bookan?
   [Jika ya:] Apa yang diorang rasa atau fikir tentang hal ini?
References


