APPLICATION OF TYPOLOGIES FOR LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LOSS TO SOUTHEAST ASIAN LINGUISTIC MINORITIES: The case of the Bru-So and Kadazan-Dusun language continua

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0. Introduction

Typologizing, says Johnson, is "a basic human cognitive strategy" (1977:55). While possible typologies are potentially infinite in number, and none are right or wrong, some are more interesting than others. And some are more useful in testing theories and attempting to predict outcomes. The task of the language researcher, then, is to choose those variables which "provide significant insight into cross-language variation" (Comrie 1981:25). Edwards says "the most important point about any typology is that it should be comprehensive" (1992:47).

In the area of linguistic description and classification, much has been done to isolate variables which are significant to the classification and comparison of languages. In the area of sociolinguistics, however, even the significant variables are difficult to determine. Paulston says, "We have at present a very poor understanding of which social variables are germane to ethnic group relations and their consequences" (1994:4). An additional complication is that variables may occur on different levels. Typologies themselves may be attributes in typologies at higher levels (Johnson 1977). And not all variables are equal. The distinction is sometimes made between independent and intervening variables (Paulston 1994:7) or "contextual variables" which modify the effect of the independent variables (Schermerhorn 1970).

This paper will first discuss some of the reasons for the concern about language maintenance. Secondly, it will review some of the typologies which have been devised to categorize language maintenance situations for minority language groups. And thirdly, it will attempt to apply some of the variables which seem most relevant to two minority language situations in Asia in an attempt to evaluate the prospects of language maintenance for these two groups.

The first of these is a language continuum located in Sabah, Malaysia which constitutes one of the largest groups within that state. (See Figure 1) It is one of ten languages classified as Dusunic (Smith 1984). Kadazan-Dusun comprises a group of dialects which include Minokok, Sugut Kadazan, Garo, Kimaragang, Tebilung, and other regionally distinct varieties of the language (Banker 1984). The group population was estimated by the 1970 census to be 183,454, though just who was included in this figure is unclear (Banker 1984). Other closely related language groups such as Rungus, Lotud, Tatana', Bisaya, etc., while linguistically distinct, are considered culturally to belong to the Kadazan-Dusun group.

Historically a group of "close-knit tribal communities" (Kitingan 1989:2), these were during the time of the Brunei Sultanate grouped together on the basis of their being non-Muslim agriculturalists and labelled "Dusun." This term persisted during the control of the British Chartered Company (1880 and following). In 1961 a congress of the United Kadazan National Organization met and agreed that the group as a whole should be called Kadazan. Both terms, however, have continued to be used to the present, Dusun generally by central and Kadazan by coastal groups, though a number of regional labels are also used. Current convention is to combine the names (i.e. Kadazandusun), but for ease in reading for this paper I will use the designation 'Kadazan-Dusun'

The second group is a language continuum which extends from highland areas of central Vietnam across southern Laos and into northeast Thailand. (See Figure 2) This group of closely related languages and dialects is known in its different locations and various varieties as Van Kieu, Mangkong, Galler, Tri, Bru, So, Kataang, and Kha. Population figures for Vietnam are estimated to be 50,000 (Grimes 1992), for Laos 145,000 (unofficial Lao sources) and for Thailand 55,000 (Smalley 1994). For purposes of this paper we will refer to the group as a whole as well as varieties of the language or group as Bru-So, combining two of the more commonly used autonyms.

1. Language maintenance vs. language shift

Language maintenance only becomes a question in situations of prolonged language contact. But since there are very few (if any) minority language groups in the world for whom this is not the case, the issue has become widely relevant. For groups in this situation, Paulston states that only three long-range outcomes are possible (1994:7): 1) They may maintain their own language and resist learning the language of the majority; 2) they may become bilingual in their own language and the language of the majority, or 3) they may shift from their own language to the language of the majority.

The first option involves strong boundary maintenance on the part of either the minority or the majority group. In this case only selected members of the group will learn the majority language and become brokers for the group in contacts with the majority. The second option, unless it leads to a stable diglossic situation where each language has domains of use which complement the other, will eventually result in a shift to the dominant language. The third option leads directly to a process of language shift in which use of the minority language gives place to use of the language of the majority. Shift, says Paulston, is by far the most common outcome of language contact. Sometimes this occurs quickly within one or two generations; sometimes it occurs slowly over the course of many generations.
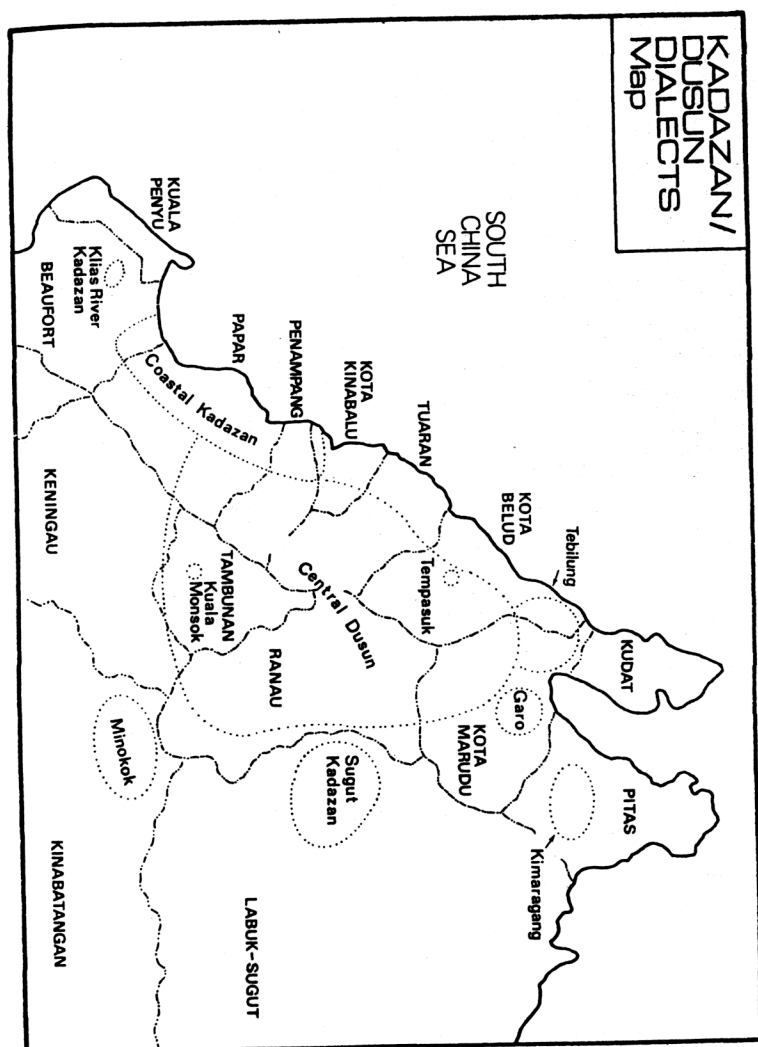
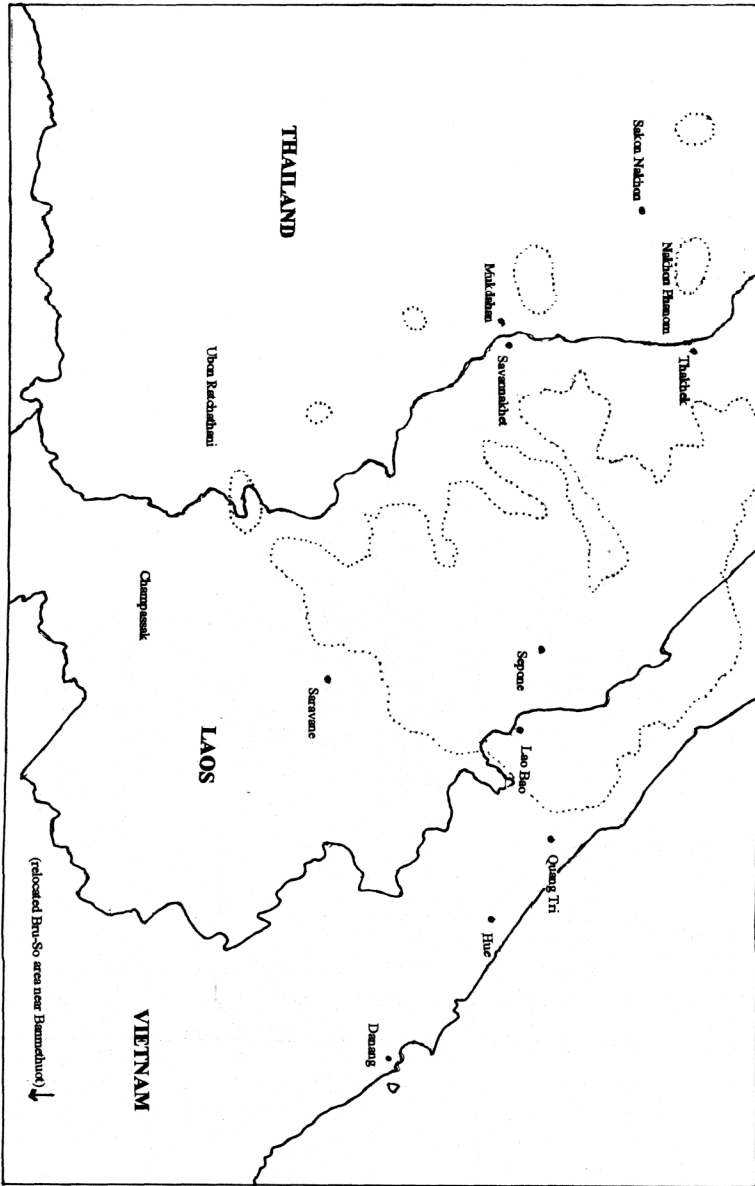**Figure 1: Kadazan-Dusun language area** (taken from Banker 1984).

Figure 2: Bru-So language area (adapted from Bradley, Australian Academy of the Humanities).

(relocated Bru-So area near Banméthuot)

THAILAND

Sakon Nakhon

Nakhon Phanom

Mukdahan

Thakhek

Savannakhet

Ubon Ratchathani

Champasak

Saravane

Sepone

Lao Bao

Quang Tri

Hue

Danang

LAOS

VIETNAM

The question of language maintenance or language shift is one which is of major concern to language policy makers, planners and educators. "If language policy is to be successful," says Paulston, "it must consider the social context of language problems and especially the forces which contribute to language maintenance or shift" (1994:4). The topic is one which generates strong feelings. Part of the reason for this is that language involves both "the code and its use -- the person's language and the person" (Tollefson 1991:36). In three of the Bru-So villages we visited in Northeast Thailand where speakers of the language were shifting to Lao and/or Thai, the reason they gave for the shift usually involved a question not just of language but of identity. "People are always disparaging of us and look down on us," said one. "This makes us not want to continue to use our language." Another said it was a good thing "that our group and language will die out, so that we can all be members of the Thai ethnic group and Thai people" (Miller 1994:92,93).

Efforts to encourage shift to the dominant language of a country are often motivated by a genuine concern on the part of the dominant group to promote unity and facilitate good communication within a country. An early French Minister of Education, for example, is quoted as saying, "For the unity of France, the Breton language must die" (Walker 1984). But in many cases this desire is without understanding of the effect of the shift on the members of these minority groups. According to Smolicz, the attempt to "homogenize" a society, may unbalance the process of tradition adaptation and retard, rather than enhance, social resilience. He feels that the pressure placed on Australian Aboriginal societies, for example, "combined with the denigration of their languages and cultures and the questioning of their intrinsic worth, has resulted in the alienation of some Aborigines both from western and from their own traditions" (1992:278).

Culture and language are not synonymous. But language is very closely linked to culture both as an index of the artifacts and concerns of that culture, as a symbol of the culture and as the realization or expression of that culture (Fishman 1991:20). It is often a "core value" of the culture. Smolicz says, "languages constitute the core values of many, probably most cultures. If these are lost or destroyed, the cultures become residual and intellectually de-activated. In this way, they become reduced to mere fragments that can then be regarded as sub-cultural variants upon the majority culture" (1987:393).

The Kadazan-Dusun and Bru-So groups consider language to be a core value. A Kadazan-Dusun leader reflecting on the declining use of the language said, "if the Dusun language is lost, this means the loss of the Dusun identity which forms the basis, the source and the spiritual repository for Dusun culture." (Tombung 1988:6) A Bru-So village leader in Northeast Thailand, echoed the same feeling when, in our hearing, he asked the question, "If we lose our language, who are we?"

2. Typologies of language maintenance situations

Numerous attempts have been made to identify the variables most significant to the question of language maintenance or shift for minority language communities. These have involved such things as status, policies, planning, attitudes and intentions of both the nation and the minority language community itself. According to Johnson (1977), the factors most frequently considered for typing language situations have been numerical strength, standardization and function.

Paulston (1994) looked at the social context factors which contribute to language maintenance or shift and the types of social mobilization which affect a group's ability to retain its language and culture. Social factors perceived by Paulston to be important are origin and type of contact situation (annexation, migration, colonization), degree of enclosure (institutional separation or segmentation), and degree of control over resources. Four types of social mobilization are said by Paulston to constitute a continuum ranging from *ethnicity* to *ethnic movement* to *ethnic nationalism* to *geographic nationalism*. Social factors which would tend to inhibit or at least slow down language shift, Paulston identifies as: a) knowledge of and access to a standard written form of the language, b) endogamy, c) access to social institutions with formal instruction, i.e. literacy in the mother tongue, d) strong degree of group adhesion and f) large population. Though, as Paulston says, "we do not really know what constitutes a critical mass in language maintenance of an ethnic group" (1994:19).

Nelde (1986) gives eight reasons "for the demise of a mother-tongue in a bilingual context in a European city." The reasons in order of their frequency are: "1) A lack of courage and self-consciousness, 2) A belief in the superiority of the foreign standard language, 3) More possibilities of promotion through the foreign language, 4) A foreign language environment, 5) A minority population is more gifted at learning languages, 6) The minority must reconcile themselves to the prevailing circumstances, 7) Pressure is exerted by the foreign language speakers, 8) Children are sent to foreign-language schools" (1986:479).

Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) outlines the various stages of societal disruption which accompany language shift. His concern is to prevent or reverse the process of shift, but he also discusses some of the factors responsible for language shift. He sees the family as central to language maintenance. "Its association with intimacy and privacy gives it both a psychological and a sociological strength that makes it peculiarly resistant to outside competition and substitution" (1991:94). Also important is that social and cultural services have maximal community input and control. Literacy in the minority language is important, particularly when the community is spread out over great distances. Fishman points out that a minority language can be maintained only if there is a commitment on the part of the group itself to do so.

Edwards in his 1992 typology draws from White (1987), Foster (1980), Haugen (1972), Haarmann (1986), Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977) and Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal (1981) to build a model of thirty-three categories which he feels will "produce a useful sociopolitical picture of minority settings from the perspectives of both minority and majority communities" and "enable predictions to be made about language maintenance and shift" (1992:38). Both Haugen (1972) and Haarman (1986) emphasize language ecology and the involvement of various disciplines of study in an attempt to understand the role of languages in societies.

In a 1977 article, Giles, Bourhis and Taylor discuss ways of determining the objective "ethnolinguistic vitality" of societies. They define vitality as "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity within the intergroup setting" (1977:308). Their three categories of variables, (status factors, demographic factors and institutional support factors) are further expanded. Status factors include economic status, social status, socio-historical prestige and status of the language both within and outside the community. Demographic variables include number of members, distribution, concentration, proportion, birth rate, and patterns of immigration and emigration. Institutional support factors involve the extent to which the group receives support for the language in both formal and informal institutions such as home, school, government, church, business, etc.

Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal in a later article (1981) extend the model to include the *perception* of the majority and minority language communities regarding the position of both languages. They state that "a group's subjective assessment of its vitality may be as important in determining inter-ethnic behaviour as the group's 'objective' vitality" (1981:147). Testing has shown that although there is some "perceptual distortion in favor of ingroup vitality" (Harwood, Giles and Bourhis 1994:172), overall "studies have demonstrated that people's subjective perceptions are fairly accurate when compared to more objective assessments of the vitality context" (1994:182). Allard and Landry, after extensive testing in Canada, concluded that ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) beliefs "reflect with a considerable degree of validity the EV of majority and minority ethnolinguistic groups which are in contact. Also, a high degree of relationship exists between EV beliefs and first and second language use." While ethnolinguistic vitality beliefs are formed by the contacts individuals have within their networks of linguistic contacts, for individuals within an ethnic minority community, these beliefs lead to choices concerning "the composition of one's linguistic network, and to choices concerning language use in one's linguistic network" in a form of reciprocal determinism. (1992:192)

Allard and Landry distinguish between four types of language beliefs: general, personal, norm and goal beliefs. General beliefs involve an objective evaluation of the situation regarding the position of the languages in question. Personal beliefs involve questions of valorization, belongingness and personal efficacy in regard to

language. Normative beliefs involve what ought to be the situation in terms of the relative position of these languages. Goal beliefs involve the group member's desire and aspiration regarding the languages. To consider only general beliefs, they say, does not lead to an accurate understanding of the position of languages in contact.

3. Application of typologies to Kadazan-Dusun and Bru-So language continua

From the above models, I have selected those variables which I feel most relevant to the two language communities selected for consideration in this paper. I have loosely followed the ethnolinguistic vitality framework, but have added an additional variable (attitudinal and affective factors) and have attempted to include only those for which a direct correlation with language maintenance may be posited.

With each variable I have stated the assumption underlying the relationship of this variable to language maintenance and the situation in regard to the variable for the Kadazan-Dusun (**KD**) group and the Bru-So (**BS**) group. I have also attempted to compare the two language situations under study in regard to this variable. Many of the observations are subjective and open to dispute, correction or review. Certainly they reveal the need for more objective study of these factors for these groups.

3.1 Demographic factors

3.1.1 Nature of contact situation
Assumption: Superordinate groups are less likely to shift than subordinate ones, and for subordinate groups, those which are indigenous to their area (having established social institutions) are more likely to maintain their language than those which have migrated to the area (Lieberson, Dalto and Marsden 1981). Those who have become subordinate through annexation or colonization will not shift as quickly as those who have become subordinate through migration (Paulston 1994; Tabouret-Keller 1968).

KD: Kadazan-Dusun must be considered a subordinate group when viewed from the perspective of the nation of Malaysia, even though within the state of Sabah, it has until recently been the majority group. The people consider themselves to be the original inhabitants in most areas in which they live, and maintain some of their traditional social activities. Contact with English came through a period of colonization and with Malay through long-time trading contacts and more recently through entrance of the state of Sabah into the Federation of Malaysia in 1963.

BS: Bru-So groups have long been in a subordinate position in all three countries where they live. Though they have folk history which tells of the time they had a

"king," they have no recollection of such a time. They consider their original territory to be the southeastern part of Laos and adjoining areas of Vietnam, though folk history among groups in Thailand tells of migration from farther north at some point in the past. Contact with Vietnamese began perhaps at the time of the reign of Thieu Tri when those living in Vietnamese territory were given the name Van Kieu. Contact with both Vietnamese and Lao languages has, however, been limited until fairly recently. Those living in Thailand migrated from Laos at various times over the past several hundred years, the most recent being approximately 70 years ago. Reasons for migration include both economic (search for good land, escape famine) and political ones (escape French *courvee* labor, flee fighting).

Comparison: Both Kadazan-Dusun and Bru-So can be considered indigenous to the areas where they live, except that those living in Thailand consider themselves to be immigrants from Laos. While both groups are subordinate on the national level, Kadazan-Dusun has a stronger position on the state level.

3.1.2 Distribution of speakers
Assumption: Groups which are adjoining and cohesive in their spatial arrangement are more apt to maintain their language than are those which are non-adjoining or non-cohesive (Edwards 1992; Fishman 1991).

KD: Kadazan-Dusun groups have in the past had limited contact with groups in other areas because of the difficulty of travel and because of hostility and fighting between some areas. With the advent of roads, contact has become more and more common and travel and interaction more frequent. Regional partisanship is still expressed to some extent, but group cohesion is increasing in areas of common concern.

BS: Bru-So groups in Vietnam and Laos have traditionally had a concentrated territorial base in the mountainous area on both sides of the border and contact between villages in this area was frequent. During the war years contact was interrupted and whole villages within Vietnam were moved by government edict. Other groups became internal refugees, moving to areas of the coast and the central highlands. Contact between villages in Laos and Vietnam has resumed more recently for cultural events, marriage negotiations and trading.

Those in Thailand have had little contact with groups in Laos or Vietnam. Nor have they had contact with those in other areas of Thailand which are geographically separate from their own. Concentrations of more than ten villages are found only in two areas: Kusuman, Sakon Nakhon and Dong Luang, Mukdahan.

Comparison: The Kadazan-Dusun have a fairly extensive concentrated demographic base in seven of the twenty-three administrative districts of the state

of Sabah (Banker 1984) with smaller groups in an additional six districts. In some ways, this is being eroded now (see Sec. 3.1.3), but in other ways improved infrastructure has increased communication and cohesion. The Bru-So, however, have had a smaller area of concentration in Vietnam and Laos. As with the Kadazan-Dusun this is currently being eroded, but in the case of the Bru-So, earlier disruption by war and separation by national boundaries have also negatively affected cohesion.

3.1.3 Immigration/Emigration patterns
Assumption: Groups with little out- or in-migration are more likely to maintain their language (Paulston 1994).

KD: Kadazan-Dusun society has been increasingly affected by urbanization. The state capital, Kota Kinabalu, has spread out into coastal Kadazan-Dusun areas, engulfing villages into suburban housing areas. From other areas, young people have come to the city either to further their education or to seek employment. In the past, those who left traditional lands to join the police, military or civil service jobs returned to their homes upon retirement. But their children, who had been raised outside the area, in many cases did not speak the Kadazan-Dusun language. These are then not able to pass the language on to their own children. In-migration has also affected the Kadazan-Dusun area. Logging operations and plantations have been introduced in many areas, affecting the environment and bringing in outside labor. Some reports indicate that immigrants into the state from neighboring countries now outnumber indigenous inhabitants.

BS: The Bru-So area of Vietnam experienced a great deal of internal migration during the war years. Several groups migrated to central areas of the country. More recently the highland area has seen the in-migration of large numbers of Vietnamese into the Bru-So area. With the exception of some who left the area during the war years, it does not appear that a trend to urbanization has greatly affected the Bru-So in Vietnam. This is not the case in Thailand where large numbers of young people leave every year to go to provincial centers or to the capital city to seek employment. In both Laos and Thailand, many Bru-So speakers live in areas where they are surrounded by speakers of the dominant language and interact with them every day. In-migration has occurred even on the village level in Thailand, where most of the Bru-So villages reported that speakers of other languages also now reside in the village.

Comparison: In-migration is increasing language contact and the need for using languages of wider communication for both Kadazan-Dusun and Bru-So groups. Out-migration is a common pattern for Kadazan-Dusun and for Bru-So living in Thailand as young people from these groups increasingly move to urban areas to seek employment.

3.1.4 Marriage patterns

Assumption: Groups practicing endogamy (particularly with arranged marriages) are more likely to maintain their language than those with strong tendencies toward exogamy (Paulston 1994).

KD: Even though Kadazan-Dusun marriages have traditionally been arranged and exchange of bridewealth continues to be practiced, there has long been a fairly high incidence of exogamy. Many Chinese-Kadazan marriages have occurred and some Kadazan-Western marriages. Marriages with members from other dialects or closely-related languages have also, in many cases, resulted in language shift to Malay and/or English.

BS: Bru-So marriages are also arranged by the families. In Vietnam in the past there was very little exogamy. More seems to have occurred in Laos and Thailand. This appears to be the case up to the present. In Thailand, where residence of the couple in a mixed marriage is outside the Bru-So village, language shift is said to always occur. Where residence is in the Bru-So village, shift is reported to occur in about half the homes (Miller 1994).

Comparison: Exogamy is fairly common among the Kadazan-Dusun and among Bru-So living in Laos or Thailand. It does not seem to be common among the Bru-So living in Vietnam. For families of mixed language traditions who reside outside the language area, language shift is the expected outcome. Even for those living in the traditional area, language shift is common.

3.2 Status and development factors

3.2.1 Language status

Assumption: Languages with high status are more likely to be maintained than those with low status (Tabouret-Keller 1968).

Neither Kadazan-Dusun nor Bru-So have objective status in that they have been selected for any official use. Their position varies, however, in the way in which the languages are regarded both within and outside the cultural group.

3.2.1.1 Outsider evaluation of the language

Assumption: Where majority language speakers have respect for the minority language, minority speakers are more likely to accord it status (Smolicz 1987).

KD: Although members of other cultural groups rarely demonstrate a willingness to learn to speak Kadazan-Dusun, "home languages" in the highly multilingual context of Malaysia and particularly of the state of Sabah are taken for granted. Only a small minority in the state of Sabah traditionally consider Malay as their mother tongue. In 1989, 85% of the population of the state was said to belong to indigenous ethnic groups and 14% to be Chinese (*Sabah Daily Express*).

Consequently the Kadazan-Dusun language has been considered to be a legitimate means of communication for Kadazan-Dusun people just as Bajau, Murut or Suluk are the internal means of communication for others. Neither denigrated or valued, it is simply accepted.

BS: Outsider attitudes toward Bru-So are perhaps more typical of attitudes of dominant language speakers toward enclave languages. Dorian speaks of the incredulity on the part of outsiders that she would do serious research among a group of minority language speakers who had the reputation of being "backward and slow-witted" (1986:562). We encountered similar expressions concerning the Bru-So language and had this reported to us many times by Bru-So friends in all three countries where they live. Bru-So is not considered to be a "real" language, and Bru-So speakers are often advised to simply give it up and learn one which will be more useful to them.

Comparison: There is a marked difference in the degree of respect accorded to the Kadazan-Dusun and Bru-So languages by outsiders in the immediate environment in which they live. While Kadazan-Dusun is accepted as a home language like all the other indigenous languages of the state. Bru-So is considered to be less than a real language and its use to reflect backwardness and ignorance.

3.2.1.2 Internal regard for the language
Assumption: Where insiders perceive their language to be a "core value" of their culture, they are more likely to maintain it. (Smolicz 1992)

KD: In a manner similar to the outsider evaluation of the language, Kadazan-Dusun speakers in the past took their language very much for granted. Their more important concern in the 60s and 70s was to learn English and Malay and teach them to their children so that they could get a good education and good jobs. Only in the 80s, when an influential segment of the population felt more secure in their knowledge of national and international languages, did they begin to look at the consequences of neglecting their own language in terms of promotion and development. Concern was expressed at the way so many were not using the language or transmitting it to their children. This was reflected in the media, in political speeches and at cultural functions. One political leader was quoted as saying, "our future generation will be Kadazan-Dusun in name only, without a real identity if they speak only an 'alien' language" (*Borneo Bulletin* 1988).

BS: Many Bru-So speakers have accepted the outsider evaluation of their language and of themselves. During the 60s when we lived in a Bru village in Vietnam, we were often told, "We Bru are ignorant." Even though they continued to use their language, there was little pride in it. More recently while visiting villages in Thailand, Bru speakers reflected the same ambivalence about their language and their culture. Some villages are in fairly advanced stages of shift to

Lao. Others who maintain their language for home use report that they are embarrassed to speak it in front of Lao or Thai speakers (Miller 1994).

There are, however, some encouraging changes in this attitude. One Bru-So speaker, when giving an oral history of his village on tape, said,

"We were undeveloped, they say. We carried things in back-baskets and were dependent on others for help before.... We still are not very advanced, we Bru. Now we have come here in order to tell the foreigners. They want to know about our Bru language because they want to translate it into their language, which is something good. Now we Bru are not any longer neglected. Every other country is interested in learning about this Bru Dong Luang language. What does *mpai* mean? What does *maheq* mean? What does *nyin nyin* mean? What does *hieq* mean? What does *ap* mean? We must tell them these things so that they will share them with foreign countries to read and study, so that all other countries will know that this Bru group still exists in Thailand in the areas of Sakon, Mukdahan and Nakhon Phanom. They can speak Central Thai, but also speak Bru. Some of them can also speak English. People from before didn't have formal studies. But now there are those who have studied and have become officials."

Comparison: There is a wide difference in the way Kadazan-Dusun and Bru-So speakers feel about themselves and their language, and this reflects, to a great extent the evaluation they are given by those around them. In the case of Kadazan-Dusun there is an increasing sense of pride and desire to maintain their language. In the case of the Bru-So, there are only faint glimmerings of feeling that their language is something of value.

3.2.1.3 Language development
Assumption: Where a language has a written form and a recognized standard, it is more likely to be maintained (Fishman 1980).

KD: The Kadazan-Dusun language was first written by Catholic missionaries to North Borneo, perhaps in the 40s (Kitingan 1989). It appeared in print in the "Kadazan Corner" of a local newspaper in the late 40s and was used for early literacy efforts and as a bridge to English teaching in Catholic primary schools up until the 60s (Kitingan 1995). A dictionary was produced by the Rev. A. Antonissen in 1958. All of these materials were produced in the coastal dialect which, although it was not the majority dialect, was the dialect spoken by the early leaders and felt by them to be the "standard." In recent years opposition has surfaced to this choice, and other dialects have been put forward as better and more representative choices. In 1989 a symposium was convened on the topic of standardization of the Kadazan-Dusun language. But as of the present, this objective has yet to be well-defined, let alone achieved. A dictionary produced in 1995 contains both coastal and central variants for root words, though the affixed forms are still in the coastal dialect. Pressure to restore the language to classroom use in primary schools brings a certain amount of urgency to the question of standardization.

BS: The Bru-So language has had a fairly short history as a written language and very little literature in print. Efforts by SIL in the sixties and seventies resulted in a

series of primers, early textbooks and later a translation of the New Testament for the Vietnam variety. Books of readings in Vietnamese and Bru-So were printed by the Vietnamese government in 1985 and 1986, the latter under the supervision of Hoang Tue and with contributions by Tran Giang Nam, Ho Xuan Kieu and Vuong Huu Le. These also contained glossaries of Vietnamese and Bru-So words. A current project is underway by Vuong Huu Le to produce a dictionary of the Vietnam dialect. As far as I know, nothing has been produced for any variety within Laos. In Thailand, some religious booklets were produced for the Kusuman dialect by New Tribes Mission, and a dictionary for the dialect in Khong Chiam by Theraphan and Puengpa (1980). During a recent project in northeast Thailand, we worked with speakers of six varieties of the language to produce some trial materials for these groups. During this time two seminars were held for speakers of these varieties to discuss possible ways of writing their languages using Thai script, but nothing further has been done to facilitate standardization across dialects and scripts.

Comparison: Substantial differences exist between the development of the Kadazan-Dusun and the Bru-So languages. Although Kadazan-Dusun has a long way to go in terms of achieving the level of standardization which would enable them to produce materials which would be widely accepted, they have a fifty-year history of using the language as a written vehicle for expression. Not everyone has participated in this history. In the late 80s at a workshop to produce children's literature in the language, only one or two of the primary school teachers who were participants in the workshop had ever tried to write in the language which was their mother tongue. For the Bru-So, development of the language has been much more recent and has involved primarily one area of the language chain. Differences of script between the three countries where they live as well as differences in phonology and lexicon make widespread standardization problematic.

3.2.2 Economic status

Assumption: Where speakers of the language are of equal economic status with speakers of the majority language or where knowledge of the minority language has direct economic value, the language is more likely to be maintained (Paulston 1994).

KD: I am unaware of any study which compares members of the Kadazan-Dusun group with other ethnic groups, though studies exist comparing the Malay and Chinese communities (Mead 1988). My impression is that the Kadazan-Dusun may fall behind the Chinese in economic prosperity, but they are far ahead of the many recent immigrant groups. Historically they are rice farmers, and many families continue to grow rice and vegetables even when they have other occupations as well. Rural villagers do not have access to large amounts of money, but most of them have land and access to natural resources. Kadazan-Dusun speakers are found at all economic levels within the state. The prospect of using the language for economic gain has very little probability. A few people are

employed as translators for Radio Malaysia, but this is on a part-time basis. Some Kadazan-Dusun musicians have made cassettes for sale within the community.

BS: Participation in all economic levels of society is not characteristic of the Bru-So group. Those in Vietnam and Laos have traditionally been swidden farmers. Smalley's comments about groups in this situation are that, "swidden agriculture, at least in its historic forms, is ultimately doomed. But the people who practice it usually see no alternative to it as they become poorer and hungrier" (1994:234). This describes many of the Bru-So, particularly those in Vietnam and Laos. Some villages in Thailand have good land and are able to plant wet rice. Others have very poor land and are barely able to subsist on growing manioc or sugar cane. During off-seasons agriculturally or where they have no land, they hire out as laborers. Perhaps there are wealthy Bru-So individuals, but we have yet to meet them. Use of the language for economic gain is not a possibility.

Comparison: Economically the Kadazan-Dusun people have experienced growth along with other communities of the state. They have reached the point where there are those within the community who can afford to finance language maintenance efforts. The Bru-So, on the other hand, are at the bottom of the ladder as subsistence farmers or laborers. They have little to spend on anything beyond bare necessities of themselves or their families. Neither language is seen as having any significant commercial value for employment or production purposes.

3.2.3 Social status
Assumption: Where members of a language community have achieved a level of social acceptance equal to members of the majority culture, they are more likely to value language maintenance. "Being a member of a disparaged low-status group can take its toll on the collective will of members to survive or maintain themselves as a distinct linguistic community in the intergroup structure" (Harwood et al. 1994:170).

KD: The Kadazan have played an influential role in the state of Sabah ever since it became an entity. The first Chief Minister, Donald Stephens, had a Kadazan-Dusun mother and an Australian father. Of subsequent Chief Ministers, one has been Kadazan-Dusun. Kadazan-Dusun people are found at all levels of Malaysian society both within the state and within the federation.

BS: Social status of the Bru-So in Vietnam has traditionally been very low. Only a few individuals have risen to positions of influence above the village level. During the war years, one man was chosen for leadership on the district level where there was a concentration of Bru-So villages. Since then a few individuals have held positions of leadership within that area. None are known to be participants in government activity at higher than district level. In Laos, because of fairly long-term patterns of exogamy, individuals with at least some connection to the Bru-So community have been involved in national affairs. Generally, though,

these individuals have assimilated rather completely to a Lao identity. In Thailand we have not heard of any Bru-So individuals who have had a role of influence outside of their immediate area, although, as noted in Sec.3.2.1.2 some are serving as officials at the local level.

Comparison: In terms of social status, the Kadazan-Dusun have a distinct advantage over the Bru-So. This, of course, is not unrelated to economic status (Sec. 3.2.2) and educational advantage (3.3.3), but probably goes beyond this to general ethnic stereotyping of Bru-So individuals as mentioned in Sec. 3.2.1.

3.2.4 Sociohistorical status
Assumption: Where a language is perceived to have classical or religious significance, it is more likely to be maintained (Paulston 1994; Harwood et al. 1994).

Neither Kadazan-Dusun nor Bru-So languages have any socio-historical status either locally or internationally. Neither is perceived as being of historical significance or of being important outside the area for any purpose.

3.3 Institutional support and control factors

3.3.1 Government policy
Assumption: Where government policies are pluralist rather than incorporationist or assimilationist, the language is more likely to be maintained (Schermerhorn 1970).

KD: Malaysian language policy is officially pluralist. The Malaysian constitution, while recognizing the Malay language as the national language and sole official language of the state, says "no person shall be prohibited or prevented from using (otherwise than for official purposes), or from teaching or learning any other language" (Asmah:1979:40). In the concern to establish the position of Bahasa Malaysia, however, little effort has made to encourage long-term maintenance of any of the minority languages. For some language planners in Malaysia, minority languages are seen more as a "problem" to be solved rather than a "resource" to be valued. "Though diversity is most exciting to the linguist," says Asmah (1984:13), "it proves to be a complication to the government in reaching out to the people and vice versa."

BS: In Vietnam, the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam "solemnly recognizes the right of each nationality to use its own language, and to expand its unique value" (Hoa 1985:17 quoting from Hoang Tue 1981:3). The application of this policy to the smaller "nationalities" has yet to be realized. Apart from some work on orthography development for Bru-So and the production of the two books mentioned above, it would seem that government efforts to develop minority languages have thus far concentrated on the larger groups in the north (Hoa 1985).

In Lao PDR, the Lao language is by decree the official language of the country (Compton 1989). I have been unable to find any official statement of policy toward minority languages, although close to one hundred such language communities are reported to be living within the borders of that country. In 1991 we were told unofficially that orthographies for minority languages could be developed as long as they were scientific (linguistically sound), national (using Lao script) and acceptable (to the target population). Others, however, have since been told by local officials that only the Lao language may be written with Lao script. To my knowledge nothing has been done on language development for any of the Bru-So groups in Lao PDR.

In Thailand, ultimate decisions regarding language policy have been the mandate of the Ministry of Defense (Smalley 1994) since these are felt to be a matter of national security. This has resulted, says Smalley, in greater concern for "the perceived threat of minority unrest than to the needs of Thailand's peoples" (1994:280). The place of Standard Thai as the official and national language is very much taken for granted. This policy, according to Smalley (1994), is not questioned even by those language groups who do not speak it as a mother tongue. Despite the fact that "probably more people in Thailand speak Lao as their mother tongue than are native speakers of Standard Thai," (Smalley 1994:14) and despite the large number of Northern Khmer in the nation, these groups are "remarkably invisible" (1994:140) in the language hierarchy of the nation. How much less visible, then, are the tiny pockets of Bru-So in the northeast.

Comparison: Of the four countries where Kadazan-Dusun and Bru-So are living, only Malaysia and Vietnam have officially adopted a pluralistic policy. Even in these countries, language diversity, while permitted, is probably not encouraged. In Laos and Thailand, it would seem that assimilationist policies are being pursued.

3.3.1.1 Internal acceptance of policy
Assumption: Where the minority language community agrees with the government policy, the policy will be more effective. This may have either a negative or positive effect on language maintenance, depending on government policy (Schermerhorn 1970).

KD: The Kadazan-Dusun community has been hindered by internal disagreements within the group from taking advantage of provisions allowed by the government for institutional support of their language, though there is widespread support for pursuing the options open to them (See section 3.3.3). The same ambivalence toward language maintenance (problem vs. resource) found on the national level can be seen in some segments of Kadazan-Dusun society. One Kadazan leader said, "If you asked any Kadazan person whether the Kadazan language is important to him, he would say that it is. At the same time, when you look at the way many Kadazan people have given up using their language and teaching it to their

children, you wonder how important it really is" (Lasimbang, Miller & Otigil 1992)

BS: It is hard to know to what extent the Bru-So community agrees with the expressed permission of the Vietnamese constitution to use and develop their language, since the socio-economic conditions under which they are living scarcely permit them to focus any effort on this. About Laos we have no information in this regard. In Thailand, leaders in villages we visited expressed nothing but acceptance of the role of the Thai language, even though every one, without exception, felt himself to be deficient in knowledge of the language. Most of them however, also expressed the desire to maintain their own language.

Comparison: In evaluating government policy and the agreement or disagreement of the community with the policy, it is hard to know whether to consider stated policy or de facto policy where these seem to be at variance with each other. In neither Malaysia nor Thailand where we were involved in surveys of language attitudes was there expressed any antagonism toward government policy or toward the national language. We do not know what attitudes are currently prevalent in Vietnam and Laos. In a survey of Kadazan parents, all parents without exception indicated the need for their children to know the national language (Lasimbang et al. 1992). The reasons given for this were most often based on identity rather than utility. They are Malaysian citizens. Similarly in Bru-So villages in Thailand, every village leader asked, while admitting to a lack of knowledge of Standard Thai, responded positively to the question about whether he would like to know it better.

3.3.2 Mass media
Assumption: Use of the minority language in radio, television or print media will increase the probability of its maintenance (Fishman 1980).

KD: Sabah newspapers have had since 1948 a page in the Kadazan-Dusun language. Until the mid-eighties these were in the coastal dialect. More recently some have had sections in the central dialect. Radio Malaysia has news broadcasts morning and evening in both dialects as well as several other local languages. In 1985 while we were living in a Kadazan-Dusun village our neighbors listened regularly to a humorous cultural program broadcast in the language. Cassettes of Kadazan-Dusun music produced and recorded by Kadazan-Dusun speakers are also available locally.

BS: No use of Bru-So in the mass media of any of the three countries is known.

Comparison: Kadazan-Dusun continues to be used in newspapers, on the radio and through recordings. Though this is only on the state level, members of the community are also involved in the communications industry and control *technology used to produce materials of good quality. The Bru-So are not known* to have participated in this aspect of national society in any area or at any level.

3.3.3 Education

Assumption: Where a language is used in school either as a medium of instruction or as a subject of study, it is more likely to be maintained (Fishman 1980).

KD: As mentioned earlier, the Kadazan-Dusun language was used in schools during the period of 1940-1960 where schools existed in their areas. An Education Ordinance of 1961 allowed for the teaching of the Pupils' Own Language (POL) in national schools "when this was neither Malay or English and when at least fifteen pupils requested it" (Mead 1988). Since that time Kadazan-Dusun leaders have tried on numerous occasions to have this provision implemented for Kadazan-Dusun schools. Recent word indicates that these efforts still continue. This program will involve teaching Kadazan-Dusun as a subject, not using it as a medium of instruction. Asmah states that while the concept of "consecutive bilingualism" is within the multilingual policy endorsed by the government, "there has not existed in any policy proposed by the Malaysia government...a system which provides for full biliterate bilingualism" (1979:53).

BS: The Communist Party of Vietnam has on a number of occasions endorsed the "right of nationalities to use their mother tongues in education" (Hoa 1985 quoting Van-kien Dang, Vol. 3, p. 154 as quoted by Hong Giao). To what extent this has been implemented throughout the country is not known. In Laos, minority languages are allowed to be used only in nursery school. All formal instruction must be in Lao (Compton 1989). Compton speculates that "it may be that once the general education system is firmly in place at the village level throughout Laos, that the teaching of some subjects (including literacy) in some of the minority languages may be considered and undertaken as has occurred in some other socialist countries" (1989:10). In Thailand, all education must be in Standard Thai (Smalley 1994), although teachers in minority language areas will sometimes use major regional languages orally to bridge the gap between the language of the students and Standard Thai. In the past, according to Bru-So friends in Thailand, teachers forbade them to speak their language in school or on the playground and punished them if they continued to do so.

Comparison: The possibility exists that Kadazan-Dusun may be taught in schools as a subject where this is requested if the Kadazan-Dusun community can work out problems about which dialect to use and prepare materials to do this. However, it will not be allowed to be used as a language of instruction or in any extensive way. The situation in this regard, however, looks more hopeful for them than for the Bru-So where only Vietnam even allows for the possible use of the language in schools in any capacity. The practice of punishing children caught speaking the minority language at school has proven successful in some areas of Thailand in encouraging language shift as it has in other areas where this was practiced (Walker 1984).

3.3.4 Government services

Assumption: Where the minority language can be used in government offices. clinics, etc. to request service, it will be more likely to be maintained.

KD: According to the National Language Act of 1967, no language but Malay can claim official status (Mead 1988; Asmah 1987). This has been implemented in almost all domains of official government service. While local languages are sometimes used informally within offices, all formal communication and all records are in Malay.

BS: Since very few Bru-So speakers are involved in official positions except at very low levels, the possibility does not exist for the language to be used in government services.

Comparison: Since neither Kadazan-Dusun or Bru-So are official languages, they are also not used in performing or obtaining government service.

3.3.5 Industry

Assumption: Where the language can be used in the workplace, it will be more likely to be maintained.

KD: To the extent that Kadazan-Dusun people continue to live and work in the village setting, they continue to use their language in the work domain. But more and more they are taking civil service jobs or work with private companies. In this case the language of the workplace is Malay.

BS: Bru-So who continue to live in homogenous village settings and work fields use the language in both family and work settings. In fact, the communication network for both settings is similar. Only visits to market towns require the use of another language. Those who seek employment as laborers, however, generally do so cross-culturally and must use a language of wider communication. Also, in areas of all three countries where other language speakers are moving into the village, work tends to be conducted in the dominant language.

Comparison: The Kadazan-Dusun are shifting rapidly from a primarily agrarian economy to a more complex base. With this change, the workplace is much less apt to be a place where Kadazan-Dusun is spoken. The Bru-So are also changing, as the old ways of dry-rice farming are no longer open to them. Where they seek work as laborers, this is generally with members of the dominant culture, and use of the dominant language is required.

3.3.6 Religion

Assumption: Where the language is used for group religious functions it is more likely to be maintained (Paulston 1994).

KD: Large segments of the Kadazan-Dusun society have become Christian. For these segments, the church (both in Catholic and Protestant areas) has been a strong supporter of Kadazan-Dusun language use. Most services, except in areas of mixed language populations, are conducted in the Kadazan-Dusun language, and liturgy and scriptures have been translated into both coastal and central dialects. Those who maintain traditional Kadazan-Dusun rituals are fewer in number, but they continue to use the Kadazan-Dusun language in rituals. Those segments which have embraced Islam do not have the same reinforcement of the language in religious domains.

BS: In the past, the Bru-So culture has been predominantly animistic. Religious rituals were conducted in the Bru-So language or in a special formulaic language learned by religious practitioners in long and complex chants. Some in Vietnam and Laos have adopted Christianity. These continue to use their own language in village services, but use the Lao or Vietnamese language when they meet with those from outside the language community. Bru-So in Thailand have largely embraced Buddhism and conduct worship ceremonies in Thai or Lao.

Comparison: Religious practice for both the Kadazan-Dusun and Bru-So continues to be within the vernacular language domain for those maintaining traditional religious practices or those who have become Christian. For those who have become Muslim or Buddhist, the religious domain has shifted to a dominant language. Comparative figures are not available, but I suspect that influence toward shift is stronger for the Bru-So than the Kadazan-Dusun in this domain.

3.3.7 Culture
Assumption: Where the minority group maintains control of cultural functions and conducts these in the minority language, the language is more likely to be maintained.

KD: Certain cultural functions such as the Harvest Festival continue to be celebrated by the community at large, and this festival is recognized as a legal holiday within the state of Sabah. Ceremonies are conducted in the Kadazan-Dusun language at the village level. At the district and state levels, Kadazan-Dusun, Malay and English are all used. Some more recent events (such as the Bamboo Festival in Tambunan) have been initiated to provide a forum for cultural exchange. The Kadazan-Dusun Cultural Association has promoted writing contests and other cultural competitions from time to time. The recent launching of the Kadazan-Dusun dictionary included a riddle contest in the language and a display of traditional oratory. On the village level, in marriage negotiations, funeral rites, etc., the language of use depends on the parties involved and their preference. Code mixing and code switching are common, particularly in areas close to town areas.

BS: I do not know to what extent cultural functions continue to be observed in Bru-So areas of Vietnam and Laos. During the 60s certain traditional ceremonies (such as the *rapup*) brought people together from throughout the language area. Other occasions, such as marriages, brought together people from the village or villages involved in the transaction. Reports indicate that these village-level gatherings still continue. In Thailand, however, very few traditional cultural events have been preserved. In one village of northeast Thailand only one yearly ritual on the village level is still maintained. Other celebrations follow Thai holidays and customs.

Comparison: In Sabah, an effort has been made to maintain some Kadazan-Dusun cultural events. When these involve participation by people from wide areas, however, the language used in the celebrations is more apt to be Malay and/or English. With Bru-So groups, social events would seem to be restricted to the village level, and in Thailand most of the cultural events follow Thai customs.

3.3.8 Politics
Assumption: Where political activity (campaign speeches, government policy speeches, etc.) is carried out in the minority language, the language is more likely to be maintained.

KD: In Malaysia, party politics often follows ethnic lines, and "political parties which are largely non-Malay in membership tend to use a language other than the national language as their official medium of communication..." (Asmah 1987:23). So, within the villages, political speeches tend to be in some dialect of Kadazan-Dusun. In a broader forum, these are more likely to be in Malay or English.

BS: Few, if any, Bru-So speakers are involved in political activity above the village level, and outside politicians courting their votes are unable to use the Bru-So language. In Thailand, of eighteen villages surveyed, ten reported using the Bru-So language in village meetings at least part of the time. Five use it some of the time and five use only Lao or Thai. Fifteen of the eighteen village leaders use only Lao or Thai when addressing the village over the loud-speaker in the village (Miller 1994).

Comparison: In Sabah, the expectation of the Kadazan-Dusun people is that their representatives will be able to use their language, and this is done on the village level. Across dialect and language lines, however, Malay and/or English (now more commonly Malay) will be used. For the Bru-So in Thailand, the political domain largely belongs to Lao or Thai, and these languages are used often even within the village for village meetings and announcements.

3.4 Attitudinal factors and affective factors

While some of these are implicit in the categories listed above, I have included them here because they seem to be of special importance. Although they are hard to quantify, they make up a large share of that ephemeral quality referred to by Paulston as "ethnic pride or ethnic stubbornness" (1994:16) -- that quality which causes a group to persist and maintain its language and culture against all odds.

3.4.1 Language Beliefs

Assumption: Where general, normative, personal and goal beliefs are positive, language maintenance is likely to continue (Allard & Landry 1992).

KD: Only very preliminary work has been attempted in order to discover the ethnolinguistic vitality beliefs of the Kadazan-Dusun community. A 1992 study of Kadazan-Dusun parents of primary school children found that beliefs of the personal type are fairly strong. Kadazan parents have strong feelings for the maintenance of the language as a part of belonging to the Kadazan-Dusun community and having the satisfaction of being able to speak their own language (Lasimbang et al. 1992). Other aspects of language belief were not addressed by the survey.

BS: Only anecdotal information is available regarding ethnolinguistic vitality beliefs among Bru-So communities in Vietnam and Laos. In the area of normative beliefs, the Bru-So of Vietnam had a very strong sense of their language having been given them in the beginning by *Yiang Sursi*, the creator spirit. As such, it was important to preserve it, especially since through ignorance and carelessness they had failed to preserve the original animal skin parchment on which it had been written. The survey of villages in northeast Thailand included questions on general beliefs and goal beliefs. Although village leaders in thirteen of the eighteen villages visited said there were no villagers who were unable to speak the minority language, about half of them said they thought the language would no longer continue to be spoken in another generation. When asked about the desire for written materials in the language, all but one (who expressed his desire for the language to die out) indicated that this would be good. Reasons given for this involved the desire to preserve the language and teach it to their children (Miller 1994).

Comparison: This is an area inviting further study for both Kadazan-Dusun and Bru-So communities. In the area of personal belief, Kadazan-Dusun parents have expressed strong feelings of identification with the language. In the area of normative beliefs, it would seem that at least some of the Bru-So feel that the language *ought* to be maintained. In the area of general beliefs, about half of the Bru-So leaders interviewed in Thailand thought the language would cease to be spoken in another generation or two. But no definitive statements can be formulated on the basis of such sketchy information.

3.4.2 Intergenerational transmission

Assumption: Where parents continue to use the minority language in the home domain with their children, the language is more likely to be maintained (Fishman 1991).

KD: In the abovementioned survey of Kadazan-Dusun parents, 44% reported Kadazan-Dusun to be the language of use in the home. 35% use both Kadazan-Dusun and Malay, and 9% use Kadazan-Dusun, Malay and English. Only 9% report no use of Kadazan-Dusun in the home (Lasimbang et al. 1992). When evaluating their children's ability in Kadazan-Dusun and Malay, however, 69% said their children spoke Malay "well" or "very well," while only 62% said their children spoke Kadazan-Dusun to that level. 40% said their children spoke both languages equally well. 35% said their children were better in Malay than Kadazan-Dusun and 25% that their children were better in Kadazan-Dusun than Malay. So although Kadazan-Dusun is still fairly widely used in the home, Malay is making strong inroads into this domain. This survey was taken in the coastal area where contact with outsiders is very high. Probably in areas farther from urban centers, home use of Kadazan-Dusun would be equally strong if not stronger.

BS: No comprehensive information is available about home use of the language in Bru-So areas of Vietnam and Laos. A Bru-So friend living in Laos reports that in many areas of Laos, the home language is shifting to Lao, but it is not known how extensive this is. In Thailand, home maintenance of the minority language is strong in twelve of the eighteen villages visited. Two villages reported both the vernacular and Lao to be used in the home and four reported a shift to Lao in the home domain (Miller 1994).

Comparison: While bilingualism is clearly the norm for both Kadazan-Dusun and Bru-So communities, in areas from which data is available the minority language continues to be used at home either mainly or partly. This would indicate that children are still at least passively competent in the language in most cases.

3.4.3 Leadership

Assumption: Where leaders promote and encourage language use and language pride, the language is more likely to be maintained (Wardhaugh 1987).

KD: In recent years the Kadazan-Dusun community has had strong leaders who speak for language and culture maintenance. This includes leaders in the educational, government and business communities. Datuk Joseph Pairin Kitingan, who in the early 80s was recognized as the *huguan siou* or titular head of the Kadazan-Dusun people and holds the position of President of the Kadazan Dusun Cultural Association wrote in the Foreword to the recently published dictionary of the language (Kitingan 1995):

Lose your language and you'll lose your culture,
Lose your culture and you'll lose your identity;
Lose your language and you'll lose mutual understanding,
Lose your mutual understanding and you'll lose harmony, mutual support and peace;
Lose your peace and you'll lose your brotherhood,
Lose your brotherhood and you'll lose your mutual destiny.

BS: The Bru-So community has had no advocates on the national or even state level to promote language and culture maintenance. On the village level, however, it is possible to see the effects of leadership in the area of language maintenance. In the village where the headman indicated it was best for the language to die out, villagers younger than thirty-five or forty were unable to speak the language at all. In another village where the headman actively promotes the language by using it in village meetings, on the loudspeaker and on signboards in the village, I mentioned to one of the young men that some Bru-So people no longer want to maintain their language. "Why?" he asked. "Because they say people laugh at them and look down at them and tell them their language is of no value," I replied. "Well they tell us the same thing," the young man returned, "but we don't want to give up our language." While no direct causation link can be proven by such anecdotal incidents, they happen often enough to make one feel that the attitude of leadership within the community is a strong factor in continued language maintenance.

4. Conclusion

What does the above information tell us? Clearly the position of the Kadazan-Dusun group for language maintenance is stronger than that of the Bru-So in most areas. This is particularly clear in the areas of status and institutional support factors.

On the other hand, some of the very factors which give the Kadazan-Dusun community a stronger position in terms of their social status and economic standing within the state and nation militate against language maintenance. These include exogamy, urbanization, work opportunities which take them far afield, education in Malay and English, etc.

While the Bru-So lack status for their language, and institutional support for it, they do show fairly strong maintenance in home domains and moderately positive attitudes toward preservation of their language. The exclusion from participation in government institutions and positions of authority within the dominant culture which the Bru-So experience in some places is not positive for the society over the long term. But it does tend to promote continued maintenance of their own culture and language for the present.

4.1 Probability of long-term maintenance for Kadazan-Dusun and Bru-So languages

Neither Kadazan-Dusun nor Bru-So are languages for which long-term language maintenance would be predicted by most objective measures of prediction. But language shift, says Fishman is "neither as inescapable nor as easily remediable as simplistic 'either-or' thinking would have it" (1991:60).

Some factors cannot be changed. These groups will always be subordinate to dominant cultures around them. They will always be small in relation to dominant national groups. Their demographic base will not become greater or more concentrated. Their languages will never be accorded the status of national or even official languages.

Hopefully some things will change, particularly for the Bru-So in the areas of economic equality, educational advantage and social acceptance. Efforts toward increased development of the languages can continue. For both groups an increase in materials produced in the languages could and should be encouraged. The Frisian community, whose situation parallels the Kadazan-Dusun in many ways, is said to publish one hundred Frisian titles annually (Ytsma, Viladot & Giles 1994).

It is also possible, according to Allard & Landry to bring about change in the ethnolinguistic vitality beliefs of a group. Since these are based on the sum of a person's communication network and also contribute to choices made about language use within the communication network,

> "these beliefs can be nurtured, if we seek to promote an additive form of bilingualism, while also nurturing beliefs conducive to second language learning. It may be difficult to modify the structural variables that are the basis for the objective EV of a community at the sociological level, but it may be possible, through effective educational programs, to change the subjective EV of both minority and majority group individuals. Minority group individuals, when schooled in their first language, can acquire strong personal beliefs that may foster language maintenance even in low EV conditions" (1992:192.3).

4.2 Cost of language maintenance for Kadazan-Dusun and Bru-So language communities

The cost of language maintenance is high, and most of the burden for it will rest with the minority language communities themselves. Generally, minority languages cannot count on strong governmental support or support from the dominant language communities.

Paulston points out that "While moral decency dictates the language rights of minority groups, it does not necessarily follow that the state is under any obligation to economically support such rights..." (1994:40). Increasingly in recent years the Kadazan-Dusun community has demonstrated the willingness to shoulder this burden. The recent formation of a language institute and a language foundation

within the Kadazan-Dusun community with goals for literature production and language promotion is evidence of this. But for the Bru-So community few such *resources exist, and the leadership and financial capability to undertake this task* seem a long way off.

It is not only in terms of finances that language maintenance proves a burden, and some have wondered whether it is worth the effort. Denison (1988), when asked to help with language maintenance efforts for a small group in Italy, questioned the tremendous output of labor necessary to do this. He finally decided that the historical continuity of the group provided this justification. "This can most realistically and enrichingly be understood," he states, "within a compound ethnicity, containing other linguistic and cultural strands, too, but linked with a clear determination not to surrender, in particular, the historical minority linguistic tradition which is not infrequently the chief identifying characteristic of members of *the sub-group vis-a-vis non-members and toward each other*" (1988:7).

4.3 Possible strategies to encourage language maintenance

While most of the burden for language maintenance will of necessity be borne by the minority language communities themselves, there is often a role to play on the part of concerned outsiders.

This may involve presenting options so that the group can make informed decisions regarding the use of their language. Some Kadazan-Dusun parents, for example, fear that to use their own language with their children will put the children under a burden to learn two languages, which will hinder them in learning the national language. Their attempt to switch to Malay (in which they themselves have limited competence of a non-standard variety) causes even greater problems to their children. They could be helped by learning about studies in bilingualism which show the benefits of mother-tongue maintenance even for success in national language education.

This may involve advocacy on the national level, where fears of ethnic divisiveness and concerns for national unity cause fear on the part of dominant cultures. They can be helped by access to studies of successful integration of minority groups in nations which have not only allowed but encouraged continued ethnic and linguistic diversity.

This may involve encouraging minority groups by showing them the richness of their linguistic heritage. For example, in some areas of Northeast Thailand where Mahidol University graduate students have gone to do thesis studies, people have begun to feel that perhaps their language is worth studying if these outsiders are interested in it. They have expressed pride when they could show to members of the dominant culture a glossary or phrase book which had Thai and English as a

part of it. They have appreciated technical help in recording, transcribing and compiling some of their rich oral history into written booklets.

This may involve providing opportunities for training for people from minority groups to enable them to carry out the many tasks relating to language development. At the Kadazan-Dusun Standardization Symposium in 1989, Benedict Topin made a strong appeal to the participants for the training of some of their own people in linguistics so they could carry out this work (Topin 1989). Several have or are currently taking up such studies.

Blaze Koneski, a Macedonian poet and language advocate who knew first-hand the struggle to maintain a minority language, wrote shortly before his death:

> "I was asked more than once the direct question whether it is worthwhile for someone to create a language for two million people. What could I answer? I could have taken it in good humor and replied that considering that I am not wealthy, it was not lucrative work. However, I replied in all seriousness that someone who knows better than all of us how the world should be arranged obviously decided that apart from the big peoples and languages there should be small peoples and languages" (Friedman 1994:216).

Ultimately the Kadazan-Dusun and the Bru-So people of each succeeding generation will have to decide for themselves whether the desire to maintain their language is worth the effort. So the question will continue to be asked as long as there are speakers of these languages.

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