

LANGUAGE PRESERVATION & REVITALISATION: THE ROLE OF UNIVERSITI MALAYSIA SABAH¹

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ABSTRACT

Of 6,912 languages in the world, half may be in danger of disappearing in the next several decades. In some areas, a language community has been so ravaged by warfare or disease that the entire group is dying out. Other languages are dying because parents are not teaching their children to speak their mother tongue, instead teaching them major languages such as English or Spanish or French or Malay for economic reasons. This scenario happens to the 54 languages in Sabah as well. Only one indigenous language is being taught in school. Many are only spoken by older generations and most children do not speak their mother tongues at all because Malay is the home language to them. If this continues, most of these languages will disappear before the end of the century. Thus, this paper highlights the role in which UMS can play in the effort of preserving and revitalizing some of the diverse and endangered languages of Sabah.

INTRODUCTION

To understand the terms "preservation" and "revitalisation," first we have to understand the current state of a language. Linguists have a variety of grim-sounding terms for languages with few or no native speakers. A language which has no native speakers (people who grew up speaking the language as a child) is called "dead" or "extinct." A language which has no native speakers in the youngest generation is called "moribund." A language which has very few native speakers is called "endangered" or "imperiled"². Language preservation and revitalisation are the rescue of a "dying" language. Language revival is the resurrection of a "dead" language.

No one knows exactly how many languages exist in the world today but an estimation by Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL)³ is 6,912 languages in the world. Roughly 1,000 are spoken in the Americas (15 percent), 2,060 in Africa (35 percent), 230 in Europe (3 percent), 2,200 in Asia (28 percent) and, perhaps, 1,300 in the Pacific (19 percent). Few people know that half of these languages may be

in danger of disappearing in the next several decades. Only about 10 percent of these languages in the world are "safe" from the threat of extinction. The other 90 percent are endangered, as they are either moribund or nearly extinct. One language disappears on average every two weeks. 96 percent of the world's languages are spoken by 4 percent of the world's population; conversely 4 percent of the world's languages are spoken by 96 percent of the world's population.

LINGUISTIC OVERVIEW IN SABAH

In Malaysia there are 140 living languages and one dead language, namely the Seru of Kabang in the second division of Sarawak. Of this number, three languages are nearly extinct namely the Minti of Tamun River in Pahang, which has 40 speakers; Orang Kanaq of southeast and northeast of Mawai with 34 speakers; and the Punan Batu I of the central and west of Long Geng and also the southeast of Belaga, Sarawak having only 30 speakers.

Among the 140 languages, 40 languages are spoken in Peninsular Malaysia, 46 languages are spoken in Sarawak and the 54 languages are spoken in Sabah. As Sabah has 54 languages and 83 sub-languages, 33 languages are considered as indigenous languages of Sabah or languages which cultural centre is considered to be in Sabah⁴. According to the 1999 statistics, the indigenous (Bumiputera) made up 41.3 percent, the Chinese 10.5 percent, other non-bumiputeras 8.8 percent and non-citizen 29.1 percent of the population. Amongst the Bumiputeras, the Kadazan/Dusun subgroup forms the largest group that is 18.2 percent of the population, where most of them live in the West Coast and interior of Sabah especially in Tuaran, Ranau, Keningau, Tambunan, Papar and Penampang districts. The Bajaus form the second largest group that is 11.4 percent of the population. They inhabit mostly in Semporna, Kota Belud, Sandakan and Kota Kinabalu districts. This is followed by the third largest group, the Malays. Most of them inhabit Kota Kinabalu, Sandakan, Papar, Tawau and Beaufort districts. Amongst the larger non-bumiputeras is the Chinese, who inhabit the major towns such as Kota Kinabalu, Sandakan, Lahad Datu and Tawau. As for the non-citizens, they are immigrants such as Indonesians, the Filipinos, the Bangladeshis and the Pakistanis. These groups inhabit Tawau, Sandakan and Lahad Datu districts. Thus, this diverse ethnicity has resulted in numerous languages and dialects⁵.

Because of this diverse ethnicity, it would be quite difficult to imagine the communication among the heterogeneous Sabahan without a common language or a lingua franca⁶. Thus, most Sabahans speak Bahasa Melayu or Malay

language, the standard variety of the national language besides Sabah Malay Dialect⁷ (SMD) a dialect of Malay due to social and economic factors.

With such a diverse ethnicity, inter-marriages would be a very common practice among Sabahans. As parentage is the major determinant of language choice, Malay (either the standard variety or SMD) is also a home language to most of the mixed-parentage children. Today, it is even the home language of some of the non-mixed parentage children. Parents choose to teach their children the Malay language instead of their mother tongue because it is the medium of instruction in schools and the official language of the country. To some extent most children today do not know their mother tongue at all, even if they do, they would be too ashamed to speak it⁸.

WHAT IS AN ENDANGERED LANGUAGE?

An endangered language is a language headed for extinction. Endangered languages are languages that are on the brink of extinction, much like endangered species of plants or animals. Languages are considered to be nearly extinct when only a few elderly speakers are still living. It is a language without monolingual speakers, people who speak only that particular language. It is a language spoken by a minority of people in the nation.

Some of the forces that contribute to language loss are the impact of urbanization, westernization, global communication, discrimination, war, disease, hunger, and population movements. These forces diminish the self-sufficiency and self-confidence of small and traditional communities. As a result, parents do not pass their language to their children because they feel that speaking the majority language better equips their offspring for success in the majority culture than speaking their own less prestigious language.

While there is no definite threshold for identifying a language as endangered, three main criteria are used as guidelines⁹:

- i. The number of speakers currently living.
- ii. The mean age of native and/or fluent speakers.
- iii. The percentage of the youngest generation acquiring fluency with the language in question.

In contrast, a language with only 100 speakers might be considered very much alive if it is the primary language of a community, and is the first (or only) language of all children in that community.

A case in point is North America. Prior to the arrival of Columbus, 300 indigenous languages were spoken in North America. Since then, roughly half

of these languages have become extinct for some or all of the reasons described above. Many of the remaining languages are near extinction with only a few elderly speakers left. According to some projections, only 20 indigenous American languages will remain by the middle of the 21st century¹⁰. The same is true of hundreds of languages in Australia, Africa, Asia, and Central and South America.

When White settlers first arrived in Australia, it was estimated that more than 250 distinct Aboriginal languages were spoken. Today, that number has dropped to fifteen. The Pitjantjara choir from the isolated desert country in northern South Australia still sings in traditional language, but it is one of the few dialects in Australia still spoken by its entire community. One indigenous language is lost each year in Australia. If the trend is left unchecked, it is estimated that by 2050 no indigenous languages will exist in any meaningful sense in Australia. These languages are the oldest languages in the world languages¹¹.

Many Eskimo languages are endangered too. 20 years ago, all of the children in the Yupik community in Alaska spoke Yupik¹²; now the youngest speakers are in their 20's. Many languages today have only one remaining speaker. For example, Mary Smith¹³, 83, of Anchorage, Alaska, says she is the last speaker of Eyak. She does not like to be the last one. "It's horrible to be alone," says Smith who grew up speaking Eyak. "I am the last person that talks in our language - the last of the Eyaks". There are many languages which have only one speaker such as Red Thundercloud, the last speaker of a Native American language in South Carolina; Ned Mandrell, the last speaker of Manx language and Arthur Bennett the last speaker of Mbabaram of Australia¹⁴. What has happened to these voices? They will take voices or languages with them to the grave.

CAUSES OF LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT

The world faces enormous challenges in maintaining language diversity. Of the more than 6,800 languages, half may be in danger of disappearing in the next several decades. As mentioned earlier, the impact of urbanization, westernization, global communication, discrimination, war, disease, hunger, and population movements are among the forces that contribute to language loss and language endangerment.

Other main factors¹⁵ that contribute to this condition are the small number of speakers, their ages, whether or not children are using the language, the regular use of other languages in various cultural settings, feelings of ethnic identity and attitudes about their language in general, the urban drift of the (often younger) population, government and church policies, the language or languages used in education, as well as economic intrusion and exploitation. The language may also lack compelling influences to maintain its integrity, such

as an alphabet, a body of literature, and dynamic users who read and write it. The language may also lack prestige and the passionate support of its speakers.

It is true that in the natural course of things, languages, like everything else, sometimes die. Some language communities have been so ravaged by warfare or disease that they are dying out. Other languages are dying because parents are teaching their children English, French, Spanish or some other dominant languages¹⁶ instead of their own language or mother tongue for social and economic reasons. Because it is not useful in the society, perhaps even a social liability, an endangered language is not passed on by parents to their children. Speaking the majority language better equips children for success in the majority culture than speaking a less prestigious language. It is hard to imagine that at least 10 percent of the world's living languages are now spoken by fewer than 100 people¹⁷. Clearly, communities cannot sustain serious daily use of a language for even a generation with such a small number of speakers.

The prestige of a language and the self-esteem of its speakers play pivotal roles in revitalisation¹⁸. For example, the saddest tragedy that strikes when one's language and culture are threatened is the case of the Suruwahás, one of Amazonian groups¹⁹. The Suruwahá people make poison for blowgun darts. However, in the years following their first contact with the outside world, in the early 1980's, they began to commit suicide, drinking their own curare. Out of a population of only a couple of hundred, just this past summer eight adults and teenagers committed suicide on the same day. No one fully understands why they kill themselves. But the answer seems to be related to their sense of fragility and smallness as a person, the idea that their language, culture, and values cannot compete with those from the outside. It is as though they take the death of their community literally. For many people, like these Amazonian groups, the loss of language brings loss of identity and sense of community, loss of traditional spirituality, and even loss of the will to live.

Apart from that, some governments actively discourage minority language use. For decades, it was illegal to speak Macedonian or sing Macedonian songs in Greece²⁰. That situation is reflected in the history of Native American languages in the United States.

Next, some languages, such as those in Indonesia may have tens of thousands of speakers but be endangered because children are no longer learning them, or speakers are in the process of shifting to using the national language Indonesian (or a local Malay variety) in place of local languages²¹. Malaysia has similar case where speakers of minority especially the indigenous languages in the process of shifting to the national language that is Bahasa Melayu. Those who primarily speak one of the world's major languages may find it hard to

understand what losing one's language can mean, and may even feel that the world would be better off if everyone speaks the same language.

IMPLICATION OF LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT

Historical documentation has shown at least 3,000 of the world's 6,000-7,000 languages are able to be lost. The question that arises is "why should we care?". This language death is significant because²²:

- i. An enormous number of languages represents a vast, largely unmapped terrain on which linguists, cognitive scientists, and philosophers can chart the full capabilities and limits of the mind.
- ii. Languages embody unique local knowledge of cultures and natural systems in the region in which it is spoken.
- iii. Languages serve as evidence for understanding human history.

Language is the most efficient means of transmitting a culture, and it is the owner of that culture that loses the most when a language dies. Every culture has adapted to unique circumstances, and the language expresses those circumstances. While a community may not lose its sense of identity when it loses its language, identity is closely associated with language. When Yugoslavia broke up, it was very important that the Serbo-Croatian language spoken in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, and Montenegro be called 'Croatian' by the Croatians, 'Bosnian' by the Bosnians, and so on.²³ People identify their culture as closely with their languages as with their religion. What we talk about, think, or believe is closely bound up with the words we have, so the history of a culture can be mapped in its language.

Each language lost leaves a gap in our understanding of the variable cognitive structures of which the human brain is capable. Studies of different languages have revealed vastly different ways of representing and interpreting the world²⁴. Some American languages, for example, reveal a completely different understanding of the nature of time. Losing this linguistic diversity will be a blow not only for cultural studies but also for cognitive science.

People from other cultures are also impoverished when any language dies. The history tied up in a language will go unrecorded; the poetry and rhythm of a singular tongue will be silenced forever. The scientific search for Universal Grammar, the common starting point for all grammars that human children seem to be born with, depends on our knowing what all human languages have in common. The loss of languages that we face today will greatly restrict how much we can

learn about human cognition, language, and language acquisition at a time when the achievements in these arenas have been greater than ever before²⁵.

Thus, what is lost when a language is lost is another world as valuable as ethnographic and cultural information disappears when a language is lost. People's identity and culture are intimately tied to their language. For example there are nine different words in Maya for the colour blue in the comprehensive Porrua Spanish-Maya Dictionary but just three Spanish translation, leaving six butterflies that can only be seen by the Maya, proving beyond doubt that when the language dies six butterflies disappear from the consciousness of the earth²⁶.

PRESERVATION AND REVITALISATION

Once the majority of the young people in a community do not understand a language anymore, its usage declines rapidly. This is where language preservation and language revitalization come in to the rescue of a "dying" language. This is needed and vital before a language is dead, as language revival or resurrection of a "dead" language²⁷ is a more difficult task.

Realisation and initiatives have to come first from the speakers of the language and also the local government. To preserve and revitalize endangered language, we need at least, to identify which languages are endangered around the world, to learn enough about them to produce a dictionary, a grammar and a written form of the language, to train native speakers of these languages as teachers and linguists, and to secure government support for protecting and respecting these languages and their speakers²⁸. It is a daunting but vital task for all of us.

Crystal²⁹ provides six primary factors for revitalising a language. He states that an endangered language will progress if its speakers:

- i. Increase their prestige within the dominant community.
- ii. Increase their wealth relative to the dominant community.
- iii. Increase their legitimate power in the eyes of the dominant community.
- iv. Have a strong presence in the educational system.
- v. Write their language down.
- vi. Make use of electronic technology.

Languages are not only extremely adequate tools of communication, but also reflect a view of the world. Languages are vehicles of value systems and of cultural expressions and they constitute a determining factor in the identity of groups and individuals. Thus, first and foremost, it is a need to increase the self-esteem, sense of belonging, sense of worth of a community who has a small

number of speakers and the minority of a nation. If a speaker has a strong feeling towards his or her language, he or she will be proud to continue using the language. By doing so it can reinforce the use of the language in homes and other domestic settings.

Secondly, before a language can be taught at school, it must have an orthography or a writing system, for example 80 percent of the African languages have no orthography³⁰ and only a handful languages in Sabah have orthography such as the Kadazandusun and Iranun. Only by having orthography, a language can be written down and read by its speakers and others. Folktales, songs, events, speeches and ceremonies of the community can be written, documented and published. With the help of modern technologies, voices, documents, pictures, videos, movies can be saved, recorded and documented safely. By doing so, this can expand the use of the written language in the public domain.

Many of the world's ethnolinguistic minorities at the turn of the millennium, members of the Iranun community have been concerned about what they perceive as a decline in the use of their ethnic language among the younger generation. Their concern is that their children, who are required to learn the national language, Malay, for formal education, are achieving fluency neither in their mother tongue, nor in the national language. In addition, community members are concerned about the amount of cultural heritage and knowledge that is being lost as the older generation dies. In an effort to promote the use of their mother tongue and preserve their heritage, the Iranun community has begun several language development projects. These include developing a written form of their language, using computer technology to develop a library of mother tongue literature, and planning a mother tongue pre-school programme as a means of enhancing their children's cognitive functioning and improving their acquisition of Malay and later English. The key emphasis in these activities is that they are developed as people-centred and community-based processes³¹. The last and most important state is to get the language to be taught to children at schools. It is vital to give a language a strong presence in schools³². In Malaysia, three indigenous languages are taught at schools, they are Iban, Kadazandusun and Semai. In Sabah, through the passing of the new Education Bill in Parliament, the Kadazandusun³³ language was instated as 'Pupils' Own Language' (POL) in 1995, authorising its teaching in schools throughout Sabah. A reference dialect - Bunduliwan was chosen as the base of the standard Kadazandusun language.

In 1997, implementation for Year 4 in schools throughout the State as well as the trial for Year 5 in the 15 selected primary schools was conducted. In 2000, the Kadazandusun language teaching is implemented in Year 4, 5 and 6

throughout the State³⁴. In 1997, Kadazandusun language is taught at Universiti Malaysia Sabah.

Preservation and revitalization are important, as each and every language is unique. On the positive side, one language can enrich another—for example, by providing words and concepts not available in the other language. Most languages (including English) have borrowed words of all kinds. Learning another language often brings an appreciation of other people and cultures. For example many words for the ethnic or indigenous languages are borrowed into Malay. For example '*ngabi*' is an Iranun word meaning 'dinner' has been borrowed into Malay to replaced the Malay word '*makan malam*' and many more³⁵.

THE ROLE OF UNIVERSITI MALAYSIA SABAH

In 1997, UMS has taken up the responsibility of promoting the Kadazandusun language by teaching it as one of the options language course alongside with other foreign language courses such as English, Japanese, Chinese, and Spanish. Today UMS offers additional language courses namely Malay, Arabic, French, Tamil, German, and Russian. UMS could offer more indigenous language courses of the Sabah besides Kadazandusun at higher institution level if more languages have been instated as POL by the government. Some of the indigenous communities and their leaders do realize the need of their language to be taught at school. However, this process takes time. The School of Education and Social Development of UMS could also teach and train more teachers to teach indigenous languages at schools beginning with the Kadazandusun language. With more POL instatements it also means UMS could have more ethnics chairs. More ethnic chairs means more grants. More grant means more research could be done.

In the meantime, UMS could offer a linguistics programme either attached to the Centre of the Promotion of Knowledge and Language Learning (PPIB)³⁶ or to the School of Social Sciences³⁷. This programme produces students or graduates with degrees in linguistics; students who know the importance of the existence of diverse languages; students who love languages; and most of all, students who could do research on languages. At the moment, Sabah has only a handful of local linguists³⁸ and it is lucky to get help from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) whose researchers are mostly Americans, Europeans and South Africans. Offering a degree in linguistics is the first step of training local researchers as Sabah provides an excellent training and research ground with its current linguistic diversity.

One response to language endangerment is the creation of new discipline within linguistics called "language documentation"³⁹ along side with "language description"⁴⁰. The aim of language documentation is to provide a comprehensive record of the linguistic practice characteristic of a given speech community. Linguistic practices and traditions are manifested in two ways. First, the observable linguistic behavior manifests in everyday interaction between members of the speech community. Second, the native speakers' metalinguistic knowledge, manifest in their ability to provide interpretations and systematizations for linguistic units and events. Linguists all over the world are trying to document as many as they can by describing grammars and structural features, by recording spoken language and by using computers to store this information for study by scholars. Many endangered languages are only spoken. There are no written texts, grammars and dictionaries. Only about a quarter of the world languages and few dialects have writing systems and not all languages have even been "discovered" by Western linguistics. This is particularly true in the case of the indigenous languages of Sabah. So it is important to act quickly in order to revive them before they go extinct. This is where linguistic students of UMS can come in the picture to help to document these disappearing voices and cultures. Students will be taught how to use computers and modern technology⁴¹ to save, record and document all the voices, speeches, folktale, stories, ceremonies and rituals of all the local communities. Videos and movies can be made too by these linguistic students as part of their assignments.

UMS can be the language archive or the centre of language data. Archiving involves preparing materials so that they are as informative and explicitly expressed as possible, encoding them in the best ways to ensure their long-term accessibility, and then storing them safely. Archiving is for the potential benefit of the language community, for the safekeeping of the researcher's own work, and for use by other researchers and interested people in the future.

All the materials that a project creates are usable resources that should be archived with a reliable archive, with very few exceptions which include raw notes, or unedited video and audio. Normally, an archive will allow the researcher to reserve access to some materials for research purposes for a certain period of time during and after the research, but materials should remain accessible to those who provided the data and possibly other language community members, except under special circumstances. Perhaps, only at a later stage a digital archive⁴² could be established in UMS. Digital archiving involves much more than handing over data files so that others can store them or work on them. Archivists encourage rich, structured documentations that match the capabilities of the digital medium. Important layers of linguistic representation can be added

through the use of suitable technologies to structure data and make links between various items of data.

Linguistic students are encouraged to have more language activities such as visiting villages and doing charitable work to the villagers. This will increase prestige and self worth of the community. Students should also be allowed to have their ethnic associations not for political purpose but a social one. This will provide ground to speak their language and increase a sense of belonging within the community.

CONCLUSION

As Malaysia has achieved its independence almost half a century ago and the Malay language is widely used and accepted as the official language, indigenous linguistic preservation and revitalisation in the name of the survival of diversity is fundamental. This is vital not only in the ethical need to recover the inheritance of the past and the cultural heritage of the people whose cultural identity is being threatened, but also in the potential richness this diversity has for the speakers of all languages as language is the soul of the people, in line with the Malay saying, "*bahasa jiwa bangsa, hilang bahasa hilanglah bangsa*". Loss of language brings loss of identity and sense of community, loss of traditional spirituality and even loss of the will to live.

To save these endangered languages around the world require a massive effort by linguists, anthropologists, and other interested individuals. The preservation and revitalisation of indigenous languages as a fight need struggle for the survival of diversity both in the communities where the speakers are aware of this need, as well as those who are not so aware of it.

NOTES

¹ This paper is presented at the *Kursus Penilaian Tahap Kecekapan 4*, on 5th - 10th December 2005, at Universiti Malaysia Sabah.

² Definitions adopted from Redish. 2001. <http://www.native-languages.com/>

³ Gordon, Raymond G., Jr. (ed.). 2005. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. <http://www.ethnologue.com>.

⁴ King King (1984).

⁵ Wong (2000).

⁶ *Lingua franca* is a language that is used for communication between different groups of people, each speaking different language. The *lingua franca* could be an internationally used language of communication, e.g. English; it

could be the native language of one of the groups, or it could be a language which is not spoken natively by any of the groups but has a simplified sentence structure and vocabulary, and is often a mixture of two or more languages (Richards, Platt Weber 1987).

⁷ Sabah Malay Dialect (SMD) is a distinct variety from the standard Malay especially in its phonological structures. For more detail see Wong (2000).

⁸ Pandikar Amin Haji Mulia (2005).

⁹ *Endangered Language*. <http://www.wikipedia.com/>

¹⁰ *Endangered Language*. <http://www.nvtc.gov/lotw/index.html>

¹¹ Moves to save dying Languages. *Indigenous News*. <http://www.abc.net.au/>

¹² Everett, (2005) From Threatened Languages to Threatened Lives. *Endangered Language Initiative*. <http://www.yourdictionary.com/>

¹³ Moves to save dying Languages. *Indigenous news* <http://www.abc.net.au/>

¹⁴ see Nettle & Romaine (2002).

¹⁵ *Endangered Language*. <http://www.ethnologue.com/>

¹⁶ According to Ethnologue (2005) the 10 largest languages spoken in the world are 1. Chinese (Mandarin) 2. English 3. Hindustani 4. Spanish 5. Russian 6. Arabic 7. Bengali 8. Portuguese 9. Malay-Indonesian 10. French.

¹⁷ *Endangered Language*. <http://www.nvtc.gov/lotw/index.html>

¹⁸ Redish. 2001. *Endangered Language: Revival and Revitalization*. <http://www.native-language.com/>

¹⁹ Everett. 2005. From Threatened Languages to Threatened Lives. *Endangered Language Initiative*. <http://www.yourdictionary.com/>

²⁰ What is an Endangered Language? *Endangered language Initiative*. <http://www.yourdictionary.com/>

²¹ Ibid.

²² What is an Endangered Language? *Endangered Language Initiative*. <http://www.yourdictionary.com/>

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Half of All Languages Face Extinction This Century. *New Scientist Breaking News*. <http://www.newscientist.com/>

²⁵ What is an Endangered Language? *Endangered language Initiative*. <http://www.yourdictionary.com/>

²⁶ Shorris. 2000.

²⁷ There has only been one successful instance to date of a complete language revival, creating a new generation of native speakers without even one living native speaker to help. (That instance was the reincarnation of Hebrew in modern Israel, and there were many extenuating circumstances associated with it). See

Endangered Languages: Revival and Revitalization. <http://www.native-languages.com/>

²⁸ Daneil L. Everett 2005. See <http://www.yourDictionary.com/endangeredLanguageInitiative/FromTreatenedLanguagesToTreatenedLives/html>.

²⁹ See Crystal. 2000.

³⁰ <http://www.portal.unesco.org/>

³¹ Smith. 2001. The Iranun's Strategy for Language and Culture Preservation *Adult Education and Development 56/2001* http://www.iiz-dvv.de/englisch/publikationen/Ewb_ausgaben/

³² See King (2001) & Reedy (2000) for how Maori language enjoys resurgence. Just 20 years ago, Maori was written off as a dying language, the fluent speakers are getting old and children were not taught Maori at school or encouraged to speak it at home. But fortunately for New Zealand, language became central theme of persistent Maori protests and by early 1980's, the government responded by acknowledging its duty to ensure the survival of the language by introducing it to schools. Today, Maori is spoken by more than 130,000 New Zealanders (Maori and non-Maori).

³³ *Kadazandusun Language In Sabah Schools Chronology Of Events.* <http://www.klf.com.my/klinsabah/>

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ For more example see *Glosari Kosa Kata Umum Bahasa Sukuan (Sabah)*. 1999 Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

³⁶ With the future restructuring, perhaps PPIB could be upgraded into School of Language and Linguistics offering degrees in Languages and ever in Linguistics.

³⁷ Or perhaps the School of Social Sciences of UMS could be expanded to be the School of Social Sciences and Humanities to accommodate more programs such as Linguistics.

³⁸ Besides those of Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (DBP), whose aims were not to promote the indigenous languages but the national language, Malay.

³⁹ What is Language Documentation? *The Hans Rausing Endangered Language Project, SOAS.* <http://www.hrlep.org/documentation/>

⁴⁰ A language description aims at the record of a language, with "language" being understood as a system of abstract elements, constructions, and rules that constitute the invariant underlying structure of the utterances observable in a speech community. See Nikolaus (1998).

⁴¹ See Warschauer, M. (1998). for the success story of the use technology as a tool of language revitalizing of the Hawaiian, which once was an endangered language but today it is safe language.

⁴² Such as the DoBeS archive at MPI Nijmegen and the ELAR archive at SOAS are digital archives. All the materials are stored electronically, using computers. This not only enables the inclusion of media such as sound and video, but also data to provide integration and navigation amongst the materials. See <http://www.hrelp.org/archive/>

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