



Endangered Languages in Borneo: A Survey among the Iban and Murut (Lun Bawang) in Temburong, Brunei

Author(s): Paolo Coluzzi

Source: *Oceanic Linguistics*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (JUNE 2010), pp. 119-143

Published by: [University of Hawai'i Press](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40783587>

Accessed: 05-06-2015 06:58 UTC

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



University of Hawai'i Press is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Oceanic Linguistics*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

Endangered Languages in Borneo: A Survey among the Iban and Murut (Lun Bawang) in Temburong, Brunei

Paolo Coluzzi

UNIVERSITI BRUNEI DARUSSALAM

This paper presents the results of a survey carried out in 2008 on language use and attitudes among the Iban and Murut (Lun Bawang) living in the Temburong district of Brunei Darussalam. The article opens with a brief outline of the research conducted so far, a sociolinguistic sketch of Brunei, and an introduction to Temburong and the Iban and Murut peoples, followed by an analysis of the data gathered. The central part of the article compares the results obtained from the younger and the older age groups in the two communities in order to determine the degree of language shift that is taking place toward Malay, the national language. The article closes with some general considerations, including the possible reasons for the situations observed.

1. INTRODUCTION. Brunei Darussalam is an Islamic sultanate of 5,765 km² situated in the north of the island of Borneo facing the South China Sea. In spite of its small size, it features a high level of ethnolinguistic diversity that is, however, threatened. This article discusses language endangerment in Brunei, specifically in the Temburong district in the east of the country, where a survey on language use and attitudes has been carried out among two ethnolinguistic minorities living there: the Iban and the Murut (Lun Bawang).¹

After Nothofer's seminal paper on the languages of Brunei Darussalam (1991), a fair amount of sociolinguistic research has been conducted in Brunei by former and current lecturers at Universiti Brunei Darussalam: notably by Peter Martin (1994, 1995a,b,c, 1996a,b,c, 1998, 1999, 2003, 2005, 2008); Martin and Poedjosoedarmo (1996); Martin and Sercombe (1996); and Peter Sercombe (1996, 1997, 1999, and 1996). Among these papers, Sercombe (1996, 1999) deals specifically with the Iban community in Brunei, whereas Martin (1996c) focuses on the Murut (Lun Bawang) community. An interesting survey on language use and attitudes among the Iban living in the Seria-Belait area in western Brunei is provided by Uja (1994). Other research on the related topics of language endangerment and language shift that I have found particularly useful includes

1. Murut is the official name in Brunei while Lun Bawang is the official name in Sarawak. As Murut is a term used to define another ethnic group in Sabah that is different from the one that is the object of this study, perhaps Lun Bawang should be used to avoid confusion, and also because the community in Brunei does use it together with Murut.

Lasimbang, Miller, and Otigil (1992) on the Kadazan Dusun community in Sabah (Eastern Malaysia), Ariffin Omar and Teoh (1994) on Iban in Sarawak (Eastern Malaysia), Kershaw (1994) on the Dusun of Brunei, Dunseath (1996) on the Chinese community in Brunei, Ozóg (1996) on English in Brunei, Hjh. Sumijah Alias and Poedjosoedarmo (1996) on the Malay dialects spoken in Kampong Ayer (Bandar Seri Begawan), Gunn (1997) on the history of Brunei in relation to language issues, Kershaw (1998) on the status of ethnolinguistic minorities in Brunei, Florey (2005) on language shift and endangerment among Austronesian languages, and Noor Azam Haji-Othman (2005) on language maintenance and shift in Brunei. On the more general issue of language endangerment, among the many books that have been published in recent years, two have been particularly useful and inspiring to me: Crystal (2000), a general introduction to the issues involved in language endangerment and language death, and Nettle and Romaine (2000) on biological and cultural-linguistic diversity.

If we exclude the languages of recently arrived immigrant workers, 11 minority languages are spoken in Brunei by the local population: Brunei Malay² and Kedayan (both of which may be also considered as dialects of Malay on account of their proximity to it), Tutong, Belait, Dusun, Bisaya (even though Dusun and Bisaya could also be considered two dialects of the same language), Murut (Lun Bawang), Iban, Penan, Mukah—which are all Austronesian languages—plus various Chinese varieties that, for the purpose of this paper, I have counted below as one language: Mandarin, Hakka, Hokkien, Cantonese, Hainanese, Teochew, and Foochow (Dunseath 1996, Ho 2008). This is in addition to Standard Malay, the official language,³ and English, the *de facto* other national language of the country (Ozóg 1996). All eleven languages, occupy the low position in a diglossic relationship with Standard Malay and English, and possibly also Mandarin Chinese as far as the Chinese dialects mentioned above are concerned. Brunei Malay, however, is often used in high domains as well (see Martin and Poedjosoedarmo 1996 and Martin 1996a).

Whereas English particularly, and also Malay (both Standard and Brunei) and Mandarin Chinese are to be considered safe, all the other languages are to a greater or lesser extent endangered. Some are on the verge of extinction, like Belait, while others are not doing very well, with fewer and fewer young people speaking them, like Tutong or Dusun: “Data from a language survey [carried out between 1990 and 1992 by Peter Martin and some colleagues at Universiti Brunei Darussalam] show that 63 percent of Tutong parents and 72 percent of Dusun parents below the age of 40 use Brunei Malay to communicate with their offspring. . . . The figures for the Belait group are even more alarming. Over 90 percent of parents have abandoned the use of Belait as the language of primary interaction with their offspring, using instead a form of Brunei Malay” (Martin 1995a:48).

Based on the data in his possession, Martin attempted to give a vitality rate to all these languages apart from Chinese. Table 1 (Martin 1995a:49) shows this: languages are ranked from 0 to 6, with higher figures indicating greater vitality.⁴ The sociolinguistic

2. Brunei Malay is a minority language, not in terms of the number of people who speak it, but because of its status and sociolinguistic position: it is not used at school (not formally at least) or as a written medium (excluding written forms that are close to oral ones, like text messages, etc.).
3. The Constitution does not actually specify which variety of Malay is official; however, the general understanding is that it is Standard Malay. According to Nothofer (1991:158), in its basic vocabulary Brunei Malay is only 84 percent cognate with Standard Malay.

data these vitality rates are based upon, and the data provided by other surveys, have been drawn on for other papers on Brunei Malay (Martin 1996a), Tutong, Dusun (Martin 1995a, 1995c), Belait (Martin 1995b, 1996b, 2005), Penan (Sercombe 1997), and Iban, in the Seria–Belait area, west of Brunei (Uja 1994).

As for the number of people speaking these languages, official censuses cannot help us, as they use the single cover term “Malay” to refer to members of all the *puak jati*, that is, the seven ethnic groups speaking Belait, Bisaya, Brunei Malay, Dusun, Kedayan, Murut (Lun Bawang), and Tutong, which are officially recognized as indigenous groups of the Malay race (1961 Nationality Act of Brunei). One way of getting an idea of the percentage of the people who can speak the eleven minority languages present in Brunei is to look at some of the estimates that have been made. According to Martin (1995a) and Niew (1991), there might have been as many as 137,000 speakers of these languages (excluding Brunei Malay),⁵ out of a population of 292,266 inhabitants in 1995 (http://www.theodora.com/wbf/Brunei_people.html),⁶ that is, about 47 percent of the population. If we consider that until no more than 60 years ago almost all of the population of Brunei must have been fluent in at least one local language (Noor Azam 2005), even taking into account that one of these languages was Brunei Malay, the extent of the language shift that has taken place in Brunei is no doubt remarkable.

From the administrative point of view, Brunei is divided into four districts: Belait, Tutong, Brunei–Muara, and Temburong. The latter, situated to the east of the country, is the most remote and isolated, as it is physically separated from the rest of the country by the Brunei Bay and can only be reached by speedboat (about 50 minutes from Bandar Seri Begawan, the capital of Brunei, to Bangar, the administrative center of Temburong), or by car crossing the Limbang region of Sarawak belonging to Eastern Malaysia. Most

TABLE 1. VITALITY RATES FOR BRUNEIAN MINORITY LANGUAGES

Language	Vitality rate
Brunei Malay	6
Iban	5
Murut	3.5
Kedayan	3
Bisaya	3
Tutong	2.5
Dusun	2
Penan	2
Belait	0.5
Mukah	Insufficient data [†]

[†] However, according to what one of my students belonging to the Mukah minority has told me, the language seems to be highly endangered, perhaps in a similar fashion as Belait.

4. Based on a formula involving (1) rate of transmission of minority language to offspring, (2) media and institutional support, and (3) geographical concentration of speakers.
5. Kedayan, Tutong, Belait, Dusun, Bisaya, Murut, Iban, Penan, and Mukah were spoken by 77,000 people, whereas various Chinese dialects and/or Mandarin were spoken by about 60,000 people. This latter estimate was made in 1991 but it would not have changed much by 1995.
6. There are no official figures for the present population in Brunei. In November 2007 the estimate for the total population of Brunei was about 391,450 individuals (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brunei>).

of Temburong is covered by forest, a good part of which is primary, and it is a relatively popular tourist destination, thanks to its protected national park, the Taman Negara Ulu Temburong. This district is inhabited mostly by Malays, Kedayans, Lun Bawang—who consider themselves the original inhabitants—and Ibans, who settled in Brunei starting from the beginning of the last century.⁷ According to the latest official figures (2008–09) of the Temburong District Office, there are in total 5,869 Malay and Kedayan, 1,891 Iban, and 814 Murut (Lun Bawang), in addition to 208 Chinese, 33 Dusun, and 202 “others.”

My decision to carry out a sociolinguistic survey among the Iban and Lun Bawang living in Temburong was determined by three main factors:

- (1) No research of this kind was available with regard to the Temburong district.
- (2) Due to the relative isolation of the district, I thought that the influence of Malay language and culture may have been somewhat less strong than in other regions.
- (3) Unlike other ethnolinguistic groups in Brunei, both the Lun Bawang and the Iban represent a small part of a much larger community present in Sarawak, and this, too, may have influenced language shift patterns in the region.

My main purpose was to determine the status of the languages and the pattern of language shift, if any, particularly considering that these were supposed by Martin to be among the most vital minority languages in Brunei. This was done through a questionnaire that included questions on both language use and attitudes. In addition to this, I believed such a survey might shed new light on the factors that may lead to language shift or, conversely, on those that favor language maintenance.

2. THE IBAN AND THE MURUT (LUN BAWANG). The Iban are one of the ethnic groups living in Sarawak (Eastern Malaysia), Brunei, and West Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo), from where they originally came (Sercombe 1996).⁸ There are approximately 700,000 Iban in these three regions: more than 660,000 individuals in Sarawak (the largest ethnic group, 30 percent of the whole population), around 11,000 in West Kalimantan, and approximately 20,000 in Brunei, of whom 1,891 live in Temburong.⁹ The Lun Bawang,¹⁰ on the other hand, are found in northeastern Sarawak, Sabah

7. My questionnaire also asked the place of birth of the respondents' parents: the parents of some of the oldest respondents (over 70) were born in Brunei. See also Nothofer (1991:157).

8. There is a small community in Sabah (Eastern Malaysia) as well.

9. Iban in Sarawak: 657,700 in 2004 (Department of Statistics, in Dato' Hood Salleh 2006:78); Iban in Brunei: 15,000 in 1995 (Martin 1995a:49); Iban in Kalimantan: 9,600 in 1995 (Wadley 2000, in Collins 2004). For my estimate, I have assumed that the total number of Iban in Sarawak has not changed much in the last five years, that the number in Kalimantan has increased proportionally to the general growth of the population in Indonesia (<http://www.populstat.info/>), and, similarly, that the number of Iban estimated by Martin has also grown proportionally to the rise of the population in Brunei. The figure for the Iban in Temburong refers to 2008–09 and has been provided by the Temburong District Office.

10. According to Langub (1987, in Martin 1996b:269), there were 25,000 Lun Bawang in Indonesia in 1987, 25,000 in Malaysia in 2000 according to Dato' Hood Salleh (2006:98), and 2,000 in Sabah, again as estimated by Langub (1987, in Martin 1996b:269). For my estimate, I have assumed that the number of Lun Bawang in Indonesia and Sabah has grown proportionally to the general growth of the whole population (<http://www.populstat.info/>), and that the number in Sarawak has not changed much in the last nine years. The number for the Lun Bawang in Temburong refers to 2008–09 and has been provided by the Temburong District Office. Some Lun Bawang families have emigrated to other parts of Brunei but there are no figures for their exact number.

(Eastern Malaysia), East Kalimantan, and Brunei. The total number of Lun Bawang may be in the region of 62,000 individuals at present (more than 25,000 in Sarawak, about 3,000 in Sabah, and 33,000 in Kalimantan, in addition to a number close to 1,000 in Brunei); 814 of them live in Temburong.

Both Iban and Lun Bawang are traditionally farmers living in longhouses. Apart from cultivating rice and other local crops, they also rear animals, hunt, and fish. They have their own traditional religions that mix animistic and shamanistic elements. The Iban were once renowned for practicing headhunting and territorial expansion (due mainly to the swidden method of agriculture they practiced). Their society is strongly egalitarian, unlike that of other indigenous groups (including the Lun Bawang, even though their traditional class division has lost the importance it used to have). In Temburong nowadays, many Iban and Lun Bawang are occupied in other activities, many working for the government; however, quite a large number of individuals, particularly among the Iban, are either housewives or unemployed. Younger people all go to school, and many succeed in progressing to institutions of higher education. Whereas most Iban still live in longhouses and follow their traditional religion, all Lun Bawang have converted to Christianity and live in separate houses (Avé and King 1986, King 1993, Gomes 2004, Hood Salleh 2006).

Their languages differ greatly, being only 28 percent cognate in their basic vocabulary (Nothofer 1991, 158). As stated above, both languages are Austronesian: Iban belongs to the Ibanic subcategory of the Malayic group (65 percent cognate with Malay), whereas Lun Bawang belongs to the Kelabitic subcategory of the Apo Duat group (24 percent cognate with Malay) (Nothofer 1991:158, Martin and Poedjosoedarmo 1996:13).

3. METHODOLOGY. For my survey, 168 Iban and 68 Lun Bawang were interviewed. This is equivalent respectively to 8.9 percent and 8.4 percent of the total number of Iban and Lun Bawang in Temburong.

I went out to Temburong on ten Sundays between the end of March and the end of November, 2009. The first seven visits were with the Iban community. I had Salmah Ampili, a member of the local Iban community, taking me around and interpreting for me whenever it was necessary. I covered all villages in Temburong where Iban-speaking people live; whether we were in an individual house or a longhouse, I distributed my questionnaires with all the questions appearing in Malay and English, and I was present to answer any questions while people filled them in. Quite a few Iban, particularly elderly people, are illiterate, and in that case my interpreter's help (or that of some younger members of the family/longhouse community) proved essential. Even though I asked the informants to fill in their questionnaires individually, they would often comment on the questions among each other. This was to an extent unavoidable, as the Iban society is very much a communal one, and the notions of individuality and personal autonomy in a Western sense are not so strong among them.

On the last three visits, I worked with the Lun Bawang community. With this group, the way my survey was carried out had to be changed. On Fridays most people were working, while on Sundays most Lun Bawang went to Mass and spent some time together after that, which meant I would only have a very short time in the afternoon to spend with them before catching the last boat back to Bandar Seri Begawan.¹¹ So Surat

bin Tako, my Lun Bawang interpreter, offered to take the questionnaire around for me during the week and meet me on Sundays briefly to discuss problems that might have arisen, to talk about the Lun Bawang community, and to show me some of the villages where they lived.

4. RESULTS. The full results of my survey, with absolute numbers followed by their percentages to make comparison easier,¹² can be found in the appendix. Even though self-assessment is necessarily subjective and should not be taken as reflecting the actual linguistic situation with precision, these results can shed light on the sociolinguistic situation of the Iban and Lun Bawang languages in Temburong, and their vitality.

As can be observed, both languages appear vital and healthy, with almost 90 percent of the two groups claiming their first language is their heritage one (Q2).¹³ In fact, only 4.2 percent of the Iban respondents and 13.2 percent of the Lun Bawang respondents claimed that they speak Malay more fluently (Q1). Only 1.2 percent of the Iban and 5.9 percent of the Lun Bawang said that they can only understand and not speak their heritage languages (Q3).

The answers to the questions on language use, however, suggest that in general Iban is “stronger” and more widely used than Lun Bawang. In fact, within the family (Q6), only 3.0 percent of the Iban claimed they use mostly Malay, whereas as many as 17.6 percent of the Lun Bawang said they used Malay mostly. Questions 8 through 14 are more specific with regard to the languages mostly used within the family: the responses suggest that more Malay is used by Lun Bawang in general than by Ibans, even though the heritage languages clearly predominate on their own or together with Malay. However, the tendency reported was to use more Malay (together with the heritage language or not) with younger members of the family. It should be added here, however, that the answers to questions 13 and 14 given by the younger interviewees should be taken with caution as the question “Which language do you use mostly with your children/grandchildren?” translated into Malay could be interpreted as “Which language will/would you use mostly with your children/grandchildren?,” that is, a question about future intentions rather than actual facts. This is so because Malay verbs, as in many Austronesian languages, only have one form that can be used for all time contexts. That accounts for quite a few respondents giving an answer with regard to children and grandchildren they cannot possibly have, considering their young age. In such cases, I only accepted answers about children if the interviewees were 20 years old or above, and answers about grandchildren if the interviewees were 40 or above.¹⁴

The “low” position of the heritage language vis-à-vis Malay is clearly shown by the answers given to the questions on language use outside the family (Q15–23). Malay, as the

11. Fridays and Sundays were the only days I could go to Temburong as our working week at university is from Monday to Thursday in addition to Saturday.

12. The percentages are rounded off to the first decimal.

13. The term “heritage language” is used here to include both Iban and Lun Bawang. In the questionnaire given to the Iban, their language was referred to as “Bahasa Iban” in Malay and “Iban” in English; similarly, in the one given to the Lun Bawang the terms “Bahasa Murut/Bahasa Lun Bawang” and “Murut/Lun Bawang” were used.

14. According to informants, young people of 20 or just above having a baby are anything but rare.

official language, was reported to be the language used mostly in “higher” domains such as at the doctor’s, in public offices, with the police, at the workplace with superiors and inferiors, and conspicuously—albeit often in alternation with the heritage language—in “mixed” domains such as the school or with workmates and when doing the shopping. On the other hand, with friends and neighbors the heritage language prevails, on its own or together with Malay. The exception is Lun Bawang, which is said to be used less than Malay with friends. This points again to the fact that in general in all these domains Iban appears to be used more than Lun Bawang, suggesting stronger language vitality.

As far as language attitudes are concerned, both for Iban and Lun Bawang they appear to be very positive, as the answers to questions 4, 5, and 33–37 show: both the Iban and Lun Bawang do value and cherish their own ancestral languages and would like to see them officially recognized and used more at school and in the media. Interestingly enough, the percentages of positive answers for questions 4, 5, 33, and 34 are slightly higher for the Lun Bawang. On the other hand, the percentage of positive answers given by the Iban informants as to whether the heritage language should be used at school and in the mass media is higher: almost twice as many Iban as Lun Bawang thought that their first language should be a compulsory subject at school,¹⁵ and more than twice as many Ibans were in favor of periodicals wholly in Iban, with only 3.0 percent against the use of their language in publication against 14.7 percent of the Lun Bawang. As far as radio programs are concerned, both groups were very much in favor of the use of their language (Iban: 98.2 percent, Lun Bawang: 94.1 percent). The overall impression one gets is that the Iban feel more confident about the ability of their language to fulfill typical “high domain” functions, particularly its use as a written medium.

Finally, as regards respondents’ confidence in the strength of their languages to maintain their positions and numbers of speakers vis-à-vis the dominant language, the answers to question 37 suggest again that the Iban are more optimistic: 5.4 percent more Lun Bawang thought that in ten years’ time their language will be spoken less than now, while over three times more Iban than Lun Bawang believe that their language will not be spoken less than now. On the whole, however, optimism and positive attitudes prevail among the two communities, as most of the Iban and Lun Bawang interviewees were hopeful that their languages would not be spoken less than now in ten years’ time. What their two languages will look like in the future, though, with the increasing influence of Malay and English, is difficult to say. Most of my informants affirmed that the Iban or Lun Bawang spoken by younger people is different from that spoken by the older generation (Q31), the great majority of them thinking the reason being that younger people use more Malay or English words and structures (Q32). Some convincing evidence of this has already been given, for example, by Martin (1996c) as far as the Lun Bawang in Temburong are concerned, again by Martin (2005) for the Belait, by Sercombe (1997) for the Penan, and by Kershaw (1994) for the Dusun communities. While discussing this issue informally with some of the Iban and Lun Bawang I met during my research, the encroaching of Malay into their heritage languages was also pointed out to me again and again. Even though further research is needed to gauge the extent and the pace with

15. Extremely high attitudes toward the possibility of having Iban taught at school are also stated by Sercombe (1996).

which this is happening, language contact with such a prestigious language as Malay seems to be influencing the morphological, syntactic, phonetic, and particularly lexical features of minority languages in Brunei, including Iban and Lun Bawang.

If the answers given by the Iban for my questionnaire are compared to those given by the Iban interviewees for Rabinah Uja's unpublished sociolinguistic survey carried out in 1994 (Uja 1994),¹⁶ the results appear quite similar, although on the whole they are a little more positive in Uja's survey. There is no space here to compare the two surveys thoroughly, but the following three examples—the answers to two questions on language use and one on language attitudes (Q2, 6, and 34)—do reflect the same trend. For 96 percent of the Iban respondents in the Seria/Belait area, Iban was the first language (Uja 1994:20), compared to 89.9 percent of the interviewees in Temburong; 82.8 percent of the Seria/Belait Iban said they spoke Iban within the family (Uja 1994:21), whereas 65.5 percent of the Temburong Iban respondents said they used mostly Iban with their family members; only 5.8 percent of the Seria/Belait Iban did not want to learn to read and write in Iban (Uja 1994:28), whereas 6.5 percent of the Temburong Iban thought that Iban should not be studied at school. The slightly more positive results in Uja's survey may be simply due to the smaller sample, to the fact that the questions were not exactly the same, or they may reflect actual language shift that has occurred during the 15 years that have passed between the two surveys.

5. LANGUAGE SHIFT. Questions 7 and 24–30 were not commented upon in the previous section because they are particularly meaningful for a discussion of language shift in Brunei, as there are no other previous sociolinguistic studies my data could be compared with. As can be observed, in most of the responses to these questions, a more frequent use of the heritage languages in the past (when the informants were children) is indicated.

A general shift to Malay can also be surmised if the answers to questions 6 and 7 are compared, and if the answers to questions 15–21 are compared with those of questions 24–30. In all the domains considered but one (for the language used by the Lun Bawang in public offices, Q18 and 27), in fact the heritage language was said to be used more in the interviewees' childhood than at present. With regard to Malay, on the other hand, in most domains it is claimed to be used more now. However, rather than using more Malay now, the answers given suggest that people tend to mix it more with the heritage language now than in the past.¹⁷ In fact, if the number of those speaking mostly the heritage language is added to the number of those using both Malay and the heritage language together, the resulting percentages are very similar for the present time and for the informant's childhood, with the sum for the present time actually a little higher than that for childhood.

However, clearer results are obtained when the answers given by informants belonging to different age groups are compared. In order to have age groups where the number of informants did not differ significantly one from the other (even though for both ethnic groups the number of older people was much lower vis-à-vis the other two age groups), I decided to divide all interviewees into three groups: informants from 15 to 30 years of

16. For this survey, 52 Ibans resident in the Seria/Belait area in the west of Brunei were interviewed.

17. What is meant in this paper by "mixing" Malay and the heritage language is that neither language has prevalence. Whether the two languages are code-mixed or used separately was not asked, but it is likely that both cases apply according to the situation.

age, informants from 31 to 50 years of age, and informants aged 51 or more. Table 2 shows the number of informants for each group.

The answers given by the youngest group to the most relevant questions on language use and attitudes have then been compared with those of the oldest group. Table 3 shows the results for the Iban respondents as regards the knowledge of the languages forming their linguistic repertoire. As can be observed from all the answers given by the youngest group, the general tendency indicated is for younger people to speak more and better Malay than people in the oldest group, and not to be as fluent in Iban and to use it less than their seniors. However, unlike the comparison of language use between present time and childhood by the same informant, the comparison between age groups does show clear language shift towards Malay. As far as fluency is concerned, older Ibans report higher fluency in Iban than younger Ibans: in fact, Ibans over 51 claiming to speak Iban more fluently are 38.5 percent against 22.1 percent of Ibans in the 15–30 age group (Q1). There is also a larger number of older respondents claiming that their first language is Iban (100 percent) than younger respondents (88.3 percent) (Q2). The fact that so many more younger Ibans claim they can write, read, speak, and understand Iban than older ones is probably due to the high levels of illiteracy or semiliteracy among the latter.

Table 4 shows the answers given by the Iban respondents to the questions on language use. With regard to language use (Q6–22), Ibans in the older age group claim to use more Iban than younger people in all the domains and situations indicated but four (with friends, neighbors, when shopping, and with superiors at work: Q14, 15, 16, 21), but in these cases a higher mixed use of Iban and Malay among younger people is reported. In

TABLE 2. NUMBER OF INFORMANTS IN EACH AGE GROUP

	IBAN	LUN BAWANG/MURUT
15–30	77	31
31–50	65	23
51 and above	26	14

TABLE 3. COMPARISON OF RESPONSES OF OLDEST AND YOUNGEST IBAN GROUPS REGARDING KNOWLEDGE OF THE LANGUAGE

	51 and above (total 26)		15–30 (total 77)	
1) You speak most fluently:				
Malay	0	0.0%	4	5.2%
Iban	10	38.5%	17	22.1%
Both	16	61.5%	56	72.7%
2) What is your first language/mother tongue?				
Iban	26	100.0%	68	88.3%
Malay	0	0.0%	7	9.1%
Other	0	0.0%	2	2.6%
3) With regard to Iban:				
You can understand it	0	0.0%	1	1.3%
You can speak and understand it	17	65.4%	13	16.9%
You can read, speak and understand it	4	15.4%	12	15.6%
You can write, read, speak and understand it	5	19.2%	51	66.2%

TABLE 4. COMPARISON OF OLDEST AND YOUNGEST IBAN GROUPS REGARDING LANGUAGE USAGE

	51 and above (total 26)		15–30 (total 77)	
6) Which language do you use within the family?				
Mostly Malay	0	0.0%	1	1.3%
Mostly Iban	19	73.1%	51	66.2%
Both	7	26.9%	24	31.2%
Other	0	0.0%	1	1.3%
8) Which language do/did you use mostly with your grandparents?				
Malay	0	0.0%	4	5.2%
Iban	25	96.2%	61	79.2%
Both	1	3.8%	12	15.6%
Other	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
NR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
9) Which language do/did you use mostly with your parents?				
Malay	0	0.0%	4	5.2%
Iban	23	88.5%	49	63.6%
Both	3	11.5%	24	31.2%
Other	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
NR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
10) Which language do you use mostly with your siblings?				
Malay	0	0.0%	3	3.8%
Iban	22	84.6%	34	44.2%
Both	4	15.4%	38	49.4%
Other	0	0.0%	1	1.3%
NR	0	0.0%	1	1.3%
11) Which language do you use mostly with your wife/girlfriend/husband/boyfriend?				
Malay	1	3.8%	12	15.6%
Iban	19	73.1%	19	24.7%
Both	5	19.2%	36	46.8%
Other	1	3.8%	1	1.3%
NR	0	0.0%	9	11.7%
12) Which language do you use mostly with your children?				
Malay	0	0.0%	2	2.6%
Iban	20	76.9%	13	16.9%
Both	6	23.1%	10	13.0%
Other	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
NR	0	0.0%	52	67.5%
14) Which languages do you normally use with your friends?				
Malay	0	0.0%	13	16.9%
Iban	4	15.4%	13	16.9%
Both	21	80.8%	49	63.6%
Other	1	3.8%	2	2.6%
NR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
15) Which languages do you normally use with your neighbors?				
Malay	0	0.0%	3	3.8%
Iban	12	46.2%	38	49.4%
Both	14	53.8%	33	42.9%
Other	0	0.0%	3	3.8%
NR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

TABLE 4. COMPARISON OF OLDEST AND YOUNGEST IBAN GROUPS REGARDING LANGUAGE USAGE (CONTINUED)

	51 and above		15-30	
16) Which languages do you normally use when you go shopping?				
Malay	8	30.7%	30	38.9%
Iban	1	3.8%	4	5.2%
Both	17	65.3%	40	51.9%
Other	0	0.0%	3	3.8%
NR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
17) Which languages do you normally use with the doctor?				
Malay	21	80.7%	63	81.8%
Iban	1	3.8%	0	0.0%
Both	4	15.3%	4	5.2%
Other	0	0.0%	10	12.9%
NR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
18) Which languages do you normally use in public offices?				
Malay	14	53.8%	61	79.2%
Iban	1	3.8%	0	0.0%
Both	11	42.3%	7	9.1%
Other	0	0.0%	2	2.6%
NR	0	0.0%	7	9.1%
19) Which languages do you normally use with your work/classmates?				
Malay	4	15.3%	31	40.3%
Iban	2	7.6%	3	3.8%
Both	8	30.8%	34	44.1%
Other	6	23.1%	3	3.8%
NR	6	23.1%	6	7.8%
20) Which languages do you normally use with the police?				
Malay	8	30.8%	60	77.9%
Iban	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Both	15	57.7%	14	18.2%
Other	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
NR	3	11.5%	3	3.8%
21) Which languages do you normally use with your superiors at work?				
Malay	12	46.2%	33	42.9%
Iban	0	0.0%	1	1.3%
Both	5	19.2%	10	13.0%
Other	0	0.0%	3	3.8%
NR	9	34.6%	30	39.0%
22) Which languages do you normally use with your subordinates at work?				
Malay	3	11.5%	31	40.3%
Iban	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Both	6	23.1%	12	15.6%
Other	0	0.0%	1	1.3%
NR	17	65.4%	33	42.9%

fact, even when the percentages of the cases when mostly Iban is used by younger people are added to those when both Iban and Malay are used, the result is always lower than that for older people apart from one domain (Q19, speaking to class/workmates).

Still, the difference is almost always small, which indicates that language shift is at present slow. When the difference is big (Q10, 11, 12), it is because in those domains younger people tend to mix Malay and Iban more.¹⁸ Conversely, in all cases but one (Q21, speaking to superiors at work), the younger group uses Malay more than the older group. Since this kind of comparison may be less subjective, as recent behaviors are better remembered than past behaviors, it can be safely affirmed that Iban is in a relatively healthy state but not safe, as Malay is being used increasingly more at its expense.

Table 5 shows the answers given by the Iban respondents to the questions on language attitudes. Both age groups seem to show very positive language attitudes, as shown in the answers given to questions 4, 5, 33, and 34. It is interesting to notice that 20 percent more young people feel proud of speaking Iban (Q5), but this can be explained by the fact that some older respondents relate Iban to poverty, backwardness, and discrimination. On the other hand, about 20 percent more older people do not think that there is anything reprehensible about speaking Iban (Q4). More than 90 percent of both age groups think that Iban should be officially protected (Q33), whereas all older respondents and 89.6 percent of younger respondents agree that their ancestral language should be studied at school (Q34).

TABLE 5. COMPARISON OF RESPONSES OF OLDEST AND YOUNGEST IBAN GROUPS REGARDING LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

	51 and above (total 26)		15-30 (total 77)	
4) Do you think that speaking Iban is speaking badly?				
Yes	0	0.0%	4	5.2%
No	24	92.3%	54	70.1%
It depends	2	7.7%	19	24.7%
5) Do you feel proud of speaking Iban?				
Yes	18	69.2%	70	90.9%
No	6	23.0%	0	0.0%
It depends	2	7.7%	7	9.1%
33) Should Iban be officially protected?				
Yes	25	96.2%	70	90.9%
No	1	3.8%	7	9.1%
NR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
34) Should Iban be studied at school?				
Yes, compulsory	13	50.0%	30	39.0%
Yes, optional	13	50.0%	39	50.6%
No, it should not be studied	0	0.0%	6	7.8%
NR	0	0.0%	2	2.6%
37) In about 10 years' time do you think Iban will be spoken less than now?				
Yes	14	53.8%	22	28.6%
No	6	23.1%	29	37.7%
More or less the same	6	23.1%	26	33.8%

18. As far as Q12 is concerned (which language do you use mostly with your children?), the difference is mostly due to the fact that most younger people did not answer the question, as they do not have any children. See also what is affirmed in section 4 on the answers given by young people to that particular question.

A similar situation can be observed for the Lun Bawang (even allowing for the small sample size of the older age group) as shown by the results of a comparison of language knowledge based on age given in table 6. In general, Malay is known better and the heritage language is known less by the younger generation, as the answers to questions 1 and 2 show. In fact, 14.3 percent of the older respondents affirmed that they speak Lun Bawang more fluently, against 9.7 percent of the younger group (Q1). Conversely, as many as 25.8 percent of the younger respondents said they speak Malay more fluently, while none in the older group said Malay is their most fluent language. However, a larger number of older people (85.7 percent) claimed they can speak the two languages equally fluently than did younger people (64.5 percent). As many as 92.9 percent of the older generation affirmed that Lun Bawang is their first language, against 77.4 percent of the younger generation (Q2). In fact, Malay is the first language of 22.6 percent of the younger people. The answers to question 3 also show that whereas there are no people in the older age group who claim they cannot at least speak Lun Bawang, as many as 12.9 percent of the younger people claimed that they only understand Lun Bawang but cannot speak, read, or write it.

Table 7 shows the answers given by the Lun Bawang respondents to the questions on language use. As far as the use of Lun Bawang is concerned, young people tend to speak it less and use more Malay than older people, even though in some high domains (shopping, with superiors, and with subordinates at work: Q16, 21, 22) younger people seem to be using a little less Malay as the main language of communication (but see what is stated below as far as questions 21 and 22 are concerned). The biggest gap in the use of Lun Bawang and Malay between the two groups appears to be when talking to one's own partner (Q11) and friends (Q14). In fact, whereas no respondents in the older group speak mostly Malay with their own partners, and as many as 71.4 percent speak Lun Bawang, 35.5 percent of the younger people speak mostly Malay with their partners and only 6.5 percent use mostly Lun Bawang. The gap between younger and older respondents claiming to use mostly Lun Bawang with their own children (Q12) is also big, but considering that most of the respondents in the younger group have not answered that question, the answers given cannot be taken as representative (see footnote 18).

TABLE 6. COMPARISON OF RESPONSES OF OLDEST AND YOUNGEST LUN BAWANG GROUPS REGARDING KNOWLEDGE OF THE LANGUAGE

	51 and above (total 14)		15-30 (total 31)	
1) You speak most fluently:				
Malay	0	0.0%	8	25.8%
Murut/Lun Bawang	2	14.3%	3	9.7%
Both	12	85.7%	20	64.5%
2) What is your first language/mother tongue?				
Murut/Lun Bawang	13	92.9%	24	77.4%
Malay	0	0.0%	7	22.6%
Other	1	7.1%	0	0.0%
3) With regard to Murut/Lun Bawang:				
You can understand it	0	0.0%	4	12.9%
You can speak and understand it	4	28.6%	5	16.1%
You can read, speak, and understand it	1	7.1%	3	9.7%
You can write, read, speak, and understand it	9	64.3%	19	61.3%

TABLE 7. COMPARISON OF OLDEST AND YOUNGEST LUN BAWANG GROUPS REGARDING LANGUAGE USAGE

	51 and above (total 14)		15-30 (total 31)	
6) Which language do you use within the family?				
Mostly Malay	2	14.3%	8	25.8%
Mostly Murut/Lun Bawang	7	50.0%	15	48.4%
Both	5	35.7%	8	25.8%
Other	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
8) Which language do/did you use mostly with your grandparents?				
Malay	0	0.0%	7	22.6%
Murut/Lun Bawang	12	85.7%	21	67.7%
Both	0	0.0%	2	6.5%
Other	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
NR	2	14.3%	1	3.2%
9) Which language do/did you use mostly with your parents?				
Malay	0	0.0%	8	25.8%
Murut/Lun Bawang	10	71.4%	19	61.2%
Both	1	7.1%	3	9.6%
Other	1	7.1%	0	0.0%
NR	2	14.3%	1	3.2%
10) Which language do you use mostly with your siblings?				
Malay	0	0.0%	8	25.8%
Murut/Lun Bawang	11	78.6%	18	58.1%
Both	1	7.1%	5	16.1%
Other	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
NR	2	14.3%	0	0.0%
11) Which language do you use mostly with your wife/girlfriend/husband/boyfriend?				
Malay	0	0.0%	11	35.5%
Murut/Lun Bawang	10	71.4%	2	6.5%
Both	3	21.4%	8	25.8%
Other	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
NR	1	7.1%	9	29.0%
12) Which language do you use mostly with your children?				
Malay	0	0.0%	1	3.2%
Murut/Lun Bawang	8	57.1%	2	6.5%
Both	5	35.7%	3	9.7%
Other	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
NR	1	7.1%	25	80.6%
14) Which languages do you normally use with your friends?				
Malay	0	0.0%	13	41.9%
Murut/Lun Bawang	4	28.6%	1	3.2%
Both	10	71.4%	17	54.8%
Other	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
NR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
15) Which languages do you normally use with your neighbors?				
Malay	1	7.1%	11	35.5%
Murut/Lun Bawang	5	35.7%	6	19.4%
Both	7	50.0%	14	45.2%
Other	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
NR	1	7.1%	0	0.0%

TABLE 7. COMPARISON OF OLDEST AND YOUNGEST LUN BAWANG GROUPS REGARDING LANGUAGE USAGE (CONTINUED)

	51 and above		15–30	
16) Which languages do you normally use when you go shopping?				
Malay	9	64.3%	18	58.1%
Murut/Lun Bawang	1	7.1%	1	3.2%
Both	4	28.6%	10	32.3%
Other	0	0.0%	1	3.2%
NR	0	0.0%	1	3.2%
17) Which languages do you normally use with the doctor?				
Malay	13	92.9%	30	96.8%
Murut/Lun Bawang	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Both	1	7.1%	0	0.0%
Other	0	0.0%	1	3.2%
NR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
18) Which languages do you normally use in public offices?				
Malay	11	78.6%	25	80.6%
Murut/Lun Bawang	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Both	1	7.1%	4	12.9%
Other	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
NR	2	14.3%	2	6.5%
19) Which languages do you normally use with your work/classmates?				
Malay	5	35.7%	21	67.7%
Murut/Lun Bawang	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Both	7	50.0%	8	25.8%
Other	0	0.0%	2	6.5%
NR	2	14.3%	0	0.0%
20) Which languages do you normally use with the police?				
Malay	12	85.7%	28	90.3%
Murut/Lun Bawang	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Both	1	7.1%	0	0.0%
Other	0	0.0%	2	6.5%
NR	1	7.1%	1	3.2%
21) Which languages do you normally use with your superiors at work?				
Malay	11	78.6%	17	54.8%
Murut/Lun Bawang	0	0.0%	1	3.2%
Both	1	7.1%	0	0.0%
Other	0	0.0%	1	3.2%
NR	2	14.3%	12	38.7%
22) Which languages do you normally use with your subordinates at work?				
Malay	8	57.1%	13	41.9%
Murut/Lun Bawang	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Both	3	21.4%	1	3.2%
Other	0	0.0%	1	3.2%
NR	3	21.4%	16	51.6%

All this means that respondents in the younger group tend to use Lun Bawang mainly with people older than themselves, and mostly Malay or both Malay and Lun Bawang in the other cases. In high domains, too, younger respondents tend to use more Malay than older respondents, the only exception being when shopping (Q16). In fact, in spite of

what may at first glance appear to be the case, considering the number of young respondents who did not answer the questions on the languages used with superiors and subordinates at work (Q21 and 22), the respondents in the lower age group do use more Malay in these domains than their seniors. So even if the language on the whole is still quite strong and vital, language shift toward Malay is apparently taking place within the Lun Bawang community at a faster pace than among the Iban.

Table 8 shows the answers given by the Lun Bawang to the questions on language attitudes. As regards attitudes toward Lun Bawang, both younger and older people would appear to regard their heritage language highly, as shown in the answers given to questions 4, 5, 33, and 34. The percentages of the respondents in both age groups who feel proud of speaking their own ancestral language (Q5) and do not think that speaking it is speaking badly (Q4) are similar, as are those of respondents, younger or older, who think that Lun Bawang should be studied at school (Q34). On the other hand, all younger respondents would like to see their ancestral language officially protected, whereas only 85.7 percent of the older respondents did so (Q33).

6. CONCLUSIONS. On the basis of the present survey, it can be affirmed that both Iban and Lun Bawang are in a relatively healthy state, even though Lun Bawang appears a little less so than Iban. Therefore, Martin's vitality rates for Iban and Lun Bawang (Murut), given in the introduction to this paper, still appear to reflect reality, even though the one for Lun Bawang may need to be adjusted upwards slightly. For the Iban, this is also

TABLE 8. COMPARISON OF RESPONSES OF OLDEST AND YOUNGEST LUN BAWANG GROUPS REGARDING LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

	51 and above (total 14)		15-30 (total 31)	
4) Do you think that speaking Murut/Lun Bawang is speaking badly?				
Yes	0	0.0%	1	3.2%
No	12	85.7%	26	83.8%
It depends	2	14.3%	4	12.9%
5) Do you feel proud of speaking Murut/Lun Bawang?				
Yes	12	85.7%	28	90.3%
No	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
It depends	2	14.3%	3	9.6%
33) Should Murut/Lun Bawang be officially protected?				
Yes	12	85.7%	31	100.0%
No	2	14.3%	0	0.0%
NR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
34) Should Murut/Lun Bawang be studied at school?				
Yes, compulsory	5	35.7%	8	25.8%
Yes, optional	9	64.3%	21	67.7%
No, it should not be studied	0	0.0%	1	3.2%
NR	0	0.0%	1	3.2%
37) In about 10 years' time do you think Murut/Lun Bawang will be spoken less than now?				
Yes	6	42.9%	13	41.9%
No	1	7.1%	1	3.2%
More or less the same	7	50.0%	17	54.8%

confirmed by the survey carried out in 1994 by Uja, as discussed in section 4. With regard to nonisolated unofficial nonprotected minority languages that are not official and/or majority languages in other countries, I have not so far come across in the academic literature on language endangerment any surveys on language use and attitudes that showed such high levels of linguistic vitality as shown by the Iban in Temburong. Even the language of the largest ethnolinguistic minority in Sabah, known as Kadazan Dusun, may not be so widely spoken as Iban in Temburong is. In fact, according to a survey carried out in 1985–86 (before the first language planning strategies for the maintenance of Kadazan Dusun were put into effect), out of 88 coastal Kadazans only 62 percent reported a good knowledge of the ancestral language (very skilled and skilled) on the part of their children aged between five and nine. As far as the use of the language within the family is concerned, on its own or together with Malay and/or English, the percentage rose to 90 percent of children using it at home. Probably this extra 28 percent includes children whose knowledge of the language is not very high (Lasimbang, Miller, and Otigil 1992:344–45).

At this point, one question arises: why are Iban and Lun Bawang still vital languages with a very high degree of intergenerational transmission, whereas most of the other minority languages in Brunei are highly endangered? As was stated in the introduction, at first I thought the relative isolation of the Temburong district might be one of the factors, but considering that mass media and schools dominated by Malay and English are as pervasive in Temburong as everywhere else in Brunei, and that the results in Uja's survey are as positive as mine (if not more so), in spite of the fact that her respondents lived in urban areas inhabited by a multiethnic population, perhaps isolation is not a key issue here. So what else is there that is helping Iban and Lun Bawang to be maintained that is not there for other minority languages in Brunei? I would put forward four main factors for the Iban and five for the Lun Bawang. The first factor is undoubtedly endogamy, as both Iban and Lun Bawang tend to marry within their community, and in a case when an outsider marries an Iban, he/she normally ends up learning Iban. The second of these factors appears to be that both the Lun Bawang and the Iban society are very cohesive and characterized by close-knit social networks. A simple indicator of the close-knit nature of the Iban community is the fact that most still live communally in longhouses. However, the answers given by the Iban no longer living in longhouses (mostly those who have converted to Islam) do not seem to differ significantly from those given by the Iban who still live in longhouses. The third very important factor, one of the three reasons that made me choose to carry out my survey among these two communities, is that both the Lun Bawang and the Iban are part of two much larger communities present outside Brunei, as shown in section 2. As Martin has written (1995a:47): "The existence of larger communities ... outside Brunei's borders will have a significant impact on their vitality within Brunei." With regard to the Iban, this sense of belonging to a larger community is reinforced by the fact that their language and culture are relatively uniform in all the areas where Iban live (Sercombe 1996). In addition to that, the Iban have enjoyed a strong historical presence in Sarawak, and they are exceptionally proud of their ethnolinguistic identity (see Coluzzi 2009). The fourth factor is that both the Iban and Lun Bawang languages have been and are the object of some language planning activities on the part of associations and official institutions in Sarawak—in fact, both communities in Tembu-

rong can follow radio programs in their own heritage languages broadcast from Sarawak, and they have access to some literature in their own languages (the Lun Bawang also have a version of the Bible translated into their language). This is particularly true of the Iban, who can also buy musical CDs and VCDs in Iban. As far as the Lun Bawang are concerned, the strong vitality of the language of their Iban neighbors is the fifth factor, as it may have influenced the vitality of their language through a kind of “imitation effect,” as has been observed in other parts of the world where “stronger” minorities live in the same territory as “weaker” ones.¹⁹ Another factor that may be aiding language maintenance among the Iban is their marginal status in Brunei from an economic and institutional point of view. The Iban (and this applies to the Chinese as well) are still considered an immigrant group with many of its members not having full citizenship. Marginalization to an extent seems to protect the Iban from the encroachment of the language and culture of the larger Malay and Muslim community.

It may seem as if the two languages that are the subject of this article do not need any more support than they already get from within the community and, indirectly, from Sarawak. However, the data provided in the previous section show that these languages are not safe, as slow language shift is taking place at the same time that the influence of Malay is growing stronger, as briefly discussed in the section on methodology.

This means that whereas language planning activities are going to be a matter of life or death for the “weakest” minorities in Brunei, if they are not carried out for the Iban and Lun Bawang languages the danger is that next generations of speakers will use their heritage languages less and less in fewer and fewer domains, and their languages will be gradually influenced more and more by Malay syntax, morphology, and lexicon. These two factors working together may lead to the disappearance of these two languages in the long term. Discussing the situation of Iban in Sarawak, Ariffin Omar and Teoh Boon Seong (1994:117) argue the same point when they state that: “There is a distinct possibility that, given present trends and developments . . . , Iban might fall into disuse. It could become obsolescent and redundant within a couple of generations if a commitment towards maintaining it as a viable and living language is not forthcoming.”

Corpus, status, and acquisition planning would play an important role in slowing down and eventually reversing the language shift toward Malay and English that minority languages in Brunei are experiencing. Status planning in particular could benefit from the findings of this paper, as they point to the factors that are helping the Iban and the Lun Bawang communities to retain their language. With regard to acquisition planning, introducing these languages into the school curriculum alongside Malay and English (which seems to be what both communities want) may be an important step toward the maintenance of all these important languages and the rich cultures behind them.

19. See, for example, the influence of Catalan in Spain on Basque and especially Galician (Coluzzi 2007:110).

APPENDIX

	IBAN 168 individuals out of 1891 (= 8.9%)		LUN BAWANG/MURUT 68 individuals out of 814 (= 8.4%)	
Male	65	38.7%	33	48.5%
Female	103	61.3%	35	51.5%
Religion:				
Muslim	48	28.6%	0	0.0%
Christian	22	13.1%	68	100.0%
Iban	98	58.3%	0	0.0%
Education:				
None	33	19.6%	7	10.3%
Primary	35	20.8%	8	11.8%
Secondary	98	58.3%	45	66.2%
Higher	2	1.2%	8	11.8%
1) You speak more fluently:				
Malay	7	4.2%	9	13.2%
Your heritage language	44	26.2%	7	10.3%
Both	117	69.6%	52	76.5%
2) What is your first language/mother tongue?				
Your heritage language	151	89.9%	59	86.8%
Malay	12	7.1%	7	10.3%
Other	5	3.0%	2	2.9%
3) With regard to your heritage language:				
You can understand it	2	1.2%	4	5.9%
You can speak and understand it	50	29.8%	12	17.6%
You can read, speak, and understand it	28	16.7%	6	8.8%
You can write, read, speak, and understand it	88	52.4%	46	67.6%
4) Do you think that speaking your heritage language is speaking badly?				
Yes	5	3.0%	1	1.5%
No	128	76.2%	59	86.8%
It depends	35	20.8%	8	11.8%
5) Do you feel proud of speaking your heritage language?				
Yes	147	87.5%	61	89.7%
No	9	5.4%	0	0.0%
It depends	12	7.1%	7	10.3%
6) Which language do you use within the family?				
Mostly Malay	5	3.0%	12	17.6%
Mostly your heritage language	110	65.5%	32	47.1%
Both	52	31.0%	23	33.8%
Other [†]	1	0.6%	1	1.5%
7) Which language did you use within the family as a child?				
Mostly Malay	8	4.8%	11	16.2%
Mostly your heritage language	125	74.4%	48	70.6%
Both	35	20.8%	8	11.8%
Other	0	0.0%	1	1.5%
8) Which language do/did you use mostly with your grandparents?				
Malay	8	4.8%	7	10.3%
Your heritage language	129	76.8%	52	76.5%
Both	31	18.5%	4	5.9%
Other	0	0.0%	2	2.9%
NR [‡]	0	0.0%	3	4.4%
9) Which language do/did you use mostly with your parents?				
Malay	5	3.0%	8	11.8%
Your heritage language	116	69.0%	48	70.6%
Both	47	28.0%	6	8.8%
Other	0	0.0%	2	2.9%
NR	0	0.0%	4	5.9%

APPENDIX (CONTINUED)

	IBAN		LUN BAWANG/MURUT	
10) Which language do you use mostly with your siblings?				
Malay	5	3.0%	8	11.8%
Your heritage language	85	50.6%	42	61.8%
Both	72	42.9%	15	22.1%
Other	2	1.2%	1	1.5%
NR	4	2.4%	2	2.9%
11) Which language do you use mostly with your wife/girlfriend/husband/boyfriend?				
Malay	18	10.7%	15	22.1%
Your heritage language	77	45.8%	20	29.4%
Both	61	36.3%	20	29.4%
Other	3	1.8%	3	4.4%
NR	9	5.4%	10	14.7%
12) Which language do you use mostly with your children?				
Malay	6	3.6%	4	5.9%
Your heritage language	69	41.1%	16	23.5%
Both	43	25.6%	18	26.5%
Other	1	0.6%	0	0.0%
NR	49	29.2%	30	44.1%
13) Which language do you use mostly with your grandchildren?				
Malay	1	0.6%	2	2.9%
Your heritage language	24	14.3%	6	8.8%
Both	24	14.3%	10	14.7%
Other	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
NR	119	70.8%	50	73.5%
14) Which languages do you normally use with your friends?				
Malay	18	10.7%	16	23.5%
Your heritage language	29	17.3%	8	11.8%
Both	117	69.6%	44	64.7%
Other	4	2.4%	0	0.0%
NR	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
15) Which languages do you normally use with your neighbors?				
Malay	5	3.0%	13	19.1%
Your heritage language	79	47.0%	16	23.5%
Both	79	47.0%	37	54.4%
Other	4	2.4%	0	0.0%
NR	1	0.6%	2	2.9%
16) Which languages do you normally use when you go shopping?				
Malay	62	36.9%	37	54.4%
Your heritage language	9	5.4%	4	5.9%
Both	86	51.2%	23	33.8%
Other	8	4.8%	2	2.9%
NR	3	1.8%	2	2.9%
17) Which languages do you normally use with the doctor?				
Malay	128	76.2%	60	88.2%
Your heritage language	4	2.4%	0	0.0%
Both	22	13.1%	2	2.9%
Other	14	8.3%	5	7.4%
NR	0	0.0%	1	1.5%
18) Which languages do you normally use in public offices?				
Malay	119	70.8%	52	76.5%
Your heritage language	4	2.4%	1	1.5%
Both	32	19.0%	8	11.8%
Other	6	3.6%	3	4.4%
NR	7	4.2%	4	5.9%

APPENDIX (CONTINUED)

	IBAN		LUN BAWANG/MURUT	
19) Which languages do you normally use with your work/classmates?				
Malay	55	32.7%	41	60.3%
Your heritage language	8	4.8%	0	0.0%
Both	63	37.5%	21	30.9%
Other	18	10.7%	3	4.4%
NR	24	14.3%	3	4.4%
20) Which languages do you normally use with the police?				
Malay	102	60.7%	58	85.3%
Your heritage language	1	0.6%	0	0.0%
Both	57	33.9%	4	5.9%
Other	8	4.8%	3	4.4%
NR	0	0.0%	3	4.4%
21) Which languages do you normally use with your superiors at work?				
Malay	76	45.2%	43	63.2%
Your heritage language	4	2.4%	1	1.5%
Both	28	16.7%	3	4.4%
Other	7	4.2%	4	5.9%
NR	53	31.5%	17	25.0%
22) Which languages do you normally use with your subordinates at work?				
Malay	55	32.7%	37	54.4%
Your heritage language	2	1.2%	0	0.0%
Both	37	22.0%	7	10.3%
Other	5	3.0%	2	2.9%
NR	69	41.1%	22	32.4%
23) As a child, which languages did you normally use with your friends?				
Malay	15	8.9%	15	22.1%
Your heritage language	83	49.4%	22	32.4%
Both	66	39.3%	28	41.2%
Other	4	2.4%	0	0.0%
NR	0	0.0%	3	4.4%
24) As a child, which languages did you normally use with your neighbors?				
Malay	11	6.5%	14	20.6%
Your heritage language	101	60.1%	22	32.4%
Both	53	31.5%	30	44.1%
Other	3	1.8%	0	0.0%
NR	0	0.0%	2	2.9%
25) As a child, which languages did you normally use when you went shopping?				
Malay	65	38.7%	45	66.2%
Your heritage language	24	14.3%	6	8.8%
Both	68	40.5%	12	17.6%
Other	5	3.0%	1	1.5%
NR	6	3.6%	4	5.9%
26) As a child, which languages did you normally use with the doctor?				
Malay	123	73.2%	58	85.3%
Your heritage language	8	4.8%	1	1.5%
Both	26	15.5%	3	4.4%
Other	6	3.6%	3	4.4%
NR	5	3.0%	3	4.4%
27) As a child, which languages did you normally use in public offices?				
Malay	109	64.9%	50	73.5%
Your heritage language	6	3.6%	0	0.0%
Both	30	17.9%	4	5.9%
Other	5	3.0%	5	7.4%
NR	18	10.7%	9	13.2%

APPENDIX (CONTINUED)

	IBAN		LUN BAWANG/MURUT	
28) As a child, which languages did you normally use with your work/classmates?				
Malay	53	31.5%	38	55.9%
Your heritage language	12	7.1%	2	2.9%
Both	63	37.5%	22	32.4%
Other	10	6.0%	1	1.5%
NR	30	17.9%	5	7.4%
29) As a child, which languages did you normally use with the police?				
Malay	98	58.3%	59	86.8%
Your heritage language	4	2.4%	2	2.9%
Both	44	26.2%	2	2.9%
Other	3	1.8%	1	1.5%
NR	19	11.3%	4	5.9%
30) Is the heritage language spoken by older people approximately the same as that spoken by younger people?				
Yes	55	32.7%	32	47.1%
No	113	67.3%	36	52.9%
31)[#] If not, how is it different?				
Younger people use more Malay (or English) words and structures	95	56.5%	33	48.5%
Other reasons	5	3.0%	1	1.5%
NR	13	7.7%	2	2.9%
32) Would you like to learn/improve your heritage language?				
Yes	119	70.8%	55	80.9%
No	9	5.4%	0	0.0%
It depends	39	23.2%	11	16.2%
NR	1	0.6%	2	2.9%
33) Should your heritage language be officially protected?				
Yes	159	94.6%	65	95.6%
No	9	5.4%	2	2.9%
NR	0	0.0%	1	1.5%
34) Should your heritage language be studied at school?				
Yes, compulsory	78	46.4%	19	27.9%
Yes, optional	77	45.8%	44	64.7%
No, it should not be studied	11	6.5%	4	5.9%
NR	2	1.2%	1	1.5%
35) Should a periodical in your heritage language be available to the community?				
Yes, all in it	88	52.4%	13	19.1%
Yes, some articles in it	72	42.9%	36	52.9%
No	5	3.0%	10	14.7%
NR	3	1.8%	9	13.2%
36) Should radio programs in your heritage language be available to the community?				
Yes	165	98.2%	64	94.1%
No	2	1.2%	4	5.9%
NR	1	0.6%	0	0.0%
37) In about 10 years' time do you think your heritage language will be spoken less than now?				
Yes	65	38.7%	30	44.1%
No	57	33.9%	6	8.8%
More or less the same	46	27.4%	32	47.1%

† "Other" may refer to another of the minority languages present in Temburong, particularly in mixed families, or to English, whose use is slowly spreading even among Bruneians (see, for example, Ozóg 1996).

‡ NR stands for "no reply": the question might have been not applicable or for some reason the informant chose not to answer it.

Q31 was answered only by those who responded to Q30 in the negative.

REFERENCES

- Adelaar, Alexander, and Nikolaus P. Himmelmann. 2005. *The Austronesian languages of Asia and Madagascar*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Ariffin Omar and Teoh Boon Seong. 1994. Marginalization of language: The case of Iban in Sarawak. In *Shifting patterns of language use in Borneo*, ed. by Peter W. Martin, 117–29. Williamsburg: Borneo Research Council Proceedings Number Three.
- Asmah Haji Omar. 2004. *The encyclopedia of Malaysia*, vol. 9: *Languages and literature*. Singapore: Editions Didier Millet.
- Avé, Jan B., and Victor T. King. 1986. *Borneo: The people of the weeping forest*. Leiden: National Museum of Ethnology.
- Collins, James T. 2004. Ibanic languages in Kalimantan Barat, Indonesia: Exploring nomenclature, distribution and characteristics. *Borneo Research Bulletin* January 1. <<http://www.thefreelibrary.com/Ibanic+languages+in+Kalimantan+Barat,+Indonesia+exploring...-a0134382051>> [accessed March 28, 2009].
- Coluzzi, Paolo. 2007. *Minority language planning and micronationalism in Italy: An analysis of the situation of Friulian, Cimbrian and Western Lombard with reference to Spanish minority languages*. Oxford: Peter Lang.
- . 2009. Language vitality and “historical presence.” In *Endangered languages and history* (Proceedings of the 13th Foundation for Endangered Languages Conference, September 24–26, Khorog, Tajikistan), ed. by Hakim Elnazarov and Nicholas Ostler, 148–52. Bath: Foundation for Endangered Languages.
- Crystal, David. 2000. *Language death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- David, Khemlani Maya, Francesco Cavallaro, and Paolo Coluzzi. 2009. Language policies—impact on language maintenance and teaching: Focus on Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and the Philippines. *The Linguistics Journal*, special edition:152–86, available at: <http://www.linguistics-journal.com/September_2009_mkd.php>.
- Dunseath, Kevin. 1996. Aspects of language maintenance and language shift among the Chinese community in Brunei: Some preliminary observations. In *Language use and language change in Brunei Darussalam*, ed. by Peter W. Martin, Conrad Ozóg, and Gloria R. Poedjosoedarmo, 280–301. Ohio: Ohio University. Borneo Research Council proceedings series.
- Ethnologue* (Languages of Brunei). <http://www.ethnologue.com/show_country.asp?name=BN> [accessed March 28, 2009].
- Florey, Margaret. 2005. Language shift and endangerment. In *The Austronesian languages of Asia and Madagascar*, ed. by Alexander Adelaar and Nikolaus P. Himmelmann, 43–64. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Gomes, Edwin G. 2004. *Seventeen years among the Sea Dayaks of Borneo*. Kota Kinabalu: Natural History Publications.
- Gunn, Geoffrey C. 1997. *Language, power and ideology in Brunei Darussalam*. Athens: Ohio University Center for International Studies.
- Ho, Debbie G. E. 2008. Mandarin as mother tongue school language in Brunei Darussalam: A case study. Paper presented at the conference “Using the mother tongue as bridge language of instruction in Southeast Asian countries: Policy, strategies and advocacy,” Bangkok, February 19–21.
- Hood Salleh. 2006. *The encyclopedia of Malaysia*, vol. 12: *Peoples and traditions*. Singapore: Editions Didier Millet.
- Jones, Gary M. 1997. The evolution of a language plan: Brunei Darussalam in focus. *Language Problems and Language Planning*, vol. 21(3):197–215.
- . 2008. The evolution of language-in-education policies in Brunei Darussalam. Paper presented at the conference “Using the mother tongue as bridge language of

- instruction in Southeast Asian countries: Policy, strategies and advocacy," Bangkok, February 19–21.
- Kershaw, Eva Maria. 1994. Final shifts, some why's and how's of Brunei–Dusun convergence on Malay. In *Shifting patterns of language use in Borneo*, ed. by Peter W. Martin, 179–94. Williamsburg: Borneo Research Council Proceedings Number Three.
- Kershaw, Roger. 1998. Marginality then and now: Shifting patterns of minority status in Brunei Darussalam. *Asienforum* 29(1–2):83–106.
- King, Victor T. 1993. *The peoples of Borneo*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- King, Victor T., and A. V. M. Horton, eds. 1995. *From Buckfast to Borneo*. University of Hull: Special Issue of the Centre for South-East Asian Studies.
- Lasimbang, Rita, Carolyn Miller, and Francis Otigil. 1992. Language competence and use among coastal Kadazan children: A survey report. In *Maintenance and loss of minority languages*, ed. by W. Fase, K. Jaspaert, and S. Kroon, 333–55. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Martin, Peter W., ed. 1994. *Shifting patterns of language use in Borneo*. Williamsburg: Borneo Research Council Proceedings Number Three.
- . 1995a. Whither the indigenous languages of Brunei Darussalam? *Oceanic Linguistics* 34:44–60.
- . 1995b. Ethnic and linguistic interaction in urban Borneo. Paper presented at the first conference of EUROSEAS "Keys to South-East Asia," Leiden, June 29–July 1.
- . 1995c. Some views on the language ecology of Brunei Darussalam. In *From Buckfast to Borneo*, ed. by V. T. King and A. V. M. Horton, 236–51. University of Hull: Special Issue of the Centre for South-East Asian Studies.
- . 1996a. Brunei Malay and Bahasa Melayu: A sociolinguistic perspective. In *Language use and language change in Brunei Darussalam*, ed. by Peter W. Martin, Conrad Ozóg, and Gloria R. Poedjosoedarmo, 27–36. Ohio: Ohio University.
- . 1996b. Social change and language shift among the Belait. In *Language use and language change in Brunei Darussalam*, ed. by Peter W. Martin, Conrad Ozóg, and Gloria R. Poedjosoedarmo, 253–67. Ohio: Ohio University.
- . 1996c. A comparative ethnolinguistic survey of the Murut (Lun Bawang) with special reference to Brunei. In *Language use and language change in Brunei Darussalam*, ed. by Peter W. Martin, Conrad Ozóg, and Gloria R. Poedjosoedarmo, 268–79. Ohio: Ohio University.
- . 1998. A sociolinguistic perspective of Brunei. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 130(1):5–22.
- . 1999. Close encounters of a bilingual kind: Interaction practices in the primary classroom in Brunei. *International Journal of Educational Development* 19(2):127–40.
- . 2003. Interactions and inter-relationships around text: Practices and positionings in a multilingual classroom in Brunei. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 6(3–4):185–201.
- . 2005. Language shift and code-mixing: A case study from Northern Borneo. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 25(1):109–25.
- . 2008. Educational discourses and literacy in Brunei Darussalam. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 11(2):206–25.
- Martin, Peter W., Conrad Ozóg, and Gloria R. Poedjosoedarmo, eds. 1996. *Language use and language change in Brunei Darussalam*. Ohio: Ohio University.
- Martin, Peter W., and Gloria Poedjosoedarmo. 1996. An overview of the language situation in Brunei Darussalam. In *Language use and language change in Brunei Darussalam*, ed. by Peter W. Martin, Conrad Ozóg, and Gloria R. Poedjosoedarmo, 1–23. Ohio: Ohio University.
- Martin, Peter W., and Peter Sercombe. 1996. The Penan of Brunei: Patterns of linguistic interaction. In *Language use and language change in Brunei Darussalam*, ed.

- by Peter W. Martin, Conrad Ozóg, and Gloria R. Poedjosoedarmo, 302–11. Ohio: Ohio University.
- Nettle, Daniel, and Suzanne Romaine. 2000. *Vanishing voices: The extinction of the world's languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Niew, Shong Tong. 1991. *A history of Chinese clan associations of Brunei*. Singapore: Singapore Society of Asian Studies.
- Noor Azam Haji-Othman. 2005. Changes in the linguistic diversity of Negara Brunei Darussalam: An ecological perspective. PhD thesis, University of Leicester.
- Nothofer, Bernd. 1991. The languages of Brunei Darussalam. In *Papers in Pacific Linguistics*, ed. by H. Steinhauser, 151–76. Canberra: Australian National University.
- Ozóg, Conrad. 1996. The unplanned use of English: The case of Brunei Darussalam. In *Language use and language change in Brunei Darussalam*, ed. by Peter W. Martin, Conrad Ozóg, and Gloria R. Poedjosoedarmo, 156–72. Ohio: Ohio University.
- Sercombe, Peter G. 1996. Tongues in use: The case of two Southeast Asian boundary communities. Paper presented at the sixth meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society, University of Oregon, May 10–12.
- . 1997. Emic and etic perceptions of linguistic and cultural change among the Penan in Brunei. Paper presented at the seventh meeting of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society, University of Illinois, May 9–11.
- . 1999. Adjacent cross-border Iban communities: A comparison with reference to language. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 155(4):596–616.
- Sumijah Alias, Hjh., and Gloria Poedjosoedarmo. 1996. Language shift in Kampong Ayer. In *Language use and language change in Brunei Darussalam*, ed. by Peter W. Martin, Conrad Ozóg, and Gloria R. Poedjosoedarmo, 105–18. Ohio: Ohio University.
- Uja, Rabinah. 1994. Language maintenance and shift in the Iban community in the Seria-Belait area. BA project. University Brunei Darussalam.