Language Vitality of Kensiu: Issues of Intergenerational Language Transmission, Language Use, and Language Attitude

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ABSTRACT

The present study reports the language vitality of Kensiu, an endangered Austroasitic language spoken by less than 300 individuals in Kampung Orang Asli Lubuk Legong in the northern state of Kedah, Malaysia. Following UNESCO's language vitality assessment, this study aims to explore three critical issues related to language vitality: (1) intergenerational language transmissions; (2) language use; and (3) language attitude. Data were collected at the Kensiu settlement through semi-structured interviews involving two male native speakers representing younger and older generations of Kensiu. The data were analysed qualitatively using ATLAS-Ti version 8 and were interpreted via assessment tools such as UNESCO's language vitality assessment and the Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS). The results reveal some evidence of intergenerational language transmission within the Kensiu community. The language appears to be used in limited domains, such as 'family' and 'friendship', with the High variety (Malay) being given more emphasis over the Low variety (Kensiu), though there is a balanced relationship between diglossia and bilingualism. The gap in Sustainable Literacy is also apparent in the literary resources related to the Kensiu language. With regard to language attitude, there are some contrasting perspectives between older and younger generations, though both participants generally agree about the identity of Kensiu speakers and the way they accommodate other dominant languages in their daily life. The findings shed some light on the concepts of intergenerational transmission, language use, and language attitude on the Kensiu language and provide an avenue for further investigations involving endangered indigenous languages in Malaysia.

Keywords: language vitality; endangered language; language use; language attitude; Kensiu

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INTRODUCTION

With more than 500 languages across the world being identified as 'nearly extinct' (UNESCO, 2011), language vitality is a critical matter that needs to be addressed urgently. In the present study, we aim to examine the language vitality of Kensiu (Glottolog code: kens1248; ISO code: 639). Kensiu has other names such as Kensieu, Kensiw, Maniq, Mawas, Mendi, Mengo, Menik, Monik, Nakil, and Sakai (Open Language Archives Community, 2004).

Kensiu belongs to the Austroasiatic language family. It is spoken in Peninsular Malaysia and in neighbouring southern Thailand. With an estimated population of only 270 people in Malaysia (Department of Orang Asli Development [Malay abbreviation: JAKOA], 2022), most of whom live in Kampung Orang Asli Lubuk Legong in the northern state of Kedah, Malaysia, the number of speakers is dwindling, making it essential to assess the language vitality of this language. Our personal communication (November 28, 2020) with the village head of the Kensiu community confirmed the estimated number of Kensiu speakers given by JAKOA above (270). According to the Kensiu village head, there are 300 Kensiu inhabitants in Kampung Orang Asli Lubuk Legong, Kedah, Malaysia, consisting of roughly 84 families.

Kensiu is part of the Northern Aslian group (the Negritos) in Malaysia and considered to be 'severely endangered' under the UNESCO classification (2011; see also Benjamin, 2012). The Negritos comprise only 3.02% of the indigenous population in Malaysia (JAKOA, 2022). The term Aslian comes from the Malay expression Orang Asli ('original people'). The language is closely related to the Kensiw of Thailand (e.g., Bishop, 2001). Interests on the Kensiu community go as far back to Favre's (1865) early account on the inhabitants of Semang, Skeat's (1903) insight towards the Semang in the twentieth century, Skeat and Blagden's (1906) illustrative work in 'Pagan Races of the Malaya Peninsula', Carey's (1970) personal insight on Kensiu's social organisation, down to the more recent works in the twenty-first century (e.g., Benjamin, 2012).

Kensiu has been reported to be endangered in many recent sources (e.g., Endangered Languages Project, 2023). The typology of language vulnerability has also been discussed in recent works by local Malaysian researchers (e.g., Adam, 2021; Adam & Salleh, 2021; Adam, Rusli, Salleh, Mokhtar, Abdullah, & Handrianto, 2022). Adam, Saper, Handrianto, and Rasool (2022) claim that the Kensiu people practise a unique religious system and belief, which is disappearing and being eroded due to modernisation and globalisation. The small number of Kensiu speakers can potentially wipe out this religious system and other cultures. As indigenous beliefs and practices are strongly embedded and localised in their languages, research on the Kensiu language will be of importance in terms of preserving not only their language but also their cultures and beliefs (see also Ghani & Lah, 2015; Hassan, Ghazali, & Omar, 2015).

Kensiw, as spoken in Southern Thailand, has been described to some extent by some linguists in several aspects, such as vocabulary (e.g., Bishop & Peterson, 1994), grammar (e.g., Rujira, 2009), and phonology (e.g., Peterson & Bishop, 2002). However, there is a limited description for the Kensiu language spoken in Northern Malaysia. Some recent works on Kensiu linguistics include Adilah (2020) and Mohamed, Jalaluddin, Ahmad, and Radzi (2016).

The current study aims to shed some light on the present vitality status of the Kensiu language spoken at the Kensiu settlement in Baling, Kedah. Based on the speakers' personal narratives, we focus primarily on three main issues: intergenerational language transmission; language use; and language attitude. Each of these issues are discussed in detail in the following section.

LITERATURE REVIEW

INTERGENERATIONAL LANGUAGE TRANSMISSION

Intergenerational language transmission is part of social variables that usually describe the vitality status of a language. In the previous literature, these variables have been assessed under a number of assessment tools. In the current study, we adopted two tools: (1) UNESCO's language vitality assessment; and (2) Extended Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS).

First, the UNESCO's language vitality assessment (Brenzinger, Yamamoto, Aikawa, Koundiouba, Minasyan, Dwyer, & Grinevald, 2003) proposes nine factors when assessing a language's vitality, as shown in Table 1 below. Factor 1 (Intergenerational Language Transmission) is directly related to the first research question of the current study. The grades under Factor 1 are provided in Table 2.

TABLE 1. Summary of UNESCO Nine Factors (Brenzinger et al., 2003)

Factor	Focus
1	Intergenerational Language Transmission
2	Absolute Number of Speakers
3	Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population
4	Trends in Existing Language Domains
5	Response to New Domains and Media
6	Materials for Language Education and Literacy
7	Governmental & Institutional Languages and Policies Including Official Status and Use
8	Community Members' Attitudes towards Their Own Language
9	Amount and Quality of Documentation

TABLE 2. Factor 1, Intergenerational Language Transmission (Brenzinger et al., 2003)

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Speaker Population
Safe	5	The language is used by all ages, from children up.
Unsafe	4	The language is used by some children in all domains; it is used by all children in limited domains.
Definitely Endangered	3	The language is used mostly by the parental generation and up.
Severely Endangered	2	The language is used mostly by the grandparental generation and up.
Critically Endangered	1	The language is used mostly by very few speakers, of grandparental generation.
Extinct	0	There exist no speakers.

Second, EGIDS (Simons & Lewis, 2010) places an emphasis on the transmission between generations and the domains of language use. There are thirteen levels ranging from 0 to 10 in EGIDS, as shown in Table 3. It can be observed that EGIDS is a measure of growth (5 and upward) and a scale of endangerment (6b and below). For most languages around the world, 6a (Vigorous) is the unmarked 'natural' state. Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig (2020) note that when sustaining language use, the division between Levels 6a and 6b is the single most important split in the EGIDS scale. For languages labelled 6a and higher, it is a standard practice for all children to learn the language. Meanwhile, for languages labelled 6b and below, intergenerational transmission is being interrupted because this is no longer the norm.

TABLE 3. Detailed descriptions for EGIDS (Simons & Lewis, 2010)

Level	Label	Description	UNESCO
0	International	The language is used internationally for a broad range of functions.	Safe
1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, government at the nationwide level.	Safe
2	Regional	The language is used for local and regional mass media and government services.	Safe
3	Trade	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders.	Safe
4	Educational	Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education.	Safe
5	Written	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community.	Safe
6a	Vigorous	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language.	Safe
6b	Threatened	The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generations are transmitting it to their children.	Vulnerable
7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among themselves but none are transmitting it to their children.	Definitely Endangered
8a	Moribund	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation.	Severely Endangered
8b	Nearly extinct	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.	Critically Endangered
9	Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency.	Extinct
10	Extinct	No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes.	Extinct

EGIDS is the foundation of a wider framework that is associated with the Sustainable Use Model (SUM, Lewis, 2011). There are eight key concepts within the SUM framework, as shown in Table 4. SUM is a theoretical tool that helps language scholars to understand the basic concepts of language production, set concrete targets in a given context, and identify practical measures for maintaining or strengthening languages.

TABLE 4. Eight key concepts in the SUM framework (Lewis, 2011)

No.	Key Concept
1	Minority language communities today face unprecedented pressure to abandon their local language and identity.
2	Development decisions are community decisions.
3	Language development must take into account the entire linguistic repertoire of a community.
4	Current vitality determines both prospects for maintenance and potential for development.
5	There are four levels of sustainable language use – history, identity, orality and literacy – which correspond to specific levels on EGIDS.
6	Apart from these sustainable levels of use, the other EGIDS levels are transitory, and without some intervention will naturally decay to the next lower level of use (or beyond).
7	Once the current level is identified, a community can determine which sustainable level of use it desires to work towards and a language development intervention or program can be designed.
8	The five conditions related to Function, Acquisition, Motivation, Environment and Differentiation (known collectively as the FAMED conditions) must be met in order to achieve sustainability.

Lewis (2011) further introduces a hierarchy of a sustainable language use based on SUM, which involves 'Sustainable History', 'Sustainable Identity', 'Sustainable Orality', and 'Sustainable Literacy', as summarised in Figure 1. These four sustainable levels correspond with the direction of four levels on the EGIDS, as seen in Table 5.

Sustainable Literacy
- not only vigorous oral use but widespread written use
- supported (transmitted) by sustainable institutions

Sustainable Orality
- strong identity rooted in the language
- vigorous oral use by all generations for day-to-day communication
- language transmission takes place in the family or local community

Sustainable Identity
- no fully proficient speakers
- a community associates its identity with the language
- not used for day-to day communication; used ceremonially or symbolically

Sustainable History
- no remaining speakers
- no one associates their identity with the identity
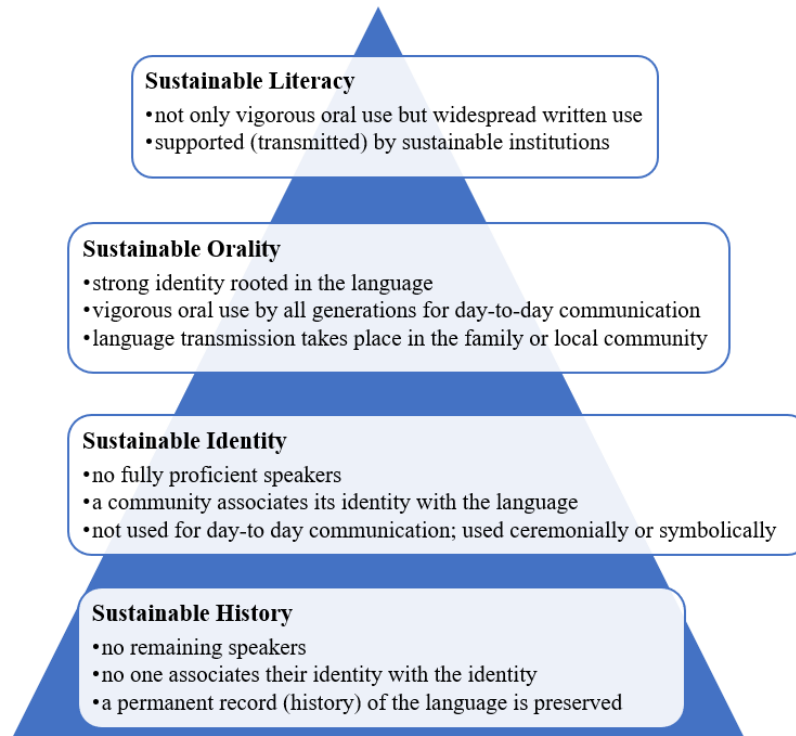- a permanent record (history) of the language is preserved

FIGURE 1. Hierarchy of a sustainable language use based on SUM (Lewis, 2011)

TABLE 5. Sustainability and EGIDS (Lewis, 2011)

Sustainability	EGIDS
Sustainable Literacy	EGIDS 4, Educational
Sustainable Orality	EGIDS 6a, Vigorous
Sustainable Identity	EGIDS 9, Dormant
Sustainable History	EGIDS 10, Extinct

The findings of the current study will assess Hassan, Ghazali, and Omar's (2015) previous claim on their classification of Kensiu within the 'safe' category (Grade 5) under Factor 1 of the UNESCO Nine Factors. As such, the concept of 'Sustainable Orality' under SUM, which corresponds to EGIDS 6a (Vigorous), will be discussed through the presence or absence of intergenerational language transmission based on the Kensiu participants' personal narratives.

LANGUAGE USE

In examining language use within the Kensiu community, two of Fishman's (1967) relevant concepts will be explored, namely 'domain' and 'diglossia'. The term 'domain' was coined by Fishman (1972) to study multilingualism and the choices made on a regular basis by members of a multilingual community. Fishman (1972) identifies five basic domains, namely 'family', 'friendship' 'religion', 'education', and 'employment', as exemplified in Table 6. Each of the five domains has unique features based on the 'addressee', 'setting', and 'topic'.

TABLE 6. Domains of language use (Fishman, 1972)

Domain	Addressee	Setting	Topic
Family	Parent	Home	Planning a family party
Friendship	Friend	Beach	How to play beach tennis
Religion	Priest	Church	Choosing the Sunday liturgy
Education	Teacher	School	Solving a maths problem
Employment	Employer	Workplace	Applying for a promotion

In the context of Kensiu, Hassan, Ghazali, and Omar (2015, p. 499) argue that the Kensiu speakers "used their own language in all domains within their communities, but in communication with other communities, they use the languages of other groups or Malay in their interactions". They have also classified Kensiu under Grade 3 (Dwindling Domains) within Factor 4 of the UNESCO Nine Factors, as seen in Table 7. It was claimed that Kensiu is still being used in home domains and for many functions, but dominant languages like Malay have begun to penetrate the home domains.

TABLE 7. Factor 4, Trends in Existing Language Domains (Brenzinger et al., 2003)

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Domains and Functions
Universal Use	5	The language is used in all domains and for all functions.
Multilingual Parity	4	Two or more languages may be used in most social domains and for most functions.
Dwindling Domains	3	The language is used in home domains and for many functions, but the dominant language begins to penetrate even home domains.
Limited or Formal Domains	2	The language is used in limited social domains and for several functions.
Highly Limited Domains	1	The language is used only in a very restricted number of domains and for very few functions.
Extinct	0	The language is not used in any domain for any functions.

Fishman's (1972) concept of 'domain' has led to the development of 'domain analysis' (Ehala, 2018) which consists of four dimensions of language, namely 'macro-level', 'micro-level', 'diachronic', and 'normative', as seen in Figure 2. In a 'macro-level' dimension, the goal of domain analysis is to identify the factors that determine how a language is used in different domains. In a 'micro-level' dimension, the choice of language use in a specific domain is identified. Within a 'diachronic' dimension, a language may be replaced with another language as a result of changes in language choice. Finally, a 'normative' dimension comprises all meta-level practices (e.g., language policies and ideologies) that affect the use of different languages in various domains.
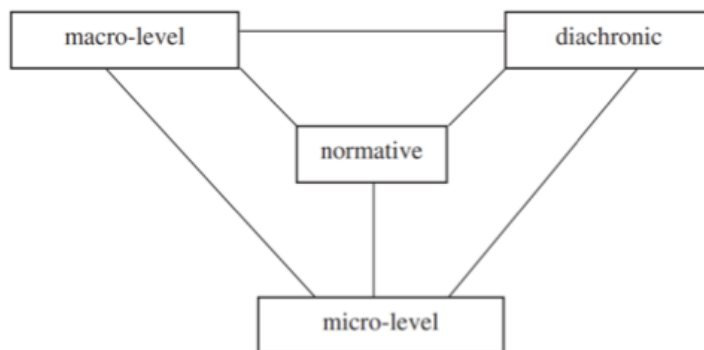
FIGURE 2. The four dimensions of language (Ehala, 2018)

In connection to language use, Ferguson (1959) describes the concept of diglossia in which two language varieties - 'high' (H) versus 'low' (L) - are used in different domains for different functions. In this context, Fasold (1984) believes that high varieties are reserved in formal situations, while low varieties are used in less formal conditions. The concept of diglossia can be further understood via the relationship between bilingualism and diglossia (Zopus, 2016), as shown in Table 8. This relationship was tested for the Semai language in Peninsular Malaysia in which Boucher-Yip (2004) claims that Semai experiences a stable diglossia under the 'diglossia with bilingualism' category. That is, Semai (L) functions as the in-group language, while Malay (H) is used in formal domains.

TABLE 8. The relationship between diglossia and bilingualism (Zopus, 2016)

	+ Diglossia	- Diglossia
+ Bilingualism	Everyone in a community knows both H and L, which are functionally differentiated (Diglossia with bilingualism)	An unstable, transitional situation in which everyone in a community knows both H and L but are shifting to H (Bilingualism without diglossia)
- Bilingualism	Speakers of H rule over speakers of L (Diglossia without bilingualism)	A completely egalitarian speech community, where there is no language variation (Neither bilingualism nor diglossia)

LANGUAGE ATTITUDE

Language attitude is related to the concept of identity and the theory of accommodation. Lewis (1975) describes a six-fold concept that demonstrate language attitude, as seen in the following narratives:

1. General approval: '*I like speaking . . .*'
2. Commitment to practise: '*I want to maintain . . .*'
3. Ethnic tradition: '*We owe it to our forefathers to maintain . . .*'
4. Economic and social factors: '. . . *offers advantages in seeking good job opportunities*'
5. Family and local considerations: '. . . *is important in family life*'
6. Personal ideological considerations: '. . . *provides a range of aesthetic experiences in literature*'.

As argued by Holmes and Wilson (2017), sociolinguistic research is the investigation of social norms and responsibilities towards language identity. Moore (2004) further claims that the use of language reflects the identities that people adopt as a result of their membership in various groups. Eckert (1980) explains that a dominant language may assimilate the speakers of different identities, while a minority language is usually regarded as inadequate. Naturally, attrition will occur when there is a declining use of linguistic features which include "vocabulary pertaining to aspects of traditional culture that are being lost along with the language" (Pauwels, 2016, p. 57).

With regard to the theory of accommodation, Giles and Powesland (1975, p. 158) note that "the accommodation through speech can be regarded as an attempt on the part of the speaker to modify or disguise his persona in order to make it more acceptable to the person addressed". This theory explains why language users adjust their speech patterns in certain contexts. It also clarifies the tensions speakers face when deciding how and whether to assimilate with speakers of other languages within domains such as 'family and 'friendship'.

By addressing the important issues regarding intergenerational transmission, language use, and language attitude, we hope that our findings will shed some light on the Kensiu's current level of language endangerment. Based on the literature reviewed, the objectives of the current study are three-fold:

1. To what extent is the Kensiu language being passed down to the younger generation?
2. In which language domain is Kensiu mostly spoken?
3. How do language attitudes shape intergenerational transmission and language use among the Kensiu speakers?

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS

Two male Kensiu participants were involved in semi-structured interviews: (1) a village head and (2) a resident of the Kensiu community. The former represented the older generation (OG), while the latter represented the younger generation (YG). Following UNESCO's Nine Factors (Brenzinger et al., 2003), the categorisation of older versus younger generations appears appropriate to provide some data on intergenerational language transmission. Our participants were selected on the basis of convenience as they were the only ones accessible during our fieldwork. Their demographic details are given in Table 9 below.

TABLE 9. Demographic details of the participants

Item	Older Generation (OG)	Younger Generation (YG)
Age	41	19
Gender	Male	Male
Birthplace	Baling, Kedah	Sungai Petani, Kedah
Primary language	Kensiu	Kensiu
Other languages	Jahai, Kintak, Lanoh, Temiar	Temiar
Ethnic group	Kensiu	Kensiu
Occupation	Village head	Self-employed
Mother's primary language	Kensiu	Kensiu
Mother's other languages	Thai	None
Mother's birthplace	Thailand	Thailand

Mother's ethnic group	Kensiu	Kensiu
Father's primary language	Kensiu	Kensiu
Father's other languages	Jahai, Kintak, Lanoh, Temiar	Temiar, Lanoh
Father's birthplace	Baling, Kedah	Ipoh, Perak
Father's ethnic group	Kensiu	Kensiu

INSTRUMENT

An interview protocol was built with 35 questions divided into four sections: (1) language use; (2) language attitude; (3) language and identity; and (4) perceived vitality. To answer the first research question, we adapted Factor 1 from UNESCO Nine Factors and Levels 6a and 6b from EGIDS. The assessment tools also provided guidelines for the interview protocol in order to address the second (Factor 4 from UNESCO Nine Factors, Levels 1 to 4 from EGIDS) and third (Factor 8 from UNESCO Nine Factors, Levels 9 to 10 from EGIDS) research questions. The interview protocol was validated by four experts and is provided in Appendix A.

DATA COLLECTION

Prior to data collection, permission was obtained from JAKOA. The interview sessions were conducted by the second author in the Kensiu settlement. Metadata and consent forms of the participants were obtained at the beginning of each interview session. Based on the ISLE Meta Data Initiative (IMDI) standard (Gippert, Himmelmann & Mosel, 2006), the following recording metadata were collected: filename, recording title, date, location, topic, language, and recording equipment. In addition, sociolinguistic metadata were collected from each speaker, including: name, date of birth, gender, birthplace, primary language, other languages, ethnic group, occupation, mother's name, mother's primary language, mother's other languages, mother's birthplace, mother's ethnic group, father's name, father's primary language, father's other languages, father's birthplace, and father's ethnic group.

The interview sessions were recorded using a Sony UX560F digital voice recorder, with the support of a BOYA BY-M1DM dual omni-directional lavalier microphone. The first interview lasted for 49 minutes, while the second interview took 15 minutes. The participants used a common language (i.e., the Malay language) with the second author. They were compensated for their participation.

DATA ANALYSIS

The recordings were stored in the Waveform audio file format (WAV) with a 44.1kHz sampling rate, 16-bit depth. The audio files were coded using a code scheme of PPPDDMMYYYYAA_XX (BAL28112020HU_01 for OG, BAL28112020HU_02 for YG), as adapted from Hemmings (2020). We employed oTranscribe, a free online software for transcription. Timestamps were provided during each speech transaction for reference.

A qualitative software programme called ATLAS-Ti version 8 (ATLAS.ti Scientific Software Development GmbH, 2023) was used for handling data coding, creating categories, and investigating relationships between the categories. During the first-stage coding, we conducted a descriptive-level analysis to observe any interesting patterns (Saldaña, 2015). Word clouds were generated for both transcriptions to capture high-occurring phrases. Figure 2 below shows an example of a word cloud for the first interviewee (OG).
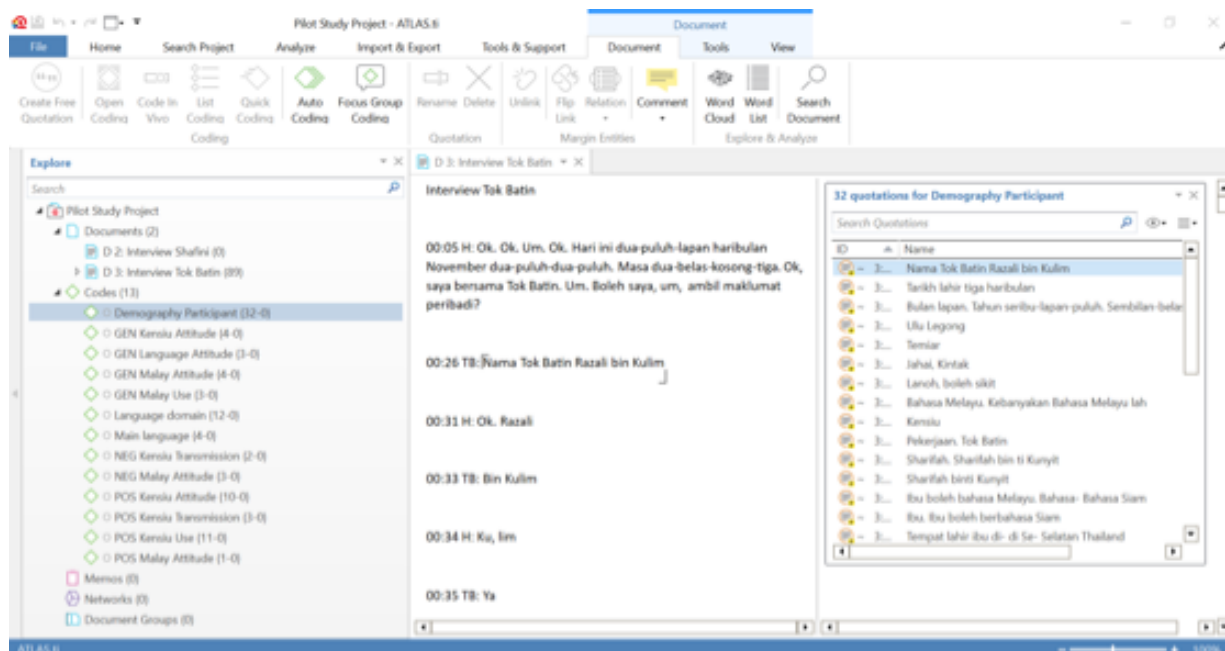
FIGURE 2. Screenshot of Word Cloud generated in ATLAS.ti v.8 for the transcription of the first interviewee (OG)

The next stage of analysis - open coding - was an analytic process for identifying concepts and discovering their properties and dimensions in data. In a process known as 'axial coding' (Strauss & Corbin, 1990), the concepts were put together according to their dimensions and themes. In developing a relevant code system, we built on three major themes by following the research questions of the current study, i.e., intergenerational language transmission, language use, and language attitude.

Among the codes created included: 'demography participant', 'GEN Kensiu Attitude', 'GEN Language Attitude', 'GEN Malay Attitude', 'GEN Malay Use', 'Language Domain', 'Main language', 'NEG Kensiu Transmission', 'NEG Malay Attitude', 'POS Kensiu Attitude', 'POS Kensiu Attitude', 'POS Kensiu Transmission', 'POS Kensiu Use', and 'POS Malay Attitude'. Abbreviated forms of GEN, NEG, and POS indicate 'general', 'negative', and 'positive', respectively. GEN was tagged for an extensive occurrence within the theme, while NEG and POS were tagged for occurrences with specific attributes of pessimism or optimism, respectively. Figure 3 (left panel) below shows an example of the code list for the first interviewee (OG).

FIGURE 3. Screenshot of code list generated in ATLAS.ti v.8 for the transcription of the first interviewee (OG)

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

INTERGENERATIONAL LANGUAGE TRANSMISSION

With regard to the first research question on intergenerational language transmission, the first interviewee (OG) states that the Kensiu speakers generally do still maintain the Kensiu language within their community, as seen in the following interview excerpt:

06:33 OG : *Ada yang apa. Tapi kita masih kekalkan bahasa Kensiu di sini.*
06:33 OG : There is what. But, we still maintain the Kensiu language here.

OG further claims that he prioritises the Kensiu language when speaking with his siblings, children, wife, and friends. This can be observed in the following excerpt:

07:19 OG : *Macam saya cakap tadi, saya lebih tekan bahasa Kensiu lah dengan-dengan adik-adik, dengan adik-beradik, dengan anak-anak, dengan isteri, dengan kawan. Saya nak. Kita nak, apa. Nak bagi depa kekalkan bahasa, bahasa Kensiu lah. Supaya tak hilang.*
07:19 OG : Like I said just now, I focus more on the Kensiu language with – with [my] siblings, with [my] siblings, with [my] children, with [my] wife, with [my] friends. I want. We want, what. Want them to maintain the language, the Kensiu language. So it's not lost.

OG's emphasis on using Kensiu with family members and friends lends some evidence to the transmission of the Kensiu language from an older generation to the younger one. This is also evident from the second interview with the younger generation (YG) as he mentions that he uses the Kensiu language at home with his family. This can be verified in the following excerpt between OG and the second author (HU):

01:03 HU	:	*Ok. Um. Soalan pertama saya. Um. Bahasa apa, um, Tuan guna dekat rumah?*
01:03 HU	:	Okay. Um. My first question. Um. What language, um, do you use at home?
01:12 YG	:	*Bahasa Kensiu dengan bahasa Melayu*
01:12 YG	:	The Kensiu language and the Malay language
01:15 HU	:	*Bahasa Kensiu dengan bahasa Melayu. Ok. Um, dengan siapa, um, Tuan guna bahasa Melayu, dengan siapa Tuan guna Kensiu?*
01:15 HU	:	The Kensiu language and the Malay language. Okay. Um, with whom, um, do you use Malay, and with whom do you use Kensiu?
01:22 YG	:	*Dengan. Keluarga pastu dengan. Bahasa Melayu. Kawan-kawan lah.*
01:22 YG	:	With. Family and then. Malay. With friends.

Our findings show an indication of intergenerational language transmission within the Kensiu community. Based on the UNESCO's (2011) levels of endangerment (Factor 1: Intergenerational Language Transmission), two possible levels of endangerment for Kensiu would be either 'safe' (Grade 5) or 'unsafe' (Grade 4), which is partially in agreement with has been found by Hassan, Ghazali, and Omar (2015). At the same time, the level of 'Sustainable Orality' (language transmission takes place in the family or local community) based on the Sustainable Use Model seems appropriate to describe the vitality status of Kensiu, which also corresponds to EGIDS Level 6a (Vigorous).

LANGUAGE USE

With regard to the second research question on language use, the words associated with 'family' and 'friendship' were often mentioned by both interviewees in the previous section, which reflects the use of Kensiu in the community. In the first interview, OG states that his parents taught him the Kensiu language at home. This can be seen in the following excerpt:

11:23 HU	:	*Masa saya kecik, um, ibubapa saya ajar bahasa Melayu…*
11:23 HU	:	When I was little, um, my parents taught me the Malay language…
11:27 OG	:	*Bahasa Kensiu*
11:27 OG	:	Kensiu language
11:28 HU	:	*Dekat rumah ke? Memang bahasa Kensiu?*
11:28 HU	:	At home? Kensiu language, really?
11:29 OG	:	*Hmm. Bahasa Kensiu.*
11:29 OG	:	Hmm. Kensiu language

Furthermore, when it comes to exogamous marriages (a Kensiu marrying a partner of a different ethnic), OG claims that the couples are requested to communicate in the Kensiu language when living inside the Kensiu community. However, they may use other languages when they return to their own communities, as observed in the following excerpt:

06:38 OG	:	*Siapa. Etnik lain yang berkahwin sini duduk sini, kita. Apa. Mintak dia berbahasa dalam Kensiu.*
06:38 OG	:	Who. Other ethnics who are married here [and] living here, we. What. Ask them to speak in Kensiu
06:44 HU	:	*Uh huh uh huh*
06:44 HU	:	Uh huh uh huh
06:44 OG	:	*Di kampung ni*
06:44 OG	:	In this village
06:46 HU	:	*Uh huh uh huh*
06:46 HU	:	Uh huh uh huh

| *06:46 OG* | : | *Kalau dia balik ke- ke kampung dia tu, kita terserah kepada dia lah. Kalau dia nak bahasa dia ke* |
| 06:46 OG | : | If they return back to- to their village, we leave it up to them. If they want [to use] their language |

In the second interview, YG reports that he uses both Kensiu and Malay at home, as shown in the previous examples at durations 01:12 and 01:22. This is also evident in the following excerpt:

01:34 YG	:	*Um. Saya anak tunggal*
01:34 YG	:	Um. I am an only child
01:35 HU	:	*Anak tunggal. Dengan keluarga? Campur? Kensiu dengan bahasa Melayu ke?*
01:35 HU	:	Only child. With family? [Do you] Mix? Kensiu and Malay?
01:42 YG	:	*Huh. Kadang kadang*
01:42 YG	:	Huh. Sometimes
01:42 HU	:	*Ke bahasa- bahasa Kensiu je?*
01:42 HU	:	Or just Kensiu?
01:43 YG	:	*Kadang kadang campur, kadang kadang cakap bahasa sendiri. Er. Kensiu*
01:43 YG	:	Sometimes [I] mix, sometimes [I] speak my language. Er. Kensiu
01:47 HU	:	*Er. Kenapa campur, kadang-kadang Kensiu, kadang-kadang bahasa Melayu?*
01:47 HU	:	Er. Why [do you] mix, sometimes Kensiu, sometimes Malay?
01:51 YG	:	*Sebab. ((Apa)). Kan. Pernah- pernah bergaul dengan, budak-budak Melayu. Lepas tu. Saja lah. Balik- balik- balik cakap bahasa Melayu jugak. Dalam rumah. Macam tu lah.*
01:51 YG	:	Because. ((What)). I. Have- have made friends with, Malay kids. Then. [I] Just do it. Return- return- return [and] speak Malay too. At home. Just like that.
02:03 HU	:	*Um. Um. Ibu bapa. Semua faham lah?*
02:03 HU	:	Um. Um. [Your] parents. They all can understand?
02:08 YG	:	*Uh huh, faham*
02:08 YG	:	Uh huh, understand

The interview excerpt above suggests that YG uses Kensiu or Malay with his parents at home. Although YG claims that his parents understand both languages (at duration 02:08), domain-specific information (i.e., addressee, setting, and topic) is not clearly stated and would be a subject of interest in future research. Within the domain of 'friendship', OG and YG use both Kensiu and Malay depending on whether the addressees (friends) are Kensiu or of other ethnics. This can be observed in the following interview excerpt with OG:

08:13 HU	:	*Ok. Um, kalau dengan kawan-kawan saya yang- yang Kensiu, saya guna Bahasa Kensiu lah?*
08:13 HU	:	Okay. Um, if I am with friends who- who are Kensiu, I use the Kensiu language?
08:17 OG	:	*Bahasa Kensiu*
08:17 OG	:	Kensiu language
08:19 HU	:	*Kalau dengan, er, yang lain? Contohnya macam Melayu, India, dengan Cina*
08:19 HU	:	If it is with, er, others? For example, with Malays, Indians, Chinese
08:25 OG	:	*Huh bahasa Melayu*
08:25 OG	:	Huh Malay language

Meanwhile, YG uses both Kensiu and Malay with his Kensiu friends, as shown in the following excerpt:

02:57 HU	:	*Hmm. Kedai runcit, ok. Um. Dengan kawan-kawan. Lebih bahasa Melayu ke, bahasa Kensiu?*
02:57 HU	:	Hmm. At the shops, okay. Um. With friends. [Do you use] more Malay or Kensiu?
03:04 YG	:	*Dua dua jugak*
03:04 YG	:	Both as well
03:05 HU	:	*Dua dua jugak. Um, bila guna bahasa Melayu, bila guna Kensiu? Ke- ke dua dua guna?*
03:05 HU	:	Both as well. Um, when [do you use] Malay, when [do you use] Kensiu? Or- or [do you] use both as well?
03:09 YG	:	*Huh, dua dua guna*
03:09 YG	:	Huh, [I] use both
03:12 HU	:	*Guna bahasa Kensiu. Guna bahasa Melayu dengan kawan-kawan Kensiu jugak?*
03:12 HU	:	[You] use Kensiu. [Do you] use Malay with your Kensiu friends too?
03:14 YG	:	*Uh huh*
03:14 YG	:	Uh huh

These findings are in tandem with Ferguson's (1959) viewpoint on diglossia involving 'high' (H) versus 'low' (L) varieties. It appears that both OG and YG have acquired Kensiu (L) within the home domain, while Malay (H) is learned within the education domain, as positioned under the National Language Act 1967 (MyGovernment, 2020). This is evident in the following excerpt with YG who claims that there are no Kensiu teachers at school.

03:50 HU	:	*Uh huh. Ok. Um. Dengan cikgu dekat sekolah? Um. Tuan guna bahasa apa?*
03:50 HU	:	Uh huh. Okay. Um. With your teachers at school? Um. Which language do you use?
03:55 YG	:	*Um. Bahasa Melayu*
03:55 YG	:	Um. Malay language
03:56 HU	:	*Bahasa Melayu. Sebab, cikgu orang Melayu ke?*
03:56 HU	:	Malay language. [Is it] because, the teacher is Malay?
03:59 YG	:	*Huh, orang Melayu*
03:59 YG	:	Huh, a Malay
04:00 HU	:	*Ada cikgu, bahasa Kensiu tak dekat sekolah?*
04:00 HU	:	[Is there] any teacher, who is Kensiu at the school?
04:03 YG	:	*Tak ada tak ada tak ada*
04:03 YG	:	Does not have does not have does not have

Within the education domain, OG further adds that there is a lack of literary resources in Kensiu, as opposed to Malay. Based on the Sustainable Use Model, this finding indicates that there is a gap within the 'Sustainable Literacy' hierarchy (Lewis, 2011). In addition, there are also limited written materials from any sustainable institutions. This can be observed in the following excerpt:

09:06 OG	:	*Supaya sebab bahasa Melayu ni dia kita. Sedia maklum dia ada buku. Dia ada cetak. Dia ada apa kita boleh belajar lagi. Tapi bila bahasa Kensiu ni. Sebab. Kita hanya boleh bertutur bercakap. Kalau kita tak amal tak jaga dia, dia akan hilang benda tu. Sebab dia tak ada rekod jenis buku ataupun apa ataupun dalam internet ke apa dia tak. Dia tak ada. Dia kalau- kalau ada pun dia tak lengkap dia akan. Bunyi tu jadi lain apa dia tak sama dengan hat yang saya punya. Masyarakat. Bercakap masa di kampung*
09:06 OG	:	So that because for Malay they we. As we all know they have books. They have prints. They have what we can still learn. But when [it comes to] Kensiu. Because. We only can speak talk. If we don't practice don't take care of it, it will be gone. Because it doesn't have records of books or what or on the internet or what they don't. There isn't any. If- if there is it is not

complete it will. The sound will be what it will not be the same with what I have. [how] The community. Talk when we are in the village

This finding seems to conform to Ferguson's (1959) and Fasold's (1984) views in which the H variety (Malay) is usually associated with the literary standard and commonly used in formal functions (such as the 'education' domain), while the L variety (Kensiu) is used within informal settings (such as the 'family' and 'friendship' domains). The mixed use of Kensiu and Malay in certain domains suggest that the Kensiu speakers are constantly interacting with other languages in which, eventually, there is a likely situation in which a dominant group's language may replace a subordinate group's language.

The findings of the current study also reveal a 'micro-level' dimension related to language choice, as described by Ehala (2018) and Fishman (1972). Our observations on Kensiu is comparable to those on Semai reported by Boucher-Yip (2004). It appears that, like Semai, Kensiu may experience a stable diglossia within the 'diglossia with bilingualism' category. In this context, Kensiu functions as the in-group language while Malay is reserved for formal domains. Our interview findings indicate that the Kensiu speakers do in fact code-switch between Kensiu and Malay within the 'friendship' domain, as seen in YG's excerpt below:

03:38 YG : *Tu. Macam. Contoh nak pergi. Jom- Jom pergi kedai macam tu. Campur dalam bahasa. Kensiu dengan. Macam. Yak- yak ke kedei, macam tu*
03:38 YG : That. Like. For example, [someone] wants to go. Let's- Let's go to the shop like that. Mix with the Kensiu language with. Like. Yak- yak ke kedei, like that

Nevertheless, this is merely one instance. More examples within the five domains proposed by Fishman (1972), i.e., 'family', 'friendship' 'religion', 'education', and 'employment', are needed to provide further elaborations of the Kensiu/Malay code-switching phenomenon.

LANGUAGE ATTITUDE

With regard to the final research question on language attitude, our findings reveal Lewis' (1975) concept of 'general approval' among the Kensiu participants towards the Kensiu language. This can be observed in the following excerpt with OG:

08:04 HU : *Ok. Um, Tuan lebih selesa guna bahasa Kensiu ke bahasa Melayu?*
08:04 HU : Okay. Um, do you prefer to use Kensiu or Malay?
08:08 OG : *Saya lebih selesa Kensiu*
08:08 OG : I prefer to use Kensiu

For YG, this can be seen in the following excerpt:

06:36 HU : *Ok. Um. Tuan suka, um, cakap bahasa Kensiu?*
06:36 HU : Okay. Um. Do you like, um, to speak in Kensiu?
06:40 YG : *Um, suka lah, sebab bahasa sendiri kan. Lebih suka*
06:40 YG : Um, [I] like it, because it's our own language. [I] like it more

Furthermore, YG's emphasis of 'our own language' in the excerpt above reflects his attachment to the Kensiu membership and identity, as described by Moore (2004). As the leader of the Kensiu community, OG feels that the community must prioritise their own language first. This can be seen in the following excerpt:

08:58 OG : *Bagi saya. Kita. Bagi saya lah. Sebagai ketua masyarakat Kensiu untuk lebih, apa, utamakan bahasa Kensiu dulu lah*
08:58 OG : For me. We. For me. As the leader of the Kensiu community [we] need to be more, what, prioritise the Kensiu language first

This Kensiu membership is also evident in YG's concern with the declining use of Kensiu due to a cross-language interaction between Kensiu and Malay in the community, as seen in the following excerpt:

09:21 YG : *Huh. Dia semakin tu lah. Kira berkurang lah dia orang cakap bahasa Kensiu sendiri. Dia orang, apa. Dah- dah cakap dengan- dengan- dengan keluarga sendiri pun, dia orang bercampur. Cakap bahasa Melayu dengan Kensiu. Yang bahasa asli tu, yang Kensiu betul betul, dia orang tak guna. Huh, dia orang, apa, campur campur lah. Campur campur bahasa Melayu dengan bahasa Kensiu sendiri*
09:21 YG : Huh. It is getting. [I] guess the number of people who speak Kensiu language themselves is decreasing. They, what. They talk to- with- with their own family, they mix [their languages]. Speak Malay with Kensiu. The native language, the pure Kensiu, they do not use it. Huh, they, what, mix it up. [a] mix of Malay language with their own Kensiu

Nonetheless, OG feels that the Kensiu community should be proficient in Malay in order to assimilate and interact in a wider society. In this context, he claims that both older and younger generations of Kensiu may have a lower proficiency in the Malay language due to their lack of social interactions with the outsiders. This is seen in the following excerpt:

12:43 OG : *Ada. Ada. Kelas ke. Ataupun kita. Dekat sekolah rendah. Ataupun. Sekolah. Sekolah menengah. Sebab ada yang. Masyarakat saya yang dia, memang tak boleh menguasai bahasa Melayu. Dia jadi. Banyak halangan. Banyak. Banyak perkataan yang dia tak faham apa maksud*
12:43 OG : There are. There are. Classes. Or we. In primary school. Or. School. Secondary school. Because there are. People from my community that are, that are not proficient in Malay. It causes. Many obstacles. Many. Many words they do not understand their meanings
12:59 HU : *Yang tu. Orang muda ke orang- orang orang tua?*
12:59 HU : For that. [Is it] the younger generation or the older generation?
13:01 OG : *Kebanyakan orang tua. Orang tua. Orang muda pun ada juga. Hat yang dia kurang bergaul dengan masyarakat Melayu. Huh.*
13:01 OG : The majority is the old folks. Old folks. There are also younger folks. Those who lack in socialising with the Malay community. Huh
13:08 HU : *Ohh*
13:08 HU : Ohh
13:08 OG : *Dia akan masalah. Dia. Dia akan menghadapi masalah benda tu. Saya rasa perlu lah. Perlu. Dan kenapa perlu? Sebab saya rasa. Untuk pengetahuan. Anak-anak masyarakat Kensiu*
13:08 OG : They will have problems. They. They will have to solve that problem. I feel that there should be. Should be. And why there should be? Because I feel that. For knowledge. Of the Kensiu children in the community

The Kensiu community's attempt to assimilate with the wider Malay community here accords well with the theory of accommodation in which there is an interaction between dominant (Malay) and less dominant (Kensiu) groups (Giles & Powesland, 1975). In this situation, OG highlights that the younger generation of Kensiu seems to marginalise the traditional customs of Kensiu due to the conflicting religious beliefs within the community. This is seen in the following excerpt:

14:35 OG	:	*Bahasa. Dia- dia orang masih amalkan. Tetapi. Kepercayaan, adat resam, pantang larang tu, sebab. Masyarakat Kensiu sekarang dah. Dah beragama Muslim, Islam. Ada yang- yang lebih, le- lebih muda ni, yang banyak, ada setengah yang banyak tak tau dah. Sebab dia jadi. Kadang-kadang. Dia bertentangan dengan adat, dengan agama Islam. Apa ni. Banyak yang hat yang. Hat yang lapis saya. Masih kekalkan lagi. Masih tau. Benda pantang larang. Kepercayaan, datuk nenek dulu. Masih tau. Tapi bagi lapis anak-anak yang, dua-ribu, tahun dua ribu keatas*
14:35 OG	:	The language. They- they still practise them. However. Beliefs, traditions, taboos, because. The Kensiu community now has. Has converted to Muslims, Islam. There are those- those who are much, mu- much younger, many of them, there are some who don't know anymore. Because they have become. Sometimes. It is against the beliefs, with the religion of Islam. What the. Many of those that are. Those who are my generation. Who still maintains. Who still knows. The taboos. Beliefs, [of] our previous ancestors. Still knows. But for the children who are [born], year two-thousand, two-thousand above
15:10 HU	:	*Uh uh huh*
15:10 HU	:	Uh uh huh
15:10 OG	:	*Dia akan. Buang pengetahuan tentang*
15:10 OG	:	They will. Lose the knowledge about
15:13 HU	:	*Ohh*
15:13 HU	:	Ohh
15:14 OG	:	*Tentang adat resam masyarakat Kensiu tu. Pengunaan ubat-ubatan tradisional. Apa. Ilmu. Ilmu jampi serapah dia dah. Dia dah- Dia dah tak boleh belajar. Dia dah tak tau*
15:14 OG	:	About the traditions of the Kensiu community. The use of traditional medicine. What. Knowledge. Knowledge of spells they have. They have- They cannot learn. They don't know anymore

This cultural shift is seen as a result of what Eckert (1980) argues as 'inadequacy' within the minority language, as compared to the dominant language of Malay. The ongoing process of 'attrition' within the younger generation will potentially lead to the loss of linguistic features which include critical lexicons related to traditional cultures (Pauwels, 2016). For example, the original Kensiu word 'baluk' ('rock') has shifted to 'batuk', which is similar to the Malay word 'batu', as mentioned in the following excerpt:

29:00 HU	:	*Perkataan apa yang zaman dulu, memang yang tu je ada. Tapi sekarang, bercampur dengan bahasa Melayu ke?*
29:00 HU	:	Which words were used in the past, that were the only words which existed. But now, it has mixed with Malay ones?
29:04 OG	:	*Batuk*
29:04 OG	:	Batuk
29:05 HU	:	*Batuk. Ok.*
29:05 HU	:	Batuk. Okay.
29:07 OG	:	*Batu. Hmm. Bahasa Kensiu dulu bukan- bukan batuk. Bukan batu. Baluk*
29:07 OG	:	Batu. Hmm. For Kensiu back then it wasn't- wasn't batuk. Not batu. Baluk

Furthermore, OG argues that although the younger generation uses Malay in their language today, it is important to know and be proud of being Kensiu by demonstrating the uniqueness of the Kensiu language in their communication with the outsiders. This can be seen in the following excerpt:

13:19 OG : *Dia. Yang nak. Nak- nak- nak- nak depa tahu. Bahasa- bahasa depa pun penting jugak. Dalam masyarakat depa. Dan nak bagitahu kepada masyarakat luar sekali. Apa. Masyarakat Kensiu ada. Ada satu. Bahasa yang unik lah. Yang depa- depa guna dalam masyarakat depa. Masyarakat kami lah.*

13:19 OG : It. That wants. Wants- wants- wants- wants them to know. Their language is also as important. In their community. And to let the outside community know too. What. The Kensiu community has. Has one. Unique language. Which they- they use in their community. Our community

Similarly, YG claims that a language user should know his or her own language, besides learning other languages like Malay. This is evident in the following excerpt:

05:27 YG : *Sebab. Sebab. Tak bagi, apa, tak bagi pupus lah bahasa sendiri. Takkan. ((Apa)). Kita dah belajar bahasa- bahasa- bahasa Melayu. Bahasa apa. Bahasa lain lain kan. Takkan kita nak belajar tu je, kita mesti. Tahu, lebih banyak lah tentang bahasa sendiri.*

05:27 YG : Because. Because. Not to let, what, not to let our own language be extinct. [We] can't. ((What)). We have learnt the Malay language- language- language. What language. Other languages. We can't just only learn that, we must. Know, much more about our own language.

When asked about what would happen if the community stops speaking Kensiu, OG laments that it will lead to the loss of speakers' identity, language, and traditional beliefs. This can be seen in the following excerpt:

13:57 OG : *Bila satu-satu bangsa. Satu-satu etnik. Bila dia. Dia sudah hilang. Per- percakapan dia. Dia guna. Bahasa lain dalam kehidupan dia, dia akan hilang identiti dia. Dia akan tak kenal lah apa bahasa dia. Apa- apa kepercayaan dia. Sebutan dalam bahasa dia. Dia akan tak tahu lah. Saya rasa mungkin dia rugi sangat.*

13:57 OG : When a nation. An ethnic. When they. They are losing. Their speech. They are using. Other languages in their life, they will lose their identity. They will no longer know their language. What- what their beliefs are. The pronunciation of their language. They will no longer know. I feel that they have lost a lot.

However, YG believes that it will not likely to happen as the Kensiu language is used regularly with his friends and families, as seen in the following excerpt:

10:28 YG : *Akan ada lah sebab, dia orang kan, selalu guna dekat rumah. Bahasa Kensiu, sebab. Tak- memang tak akan putus lah kalau bahasa ni. Kita- setiap hari akan bercakap. Cakap cakap cakap. Dengan kawan, kita cakap. Dengan keluarga, kita cakap. Huh. Tak kan (( ))*

10:28 YG : There will be a cause, they will, always use [the language] at home. The Kensiu language, because. It won't- will not be broken for this language. We- use the language every day. [We] talk talk talk. With [our] friends, we talk. With [our] families, we talk. Huh. It won't (( ))

YG's views seem to contradict with OG who claims that the use of Kensiu is deteriorating as it has been mixed with other languages, as seen in the following excerpt:

27:09 OG   :   *Bahasa. Bahasa Kensiu ni. Bagi saya, sekarang dia jadi macam, kekurangan*
27:09 OG   :   Language. This Kensiu language. For me, nowadays it is used like, declining
27:16 HU   :   *Ok*
27:16 HU   :   Okay
27:17 OG   :   *Perkataan-perkataan lama. Tata tutur lama dia jadi dah bercampur aduk sikit lah*
27:17 OG   :   Old words. Old ways of speaking has been mixed around a bit

CONCLUSION

The current study aims to provide a qualitative analysis on the issues of intergenerational language transmission, language use, and language attitude among the Kensiu speakers. The results provide some insights into intergenerational language transmission within the Kensiu community. The language seems to be used in limited domains, such as 'family' and 'friendship', with the High variety (Malay) being given more priority over the Low variety (Kensiu), though there is a balanced relationship between diglossia and bilingualism. The gap in Sustainable Literacy is also clear in the literary resources related to the Kensiu language. Pertaining to language attitude, there are some conflicting opinions between older and younger generations, though both of them generally come to agreement about the identity of Kensiu speakers and the way they accommodate other dominant languages in their daily life. Some of the contrasting attitudes and personal perspectives from our participants towards the vitality status of the Kensiu language demand further investigations involving more participants. The current findings, however, shed some light on the effects of social realities, such as bilingualism and diglossia (Zopus, 2016), on the vitality status of the Kensiu language.

As the present study solely focuses on the concepts of intergenerational language transmission, language use, and language attitude, we hope that our findings will pave way towards further discussions in the topic of language contact. The linguistic outcomes of language contact, or 'interference', are heavily influenced by social factors (e.g., religion, race, gender and age), usage in a variety of social functions (e.g., education, government, media, and literature), as well as political and ideological factors (e.g., prestige and 'language loyalty').

Although the number of participants in our study is limited, we hope that the findings are able to provide some additional insights on the linguistic vitality of the Kensiu community, also previously discovered by Hassan, Ghazali and Omar (2015). As our study is not ethnographical in nature, the findings may deprive the full spectrum of everyday life inside the Kensiu community. Future research should place more emphasis on this aspect in order to gain a deeper understanding of the linguistic consequences of language interaction, including how speakers integrate the elements of one language into another and how these elements promote or aggravate language change.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Protocol

Section A: Demography

Could you provide some information about yourself?

Age   :

Occupation   :

Education   :

Marital status :

Gender   :

Section B: Language use patterns/domains

Domain - Home
1. What languages do you speak at home? If more than one, which languages do you speak and in which situations?
2. What languages do you use often with your siblings/relatives/children? If more than one, which languages do you speak and in which situations?
3. What languages do you speak outside of your home? Which languages and where?

Domain - Friendship
4. What languages do you speak with your Kensiu friends? If more than one, which languages do you speak and in which situations?
5. What languages do you speak with your non-Kensiu friends? If more than one, which languages do you speak and in which situations?

Domain - Religion
6. What languages do you speak during a religious ceremony? If more than one, which languages do you speak and in which situations?
7. What languages do you speak when talking about a religious ceremony? If more than one, which languages do you speak and in which situations?

Domain - Education
8. What languages do you speak with your teacher? If more than one, which languages do you speak and in which situations?
9. What languages do you speak with your friends at school? If more than one, which languages do you speak and in which situations?

Domain - Employment
10. What languages do you speak with Kensiu colleagues at work? If more than one, which languages do you speak and in which situations?
11. What languages do you speak with non-Kensiu colleagues at work? If more than one, which languages do you speak and in which situations?

Section C: Language attitudes
12. In your opinion, how important is it to know Kensiu?
13. In your opinion, how important is it to know other languages besides Kensiu (like Malay)?
14. Do you speak Kensiu with your children? Why/Why not?
15. In your opinion, how important is it for your children to know Kensiu?
16. Do you think Kensiu parents are playing their part in passing the Kensiu language to their children?
17. In your opinion, how important is it to speak Kensiu with your friends?
18. In your opinion, how important is it to speak Kensiu while practising your religion?
19. In your opinion, how important is it to have books available in Kensiu?
20. In your opinion, how important is it to have colleagues who speak Kensiu?
21. Do you like speaking Kensiu?
22. Do you prefer speaking other languages like Malay?
23. Generally, do the people in your generation prefer to use Kensiu or other languages?

Section D: Language and identity
24. If people stop using Kensiu, do you think the identity of the Kensiu community can be maintained?
25. Why is the Kensiu language worth preserving?
26. How important do you think it is to pass the Kensiu language to your children?
27. Who do you think is responsible to pass the Kensiu language to the younger generation?
28. What do you feel when you are using Kensiu with your community?
29. What do you feel when you are using Kensiu outside of your community?

Section E: Perceived vitality
30. What is the current reality of the Kensiu language?
31. What used to be the reality of the Kensiu language back then?
32. What do you think about the future of the Kensiu language?
33. Do you think the Kensiu language will die or people will stop speaking the language?
34. Do you think your children will keep speaking the Kensiu language?
35. What (if anything) are you doing to keep the Kensiu language alive?

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