LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION & CONSERVATION

Vol. 2, No. 1 (June 2008), pp. 28-46
http://nflrc.hawaii.edu/ldc/

Diglossia, Bilingualism, and the Revitalization of Written Eastern Cham

Marc Brunelle

University of Ottawa

Eastern Cham is an Austronesian language spoken in south-central Vietnam. The sociolinguistic situation of Eastern Cham communities is characterized by a combination of diglossia and widespread Cham-Vietnamese bilingualism. These factors have had an important impact on the effectiveness of recent and controversial attempts to standardize and revitalize the traditional Cham script, akhăr thrah. The spelling reforms and first language programs currently implemented are described, and the reactions from the community are discussed. Various possible paths for the development of literacy in Eastern Cham are proposed and the impact of language attitudes and ideology on their chances of success are briefly reviewed.

1. INTRODUCTION[1]. Cham is an Austronesian language of the Western-Malayo-Polynesian branch that is closely related to Malay and is spoken in Mainland Southeast Asia. The Chams and the speakers of other Chamic languages are the descendants of the inhabitants of the former confederation of Champa that controlled most of Central Vietnam in the first millennium AD and was gradually conquered and annexed by the Vietnamese state in the course of the second millennium AD (Coedès 1948; Gay 1994; Majumdar 1927; Maspéro 1928; Népote 2004; Po 1987, 1991 among many others). In its heyday, Champa was an important commercial crossroad and successively underwent waves of Mon-Khmer, Chinese, Indian, Malay, Arabic, and Vietnamese cultural influence that shaped its language, religions, and society (on language contact, see Alieva 1984; Lee 1974; Sidwell 2004; Thomas 1987; Thurgood 1996, 1998, 1999).

The gradual disappearance of the confederation of Champa caused an exodus of Cham speakers throughout Southeast Asia. Nowadays, there are important Cham populations in Cambodia (about 220,000 according to the Summer Institute of Linguistics[2]) and Vietnam (132,873 according to the 1999 Vietnamese census), as well as smaller pockets in Malaysia and Thailand (Antypa 1994; Mak 1994). In Vietnam proper, the Cham population can be

[1] Acknowledgements: I would like to thank all the Chams, especially the intellectuals involved in the standardization debate, with whom I had conversations about the questions discussed in this paper since my first stay in Phan Rang in 2002. I will preserve their anonymity, since ethno-political issues are still delicate in Vietnam.

[2] A figure of 220,000 speakers in 1992 is attributed to an unspecified "government figure" in Ethnologue (http://www.ethnologue.com). This estimation, which seems reasonable, is repeated in most sources without verification.

E-ISSN 1934-5275

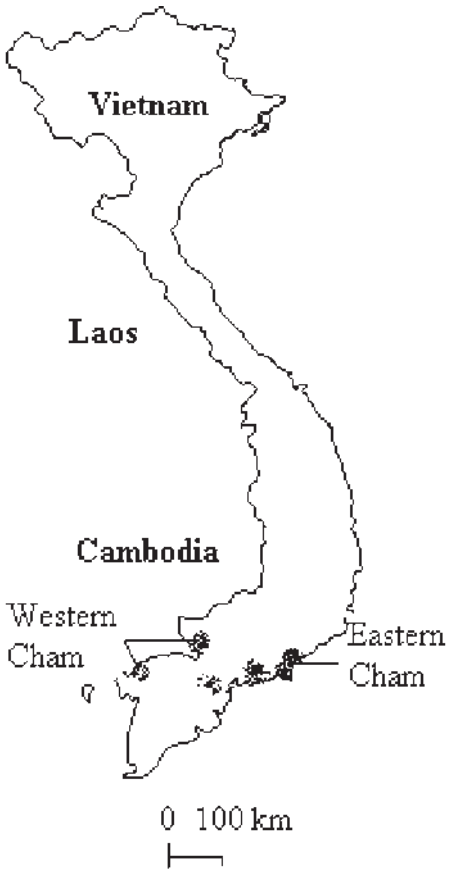

FIGURE 1: Geographical distribution of Cham speakers in Vietnam

divided into two subgroups that speak dialects that are barely mutually intelligible because of important lexical differences. About 30,000 Western Cham speakers live in small settlements in Châu Đốc, Tây Ninh, Xuân Lộc, and Hồ Chí Minh City (Phú 1992, 2002), while Eastern Cham speakers (about 100,000 people) are concentrated in the provinces of Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận, on the south-central coast. Even in these two provinces, Cham speakers make up less than 10% of the total population and are heavily in contact with ethnic Vietnamese culture.

Modern Eastern Cham society, the focus of this article, is still overwhelmingly rural. Most of the population lives off rice farming and petty trade. Although Eastern Cham communities are increasingly being integrated into the Vietnamese polity, the Cham language, local traditions, and religions (syncretic Hinduism, syncretic Islam, and Sunni Islam) are well preserved. This paper discusses the status of the Cham script, an important cultural icon that is undergoing considerable pressure because of universal education in Vietnamese. I will review recent attempts to preserve and revitalize it, show how sociolinguistic

factors like diglossia and bilingualism affect these efforts, and describe the effect of language attitudes and ideology on their success.

2. INSIGHTS FROM LINGUISTICS. Cham has a long literary tradition dating back to stone inscriptions in the eighth century (Blood 1980). Despite considerable change in the shape and support of the script, the modern Eastern Cham writing system, *akhăr thrah,* that is used in the Cham communities of Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận provinces on the south-central coast of Vietnam, is the direct descendant of these early inscriptions. In this paper, we will look at the challenges that *akhăr thrah* is facing in the modern world and at the attempts made by Eastern Cham intellectuals to simultaneously preserve it and adapt it to the current needs of the language community. The reason to limit the scope of this paper to the Eastern Cham dialect is that other Cham communities (in Cambodia and the Vietnamese part of the Mekong delta) speak different dialects and have mostly abandoned the Indic script (with the exception of about twenty traditionalist villages that follow the Imam San branch of Islam in Cambodia).

The first type of difficulty posed to *akhăr thrah* is the fast integration of Cham speakers into the Vietnamese polity. The generalized bilingualism found in Eastern Cham communities is having dramatic effects on their language, and indirectly, on first-language literacy. Since Vietnamese is the main language of instruction in the schools, attempts at teaching written Cham have had limited success in giving pupils any proficiency in the script. This situation is further complicated by a lack of modern written materials and new technologies in Cham, which renders *akhăr thrah* practically useless in daily life.

The second type of problem faced by the script is the increasing gap between the spoken language and the conservative written language, which complicates the tasks of language teachers. In fact, I argue that Eastern Cham is now a diglossic language community, i.e., a community in which a conservative formal language coexists with a very divergent colloquial variety (Brunelle 2005b, in press).

Aware of these facts, Cham intellectuals have been trying to simultaneously preserve and reform *akhăr thrah*. Unfortunately, these two aims conflict to a large extent, which has caused considerable controversy in the community, thus preventing concerted action. I will summarize the various issues at stake, compare them with similar situations in other language communities, and highlight a few possible scenarios for the future. I must emphasize that it is not my goal to take a stance or to dictate a path to Eastern Cham speakers. I believe that linguistics can provide a relatively objective point of view on the situation of the Cham language and script, but the linguistic facts are inextricably entangled with a number of issues pertaining to culture and ethnic identity that greatly restrain the decisions that can be made by language planners and can in turn affect the success of language planning. Ultimately, only the Chams can make the important decisions that will affect the future of their script and language.

3. WRITTEN CHAM BEFORE THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. The Pallava script was first adapted from Sanskrit to Cham around the eighth century, as attested by a stone inscription found in Quảng Nam (Blood 1980). The different variants of this script that were used over the centuries (Bùi 1996, Moussay 2006, Phú 1991) gradually led to the development of *akhăr thrah*, the modern Eastern Cham script, which is first attested on a sixteenth-

century stone inscription at the Po Rome tower in Ninh Thuận (Po Dharma 2006). *Akhăr thrah* was then the main Cham written medium from the seventeenth through the nineteenth century, and was used mostly in manuscripts relating epics (*akayet* and *ariya*) and historical events (Inrasara 2006; Po 1987; Po et al. 1997, 1998). These manuscripts have since been recopied by Cham scholars and intellectuals, first on latan palm leaves and more recently in notebooks.

Despite a sizeable body of literature in *akhăr thrah*, the script used in Cham manuscripts and inscriptions was never completely standardized. As attested by various sources, it exhibits a great degree of variation in the notation of unstressed initial syllables and vowels in final syllables (Aymonier 1889, Aymonier and Cabaton 1906, Inrasara 2007, Moussay 1971). This variation is probably due to dialectal variation and to discrepancies between the written and the oral language, a gap that is today wider than ever. In order to understand the reasons that underlie the differences between the written and the spoken language, it is necessary to give the reader a quick snapshot of the current sociolinguistic situation of Eastern Cham.

4. BILINGUALISM. Spoken Eastern Cham is still alive and well, as attested by the fact that it is clearly the dominant language in Cham villages and that the children of the few Vietnamese families who have resettled in these villages typically have a good, if not native, command of Cham. However, a peculiarity of Eastern Cham communities is that virtually all their members are bilingual to some extent. People older than forty typically speak Vietnamese with a Cham accent and a few older women speak it with some difficulty, but most younger speakers have native ability in each language. Exposure to Vietnamese varies considerably; while Chams who live or work in towns and cities speak Vietnamese most of the time, rural Chams living in homogeneous Cham villages rarely speak it at all. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of Chams are passively exposed to Vietnamese daily through the mass media. As a consequence, Vietnamese influence is strong, affecting not only the lexicon, but also the syntax and, arguably, the phonology (Brunelle 2005b; Thurgood 1996, 1999). The influence of colloquial forms of Vietnamese is further reinforced by the need to use its formal variety in dealing with the institutions of the Vietnamese state, especially the Vietnamese-medium schooling system and the bureaucracy. The effect of schooling in Vietnamese is particularly dramatic: the proportion of Vietnamese lexical items in conversations about technical or sociocultural topics is so high that speakers sometimes shift to Vietnamese altogether (or barely maintain a few Cham markers). Further, because of the limited impact of first-language education, Cham speakers use Vietnamese as their written language even for informal correspondence and, in the case of younger speakers, for text-messaging and internet-based communication.

Practically, the scarcity of technical vocabulary and the limited impact of first-language education mean that Chams have to use Vietnamese loanwords whenever they want to refer to modern technological innovations and concepts that are not frequently used in everyday life. Moreover, a large amount of basic vocabulary has been replaced by Vietnamese loanwords, to the extent that only language specialists still remember the original Cham terms. This includes such basic words as /mɨŋawom/ 'family' and /lipiʔ/ 'place', which have been replaced by Vietnamese *gia đình* 'family' and *chỗ* 'place', respectively. Even function words like *phải* 'ought to' and *khi* 'moment, when' have become part of the basic

vocabulary of Eastern Cham. Typically, these well established borrowings are adapted to Eastern Cham phonology. Their tones are replaced by Cham registers, and their segments are often modified to conform to the Cham phonological inventory and phonotactics. Thus the word *phải*, which is pronounced [faj] in Vietnamese (with a falling-rising tone), is usually realized with a low register and an aspirated onset, [ɸ^{h}ai], in Eastern Cham. However, among younger and more educated speakers, loanwords seem to be less systematically nativized. In their speech, tones are sometimes preserved and their segmental phonology is closer to Vietnamese. Syntax is also influenced by Vietnamese; a systematic study of Vietnamese influence on Cham syntax is beyond my expertise, but Vietnamese calques are tolerated by Cham speakers.

5. DIGLOSSIA. Eastern Cham speakers, in addition to being bilingual in Vietnamese, use two varieties of Eastern Cham. There is a colloquial variety, which has very little prestige but is the normal code within the community. There is also a formal variety, mostly written but also used in religious ceremonies and very solemn circumstances, which reflects more or less accurately the language of recent Cham inscriptions and manuscripts. The coexistence of these High (H) and Low (L) varieties is clearly reminiscent of the concept of *diglossia* (Ferguson 1959:336):

> DIGLOSSIA is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation.

Although the Eastern Cham situation conforms to Ferguson's definition reasonably well, some qualifications have to be made. First, while it is clear that Eastern Cham H is "the vehicle of a respected body of written literature," consisting mostly of stone inscriptions, manuscripts, religious texts, and epics, it could hardly be considered "large." However, if we consider that there are at most 100,000 Eastern Cham speakers, this body of literature is of a respectable size relative to the population and there is no doubt that all Cham speakers have been exposed to it, at least in its oral form. Another important difference with the cases described by Ferguson is that literature is no longer produced in Cham, with the exception of some poetry (especially in *Tagalau*, a Cham literary magazine) and scholarly re-editions of classical texts (Inrasara 2006; Po 1987; Po et al. 1997, 1998). The "very divergent" character of Cham H is unquestionable. There are lexical, phonological, morphological, and syntactic differences between the two varieties. Lexical differences abound. For example, basic H words like /panojʔ/ 'word' and /uraŋ/ 'person' correspond to L /khăn/ and /nɨʔ/, respectively. Phonological differences are of two types. First, while the H variety has many polysyllabic words composed of a final stressed syllable and of one or two unstressed presyllables (the presyllables are called /*lang likuʔ*/ in Cham), the L va-

riety has lost almost all of its presyllables and has become virtually monosyllabic (Alieva 1986, 1991, 1994; Aymonier 1889; Blood 1962; Brunelle 2005a, in press; Bùi 1996; Lee 1966; Thurgood 1999). For example, the words /pa̰taj/ 'rice' and /limɔ/ 'cow' are typically realized as /t̥aj/ and /mɔ/ in L. There are also a number of initial and final consonants that are distinguished in H (at least by very literate speakers), but have merged in L. For example, the noun /tʰaŋ/ 'house' and the future marker /tʰi/ are occasionally pronounced conservatively as [saŋ] and [si] in the H variety, even if initial /s-/ has merged with /tʰ-/ in L. Similarly, the final consonants /-n/, /-l/ and /-r/ are distinguished by some scholars when they speak H, whereas they have merged as /-n/ in the L variety. With respect to morphology, L has lost its derivational prefixes and infixes and has become an isolating language. An extreme case is the merger of the words /pa̰plăj/ 'sell' and /p̰lăj/ 'buy' after the loss of the causative prefix /pa-/ caused by monosyllabization. Finally, L has undergone major syntactic restructuring under Vietnamese influence. Most Vietnamese syntactic calques are considered acceptable in L, while H has less flexibility. Obviously, not all speakers master the H variety to the point of correctly producing all the H markers. All speakers produce some polysyllabic and sesquisyllabic forms when they try to speak H, but only language specialists attempt to use affixation, and syntax is always strongly influenced by Vietnamese.

Poor knowledge of H grammar has in turn affected "codification." The absence of reasonably fluent users of H prevents the emergence of a well defined standard. However, there is still a relative consensus about what constitutes proper H. First, there are a number of received ideas that are shared by the community and constantly emerge in interviews (H should have polysyllabic words, some pairs of merged consonants should be distinguished in pronunciation, etc.). Second, the Committee for the Standardization of the Cham Script (Ban Biên Soạn Sách Chữ Chăm—hence CSCS), created in Phan Rang in 1978, is making important efforts to standardize not only the characters of the traditional script but also its spelling, which reflects a state of the language that is even more conservative than spoken H.

An important, if not explicitly stated, goal of the standardization of written Cham as attempted by the CSCS is to develop language programs in primary and middle schools in order to teach H to children. Formal instruction, along with imitating an already imperfect target is the only way in which H is passed along to younger generations. This is consistent with Ferguson's definition of diglossia that H is "learned largely by formal education." Traditionally, H was taught to children by learned relatives or in classes organized at the village level. A number of older speakers learned it this way, more or less successfully (Blood 1980). During interviews, a few elderly men mentioned a short-lived trilingual program (French-Vietnamese-Cham) in French schools during the colonial period, and middle-aged men also referred to unsuccessful attempts to teach Cham in primary schools under the pro-American South Vietnamese regime in the late 60s and early 70s. The common denominator of all these programs seems to be their nonsystematic and improvised nature, the small number of enrolled pupils, and their all-male student body. In contrast, the program that has gradually been implemented since 1978 now reaches all pupils enrolled in primary schools in Cham villages. In 2006–2007, thirty-eight teachers taught written Cham to 8,691 pupils in twenty-three primary schools (Lộ 2007). Unfortunately, this program also has serious limitations. Pupils study Cham only two hours a week, and teaching

materials are scarce. Furthermore, most teachers have a very limited knowledge of H, and the standard one-week training program that they had to undergo until recently could not remedy this problem. As a result, the type of H that is used in the classroom is not very standardized and is subject to both L influence and hypercorrection. Teachers also have to use L to a large extent to make sure that pupils understand.

A promising new teacher-training program at the University of Qui Nhơn might help improve the situation, but since many of the students who are currently enrolled are ethnic Vietnamese and Haroi with no prior knowledge of spoken Cham, it is still unclear how successful it will be. For these reasons, Cham language education currently focuses mostly on *akhăr thrah*, the Indic script, and on the numerous phonological discrepancies between it and modern Eastern Cham (both H and L). However, since there are no printed materials in Cham script besides a few textbooks, the overwhelming majority of children quickly forget *akhăr thrah* as soon as they leave primary school. As a consequence, the real written medium in the community is Vietnamese, even in personal mail and electronic communications. Therefore, even if we can say that H "is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation," we cannot claim that H is "used for most written and formal spoken purposes." Moreover, besides the fact that Cham is not used for most written purposes, there are relatively few situations requiring formal speech in the community.

Even if its use in the community is very restricted, the script has great importance in the Cham social construction of ethnicity (Blood 1980). In the native language ideology it is not dissociable from H. Besides *akhăr thrah, akhăr ɓani*, an Arabic-based script, is used for religious purposes by the *ɓani*, the followers of a syncretic version of Islam, who make up about a third of the Eastern Cham population. However, this script is restricted to religious functions and does not have the same prestigious status as *akhăr thrah*, even among *ɓani*. Further, it seems that texts written in *akhăr ɓani* are learned and recited by rote rather than read. In any case, even if very few people manage to master the traditional scripts, they are largely preferred to any romanization. Since the independence of Vietnam, there have been various attempts to romanize the Cham script by the South Vietnamese Department of Education, American missionaries (Blood 1977), and Vietnamese linguists (Hoàng 1987). These attempts have all been met with open hostility by the Cham, and the mere mention of a roman-based transcription (*akhăr rumi*) is considered suspicious. As an illustration of this, some Cham intellectuals were very critical of my transcriptions and field notes in IPA.

A final qualification about Eastern Cham diglossia has to be made. Is the Cham linguistic situation "relatively stable"? The definition of stability is problematic. It has been proposed that diglossia is stable if it is maintained over at least three generations (Fishman 1980), but by this criterion, the question cannot be conclusively answered in the case of Eastern Cham, for lack of evidence. We hardly know how and when the two varieties became different enough to satisfy Ferguson's definition of diglossia, although Aymonier's grammar (1889) provides evidence that the monosyllabization of L had already started in the late nineteenth century (Brunelle 2005b, in press). As for the possibility of survival of H in the near future, it depends largely on the ability of the Chams to develop and maintain an adequate language program in village schools, to mobilize their youth, and to develop Cham mass media in this variety. There are currently limited radio and television broadcasts in H (one hour a week and two hours a month, respectively), but they are limited to

news and are severely controlled and censored by provincial authorities. Moreover, the monthly two hours of Cham news on Ninh Thuận TV have all their captions and subtitles written in an ad hoc romanized script. The national radio also broadcasts in Cham a few hours a day, but four of the six announcers are speakers of Western Cham, which is only partly mutually intelligible for Eastern Cham speakers.

Other language communities where H has an objectively limited role in daily interactions are discussed in the literature. The fact that H is in many ways a symbolic target rather than a variety commonly used in the Eastern Cham community is reminiscent of the status of Mandarin in Malaysia (Platt 1977). Platt argues that among Malaysian Chinese, Mandarin and, to some extent, Amoy Hokkien, are "dummy H's," or varieties "of which some members have a certain knowledge, and which are given prestige ratings by the speakers and are even recognized by government authorities, media, or prestige groups within the speech community, but which are not in fact utilized extensively in any domain" (Platt 1977:373). Eastern Cham H conforms to this definition: although few speakers master it, it is very prestigious and it is taught in schools and used in news broadcasts. However, it is not "utilized extensively in any domain." In fact, a special variety of the language is actually used in formal situations. It is a form of L into which many H features have been incorporated, but that is still very close to colloquial L and is mutually intelligible with it. This variety could be described as a Medium (M) variety (following Platt 1977).

To sum up, the only element of Ferguson's definition of diglossia that Eastern Cham does not satisfy is the use of H for most written and formal purposes. This condition is not fulfilled because of the parallel existence of bilingualism and diglossia, a complex and rather rare sociolinguistic situation that is typically found in immigrant communities (Fishman 1980). The Chams are a minority even in the areas where they are concentrated, and they have a lower social status than the majority group with which they are in contact. Because the Eastern Cham population is small and relatively scattered, almost all written communication and most formal spoken interactions involve ethnic Vietnamese and are conducted in Vietnamese. Thus, H is used almost only for religious and educational purposes. Further, while H is clearly the intended target in these situations, it is not spoken fluently and is usually realized as a version of L with a significant admixture of H features (and a large amount of hypercorrection), a hybrid variety that could be described as an M. Therefore, Eastern Cham is not a canonical case of diglossia. The role of H in language ideology and the social functions of H in society are similar enough to treat it as such, but the superimposition of bilingualism and the small size of the community confine H to the limited, quasi-symbolic role of a "dummy H."

6. SPELLING REFORM AND CONSERVATISM. We can now look at recent efforts to standardize the script, at the reaction to these attempts, and at the underlying goals of the various protagonists in light of the sociolinguistic conditions described in sections 4 and 5.

Until the early 1980s, there were no systematic attempts to standardize the Cham script or reform its spelling. In the elaboration of their dictionary, Moussay and his team did make editorial choices (Inrasara 2007), but the rationale behind the choice of certain variants over others was not discussed explicitly. However, as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam developed its policy of education in minority languages, the Committee for the Standardization of the Cham Script (CSCS) was established in 1978 with the mandate

of setting norms for the Cham script and developing a first-language program for local schools. First, and uncontroversially, the CSCS proposed in 1979 to clearly distinguish three pairs of letters that are often written identically in manuscripts (ꩍ /k̥/ and ꩌ /l/,꩏ /t̥/ and ꩐ /p/, ꩎ /p/ and ꩑ /t^h/). The rest of the spelling reform was organized around five principles developed in 1979, 1982 and 1995 (Ban Biên Soạn Sách Chữ Chăm 1995; Lộ 2007). They are the following:

1. A phonemicization of the script
2. A regularization of the script (one spelling per word)
3. An "ease of use" principle
4. The standard pronunciation used as a basis for the orthography is rooted in the dialects spoken in Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận.
5. The peculiarities of the Cham language and script must be respected, while allowing its development. The script should be as simple as possible.

These five principles overlap to a large extent. To summarize them: the goal of the spelling reform is to make the script more phonemic by bridging the gap that separates it from spoken H, while achieving a compromise between dialects. In practice the changes put forward are relatively modest. Without getting into details (which can be found in Ban Biên Soạn Sách Chữ Chăm 1995, Lộ 2007), they are of seven types:

1. New conventions are proposed to mark vowel-length distinctions that were not always clear in the classical script.
2. In final position, ꩍ /g/ is used to distinguish /-k/ from /-ʔ/ (ꩌꩍ), and a stroke is added to the rhyme /ap/ (ꩌꩍꩍ) to distinguish it from the rhyme /awʔ/ (ꩌꩍꩍ).
3. A single spelling is retained for five rhymes that had two alternative spellings.
4. When a word has two presyllables (i.e., reduced unstressed nonfinal syllables[3]), their vowels are no longer marked (although this is implemented very irregularly).
5. The contexts of use of the graphemes ꩏/p/ and ꩐/p/, and of ꩑/t^h/ and ꩒ /t^h/ are defined (but somewhat arbitrarily).
6. Six written diphthongs are reduced to monophthongs to make them more similar to modern spoken Eastern Cham
7. Unnecessary strokes are removed from a few initial nasal consonants and vowels.

[3] In the H variety of Eastern Cham, final syllables are stressed and fully realized. All preceding syllables are unstressed and reduced. Its consonant inventory is smaller and its vowels tend to be centralized to schwa. This type of iambic stress pattern is common in Mainland Southeast Asia.

These changes aim to simplify spelling, while keeping the H variety as the basis for writing. Phonological changes found exclusively in the L variety, like presyllable deletion and the frequent reduction of onset clusters, are not reflected in spelling reform.

Despite the very limited character of these changes, they have been very controversial in the community. A few traditional scholars and elders are vehemently opposed to them, which has led to bitter arguments, both verbally and in print (Inrasara 2007, Phú 2006, Po Dharma 2006). Interestingly (or sadly), the debate is entirely conducted in Vietnamese. The arguments of the opponents to standardization are surprisingly similar to those used against spelling reforms in France and Germany at the end of the twentieth century. They can be grouped into four main types:

1. There are irregularities in proposed spelling changes.
2. After the spelling reform is implemented, people fluent in the old spelling might have difficulty reading and writing with the new norm. Further, younger generations will be incapable of reading the old manuscripts, thus losing their cultural heritage.
3. The traditional script is a stable system with an internal logic and functional principles that cannot be modified without creating severe irregularities. Any changes to the traditional norm will lead to lexical confusion.
4. The writing system is sacred and should not be modified because it is a remnant of the classical culture of Champa. This argument is pervasive, although rarely stated explicitly.

Let us address these arguments one by one. First, despite its attempts to phonemicize and regularize *akhăr thrah*, the CSCS has introduced a number of irregularities in the new norm. For example, vowel length can now be marked in several different ways depending on the vowel, and the grapheme ꩜, one of two graphemes used for /p/, is only preserved in four arbitrary contexts: the causative prefix /pa-/, numerals, nouns for positions of authority and the words *where* and *carry* (Phú 2006, Po Dharma 2006). While these quirks go against the phonemic goal of the spelling reform, they are relatively insignificant details that can hardly be invoked to oppose the *concept* of a spelling reform. In fact, even though conservative factions have been using them to argue for the integral maintenance of the traditional script, they could also be used to push for a more systematic phonemic reform. The motivations behind the resistance to the idea of a spelling reform actually seem to be rooted in arguments (2), (3), and (4), which have little to do with objective linguistic factors.

A non-negligible factor in the opposition to reform is the fear that it might result in a loss of intelligibility between the old and the new norm. Literate elders are afraid that they will be unable to read the new script and, more seriously, fear that younger generations might lose the ability to read old documents. However, due to the limited scope of the reforms proposed by the CSCS, it is very unlikely that Cham speakers already fluent in the classical script would have any problem adapting to the new norm. As a comparison, innovative unofficial spellings in American English, like *tonite* for *tonight* or *thru* for *through,* are readily accepted and do not pose a problem to readers. Moreover, since Classical Cham

spelling was far from stable, as attested by numerous variants of some words in Aymonier and Cabaton's dictionary, the standardized variants proposed by the CSCS should be no more unsettling than some of the pre-existing spellings (Aymonier and Cabaton 1906, Inrasara 2007). Nonetheless, it would be presumptuous to dismiss the intelligibility argument off-hand. If the spelling reform were to be pushed further along the phonemic path, younger generations could eventually be unable to read old manuscripts. For example, if language planners were to decide to model writing on the L variety, the gap between the classical and the modern written languages would certainly become a serious obstacle for the average reader, just as most modern French or English speakers cannot easily grasp the meaning of fifteenth century texts. Further, if a radical decision were made to abandon *akhăr thrah* in favor of another, more common writing system, modern speakers would need to learn the old script to have access to their literary heritage, just as modern Vietnamese speakers must learn Chinese (*chữ hán*) or Sino-Vietnamese (*chữ nôm*) characters to read untranslated Vietnamese texts pre-dating the adoption of the romanized script (*quốc ngữ*).

While there are some grounds to the intelligibility argument, the last two claims put forward to oppose spelling reform are largely related to language ideology and have little to do with objective reality. Many conservative Cham intellectuals promote the idea that classical *akhăr thrah* is a writing system that achieved such a level of perfection and stability that it does not need to be modified. However, as argued before, the classical script was highly unstable, and many words had several possible variants reflecting either the dialect of the scribe, phonological changes in the spoken language or perhaps regional variants in orthography (Aymonier and Cabaton 1906, Inrasara 2007). Further, as admitted even by the opponents of the spelling reform, the classical script did contain a number of irregularities that had to be memorized by pupils (Phú 2006, Po Dharma 2006). Therefore, it seems that a large part of the opposition to spelling changes stems from the idea that the Cham script is a quasi-sacred part of the Cham heritage and should not be modified. This argument can be better understood in the larger context of the Eastern Cham ethnocultural ideology. A recurring theme in discussions and interviews with Chams, intellectuals or not, is the concept of cultural decadence (Nakamura 1999). Chams are keenly aware of the former greatness of Champa and of the loss of political autonomy that they suffered as they were gradually integrated into the Vietnamese polity. Their homeland is dotted with temples, towers, and stone inscriptions that are a constant reminder of a past when they had a flourishing culture that was much more distinct from Vietnamese society than are the modern Cham communities. For this reason, the modern culture and language are generally perceived as being degenerate versions of their classical forebears rather than modern variants of a longstanding culture with their own intrinsic value. This attitude towards the modern Cham language and culture largely accounts for the resistance produced by spelling reform. Any attempt at modernization is perceived by conservative segments of Cham society as a further impoverishment of an already moribund culture.

These arguments reveal deep differences in the worldviews of the protagonists. In order to keep scholarly work outside this community-internal debate, it is important to understand that conservatives and reformists have very different goals. Reformists are trying to *revitalize* written Cham by making it closer to the spoken language, while conservatives are trying to *preserve* classical writing in its original form. While these goals conflict in Eastern Cham society, this functional dichotomy does not hold in all language commu-

nities. Many languages on the planet are able to maintain a rich and diversified written production with scripts that have long since stopped being phonemic (English, French), or even with written languages that reflect H varieties that are very divergent from the colloquial language (Arabic dialects, Swiss German). Further, the Chinese example proves beyond any doubt that a society can be highly literate even with a writing system that is only very loosely phonetic. However, these writing systems are all promoted by the state in societies that have a certain level of economic development. Eastern Cham society, on the other hand, does not possess the political autonomy or economic resources that would allow the promotion of a relatively complex classical script and of a divergent H variety. The financial resources that are currently available for the training of first-language teachers and the development of educational materials are too scant to allow the efficient teaching of a complex written language. To make things worse, publications in Cham are tightly controlled, and even without these political controls, it is unlikely that the Chams themselves would be able to pull together the resources to publish sufficient written materials (books, magazines, newspapers) to foster a real literate culture.

In short, Cham language planners have to take into account some basic practical facts when developing their policies. First, the gap between the spoken L variety and the written language has become so wide that it is now very difficult to teach the latter in the short time allocated to Cham language education in primary schools. Moreover, the script itself is difficult to acquire: few Cham pupils develop any real reading fluency, even with relatively basic texts. Second, for lack of practice, most Cham youngsters start forgetting written Cham as soon as they leave primary and middle school. Therefore, taking into account the limited resources available for teaching, it is imperative to achieve a balance between preservation and revitalization.

Given how difficult it is for Eastern Cham children to learn the H variety (to which they are rarely exposed outside school) and the nonphonemic nature of classical writing, it seems unrealistic to think that the community, with its limited resources, could simultaneously preserve an unreformed version of written Cham and achieve wide-scale literacy. Of course, a few gifted and motivated children will always manage to master the intricacies of the classical script and develop the ability to read old manuscripts and inscriptions, but overall, most children would fail to learn a conservative script (in fact, most children even fail to learn the current standardized version of *akhăr thrah*). As a result, the necessary critical mass required to impose Cham as the written medium in the community would not be reached, and Vietnamese would remain the written language of the overwhelming majority of Cham speakers. This in turn would favor the increasing introduction of Vietnamese lexical and structural borrowings in the language, which could eventually threaten the very existence of the language. In practical terms, this option comes down to reverting to the pre-1978 situation: only a handful of intellectuals mastered written Cham, which had no immediate or practical purposes. Written Cham was a prestigious, but relatively useless language, with a role similar to Latin or Greek in Western countries in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Of course, current attempts to revitalize written Cham through spelling reform and standardization also face problems. First, there is the issue of diglossia. At the moment, the CSCS is trying to make the *akhăr thrah* phonologically similar to the H variety. This is a positive step towards improving the learnability of the script, but pupils still have to

learn to produce distinctions that they rarely (or never) hear in everyday L speech, like unstressed nonfinal syllables and the contrast between final /-l/, /-r/ and /-n/. A radical approach in which writing would be based on the L variety would simplify first-language education, but judging from the unanimously negative reactions to this suggestion, this solution currently has no chance of being accepted by the community. This is because the L variety is devoid of prestige and seen as a degraded form of the "proper" language, as in all diglossic societies.

The second issue is the script itself: from a purely objective point of view, the time allocated to the first-language education program is so limited that most pupils barely learn the symbols making up the Cham alphabet. Like other Indic scripts, *akhăr thrah* is not purely linear, a factor that seems to slow down learning. More adequate teaching methods could probably solve this issue easily (after all, similar Indic scripts are taught successfully), but since all Cham children have to learn the Vietnamese version of the roman script (*quốc ngữ*), using a roman-based script could be an effective way of developing first-language literacy. Unfortunately, as two Summer Institute of Linguistics linguists (Doris and David Blood) noted in the 1960s, the community is unanimously opposed to romanization, which is perceived at best as a loss of cultural heritage, and at worse as an attempt at Vietnamization (Blood 1980).

This discussion of the contradiction between preservation and revitalization highlights the fact that the success of any attempt to reform written Cham is inextricably linked to social attitudes and language ideology. In fact, successful language reforms often occur during periods of rapid political and social change. Examples in Asia include the romanization of Indonesian, Turkish, and Vietnamese that accompanied social reformation movements, the post-independence spelling reform of Indonesian (1947), and the simplification of Chinese characters in revolutionary China (1956). In order to successfully reform their written language, the Cham will first have to accept trading some elements of their past for a modernization of their culture as a whole.

New technologies might have an indirect effect on the use of written Cham, although it is still difficult to measure their impact. First, the proliferation of internet cafes throughout Vietnam means that most young Chams now have access to computers and use them to communicate with friends in Vietnam and abroad. Chatting is especially popular, as is text messaging on cell phones. Although young Chams usually chat in Vietnamese, their dominant written language, messages sent to Cham friends and relatives are occasionally written in Cham. Since computers and cell phones are not normally equipped with Cham fonts, these messages are typed in an ad hoc romanization based on Vietnamese spelling conventions. These messages currently being the only type of non-academic written communication in Eastern Cham, they might have a certain impact and could pave the road for a change in attitude towards romanization. On the other hand, now that Cham fonts have been developed by the CSCS and similar fonts are being assigned Unicode characters by the International Standardization Organization (codes U+AA00 to U+AA5F), young Chams could start using some version of *akhăr thrah* for electronic purposes in the near future. Nevertheless, the development of *akhăr thrah* online is unlikely, because of the limited competence of young Chams in the script, and the fact that standard keyboards do not have Cham characters.

7. POSSIBLE OUTCOMES. It is not the role of an outside linguist to voice opinions or impose language planning decisions on linguistic communities. Since linguistic issues are entangled with complex sociocultural factors, consensus and compromise must emerge from the community itself. However, a linguist's knowledge of the sociolinguistic situation of other language communities, of success stories and failures in language planning, and of objective linguistic facts can help the community realize that some projects have better chances of being successful while others are doomed to failure. For this reason, I will now review a few of the possible directions for future Cham language planning, and weigh their pros and cons.

The first possibility is a conservative scenario in which the spelling reform already undertaken by the CSCS is abandoned and the script is taught in a traditional form expunged of variation. The main advantage of this scenario is that after learning the script, literate Chams could read the classical inscriptions and manuscripts with relative ease. Its major drawback is that, as the traditional script is relatively irregular and quite remote from the spoken language, it is unlikely that it can be taught effectively in the context of the limited time and financial resources allocated to first language education in Cham areas. In practice, the result would be a low literacy rate (including a high proportion of dysfunctional literacy) and a situation where the written language would be a strong cultural icon, but would not be used for any practical purpose. This is the situation that prevailed in the twentieth century before the implementation of the literacy program in 1978. While a small proportion of the male population had a decent knowledge of the script, the overwhelming majority of Cham speakers (especially women) had no access to it.

The second possibility is the stabilization of the current situation. The CSCS has implemented a few limited spelling reforms that make learning easier for pupils, but the written language is still based on the H variety and is for this reason difficult to learn in only two hours a week. As a result, literacy is still extremely limited, even after thirty years of implementation of first-language literacy programs. However, if Cham were taught more intensively, if teachers were better trained, and if spelling were regularized more systematically than it is now, some success would be possible. A limited but generalized knowledge of written Cham could be achieved, and since the discrepancies between the traditional and the reformed script are overall modest, the few highly motivated individuals who would develop real reading and writing skills could still understand the traditional script. However, it is unlikely that the Vietnamese central government would support an increase in the classroom time or financial resources allocated to the teaching of Cham. Moreover, the opposition of some conservative intellectuals (who are actively mobilizing less educated elders) to any spelling reforms is undermining the efforts of the CSCS and further hindering the success of its moderate reformist program.

The third scenario is a radical reform based on *akhăr thrah*. The script could be greatly simplified and phonemicized. For example, the merged codas /-l/, /-r/, and /-n/ could be written with a single symbol. More boldly, H could be abandoned and a new writing system based on the L variety could be developed, as has been done in some diglossic communities (for example, Greece and, to a lesser extent, Haiti). The major advantage of such an approach would be to facilitate learning. The script could be taught effectively in two hours per week and could then be widely used for written communications (one could even imagine the development of Cham newspapers and magazines). Further, as it would

use pre-existing *akhăr thrah* symbols, a radically reformed script could preserve some of the symbolic functions of the traditional script and be used for electronic purposes thanks to already available Cham fonts.

This solution would also face a few problems. First, it would become very difficult for Cham readers to understand classical inscriptions and manuscripts without additional training. However, very few people have any real need for reading these texts, and this loss of intelligibility would be largely compensated for by the possibility of developing a modern written culture. A more serious issue would be the choice of a variety to be used as the standard across Eastern Cham communities. Even within Ninh Thuận and Bình Thuận provinces, some phonemes are pronounced differently from village to village, which could cause important divisions in the language community if factions were unwilling to accept compromise. Moreover, as there are a few salient pronunciation differences between genders (Blood 1961, Brunelle 2005b), standardization by male intellectuals could lead to further depreciation of female speech. Finally, opposition to a radical reform by intellectuals and elders, and possibly by large segments of the community, would likely be strong, thus preventing its implementation.

The last possible scenario is the abandonment of *akhăr thrah* and its replacement by a different script. This is unlikely in the short term, as it would entail losing an important ethnocultural symbol, but it could have important advantages, depending on the script adopted to replace *akhăr thrah.* A roman-based script, for example, would be very easy to learn, especially if it is similar to Vietnamese *quốc ngữ* which is already taught to pupils in primary schools. It would also facilitate the integration and nativization of Vietnamese loanwords into Eastern Cham, which would considerably modify the outlook of the written language, but might now be unavoidable due to the high proportion of such words in the spoken Cham lexicon. A roman-based script could easily be used on computers; printing and publishing would be facilitated, as well. Further, romanization would likely be supported by the Vietnamese government. A romanized script could have two additional advantages. First, the number of hours spent learning the script itself would be greatly reduced, and the classroom time thus saved could be used to teach children the differences between the H and L varieties. If diglossia is deemed culturally important by the community, this could be an opportunity to maintain and reinforce it. More marginally, a relatively conservative roman-based spelling would highlight similarities between Eastern Cham and other Chamic languages written in roman-based alphabets (Rhade, Jarai, Haroi), which could lead to the development of a shared "Chamic" identity. In the end, romanization is likely to be perceived as Vietnamization and to meet strong resistance, but if it would foster widespread literacy, its advantages could eventually be recognized.

8. CONCLUSION. The successful establishment of a written Eastern Cham standard must take into account purely linguistic elements, but also a number of ethnocultural and sociolinguistic factors. The role of an outside linguist is not to make language-planning decisions, but rather to show possible paths in the light of previous experience and to highlight the advantages and pitfalls of each approach.

In this paper, it is argued that because of the limited resources allocated to the teaching of Eastern Cham, it is impossible to simultaneously meet the goals of preservation and

revitalization of written Cham. Cham communities can either preserve the classical *akhăr thrah* script as an ethnocultural symbol with limited practical purposes, or undertake an orthographic reform (or even more radically, a replacement of their script) aimed at fostering widespread literacy and at reviving written Eastern Cham. Beyond a limited spelling reform, the issue of the enormous gap between the colloquial L variety and the H variety (which is more similar to the classical written language) has to be addressed by language planners.

Accepting or rejecting language planning decisions is largely dependent on language attitudes and more widely on ethnocultural ideology. Until now, the pervasive conservative ideology that depicts modern Eastern Cham culture as a decadent and impoverished remnant of former Champa has been favoring the status quo and preventing the development of a new norm. In the absence of a structured discourse on sociocultural modernization, a reversal of this tendency is improbable. The future will depend on the ability of the increasingly educated Cham youth to adapt their culture to the modern world and its new communication technologies and mass-media rather than simply to assimilate to the dominant Vietnamese culture.

References

Alieva, Natalia F. 1984. A language-union in Indo-China. *Asian and African Studies* 20:11–22.

Alieva, Natalia F. 1986. Tính biến dạng của các hình vị tiếng Chàm dưới ánh sáng của tiến trình thay đổi loại hình trong ngôn ngữ này. *Ngôn Ngữ* 1:17–20.

Alieva, Natalia F. 1991. Morphemes in contemporary spoken Cham: Qualitative and quantitative alternations. *Cahiers de Linguistique Asie Orientale* 20(2):219–229.

Alieva, Natalia F. 1994. The progress of monosyllabization in Cham as testified by field materials. In *Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics (ICAL)*, ed. by Cecilia Odé and Wim Stokhof, 541–549. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Antypa, Urania. 1994. Cham nationals overseas. In *Proceedings of the Seminar on Champa*, ed. by Đinh Tế Huỳnh, 110–120. Rancho Cordova: Southeast Asian Community Resources Center.

Aymonier, Étienne François. 1889. *Grammaire de la langue chame*. Saigon: Imprimerie coloniale.

Aymonier, Étienne François and Antoine Cabaton. 1906. *Dictionnaire cam-français*. Paris: E. Leroux.

Ban Biên Soạn Sách Chữ Chăm. 1995. *Sự Cải Tiến về Cách Viết Chữ Chăm của Ban Biên Soạn Chữ Chăm (Tỉnh Ninh Thuận)*. S. G. D. Đ. T. N. Thuận: 6.

Blood, David L. 1977. *A romanization of the Cham language in relation to the Cham script*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Blood, Doris Walker. 1961. Women's speech characteristics in Cham. *Asian Culture* 3(3-4):139–143.

Blood, Doris Walker. 1962. Reflexes of Proto-Malayo-Polynesian in Cham. *Anthropological Linguistics* 4(9):11–20.

Blood, Doris Walker. 1980. The script as a cohesive factor in Cham society. In *Notes from Indochina on ethnic minority cultures*, Summer Institute of Linguistics Museum of Anthropology Publication 6, ed. by Marilyn J. Gregerson and Dorothy M. Thomas, 35–44. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics Museum of Anthropology.

Brunelle, Marc. 2005a. Register and tone in Eastern Cham: Evidence from a word game. *Mon-Khmer Studies* 35:121–132.

Brunelle, Marc. 2005b. *Register in Eastern Cham: Phonological, phonetic and sociolinguistic approaches*. PhD diss., Cornell University.

Brunelle, Marc. In press. Diglossia and monosyllabization in Eastern Cham: A sociolinguistic study. In *Variation in indigenous minority languages*, ed. by Dennis Preston and James Stanford. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Bùi, Khánh Thế. 1996. *Ngữ Pháp Tiếng Chăm*. Hà Nội: Nhà Xuất Bản Giáo Dục.

Coedès, Georges. 1948. *Les Etats hindouisés de l'Indochine et de l'Indonésie*. Paris: Boccard.

Ferguson, Charles. 1959. Diglossia. *Word* 15:325–337.

Fishman, Joshua. A. 1980. Bilingualism and biculturism as individual and as societal phenomena. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 1(1):3–15.

Gay, Bernard. 1994. New perspectives on the ethnic composition of Champa. In *Proceedings of the Seminar on Champa*, ed. by Đinh Tế Huỳnh, 43–52. Rancho Cordova: Southeast Asia Community Resource Center.

General Statistics Office of Vietnam. 1999. Population as of 1 April 1999 by ethnic group and by sex. *Population and housing census, Vietnam 1999*. http://www.gso.gov.vn/default_en.aspx?tabid=476&idmid=4&ItemID=1841. Retrieved 20 April 2008.

Gordon, Raymond G., Jr. (ed.). 2005. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world, Fifteenth edition*. Dallas, TX: SIL International. Online version: http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=cja.

Hoàng, Thị Châu. 1987. Hệ thống thanh điệu tiếng Chàm và các kí hiệu. *Ngôn Ngữ*.1–2:31–35.

Inrasara. 2006. *Ariya Cam*. Hồ Chí Minh City: Nhà Xuất Bản Văn Nghệ.

Inrasara. 2007. *Ý kiến xung quanh vấn đề hội thảo lịch sử và chữ viết Chăm*. Ms.

Lee, Ernest W. 1966. *Proto-Chamic phonologic word and vocabulary*. PhD diss., Indiana University.

Lee, Ernest W. 1974. Southeast Asian areal features in Austronesian strata of the Chamic Languages. *Oceanic Linguistics* 13:643–668.

Lộ, Minh Trai. 2007. *Sự Cải Tiến về Cách Viết Chữ Chăm của Ban Biên Soạn Sách Chữ Chăm Tỉnh Ninh Thuận*. B. B. S. S. C. Chăm**:** 17.

Majumdar, R. C. 1927. *Champa: History and culture of an Indian colonial kingdom in the Far East, 2nd-16th Century A.D*. Delhi: Gian Publishing House.

Mak, Phoen. 1994. The Cham community in Cambodia from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. In *Proceedings of the Seminar on Champa*, ed. by Đinh Tế Huỳnh, 76–86. Rancho Cordova: Southeast Asian Community Resource Center.

Maspéro, Georges. 1928. *La royaume de Champa*. Paris and Brussels: G. Van Oest.

Moussay, Gérard. 1971. *Dictionnaire cam-vietnamien-français*. Phan Rang: Trung-tâm Văn hóa Chàm.

Moussay, Gérard. 2006. *Grammaire de la langue cam*. Paris: Les Indes Savantes.

Nakamura, Rie. 1999. *Cham in Vietnam: Dynamics of ethnicity*. PhD diss., University of Washington.

Népote, Jacques. 2004. *Entre hinterland et réseaux maritimes: Élements d'une histoire du Champa de la fin de la préhistoire à nos jours avec un développement particulier pour la période comprise entre le XVe et le XVIIIe siècles*. Ms.

Phú, Văn Hẳn. 1991. Chữ Viết cûa Người Chăm ở Việt Nam. *Tặp Chí Khoa Học Xã Họi* vi (10):92–99.

Phú, Văn Hẳn. 1992. Tiếng Chàm Châu Đốc Phương Ngữ Chăm ở Nam Bộ. In Kinh Tế, Văn Hoá Dân Tộc Chăm, 64–68. Thành Phố Hồ Chí Minh: Bộ Giáo Dục Đào Tạo, Viện Đào Tạo Mở Rộng.

Phú, Văn Hẳn. 2002. Ngôn Ngữ Chăm ở Thành Phố Hồ Chí Minh. In Bảo Tôn và Phát Huy Di Sản Văn Hoá Phi Vật Thể trên Địa Bản Thành Phố Hồ Chí Minh, ed. by Phan Xuân Biên, 128–138. Thành Phố Hồ Chí Minh: Nhà xuất bản trẻ.

Phú, Văn Hẳn. 2006. *Akhar Thrah với việc cải tiến của Ban Biên Soạn Sách Chữ Chăm***:** 8.

Platt, John T. 1977. A model for polyglossia and multilingualism (with special reference to Singapore and Malaysia). *Language in Society* 6:361–378.

Po, Dharma. 1987. *Le Panduranga (Campa) 1802–1835*. Paris: Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient.

Po, Dharma. 1991. Le déclin du Campa entre le XVIe et le XIXe siècle. *Le Campa et le Monde Malais*. 47–64. Paris: Publications du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisations de la Péninsule Indochinoise.

Po, Dharma. 2006. Vấn đề ngôn ngữ và chữ viết Chăm sau năm 1975. *Harak Champaka* 12: 5–13.

Po, Dharma, Georges Moussay, and Karim Abdul. 1997. *Akayet Inra Patra = Hikayat Inra Patra*. Kuala Lumpur: Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia dengan kerjasama l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient.

Po, Dharma, Georges Moussay, and Karim Abdul. 1998. *Akayet Dowa Mano = Hikayat Dowa Mano*. Kuala Lumpur: Perpustakaan Negara Malaysia dengan kerjasama l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient.

Sidwell, Paul. 2004. *The origins of the Chamic lexicon: Lexification and back-borrowing into Mon-Khmer languages*. Paper presented at the 14th annual meeting of the South-east Asian Linguistic Society, Bangkok.

Thomas, David. D. 1987. A 19th century perception of Chamic relationships. *Mon Khmer Studies* 16–17:181–182.

Thurgood, Graham. 1996. Language contact and the directionality of internal drift: The development of tones and registers in Chamic. *Language* 72(1):1–31.

Thurgood, Graham. 1998. Austronesian and Mon-Khmer components in the Proto Chamic vowel system. In *Papers in Southeast Asian linguistics no.15: Further Chamic studies*, ed. by David Thomas, 61–90. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics - Series A.

Thurgood, Graham. 1999. *From ancient Cham to modern dialects : Two thousand years of language contact and change*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Marc Brunelle
mbrunell@uottawa.ca