

Phonological and Lexical Change in *Kudangan*: Implications for Mother-Tongue-Based Education in Central Kalimantan

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ABSTRACT

This study examines phonological and lexical change in Kudangan, a minority language spoken by the Dayak Tomun community in Central Kalimantan. As a lesser-documented Austronesian variety facing increasing pressure from dominant languages, linguistic description is important both for documentation and for supporting regional language education. Therefore, this study aims to describe patterns of phonological and lexical change in Kudangan and to explore their implications for mother-tongue-based regional language learning. This research employs a qualitative linguistic approach. Data were collected through purposive sampling involving community elders and fluent speakers using semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and lexical elicitation. Phonological analysis was conducted through segmental comparison and rule-based description, while lexical change was analyzed in terms of morphological restructuring and semantic shift. The findings reveal systematic sound correspondences and patterned lexical variation, including vowel modification (e.g., /air/ → /arai/) and the addition of final consonants (e.g., /hujan/ → /hujant/), alongside lexical variation reflecting sociocultural meaning and language contact. These results indicate that Kudangan maintains an internally coherent phonological and lexical system despite external linguistic pressure and provide an empirical foundation for developing culturally responsive teaching materials to support regional language education and long-term language maintenance.

1. INTRODUCTION

Central Kalimantan is characterized by substantial ethnolinguistic diversity, encompassing languages spoken by the Dayak, Malay, Banjar, and several other subgroups within the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian family. Basic descriptive studies document the distribution, classification, and structural characteristics of the regional languages of Kalimantan and Central Kalimantan, including Ngaju, Bakumpai, and related varieties, thereby establishing an important basis for further linguistic investigation (Cense & Uhlenbeck, 1958; Hudson, 1967; Ibrahim, 1979; Adelaar, 1992). Although Indonesian increasingly dominates formal and urban communication, local languages remain actively used in intra-community interactions and continue to encode cultural identity, social organization, and ecological knowledge. Contemporary scholars emphasize that such minority languages are crucial sites for studying phonological variation, lexical change, and language contact within endangered linguistic ecosystems and shifting sociolinguistic environments (Austin & Sallabank, 2021; Hinton & Hale, 2023; Simons & Fennig, 2024). Recent studies in variationist phonology and sociolinguistics demonstrate that phonological variation and lexical restructuring are not random deviations but systematic processes shaped by social interaction and identity formation.

Research shows that sound change often follows patterned distributions across speech communities and reflects sociolinguistic meaning rather than purely structural change (Adger & Smith, 2022; Beck & Hall, 2021; Hay & Sampson, 2023; Tagliamonte, 2020; Labov, 2021). Within Austronesian linguistics, phonological correspondences and lexical variation among closely related varieties have also been widely used to explain historical diffusion, dialect differentiation, and contact-induced change (Blust, 2013; Boersma & Hamann, 2020; Johnson & Newman, 2022). Furthermore, recent studies in multilingual and mother-tongue-based education emphasize that documenting authentic phonological systems and lexical resources of local communities contributes significantly to literacy development, inclusive language pedagogy, and sustainable language maintenance (Cenoz & Gorter, 2023; García & Wei, 2021; Hove & Siegruhn, 2024; UNESCO, 2022; Zeyer & Kim, 2023).

Despite these advances, research on languages in Central Kalimantan has largely focused on major regional languages, while linguistic variation in smaller communities remains insufficiently examined. Earlier regional surveys mainly addressed language classification and distribution, but they often lack detailed analysis of systematic phonological patterns, structured lexical change, and their implications for contemporary multilingual education. Consequently, an important research gap persists regarding how phonological and lexical change operates in small Austronesian-speaking communities and how such linguistic knowledge can contribute to minority language maintenance and culturally responsive education (Grenoble & Whaley, 2022; Hollmann, 2024; Nickerson et al., 2024; Westheim, 2025; D & Susanti, 2025). One example of this underexplored variation is Kudangan, spoken by the Dayak Tomun community in Lamandau Regency. Historically influenced by interactions between local Dayak groups and Malay-influenced migration networks (Sellato, 1980), Kudangan represents a linguistic system where phonological modification, lexical innovation, and socio-cultural identity intersect. However, existing references remain fragmented and have not yet provided systematic phonological descriptions, structured lexical analyses, or clear connections to educational applications. This gap limits both theoretical understanding of Austronesian micro-variation and practical efforts to support minority language preservation within regional education contexts (Sulistiyono, 2025). Therefore, this study seeks to examine the systematic phonological correspondence and processes that characterize the Kudangan language; to analyze how lexical variation and semantic shifts are structured in the sociocultural practices of its speakers, and to explore how phonological and lexical documentation can inform mother tongue-based regional language education and long-term language preservation. By integrating qualitative linguistic field data with contemporary perspectives in variation phonology, language contact, and multilingual education, this research provides empirical documentation of a poorly described Austronesian language variation and advances conceptual understanding of phonological and lexical change in marginalized multilingual environments. To address these objectives, the study is guided by the following research questions: (1) What systematic phonological correspondences and phonological processes characterize the Kudangan language? (2) How are lexical variations and semantic shifts structured within the sociocultural practices of Kudangan speakers? (3) How can phonological and lexical documentation of Kudangan contribute to the development of mother tongue-based regional language education and long-term language preservation?

2. METHODS

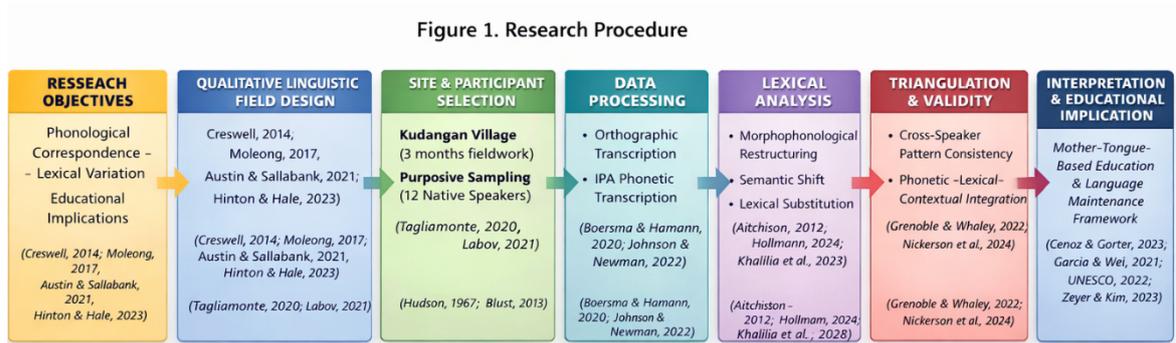
This study aims to describe and analyze the linguistic situation of the Dayak Tomun community in Kudangan Village, Delang District, Lamandau Regency, with a particular emphasis

on the phonological and lexical structure of the Kudangan language and its implications for mother tongue-based regional language education. A qualitative linguistic field research design was used to capture speech patterns that arise naturally in their sociocultural context while also enabling systematic phonological and lexical analysis. Qualitative investigation is particularly suitable for investigating language use, meaning, and community knowledge in natural situations (Creswell, 2014; Moleong, 2017), while contemporary linguistic field research emphasizes the integration of sociocultural observation with structured phonetic documentation in minority language research (Austin & Sallabank, 2021; Hinton & Hale, 2023). Field research was conducted continuously for three months in Kudangan Village. Data was obtained from twelve native speakers who were selected through purposive sampling to ensure linguistic competence, generational representation, and in-depth socio-cultural knowledge of the Kudangan-speaking community. Participants included community elders, traditional leaders, and adult speakers who were fluent in Kudangan, actively used Kudangan in daily interactions, and identified it as their mother tongue. This deliberate selection of participants is widely recognized in qualitative and sociolinguistic research as important for capturing authentic linguistic competence in small speech communities (Tagliamonte, 2020; Labov, 2021).

Primary linguistic data were collected through semi-structured interviews recorded with audio, participant observation of spontaneous conversations, and controlled lexical elicitation based on a modified basic vocabulary list adapted from Austronesian comparative tradition and lexicostatistics (Hudson, 1967; Blust, 2013). High-quality digital recordings enabled detailed phonetic examination. All speech data were first transcribed orthographically and then converted into phonetic transcriptions using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to support segmental comparison and systematic sound correspondence identification. The use of IPA-based transcription and repeated listening procedures follows established standards in phonetic and documentary linguistics to ensure the accuracy of analysis and reproducibility (Boersma & Hamann, 2020; Johnson & Newman, 2022). Phonological analysis applies a rule-based descriptive framework combined with comparative segmental analysis to identify recurring processes such as vowel modification, consonant addition, deletion, assimilation, and glottalization. Patterned correspondences are examined among speakers and compared with Standard Indonesian and related regional language varieties to distinguish common sound changes from lexical substitutions or performance variations. Such variation and comparative procedures are central to contemporary models of sound change and sociophonological structure (Adger & Smith, 2022; Hay & Sampson, 2023). Lexical analysis focuses on morphological restructuring, semantic shifts, synonym distribution, and culturally specific lexical domains, reflecting the current approach that treats lexical change as socially embedded and structurally patterned, rather than incidental semantic shifts (Aitchison, 2012; Hollmann, 2024; Khalilia et al., 2023). Data credibility and analytical validity are ensured through triangulation that integrates phonetic evidence, lexical data, and observed sociolinguistic usage. Rather than relying solely on cultural testimony, linguistic claims are supported by recurring phonological patterns across multiple speakers and recording sessions. Repeated comparisons between transcriptions, acoustic realizations, and contextual meanings reinforce the reliability of interpretations, consistent with best practices in endangered language documentation and multilingual field research (Grenoble & Whaley, 2022; Nickerson et al., 2024).

Through this integrated qualitative-linguistic methodology, this study provides a systematic and empirically grounded explanation of phonological and lexical changes in Kudangan while building a reliable linguistic foundation for culturally responsive regional language education and long-term minority language maintenance in Central Kalimantan (Cenoz & Gorter, 2023; García & Wei, 2021; UNESCO, 2022; Zeyer & Kim, 2023). The overall procedural framework of the study

is summarized in Figure 1 to clarify the sequential integration of fieldwork, linguistic analysis, triangulation, and educational interpretation.



3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

RESULTS

To address the research questions formulated in the introduction, the findings are organized into three analytical themes that correspond to the core domains of the study: the systematic phonological correspondences that characterize the Kudangan language, the restructuring of lexical forms and their sociocultural meanings in community use, and the implications of phonological and lexical documentation for mother tongue-based regional language education and minority language preservation. The empirical basis of the analysis is summarized in Table 1, which compiles the principal phonological and lexical correspondences identified through field recordings, elicitation sessions, and community interviews. Rather than serving merely as a descriptive inventory, the table functions as linguistic evidence that is subsequently interpreted through phonological and sociolinguistic analysis.

Table 1. *The Phonological and Lexical aspects*

Aspect	Types of Changes	Examples	Explanation
Phonology	Phonem Substitution	"abu" → "habu"	Addition of [h] at the beginning of a word for phonetic differentiation
		"air" → "arai"	Change of vowel [i] to diphthong [ai]
		"debu" → "dobu"	Substitution of [e] with [o], reflects the shift from front central to back central vowel.
	Addition of Phonemes	"hujan" → "hujant"	Addition of the consonant [t] at the end of a word
		"bulan" → "bulan't"	Addition of glottalization [ʔ] or consonant [t]
	Phoneme Deletion	"burung" → "burungk"	Addition of glottalization [ʔ] or consonant [t]
	Phoneme Deletion	"engkau" → "kulo"	The loss of the initial phoneme [eŋ], leaving the middle of the word

	"tipis" → "lipis"	Loss of the consonant [t] at the beginning of a word
Sound Assimilation	"asap" → "ansap"	The addition of [n] to ease the articulatory transition
	"ikan" → "ikant"	The addition of [t] at the end of a word is influenced by local sound patterns.
	"berjalan" → "bojalan"	Changes in the prefix morpheme "ber-" and vowels in basic words
Morphological Changes	"bakar" → "cucul"	More significant changes in word form
	"berat" → "borat"	Changes in mid vowels
	"baik" → "boi"	Shift in meaning or nuance in its use
Semantic Change	"baru" → "boharu"	Differences in pronunciation related to meaning or nuance
	"cuci" → "basu'i"	Changes in meaning in cultural context or word usage
	"istri" → "bini"	Formal versus informal terms
Synonyms and Word Variations	"ikan" → "ikant"	Phonological variations and perhaps also differences in word usage
	"berjalan" → "bojalan"	Addition of affixes or changes in pronunciation
Addition of Affixes or Accentuation	"buru" → "boburu"	Phonological changes and the addition of strengthening morphemes in dialects

4.1 Phonological Correspondences and Phonological Processes in Kudangan

This section addresses the first research question concerning the systematic phonological correspondences and phonological processes that characterize the Kudangan language. Reexamination of the phonological correspondences presented in Table 1 indicates that variation between Kudangan and Standard Indonesian is governed by patterned segmental restructuring rather than simple substitution, addition, or deletion. Several forms previously described as vowel shift are more accurately interpreted as metathesis accompanied by diphthongization, particularly *air* → *arai*, where segmental reordering and glide formation jointly account for the observed structure. Likewise, the emergence of final consonants in forms such as *hujan* → *hujant*, *ikan* → *ikant*, and *burung* → *burungk* reflects systematic word-final fortition or glottal reinforcement, a recurrent phonological tendency rather than optional phoneme insertion. Re-examination of the phonological correspondences presented in Table 1 indicates that variation between Kudangan and Standard Indonesian is governed by patterned segmental restructuring rather than simple

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Across the dataset, three recurring phonological tendencies emerge: restructuring of vowel sequences through metathesis and diphthongization, systematic strengthening in word-final position, and constrained consonant correspondence across lexical items. The repetition of these patterns across speakers confirms that Kudangan possesses an internally coherent phonological subsystem rather than sporadic dialectal deviation. Interview testimony from elders and fluent speakers reinforces this structural interpretation. Statements such as “*memang sejak dulu orang tua kami mengucapkan begitu, itu bahasa Kudangan yang sebenarnya*” indicate communal recognition of forms like *arai* and *hujant* as inherited pronunciations. At the same time, observations that younger speakers increasingly omit final consonant reinforcement reveal an incipient intergenerational shift toward Indonesian phonology, especially within formal educational environments. Field observation confirms that traditional phonological realizations remain strongest in family interaction, ritual discourse, and informal community gatherings, demonstrating that Kudangan phonology is socially embedded and functionally meaningful.

4.2 Lexical Variation and Sociocultural Meaning in Kudangan

This section addresses the second research question concerning how lexical variation and semantic shifts are structured within the sociocultural practices of Kudangan speakers. The lexical correspondences summarized in Table 1 reveal that divergence from Standard Indonesian frequently involves morphophonological restructuring and sociocultural substitution, not merely phonological alteration. Forms such as *berjalan* → *bojalan* and *berat* → *borat* reflect prefixal reduction combined with vowel adjustment, indicating patterned morphophonological processes within the verbal and adjectival system. The lexical correspondences summarized in Table 1 reveal that divergence from Standard Indonesian frequently involves morphophonological restructuring and sociocultural substitution, not merely phonological alteration. Forms such as *berjalan* → *bojalan* and *berat* → *borat* reflect prefixal reduction combined with vowel adjustment, indicating patterned morphophonological processes within the verbal and adjectival system. By contrast, pairs such as *bakar* → *cucul* and *istri* → *bini* constitute lexical replacement shaped by cultural preference, register differentiation, or historical borrowing. Semantic specialization is also evident. The use of *boi* in relation to *baik* signals context-bound evaluative meaning, while expressive formations such as *boburu* function as discourse-intensifying morphology in oral narrative traditions. Interview data confirm the sociocultural depth of these forms, as reflected in the statement that such vocabulary feels “*lebih dekat dengan kehidupan kami dibandingkan bahasa Indonesia.*” At the same time, elders report decreasing use of traditional vocabulary among younger speakers due to schooling and administrative interaction dominated by Indonesian, indicating gradual lexical shift under language dominance. Observational evidence shows that culturally embedded lexical items are most actively preserved in ritual speech, storytelling, and

family discourse rather than formal learning spaces. These findings demonstrate that lexical variation in Kudangan operates as a carrier of identity, intimacy, and cultural knowledge.

4.3 Implications for Mother-Tongue-Based Education and Language Preservation

This section addresses the third research question concerning how phonological and lexical documentation of Kudangan can contribute to the development of mother tongue-based regional language education and long-term language preservation. Because the phonological correspondences documented in Table 1 follow predictable structural regularities, they provide a reliable empirical foundation for orthographic development, pronunciation modeling, and literacy support in regional language education. Because the phonological correspondences documented in Table 1 follow predictable structural regularities, they provide a reliable empirical foundation for orthographic development, pronunciation modeling, and literacy support in mother-tongue-based regional education. Accurate identification of metathesis, diphthongization, and word-final consonant reinforcement is particularly crucial for preventing unstable spelling conventions and ineffective pedagogical materials. At the lexical level, culturally embedded vocabulary and expressive morphology indicate that regional language education must incorporate semantic, narrative, and identity-bearing dimensions of language, rather than focusing solely on phonological form. Community concern regarding potential language loss expressed in remarks such as *“jika tidak diajarkan di sekolah atau kepada anak-anak, bahasa ini bisa hilang dalam beberapa generasi”* highlights the urgency of linking linguistic documentation with school-based transmission and intergenerational learning. Overall, the combined phonological, lexical, and sociolinguistic evidence demonstrates that Kudangan maintains systematic linguistic organization and strong cultural relevance, while simultaneously experiencing pressure from dominant language use in formal education. Consequently, rigorous documentation of phonological and lexical change constitutes not only a descriptive linguistic contribution but also a foundational step toward sustainable regional language education and long-term minority language preservation in Central Kalimantan.

DISCUSSION

These findings require interpretation beyond a mere descriptive confirmation of phonological and lexical variation. Rather than simply describing general principles of sound change, the Kudangan data contribute to a more specific understanding of how structured phonological reorganization operates within marginalized Austronesian-speaking communities that experience continuous contact with the dominant national language. The recurrent processes identified in this study's metathesis, accompanied by diphthongization, conditioned vowel support, and systematic word-final arrangement, indicate that Kudangan phonology reflects restructuring governed by rules within a stable segmental system, rather than unintentional dialectal fluctuations. Internally constrained yet socially embedded changes align with contemporary models of variation phonology (Adger & Smith, 2022; Boersma & Hamann, 2020; Hay & Sampson, 2023), while the consistency of correspondence across speakers supports an interpretation at the level of community phonological norms rather than individual performance (Johnson & Newman, 2022; Tagliamonte, 2020). When placed within the Austronesian typology, the evidence from Kudangan refines existing generalizations. Austronesian languages are widely reported to exhibit vowel alternations, consonant lenition or fortition, and morphophonemic restructuring (Blust, 2013; Sulistyono, 2025). However, the configurations observed here, particularly the interaction of metathesis, diphthong formation, and final consonant strengthening, indicate a path of local stabilization shaped by multilingual contact rather than inheritance alone. This indicates that Austronesian minority varieties can maintain systemic coherence through the reorganization of phonological contrasts into

socially recognizable patterns, thereby preserving both clarity and identity. Such micro-level evidence adds nuance to typological discussions that often privilege large comparative data sets while overlooking structurally meaningful variations in small communities.

Lexical restructuring deepens this interpretation by showing that phonological stability coexists with lexical flexibility. The coexistence of morphophonological reduction, semantic specialization, and full lexical replacement shows that lexical change in Kudangan is not secondary to phonological processes, but forms an independent adaptive layer that responds to sociocultural interactions. Cross-linguistic research confirms that lexical innovation often encodes cultural categorization, kinship relations, and interactional meaning (Gfeller et al., 2025; Khalilia et al., 2023), while research on marginalized bilingual communities highlights morphosyntactic and semantic adaptations as markers of identity negotiation under external linguistic pressure (Hollmann, 2024; Johnson & Newman, 2022). Therefore, Kudangan exemplifies a dual maintenance mechanism in which phonological regularity preserves structural continuity while lexical changes accommodate evolving social meanings. This interaction has broader implications for theories of language endangerment and resilience. Documentation scholarship consistently emphasizes systematic descriptions of phonology and lexicon as the basis for preservation and revitalization (Austin & Sallabank, 2021; Grenoble & Whaley, 2022; Hinton & Hale, 2023). The case of Kudangan demonstrates a more specific mechanism: structural regularity itself can function as a sociolinguistic resource, enabling speakers to recognize authenticity even amid the increasing dominance of Indonesian. A global survey on the acceleration of language loss (Simons & Fennig, 2024) thus finds a concrete micro-level illustration in Kudangan, where intergenerational reduction in final consonant strengthening and traditional vocabulary signifies a recent shift without total structural erosion. This transitional stage is theoretically important because it represents a window of opportunity where revitalization is still possible. Therefore, the interpretation of education must move beyond policy rhetoric towards an empirically based relationship between linguistic structure and learning processes. Research in multilingual and mother tongue-based education shows increased literacy and identity formation when instruction reflects the phonology and vocabulary of authentic communities (Cenoz & Gorter, 2023; García & Wei, 2021; UNESCO, 2022; Hove & Siegruhn, 2024; Zeyer & Kim, 2023). Kudangan's findings provide a micro-structural explanation for these results: predictable phonological correspondences support orthographic stability and phonological awareness, while culturally embedded lexical systems maintain semantic relevance in educational interactions. Therefore, psycholinguistic evidence linking phonological awareness to multilingual literacy (Nickerson et al., 2024) gains empirical grounding in specific minority sound systems, rather than remaining an abstract pedagogical principle.

Recent intervention and revitalization studies further show that the sustainable preservation of minority languages depends on the integration of community knowledge, linguistic documentation, and educational practices (Westheim, 2025; D & Susanti, 2025). Kudangan empirically reinforces this relationship by showing that phonological structure, lexical meaning, and intergenerational transmission operate as mutually reinforcing dimensions of language sustainability, rather than as separate domains. Therefore, phonological and lexical analysis should be interpreted not only as descriptive documentation but also as the identification of structural preconditions that enable pedagogical revitalization. At the same time, the scientific contribution of this research must be positioned with analytical caution. The most concrete achievement at present lies in the initial documentation of phonological and lexical variation localized in under-described Austronesian minority languages. Although such basic documentation is essential for future comparative research and revitalization (Austin & Sallabank, 2021; Grenoble & Whaley, 2022; Hinton & Hale, 2023), this research has not yet produced a new theoretical model of phonological change, nor has it proposed an analytical framework that goes beyond the case of Kudangan.

Interpretations continue to rely primarily on established perspectives in variation phonology, sociolinguistics, and Austronesian historical linguistics (Adger & Smith, 2022; Hay & Sampson, 2023; Blust, 2013), thereby limiting claims of independent theoretical innovation. Empirically, this dataset is also limited in terms of scale and comparative depth, thus limiting quantitative generalizations and typological conclusions. The absence of a large lexical corpus, acoustic phonetic measurements, or lexical-statistical modeling hinders definitive contributions to the typology of sound changes across Indonesian languages. The educational implications are also still conceptual and have not been experimentally validated, as there has been no implementation of a curriculum or assessment of learning outcomes, despite the alignment with multilingual education research (Cenoz & Gorter, 2023; García & Wei, 2021; UNESCO, 2022; Hove & Siegruhn, 2024; Zeyer & Kim, 2023).

Recognizing these limitations analytically is highly productive. By clarifying that this research is a fundamental empirical foundation, it describes a path toward future expansion involving acoustic phonetics, comparative reconstruction, large-scale lexical databases, and classroom-based intervention research. Such developments will enable Kudangan scholarship to move from descriptive documentation toward original theoretical, typological, and applied linguistic contributions. Overall, Kudangan's findings advance a cautiously limited but conceptually meaningful insight: Austronesian minority languages can maintain structural coherence through patterned phonological reorganization while simultaneously adapting lexically to sociocultural change, and these dual dynamic forms the structural basis that enables educational revitalization to occur in practice. Thus, this study does not provide a definitive theoretical model, but it does provide the empirical and analytical foundation necessary for future linguistic and educational progress in the Dayak Tomun community.

4. CONCLUSION

This study addressed three main questions concerning the phonological structure, lexical variation, and educational relevance of the Kudangan language spoken by the Dayak Tomun community in Lamandau Regency. First, the analysis demonstrates that Kudangan exhibits systematic phonological correspondences and recurring phonological processes rather than incidental dialectal variation. Patterns such as vowel restructuring through metathesis and diphthongization, word-final consonant reinforcement, and stable consonantal correspondences indicate that Kudangan maintains an internally coherent phonological subsystem that is shared across speakers and embedded in everyday communicative practices. Second, the study shows that lexical variation in Kudangan is structured through morphophonological restructuring, lexical substitution, and context-dependent semantic specialization. Forms such as prefixal modification in verbs and culturally preferred lexical replacements illustrate that lexical change operates within sociocultural practices and discourse traditions of the community. These patterns confirm that lexical variation in Kudangan functions not only as a linguistic phenomenon but also as a carrier of identity, cultural knowledge, and interpersonal meaning. Third, the findings indicate that systematic phonological and lexical documentation can contribute to the development of mother-tongue-based regional language education and long-term minority language preservation. Because the phonological patterns and culturally embedded vocabulary identified in this study form a stable linguistic system, they can provide an empirical foundation for developing orthographic conventions, pronunciation models, and culturally responsive teaching materials for regional language learning. Overall, this research contributes preliminary empirical documentation of a poorly described Austronesian language variation while providing micro-level evidence relevant to discussions of phonological stability, lexical flexibility, and early-stage language shift in

multilingual environments. Nevertheless, the study remains limited by the relatively small dataset, the absence of acoustic phonetic measurements, and the lack of direct educational implementation. Future research should therefore expand toward comparative Austronesian analysis, a broader lexical corpus, phonetic instrumentation, and the integration of Kudangan language materials into classroom-based mother tongue education. Despite these limitations, the present findings establish an essential empirical basis linking linguistic structure, cultural transmission, and education-oriented language maintenance, positioning Kudangan as a promising site for continued linguistic and pedagogical research in Central Kalimantan.

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