

Multilingual Education

David Deterding
Salbrina Sharbawi

Brunei English

A New Variety in a Multilingual Society

 Springer

Brunei English

MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION

VOLUME 4

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ISSN 2213-3208

ISBN 978-94-007-6346-3

DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-6347-0

Springer Dordrecht Heidelberg New York London

ISSN 2213-3216 (electronic)

ISBN 978-94-007-6347-0 (eBook)

Library of Congress Control Number: 2013935619

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Conventions in the Transcriptions

Int	the speech of the interviewer (the first author for the UBDCSBE interviews, and the second author for the interview with Umi)
Umi	the speech of Umi
F22	the speech of F22 from the UBDCSBE interviews
{f22-int:35}	an extract starting 35 s from the start of the interview with F22
50	in the transcript for Umi, the time in seconds from the start of the file is shown in the left hand column
((laughs))	non-linguistic sound
((tsk))	alveolar click, sometimes transcribed as ‘tut-tut’
(.)	short pause (less than 0.5 s)
(2.3)	longer pause (duration in seconds given)
,	intonational phrase break where there is no pause
s-	incomplete word
word:	elongated word
WORD	unexpected emphasis (But note: use of capital ‘I’ for the first-person pronoun is adopted to follow normal orthography and does not indicate any extra emphasis on this pronoun.)
xxx	unintelligible words
<i>makan</i> (‘eat’)	non-English words (mostly Malay and occasionally Arabic) are italicised; a gloss is generally provided in brackets. (Note: in extracts from the local newspapers, we always try to present the text accurately, so italics are only used when they occur in the original text. This particularly affects the data in Chap. 6 on lexis, so the presentation in Chap. 6 differs from that in other chapters.)
{explanation}	textual explanation or elaboration
[the start of overlapping speech
↗	rising pitch
↘	falling pitch
*	an ill-formed word or sentence

Abbreviations

AL	Alternating Languages
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations (Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam)
BSB	<i>Bandar Seri Begawan</i> (the capital of Brunei)
CfBT	CfBT Education Trust (originally: Centre for British Teachers)
COCA	Corpus of Contemporary American English
DBP	<i>Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka</i> ('Language and Literature Bureau')
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
HYS	Have Your Say (a BruDirect on-line discussion forum)
ICE	International Corpus of English
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
KB	Kuala Belait
LFC	Lingua Franca Core
MIB	<i>Melayu Islam Beraja</i> ('Malay Islamic Monarchy')
MoE	Ministry of Education
PASS	passive
POSS	possessive (e.g. 'its')
RIPAS	<i>Raja Isteri Pengiran Anak Saleha</i> (a hospital in BSB)
RP	Received Pronunciation (the standard pronunciation of southern England that tends to be shown in textbooks such as Roach 2009 and reference books such as Wells 2008)
SPN21	<i>Sistem Pendidikan Negara – Abad 21</i> ('National System of Education for the 21st century')
UBD	<i>Universiti Brunei Darussalam</i> ('University of Brunei Darussalam')
UBDCSBE	UBD Corpus of Spoken Brunei English
UNISSA	<i>Universiti Islam Sultan Sharif Ali</i> (the Islamic University in Bunei, named after Sharif Ali, the first Sultan to embrace Islam)

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Brunei Darussalam is a small country located on the northern coast of the island of Borneo, about 5° north of the equator (see Fig. 1.1). The total land area is 5,765 km², and the population in 2009 was just over 406,000 (Information Department 2011).

Brunei has approximately the same land area as the county of Norfolk in the UK and it is a little smaller than the state of Delaware in the USA. It is about ten times the size of the island state of Singapore, but the population is less than one tenth that of Singapore. In fact, apart from European places such as Monaco and Liechtenstein, Brunei is the smallest non-insular country in the world, both in terms of size and population (Wikipedia 2011).

Apart from the South China Sea to the north, Brunei is entirely surrounded by the Malaysian state of Sarawak (see Fig. 1.2). The Malaysian town of Miri is just over the western border of Brunei, while Kota Kinabalu (often referred to as KK) is about 5 h drive to the east.

In fact, Brunei is divided into two parts, as the Malaysian town of Limbang and its surrounding region separate the district of Temburong from the other three districts of Brunei: Belait, Tutong, and Brunei-Muara (see Fig. 1.3). This separation into two disconnected parts is a result of the incursion of Rajah Brooke in 1890 (as is discussed in Sect. 1.1 below), and the border with Malaysia is still under dispute.

The majority of the population lives in and around the capital, Bandar Seri Begawan (often abbreviated to BSB) in the district of Brunei-Muara, though there are also medium-sized towns along the coast in the Belait district, primarily engaged in the off-shore oil drilling industry.

1.1 Brief History

There was once an ancient settlement along the Brunei River. However, the Sultanate of Brunei traces its history back to the conversion of the first Sultan to Islam in the middle of the fourteenth century, though there is some debate over this date, and Saunders (1994, p. 44) suggests the true date may be a little later.

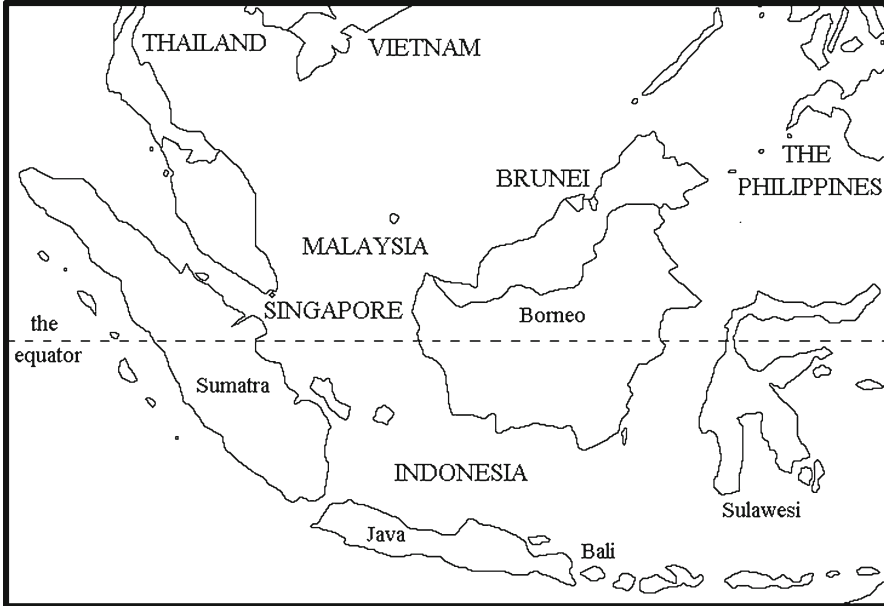


Fig. 1.1 The location of Brunei in Southeast Asia

In subsequent centuries, Brunei was an important trading post that held sway over most of northern Borneo and also the south of what is now the Philippines. In July 1521, a Spanish expedition visited Brunei, and the chronicler, an Italian called Antonio Pigafetta, was impressed with what he saw, including a substantial palace with hundreds of nobles and soldiers in attendance (Saunders 1994, p. 49).

However, by the middle of the nineteenth century, the Brunei empire had become weakened by infighting and corruption. In 1840, when there was a rebellion in the west in the region near the town of Kuching, the Sultan asked the British adventurer James Brooke to help put it down, but after successfully achieving this objective, Brooke established himself as the first ‘White Rajah’ in Kuching, and gradually he and his successor, Charles Brooke, extended their influence over more and more of the north coast of Borneo.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the land controlled by Charles Brooke extended to Miri, and the very existence of Brunei as an independent entity was threatened. In 1888, Brunei became a British protectorate, but that did not stop Brooke from continuing with his expansion, grabbing Limbang in 1890 and thereby splitting Brunei into two separate enclaves (Hussainmiya 2006, p. 22).

In 1904, the British sent Malcolm McArthur to Brunei to evaluate the situation and determine the future of Brunei. When he completed his report in 1905, he unexpectedly proposed that Brunei should continue as an independent sultanate under the guidance of a British Resident (Hussainmiya 2006). Thus began the British residency, a colonial system under which the Sultan remained the Head of State but was required to listen to the advice of the British colonial representative.



Fig. 1.2 The island of Borneo, showing some of the major towns. *BSB* Bandar Seri Begawan (the capital of Brunei), *KK* Kota Kinabalu

In 1929, oil was discovered along the coast of Belait District, and particularly after the Second World War, this produced a massive source of income for the sultanate. Today, this still provides the bulk of the income for the government.

The Japanese army invaded Brunei in 1941 and controlled the country till 1945. One effect of this was the erosion of British authority, as the British empire was no longer seen as invincible. When the British returned in 1945, there was increasing pressure for greater independence, and eventually a constitution was agreed and implemented in 1959 (Hussainmiya 2001).

One of the provisions of the constitution was for elections. When District Council elections were held in August 1962, all but one of the 55 seats were won by the radical *Partai Rakyat Brunei* (PRB, ‘Brunei People’s Party’) (Hussainmiya 1995, p. 270). The PRB soon started demanding greater power, and it launched an insurrection in December 1962. This was quickly put down with the help of British forces with some loss of life, and the constitution was suspended.

One issue at the time was whether Brunei should join together with Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and Sabah to form a unified state. Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin

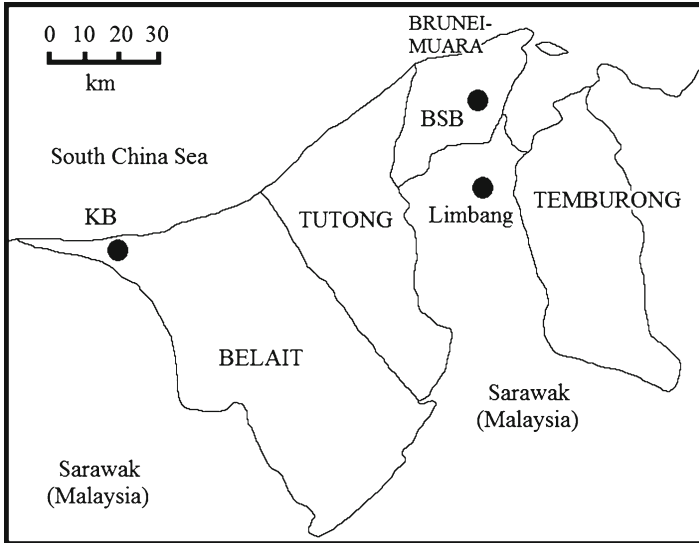


Fig. 1.3 Map showing how the area around the Malaysian town of Limbang separates Temburong from the three other districts of Brunei: Brunei-Muara, Tutong and Belait. Also shown are *BSB* (Bandar Seri Begawan) and *KB* (Kuala Belait)

III eventually decided that Brunei should retain its independence (Hussainmiya 1995). The others went ahead without Brunei and created the Federation of Malaysia in 1963, though Singapore left the federation within 2 years.

In 1967, Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin III abdicated in favour of his eldest son, Hassanal Bolkiah, who was at the time training to be a military officer at Sandhurst in England (Hussainmiya 1995, p. 362). Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah has continued as Head of State to the present day.

In 1984, Brunei gained full independence from Britain, and it continues today as a small but wealthy independent state, a member of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN).

1.2 Population

Of the 2009 population of 406,200, a total of 269,400 (66 %) are classified as Malay, 44,600 (11 %) are Chinese, and the remaining 92,200 (23 %) are labelled as ‘other minor groups’ (Information Department 2011). The final category includes the Iban, some of whom are indigenous to Borneo but not regarded as native Bruneians, as well as Indians and expatriates. Living in the Belait district, there is also a small community of Penan, the traditional forest people of Borneo, numbering just 51 individuals at the start of the 1980s (Martin and Sercombe 1996, p. 303).

The category ‘Malay’ includes seven subgroups that are regarded as *puak jati* (‘native people’): Malay, Kedayan, Belait, Tutong, Dusun, Bisaya and Murut. No current figures are available for the numbers of each of these. According to Maxwell (2002, cited in Hussainmiya and Tarling 2011, p. 151), the Kedayan, Belait, Tutong, Dusun, and Murut were all classified separately from the Malays in the 1947 census, but from the 1971 census onward, they have all been regarded as subcategories of Malay.

The Chinese originate from south China and Taiwan. Their main dialect groups are Hokkien, Hakka and Cantonese, and there are also some Hainanese, Teochew and Foochow (Dunseath 1996, p. 284). The status of ethnically Chinese people in Brunei is controversial, as there are many whose families have lived in Brunei for generations but who have not been granted Brunei citizenship. In fact, this was one of the issues that arose in the negotiations over the constitution that was eventually implemented in 1959 (Hussainmiya and Tarling 2011, p. 38). Such stateless people are referred to as ‘red IC holders’, as their identification cards are red to indicate they are permanent residents but not citizens. One obstacle to obtaining Brunei citizenship is good mastery in Malay, and only some of the Chinese in Brunei have been able to pass the exam.

Of the population of Brunei in 2009, the overwhelming majority, 283,300, live in the Brunei-Muara district, 67,100 live in the Belait district, 45,700 live in the Tutong district, and just 10,100 live in Temburong (Information Department 2011).

1.3 Languages

There are a wide range of languages spoken in Brunei (Martin and Poedjosoedarmo 1996). The official national language is Standard Malay, but the dominant lingua franca is actually Brunei Malay, a variety of Malay that is substantially different from Standard Malay in its pronunciation, lexis, and syntax (Clynes 2001). For example, in its pronunciation, Standard Malay has six vowels: /i, e, a, o, u, ə/ (Clynes and Deterding 2011), but Brunei Malay only has three: /i, a, u/; and while /h/ can occur at the start of a word in Standard Malay, this is not normal in Brunei Malay, so *hutan* (‘forest’) in Standard Malay is *utan* in Brunei Malay.

In addition, the seven groups of *puak jati* (‘native people’) each have their own language, and these can be paired together as follows: Brunei Malay is similar to Kedayan, and Martin and Poedjosoedarmo (1996, p. 7) give a figure of 94 % for lexical cognates between the two languages; Dusun is similar to Bisaya, with the level of lexical cognates being 82 %; and Belait and Tutong are also closely related. The speakers of the seventh language, Murut, mostly live in Temburong, and their language is the same as the language known as *Lun Bawang* which is spoken by many people over the border in Sarawak, Malaysia (Coluzzi 2010, p. 119).

Some of these minority languages are in danger of dying out. Belait is now almost extinct, and Tutong is under threat, though efforts to maintain it are being made by some enthusiasts, for instance by means of a dedicated blog (Noor Azam



Fig. 1.4 A sign by the side of the road in BSB, promoting the use of (Standard) Malay

2012a). The status of Murut seems to be a little more assured (Coluzzi 2010), partly because there is some support for the language across the border in Malaysia, including the provision of radio broadcasts and some printed materials.

Various dialects are spoken by the Chinese population, with Hokkien being the most common. In recent years, there has been a shift towards use of Mandarin instead of the heritage dialects, a situation that matches that of Singapore (Vaish et al. 2010, p. 175), with the result that many young people only have a passive knowledge of the language of their grandparents. In Brunei, nearly all Chinese people also have some knowledge of spoken Malay, though their ability in written Malay is often not so good.

Finally, of course, there is English. Although some older people who did not receive an extensive education have little or no knowledge of English, all young people in Brunei have a basic knowledge of the language, particularly as it is the medium of education for most subjects in upper primary and secondary schools.

Figure 1.4 shows a sign by the side of a road in the middle of BSB. It says *utamakan bahasa Melayu* ('prioritise the Malay language') in two different scripts, the Arabic-based Jawi script at the top, and the Roman script underneath. It is not clear what the main threat to the Malay language is perceived to be: the local dialect, Brunei Malay? Or English? But it does illustrate the commitment of the government to promoting the use Standard Malay, even though, as we will see in Chap. 2, widespread knowledge of English is also emphasised throughout the education system.

1.4 Brunei English or English in Brunei?

In the emergence of a variety of English, there comes a time when it is no longer just referred to as 'English in (Country)' but instead often becomes '(Country) English' (Schneider 2007, p. 50). So, for example, we nowadays tend to talk about Singapore

English, as it has developed its own distinctive identity, even though there is substantial variation between formal and colloquial varieties and also between Chinese, Malay and Indian varieties. In contrast, some people have disputed the appropriacy of using the term Hong Kong English, as they question whether it has developed its own distinctive identity (Luke and Richards 1982, p. 55).

What about Brunei? Should we be talking about Brunei English? Or is it merely English in Brunei? In this book, we prefer to use the term Brunei English, because we believe that the set of features that characterise this variety of English make it special and thereby distinguish it from other varieties of English. Furthermore, we feel that, by giving it a name, we are according it the respect that is due to a newly-emergent variety of English, and this emphasises why it is worthy of study. But we acknowledge that some people disagree and would prefer to talk about English in Brunei. We will consider the status of Brunei English once more in the final chapter of the book, particularly within the context of the five-phase model of post-colonial Englishes proposed by Schneider (2003, 2007).

1.5 Variation in Brunei English

Variation in English is inevitable in any society where it is widely used, and Brunei is no exception. Wood et al. (2011, pp. 52–53) notes that some people claim Bruneians speak good English, while others complain that Bruneian students are incapable of putting together a correct sentence. This educational divide will be discussed further in Chap. 2.

In fact, as one might expect, variation in Brunei English depends not just on the educational background and attainment of the speaker, but also on a range of other factors including age, gender, profession, and ethnicity. Let us consider the last factor a little further.

Based on a short extract from the Wolf passage (see [Appendix C](#)) spoken by ten Malay and ten Chinese Bruneians, Ishamina (2011a) reports that Bruneian listeners are able to correctly identify the ethnicity of Bruneian speakers as Malay or Chinese in about 74 % of cases, which suggests that there are distinct patterns of speech for the different communities. Where, exactly, these differences lie remains uncertain (Ishamina 2011b), though intonation and other suprasegmental features are probably key.

In fact, even higher figures for the identification of the ethnicity of a speaker as Malay or Chinese have been reported for the conversational English of undergraduates in Singapore (Deterding and Poedjosoedarmo 2000), but, as mentioned in the previous section, that does not stop people from talking about Singapore English as a distinct variety of English. We will assume here that there are clear patterns shared by many different Bruneians that distinguish their English from other varieties of the language spoken and written around the world. And it is the aim of this book to describe some of those patterns.

One other kind of variation is, of course, important: personal variation. All speakers vary their style of speech depending on who they are speaking to, where

the conversation takes places, and what they are talking about, and speakers of Brunei English are no exception. As each of the recordings on which this book is based was obtained on a single occasion while the speaker was talking to one person, our data does not capture this variation. But we need to acknowledge that it exists.

In Singapore, variation in spoken English is often described as alternating between two distinct codes, Singapore Standard English and Singapore Colloquial English (otherwise known as ‘Singlish’), though there is some debate about whether this variation should be modelled in terms of diglossia (Gupta 1992) or as shifting along a scale of formality (Pakir 1991). More recently the Cultural Orientation Model (COM) has been developed to model patterns of English usage in Singapore as being influenced by two competing forces, the global and the local (Alsagoff 2010).

Does this kind of shifting between two distinct varieties exist in Brunei English? It seems less clear cut than in Singapore, if only because no name such as ‘Brulish’ has become widely accepted to describe a colloquial variety. Nevertheless, substantial variation in the English used by individual speakers undoubtedly exists, even if we are not able to model it in our data. The data analysed in this book is described in the next section.

1.6 Data

This book is based substantially on the analysis of data. Both spoken and written data are used to illustrate the patterns of Brunei English and, wherever possible, to estimate the frequency of occurrence of various features.

The spoken data consists of three types. First is the recordings of 53 undergraduates at the University of Brunei Darussalam (UBD) reading a short text, the Wolf passage. The second kind of spoken data consists of recordings of the same students being interviewed by the first author of this book. And the third is an extensive interview by the second author of this book with her close friend, Umi. These three sources of spoken data are described in the next section.

Most of the written data is from issues of the two local English-language newspapers, The Brunei Times and the Borneo Bulletin. This is described in Sect. 1.8 below. In addition, analysis will be made in Chap. 5 of short extracts from texts printed at the Kampong Ayer Cultural and Tourism Gallery, and in Chap. 7 of data from on-line postings on the BruDirect internet discussion forum. These sources of data will be described in Chaps. 5 and 7 respectively, as they are only referred to in those two chapters.

In addition, occasional reference will be made to utterances heard in oral presentations by students, to extracts from student written assignments, and to signs and notices occurring in Brunei. Although these additional sources of data are admittedly rather unsystematic, it is hoped that they can supplement the data mentioned above by providing interesting instances of various features.

1.7 Spoken Data

The first and second kinds of spoken data both come from the University of Brunei Darussalam Corpus of Spoken Brunei English (UBDCSBE). This consists of high quality recordings of 53 English-medium undergraduates at UBD reading a passage and then being interviewed for 5 min each. The recordings took place in a quiet office at UBD. Convenience sampling was used in selecting the speakers: we recorded students who seemed to speak well and who were willing to be recorded. While there are obvious limitations to this sampling procedure, the data do represent a substantial range of the spoken English of reasonably well-educated young people in Brunei.

Thirty-eight of the speakers are female and 15 are male, reflecting the imbalance between the two genders among students at UBD. The female students are referred to as F1 to F38, while the males are M1 to M15. All were aged between 20 and 24 at the time of the recording, except for one female (F6) who was 35 and one male (M2) who was 28. Of the total, 33 are ethnically Malay, 15 are Chinese, one is Kedayan, one is Dusun, one is Iban, one is Tutong, and one is mixed Chinese/Dusun/Malay, though in a few cases, this ethnic classification is misleading. For example, F10 and F14 are officially classified as Chinese, but both state that their spoken Malay is actually better than their Chinese, and F10 claims little knowledge of any Chinese language and says she feels culturally Malay. Details of the female students are provided in [Appendix A](#) and the male students in [Appendix B](#). All the speakers have good spoken English, though inevitably some speak it better than others.

The read text is the Wolf passage, a short passage specially designed to be suitable for the description of the pronunciation of English, as it includes all the consonants and vowels of English as well as lots of instances of word-final consonant clusters (Deterding 2006c). The full text of the Wolf passage can be found in [Appendix C](#). The subjects were invited to read through the passage briefly before being recorded directly onto a laptop computer. The recording of the passage took an average of about 70 s.

The interview of each speaker took place immediately after the recording of the Wolf passage. It began with the interviewer asking the question ‘What did you do during your last vacation?’ and then proceeded to other topics, including countries the student had visited and plans for the future. The interviewer was the first author of this book, a British national in his early 50s who was an academic lecturer of most of the subjects. The data therefore represents a fairly formal conversation between undergraduates and their lecturer. In total, the data from the UBDCSBE interviews (ignoring the questions from the interviewer) constitute about 30,000 words.

Umi, the subject of the more extensive interview, is a 33-year-old administrative officer working for the army. The interview lasts a total of about 53 min. There were pauses in two places, so it consists of three separate chunks, labelled ‘umi-a’ (14.5 min), ‘umi-b’ (17 min), and ‘umi-c’ (21.5 min). The transcripts of all three parts are provided in [Appendix D](#). The recording took place in the UBD office of the interviewer (the second author of this book), an ethnically Malay Bruneian lecturer

in English language and linguistics who is in her early 30s. She is Umi's good friend, so the conversation represents a fairly relaxed style of speech, though it must be acknowledged that speech which is recorded in an office can never be entirely natural. Umi speaks English clearly and fluently, though she does not (yet) have a university degree, so although she is highly articulate, her English might perhaps be regarded as not quite as proficient as that of some other speakers in Brunei. Nevertheless the length and scope of the recording offers us the opportunity to investigate the features of the relatively informal conversational speech of one individual in some depth.

These three sources of spoken data offer a range of materials to allow an extensive description of the spoken language of reasonably well-educated speakers of English in Brunei. Of course, the nature of the recordings means that the spoken data is not truly naturalistic, but then recorded data is rarely completely natural. It is hoped that the data analysed here can provide a valuable insight into English that is used in a fairly formal environment on the UBD campus.

1.8 Written Data

Apart from the texts from the Kampong Ayer Cultural and Tourism Centre and the BruDirect on-line forum to be discussed in Chaps. 5 and 7, the primary sources of written data analysed in this book involve editions of the two national English-language daily newspapers, The Brunei Times and the Borneo Bulletin. A total of ten editions of these newspapers are analysed, five from each newspaper. These consist of five editions of the Sunday version of The Brunei Times, dated November 13, 20 and 27 and December 4 and 11, 2011, and five issues of the Borneo Bulletin, dated October 24, 25, 26, 27 and 28, 2011. The periods covered were not a special time of the year, such as the holy month of Ramadan or the celebrations of the Sultan's birthday, so the articles are not dominated by any unusual events. While these ten issues of the newspapers represent quite a small corpus of written data, they do allow us to investigate a few features of English usage in Brunei in some detail, particularly in Chap. 6 the incidence of words borrowed from Malay.

In addition to these ten issues of the newspapers, extracts will sometimes be presented from other editions of these two newspapers, particularly The Brunei Times, in order to illustrate various features under discussion.

Much of the international news in these two newspapers is written by news agencies, such as Reuters and AFP, and these articles were ignored in the analysis, to ensure the focus is on the English of Bruneians.

One issue with newspaper data such as this is that, even when the articles appear to be written by local journalists, it is possible that there is some final editing by expatriate staff, modifying and correcting the usage, so in some cases the data may not represent genuine examples of English written by Bruneians. For this reason, we will not attempt a systematic analysis of the discourse patterns, and in Chap. 5 we

will merely try to suggest some patterns that might be investigated in depth in the future, when a more substantial corpus of written Brunei English becomes available, perhaps involving a corpus of undergraduate essays.

However, even if some of the newspaper data analysed here do not represent genuine unedited examples of English written by Bruneians, there remain plenty of instances of interesting local usage that can be described, especially in considering borrowings from Malay.

One further issue with regard to language usage in the two newspapers should be mentioned here: in many cases, the extracts involve quotes from local people, so instances of non-standard language probably reflect accurate reporting rather than the style of English of the journalists. In any case, we are here not attempting to evaluate the proficiency of journalists. We are merely seeking evidence for patterns of usage that seem to occur frequently in Brunei English; and the direct quotes represent examples of Brunei English just as much as the text written by journalists employed by the newspapers.

Finally, mention will occasionally be made of student written assignments, especially assignments written by first-year undergraduates taking an introductory module on English Language and Linguistics at UBD who were required to write about language use by themselves and their families.

As mentioned above in the context of the newspaper data, many of the features that are reported here await systematic analysis based on a more extensive data, and we must admit that some of the research attempted here, particular on discourse, should be regarded as preliminary, awaiting a more complete treatment that might arise from a substantial corpus of written material.

1.9 Overview

In Chap. 2, we will offer a brief review of the use of English in the education system of Brunei. Then in the following chapters, we will analyse the pronunciation, grammar, discourse, and lexis of Brunei English, and in Chap. 7, we consider switching between English and Malay. Finally, in Chap. 8, we will discuss the status of Brunei English in the world and the pedagogical implications of our findings before considering possible future developments.

Chapter 2

Education in Brunei

This chapter offers an overview of the history of education in Brunei, particularly with regard to the teaching and status of English, including the establishment of the first schools in the early twentieth century, the implementation of the bilingual system of education in 1984, the introduction of the new National Education System for the 21st Century (SPN21) in 2008, and the role and continuing influence of CfBT in supplying expatriate teachers for Brunei schools.

2.1 Traditional Education in Brunei

In traditional Malay society, education focused on reading, understanding, and memorising the Quran. It was conducted by *ulama* ('religious scholars'), classes tended to take place in *surau* ('Islamic prayer halls'), and it was almost entirely for boys (Gunn 1997, p. 68).

The first Malay-medium primary school for boys was established in Brunei in 1912, while the first Chinese-medium school started in 1916 (MoE 2009, p. 5). However, the expansion of education was slow, partly because at the time there was little enthusiasm on the part of many parents in encouraging their sons to waste time gaining an education. As a result, by 1928, even in the capital, only 12 % of school-age boys were attending school (Gunn 1997, p. 71).

The first school for girls opened in 1930. It only lasted 1 year, but slowly the education of girls became more widely available, and by 1938, 373 of the total school enrolment of 1,908 pupils were girls (Gunn 1997, p. 72).

The education in Brunei at the time was almost entirely in Malay, though some education in English was provided by missionary schools, for example the school established in Labuan, the island just to the north of Brunei. By 1940, 44 students from Brunei were studying in the Labuan English School (Gunn 1997, p. 79). In addition, in a few schools started by the Chinese community, the use of Mandarin was emphasised.

Before the Second World War, travel in Brunei was difficult, and contact between the various people was limited. As a result, most people were monolingual in their own local language, often an indigenous language such as Dusun, Tutong or Belait rather than Malay (Noor Azam 2007). But after the war, with the development of the infrastructure in Brunei, things began to change substantially. People needed to communicate with a wider range of other people, so they became bilingual; and there was also greater enthusiasm for gaining an education.

2.2 Post-war Education

After Brunei recovered from the ravages of the war, education in the country expanded fast, helped by the burgeoning income from oil and stimulated by the desire for nation building. By the end of the first 5-year development plan in 1959, a total of about 15,000 pupils were enrolled in 52 Malay primary schools, 3 English schools, 7 mission schools, 8 Chinese primary schools and 3 Chinese secondary schools (Jones 1997, p. 16), and by 1970 this had risen to about 40,000 students in a total of 128 schools (Gunn 1997, p. 166).

Article 82(1) of the 1959 Constitution states that ‘The official language of the state shall be the Malay language and shall be in such script as may by written law be provided.’ Article 82(2) allows for the use of English for official purposes, but only for a further 5 years (Jones 1997, p. 16). Clearly, the original intention was for the education system eventually to be entirely Malay-medium.

In 1959, two Malaysians, Aminuddin Baki and Paul Chang, were appointed to prepare a report on educational policies for Brunei, and after just 2 weeks in the country, they presented recommendations that were based substantially on the 1956 Razak report for education in Malaysia, proposing the implementation of a Malay-medium system of education (Jones 1997, p. 17). However, the recommendations of this report were never fully implemented, largely because of the upheavals following the 1962 uprising. In fact, Jones (1997, p. 18) concludes that if the 1962 uprising had not occurred to disrupt the implementation of the Baki-Chang report, there would nowadays probably be no bilingual education system in Brunei.

A second report in 1972 reiterated the Baki-Chang recommendations, reinforcing demands for the central status of Malay in the country (Jones 1997, p. 18). It envisaged continuing dependence on Malaysia for textbooks, assistance with curriculum development and examinations, and the provision of tertiary education including teacher training (Gunn 1997, p. 153). However, this became problematic when diplomatic relations with Malaysia deteriorated in 1974. All Bruneian students studying in Malaysia were recalled, and plans to adopt a system of education modelled closely on that of Malaysia were abandoned (Jones 1997, p. 19). It seems that, in both 1962 and 1974, events were conspiring to prevent the intended implementation of a unified and coherent Malay-medium system of education in Brunei, or at least one that was similar to that of Malaysia.

As a replacement for exams provided by Malaysia, in 1974 an agreement was reached with Cambridge University for the development of a system of secondary school exams, the joint Brunei-Cambridge 'O' and 'A' levels (Gunn 1997, p. 154). Exams set by Cambridge are still used in Brunei today.

As a consequence of the breakdown in relations with Malaysia, Bruneian students no longer had access to tertiary education in Malaysia, and instead the government started sending them to English-medium universities, particularly in the UK. These people studied English for 2 years before embarking on their university degrees, but this was found to be insufficient, with the result that many failed their studies and returned to Brunei with no degree. This was one of the factors that prompted the adoption of the bilingual system of education (Jones 2007, p. 247).

2.3 The Bilingual Education Policy

Up until independence in 1984, pupils followed either an English-medium or a Malay-medium education, and some Chinese schools offered education mainly in Mandarin. However, a unified bilingual system of education, called *Dwibahasa* ('dual languages'), was formulated in 1984 and implemented in 1985 for all schools in Brunei apart from international schools (MoE 2009, p. 4). In the new system, pre-school and the first 3 years of primary school were taught in Malay, with English as a subject; but then from the fourth year onwards, when pupils were about 9 years old, mathematics, history, science and geography were taught in English, while Malay language, Islamic religious knowledge, physical education, arts, and civics continued to be taught in Malay (Jones 1996, p. 127). In 1993, history switched from being English-medium to Malay-medium (Gunn 1997, p. 155).

English continued as the medium of instruction for most subjects for the last 3 years of primary school and the 5 years of secondary school. The intention was that core subjects should be taught in Malay, while technical subjects were in English, so Malay would be the language of the heart, maintaining the moral fibre of the society, while English would be the pragmatic language of science and technology, reflecting its international role as a global lingua franca (Ozóg 1996a, p. 159).

One issue is the extent to which English is actually used in classes where it is supposed to be the medium of instruction. It seems that even in English classes, Malay is often used to explain things, so one imagines that even more Malay occurs in classes for English-medium subjects such as geography and mathematics, as teachers claim that they simply have to resort to Malay in order to explain the concepts properly (Wood et al. 2011, p. 62). Saxena (2009) has documented how some teachers are strict in enforcing an English-only policy in their classes, while others regularly switch into Malay not just to help explain things but also to build rapport with their pupils.

There were a number of concerns over the bilingual education policy when it was first implemented. One substantial issue was whether extensive exposure to a

western language would erode the traditional cultural values of Brunei society and result in a loss of identity. However, Jones (2007, p. 250) concludes that such concerns turned out to be largely unfounded. Although many in Brunei continue to worry about the moral values of young people, just like in societies all round the world, most people accept that, in today's globalised world, access to the internet using English is inevitable, and a greater concern today is whether all pupils have sufficient skills in English to make full use of that access.

Another early concern was whether children would be able to cope with the demands of a bilingual education system. One issue is that Standard Malay as it is taught in schools is completely different from the Brunei Malay that is spoken in most homes, and as a result, the majority of pupils in Brunei in effect have to master two new languages at school, Standard Malay and English.

However, Jones (2007, p. 251) notes that concerns about psychological stress and confusion arising from bilingual language acquisition have now largely disappeared among pedagogical experts. Indeed, it is the norm for children around the world to learn two or more languages, and in fact bilingualism is often believed to offer cognitive advantages for the child, so this psychological worry is no longer so prominent in Brunei.

Of greater concern now is the educational divide, between those who have access to good schools, the internet, satellite television with a range of channels in English, and plenty of books and other reading material, and those who do not have easy access to materials such as these (Jones 2007, p. 256). This divide will be discussed further in Sect. 2.7.

One consequence of the implementation of the bilingual education policy has been the erosion of a role for indigenous languages such as Tutong and Belait. Noor Azam (2007) describes changes in language usage through three stages, from widespread monolingualism in one indigenous language before the Second World War, to bilingualism in an indigenous language as well as Malay in the period between 1950 and 1980, and finally to bilingualism in English and Malay at present, though he notes that some parents are nowadays bringing up their children speaking English at home, so monolingualism in English may become increasingly common in future generations of Bruneians. But one way or another, the minority languages are being squeezed out. In a later paper, Noor Azam (2012b) likens the pressure of English and Malay on the minority languages of Brunei to two squabbling aunties who omit to take care of their younger relative, and he quotes a proverb in Malay, *Gajah berperang, pelanduk mati di tengah-tengah* ('When elephants fight, the mouse-deer between them dies'), to illustrate how some of the minority indigenous languages of Brunei have been driven to the point of extinction by the two dominant competitors, Malay and English.

Whether one regards the disappearance of minority languages as unfortunate or desirable is a matter of perspective. Noor Azam (2007, p. 67) quotes Pehin Aziz, the Minister of Education at the time, saying in 2002: 'The present system strives to produce a uniform system to crystallise a common Brunei identity', which reflects the fact that many people in the government would prefer to see a greater degree of cultural uniformity among its citizens. In contrast, sociolinguists such as Coluzzi (2010) decry the threatened extinction of indigenous languages as a sad loss of cultural roots.

2.4 Bilingualism at UBD

The University of Brunei Darussalam (UBD) was created as a bilingual university in 1985, with students being accepted for either Malay-medium or English-medium programmes. Although the majority of programmes were English-medium, some were taught in Malay, including Malay Language, Malay Literature, a range of history courses, the programmes offered by the *Akademi Pengajian Brunei* ('Academy of Brunei Studies'), and the compulsory course studying the national ideology *Melayu Islam Beraja* (MIB, 'Malay Islamic Monarchy'). Indeed, the Malay Language and Malay Literature programmes have been some of the most popular offered by the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, especially for students who are weak in English.

In this book, the spoken data from the Wolf passage and the interviews is from English-medium students at UBD. The existence of a separate group of students taking Malay-medium degrees reflects the fact that the data analysed here does not present a comprehensive description of the English spoken by UBD undergraduates. Indeed, Jones (2002, p. 138) observes that although these two groups of students all come from the same towns and villages, they are very different in their clothes, their demeanour, and their attitudes. No doubt this also affects the way they speak English.

In 2009, a revised undergraduate degree, termed GenNext, was introduced in UBD, and from then on one requirement for entry to the university was achieving a pass at grade C in English 'O' Level or an IELTS grade of 6.0. Subsequently, all students who are accepted by the university have been entitled to take English-medium degrees, and the great majority of students have chosen to do this. Although Malay Language and Malay Literature are still offered as Malay-medium majors, they are less popular than before. However, all undergraduates (except international students) have to pass the module in MIB that is taught in Malay, so there is still a requirement for all local students to be bilingual. Furthermore, the lingua franca on campus is mostly Malay, though this tends to be Brunei Malay rather than Standard Malay.

2.5 SPN21

A new system of education was announced by His Majesty the Sultan of Brunei in July 2008 (MoE 2009, p. 1). It is referred to as SPN21, which stands for *Sistem Pendidikan Negara – Abad 21* ('National Education System for the 21st Century').

The goal of SPN21 is to bring education in Brunei into line with the needs of the new century, for example by emphasising project work as a major component of schoolwork, by teaching skills in information technology, and by encouraging a commitment to lifelong learning. One of the central objectives is to offer flexibility for students to find the educational path that suits them best (MoE 2009, p. 16), so the new curriculum aims to enable students 'to be lifelong learners who are confident and creative, connected, and actively involved in the quest for knowledge'

(MoE 2009, p. 26). Traditionally, many classes in Brunei have been teacher-centred, with long monologues from the teacher offering detailed knowledge with little input from the pupils (Ho 2005). It remains to be seen whether the new SPN21 curriculum will achieve a substantial shift from this traditional style of teaching.

One part of the rationale for SPN21 was concern about low levels of proficiency in English (MoE 2009, p. 15), and a policy shift adopted in an attempt to deal with this was that mathematics and science are now to be taught in English from the beginning of primary school, rather than from the fourth year as in the old system (MoE 2009, p. 41). This means that Bruneian children have to deal with two new languages as mediums of instructions when they start school: Standard Malay and English (Wood et al. 2011, p. 54). However, there is no longer a sudden switch in the medium of instruction for mathematics and science in the fourth year of primary school, as was previously the case, so children do not have to learn a new set of technical words for the same items in the middle of their primary school careers.

It is ironic that the teaching of mathematics and science in English from the start of primary school was adopted in Brunei at almost exactly the same time that such a policy was abandoned in Malaysia (Kirkpatrick 2010, p. 27).

It will be interesting to see how the switch in language policy as a result of SPN21 influences the use of English in Brunei.

2.6 The Role of CfBT

CfBT originally stood for Centre for British Teachers, though now it is known as the CfBT Education Trust. Since 1984, CfBT has been supplying teachers to Brunei, mainly from the UK, Australia, New Zealand and Canada. They work in primary and secondary schools with a brief to share effective classroom practices and thereby help raise standards of English in the country (CfBT 2006). The following discussion of the role and influence of CfBT is based on a discussion with Greg Keaney, the Education Director of CfBT in Brunei, on 30 September 2011.

Currently, there are 262 CfBT teachers in Brunei schools, approximately 40 % from the UK, 40 % from New Zealand, and the remaining 20 % from Australia and elsewhere, though these percentages vary over time. Seventy-five of these teachers are in primary schools, mainly teaching *Pra* (Reception), Year 1 and Year 2 classes. This means that the majority of the 122 primary schools in the country have one CfBT teacher, the aim being to provide one teacher per school. The remaining 187 teachers are in secondary schools, with between 4 and 11 teachers per school. Virtually all pupils will have had access to two or more CfBT teachers by the time they graduate from secondary school.

CfBT claims considerable success in their work in promoting English language teaching in Brunei. In 1996, just 7 % of pupils were obtaining a grade of C or above in their first sitting of the Cambridge English 'O' level. This rose to 14 % in 2001, 15 % in 2005, and 30 % in 2010. Not all pupils take this exam; in fact of the 2010 cohort of 6,700 secondary pupils only 5,500 took the 'O' level. This means that, in

total, about 25 % of pupils obtained a C grade in their English language ‘O’ level, which is one of the requirements for entry to UBD. In addition, some pupils re-sit the exam, so maybe another 10 or 15 % eventually achieve the required grade.

Of course, this still means that the majority of pupils are not achieving the required grade for entry to university. However, the improvement in the success rate compared to 15 years ago is indeed impressive.

One issue that concerns us here is the promotion of external standards for English, and the degree to which there might be some tolerance for nativised norms in English usage. The problem here is that the ‘O’ level exam scripts are sent to Cambridge in the UK to be graded, and it seems that the examiners continue to be critical about any non-standard usage. So the CfBT teachers tend to insist on British or American norms in English usage. They generally recommend consistency in one or the other, though in practice this usually means adopting British norms.

What influence have the CfBT teachers had on Brunei English? The fact that the pass rates at ‘O’ level have been steadily rising suggests they have been quite successful, though of course there still remain many people who emerge from school with only rudimentary skills in English. Jones (2002) notes that ‘among the school failures are many who have failed to learn English to any real extent’ (p. 130).

One issue we will consider in Chap. 3 and again in Chap. 8 is the apparent increase in influence from American English, particularly with regard to the occurrence of rhoticity in the pronunciation of words such as ‘more’ and ‘heard’. This is a bit unexpected given the fact that most of the CfBT teachers are from the UK, New Zealand and Australia; but possible reasons for it will be explored when we discuss rhoticity.

2.7 The Educational Divide

All societies have good schools and some that are not so good; but perhaps the contrast in Brunei is wider than in many other countries.

As mentioned above, after the implementation of the bilingual education policy in Brunei, the initial worries about loss of cultural identity, and also about possible psychological strains for children in having to learn two languages, eventually gave way to new concerns focusing on substantial discrepancies between the haves and the have-nots, especially depending on the kind of schools attended. Indeed, Jones (2002, p. 131) notes that there was a large increase in the number of elite private schools in Brunei in the last decade of the twentieth century. By 2010, there were 85 private schools compared with 173 government schools (MoE 2011, p. 15), with about 32,190 pupils in the private schools and 79,730 in the public schools (MoE 2011, p. 19).

The existence of so many private schools seems to have exacerbated the educational divide in Brunei. Those who attend private schools tend to end up with good English, and many of them proceed with their tertiary education in the UK or other English-speaking countries. Some of the best public schools are equally

Table 2.1 Results (percentages) for correct usage of past tense in narrative compositions at Secondary 3 and 5 in three schools in Brunei

	Secondary 3	Secondary 5
BSB	74.0	94.1
Tutong	58.8	65.1
Temburong	54.5	54.3

From Wood et al. (2011, p. 56)

good, but pupils who go to one of the less fashionable schools often struggle, especially with English, and the overwhelming majority of these students fail to pass English ‘O’ level.

Indeed, Nicol (2005) has raised questions about the suitability of the Cambridge ‘O’ level exam for all pupils in Brunei, as it is designed for first-language speakers of English and so is not suitable for the wide range of students in Brunei who have limited ability in English, and she notes that it is somewhat ironic that this traditional style of examination continues to be set in Brunei when its use has been abandoned in most schools in the UK. However, we might note that the ‘O’ level English exam is still used in Singapore, where there seem to be fewer problems. Gupta (2010) reports that the English ‘O’ level is taken by about 80 % of pupils in Singapore, with 87 % of them obtaining a good grade, and this 65 % overall success rate is comparable to the success rate for pupils in Britain taking the GCSE exam, even though for many of the Singaporean pupils English is not their first language. In assessing the status of Standard English, Gupta concludes ‘Singapore is doing rather well at teaching it to its children.’ (p. 68). It is not clear if she would draw the same conclusion about Brunei.

Wood et al. (2011) investigated the development of English in four different secondary schools: an elite school in the capital BSB, two schools in the medium-sized town of Tutong, and a rural school in Temburong, studying the proportion of correct use of past tense in narrative compositions. Their results are summarised in Table 2.1.

These results show that the students at the elite school in BSB had the best English at Secondary 3 level, and then their performance improved substantially by Secondary 5. Those in Tutong had less good results at Secondary 3 level, but there was modest improvement over the next 2 years. However, those in the rural school in Temburong started with the worst English and showed no improvement by Secondary 5. These results neatly illustrate the educational divide between the different kinds of schools, a divide that gets more extreme the longer pupils stay in their respective schools.

One other educational divide that might be mentioned is that between boys and girls. At UBD, female undergraduates far outnumber males, they tend to get the best degrees, and indeed, throughout the education system, girls seem to be outperforming boys. Jones (2002, p. 138) believes that the relative failure of the male population is ‘the most important educational issue facing Brunei’. Moreover, this gender divide may be especially relevant for the use of English. Based on a large-scale cross-sectional survey of the population of Brunei conducted by the Ministry of Education in 1993, Jones (1997, p. 22) reports that 40.7 % of female respondents

claimed to use English with friends 'all the time' or 'often', while only 19.3 % of male respondents gave the same responses.

This book analyses the interviews of 53 English-medium students at UBD, 38 of them female and just 15 male. This does not, of course, provide a comprehensive description of the full range of English spoken in Brunei, as it just considers reasonably well-educated young students, only English-medium students are included, and there is a disparity between the two genders. However, with such a great range of English in the country, it is not possible to cover the complete range of the language that occurs, and furthermore inclusion of the English of the less well-educated would involve learner English rather than the proficient and fluent variety of English that exists among well-educated young Bruneians. It is the aim of this book to describe that variety, in the belief that it constitutes an emergent nativised variety of English.

2.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have provided an overview of the history and current status of the education system in Brunei, particularly with regard to the use of English. In the next chapters, we will analyse the pronunciation, grammar, discourse and lexis of Brunei English, and in the final chapter, we will consider the pedagogical implications of our findings.

Chapter 3

Pronunciation

Some of the earliest published work on the pronunciation of Brunei English was Mossop (1996a, b). Mossop (1996a) was based on recordings of 54 trainee teachers at UBD, so the data is reasonably comparable to the UBDCSBE interviews studied here. Mossop (1996b) supplemented the data with recordings of lower secondary school students and also the speech of newscasters in Brunei, to give an indication of the range of speech in Brunei. Both these papers were based on auditory judgments with no attempt to confirm those judgments with acoustic measurements. The current study aims to go further by using acoustic analysis (where appropriate) to provide objective support for some of the auditory judgments. It builds on Salbrina (2010), which is an overview of Salbrina (2009) and describes the pronunciation of 18 ethnically Malay UBD undergraduate females reading an early version of the Wolf passage (Deterding 2006c). The current analysis includes ethnically Chinese speakers as well as Malays, and also some male speakers, and it also makes reference to their conversational speech.

In order to discuss pronunciation in a descriptive manner and avoid suggesting how words “should” be pronounced, in this chapter we will sometimes use upper-case letters for consonants, as with TH for the sounds at the start of words like ‘thought’ and ‘this’. In this way we can say that voiceless TH can be pronounced as [θ], [t], [s] or [f] with no suggestion that any of these is “correct” or “better”. We will also talk about R-colouring in words such as ‘heard’, and L-vocalisation and L-deletion in words such as ‘wolf’.

For vowels, we will adopt the keywords suggested by Wells (1982), so we can talk about FLEECE and KIT and note that, in many traditional varieties of English, these vowels tend to be [i:] and [ɪ], while in some new varieties of English the two vowels are not distinguished so they may both be pronounced as [i]. The keywords that are referred to in this chapter, together with their realisation in RP British English, are shown in Table 3.1.

For phonemes, as we are mostly using upper-case letters to represent the consonants of English and small-caps keywords for the vowels, we will eschew the use of phonemic slashes ‘//’ and instead use phonetic square brackets ‘[]’ to enclose IPA

Table 3.1 Keywords from Wells (1982) that are used in this chapter, and their pronunciation in RP British English

Keyword	RP sound	Keyword	RP sound	Keyword	RP sound
FLEECE	[i:]	FACE	[eɪ]	GOOSE	[u:]
KIT	[ɪ]	GOAT	[əʊ]	FOOT	[ʊ]
DRESS	[e]	NURSE	[ɜ:]	THOUGHT	[ɔ:]
TRAP	[æ]	STRUT	[ʌ]	LOT	[ɒ]
				START	[ɑ:]

Note: This is not the complete inventory of vowels found in Brunei English, as, for example, the PRICE and MOUTH vowels are not shown

symbols. We might therefore, for example, consider whether the TRAP vowel is pronounced as [æ] or [e] or maybe something in between such as [ɛ], and we might also discuss the pronunciation of a word such as ‘thought’ as [θɔ:t], [tɒt] or [tɒʔ].

The analysis in this chapter is based on the three sources of spoken data: the 53 UBDCSBE recordings of the Wolf passage, to provide a fixed text for evaluating some features of pronunciation; the 53 5-min interviews of the same UBDCSBE speakers, to allow an estimate of the occurrence of those and other features of pronunciation in relatively formal conversational speech; and the recording of the more extensive conversation with Umi, to offer an insight into somewhat less formal conversational speech that might occur between two friends.

Both authors listened to the recordings of the Wolf passage and noted their judgments about certain features, so this provides us with an estimate of inter-rater auditory reliability. There was 94 % agreement on the pronunciation of initial voiceless TH, 86 % agreement on initial voiced TH, 94 % on the omission of [t] from word-final consonant clusters, 87 % on the incidence of R-colouring, and 98 % on the distinction between the vowels of ‘fist’ and ‘feast’. The differences in judgment reflect the fact that many sounds are indeterminate, particularly the realisation of the voiced TH sound at the start of the function words ‘there’ and ‘this’ and also the presence or absence of R-colouring in words such as ‘heard’ and ‘more’. Nevertheless, the agreement is still fairly good between the two raters.

In this chapter, we will first consider the consonants of Brunei English, then the vowels, and finally a few suprasegmental features such as stress, rhythm, and intonation.

3.1 TH

The sounds at the start of words such as ‘thing’ and ‘this’ (voiceless TH and voiced TH respectively) can be pronounced in many different ways. In the traditional speech of most people in places such as the UK, the USA, and Australia, they are pronounced as [θ] and [ð] respectively, either with the tip of the tongue placed just behind the upper teeth (Roach 2009, pp. 40–41) or, especially in the USA, with the tongue protruding between the teeth (Ladefoged and Johnson 2011, p. 12).

Table 3.2 Pronunciation of initial voiceless TH in the Wolf passage

	[θ]	[t]
thought	28	25
threaten	23	30
third	24	29
Total	75 (47.2 %)	84 (52.8 %)

However, some speakers in Ireland and New York have [t] and [d] (or their dental equivalents) (Wells 1982, p. 429, 515), while many in London use [f] and [v] (Wells 1982, p. 328).

In new varieties of Englishes around the world, there is a tendency to use sounds other than [θ] and [ð] for TH. In Singapore many speakers use [t] and [d] for initial and medial TH, but [f] often occurs for final TH in words such as ‘north’ and ‘birth’ (Deterding 2007a, p. 14). The use of [t] and [d] for initial TH also occurs in Malaysia (Baskaran 2004a) and much of the rest of Southeast Asia (Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006), but [f] and [v] occur in Hong Kong (Deterding et al. 2008). In contrast, [s] and [z] are used by many speakers in places such as China (Deterding 2006a), Nigeria (Gut 2004), and Germany (Swan 1987).

One factor that is likely to reinforce the use of [t] for voiceless TH in Brunei and also Malaysia is the pronunciation of words borrowed into Malay from English, as *terapi* (‘therapy’), *tema* (‘theme’) and *teater* (‘theatre’) all start with [t] in Standard Malay, and *atlit* (‘athlete’), *etika* (‘ethics’) and *patologi* (‘pathology’) all have medial [t]. Given that this is how they are pronounced in Malay, it is hardly surprising that many speakers also have [t] in these words when they say them in English, and furthermore that the use of [t] for initial and medial voiceless TH extends to other English words as well.

There are three tokens of initial voiceless TH in the Wolf passage: ‘thought’, ‘threaten’ and ‘third’. The realisation of the sound in these three words by the 53 UBDCSBE speakers is shown in Table 3.2.

We can see from Table 3.2 that just over 47 % of the tokens of initial voiceless TH are pronounced as [θ] while nearly 53 % are [t]. This is almost identical to the figure (about 48 %) of tokens pronounced as [θ] reported by Salbrina (2010).

Many speakers vary between [θ] and [t]: 16 speakers have [θ] in all three tokens, 10 have [θ] in two tokens and [t] in one, 7 have one instance of [θ] and two of [t], and 20 have [t] in all three tokens. The use of [θ] is slightly higher for the female speakers, but the difference is not significant ($\chi^2=0.62$, $df=1$, $p=0.43$).

One might expect [θ] to be more common in ‘thought’, as this word is near the start of the passage when one would predict that speakers are most careful about their reading, while [t] is more likely to occur in the other two words which are near the end, but there seems little evidence of this. While F31 and M10 do have [θ] in ‘thought’ and [t] in both ‘threaten’ and ‘third’, F23 has the reverse pattern with [t] in ‘thought’ and [θ] in the other two tokens, F30 and M11 have [θ] in ‘thought’, [t] in ‘threaten’, and [θ] in ‘third’, and F12 has the reverse of this pattern, with [θ] occurring in ‘threaten’ but not the other two words. A similar lack of consistency in the pronunciation of voiceless TH has been reported for Singapore English (Deterding 2007a, p. 13).

To investigate the pronunciation of initial voiceless TH in the conversational data, three tokens were identified for each speaker, though in a few cases it was not possible to find three tokens of initial voiceless TH, and for one speaker (F11) there are none at all. As far as possible, the three tokens occur in three different words, though three different words were not always available, and in some cases more than one token of ‘think’ was investigated for a speaker. Overall, initial voiceless TH is pronounced as [θ] in about 59 % of the tokens and as [t] in the remaining 41 %, so the occurrence of [θ] is significantly higher for the conversational data than the Wolf passage ($\chi^2=4.15$, $df=1$, $p=0.042$). This is a little surprising, as one might expect more standard pronunciation to occur when speakers are reading a passage, especially as spelling might be expected to reinforce the use of [θ]. In fact, two speakers, F5 and F37, have [θ] in all three tokens in the conversation but [t] in all three tokens in the Wolf passage. It is not clear why this happens, but it appears that, in our data, [t] occurs a little more frequently in the relatively formal context.

In fact, variability can even occur in the same utterance. In extract 1, Umi pronounces ‘think’ with [t] at the start, but then she has [θ] at the start of ‘three’ soon after. Note that this is not entirely lexical, as she uses [t] in ‘three’ later on, in extract 2.

- 1 I think [tɪŋ] (0.6) Crystal would (1.4) be in the top (0.6) three [θri:] {umi-a:110}
 2 two: to three [tri:] hours {umi-a:384}

In the UBDCSBE interviews, F1 produces ‘think’ with [t] in extract 3, but then a few seconds later she pronounces the same word with an initial [θ].

- 3 I didn’t (0.5) think [tɪŋk] of it at first but (0.6) now, now that I’ve (0.6) worked there,
 I think [θɪŋk] it’s something that I might (1.1) go into after (.) university {F1-int:74}

Similar apparently random variability in the realisation of initial voiceless TH for the conversational speech of the same speaker has been reported for Singapore English (Deterding 2007a, p. 13).

Voiced TH mostly occurs at the start of function words which may have little emphasis and are often spoken quite fast, so it is sometimes difficult to be certain of the exact pronunciation. Therefore, only two words from the Wolf passage were investigated, both occurring at the start of a sentence: ‘there’ (the first word in the passage) and ‘this’ (‘This gave the boy ...’). Even though occurrence at the start of a sentence might be regarded as optimal for judging the quality of initial voiced TH, as mentioned at the start of this chapter the inter-rater reliability for judgments about voiced TH was lower than for other phonetic judgments; and that is why less optimal instances of voiced TH were not investigated. The results for the pronunciation of these two words are shown in Table 3.3, and it can be seen that the majority of these tokens (68 out of 106, or about 64 %) have [d] for initial voiced TH.

The only token in the Wolf passage with final TH is ‘with’. This is often spoken quickly with the final consonant omitted, and in other cases it is hard to be confident about the final consonant. However, about 14 speakers seem to have [d] at the end of this word, while 4 have [v]. This contrasts with the pattern found in

Table 3.3 Pronunciation of initial voiced TH in the Wolf passage

	[ð]	[d]
there	21	32
this	17	36
Total	38 (35.8 %)	68 (64.2 %)

Table 3.4 Realisation of final voiceless TH in the UBDCSBE interviews

	[θ]	[f]	[t]
myth		1	
Perth		1	
fourth	2		
youth	1		
both	2	3	
north	1		1
breath	1		
worth	1		

Singapore, where [d] would rarely occur for final TH, and ‘with’ usually has [v] or [f] at the end.

In the interviews, final voiceless TH occurs in a range of words. For example in extract 4, F5 pronounces ‘myth’ with [f] at the end.

4 I like to go there first because they have all those erm (0.5) erm myth [mɪf] of gods and all that so, yeah {F5-int:260}

The pronunciation of final voiceless TH in a range of words is shown in Table 3.4.

Apart from in the word ‘with’ (which can have voiced or voiceless TH; Wells 2008, p. 194), final voiced TH occurs only in the word ‘clothes’, and this is always produced with [d] in the seven times it occurs in the UBDCSBE interviews.

3.2 Consonant Cluster Reduction

In Standard English, word-final [t] or [d] is commonly omitted from the end of a consonant cluster when the next word begins with a consonant. For example, Cruttenden (2008, pp. 303–304) includes the following in a long list of phrases where the final [t] in the first word is omitted: ‘next day’, ‘raced back’, ‘last chance’, ‘first light’, ‘west region’, ‘just one’, ‘left turn’, ‘soft centres’, ‘left wheel’, ‘drift by’, ‘soft roes’, ‘mashed potatoes’, ‘finished now’, ‘finished late’ and ‘pushed them’, and Deterding (2006b) has shown that this phenomenon is regularly found in the speech of BBC announcers on the World Service. Furthermore, Pinker (1999, p. 19) notes that ‘ice cream’ was once ‘iced cream’ and ‘mincemeat’ was originally ‘minced meat’, but the final consonant in the first word was dropped so often that its omission became standard.

Table 3.5 Retention and omission of word-final [t] in the Wolf passage

	[t] retained	[t] omitted
fist in	23	30
forest and	16	37
feast	33	20
Total	72 (45.3 %)	87 (54.7 %)

This of course also happens in Brunei English, but it is so normal that we will not discuss any further the case when the following word begins with a consonant. Instead we will focus on word-final [t] at the end of a consonant cluster when the next word begins with a vowel, a context in which the retention of the [t] might be more likely to occur in some Englishes as a means of linking the words (Cruttenden 2008, p. 306).

Here, we will consider three tokens of word-final [t] at the end of a consonant cluster in the Wolf passage: two tokens in which the next word begins with a vowel, ‘fist in’ and ‘forest and’; and the final word in the passage, ‘feast’. The results for the retention and omission of word final [t] in these three words by the 53 speakers are shown in Table 3.5.

The incidence of [t] retention differs significantly between the three tokens investigated ($\chi^2 = 11.12$, $df = 2$, $p = 0.004$): it is more likely to be pronounced in ‘fist’ than at the end of ‘forest’, which is not surprising as the second syllable of ‘forest’ is unstressed; but it is most often pronounced in the final word ‘feast’ compared to its occurrence as a linking consonant in the other two tokens. Overall, for these three tokens, the [t] is omitted in nearly 55 % of the tokens.

In the interviews, it was not possible to find three tokens of word-final [t] with the same environment as the tokens from the Wolf passage for all speakers. However, attempts were made to find approximately similar contexts, and the results show that [t] is omitted in about 74 % of the tokens. This is rather higher than the 55 % omission in the Wolf passage, but we should be cautious in concluding from this that consonant cluster reduction is more prevalent in conversational speech. Many of the tokens were the function words ‘most’ and ‘just’ in which the omission of the [t] is especially common, and it was only possible to find a few tokens of [t] at the end of utterance-final consonant clusters (similar to the context for ‘feast’), the environment in which the omission of [t] is least common. The rate of 74 % deletion from conversational data is rather less than the 89 % reported by Mossop (1996a) for word-final fricative + stop consonant clusters by 54 trainee primary school teachers at UBD. However, the conditions are not directly comparable, as Mossop included environments where the next word begins with a consonant, a context that is excluded in the current study, so it is not surprising if he reports a higher rate of omission.

Of course, consonant cluster reduction does not just affect final [t]. For example, omission of final [k] in ‘think’ is quite common, occurring in about 63 % of tokens where this word occurs before another word beginning with a vowel or at the end of an utterance. And in extract 5, F15 pronounces ‘camp’ with no final [p], as is not too surprising when the Malay equivalent is *kem*.

5 I had to go for a camp [kæm] and I fell sick {F15-int:15}

Umi also exhibits widespread final consonant cluster reduction. For example, in extract 6 ‘world’ has no final [d], and in 7 and 8 respectively, ‘think’ and ‘mosque’ have no final [k].

- 6 around the world [w3:l] (0.6) and yet {umi-a:65}
 7 I think [tʌŋ] I would shoot them from (0.7) afar {umi-a:72}
 8 next to the mosque [mɒs] {umi-c:129}

The omission of one or more consonants from word-final consonant clusters is very common in the Englishes of Southeast Asia. Baskaran (2004a, p. 1041) gives ‘except’, ‘digest’, and ‘inject’ as examples of words where the final [t] is omitted in Malaysian English. In the Englishes of Brunei and Malaysia, final consonant cluster reduction may be reinforced by Standard Malay, as omission of the final consonant from words borrowed from English into Malay is very common, and we find *lif* (‘lift’), *kos* (‘cost’), *hos* (‘host’), *pos* (‘post’), *kem* (‘camp’), *setem* (‘stamp’), *arkitek* (‘architect’) and many more all listed in a Malay dictionary. It is hardly surprising if these words are pronounced in English in a similar fashion, and, just as with voiceless TH as discussed in Sect. 3.1 above, this is likely to influence the pronunciation of other English words as well.

Finally, we might note that some consonants are far more likely to be omitted at the end of a word than others. For example, for the educated speakers we are considering here, [s] does not seem to be omitted from words such as ‘tax’ or ‘perhaps’ (though it may be omitted if it constitutes a suffix, something we will consider in Chap. 4). For example, Umi says the word ‘six’ four times (umi-b:272; umi-c:94,1173,1174), and there is a clear [s] at the end of all of them. Less well-educated speakers do sometimes pronounce ‘six’ as [sɪʔ] (with either a glottal stop or unreleased [k] at the end), but we do not find this in our UBDCSBE data. This suggests an implicational scale for the likelihood of deletion, with [t] > [s]; but the full establishment of such an implicational scale is beyond the scope of this book.

3.3 Added [t]

While the focus on pronunciation in new varieties of English has often been on the deletion of final consonants such as [t], there are actually instances where an extra [t] is added, as has been shown for Singapore as well as Hong Kong English (Setter and Deterding 2003). It is hard to be certain what the origin of this extra [t] is, but it may be a spurious ‘-ed’ suffix, occurring even on words where such a suffix is not appropriate. It occurs occasionally in the UBDCSBE interviews, as with the added [t] on the end of ‘prawn’ in extract 9, ‘then’ in extract 10, and ‘London’ in extract 11.

- 9 I ordered this tiger prawn[t] {F23-int:114}
 10 the traffic is really bad (0.9) and then[t] (0.7) it’s too ... {F38-int:271}
 11 the most enjoyable place that I’ve (.) been to in the past er was in London[t] {M8-int:163}

Umi also occasionally exhibits this phenomenon, for example at the end of ‘hometown’ in extract 12.

- 12 it’s s- kind a like a second (.) hometown[t] {umi-b:25}

3.4 Glottal Stop

Final plosives may sometimes be realised as glottal stops. This has been noted for words such as ‘put’, ‘heart’, ‘not’, ‘lot’ and ‘back’ in Singapore English (Deterding 2007a, p. 19) and ‘hope’, ‘rub’, ‘cut’, ‘mud’, ‘shock’ and ‘frog’ in lower sociolects in Malaysia (Baskaran 2004a, p. 1042). In our data for Brunei, Umi has a glottal stop at the end of both ‘but’ and ‘it’ in extract 13, and at the end of both ‘like’ and ‘out’ in extract 14.

13 criticize people but [bʌʔ] (0.8) they are asking for it [ɪʔ] {umi-a:30}

14 I don’t really like [laɪʔ] (0.6) to eat out [aʊʔ] {umi-a:483}

Further work might investigate the incidence of glottal stops in greater detail. For example: does it occur more often in place of final [t] or [k]? Does its incidence depend on whether the word is stressed or not? Is it more common in conversational speech than read speech? And is it influenced by the ethnicity of the speaker?

3.5 Devoicing

Word-final consonants in Brunei English can often be devoiced. This is a little misleading, as it is actually common in all varieties of English for a final voiced fricative to be produced with no voicing (Docherty 1992, p. 35), so the realisation of the sound at the end of a word like ‘seize’ might be shown as [z̥] – a voiced sound with no voicing. We represent it in this way because, in many varieties of English, it is usual for the distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants in final position to be maintained by means of the duration of the preceding vowel (Roach 2009, p. 28), so the distinction between ‘seize’ and ‘cease’ actually mostly lies in the duration of the vowel, not the voicing of the consonant. Therefore, if we show ‘seize’ as [si:z̥], this reflects the fact that, even though the final sound is devoiced, the preceding vowel is still longer than if the word had been ‘cease’.

However, this distinction between final voiced and voiceless consonants is sometimes absent in varieties of English in Southeast Asia, and Deterding (2005) reports that ‘seize’ and ‘cease’ are homophones for some speakers in Singapore, and for Malaysian English, Baskaran (2004a, p. 1041) lists ‘give’, ‘move’ and ‘wave’ as tending to end with [f], and ‘is’, ‘does’ and ‘noise’ as ending with [s] rather than [z]. In fact, devoicing of final fricatives, presumably involving neutralisation of length contrasts in the preceding vowel, also occurs in many new varieties of English spoken in Africa, including those of Nigeria, Ghana, and Camerouns (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008, p. 128).

The Wolf passage has a minimal pair for the contrast between voiced and voiceless fricatives: ‘raising’ and ‘racing’, and the passage was deliberately written to ensure both words occur at the start of a sentence in order to facilitate the comparison (Deterding 2006c). Indeed, a few speakers in our data (such as F12 and F25)

neutralise the distinction. In extract 15, F25 clearly voices the medial consonant in ‘racing’, possibly because the fricative here is in medial position between two vowels rather than in word-final position.

15 racing [reɪzɪŋ] down to the village {F25-wolf: 58}

Acoustic measurement confirms that, for the recording of the Wolf passage by F25, the duration of the vowel in the first syllable of ‘racing’ and ‘raising’ is almost identical: the sequence [reɪ] is about 206 ms in ‘racing’ and about 205 ms in ‘raising’. (It is not possible acoustically to separate the initial [r] from the vowel, so the measurement here is based on the duration of both [r] and [eɪ].)

For Brunei English, Mossop (1996a) reports that, in his data, the fricatives are always devoiced in final position in words such as ‘nose’ and ‘have’. In contrast, for Malaysian English, Baskaran (2004a, p. 1041) observes that [z] can occur at the end of words such as ‘nice’ and ‘fierce’, so it seems that loss of the voicing distinction for word-final fricatives may sometimes involve voicing as well as devoicing, at least in Malaysia.

Devoicing of word-final consonants may also sometimes affect plosives. Umi says that she likes to cook ‘crab soup’ in extract 16, but the interviewer suggests she makes crap soup. (The interviewer subsequently confirmed she could understand it perfectly well and was just teasing Umi.)

16 Umi: ... crab soup
Int: /crap {umi-a-599}

3.6 Vocalised L

Salbrina (2010) reports that there is little evidence of vocalised L in Brunei English in place of syllabic L or after front vowels, though it does sometimes occur after back vowels. However, it seems that Umi sometimes has vocalised L for the syllabic L at the end of words such as ‘people’, as in extract 17, though this is variable, as ‘people’ in extract 18 has a dark L.

17 I am not the type (.) who want to crititi- criticize people [pi:pə] but ... {umi-a:28}
18 thousands of people [pi:pət] {umi-a:65}

3.7 Deleted L

The extreme of L-vocalisation is when the sound gets completely deleted, if for example ‘wall’ is pronounced as [wɔ:] and so sounds like ‘war’ (in a non-rhotic accent). This may occur after back vowels such as [u:] or [ɔ:], but it does not seem to occur after front vowels, so ‘feel’ never sounds like ‘fee’ and ‘milk’ does not become a homophone of ‘mick’.

In fact, L-deletion after back vowels is common in the history of English, especially when there is a following consonant, so ‘walk’ and ‘folk’ used to have an [l] in their pronunciation but now normally do not. But for some speakers in Singapore, the process is extended to more words, such as ‘school’ and ‘small’ (Deterding 2007a, 20), and this may also occur in Brunei.

For example, in extract 19, F16 seems to omit the L completely in ‘wolf’, so it sounds as if she is saying ‘woof woof’.

19 shouting, ‘Wolf! Wolf!’ [wɒf wɒf] {F16-wolf:19}

In fact, L-deletion in these tokens of ‘wolf’ occurs in 14 out of the 53 recordings of the passage, though it is hard to be confident of the sound that occurs in this word in every case, as the distinction between L-vocalisation and L-deletion is not always clear.

The reverse process, L-insertion, may occur in some words such as ‘salmon’, because of the spelling. This will be discussed further in Sect. 3.14 below.

3.8 Rhoticity

A rhotic accent is one in which [r] occurs at the end of a word such as ‘car’, and also before a consonant in a word such as ‘hard’ (Roach 2009, p. 50). In contrast, in a non-rhotic accent, [r] only occurs when the following sound is a vowel, such as in words like ‘red’ or ‘carry’ or as a linking consonant in a phrase such as ‘far away’. Most accents in England, Australia and New Zealand are non-rhotic, while the majority of speakers from Scotland, the USA and Canada have rhotic accents (Wells 1982). Rhoticity refers to an accent; for individual tokens, we will talk about R-colouring, though some writers prefer the term ‘non-prevocalic [r]’.

Table 3.6 shows the occurrence of R-colouring in the stressed syllable of five words from the Wolf passage: ‘heard’, ‘concern’, ‘short’, ‘more’ and ‘before’. We can see that, overall, about 31 % of the tokens have R-colouring, and the instance is higher for ‘more’ and ‘before’ in which the potential [r] is at the end of a word, than in the three other words where it occurs before a consonant, and this difference between word-final and non-final R-colouring is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 20.9$, $df = 1$, $p < 0.001$).

Table 3.6 Occurrence of R-colouring in selected tokens from the Wolf passage

	[r]	No [r]
heard	13	40
concern	10	43
short	9	44
more	26	26
before	23	30
Total	81 (30.7 %)	183 (69.3 %)

The total for ‘more’ does not add up to 53 because one speaker omitted the word

In fact, eight of the speakers (F11, F14, F16, F19, F21, F24, F26 and F28) have R-colouring in 'more' and 'before' but none of the other three words.

If we categorise a speaker as having a rhotic accent when at least two of these five tokens exhibit R-colouring, then 26 (49 %) of the speakers are rhotic, which is almost identical to the 50 % reported by Salbrina and Deterding (2010).

We should, however, acknowledge that the two-out-of-five threshold is somewhat arbitrary, and if instead we based the classification on more than half the tokens having R-colouring, that is at least three tokens, then only about one quarter (13 out of 53) of the speakers would be described as rhotic, partly because, as mentioned above, some speakers have R-colouring in 'more' and 'before' but not the other words.

Only four speakers have R-colouring in all five tokens, 27 speakers have variable R-colouring, and 22 speakers have no R-colouring in any of the five words investigated.

Only 4 out of the 15 (27 %) male speakers are rhotic, which is much less than the 22 out of 38 (58 %) females who are rhotic, and this difference is significant at the 0.05 level ($\chi^2=4.20$, $df=1$, $p=0.04$). The implications of this sex-based difference will be discussed further below.

Nine out of the 15 Chinese are classified as rhotic, which is a little higher than the proportion of Malays (15 out of 33), but the difference is not significant ($\chi^2=0.87$, $df=1$, $p=0.35$). Ishamina (2011b) similarly reports no significant differences in rhoticity between Malay and Chinese Bruneians on the basis of recordings of the Wolf passage.

To evaluate the extent of rhoticity in conversational speech, five instances of potential R-colouring were investigated for each speaker in the interview data. In an attempt to match the data for R-colouring from the Wolf passage as closely as possible, the same number of tokens per speaker were examined in a similar context, so all these five tokens are in stressed syllables, three with the potential [r] before a consonant within the same word, and the other two with it at the end of the word either utterance-finally or where the next word begins with a consonant (to avoid the possibility of a linking [r]). The results show that R-colouring occurs in 37 % of the tokens, which is a little higher than the 31 % found for the Wolf passage. However, on the basis of the 2-out-of-5 threshold, only 23 of the speakers (43 %) are classified as rhotic, which is a little lower than the 49 % for the Wolf passage. This discrepancy arises largely because a few speakers have two tokens with R-colouring when reading the passage but only one token in the interview, which reflects the arbitrariness of the 2-out-of-5 threshold. Overall, we can conclude that the results for the interviews are similar to those for the Wolf passage, and furthermore most of those speakers who have a rhotic accent when reading the text are also rhotic in the conversation.

The figures for rhoticity are rather higher than those reported in Singapore English. Deterding (2007b) reports that just 9 out of 41 Singaporean undergraduates exhibited some R-colouring when reading a version of the Wolf passage, though Tan (2012) reports that the incidence of rhoticity is higher for well-educated Singapore speakers (university undergraduates) than less well-educated people

(students at polytechnic and the Institute of Technical Education). Considering the similar colonial background of the two countries, why should rhoticity be more widespread in Brunei, especially given the continuing presence in the country of over 200 CfBT teachers, most of whom have non-rhotic accents? One possibility is that many Bruneians are being influenced by American movies and music, though we might note that some linguists have questioned how much influence popular media actually has on the sound changes that take place in a society (Chambers 1998, p. 126). Furthermore, we might question why Bruneians would be more influenced by American movies and music than Singaporeans.

One possibility is that Brunei English is not so well established as Singapore English. We will discuss this further in Chap. 8, where we will note that Singapore English is claimed to be in the fourth phase of the five-phase cycle of development of postcolonial Englishes proposed by Schneider (2007), a phase labeled 'endonormative stabilization', suggesting that the variety is becoming increasingly independent of external norms. In contrast, Brunei English may still be in the third phase, labeled 'nativization', suggesting it is at an earlier stage in developing this independence, partly because Brunei Malay is the inter-ethnic lingua franca for many people in Brunei whereas English plays that role in Singapore.

One other crucial influence on the pronunciation of Brunei English is the fact that Brunei Malay is strongly rhotic (Clynes 2001), so words such as *basar* ('big') and *tukar* ('exchange') have a final [r] in Brunei Malay and also, indeed, in Standard Malay as it is spoken in Brunei (Clynes and Deterding 2011), but not in the Malay spoken in Singapore. In fact, it is likely that this influence on pronunciation from the main indigenous language of Brunei is more important than any external influence from American English.

One other influence might be considered: there are about 200 teachers from the Philippines in Brunei schools, and there are also many hundreds of domestic helpers (*amahs*) in Brunei homes. The English of the Philippines is rhotic, and so the pronunciation of these people is likely to have some influence on the accent of young people in Brunei. It seems, therefore, that three sources of influence, American media, Brunei Malay pronunciation, and the accent of people from the Philippines, may be combining to result in a substantial shift in the English that is spoken in Brunei.

One further issue we can consider a little further is whether rhoticity is a prestige feature of Brunei English or not. One pertinent factor here concerns gender-based differences. It is widely reported that women tend to adopt more standard pronunciation than men, so, for example, Trudgill (1995, p. 69) suggests that 'women on average use forms which more closely approach those of the standard variety or the prestige accent than those used by men', though Cameron (2007) recommends caution in accepting all the claims of male–female differences in language use. Directly relevant to our own study, Trudgill (1995, p. 70) reports that women in Detroit (where rhoticity is a prestige feature) tend to use more R-colouring than men. And, as we have seen above, the female speakers in our own data are more likely to be rhotic than the male speakers.

To delve further into this issue of rhoticity and prestige, we can now assess the correlation of rhoticity with other features of pronunciation. In previous sections in

Table 3.7 Results for initial voiceless TH and word-final consonant clusters from the Wolf passage for the rhotic and non-rhotic speakers

	Initial voiceless TH		Final consonant clusters	
	[θ] (%)	[t] (%)	[t] retained (%)	[t] omitted (%)
rhotic	52.6	47.4	46.2	53.8
non-rhotic	42.0	58.0	44.4	55.6

this chapter, we have presented results for voiceless TH and also omission of [t] at the end of word-final consonant clusters, and for each of these features we can consider the standard pronunciation: it is the norm for voiceless TH to be realised as [θ] in words such as ‘thought’, and for final [t] to be retained as a linking consonant in phrases like ‘fist in’. Now we can compare the results for voiceless TH and final consonant clusters with those for rhoticity. To investigate this, we can consider the two groups, those classified as rhotic and those described as non-rhotic on the 2-out-of-5 basis adopted above, and then we can investigate the pronunciation of these two groups for each of the other two features. The results are shown in Table 3.7.

Although the results for voiceless TH seem to suggest that [θ] might be more common among rhotic speakers, in fact the difference falls short of significance ($\chi^2=1.79$, $df=1$, $p=0.18$). Similarly, for final [t], there is a slightly higher percentage of rhotic speakers retaining the [t] than non-rhotic speakers, but once again, this falls far short of significance ($\chi^2=0.05$, $df=1$, $p=0.83$), and in reality there is virtually no difference between the two groups in the realisation of final consonant clusters. The most we can conclude at present is that there is no evidence that rhoticity is non-prestigious.

Clearly, more research is needed with a far greater number of speakers, particularly from a range of different age groups, to find out more about the occurrence of rhoticity in Brunei, whether it is increasing among young speakers, and the extent to which it is regarded as a prestige feature. One final comment is that, if a substantial influence in terms of rhoticity is from Brunei Malay (as suggested above), then it is unexpected that a substrate influence should be perceived as prestigious. But maybe, in this case, local pride overrides any stigma associated with substrate influences. In any case, it seems that there are multiple influences on Brunei English, so most people do not seem to perceive a direct link between rhoticity and Brunei Malay.

3.9 Vowels

In previous work on the vowels of Brunei English, Mossop (1996b) suggests that long vowels may be shortened, many speakers do not distinguish between words such as ‘bet’ and ‘bat’ (the DRESS and TRAP vowels), and the vowels in words such as ‘pay’ and ‘show’ (the FACE and GOAT vowels) are short monophthongs rather than diphthongs; and Salbrina (2006) confirms these three tendencies. In addition, based on acoustic measurements of recordings of an early version of the Wolf

passage, Salbrina (2010) confirms the overlap of DRESS and TRAP and also the monophthongal quality of FACE and GOAT. These claims will here be investigated further by means of auditory judgments combined with acoustic measurements.

We can gain an estimate of vowel quality by measuring the first and second formants, F_1 and F_2 (Ladefoged and Johnson 2011, p. 196). It is best to convert the frequency values to an auditory Bark scale (Haywood 2000, p. 141), and here we will use the formula suggested by Zwicker and Terhardt (1980). The vowels can then be plotted on inverted scales of F_1 against F_2 to represent their quality in terms of the open/close and front/back dimensions. One advantage of using the Bark scale is that, after the values have been converted, distances along the x-axis are assumed to be roughly equivalent perceptually to distances along the y-axis, so the overall difference in quality between two vowels can be estimated by calculating their Euclidean distance on an F_1/F_2 plot.

Providing a comprehensive description of the vowels of Brunei English is problematic because of the degree of variation. In particular, rhotic speakers would have quite different vowels in words such as ‘thought’ and ‘more’, and furthermore those with a full American accent may have [æ] instead of [ɑ:] in the first syllable of ‘after’, so it is not clear which words should be grouped together in plotting the vowels. In addition, as we will see below, many speakers have LOT rather than STRUT in the first syllable of ‘company’, so it is uncertain how this vowel should be classified.

Figure 3.1 shows the results for the measurement of the vowels from the Wolf passage of the ten female ethnically-Malay speakers with a non-rhotic accent (F1, F6, F7, F9, F13, F22, F25, F29, F30, F32). Only the vowels of female speakers are plotted, as it is not possible to combine the values for male and female vowels without some kind of normalisation. Each of the vowels is shown as a single point rather than as a range of values (for example, using ellipses), because showing a range would under-represent the true range of realisations, given the limitation of the data to non-rhotic female speech, while at the same time it would over-represent the range of some vowels, given some of the uncertainties about classifying vowels mentioned above. While Fig. 3.1 is certainly not representative of the vowels of all Brunei speakers, and there remain many issues about how to select the vowels to be measured, it provides a starting point from which to extend the investigation, and it suggests typical realisations of the vowels by some non-rhotic speakers.

The results shown in Fig. 3.1 suggest that NURSE is rather similar to DRESS. The fronted quality of the vowel is confirmed by listening to isolated tokens, such as the pronunciation of ‘heard’ by F22 in extract 20. If it is played in isolation, ‘heard’ in this extract sounds like ‘head’.

20 as soon as they heard [hɛd] him {F22-wolf:19}

Figure 3.1 further suggests there is a clear distinction between DRESS and TRAP, which does not confirm the observations of Mossop (1996b) and Salbrina (2006) that these two vowels tend to be merged. However, caution is needed here, as it is not clear that all the vowels are classified appropriately. For example, for Singapore English, it has been shown that ‘egg’ rhymes with ‘vague’ and not with ‘peg’

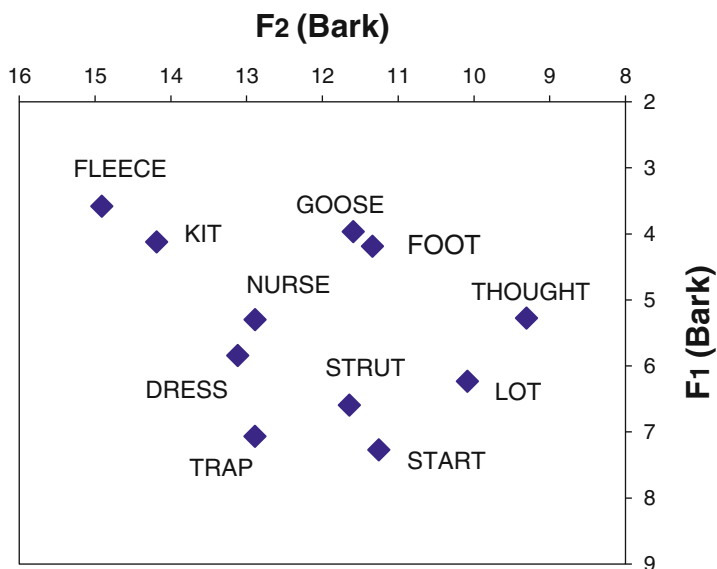


Fig. 3.1 Average monophthong vowels of the ten female Malay non-rhotic speakers measured from the Wolf passage

(Deterding 2005), and also that ‘next’ tends to have a close quality so it does not rhyme with ‘text’ (Deterding 2007b). It is not clear how many of the vowels in the current study are affected. For example, some speakers have a close quality in vowel in the second syllable of ‘began’, something that has also been reported for many speakers of Singapore English (Deterding 2007b), so perhaps the vowel in ‘began’ should not be included as an instance of TRAP.

One further observation from Fig. 3.1 is that GOOSE and FOOT seem to be very close together, which appears to confirm the claim by Mossop (1996b) and Salbrina (2006) that there is sometimes little distinction between the long and short vowels. However, Fig. 3.1 suggests there may be a clear distinction between FLEECE and KIT. We will investigate this further in the next section.

3.10 Long and Short Vowels

Although most speakers seem to differentiate between FLEECE and KIT, not all do. For example, in extract 21, F34 is talking about a hotel she stayed in, and she uses a vowel that sounds like [ɪ] rather than the expected [i:] in ‘cheap’.

21 it was cheap [tʃɪp] (1.2) and the room was kind of small but comfortable {F34-int:65}

Although we can talk about long and short vowels, in fact vowel duration inevitably depends on various factors such as speaking rate and the degree of stress, so there is little point in comparing the duration of different vowels unless we have

Table 3.8 Results for differentiating between ‘fist’ and ‘feast’ for the rhotic and non-rhotic speakers

	Same vowel	Different vowels
rhotic	5 (19.2 %)	21 (80.8 %)
non-rhotic	9 (33.3 %)	18 (66.7 %)
Total	14	39

a fixed environment with an exactly equivalent speaking rate. Therefore, in the data analysed here, when evaluating whether speakers differentiate between long/short pairs such as FLEECE and KIT, we consider vowel quality not length. The assumption is that, if the quality of the two vowels is similar, then a length contrast is also absent.

The Wolf passage has a minimal pair for FLEECE and KIT: ‘feast’ and ‘fist’. Here, in comparing formant measurements with perceptual judgments, we assume that there is no difference in the quality of the vowels in these two words if their distance on an F_1/F_2 plot is 0.8 Bark or less (a threshold established on auditory grounds). On this basis, a total of 14 speakers make no distinction between ‘feast’ and ‘fist’, eight females (F6, F12, F25, F12, F33, F34, F35, F37) and six males (M4, M6, M7, M10, M14, M15), while the remaining 39 speakers (30 female and 9 males) do make a distinction.

We can also break this result into the rhotic and non-rhotic groups, adopting the 2-out-of-5 classification for rhoticity that was used previously. The results are shown in Table 3.8.

Assuming that making a distinction between FLEECE and KIT is a feature of standard English, then the results from Table 3.8 seem to lend support to the suggestion that rhoticity is a prestigious feature in Brunei English. However, the differences in Table 3.8 are not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 1.36$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.24$), so once again, we need more data to investigate this further before drawing any firm conclusions.

The long/short vowel distinction can, of course, affect more vowels than just FLEECE and KIT. In addition, as mentioned in the previous section when considering the F_1/F_2 plot, GOOSE and FOOT may sometimes be merged. Indeed, Umi seems to have a similar vowel in the first syllable of ‘cooking’ in extract 22 and ‘food’ in extract 23. Acoustic measurement confirms that the difference between them is about 0.8 Bark on a F_1/F_2 plot, so on the basis of the criteria adopted above, these two vowels are on the threshold of being considered merged.

22 I don’t mind cooking {umi-a:481}

23 Indian food {umi-a:523}

However, more work needs to be done on the realisation of GOOSE and FOOT before we determine if they are merged or not, and a simple scatter plot of F_1/F_2 would be misleading. First, many speakers seem to have a different vowel in open syllables like ‘two’ (with no final consonant) and closed syllables like ‘food’ (with a final [d]). Second, the quality of the GOOSE vowel after [j] in words such as ‘few’ is often not the same as when there is no preceding [j] in words like ‘two’ (Cruttenden 2008, p. 127). There is, in fact, a minimal pair in the Wolf passage for GOOSE and



Fig. 3.2 Confusion between TRAP and FACE in a student's transcription exercise

FOOT: 'fool'/'full'; but the final [ɪ] interferes with reliable measurement. In reality, acoustic measurement of close back vowel is often problematic.

The absence of a long/short vowel distinction by some speakers is similar to the observations of merged long/short vowels in Singapore English (Deterding 2007a, p. 22). For Malaysian English, Baskaran (2004a, p. 1039) has noted that 'field', 'peel', 'food' and 'move' may have a short vowel while 'fish', 'pin', 'would' and 'full' sometimes have a long vowel.

3.11 FACE and TRAP

Above, we have relied on auditory judgments and acoustic measurements to derive conclusions about the quality of vowels. One other source of information is attempted transcription by students. If students regularly confuse two sounds when they are learning to do transcription using IPA symbols, that suggests that they may not distinguish between the two sounds in their pronunciation. And confusion between FACE and TRAP often occurs when first-year undergraduates at UBD are learning basic phonetics.

Figure 3.2 is an extract from a student's efforts to transcribe 'tenacity' and 'fatalistic' in a test (based on the way the words were read by an RP speaker of British English). Overall, the student's transcription is pretty good, and he gets everything right including the location of the primary stress in both words, except that he shows the vowel in the second syllable of 'tenacity' as [eɪ] and that in the first syllable of 'fatalistic' as [æ]. Indeed, it is common for students at UBD to transcribe the '-ation' suffix in a word such as 'duration' as [æfən].

In reading the Wolf passage, eight of the 53 speakers (F7, F19, F24, F25, F26, F31, F33 and M2) have [æ] in the first syllable of 'safety'; and in extract 24 from the interviews, F33 has an open vowel that sounds like [æ] in the first syllable of 'places'.

24 we went to places [plæsɪz] {F33-int:20}

3.12 FACE and GOAT

There is a widespread tendency in new varieties of English around the world to pronounce the FACE and GOAT vowels as a monophthong, [e] and [o] respectively. This occurs not just in Singapore (Deterding 2007a, p. 25), Malaysia (Baskaran 2004a),

and throughout Southeast Asia (Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006), but also in India (Sailaja 2009, p. 25) as well as Pakistan, Nigeria, and Ghana (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008, pp. 123–124). This tendency is also sometimes found in Brunei, though as mentioned in the previous section, some words that might be expected to have FACE in fact have a more open vowel that sounds like [æ] and so probably should be classified as TRAP.

Measurements reported in Salbrina (2010) confirm that both FACE and GOAT are substantially more monophthongal in Brunei English than in British English. And in extract 25, F33 pronounces ‘boat’ with a close long monophthong [o].

25 we went er on a (.) boat [bot] (.) tour {F33-int:21}

3.13 Absence of Reduced Vowels

In Brunei English, there is a tendency to use a full vowel rather than the reduced vowel [ə] in the unstressed syllables of polysyllabic words. For example, in extract 26 Umi has a full vowel in the first syllable of ‘consider’.

26 they would consider [kɔnsɪdə] {umi-c:1216}

In Singapore English, this avoidance of vowel reduction tends to occur in closed syllables (ones which are closed off by a consonant) (Deterding 2005), and this may also be the case in Brunei. For example, in extract 27, F7 has a full vowel in the first syllable of ‘adventurous’, which is ‘ad-’, and in 28, F35 similarly has a full vowel in the first syllable of ‘advanced’.

27 no I’m not that adventurous [ædvɛntʃrəs] {F7-int:239}

28 because Japan has a lot of high (0.7) advanced [ædvæns] technological stuff {F35-int:90}

In addition, the names of countries often have a full vowel in the first syllable instead of the [ə] that occurs in other varieties of English. For example, in extract 29, the vowel in the first syllable of ‘Japan’ is [æ], and in 30, the vowel in the first syllable of ‘Korea’ is [ɒ], though we should note that Wells (2008, p. 446) allows this as one possible pronunciation of ‘Korea’.

29 erm (0.5) I would want to go to Japan [dʒæpæn] first {F35-int:85}

30 my first choice would be to live in Korea [kɔrɪə] {F20-int:121}

We might note that saying [kɔrɪə] rather than [kəɪrɪə] almost certainly enhances international intelligibility (though perhaps not for listeners from the UK or USA), something we will consider further in Chap. 8.

The most common use of a full vowel rather than a reduced vowel is in function words such as ‘as’, ‘that’, ‘to’ and ‘of’. In the Wolf passage, every single one of the 53 Bruneian speakers has a full [æ] vowel in both ‘that’ and ‘had’ in the sequence ‘a wolf that had just escaped from the zoo’.

However, it is not true that reduced vowels are completely absent from Brunei English. For example, the first syllable of both ‘around’ and ‘again’ is [ə], and the articles ‘a’ and ‘the’ are similarly usually pronounced with [ə]. It is just that the

incidence of reduced vowels is somewhat lower in Brunei English than in some traditional varieties of the language. One of the implications of this, the effect on rhythm, will be discussed in Sect. 3.18 below.

3.14 Spelling Pronunciation

A shift in the pronunciation of a word to reflect its spelling is a common way that pronunciation undergoes change. For example, a 100 years ago ‘forehead’ was generally pronounced as [fɔːrɪd] (so it rhymed with ‘horrid’); but nowadays, 65 % of people in Britain say it with an [h] in the middle, reflecting the spelling, and the percentage is even higher for young speakers, suggesting it is becoming firmly established as the norm (Wells 2008, p. 317). Similarly, ‘often’ used to have a silent [t], but at the end of the eighteenth century people started pronouncing it with a [t], because of its spelling (Algeo 2005, p. 46).

This process of spelling pronunciation is common in Brunei. For example, from the Wolf passage, F1, M36 and M8 all pronounce ‘shepherd’ with a medial [f], failing to realise that the ‘p’ and ‘h’ belong in different morphemes. The pronunciation of F1 is shown in extract 31.

31 there was once a poor shepherd [ʃefəd] boy {F1-wolf: 00}

In British English, some words such as ‘Coventry’ now usually have LOT rather than the traditional STRUT in the first syllable (Wells 2008, p. 192), reflecting the ‘o’ in the spelling; and for some speakers, the first syllable of ‘constable’ seems to be undergoing a similar process, possibly because of an aversion to pronouncing the first syllable as [kʌnt], though the use of STRUT in the first syllable is still the preferred option listed in both Wells (2008, p. 179) and Jones et al. (2003, p. 116). A similar case of spelling pronunciation involving LOT rather than STRUT occurs with our data for the first syllable of ‘company’, as illustrated by extract 32 from F16.

32 to get some [sʌm] company [kɒmpəni] for himself {F16-wolf:12}

As nearly all the speakers have a full vowel in ‘some’ (because of the absence of vowel reduction in most function words), we can compare the vowels in ‘some’ and the first syllable of ‘company’. If the vowels sound different, we classify the vowel in ‘company’ as LOT. On this basis, 27 of the 53 speakers have [ɒ] rather than [ʌ] in the first syllable of ‘company’. (The following nasal in both words makes acoustic comparison difficult, so no acoustic results are presented here.)

Another instance that might be regarded as spelling pronunciation is the tri-syllabic pronunciation of ‘Wednesday’ in extract 33, rather than the expected bi-syllabic [wenzdeɪ], though we should note that Wells (2008, p. 893) lists [wedənzdɛɪ] (with three syllables rather than the usual two) as a possible pronunciation for the word in Britain.

33 every Monday and Wednesday [wenəsdeɪ] {M7-int:155}

Finally, we can note the [l] in ‘calming’ in extract 34. Wells (2008, p. 120) lists [kɑ:lɪm] as a possible pronunciation for ‘calm’ in both British and American English, though Jones et al. (2003, p. 79) suggests that the occurrence of an [l] in this word only occurs in American English.

34 I like it because it’s calming [kɑ:lɪmɪŋ] {F24-int:18}

Somewhat similar to the [l] in ‘calming’, in Brunei English ‘salmon’ is almost always produced with an [l] in it (though we have no instances of it in our data). Indeed the use of a spelling pronunciation for ‘salmon’ seems to be common in many places around the world nowadays, just as there is often a [b] in ‘subtle’ (Kilgariff 2010). It seems likely that these examples of spelling pronunciation will one day become accepted as the norm.

3.15 Idiosyncratic Pronunciations

The pronunciation of some words does not seem to follow any identifiable pattern, so it is idiosyncratic for those particular words. In extracts 35 and 36, Umi pronounces the vowel in ‘love’ as [ɜ:] instead of the standard [ʌ]. (She also has [ʃ] at the start of both tokens of ‘sushi’, but we have no evidence that this is shared by others in Brunei.)

35 are people who love [ɜ:v] shopping {umi-a:832}

36 I love [ɜ:v] sushi [ʃu:ʃi:] I can eat sushi [ʃu:ʃi:] every day {umi-a:504}

The pronunciation of ‘love’ as [ɜ:v] is something that has also been reported for Singapore English (Deterding 2007a, p. 26), and it seems quite common in Brunei. For example, F25 has this pronunciation in extract 37, and F26 has it in extract 38.

37 I love [ɜ:v] to buy (.) sunglasses {F25-int:69}

38 I would love [ɜ:v] to go to (.) Italy Venice {F26-int:207}

3.16 Word Stress

Lexical stress in Brunei English may differ from other varieties of the language. For example, in Standard English, the ‘-ity’ suffix tends to shift the placement of stress to the final syllable of the stem (Roach 2009, p. 84), so ‘personality’ would be stressed on the third syllable. But in extract 39, Umi stresses this word on the first syllable, so in this case the suffix has not shifted the stress from its location in the word without the suffix ‘personal’.

39 I like her: (.) crac [kɑ'ɹæk] character ['kæ.ɹæktə] and personality ['pɜ:sənəlti] {umi-a:72}

In fact, in this extract, it seems that Umi was going to say ‘character’ with the stress on the second syllable, as is common with words of three syllables when the

second syllable ends with two consonants (e.g. ‘disaster’, ‘semester’, ‘consistent’, ‘November’, ‘December’, ‘remember’); but then she corrected herself and used the standard pronunciation.

Other instances of unexpected lexical placement are extract 40, where F2 says ‘consumer’ with the stress on the first syllable, extract 41 where F32 pronounces ‘safari’ with substantial prominence on the first syllable, and extract 42 where F35 seems to stress the first syllable of ‘Japan’.

- 40 normal consumer [ˈkɒnsju:mə] goods {F2-int:127}
 41 Dubai we went on the (.) safari [ˈsɑ:fɑ:ri] trip {F32-int:79}
 42 I would want to go to Japan [ˈdʒæpən] first {F35-int:85}

Extracts 40–42 above all illustrate unexpected stress occurring on the first syllable of a word, but this is not always the case. In extracts 43–45, F36, F37 and M15 all place the stress on the second syllable of ‘relative’. The pronunciation of this word might be influenced by the usual stress pattern on ‘related’ and ‘relation’.

- 43 I guess it’s a relative [rəˈleɪtɪv] of my mother which I’m not really close to {F36-int:270}
 44 I went to Malaysia to visit my relative [rəˈleɪtɪv] {F37-int:03}
 45 just stay in erm (.) my relative’s [rəˈleɪtɪfs] house {M15-int:243}

3.17 Compound Stress

For Singapore English, it has been observed by Low (2000) that there is no difference between phrasal stress and compound stress, so the phrase ‘English teacher’ would be pronounced the same regardless of whether it is Adj + N (someone from England) or N + N (someone who teaches English); and the same seems to be true for Brunei.

In extract 46, F9 places the emphasis on ‘park’, even though ‘bird park’ is N + N, so it would be stressed on ‘bird’ in British or American English.

- 46 it’s kind of hard to make um (.) a choice between the zoo and the Jurong Bird PARK {F9-int:170}

3.18 Rhythm

It is often claimed that many new varieties of English have a more syllable-based rhythm than that of Inner-Circle varieties. Indeed, syllable-based rhythm has been reported for English in Singapore (Low et al. 2000), Malaysia (Baskaran 2004a), the Philippines (Tayao 2004), and throughout ASEAN (Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006).

Malay probably has more syllable-based rhythm than British English, though problems with the cross-language comparison of rhythm remain (Deterding 2011). If Malay does indeed have more syllable-based rhythm, it is likely that this has some influence on the rhythm of Brunei English. In extract 47, Umi has a very slow,

deliberate style of speech, perhaps because she is thinking about what to say, and this utterance might be described as syllable-based.

47 for example the white rabbit {umi-b:463}

In extract 48, she does not slow down quite so much, so perhaps this is a better example of syllable-based rhythm.

48 so honestly saying that's not a good thing to do {umi-b:669}

In the UBDCSBE interviews, in extract 49, F9 seems to use syllable-based rhythm, partly because of the use of a full vowel in both tokens of 'as', and similarly in extract 50, F18 seems to have syllable-based rhythm.

49 teachers are as important as doctors {F9-int:304}

50 I like languages but I don- I just don't like learning them {F18-int:193}

However, such clear examples of syllable-based rhythm are the exception rather than the norm, and Crystal (1995) has observed that this type of rhythm is found even in British English under some circumstances, such as when talking to infants, in some kinds of music, and in television commercials. So, do a few instances of syllable-based rhythm in an interview prove anything?

It is possible to gain an estimate of the rhythm of speech on a scale of stress- and syllable-timing based on acoustic measurements by using the Pairwise Variability Index (PVI) as suggested by Low et al. (2000), and a significant difference between the rhythm of Brunei English and British English based on recordings of the Wolf passage has been confirmed in Deterding (2012).

3.19 Sentence Stress

In standard English, pronouns only usually receive stress when they are contrastive. However, it has been noted that there is a tendency for pronouns to be stressed in the Englishes spoken throughout Southeast Asia (Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006).

In our data for Brunei English, Umi sometimes stresses pronouns in this way, as in extract 51 where 'we' receives substantial prominence.

51 they don't like (0.7) to be invaded (0.7) as what (.) WE are doing (.) to them now
{umi-b:606}

Similarly, in the UBDCSBE interviews, in extract 52, M2 puts lots of emphasis on 'my'.

52 and then er (.) I met (.) MY friend actually {M2-int:12}

This tendency to stress a pronoun is particularly evident in utterance-final position. In extract 53, F5 places substantial emphasis on the final pronoun even though it is not contrastive.

53 I do find myself er going down there by myself, just so I can meet HER {F5-int:191}

3.20 De-accenting

It has been noted that de-accenting, the de-emphasis of words that are repeated, sometimes does not occur in Singapore English (Deterding 2007a, p. 34). This absence of de-accenting also occurs at times in Brunei English. For example, in extract 54, F25 puts substantial emphasis on the second token of ‘Tutong’, even though it is the current topic of the conversation and has been mentioned just 3 s earlier.

- 54 my families are from both sides, my parents (0.7) they are from Tutong but (.) then (.) they don't really speak TUTORING (.) to me (.) they speak Brunei Malay {F25-int:236}

3.21 Rising Pitch

Rising pitch is expected on yes-no questions (Wells 2006, p. 45) and also on some non-final clauses in an utterance. Although there certainly are a number of other contexts where rising pitch is expected, such as in order to show a soothing tone or on some interjections (Wells 2006, p. 91), sometimes a rising tone occurs at the end of an utterance in Brunei English in contexts where its occurrence is a little harder to explain.

In extract 55, F24 is talking about the places she visited over her vacation. The use of rising pitch seems to indicate some uncertainty, though it is unclear why the speaker should be uncertain about places she visited in her own vacation.

- 55 erm Poring Hotsprings and (.) a /zoo {F24-int:34}

This final rising tone seems to occur especially in listing, even at the end of a closed list where we might expect a falling tone on the final item. In extract 56, F26 is stating which seasons of the TV series *Prison Break* she has watched, and she uses a rising tone on ‘four’.

- 56 Int: Which season have you seen?
F26: Er (.) season three and /four.

In these cases, it is hard to be sure if the use of an utterance-final rising tone is really indicating some kind of uncertainty. Perhaps, instead, the rising tone indicates a willingness to continue with this topic. In some cases, as in extract 57, the speaker herself continues with the topic, so the rising pitch on ‘July’ in this case might be regarded as indicating that she has not finished her turn.

- 57 I went to KK (.) as in Kota Kinabalu (1.0) in (1.2) /July (1.3) yeah and it was a shopping trip {F34-int:04}

Sometimes this rise in pitch can be quite extreme, as with F31 in extract 58 where the jump in ‘working’ is from about 200 Hz in the first syllable to over 500 Hz in the second syllable.

- 58 Int: in the long term what do you think you will be doing (1.2)
F31: /working

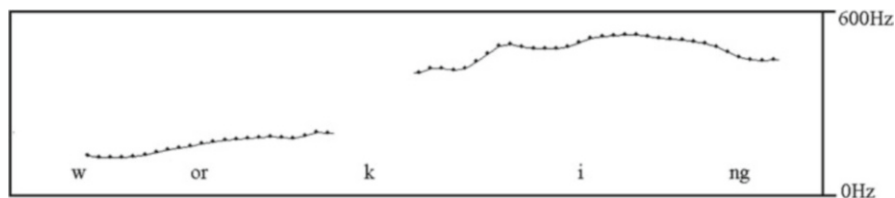


Fig. 3.3 Pitch plot showing the final rising pitch on for ‘working’ said by F31

The pitch plot for this word is shown in Fig. 3.3 (where the total duration shown is about 0.8 s).

It is not clear what meaning this sharp rise in pitch carries.

One question regarding the unexpected use of a rising tone in Brunei English is whether it is different from what has sometimes been termed ‘uptalk’, or more formally ‘a high rising terminal’ (HRT) (Wells 2006, p. 37), which may have originated in New Zealand, Australia or California but is now heard in many other varieties of English worldwide, including in Britain.

Finally, we might consider whether a rising tone is more common among women than men. It was long ago claimed that women use more rising tones on statements, possibly as a sign of their relative insecurity (Lakoff 1975), though this assumption has more recently been questioned (Cameron 2007, p. 150). Investigation of the frequency of rising tones by a range of speakers of Brunei English and the reasons for their occurrence would be an interesting topic for further research.

3.22 Conclusion

Among the findings reported here, it has been shown that there is a widespread tendency for [t] and [d] to be used for voiceless and voiced TH sounds, that final [t] is often omitted at the end of words like ‘fist’ even when the next word begins with a vowel, that about half of young Bruneians may be classified as rhotic and it is possible that this feature of pronunciation is perceived as prestigious, that most of the speakers differentiate between long and short vowels in words such as ‘feast’ and ‘fist’ but about one quarter of them do not, that there is widespread use of full vowels in function words such as ‘that’ and ‘had’, and that spelling pronunciation, such as the occurrence of [ɒ] in the first syllable of ‘company’, is common.

For suprasegmental features, it is suggested that there may be a tendency for syllable-based rhythm, pronouns often receive stress, and some instances of utterance-final rising pitch are hard to explain. Much more work needs to be done on suprasegmental features of pronunciation, as it is almost certainly the patterns of intonation that carry much of the special flavour of the Brunei accent.

We will now progress to consider syntax, though we should note that it is not always possible to separate pronunciation from syntax. For example, if a speaker says 'walk' rather than 'walked' when narrating a story, is this a pronunciation issue (omission of the final [t]) or a syntactic issue (use of the present rather than the past tense)? This will be discussed further when we consider tense usage.

Chapter 4

Morphology and Syntax

For a comprehensive investigation of the grammar of Brunei English, one would need lots of data. The UBDCSBE interviews can give us a start, by allowing us to consider the occurrence of a few syntactic features in the speech of young undergraduates. However, this corpus cannot offer in-depth coverage of all aspects of syntax, and furthermore it does not attempt to provide an overview of the range of English that occurs in Brunei, for example with older speakers or those who are less well-educated. For a more complete investigation, we must wait for the availability of a larger-scale corpus. We might note, for example, that the spoken data of each component of the International Corpus of English (ICE) consists of about 600,000 words (Nelson et al. 2002, p. 5), which is about 20 times the interview data in UBDCSBE. One hopes that work to collect an ICE component from Brunei might one day proceed, to allow direct comparisons with the syntax of other varieties of English around the world.

Here, we will attempt to estimate the frequency of occurrence of a few salient morphological and grammatical features in the conversational speech of UBD undergraduates: the plural -s suffix, the present tense -s suffix, and the articles 'a' and 'the', and in each case we will also try to identify some patterns that characterise the presence or absence of each feature; but other observations will be more tentative. We will suggest some additional syntactic features that seem to occur often in spoken and written English in Brunei, but estimates of their frequency of occurrence will remain a topic for further research.

In this chapter, we will consider word structure, particularly the use of suffixes to indicate number and tense, and then discuss other aspects of syntax, including modal verbs such as 'will' and 'would', the occurrence of the auxiliary verb 'do', the use of the perfective, finite clauses with no subject, the use of determiners such as 'a' and 'the' before count and non-count nouns, subject-auxiliary inversion in indirect questions, and the use of prepositions between verbs and their objects.

The data for this chapter will primarily be the spoken data from the 53 UBDCSBE interviews and also the recording of Umi. In addition, examples of written Brunei English will be provided from the two local English-language newspapers, the

Borneo Bulletin and The Brunei Times, and occasionally these main sources of data will be supplemented by extracts from written assignments and classroom presentations by UBD undergraduates.

4.1 Plural Suffixes

Although in Brunei English the plural *-s* suffix usually occurs on nouns where expected, there are a few exceptions. First, we should consider if this is a phonological or morphological process. As discussed in Chap. 3, omission of final [s] by educated speakers does not happen at the end of words such as ‘six’, and it only occurs when it represents a suffix, so we suggest that, in the instances considered here, it must represent a morphological issue. (In contrast, when we consider the *-ed* past tense suffix later in this chapter, we conclude that this might often in fact represent a phonological process of omission of [t] and [d].)

In extract 1, Umi has no plural suffix on ‘question’, even though it might seem logically to be plural, and in extract 2, F16 has no *-s* suffix on either ‘shop’ or ‘price’.

- 1 stop with (.) pressuring me all this question {umi-a:417}
- 2 actually the shop are more or less are the same but it’s just that the the price are more (.) lower (.) and then (.) more varieties {F16:61}

In extract 2 above, ‘varieties’ has a plural suffix where the singular ‘variety’ might be expected in standard English. Similarly, in extract 3, M3 has an unexpected plural suffix on ‘vacations’. Umi occasionally uses plural nouns like this, as in extract 4 where she says ‘soups’ rather than the expected singular ‘soup’, though in this case the plural ‘soups’ actually seems quite logical. The occurrence of logical plurals like this is discussed in Sect. 4.2.

- 3 my last vacations was er (.) in Kuala Lumpur {M3:03}
- 4 oh I I know how to: (.) cook soups {umi-a:595}

To gain an estimate of the non-standard occurrence of the plural *-s* suffix, all the regular nouns (excluding irregular nouns such as ‘people’ and ‘children’) in the 53 UBDCSBE interviews were analysed, and the occurrence and omission of the plural suffix was counted. The results are shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 shows that the overwhelming majority of nouns have the expected *-s* suffix. Less than 2 % of nouns that in standard English would be singular have an

Table 4.1 The occurrence and absence of *-s* suffix on singular and plural nouns in the UBDCSBE interviews

	<i>-s</i> absent	<i>-s</i> present
Singular noun	1,247 (98.2 %)	23 (1.8 %)
Plural noun	54 (7.5 %)	670 (92.5 %)

unexpected plural suffix; and just 7.5 % of nouns that are expected to be plural have a missing suffix.

In Singapore English, it has been claimed that nouns following quantifiers such as ‘four’ and ‘many’ always have a plural suffix (Alsagoff and Ho 1998, p. 144), even if the suffix is sometimes missing elsewhere, and this also seems to be mostly true for the Brunei data. We find the omission of an -s suffix on ‘month’ by Umi in extract 5, and on ‘night’, ‘team’ and ‘pair’ in extracts 6, 7 and 8 respectively from the UBDCSBE interviews, but these are the only four examples in all of the spoken data.

- 5 we went off to: study there for ten month {umi-b:87}
- 6 I went there for (1.3) four days and three night {F34-int:14}
- 7 we’ve played against erm (0.8) actually there’s many team like for example from (0.5) Labuan {M7-int:95}
- 8 I usually buy clothes (0.8) clothes erm (.) er some shoes and (.) many pair of jeans {M10-int:33}

In fact, in the UBDCSBE interviews, there are a total of 133 instances of nouns following numerals such as ‘two’, ‘three’ and ‘four’, and 14 tokens of nouns following ‘many’, and all of these 147 examples except those shown in extracts 6, 7 and 8 have the expected plural form of the noun. So the standard use of plural nouns after numerals and ‘many’ represents about 98 % of the sample (compared to the 92.5 % for nouns in general, as seen in Table 4.1).

Many instances of non-standard usage in Brunei English can be summarised in four categories: -s on logically plural nouns, such as ‘soups’, ‘staffs’ and ‘infrastructures’; the use of a singular noun after ‘one of’; the occurrence of an -s suffix at the end of hyphenated nouns such as ‘brother-in-laws’; and the absence of -s on the end of ‘master’. The last of these, use of ‘master’ rather than ‘masters’ to refer to post-graduate studies, occurs 11 times in the UBDCSBE interviews (because plans for the future was one of the topics of conversation in the later part of many of the interviews). For example, it occurs twice in extract 9.

- 9 I was thinking of doing my master in UK but not in York cos they don’t offer the master that I want to (.) that I want yeah {F33:137}

It seems that ‘master’ is the normal word in Brunei for referring to this post-graduate programme, though ‘masters’ also sometimes occurs. In total there are seven instances of ‘masters’ (three of them by the same speaker, F32), and many of these are immediately following the use of the word with an -s suffix by the interviewer, as with F27 in extract 10. It is not clear if speakers such as F27 would use the singular ‘master’ in other circumstances, when the interviewer had not just said ‘masters’.

- 10 Int: would you like to do a masters and a PhD maybe?
F27: yes, masters and PhD hopefully (0.5) in the future {F27-int:264}

The other three categories of non-standard usage of the plural suffix mentioned above, that is logically countable items, ‘one of’, and ‘in-laws’, are discussed separately below.

4.2 Logically Countable Items

Some nouns that might be non-count in standard Englishes are treated as countable in Brunei English. Cane (1994, p. 354) gives the example ‘here’s an advice for you all’, where ‘advice’ is being treated as a count noun. In Fig. 4.1, ‘fruits’ is a plural noun, even though the equivalent in the UK or USA might be ‘fruit and vegetables’.

Similarly, in Fig. 4.2, the plural ‘equipments’ is used on the sign outside a construction site where there would be the non-count ‘equipment’ in standard English.

This use of plural nouns for logical plural referents is common in Singapore, where ‘furnitures’, ‘clothings’ and ‘fictions’ are found (Deterding 2007a, pp. 42–43), in Malaysia, where ‘staffs’, ‘lingeries’, ‘stationeries’, ‘accommodations’, ‘jewelleries’



Fig. 4.1 The sign above a shop in BSB selling fruit and vegetables



Fig. 4.2 A sign outside a building site

and ‘fruits’ have been reported (Baskaran 2004b, p. 1076), in Hong Kong, where ‘equipments’ is noted (Setter et al. 2010, p. 60), and indeed in varieties of English throughout Asia and Africa (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008, p. 53). And, not surprisingly, we find it in the UBDCSBE interview data. In extract 11, F3 refers to ‘infrastructures’, and in extract 12, F19 mentions ‘jewelleries’.

- 11 I think it’s because of the infrastructures (.) like bi- big buildings {F2-int:60}
 12 I enjoy working with my colleagues but it’s just that I don’t like jewelleries in s- general {F19-int:263}

In extract 13, F9 is listing the things she did on a recent trip abroad, and she mentions her ‘families’ where speakers elsewhere might refer to the singular ‘family’; and in extract 14, F25 is talking about both her father’s relatives and her mother’s relatives, so she naturally thinks of ‘families’ as being plural. Indeed, it is common for people in Brunei to think of the family as consisting of lots of people, often living in different houses, so it seems to make sense to treat it as a countable noun.

- 13 visiting my families {F9-int:22}
 14 my families are from both sides, my parents (0.7) they are from Tutong {F25-int:236}

In extract 15, F13 has a plural suffix on ‘stuffs’, and so does F32 in extract 16:

- 15 I have to help erm welcoming the guests and erm (0.6) helping carry stuffs around {F13-int:203}
 16 I bought shoes, shirts, jeans, skirts n- other stuffs {F32-int:28}

In extract 17, F27 has -s on the end of ‘transports’, something else that we might logically think of as a plural entity.

- 17 they (.) er use public transports everywhere {F27-int:56}

Similar occurrences of an -s suffix on logically plural nouns sometimes occur in the newspapers, as with ‘accommodations’ in extracts 18 and 19, ‘researches’ in extract 20, ‘royalties’ (to refer to members of the royal family) in extract 21, ‘lightings’ in extract 22, and both ‘infrastructures’ and ‘lightings’ in extract 23.

- 18 The exhibition saw 15 UK school and college representatives sit down with students and their parents in briefing about studying in the UK, accommodations available, as well as giving guidance ... {Borneo Bulletin, 27 October 2011, p. 14}
 19 five fabulous prizes that included a travel package for two persons to Singapore including five-star accommodations and tickets to Universal Studios ... {Borneo Bulletin, 27 October 2011, p. 16}
 20 it was conducting researches on the contemporary trends and needs of young people {The Brunei Times, 4 December 2011, p. A5}
 21 Brunei might be a simple destination but royalties are such a fascination to the Chinese because it links to their legendary dynasties and empires way back. {Borneo Bulletin, 24 October 2011, p. 12}
 22 The Pan Borneo Highway was built more than 30 years ago, and most of the stretches are without street lightings. {The Brunei Times, 18 December 2011, p. A9}
 23 to initiate electricity-saving programmes in government buildings and infrastructures such as street lightings. {Borneo Bulletin, 26 October 2011, p. 9}

In Chap. 8, we will consider whether use of logically plural nouns such as these might one day become the norm in English around the world.

4.3 one of

One common omission of the plural suffix is after ‘one of’, for example with ‘queen’ in extract 24, ‘actor’ in both 25 and 26, and ‘character’ in 27, all from Umi. It seems that some speakers in Brunei consider that ‘one of’ should be logically followed by a singular noun (though we might note that in extract 24, the verb ‘were’ is a plural verb, so the picture is not always entirely clear).

- 24 where the: one of the queen were (.) beheaded {umi-b:230}
- 25 one of the actor is Johnny Depp {umi-b:416}
- 26 think he’s one of the best (.) actor when it comes to all this erm (.) being weird
{umi-b:426}
- 27 he is one of the main character {umi-b:538}

This pattern also occurs in the UBDCSBE interviews. Overall, there are six instances when ‘one of’ is followed by a singular noun. They are shown in extracts 28–33.

- 28 it is one of life’s (0.5) luxury {F4-int:220}
- 29 I’m not (0.5) sure because one of my cousin is from my mother’s side {F33-int:249}
- 30 my coach is actually one of our senior {F36-int:228}
- 31 one of my brother is in (0.6) her in UBD {M2-int:285}
- 32 and one of our relative pick us up from the KL airport {M13-int:119}
- 33 the Sharm El Sheikh is one of (.) the tourist (0.7) site where (1.1) it’s a bit similar like
Ha- er Hawaii {M8-int:126}

We similarly find the occurrence of a singular noun after ‘one of’ quite commonly in newspaper articles, as with ‘initiative’ in extract 34 and ‘friend’ in extract 35.

- 34 One of Brunei’s main initiative is to update its current Continuous Airworthiness Regulation {Borneo Bulletin, 26 October 2011, p. 8}
- 35 on that particular night, one of boy ‘A’s friend, which the defendant claimed was there, was in reality not present {Borneo Bulletin, 26 October 2011, p. 13}

In extracts 36 and 37, also from the newspapers, the preceding phrase is ‘another of’ rather than ‘one of’, but there is a similar pattern of using a singular noun, ‘landmark’ and ‘contribution’ respectively.

- 36 In fact, we would like to feature another of our landmark, Sultan Omar ‘Ali Saifuddin Mosque, ... {Borneo Bulletin, 25 October 2011, p. 13}
- 37 ... this is yet another of NBT’s contribution to thank the people of Brunei Darussalam for their strong support over the years. {Borneo Bulletin, 17 December 2011, p. 9}

4.4 brother-in-laws

One other specific instance might be noted for the use of the plural suffix in Brunei English. The suffix ‘in-law’ seems to be regarded as an inseparable part of the word, so the -s suffix goes on the end of it, as in ‘brother-in-laws’. There are no instances of this usage in the UBDCSBE interviews, but it occurs quite commonly in student

writing, as in extracts 38 and 39 from first-year UBD student assignments on the topic of language use by their family.

38 Most of my sister-in-laws and brother-in-laws are educated.

39 When conversing with my brother-in-laws, there is a distance in our speech.

One wonders how widely the placement of the -s suffix on the end of this kind of hyphenated noun phrase might be in other varieties of English. In the online data from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA 2012), there are six instances of ‘brother-in-laws’ compared with 84 instances of ‘brothers-in-law’, which suggests that ‘brother-in-laws’ does occasionally occur in American English, though ‘brothers-in-law’ is certainly the more common pattern.

A similar instance of the plural suffix occurring on the end of the hyphenated noun rather than on the head of the phrase is ‘runner-ups’ in extract 40.

40 The runner-ups were ... {Borneo Bulletin, 27 November 2011, p. A8}

In COCA, there are 27 tokens of ‘runner-ups’ compared with 214 tokens of ‘runners-up’, which confirms that, although ‘runners-up’ is the more usual form, ‘runner-ups’ also occurs. This suggests that the plural of this kind of hyphenated noun is inherently unstable in English. Maybe Brunei English is contributing to a change currently taking place in World Englishes.

4.5 piece

Something that is connected with the countability of nouns is the occurrence of the word ‘piece’. In standard English, ‘piece’ is used to allow us to count nouns that are otherwise uncountable in what is called a ‘partitive expression’ (Carter and McCarthy 2006, p. 343), so one might say ‘one piece of equipment’, or ‘two pieces of jewellery’. In Brunei, the fact that ‘equipment’ and ‘jewellery’ may be treated as count nouns makes this role for ‘piece’ redundant. Instead, the word may be used with all nouns, regardless of whether they are count or non-count. For example, in Fig. 4.3, the sign offers apples at \$1.19 each, and this is shown as ‘\$1.19/pc’.

In extract 41 from the local newspaper, ‘pieces’ is used to refer to currency notes, in extract 42, which is quoting the boss of a wood-processing factory, ‘pieces’ refers to doors, and in extract 43, ‘pieces’ is used to refer to potato crisps.

41 The police has seized 12 pieces of \$100 notes placed inside Dk Ratikah’s handbag
{The Brunei Times, 25 December 2011, p. A7}

42 We are currently producing about 2,000 pieces of solid/engineered doors a month.
{Borneo Bulletin, 25 October 2011, p. 3}

43 Can anyone over eight years old really just have eight pieces of crisps out of the whole pack of some 200-odd pieces? {The Brunei Times, 13 November 2011, p. B4}

Sometimes, ‘units’ occurs rather than ‘pieces’. In extract 44, ‘units’ occurs even though ‘computer’ is a count noun that does not need a partitive expression – ‘three computers’ would be the standard usage.

Fig. 4.3 ‘piece’ used in a sign in a supermarket to refer to a whole apple



44 by donating three units of computers to aid students with their ICT skills {Borneo Bulletin, 26 October 2011, p. 18}

This occurrence of ‘pieces’ or ‘units’ with count nouns may be influenced by the use of measure words in local languages. For example, *buah* (lit. ‘fruit’) is a general-purpose measure word in Malay, so one might say *dua buah rumah* (‘two houses’); and Chinese similarly has an extensive set of measure words (often called classifiers), including the general-purpose 個 (*ge*), so one might say 三個人 (*sān-ge rén*, ‘three people’). It seems that the use of words such as ‘piece’ and ‘unit’ in Brunei English may reflect the influence of both Malay and Chinese.

4.6 Subject-Verb Agreement

Having discussed the occurrence of singular and plural nouns, particularly the use of the plural -s suffix, we will now consider verbs, starting with the present-tense -s suffix that usually occurs after a third-person singular subject such as ‘he’ or ‘my mother’. Here, we will regard verbs such as ‘is’ and ‘has’ as having an -s suffix, even though there is no separate suffix on these irregular verbs.

In Brunei English, verbs occasionally do not have the -s suffix that is expected. Cane (1994, p. 354) lists ‘the word he use’, ‘my accent tend to be’ and ‘any caller who give us’ as instances where the present tense -s suffix is omitted with third person singular subjects. In our data, Umi uses ‘have’ rather than the expected ‘has’ in extracts 45–48.

45 er well she have the voice for it so why not {umi-a:286}

46 he have to be taller than me {umi-c:259}

47 yeah as long as: (.) he have a secure (.) job {umi-c:288}

48 so he have to be er: (.) good-mannered {umi-c:321}

For Umi, the absence of the third person singular form of the verb seems particularly to affect ‘have’, both when it is a main verb indicating possession (extracts 45 and 47) and an auxiliary that is synonymous with ‘must’ (extracts 46 and 48), and in fact she does not use ‘has’ anywhere in the whole of the recorded conversation.

Table 4.2 The occurrence and absence of the -s suffix on present-tense verbs in the UBDCSBE interviews

	-s absent	-s present
3rd person singular subject	18 (2.9 %)	605 (97.1 %)
Non 3rd person singular subject	1,102 (98.1 %)	21 (1.9 %)

Note that, in extract 49, she starts with 'is' as expected, but then she uses 'have' rather than 'has'.

49 that particular (.) story is: (.) it have the mixture of (.) humour (.) plus erm (.) sadness:
{umi-c:686}

However, other verbs are sometimes also affected. In extract 50, she omits the -s suffix on both 'meet' and 'say', even though the subject of both verbs is third person singular ('Alice' and 'he', respectively).

50 every time (.) Alice (1.4) er meet him (.) or it (.) oh, he always say that {umi-b:476}

This absence of an expected -s suffix also occasionally occurs in the UBDCSBE interviews. In extract 51, F29 says 'communicate' with no -s suffix even though the subject is 'my father', in extract 52, F33 has no -s suffix on 'talk', and in extract 53, M4 says 'take' with no -s suffix.

51 my father only communicate with them er using (.) er phone {F29-int:39}

52 and I notice that my erm cousin (.) he just talk in English {F33-int:191}

53 the museum take care of Brunei (.) documents {M4-int:252}

In addition, there is sometimes a spurious -s suffix: on 'smiles' with the plural subject 'people' in extract 54; with 'goes' even though the subject is 'three of them' in extract 55; and with 'is' although the subject of this verb is 'things' in extract 56.

54 all the people there smiles a lot {F19-int:188}

55 I think three of them goes to ITB {F30-int:172}

56 they have different (.) things that they think that is better for them {F33-int:296}

Overall, the incidence of unexpected and missing -s suffixes on present-tense verbs is shown in Table 4.2.

As can be seen from Table 4.2, the incidence of non-standard verbal suffixes is actually rather low in the UBDCSBE data, with just under 3 % of present-tense verbs lacking the suffix when it is expected, and just under 2 % of present-tense verbs having a spurious -s suffix when it is not expected. And, in fact, the figures in Table 4.2 include a few examples that probably should not be classified as non-standard, particularly those involving 'there's'. The following sections deal with 'there's', the occurrence of -s after modal verbs, and intervening nouns.

4.7 there's

Of the 21 instances of spurious -s suffixes listed in Table 4.2 above, eight involve the occurrence of 'there's' followed by a plural noun phrase, including extracts 57–61.

- 57 there's a lot (.) like from my mother's side {F12-int:117}
 58 there's er (.) two families at least living there {F23-int:71}
 59 there's plenty of autistic (.) erm children now in Brunei {F33-int:237}
 60 there's just too many cars {M1-int:182}
 61 I guess erm (.) there's all these nerves {M5:118}

However, Greenbaum and Quirk (1990, p. 426) suggest that this kind of usage is common informally in standard English, giving 'there's some letters here for you to read' as an example; and Carter and McCarthy (2006, p. 95) similarly indicate that this kind of usage occurs in British English in informal contexts, offering 'there's your pills' as an example from their corpus. In fact, Collins (2012) reports the existence of 'there's' with a plural noun phrase in a wide range of different Englishes, including those of Britain, the USA, Singapore, Hong Kong, India, and Kenya. So maybe the eight instances of 'there's' with a plural noun phrase found in our Brunei data should in fact be regarded as normal usage.

4.8 -s After Modal Verbs

It is usual for the uninflected base form of a verb to occur after modal verbs ('can', 'could', 'will', 'would', etc.) and also the infinitive 'to'. Sometimes, speakers in Brunei produce the -s inflection in such cases. Extracts 62–64 illustrate this.

- 62 it will depends on the outcome of this semester {M15-int:286}
 63 it will depends on the financial (.) financial (.) er {F35-int:287}
 64 they have a tendency to grabs your attention {F5-int:18}

This is also occasionally found in the newspapers, as with 'says' in extract 65 from the letters page of the Borneo Bulletin.

- 65 All she could says was that the vet was not properly equipped with the most important life saving injections or drugs ... {Borneo Bulletin, 17 December 2011, p. 4}

4.9 Intervening Nouns

An explanation for a few occurrences of the unexpected occurrence of -s suffixes is when there is an intervening noun between the head of the subject and the main verb. For example, in extract 66, 'English' intervenes between the subject 'words' and the verb, so it is possible that the singular 'English' triggers the use of the -s inflection on 'comes'. Similarly in extract 67, 'competition' may result in the use of 'is'.

- 66 most of the words of English comes from well originate in (.) er from (.) Greek language {F5-int:272}
 67 but those who actually go for the competition is quite (.) less {F36-int:200}

In contrast, in extracts 68 and 69 the intervening nouns 'projects' and 'participants' are plural, resulting in the verb being 'were' instead of the expected 'was'. But the principle of an intervening noun interfering with the expected verb inflection is the same.

- 68 When it came to challenges, he said that working on projects were difficult. {Borneo Bulletin, 28 October 2011, p. 10}
- 69 ... commented that the performance of the participants were satisfactory. {The Brunei Times, 27 November 2011, p. A9}

One thing to note about extracts 66 and 67 is that both speakers are ethnically Chinese, and it is possible that one factor that may contribute to this phenomenon is the fact that Chinese is a head-last language, so the head of a noun phrase in Chinese is always at the end of the phrase (Deterding 2000). Extract 68 is quoting the words of a Malay speaker, but the journalist appears to be Chinese, so it is not clear how to analyse this extract. However, extract 69 seems to be written by a Malay, so we can conclude that influence from intervening nouns on the inflection of the main verb is not restricted to Chinese speakers. A comparable example from Malaysian English is ‘The current training programme in most companies do not include such topics.’ (Lim 2001, p. 128).

4.10 Tenses

Tenses in relating a past-time event can be variable. However, we have to be careful here: it is often not possible to determine if the omission of a past tense -ed suffix is a feature of pronunciation, arising from final consonant cluster reduction, or for grammatical reasons, with a present tense rather than past tense form of the verb occurring. For example, in extract 70, where Umi is talking about following the episodes of a TV show, we cannot tell if the third word is ‘miss’ (present tense) or ‘missed’ (past tense, with the final [t] omitted):

- 70 yeah I miss(ed) that one too {umi-a:342}

We should remember that speakers of RP British English regularly omit this final -ed suffix when it is pronounced as [t] or [d] that is part of a word-final consonant cluster. As we noted in Chap. 3, its omission is common in standard pronunciation (Cruttenden 2008, p. 303), and it is also found in the speech of announcers on the BBC World Service (Deterding 2006b).

However, there are other cases where the tense of the verb can be reliably determined, and when the present tense is clearly used even when narrating a past event. Cane (1994, p. 354) gives examples from Brunei English such as ‘I’m with a group’ and ‘we board the plane’.

We will consider here cases where the tense usage is indicated by a change in the vowel (such as ‘kept’ or ‘wrote’) or by the extra syllable [ɪd] (such as in ‘boarded’ or ‘started’), so the difference between present and past tenses can be clearly differentiated from the phonological phenomenon of final consonant cluster reduction. In extract 71, Umi is talking about a scene in a film. We might expect her to use the past tense to narrate an event, but she uses present tense ‘keep’, ‘meet’ and ‘say’.

- 71 he keep on saying er: (.) look at the time look at the time time (0.8) every time (.) Alice (1.4) er meet him (.) or it (.) oh, he always say that {umi-b:472}

However, we should also remember that a film might be considered as continuing to exist, so perhaps use of the present tense is normal here. Maybe all speakers of English sometimes use the present tense to describe events in a film (though we might then note the absence of the third person singular -s suffix on ‘keep’, ‘meet’ and ‘say’ in extract 71).

In extract 72, Umi uses the past tense ‘went’ and then ‘wasn’t’, but then she switches to the present tense in ‘it’s not’. In fact, in this case, she seems to correct herself to use the present tense, even though she is narrating an event in the past.

72 I went off to UK but i- it wasn’t (1.5) it’s not (.) an er: holiday spree {umi-b:41}

In extract 73, Umi uses the present tense ‘start’ even though she gives the time as ‘last year’. Perhaps this illustrates a principle about Englishes such as that of Brunei: if the time is stated by means of an adverbial expression like ‘last year’, then it is redundant to show it again by means of the tense on the verb.

73 the twins (.) yeah, they start off (1.9) la- last year {umi-c:115}

Sometimes it is difficult to explain the choice between present and past tense. In extract 74 from the UBDCSBE interviews, F5 first uses the past tense ‘wrote’ but then immediately afterwards uses the present tense ‘draw’, and it is hard to provide any explanation for this.

74 Kabuki is by this American writer, he wrote, he (.) draw on his experience of er Japanese culture {F5-int:52}

Similarly, in extract 75, when describing a trip to Singapore, M9 uses the past tense ‘didn’t’ but then the present tense immediately after with ‘have to’:

75 I didn’t know anyone there, so I have to rely on myself to (0.6) get around {M9-int:134}

And in extract 76, F23 uses the present tense ‘go’ but then immediately afterwards uses past tense ‘wanted’ when referring to the same event.

76 actually every time when I go to Singapore I (.) I always wanted to extend (.) my tickets because I wanted to stay there actually {F23-int:200}

4.11 will

There is a tendency to use ‘will’ quite often to describe regular events, as in extract 77 where F5 is describing how she meets up with her friend in Miri. In other varieties of English, the simple present tense of the verb might occur instead.

77 so when she comes back, she’ll use Brunei Airlines and then (.) I’ll just like meet her airport and then (.) we’ll go down Miri and stuff like that, yeah {F5-int:175}

The use of ‘will’ for a regular event also occurs in writing, as in extract 78 from a first-year student assignment.

78 Hence, instinctively my mother, sisters and I will speak English in places such as supermarkets, shopping centres and non-government agencies.

One possibility is that this use of ‘will’ for regular events might be influenced by *akan* (‘will’) in Malay which can be used in this way, though it is also possible that the Chinese 會 (*huì*, ‘will’) has some influence. In fact, this usage is common throughout the region, including in Singapore (Deterding 2003).

4.12 would

In traditional English conditional constructions, ‘would’ occurs in the main clause together with a past tense verb in the if-clause to refer to something that is hypothetical. For example: ‘If we were rich, we would be happy’. Unfortunately, we are not rich, so it is imaginary.

However, this grammatical construction does not seem to occur in Brunei. In extract 79, F20 uses a present tense verb in the if-clause but then ‘would’ occurs in the main clause.

- 79 Int: will you continue to become fluent in Korean? So you can go there one day?
 F20: if my timetable allows it, I would {F20-int:153}

Similarly, note the absence of ‘would’ in extract 80 from the letters page of the newspaper, where other varieties of English might have ‘it would make a big difference if ...’. This confirms the absence of a hypothetical conditional construction in Brunei English.

- 80 It makes a big difference if an internal memo was sent out to all crew members of the impending changes. {Borneo Bulletin, 17 December 2011, p. 4}

As a further example of the absence of hypothetical constructions, consider the usage of ‘wish’ and ‘hope’. In traditional Englishes, ‘wish’ occurs together with ‘would’ to refer to something that is unlikely to happen, while ‘hope’ occurs with ‘will’ to describe something more optimistic. But this distinction does not seem to occur in Brunei. For example, in extract 81 which is quoting an official speech about the Heart of Borneo (HoB) ecological project, we find ‘would’ occurring after ‘hope’, while in extract 82, ‘will’ occurs with ‘wish’ in expressing the aspirations of someone called Nuie who is enrolled in a computer course. Similarly in extract 83, Umi uses the simple present tense ‘am’ after ‘wish’.

- 81 I hope that the provision of the Brunei HoB National Communication Strategy would be able to garner public interest to contribute to the success of HoB. {The Brunei Times, 11 December 2011, p. A2}
 82 Nuie who believes that one can learn anything if one put their mind into it, wishes that the programme will be able to take more participants as many are willing to learn. {The Brunei Times, 13 November 2011, p. A4}
 83 how I wish that I am good at it {umi-a:665}

The modal verb ‘would’ occurs widely in Brunei, and it seems to indicate something tentative (Ho 2009), which is similar to its usage in Singapore (Deterding 2003). In extract 84, Umi is making a tentative guess about the outcome of the American Idol TV competition, and she uses ‘would’ to reflect the fact that she is uncertain about what will happen.

84 I think (0.6) Crystal would (1.4) be in the top (0.6) three: {umi-a:110}

In extract 85, F25 is talking about the situation in Tutong. It is possible that she uses ‘would’ to indicate that she is not certain (something that is reinforced by the use of ‘I guess’ at the end).

85 Brunei Malay would be the dominant language I guess {F25-int:298}

However, it is difficult to identify any uncertainty or tentativeness in some occurrences of ‘would’. In extracts 86 and 87, Umi is talking about the naughty behavior of her nieces. It is hard to be certain about any tentative meaning for ‘would’, but similarly there is no suggestion of a hypothetical situation. Instead, ‘would’ is being used to refer to a regular event.

86 they would do something like (.) while you are sleeping (.) they (.) er three of them would jump on you: {umi-c:42}

87 they would make fun of (.) I mean they would make faces towards me {umi-c:73}

Indeed, sometimes ‘would’ appears simply to be a stylistic variant of ‘will’, and there is little if any difference in meaning between them. In extract 88, a government official is being quoted by the newspaper, and it is hard to determine why ‘will’ occurs in the first clause while ‘would’ is in the second clause. Similarly, in extract 89, it is not easy to identify any difference in meaning between ‘would’ in the first clause and ‘will’ in the second.

88 We hope that by 2035 we will be able to achieve \$4.496 billion in gross output, and most contributions would come from agriculture. {Borneo Bulletin, 26 October 2011, p. 6}

89 students would be able to learn and explore the principles of leadership and community engagement and follow-on activities where participants will conduct projects in their home communities {Borneo Bulletin, 26 October 2011, p. 17}

In example 90, a first-year UBD student is introducing members of her family in a classroom presentation about language usage, and she describes a picture of her sister with ‘would’. It is hard to determine why she should be tentative in introducing her sister, or how this utterance differs from saying ‘this is my sister’.

90 this would be my sister

4.13 do

The main uses of the auxiliary verb ‘do’ in standard English are in negative and interrogative sentences, and also as an emphatic declarative (Carter and McCarthy 2006, p. 73). In contrast, there is a tendency in Brunei to use ‘do’ in an affirmative declarative even when there seems to be no intention to show particular emphasis. For example, in extract 91, F15 uses ‘did’ to talk about buying things during a trip to Miri, in extract 92, F17 uses ‘did’ to describe a holiday she had in Myanmar, and in extract 93, F27 uses ‘does’ to talk about her brother’s attitude towards life in the army, and there seems to be nothing particularly emphatic about any of these statements.

- 91 I did buy a lot this time from Miri {F15-int:120}
 92 and then we did (.) go to see interesting places like we went to this Shwedagon (.)
 Pagoda {F17-int:74}
 93 sometimes he does brag about it sometimes he does (.) come home and put on sad face
 (.) but most of the time he enjoys it {F27-int:221}

Similarly, we find ‘do’ in a letter to the newspaper in extract 94, and ‘did’ in a newspaper article about a trip by the Sultan to Hawaii in extract 95.

- 94 Being a rainforest kingdom, we do have snakes creeping up on us occasionally. {Borneo
 Bulletin, 17 December 2011, p. 4}
 95 A Hawaiian welcome did await the monarch’s arrival at the state’s “most luxurious and
 secluded beachfront hotel and resort” ... {The Brunei Times, 13 November 2011, p. A2}

This raises a question about the meaning of ‘do’: does it have some kind of modal or aspectual meaning? Is there any difference in meaning ‘we have snakes’ and ‘we do have snakes’? Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008, p. 70) suggest that the use of unstressed ‘did’ is one way of marking past tense in New Englishes. It is not clear if marking tense is the purpose behind the use of ‘do’ and ‘did’ in the examples given here.

4.14 ever and Perfective

In standard English, ‘ever’ can be used in negative sentences (‘I haven’t ever been to London’) or questions (‘Have you ever been to London?’), but not affirmatives (*‘I have ever been to London’). In Brunei, ‘ever’ is sometimes used in affirmative clauses, in places where ‘once’ might be used in other varieties of English, as in extracts 96 and 97.

- 96 my aunty, my s- mother’s sister ever wanted to adopt me to Singapore {F23-int:217}
 97 Int: have you ever tried to speak Japanese with Japanese people?
 F35: hhh ever (.) but the vocabs are limited {F35-int:234}

One possibility is that ‘ever’ is used instead of the perfective ‘have’. For example, in extract 97, in many other varieties of English the answer might be ‘I have’ or else ‘I’ve tried’ instead of ‘ever’, and it is possible that perfective aspect is less common in Brunei English.

It is hard to quantify the occurrence of perfective aspect using spoken material such as the UBDCSBE data, as the distinction between ‘I tried’ and ‘I’ve tried’ would be rather difficult to determine with any degree of certainty, so it would be best to refer to a corpus of written material to investigate this. However, we might note that Bao (1995) reports that ‘already’ tends to occur regularly in Singapore English where the perfective might be expected in standard English, and this preference for an adverb instead of an aspectual verb might also be true for Brunei English.

With respect to the use of perfective, we can also note the occurrence of past perfective when present perfective might be expected in other varieties of English. O’Hara-Davies (2010) reports that only 34 % of her respondents in a Brunei

sixth-form college were confident in marking the following sentence as ungrammatical, even though standard English would use ‘has’ rather than ‘had’:

Class is cancelled today because Mr. Smith had broken his leg playing football.

4.15 Null Subjects

In standard English, a subject is obligatory in a finite clause except in informal situations. Carter and McCarthy (2006, p. 495) give the following example of subject-less declaratives in an exchange where both speakers A and B omit the first person subject pronoun. (In this section, omitted subjects will be shown by the symbol \emptyset .)

- A \emptyset need a hammer. Is there one in the garage?
 B Yeah, \emptyset think so.

Subject omission seems rather common in Brunei English, just as in Singapore English, where it has been argued that it may be influenced by the null-subject nature of both Chinese and Malay (Tan 2003). In fact, in our Brunei data, it is very common to omit the first person singular subject when it is obvious from context, as in extracts 98 and 99 by Umi.

- 98 er:m (2.5) \emptyset think it's nine (.) yeah nine {umi-a:374}
 99 yeah we went off: er: (1.2) \emptyset think it was: (.) er (.) I was seven (.) or eight {umi-b:76}

In the UBDCSBE interviews, F4 has no subject for ‘went’ in extract 100, F14 has no subject for ‘don’t’ in extract 101, F30 has no subject for ‘didn’t’ in 102, there is no subject for ‘don’t’ in 103, and M12 has no subject in responding to a question about what he plans to do in the future in 104.

- 100 my last vacation erm, that was probably last December (0.5) \emptyset went to Hong Kong {F4-int:04}
 101 dream job (2.1) \emptyset don't really have a dream job, but right now I'm just aiming for a government (.) erm (1.2) job (.) in the ministry of foreign affairs {F14-int:160}
 102 I worked from home, basically I went wherever they went (0.6) so erm (0.7) \emptyset didn't really have a specific place (0.7) to work {F30-int:140}
 103 erm (.) \emptyset don't remember I think it was around (.) three days (.) yeah {F33-int:13}
 104 Int: what sort of business do you want to do?
 M12: erm (1.5) \emptyset haven't really thought about it (M12-int:248)

The third person subject ‘it’ is also sometimes omitted, as in extracts 105 from Umi and 106 from F14.

- 105 \emptyset doesn't mean that if you pass exam (.) \emptyset doesn't mean (.) that you will be promoted immediately {umi-c:1208}
 106 mmm right now I'm thinking of Bangkok (0.8) \emptyset seems a (.) very nice place {F14-int:261}

One issue in this regard is whether the use of null subjects is actually unusual or not. In extract 107, Umi omits the subject in her reply, but maybe this is something that all speakers would do.

107 Int: did you go to Whiteley's
 Umi: Ø can't remember {umi-b:132}

In fact, subjects are only sometimes omitted. In extract 108, Umi uses a null subject before 'think', but notice that all the other verbs have the expected subject.

108 I mean I'm amazed with his acting, he can actually act out all that weirdness (.) character
 (0.6) Ø think he's one of the best (.) actor when it comes to all these erm (.) being
 weird {umi-b:419}

Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008, pp. 57–58) report that omission of a subject pronoun is common in New Englishes, including those of Singapore, India, Sri Lanka and parts of Africa. But extensive analysis of conversational corpora is needed before we can establish how much more common the phenomenon is in New Englishes than traditional varieties such as that of Britain.

4.16 Subject-Auxiliary Inversion

Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008, p. 81) discuss subject-auxiliary inversion in embedded questions for Irish English, but they do not give any examples for other New Englishes. However, it seems to occur sometimes in Brunei English. For example, in extract 109, Umi has subject-auxiliary inversion in the embedded question 'what's her name', in extract 110, M10 has the same pattern when he is talking about support for a football team, and in extract 111 from the newspaper, there is inversion in 'would you have'.

109 I'm not quite sure what's her name {umi-a:88}
 110 I'm not really sure who am I supporting {M10-int:245}
 111 Basically, it involves stating what car or cars would you have in your garage {The
 Brunei Times, 11 December 2011, p. B6}

4.17 Determiners

In standard English, a singular count noun must be preceded by some kind of determiner, most often an article such as 'a' or 'the', a possessive like 'my' or 'your', or a demonstrative 'this' or 'that'. This usage of determiners is variable in New Englishes (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008, pp. 47–52). For Malaysian English, Baskaran (2004b, p. 1074) gives the following examples (in which the symbol Ø indicates the missing determiner):

Did you get Ø mileage-claim for that tip?
 She is Ø trend-setter of the class.
 He is Ø drug addict

and for Brunei English, Cane (1994, p. 355) gives:

In the village, we have Ø gathering.

Table 4.3 The occurrence and absence of articles and other determiners for singular nouns in the UBDCBSE interviews

	Present	Absent
a, an	285	32
the	501	35
Possessives: my, her, their ...	317	–
Demonstratives: this, that	49	–
Miscellaneous: one, any ...	66	–
Total	1,218 (94.8 %)	67 (5.2 %)
Non-count nouns	0	316

In extract 112, when Umi is talking about a movie, there is no indefinite article before ‘mermaid’, even though ‘mermaid’ is a singular count noun that is expected to have a determiner such as ‘a’.

112 the one where she turns into Ø mermaid {umi-b:914}

The indefinite article ‘a’ is similarly omitted in extracts 113–115 from the UBDCSBE interviews.

113 I went there because it’s (.) Ø nice place to visit {F18-int:66}

114 but since (.) erm UBD didn’t offer Ø tourism course so I don’t know {F24-int:294}

115 sometimes he does (0.5) come home and put on Ø sad face {F27-int:223}

Sometimes the article that would be expected in standard English is ‘the’, as in extracts 116–119.

116 second is I want to try my luck in Ø entertainment industry {F15-int:300}

117 I’m not sure yet but (.) f- er (.) under Ø government sector {F16-int:292}

118 I would like to work in (.) Ø HR field {F34-int:255}

119 it takes place in erm (.) Ø UBD complex {F36-int:46}

The omission of determiners such as ‘a’ and ‘the’ also occurs in the local newspapers. In extract 120, ‘the’ seems to be missing in the first sentence (though ‘this’ would also be appropriate), while ‘a’ is missing in the second sentence; and similarly there are two missing determiners, ‘a’ and then ‘the’, in both extracts 121 and 122.

120 there are various networks in government and private agencies as well as local companies looking at Ø investment proposal. It goes through Ø rigorous process of analysis evaluation. {Borneo Bulletin, 26 October 2011, p. 6}

121 The accident yesterday caused Ø traffic jam on both sides of the road as it occurred during Ø rush hour. {Borneo Bulletin, 27 October 2011, p. 1}

122 Applicants must prove that their project or ideas have Ø strong business plan with commercial applications in Ø private or public sector. {Borneo Bulletin, 27 October 2011, p. 13}

To evaluate the extent of the omission of determiners in conversational speech, we can analyse the UBDCSBE interviews. In total, there are 1,606 singular nouns. Of these, 1,217 have a determiner as expected, 316 have no determiner because they are non-count nouns such as ‘money’ where a determiner is not obligatory, and just 68 have no determiner where ‘a’ or ‘the’ would normally be expected. These results are shown in Table 4.3. (No figures are given for absent determiners in the

possessives, demonstratives, and miscellaneous categories. Most of the extracts 112–122 above seem to involve missing ‘a’ or ‘the’, but in some cases ‘one’, ‘this’ or ‘my’ might also be appropriate.)

These results show that a determiner is present in the overwhelming majority of the cases in which it is expected, with an expected determiner missing in just over 5 % of instances. The final row in Table 4.3 also shows that, in these interviews, there are no cases of an unexpected ‘a’ or ‘an’ for non-count nouns (though of course, other determiners sometimes occur in cases such as ‘the time’ and ‘my money’). However, in the newspaper, we find ‘a’ used with ‘advice’ in extract 123.

123 ... meanwhile gave a simple advice on how to save up cash {*The Borneo Bulletin*, 20 November 2011, p. B12}

As mentioned in Sect. 4.2 above, Cane (1994, p. 354) similarly notes cases such as ‘and here’s an advice for you all’, where we might suggest that ‘advice’ is being treated as a count noun. In the newspaper data we also find some instances of use of ‘the’ where it might be omitted in other varieties of English, as in extract 124.

124 For now, I think they have done a good job in raising the awareness. {*Borneo Bulletin*, 24 October 2011, p. 14}

It is hard to detect clear patterns for the omission of determiners in the majority of cases. However, two patterns might be suggested: the occasional omission of ‘the’ before institutions, such as in extracts 125–127; and the omission of ‘the’ before languages, as in extracts 128–132.

125 I’m eyeing on er Ø Ministry of Foreign Affairs {F27-int:191}

126 under the government (0.7) erm sector which is Ø Brunei Investment Agency {M8-int:183}

127 I went to the UK exhibition study (0.7) er in (1.0) Ø Empire Hotel {M11-int:129}

128 most of the words of English comes from well originate in (.) er from (.) Ø Greek language I suppose {F5-int:277}

129 Int: what language do you speak there?

F12: erm (.) Ø Indonesian language {F12-int:71}

130 sometimes I feel comfortable because (.) I learn also Ø Malay language {F16-int:218}

131 the efforts made by UNISSA to uphold the high values and the role of Ø Arabic Language which is the main medium of al-Quran {*Borneo Bulletin*, 25 October 2011, p. 5}

132 not knowing Ø Arabic language is not an excuse to not read al-Quran {*The Brunei Times*, 27 November 2011, p. A9}

One other tendency seems to be the avoidance of an article before ‘majority’, though this does not occur in the interview data. Extracts 133 and 134 are from written assignments by first-year UBD students.

133 Surprisingly, the results are different from the former inquiry since Ø majority of them do speak both languages ...

134 According to my late grandmother, Ø majority of the populations in the village are Kedayans.

Cogo and Dewey (2012, p. 61) note that the occurrence of articles is one area where English usage is unstable and where innovative patterns tend to be found in ELF interactions. For example, they report (p. 64) that the word ‘same’ often occurs

without a preceding ‘the’, as the article is redundant in this context. In our data, ‘same’ occurs 24 times, and in 22 instances it is preceded by ‘the’, but in extracts 135 and 136 there is no article (though, particularly in extract 135, perhaps this is actually standard usage).

- 135 we trained (.) twice a week (.) every Monday and Wednesday (0.8) Ø same time
 {M7-int:153}
 136 they appear to be (0.8) Ø same as us {M8-int:224}

One wonders whether this omission of ‘the’ before ‘majority’ and also ‘same’ might one day become the norm in Englishes throughout the world.

4.18 Names of Countries

The names of countries are excluded from the results presented in Table 4.3 above. In fact, there are lots and lots of references to ‘Brunei’ and ‘Singapore’ as well as other countries such as ‘Japan’ and ‘Korea’ in the interviews, and none of them has an unexpected article.

However, a few place names such as ‘the UK’ and ‘the USA’ are usually preceded by the definite article in standard English, and here the usage is often non-standard in Brunei. For example, Umi omits the article before ‘UK’ in extract 137, and so do F15 and M7 in extracts 138 and 139, while F17 omits ‘the’ before ‘USA’ in extract 140.

- 137 he went off to Ø UK for a year-course {umi-b:57}
 138 because she’s in Ø UK right now {F15-int:185}
 139 and then we went to Ø UK for a vacation {M7-int:301}
 140 er:: (1.2) ((tsk)) USA would be good {F17-int:152}

In fact, there are 17 references to the ‘UK’ and one to ‘United Kingdom’ in the UBDCSBE interviews, and only three of them are preceded by ‘the’; and there are three references to the ‘US’ or ‘USA’, and only one has ‘the’.

4.19 Affirmative Answers to Negative Questions

One pattern that seems to occur quite widely in New Englishes is that ‘yes’ is used to show agreement to a negative question where standard English might have ‘no’ (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008, p. 86). This is sometimes found in Brunei English, as in extract 141, where F12 says ‘no’ to agree with the negative assertion ‘not at all’, and then once again a short while later in extract 142, to agree with the negative assertion ‘you don’t remember that now’:

- 141 Int: can you speak Javanese?
 F12: I cannot [speak Jav-
 Int: [not at all?
 F12: yes {F12-int:98}
 142 Int: but you don’t remember that [now
 F12: [yes, I don’t remember {F12-int:135}

4.20 Adj to V/Adj V-ing

One area of English syntax that can be rather subtle is the distinction between ‘Adj to V’ and ‘Adj V-ing’. For example, there is little difference between ‘It is fun to swim’ and ‘It is fun swimming’, while there is a more substantial difference between ‘It was hard to swim there’ and ‘It was hard swimming there’. Not surprisingly, this is an area that is sometimes unstable in new varieties of English such as that of Brunei. For example, in extract 143, M5 says ‘busy to prepare’ (when the standard English equivalent might be ‘busy preparing’); and in extract 144 from the newspaper, we find ‘to share’ when we might expect ‘with sharing’.

- 143 yeah the preparations were very long and (.) we were very busy to prepare (0.5) and ... {M5-int:226}
- 144 the ministers have tasked officials to share the progress of each member economy in implementation by 2013 {The Brunei Times, 13 November 2011, p. A2}

4.21 Prepositions

In Brunei English, it is quite common to find a preposition between verbs such as ‘discuss’ and ‘emphasise’ and their objects: ‘discuss on’ and ‘emphasise on’. This usage probably arises from analogy from the nouns: ‘emphasis on’ is normal usage, so we could say that use of a preposition with the verbs as well as the nouns is a form of regularisation of the language.

Extract 145 from the newspaper illustrates the use of ‘discuss on’, extracts 146–148 include ‘emphasise on’, and extracts 149 and 150 include ‘stress on’.

- 145 During my last trip to Brunei, we also discussed on the possibility of opening direct flights from Guangxi to Brunei ... {Borneo Bulletin, 24 October 2011, p. 10}
- 146 Brunei is also marketing itself as a high-end tourist destination, emphasising on its Royal Heritage and legendary customs {Borneo Bulletin, 24 October 2011, p. 12}
- 147 Syasha also emphasised on the potential of creative industries as job creator. {Borneo Bulletin, 26 October 2011, p. 11}
- 148 In her school and during practical training, she said she always emphasises on following proper rules at all times. {Borneo Bulletin, 28 October 2011, p. 10}
- 149 The driving schools are also advised to stress on the importance of patience and courtesy on the road ... {The Brunei Times, 18 December 2011, p. A3}
- 150 The minister stressed on the importance of paying attention to the field of science and technology as well as research and development. {Borneo Bulletin, 28 October 2011, p. 7}

This kind of non-standard use of prepositions only occasionally occurs in the UBDCSBE interviews, such as the occurrence of ‘on’ after ‘eyeing’ in extract 151.

- 151 erm I’m eyeing on erm Ministry of Foreign Affairs {F27-int:291}

Cane (1994, p. 355) similarly notes examples such as ‘It’s a good way to grasp at what he means’ in Brunei English, where the redundant preposition ‘at’ occurs after the verb ‘grasp’. And O’Hara-Davies (2010) reports that 69 % of her respondents in a Brunei sixth-form college marked the following sentence as correct: ‘The teacher asked us to discuss about obesity in our groups’.

Cogo and Dewey (2012, p. 58) observe that ‘discuss about’ involves regularisation in two different ways: by analogy with the noun ‘discussion about’; and by analogy with other verbs, such as ‘talk about’. It is therefore not surprising that use of a preposition after verbs such as ‘discuss’, ‘study’ and ‘understand’ is common in their ELF corpus, and that the usage found in Brunei English seems to be parallel with that in other new varieties of English around the world.

4.22 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have considered a range of syntactic patterns in Brunei English, including the occurrence of singular and plural nouns, the -s inflection on present tense verbs, the use of tenses, the occurrence and meaning of auxiliary verbs such as ‘will’, ‘would’ and ‘do’, the omission of subjects in finite clauses, subject-auxiliary inversion in embedded questions, the use of determiners such as the articles ‘a’ and ‘the’, and the occurrence of prepositions like ‘on’ between verbs such as ‘discuss’ and their objects.

Many of the patterns that have been described in this chapter, including the use of plural nouns such as ‘furnitures’, the absence of -s suffix on present tense verbs, the omission or addition of articles, and the use of a preposition between some verbs and their objects, have been claimed to be characteristic of ELF usage. The extent to which Brunei English might be contributing to trends in the worldwide evolution of English will be considered in more depth in Chap. 8.

We will now proceed to discuss discourse, particularly the order of presentation of ideas and the ways that utterances and sentences are structured in spoken and written Brunei English.

Chapter 5

Discourse

Discourse involves the ways that information is organised and presented. Here we will focus on some of the particles and other words that are used to signal the structure of spoken and written discourse, and also a few aspects of word order such as the prominent fronting of topics. In addition, we will consider the extent to which words are repeated, and the length of sentences in written texts.

The analysis in this chapter will be preliminary, and it will not cover many topics that are important in the analysis of spoken discourse, such as the rules for turn taking, or aspects that are central for the description of written discourse, such as the patterns of paragraph structure. For spoken discourse, we would need an extensive corpus of conversational data between a range of Bruneian speakers. The UBCSBE interviews that we use here provide valuable insights into the pronunciation and speech patterns of educated Bruneians when talking to an expatriate interviewer, but they do not tell us how Bruneians interact when talking among themselves; and the recording of Umi represents the conversation between just two individuals, so it cannot tell us about wider patterns of interaction. For written discourse, we need a substantial corpus of written data which can be compared with similar material from other varieties of English, and this is currently not yet available.

The data for the analysis of written discourse in this chapter comes mostly from the two national English-language newspapers, The Brunei Times and the Borneo Bulletin. However, in evaluating whether there may be some influences from Malay discourse on Brunei English, particularly sentence length and tolerance for lexical repetition, it is useful to compare comparable texts from Malay and English. For this purpose, we will analyse a few short extracts from the explanatory Malay and English texts displayed at the Kampong Ayer Cultural and Tourism Gallery in BSB, as the translation for these texts has been done carefully and thereby reflects some interesting differences in the discourse structure between the two languages. The translation appears to be from Malay to English, as in a few cases there is less information in the English version (for example, extract 77), though it is possible that some instances involve translation in the opposite direction, from English to Malay.

First we will discuss pragmatic particles like *bah*, *lah* and ‘yeah’, and also the phrases ‘sort of’ and ‘kind of’, both of which might also be regarded as discourse markers. Brief mention will next be made of the occurrence of the alveolar click sometimes written as ‘tsk’. Then we will consider topic fronting, both in speech and writing, lexical repetition, lexical doublets, and tautology. Finally, in connection with the structure of written sentences in Brunei English, we will consider the use of ‘whereby’, the length of sentences, and the occurrence of what might prescriptively be regarded as run-on sentences.

5.1 Discourse Particles

Final particles are common in informal Brunei English, though they are generally avoided in more formal discourse.

Perhaps the favourite particle for Bruneians is *bah*, which can be used on its own to mean ‘OK’ and is the most common informal way of saying ‘good-bye’. Ožóg and Martin (1996, pp. 242–243) in addition list some examples of its use at the end of an utterance, including ‘It’s so difficult *bah*’, ‘I don’t know his name *bah*’, ‘The rice is not cooked *bah*’ and ‘Keep quiet *bah*’. Its exact meaning is hard to pin down, but it indicates a feeling of solidarity and rapport between speakers, and it is very commonly used by Bruneians when they are speaking English informally (Ožóg and Martin 1996, p. 248). Unfortunately, we do not find any instances of *bah* in the data analysed here.

In contrast, *lah* does occasionally occur, mostly in the relatively informal recording of Umi. There is just a single instance in the more formal UBDCSBE interviews, shown in extract 1.

- 1 I want to see ((tsk)) (0.8) how it’s like over there (0.8) especially the ((tsk)) (1.3) yeah
the life *lah* the life {M12-int:214}

An instance when Umi uses *lah* is in extract 2.

- 2 no: I can cook a lot er: a lot of dishes *lah* {umi-a:577}

A common collocation for *lah* in Singapore is reported to be following ‘okay’ or ‘yeah’ (Deterding 2007a, p. 68). Umi similarly says ‘yeah *lah*’ in extract 3 (where she is recalling the name of a book she has read) and also in extract 4 (when she is discussing how many children she might have).

- 3 erm (.) yeah *lah* Remember Me {umi-c:712}
4 yeah *lah* and th- and another addition of three kids {umi-b:285}

Although *lah* is the most well-known particle in Singapore English, in fact *ah* is rather more common (Low and Deterding 2003), though it is sometimes hard to distinguish *ah* from the pause particle ‘er’. In Brunei English, *ah* also occurs, as in extract 5, where Umi is answering a question about the most recent movie that she has

watched, and in this instance, just as in Singapore, *ah* seems to be used to mark the topic. We will consider other topic markers, particularly ‘-wise’, later in this chapter.

5 what *ah* (.) mm (1.3) Alice in Wonderland {umi-b:396}

Sometimes in Brunei Malay, *kan* is used as a question particle, as in extract 6.

6 which others *kan* {umi-b:285}

A somewhat different function of *kan* in the recording of Umi is found in extract 7. This *kan* is also used to form a question, but in a different fashion, as in this case (and unlike in extract 6) it is an abbreviated form of *bukan* (‘not’). It might be described as a tag question, and perhaps it could be glossed as ‘right?’ (In fact, one might treat this as an example of language mixing, something we will deal with more extensively in Chap. 7.)

7 you’re talking about yourself *kan* {umi-b:282}

For Malaysian English, Baskaran (2004b, pp. 1079–1080) reports a number of interrogative tags, including ‘can or not’ as well as ‘is it’ and ‘isn’t it’. In fact, it has been observed that the invariant tags ‘is it’ and ‘isn’t it’ tend to occur in many World Englishes, including those of Singapore, India, Hong Kong and West Africa (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008, pp. 133–135), and this use of an invariant final tag has furthermore been suggested as a global feature of ELF discourse (Prodromou 2008, p. 31). Further research is needed to see how frequently *kan* occurs in Brunei English, if the ‘is it’ and ‘isn’t it’ tags are also used widely, and whether the ‘can or not’ tag sometimes occurs.

5.2 yeah

The word ‘yeah’ is used very regularly in our spoken data, both the UBDCSBE interviews and the data from Umi. In addition to its common use to mean ‘yes’, either on its own or at the start of a turn, it sometimes occurs at the end of an utterance, perhaps to indicate that the speaker is finished. In extract 8, F34 has rising pitch on both ‘shopping’ and ‘centre’ and then falling pitch on ‘yeah’. It seems that part of the function of ‘yeah’ in this case is to carry the falling pitch and thereby indicate the end of the turn.

8 no erm did ↗shopping and then (0.5) we went to (0.6) city ↗centre (0.9) ↘yeah
{F34-int:77}

A similar example of the use of ‘yeah’ with falling pitch to indicate the end of a turn is in extract 9, where F38 is explaining where she stayed during a recent visit to Singapore. Note she has a rising pitch on ‘house’, and then after a pause of 0.7 s, she says ‘yeah’ with a falling pitch. The pitch plot for this utterance is shown in Fig. 5.1.

9 I stayed in a friend’s ↗house (0.7) ↘yeah {F38-int:29}

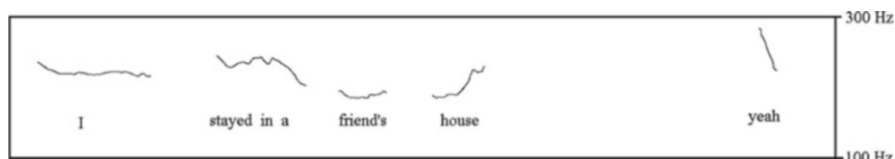


Fig. 5.1 Pitch plot showing falling pitch on final *yeah* in F38-int:29

It is possible that this use of ‘yeah’ with a falling pitch sometimes indicates a change of mind. The speaker was intending to say more but then decided not to. Evidence for this interpretation comes from extract 10, where F38 is talking about her stay in Vancouver. Presumably, she originally intended to continue after the ‘and’, but in the end she decided to end her turn at that point.

10 I was visiting relative and (0.9) ↘yeah {F38-int:77}

In the 53 min of the data from Umi, she says ‘yeah’ 122 times. Of these, 90 occur on their own or at the start of an utterance, 18 occur in the middle of an utterance, as a kind of linking particle, and 14 occur as a final particle, similar to extracts 8–10 above. Its use both as a linking particle and a final particle seems problematic, as one might expect it to be hard for a listener to know which is occurring. Further research is needed to investigate whether there are subtle differences in pronunciation to distinguish these two.

Of course, ‘yeah’ is common in many other varieties of English, including that of young people in Britain (Stenström et al. 2002, p. 172). It would be interesting to find out how its occurrence and functions in Brunei might differ from its use elsewhere.

5.3 sort of/kind of

Discourse markers can include not just single-syllable particles such as *bah*, *lah* and ‘yeah’ but also phrases such as ‘you know’ and ‘I mean’ (Prodromou 2008, p. 116). And the relative frequency of occurrence of two such phrases, ‘sort of’ and ‘kind of’, is interesting in Brunei English. In this book, we focus on words and phrases that are commonly found in our data. But we might also look at phrases which are absent. Prodromou (2008, p. 112) reports that ‘sort of’ is the fourth most common two-word phrase in the corpus of spoken British English he examined (after ‘you know’, ‘I mean’ and ‘I think’), occurring with a frequency of 1,917 tokens per million words; but in comparison, in his own corpus of ELF data, he reports that ‘sort of’ is much less common (while the other three phrases are roughly similar), being only the nineteenth most common two-word phrase, with a frequency of just 546 tokens per million words.

In our Brunei English spoken data, ‘sort of’ is similarly quite rare. In fact, it is said just four times by the UBDCSBE speakers (though it occurs 23 times in the questions from the interviewer, nearly all in the phrase ‘what sort of’); and it only occurs once in the data from Umi. If we assume that the Brunei speech in the

UBDCSBE interviews totals about 30,000 words, then the frequency of ‘sort of’ is just 130 tokens per million words, which is substantially less than in British English or, indeed, in Prodromou’s ELF corpus.

Algeo (2006, p. 144) states that ‘sort of’ is three times more common in British English than American English, while ‘kind of’ is five times more common in American English than British English. So analysis of the relative frequency of these two discourse phrases may provide an insight into the competing influences of British and American English. Indeed, Prodromou (2008, p. 112) reports that ‘kind of’ is more common in his ELF data than the British English corpus, and he attributes this partly to the influence of American English.

In our UBDCSBE interviews, there are 44 instances of ‘kind of’ by the Bruneian speakers (and just two from the interviewer), and Umi uses ‘kind of’ three times. The 44 tokens represents a frequency of about 1,420 per million words, which is even higher than the 1,113 per million words reported in Prodromou’s ELF corpus. This therefore constitutes one factor that seems to confirm the American influence on Brunei English.

In Chap. 3, we suggested that occurrence of rhoticity in Brunei English may also be partly due to the influence of American English, and on this basis we might expect ‘kind of’ to be used most widely by rhotic speakers. However, in fact we find that more than half of the tokens of ‘kind of’ (27 out of 44) occur with speakers who are classified as non-rhotic, which is a little surprising, though we should remember that rhoticity in Brunei English probably arises because of a range of influences, not just that of American English. The various external influences on Brunei English will be discussed further in Chap. 8.

5.4 tsk

The alveolar click that is often written as ‘tsk’ may have a variety of meanings. Laver (1994, p. 175) suggests that in English, and in many Western cultures, it indicates impatience or exasperation, and it is possible that this describes its usual occurrence in Brunei English.

This ‘tsk’ particle occurs quite regularly in our data, both with Umi and also with many of the speakers in the UBDSBE interviews. For example, in extract 11, F7 is talking about the things she bought while in Bangkok, and the token of ‘tsk’ seems to suggest frustration at being unable to think what else to say.

11 not only bags I bought (.) sandals sh- erm (.) ((tsk)) (0.6) I don’t know {F7-int:68}

For F7, ‘tsk’ seems to co-occur with ‘erm’ and also frequently with pauses, reinforcing the impression that the speaker is at a loss for words. Extract 12 is another example from the same speaker.

12 I think (.) by taking history as a major (.) here (.) it’s the (.) basic erm ((tsk)) (1.1) basic (0.6) what do you call {F7-int:305}

However, there are other tokens where this ‘tsk’ may not be purely a reflection of frustration. Wright (2011) observes that, in British English, the sound is often

accompanied by a sudden rise in pitch and it may indicate a shift in topic. In extract 13, F8 produces a token of ‘tsk’ which does not seem to indicate any frustration but is followed by a distinct rise in pitch on ‘OK’, though in this case there is no obvious shift in topic.

13 Int: and are a lot of people a member of that?

F8: yeah, well (0.8) ((tsk)) (0.8) /OK, it’s kind of a lot {F8-int:263}

In the recording of Umi, she uses ‘tsk’ 24 times in 53 min, though its exact role sometimes remains elusive. Further research might consider the occurrence of this ‘tsk’ particle, in particular whether it is more common in Brunei English than in other varieties of English, and also what range of meanings it carries.

5.5 Topic Fronting

There is a tendency to place the topic prominently at the front of an utterance, and then sometimes to include a resumptive pronoun. From the UBDCSBE interviews, in extract 14, F12 places ‘Paris’ prominently at the front and then uses a resumptive pronoun ‘it’, in extract 15, F33 similarly uses a resumptive pronoun to refer back to the fronted topic, ‘my cousin’, and in extract 16, F38 uses ‘they’ to refer to the topic ‘my grandparents’.

14 Paris, it’s a very erm sophisticated city {F12-int:262}

15 and I notice that my erm (.) my cousin (.) he just talk in erm English {F33-int:190}

16 erm my grandparents they speak Hakka {F38-int:121}

Similar patterns are found in Malaysian English, for which Baskaran (2004b, p. 1080) gives the example ‘my brother, he is an engineer’, in Singapore English, where Deterding (2007a, p. 55) reports ‘two of my sisters, they’re already married’, and in Hong Kong, where Setter et al. (2010, p. 57) include many examples, including ‘the fish they are not very sensitive to the shining hook’.

In the newspapers, we similarly find instances of topic fronting with resumptive pronouns, as in extracts 17 and 18.

17 For customers taking up insurance products, they will stand the chance to be one of the five luck winners to win a shopping spree worth B\$300 each. {Borneo Bulletin, 26 October 2011, p. 18}

18 Additionally, for corporate offices intending to optimise communication experience, they can check out a demo ... {Borneo Bulletin, 27 October 2011, p. 4}

In fact, use of substantial topic clauses and phrases at the start of a sentence (though not necessarily with a resumptive pronoun) is rather common in the newspapers. In an article from page A8 of *The Brunei Times* of 27 November 2011, paragraphs two to six begin with the topics shown in extracts 19–23.

19 Present as the guest of honour ...

20 In her welcome speech, ...

- 21 Regarding the raising of aid, ...
- 22 According to Hjh Aminah, ...
- 23 Talking to The Brunei Times, ...

Extract 24 offers a longer example from the newspaper data, in which all three sentences from a paragraph have a fronted topic.

- 24 With regards to the overall working visit to the Sultanate, the head of delegation expressed satisfaction as the team gained fruitful information from their counterparts in the country. Citing an example, he added, Brunei has established clear boundaries of each villages. “With this (clear boundaries), land dispute between villages will not occur,” he said. {Borneo Bulletin, 4 December 2011, p. A4}

Is this the normal style used by English newspapers around the world? Or is there a greater incidence of fronted topics in Brunei English? And if the latter, is it influenced by similar patterns in Malay discourse, or has it evolved independently as an effective way of presenting material in local newspaper reports? These are topics of research which might be investigated in greater depth by examining the discourse structure of a wide range of newspaper articles from Brunei and elsewhere around the world.

5.6 -wise

A suffix that is sometimes used to mark a noun clearly as the topic is ‘-wise’, as in extract where F20 starts her utterance with ‘job-wise’. (This is its only occurrence in our UBDCSBE data, and Umi does not use ‘-wise’ as a topic marker.)

- 25 erm job-wise, I wouldn’t mind (.) any job that lets me travel {F20-int:279}

Similarly, we find ‘food wise’ (in separate words) in extract 26 from the newspaper.

- 26 food wise I’m finding it an interesting struggle to nutritionally fund myself when working hours are hectic ... {The Brunei Times, 13 November 2011, p. B5}

This use of ‘-wise’ as a topic marker is also common in Singapore, where Deterding (2007a, p. 63) reported ‘colleagues-wise’ and ‘shopping-wise’ at the start of utterances. It is likely that this usage originates from American English. Indeed, Algeo (2006, p. 145) confirms that ‘-wise’ with the meaning ‘with regards to’ is primarily American. In the COCA data, there are eleven tokens of ‘careerwise’ or ‘career-wise’ followed by a comma at the start of a sentence, six of ‘percentage-wise’, six of ‘talent-wise’, five of ‘personality-wise’, three of ‘appearance-wise’, as well as tokens of ‘business-wise’, ‘numbers-wise’, ‘energy-wise’, ‘music-wise’, ‘work-wise’, ‘weight-wise’ and many others (COCA 2012).

For Indian English, Fuchs (2012) suggests that ‘also’ is used as a device for marking initial focus, giving as an example ‘sound also is digitized before transmission’ (p. 39). We have no evidence of this use of ‘also’ in our data; but it is likely that

preferred topic markers constitute one of the features that distinguish varieties of English.

5.7 compared to

In Brunei, ‘compared to’ is often used instead of the rather simpler ‘than’ which might be expected in many varieties of English, as in extract 27 in which M7 is talking about the cost of food in KK.

- 27 I prefer the seafood there (.) it’s quite nice and (0.6) er cheaper (0.5) compared to Brunei {M7-int:197}

In extract 28, M2 is discussing the price of drinks in KK, and ‘compared to’ seems to be redundant. This might be regarded as tautologous usage, something that is discussed in Sect. 5.11 below.

- 28 they are not expensive as compared to er here well here in Brunei {M2-int:95}

This use of ‘compared to’ can sometimes also be found in the newspapers, as in extract 29, and also extract 30 with is about installing ‘Fibre to the Home’ (FTTH) facilities for internet use.

- 29 the users are in fact still paying at a far lower rate compared to consumers in neighbouring countries {Borneo Bulletin, 26 October 2011, p. 9}
- 30 the FTTH project is aimed at replacing the existing copper network, which is more expensive to maintain as compared to a fibre optic network. {Borneo Bulletin, 28 October 2011, p. 3}

This occurrence of ‘compared to’ may be influenced by the occurrence of *berbanding* (‘compared to’) in Malay.

5.8 Reduplication

For Singapore English, substantial research has been done on reduplication of words. Reduplication has been claimed to carry a range of meanings, including intimacy, attenuation, and intensity (Ansaldo 2004), though there is some debate about the origins of this feature (Wee 2004; Ansaldo 2004).

In Brunei English, we find reduplication to show repetition of an activity, as in extract 31:

- 31 mostly I spent the time shopping shopping shopping {F7-int:19}

In addition, we find another kind of repetition, one that occurs in Singapore but is not one of those listed in Ansaldo (2004) or Wee (2004): the fast repetition of a word, such as ‘Wait, wait, wait, wait, wait’ by students who are not ready for their lecturer to move on to the next slide in a lecture. In the data from Brunei that we

consider here, perhaps a similar situation is the repetition of *no* in 32 where the interviewer is asking about the books that F5 has been reading.

- 32 Int: yeah? and what are they about, are they about er are they romance or are they
[exciting or are they
F5: [oh, oh no no no no, nothing as dull as just romance ((ha ha)) {F5-int:39}

5.9 Repetition of Lexical Terms

It has been observed that there is substantial tolerance for repetition of lexical items in Singapore English (Deterding 2007a, p. 65). Does the same phenomenon occur in Brunei? In extract 33, M15 uses the word ‘books’ three times in just 5 s. Is this more than would occur in other varieties of English?

- 33 the books er I prefer to buy books in Brunei because they offer more (.) variety of books
{M15-int:45}

It seems probable that, in other varieties of English, a pronoun such as ‘them’ might occur in place of the second of these tokens of ‘books’ in extract 33, while ‘variety’ rather than ‘variety of books’ might occur for the third token.

In extract 34, F16 similarly repeats the word ‘book’. In an utterance such as this, it seems more likely that speakers of many other varieties of English might use a pronoun such as ‘one’ instead of ‘a book’.

- 34 actually I didn’t bring any book so I had to like get a book from (.) the bookshop over there {F17:240}

In the newspapers, we similarly find instances of lexical repetition, such as the use of ‘further’ in extract 35, ‘technology’ in 36, ‘cruise ship’ in 37, ‘students’ as well as ‘development’ in 38, and ‘the private sector’ as well as ‘women’ in 39.

- 35 The governor also hopes to discuss further the possibility of further cooperation, in other areas such as industries, agriculture, tourism, culture and science and technology. {Borneo Bulletin, 24 October 2011, p. 10}
- 36 The exposition provides a platform to showcase products and services related to technology, and to explore trends, developments and ideas associated with technology. {Borneo Bulletin, 27 October 2011, p. 6}
- 37 For the past five years, Muara Port has become one of the favourite ports of call for cruise ships after records have shown a steady increase of cruise ship arrivals. {Borneo Bulletin, 13 May 2011, p. 13}
- 38 He said the Ministry organises a yearly competition where students can show their skills in designing and planning development areas in order to engage students in urban and rural development. {The Brunei Times, 13 November 2011, p. A8}
- 39 This time it was for the private sector to give more benefits to women so that the private sector becomes more conducive for women employees. {The Brunei Times, 11 December 2011, p. B2}

One possibility is that this tolerance for lexical repetition is influenced by Malay, where it seems to be more acceptable. For example, note the repetition of *nenek* (‘grandma’) in extract 40 from a Malay textbook (Byrnes and Tam 2006, p. 81).

In many varieties of English, we would avoid the repetition of ‘grandma’ by using a pronoun instead.

- 40 *Oh, itu buku-buku nenek. Dia memang gemar membaca. Kalau suka, kamu boleh pinjam daripada nenek.* (‘Oh, those are grandma’s books. She really loves to read. If you want, you can borrow (them) from grandma.’)

To investigate this further, let us consider short extracts from some of the bilingual Malay and English texts printed on signs in the Kampong Ayer Cultural and Tourism Gallery. Extract 41 is from a text giving an overview of the history of Kampong Ayer, with the Malay text in 41a followed by the English equivalent in 41b. (The two texts are printed side-by-side on the same display board in the gallery.)

- 41a *Kini, Kampong Ayer masih berdiri teguh dan menjadi mercu tanda bagi Negara Brunei Darussalam. Keunikan Kampong Ayer masih memukau bangsa-bangsa asing yang berkunjung ke Brunei dan menjadikannya salah satu destinasi pelancongan utama di Negara ini. Walaupun Kampong Ayer telah mengalami arus perubahan sejajar dengan pembangunan negara, namun masih banyak yang kekal dan diamalkan oleh masyarakat Kampong Ayer. Kehalusan budi, keramahan, kreativiti dan keindahan seni budaya mereka masih kekal dan diamalkan sehingga sekarang.*
- 41b Kampong Ayer now serves as a landmark for Brunei Darussalam. The distinctiveness of Kampong Ayer still mesmerises Brunei’s foreign visitors and the settlement has become one of the country’s major tourist attractions. Despite undergoing significant changes due to the country’s development, much of the charm and traditions of Kampong Ayer still remain. The courteousness, warmth, creativity and beautiful culture of its community remain intact and are still being practised today.

Note that the word *Kampong Ayer* occurs four times in the Malay version but only three times in the English. The difference lies in the English sentence that begins ‘Despite undergoing significant changes ...’, as the Malay version has *Kampong Ayer* as a subject in the equivalent sentence. One might also note that in fact the English version still does not read very well (from the perspective of British English), as the repetition of *Kampong Ayer* in the first two sentences seems a bit clumsy, and it might have been better to start the second sentence with ‘Its distinctiveness ...’. And this illustrates the observation that, even with well-written English texts in Brunei, tolerance for lexical repetition remains quite strong. Finally, we might notice that in extract 41, *diamalkan* (‘is practised’) occurs twice in the last three lines of the Malay text, but this has been avoided in the English, so in this case, the degree of lexical repetition has been reduced in the translation.

A further text from the same source is in extract 42, with the Malay text shown in 42a followed by its English equivalent in 42b.

- 42a *Sejarah Song (960-1279 Masihi) mencatatkan bahawa Brunei sebagai P’o-ni, menjalinkan hubungan perdagangan ke China. Brunei memohon perlindungan China untuk kapal-kapal dagangannya. Pada Kurun Masihi ke-13 Masihi, Chau Ju-Kua menyatakan bahawa Brunei mempunyai penduduk seramai sepuluh ribu orang. Brunei berperanan sebagai pusat perdagangan dan pelabuhan dan penduduknya menukar hasil hutan dengan bahan-bahan seperti tembikar, emas, perak dan sutera. Dade Nanhai Zhi (1304) mencatatkan bahawa Brunei kaya dengan bahan-bahan dagangan seperti kapur barus, kayu gaharu dan mutiara. Brunei merupakan sebuah pelabuhan bagi bahan dagangan dari Sulu dan Timor Indonesia sebelum diperdagangkan ke Champa, Siam, Selatan China dan Filipina.*

- 42b Song Dynasty (6960–1279 A.D.) historians recorded that Brunei, known to them as P'o-ni, formed business relationships with China and asked for protection of its trading ships. In the 13th century, Chau Ju-Kua recorded that Brunei had a population of ten thousand. It was a commercial centre and port and its people exchanged jungle products for ceramics, gold, silver and silk. Dade Nanhai Zhi (1304), wrote that Brunei was rich in camphor, gaharu and pearls. It was a port for merchandise from Sulu and East Indonesia before being traded in Champa, Siam, South China and the Philippines.

In the Malay version, the word Brunei occurs six times, but in the English version it only occurs three times, largely because of the use of the pronoun 'it' in its place ('It was a commercial centre ...' and 'It was a port for merchandise ...'). In fact, Malay does not have a commonly-used third person inanimate pronoun equivalent to 'it'; although *ia* is nowadays sometimes used, its occurrence is probably influenced through translation from English.

We might also note that in the Malay text in extract 42a, derivatives of the *dagang* root occur six times: *dagangan* ('merchandise') occurs three times, *perdagangan* ('trade') occurs twice, and *didagangan* ('traded') occurs once. In contrast, in the English version, 'trading' and 'traded' occur just once each. In this case, the English translation has avoided lexical repetition; but not all English texts written in Brunei do this.

5.10 Lexical Doublets

Lexical doublets, words with similar meanings connected by 'and', are found in standard English, including examples such as 'aid and abet', 'due care and attention', 'goods and chattels' and 'rules and regulations', but these examples are largely from the legal domain, and they mostly consist of one Anglo-Saxon word together with one French or Latinate word, the original purpose being to explain legal concepts in ordinary language. The occurrence of 'rules and regulations' is similarly found in Brunei English in extracts 43 and 44.

- 43 Furthermore, some driving instructors have called for standardisation of road rules and regulations to overcome any contradiction of rules between the Traffic Police and Land Transport Department. {Borneo Bulletin, 28 October 2011, p. 10}
- 44 The minister also urged cyclists to always wear helmets and observe rules and regulations, and pedestrians to always take proper crossing lanes. {Borneo Bulletin, 28 October 2011, p. 10}

However, in Brunei, this use of lexical doublets is rather widespread, extending beyond the domain of legal jargon, sometimes possibly to emphasise a point. For example, in extract 45 'safeguard' would seem to be an almost exact synonym with 'preserve', in extract 46 we find 'facilitator' together with 'enabler', in 47 we have 'enhance' as well as 'upgrade', in 48 there is 'determine' in addition to 'evaluate', in 49 we can note 'maintain' as well as 'ensure', and 50 includes both 'love' and 'affection'.

- 45 Bruneians as culture custodians must not only play a key role to safeguard and preserve the country's heritage but also ... {Borneo Bulletin, 24 October 2011, p. 8}

- 46 We are looking for investors for food processing in Brunei and this would be a good facilitator and enabler for the market. {Borneo Bulletin, 24 October 2011, p. 11}
- 47 I need to further enhance and upgrade my skills on calligraphy writing before I write the Mushaf {Borneo Bulletin, 25 October 2011, p. 8}
- 48 One of the objectives of this study is to determine and evaluate the impact of the National Expanded Programme on Immunisation {Borneo Bulletin, 28 October 2011, p. 19}
- 49 He also stressed the need to maintain and ensure the quality of education which will be reflected by the quality of graduates produced. {The Brunei Times, 20 November 2011, p. A9}
- 50 the objective of the competition was not just to instill a sense of love and affection in the children towards Brunei {Borneo Bulletin, 20 November 2011, p. A9}

Two further examples, both from an article about the use of abbreviated forms in Malay, are extract 51 where we find both ‘shortened and abbreviated’, and extract 52 where ‘correctly’ is combined with ‘perfectly’.

- 51 The Malay language is threatened by a serious “phenomenon” which is the rise in usage of words that are shortened and abbreviated amongst youths. {The Brunei Times, 20 November 2011, p. A6}
- 52 Does our Malay youth no longer know how to use the Malay language and spell Malay words correctly and perfectly? {The Brunei Times, 20 November 2011, p. A6}

One wonders whether the occurrence of lexical doublets might be influenced by their widespread usage in Malay. In examples from *Media Permata*, the Malay language newspaper in Brunei: an article on page 1 of the issue of 4 April 2012 states that the police ‘*menasihatkan orang ramai supaya berhati-hati dan berwaspada*’ (‘advise the public to be cautious and careful’), where *berhati-hati* (‘cautious’) and *berwaspada* (‘careful’) have essentially the same meaning; on page 2 of the issue of 10 May 2012, we find that women ‘*mesti tidak boleh melupakan tanggungjawab dan kewajipan mereka*’ (‘must not forget their responsibility and obligation’), where *tanggungjawab* (‘responsibility’) and *kewajipan* (‘obligation’) seem to be fairly similar in meaning; and on page 6 of the issue of 10 May 2012, after a car caught fire, two people *keluar dari kereta dalam keadaan panik dan ketakutan* (‘exited from the car in a situation of panic and fear’), where *panik* (‘panic’) and *ketakutan* (‘fear’) have overlapping meanings.

This last example, with a word borrowed from English paired with an indigenous Malay word, seems to be particularly common in Malay texts. Noor Azam (2008, p. 122) lists examples such as ‘stakeholders *atau mereka yang berkepentingan*’, in which *atau* means ‘or’ and *mereka yang berkepentingan* is the Malay equivalent of ‘stakeholders’.

Perhaps the occurrence of ‘each and every’ in extracts 53 and 54 might also be classified as a lexical doublet. Although it is certainly a common phrase that occurs in other varieties of English, with 1,500 tokens in the COCA data (COCA 2012), it usually occurs in order to carry extra emphasis, but, especially in extract 54, it is not clear why it is necessary to emphasise that every single Bruneian was met.

- 53 the total proceeds from the ticket sales, from each and every concert, are donated to deserving local charities {Borneo Bulletin, 26 October 2011, p. 16}

- 54 It was a good opportunity to meet each and every Bruneian as most of us are normally busy with our studies. {Borneo Bulletin, 28 October 2011, p. 8}

Finally, we have ‘part and parcel’ in extracts 55–57. Once again, this is a standard phrase in many Englishes, and it occurs 447 times in the COCA data (COCA 2012). We need substantial corpus analysis to determine if its usage, as well as the occurrence of other lexical doublets, is more common in Brunei English than elsewhere.

- 55 Soya sauce, preserved food such as salted eggs, fish and vegetables are all part and parcel of the Asian diet. {The Brunei Times, 13 November 2011, p. B4}
- 56 ... is definitely part and parcel of taking care of both your physical and mental health. {The Brunei Times, 11 December 2011, p. B4}
- 57 It is part and parcel of what makes the game interesting. {The Brunei Times, 11 December 2011, p. B5}

The examples in this section all involve two items joined together with the conjunction ‘and’. One might regard this as an example of the inclusion of redundant material, or tautology, something we consider further in the next section.

5.11 Tautology

Throughout the world it is common for advertisers to promise ‘free gifts’, even though gifts by definition must be free so inclusion of ‘free’ can be regarded as tautologous. And Brunei is no exception, as we see in extracts 58 and 59, both dealing with a computer exhibition. (In extract 58, PWP means ‘purchase-with-purchase’. We will discuss initialisms such as this in Chap. 6.)

- 58 ... disclosed that these freebies and PWP are given on top of the free gifts that the appointed dealer gives away to customers who make their purchases. {Borneo Bulletin, 26 October 2011, p. 16}
- 59 Customers were given free gifts for purchasing the Aspire S3. {Borneo Bulletin, 28 October 2011, p. 14}

Though the use of ‘free gift’ is common elsewhere, some other instances of tautologous usage seem more idiosyncratic in Brunei English. For example either ‘total’ or ‘overall’ would seem to be redundant in extract 60.

- 60 ... the number of fatal road accidents in Brunei has already exceeded the total overall figure last year. {Borneo Bulletin, 27 October 2011, p. 1}

Sometimes, the tautology involves complete ideas rather than single words. In extract 61, ‘reduce the energy consumption’ and ‘saving more power’ would seem to have an almost identical meaning.

- 61 He hopes that the group of users who will be imposed lower payments through the new tariff will also reduce their energy consumption and be motivated to take steps towards saving more power. {Borneo Bulletin, 26 October 2011, p. 9}

5.12 and so forth

Another example of redundant wording is the use of ‘such as’ followed by ‘and so forth’ in the same sentence. An example from the letters page of the local newspaper is in extract 62, and another example from the paper is in extract 63.

- 62 Why wasn’t it done the conventional way such as choir or reciting of holy verses like “selawat”, “zikir” and so forth, ... {Borneo Bulletin, 26 October 2011, p. 4}
- 63 He said the title chosen for the TV programme revolves around instilling decent norms and values as well as family issues such as loving the parents and so forth. {Borneo Bulletin, 28 October 2011, p. 11}

Instead of ‘and so forth’, in extract 64 the final phrase is ‘and so on’.

- 64 having reached an appropriate figure, the court will consider any mitigating factors that would justify a reduction in sentence; factors such as a plea of guilty, genuine remorse, previous good character and so on. {The Brunei Times, 20 November 2011, p. A6}

In extract 65, the final phrase is ‘among others’, which might be regarded as a calque from Malay *dan lain-lain* (‘and others’). We will discuss calques from Malay further in Chap. 6.

- 65 The forum was held to gauge the effectiveness of previous modules in the course such as transformational leadership, strategic movement in government, effective communication and public speaking, project management and Islamic ethics management among others. {The Brunei Times, 20 November 2011, p. A4}

In a similar vein, we might note that the inclusion of both ‘included’ and ‘among others’ in extract 66 seems redundant, as ‘included’ would already seem to indicate that there are other items that could be listed. However, perhaps in this case ‘among others’ is not actually redundant, as it indicates that non-interference is the most important of all of the principles that could be listed.

- 66 The statement added that the principles also included, among others, non-interference in the internal affairs of another country, which are consistent with the UN Charter. {The Brunei Times, 20 November 2011, p. A3}

5.13 Overdoing Explicitness

Cogo and Dewey (2012, p. 48) suggest that “overdoing” explicitness may be characteristic of ELF discourse, and they give the example ‘black colour’ to illustrate this. One finds similar examples in Brunei English, particularly with ‘Malay language’ in extract 67, ‘diabetes disease’ in extract 68, and ‘quiz challenge’ in extract 69, though perhaps ‘Malay language’ could be considered a calque from the Malay phrase *bahasa Melayu*.

- 67 Does our Malay youth no longer know how to use the Malay language and spell Malay words correctly and perfectly? {The Brunei Times, 20 November 2011, p. A6}
- 68 where the closing ceremony was held, to fight against the diabetes disease. {The Brunei Times, 20 November 2011, p. A8}

- 69 they were welcomed by the staff to take part in a quiz challenge {The Brunei Times, 11 December 2011, p. A8}

We will consider issues such as this once more in Chap. 8, when we discuss the extent to which Brunei English might be participating in current developments affecting the worldwide evolution of English.

5.14 whereby

There is a tendency for Bruneian writers to use ‘whereby’ as a general connector, possibly influenced by the Malay conjunction *di mana* (lit: ‘in where’). In examples from the newspapers, we find ‘whereby’ in extract 70 which is discussing budget allocations, in extract 71 concerning the development of software by a mobile phone provider, in extract 72 describing banking services offered to customers, and in extract 73 about anti-terrorism exercises for the navy and police.

- 70 In 2101, Brunei secured \$1.515 billion, whereby the agriculture sector contributed \$228 million, industrial sector contributed \$980 million, tourism reached \$188 million, while fisheries brought in \$87 million and forestry standing at \$31 million. {Borneo Bulletin, 26 October 2011, p. 6}
- 71 To try to solve the issues, we are looking at investing in additional software and platforms, whereby we can give more real-time information to our customers, so when they have nearly hit their limit, they will be informed. {Borneo Bulletin, 27 October 2011, p. 4}
- 72 Advanced standing orders can also be set up such as monthly school fee payments whereby the payment will be debited automatically to the school according to the instructions set by the customers. {Borneo Bulletin, 28 October 2011, p. 6}
- 73 A boat suspected for possession of illegal items such as firearms was one of the main scenarios conducted during this year’s joint-training exercise, whereby it resulted in the successful capture of the boat and a resilient suspect by the authorities in the form of a chase. {The Brunei Times, 4 December 2011, p. A9}

At times, this use of ‘whereby’ as a general-purpose connector can result in rather long sentences, something we consider in the next section

5.15 Sentence Length

Sentences in Brunei English sometimes seem to go on and on forever. Extracts 74 and 75 are examples of some quite long sentences from the newspapers, and they represent cases where English newspapers elsewhere might break the sentence into two or three.

- 74 Meanwhile in yesterday’s cross-examination, the prosecution referred to the defendant’s evidence that the reason boy ‘A’ wanted to relax at the defendant’s house was because boy ‘A’ was stressed due to his phone being taken by the school’s administration as it contained a pornographic video, which was uploaded by boy ‘A’ and discovered by school staff. {Borneo Bulletin, 26 October 2011, p. 13}

- 75 Another outstanding feature, and Acer is proud to be the first in the Netbook market, is its two sleep modes where the Acer Aspire S3 will resume in less than two seconds in normal sleep mode and in ‘Deep Sleep’ mode it resumes in six seconds and this energy-efficient innovation ensures a freedom of battery longevity with seven hours of battery life in operation and up to 50 days battery life in deep sleep mode. {Borneo Bulletin, 26 October 2011, p. 16}

This tendency for lengthy sentences is probably influenced by a similar trend in Malay. To illustrate the greater length of sentences in Malay than English, consider extracts 76a and 76b from the signs in the Kampung Ayer Cultural and Tourism Gallery. Note that the Malay version consists of a single sentence while the English equivalent has two.

- 76a *Menunaikan Fardhu Haji merupakan rukun Islam kelima dan perlu dilaksanakan sekurang-kurangnya sekali bagi seseorang Muslim yang berkemampuan.*
 76b Performing the Haj, a pilgrimage to Mecca, is the fifth pillar of Islam. It must be carried out at least once by those who can afford it.

One further example from the same source is in extracts 77a and 77b. In this case, the Malay actually contains more information, as it states that the *azan* (‘call to prayer’) is performed by the head of the household accompanied by the elders in the family, while the English does not tell us this. However, despite containing more information, the Malay is presented in a single sentence while the English is broken into two. (Note that in extract 77b, the Malay terms *membuka rumah* and *azan* are not italicised, even though they are Malay, as we attempt to show the data faithfully, and these terms were not shown in a distinct font on the original sign.)

- 77a *Majlis Pindah Rumah dimulakan dengan Adat Membuka Rumah di mana tuan rumah diringi oleh ahli keluarga yang tua melaungkan azan di setiap penjuru rumah, merenjis dengan air yang dibacakan Surah Yaasin dan garam kasar selama tiga atau lima malam.*
 77b The move to a new house begins with the *membuka rumah* ceremony whereby *azan* is called in the house, followed by sprinkling of Yaasin water and coarse salt. A special prayer is then conducted for three or five consecutive days.

Further research on the issue of preferred sentence length might obtain additional insights about the extent of long sentences in written Brunei English. It would be interesting to collect substantial corpora from newspaper texts and elsewhere to determine exactly how long the sentences of Malay and English tend to be, and also whether sentences of English written in Brunei really are longer than those written elsewhere.

5.16 Run-on Sentences

Although the English sentences from the newspapers that were presented in the previous section can be regarded as well-formed even if rather long, sometimes there is a lack of linking and so we end up with what might prescriptively be regarded as a sentence that is not well-formed, as in extract 78 about the LEAP

(‘Learning Enterprise Applications and Product’) programme. Alternatively, in this extract we might analyse ‘for example’ as a conjunction, like ‘while’, in which case it involves a modified word class rather than a run-on sentence.

- 78 She also said that the programme aims to bridge the gap and help facilitate other initiatives, for example, successful applicants from ThinkBIG can have an idea of their next direction and the LEAP grant could assist them in further developing their innovative ideas. {Borneo Bulletin, 27 October 2011, p. 13}

Some other instances of run-on sentences are more clear cut, such as that in extract 79 in which there is no linking conjunction between the first two clauses, and also extract 80 in which the two clauses are poorly linked. Alternatively, we might regard extract 79 as an instance of non-standard use of punctuation.

- 79 Joining me is my oldest brother, sadly my car only seats two, if not the youngest brother would’ve also made the trip. {The Brunei Times, 11 December 2011, p. B7}
- 80 Their performances reflected their potential to work in real-life situations under controlled environment and with the campaign, provided an opportunity for the special needs individuals to increase their confidence and self-esteem by performing a number of songs and dance routines on the stage in front of the public. {Borneo Bulletin, 27 October 2011, p. 16}

5.17 Conclusion

We have discussed the use of discourse particles such as *bah*, *lah* and ‘yeah’, the relative occurrence of ‘sort of’ and ‘kind of’, and the meaning of the ‘tsk’ particle. We also considered various discourse strategies such as topic fronting, the occurrence of lexical doublets and tautologous expressions, and the suggestion that sentences in Brunei English can be rather long, often including the general-purpose connector ‘whereby’, and sometimes resulting in what might prescriptively be termed run-on sentences. These are all topics that need further investigation. Research on the occurrence of discourse particles, especially *bah*, requires rather more extensive informal data, and the analysis of the structure of written discourse awaits a large-scale corpus of written material. Indeed, we have barely scratched the surface in investigating the discourse patterns of spoken and written of Brunei English, and it is hoped that further investigations can consider a wider range of topics, including patterns of turn taking, including overlaps and interruptions, and the structure of paragraphs in written material.

We will now consider the occurrence of lexical items, particularly the incidence of borrowings from Malay as well as the use of acronyms, initialisms, shifted meaning, and neologisms.

Chapter 6

Lexis

In this chapter, we will consider the words that are used in Brunei English, particularly those that are borrowed from Malay or Arabic. (Despite the substantial Chinese population in Brunei, there is little evidence of borrowing into Brunei English from Chinese languages, at least based on the newspaper data that we will be considering in this chapter, though, as we shall see, there may occasionally be influences from Chinese on the use of English words.) In addition, we will consider the occurrence of acronyms and initialisms as well as shifts in the meaning of some words, such as the way that ‘send’ and ‘bring’ are used in Brunei. Finally, we will consider innovative words for sporting personnel, such as ‘cueists’ for those who play pool and ‘cagers’ for basketball players.

It is often hard to differentiate between borrowing and mixing. One approach is to say that there is mixing if the words in question retain the way they are pronounced in the source language, while the words are borrowed once they adopt the phonology of the host language. However, in practice things are not so easy. Bullock (2009) observes that the distinction is not straightforward even when we take into account a range of factors in addition to phonology, such as structural integration and frequency of use, and she suggests there may be a ‘continuum of non-assimilated to assimilated forms’ (p. 162). Consider, for example, the English words ‘village’, ‘carriage’, ‘massage’, and ‘collage’, all of which originally come from French. While the first two are fully anglicised, with stress on the first syllable and with [ɪdʒ] at the end of the second syllable (Algeo 2005, p. 257), the final consonant in ‘massage’ is usually [ʒ] (Wells 2008, p. 492), a consonant that is not common at the end of an English word, and ‘collage’ can only have [ʒ] at the end and furthermore it generally has stress on the final syllable, suggesting that it still retains much of its original French pronunciation. On this basis, should we conclude that use of ‘collage’ in an English sentence involves mixing from French and is not a borrowed word in English? And what about the status of ‘massage’? Clearly this is ludicrous. All four words are well-established borrowings into English, even if the pronunciation of ‘massage’ and ‘collage’ is not yet fully anglicised.

In this chapter, it is assumed that, if a foreign word is used in the local English-language newspapers, then it constitutes borrowing, because the newspapers generally avoid switching between languages and indeed sometimes condemn it. Similarly, instances of non-English words occurring in the relatively formal UBDCSBE interviews are also assumed to involve borrowing, as the subjects almost never switch into Malay or any other language while being interviewed by the expatriate lecturer (apart from very occasionally to illustrate something they have learned in their Korean or Japanese classes). In contrast, when we consider mixing in Chap. 7, we will analyse the language of on-line discussion forums, where switching between English and Malay is common; and furthermore, we will assume that Umi does sometimes engage in language mixing, as the recording of her involves a conversation with her friend in which switching between English and Malay is quite frequent.

In contrast with the practice adopted in other chapters of this book, when we present extracts from the newspapers in this chapter, italics will be retained if they occur in the original text but not otherwise, as we aim to present the newspaper data faithfully. In other chapters in this book, all non-English items (either Malay or Arabic) are shown in italics; but in the newspaper extracts presented in this chapter, words are only shown in italics when the newspaper itself does that (though, in fact, this is a practice adopted by The Brunei Times but not by the Borneo Bulletin). However, we will continue to use italics for non-English items that occur in extracts from the spoken data (where, of course, italics do not occur).

All newspaper extracts here are taken from the printed version of the two newspapers except in a few instances (extracts 27, 30, 31, 33, and 42–45) where the on-line versions of the newspapers are the source of data (so in these cases the page number is not known). One curious feature of the on-line version of The Brunei Times is that it does not use italics even in cases where the printed version does. As a result, in the extracts where the on-line version is the source of the data, we cannot determine whether italics occurred in the printed version or not.

6.1 Borrowings

Schneider (2007, p. 39) has observed that the first indigenous terms that tend to be adopted into new varieties of English are for place names and local fauna and flora. This certainly occurs in Brunei English, so for example the historical heart of the capital, which is built on stilts over the Brunei River, is known as *Kampong Ayer* ('Water Village'), though Clynes (2001, p. 40) notes that this term has only been in use since 1910 and is actually a translation from the English 'Water Village'. The occurrence of *Kampong Ayer* in the UBDCSBE interviews is illustrated in extract 1.

1 but I used to live in *Kampong Ayer* before {M6-int:287}

Furthermore, and consistent with the observations of Schneider, some Malay words for animals, varieties of fruit and types of food, and a few other cultural items

Fig. 6.1 A woman wearing a *tudong* (Redrawn based on a picture in the dress code shown in the UBD convocation guidelines)



such as clothing, have been adopted from Malay into standard English, including names for animals such as ‘orangutan’ (from *orang hutan*, lit. ‘forest person’), kinds of fruit such as ‘durian’ (lit. ‘spiky thing’) and ‘rambutan’ (lit. ‘hairy thing’), some other foods such as ‘sago’ (Malay: *sagu*) as well as ‘sarong’ which the *New Webster’s Dictionary* glosses as ‘an ankle-length garment worn by men and women in the Malay archipelago’. In the COCA corpus, there are 178 tokens of ‘orangutan’, 50 tokens of ‘durian’, 15 of ‘rambutan’, 47 of ‘sago’ and 146 tokens of ‘sarong’, confirming that all these five words occur quite widely not just in Brunei but in American English as well (COCA 2012). Because they are words of standard English, we show them here in quotes rather than italics. An instance of ‘durian’ from one of the local newspapers is in extract 2, and an occurrence of ‘sarong’ in the UBDCSBE data is illustrated in extract 3. Some further Malay words for food and clothing that occur in Brunei English but are not usually considered to be part of standard English will be discussed in Sects. 6.4 and 6.5.

- 2 Guests and members of the public also had the chance to test the delicious ready-to-eat durian delicacies. {Borneo Bulletin, 26 October 2011, p. 17}
- 3 all the (.) men there wore (0.6) er ka- (0.6) er clothes I mean sarong {F24-int:128}

Perhaps at this stage it is worth mentioning a few other words of standard English that are derived from Malay: ‘amok’ (as in ‘run amok’) from the Malay *amuk* (‘to go beserk’); ‘compound’ (as in ‘police compound’) from *kampung* (‘village’); ‘gong’ (the musical instrument); and ‘Mandarin’ (as in ‘Mandarin Chinese’) from *menteri* (‘government minister’). Also ‘parang’ (‘machete’), though perhaps this last item is not widely known outside of Southeast Asia. In fact, ‘parang’ occurs eight times in the COCA corpus, but five of these are from the same work of fiction and two more are from another novel, so in fact in the 420 million words of the corpus, ‘parang’ only occurs in three different sources (COCA 2012).

Maybe the most common source of terms from Malay into Brunei English are: religious terms, such as *zakat* (‘tithe’) and *puasa* (‘fasting’); cultural things such as items of clothing, including *tudong* (‘head scarf for women’, see Fig. 6.1); and kinds of food, such as *nasi katok* (lit. ‘knock rice’; rice with fried chicken, traditionally served to guests who knock on the door).

In the ten issues of the local newspapers that are analysed here, i.e. five issues of the Borneo Bulletin from October 2011 and five issues of the Sunday edition of The Brunei Times from November and December 2011, there are a total of 258 tokens that might be regarded as borrowings from Malay or Arabic. (No attempt was made to separate these out, as so many words of Malay originate from Arabic.) Of these 258 tokens, a total of 167 are religious terms such as *doa* ('prayer') and *taqwa* ('piety'). Of the others, 28 are royal expressions such as *titah* ('speech by the Sultan') and *sabda* ('speech by other senior members of the royal family'), 13 involve food, two involve clothing, and the remaining 48 are miscellaneous cultural terms such as *silat* ('Malay martial arts') and *joget* ('traditional Malay dance'). Each of these categories will be discussed in turn, based on the newspaper data as well as a few instances from the UBDCSBE interviews where the speakers use such terms.

6.2 Religious Terms

Islam plays a major role in Brunei society, and not surprisingly a wide range of words originating from Arabic are incorporated into Brunei English. In many cases, there is no equivalent term in English, so the Arabic word is used. In extracts 4 and 5 from the UBDCBSE interviews, F6 and F13 use the term *umrah* to refer to the off-season pilgrimage to Mecca.

4 went erm (.) to two places on holiday, erm one with my family, went for *umrah* {F6-int:02}

5 after the exam, I took about a week off (.) and do just doing nothing actually (.) and then I went to perform my *umrah* {F13-int:06}

As discussed above, the majority of non-English words found in the newspapers involve Islamic rituals and customs. In some cases, the words are explained, as in extracts 6 and 7, while in other instances the words are quoted but not explained, as in 8, and there are also plenty of cases where the words are not quoted, italicised or explained, such as in 9 and 10.

6 the royal entourage recited the *Doa Akhir Tahun* (end of year prayer) {The Brunei Times, 27 November 2011, p. A3}

7 In concluding yesterday's event a *doa selamat* (prayer to ask for blessings) was recited by State Mufti ... {The Brunei Times, 27 November 2011, p. A3}

8 Prior to departure, a recital of 'doa selamat' was read by Pehin Datu ... {Borneo Bulletin, 25 October 2011, p. 3}

9 Following the recital of the *doa selamat* to bless the participants, the minister and other guests personally bode farewell to the participants {Borneo Bulletin, 26 October 2011, p. 8}

10 what to do before going to the toilet such as recitation of *doa* as well as proper toilet etiquette {The Brunei Times, 27 November 2011, p. A9}

The previous five examples all involve *doa* ('prayer'); but other religious terms similarly get variable treatment. For example, in extract 11 *taqwa* is explained, while in 12 it is in italics but no gloss is provided. (Although extracts 11 and 12 are

both from the same page of the newspaper, they are actually from separate articles, so one cannot assume that the lack of a gloss for *taqwa* in extract 12 is because it has already been explained earlier in the article.)

- 11 the third sub-topic was the shaping of the character that needs *iman* (faith) and *taqwa* (piety) as the basis of excellence. {The Brunei Times, 4 December 2011, p. A6}
- 12 Our institution (Ministry of Religious Affairs) was established to create *taqwa* and disseminate Islam {The Brunei Times, 4 December 2011, p. A6}

A range of treatments for Arabic and Malay words within a single extract can be found in extract 13 (from the same article as extract 12 above), where the theme of the course being discussed is in quotes and then explained, but a separate explanation is not provided for *taqwa* ('piety') or *umat* ('believer'). In addition, *taqwa* is in italics while *umat* is not, and neither is *Hijrah* ('migration'; the basis for the Islamic calendar, so *Hijrah* 1433 is equivalent to the year 2011/2012).

- 13 The course themed, "Taqwa Asas Kecemerlangan Umat" (loosely translated to *taqwa* as the basis to achieve excellence of the umat) was held in conjunction with the new Hijrah Year 1433. {The Brunei Times, 4 December 2011, p. A6}

Another religious term that is often used in the newspapers is *zikir*, which might be glossed as 'Islamic chant' but actually represents something much broader. In fact, the Sultan has talked quite regularly about the promotion of Brunei as a 'Zikir Nation', in the hope that the country can achieve greater purity in its adherence to Islam ideals. Examples of 'Zikir Nation' in the newspapers are shown in extracts 14 and 15. In the first of these, the complete phrase is in italics, while in extract 15 it is not, even though they are both from different editions of the same newspaper.

- 14 In line towards achieving the monarch's vision of a *Zikir Nation*, Pg Dato Seri Setia Dr Hj Mohammad advised the civil servants to include the practice of Al-Quran recital in their daily routine before commencing with work. {The Brunei Times, 11 December 2011, p. A9}
- 15 The theme was chosen to uphold His Majesty's wish to make Brunei a Zikir Nation {The Brunei Times, 27 December 2011, p. A2}

Other Islamic terms that are each found five or more times in our newspaper data include *da'wah* ('Islamic missionary activity'), *fardhu* ('religious duty'), *mushaf* ('an authorised edition of the Quran'), and *surah* ('prayer'). Other Islamic terms borrowed from Arabic occur just once or twice in our data, and undoubtedly, there are many more words that would occur in a wider sample, such as *puasa* ('fasting'). The latter term did not occur in the newspaper data because the issues analysed were not during the holy month of Ramadan, the fasting month.

Lim (2001, pp. 131–133) has noted a range of Islamic words that are used in the English of Malaysia, including *azan* ('the call to prayer'), *khalwat* ('inappropriate relations between men and women'), *nafkah* ('alimony'), *surau* ('Muslim prayer room') and *ummah* ('Muslim religious organisation'). Baskaran (2004b, p. 1082) in addition lists *syariah* ('court'), a term which also occurs in Brunei English. Further research might investigate the extent to which the frequency of usage of Islamic terms borrowed from Arabic and Malay differs in the Englishes of Brunei and Malaysia.

6.3 Royalty

In Brunei, there is a special register of Malay used when addressing and referring to the Sultan, his immediate family, and to those related in other ways to him. It is called *Bahasa Dalam* ('palace language', lit. 'inside language') (Fatimah 2010). Some of this special usage extends into Brunei English. For example, the Sultan does not give a speech; he gives a *titah*, and this term is used in the English language newspapers, as in extracts 16 and 17. In general, the meaning of *titah* is not glossed in English, as readers are expected to know what it means (or be able to guess it from context).

- 16 His Majesty in his *titah* stated that as Asean takes on a more active role at the global level, its relations with the UN would form a significant part of the role ... {The Brunei Times, 20 November 2011, p. 1}
- 17 The ceremony was followed with a *titah* delivered by His Majesty. {Borneo Bulletin, 25 October 2011, p. 5}

Other members of the royal family do not give a *titah*. Instead, they give a *sabda*, as in extracts 18 and 19.

- 18 This was stressed in a *sabda* by His Royal Highness Prince Hj Al-Muhtadee Billah, the Crown Prince and Senior Minister at the Prime Minister's Office {The Brunei Times, 11 December 2011, p. 1}.
- 19 In his *Sabda*, the Crown Prince said that this will also provide the executive committee with a platform for discussing and dealing with problems {The Brunei Times, 15 April 2012, p. A2}.

There are a wide range of other royal terms for special occasions or to show respect. In extracts 20 and 21, the gift that was given to the Sultan and to the Crown Prince is referred to as a *pesambah*. Again, no gloss is given (although the word is in quotes in extract 20 and in italics in 21), as the meaning can be guessed from the context.

- 20 His Majesty then received a 'pesambah' from UNISSA's Rector. {Borneo Bulletin, 25 October 2011, p. 5}
- 21 Before the closed-door meeting, a photo-session took place as well as a handing over a *pesambah*, in the form of a book titled "Brunei Heart of Borneo: Its Journey", to His Royal Highness {The Brunei Times, 11 December 2011, p. A3}

The term *junjung ziarah* ('ceremony for royal visit') sometimes occurs. In extract 22 it is in quotes, but in extract 23 it is capitalised but not in quotes.

- 22 The 'Junjung Ziarah' ceremony began with a doa selamat read by ... {Borneo Bulletin, 28 October 2011, p. A1}
- 23 Whilst in Perth, His Majesty will also be attending a Junjung Ziarah ceremony with Brunei students and officers undergoing in-service training in Australia and their families. {Borneo Bulletin, 27 October 2011, p. 14}

In Malay, the word *berkenan* is generally placed before the verb to refer to the actions of the Sultan and other high-ranking members of the royal family. One way to analyse this is to regard it as having a specific grammatical role. In standard English, we use the -s suffix to show that the subject of a verb is third-person

singular, but in Malay, there is no inflectional agreement like this on the verb. Instead, *berkenan* is used to indicate that the subject of the verb is the Sultan or another important royal person, as a means of showing respect. An issue faced by writers is how to represent this in English and thereby maintain the proper respect that is expected when referring to the actions of the royal family. The solution adopted in the Brunei English-language newspapers is to use the word ‘consent’, as in extracts 24 and 25 when referring to the Sultan, and in extract 26 where the person involved is Princess Sarah, the wife of the Crown Prince.

- 24 His Majesty the Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan of Brunei Darussalam yesterday consented to present letters of credence to two newly appointed local ambassadors {The Brunei Times, 23 October 2011, p. 1}
- 25 His Majesty, who is the Chancellor of UNISSA, consented to grace the launching ceremony of the Mushaf and its first convocation festival. {Borneo Bulletin, 25 October 2011, p. 2}
- 26 Her Royal Highness Paduka Seri Pengiran Anak Isteri Pengiran Anak Sarah consented to present mock cheques to representative from each of the three recipient organisations. {Borneo Bulletin, 27 October 2011, p. 12}

Extract 27 includes a number of these lexical items, including *junjung ziarah*, *pesambah* and ‘consented’. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, extract 27 is from the on-line version of the newspaper, and we do not know whether *junjung ziarah* and *pesambah* were in italics in the original printed version or not.

- 27 His Majesty concluded his visit with a *junjung ziarah* and the signing of a parchment. He also received a *pesambah* and consented for a photo session with the military personnel involved in the exercise. {The Brunei Times, 4 May 2012}.

6.4 Food

Items of traditional Brunei food are generally referred to using the Malay terms, including *ambuyat* (‘a sticky paste obtained from sago’) in extract 28.

- 28 At the end of the visit, the visiting delegation was treated to freshly-made *ambuyat*. {Borneo Bulletin, 26 October 2011, p. 18}

In extract 29, in addition to *ambuyat*, reference is made to *kelupis* (‘glutinous rice wrapped in *pandan* leaves’), *pulut panggang* (‘a cake made from glutinous rice’) and *dadak* (‘rice flour mixed with prawn paste’).

- 29 where they had a taste of local delicacies such as *ambuyat*, *kelupis* and *pulut panggang dadak*. {The Brunei Times, 4 December 2011, p. A7}

Of course, *nasi* (‘rice’) often occurs in Brunei English, as with *nasi katok* (‘rice with fried chicken’; lit: ‘knock rice’) in extract 30 and *nasi goreng* (‘fried rice’) in extract 31.

- 30 *Nasi Katok* was the first food I had when I arrived in Brunei. {The Brunei Times, 3 March 2009}

- 31 Nasi goreng is the most popular rice dish in Brunei, but in this restaurant you have to try Nasi Goreng Ikan Masin (Fried Rice with Salted Fish) which is so good, it can become addictive! {The Brunei Times, 17 April 2009}

Undoubtedly, many more Malay food items are regularly used in Brunei English, but the cooking sections of the two English-language newspapers are less extensive than the political and social sections, so we only have a few examples in the data analysed here.

6.5 Clothing

Words from Malay are, of course, used to refer to things where there is no obvious English equivalent such as with certain items of clothing. For example, in extract 32, F7 uses *baju kurung* to refer to the traditional Malay long tight-fitting dress, as she cannot think of a suitable English term. (Indeed, there seems to be none.)

- 32 yeah, depending on the colour of my *baju kurung* ((ha ha)) {F7-int:82}

In fact, the official English UBD guidelines for attire during convocation suggest *baju kurung* for women, and they further advise that men might wear a black *songkok* ('Malay hat', see Fig. 6.2), with no attempt to translate either of these terms. Reference to the *songkok* can also be found in extract 33 from the newspaper, describing the work of a traditional shop in Brunei.

- 33 Tucked in a corner, the stall has two sewing machines and glass shelves to place various types of *songkok*. {The Brunei Times, 21 April 2012}

Other examples of words from Malay for clothing found in the English-language newspapers include *sinjang* and *baju melayu* ('Malay clothes') in extract 34, which is describing a display at the Asean Textile Exhibition in Brunei.

- 34 ... showcased her signature *sinjang*, a cloth Malay males normally wear around their waists to complement the national costume, *baju melayu*. {The Brunei Times, 20 November 2011, p. B11}



Fig. 6.2 A man wearing a *songkok* (Redrawn from a picture in the UBD convocation guidelines)

6.6 Other Cultural Items

Words from Malay are sometimes inserted into the English to refer to aspects of Brunei's culture, such as *joget* ('a traditional dance') and *hadrah* ('traditional drums') in extracts 35 and 36, both of which are captions to photographs, and *silat* ('Malay martial arts') in extract 37.

- 35 Visitors taking part in the traditional Joget dance {Borneo Bulletin, 25 October 2011, p. 13}
- 36 Bruneians in traditional attire play the hadrah to welcome the visitors {Borneo Bulletin, 24 October, p. 10}
- 37 The men dressed in all black performed "silat" while the women graced the Waterfront with their signature half-turns and elegant routines during a traditional dance act. {Borneo Bulletin, 24 October, p. 8}

Malay terms are also used in Brunei English to refer to local festivals. In extract 38, F7 is talking about having clothes in a range of colours, which she says is useful at *Hari Raya*, the Malay New Year.

- 38 it's useful during *Hari Raya* you know {F7-int:88}

In extract 39, F35 is discussing how she and her friends in the Brunei Japanese Friendship Association (BJFA) travel around to visit people during *Hari Raya*, which she shortens to just *Raya*.

- 39 er because I'm in the BJFA club (.) so we have (0.8) convoy for (.) er going to friends' house to *Raya* {F35-int:172}

In Brunei, there are various administrative divisions, with the *kampong* ('village') being the smallest, *mukim* being intermediate, and *daerah* ('district') the largest. So, how should *mukim* be translated into English? Some writers simply use the Malay term in English, as in extract 40 from the letters page of the newspaper.

- 40 People in that village also suffered just like other villagers in the same mukim during the recent flood. {Borneo Bulletin, 17 December 2011, p. 4}

McLellan (1996, p. 224) similarly reports the use of the Malay terms *penghulus* ('local leaders') in an extract from the Borneo Bulletin of 1992; and Rosnah et al. (2002, p. 99) note the use in an English sentence of *tepung tawar* (lit. 'protective flour') to refer to a traditional blessing ceremony.

For Malaysian English, Baskaran (2004b, p. 1082) lists *bomoh* ('medicine man'), *pantang* ('taboo') and *bumiputra* ('son of the soil'), but it is not clear how widely these terms occur in Brunei English. In particular, the last one is probably only used in Malaysia, as it has specific cultural connotations there.

6.7 three or five

So far, consideration has been given to lexical borrowings from Malay and, mostly for religious terms, from Arabic. To what extent might other languages influence the English used in Brunei, especially Chinese, seeing as there are a substantial number of Chinese people living in the country?

In extract 41, F10 says the journey to Bintulu takes between 3 and 5 h, which seems an unusual selection of numbers. But in fact, this is a normal expression in Chinese, as speakers tend to avoid the number four (四, *sì*) because it sounds like the word for ‘death’ (死, *sǐ*).

41 then we drive to Bintulu for three or five hours I don’t remember {F10-int:63}

In fact, F10 herself is Chinese, and it is not clear if this usage is found mostly among ethnically Chinese speakers. The writer of the recipe in extract 42 is also Chinese. However, in extract 43 we find ‘three to five’ occurring in an article about the writing of a *Mushaf* (‘an authorised version of the Quran’); and in extract 44, the newspaper is quoting a driving school instructor with a Malay name. So it appears that this usage is not limited to ethnically Chinese people.

42 While this is going on, get your sauteed veg going and throw into another oiled pan on medium heat, in this order for about 3–5 minutes cooking time each ingredient; garlic, ginger, chili, tomatoes and then the Thai Basil. {The Brunei Times, 4 December 2011, p. B5}

43 ... it might take three to five years for the Mushaf writing to be completed {Borneo Bulletin, 25 October 2011, p. 8}

44 Maybe, we should call people back every three or five years for re-test in order to extend their driving licence {Borneo Bulletin, 28 October 2011, p. 10}

One wonders how extensive the influence is from Chinese on Brunei English, though, as mentioned at the start of this chapter, we see little evidence of borrowings from Chinese languages in the newspaper data.

6.8 Calques

In borrowings, a word from another language is used in English. In contrast, a calque (or loan translation) involves taking the parts of a word or phrase from one language and translating them morpheme-by-morpheme or word-by-word into another language.

There are many, many calques from English into Malay, such as *kenderaan pacuan empat roda* (‘four wheel drive vehicle’), *mengambil peperiksaan* (‘take an exam’), *mengambil bahagian* (‘take part’), *sepakan percuma* (‘free kick’) and *setiausaha tetap* (‘permanent secretary’).

But what about the other way round? In fact we find some calques from Malay into English, such as ‘four-eye meeting’ (from *pertemuan empat mata*) referring to a private meeting between two important people, and ‘mouse trail’ (from *jalan tikus*) for a small trail through the forest used for smuggling. Extracts 45 and 46 illustrate the use of ‘four-eye meeting’, and extracts 47 and 48 include examples of ‘mouse trail’.

45 His Majesty the Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan of Brunei Darussalam last night held a four-eye meeting at Istana Nurul Iman with the Prime Minister of Malaysia {Borneo Bulletin, 30 April 2009}

- 46 The press release stated that His Majesty yesterday morning also consented to meet Recep Tayyip Erdogan, the Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey, in a four-eye meeting, held at the Dolmabahce Office in Istanbul. {Borneo Bulletin, 8 April 2012}
- 47 smugglers are using mouse trails to flee when they sense the presence of enforcers {The Brunei Times, 27 January 2011}
- 48 The police also believed that the men had entered and exited Brunei through a mouse-trail. {The Brunei Times, 26 April 2011}

There are almost certainly lots of other calques from Malay into Brunei English. Rosnah et al. (2002, p. 98) note ‘you drop my waterface’ (from *kau jatuhkan air muka ku*) to mean that you humiliated me, ‘you make my blood go upstairs’ (from *kau naikkan darahku*) to mean you make me angry, and ‘turtle-turtle in the boat’ (from *kura-kura dalam perahu*) to describe someone who pretends not to know something, though these seem to be nonce-creations used jokingly, so it is not certain if they should really be considered as constituting established phrases of Brunei English.

6.9 Acronyms

Acronyms consist of words created out of the initial letters of a phrase, such as ‘scuba’ (self-contained underwater breathing apparatus) and UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization). Here we will differentiate acronyms from initialisms, where the letters are read out, as in CD (compact disk) and WHO (World Health Organization), though it must be admitted that not everyone makes this distinction.

In Brunei English, acronyms are not very common, though a few do exist. A military acronym used by Umi is ‘tewt’ [tju:t] (‘tactical exam without troops’) in extract 49.

- 49 and tewt {umi-c:990}

A few institutions are referred to by means of acronyms, including RIPAS [ri:pəs] the main hospital in BSB, named after the Queen, *Raja Isteri Pengiran Anak Saleha*, educational institutions such as UNISSA [ju:nɪsə] (*Universiti Islam Sultan Sharif Ali*) and JIS [dʒɪs] (Jerudong International School), and faculties at UBD such as FASS [fæs] (Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences) and SHBIE [ʃɪbi] (Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah Institute of Education) as in extract 50.

- 50 I park near SHBIE {M01-int:206}

In extract 51, F26 says she would like to work for MOFAT (pronounced as [mɒfæt]), and then she explains this as ‘Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ (though, in fact, it should be ‘Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade’).

- 51 er I would love (0.8) to work as (.) under MOFAT, Ministry of Foreign Affairs {F26-int:235}

As we will see in the next section, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is also sometimes called MFA, using an initialism rather than an acronym.

6.10 Initialisms

The use of initialisms in South-East Asia seems to be widespread. In Singapore, there are HDB (Housing Development Board), PIE (Pan Island Expressway), CPF (Central Provident Fund), and many, many more (Deterding 2007a, pp. 77–78). In the Philippines, we find CR (Comfort Room), DH (Domestic Helper) and GRO (Guest Relations Officer) (Bautista 1997, p. 61), while in Hong Kong there are MTR (Mass Transit Railway), HKUE (Hong Kong Use of English) and ABC (American-born Chinese) (Setter et al. 2010, pp. 86–87).

Brunei is no exception to this. The main university is UBD (*Universiti Brunei Darussalam*), the capital city is BSB (Bandar Seri Begawan), and another town is KB (Kuala Belait). In neighbouring Malaysia, the town of Kota Kinabalu is referred to as KK, while the capital of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur is generally referred to as KL. Extracts 52–55 illustrate the use of KB, KK and KL in the UBDCSBE interviews.

- 52 I went to KB to visit a friend {M01-int:06}
 53 and then before that I went to KK {F15-int:07}
 54 read some books and I went to KK {F24-int:08}
 55 my family erm we went to KL {F24-int:11}

In addition, Kuala Lumpur City Centre, the complex that houses the Petronas Twin Towers, is commonly known as KLCC, as in extract 56.

- 56 er we went to erm (.) well, KLCC (.) it was the first time for most of my siblings
 {F28-int:106}

Just as with UBD, other institutions are referred to by their initials, so *Institut Teknologi Brunei* is known as ITB, as in extract 57:

- 57 he's in ITB currently doing mechanical engineering course yeah {F28-int: 187}

Use of initialisms can sometimes cause problems for non-locals, as in extracts 58, 59 and 60, in which the interviewer has to ask about the meaning of MFA, BJFA and OGDC respectively.

- 58 F20: so I'm probably looking at (.) MFA (.) erm translator work or something
 Int: what's MFA?
 F20: er Ministry of Foreign Affairs {F20-int:283}
 59 Int: what's the club you're in?
 F35: BJFA
 Int: what's that?
 F35: er Brunei Japanese Friendship Association {F35-int:185}
 60 M1: well, we went to erm (3.8) OGDC
 Int: yeah (.) w- er what did you do there? what er what's OGDC? can you explain that?
 M1: erm OGDC is the (.) Oil Oil and Gas Discovery Centre {M1-int-12}

In extract 61, M6 mentions PTE, referring to *Pusat Tingkatan Enam* ('Sixth Form Centre') in order to compare it with his own school, *Maktab Duli*. The interviewer does not know what PTE refers to, but in this case, rather than asking for clarification, he changes the topic of conversation and asks about where M6 lives.

- 61 M6: er I was in *Maktab Duli*
 Int: okay, is that a good school, or
 M6: yeah it's a good school (.) better than PTE I think ((ha)) (0.7)
 Int: er (0.8) and (0.5) er where do you live {M6-int:273}

In addition to place names and the names of institutions, a few other initialisms occur in the UBDCSBE interviews. In extract 62, when asked about speaking Standard Malay, F18 answers that she only does it in her MIB classes, where MIB stands for *Melayu Islam Beraja* ('Malay Islamic Monarchy'), the national philosophy of Brunei. And in extract 63, M1 mentions TP (teaching practice).

- 62 erm during MIB classes {F18-int:247}
 63 if there aren't many (.) mmm students who (.) wants to TP there {M1-int:279}

An instance of an initialism in the data from Umi is in extract 64, when she uses GOFR to refer to the General Order Financial Regulations, the examination of government financial rules that all Bruneian government officers are required to pass in order to be promoted.

- 64 kind of like er GOFR (0.8) thing for the civilians {umi-c:1040}

The army has a wide range of its own initialisms, many of which are not intelligible to civilians. In 65–69, Umi refers to BFT (basic fitness training), MST (military swimming test), APWT (annual personal weapons test), JSC (junior staff course) and CR (confidential report). In some of these cases, we were only able to determine the meaning of the initialism by subsequently asking Umi.

- 65 you have to do your (.) ((tsk)) (.) BFT which is running {umi-c:958}
 66 er MST is swimming {umi-c:963}
 67 APWT is er (.) shooting {umi-c:966}
 68 that is for: JSC is actually the third one {umi-c:1097}
 69 the CR {umi-c:1218}

Use of initialisms is also widespread in the newspapers, especially to refer to official agencies and organisations. For example, in the three articles on one typical page of a newspaper (The Brunei Times, 18 December 2011, p. A8), the following initialisms were found, two of them derived from the Malay name for an organisation: BAP (Brunei Action Plan), ATM (ASEAN Transport Ministers' Meeting), ASAM (ASEAN Single Aviation Market), RORO (roll-on/roll-off), APTK (*Agensi Pekerjaan Tempatan dan Pembangunan Tenaga Kerja*, 'Local Work Agency and Workforce Development'), SLP (*Skim Latihan dan Pekerjaan*, 'Training and Employment Scheme'), OJT (on-the-job training) and PBPF (Royal Brunei Police Force).

In most cases, these initialisms are explained, but sometimes they are not. In extract 70, KPI is used to refer to 'key point indicators', but this explanation is not provided, presumably on the assumption that readers will know what KPIs are.

- 70 They have KPIs to reach a specific target {Borneo Bulletin, 24 October 2011, p. 12}

Indeed, KPI seems to be a common initialism in management jargon around the world nowadays. It seems that Brunei English is not alone in the widespread use of initialisms.

6.11 Clippings and Blends

Clipping involves shortening a word without changing its meaning or word class, so in all varieties of English ‘refrigerator’ is shortened to ‘fridge’, and ‘influenza’ becomes ‘flu’. In Brunei, as elsewhere in the world, clippings are common, so an ‘air-conditioner’ is usually called an ‘aircon’, as in extract 71. This use of ‘aircon’ is the norm in Singapore (Brown, 1999, p. 6) and is also reported in Hong Kong (Setter et al. 2010, p. 92) and the Philippines (Bolton and Butler 2008, p. 184), but it is less frequently found in the USA, where ‘aircon’ occurs just once and ‘air-con’ twice in the COCA data, compared to 184 instances of ‘air-conditioner’ (COCA 2012).

71 and the aircon was (0.5) was blowing full blast into my face {F10-int:45}

In extract 72, F8 refers to ex-committee-members as ‘ex-coms’ when she is discussing who is likely to have the chance to go on a trip to Japan.

72 so he’s basically going to bring (.) the ex-coms and some members from different er ...
{F8-int:232}

The army in Brunei sometimes uses clippings to create its own jargon. For example, in extract 73 Umi refers to her promotion exam as ‘promex’, though perhaps we should consider this a blend of the first part of two words rather than just a clipping.

73 so you have to: undergo this (.) promex exam {umi-c:920}

If ‘promex’ is considered a blend, it illustrates an interesting phenomenon. In other Englishes, blends often consist of the first part of one word together with the second part of another, so we find ‘smog’ (= ‘smoke’ + ‘fog’) and ‘infotainment’ (= ‘information’ + ‘entertainment’). In contrast, in Malay blends tend to be the first part of successive words, so *cerpen* (‘short story’) is a blend of *cerita* (‘story’) + *pendek* (‘short’), and *tadika* (‘kindergarten’) is a blend of three words: *taman* (‘garden’) + *didik* (‘education’) + *kanak* (‘child’). Further investigation is needed to see how far this pattern extends into Brunei English. For example, we find ‘Mindef’ (‘Ministry of Defense’). But perhaps this use of the first part of successive words in creating a blend is a common pattern worldwide for companies and institutions nowadays, with institutions like Ofcom and Oftel in the UK.

6.12 Shifts in Meaning

Some words get used in a way that differs from standard usage. For example, in standard English, ‘take’ tends to collocate with ‘go’ and involves movement away from the current location, so we might say that we take something with us when we go on holiday. In contrast, ‘bring’ is often used in this context in Brunei English.

In extract 74, F17 uses ‘bring’ to describe what she took with her to Myanmar, even though the interviewer uses ‘take’ when asking the question:

- 74 Int: did you take lots of books with you to Myanmar?
 F17: no, actually I didn’t bring any book so I had to like get a book from (.) the book shop over there {F17-int:237}

In Brunei, ‘bring’ instead of ‘take’ can also be used with people, as in extract 75 from the UBDCSBE interviews, and extracts 76–80 from newspaper reports.

- 75 and my friend (.) er (.) brought me to (.) places (.) in (.) the red light district {M9-int:76}
 76 The students were brought on a tour around the Gardenia factory {Borneo Bulletin, 25 October 2011, p. 14}
 77 The three suspects were detailed and brought to Limau Manis Police Station for further investigations. {Borneo Bulletin, 27 October 2011, p. 3}
 78 All of the arrested persons and the case of exhibits were brought to the Crime Investigation Department for further investigation. {The Brunei Times, 4 December 2011, p. A9}
 79 In Temburong, its DBP brought members to a visit to the Malay Technology Museum {The Brunei Times, 11 December 2011, p. A8}
 80 The child passed away early morning after she was brought to the hospital on December 16 {The Brunei Times, 18 December 2011, p. A8}

Similar usage of ‘bring’ is also found in Singapore English (Deterding 2007a, p. 80), and Brown (1999, p. 36) notes that a Singaporean who said ‘I’ll bring you home’ caused a misunderstanding when a non-Singaporean wrongly imagined they would be going to the Singaporean’s home.

It is not clear whether the shifted use of ‘bring’ in Brunei English might extend to other words. In extract 81, F32 is talking about a trip to Singapore, and she uses ‘came’ when we might expect ‘went’ as the destination is ‘there’ (rather than ‘here’).

- 81 and especially cos when we came there it was the first day of the big sale {F32-int:37}

Another word with a shifted meaning similar to that found in Singapore is ‘send’. In standard English, if you send someone to the airport, you put them in a taxi and say goodbye to them, but in Singapore, you would accompany them to the airport to see them off (Brown 1999, p. 36); and the same is true in Brunei. For example, extract 82 is from a presentation by a first-year UBD student, and she is describing how her father delivers her to the campus in the morning, and in extract 83, the driver was supposed to be taking the defendant back home.

- 82 He sends me off to UBD every day.
 83 The driver of the car was supposed to send the defendant back to his house in Jalan Lugu at Kg Katimahar. {The Brunei Times, 4 December 2011, p. A7}

This shifted meaning for ‘send’ in Brunei is consistent with the findings of O’Hara-Davies (2010), who reports that 72 % of her high-school respondents marked the following sentence as correct: ‘I was late today because I had to send my little sister to school’. This adapted meaning for ‘send’ may be influenced not

just by the use of *menghantar* in Malay but also by 送 *sòng* in Chinese, both of which have the dual meaning of sending a letter and accompanying someone on a journey.

In Brunei, just like in Singapore (Deterding 2007a, p. 81), ‘stay’ can be used for a long period of time, as in extracts 84 and 85 which are from compositions by first-year students at UBD. In standard English, we would be more likely to use ‘live’ instead of ‘stay’. One possibility is that this use of ‘stay’ is influenced by the Malay word *tinggal* (‘stay’/‘live’), which can be used for long or short periods of time.

84 I stayed with my family before I moved to my house in Kampong Mata-Mata.

85 My eldest sister stays with her husband and her son in Kiarong.

In extract 86, M15 replies with ‘stay’ even though the question from the interviewer uses ‘live’.

86 Int: you live in a hostel do you?

M15: yeah I’m staying in a hostel {M15-int:194}

The word ‘alphabet’ is commonly used to refer to a single letter, something that also occurs in Singapore (Brown 1999, p. 7). For instance, extract 87 is from a written assignment on linguistics submitted by a fourth-year UBD student, and 88 is from an assignment written by a first-year student.

87 For example the alphabet “e” in “predator” can result in the word pronounced as either /prɪdeɪtə/ or /predətə/.

88 how every alphabet is written and pronounced differently around the world

6.13 Shifted Connotation

Sometimes the connotation of a word can be a little unexpected. For example, in British English ‘youths’ is usually negative, referring to young men up to no good. The *Cambridge Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* (CUP 2005, p. 1511) gives the example ‘Gangs of youths were throwing stones and bottles at the police’. But in Brunei English, ‘youths’ seems to have a more neutral meaning, referring to young people in general as in extracts 89–92.

89 The Malay language is threatened by a serious “phenomenon” which is the rise in usage of words that are shortened and abbreviated amongst youths. {The Brunei Times, 20 November 2011, p. A6}

90 The youths, clearly overwhelmed by the “unexpected treasures” during their five-day visit, were seen thanking their foster families for the hospitality {The Brunei Times, 20 November 2011, p. A8}

91 The Brunei Darussalam Scouts Association (PPNBD) will be revising its methods and efforts to cater to the needs of youths in order to sustain its relevance in the future. {The Brunei Times, 4 December 2011, p. A5}

92 This camp is one of the many ways to connect with youths regarding issues on humanity and humanitarian work {The Brunei Times, 4 December 2011, p. A9}

6.14 Sports Personnel

In Brunei English (and also in Singapore), there are special terms for participants in various sports. Thus a ‘paddler’ is someone who plays table-tennis, as in the headline in extract 93, a ‘shuttler’ is a badminton player, as in extract 94, a ‘cager’ plays basketball, as in 95 and 96, a ‘cueist’ plays pool, as in 97 and 98, and a ‘darter’ is someone who plays darts, as in extract 99.

- 93 UBD paddlers smash their way onto podium finishes {The Brunei Times, 13 November 2011, A19}
- 94 ... it was the Chinese shuttler who was once again on top {The Brunei Times, 20 November 2011, p. A23}
- 95 ... it was a win-win situation with the juniors giving the national cagers a good game. {The Brunei Times, 28 August 2011, p. A20}
- 96 All the hard work has paid off for the national cagers ... {The Brunei Times, 7 August 2011, p. A24}
- 97 National cueist Ahmad Taufiq was given no chance to showcase what he was capable of yesterday {The Brunei Times, 13 November 2011, p. A21}
- 98 The Sultanate is represented by eight cueists at the Aug 13–21 event ... {The Brunei Times, 14 August 2011, p. A24}
- 99 Three experienced darters from team Brunei Waqi USC are aiming to finish top in the Philippines International Dart Open ... {Borneo Bulletin, 26 October, 2011, p. 64}

It is not clear where these terms originate from, or how widespread their usage is in Southeast Asia.

6.15 Other Lexical Items

There are undoubtedly many other words with special patterns of usage in Brunei. Poedjosoedarmo (2004, p. 366) lists ‘twin-cam’ for a man with two wives (something that is perfectly legal for Muslim men in Brunei), ‘project’ to refer to a target of romantic interest, ‘vacuum’ for someone who is greedy, and ‘dry-season’ for the period from mid-month to payday at the end of the month when people tend to be short of cash. And Rosnah et al. (2002, p. 109) additionally list ‘sleeping pill’ to describe a boring teacher, ‘servicing’ for a visit to a massage parlour, ‘sober’ to mean ashamed, and ‘escape’ to refer to playing truant. None of these are attested in our data, but that is not surprising given the limited size of the corpora analysed. Further research is needed to determine how extensively they occur, or whether some of them might no longer be in common use, and also what other words have special meanings in Brunei.

6.16 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have presented data regarding the use of words borrowed from Malay and Arabic into Brunei English, particularly for discussing Islamic matters and also for referring to the activities of the royal family. In addition, we have

discussed some calques from Malay such as ‘four-eye meeting’, a few acronyms such as RIPAS and UNISSA, the widespread occurrence of initialisms such as UBD, KB, MIB and GOFR, some words with a semantic shift such as ‘bring’ and ‘send’, and a few neologisms such as ‘cager’ and ‘darter’ for sports personnel.

We will now proceed to consider mixing between Malay and English, something that occurs very frequently in informal situations. For this, we will need to analyse more casual data, particularly the language used in an on-line discussion forum.

Chapter 7

Mixing

In the previous chapter on lexis, we discussed borrowings from Malay into Brunei English. In this chapter, we will consider mixing of Malay words into English discourse and switching between English and Malay, something that is extremely common in Brunei.

As discussed at the start of Chap. 6, it is often hard to distinguish mixing from borrowing, as both involve incorporating words from one language into another. One approach is to refer to phonology, to consider whether the pronunciation of a word has become nativised or not. However, this does not always work, as we saw with words such as ‘collage’ in English. Furthermore, much of the data analysed in this chapter is written, involving extracts from postings to an on-line discussion forum, so we do not know how the words might be pronounced. We could use spelling as a guide, so if ‘company’ occurs in a Malay text, it involves mixing because of the English spelling, while *kompenni* might be classified as an instance of borrowing on the basis of its Malay spelling. However, this would only work for English words in Malay texts, not Malay words in English texts, as English spelling does not usually modify the spelling of a borrowed word. Hence *titah* retains its original spelling however many times it occurs in Brunei English texts, just as ‘village’ still has its original French spelling.

Here, we acknowledge that rigorous classification as mixing or borrowing is not possible. We therefore adopt the simple solution proposed in Chap. 6: it is assumed that the UBDCSBE interviews generally do not involve mixing, as the students almost never switch to Malay when talking to their expatriate lecturers, even when they know that the lecturers can actually speak some Malay. In contrast, the conversation with Umi does involve some instances of mixing, as both speakers are ethnically Malay and they are good friends, and it is their custom to switch in and out of Malay. We therefore assume that, apart from one or two exceptional cases discussed below, there is no mixing in the UBDCSBE interviews, while there are some clear examples of mixing in the recording of Umi.

We similarly assume that the English-language newspapers do not involve mixing, as their role is to present the news in English, and they almost entirely eschew

switching between languages. That is why, in the previous chapter, the occurrence of Malay words in the English-language newspapers was considered to be borrowing. Words such as *titah* are not words of standard English (which is why we show them in italics rather than quotes), but they are words from Malay that are borrowed into Brunei English. In contrast, the data from the on-line discussion forum we will consider in this chapter does include substantial mixing and switching between English and Malay.

Here, we will consider data from the BruDirect discussion forum using a similar framework as that adopted in McLellan (2010), where the analysis is based on earlier postings to the same forum. We will then attempt to suggest the reasons for some of the instances of mixing between English and Malay, including the use of Malay words to explain something that was not understood, the use of Malay to represent something local where there may be no equivalent terms in English, and the stylistic use of Malay to enrich the flavor of the discourse. In the end, though, we have to conclude that it is hard to explain many of the instances. David et al. (2009, p. 24) come to the same conclusion in their analysis of switching between English, Malay, Chinese and Tamil in home environments in Malaysia. Although they attempt to suggest reasons for the switching, they conclude that many of the instances are complex and involve more than one explanation.

7.1 BruDirect: Have Your Say (HYS)

BruDirect (BruDirect.com) is a website which includes a forum entitled ‘Have Your Say’ (HYS), allowing users to submit an initial posting to which readers can send their own responses. In some cases, the initial posting is in fact a letter that was published in the Borneo Bulletin and has then been entered in its entirety into the forum, to facilitate discussion by others. All postings are done anonymously, using pseudonyms, and this seems to encourage writers to express strong opinions and direct criticisms, in some cases condemning previous posts quite forcefully.

The forum has two sections: Malay Postings and English Postings. We will only consider the latter. In all cases, the original message is entirely in English. We will analyse the language of the responses, to see what proportion of them involve mixing of Malay, and to try and detect some of the reasons for the mixing.

On 13 May 2012, the HYS English-language threads were investigated starting with the most recent and searching for ones with five or more responses to the original posting. The data collection involved going back in time until a total of 15 such threads had been identified. Here, they are labelled HYS-1 to HYS-15. (Further details of all these threads, including their URLs, are listed in [Appendix E](#).) The most recent thread with five or more postings is in response to an initial post dated 2 May 2012 (HYS-1: ‘House’), and the earliest is dated 15 June 2011 (HYS-15: ‘Rain Water’). In a few cases, the thread involves more than ten responses, so in these cases, only the first ten were analysed. Each posting was classified as English only (E), English with some Malay (E+M), alternating languages (AL), Malay with

Table 7.1 Classification of the postings from the BruDirect HYS on-line forum

Thread	Short title	E	E+M	AL	M+E	M	Total
HYS-1	House	2	1	0	2	0	5
HYS-2	Fairness	3	1	0	1	0	5
HYS-3	Sweet Child	4	0	0	1	0	5
HYS-4	B-Mobile	3	1	0	2	1	7
HYS-5	Jobless	6	1	0	0	0	7
HYS-6	Salary	0	0	1	3	1	5
HYS-7	Government	1	1	3	1	1	7
HYS-8	Open House	2	0	1	1	6	10
HYS-9	Cheaters	0	0	0	4	1	5
HYS-10	Good Sense	10	0	0	0	0	10
HYS-11	Thank You's	1	2	0	1	6	10
HYS-12	Urgent	1	0	0	5	3	9
HYS-13	Cell Phones	6	0	0	0	0	6
HYS-14	Justification	0	2	0	3	0	5
HYS-15	Rain Water	2	0	0	3	1	6
	Total	41	9	5	27	20	102

some English (M+E), and Malay only (M). This classification scheme is the same as that used in McLellan (2010). The results for the 15 threads (ignoring the initial posting) are shown in Table 7.1.

The results in Table 7.1 show that only two threads (HYS-10 and HYS-13) are entirely in English, while three threads (HYS-8, HYS-11 and HYS-12) are mostly in Malay even though the initial submission is in English. In two of these (HYS-8 and HYS-11), the switch to Malay is for religious reasons, with some postings involving quite long extracts from Islamic texts. Overall, 41 posts (40 %) are entirely in English, 20 (20 %) are entirely in Malay, while the remaining 41 (40 %) involve some mixing. These figures are quite similar to those reported by McLellan (2010), though he found a slightly higher proportion (46.8 %) involving mixing and a smaller proportion (10.9 %) with Malay only. Here, we will focus on the E+M and AL categories, to see if we can identify some of the reasons for mixing.

Although the AL category has only five instances, these are interesting as the difficulty in identifying a main language raises some important theoretical questions. The Matrix Language Frame model of code switching (Myers-Scotton 1993; Myers-Scotton and Jake 2009) suggests that there is a Matrix Language and an Embedded Language, but in some of these AL texts, it is rather hard to determine which is the Matrix Language and which is the Embedded Language. Indeed, this seems to be quite common for switching in Brunei. Ožóg (1996b, p. 179) gives the example ‘Customer *ani tanya* price’ (‘This customer is asking the price’). Should we conclude here that the Matrix Language is Malay on the basis that the verb *tanya* (‘ask’) is Malay?

Here we will present two of the AL postings in some detail before attempting to suggest some reasons for switching to Malay in various E+M and AL postings.

- 2 i agreed *jgn* complen *saja* n work towards it.. as *anak pun*
 don't only child *pun*
boleh jua membantu... at least *ada tanah...* and well not denying
 can also help have land
sal favourism... as i met few acquaintances proudly saying yes my
 about
 mum *dapat umah satu d mentiri* n *ane* my dad *d rimba...*
 got house one in Mentiri this in Rimba
 when asked *biasalah ada org dalam...* so this matter should be
 normally have person inside
 looked into as well!! {HYS-7, no. 6}

('I agree. Don't just complain, and work towards it. As a child, you can always help. At least you have land. And well, I'm not denying about favouritism, as I met a few acquaintances who proudly say, yes, my mum has a house in Mentiri and my dad has one in Rimba. When asked, [they say that] normally there is [help from] insiders. So this matter should be looked into as well.')

In extract 2, we can see that individual conjunctions from English such as 'n' (= 'and') and prepositions from Malay such as *sal* (= *pasal*, 'about') are inserted into the other language.

Although there are only five such instances of AL in the BruDirect data analysed in this chapter, informal observation suggests that this kind of frequent switching between English and Malay is rather common in ordinary conversations between Bruneians; and it is hard to identify any clear constraints on the switching.

We will now consider instances of code mixing involving a few words of Malay in the English. The extracts will be mostly from the E+M category and occasionally also from the AL category of the BruDirect data, as well as from the conversation with Umi and also two extracts from the UBDCSBE interviews, and we will try to suggest a reason for each example. Ultimately, however, the conclusion should probably be that people mix languages because they can when they know that their interlocutors have access to the same languages as them, and the question we might instead be asking is: why don't they do it more often?

7.3 Inability to Think of a Word

The most obvious explanation for using Malay words in English discourse is when the speaker is unable to think of the appropriate English word (though perhaps this might not be regarded as authentic language mixing). Inability to think of the word in English is not the most common occurrence of Malay words in the data we consider here, though it certainly does occasionally happen. Here, we will offer examples from the spoken data, where pauses in the speech can suggest clear evidence for this kind of break in fluency.

In extract 3, Umi appears unable to think of the English word ‘promotion’, and maybe she feels that ‘upgrade’ is not quite right, so after two pauses of 1.1 and 1.8 s, she uses the Malay *naik pangkat*. Her friend then offers the English equivalent ‘promotion’ which Umi accepts.

- 3 Umi: ... in order to get yourself upgrade (.) or (1.1) er: (1.8) *na- naik pangkat*
 Int: promotion
 Umi: ah promotion to: (0.5) to: (0.7) the next (.) higher rank {umi-c:905}

In the UBDCSBE interviews (apart from the use of words borrowed from Malay, as discussed in the previous chapter), there is just one clear instance of the use of a Malay word when the speaker cannot think of the English equivalent. In extract 4, F23 admits that she cannot think of the English word, and then after a pause of 1.7 s, she uses the Malay word *kambing* (‘goat’).

- 4 there’s this another dish that I ate (.) I don’t know the English word for it, but we call it er something (1.7) *kambing* {F23-int:149}

Extract 5 from the UBDCSBE interviews is a little different. F36 uses the Malay title for a sporting event with no explanation in English. It is possible that she cannot think of the English equivalent, or maybe she believes *Pesta Sukan Kebangsaan* (‘National Sports Festival’) is a common title for the event so her interviewer should be familiar with it. Alternatively, perhaps she was aware that he knows some Malay and so is able to understand it.

- 5 I spent my June and July erm having training on my table tennis, ready for the *Pesta Sukan Kebangsaan* {F36-int:11}

7.4 Explaining Something

There is one instance where Umi switches to Malay to explain a word of English. Apparently, in extract 6 the Interviewer mis-hears ‘crab’ as ‘crap’ (though in fact she is probably just teasing Umi about her pronunciation). This is why in her next turn, Umi uses the Malay equivalent *ketam* (‘crab’) to clarify what she has just said.

- 6 Umi: I know how to (0.8) cook soups
 Int: mmm
 Umi: *macam* (‘like’) crab soup ((laughs))
 Int: /crap
 Umi: crab ((laughs)) *ketam lah* {umi-a:607}

7.5 Religious Terms

In the previous chapter, we found that most of the Malay (or Arabic) words occurring in the English-language newspapers are religious terms, such as *doa* (‘prayer’) or *taqwa* (‘piety’). Here, we will offer more examples from the interview with Umi and also the BruDirect data. Of course, as discussed above, their classification as

mixing rather than borrowing is somewhat arbitrary, but they will be included here because of their occurrence in the two relatively informal sets of data.

In extract 7, Umi uses a term from Arabic, *amin amin* ('amen'), in response to *insyallah* ('by the Grace of Allah') by the interviewer.

- 7 Int: let's say *insyallah* you pass
 Umi: er: *amin amin* yeah (1.4) if I pass {umi-c:1154}

In the BruDirect data, much of the Malay usage that occurs is similarly for religious reasons. In the HYS-8 thread, which involves a discussion about the death of two young girls in unfortunate circumstances, six of the postings are entirely in Malay, including some detailed and lengthy presentations of religious issues, one of them being 2,875 words long.

In some of the other posts, one or more words of Malay are inserted into the English text when the writer is referring to Islamic issues. In extract 8, the writer inserts *insyallah* ('by the Grace of Allah') into discourse that is otherwise in English.

- 8 my heart, thoughts and prayers goes to you and your beloved wife. *insyallah, insyallah*.
 business has its ups and down {HYS-2: no. 4}

Maybe the use of *fitnah* ('slander') in extract 9 can also be classified as use of religious terminology.

- 9 if it is wrong... you are charge with '*fitnah*' here {HYS-11, no. 5}

Similarly, in extract 10, where the discussion is about relationships between men and women, the writer uses the Islamic terms *muhrim* ('closely related') and *zina* ('fornication').

- 10 For muslim it is not islamical, and it is wrong to have an affair or relationship with non *muhrim* woman (in wrong or scandal way). More worse if one does *zina*. {HYS-12, no. 5}

Perhaps we might include in this category reference to spiritual things for which there may be no direct equivalent in English. In the informal spoken data, Umi uses Malay to refer to *pukau* and *santau*, which are two kinds of paranormal spells, in extract 11.

- 11 like *pukau santau* and all {umi-b:777}

7.6 Food

In extract 12, Umi switches to Malay to describe her favourite dish, *tarung masak sambal* ('brinjal cooked in shrimp paste'), and in 13, she uses Malay to refer to *kerang* ('cockles'), one of the things she likes to cook.

- 12 my favourite one is:: (.) *tarung masak sambal* {umi-a:551}
 13 and sour chicken (.) erm (1.6) erm (1.7) *kerang* {umi-a:582}

Although there are no instances of food items in the BruDirect data, undoubtedly food and other items of local culture are areas where mixing of Malay words into English discourse is common in Brunei.

7.7 Direct Quotations

Sometimes, the switch into Malay is in order to quote what was said accurately, as in extract 14 from HYS-1, where the quotation is something that was said by a government housing officer in rejecting a request for preference in government housing because of special needs. We cannot tell how accurate the quotation is, or whether the English word ‘apply’ really occurred in the government officer’s response.

- 14 Guess what the interviewer response was “*pembahagian rumah*
allocation house
sape awal apply ia dpt dulu.nda kami peduli tu samada kita ada
who early PRO get first not we care that if you have
masalah ataupun apa.” can you believe that!? {HYS-1, no. 5}
problem or what

(Guess what the interviewer’s response was: “The allocation of housing is based on first-come-first-served, and we don’t care if you have problems or not.” Can you believe that!?)

In extract 15, the switch to Malay involves just the phrase *gaji murah* (‘low wages’). It is not clear if this should be classified as a direct quote or not, as it seems to be referring to the reason offered by companies for offering jobs to foreigners.

- 15 Nowadays, the companies like to hire “New people” or just “Foreigner” in order they can paid “GAJI MURAH”. {HYS-5, no. 2}

In fact, in extract 16 from the same posting, the writer includes the Malay phrase *balum rezeki* (‘no livelihood’) in the same upper case quoted style. Perhaps this represents the writer’s response, so it is also a direct quote; or maybe it is just an example of stylistic switching.

- 16 Even I am un-employed, I did achieve my goals in life being a manager level before turning 40. It just that, “BALUM REZEKI”. Once god take it back, just tried out best to get a new one. Hope you understand, it is not easy being un-employed when you are someone husband & father. {HYS-5, no. 2}

7.8 Stylistic Reasons

In the examples above, triggers have been suggested for mixing, including the inability to think of a word, attempts to explain something, religious topics, food, and direct quotes. However, there are other instances where the mixing appears to be purely stylistic, such as the use of *macam* (‘like’) in extract 17 from Umi (repeated from extract 6 above).

- 17 *macam* crab soup {umi-a:601}

In extract 18, both *macam* and ‘for example’ occur, even though they mean essentially the same thing.

- 18 *macam* for example okay (.) if I’m gonna pass {umi-c:1269}

Similarly, in the BruDirect text presented in full in extract 1 above, we find both ‘if’ and *kalau*, in this case the English equivalent occurring first. (The relevant part of the posting is repeated here in extract 19.)

19 if *kalau* ada scale, i think *urang brunei* ... {HYS-6, no. 1}
 if have people

(‘if there is a scale, I think Brunei people ...’)

One further instance when the Malay and English terms occur side-by-side is in extract 20, with *siapa* (‘something’) followed by ‘something’.

20 I read (.) I have read (1.0) er: a book from (.) *siapa* something Hossein {umi-c:833}

In 21, Umi uses *cemana* (‘like this’) and also the possessive suffix *-nya* (‘its’) for stylistic reasons. This affixation of *-nya* on an English word is similar to that found with ‘staff’ and ‘bonus’ in extract 1 above.

21 what er *cemana* story-*nya* how how do you know {umi-c:806}

Sometimes in her English utterances Umi uses the phrase *anu tu* (‘this one’), which might be regarded as a hesitation marker, as in extract 22.

22 there there is a different *anu tu* er (.) different programme {umi-c:1094}

One common use of Malay in English involves individual conjunctions or adverbs, as with *dulu* (‘before’) in extract 23, where the writer suggests the person should have read the terms and conditions before purchasing a mobile phone. One assumes that the writer would have been able to use ‘first’ or ‘before’ if they chose.

23 Next time read terms and conditions *dulu*. If you buy, means you agree. {HYS-4, no. 1}

Here, we have just presented a few examples to illustrate the widespread occurrence of mixing of Malay words into English discourse. It is beyond the scope of this coverage to analyse the structure of the mixed items, for example the extent to which English or Malay word order predominates in borrowed phrases (McLellan 2009). A comprehensive analysis of the nature and structure of switching between English and Malay would require a larger corpus of data than that analysed here.

7.9 Attitudes Towards Mixing

Even though switching between English and Malay in Brunei is so widespread, or perhaps because it is so widespread, it has been widely condemned as ‘*rojak* language’ (where *rojak* is a Malay word meaning ‘mixed’, originally in reference to salad). In a speech given in June, 2007, the Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports is quoted as describing it as ‘polluted language’ that ‘is tearing apart the very fabric of our values and our culture’ (Saxena 2011, p. 278). And in a newspaper article we have already referred to in Chap. 6 when discussing the use of ‘youth’ in Brunei

English, the Head of the Magazine and Journal Planning Department of the Language and Literature Bureau (DBP) is quoted as blaming the popular use of *rojak* language for undermining the nation's identity, asking, "Does our Malay youth no longer know how to use the Malay language and spell Malay words correctly and perfectly?" (Nurhamiza 2011).

Despite such official condemnation, it seems almost inevitable that widespread language switching will continue to occur in Brunei, as indeed it does in much of Southeast Asia.

7.10 Conclusion

We have attempted to identify possible reasons for some instances of mixing; but in reality, in many cases people mix two languages simply because they can. It seems to be the norm in Brunei conversations to switch freely between English and Malay, and staying in one language when you know that your interlocutor can speak both English and Malay is regarded as rather strange behaviour, maybe even rude. In Malay, there is a derogatory term *spiking* (from the English 'speaking') to describe people who put on airs by using only English, as switching between English and Malay is regarded as normal behavior. Maybe this kind of language mixing is the norm throughout Southeast Asia.

Chapter 8

Brunei English in the World

Throughout this book, we have treated Brunei English as an independent variety of the language, and we have tried to identify features of pronunciation, grammar, discourse and lexis that make it distinct from other varieties of English found in the world. However, inevitably many of the features that have been observed are shared with the Englishes found in neighbouring countries in Southeast Asia, especially Malaysia and Singapore, but also Hong Kong and the Philippines, and throughout the book, we have noted some of these similarities. This raises a question about whether Brunei English really is a distinct variety of English or not.

In treating Brunei English as a distinct variety of English with its own identity, our work fits into the paradigm of World Englishes, where new varieties of English in various territories are described and their features analysed (Kachru 2005; Kachru and Nelson 2006). An influential model in this respect is that of Schneider (2003, 2007), who attempts to describe the emergence and evolution of new varieties of English in five phases. In this chapter, we will therefore consider the current status of Brunei English from the perspective of Schneider's model.

However, there are alternative ways of conceptualising the status of English in Brunei. Some scholars have suggested that there are weaknesses in the Three Circles Model of English as developed by Kachru, as it treats varieties of English geographically and historically (Jenkins 2009, pp. 20–21) and therefore fails to capture the dynamic nature of the use of English in the modern world (Cogo and Dewey 2012, p. 9). Indeed, transcultural flows of linguistic influences characterise much English usage around the world today (Pennycook 2007), and perhaps this is true of all languages in a globalised world, to the extent that some writers have even questioned whether it makes sense nowadays to talk about named languages such as 'French', 'German' or 'Dutch' (Blommaert 2010, p. 103). We will therefore also consider the status of English in Brunei with respect to a more dynamic framework, in particular by reference to recent research on ELF.

Next, we will consider matters that constitute a fundamental concern for teachers and pedagogical administrators in Brunei: to what extent do the idiosyncratic features of Brunei English interfere with its intelligibility for listeners from other

places? How well are Bruneians understood when they travel abroad, and how easy is it for visitors to Brunei to understand local people? And what are the pedagogical implications of the features of Brunei English that we have identified in this book?

Finally, there will be a consideration of how Brunei English might be contributing to current developments that are apparently taking place in international English usage, for example with features such as the pronunciation of [l] in 'salmon' in what might be termed a spelling pronunciation, the occurrence of plurals such as 'furnitures' and 'advices', and syntactic changes including the use of 'discuss about'. All of these features are probably influencing the current trajectories of standard English around the world, so it seems that Brunei English is contributing to this development.

8.1 The Status of Brunei English

Schneider (2003, 2007) describes the evolution of English in various postcolonial societies around the world by reference to five phases. The first phase is when the language is first introduced into a new territory, and the final phase is when the variety has reached full maturity with its own independent identity and there is no further need or desire to refer to Englishes in other countries for determining norms of pronunciation, grammar, lexis or usage. In fact, in the final phase, renewed differentiation emerges, as subgroups develop their own regional or culturally-based accents. The Englishes of places such as America and Australia have reached the final stage, as speakers in those countries have established their own patterns of usage and do not aspire to sound as if they come from Britain.

Singapore English is assumed to be in the fourth phase of development, termed 'endonormative stabilization', as it is becoming more and more independent of reference to the norms found in British English. Though Singapore English does not yet have the fully mature, independent status of the Englishes of America and Australia, Singaporeans seem to be increasingly proud to sound Singaporean, and young Singaporeans who attempt to imitate a British accent too closely sound quite absurd. So it seems that Singapore English may be progressing towards the fifth phase.

In contrast, Malaysian English is assumed to be in the third phase, 'nativization'. It is less well-developed than Singapore English partly because Malay is the medium of instruction throughout the education system, and also because English does not have such a widespread role as an inter-ethnic lingua franca as in Singapore. Only time will tell whether Malaysian English eventually progresses into the fourth and fifth phases.

Similarly, Hong Kong English is described as being in the third phase, as the lingua franca in most of Hong Kong society is Cantonese rather than English, and furthermore only 25 % of secondary schools are currently allowed to be English-medium, though this education policy remains controversial and continues to be challenged by parents and schools (Bolton 2012, p. 232). It is also interesting to note that throughout most of Southeast Asia, initial voiceless TH is pronounced as [t] (Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006), but in Hong Kong it is [f], just like in London

and much of the UK nowadays. Although we have no firm evidence that the Hong Kong use of [f] for initial voiceless TH represents a direct influence from the pronunciation of speakers in London, it is possible that it reflects a greater degree of influence on Hong Kong English from British English than is found in Singapore (Deterding et al. 2008).

What about Brunei English? Unfortunately, Schneider (2007) makes no mention of Brunei, but we might assume that it is also in the third phase of development, partly because, unlike in Singapore, English is not so widely adopted as a *lingua franca* in Brunei. However, its extensive use as a medium of instruction in all schools, something which is in the process of expanding as a result of the SPN21 policies, suggests that it is likely to progress into phase four.

A recent study provides evidence to confirm that Brunei English is in an earlier phase in its development than Singapore English. It is well established that if Singaporeans are asked to listen to a range of speakers of English, they tend to judge those with a Singapore accent to be less intelligent but more friendly than those with a British accent (Poedjosoedarmo 1995). However, in a similar investigation conducted in Brunei, undergraduates at UBD judged two speakers with a British and American accent respectively more positively than two with Brunei accents not just for intelligence but also for friendliness (Nurliyana 2011). While it is possible that there was something unusual about the two Bruneians whose speech was used in this study, so this research needs to be repeated using a wider range of speakers and listeners, it does suggest that the local accent receives less acceptance among people in Brunei than in Singapore, and this confirms that Brunei English is at an earlier stage in becoming established as an independent variety.

The issue of rhoticity is also relevant in this respect. We reported in Chap. 3 that about 50 % of young Bruneians have a rhotic accent, and this suggests first that there is a split orientation, with neither rhoticity nor non-rhoticity currently dominating, and second that, just as with Hong Kong English, there seems to be a significant continuing external influence, in this case American English and also maybe Philippine English. We also noted in Chap. 6 that Bruneians tend to use the American ‘kind of’ far more often than the British ‘sort of’, and we suggested in Chap. 7 that ‘-wise’ often occurs as a topic marker, and these features seem to confirm the ongoing influence of American English in Brunei.

However, at the same time there are many things that have yet to be established about influences on Brunei English. First, as noted in Chap. 6, there is no evidence that rhotic speakers use ‘kind of’ more often than non-rhotic speakers. Second, there are other important influences on the pronunciation of Brunei English, especially the fact that Brunei Malay is rhotic, so in fact the influence is at least partly indigenous. Current research is investigating if rhoticity in English is more common among young people in Brunei, and this should provide an indication about whether it is likely to become the norm throughout the society.

It is possible that Brunei English may eventually become fully rhotic, and furthermore that the variety will one day emerge with its own fully mature independent identity. However, there is an alternative: it is possible that the existence of distinct national varieties of English is becoming less clear-cut in the modern age of

globalisation, so maybe Brunei English will fail to develop its own distinct identity but instead speakers in Brunei will increasingly adopt a more globally-based modern style of international English. We will now consider the existence of more dynamic, less geographically-based Englishes.

8.2 Global Englishes

Schneider's modal primarily deals with the status and evolution of postcolonial Englishes, particularly how they are used within a country. However, we should consider the broader picture and discuss Brunei English within a global perspective.

People can nowadays travel easily around the world and also communicate widely via the internet, and this results in dynamic influences and fluctuating allegiances in language usage. As a result, the concept of national varieties of English seems to be breaking down, confirming the suggestion above that the Three Circles Model of Englishes may now be rather out-of-date. Speakers of English participate in what have been termed 'communities of practice' with other speakers who have similar interests from around the world (Smit 2010, p. 8), and they develop their own styles of using English regardless of where they come from. Pennycook (2007) has documented the dynamic nature of hip-hop culture in America, Australia, Brazil, Indonesia, Korea, Malaysia, Sweden, West Africa and many other places, and he adopts this as a metaphor for the way transcultural influences affect the emergence of new patterns of English usage internationally. Furthermore, current research on English as it is used as a lingua franca suggest innovative patterns affecting grammar, lexical collocations and idiomatic expressions in a wide range of different Englishes (Cogo and Dewey 2012).

Maybe English in Brunei will never develop into the kind of mature, stable, independent variety of the language that is envisaged in Schneider's fifth phrase, but will instead participate in these global patterns of dynamically shifting usage. Or perhaps this is a false dichotomy: perhaps Brunei English will go along the same path as many other varieties of language around the world, developing its own independence while simultaneously participating in global trends of language development.

In the final section of this chapter, we will consider the extent to which Brunei English might be participating in current trends in the evolution of English around the world; but first we will consider the intelligibility of Brunei English and then discuss the pedagogical implications of the findings reported in this book.

8.3 Intelligibility

Intelligibility is an elusive concept. Does it refer to the recognition of words, or maybe of whole sentences? Or should we instead be more concerned with the pragmatic meaning behind an utterance (Smith 1992; Nelson 2011)?

Regardless of how it is assessed, one thing seems to be well-established: the English spoken by native speakers from somewhere such as America is not necessarily more intelligible for listeners around the world than the English spoken by people from places such as Malaysia (Smith and Rafiqzad 1979) or India (Smith and Bisazza 1982).

Plenty of work has been done on the intelligibility of the English of university undergraduates in Singapore, showing that they are fairly well understood by listeners in Australia (Kirkpatrick and Saunders 2005), and also that listeners in the UK can understand them at least as well as Singaporeans can understand the speech of some university undergraduates from Britain (Gupta 2005). Furthermore, the English of undergraduates in Hong Kong has been shown to be highly intelligible for listeners in Singapore (Kirkpatrick et al. 2008).

But what about the intelligibility of Brunei English in international settings? Although little research has so far been done on this, there seems no reason to believe that UBD undergraduates are less intelligible internationally than their counterparts in Singapore and Hong Kong.

We will now discuss the features of pronunciation and grammar that have been described in this book, to consider which ones might interfere with intelligibility and which ones may have little effect, or might even enhance intelligibility in international settings.

Jenkins (2000, 2007) has proposed a Lingua Franca Core (LFC) of just those features of pronunciation that are necessary for international intelligibility, and she has suggested that teachers do not need to teach non-LFC features. So which of the features of Brunei English pronunciation that have been reported in Chap. 3 of this book are regarded as core features, and which ones are non-core?

The TH sounds are sometimes pronounced as [t] and [d] in Brunei, but Jenkins suggests that this does not matter, as the dental fricatives are non-core. It seems, therefore, that the use of [t] for initial voiceless TH in Brunei might not be a problem for international intelligibility.

Word-final consonant clusters often have an omitted final consonant in Brunei English, but again this is outside the LFC so may not be important. We may also note that word-final consonant cluster reduction is exceptionally common in the pronunciation of English around the world, including among native speakers, and it does not seem to cause too many problems.

The use of [ɒ] instead of [ʌ] in the first syllable of ‘company’ is a small shift in vowel quality, and the exact quality of most individual vowels is outside the LFC. It seems rather unlikely that this feature of pronunciation will ever cause the word to be misunderstood.

Vowel reduction is also outside the LFC, and in fact the use of a full vowel rather than [ə] in function words such as ‘that’, ‘had’ and the first syllable of ‘Japan’ and ‘Korea’ might be regarded as enhancing intelligibility in many international settings. Similarly, use of syllable-based rhythm is common in new varieties of English, and many listeners find utterances with clearly articulated distinct syllables easier to understand than those produced with stress-based rhythm with its multitude of reduced syllables that can be rather hard to detect.

So which features of pronunciation found in Brunei English do matter? It was reported that a few speakers in our data do not make a distinction between ‘fist’ and ‘feast’, and vowel length distinctions are included in the LFC, so, according to Jenkins (2000), this may cause misunderstandings. Similarly, the use of [æ] in ‘safety’ might be problematic, as it involves using a short vowel for FACE, which is generally a long vowel even if it is sometimes not a diphthong. In addition, the placement of the intonational nucleus is a core feature, so stressing pronouns when they are not contrastive might sometimes cause problems. Apart from these three features, few of the patterns reported for Brunei English pronunciation seem to be problematic.

For non-phonological features of Brunei English, the use of non-standard plurals such as ‘furnitures’ and ‘advices’ is unlikely to cause problems. Indeed, Seidlhofer (2011, p. 125) notes that the Secretary General of the United Nations, Ban Ki-moon, uttered the phrase ‘scientific research and evidences’ in 2009 when discussing the spread of H1N1 flu, and nobody seemed to be confused by his use of the plural ‘evidences’. Similarly, the absence of an -s suffix on third-person singular verbs is so widespread in international English that it probably does not cause too many misunderstandings. Furthermore, prominent topic fronting is unlikely to cause misunderstandings, and there seems little chance of being misunderstood if you say or write ‘discuss about’. Use of lots of words borrowed from Malay would not be understood elsewhere; but Bruneians know that anyway.

So, what should teachers focus on?

8.4 Pedagogical Implications

Teachers who are accustomed to insisting on fixed norms may find the suggestions concerning the LFC surprising or even alarming. But note that there is no suggestion here that “anything goes”. Clear pronunciation is important; but some things matter more than others. One can conclude that slow, clear, confident articulation is more important than some of the details that teachers sometimes focus on. Furthermore, one might note that the existence of the LFC, and also the identity of which sounds should be included in it, are topics of continuing debate, so teachers should not treat as fixed the conclusions suggested above that were based on the existing LFC proposals. We await further research on the intelligibility of English internationally to establish with greater confidence which sounds are important and which are not.

What about grammar? One argument outlined in Gupta (2010) is that formal, academic writing is a foreign language for everyone, including native speakers in places like the UK. So, if British students are expected to master it, why not those in Brunei? Indeed, the writing of pupils in places such as Brunei continues to be judged by traditional norms of correctness, so use of non-standard forms in their

writing will result in students being penalised. Perhaps the best advice that can be given is that teachers should always strive to be aware of changes in international usage, and there is no need to cling to out-dated rules of grammar. For example, it was noted that ‘there’s’ often occurs with a plural referent in Brunei English, but this is extremely common in English everywhere, so it is not something teachers should worry about. Perhaps ‘discuss about’ will also soon become acceptable in standard English, and when that happens, teachers should no longer mark it as incorrect.

For discourse patterns, there seems to be no danger of misunderstandings arising from the prominent fronting of topics, the use of redundant words, or the repetition of lexical items. In fact, all these features can be regarded as enhancing intelligibility internationally. However, it is probably helpful for students to be aware that such features of discourse are disfavoured in some styles of presentation, so teachers might encourage their pupils to adapt their styles of writing appropriately.

For lexical usage, teachers do not need to be too concerned about borrowings from Malay, as Bruneians know which words are Malay and which are not. That is why there is almost no mixing of Malay in the UBDCSBE interviews – the speakers are fully aware about which words are unlikely to be understood by an expatriate listener. Occasionally, the unexpected use of initialisms such as MFA and OGDC can be problematic, so speakers should be careful about using them when talking to non-Bruneians. And, for misunderstandings to be avoided, it is valuable for Bruneian pupils to be aware that words such as ‘send’ may have variable usage.

The pedagogical conclusions seem to be this: it is vitally important for pupils in Brunei to learn to speak English clearly and confidently, but there seems to be no reason for them to mimic people from Britain or the USA too closely. In fact many of the patterns of speech found among educated Bruneians almost certainly enhance rather than hinder international intelligibility; and it does not make sense for students to try and pretend that they come from England if they do not come from England. For grammar, discourse and lexis, awareness about different patterns of usage around the world are valuable for all language users, including those in Brunei, to enable speakers and writers to modify the way they use English and make it appropriate for their listeners or readers. And indiscriminate mixing of English and Malay is not helpful in an international setting; but Bruneians know that anyway, so there is no need to remind them.

Perhaps the key pedagogical implication is this: there seems to be a paradigm shift in teaching English worldwide away from strict adherence to native-speaker norms, and the most important skill increasingly being emphasised in English language classrooms is the ability to adapt one’s speech to the needs of one’s listeners (Walker 2010). Such accommodation skills are crucial for success in international settings, and teachers might focus more on those than adherence to irrelevant native-speaker norms, though it must be admitted that the widespread availability of appropriate pedagogical materials that focus on developing accommodation skills is still lacking.

8.5 Brunei English and the Future

Graddol (2006) offers a detailed consideration of the future of English, and he suggests that its influence may soon start to fade given the huge numbers of speakers of other languages. However, English is currently still indisputably the most widely used language in international settings (Crystal 2003), and its dominant position is likely to persevere for some time to come.

At the same time, English is evolving, and the pressure for this evolution is increasingly coming from places such as India, Singapore and Brunei. English is no longer owned by speakers from countries like the UK, the USA and Australia, and speakers of new varieties around the world have as much right to contribute to the ways the language is changing as anyone else. Indeed Seidlhofer (2011, p. 7) observes that English is already ‘being shaped, in its international uses, at least as much by its non-native speakers as its native speakers’.

In this book, we have considered a range of features of Brunei English that are shared by many other new varieties of Englishes around the world, and we have suggested that some of these features may one day become the norm. Here, we will summarise some of the ways in which Brunei English may be contributing to the evolution of English globally: in pronunciation, the occurrence of spelling pronunciations such as the use of [l] in ‘salmon’ and [b] in the first syllable of ‘company’, the avoidance of reduced vowels in the first syllable of words like ‘computer’, ‘Korea’ and ‘Japan’, and in function words such as ‘of’, ‘that’ and ‘had’, and the use of syllable-based rhythm; in syntax, the acceptability of plural nouns such as ‘furnitures’ and ‘advices’, the insertion of propositions before the objects of verbs like ‘stress’ and ‘discuss’, and the use of ‘yes’ as an affirmative answer to a negative question; and in discourse, the widespread occurrence of topic fronting, often accompanied by a resumptive pronoun that refers back to the topic, and the use of extra explicitness in phrases like ‘English language’ and ‘black colour’.

One further candidate for the kind of usage that may one day become accepted as the norm is shown in Fig. 8.1. In traditional English, this would probably be ‘No



Fig. 8.1 The sign outside a building in Brunei, requesting that neither shoes nor slippers be worn inside the building

shoes or slippers', as 'or' rather than 'and' is used after a negative word. But 'No X and Y' seems to be the norm in places like Brunei and Singapore.

Will some or all of these features of English one day be regarded as acceptable in World English? Only time will tell.

Kirkpatrick (2007, p. 42) has observed that historically, many changes in English have involved simplification, so for example the complex inflectional system for present tense verbs became simpler and now we only have the third-person singular -s suffix. Furthermore, regularisation is a fundamental trigger for language change, so irregular verbs tend to give way to regular ones. Originally, the past tense of 'help' was 'healp', but now we use the regular -ed inflection with 'helped' (Barber 1993, p. 91). Finally, we note that language contact has always been a major stimulus for language change, in some cases introducing new sounds and innovative expressions, counterbalancing the natural trend for simplification and regularisation (Aitchison 1991). We might observe that all these features are present in Brunei English, with simplification and regularisation occurring in a situation of extensive language contact. And this is why many of the trends that can be found in Brunei English might in fact be a harbinger of the future of English.

Appendices

Appendix A: The Female UBDCSBE Speakers

Speaker	Age	Ethnicity	First language	Second language
F1	23	Malay	Malay	English
F2	22	Malay	English	Malay
F3	22	Malay	Malay	English
F4	22	Chinese	English	Mandarin
F5	22	Chinese	English	Mandarin
F6	35	Malay	Malay	English
F7	21	Malay	Malay	English
F8	22	Malay	English	Malay
F9	22	Malay	Malay	English
F10	22	Chinese	English	Malay
F11	20	Chinese/Dusun/Malay	Malay	English
F12	20	Malay	Indonesian	Malay
F13	21	Malay	Malay	English
F14	21	Chinese	English	Malay
F15	20	Chinese	English	Hokkien
F16	20	Malay	Malay	English
F17	22	Malay	Malay	English
F18	20	Chinese	Malay	English
F19	22	Malay	Malay	English
F20	20	Malay	English	Malay
F21	20	Malay	Malay	English
F22	21	Malay	Malay	English
F23	23	Malay	Malay	English
F24	20	Dusun	Malay	English
F25	21	Malay	Malay	English
F26	22	Malay	Malay	English
F27	23	Malay	Malay	English
F28	22	Malay	Malay	English

(continued)

(continued)

Speaker	Age	Ethnicity	First language	Second language
F29	22	Malay	Malay	English
F30	23	Malay	Malay	English
F31	21	Malay	Malay	English
F32	22	Malay	Malay	English
F33	22	Malay	Malay	English
F34	23	Chinese	Mandarin	English
F35	20	Chinese	Mandarin	English
F36	20	Chinese	Mandarin	English
F37	23	Chinese	Mandarin	English
F38	22	Chinese	Mandarin	English

Appendix B: The Male UBDCSBE Speakers

Speaker	Age	Ethnicity	First language	Second language
M1	20	Kedayan	Kedayan	English
M2	28	Iban	Iban	Malay
M3	23	Chinese	English	Hokkien
M4	21	Malay	Malay	English
M5	22	Malay	English	Malay
M6	20	Malay	Malay	English
M7	21	Malay	Malay	English
M8	22	Malay	Malay	English
M9	23	Chinese	English	Chinese
M10	24	Tutong	Malay	English
M11	24	Malay	Malay	English
M12	23	Malay	Malay	English
M13	23	Malay	English	Malay
M14	23	Chinese	Mandarin	English
M15	22	Chinese	Chinese	English

Appendix C: The Wolf Passage

The Boy Who Cried Wolf

There was once a poor shepherd boy who used to watch his flocks in the fields next to a dark forest near the foot of a mountain. One hot afternoon, he thought up a good plan to get some company for himself and also have a little fun. Raising his fist in the air, he ran down to the village shouting “Wolf, Wolf.” As soon as they heard him, the villagers all rushed from their homes, full of concern for his safety, and two of his cousins even stayed with him for a short while. This gave the boy so much

pleasure that a few days later he tried exactly the same trick again, and once more he was successful. However, not long after, a wolf that had just escaped from the zoo was looking for a change from its usual diet of chicken and duck. So, overcoming its fear of being shot, it actually did come out from the forest and began to threaten the sheep. Racing down to the village, the boy of course cried out even louder than before. Unfortunately, as all the villagers were convinced that he was trying to fool them a third time, they told him, “Go away and don’t bother us again.” And so the wolf had a feast.

(from Deterding 2006c)

Appendix D: Transcripts of the Interview with Umi

Umi-a

	Int	so what are your plans for tonight? (.) what are you gonna do
	Umi	what am I gonna do tonight
	Int	are you going to watch AF (<i>Akademi Fantasia</i> , a Malay reality show)
	Umi	no ((pfft)) I don’t like AF
	Int	why not
	Umi	((hhh)) ((ugh)) their (1.9) the songs are good ((hh)) but the singers are: (.) killing the songs
	Int	like for instance
	Umi	and please (.) I am not (.) the type who wants to crititi- criticize people but (0.8) they are asking for it
	Int	okay what (.) then. criticize it then, what’s the critique
50	Umi	((hhh)) (0.7) mean (.) okay if you are: singing for: ((tsk)) (0.7) like hh (1.7) er:: (1.6) ((tsk)) celebel- er er: (1.4) celebration like (0.8) marriage (.) or: (.) [something s-
	Int	[karaoke [or something like that
	Umi	[yeah (.) in in the village or something (.) it’s okay but you’re talking about national TV (.) and you’re being watched by (.) er: hundred thousands of people (.) around the world (0.6) and yet (.) you’re (1.1) the performance given by them like ((kkkk)) (0.8) I think I would shoot them from (.) afar ((laughs))
	Int	okay (.) so, but then, okay what do you think about American Idol then
	Umi	ah:: way way way way way better (.) than [AF
	Int	[who’s your favourite Idol
	Umi	erm: (.) there’s this weird (1.2) girl (0.7) I’m not quite sure what’s her name (0.9) er:: very unique (0.7) and I like her voice
	Int	Siobhan
	Umi	er yeah, Siobhan (0.5) yes Siobhan
100	Int	okay (.) so what about the others then (.) er do you think she’s gonna win
	Umi	I’m hoping that she will win
	Int	but what about the reality
	Umi	erm:: (2.3) I think (0.6) Crystal would (1.4) be in the top (0.6) three: (0.6) a:nd the big teddy bear guy what’s his name erm

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-
- Int Mike
- Umi yeah (0.6) Mike teddy bear (0.8) and (1.6) ((tsk)) (1.6) and the other guy erm:
- Int Casey
- Umi yeah Casey
- 150 Int but you know what the prediction is (.) what I heard, people think the finalists will be Katie Stevens and Aaron Kelly (.) if you look at the trend of the previous American Idol (.) people who fit into the erm (.) the mold of the American ((tsk)) (.) star American you know erm, the (.) someone that (.) yeah erm (.) represents the Americans erm the young American teen perhaps you know like Britney Spears not a good singer (.) Madonna not a good singer but they are (.) wholesome American you know what I mean
- Umi so: (0.6) you're saying that Casey would have [a bet-
- Int [not Casey Ka- Katie Stevens
- Umi Kat-?
- Int it's the girl the dark-haired girl (.) the dark-haired girl the teenager sixteen years old (.) as- and the other guy Aaron Kelly
- Umi yah okay I remember Aaron but I don't (0.6) I can't
- Int you can't remember who [Katie is
- Umi [ye:s (0.8) [naah
- Int [she's dark-haired
- Umi okay she doesn't amaze me then
- Int yeah, she's not exactly an a- an outstanding singer (.) but that's the point you do not need to be an outstanding singer (.) because the thing here is if you look at mmm er Britney Spears all these like (.) idol pop idol (.) they're not exactly great singers but they represent the American society
- Umi yeah
- 200 Int you know they're like the girl next door kind of thing (.) so Siobhan (.) Cystal (.) [xxx
- Umi [it's not in that [category
- Int [yeah they're not (.) [they're good singers
- Umi [what?
- Int what do you think (.) do you agree (.) [xxx
- Umi well if [you say that way (.) that way er hmm yeah probably you're right (1.0) but: yeah I'm still sticking with
- Int Siobhan
- Umi yeah Siobhan
- Int yeah
- Umi she's unique
- Int yeah (.) [her voice
- Umi [in a nice way (0.9) yeah (.) even her voice is unique mmm it's not the typical (.) like er as you said Britney S- Britney Spears er:: kind of voice
- Int uh-uh
- 250 Umi er:: I like her: (.) crac- character and personality
- Int the [weird
- Umi [she er (.) yeah the weirdness
- Int yeah (.) yeah (.) and the thing here is (.) what else now (.) there's something about her I can't remember now
- Umi she's not afraid to show: to: people who she is
-

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-
- Int but people actually said(.) that she's trying to emulate (.) er Adam Lambert of last year's American Idol with the screaming (.) with the high-pitch (.)
- Umi [ah-
- Int [high note at the end of the song
- Umi well er well she have the voice for it so why not
- Int but I personally think that her past performances were not exactly (.) impressive especially to: this week's performance
- 300 Umi oh I missed that one so (.) I I can't give you comment on that
- Int all right okay (.) let's move on to AF
- Umi yeah (.) AF
- Int do you know any of them
- Umi er::m (1.9) I remember:: (1.0) Mawi: (1.1) [and the-
- Int [no I'm talking about the current one
- Umi ah the cu- ((ugh)) (0.8) nope (0.9) oh there's this one girl, erm: (0.6) she's known as (.) *pelesit kah* ('demon, is it?') (0.9) ah m- m- because of the f- the the the first song that she: chose is *pesel- pelesit kota* ('fort demon') (0.8) or:: (.) or something like that (0.8) [and
- Int yeah [she's the one who cried (.) and had to be carried off (.) when one of them got voted off
- Umi er yeah I miss that one too ((laughs))
- Int mmm so you don't want to watch it tonight (.) so what are your [plans for tonight
- 350 Umi [if (.) if I'm given any choice: (.) no I do not wish (.) to spend (.) my Saturday night (.) watching AF
- Int so what would you rather do (2.1)
- Umi erm (2.3) oh I actually had (.) something to do:
- Int what was that
- Umi yeah I'm actually trying to remember it (1.6)
- Int are you not supposed to be studying tonight (.) for your exam
- Umi no no that's (.) tomorrow
- Int what time tomorrow
- Umi er:m (2.5) think it's nine (.) yeah nine
- Int how long that is that gonna be
- Umi I'm hoping like two (.) two: to three hours probably:: we'll sto- o- we'll stop around (.) noon
- Int have you texted your sister
- Umi no (.) yeah, thank you for reminding me, I'll do that later after this
- 400 Int yeah: (.) but then the thing is you still have time to: (.) join your family for lunch tomorrow
- Umi okay ((laughs))
- Int if you're gonna study at er if you're gonna start at nine, you're gonna finish at (.) twelve (.) lunch is at twelve (.) you're not looking forward to it
- Umi er
- Int don't you wanna go to your granny's
- Umi okay okay okay stop with (.) pressuring me all this question: (.) move on, next question ((laughs))
- Int no (.) but seriously wh- yo- you're not planning on going
- Umi yeah:: I'll go (1.8) [I'll go
- Int [it's: (2.3)
-

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-
- Umi yeah I'll go ((laughs))
 Int okay (.) anyway (.) so what are you gonna do tonight then, you're supposed to do something (.) what is it
- 450 Umi ah: (1.2) I'm supposed: to: start off with (1.0) the adverts (2.5) ((tsk)) I'm trying to sell off the Wii::
 Int oh yeah we're gonna do that yes (.)
 Umi [mmm
 Int [the tv and the wii
 Umi mmm
 Int console okay (1.5) that's not gonna take the whole night
 Umi how would you know ((laughs))
 Int okay (.) anyway (.) so er:m (.) any plans on (.) dinner (.) out somewhere
 Umi mmm (.) no (1.1) er:: I don't mind cooking (1.4) I don't really like (.) to eat out (1.3) especially when you're not (.) craving for anything (0.8) so no:
 Int so tell me about the food in Brunei (1.0) er:m (.) what's your favourite restaurant
- 500 Umi Excapade
 Int why
 Umi sushi::
 Int so you like sushi you [like xxx
 Umi [I love sushi I can eat sushi every day
 Int okay (.) right so apart from sushi (.) Japanese
 Umi er::m (1.4) I think this (.) next in line is: (2.2) ((tsk)) (0.8) Indian food (1.3) na- *nasi biriyani* ('biryani rice')
 Int mmm
 Umi er:m (0.8) the: (2.3) ah like the one in Le Taj
 Int okay (.) so (.) er:m (.) you know how to cook (.) what's your favourite dish
- 550 Umi we::l (0.7) er:m (4.4) my favourite one is:: (.) *tarung masak sambal* ('brinjal cooked in shrimp paste') (2.8) ((tsk)) *palui beliur eh* ('stupidly tempting') (.) yes
 Int where did you learn to cook
 Umi er:: (2.1) I would say from my mum (.) but not all (3.5)
 Int is that the only thing that you can cook
 Umi no: I can cook a lot er: a lot of dishes *lah*
 Int [like
 Umi [like er sweet and sour chicken (.) erm (1.6) erm (1.7) *kerang* ('cockles')
 Int mmm
 Umi er::m *sambal kangkong* ('vegetables in shrimp paste sauce')
 Int hm-hm
 Umi oh I I know how to: (.) cook soups (.)
 Int mmm
- 600 Umi *macam* ('like') crab soup: (.) er:
 Int crap
 Umi crab ((laughs)) *ketam lah* ((laughs))
 Int okay (3.0)
 Umi erm: (.) and (3.2) some more
 Int what do you like to do in your spare time, would you say cooking is your hobby
 Umi no::
 Int then what is your hobby (3.5)
 Umi er: I don't really have one (2.2)
-

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(continued)

Int so look okay let's say you have free time, then what wou- what would you be doing then

Umi ((tsk)) er:: (2.3) no well my new: min- recent hobby (1.2) I would say playing with my iPhone

Int your iPhone

650 Umi yeah the games in my iPhone

Int yeah you've got a lot of games

Umi yeah: free one

Int which is your favourite one

Umi fishing

Int so do you fish in real life

Umi yeah, but I'm not goo- good at it (.) how I wish that I am good at it

Int okay have you ever caught anything really big

Umi er:: my fir:st (.) catch was: (1.1) er pff (1.4) well (.) it's er smaller than my:: right hand (.) so I don't (.) consider at (.) it as big

Int no that's not big at all

Umi yeah (1.0) well at least I caught something

Int yeah (.) okay (.) something that you can't eat (.) ((laughs)) er, you were telling us about your trip to New York, would you like to continue that one

Umi er okay

700 Int did you go to the Empire State Building

Umi no, I missed that one (0.7) well because er: (0.7) it was a two-weeks holiday (1.0) er: I think I actually spent (.) four days in New York (0.7) and then afterwards: we went off to: Canada (0.8) to visit (1.2) another friend of mine (1.4) and we actually spent (0.7) er:: a week (.) in: (.) Canada

Int hmm

Umi so we didn't (.) get to spend a lot of time in: New York

Int okay (.) so what was your feeling when you first landed in New York

750 Umi ((tsk)) oh (1.3) well, I think (0.8) the expectation was really high: (0.7) er: especially when you: watch a lot of erm: (1.1) American: (.) programmes: (.) like er CSI: (.) erm::

Int but CSI is all about murder and crime I mean that's not something (.) that would make you ge- go all excited about going to New York

Umi no the excitement was (.) the places that you will be going off to: (.) like oh, this is the place that er CSI (Crime Scene Investigation, a US TV series) was (.) erm: (1.2) er (.) w- (.) film

Int mmm (.) the shooting for [CSI

Umi [yeah

Int so okay (.) name me some of the like (.) famous landmarks in New York that you actually visited

Umi Bloomingdales ((laughs))

Int that's not a famous landmark

Umi well it's f- (.) it [was famous in that

Int [okay okay I see (.) it's famous (.) shopping place *lah* that one, but what about (.) [like landmarks you know

Umi [er the mmm (.) Ground Zero

800 Int oh yeah, the Twin Towers

Umi yes

Int uh-uh

(continued)

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-
- Umi it was nothing much, it's just (.) a ground (.) a big ground
 Int with zero things
 Umi yes
 Int and nothing
 Umi erm::
 Int Central Park
 Umi ((hhh))
 Int did you go to Central Park
 Umi can't remember
 Int how can you go there to New York and not [go to Central Park?
 Umi [go to Central mm
 Int I mean that's just (.) absurd
 Umi well the people that I went off (.) with is: (.) are people who love shopping
 Int okay so you actually just spent most of the [time
 Umi [yeah
 Int on Fifth Avenue
 Umi yes
 Int Saks (.) Bloomingdales
 Umi yes
 Int Macy's (.) did you [guys
 Umi yeah
 Int Macy (.) okay (.) yup ok (.) erm Statue of Liberty (.) did you go there (.) s- (.) what
 (.) you know, these are the the things (.) I mean, if I were to go to New York, I
 would go (.) to Central Park, Statue of Liberty, Empire State Building
 850 Umi this is the reason why I want to go off: (.) to to New York (.) I mean, back to
 New York
 Int okay
-

Umi-b

-
- Int okay (.) so apart from New York, where else have you been (.) [been to
 Umi [erm (2.7) ((tsk)) I went to: KL
 Int mm
 Umi few times
 Int that's a common destination
 Umi yeah I know (.) I'm a very boring person (.) what can you say (.) erm: (.) er:
 Int obviously Singapore
 Umi Singapore (.) it's kind a like a second (.) hometown t-
 Int okay (.) where else (2.3)
 Umi I think the furthest: I went off to is (.) was: New York, yeah
 Int and Canada
 Umi yeah and Canada
 Int UK
 Umi I went off to UK but i- it wasn't (1.5) it's not (.) an er: holiday spree
 Int mm
-

(continued)

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-
- 50 Umi coz my dad was erm (1.3) er:: (3.5) he went off to: UK for a year-course
 Int mm
 Umi on dental
 Int and you went along
 Umi yeah
 Int with the entire family
 Umi yes: for: like ten ten month
 Int did you enjoy it
 Umi ((tsk)) yeah we w- well
 Int was it London
 Umi yah, London
 Int London itself
 Umi yeah we went off: er:: (1.2) think it was: (.) er (.) I was seven (.) or eight
 Int mm
 Umi a:nd (0.9) we went off to: study there for ten month (1.0) and: (0.8) yeah
 Int where about in London, do you still remember the name of the place
 Umi well, one thing for sure, is the kebab
- 100 Int the name of the place ((laughs))
 Umi know the kebab place erm:
 Int is it somewhere in Paddington (.) somewhere there
 Umi ((tsk)) erh: (0.8) what's the name (1.2) fff ah:
 Int Bayswater
 Umi yes: (.) thank you
 Int okay (.) you stayed there
 Umi yeah (.) and we had this erm (1.0) usually go: (.) to: Hyde Park
 Int ah
 Umi yeah:
 Int so I think the the: (.) kebab place that you're talking about is Taza
 Umi yes:
 Int that's the one
 Umi yeah
 Int did you go to Whiteley's
 Umi can't remember
 Int it's a shopping complex in Bayswater (.) or as someone told me, water in the
 bays
 Umi ((laughs)) maybe we did (.) but I'm not quite sure which one it is
 Int cinema (.) there's a cinema at the (.) the topmost level
- 150 Umi mmm (2.0) er:: (.) did it exist then
 Int wh- when was that, nineteen (.) seventy-nine plise er plus seven
 Umi [erm
 Int [that's nineteen eighty-six yeah
 Umi yeah
 Int because my sister was there
 Umi okay (.) no I c- can't quite remember
 Int mm-mm
 Umi which one you're talking about
 Int okay (.) so would you like to go back to London then
-

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-
- Umi oh yeah definitely
 Int yeah (.) I think it has changed [over the years
 Umi [a lot yeah
 Int yeah (.) it's been I don't know how many years, how old are you now (.) thirty
 Umi thank you
 Int ((laughs)) so it [has been xxx
 Umi for saying that out loud.
 Int [yeah
 Umi [yes I'm (.) thirty yes
 Int so it's been thirteen years (.) I'm sure, a lot of changes (1.9) thirteen isn't it (.) or
 is it twenty-three (.) no it's twenty-three years
 Umi ((laughs))
 200 Int oh yeah (.) I'm sure
 Umi oh yeah, I went off to where, no (.) when I remember one place erm (0.8)
 Madame Tussaud (.) [Tussaud
 Int [Tussaud
 Umi [Tussaud (.) yeah
 Int [yeah yeah (.) the wax museum
 Umi yeah (1.0) it's (.) tha- that was fun, yeah
 Int did you go to the one (.) the the the chambers, I don't know, th- where (.) Jack the
 Ripper
 Umi yeah
 Int you went there
 Umi mmm
 Int it loo- was it scary (.) because I saw the pictures and they looked so scary
 Umi the the one that got me really really scared was er: (0.8) London Tower
 Int oh yeah
 Umi where the: one of the queen were (.) beheaded
 Int was beheaded
 Umi yeah
 Int yeah, that's the one (.) never been there (.) the three years that I was in London,
 staying in London, I n- I (.) I never (.) set foot on Madame Tussaud (.) Tower
 of London
 Umi let's go then
 250 Int yeah if we have the dosh (.) the money (.) I don't mind [seriously
 Umi [okay er (0.6) we start saving erm (.) probably (0.6) a hundred (0.6) per month
 (0.7) and see how it goes
 Int I can only plan (.) a vacation, once (.) all my debts my personal loan (.) has been
 settled which is gonna be in about six years time
 Umi okay six years time: it is
 Int yeah (.) you'll be pregnant by then.
 Umi who (.) [you
 Int [you
 Umi me (.) nah.
 Int with three kids: perhaps in tow
 Umi you're talking about yourself *kan* ('right?')
 Int no, I already have three kids
-

(continued)

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300 Umi yeah *lah* and th- and another addition of three kids
 Int I hope so, yeah (3.3) so tell me okay (.) have you ever been to Paris
 Umi er
 Int no
 Umi in my dream
 Int okay (.) but at least you've been to New York
 Umi yeah
 Int you know, and Canada as well
 Umi but I mean (.) [if I would
 Int [Jakarta
 Umi huh
 Int Jakarta
 Umi no
 Int Bangkok
 Umi no
 Int okay
 Umi see, I told you I'm a very boring person
 Int now if you were boring what would that make me
 Umi ((laughs)) wait (.) at least you went off to: Bangkok
 Int only Bangkok (.) yeah
 Umi only Bangkok
 Int yeah (.) I'd like to go back to Bangkok
 Umi why
 Int the shopping is nice, the market
 Umi mm
 Int very cheap (.) Chatuchak especially okay this is not about me (.) okay it's about
 you
 Umi ((laughs)) (2.9)
 Int so you're planning on meeting up with the others later on
 Umi ((tsk)) erm (1.7) er okay (.) I don't mind
 350 Int the others, yeah
 Umi which others *kan* (question particle)
 Int your friends (.) the army officers
 Umi oh (0.9) it depends
 Int hmm (.) did they say anything about what they're going to do this afternoon? (.)
 what are you gonna do after this
 Umi I'm going home:
 Int which home
 Umi er I'm going back to my flat
 Int okay (.) so, what are you going to do at the flat
 Umi continue my beauty sleep
 Int okay (.) for two hours
 Umi yes
 Int because you need to come and pick (.) someone up
 Umi er:
 Int yeah (.) so okay (.) tell me (.) the: most recent movie that you watched (.) what
 was it

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- 400 Umi wait *ah* (.) mmm (1.3) Alice in Wonderland
 Int do you want to talk about that movie, or is there any other particular movie that you'd like to talk about
 Umi I'm not (.) really a movie (0.7) person (1.4) er yeah, I think I will talk about Alice in Wonderland (.) it was a good movie (.) erm: one of the: actor is Johnny Depp
 Int mmm
 Umi I mean I'm amazed with his acting, he can actually act out all that weirdness (.) character (0.6) think he's one of the best (.) actor when it comes to all these erm (.) being weird
 Int mmm
 Umi but erm (.) but it's not quite (.) the: Alice in Wonderland that (.) I have (.) er
 Int wa- that I watch (.) when I was a: (.) a kid (.) the cartoon: (.) er Alice in Wonderland
 Umi the Walt Disney one
 Int yeah
- 450 Umi okay (.) in what way (.) was it different
 Int ((tsk)) er I mean: (.) the characters: are there but, not quite the same (.) as the
 Umi cartoon one (.) [er:
 Int [mmm
 Umi I mean like (.) for example the white rabbit
 Int mmm
 Umi I remember it as: (.) very (1.0) ((tsk)) (0.7) er: he keep on saying er (.) look at
 Int the time, look at the time (0.8) every time (.) Alice (1.4) er meet him (.) or it
- 500 Umi (.) oh, he always say that (.) but in the Alice in Wonderland (.) the recent one (0.8) er the character of the white rabbit was not (0.8) really: shown (1.3) yeah and a few stuff: (0.8) there was excluded like erm (1.1) the: (.) drinks (.) th- the one labelled drink me: (.) the food that (.) label eat me, there was (.) a lot in the cartoon Alice in Wonderland
 Int wasn't there any in the movie
 Umi there was a few (1.4) a few er it (0.6) er: (.) I think only un:der (2.2) beginning of the movie
 Int mm-mm
 Umi er: and the character of the mad hatter (.) it was not actually: (0.8) ((tsk)) as I remember it (0.9) er for this: Alice in Wonderland (.) I: think: he is one of the main character
 Int mm-mm
 Umi which: in the cartoon it was not (1.1) that (.) er: known
 Int okay (.) they didn't show much on (.) much of him
 Umi yeah
- 550 Int the mad hatter, the cartoon version (.) okay (.) what about the movie that they were talking about *Keramat* ('saint') (.) why don't you want to watch that one
 Umi well (0.9) erm (2.2) er: I'm not into this hocus pocus thing (.) well
 Int horror flicks
 Umi yeah well hocus pocus, horror flick, something like that
 Int mm-mm
 Umi because erm to me (.) why would you want (.) to get yourself (.) into all this: (0.7) erm
-

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Int the dark world kind of [thing
 Umi [yes
 Int yeah (.) [because of
 Umi [*awu ah* ('yeah') (.) [well I
 Int [your experience
 600 Umi I had a back- bad experience on it er II (.) I mean like, whether people believe
 me or not (0.7) but those things (.) actually exist (.) and they're not (2.1) erm
 (0.8) mean (0.8) they don't like (0.7) to be invaded (0.7) as what (.) we are
 doing (.) to them now
 Int what do you mean invaded, what's invaded (.) what do you mean by that
 Umi mean like (1.7) er they have their own world, we have our own world
 Int mm-mm
 Umi and yet (.) we (.) I mean the humans (0.8) erm are invading their world in term
 of, oh we want to make movie about it, we want people to know that they
 exist (.) the existence of this other world (.) but why can't we just leave them
 alone
 Int mm-mm
 Umi instead of making it into er (.) a story (.) and get money out of it
 Int okay, what are you talking about
 650 Umi I mean like for example making a movie (.) it's because of: money right (.) they
 want to make money so; they have t- to do all this (.) erm research on: this er
 extra (0.9) ordinary erm:
 Int extra-terrestrial
 Umi yeah
 Int oh no, that's more (.) more to do with [aliens
 Umi alien, no
 Int the paranormal
 Umi yeah (1.2) so: (.) I mean like honestly saying, I don't think that's a good thing to
 do: (0.9) as er as I mention just now, why would you want to (0.7) er invade
 their life (0.8) they're not (1.1) mean (3.3) mean would you like your life to
 be invaded (.) by them
 Int of course not
 Umi exactly
 Int yeah but then we can't see them, they can see us
 Umi so: why: do you: [mean like
 700 Int [if they invade us (.) I mean it- (.) I mean we can't see them (.) you know what I
 mean I mean that poltergeist (1.8) kind of thing, you know (.) they come over
 to your house, you can't see them and you see like things being thrown about
 Umi yeah but (.) that's it, why do you want to: mo- (0.7) to get yourself involve at the
 first place
 Int okay (.) but then we're talking about the movie. are you sure you're like
 ((laughs)) are you- you're just saying all these things, in actual fact you're
 just scared
 Umi no, no, no, it's [true
 Int [oh you're just scared
 Umi no, it's true, you know (.) mean like (.) most people aren- aren't aware of (1.0)
 Int er: (.) the existence of: this paranormal (.) [er
 Umi [I'm (.) I mean, okay (.) there are some people who are aware (.) and they do

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- 750 Int believe that (.) yeah, erm (.) oh they do believe in sixth sense, they do believe (.) in (.) the paranormal (.) apparitions spirits ghosts bla bla bla (.) yeah, but they still
- Umi [when
- Int have [no qualms about watching horror [flicks
- Umi [yeah (.) but, you see (.) in: most of the horror flicks, they're portraying that (.) all this paranormal (.) existence (.) are is: (.) erm (.) they're not (.) good (1.4) okay, mean like er okay (.) for example (.) er: people say that (1.1) er: (1.4) like *pukau* ('spells'), *santau* ('incantations') and all that *kan* ('right?')
- Int mmm
- Umi It does include some of the (.) ((tsk)) er paranormal (.) *anu kan* ('that, right?') er (0.8) what do you call that (1.9) thing (.) in [order to have that
- Int [mmm (.) [mmm
- Umi [so (.) you're actually (.) trying to tell people that okay they exist (.)
- Int mmm
- Umi in a very bad way
- Int mm-mm
- 800 Umi so: mean like that's not good (1.1) why do you want to scare people, mean why do you want to show people that, oh, all this thing exist but it's not a good thing
- Int I don't actually quite get you, but never mind (.) erm (.) a conclusion is that (.) [you just don't have the guts to watch horror flicks
- Umi [no, I don't want to (.) yeah, no, it's not that (.) I don't have the guts, but I
- Int don't want to: (1.9) I just don't want to:
- Umi yeah
- Int is that wrong
- Umi no, it's not (4.6) okay, what sort of movies do you like erm (.) to watch, okay
- Int (.) chick flicks (.) romantic movies
- Umi okay I don't know what (.) what you call this (.) type of er movie (.) erm (1.3) example 300 (1.7) erm
- Int action
- 850 Umi yeah (1.0) er (0.9) war movie (1.8) erm
- Int so, have you (.) watched er Black Hawk (.) Down or [something
- Umi [yeah
- Int yeah (.) and there's another one, th- (.) that just came out, something (.) can't remember (.) something to do with the er (.) war or something like that (.) nah, never mind okay so you like 300, what else
- Umi erm:
- Int so it's action for you
- Umi and happy movies
- Int happy movies, like
- 900 Umi li:ke (3.6) okay you you might find this funny but (.) I recently watch (.) Barbie (.) cartoon (0.9) movie (.) with my er (.) nieces (1.5) and (1.4) it's a happy movie
- Int mmm (.) okay, like cartoon (.) which Barbie is this
- Umi movie
- Int yes, I know, but (.) Barbie has a lot of movie
- Umi the one that she turned into mermaid

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	Int	ah okay (.) I don't remember that one (.) yeah, but I I think I know but that was what like (.) quite an old one (.) there's Fairytopia (.) there's (.) Nutcracker.
	Umi	yeah
	Int	Mermaid (.) the one that, oh yeah, I can't remember that one though (.) okay (.) so you like watching cartoons as well
	Umi	mmm (.) er: movie like (.) Enchanted
	Int	fairy tale
	Umi	yeah
	Int	kind of thing (.) PS I Love You
	Umi	yeah: yes
950	Int	do you like reading (.) have you read the book (.) PS I Love You
	Umi	yes
	Int	you read the book (.) before watching the movie
	Umi	no I read the book after watching the movie
	Int	so what do you think, which is better
	Umi	mmm (1.0) yeah (1.6) I don't know, but yeah the movie's okay
	Int	did you cry
	Umi	no I'm not that type
	Int	okay (.) what about the Time (.) Time Traveller's Wife
	Umi	yes [wh-
	Int	[did you read the (.) book (.) have you read the book (.) [no
	Umi	[no no
	Int	so you only watched the movie
	Umi	yes
	Int	so you didn't like the movie
	Umi	oh no I didn't say that I didn't like it, mean it's okay but (.) not to the extent of crying (.) oooo
1000	Int	okay erm (.) yeah but you should read the book, the book is (.) erm (.) better than the movie
	Umi	all right
	Int	yeah (.) so they changed the plot lines the (.) some of the stuff

Umi-c

	Int	((hhh)) so what can you tell me (.) more about (.) erm your nieces
	Umi	I have three nieces: erm (.) two of them are twins (1.2) er both: girls (1.0) er the third one is: (1.3) also a girl (0.8) [very cheeky (.) yeah
	Int	[obviously niece
	Umi	yeah (.) sorry about that (1.6) erm (.) I wouldn't say that (.) that they're very naughty but very very very very er: (1.2) cheeky (.) no not cheeky, no that's not the word (1.2) erm hyper (.) yeah
	Int	yeah (.) tell me something that they've done
50	Umi	oh (.) they would do something like (.) while you are sleeping (.) they (.) er three of them would jump on you: (.) and make it s:: seen (.) as if (.) er it's a good thing, like yay surprise: (1.3) we're here.

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- Int mm-mm (.) okay (.) so they sort of like jump on you like when they arrive at erm
your place
- Umi yup
- Int okay (.) now what would you do
- Umi I would scream (.) and [say that
- Int [are they scared of you
- Umi no (.) they would make fun of (.) I mean they would make faces towards me
- Int mm-mm
- Umi like he-he-he-he-he (.) [or:
- Int [okay
- Umi or give you (.) the tongue
- Int mmm (.) okay (.) how old are they
- Umi erm (1.0) the twins: (.) are: coming to six::
- Int mm-mm
- 100 Umi and: (.) the little one is: (.) coming: (1.5) three (0.7) I think, if I'm not (1.1)
wrong, yeah (.) three
- Int they're all schooling
- Umi er: no (.) the third one (1.4) not yet
- Int mm-mm
- Umi the: (1.0) the twins (.) yeah, they start off (1.9) la- last year
- Int mm-mm (1.5) where do they go to school
- Umi er there's this school next to: ((tsk)) er in Lambak (.) next to the mosque (1.1)
can't remember what's the (.) the name of the school, it's a new school
- Int okay (.) so it's no longer in the erm in Gadong
- Umi [no
- Int the [police headquarter thing
- Umi no
- Int no (.) oh, so it's a new school, just this year (.) they moved to the new school
- Umi yeah
- Int okay (.) is that actually closer to home
- 150 Umi yup (.) five minutes drive
- Int from where [from your mom's place
- Umi [from my: yeah from my mom's place
- Int so who who picks them up
- Umi erm (.) depends (.) there's actually er: (.) rooster for them
- Int [what
- Umi [er sometimes my dad, sometimes my mom, sometimes their father, sometimes
their mother
- Int mm-mm
- Umi yeah
- Int okay (.) so do you like children then
- Umi I'm fond of them
- Int would you like to have children of your own
- Umi definitely
- Int how many
- Umi two (.) max (.) two ((laughs))
- Int maximum two
-

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Umi yeah ((laughs))
 Int boys or girls
 Umi I (0.8) I don't really care, I mean I don't mind
 Int so: you don't mind if it's a boy and a girl, or boy boy
 Umi yeah.
 Int but then (.) sometimes you do have a preference
 200 Umi [I
 Int [about a particular gender
 Umi I don't have any
 Int no
 Umi I don't mind
 Int okay (.) so are you planning on getting married anytime soon
 Umi I'm not planning to: but if it (.) if it happens (.) it happens.
 Int okay (.) are you seeing anyone
 Umi no:
 Int okay (.) why is so difficult, because I remember a girl approached you (.) and
 asked you (.) why you don't have a boyfriend because you are actually (.)
 good-looking, you are pretty, you are pretty Malay girl (.) [so what was
 Umi [is this supposed to be a joke
 Int no (.) no no it's true., that girl (.) your one of your junior officers actually asked
 you that question (.) so what exactly (.) is stopping you from (.) being with a
 guy I mean (.) are you choosy, are you picky
 250 Umi oh I would say yes
 Int okay what's your dream guy, what's your criteria
 Umi well, one, he have er (.) he have to be taller than me (.) I don't know why but I
 always end up (.) having (.) guys (.) shorter than me
 Int mm-mm
 Umi er: second thing is, I think I would prefer someone with erm (2.1) [beard
 Int [goatee
 Umi yeah goatee, beard
 Int mm-mm (.) er a beard would be something that's unruly you know
 Umi [okay
 Int [like the Arab-type
 Umi goatee then
 Int a goatee would be
 Umi yeah
 Int yeah (.) and
 Umi yeah (.) [I mean
 Int [what about (.) job are you very particular about that as well
 Umi yeah as long as: (.) he (.) have a secure (.) job I don't (0.8) I don't mind
 300 Int does m- must he earn more (.) than (.) what you are earning
 Umi it would be nice
 Int okay.
 Umi but nah (.) I I (.) not that er (.) choosy when it comes to: (.) his career
 Int okay so it's actually just looks, I mean from the sound of it, it's physical (.)
 height (.) and goatee
 Umi of course edi- everybody wants to have a good husband, so he have to be er (.)
 mean good-mannered (.) er: (.) good with (.) my (.) parents

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- Int mm-mm
 Umi or: and: it would be a bonus if he's good with kids
 Int mm-mm (.) okay. what if (.) he turns out to be a divorcee
 Umi yeah (.) I [don't mind
 Int [that's fine
 Umi yeah
 Int with kids
 350 Umi yeah (0.8) at least (0.9) then, I would know that he's (.) capable of giving kids
 ((laughs))
 Int having kids, okay [right
 Umi [yeah
 Int oh no no, giving kids, whatever (.) er: but (.) let's say (.) he already has kids (.) he
 wants to marry you (.) but he doesn't want to have kids with you.
 Umi okay, what's the point of getting married again
 Int because he just wants companionship
 Umi no, I want kids (.) I want mini me (.) okay (.) I want (.) er (2.3) yeah (.) mini me
 ((laughs))
 Int okay (.) right (.) would would you object to: going out with an army officer (.)
 would you prefer him to be in the army (.) or would you prefer someone
 who's like (.) ugh, what do call it, civilian
 Umi you make it sound as if they are a disease
 400 Int no, you guys make it sound as if the civilians are a bunch of people (.) [with
 disease
 Umi [okay (.) all right, I mean erm
 Int [xxx
 Umi [I would prefer: him to be: (.) civilian (.) rather than (.) an army officer.
 Int why
 Umi ((tsk)) (1.4) I think ((pshhh ahh)) (.) it would be (1.3) nice to have a change (1.2)
 to talk about you know (.) rather than
 Int talk about work
 Umi yeah
 Int but then it would be, it could be a plus, I mean if he were an army officer then he
 he could understand and relate to (.) what you're going through at work (.) I
 mean (.) if it's a civilian, if he's a civilian, then (.) you know when you talk
 about what's going on in your office about the o- (.) office politics or protocol
 or whatever, all this (.) military jargon, I mean he might be lost (.) you know
 what I mean, there are pros and cons
 450 Umi yeah but (1.9) especially when you have (.) er mean like (.) okay, if that guy
 would be in the same unit (.) in the same er: (1.4) area, I think that would be
 er: (3.8)
 Int a bonus
 Umi [no
 Int [an advantage, no (.) no it's actually not, er er it would be (.) a disadvantage
 Umi yes (.) because you would end up (.) looking at each other (.) morning (.)
 afternoon (.) night, morning afternoon night, so what's the (ffff)
 Int oh so you you kind of believe that you need a break from him
 Umi yes
 Int [of course
-

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Umi [of course
 Int so you, I mean (.) it's okay if he's in the army (.) but not in the same unit
 Umi yup
 500 Int perhaps (.) he works in the erm the air force (.) because you're (.) with the
 whatever (.) MinDef
 Umi mmm
 Int something like that yeah (.) okay (.) right (.) have actually thought up of names
 (.) for your kids
 Umi okay (.) if it were to be a girl (1.3) it will: she will have: (.) a name that start off
 with (.) the letter (.) W
 Int Wardah
 Umi mmm
 Int okay
 Umi or (0.9) Waza
 Int does it mean anything (.) you believe in naming a child (.) with an Arabic name
 that has meaning, [or
 Umi [yeah
 Int yeah
 Umi yeah
 Int because some people actually now the trend now is to: (.) what is it
 Umi sound good (.) don't have meaning
 Int yeah
 550 Umi and probably if it were to be (.) if you were to be a (.) a boy (.) erm (.) I would
 like to have: (1.6) er (.) Razanol (.) or Ahmad (.) to be in the first (.) name
 Int ah okay, so it's going to be a double-barrelled name.
 Umi yes
 Int okay (.) right (5.4) so, tell me (1.5) if you had a choice (.) when would you like to
 get married
 Umi no (.) I don't have any choice ((laughs))
 Int I mean by what age, I mean what's the cut-off age
 600 Umi well (.) some people say that if you want to be:: (.) ((tsk)) erm (.) mean (.)
 medically (0.9) er (2.5) safe
 Int mm-mm
 Umi do not extend (.) the age of thirty-five, I don't know how (.) whether that's true,
 but some (.) m- most people say that oh (0.6) the cut-off (.) age for: (.) [a
 woman (.) yeah
 Int [having kids is thirty-five (.) not really (.) there're really, there are some women
 who have kids at the age of forty (.)
 Umi [yeah
 Int [and forty is actually
 Umi but (.) there would there would be (.) erm some
 Int complications
 Umi yes
 Int that's true (.) so you only have five years to go
 Umi yay
 Int okay (.) all the best.
 Umi thank [you
 Int [you (.) in that department

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- Umi on (.) finding a husband, yes thank you
 Int finding a good man
 Umi yes:
 Int yes (.) [if you noticed
 650 Umi [same to you too
 Int in Brunei (2.0) anyway, let's move on to another topic then (.) let's talk about
 (2.2) your favourite book
 Umi by: (.) Sophie (.) Sophie Kinstella
 Int Sophie Kinsella
 Umi yes
 Int which one
 Umi all of them
 Int all of them
 Umi mm (.) [The Shopaholic
 Int [which one do you love the most
 Umi Shopaholic in: New York (.) Shopaholic (.) er ((pp)) getting married (.) yeah
 Int Shopaholic ties the note [knot
 Umi [yeah (.) and then the shopaholic (.) er (.) with baby:
 Int yeah (1.8) what about the one, and the most recent one Remember Me er no no
 it's not Remember Me (.) Twenties Girl
 Umi ah Twenties Girl [yeah
 Int [yeah (.) do you remember that one
 Umi that's (.) that that particular (.) story is: (.) it have the mixture of (.) humour (.)
 plus erm (.) sadness: (.)
 Int mm-mm
 700 Umi erm (.) I mean overall (.) it's a good book
 Int mm-mm
 Umi it's a very good book
 Int yeah (.) that one (.) do you remember the book erm (.) wha- what are the other
 books that she's written
 Umi erm (.) yeah *lah* Remember Me
 Int *lagi* {again}
 Umi erm
 Int mm-mm (5.2)
 Umi nah I can't remember
 Int Remember Me is which one is it
 Umi erm (2.1) where is it the one that (1.6) ah the lady (.) ((tsk)) (.) have this habit of
 er of *anu* (.) attending (.) funerals (.) is that the one
 Int no it's not, I don't think so [no
 Umi [okay (.) [okay, I got myself mixed up (.) with
 750 Int [that's that's different, no no remember it's mmm Remember Me is the one who
 (.) who had amnesia (.) she was involved in an accident she woke up (.) and
 apparently she had a transformation I mean (.) she couldn't remember that bit
 of her life when she was married (.) she remembered the bit when she was
 ugly (.) she was married to a rich guy
 Umi ah:
 Int sometimes xxx if I'm not mistaken (.) but there's another one Undomestic
 Goddess
-

(continued)

(continued)

Umi ah Domestic Goddess yeah (.) [erm
 Int [I don't remember that one though
 Umi I think it's the one that (.) she's actually a lawyer
 Int I think so yeah
 Umi ah and then she:: (0.9) wanted to have a change of life
 Int mm-mm
 Umi she actually volunteered to be a:: maid
 Int is it
 Umi yeah
 Int oh I don't know (.) I don't remember
 Umi mm
 800 Int and there's another one called erm (.) Can You Keep a Secret (.) have you read
 that one
 Umi I've heard of it (1.7) what *cemana* {how} story *nya* {its} how how do you know
 Int I don't know I don't remember (.) erm but I do I do know that that's one of the
 book er is that (.) something to do with (.) her confiding to a person in a plane
 or somewhere (.) about her life.
 Umi no I don't I don't think I have read that one
 Int oh: so there's one book that you haven't read, so you'd better read that one
 Umi [okay
 Int [that one is also interesting
 Umi all right.
 Int yeah (.) so she's your favourite author
 Umi yeah (1.0) oh I read (.) I have read (1.0) er: a book from (.) *siapa* {who}
 something Hossein
 Int Khaled Hosseini
 Umi ah, Khaled Hosseini
 Int which one is that
 850 Umi erm something sun ah ((tsk)) (4.0)
 Int A Thousand Splendid Suns
 Umi yes (1.9)
 Int which one is that (.) he wrote two books. (.) The Kite [Runner as well.
 Umi [ah The Kite Runner
 Int yeah
 Umi The Kite Runner is actually a good book
 Int what about A Thousand Splendid Suns, you don't like that one
 Umi er:: (.) mmm I think I:: (.) I w- I prefer The Kite Runner
 Int ah okay
 Umi sad story
 Int very
 Umi mm
 Int I read it as well (2.3) so, those are the: (.) er Sophie Kinsella and Khaled Hosseini
 Umi yeah, mean I'm trying to read more but
 Int [was a bit
 Umi [I haven't quite find the time yet
 Int yeah: (.) it's always a problem, time is always a problem
 Umi mmm
 Int and you're going to sit for your exam soon, right

(continued)

(continued)

-
- 900 Umi yes
 Int what exam is that
 Umi er: promotion exam (.) it's for: (2.1) mean (0.8) in order to get yourself upgrade (.) or (1.1) er: (1.8) *na- naik pangkat* {promotion}
 Int promotion
 Umi ah promotion to: (0.5) to: (0.7) the next (.) higher rank (.) so you have to: (.) undergo this (.) promex exam
 Int wh- what does it constitute the promex (.) I mean isn't prom e- (.) promex promotion exam
 Umi yeah
 Int so why do you say promex exam
 Umi I don't know
 Int okay (.) well that's the way they r- normally say it
 Umi [yeah
 Int [right promex exam, right
 Umi yeah
 Int it's just like PIN (.) number
 Umi [yeah
 Int [ATM [machine
 Umi [yes
 Int oka (.) so what exactly, but what does the exam entail, what do you have to do
 950 Umi well erm (.) first:ly: (.) you have to: (.) undergo this (.) erm (.) phase (.) we call it the passport phase (.) where you you you have to do your (.) ((tsk)) (.) BFT {Basic Fitness Test} which is running
 Int mm-mm
 Umi er MST {Military Swimming Test} is swimming
 Int mm-mm
 Umi and AP- APWT {Annual Personal Weapons Test} is er (.) shooting
 Int mm-mm
 Umi after you (.) pass (.) you can proceed to the second phase (.) which is the (1.1) er: tactical (1.2) erm:: (0.9) area
 Int tactical area
 Umi yeah
 Int where you have to be on the ground
 Umi yeah (.) to do the map-reading (.) the signal (.) and:: TEWT [tju:t] (0.6) tactics: er:
 Int how do you spell TEWT
 Umi T E (.) W T
 1000 Int T okay (.) so that's (.) is that er an abbreviation or something
 Umi yes
 Int for (.) what's it tactical
 Umi tactical:
 Int exam
 Umi without troops
 Int okay (1.4) erm (.) and then that's it.
 Umi mean okay if you: pass (.) mean (0.6) oh for the second phase
 Int yeah
 Umi after doing the second phase you: (1.0) go through (.) the third phase
-

(continued)

(continued)

Int mm-mm
 Umi which is actually the last phase (.) it's actua- er:: known as the written exam
 Int mm-mm
 Umi where (0.6) you:: (0.6) had to: you have to these essays: (.) this erm (1.1) er: (1.5)
 kind of like er GOFR { General Order Financial Regulations } (0.8) thing for
 the civilians
 Int mm-mm
 Umi er:
 Int just one essay
 1050 Umi no, a few (1.2) but I haven't been to that area yet so I'm [not quite sure
 Int [so you don't know
 Umi yeah
 Int right (1.5) I mean do you have to actually li- er er attend classes
 Umi yeah (0.8) there are: study weeks: (1.0) [er
 Int [and that's gonna be when
 Umi for the second phase or the third phase
 Int the third phase
 Umi er: last year it was held around (2.1) October (1.0) so: it will be: somewhere
 around that area *jua* {also} this year
 Int but I thought last year it was only for like for captain to major that was (.) why it
 was in October
 Umi no no no no, that's a different *anu tu* {thingamy}
 Int that's a different exam
 Umi yeah
 Int what do you mean
 Umi that's JSC (.) junior staff course (.) [this
 Int [the one that
 Umi yeah (.) [it's a di-
 Int [xxxx
 1100 Umi there there is a different *anu tu* {this} er (.) different programme (.) that is for:
 JSC is actually the third one (.) third phase for captain to major
 Int okay
 Umi for us, lieutenant to captain do we have, we have to undergo the:
 Int the written exam
 Umi yeah
 Int which is (.) something different
 Umi yup
 Int but it's going to be in October as well
 Umi yeah
 Int okay so how long is that gonna be
 Umi [er
 Int [because your your second phase is gonna be for about a month (.) but the actual
 exam is going to be two weeks, right
 Umi yup
 Int and that's gonna be in Jun- (.) er
 Umi July
 Int July
 Umi mid er: (.) end of June to July (.)

(continued)

(continued)

-
- Int yeah
 Umi yeah
 Int the the actually exam *lah*
 Umi yes
 Int then you're gonna be away (.) for the whole of June
 Umi yeah, for: study weeks
 Int yeah
 Umi in in (.) in Penanjong
 Int okay, and then er after that, the third one.
 Umi mm
 Int then that's gonna be for (.) a month, as well
 Umi around that area
 1150 Int around that time okay (.) okay that's gonna be in October (.) then after that (.)
 let's say *Insyah Allah* {by the Grace of Allah} you pass
 Umi er: *amin amin* {amen} *ya* (1.3) if I pass (.) so (0.8) I go on with my life
 Int you'll be promoted to captain straightaway or you have to wait [for:
 Umi [no there's er: (1.6) particular (0.8) month
 Int mm-mm
 Umi I think it's six month *kali* {maybe}, six month (.) [after, yeah
 Int [after passing the exam (.) then you'll be promoted to captain
 Umi if you're lucky
 Int if you're lucky
 Umi mm
 Int why do say if you're lucky
 Umi mean it's depending on the high chain of command
 Int uh-huh (.) why
 1200 Umi because they have to: (.) had er (.) er they will (.) okay after the the the third
 phase (.) they will (.) have this erm (.) promotion meeting, promotion board
 meeting (1.1) know just to (0.8) see whether (.) this person is eligible (0.7) or
 should be promoted (.) to the next rank
 Int mm-mm
 Umi doesn't mean that if you pass exam (.) doesn't mean (.) that you will be promoted
 immediately
 Int mm-mm
 Umi there are few (.) er areas they: they would consider
 Int [mm-mm
 Umi [like the (.) CR (.) er:
 Int CR is the:
 Umi er the: (.) ((tsk)) confidential report, the yearly report
 Int mm-mm
 Umi er don't d- d- d-
 Int it's like the annual appraisal
 Umi yeah
 Int for the civilians
 Umi yeah (1.1) so they would take that as conteri- consideration.
 Int mm-mm (.) what else
 Umi erm:
-

(continued)

(continued)

	Int	CR (2.2)
	Umi	and
	Int	and whether you're good at sucking up ((laughs))
1250	Umi	yeah you can say that or: oh no (.) and they would see whether your: establishment is: (.) erm (.) er:: mean (.) whether your (.) the the the current establishment that you're holding, have the next (.) er (.) higher (.) rank.
	Int	mm-mm (.) okay (.) oh, okay I understand (.) if there is <i>kekosongan</i> {vacancy}
	Umi	yeah (.) <i>macam</i> {like} for example okay (.) if I'm gonna pass (.) oka, I'm [gonna be:
	Int	[mm
	Umi	a captain (.) but in my establishment if (.) there's no a (.) there's er:: there is (.) no captain post (.) so I have to be posted out in order to get that (.) rank
	Int	oh, okay
	Umi	yeah
	Int	but there is right
	Umi	yeah
	Int	where you are
	Umi	my my: my current (.) [er::
	Int	[post is actually for captain
	Umi	it no:: it's until major
	Int	yeah (.) okay

Appendix E: The BruDirect Data

Details of the 15 discussion threads that are analysed in Chap. 7. (The most recent thread is shown first.)

HYS-1

Brief Title: House

Full Title: House

Date of initial post: 2 May 2012

URL: <http://www.bruneihys.net/newhys/2012/05/02/house/>

HYS-2

Brief Title: Fairness

Full Title: Where Is The Legal Fairness?

Date of initial post: 23 April 2012

URL: <http://www.bruneihys.net/newhys/2012/04/23/where-is-the-legal-fairness/>

HYS-3

Brief Title: Sweet Child

Full Title: Death Of The Sweet Child: Who Is To Blame?

Date of initial post: 19 March 2012

URL: <http://www.bruneihys.net/newhys/2012/03/19/the-death-of-the-sweet-child-who-is-to-blame/>

HYS-4

Brief Title: B-Mobile

Full Title: B-Mobile Phone Charge

Date of initial post: 7 March 2012

URL: <http://www.bruneihys.net/newhys/2012/03/07/b-mobile-recharge-card/>

HYS-5

Brief Title: Jobless

Full Title: Jobless Until Now

Date of initial post: 14 February 2012

URL: <http://www.bruneihys.net/newhys/2012/02/14/jobless-until-now/>

HYS-6

Brief Title: Salary

Full Title: Salary In Private Sector

Date of initial post: 13 December 2011

URL: <http://www.bruneihys.net/newhys/2011/12/13/salary-in-private-sector/>

HYS-7

Brief Title: Government

Full Title: Government Housing

Date of initial post: 3 October 2011

URL: <http://www.bruneihys.net/newhys/2011/10/03/government-housing/>

HYS-8

Brief Title: Open House

Full Title: 2 Pupils Dead Because Of Open House

Date of initial post: 10 September 2011

URL: <http://www.bruneihys.net/newhys/2011/09/10/2-pupils-dead-because-of-open-house/>

HYS-9

Brief Title: Cheaters

Full Title: Immediate Action Needed To Cheaters Liars Esp Maid Agent

Date of initial post: 21 August 2011

URL: <http://www.bruneihys.net/newhys/2011/08/21/immediate-action-needed-to-cheaters-liars-esp-maid-agent/>

HYS-10

Brief Title: Good Sense

Full Title: Good Sense In Managers

Date of initial post: 6 August 2011

URL: <http://www.bruneihys.net/newhys/2011/08/06/good-sense-in-managers/>

HYS-11

Brief Title: Thank You's

Full Title: Don't Forget Your Thank-You's, Please

Date of initial post: 6 August 2011

URL: <http://www.bruneihys.net/newhys/2011/08/06/dont-forget-your-thank-yous-please/>

HYS-12

Brief Title: Urgent

Full Title: Urgent Help Needed

Date of initial post: 30 July 2011

URL: <http://www.bruneihys.net/newhys/2011/07/30/urgent-help-needed/>

HYS-13

Brief Title: Cell Phones

Full Title: Cell Phone Towers Don't Belong Next To Homes And Children

Date of initial post: 6 July 2011

URL: <http://www.bruneihys.net/newhys/2011/07/06/cell-phone-towers-don't-belong-next-to-homes-and-children/>

HYS-14

Brief Title: Justification

Full Title: What Is The Justification?

Date of initial post: 2 July 2011

URL: <http://www.bruneihys.net/newhys/2011/07/02/what-is-the-justification/>

HYS-15

Brief Title: Rain Water

Full Title: Rain Water System

Date of initial post: 15 June 2011

URL: <http://www.bruneihys.net/newhys/2011/06/15/rain-water-system/>

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