LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY
IN
NEGARA BRUNEI DARUSSALAM
An Ecological Perspective

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ABSTRACT

Linguistic Diversity in Negara Brunei Darussalam: An Ecological Perspective

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Despite its tiny size and population, Brunei Darussalam is linguistically and ethnically diverse. The dominant race, the Malays, is made up of seven different ethnic groups, namely Belait, Bisaya, Brunei Malays, Dusun, Kedayan, Murut and Tutong, all of whom are considered indigenous to Brunei. With the exception of the Brunei Malays and Kedayans, each of the other groups traditionally speaks their own distinct indigenous languages that are distinct from the Malay language. Drawing on qualitative data obtained through interviews and documentary analysis, this study aims to explore the historical and contemporary interrelationships between these languages within the 'ecology of language' framework, and to find out how the notion of linguistic diversity interplays with national unity in the face of modernization. Although the study reveals a high level of tolerance by the informants toward linguistic diversity, there is evidence to suggest that as the minority ethnic population are abandoning their traditional languages and shifting to Malay, a synchronous convergent evolutionary process of identity shift is occurring too. The implications are that as linguistic diversity is diminishing in Brunei, so too is cultural diversity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

MAP OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

MAP OF BRUNEI DARUSSALAM

Source: Brudirect.com [http://www.file.brudirect.com/about_brunei/index.html] Accessed
1 August 2004

Key:
- ▫ **River**
- • Town/ Village

KEY DATES OF BRUNEI

1841	Brunei ceded Sarawak to James Brooke
1846	Brunei ceded Labuan to Britain
1847	Brunei signed Trade Relations Treaty with Britain
1888	Brunei became a British-protected State
1906	British Resident appointed
1906-41	A new form of government emerged which included a State Council
1929	Oil was struck at Seria
1941-45	Japanese occupation during World War II
1950-67	Reign of Sultan Haji Omar 'Ali Saifuddien
1962	Armed rebellion put down
1967	Brunei issued its own currency
1967	The voluntary abdication of the 28th Sultan, His Highness Sir Muda Omar 'Ali Saifuddien Sa'adul Khairi Waddien (Al-Marhum Sultan Haji Omar 'Ali Saifuddien Sa'adul Khairi Waddien)
1968	Coronation of His Majesty The Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan
1970	The State capital, Brunei Town, was renamed Bandar Seri Begawan
1971	The 1959 Agreement was amended and brought up-to-date
1972	LNG plant began operation
1973	Deep Water Port opened in Muara
1973	Official opening of the world's largest LNG plant
1974	Brunei International Airport opened
1975	The launch of Royal Brunei Airlines
1979	Brunei and Britain signed the Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation
1984	Brunei resumed full political sovereignty
1984	Brunei joined ASEAN, OIC and the United Nations
1984	Brunei celebrated its first National Day
1985	University of Brunei Darussalam was formed
1986	The demise of Sultan Haji Omar 'Ali Saifuddien Sa'adul Khairi Waddien, His Majesty's father, the 28th Sultan.
1987	University of Brunei Darussalam opened
1988	Opening of the Malay Technology Museum
1989	The first convocation of University Brunei Darussalam
1991	The setting up of the Brunei Islamic Trust Fund (TAIB).
1992	Brunei joined Non Aligned Movements (NAM)
1992	Silver Jubilee of the reign of His Majesty Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah, Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan of Brunei Darussalam
1998	Proclamation of His Royal Highess Prince Haji Al-Muhtadee Billah as the Crown Prince

Source: Brudirect.com [http://www.file.brudirect.com/about_brunei/index.html] Accessed 1 August 2004

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Chapter 1   Introduction

Linguistic research in Brunei has primarily concentrated on Malay, the country's official language, while other languages within its multilingual setting seem to be largely ignored. More importantly there appears to be a persistent misconception that languages spoken by the minority ethnic groups in Brunei are all dialects of the Malay language, even though academic studies have shown that they are in fact different languages. The confusion generally results from an official stance held for political reasons that conflicts with academic definitions of language and dialect (see discussion in Sections 2.1, 2.2, 3.1 and 3.2). The intention of this study is to consider the historical and contemporary interrelationships specifically between the languages of the indigenous ethnic groups that make up the Malay race in Brunei within the 'ecology of language' framework. Another central aim is to find out how the notions of linguistic diversity interplay with national unity and the increasing influence of modernization. This study also looks at the impact of language and education policy on the ethnic, cultural and linguistic landscape, at both community and national levels, by exploring the complex interconnections between the factors that support linguistic diversity and language ecology. To put this study into context, a brief introduction to the country of study is appropriate.

1.1   Country of Study: Brunei Darussalam

The official name of Brunei is Negara Brunei Darussalam, which means 'Brunei the Abode of Peace'. The following details about Brunei are obtained from the Government of Brunei official website (www.brunei.gov.bn).

1.1.1. Geography

Brunei is situated on the north-west of the island of Borneo, between east longitudes 114 degrees 04' and 11 degrees 23' and north latitudes of 4 degrees 00' and 5 degrees 05'. It has a total area of 5,765-sq. km. with a northern coastline of about 161-km along the South China Sea. Brunei is surrounded inland by the Malaysian State of Sarawak, dividing it into two. The eastern part is the Temburong District, while the western portion consists of Brunei-Muara, Tutong and Belait districts.

The 570-sq.km. Brunei-Muara District, where the capital, Bandar Seri Begawan is located, is the smallest, but most populous of the four districts. This district is the most significant in terms of it being the centre of government and commerce. The 1166 sq. km. Tutong District, the third largest, is home to indigenous groups like the Tutong, the Kedayan, Dusun and Iban. The Belait District, the centre of the oil and gas industries, is about 100 km from the capital.

1.1.2 Government

Brunei is an independent sovereign Sultanate which is governed on the basis of a written Constitution (1959). His Majesty The Sultan and *Yang Di-Pertuan* (lit. 'He who is made lord') is the supreme executive authority in Brunei Darussalam. His Majesty has occupied the position of Prime Minister since resumption of independence in 1984. Brunei has followed a combination of traditional and reforming policies, moving away from a structure of a Chief Minister and State Secretary to a full ministerial system with specified portfolios. There are 11 ministries altogether in Brunei's administrative system, centering on the Prime Minister's Office.

1.1.3 Economy

Brunei is still very much dependent on revenues from crude oil and natural gas to finance its development programmes. Brunei is the third largest oil producer in Southeast Asia and it produces 163,000 barrels of crude oil per day. It is also the fourth largest producer of liquefied natural gas in the world. National revenue also derives from rents, royalties, corporate tax and dividends. Due to the non-renewable nature of oil and gas, economic diversification has become an important item on Brunei's national development agenda. In the Eighth National Development Plan (2002-2007) the government has allocated more than B$1 billion for the implementation of various projects and programmes.

1.1.4 Population

The population of Brunei Darussalam according to the population census of 2001 (Govt. of Brunei 2003) is 332,844 persons, an increase of 8,044 persons from the mid year population estimate 2000. Of the said total, 168,925 (50.75%) are males and 163,919 (49.25%) females.

This estimate includes all people residing in Brunei Darussalam. The Malays, which includes ethnic communities of Belait, Bisaya, Brunei Malay, Dusun, Kedayan, Murut and Tutong, constitutes the major population group numbering at 222,101 (66.73%). According to the Brunei Government official website (www.brunei.gov.bn), other indigenous groups such as the Ibans and Kelabits account for 11,699 persons (3.51%), Chinese at 37,056 persons (11.13%) and 61,988 persons (18.62%) of 'other races' that are not specified, but presumed to include expatriate population.

The population distribution by district shows that Brunei/Muara District has the

largest share with a total of 230,030 persons (69.11%) while Belait and Tutong Districts have 55,602 persons (16.71%) and 38,649 persons (11.61%) respectively. Temburong District has the smallest population of 8,563 persons (2.57%).

1.1.5   Religion

Islam is the official religion of Brunei Darussalam as stated in the Brunei Constitution, with His Majesty the Sultan as the head of the Islamic faith in the country. Thus Islam plays a central role in government and the daily lives of ordinary people. Islam first arrived in Old Brunei (also known as Po'li or Poni) in the 10th century through Muslim traders from Arabia, Sumatera and Malacca, although it was only officially accepted as 'state religion' with the conversion of Sultan Muhammad Shah, the first Islamic sultan of Brunei, circa 1360 (Haji Awang Mohd. Jamil Al-Sufri 2000).

Christianity, Buddhism and other indigenous pagan religions are also practised in the country.

1.1.6   Language

'Bahasa Melayu' or Malay language is the official language of Brunei as declared by Article 82 of the Brunei Constitution of 1959. This document is central to this study and will be referred to consistently throughout this thesis. Other vernaculars spoken in Brunei are Belait, Bisaya, Dusun, Murut, Kedayan and Tutong, although these are often called 'dialects of Malay'. Chinese is also spoken in its many dialects, as well as English. A more detailed description of the languages spoken in Brunei can be found in Chapter Three.

1.1.7   Culture

Brunei's 'national' culture is mainly derived from the Old Malay World, which encompassed the Malay Archipelago and from this stemmed what is known as the Malay Civilisation. Based on historical facts, various cultural elements and foreign civilisations had a hand in influencing the culture of this country. Thus, the influence of culture can be traced to four dominating periods of animism, Hinduism, Islam and the West. However, it was Islam that managed to entwine deep into the culture of Brunei, hence it became a way of life and adopted as the state's national ideology and philosophy.

1.2   Rationale for this Study

This study derives from the personal experiences of the researcher whose father is Dusun, and mother Tutong, although he was brought up primarily using the Tutong language, and was surrounded by childhood friends who also mainly spoke Tutong, and Dusun paternal relatives. Living in a tiny but multilingual district (Tutong, specifically Kampung Keriam) where Kedayan and Iban are also spoken meant I was exposed to various languages growing up. Socializing in a private English school in the early years was slightly problematic as I had to learn to communicate in Brunei Malay, English and Chinese with other students who spoke their own different mother tongues. However, by the time I entered secondary school, where the students came from even more diverse linguistic backgrounds (Brunei Malay, Chinese, Dusun, Iban, Kedayan, Tutong etc.), I had become oblivious to the different languages and slightly more adept at communicating with others who didn't share my own mother tongue. I believe that my experience with those from other language communities was fairly typical, particularly during secondary school, as at that time there were only two secondary schools to absorb students of various backgrounds from the whole of

Tutong district. What is important throughout these episodes, probably, is the realization and appreciation of the different languages that were spoken by friends who came from different ethnic backgrounds. Over the years however I began to notice that my language being used in my own family home had changed. We now speak Malay and English to our nephews and nieces at home, although among the older members of the family we still speak Tutong primarily. The youngest of my family members who can speak fluent Tutong now is my 20 year old nephew. The other youngsters speak Malay and English as their mothertongue, without any Tutong or Dusun. Hence within my own home, the language ecology has changed. I was curious therefore to see if this situation was typical in other minority ethnic families in Brunei. Backed by empirical research and evidence, this study explores the notion of linguistic diversity and how it is perceived in modern Brunei.

1.3   Research Approach

The chosen approach for this study is the qualitative approach. The nature of the data drawn from semi-structured interviews and documentary analysis demands an interpretive analysis, which the qualitative approach provides. Documentary data and documentary analysis, in particular, have been incorporated into Chapters 2 and 3 that deal with the sociohistorical and sociolinguistic background of Brunei. The theoretical and methodological considerations that have gone into the design of this study are discussed in Chapter 5.

1.4   Research Questions

This study attempts to answer the following main research questions:

1. How have the languages of Brunei historically been positioned in relation to the Malay language? What policies have there been towards Malay and the other indigenous languages of Brunei?[1]

2. What dynamics have determined the relationship between linguistic diversity, on the one hand, and linguistic unity, on the other? In other words, what is the interrelationship between multilingual Brunei and the Malay epicentre?

These are supported by the following guiding questions:

i. How is language perceived in relation to ethnic identity?

ii. What is the people's attitude to monolingualism/ multilingualism?

iii. What events in Brunei's history may have had a significant impact on the present language ecology?

iv. What do people believe the future holds for languages in Brunei?

1.5   Significance of the Study

While previous studies on languages in Brunei have mainly concentrated on the Malay language or on a particular indigenous language in isolation (with the notable exceptions of Nothofer 1991 and Martin & Poedjosoedarmo 1996 – see Chapters 3 and 4 for literature review), this study considers all of the Malay

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[1] See Chapter 3 for detailed discussion on Malay and other languages in Brunei, as well as the definition of 'Malay language' used in this thesis.

dialects and ethnic languages of Brunei at once. Another significant strength of this study is the theoretical framework in which it is conducted, that is, the ecological approach. It is enlightened by discussions of socio-historical and socio-ecological ideas, to provide a full understanding of Brunei's rich linguistic diversity that may provide the basis for future directions in linguistic research in Brunei. At the same time, it is hoped to add to our existing knowledge of the language ecology of small, multilingual nation states.

1.6   Thesis Outline

The nature of the topic in hand means that repetition of several of the themes is inevitable; nothing necessarily falls into a neat developmental order. This issue is recognized by the researcher. However, every effort has been made to minimize the overlap and focus the attention on distinct aspects of the ostensibly repetitive theme. As stated above, the primary source of data in this study has been the interviews, supported by documentary data. Documentary evidence has mostly been incorporated into the background chapters in the earlier part of the thesis.

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 details the social and political history of Brunei, outlining the change in government and the creation of the modern state that would be the blueprint of contemporary Brunei. The impact of the arrival of the first British Resident in 1906 on the social life of Brunei, and indirectly on the sociolinguistics of Brunei, effected primarily through the schools and the education system will be analyzed. The Brunei Constitution of 1959 is central to this study for its declaration that Malay was to be the official language. Chapter 2 also discusses issues of the national philosophy, 'Melayu Islam Beraja' (Malay Muslim Monarchy), which has been vigorously promoted since Brunei achieved independence in 1984.

The multilingual make-up of the Bruneian population is discussed in Chapter 3. For a country with a tiny size and population, the linguistic diversity that Brunei has is impressive. In this chapter, the different ethnic groups and ethnic languages are discussed. The history of the selection of Malay as the official language is also analyzed in this chapter. And it is inevitable in linguistically diverse countries such as Brunei that multilingualism becomes part of life. The bilingual education policy ensures at least some degree of English-Malay bilingualism among the educated populace (some of whom are arguably are already 'informally bilingual'), and this too will be discussed, along with the discussion of language planning efforts within the educational sector.

Chapter 4 reviews the body of literature that forms the theoretical framework in this study. The primary issue of linguistic diversity is discussed as the main thrust in relation to the concept of language ecology. The origins of language ecology theory, its subsequent development, and its significance to the study are put into context in this chapter. Also outlined in this chapter is the link between language and culture, and between linguistic diversity and cultural diversity. There will be discussion of the phenomenon of language contact that underlies the process of language shift, a key theme that has emerged from the data. This is followed by an explanation of the Ruiz Orientations model and Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory that are used to analyze data in subsequent chapters.

The methodology and design of the research will be detailed in Chapter 5. This chapter is divided into two sections. Section 5.1 reviews the literature on research design and methodology that was considered before the actual process of data collection was carried out. Section 5.2 outlines the steps that were taken in designing the study, the pilot study, the data collection process and the treatment of the data.

How linguistic diversity and linguistic unity are perceived in Brunei is discussed in Chapter 6, together with the perceived relationship of each of the languages

with the culture of Brunei. This is done through the lens of the Orientations model described in Chapter 4. A main theme in this chapter is the tolerance of linguistic diversity in Brunei. These discussions are based on interview data.

Chapter 7 examines the factors that contribute to the prevalent shift in language observed to be occurring among the minority ethnic communities of Brunei. The discussion will be guided by the variables of Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory outlined in Chapter 4. It will be argued that language shift in Brunei operates on two levels, language and dialectal, and that there appears to be a convergence on a common code, 'Pan-Brunei Malay'.

The implications of the rapid language shift on linguistic and cultural diversity, and the linguistic ecology of Brunei are discussed in Chapter 8. Although English was not initially part of this study of indigenous languages, it emerged from the interviews that its role in the changing linguistic landscape could not be ignored. Drawing on the findings in the preceding chapters, the changes that have occurred in the language ecology of Brunei will be traced.

The thesis concludes with a discussion of the main findings of this study, a response to the research questions, a review of the limitations and some suggestions of areas of possible research.

Chapter 2   Sociohistorical Background of Brunei

This chapter aims to provide the sociohistorical and sociopolitical background of Brunei. First, the population make-up of Brunei is described and discussed in Section 2.1. As explained in the introductory chapter, the focus is on the seven indigenous groups officially and collectively recognized as the 'Malay race' (*Bangsa Melayu*). This section discusses the sociological processes of change that Bruneians have gone and are going through, resulting in a convergence of separate ethnic identities into one single 'national identity'. However, ethnic identification is never a simple process, and the problem of nomenclature is only one of the problems involved in the process is highlighted in Section 2.2.

Section 2.3 proceeds to examine the ideology behind the concepts of 'nationhood' and 'national identity' and situates the discussion within the Bruneian context. It is argued that Brunei, like any other political entity, has its own ways of creating an identity that will be shared by its people.

Having discussed the creation of the nation, Section 2.4 traces the history of the nation-state of Brunei by first charting Brunei's transition from the traditional and feudal system of government at the turn of the last century. Documentary accounts of the condition of the country before the arrival of its first British Resident shows the destitute conditions Brunei was in as its physical size dwindled in the face of takeover threats from Sarawak that surrounds it (Section 2.4.1). The installation of the new 'modern' system of government and its achievements in the creation of a modern state is outlined in Section 2.4.2.

With its new independent status the need to define a national identity became more evident. The theme of identity is pertinent to this study as there is strong evidence that identities are shifting in tandem with language shift. The national ideology of *Melayu Islam Beraja (MIB),* proclaimed to embody the core elements

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of true Bruneian identity, is discussed in Section 2.5. Each of the elements of the MIB trilogy and its link to language is examined. Here, the fundamental link between language and Brunei's national ideology will be established.

This is followed by Section 2.6 outlining the history of the education system through which the MIB ideology, the national identity and the official language, Malay, is disseminated. The impact of the education system on the sociological conditions of Brunei, and more specifically, the influence of the bilingual education system on linguistic diversity in Brunei will also be examined.

2.1   The Peoples of Brunei

To reiterate, in this study I shall focus primarily on the seven indigenous ethnic Malay groups as officially defined by the Brunei constitution. The 2001 Population Census records the total population of Brunei for 2003 as 348,800, out of which, 232,200 are Malay 'by race' (Government of Brunei 2003). The 'Malay by race' label in the 2001 census follows the 1961 Nationality Act of Brunei that states that there are seven indigenous groups of the Malay race, these are: Belait, Bisaya, Brunei, Dusun, Kedayan, Murut, and Tutong. Historically they are believed to be the original inhabitants of Brunei. By this definition, there exists then the non-indigenous population of Brunei, most notably the Chinese, Indian and expatriate population who form about 10% of the population, but are linguistically and culturally less consequential in terms of the collective dominance of the indigenous 'Malay' groups. The strong cultural and linguistic dissimilarities between the indigenous and the non-indigenous groups is another reason why they have been left out of this study, apart from their omission from the constitutional definition of 'Malay' persons. However, the breakdown figures for each of the ethnic groups that make up the 'Malay race' in the 2001 census are not available. It will be argued in this thesis that there is a move toward a single national identity among the younger generations of Bruneians, and that perhaps

the unavailability of ethnic group figures mentioned above is part of the government's action to downplay ethnic differences.

The Brunei, Kedayan and Tutong groups are traditionally Muslims while the Belaits are mostly Muslim. The Bisayas and Dusuns are traditionally non-Muslim, although a substantial number have converted to Islam. The majority of the Muruts are Christians. Other minority groups such as the Ibans and the Penans, on the other hand, were excluded from the 'Malay' group in 1961. Although indigenous to Borneo Island, they are not indigenous to Brunei (Jones 1994:14). The term 'Malay' in Brunei therefore can refer to one who is Muslim (though not always so, argues Martin 2002), to one's legal status, one's linguistic affiliation and grouping, or one's specific cultural practice (Martin 2002, Maxwell 1980:151). A more detailed discussion of the definitions of 'Malay' can be found in Section 2.2 in this chapter.

Of the seven constitutional 'Malay' groups, the Bruneis are the most dominant. In fact Brown (1970:14) even refers to the other indigenous groups as 'ethnic groups of lesser significance.' The Bruneis are also the most highly stratified group, with the Sultan and the royal family at the apex. In the feudalistic system of government inherited from the ancient Kingdom of Brunei, the subjects of Brunei, comprised of indigenous ethnic groups, paid taxes to and were 'owned' by the person to whom the land they lived on belonged. This person was invariably from the more dominant cultural group, the Bruneis.

Within the hierarchical ethnic Brunei community, social standing is determined largely by proximity to the royal family by birth or appointment indicated by both inherited and bestowed titles, which are extremely important where top non-nobles are conferred the title of 'Pehin', followed by 'Dato' (Kershaw 2001a). In this regard, all the other ethnic groups, apart from the Bruneis, are 'linked to the Brunei sultanate by various... non-Brunei leaders, who [are] designated 'menteri darat' (lit. 'land chiefs') in the Brunei administrative system' (King 1994:181).

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Members of ethnic groups that occupy lower positions of prestige in the societal structure of Brunei gain a considerable amount of esteem from identification of being Malay (cf. Maxwell 1980:149). This fact is of huge significance in this study.

In the Nationality Act of 1961, the term 'Malay' in fact includes predominantly non-Muslim groups such as the Dusuns and Muruts. But Kershaw explains, however, that although 'Malay' in the constitutional context is 'racial' and imprecise. "The seven precisely named groups that are comprised therein were able to be thus specified because of their well-defined linguistic and cultural traits and associated identity – in current terminology, their 'ethnicity'" (Kershaw 1999). Gunn (1997:6) and Martin (1990:130-131), however' suggest that the distinctions between these groups have been deliberately blurred especially due to *Islamicization* and *Malayicization* processes, which Martin also calls a 'cultural and linguistic redefinition' (Martin 2002). Other important factors that have also influenced self-identification among the ethnic groups in Brunei are education, new employment patterns, urbanization, and intermarriage (King 2001).

Linguistically, the effect of such blurring of ethnic demarcation as described above is the convergence of ethnic language speakers on the lingua franca Brunei Malay, as will be shown in Chapters 7 and 8. More importantly, cultural and linguistic differences between the existing Muslim groups are becoming progressively eroded among the younger cohorts (Kershaw 1999). This is in combination with growing 'national' consciousness in the country. In this respect, Kershaw observes what seems to be happening is not the rise of a new term but an incipient shift of '*Melayu Brunei*' from its role as synonym for the ethnic Brunei Malays into an aggregative term to include all indigenous Bruneian Muslims. 'Melayu Brunei' is indeed the term used in the Malay text of the Constitutional Ammendment of 1983 on the conditions to be Prime Minister. In a deeper sense, Kershaw (1999) argues, the use of this new term can mean that

officials who are mostly from the Brunei Malay ethnic group have come to perceive a need to play down their ancestral primacy in the stratified population of Brunei, by consciously severing the old, exclusive link between the '*Melayu Brunei*' terminology and the society of *Kampung Ayer* (lit. 'Water Village' – the traditional settlement area of the Bruneis on Brunei River). But probably the most significant impact of the Nationality Enactment of 1961 was its effect "to attract or gently push all groups towards self-identification as indigenous 'Bruneians'" (E.M. Kershaw 1994:180). E.M. Kershaw further argues that if the new usage entices other groups also into playing down their ancestral identity too, the government would be left with a less pluralistic population to administer. Which beggars the question: is this convergence into a single Bruneian identity is what is really happening?

In the next section, the problems of identification and categorization of the ethnic people of Brunei will be traced.

2.2   The Changing Definitions of the Malay Person: Problems of Nomenclature

Ethnic identity and nomenclature have been a longstanding problem in anthropological literature on Borneo. Brown (1970:3) cites Harrisson's observation that 'the identification and classification of Bornean ethnic groups is a problem that plagues the social scientist and the census taker for a number of reasons', one of which, Brown says, 'is the contrasts between what people called themselves and what others called them.' The significance of ethnic identification in the study of language in Brunei is that the names of ethnic communities are also used as the names of their languages, and this can be problematic at times, as discussed in Chapter 3. For the benefit of the reader, the Nationality Act of Brunei 1961 definition of the Malay race is quoted here again:

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Subject of His Majesty by operation of law
4. (1) (a) any person born in Brunei Darussalam before, on or after the
appointed day who is commonly accepted as belonging to one of the
following indigenous groups of the Malay race, namely, Belait, Bisayah,
Brunei, Dusun, Kedayan, Murut or Tutong ...

(Govt. of Brunei 1961)

This document has since been adopted as the hard and fast rule of citizenship and
determining ethnic affiliation of Brunei citizens. The first proper records of
ethnic classification, however, can be found in the Brunei Annual Reports (BAR)
beginning in the 1906:

Est. Population 25,000:		
	Malays	12,000
	Kadayans	7,000
	Bisayas	4,000
	Muruts	1,000
	Chinese	500
	Other Nat.	500

(Govt. of Brunei 1906)

Note that 'Malays' in this earliest report refers to a distinct group, the Bruneis.
Note also that in the 1906 BAR there is no inclusion of the Tutong and Dusun
population, although there is mention of the Bisayas who 'are chiefly found on the
headwaters of the Tutong and Belait Districts' (Govt. of Brunei 1906:19). This
does highlight the problems with nomenclature and figures: Does 'Bisayas'
include the Dusuns, as well as the Tutongs, for that matter? The 4,000 figure does
seem unrealistically high in relation to the total population at that time, and does
not match current proportions in the population chart. In 1910 the BAR does not
supply a population figure although the Tutongs and Dusuns are now recognized
as separate communities.

The first ever Population Census in Brunei was taken on 24 April 1921, in which it was reported that the total population was 25,454. The 1921 BAR explained that:

Malays and Bornean Races comprised 23,938.

The constituent races of the "Malay" population were approximately as follows:

Malays	13, 784		Belaits	449
Kedayans	4,641		Dyaks	235
Tutongs	2,391		Javanese	150
Dusuns	1,115		Banjarese	38
Bukits	580		Others	54
Muruts	556			

(Govt. of Brunei 1921)

While the term 'Malay' is still used to refer specifically to the Bruneis, the other groups that were recognized as 'jati' (indigenous) in the 1959 Constitution, are all listed, although in the 1921 document the Bisayas are referred to as the 'Bukits', an obvious reference to their traditional habitation ('bukit' meaning 'hill'). However it was only in 1941 that the report began to use the term 'Bruneis' to specify the 'Malays':

the principal indigenous races of the state are Bruneis (as the Malays proper are called), Kedayans, Tutongs, Dusuns, Muruts and Dayaks."

(Govt. of Brunei 1941)

Six years later, the term 'Brunei Malays' began to appear:

the principal indigenous races of the State are Brunei Malays, Kedayans, Tutongs, Dusuns, Belaits, Muruts, and Dyaks.

(Govt. of Brunei 1947)

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The 'Dyaks' (also spelt 'dayaks') were later excluded from the definitive 'Puak Jati' (indigenous ethnic group) list in the Brunei Constitution of 1959, while the Bisayas, who since the 1906 report have rather curiously been consistently left unmentioned, were now included. This is the legal and constitutional definition of the 'Malay race' that remains in use today.

In Section 1 (Area, Population and Vital Statistics) of the preliminary findings report of the 2001 Census, Brunei's latest, the following is stated:

> (2) In 1971, 1981 and 1991 the definition of 'Malay' was changed to indigenous population of the Malay race which consisted of "Malay, Dusun, Murut, Kedayan and Bisaya" and the last four of which were included in the Other Indigenous in previous censuses
>
> (Govt. of Brunei 2003)

In the statement above, the Belaits and Tutongs seem to have been either absorbed into the Malay group or (mistakenly?) omitted. However, if indeed the Belaits and Tutongs were included in the Malay group (perhaps on religious grounds), the 2003 document does not offer any explanation why the Kedayans (who are Muslims too, if religion was indeed the basis of Malay definition in this particular document) are listed separately.

This latest attempt to clarify the definition of 'Malay', in addition to the examination of the Brunei Annual Report figures above demonstrates the complexities of group labelling and nomenclature. The 2001 census document also does not break down the population figure for 'Malays' into different constituent ethnic groups, or at least the breakdown is not made public[2],

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[2] An attempt was made to obtain the ethnic breakdown figures but the researcher was informed that they were highly classified and would not be published.

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suggesting a de-emphasizing of ethnic differences among the population. This issue is picked up later in Chapter 6.

The importance of accurate identification and categorization of the ethnic population with the emergence of the modern state of Brunei and the perceived need for a 'national identity' is discussed in the next section.

2.3   The Concepts of 'Nation' and 'National Identity' in Brunei

It is pertinent to understand the Bruneian context of the 'nation' and 'national identity', because as we shall later see, language is used by Bruneians to express their identity in their own unique way.

Hall (1996:612) defines 'nations' not just as political formations but also as 'systems of cultural representations' (which would include languages) through which a community is interpreted. In Bruneian terms, the concept of nationhood is encased in the term *'Negara'* (lit. 'nation'), and closely related to this is *'Bangsa'* (lit. 'race'). These two concepts, and a third, the notion of *'Bahasa'* (lit. 'language'), according to Martin (2002), are embodied in the 1959 Constitution (Government of Brunei 1961) and the 1984 Proclamation of Independence (Saunders 1994:175-176). They represent the cornerstones of Brunei's desire to assert a unique identity for Bruneians by defining the nation in exclusively Malay terms (Gunn 1997:214, in Martin 2002). This 'national uniqueness' is in turn used to promote the process of national identification 'by raising individuality ... to the national level' (Wodak et al 1999:27). Through this process the state mostly conceals its "act of homogenization and erasures of differences which is manifested in the epithet 'national'" (ibid.). Commenting on nation-building and national identity in Southeast Asia in the 1970s, Chan & Evers (1973:301) observe that 'major emphasis is placed on the need to create a national identity because it is seen to be inextricably bound up with political instability.' Nation-building through identity formation would entail a process through which an

individual of a political system is trained to subsume his cultural, social, and ethnic identity under a broader and more general 'national identity', usually through the education system (Bourdieu 1994:1-18; Wodak et al 1999:29). This issue will be discussed in greater detail in the discussion of Bruneian identity in Section 2.5, as well as Chapters 7 and 8.

2.4 The Creation of the Nation-State of Brunei

In order to understand where Brunei's traditional sultanate system of government fits into its new modern nationhood, it is crucial that we examine its history and transition from traditional to modern government.

2.4.1 Feudal Brunei

In an early colonial manuscript titled 'Observations on the Brunei Political System, 1883-1885' written by Dr Peter Leys, British Consul to Brunei from 1881 to1889, he outlined the central structure of the Brunei state, with its Sultan, four '*Wazir*' (Viziers), eight '*Cheteria*' (Core Nobles) and sixteen '*Menteri*' (Ministers). Leys also described a system of rights over people and revenues in which these officers and '*pengirans*' (nobles) theoretically exercised power over outlying rivers and districts. Pringle (1968:129) comments that what Leys described was rather a government of people, not of territory: 'Strictly speaking, it is not the land that belongs to these Pengirans, but the right to tax people living on it.'

Pringle further comments that in the Western scheme of things, this right of the Brunei nobles would fall into three categories: *Judicial* (judging criminal offences), *Fiscal* (levying taxes), and *Commercial* (controlling trade), although 'there was no such clear distinction between these categories in the minds of the Brunei rulers' (ibid.).

In 1839 James Brooke, a private British citizen, managed to get a toehold in Sarawak, then the southernmost fiefdom of Brunei. In 1841, in return for his help in suppressing a local rebellion, Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin II of Brunei made him Governor of Sarawak, and he became the 'White Rajah' of Sarawak. James Brooke and his nephew Charles Brooke wrested chunks of Brunei territories through various means (Hussainmiya 1995: 11). In 1887 Sir Frederick Weld sensed the threat of extinction that the once mighty Kingdom of Brunei faced from this encroachment of the Brookes of Sarawak. Consequently, a treatise called the 'Umanat' (Promise) was signed between Sultan Hashim of Brunei and Britain in 1888, through which, Brunei would benefit from British protection the guarantee that no more land would be ceded to Sarawak. This meant that the Brunei physical entity would have a chance of survival at least. Despite this, the kingdom far from flourished and remained vulnerable right up to 1904 when McArthur, who subsequently became the first British Resident, arrived in Brunei, which he described simply as 'an aggregation of small and semi-independent fiefs acknowledging one head' with a weak central authority (Horton 1987:25). In her study of the relationship between the Melanaus of Sarawak and the government of Brunei, Boulanger describes the contemporary sense of national unity among ethnic communities of feudal Borneo. Boulanger states, 'there was no consciousness of unity beyond the riverine system in which people resided, even this riverine consciousness was underdeveloped, insofar as it was seldom necessary to recognize fellowship beyond one's own village' (Boulanger 2001).

This lack of sense of national unity was immediately obvious to McArthur in his first visit to Brunei. He noted, 'no Government in the usual acceptance of the term – only ownership. The sultan has no real power except over his own districts and people' (McArthur 1904, in Horton 1987:25). It was also observed that Brunei had no salaried officials, no public institutions, no police, no coinage, no roads, no public works and a disorganized judiciary (ibid.). All the land and the people living thereon were held by the sultan and *pengirans* according to three

forms of tenure: *Kerajaan* (Crown Lands), *Kuripan* (lands held by the *wazirs* and exofficio), and *Tulin* (private hereditary domains) (Horton 1987:25).

In 1906 Sultan Muhammad Jamalul Alam ascended the throne. In the same year, McArthur was also appointed as the first British Resident in Brunei, who was to be 'the dominant voice... whose advice ... had to be accepted on all questions in Brunei, except those affecting the Muhammadan religion' (Horton 1987:65). The appointment of the British Resident paved the way to the building of the infrastructure necessary for a more efficient system of centralized and modern government in Brunei than what was in place then.

The principle of the Residential system was that everything was done in the Sultan's name, which made sure to acknowledge the Sultan's supremacy and authority as Head of state. The young and new Sultan Muhammad Jamalul Alam soon adapted to the role as Head of a new centralized government, which by now had effectively replaced the territorial power of the traditional nobility described earlier. In fact, however, the real power was in the hands of the Resident (Saunders 1994:111). The impact of this on the future course of things in Brunei was immeasurable.

The British Resident immediately effected a transformation through an overhaul of the revenue system: generally rights, including import-export rights and monopolies of trade rights, were taken over by the Government in return for a fixed annual allowance called a political pension, and the owners received title to their land. Monies collected through the government's newly possessed rights were used to fuel the concurrent reorganization and establishment of effective administration. One important political implication of the abolition of the traditional system of revenue collection is that the indigenous people were now no longer serfs of their old lords. 'They were now simply subjects of the Sultan' (Saunders 1994:110-111).

2.4.2   The Modern Brunei

Schools began to be built in 1914, magistrates appointed in 1916, and the Straits Settlements[3] currency was adopted as legal tender. All these developments, observed Horton (1987:70), 'demonstrated that Brunei could become a viable state, even within its reduced limits; and this was confirmed after the discovery of the Seria oilfield in 1929.' And of course oil meant money for the government, by this time already headed by Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin, who visited England in 1932 to boost diplomatic relations between Brunei and the 'mother-country'. By 1935, Brunei was already the third largest oil producer in the British Commonwealth.

, Development was arrested briefly when Brunei was occupied by the Japanese army from December 1941 to June 1945. In 1945, the federated army landed in Brunei and ended the Japanese occupation. After the war, Sarawak and North Borneo (later known as Sabah) officially became British colonies, while Brunei retained its status under an independent ruler. The then British Governor General Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald based in Malaya was opposed to the dissolution of Brunei's status as a sovereign state, but was more inclined to incorporate it into Sarawak due to its small size (Hussainmiya 2000:6).

Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddien III became the 28th ruler of Brunei in 1950. He used Brunei's oil revenues to finance for the first time a five-year development plan (1953-1958) which gave Brunei an intensive infrastructure and transformed it from a dull and quiet back water into a thriving modern state.

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[3] The collective name for certain former British colonies in Southeast Asia. The three British East India Company territories of Pinang, Singapore , and Malacca were given a unified administration in 1826 and called the Straits Settlements. The company was dissolved in 1858, and the territories were placed under the jurisdiction of the India Office. In 1867 the Straits Settlements became a crown colony administered by the Colonial Office. The Straits Settlement crown colony was dissolved in 1946; Singapore with its dependencies became a separate crown colony, and Pinang and Malacca were included in the Malayan Union, which became the Federation of Malaya in 1948, now Malaysia. [http://www.encyclopedia.com/html/S/StraitsS1.asp- Accessed 29 April 2004]

However, political events in neighbouring Indonesia (the 1948 Confrontation with Malaya[4]), the Malay peninsula and Singapore would naturally have a ripple effect on the way things were to be in Brunei. They were both recipients of Chinese and Indian immigration, who supplied the labour forces in tin mines and rubber plantations (Tarling 1998:17). In relation to this, Tarling says:

> In Indonesia and in other countries in the region, nationalism helped to shape the emergence of new states ... In Malaya its role was more equivocal, for there were nationalisms rather than nationalism, and the Malays were ceasing to be the majority ... Apprehensive of the appeal of Indonesian nationalism, the British accepted the outcome... gave them the unified Malaya they had sought since the 1920s. But the Chinese felt betrayed[5] [cf. 1948 Confrontation]... Paradoxically it was this that did most to prompt a new kind of nation-building.
>
> (Tarling 1998:18)

The eventual outcome was the creation of Malaysia by uniting Malaya, North Borneo (which came to be known as Sabah), Sarawak and Singapore. Singapore left Malaysia in 1965 to build a nation of its own. Brunei opted to stay out of the newly formed Malaysia. With Brunei's recently discovered oil wealth, 'finding a place in the new Malaysia would have meant losing control of that wealth' (Tarling 1998:20). It would also have lost its proud royal dynasty if it had joined Malaysia, which practised Constitutional Monarchy, in which Malay sultans take their turns for the Malaysian supreme throne.

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[4] The conflict emerged from Indonesian opposition to the newly formed Malaysia, which political elements in Indonesia saw as a neo-colonialist plot. It was precipitated by the outbreak of the Brunei rebellion in December 1962, and declared by Indonesia in 20 January 1963, and lasted until 1966 (Hussainmiya 1995:364).
[5] In Peninsular Malaya the Chinese were angered by the change of the status of the country from a colony to a federation, in which they effectively became second-class citizens. Under new laws, non-Malays could only qualify as citizens if they had lived in the country for fifteen out of the last twenty-five years, and they also had to prove they spoke Malay or English. [http://www.mytravelguide.com/city-guide/Asia/Malaysia/History/The-emergency – accessed 13 August 2004]]

The promulgation of the constitution which only materialized on 29 September 1959 and which embodied the values of the state ideology (*Melayu Islam Beraja* = Malay Muslim Monarchy) gave Brunei internal self-government. It also changed the post of British resident, which started in 1906, with immediate effect to High Commissioner, who continued to advise the Sultan on matters other than those affecting the Islamic religion and Malay custom. In 1962, a rebellion that demanded democratic reforms was defeated. In 1967, Brunei began to use its own currency. In that same year too, after 17 years of benevolent reign, Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddien III voluntarily abdicated in favour of his eldest son, His Majesty Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah, who continues to rule today.

The new sultan's coronation on 1 August 1968 introduced to the people of Brunei and to the outside world 'the revived glories of the Brunei monarchy' (Saunders 1994:162-163) and cemented the people's faith and pride in the monarchy. The building of the magnificent Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin Mosque, followed by many more around the country, was tangible proof that Brunei had identified the monarchy with Islam (ibid). However, the ascension of the new sultan did not really entail new governmental policies, as essentially the reigns of power were held from behind the scenes by his father, then known as '*Begawan Sultan*' ('Sagacious Sultan') and who was also regarded as 'The Architect of Modern Brunei'.

The 16 years that followed the coronation of 1968 mainly saw preparations toward the building of government infrastructures in anticipation of full independence. A significant part of this was the definition of a 'Bruneian identity'. The Muslim Malay majority of the population was made the foundation of this identity. Saunders argues that 'when the United Nations 1982 figures showed that only 66% of the population were actually Brunei nationals, or ethnic Brunei Malays in particular (excluding Kedayans, Dusuns, and other indigenous peoples), the stress on the Malay Muslim identity of Brunei intensified' (Saunders 1994:175). Saunders adds that this was clearly stated in the Sultan's proclamation

of independence on 1 January 1984: that Negara Brunei Darussalam was to be a sovereign, democratic and independent Malay Muslim Monarchy, the core of the new Ministry-structured government which was also announced (ibid.).

During the first decade after independence the Sultan increasingly asserted his political power over governmental and administrative matters. This was especially the case after the death of the Begawan Sultan on 7 September 1986. During that time too the country prospered economically and politically as a true sovereignty.

One undisputed fact, however, is that today Negara Brunei Darussalam is the only Malay nation with an absolute monarchy in which the Head of State is also the Head of government (Saunders 1994, Kershaw 2001:122). In retrospection of the whole creation of the modern system of government and the ensuing prosperity, Saunders comments:

> The retention of the monarchy undoubtedly enabled the Bruneians ... to accept the changes [to the system of government] and to identify them with the traditional elite. That the changes were in the name of the Sultan identified him and them with the new order. Indeed, loyalty to the Sultan was if anything intensified as he remained the central stable point.
>
> (Saunders 1994:120)

Modernization of the nation also meant the evolution of Bruneian identity. In the next section we examine how Bruneian identity is defined.

2.5   The Definition of Bruneian Identity

When it regained total sovereignty and independence in 1984 Brunei officials felt
it necessary to find a clear definition of Bruneian identity, hence the re-emergence
of the notion of 'Melayu Islam Beraja' (MIB), which was mentioned in the Brunei
Constitution 1959. Proponents of the ideology argue for its long history that dates
back to the establishment of the Kingdom of Brunei. In the next section we
examine the MIB can help us to understand the Bruneian identity.

2.5.1   Melayu Islam Beraja: The Official Core of Bruneian Identity

In contemporary Brunei, it has apparently become more important to define one's
national identity than one's ethnic identity, and this identity can be expressed
through what is constantly expounded as the official core of Bruneian identity,
'*Melayu Islam Beraja*' or 'MIB' (Malay Muslim Monarchy). The creation of the
modern state of Brunei, the promulgation of the 1959 Constitution and eventual
independence of Brunei all carried this most significant ideology in the country.
The Bruneian-drafted Independence Declaration of 1984 proclaims that Brunei
Darussalam 'shall forever be a sovereign, democratic and independent Malay
Muslim Monarchy' (Kershaw 2001a:13). This formula is supposed to describe
the Bruneian identity, and at the same time it has been used as a homogenization
agent of the country, through its education system (see Section 2.3).

'MIB' soon became the buzzword of the independent Brunei. The monarch's,
hence the government's, supremacy was sustained through it. 'The concept had
been implicit in Bruneian thinking for a long time, and in the run-up to full
independence was being formulated by those who saw a Brunei national identity
as being defined by the attachment of its people to Malay culture, the Muslim
religion, and loyalty to the monarchy' (Saunders 1994:187). The concept,
according to Braighlinn (1992:19), 'seeks to consolidate (after first asserting the

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ready existence of) a single national identity, born of convergence on a dominant Malay culture, and long binding loyal citizenry to an absolute monarch of the same race, with the blessing and divine sanction of Islam.' But what exactly does *Melayu Islam Beraja* represent?

Melayu Islam Beraja contains three major components:

> ***Melayu*** - Malay culture and values as the traditionally predominant culture in the country
>
> ***Islam*** - as the official and traditional religion of the country
>
> ***Beraja*** - Monarchy as the traditional system of government.

The notion of *Beraja* (lit. 'having a raja/sultan/king') is perhaps the most unproblematic part of the trilogy, and has been universally accepted, although it must be said that the monarchy was originally an exclusive feature of the highly-stratified ethnic Brunei community [cf. Brown 1970]. In relative terms, the other ethnic groups in the country, as noted earlier, are traditionally less highly stratified in their social structure.

But this traditional political predominance of the Bruneis over the other ethnic groups in the feudal system, long before the emergence of the state, ensured that their sultan was the sultan of all the other tribes as well. Gunn (1997:84-85) states that the 'social privilege and status differences between ... Brunei Malay and other ethnic groups were taken as givens.' Despite the absence of monarchs in their own traditional social structure, the other indigenous groups of Brunei adopted the *Beraja* practice and submitted their loyalty to the king of the Bruneis. This submission to the powers of the sultan brings these ethnic groups culturally closer to the dominant Brunei Malays.

The Islamic aspect of the MIB trilogy was also easily acceptable to most Bruneians. With the conversion of the first sultan, the entire Brunei and Kedayan ethnic groups became Muslim as well. The fact that Islam has been accepted as the most important faith is probably again due to the fact that the monarchy and the predominant culture of the Bruneis that he represented was Muslim from the start. Today Islam is the official state religion while other faiths are allowed to be practised as well. Perhaps also, recognizing Islam as the official religion in the country has not been too problematic due to the fact that Islam is seen as a universal religion, regardless of creed or race. One could indeed be Murut as well as Muslim. But being Muslim in Brunei is generally held synonymous to being Malay, the third and most problematic element of Bruneian identity, and this is where it gets complicated.

The long held belief that 'all Malays are Muslims' can be problematic too. A non-Malay who converts to Islam is said to *'masuk Islam'* (lit. 'to enter Islam'), but really they are also expected to automatically *'masuk Melayu'* (lit. 'to enter Malay'), which is acknowledged through adopting Malay cultural practices and values, and usually a change of lifestyle (cf. Maxwell 1980:154, Gunn 1997:6). So it becomes immediately obvious that *Malay-ness* and *Muslim-ness* are profoundly significant in the understanding of the Bruneian identity. If we were to take the MIB concept as rule of thumb to decipher Bruneian identity, then in order to be a true Bruneian one would have to be Malay, Muslim and be loyal to the king.

This interpretation however assumes that all 'Malays' were Muslim. However, the legal and constitutional definition of the 'Malay race' complicates the issue as noted in Section 2.1. Would this therefore consign the traditionally non-Muslim ethnic groups (i.e. the Belaits, Bisayas, Dusuns, and Muruts) as devoid of true 'Bruneian identity' because they were not Muslim? On the one hand, it could be argued that as long as Bruneians who are not Muslim understand and respect the predominant Malay culture and Muslim faith, they can still be considered to

embody the 'Bruneian spirit'. But not everyone agrees. For instance, Haji Hashim Haji Abdul Hamid (1984:4) argues that those indigenous people who are not Muslim, although they are known as 'Malay', cannot ever be regarded as full members of the national community (cf. Martin 2002). This problem remains to be where the three elements of the trilogy seem to be in conflict and are difficult to reconcile.

There is yet another important dimension to the discussion of Malayness here. And one that is of more immediate concern to this study, and that is language. In Gunn's (1997) study of language, power and ideology in Brunei, he states that facility in the Malay language and is one of the preconditions of Bruneian citizenship (cf. Nationality Act 1961).

As this study will show in Chapter 7, despite its dialectal status, Brunei Malay in fact has a higher status than Standard Malay because, according to Martin (1991:59-75), Brunei Malay best conveys harmony and national solidarity. This is supported by Gunn who argues that facility in Brunei Malay, the major local spoken code, 'most closely delineates status gradations in a profoundly hierarchical and status ridden society' (Gunn 1997:xxxii).

Going back to the earlier debate over the status of the Bruneian born non-muslim indegenes, such a person's 'Malay' identity could in fact be reaffirmed through his or her facility in the dominant Brunei Malay, on top of the constitutional provision that already clearly declares them as belonging to the Malay race. In addition to this, a Dusun person who has converted would be more readily identifiable as a 'Malay person' than would a non-Muslim Dusun, for instance, as conversion to Islam is always sealed with the adoption of a Malay or Muslim name. Perhaps it was no coincidence that in the 1970s conversion to Islam was significantly high, as Maxwell notes 'a steady flow of individuals out of the non-Islamic groups ... into the Malay ethnic category' (Maxwell 1980:170).

Martin (2002) mentions the cultural and linguistic redefinition processes that have taken place in Brunei within the last few decades. He maintains that early accounts of the various ethnic groups explicitly stated they 'have languages of their own.' But by the 1950s the same groups of people are simply said to be 'Malay-speaking'. This can be related to following comment by the British Resident, Graham Black, who argues for the need to assimilate the multiethnic population for educative purposes in the Brunei Annual Report of 1939:

> As at least a quarter of the indigenous population of the state is composed of races whose mother tongue is not Malay, the criterion [of compulsory education for children who live within a two mile radius of a school where the language of instruction is their own language] is hardly satisfactory. The provision of education in their several languages is obviously impracticable, and it is inevitable that, linguistically at any rate, the other races must be assimilated to Malay. It is proposed, therefore, to amend the Enactment so as to make attendance at Malay vernacular schools compulsory for all children of Malaysian (sic) race alike.
>
> (Govt. of Brunei 1939:33-34)

The statement 'linguistically at any rate' suggests a minimal target of a larger drive of cultural assimilation, not unrelated the idea of the creation of a new identity for Bruneians mentioned earlier in this paragraph. The census figures discussed in Section 2.2 bear proof of this. Before 1960 (1911, 1921, 1931, 1947) figures were provided for each separate indigenous group. However, since 1961 all seven groups have been categorized as 'Malay' in the State of Brunei Annual Report for that year for census purposes (Govt. of Brunei 1961:118-120). In relation to this, Braighlinn states that indeed 'for the authors of the 1961 Nationality Enactment, assimilation to Malay culture was definitely a long-term aim of political incorporation' (Braighlinn 1992:20). The resultant shift in ethnic classification, as it were, not only would change the population statistics drastically; it would also have serious linguistic implications [see Chapter 8]. One

of these was the debate 'about the role of Malay as the state's national language' (Saunders 1994:170-171). What ever the case may be, the role of language as an important marker and confirmation of identity is irrefutable.

The concept of MIB as a tool that defines Bruneian identity has not been without criticism. "While state ideologues maintain that MIB simply reflects the 'ancient reality' of the people of Brunei, critics suggest it to be an element of 'invention' rather than authenticity" (Kershaw 2001:124). Further criticisms include that it is too Malay-centric, rather unripe an ideology, rather contradictory and flawed in principle. And that it is nothing more that an instrument of 'depoliticization' is yet another (ibid.). In sum, Saunders (1994:188) concludes that indeed it is difficult to judge its level of acceptance. In fact in the academic world, he further argues, MIB had the impact of constraining research on one hand, and provoking critical analysis on the other (ibid.).

It is timely that we now return to the earlier discussion of the creation of a national sense of unity and its propagation through schools and the education system. The following section will trace the history of Brunei's education system, an important factor in this study of the changing language ecology of Brunei.

2.6   Formal Education in Brunei

The development of education in Brunei was not a smooth journey at first although it picked up speed in the period after the Second World War. The first Malay vernacular school was opened in 1914 with an intake of 30 boys. By 1918 three more schools were opened in Muara, Tutong and Belait. The official report on Brunei, as cited by Gunn (1997:71), stated that the public was not yet ready for universal compulsory education. This was an omen for the 1920s, which did not see much development in terms of formal education. In fact the schools in Muara and Belait had had to be closed due to a lack of students. The ones that remained

open however benefited only those living near major towns such as the Bruneis and the Chinese and disadvantaged those living in more rural areas.

The 1930s witnessed the opening of the first Brunei Malay girl's school, the building of even more schools and a greater attendance. This was due to the fact that all male children between seven and fourteen were required by law (Enactment No 3. 1929) to attend school within a two mile radius of where they lived. St George's English School was opened in 1938, followed by four more similar English mission schools throughout the country. Indeed prior to the outbreak of war in the region in 1941, the number of schools in Brunei had increased to 32 which included 24 Vernacular Malay, 3 private English and 5 private Chinese schools. The number of pupils enrolled was 1,746, including 312 girls (Ministry of Education Website 2002).

But up till the 1940s there was still no secondary education in Brunei. During World War II between 1941 and 1945, Brunei was occupied by the Japanese forces. The Japanese administrators in Brunei however 'recognized the importance of education for social engineering even more than the British' (Gunn 1997:98). They even introduced the *Rumi* or Romanized Malay. But when Allied forces liberated Brunei in 1945 schools were once again forced to close. But an important legacy had been left by the Japanese: they promoted Malay and raised awareness of the importance of education in Brunei (Jasmin Abdullah 1987:8).

In October 1951 a Brunei Town Government English school was opened in the capital, followed by the opening of a similar school in Kuala Belait a year later. In less than three years, the Government was able to introduce English medium secondary education in the country. Malay medium secondary education however only began in 1966.

The 1954 Five Year Development Plan for education created the infrastructure for what eventually became the Ministry of Education. New schools were planned, large numbers of teachers trained and more expatriates employed in the schools. By the completion of the Plan in 1959, there were 15,006 pupils enrolled in the State's schools, 30 per cent of whom were girls. Brunei now had 52 Malay primary schools; 3 English schools, (including one exclusively for girls that had been completed in 1958); 7 mission schools; 8 Chinese primary schools and 3 Chinese secondary schools which came under government control in 1957 (Jones 1994:104). There were also 133 Bruneians at teacher training colleges overseas, and many at Brunei's own college that had opened in 1956. With growing emphasis on education, it soon became apparent that expatriate teachers had to be recruited from Sri Lanka, India, Singapore, Malaya, the Philippines, the United Kingdom and Australia (ibid.).

In 1959, two Malaysians, Aminudin Baki and Paul Chang were appointed to advise the Brunei Government on general education policy and principles. Jones states that 'having spent only two weeks in Brunei, and using the Malayan Tun Razak Education Report of 1956 as the source of their recommendation, Baki and Chang presented their report' (Jones 1994:106). The recommendations of this report subsequently became Brunei's National Educational Policy of 1962. Jones comments that the theme of 'national unity' was recurrent through both the Malayan and Bruneian reports, and he cites the Tun Razak Report:

> ...the ultimate objective of the educational policy... must be to bring together the children of all races under a national educational system win which the national language is the main medium of instruction
>
> (Tun Razak Report 1956, in Jones 1994:107)

This statement echoes the British Resident's report in 1939 (cited in the previous section) suggesting 'linguistic assimilation' for educative purposes. But although the National Educational Policy of 1962 and the subsequent Report of the Education Commission in 1972 both recommended the use of Malay as the main medium of instruction in primary and secondary schools, subsequent events determined a change of emphasis in the final choice of language medium for the country's national education system. In 1974 political and diplomatic relations between Brunei and Malaysia, where Bruneian students and trainee teachers were sent, deteriorated in 1974. Jones states:

> Bruneians studying in Malaysia were recalled and the option of adopting a Malaysian System of Education was cancelled... This experience seems to have had a decisive influence on the eventual choice of language medium for the National Education System... There is no doubt that the Education Commission of 1972 wanted and expected the System to use Malay as the medium of instruction, just as the Report of 1962 had recommended. Instead, through circumstance, English was adopted.
>
> (Jones 1994:115-116)

Perhaps the most radical move in the makeover of the old education system was the implementation of the bilingual *'Dwibahasa'* (Bilingual) education policy in 1985 for the newly independent country, replacing the old two-stream system. Following the implementation of this bilingual education system, which incorporated the use of two school languages (Malay and English) for different subjects, all primary and secondary schools adopt a common curriculum prescribed by the Ministry of Education. From Pre-school level to Primary III, the medium of instruction for all subjects is the Malay Language, except for English Language, which is taught as a subject. From Primary IV onwards the pupils follow a bilingual system where two media of instruction are used. The Malay Language is used for teaching Malay, Islamic Religious Knowledge, Physical

Education, Arts and Crafts, Civics, and MIB. The English language is used for teaching subjects such as Science, Mathematics, Geography and English Language itself. History has been taught in Malay since 1995.

The new bilingual system should in effect ensure that pupils attain a high degree of proficiency in both English and Malay, although Braighlinn notes that 'the supposed development of the Malay language as a medium of literary expression and analytical thought has instead been thwarted by the introduction of the Dwibahasa system' (Braighlinn 1992:21). This is supported by Martin who says that while the rhetorical correctness of the government's official emphasis on Malay, the system clearly legitimized English as the dominant language. What is more apparent, however, is with the emphasis and support given to Malay and English, 'the other languages have been left to fend for themselves' (Martin 2002).

Yet apart from just the dissemination of knowledge and language skills, the schools played another important role. As mentioned above, the Aminudin Baki-Paul Chang 1962 Report which advocated a national system of education for Brunei also suggested the need to create a common identity in Brunei, being just slightly more obvious than the 1939 Black report that suggested 'linguistic assimilation' (cited in Section 2.5.1). Indeed this notion has stood the test of time. This aim to create a common identity was reiterated in a recent speech at a Chinese Businessmen assembly by Brunei's Minister of Education, Pehin Dato Haji Abdul Aziz, who said: 'The present system strives to produce a uniform system to crystallise a common Brunei identity' (Brudirect.com/2 May 2002). Although not mentioned explicitly in the text here, the national philosophy was to be the medium through which this creation of a common identity was to be achieved. And the very fact that *Melayu Islam Beraja* was not even mentioned in the speech presupposes that everyone who is Bruneian knows exactly what is being referred to.

The impact of formal education in Brunei has been tremendous. For one it created a more literate population. However it also marked the demise of traditional lifestyles, work and practices, as it began a shift to an increasingly modern living and work preference among the younger generation of Bruneians of all ethnic affiliations. Job opportunities that paid well were in abundance in the newly developed civil service. Education's role as a homogenization agent therefore became more evident as the people of Brunei began to take pride in their growing modern state courtesy of their oil money. Through their state-sponsored education, students are instilled with Malay Islamic values in line with the national philosophy. The official website of the Ministry of Education could not state this more clearly:

> Brunei Darussalam's Education Philosophy is founded on the National Philosophy of a Malay Islamic Monarchy and also incorporates the two key elements of naqli (on the basis of the holy Quran and Hadith) and Aqli (on the basis of reasoning)... This is an important foundation for ensuring loyalty to Islam, the Monarch and the nation.
>
> (Ministry of Education Website 13 August 2002)

The role of the education system in the propagation of the national ideology and the Malay language cannot be refuted, although some might argue that the system has not really promoted Malay. This will be more closely examined in Chapter 7.

2.7   Summary

Sociohistorical, economic and educational developments have changed the political and social structure of Brunei. The arrival of the first British Resident and establishment of the modern system of government was the major turning point in Brunei's socio-political history. The emergence of a new modern state brought with it a new national identity. The impact of the modern nationhood on the lives of rural ethnic population was mixed. On the one hand, official recognition of rural ethnic groups as 'rightful heirs' to the country elevated the communities' status from the periphery to the centre, through the country's cultural assimilation drives. These are reinforced through the dissemination of the *Melayu Islam Beraja* philosophy through the education system and the schools. On the other hand, nation building efforts and assimilation into the modern Brunei lifestyle also meant the abandonment of traditional lifestyles. The move away from traditional ethnic identities to a shared 'national identity' also has linguistic repercussions in terms of the decrease in use of ethnic languages, and the adoption of Malay, a significant part of MIB. Through this ideology, the Malay language is confirmed as an integral part of the Malay epicentre of the Bruneian nation. Chapter 3 provides a fuller account of the linguistic situation of Brunei.

Chapter 3   The Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Situation of Brunei

This chapter provides the linguistic and sociolinguistic context of this study, and will enlighten the data analysis in subsequent chapters. The issues raised are all significant in providing a comprehensive understanding of how the contemporary linguistic ecology has emerged.

Linguistic diversity in Brunei is examined first by describing the languages spoken in Brunei, as identified by various linguistic researchers working on Brunei languages. There has been much confusion over the categorization of languages and dialects in Brunei, but Section 3.1 presents findings from previous studies that have established clear distinctions between languages and dialects in Brunei. These codes are then grouped into their respective linguistic groups, described in Section 3.2.

In Section 3.3, the non-Malay languages are described. These languages are the Dusun-Bisaya group, the Murutic group, and the Tutong-Belait group. This will be followed by the description of the Penan and Iban language group, Chinese and English in Section 3.4. A brief account of the multilingual setting of Brunei is offered in Section 3.5.

Following the identification and categorization of the languages spoken in Brunei in the preceding sections, the definition of the 'official language' is examined in Section 3.6. This is the definition that will be used throughout this study, and in relation to which, the other languages will be discussed. This is followed by the reasons for the selection of Malay as the official language in Section 3.7, drawing mainly on historical and documentary evidence.

The kinds of institutional support the Malay language receives in Brunei will be discussed in Section3.8. Upon reading this section, it will be clear to the reader

that Malay has full government backing that its official language status rightly demands. Institutions such as the Language and Literature Bureau (LLB) and the state university and international organizations such as MABBIM play a role in supporting Malay usage. The working policies upheld by these bodies are the product of the language planning process of the emerging modern state of Brunei. The nature of this process, the outcomes and the effects of these outcomes are discussed fully in Section 3.9.

3.1   Linguistic Diversity in Brunei

According to Nothofer (1991), the Austronesian languages and dialects spoken in Brunei are Belait, Bisaya, Dusun, Brunei Malay, Kedayan, Murut, Tutong, Mukah, Iban and Penan. This study will refer to the codes of each of the seven indigenous groups of Brunei individually as follows: Belait, Bisaya, Brunei Malay, Dusun, Kedayan, Murut and Tutong. The standard form of Malay in Brunei will be referred to as Standard Malay.

Other languages spoken by Bruneians but are not considered to be indigenous are Iban, Mukah, Penan, Hakka Chinese, Mandarin Chinese, Min Dong Chinese, Min Nan Chinese, Yue Chinese, and English (www.ethnologue.com). While Mukah, Iban and Penan are all Austronesian languages that are indigenous to Borneo Island (neighbouring Sarawak, specifically), they are not considered to be indigenous to Brunei. Similarly the Chinese population are considered recent arrivals in the country, although Niew (1998) has found evidence that there was a community established in the 1600s (but they left Brunei) and then another community settled more permanently in the early 1700s. And while first contact with the British happened around 1847, the English language only grew in prominence among the elite group a century later. Nevertheless English has always been considered a 'foreign language', although recent studies show that it is becoming indigenized and becoming a local(-ized) language (e.g. Noor Azam

Haji Othman & McLellan 2000; McLellan & Noor Azam Haji Othman 2001) . The Chinese language(s) too is often seen as an exclusive language of the Chinese population.

The said study by Nothofer (1991) argued that some indigenous languages of Brunei were inaccurately labelled as dialects of 'Malay' when they were clearly different languages. As mentioned in Chapter 2, this confusion can be traced to the inclusion in the constitutional label 'Malay' of two Malay-speaking groups, Bruneis and Kedayans, and five non Malay-speaking ethnic groups: Belaits, Bisayas, Dusuns, Muruts and Tutongs. To this day however it is still generally assumed that the ethnic languages that these groups traditionally speak are dialects of Malay although in strict linguistic terms the latter groups are all less than 40% cognate with Bahasa Melayu (Nothofer 1991). According to Nothofer's study, a cognate percentage of 80% is the determinant between a language and a dialect in Brunei.

Table 1 Cognates for languages and dialects of Brunei
(after Nothofer 1991)

	Ked.	Br.M	K.A	Iban	Tutong	Belait	Dusun	Bisaya	Penan	Murut	Mukah
St.M	80	84	82	65	33	29	40	38	29	24	35
Ked.	-	94	95	64	37	28	43	45	27	26	38
Br.M	-	-	94	64	37	28	41	43	26	25	36
K.A	-	-	-	65	39	30	42	43	26	24	35
Iban	-	-	-	-	34	24	38	36	27	28	34
Tutong	-	-	-	-	-	54	40	42	34	33	32
Belait	-	-	-	-	-	-	35	36	34	33	32
Dusun	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	82	31	29	33
Bisaya	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	31	30	33
Penan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	37
Murut	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30

Key:

St.M	Standard Malay
Br. M	Brunei Malay
K.A.	Kampong Ayer
Ked.	Kedayan
	Dialects of the Malay language
	Dialects of the Dusun language

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As discussed in Sections 2.1 and 2.2 in the previous chapter, there has been some confusion between linguistic categorization of codes and the legal categorization of indigenous groups that make up the Malay race. Ethnic group labels do not always correspond to linguistic nomenclature. Herein lies the problem: the problem of the categorization of these languages. Martin & Poedjosoedarmo (1996:1-23) observe that, 'the seven indigenous languages and dialects had come to be regarded as dialects of Malay because the groups who speak these languages and dialects are, for legal and census purposes, labelled "Malay"' (Nationality Act 1961). This problem of categorization has also been encountered by many other ethnolinguistic researchers of Borneo (Martin 1992 cites Langub 1987, Prentice 1970, Appell 1991; also Lasimbang & Miller 1990; Maxwell 1980). It is often the case that an ethnic term used by an ethnic group to refer to another is picked up by the colonial administrators and it is subsequently adopted and accepted by those groups they refer to (King 2001).

The aforementioned publication by Nothofer (1991) provides a list of cognate percentages between Standard Malay and the various languages and dialects used in Brunei (see Figure 1), and in doing so, it has helped identify separate languages on purely linguistic basis. Based on Nothofer's findings, the indigenous languages of Brunei, particularly the ones spoken by the seven *puak jati* with which we are primarily concerned here, are generally divided into four groups: the Malay group; the Murut group; the Dusun-Bisaya group; the Tutong-Belait and Iban-Penan group. These are more clearly shown in the following figures:

Figure 1 The Malay Group

The Malay Group

Brunei Malay

Kampong
Ayer Malay

Kedayan Malay

Standard Malay
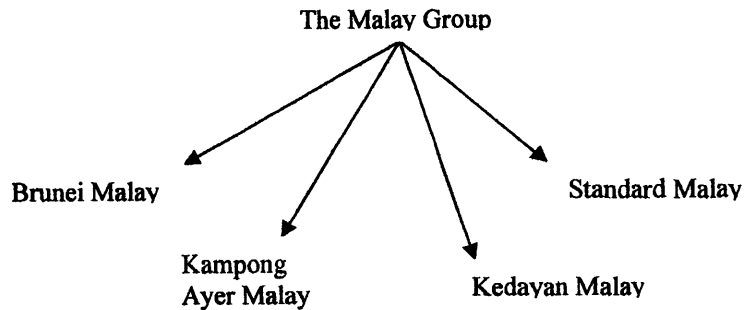
Figure 2 The Non-Malay Group

Non-Malay Groups

Dusun-Bisaya Group

Murutic Groups

Tutong-Belait Group

Dusun   Bisaya

Tutong

Belait

Murut
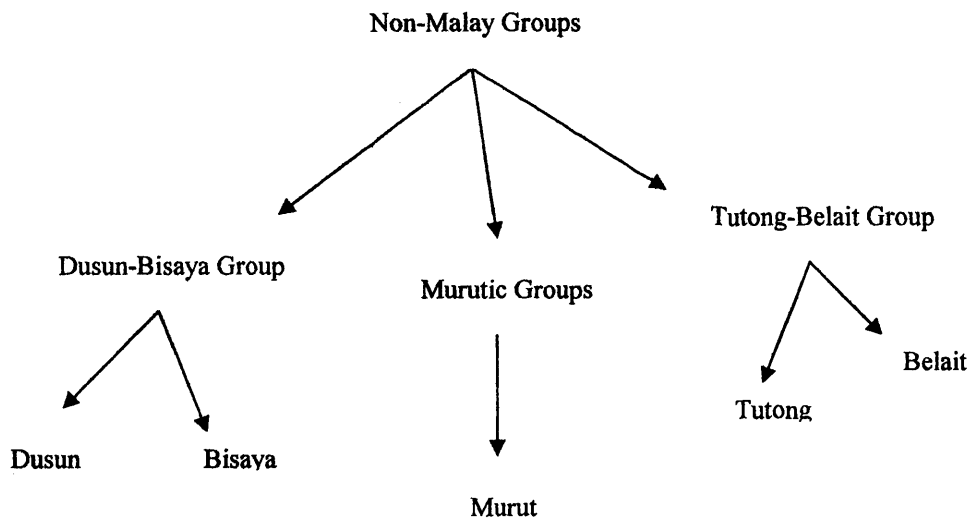
Maps 3 and 4 show the distribution of these languages in Brunei, and the use of languages in and around the Brunei area respectively. Each of these languages will be discussed under their subheadings of 'The Malay language group' and 'The Non-Malay language groups' in the following sections.

Map 3   **Language Map of Brunei**
(Adapted from Nothofer 1991)
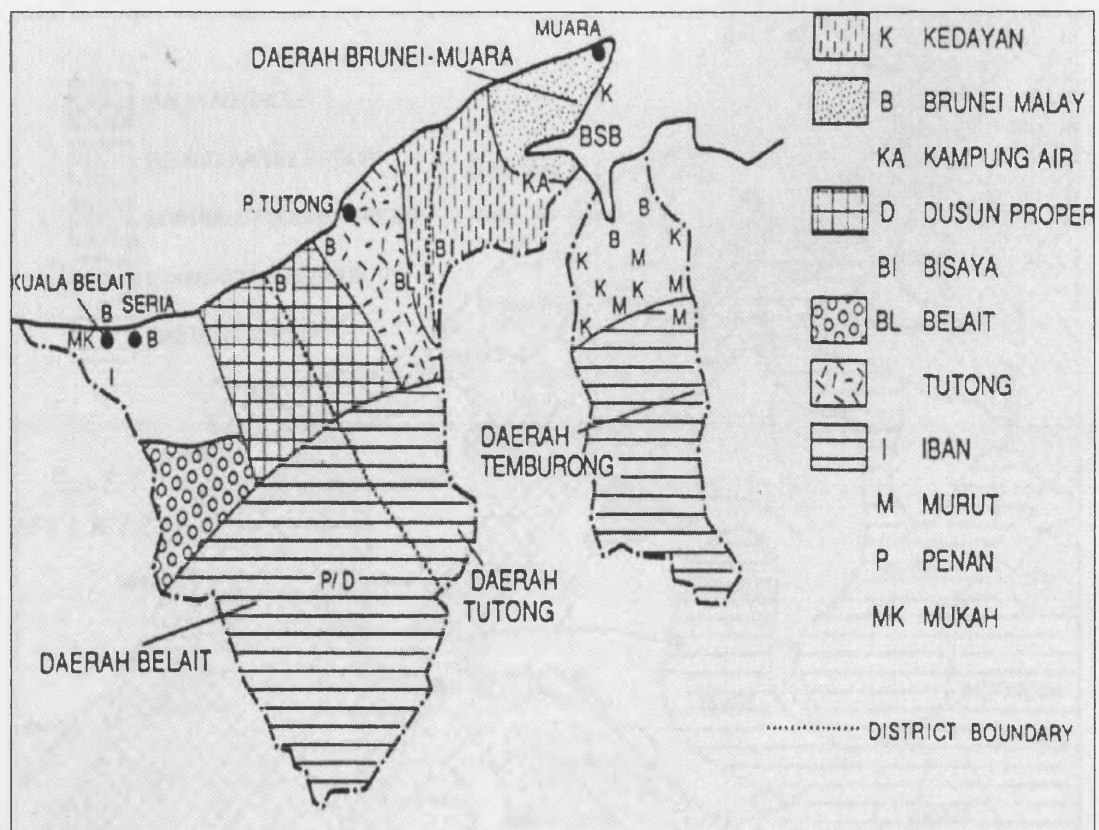
Map 4   **Languages of the Brunei Area**
(Adapted from Nothofer 1991)
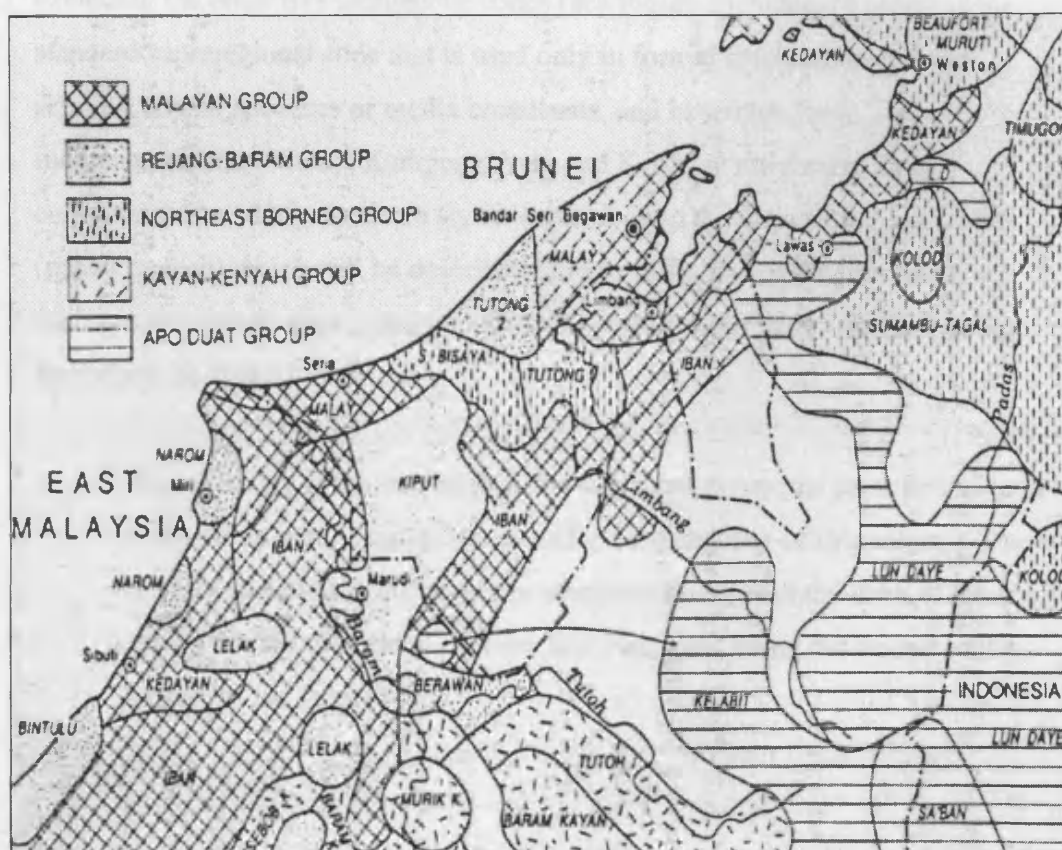
3.2   The Malay Language Group

Nothofer's (1991) important article dispels previously held assumptions that all of the mother tongues of each of the seven groups were a Malay dialect. Nothofer clearly points out and states that the principal dialects of Malay spoken in Brunei include only Brunei Malay, Kampong Ayer, Kedayan and Standard Malay, excluding the other five indigenous codes (see Figure 1). Standard Malay is the standard supraregional code that is used only in formal situations such as in schools, formal speeches or media broadcasts, and in written form. The indigenous Brunei Malay, Kampong Ayer and Kedayan are used in daily communication. There is also a stylistic variation in the form of *Bahasa Dalam* (palace speech) which will be described here as well. But of the four main varieties mentioned above, Brunei Malay is spoken as the lingua franca among Bruneians, as stated by Martin:

> Brunei Malay is the language of the dominant group, the *puak* Brunei, and it functions as the lingua franca for the vast majority of Bruneians... There is some variation in the language along the coast, with the form of Brunei Malay around the capital, Bandar Seri Begawan, being the closest to the variety of the puak Brunei.

> (Martin 1992:109)

Maxwell's (1980) ethnographic study of the Kedayan people in the district of Temburong concluded that of the three indigenous Malay dialects Kedayan is the dialect associated with land-dwelling farmers (*orang darat* lit. 'land people'), while Kampong Ayer is the dialect of the community that lives in the Water Village (Kampong Ayer), composed traditionally of fishermen and craftsmen. Apart from Maxwell's work, other studies on Kedayan Malay include Ahmad (1978) and Zamain (1989) (in Martin 1992).

The Kampong Ayer variety of Malay is generally accepted by Bruneians as the origin of the more widely-spoken Brunei Malay, with which it is 95% cognate. Nothofer (1991) estimates this dialect is spoken by 25000 people. Nowadays it is spoken only by the dwellers of the Water Village. Its most famous features are its *balandih* (drawl) and distinct lexis, which are not shared by Brunei Malay.

In contrast, Brunei Malay, whose lexis is largely derived from Kampong Ayer, also has a substantial percentage of vocabulary that is recognizable as belonging to Standard Malay. S. Poedjosoedarmo (1992:255) claims that 'both phonology and lexis suggest that the Kampong Ayer dialect and Brunei Malay are more closely related to each other than either dialect is to Kedayan'. Brunei Malay, she further argues, only emerged with the establishment of Brunei Town on land, and for this reason, Brunei Malay shares more features with the Kampong Ayer dialect than with Kedayan (S. Poedjosoedarmo 1992:255).

Another variety is *Bahasa Dalam* (Palace speech) mentioned earlier in the introduction. Its distinct vocabulary and style however do not qualify as a dialect of Malay; rather *Bahasa Dalam* is a class-sensitive euphemistic variety that is more a stylistic variation of Kampong Ayer and Brunei Malay. Fatimah Awg Chuchu (1996:89) defines it as the 'language register used by royalty and the palace household; it is also a code indicating respect when used by others when conversing with royalty', signified by its specialized terms of address and its highly metaphorical expressions (Hamdan et al 1991:67, in ibid.). It can therefore be argued that *Bahasa Dalam* is a stylistic variant of Brunei Malay, rather than a dialectal variant. This study will follow Nothofer (1991), and will not treat *Bahasa Dalam* as a separate dialect of Malay. In sum, S. Poejosoedarmo maintains that Kedayan, Kampong Ayer and Brunei Malay are distinct dialects (S. Poedjosoedarmo 1992:250).

3.3   The Non-Malay Language Groups

The non-Malay language group of Brunei is comprised by Belait, Tutong, Dusun, Bisaya and Murut. Following Martin & Poedjosoedarmo's (1996:13) treatment of these languages, they can be divided into 3 groups: the Dusunic languages consisting of Dusun and Bisaya, the Murutic group which includes Murut or Lun Bawang, and the North Sarawak group that consists of Belait and Tutong.

3.3.1   The Dusun-Bisaya Group

Dusun and Bisaya are 'mutually intelligible dialects' (Nothofer 1991:155) despite the fact that they are listed as separate ethnic groups in the Brunei Constitution. Martin (1992) provides a concise description of the Dusun-Bisaya group as well as an analysis of the origin of the terms 'Dusun' and 'Bisaya':

> Dusun, termed 'Dusun Proper' by Nothofer (1991), has about 20,000 speakers who are located in the Tutong and Belait districts (Magil, 1990). There is a much smaller number of Bisaya speakers, chiefly found in villages bordering of the Limbang area of Sarawak. According to Nothofer, Dusun Proper and Bisaya are 82% cognate and, as such should be regarded as being dialects of the same language group.
>
> In the past, numerous terms have been used to describe the various communities and speech forms that make up this group, and this has led to a great deal of confusion in the literature. One term which had wide currency, especially around the beginning of the century was *Orang Bukit* (hill people) (Hose, in Roth, 1896, 1:37) or Bukit. The term was also used by McArthur (1987:110) as a label for the Bisaya and other indeterminate groups in the interior of the Belait district. Ray (1913:20) refers to a number of speech forms in this group and provides vocabularies for Bisaya, Bekiau and Kadayan. Among the other terms found in the literature are Bisaya Bukit (Leach, 1950:53), Tutong Dusun (Peranio, 1972) and Tutong (Wurm and Hattori, 1983).

(Martin 1992:111-112)

Martin (1995) however provides a lower estimate of 15,000 Dusun speakers living in the central and interior parts of Belait and Tutong districts. This is in line with E.M. Kershaw's breakdown of a figure 10,000 Dusun speakers in Tutong District, and 5,000 in Belait District (E.M. Kershaw 1994:180). The Bisaya people can be found in the east of Tutong district and a few villages near the Sarawak border. There are 600 Bisaya speakers according to Dunn (1984).

3.3.2 The Murutic Group

The Murut people of Brunei are mainly found in Temburong villages, numbering around 1000. King (1994:190) notes that 'the term 'Murut' is an externally imposed one (exonym) used by coastal Malays to refer to interior pagan populations ... it is still current in Brunei and is written into the state's Constitution.' Martin concurs:

> The confusion over the ethnic label 'Murut'... described is well-documented (for example, Prentice, 1970; Langub, 1987). The term has been used to refer to two totally distinct groups, the northern Murut, found living in Sabah, and the southern Murut in the fourth and fifth divisions of Sarawak, in Brunei and a few areas of Sabah. Southern Murut (Appell, 1969), Sarawak Murut (Pollard, 1933) and Kelabitic Murut (Le Bar, 1972) are collective terms which refer to a number of linguistically related groups including Lun Bawang , Lun Dayeh, Kelabit, Tring, Tabun and Sa'ban. Hudson (1978:24) has used the term 'Apo Duat' for this group of languages.
>
> (Martin 1992:111)

The Muruts refer to themselves as 'Lun Bawang' meaning 'people of the land', a reference to the commonly held belief that they are the original habitants of

Brunei. They are very closely associated with the Lun Bawang group in nearby Sarawak towns of Limbang, Lawas and Trusan. But despite being 'historically... the most significant of the non-Malay ethnic groups in Brunei' (Maxwell 1980:220), Jones (1994:18) comments they are one of the least studied. Cath (1994) provides an insightful study of this language group and the people. Martin (1996a) adds to the collection of literature on the Murut in Brunei.

3.3.3　The Tutong-Belait Group

Martin & Poedjosoedarmo (1996) and Nothofer (1991) list Belait and Tutong under the North Sarawak language group. Hudson (1978) calls this group the Baram Tinjar group. Figures show that the Tutong speakers number up to 15,000 people, found around Tutong Town on the coast and Central Tutong District. The Belait language has less than a thousand speakers scattered in Belait District (in the Labi area) and Kampung Kiudang (where the variety is known as 'Meteng') in the Tutong District (Ethnologue.com). King comments that the Belaits and the Tutongs have been gradually absorbed into the Malay culture (King 1994:195).

Few studies have been done on these groups. A Tutong-Malay Dictionary was published by the Language and Literature Bureau (LLB) in1991, in addition to academic work from Universiti Brunei Darussalam such as Rahim Dulani (1972), Ramlee @ Ramli Tunggal (1991) and Hajah Mazmah Haji Mohamad Yusof (1992) on various aspects of Tutong language, as well as the Tutong-Malay Dictionary (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka 1991) on various aspects of the Tutong Language. Literature on the Belait people and their language includes those by Martin (1990, 1996b), Noor Alifah Abdullah (1992), and Clynes (2000, 2002).

3.4   Other Languages

In this category, languages that are spoken in Brunei but are not considered as indigenous to Brunei are described.

3.4.1   The Penan and Iban Group

Martin & Sercombe (1992) estimate the whole of the Penan community of Brunei number only 51 people, all residing in the remote village of Sukang in the interior of the Belait District. Nothofer (1991) argues that the closest linguistic relatives of Penan in Brunei are Tutong and Belait with which it is 34% cognate. The said study by Martin & Sercombe (1992) also finds that the Penans of Sukang use Iban as the language of inter-ethnic communication (as is the case in the Brunei upriver areas) and that Penan children also mix Iban and Penan in their homes.

Jones (1994:22) notes that although the Ibans are indigenous to Borneo, they are not indigenous to Brunei. Rather, they originate from either the Lower Baram or Lower Rejang districts of Sarawak. Previous work on the Penans of Brunei include Azmi Abdullah (1990), Bantong Antaran (1986), Martin & Sercombe (1992, 1996), and Sercombe (2003). The literature on the Ibans of Brunei and their language comprises Sercombe (1996, 1999) and Martin (1995). However, there is a large literature on the Ibans in neighbouring Sarawak including Asmah Haji Omar (1981).

3.4.2   Chinese

The Chinese are the second largest non-indigenous ethnic group in Brunei who started to arrive in large numbers immediately after the Second World War (Jones 1994:23). As for their language, Mandarin, which is taught as a subject in the

Chinese schools of Brunei, is the lingua franca among the various Chinese communities comprising the Hokkien (mainly in Brunei Muara and Tutong), Hakka (mainly in Seria and Kuala Belait), as well as other smaller communities. Interethnic communication between the Chinese and the Malays are usually in Brunei Malay and/or English. Previous researches on the Chinese of Brunei have been conducted by Dunseath (1996) and Niew (1987, 1989, 1991).

3.4.3 English

While there may be a very small number of Bruneians who speak English as their mother tongue, its importance in Brunei comes more from the fact that it is spoken by a much larger number of people as a second language (c.f. Jones - in press; Nothofer 1991). Furthermore, it is one of the languages of the schools, government, business, and wider communication. Brunei first came into contact with the British in the 1840s, and this was followed by the signing of the Umanat treaty in 1888 when Brunei became a British Protectorate, starting an era of 96 years of British presence. The arrival of the British is described in Sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2 in the previous chapter. According to Martin (2002), during the period of British Residency (1906-1959), although the royal court continued to function in Malay, English was the language of the British administrators.

Article 82 of the Constitution stipulates that English might be used with Malay for a further period of five years [from the signing of the constitution] for all official purposes and thereafter until dictated by written law; with the belief that Malay would ultimately replace English within a short space of time in all official business. This shows 'the perceived instrumental demand for English and that of Malay as an integrative language bound with heritage and culture of the local population' (Jones - in press).

Knowledge of English, became a pre-requisite for career advancement, a fact quickly realized by the Bruneian elite (Ozog 1996). Martin (2002) states that 'The importance of English, therefore, stems from its historical position in the country and, over the last fifty years, its importance has increased.' Martin further comments:

> A discussion of the sociolinguistic context of Brunei would be incomplete without reference to the position of English... The domains of the language have multiplied so that in contemporary Brunei, English is the language of commerce and law, is one of the languages of the bilingual education system, and is widely used in the media. Perhaps more significantly, English is actually used by an increasing proportion of the younger generation, alongside Brunei Malay, for day-to-day interaction. It is clear, then, that English has a significant position in Brunei's language ecology.
>
> (Martin 2002)

Although not initially part of this study, the significance of this final statement by Martin will be discussed in terms of the data collected in this study regarding the English language. While this study set out to study the position of only the indigenous languages of the Malay population of Brunei, English was often used or brought into the discussion by the informants, and proves too important to be ignored. In a study of teachers' attitudes towards languages, Junaidi (1992, cited in Prescott 2002) found that teachers are confident of the position of the Malay language in Brunei society. English was seen to be purely instrumental as the language of development and technology. This observation is supported by Jones (1997:27, in Prescott 2002) who notes 'confidence in the Bruneian's own sense of national identity' which denies any suggestions of 'English as a replacement of Malay'. Far from it; there have been no strong feelings of resentment toward English, in fact there's evidence to suggest that through

processes of nativization Bruneians are making English their own (Hajah Rosnah Haji Ramly, Noor Azam Haji Othman & McLellan 2002).

There is a huge literature on the use of English in Brunei and in Bruneian schools; in particular, those that deal with an emerging Bruneian variety of English includes, amongst others, Cane (1993,1996), Jones (1994), Noor Azam Haji Othman & McLellan (2000), and McLellan & Noor Azam Haji Othman (2001).

In a country where the multilingual population need to be able to speak languages other than their own to communicate, multilingualism becomes a natural occurrence. This will be discussed in the next section.

3.5   The Evolution of Multilingualism in Brunei

In this study, the term 'multilingualism' will be used to mean both the notions of bilingualism and multilingualism. However, when the term 'bilingualism' is used, it will refer only specifically to the ability to speak two languages. Where it is necessary to discuss each phenomenon separately, this will be highlighted beforehand. Multilingualism is an inherent feature of linguistic diversity, and in this section it will be argued that multilingualism in Brunei has evolved from a 'necessity' for trade and interethnic communication to a natural occurrence that is taken for granted in the present. According to Jones, contact between ethnic groups was minimal prior to the development of roads in the 1950s, but when contact increased, the need to communicate between different tribes forced them to use a shared language (Jones 1994:9). What this common language was depended on the location within the country. In the coastal areas it was Malay, while in most upriver areas either Dusun or Iban was more prominent as a lingua franca, although Iban probably only emerged as a lingua franca in the early 20th century with their community's relatively recent arrival in the country.

The fragmentation of the indigenous tribes into small isolated groups, says Jones, 'has meant much cultural and linguistic diversity for such a small country (Jones 1994:9). Earlier in Section 3.1 it was established that the ethnic languages of the Belaits, Bisayas, Dusuns, Muruts and Tutongs are not dialects of Malay, but are in fact separate languages. It could be argued therefore that in fact indigenous tribes of Brunei, with the exception of the Bruneis and Kedayans, are today mainly bilingual in at least their own respective languages and in Malay – this is assuming of course that every member of the five non-Malay ethnolinguistic groups is indeed brought up in their traditional languages. There are signs now that an increasing number of ethnic group children are being raised in Malay as their first language, instead of their/their parents' ethnic language. In such cases these children grow up to be members of a non-Malay ethnic group, but have Malay as their mother tongue. Evidence and implications of this phenomenon will be examined in Chapter 8. Another type of bilingualism that will be discussed in Chapter 8 is Malay-English bilingualism. This kind of bilingualism, at varying degrees, has been institutionalized through the schools (Jones 1994:9). However, any sweeping assumptions that all Bruneians speak Malay as a first language would not be accurate. Such assumptions have arisen from a misunderstanding of the official status of Malay, which is examined in the next section.

3.6   Malay the Official Language

This study aims to understand the interrelationship between Malay and other indigenous languages in Brunei. The study cannot proceed however without a clear definition of the 'Malay language' against which the other languages will be discussed, which is what this section is intends to provide.

The constitution was written in two languages, Malay and English. Both versions of Article 82 are quoted below for comparison:

82. (1) Bahasa rasmi negara ialah Bahasa Melayu dan hendaklah ditulis dengan huruf yang ditentukan oleh undang-undang bertulis.

82. (1) The official language of Brunei Darussalam shall be the Malay language and shall be in such script as may by written law be provided.

(Govt. of Brunei 1959)

As evident from the above, it is 'Bahasa Melayu' (Malay language) that is declared as the official language in the Malay version of the constitution. In principle this appears a straightforward dictum. Many linguists, as well as some members of the general public, take the restrictionist view in interpreting the declaration to mean literally that only the version in which the constitution was written is to be used (i.e. Standard Malay) in all official situations, without exceptions. If one were to subscribe to this view, then all written and spoken communication within officialdom would have to be in Standard Malay. This being the case, verbal communication in official circumstances would exclude the colloquial version and the lingua franca, Brunei Malay, and certainly the other non-Malay ethnic languages of Brunei.

However, there is an alternative view. If we examine the English version of the constitution, the same declaration does not actually specify any particular version or dialect of the Malay language as the only one to be used in official domains: it simply says 'the Malay language'. It certainly does not specify 'Standard Malay'. Article 82 could therefore be taken to mean that any dialect of the Malay language can be used in government business, evidence of which is presented in Chapter 7. An even broader interpretation would allow the use of any language of the Malay

race as defined by the constitution. Where it becomes absolutely necessary to use Standard Malay, however, is in official writing. In this regard, it needs to be noted that the other languages do not have a written status.

Due to the existence of at least four dialects of Malay spoken in Brunei (i.e. Standard Malay, Kampong Ayer Malay, Brunei Malay and Kedayan), in subsequent discussions of the interrelationship between the languages of Brunei, a consistent and well-defined term of reference for Malay is required. In this study, the term 'Malay' or 'the Malay language' will therefore be used as a collective or generic term to refer to all of the dialects. Where reference to a particular dialect of Malay is required, the specific variety will be mentioned clearly. The reasons for this are as follows:

1. During promulgation of the constitution in 1959, the Malay language was not yet standardized. Standardization efforts were only initiated in 1962 by Malaysia and Indonesia (Malindo), although this had to be aborted due to diplomatic breakdown between the two countries. Efforts were resumed 1972 with the formation of MBIM (see Section 3.8). Certainly at the time when the Brunei constitution was written, there was a 'High' form of Malay that had been in use, and this was the version in which the constitution was written. At that point in time, this version was not yet standardized in terms of grammar, spelling, or vocabulary; although when Malay was standardized, it was not too different from the one used in the constitution.

2. The term 'Bahasa Melayu' in the Malay version is a general reference to the Malay language (as clearly written in the English version), rather than a reference to any specific form of the Malay language. In addition, the term 'rasmi' is in itself problematic. Although it can mean 'official' (as indeed it says in the English version), the word 'rasmi' could also mean 'commonly used' or even 'traditionally used'. During an interview with

Pengiran Setia Negara, who was one of the writers of the constitution, he confirmed this problematic terminology. His statements will be presented in the analysis of the interviews in Chapter 7.

3. The clause 'shall be in such script as may by written law be provided' in Article 82 could be a reference to the requirement that only the contemporary 'High' form of Malay (in which the constitution itself was written; and taking into account of its non-standardized nature) was to be used in official written documents. This is a granted fact. It must be remembered that in Brunei, there are two forms of scriptures used to write the Malay language, the Roman ('*Rumi*') and the Arabic ('*Jawi*'), both still in use in Brunei today. Since the standardization of the written language in the 1970s, Standard Malay has assumed the 'High' status in written official communication.

It could be argued therefore that Article 82 is ambiguous to some extent. According to Ruiz (1984) such ambiguity of constitutional documents on language matters has two opposing ramifications. First, it encourages tolerance of linguistic diversity and allows 'room' for legal concepts protecting the language rights of minorities to evolve over time. Applied to Brunei, because Article 82 does not specify any particular variety of the Malay language, it can be, and has in fact been, assumed, by some informants in this study (see Chapter 6 and 7), that all official business can be conducted in non-standard variety (Brunei Malay, Kedayan etc), as well as in ethnic languages (Belait, Bisaya, Dusun, Murut and Tutong). To these informants, the constitution has recognized these ethnic groups are 'Malays' by law, thus making their languages 'dialects of Malay' by default. On the other hand, Ruiz argues, the lack of explicit guidelines on language issues in constitutions also means that interpretations of language rights for minorities may be made conservatively, leaving 'room' for restrictionist arguments. This is when the narrow interpretation that only standard Malay can be used in all

government and official business, simultaneously disallowing the use of non-Malay languages. Both these arguments will be expanded in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 where informant data will be examined.

Much of the literature on the Malay language interprets 'Bahasa Melayu' in Article 82 as an exclusive reference to Standard Malay. However, this study will, for the reasons mentioned above and based on the strong evidence presented in Chapter 6, take it to mean 'the Malay language in general'. This will be the interpretation of Article 82 that will be used throughout this thesis.

3.7   Reasons for the Selection of Malay

Having defined the terminology, it would be useful that we understand the reasons why 'the Malay language' was made the official language of Brunei. What the existing literature on the official language debate tends to ignore is that the decision was literally a democratic one. The *Tujuh Serangkai* (Constitution Committee) visited every village in the country, whose Head had earlier been asked to consult his respective villagers on the matter, to obtain the villagers' opinions: the verdict of the national survey was for the Malay language to be recognized as Official language of the country. Pengiran Setia Negara, who was a member of the *Tujuh Serangkai*, revealed this to the researcher in the same interview mentioned above.

In his study of language policy in Brunei, Sheikh Adnan Sheikh Mohamad (1983:9-15) identifies three main categories of the reasons for Malay's elevated status, summarized as follows:

> *External influences:* Brunei intelligentsia who went for teacher training at the Sultan Idris Training College in Malaya were influenced by their Malayan counterparts' struggle for the rights of the Malays manifested in

constitutional measures such as language requirements for citizenship, as well as similar movements in Indonesia.

Internal influences: Demographic figures show that the Malays have always been numerically superior and politically dominant. The Malay language has been the traditional language of the ruling aristocracy or the Malay sultans. No other languages could be as instrumental in creating a Bruneian national identity.

Historical and Geographical influences: Malay has always been the lingua franca throughout the Malay archipelago and it is easy to learn.

The external influences identified by Sheikh Adnan above have been alluded to and discussed at length earlier in Section 2.4.2 in terms of political repercussions of events in and between neighbouring Malaya and Indonesia (The 1948 Confrontation mentioned earlier in Chapter 2). However, while admitting political developments in the neighbours' backyards may have spurred Brunei's decision, Sheikh Adnan expresses his doubts on whether the ultimate motive of Article 82 was similar to those behind the declaration of a national language of unity in these two countries:

> It was not clear whether the choice of Malay as official language of Brunei was influenced by the need to unify the country. There was little evidence to suggest that there had been problems of communalism or multi-racialism. Unlike Malaysia, which needed to use language as a unifying factor to overcome problems arising out of the diversity in its population distribution, and where the three distinct racial groups were bent of progressing along communal lines politically, economically and socially, Brunei did not have to contend with such problems. It was not, and has never been as diverse as Malaysia. If degrees of multi-lingualism and multi-racialism are possible, then Brunei's would be lesser than Malaysia's.
>
> (Sheikh Adnan 1983:11-12)

It is for this reason that I believe that the official language was declared primarily because of its great historical significance. The factors that Sheikh Adnan classifies as 'Internal influences' and 'Historical and geographical influences' are discussed together in the next section, which examines documentary evidence of the strength of Malay throughout Brunei's history.

3.7.1   Historical Evidence for Malay Language Supremacy

The significance of Malay language and its link to the Brunei royalty and elite can be traced to the beginnings of the kingdom of Brunei. In Brunei's modern history, the earliest recognition of Malay as an important lingua franca could be found in the McArthur Report of 1904 and again in Brunei Annual Report of 1928:

> The langua franca [sic.] is Malay which differs slightly from that generally spoken in Malaya...
>
> (Govt. of Brunei 1928)

While this could be taken as an accurate albeit brief description of the linguistic situation in Brunei at that point in time, this does not give us any indication as to how long the Malay language had already been established and used in the country. Let us now examine some historical evidence of the roles and uses of Malay in Brunei in ancient times.

One of the earliest mentions of 'language' in 16th Century European sources for the history of Brunei is *Libro di Odoardo Barbosa* (1550), that describes that circa 1515 the people of Brunei already had 'a language of their own.' This 'language of their own' is only much later described in an account of *The Visit of Goncalo Pereira to Brunei, August 1530 (Part 1)*, as resembling Malay.

This King of Borneo is one of the sect of the Moors, as well as are his people. He is rich and powerful and is served with great ostentation. He has a governor who rules the kingdom on his behalf, who in his language is called a Xabandar. The people of the island are swarthy, but well-built; in dress and in tongue they resemble the Malays.

The second part of the same account of the visit to Brunei again confirms the currency of the Malay language as early as the 1500s in the Brunei royal court at least:

The King is a Moor and is served with great pomp; he exercises great power over his subjects. All the people are clean and well-built and speak the Malay language...

Yet probably the most telling example of the importance of Malay at that time is from the following oft-quoted extensive account written in 1578 (particular attention to be drawn to the emboldened part of the account):

The Adventures of SiMagat, 13-16th April 1578.

The very illustrious Doctor Francisco de Sande, governor and captain-general for his Majesty in the Western Islands, being in the river of Borney, ... found there the said Simagat, a chief of Balayan, and a vassal of his majesty, who was one of the messengers sent to the said king of Borney with two peace-letters. When questioned through the interpreter, Juan Ochoa Ttabudo, he told what happened in regard to the letters given them for the said king of Brunei, to whom he gave them; ... and what befell Simagachina, chief of Balayan, who accompanied him... He declared that what happened is as follows... *They took two letters from his Lordship for the king of Borney, one written in the Bornean tongue and the other in that of Manila... As soon as the said Salalila and the other Borneans with him saw the said letters, they laid hands upon them... Thereupon the said Salalila read the letter that was written in the Manila tongue, and after reading it, said jestingly, "This letter is from the Portuguese," and tore it into pieces. The other letter, written in the Bornean tongue, the said Salalila sent, together with this witness, in*

a small boat with certain Bornean Moros to the king of Borney. The
said Magachina and the other Moros remained in the said fleet with the
said Salalila. About three o'clock next morning they reached the house
where the said old king of Borney lived. The said Borneans gave him the
said letter in the presence of this witness. A Bornean Moro read it; and,
when he came to the end, the said king remarked: "So this is the way that
your people write to me, who am king; while the Castillians are capie" –
that is to say, in the Bornean language "men who have no souls, who are
consumed by fire when they die, and that, too, because they eat pork"…
[My emphasis]

The fact that the document involved was a diplomatic letter to the king of Brunei

could only mean that the language used in the un-torn letter was his language,

Malay. Indeed the tearing up of the letter written in 'the Manila tongue' has been

interpreted by previous researchers as rejection of a lesser language than Malay

('Bornean tongue') [e.g. Collins 1998]. Another significance of this spectacular

event is that even as early as 1578 a writing system for the Malay language had

already been in place. The fact that a language has a writing system is testimony

to its importance, and this is even more meaningful considering the conditions of

the time which we are discussing. One must ask however what form the writing

could have been in. In 1684 a Brunei ambassador was sent to Manila:

> About this time there came to the general a solemn embassy from the
>
> principal of Bruney, whom these people revere as emperor… the
>
> ambassador's credentials came in the *Malayan language, written in*
>
> *Arabic characters*; these were interpreted by the Borneans themselves,
>
> and by a Ternatan named Pedro Machado. [My emphasis]

It can be safely assumed from this account that the credentials were written in

Jawi, the Arabic script used to write Malay still in use and taught in schools in

Brunei today.

The earliest known Jawi or Arabic inscriptions in Brunei can be found on a tombstone belonging to Rokayah Binti Sultan Abdul Majid Hassan Ibnu Muhammad Shah Al-Sultan dated 826 Hijrah[6]/1422 AD (Haji Awang Mohd. Jamil Al-Sufri 2000:42). What this tombstone proves is that the Arabic script or Jawi was already in use in Brunei in 1422 AD, at the least. Although the inscriptions are not recognizable or intelligible as Malay, as only the deceased's name was written on the stone, it is irrefutable that a writing system was already in place. But clear jawi inscriptions of Malay language compositions can be found in the earliest known Malay writings found in Terengganu, Malaysia. The stone tablets date back to 702 Hijrah or 1302 AD (Haji Awang Mohd. Jamil Al-Sufri 2000:65). By deduction it can be argued that if Jawi was already used to write Malay in Terengganu in 1302 AD, there is a strong possibility that Malay was also already written in jawi in Brunei even before 1422 AD, when the Rokayah tombstone was erected.

Yet another tombstone, this time in China, of one King Ma-Na-Je-Chia-Na of Po'ni gives us further clues to the language of the time. Studies of Chinese annals reveal that the tombstone belongs to Brunei King Maharaja Gana· It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss the existence of the said King, suffice to say it has been accepted by the Brunei government that this would be the case. What this study is more concerned about is the linguistic tell-tales of the kind of language used in ancient Brunei. Chinese records indicate that in 1408 The King of Brunei, 'accompanied by a retinue of more than 150 including his spouses, brothers and sisters, children, relatives and ministers visited China' (Tun Mohamad Suffian 1998) which was ruled then by the Third Ming Emperor, Yung Lo (1403-1424). The original records were in Chinese, but the names of the important visitors from Brunei are undeniably Malay if their Chinese approximations are closely examined: e.g. The King ('Manajechiana'= '*Maharaja Gana*') and the prince ('Hsia-Wang' = '*Si Awang*'). But rather than names, these transliterations appear more likely to be that of Brunei royal titles. 'Si Awang' is a Brunei Malay title

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[6] Muslim calendar

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and term of endearment for young men which is still very much in use today. 'Maharaja Gana' is also a title not unfamiliar to the present day royal Brunei court. The Brunei Royal lineage can be traced to the first King, Awang Alak Betatar, who embraced Islam and became known as Sultan Muhammad Shah around 1368. The king who died in China was a descendant of Awang Alak Betatar, who also used the title 'Awang'.

Based on the evidence presented here, it can be said that the Malay language has been a strong language throughout Brunei's history. Its long history therefore makes Malay the natural choice for the language that Brunei would be identified with and endorsed by the constitution. This traditional association with royalty will be picked up again in Chapter 7.

In the next section, the support that the Malay language receives as a result of its official language status will be outlined.

3.8   Official and Institutional Support for Malay

Apart from the schools and the education system [see Section 2.6], there are a number of other prominent institutions that are relevant in any discussion of the linguistic situation in Brunei. They are the *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Brunei* (Language and Literature Bureau of Brunei), the national university and the national broadcasting company, Radio Television Brunei (RTB), as well as the print media in general. Brunei is also a member of the regional forum for the Malay language in the form of MABBIM (formerly MBIM). Each of these is discussed separately below:

3.8.1 Language and Literature Bureau (LLB)

Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (Language and Literature Bureau) is essentially a government department under the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports. The Department is responsible for language and literary development and propagation, cultural research and documentation and book publication, as well as providing library services nationwide. Following the declaration of Malay as the State Official Language, in 1961 the Brunei government approved the formation of the Language Board. This was later changed to the Language and Literary Section, and came under the jurisdiction of the Education Department until 1 January 1965, when the section was separated from the Education Department. It now became a new department known as *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka*. It needs to be noted, however, that in the main, the department conducts and publishes research and documentation of the Malay language varieties, but does not publish in any other ethnic languages.

3.8.2 Radio Television Brunei

Radio Television Brunei is a government department under the Prime Minister's Department. One of its official roles is to transmit not less than 60% of local TV programmes (RTB Website, 20 June 2003). This means locally produced programmes in Malay. RTB is regarded as the voice of the government, and assumed to bear the responsibility of using and disseminating 'the correct and proper' form of the Malay language, although the latter is not one of the department's official objectives and roles. This assumption, it seems, results from the fact that it is the only broadcasting company in Brunei (although there are Malay transmissions from Malaysia, and more recently, in Indonesian on satellite TV).

3.8.3   Universiti Brunei Darussalam

Active planning for a National University began in 1984-5, at which time
academic links were discussed with a number of universities in the United
Kingdom and Malaysia. Under the supervision of a Ministry of Education
Committee on the Establishment of the University, the first degree programmes
and courses were devised. Formal academic links were established with
University College, Cardiff, and with the University of Leeds and both of these
universities helped in the development of the English-medium programmes. For
Malay-medium programmes, assistance was provided by *Universiti Sains
Malaysia* (Science University of Malaysia) and *Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia*
(National University of Malaysia). The opening of the university on 28 October
1985 was seen as a major landmark in education and research in Brunei. Indeed
among its objectives are:

> Teaching is the University's primary mission. Universiti Brunei
> Darussalam aims to produce quality graduates suitably equipped in
> terms of knowledge, skills, attitudes, moral and spiritual values, to
> support the development needs of the nation and consistent with the
> national philosophy.
>
> Research is the University's second mission. As the nation's only
> university, Universiti Brunei Darussalam will promote and undertake
> research, particularly applied research, in areas where it has a
> comparative advantage and in accordance with national needs.
>
> (UBD Website, 20 June 2003)

This second mission would include research in the linguistic field. Prior to the
establishment of the university, linguistic studies were few. Today linguistic
research is done by staff of the university's Language Centre, Brunei Studies
Academy, Department of English Language and Applied Linguistics, Department

of Malay Linguistics and Literature, and Department of Language Education. Indeed the university is pivotal in conducting and encouraging research, which can be seen as institutional support toward languages in Brunei.

3.8.4 MABBIM

MABBIM (*Majlis Bahasa Brunei Darussalam – Indonesia – Malaysia*) is a regional linguistic forum comprising three countries: Brunei, Indonesia and Malaysia. The body was originally named 'Majlis Bahasa Indonesia-Malaysia' (MBIM), formed on 29 December 1972. MBIM became MABBIM when Negara Brunei Darussalam joined the assembly on 4 November 1985. Singapore meanwhile has remained an observer. The main mission of MABBIM is to develop the Malay language in the three member-countries with them aim of making it the language of high-culture, education, science, modern technology, industry and economy (MABBIM Website, 23 June 2003). MABBIM operates much like the Academie Francaise in that it standardizes and regulates the Malay spelling and grammar system. Another important function is creating new terminology.

3.8.5 Print Media

The government's weekly bulletin, *Pelita Brunei* (lit. Beacon of Brunei), is printed in Malay and is provided free throughout the country. Being the government's publication, the *Pelita Brunei* is regarded as a good example of correct Standard Malay usage in the country. A recent addition is the *Media Permata*, a private-owned newspaper that prides itself in being the only local Malay daily in Brunei. Of course there are books, magazines and daily newspapers in Malay that originate from Malaysia and these are popular in Brunei. However, they do not carry local news and issues.

All these government bodies have helped the government to reinforce the influence and use of the Malay language. While in the present section we look at agents of enforcement of language policies, the actual nature, form and history of these policies and the process of language planning in Brunei will be discussed in the next section.

3.9   Language Policy in Brunei

It must be pointed out that this study does not aim to address language planning issues in Brunei, but it is important to have some understanding of the nature of language planning in Brunei as its outcomes have greatly influenced the way in which Bruneians view their languages [see Jones 1994 for an in-depth study of language planning in Brunei]. Language planning in Brunei was done through the education system in what has been identified by Jones (1994:60; 2003) as a 'language-in-education' policy, an instance of covert or implicit language policies (Schiffman 1996:2).

This section however is more concerned with the immediate repercussions of the education system, through which two 'learned languages' were disseminated through the 'language-in-education policies' mentioned above, specifically on the linguistic development in the country. In his study of language planning in Brunei, Jones is of the opinion that:

> ...there was no planning as such but a response to events... there are no obvious language planners in the country and really no plans, only education policies.
>
> (Jones 1994:57)

However, Jones adds, the 1959 Constitution made a clear status planning discussion in making Malay the official language. It was deemed by decision-

makers of the country that the education system should uphold Malay's newly appointed official language status. 'The place of some planning for language is realised, but bigger language planning decisions continue to be made on an *ad hoc* basis' (Jones 1994:66-67). Unfortunately, not all the decision-makers of that time had adequate knowledge, training and experience of language planning issues, and this remains to be Brunei's major problem as far as language planning is concerned. Early Brunei planners were at the mercy of circumstances (Jones – in press). The circumstances that surrounded the development of the bilingual education plan that was eventually to come into place in 1984, and which has remained in place since, have been described in Section 2.6.

For a nation of such small size and yet with a complex demography, Brunei does not have a comprehensively conceived and clearly outlined explicit language policy per se apart from Article 82. Rather, what Brunei has are implicit 'language-in-education' policies with unexpected outcomes (Jones 1994:60-61; in press). Following the signing of the Constitution in 1959, the modern state of Brunei began to implement the use of Malay in a renewed spirit of nationalism. The establishment of language requirements in job applications in the public sector and in higher institutions of study is an important factor that influenced the education system. Most jobs in the government sector and entry into higher studies require a valid academic credit in the Malay language. This in a way ensures the population's basic literacy skills in the language.

There is no denying the fact that the two languages that have clearly received official and institutional support through the education system are Malay and English. In emphasizing Malay and English through the bilingual education policy, the implicit message is that the latter are superior languages, compared to others in the country (this point is picked up in Chapters 7). Jones argues that although there have been no written policies, English and Malay appear to have carved their respective domains in Bruneian life. However the boundaries between these domains are fluid, 'and it is perhaps the degree of uncertainty that

this engenders, together with what may be perceived as an encroachment from the English language into many walks of Bruneian life, that has resulted in a certain amount of counter planning in defence of the Malay language' (Jones 1994:64). One of these measures, as discussed above, has been the education system and the school and the catalytic role they played in implementation of the official language, and in the emphasis of the national ideology, MIB.

Beyond the realms of the education system, the use of Malay has also been emphasized in the workplace, particularly in government offices, and even within the private sector of Brunei. A fuller discussion and evidence from the interviews will be presented in Chapter 7.

The combined effect of explicit as well as implicit pressure for the use of Malay has been a visible shift away from ethnic languages to the Malay language [cf. *Islamicization* and *Malayicization* (Gunn 1997:6) and *Cultural and linguistic redefinition* (Martin 1990:130-131; Martin 2002), see Section 2.1]. Martin's study of the Belait community found that their identity has become gradually submerged by the group's use of a new language, Brunei Malay, and the importance of this code in the Bruneian speech community as a whole (Sercombe 2003). E.M. Kershaw has also identified similar trends among the Dusun community, and she observed that younger Dusuns perceive their language as having diminishing value (ibid.). Sercombe comments that 'parents have unwittingly aided in the progressive demise of Dusun by encouraging their children to use Malay as a route to academic and material success' (Sercombe 2003). Similarly the younger Murut speakers are also making more and more use of Brunei Malay (ibid.). On this shift away from indigenous languages to Malay, Sercombe states the following:

Much of the literature reporting on language situations in Borneo suggests a general linguistic levelling process taking place throughout coastal areas of Borneo towards the superordinate code of an area, more often than not Malay, whereby the roles of indigenous minority languages are being usurped for the following main reasons: [i] demographic factors comprising a tendency to migrate towards urban coastal areas where there are greater opportunities for wage employments and access to facilities, such as education and health care as well as a wide variety of material goods; and where language and ethnic identity may be less closely intertwined; [ii] Malay is the medium of education in Malaysia and Indonesia; as well as being the national language in each of these countries and that of Brunei; [iii] Malay also has the status associated with the ruling elites of these countries; and [iv] Malay has acted as a trade language and lingua franca among peoples from different linguistic groups throughout the Malay archipelago for over half a millennium (cf. Collins 1998; and Prentice 1987).

(Sercombe 2003)

In light of these earlier observations, this study shall attempt to conduct a thorough examination of the informants' perceptions of the state of their respective mother tongues that would determine the future of linguistic diversity in Brunei [see Chapter 8].

3.10   Summary

This chapter has identified, described and discussed the languages that are spoken in Brunei's diverse linguistic landscape. These include the languages of the seven indigenous groups (the focus group of this study) as well as Chinese and English.

Focus is then drawn toward the Malay language being the official language in the country, and an interpretation of the official language according to the constitution has been defined. This interpretation of Article 82, to reiterate, will be used throughout this thesis. It has been argued also that the most pertinent reason for the selection of Malay as official language is its long history in Brunei. Manuscripts from the 16th century bear proof of this high status of Malay even at that time; in fact it was suggested in Section 3.6.1 that Malay literacy was already in existence in Brunei much earlier. Malay's selection as the official language seemed a natural choice. The institutions that support the use of the official language have also been described, followed by an outline of the type of language policy and the language planning process in Brunei. This is particularly important in providing some light as to why certain attitudes and perceptions toward a particular language in Brunei are held. What these perceptions are will ultimately determine the survival of these individual languages, as well as the state of Brunei's language ecology. This chapter has provided the linguistic and sociolinguistic background to the analysis of informant responses in the data analysis chapters. The conceptual framework for this analysis will be outlined in the literature review in the next chapter.

Chapter 4   Literature Review

In this chapter the theoretical concepts behind the study of language ecology and linguistic diversity are explained, as central to this study is the issue of linguistic diversity in Brunei and how this diversity has begun to diminish over the last century. In order to do this, and to critically reflect on the processes that have led to this reduction in diversity, a review of the literature through which the theoretical framework has been developed is necessary. It is of course impossible to review the massive collection of literature in its entirety. Indeed not all of the previous studies, particularly those carried out in and on Brunei, have been accessible. Nevertheless I have endeavoured to review those that were available and immediately relevant to the themes analyzed, and the ways in which they are analyzed, in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

Section 4.1 discusses the concept of 'ecology of language', tracing its development and charting the evolution of the concept to what it is today. The advantages of employing the ecological approach in the study of the languages of Brunei will also be discussed. Because the concept of 'linguistic diversity' is intrinsic within the notion of 'ecology of language', it will be argued therefore that the latter is an appropriate framework for the study of interrelationships between the languages, the main focus of this study. Linguistic diversity will be discussed in Section 4.2.

Because of their intricate link, the relationship between language, culture and identity is discussed in Section 4.3, paying particular attention to important aspects of the relationship: language and identity. Also discussed will be the relationship between linguistic diversity and cultural diversity. These discussions are necessary to support the argument made later that language shift also involves a shift in identity.

Section 4.4 reviews the literature on language contact, within which field this study is located. This discussion is necessary so that a fuller understanding to the actual processes of change in the language ecology of Brunei can be achieved. These processes include the dynamics of language contact, the types of language contact, and the outcomes of language contact.

Section 4.5 specifically deals with language shift, the first outcome of language contact, as this phenomenon is significantly prominent in the data. The link between language shift and identity shift is also discussed in this section. This is followed by a discussion of the second outcome of language contact, language convergence, in Section 4.6.

The frameworks used to discuss language diversity in Brunei are examined in Section 4.7. The Ruiz 'Orientations' model (Ruiz 1984, 1988) identifies three types of orientations: 'language as a problem'; 'language as right'; and 'language as resource'. These 'orientations' are general categories of perceptions toward linguistic diversity, which would be useful to find out whether the general attitudes toward linguistic diversity among the informants are favourable or not. These orientations will be the main framework used in the analysis of interview data in Chapter 6. The second framework, Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (EVT), is also outlined in this section. It will be argued that it is necessary to ascertain the vitality of the each of the languages in Brunei's language ecology to evaluate the state of its linguistic diversity. The EVT is an established model that provides indicators that can be used to discuss the opinions of the informants in this study and help ascertain the perceived vitality of their languages. This will be directly relevant and applicable to the discussion of sociolinguistic changes in Brunei in Chapters 7 and 8.

Before proceeding, it is pertinent that the terminology used in this study be clarified at this juncture:

Ecology: the environment within which the subject of study is found

Ecology of language/ language ecology/ linguistic ecology: refers to the interrelationships between languages (their speakers) in a given environment.

Ethnic group: refers to a group of people sharing the same cultural heritage and tribal ancestry.

Ethnolinguistic group: a simultaneous reference to an ethnic group and its distinctive language.

Linguistic diversity/ language diversity: The multilingual setting of a particular language ecology as a result of the presence of multiple languages.

4.1   Ecology of Language

Haugen used 'the ecology of language' in 1970 to refer to a new ecological study of the interrelations between multiple languages in both the human mind and in multilingual communities. Haugen's (1972) definition of a language ecology is 'the study of interactions between any given language and its environment', in which environment means 'the society that uses a language as one of its codes' rather than 'referential world' (Alwin & Fill 2001:3). The approach in this study is ecological, in the sense that it focuses on the interrelationships between the indigenous languages of Brunei (more exactly, between the speakers of these languages), and sociohistorical factors such as the national history and ideology. The ecological framework proposed by Haugen suits the purpose of this study particularly as the emphasis is on the reciprocity/ interrelationship between language and environment, noting that what is needed is not only a description of the social and psychological situation of each language, but also the effect of this situation on the language itself (Haugen 1972:334). Haugen also comments:

> [The] struggle between dominated and dominant groups for the right to survive includes what I have called "the ecology of language." By this I mean that the preservation of language is part of human ecology.
>
> (Haugen, in Nettle & Romaine 2000:78).

The term 'ecology' has been used in a variety of ways. Haeckel coined the term 'ecology' in 1866 to mean the study of all those complex biological interrelationships referred to by Darwin as the conditions of the struggle for existence (Brewer1988:1). One of the changes since the term 'ecology' was first used, according to Mühlhäusler (2000), is the extension of the ecology metaphor to new domains such as the 'ecology of language', the approach used in this study. Haugen contends that the ecology of language is determined primarily by the people who learn it, use it and transmit it to others (Mühlhäusler 2000). For Haugen the expression 'ecology of language' covers the broad field of investigation involving psycholinguistics, ethnolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics, and the sociology of language, converging on the topic of interaction of human beings and their environment (Kotze 2000).

A second change since the coinage of the term 'ecology' by Haeckel, according to Mühlhäusler (2000), is the re-evaluation of the notion of 'the conditions of the struggle for existence', which involve the greater appreciation of and emphasis on the ability of languages to co-exist and cooperate within complex relationships in their ecology. The ecology of language approach asks us to recognize the need for a more holistic understanding of the roles of language that would allow us to understand languages by 'looking not just at the languages themselves, but at all aspects of the lives of the people who speak them' (Nettle & Romaine 2000:79). These are the reasons this present study has adopted the ecological framework in the study of the languages of Brunei.

Mühlhäusler (1996:7, 2000) further outlines the distinguishing features and strengths of ecological thinking as follows, which I discuss in relation to this present study:

1. The concept of language ecology involves consideration not just of system internal factors but wider environmental considerations, hence rejecting the notion of single system bounded languages or Chomsky's independency hypothesis that isolates structure from function. With reference to the present study, the analysis of the interactions between the languages and peoples would not be complete if we ignored the relationships between the speakers and how the speakers perceive their place within Bruneian society.

2. In relation to the last point, the focus of ecological linguistics is the diversity of human languages and their functions, not abstract general principles of (universal) grammatical description. A new question is that of the structure of the nature of linguistic diversity and the social function of such diversity. Mühlhäusler argues that 'small languages with very few speakers can survive in a structured language ecology where both medium-size intercommunity lingua francas and larger regional lingua francas make it possible for everyone to communicate as well as to signal their identity' (Mühlhäusler 2000). Mühlhäusler further contends that such structured ecologies provide a good model for the coexistence of larger and smaller languages in a single communication area. The discussion of the linguistic situation in Brunei in the previous chapter shows the complex and diverse make up consisting of precisely such 'large' and 'small' languages within a shared communication area.

3. Another important feature of the ecological approach is the long term vision and its awareness of those factors that make for the health of ecologies. The central question of ecological linguistics according to

Mühlhäusler is: What factors sustain the long-term viability of languages in their ecological environment? The ecological approach is characterized by an awareness of the limitations of both natural and human resources. This can be discussed in terms of the ethnolinguistic vitality variables that are outlined in Section 4.6 and Chapters 7 and 8. This will be particularly useful in answering the questions of viability and sustainability of languages in Brunei, with shifting attitudes and more importantly, shifting languages.

Further strengths of the ecological approach, as identified by Mufwene (1998), apart from highlighting the value of global linguistic diversity, include also the fact that it highlights the importance of individual and community linguistic rights and the role of language attitudes, awareness, variation, and change in fostering a culture of communicative peace by:

> ... integrat[ing] many different levels of explanation, without privileging any single level above the rest. Many different disciplinary, artistic and mythic perspectives on language are taken as potential sources of insight on an extremely complex natural system that in turn is integrated, through the co-ordering of awareness and action in human cultural communities, with the full complexity of the living world.
>
> (Mufwene 1998)

Mühlhäusler's notion of linguistic ecology makes use of both the metaphorical and literal meaning of *ecology* and *environment*, and he coins the term *'convironment'* (which emphasizes the togetherness of all beings). Mühlhäusler 'sees the well-being of individual languages or communication networks as dependent on a range of language-external factors as well as the presence of other languages' (Mühlhäusler 1996:49). The latter is combined with concern about the loss of linguistic diversity and the diminishing role of small languages, which is another

central issue in this present study. In this respect, the theory of linguistic ecology is linked by Mühlhäusler to Phililipson's (1992) notion of 'linguistic imperialism'. The disappearance of small languages through 'deliberate human agency' (Mühlhäusler 1996:19), e.g. through language planning and policy making, is a form of linguistic imperialism, along with political and economic imperialism i.e. the subtle and not so subtle attempts by some parties (e.g. the West) through processes such as (neo-) colonization and globalization to 'manipulate' language.

Echoing Haugen's original interpretation of the concept, Mühlhäusler suggests that the 'focus of inquiry should be upon the functional relationship between the factors that affect the general interrelationship between languages rather than individual factors impacting on individual languages' (Mühlhäusler 1996:313). It is in this direction that this present study is conducted. The ecology of language approach in this study places emphasis on 'linguistic diversity' and 'interrelationships between languages', which will both be explored in terms of their interactions with their environment, including the geographical, socio-economic and cultural conditions in which the speakers of a given language exists. It is these ecological factors that bring languages into being, define their boundaries and decide on their growth and survival (Mühlhäusler 1996:3). This notion is emphasized in Mühlhäusler's (1996, 2000) idea of *structured diversity* that recognizes structured relationships between the co-inhabitants of a linguistic ecosystem i.e. the languages, and between individual inhabitants and components of that ecological support system [this will be discussed further under Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory in Section 4.7.2]. In other words, the ecology of language theory is concerned with the well-being of languages within their natural environment and the threats of disappearance that they face, thus making it a useful approach in the context of this study.

The ecological approach is not beyond criticism, however. According to Baron et al (2002:9), Mühlhäusler's definition of language ecology has been criticized as being a 'shallow' one, 'grounded ultimately on human purposes' particularly by Taylor (1992:267), as cited by Baron et al:

> We are not talking of a world 'out there' in which relationships take place, one which is indifferent to us, but a world of our involvements. Everything around us becomes a potential bearer of meaning for us. Language ecology is more than the two-dimensional network of interacting languages – it acknowledges an infinite world of possibilities. The network thus has to be multi-dimensional; it has to have depth, a seamless web of relations extending in all directions.

> (Taylor 1992:252, in Baron et al 2002:10).

Mufwene (1998) has also criticized linguists who have been working on the ecologies of endangered languages for focusing too much on their 'host', the speakers. He accuses them of failing to deal 'with the larger socio-economic ecologies to which the speakers have been adapting themselves at the expense of their ancestral languages.' He explains that in managing linguistic diversity, 'it is not just a matter focusing on some ecology, it is also a question of focusing on the relevant ecology' (Mufwene 1998, 2000). He gives the example that only 'local globalization', and not all globalization, has endangered or driven most languages to extinction. In other words, Mufwene (2002) argues, we must recognize the fact that one ecology is different than another and how these dissimilarities can account for the variation in the vitality of individual languages.

In light of these criticisms, this study hopes to take into account of the socioeconomic factors and will try to be as multidimensional as possible by looking at the issue of diversity from different angles. The ecological approach, therefore, is the fundamental framework for this study because I believe that the

external factors of sociolinguistic change which are initiated by language contact are significant. As Rickford (1987) states, from the perspective of current sociolinguistic theory, the study of language and dialects in contact is important for our understanding of the mechanics of, and motivation for, synchronic variation and diachronic change. Therefore in taking on board Mufwene's suggestions above to deal with the wider sociohistorical and socioeconomic ecologies that are relevant, linguistic diversity and language use are examined using the views of the speakers on the way their communities use their traditional languages within the sociocultural context of Brunei.

Linguistic diversity has been mentioned several times in the preceding discussions, thus reflecting its natural relationship with the language ecology concept. This is discussed next.

4.2   Linguistic Diversity

As described in Chapter 3, Brunei is a multilingual country. Inherent in the multilingual environment is the concept of linguistic diversity, and finding out how languages in Brunei interact within their ecology is the prime focus of this study. Nettle (1998) identifies three types of linguistic diversity:

1. Linguistic diversity referring to situations 'where there are very large numbers of different languages, and others where there are very few.'
2. Phylogenetic diversity of languages: 'which is a matter of how many different language families or branches of language families are present.'
3. Structural diversity on some linguistic parameter (SOV, SVO, VSO languages).

According to Nettle, sometimes the first two types are discussed together, although they are not necessarily related. Structural diversity will tend to be

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correlated with phylogenetic diversity, since where there are many different families there will often be many different structural types of language (Nichols 1992:250). Of immediate concern to this study is the Type 1, which most accurately describes the multilingual setting in Brunei.

There have been many attempts to diminish the diversity of human languages through the promotion of a single language especially with the emergence of modern nation-states, which has also provided a powerful inspiration for those who are committed to reducing linguistic diversity: a common language is often seen as a necessary binding ingredient for new nations (Mühlhäusler 1990). On whether linguistic diversity divides or unites a nation, Pattanayak (1988:380) concludes that 'variety' is a prerequisite for biological survival, without which, monocultures become vulnerable and easily destroyed. Pattanayak extends this concept to the human linguistic ecology and argues that 'One language in one nation does not bring about equity or harmony for members or groups of that nation' (ibid.).This statement is supported by Horn (2000) who argues that people who postulate unity as a desirable goal often fail to reflect on the problems posed by the concept of unity for a universal history as well as a universal human culture.

In this respect, Hornberger (2002) argues that linguistic diversity is getting more acknowledgment today and that the 'one language-one nation' ideology of language policy and national identity is no longer the only available one worldwide [cf. Govt. of Brunei 1939, cited earlier]. This contrasts to the 1980s when some linguists primarily assumed linguistic diversity as a problem which could be overcome only by streamlining and central planning (Mühlhäusler 1996:311-312). There is now a major conceptual shift that sees linguistic diversity as an asset as well as a solution to former problems.

As Even-Zohar argues, it is not actual language diversity that generates conflict:

Whether the diversity becomes activated through language conflicts or remains a peacefully accepted fact of cultural reality depends on whether higher-level semiotic organizers of culture enter into a state of conflict. Such higher-level organizers are ideologies that determine the goals of a society through its conception of itself. In modern times, ... nationhood and national identity have become the most powerful such ideology [sic.]... As long as no disagreement has arisen with regard to the propagated or imposed identity, even the most blatant linguistic diversity has never encouraged language conflicts.

(Even-Zohar 1986)

However, in linguistically diverse societies, a lingua franca might have to be chosen from the existing native languages to facilitate better communication. But such decisions may in fact encourage shift from one indigenous language to another, especially in cases where the languages are similar linguistically and the speakers of one language significantly outnumber those of the other (Aitchison 1981; Fasold 1984; Beer & Jacob 1985). Nevertheless, implicit in such language choices is the belief that linguistic diversity is a problem.

4.3   Linguistic Diversity and Cultural Diversity

In the context of this study, the significance and complexity of language and ethnic or cultural identity becomes more obvious in the discussion of interethnic or intercultural contact and communication between different ethnolinguistic groups in Brunei. As discussed above, it would be difficult to imagine language contact as separate from cultural contact. [see Section 4.4]

Any discussion of language and culture must derive from the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis which links individual thought to larger and culturally based patterns

of language which posits an interdependent relationship between language and culture (P. Lee 1996). In its strong version the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis consists of two associated principles. According to the first principle, *linguistic determinism*, language determines human thinking. The second, *linguistic relativity*, suggests that people who speak different languages perceive and think about the world in their own different ways. We can extrapolate from this theory therefore that our perception of reality, including our cultural and ethnic identity, is largely conditioned by language, a concept which is pertinent to this study.

Romaine views linguistic diversity as a benchmark of cultural diversity: 'Language death is symptomatic of cultural death: a way of life disappears with the death of a language. The fortunes of languages are bound with those of its speakers' (Romaine 1994:7). In her discussion of the relationship between linguistic and cultural diversity, Skutnabb-Kangas sees languages as 'depositories of diverse knowledge for sustainability' (2000:252). She points out however that 'language and culture are not synonymous, nor do they exhibit a one-to-one relationship' (ibid.). Skutnabb-Kangas argues that there are ethnic groups who have approximately the same culture but who speak different languages (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000:253). She asks: '[D]oes this mean, then, that linguistic diversity could go and cultural diversity could still remain? It seems doubtful' (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000:253-256). Skutnabb-Kangas further contends:

> ...linguistic diversity is not only 'a good thing' but a necessity for the planet... maintaining everybody's mother tongue(s), while learning additional languages is not only beneficial for the individual but also a prerequisite for ethnic groups and peoples to maintain themselves as groups, which again is a prerequisite for cultural diversity.
>
> (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000:279-280)

This question from Skutnabb–Kangas above reinforces the relevance of the notion of 'culture' in the study of linguistic diversity. Culture is therefore articulated through the concept of ethnicity, discussed below.

4.3.1 Language and Identity

According to Coulombe (1995) the relationship between language and identity can be partly explained by the relationship between language and *ethnic* identity. 'The difficulty in examining this relationship, however, stems from the vagueness involved in the concept of ethnicity', described by Fishman (1972) as 'an aspect of a collectivity's self-recognition as well as an aspect of its recognition in the eyes of outsiders ... an avenue whereby individuals are linked to society'. Coulombe argues that this definition interfaces and captures better the relation between identity and language. Coulombe cites Anderson, and comments:

> "In other words", writes Alan Anderson, "if an ethnic group has tended to emphasize maintenance of its own traditional language, loss of that language will be equated largely with loss of group identity". Conversely, it is possible for a group to lose its distinctive language without losing its identity. Therefore, we should not fall prey to the claim that language is necessarily the primary feature of identity, nor should we subscribe to the view that language is always a disposable marker of collective identity.

> (Coulombe 1995)

The symbolic value of language and ethnic identity as a classical ingredient of culture has been noted by Blommaert (1996) who states that there are numerous cases of communities whose prime marker of ethnic identity is their traditional ethnic language. Blommaert also remarks on the 'almost fixed collocation' in the assumption that 'linguistic differences are ethnic differences' (ibid.).
Commenting on this 'common link', Fishman (1999) is quick to remind us that

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that it is 'link' rather than 'equivalence' between language and ethnicity. He further observes:

> Giving up a traditionally associated ethnic mother tongue is both a result of and a cause of ethnocultural dislocation. Although some dislocated ethnic groups have been able to weather such dislocation with their identities intact, most have not been able to do so. Also, an intact identity is not the same as an intact tradition.
>
> (Fishman 1999)

In relation to this point, a useful theory formulated by Giles and several colleagues, the 'Ethnolinguistic Identity' theory, proposes that intergroup social comparisons using language occur when individuals define themselves as group members (See Giles & Johnson 1981, Giles & Coupland 1991, Sachdev & Bourhis 1990). Sachdev & Hanlon (2000) state that 'empirical testing of this theory suggests that language use and identity are related reciprocally: language use influences the formation of group identity, and group identity influences patterns of language attitudes and usage' (see Giles & Coupland 1991; Sachdev & Bourhis 1990). 'Group identity' in the last statement is extended to include ethnic group identity.

Although it is possible that an individual can have multiple linguistic identities, it is often assumed that every individual has only one ethnolinguistic identity: a person speaks one language (the mother tongue), and has only one ethnic identity. Even when (e.g. because of mixed marriages) one's 'pure' ethnicity is 'uncertain', the person's language can at least suggest his or her ethnolinguistic identity. As Gal (1979:171) argues, language choice implicitly relates speakers to social groups associated with each language. Gal further explains: 'One need not be a member of a social category ... to claim that identity... But whatever reasons individuals have for presenting themselves as members of a social category, it is choice of language that symbolizes such membership...' (Gal 1979:171).

At national level, although ethnic and cultural identity are often linked to national identity, and language can be regarded as the most central symbol of a growing nationhood, political entities representing a homogeneous, monolingual national group are extremely rare (Kotze 2000). But 'a shared national language does not by itself generate or sustain national identity' (Apter 1981:221, in Blommaert 1996). Nevertheless, if people of a country share the same language and an indistinguishable identity, through nature or nurture, then the possibility of the emergence of a national identity, if that indeed was to be desired, would be more likely. Wodak et al (1999) argue that identity can be considered as a mutable process, largely constructed through discourse practices which are continually redefined and negotiated within and outside of the communities. This implies that the members of the communities use their national language, which they think symbolizes a firm and self-evident identity marker (ibid.).

In Chapter 2, the description of the Bruneian national identity was discussed in terms of MIB, in which the Malay language is an important signifier.

The ecological approach employed in this study describes this relationship between language and ethnicity 'as an interactional relation between the social environment and the speakers who by means of language reveal their structural integration into this environment' (Haugen 1978:112). This means that, similar to Gal's observation, the relationship between language and ethnicity is an indirect one that can only be observed by the way speakers use ethnic language to signal ethnic identity.

The interaction between language and ethnic identity, as identified by Kotze (2000), can have three possible results:

> First, different ethnic groups can coexist within the same speech
> community and be distinguishable only in terms of cultural and religious
> customs (which can, however, also be manifested in the language variety

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they employ). Second, language can form part of the cultural basket of an ethnic [community] without becoming an issue in any way. Third, language can be raised as a problematic component of a conflict situation, either as point of friction in a situation of disempowerment or as instrument of mobilization by groups who feel wronged, or both.

(Kotze 2000)

Kotze's argument here mirrors closely Ruiz's model of orientations discussed in Section 4.7 below. Which of these directions or forms the interaction between language and ethnicity takes in Brunei will be analyzed in subsequent chapters. But from the arguments above, one notion becomes immediately obvious: that language and culture (of which, ethnicity is a significant aspect) are complexly interrelated. Due to their 'collocative' nature with language, it may therefore be argued that apart from just interrelationships between languages, the sociocultural context of a language can be seen as the best instances of what constitutes 'social and natural environment' in Haugen's following statement:

The true environment of a language is the society that uses it as one of its codes. Language exists only in the mind of its users, and it only functions in relating these users to one another and to their social and natural environment.

(Haugen 1978:112)

The ways in which languages come into contact and their outcomes are discussed next.

4.4 Languages in Contact

The ecological study of linguistic diversity and the interrelationship between the languages of Brunei can be located within the sociolinguistic field of languages in

contact. From the perspective of the development of sociolinguistic theory, the study of languages in contact is significant as the focus of some of the earliest work in modern sociolinguistics. Pioneers such as Haugen, Weinreich, Ferguson, Fishman and Gumperz have been credited for the reconstruction of modern sociolinguistics through their descriptions of and theories about language contact situations of various kinds since the 1950s. These were followed up by the works of Hymes, Labov, Weinreich, Herzog and others in subsequent years. Weinreich's endeavor in particular raised many important theoretical issues and was one of the greatest contributions to the field. In his book, 'Languages in Contact', Weinreich states:

> ...two or more languages will be said to be in contact if they are used alternately by the same persons. The language-using individuals are thus the locus of the contact'
>
> (Weinreich 1968).

What this statement suggests is that it is not languages that actually come into contact with each other, rather it is the hosts or speakers of the languages who are in contact. And it is their relative competence in the languages as well as their attitudes towards each other that will affect the way they use language, which includes not just the processing of language, but all the social and interactional uses to which language is put (Bybee 2001:1-2).

Research on the social aspects of language contact can lead to insights on group relationships and group identities, and how they are shaped by processes of accommodation and convergence in some circumstances, and by divergence and conflict in others (Winford 2003). The emphasis on the socio-cultural environment of the language in Nettle & Romaine's statement above (i.e. '[to] look at all aspects of the lives of people who speak them' 2000:79) highlights the fundamental link between language contact and the language ecology theory

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outlined earlier. The literature on these social aspects of language contact is reviewed in the subsequent discussions.

Dynamics of Language Contact

With regard to the dynamics of language contact, Mufwene (2001) argues that integration and segregation are key parts of the language contact ecology. Similar to this is Winford's (2003) argument that language contact situations generally are subject to two often conflicting forces: (1) the need to achieve communicative efficiency adequate for the purpose of the interaction (dynamics of accommodation); and (2) the need to preserve a distinct sense of group identity (group loyalty). Winford argues that the former encourages convergence or compromise between languages (cf. Mufwene's 'integration') as illustrated in cases of borrowing, code-mixing, code-switching. The latter, on the other hand, encourages divergence, or preservation of language boundaries (cf. Mufwene's 'segregation'). These are evidenced by the proscription of foreign influences to emphasize differences between languages in order to assert cultural or ethnic differences, and in the refusal to accommodate the different varieties. The examination of the social aspects of language contact mentioned above 'can lead to insights on group relationships and group identities, and how they are shaped by processes of accommodation in some circumstances and by divergence and conflict in others' (Winford 2003).

Types of Language Contact

Bloomfield (1933) uses 'language borrowing' to discuss the different types of language contact. Bloomfield differentiates borrowings that are from within the same language (dialect borrowing) from those made from a different language (cultural borrowing) (A.C.T. Lee 1998). However this separation is not always applicable, as there are no clear and absolute distinctions between dialect boundaries and language boundaries. Bloomfield also identifies two more types

of borrowing in cases where two languages are spoken in a single community: 'cultural borrowing' and 'intimate borrowing'.

The cultural link is made clearer by Hansell (1989) who proposes 'Cultural contact' and 'Intimate contact', derived from Bloomfield's classification above. According to Hansell, cultural contact is language contact that results from cultural diffusion but does not require widespread bilingualism. Intimate contact, on the other hand, is characterized by widespread societal bilingualism, and by the wide variety of functions that both languages perform.

A.C.T. Lee (1998) supports Hansell's argument against Bloomfield's definition of intimate contact, which claims that the borrowing goes predominantly from the dominant upper language to the subordinate lower language. A.C.T. Lee (1998) in fact argues that the process can also be the other way round. He further argues that the distinction both Bloomfield and Hansell make between culture and language contact is implausible: '... language contact is also culture contact. An intimate contact cannot be only a language contact and not a culture contact' (A.C.T. Lee 1998). A.C.T. Lee's assertion here is consistent with the principles of the ecological approach used in this study in the discussion of sociolinguistic and cultural implications of language contact.

Outcomes of Language Contact

Contact between people speaking different languages can result in a wide variety of outcomes, ranging from the borrowing of words, language change, and language convergence, to the formation of new languages, or even shifting from one language to another (e.g. Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Rosenberg 2001). Such variation of outcomes depends on the type of contact between the languages involved. The results of such contact differ according to several factors, including the length and intensity of contact between the groups; the types of social, economic, and political relationship between them; the functions which

communication between them must serve; and the degree of similarity between the languages they speak (Winford 2003).

Of all the possible outcomes listed above, the two main focuses of the data analysis are language shift (including language maintenance) and, to a lesser degree, language convergence. These are discussed in detail in Sections 4.5 and 4.6.

The phenomenon of language contact in Brunei has not been extensively researched, although a few of the earlier studies that do provide some insights are relevant to this study. One such study is that of Avé & King (1975) that discusses contact between indigenous and non-indigenous groups of Borneo. Previous work on language shift in particular include Hjh Sumijah Alias & Poedjosoedarmo's (1996) 'Language shift in Kampong Ayer'; 'Social change and language shift among the Belait' (Martin 1996); 'Aspects of language maintenance and language shift among the Chinese community in Brunei' (Dunseath 1996); and 'The Penan of Brunei: Patterns of linguistic interaction' (Martin & Sercombe 1996). Studies that do touch briefly on selective changes to the form of Malay language are such as G. Poedjoesoedarmo's (1996) 'Variation and change in the sound systems of Brunei dialects of Malay', and Poedjosoedarmo & Hjh Rosnah Hj Ramly's (1996) 'Some notes on Brunei Malay syntax.' I have not come across any previous work that specifically discusses language convergence in Brunei apart from E.M. Kershaw's (1994) study on the Dusun community. However, the studies mentioned here and those in Chapter 3 may be drawn upon for evidence of shifts, changes and convergences that could support the findings of the present study.

Language planning, on the other hand, has received relatively more attention particularly with reference to Brunei's bilingual education policy (discussed in Chapter 3). However, works by Jones (1994, 1997, 2000) deal primarily with the

languages in the education system, which excludes therefore the planning of ethnic languages in general. Ethnographic studies of specific indigenous groups, some already mentioned in the previous chapter, do briefly touch upon language, these include Brown's (1960) study of the Brunei Malay group, and Maxwell's (1980) research on the Kedayan group. In addition, sociopolitical and sociohistorical studies by King (1994, 2001) and R. Kershaw (2001a, 2001b) discuss sociological issues in the modern state of Brunei. As discussed in Chapter 3, they also comment on issues of identity. Two studies that specifically take an ecological perspective on the language contact phenomenon in Brunei are those by Martin (1991, 2002). Sercombe (2002) provides a comprehensive review of previous research done with regards to language shift and maintenance in Brunei and Borneo.

4.5   Language Shift and Language Maintenance

As stated above, one of the outcomes of language contact is a shift in language allegiances, a process that would change any language ecology. Language shift is in fact the most prominent theme to have emerged from the data in this study. Crystal (2000:17) defines language shift as 'the gradual or sudden move from the use of one language to another (either by an individual or a group)'. According to Romaine, 'Languages undergoing shift often display characteristic types of changes, such as simplification of complex grammatical structures. These changes are often the result of decreased use of the language in certain contexts, which may lead to a loss of stylistic options' (Romaine 1994:54). However, although some evidence are presented to show changes in the form and structure of the languages, this study focuses more on the 'social' aspect of language contact in Brunei, rather than the formal linguistic aspect.

According to Gal (1979:17), it is possible to reconstruct the process of change in patterns of language choice. Romaine observes that 'in all multilingual

communities speakers switch among languages or varieties as monolinguals switch among styles' (Romaine 1994:36). She further argues that the choices made by the individual (language choice) may become institutionalized at the societal level in communities where bilingualism (as well as multilingualism) is widespread (Romaine 1994:45). One way in which this could happen is through Diglossia, in which, each language or variety in a multilingual community serves a specialized function and is used for particular purposes. In fact, the concept of diglossia can be used to explore the relationship between languages in multilingual settings [see discussion on diglossia in next section]. As Romaine further comments:

> Choices made by individuals on an everyday basis have an effect on the long-term situation of the languages concerned. Language shift generally involves bilingualism (often with diglossia) as a stage on the way to eventual monolingualism in a new language. Typically a community which was once monolingual becomes bilingual as a result of contact with another (usually socially more powerful) group and becomes transitionally bilingual in the new language until their own language is given up altogether.
>
> (Romaine 1994:45-50)

The choice made by a society as to which language will be used for certain functions is central to language shift and maintenance. This choice may lead to the obsolescence of another language, or its death in a specific community only. If this shift does not occur, or if it occurs only in certain domains of a society, then some degree of language maintenance might occur (Romaine 1994:53). Clampitt-Dunlap (1995) states the possibilities that can result from such choices by a society are that either 'the native language is retained in all societal domains, the native language is retained in some societal domains while the new language occupies others, or the shift to the new language in all societal domains.'

Language shift is a salient case of changing patterns of speaking (Gal 1979:6). Language shifts can occur as a result of a complex of internal and external pressures that induce a speech community to adopt a language spoken by others. Wurm describes these internal and external pressures as 'changes in the ecology of languages' (Wurm 1991), which can force speakers to make fateful decisions as far as languages are concerned. To illustrate, Denison makes the point that a speech community:

> sometimes 'decides', for reasons of functional economy, to suppress a part of itself. ... [T]here comes a point when multilingual parents no longer consider it necessary or worthwhile for the future of their children to communicate with them in a low-prestige language variety, and when children are no longer motivated to acquire active competence in a language which is lacking in positive connotations such as youth, modernity, technical skills, material success, education. The languages at the lower end of the prestige scale retreat from ever increasing areas of their earlier functional domains, displaced by higher prestige languages [and functionality], until there is nothing left for them to be appropriately used about. In this sense they may be said to "commit suicide."
>
> (Denison 1977:21- Original emphasis)

Whatever the circumstances, the ultimate choice to shift languages certainly lies in the hands of the speaker, but the factors that Denison outlines above do influence speaker's choice. Nevertheless, several factors have been identified that will influence language choice and promote language shift, including societal bilingualism, population mobility, modernization, the education system, government policy and the prestige of the languages in contact. Other factors include religious background, settlement patterns, ties with the traditional settlement areas, extent of exogamous marriage, attitudes of majority and

minority language groups, government policies concerning language and education (Romaine 1994:53).

According to Romaine (1994:45) societal bilingualism must exist at some point to effect a shift in language. The balance of power among languages will be affected when a new language enters a monolingual society, thus making it bilingual (Aitchison 1981; Day 1985). Such societal bilingualism can ultimately lead to language shift in a society where 'one generation is bilingual, but only passes on one of the two languages to the next' (Fasold 1984:213). Population movement into or out of a speech community is equally important in disturbing the balance of power between languages, as it affects the number of speakers of the language. In some cases, speakers of a different language may arrive in a new area and outnumber the native population hence creating an environment that is conducive to language shift (Fasold 1984; Lieberson 1982, 1984; Beer & Jacob 1985; Fishman 1991). Certainly, increased population mobility that results from modernized transportation and communication is significant in language shift situations (Lieberson 1984). Fishman comments, 'In those settings in which either the myth or reality of social mobility is widespread, bilingualism is repeatedly skewed in favor of the more powerful being acquired and used much more frequently than that of the lesser power' (Fishman 1977:115).

Modernization brings with it opportunities for employment, higher prestige and privileges associated with the new language, often determined by official policies in terms of language use in the schools, government and media. The decisions on what languages to teach in the schools may in fact 'include the promotion of the cultural characteristics related to a particular language and a deemphasis on cultural aspects of the natives including in some cases the prohibition of vernacular use on school grounds' (Clampitt-Dunlap 1995). Apart from education, the government's choice of language for its administration too can lead to language shift, as Fasold observes:

The language that governments use for legislative debate and the language
in which laws are written and government documents are issued are also
means that can be used to promote a selected language or language
variety.

(Fasold 1984:253).

In response to the government's choice of language, for education and
government, the society reciprocates by according that language of choice a
higher prestige than they do their native languages, and learn it in order to gain
access to the apparent promise of social mobility (Fasold 1984; Fishman 1977,
1991).

Modernization also creates changes in the lifestyle of communities through the
closely related process of urbanization, which also could influence the prestige
attached to different languages. Urban areas characteristically enjoy greater
economic investment and growth, as well as a more attractive image. When this
happens, speakers of different languages come into contact. Fishman (1977) and
Fasold (1985) observe a trickle down effect of changes from the urban areas to the
rural areas, including changes in perceptions of the urban and rural language,
usually with the former being accorded a higher prestige than the traditional or
rural language. Dorian (1981), for instance, finds that one of the reasons for the
shift away from Gaelic was its association with 'fisher' status. Similarly Gal
(1979) finds that language shift in Oberwart and Hungarian was associated with
peasant status. Dressler (1982) calls this process 'social subordination' through
which the rural code receives a 'negative sociopsychological evaluation' and loses
prestige. As Mufwene argues, some languages disappear not because their
speakers have lost pride in them, but because they have had to adapt to a changing
socio-economic ecology in which a more important language is required for their
survival. This would suggest a negative attitudinal change on the part of the
speakers. Mufwene further adds that 'restoring or revitalizing a language requires

not encouraging speakers to develop (more) pride in their heritage but (re)creating an ecology which is hospitable to it' (Mufwene 1998).

But although many of those sociological factors discussed above are present when a particular shift occurs, there are still 'cases in which some speech community is exposed to the very same factors, but has maintained its language' (Fasold 1984:217). As Gal argues, what is significant is not whether such factors are correlated with language shift, but rather, the identification of the intervening processes that effect changes in language use, or cause the abandonment of languages (Gal 1979:4). In this regard, Gal finds that:

> Although language shift may roughly correlate with industrialization and urbanization, it is only indirectly, through changes in social networks and in the connotations of linguistic variants, that social changes that speakers experience are linked to their strategies for the use of old and new forms during verbal interaction. In language shift, as in other sorts of linguistic changes, alternation between old and new forms characterizes the spread of change to new speakers and new environments. The moving force behind the expansion is provided by social meanings that the alternate forms come to convey and the expressive use of these connotations in everyday interaction.
>
> (Gal 1979:5)

Discussions on language shift are closely linked with discussions on efforts to maintain languages. Language maintenance is the individual and societal continued use and proficiency in a language, often through adopting specific measures, in the face of competition from another language (Fase et al 1992:4, Crystal 2000:17). Dorian argues that despite the present lack of accepted parameters for the 'assessment' of language shift, we do in fact understand better 'the motivating factors in language shift is far better than we understand the psycho social underpinnings of language-sustained maintenance'

(Dorian1998:17). The maintenance of individual languages that make up a particular language ecology determines its degree of linguistic diversity. Fishman (1989, 1991) formulated his Reversing Language Shift theory (RSL) which attempts to explain the rationality of ethnocultural behaviour and language and identity movements. Mühlhäusler (1996:317) comments:

> Fishman advocated (1989:17) far-reaching 'conscience heightening and reformation'. At the same time, and in common with an ecological theory, he favours solutions that do not isolate indigenous communities from the mainstream but that 'safeguard their aspirations for that they will be in touch with but not inundated by the world at large.'
>
> (Mühlhäusler 1996:317)

One well-intentioned approach that causes such isolation is 'language nests' where group members who do not speak their traditional language could learn to do so. But a more 'inclusive' countermeasure against language shift is by speaking the languages *regularly* and *meaningfully* in the home or the schools (May 2002). This statement resonates with Fishman's (1989, 1991) notion of 'intergenerational transfer' in his Reversing Language Shift theory (RLS) stated above. May (2002) explains that only when this kind of language transmission continues to occur, will languages survive, or continue to be spoken, over time. On the other hand, '[language] death occurs when one language replaces another over its entire functional range, and parents no longer transmit the language to their children' (Romaine 1994:7). As stated above, a similar process of language shift/transfer is called 'intergenerational switching' coined by Fasold (1984:213). There is evidence from this study that suggest that that the latter would more accurately describe the type of shift occurring in Brunei. Romaine comments that 'the inability of minorities to maintain the home as an intact domain for the use of their language has often been decisive for language shift, although she recognizes the fact that in a community whose language is under threat, 'it is difficult for children to acquire the language fully' (Romaine 1994:54).

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The second point that May makes in the statement above, on education and literacy via the schools, is also another significant theme that has emerged from the data in this study. Despite being a popular measure to support languages, Dorian (1998:11) nevertheless argues that literacy alone is not enough to sustain a language, as even languages with rich literature such as Irish have lost out to English. To Mufwene, this shows the central role socio-economic integration, rather than pride or literacy, plays in language endangerment (Mufwene 1998).

However, although Fishman (1989:30-31) argues that effective language maintenance could be supported by creative and meaningful education and intergenerational transfer, he also believes that practical solutions should be initiated by the speech communities themselves [cf. Denison (1977:21) – 'speech community decides', above]. This suggests that as much as language shift is effected by speaker's choice as discussed earlier, so too can its reversal.

Another measure, language planning, can be useful in the maintenance of ethnic language usage and other ethnocultural symbols in the majority of the societal domains. Existing societal institutions that are still stable can form a strong ethnocultural base for a particular population group while they acquire an additional language for social mobility (Fishman 1977, 1991; Aitchison 1981, Clampitt-Dunlap 1995). The creation of linguistic policies that ensure the support for and protection of languages, particularly smaller languages, can ensure their survival. According to Clampitt-Dunlap (1995) such measures can slow down and reverse 'language decay' (Dressler 1982) by halting social subordination and providing for the social utility of the language (Fishman 1991). Language planning in Brunei, as well as the types of institutions that relate to language have both been discussed in Chapter 3.

Previous studies on language shift and maintenance in Brunei have confirmed the occurrence of the phenomenon. These include 'A critical survey of studies on the

languages of Borneo' by Cense & Uhlenbeck (1958) which states, 'The process of penetration of the Malay dialects in Borneo has been at work already for centuries', although they cautioned on the complexity of determining the shift away from some of the indigenous languages. Martin's more recent work, 'Shifts in language allegiance in Borneo: the Belait Community of Brunei' (1992b) and 'Social change and language shift in Brunei' (1996c) both highlight the rapid intergenerational shift away from the Belait language to Malay. Two other studies by E.M. Kershaw (1994) and Martin (1996a) also analyzed similar shifting trends among the Dusun and Murut communities in Brunei, with the former offering concrete evidence of language convergence of Dusun toward Malay.

4.5.1 Diglossia

As stated earlier, Romaine (1994:45) suggests that language choice can be institutionalized in the form of diglossia, and there is evidence to suggest that the concept of diglossia can used to explain the relationship between Malay and the other languages in Brunei [see Chapter 8].

Ferguson (1959) introduced the term 'Diglossia' to refer to a situation that 'exists in a society when it has two distinct codes which show clear functional separation; that is, one code is employed in one set of circumstances and the other in an entirely different set.' Clear functional differences between the codes therefore govern their use (Wardhaugh 1998:86). As a result, codes tend to be associated with certain social groups or behaviours and are typically divided into High and Low varieties. *High varieties* are typically used for delivering sermons, formal speeches, and legal and administrative transactions. *Low varieties*, on the other hand, might be used in casual conversations, within family and social groups, on popular radio and television, in non-formal situations. Low varieties usually do not have a literary tradition or an established orthography.

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Fishman (1967) extended Ferguson's concept of diglossia to consist of a parameter of two possible varieties, a high and a low binary contrast, which were typically two separate languages: a standard language and a regional variety. According to Fishman, Diglossia could encompass dialects or registers, including the most subtle differences within the one language as well as the most distinctive differences between two languages. The crucial factor was that the variety was *functionally* different, i.e. restricted to a particular set of communicative circumstances. Situations where this functionality broke-down, i.e. where one variety began to perform some of the functions of the other, were called 'diglossic leaking'.

Yet another interpretation of the concept is that of Fasold (1997:53) who proposes 'broad diglossia' which combines both Ferguson's emphasis on linguistic relatedness and Fishman's emphasis on functionality, summarized as follows:

> The reservation for situations perceived as more formal and guarded of the more highly valued segments of a community's linguistic repertoire (which are not the first to be learned, but are learned later and more consciously, usually through formal education), and, for situations perceived as more informal and intimate, the use of less highly valued segments (which are learned first with little or no conscious effort), of any degree of linguistic relatedness to the higher valued segments, from stylistic differences to separate languages.
>
> (Fasold 1997:53)

Previous accounts on diglossia in Brunei includes Jones (1994:25) in which he argues that situation in Brunei does not fit into Fishman's model. However, Jones assessment was made in terms of the relationship between Standard Malay and varieties of Brunei Malay, deliberately leaving out the ethnic languages being studied here. A later study that does include the ethnic languages in the equation

is that of S. Poedjosoedarmo (1996b) who finds that the situation is in fact 'Triglossic' (a variant of 'polyglossia' - where there is more than one High variety as well as more than one Low variety at the same time). As the present study polarizes the Malay language (simultaneously referring to all of its dialects in Brunei) and the ethnic languages (a reference to all non-Malay indigenous languages in Brunei), the notion of diglossia will therefore be used to explain the relationship between these two groups of languages [see Chapter 8].

4.5.2   Language Shift and Identity Shift

Because of the close link between language and ethnic identity discussed above, an inescapable possibility is that a shift in language can result in a shift in identity. This can be seen in terms of Martin's (2002) 'linguistic and cultural redefinition' discussed in Chapter 2. Despite Bloomfield's (1930) and Hansell's (1989) separation of the 'culture' from 'language' in contact situations as discussed above, language choice in fact affects both. In this study, 'culture' is articulated in terms of 'ethnic identity'. As Romaine argues, 'through the selection of one language over another or one variety of the same language over another speakers display what may be called 'acts of identity', choosing the groups with whom they wish to identify' (Romaine 1994:36). Simmons (2003) argues that this type of shift is in effect a 'self-reclassification'. A shift in language, by implication therefore, is also a shift in (ethnic) identity, another important theme in this study.

Giles' (1973) Accommodation theory showed that *convergence* (an expression of a feeling of unity between interactants in conversation) and *divergence* (an expression of separation, or a withdrawal away from the other person(s), and into one's own ingroup) may occur. Convergence, in particular, may occur where speakers adjust their linguistic patterns to show greater orientation towards a new group (ibid.). In relation to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis described in Section 4.3 above, Schutz theorized that those who internalized another cultural scheme of

interpretation and expression (including language) to the point of being able to use it as the scheme of their own expression would become 'a cultural hybrid on the verge of two different patterns of group life, not knowing to which of them he belongs' (Schutz 1964:104-105, in Lamy 1979). This concept is similar to Merton's 'social rootlessness' in which 'an individual identifies himself with another group, [to the same degree] he alienates himself from his own group' (Merton 1968:323).

The role of language in this identity shift has been identified by Gardner & Lambert who argue that 'the more proficient one becomes in a second language, the more he may find his place in his original group modified since the new linguistic-cultural group... may, in fact, become a new membership group for him' (Gardner & Lambert 1972:3). What results is 'deep-seated and vague feelings of no longer fully belonging to one's own social group nor to the new one he has come to know' (Gardner & Lambert 1972:2). Although Gardner & Lambert's study was on the impact of second language learning on individuals, there is no reason that these findings cannot be applied to cases of language shifts. To support this claim, Coulombe (1995) cites Eastman who says, 'becoming a speaker of a different language would change a person's self-identity.' Learning and using another language therefore can have a profound effect on the outlook of individuals and on the fate of the groups to which they belong, as observed by Dahl (2001:61): 'People do shift through cultures, and identities ... Cultures do converge, new identities do arise.' The theme of language and identity in Brunei has been discussed in detail in Section 2.5.

4.6   Language Convergence

Language convergence is another phenomenon that can result from long term contact between languages. Rosenberg (2001) states that 'convergence seems to be a complex subject, with all directions of shifts.' Extensive contact of the

languages, through processes of borrowing, increases the similarities in their properties. This creates a 'Sprachbund', which is a group of languages that have become similar in some way because of geographical proximity. These languages may be genetically unrelated or only distantly related, but where genetic affiliations are unclear the Sprachbund characteristics might give a false appearance of relatedness (www.fact-index.com). The notion of language convergence is used here to include dialect-dialect convergence, and not exclusively for convergence of distinct languages. As for the results of convergence, Rosenberg (2001) suggests it could be 'one single variety as a result of dialect levelling or converging structures of still distinct varieties, or nothing at all, but a kind of "koine", a higher stratum within the variational system of a linguistic community' (ibid.). This study will present evidence that show that indeed 'shift' is a prominent theme in the views of the informants, more specifically, language and identity shift to another typically more powerful one. In the next section I outline the frameworks used to analyze these important themes in the study of language ecology and linguistic diversity of Brunei.

4.7   Framework of Analysis

In order to examine the data in subsequent chapters, two frameworks of analysis are employed. The inherent link between language ecology and linguistic diversity has been outlined in Section 4.3. The first framework I intend to use to discuss the informants' perceptions of and attitude toward linguistic diversity in this study is one formulated by Ruiz (1984, 1988). The second framework, Ethnolinguistic vitality theory, can provide an understanding of the factors that influence the apparent processes of language and identity shifts that underlie linguistic diversity that are revealed by the informants.

4.7.1   The Ruiz Model of Orientations

In his original work Ruiz used the framework to analyze patterns of attitudes to
linguistic diversity and language planning. Due to the similarity in the themes
between Ruiz's work and this study, the same framework is adopted to analyze
similar patterns in data obtained through informant interviews in this study. The
term 'orientation' is defined by Ruiz as 'a complex of dispositions toward
language and its role, and toward languages and their role in society' (Ruiz
1998:4). He explains that orientations delimit the ways we discuss language and
language issues by determining the questions that we ask, our data and the
conclusions drawn from that data: 'orientations are related to language attitudes in
that they constitute the framework in which attitudes are formed: they help to
delimit the range of acceptable attitudes toward language, and to make certain
attitudes legitimate. In short, orientations determine what is thinkable about
language in society' (ibid.). The three orientations proposed by Ruiz are
described below.

Language as a Problem (The Problem Orientation)

The first orientation is related to Blommaert's (1996) assertion that language
diversity is a 'classic problematization' that presupposes an automatic or natural
linguistic instability as a result of having many languages in a particular setting.
Mackey (1980:48), for example, states that language problems are inherent in
multilingual situations. The suggestion is that the more languages there are
available, the more complex the problem becomes: linguistic diversity is
immediately problematized. Ruiz relates this with the modernization process and
suggests that the unique sociohistorical context of multilingual societies has
resulted in the preponderance of problem-oriented language planning approaches.

Reactions to linguistic diversity, based on the assumption that it is a problem and
debilitative, have been studied by Blommaert & Verschueren (1998:12-14) who
observe the use of a 'policy of containment' by some governments and parties

opposed to linguistic diversity in anticipation of ethnolinguistic problems. The three manifestations of such policies as a reaction to linguistic diversity as identified by Blommaert & Verschueren (1998:12-14) are: the discouragement of diversity, the elimination of differences, and the narrow interpretation of legality.

Language as a Right (The Rights Orientation)

Ruiz (1984,1988) points out that the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Helsinki Final Act contain important statements on language-based discrimination. He also cites Zachariev (1978) who places language rights within the larger context of human and educational rights through linking language planning with social and educational planning (c.f. Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1996:429). Ruiz also highlights the emergence of ethnic researchers as 'prime movers in the effort to affirm language-identification both as a legal entitlement and a natural endowment' as a very important development in the discussion of language as a right. Another proponent of the right-orientation is Tsuda (1999), who argues that the 'Ecology of language' paradigm is critical of the underlying philosophy of Western civilization which advances modernization and monolingualism. This new paradigm, like Ruiz's work, regards the right to language as an essential right for every person, with particular reference to their individual right and freedom to use a language of their own choice in any circumstances. Similarly, it acknowledges the right of a person *not* to use a language that is not his or her choice but is imposed upon him or her. Rights need not necessarily be written into the constitution. In fact, the very fact that there is no compulsion for the use of only one particular language is a provision of a right in itself. The central concept, Tsuda argues, resides in the use and recognition of an individual's mother tongue (as defined also by Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 1996). The increasing importance of the rights-orientation over the years has also been noticed by Ricento (2000:208-209).

Language as a Resource (The Resource-Orientation)

Ruiz (1984, 1988) argues that dispositions that view language as a resource to be managed, developed and conserved would tend to regard language-minority communities as important sources of expertise. Fishman (1974:83) however comments that "language is certainly an odd kind of resource... precisely because of the difficulty in measuring or separating 'it' from other resources." Nevertheless Ruiz argues that it is indeed a worthwhile consideration when we compare its benefits to the language-as-a-problem and language-as-a-right views. By placing importance on diversity, this orientation can help enhance the status of subordinate languages, ease tensions between majority and minority communities, serve as a more consistent way of viewing the role of non-dominant languages, and highlight the importance of cooperative language planning. Because of its emphasis on connecting macro sociopolitical processes with micro-level patterns of language use, the resource orientation certainly fits well into the ecological framework in language study.

In view of their numerous benefits outlined above, and the nature of data that have emerged, the three orientations defined by the Ruiz model above serve as a guide in the discussion of perceptions toward linguistic diversity held by informants in this study in Chapter 6. The basic principle on which the Ruiz orientations model operates on is a dichotomy of Positive versus Negative attitudes toward linguistic diversity. Negative attitudes toward diversity are expressed in views that perceive linguistic diversity to be problematic. On the other hand, perceptions of linguistic diversity as basic rights of choice and as a valuable resource are merely two dimensions of what could be deemed as the same tolerant attitude toward it.

4.5.2   Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory

The ecological approach emphasizes the importance of language contact and its ecological context, in this case, the socioeconomic circumstances as described above, in the section on language shift. In this respect a complementary research tool to the Ruiz model described above was found in Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (EVT) which focuses specifically on interethnic relations and their implications for the survival of the languages. Fishman argues a major factor that affects group members' attitudes or beliefs toward their languages was the degree to which those language varieties had 'visible vitality' which he defines as 'interaction networks that actually employ them natively for one or more vital functions' (Fishman 1972:21). According to Fishman, the more speakers there are of a language variety and higher their social status, the greater the vitality of that group's language, and the greater chances it has for survival.

Giles et al (1977:308) expanded Fishman's theory (EVT) and defined Ethnolinguistic vitality (EVT) as structural characteristics of status factors, demographic representation and institutional support related to a language [see also discussion on factors in language shift above]. Bourhis et al (1981) used the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality to designate the sociostructural forces that determine a particular ethnic group's continued existence as a separate and active collective entity within heterogeneous societies. The factors that influence language shift outlined above are grouped into three types of variables. The status variables are related to economic wealth, social status, sociohistorical status and the status of language used by the linguistic groups. The demographic variables relate to the number of members comprising the ethnolinguistic group and their distribution throughout a particular urban, regional or national territory, birth rate, mixed marriage, immigration / emigration patterns of the group. The third type, institutional support variables, refers to the extent to which a language group enjoys formal or informal representation in the various institutions of a community that are important to its survival. A later study by Bornman &

Appelgryn (1997) proposed a slightly modified typology: institutional support, group status and power, maintenance of identity, maintenance of symbols, and threat to identity. Although they warned that their findings could be unique to their African subjects, the data in this study has shown that at least one of their additional indicators could be applicable i.e. maintenance of identity.

The more of these sociostructural factors a group has in its favor, the more vitality it has and the more likely it is to survive and thrive as a vibrant collective entity within a heterogeneous context (Giles & Johnson, 1981). Low ethnolinguistic vitality, on the other hand, does not necessarily mean that the group is assimilating with more dominant groups and that it will eventually disappear. In fact, perceptions of a weak or weakening ethnolinguistic vitality can stimulate the group to ethnic mobilization to strengthen its position. The possibility of group mobilization is even greater if low ethnolinguistic vitality is perceived as a threat (Grant 1992, 1993).

The Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory is useful in indicating the probable direction a speech community will go relative to the maintenance of, or shift from, its traditional language. The theory offers a framework through which the relative strength of a language can be measured, particularly through comparative use of these variables as indicators between languages within the same national context. While it is not the aim of this study to identify the ethnolinguistic vitality variables, the EVT will be used as a framework to analyze informants' perceptions.

However, the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory has been criticized on the grounds of insufficient accounting for the importance of power relationships among language groups, and also for creating the illusion of objective vitality measures (Husband & Khan 1982). Landweer (2000) explains that the absence of indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality, which in turn implies the presence of characteristics associated with language shift, is not foolproof in the prediction of

language shift or death, although she recognizes the usefulness of the EVT to suggest the direction the language is taking. Additionally, the focus that vitality research places on the importance of group members' perceptions makes it a useful tool for the analysis of the transmission of ethnic languages among ethnic parents, a key theme in Chapter 8.

The relevance of the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory to this study is that the vitality of each language that comprises the Bruneian language ecology collectively determines Brunei's linguistic diversity. Limited space does not allow for an extended assessment of the ethnolinguistic vitality of each and every individual language in Brunei.

It needs to be emphasized here the aim of using the EVT in this study is to assess the perceived vitality of the languages that make up Brunei's linguistic diversity. What EVT can reveal is that within a particular language ecology, the higher the rating a language has, the higher are its chances of survival, and vice-versa. If many of the languages show a low vitality rating, this might suggest the occurrence of language shift, and imply a diminishing diversity. Mühlhäusler's 'long term health' of a language mentioned earlier in Section 4.1, very much depends on the collective impact of positive or negative ethnolinguistic vitality indicators, and 'the *quality* of interrelationships between relatively positive and relatively negative forces' (Landweer 2000 – Original emphasis).

4.8   Summary

In this chapter, the main theoretical concepts of this study have been discussed. While it is recognized that there are other alternative routes, it was decided that for the present study, the ecological approach is the most appropriate due to its emphasis on the 'interrelationships' and 'diversity'. The sociolinguistic study of language contact and its outcomes can help us to better understand the actual

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processes involved in the changes to the language ecology. Language shift and language maintenance, important processes that could determine the balance in language ecology, and the variables that influence the processes have also be outlined.

The close link between the notions of 'linguistic diversity' with 'cultural diversity' has been discussed, under which, questions of language and identity are subsumed. It has also been argued that a language shift could also mean a shift in identity, given the correlative, though not causal, link between the two phenomena.

The Ruiz orientations model is described here as an appropriate framework to study the informants' views on linguistic diversity in Brunei. Whether linguistic diversity is seen as a problem, a right or a valuable resource will have repercussions on the existing language ecology. A second framework, the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory, is also proposed to predict the survival of the languages that make up Brunei's language ecology based on the informants' perceptions of the vitality of those languages. The concepts and frameworks described in this chapter will form the basis of the discussions in the data analysis chapters 6, 7 and 8. In the next chapter, the research design and methodology of this study will be described.

Chapter 5   Methodology: Research Design and Process

This chapter discusses the overall design and methodology of this study. Because of the expansive scope of the chapter, it will be divided into two separate sections.

In Section 5.1, the theoretical considerations that have gone into the design of the study are outlined. The purpose of the study and the research questions, first stated in Chapter 1, are reiterated here, followed by the theoretical arguments for the choice of methods and approaches employed in this research.

Section 5.2 outlines the actual process of data collection, informant sampling, and how the data were treated and analyzed. In short, this section will show the application of the models, approaches, and methods described in the first section.

Together, both sections will provide the reader a fuller appreciation of the design of the study, and the ways in which the subject matter was approached.

5.1   Research Design: Theoretical Considerations

In this section, the approach that is employed in this study and issues of its validity and reliability are addressed, followed by methods of data collection, the sources of data, and the analysis of data.

5.1.1   The Qualitative Approach

As stated in the introductory chapter, the intention of the study is to consider the historical and contemporary interrelationships between the languages in Brunei within the ecological framework outlined in the previous chapters. Prior to

embarking on the study, some consideration was given to the choice of the appropriate paradigm. In dealing with the delicate matter of language, the Positivist approach, that often demands the definition of a set of generalizable scientific laws through quantitative data analysis, for example, has been criticized due to its failure to understand the 'meanings' that are brought to social life (cf. Filmer et al. 1972; Marsh 1982; in Silverman 2000:5). It was thus felt better suited that this study of language diversity and the interrelationships between languages be located within the field of interpretive science. The methodology of qualitative analysis has provided the basic theoretical orientation for the research.

As the nature of the data derived from the interviews and documentary analysis will be mainly qualitative, there will be little attempt to quantify the information gathered, although some reference to statistical figures may be necessary. Quinn (1980:22) states that empirical qualitative data consists of detailed descriptions of situations, events, people, interactions, and observed behaviours; direct quotation from people about their experiences, attitudes, beliefs, and thoughts; and excerpts or entire passages from documents, correspondence and records. The data are collected as open-ended narrative *without* attempting to fit people's experiences into predetermined, standardized categories such as the response choices that are characteristic of typical questionnaires. In other words, 'the strategy in qualitative designs is to allow the important dimensions to emerge from analysis of the cases under study without presupposing in advance what those important dimensions will be' (Quinn 1980:41).

However, the qualitative approach has been criticized for its association with long descriptive narratives rather than with statistics obtained through quantitative designs (cf. Selltiz et al 1964:435). Quantitative designs and measures are succinct and are necessarily so for ease of analysis. As a result, the data obtained through the quantitative design are more systematic and standardized than qualitative data, and could easily be presented in a short space. In contrast, qualitative measures are longer, more detailed, and variable in content; and the

actual analysis of qualitative data is often difficult because of the non-systematic and non-standardized characteristics of the responses (Quinn 1980:28). The main criticism of the qualitative research is of 'reliability', which according to Hammersley (1992:67) refers to the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions. This issue will be addressed in the next section.

This data-driven study will attempt to derive a hypothesis by using multiple stages of data collection and the refinement and interrelationship of categories of information. The rationale for the 3-stage data collection was to collect a 'rounded' body of data and improve the quality of the data obtained primarily through interviews. The strengths of each stage and the progression between the stages are outlined as follows:

Stage 1

Stage 1 involved 27 informants who were selected by purposive sampling technique on the basis of their self-perceived strong affiliation to their respective ethnic groups. A minimum of three informants from each group was targeted for this stage, although it is not claimed that they or their views are representative of their communities. Although the informants' backgrounds appear disparate in that they consist of different gender, age and socioeconomic backgrounds, it was not the intention of this study to get a clear picture in terms of these variables; rather I was looking for views of 'ordinary people' at grassroots level that could be built on in Stage 2.

Stage 2

To explore 'grassroots opinions' collected in Stage 1, a new group of informants was required consisting of Bruneians, who could help enrich the data, descriptions and interpretations that have been gathered. This owes to the fact that there is another group of informants of similar background giving their opinions on language use in Brunei. The criteria for the selection of Stage 2 informants were their knowledge of their language and culture, as well as their 'expertise' and familiarity with the interview genre. It had been anticipated at design stage that some Stage 1 informants might never have been interviewed, and because of that they would not necessarily be very forthcoming in their responses (despite the casual and informal manner in which the interviews were conducted). This second group is culturally more 'sophisticated' and 'well-versed', and in tune with the interview genre, hence providing a new dimension to the data. By this I mean 'sophisticated' and 'well-versed' in being more informed and at the same time being able to better express opinions in what might have been for the first group, a rather 'artificial' context, i.e. interviews. Clearly the reader could be critical of the way that Stage 2 informants were chosen. But I simply wanted to develop and explore the views of Stage 1 informants, with the help of their 'fellow Bruneians' in Stage 2 as informants who were not only well-informed, but also comfortable being interviewed. This was a conscious choice as a means of obtaining further insights.

Stage 3

To add an official perspective to the collected data, which would not have been possible otherwise, it was decided that nationally influential individuals be interviewed too. As well as to compare the opinions of high-ranking officials against 'grassroots' views, the inclusion of Stage 3 informants was also

necessitated by the lack of access to official documents regarding language issues in Brunei (discussed in Section 5.1.3.1). The informants in this stage were public figures in Brunei who have or have had the capacity to influence policies involving language. Whilst it is recognized that their views may be biased because of their official or public roles, they nevertheless would provide an interesting angle to the debate on linguistic diversity. It is also recognized that despite their high public profile, the views of Stage 3 informants do not necessarily represent the views of the government.

I decided to work with informant views and attitudes and reported patterns of language use, rather than, say, an ethnography of communication e.g. language use in functional domains in different communities, mainly because of the time constraints. The latter would have required a longer period of time than was actually available for observation purposes, and this was not practical for the researcher. Such studies would also mean imposing *a priori* categories i.e. the categories of functional domains, rather than allowing patterns or themes to emerge from the data, a prime concern in this academic exercise.

Although the data collection and analysis was done in three stages, the idea was to build one large and consolidated picture of a single phenomenon i.e. linguistic diversity in Brunei. Therefore the findings will not be presented 'stage-by-stage' in this thesis, in fact they will appear in themes. This emphasizes the fact that the data obtained in all three stages are of equal significance i.e. no particular stage is more important than any other. The indirect questions were deliberately designed to ask about what the informants felt about their language and languages in Brunei generally, but they were not asked directly about 'linguistic diversity' per se. Therefore in the subsequent chapters where a statement made by a Stage 2 or Stage 3 informant, for instance, is relevant 'thematically' to a comment by a Stage 1 informant, they are presented together in relation to the point being discussed.

This design therefore primarily involves the constant comparison of data with emerging categories, and systematic theoretical sampling of different groups to maximize the similarities and differences of information. This is complemented by the Theme Analysis approach which is a method of obtaining information from responses to 'unstructured' or 'open-ended' questions (Reis & Judd 200:317). Instead of setting up the coding themes and categories before data analysis, the themes and categories emerge from the data. The approach emphasizes the essential practice of 'seeking to discover rather than to presume' the description of the matters that are being studied (Coulon 1995, Cohen et al 2000:23). Such an approach was chosen because of the exploratory nature of the research through the interpretation of data. Thus, in short, this study combines two research approaches and benefits from the cumulative strengths of the interpretive approach: the multiple-stages and systematic refinement process is used in the data collection stage; while in the general handling and analysis of the qualitative data the themes and contents are interpreted by the researcher.

In extensive studies such as this, efforts are often made to use more than one method of gathering data to improve their trustworthiness. This multi-method approach is known as 'triangulation', described as:

> Cross-checking the existence of certain phenomena and the veracity of individual accounts by gathering data from a number of informants and a number of sources and subsequently comparing and contrasting one account with another in order to produce as full and balanced a study as possible.

> (OU Study Guide, in Bell 1993:64)

In this study therefore triangulation of data will be carried out through the critical analysis of data obtained through different sources regarding language in Brunei. This involves bringing together multiple perspectives using interviews and documentation in order to validate and cross-check findings. This kind of

triangulation, according to Silverman (2000:98) is an attempt to get a 'true' fix on a situation with high validity and high reliability.

5.1.2 Reliability and Validity

Cresswell (1994:157) mentions that qualitative researchers have no single stance or consensus on addressing traditional topics such as validity and reliability; in fact there are many, and all are viable.

'Reliability' is the extent to which a test or procedure produces similar results under constant conditions on all occasions. The reliability of qualitative research has been questioned because of the difficulty to replicate the studies due to their occurrence in the natural setting, although Wiersma (2000:211) argues that a well-organized, persuasive presentation of procedures and results can enhance external reliability. According to Bell (1993:65), checks for reliability could come at the stage of question wording and piloting of the instrument.

On the other hand, 'validity' means 'truth', interpreted as the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers (Silverman 2000:11, Hammersley 1990:57). Validity 'tells us whether an item measures or describes what it is supposed to measure or describe' (Bell 1993:65). The problem is, Silverman explains, that sometimes people doubt the validity of an explanation because the qualitative researcher has failed to attempt to deal with contrary cases. In this respect, Cresswell (1994:157) proffers some 'Verification Steps' that may be used to check the internal as well as external validity of an explanation as described in the next paragraph.

One way in which Internal Validity may be addressed as suggested by Merriam (1988) and Miles & Huberman (1984) is by identifying how informants and participants will be involved in all phases of the research. The epistemological

assumption of the qualitative paradigm is based on minimizing the distance between the researcher and the informant (Guba & Lincoln 1988). Thus key informants might be identified for interviews or observation, and they might review the findings as they emerge. In this multistage study, patterns that emerge from the first stage of the data collection and analysis are presented to and discussed with informants in the second stage, and the resulting patterns from this stage to the third stage informants (member validation).

As for external validity, Merriam (1988) argues that the intent of qualitative research is to form a unique interpretation of events, although it allows for limited generalizability that might be discussed in terms of categories or themes that would emerge from the data analysis or from the data collection protocol used by the researcher. This position is supported by Firestone (1993) who states that 'the most useful generalisations from qualitative studies are analytic' (in Miles & Huberman 1994). However, the aim of this study, in line with naturalistic inquiry and reflected in the decision to use purposive sampling, was never to uncover all possible situations. Rather, it was to uncover situations and relationships between constructs which serve as explanations for the possible reality of the relationships between languages as perceived by the informants, which could be taken to be the likely processes on the ground.

But all things considered, in a study such as this, in-depth and detailed perspectives through direct quotation and careful description are necessary. Such valuable nuances, meanings and perspectives would be lost in a collection of quantified data, submerged under hard and fast statistics (Silverman 2000), which is why it was decided that the qualitative approach would be an appropriate choice. It is indeed not the purpose nor claim of this research to produce quantified statistics, figures and findings that are representative of the entire population of Brunei. Rather, what is hoped to be achieved is a detailed account of the unique case of a small section of the Bruneian population and the likely processes that could still provide useful insights for future studies. This is

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particularly so given the fact that the views of some of the nationally powerful informants are potentially very significant (see Section 5.2.1).

5.1.3   Theoretical Justification for Choice of Methods

In this study, empirical data are obtained through the use of documentary analysis as well as semi-structured interviews. Documentation is more tangible data which are used as a starting point, and as such, have been used here to provide the background setting of this study (presented in Chapters 2 and 3). However in a study of human perspectives on language such as this, written records are not always clear as to what they mean, and when such confusion or doubt arises, the real meaning or stories can only be ascertained through human and interpersonal interaction during interviews (this is where the significance of the opinions of public figures becomes evident). And even when doubt can still arise from interviews, cross-checking could be done with hard evidence in print, so that a solid and comprehensive conclusion may be derived. The following discussion focuses on these two methods at some depth:

5.1.3.1   Documentary Analysis

The purpose of employing documentary analysis in this study is to find how the different languages in Brunei have been positioned in history, and how they are positioned in the present time. Quinn (1980:152) identifies documents as a 'particularly rich source of information' which provides information that cannot be observed because they may have taken place in the past, or because they involve private interchanges to which the researcher is not directly privy. For all these reasons, documentary analysis is certainly the only option available for this study as it is of fundamental importance to analyze archival materials that might help answer the first research question. As stated earlier, while interviews have their own strengths in the quality and nature of the data they produce, historical

and official documents provide concrete quotable evidence in print to complement interview data. There is also value in what the researcher can learn directly by reading them as they also provide stimulus for generating questions that can be pursued through direct observation and interviewing.

In this regard, Bell (1993:67-68) states that before beginning the search for documentary evidence, it will be helpful to clarify exactly what kind of document is being used, of which there are two kinds:

1. Deliberate sources, which are produced for the attention of future researchers. They involve the deliberate preservation of evidence for the future perusal for various purposes (Lehmann & Mehrens 1971:24). Examples of these would include autobiographies, personal memoirs, diaries or letters. Such things which are prepared for personal rather than official reasons thus require more contextualized interpretation (Hodder 1998).

2. Inadvertent sources, which are used by the researcher for some purpose other than that for which they were originally intended. Some examples of inadvertent sources are the minutes of a meeting; official bulletins and letters; certificates; contracts and official statements; and newspapers. Based on the formal purpose such documents were prepared, Lincoln & Guba (1985:227) simply calls them 'records'.

In addition, Hodder (1998) also makes the distinction in terms of their availability for use in research: deliberate sources are often much easier to access than inadvertent sources. Access to the latter may be restricted by laws regarding privacy, confidentiality and anonymity (The issue of access and confidentiality will be discussed again in Section 5.1.5 Research Ethics).

Silverman (2000) remarks on the usefulness of both types of documents described above, as they serve a dual purpose as basic sources of information about activities and processes. In this study both types of documentation described above have been consulted, and are primarily incorporated into the background chapters (Chapters 2 and 3).

5.1.3.2   Interviews

While it may be faster to obtain data through documents and texts, interviews play a complementary role in providing a fuller picture to the data obtained through the other means. This is particularly significant given the lack of access to documentary materials encountered in this study. The purpose of interviewing is to find out what is in and on someone else's mind (Quinn 1980:153), which is central to this investigation. The responsible researcher should always bear in mind that the purpose of interviewing is not to put things in someone's mind (for example, the interviewer's preconceived categories for organizing the world). However, it is recognized that questions in this study do have an agenda i.e. to obtain views on linguistic diversity, and that this is an unavoidable limitation of this study. But the fundamental principle of qualitative interviewing remains to provide a framework within which respondents can express their own understanding in their own terms, their own perspectives on the matter in hand. We interview people to find out from them things that we cannot directly observe, and this serves the triangulation and cross-checking purpose very well.

The intricacies of identifying the various types of interviews available are illustrated in Cohen et al's review of LeCompte and Preissle (1993), Bogdan & Biklen (1992), Lincoln and Guba (1985), Oppenheim (1992:65), and Patton (1980:206) (Cohen et al 2000:267).

In general, however, interviews can be classified as: Structured, Semi-structured, and Unstructured. According to Lincoln & Guba (1985:269) the structured interview is useful when the researcher is 'aware of what is unknown' and therefore is in a position to frame questions that will supply the knowledge required. The unstructured interview, on the other hand, is useful when the researcher is not aware of what is not known and therefore relies on what the respondent tells them. Taking the middle line Drever (1995:1-8) favours the Semi-Structured interview and argues that because such interviews can provide depth of explanation within a particular context, interviewees can answer at length in their own words. The Interviewer in turn can respond using features of semi-structured interviews such as prompts, probes and follow-up questions for clearer or longer answers, to minimize the risk of being 'anecdotal' (Silverman 2000). Semi-structured interviews therefore are the preferred method used in this study's line of questioning.

Other general advantages of using interviews are that they allow us to gather factual information about people's circumstances, statements of people's preferences and opinions, and that we can explore people's experiences, motivations and reasoning in depth to provide a set of high quality data. Indeed with a very delicate issue such as language and identity involved in this investigation, interviews allow us to capture the delicate essence of people's opinions and perspectives accurately and succinctly.

There are also ethical issues that need to be addressed, such as 'informed consent, guarantees of confidentiality, beneficence and non-maleficence (i.e. that the interview may be to the advantage of the respondent and will not harm her)' (Cohen et al 2000:279). These are addressed in Section 5.1.5.

Interview Question Design

According to Holzl, the topic-oriented interview is a very suitable tool in areas where the subjective views of interviewees on socially relevant areas are sought after (Holzl 1994:63). Topic-oriented qualitative interview questions are used to determine informants' views, attitudes and levels of awareness of the topic in hand while centering upon a particular existing problem area.

Open-ended questions and semi-structured interviews are designed to give the interviewees the greatest possible scope of speech. Some of the advantages of open-ended questions are their flexibility in allowing further probes into the subject, the enabling of the interviewer to test the limits of the respondent's knowledge, and they also allow the interviewer to make a truer assessment of what the respondent really believes. Open-ended questions might in some cases even bring up unprecedented but very useful related issues.

The indirect approach in questioning is more likely to produce frank and open responses. Specific direct questions may cause a respondent to become cautious and guarded. On the other hand, 'non specific questions may lead circuitously to the desired information but with less alarm by the respondents' (Tuckman 1972). The use of open-ended questions in the interviews also offers a wider range of choice of responses to the informant. Kerlinger (1970) defines 'open-ended questions' as 'those that supply a frame of reference for respondent's answers, but put a minimum of restraint on the answers and their expression.' The questions in this study have been deliberately designed to appear to ask about individual language ethnic languages and general language use in Brunei, but direct questions about 'linguistic diversity' per se were avoided (particularly in the first stage of data collection).

Informant Sampling

Most qualitative researchers employ purposive and not random sampling methods (Denzin & Lincoln 1994:202). This is when groups, settings and individuals are sought in situations where the processes being studied are most likely to occur. This is combined with 'Snowball sampling', in which initial informants are asked to identify others in their community whom they thought might be knowledgeable about their community or might have important insights. The departure from strict random sampling, argues Drever (1995), is justified on theoretical grounds i.e. by obvious relevance of the respondents to the topic of the research. Different individuals can have different unique experiences and contributions in the matter under study. The qualification ranged from simply being members of a particular ethnic or speech community, to the informant having played a prominent role in language issues in the country. The actual sampling procedure in this study is explained in Section 5.2.4.

5.1.4   Data Analysis and Coding

On the whole, data analysis should go through three levels of data transformation proposed by Wolcott (1994): description, analysis and interpretation.

Description

At description level, the data were presented and described as closely as possible to the original, allowing the data to speak in their own voice. The informants' feedback and documentary evidence will be quoted verbatim to ensure their accuracy.

Analysis

Interview transcripts and documentary evidence were carefully reviewed to create various categories, in addition to the development and refinement of coding systems, the establishment of relationships among various categories, the generation of propositions regarding the relationships, verification and enrichment of emergent understandings by searching for negative evidence (cf. Miles & Huberman 1994; Strauss 1987).

Interpretation

At the level of interpretation, the social, cultural and historical context of the research, the researcher's personal experience and knowledge of technical literature and theories were brought into the interpretation to transcend the factual data (Wolcott 1994:36).

Miles & Huberman argue that preliminary data collection is usually partial, flawed, and simplistic in some important respects, and as a result is often inadequate and could create a false sense of 'premature closure, a feeling of "right-ness"' (Miles & Huberman 1994:85-86). Findings from the first interim analysis should be used to improve data analysis and subsequently lead to a deeper analysis 'as more detailed, better-quality data become available, and [our] cognitive map of the case gets richer and more powerful' (ibid.). This is achieved through the identification of patterns and development of themes. This approach helps reorient our views of the case and that any interim analysis should be the first of several by drawing strength from exploration, summarization and sense-making (Miles & Huberman1994:86). The potential weaknesses of this approach are superficiality, premature closure, and faulty data, which could however be avoided through intelligent critique from other people, feeding back into subsequent waves of data collection. This can be taken as a further argument for the use of the multi-stage data collection in this study, as outlined in Section 5.1.1.

Throughout the process of analysis, data 'reduction' and 'interpretation' requires the researcher to take a voluminous amount of information and reduce it to certain patterns, categories, or themes and then the researcher interprets this information by using some schema (Marshall & Rossman 1989:114). This process has also been called 'de-contextualization' and 're-contextualization' (Tesch 1990:97). Tesch argues that this process results in a 'higher-level' analysis consisting of 'taking apart' (for instance, into smaller pieces), the final goal is the emergence of a larger, consolidated picture (Tesch 1990:97).

As suggested above, data analysis in qualitative research is a process of categorization, description, and synthesis. Data reduction is necessary for the description and interpretation of the phenomenon under study. Interviews involve treating informants' answers to questions as describing some external reality (e.g. facts, events) or internal experience (e.g. feelings, meanings). However, not all of the data gathered initially is relevant, so only a selection of the more enlightening data would be used to highlight significant points of the research through the process of data reduction which involves making decisions about which raw data chunks will provide the initial focus (Miles & Huberman 1984:21).

This process of organizing data and obtaining data reduction is called 'Coding'. Charmaz (1983:111) notes that quantitative coding requires preconceived, logically deduced codes into which the data are placed. Qualitative coding, in contrast, involves creating categories from interpretations of the data to see what is contained in the data. While it is possible to construct coding categories prior to the data collection in qualitative studies, patterns of specific categories or themes should often emerge from the data itself. One particular coding procedure that Spradley (1980) suggests is 'Thematic Analysis'. 'Themes' are the 'expression of a single idea' (Reis & Judd 2000:321) and are also 'the most useful unit of content analysis' (Holsti 1969:116). The analysis of themes involves the search for and display of relationships in the data.

One significant consideration in the extraction of themes from the body of data is the Cultural Model proposed by Gee (1999:40). This method is particularly fitting in light of earlier discussion on the link between language and culture suggested by the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis [Section 4.4]. According to Gee, cultural models are 'images or storylines or descriptions ... our first thoughts or taken-for-granted assumptions about what is 'typical' or 'normal'" (Gee 1999: 59). That is, cultural models are the tacit or implicit theories that explain how a person's world or some aspect of it — language in this case — functions. Since cultural models are dynamic and significantly influenced by both internal and external factors (such as life experience, multiple group identification, institutions, or media), the cultural models of language and reflection held by Bruneians serve as crucial discourse and analysis tools. In describing the concept of 'Cultural Models' Gee says the following:

> Everyday people's "explanations", "models", or "theories" are very often largely unconscious, or, at least, not easily articulated in any very full fashion and often incomplete in some ways. This does not mean that they are not also often deep and rich in their own way ... Different social and cultural groups ... have different "explanatory theories" ... [that] themselves encapsulate viewpoints on [the who, the what, to what purpose, with what status of an event].
>
> (Gee 1999:43)

The 'fundamental assumption that people within a culture have procedures for making sense of their daily life' (Punch 1998:224), therefore, is of direct relevance to the analysis of views of 'ordinary' Bruneians in this study. In other words, what the informants say about the linguistic situation in Brunei should therefore encapsulate their views on linguistic diversity, and their worldview on the interrelationships between the languages in Brunei, situated within their own

culture. It is the duty of the researcher to identify the relevant statements and interpret them within their social context (cf. Mufwene's 'relevant ecology'). In doing so, it is hoped that the wider picture of linguistic diversity in Brunei is accurately reflected.

5.1.5 Research Ethics

With interviews in particular, there are three main areas of ethical issues: informed consent, confidentiality and the implications of an informant's involvement, each of which is problematic (Kvale 1996:111-120, in Cohen et al 2000:292). They are problematic because the dialogue of qualitative research is necessarily political, ethical and moral (Ezzy 2002:157). Ezzy argues that 'the task of the qualitative research is not to attempt to solve political and moral issues, nor to avoid them, but to be aware of and engage with the potential political and moral implications of their writings' (ibid.). One possible approach to address these issues is by obtaining written 'informed consent'. This is done by preparing a form that includes a checklist of the following items that need to be done prior to the interview:

1. Giving written and verbal information about the study which is relevant to the informant's decisions about whether to participate.
2. Ensuring that the informant understands the information.
3. Ensuring that participation is voluntary, and that the informants are made aware that they could withdraw at any time.
4. Providing a guarantee of confidentiality (i.e. their names not to be revealed, or the information obtained would not be used for anything other than the study).

5. With informants who are not legally competent to provide agreement (e.g. small children), consent could be obtained by proxy (e.g. from parents, legal guardians).

6. Preparing a consent form that the informants could sign to prove their agreement.

   (Ezzy 2002:157)

The consent form used in this study is provided in **Appendix 1**.

In the next section the actual process of data collection will be described.

5.2   Data Collection Process

In this part of Chapter 5, the actual data collection process and the considerations involved will be described. As explained in the previous section, the primary source of data in this study is the interviews, and the secondary source is documentation. The gathering of documents for analysis was the least problematic as they were mainly accessible archival materials, meant to be used for research. However it was totally unanticipated that some well-known documents such as the government circulars or memos regarding the use of Malay were not made available or could not be found even in the national archive. For this reason it was decided that greater priority be given to interviews. This section will therefore concentrate more on the complexities of obtaining data through the interviews. The data collection process (interviews, in particular) was actually conducted in three stages, each conducted at different times and with different groups of informants being asked different sets of questions. Beginning from the actual design and wording of the questions in order to elicit the best responses to serve the purpose of the study, this part of the chapter describes the actual refinement of the processes of methodology design and data analysis.

5.2.1   Question Design

The questions in this study were designed based on the principles of topic-oriented, open-ended questions discussed in Section 5.1 above. What were also adopted were the principles of the sequential analysis approach. The essence of this approach is to constantly take a step backwards and look at the picture, and identify emerging patterns, and build up again from there.

To make the purpose of the questions less perceptible to the informants, the interview questions were worded in such a way that they would indirectly elicit responses from them. This was done by omitting key terms such as 'linguistic diversity'. This was especially the case in Stage 1.

The ways in which the interview questions were specially designed with each specific group of informants in mind are outlined as follows:

Stage 1

Stage 1 informants are selected members of the general public whose ethnic self-affiliation was 'certain' [see also Section 5.2.4]. With Stage 1 informants, the interviews followed a protocol in which the questions were loosely grouped around several thematic areas (question sets) as follows: the relationship between languages and ethnic identity in Brunei, perceptions of linguistic diversity, significant sociohistorical events and their implications on language, and language maintenance. The questions for the first group of informants therefore were 'general' questions that would be analyzed to show what patterns or themes related to language diversity and linguistic issues may emerge.

Stage 2

The informants in Stage 2 were also members of the public although not necessarily chosen because of their ethnic identification [see 5.2.4]. Interview questions for the second group of informants were formulated from the themes and patterns that emerged from the answers and responses to the first set of questions, asking the 'whys' in order to understand the apparent themes. The task of the second group of informants was to explain why those patterns had emerged and what their perspectives on them were.

Stage 3

The third group of informants was chosen because of their authority or experience in national language issues [see Section 5.2.4]. Having analyzed the data gathered in the second round of interviews and the documents, questions were formulated

to elicit official and authoritative perspectives from 'informed' informants. The questions at this stage were designed with specific relevance to the nature of their involvement in language issues in Brunei. For instance, the Director of Curriculum Development (Ministry of Education) was asked questions about language policies within the education system, while the Director of Radio Television Brunei (RTB) was asked about language policies in broadcasting in Brunei.

The combination of the three-pronged interviews and continuous documentary study helped in the 'reconstruction' of a more complete and accurate picture of the issue of linguistic diversity, the core matter of this study.

The drafts of the first stage and second stage interview schedules can be seen in **Appendix 2** and **Appendix 3** respectively. The sample questions asked in Stage 3 can be seen in **Appendix 4.**

5.2.2 The Pilot Study

Four pilot interviews were conducted in May- June 2001 to test and improve the quality of the interview schedule, and again to check the reliability of the method and the eventual data gathered. The pilot interviews were carried out separately with Bruneian students resident in Leicester. The pilot exercise highlighted several weaknesses of the prepared interview schedule, in particular, the way some questions were structured and organized.

In particular, the main framework was designed in English, and when translated into Standard Malay, the questions sounded unnatural and stilted. The language of the interview schedule was then revised again to sound more 'Brunei Malay' (the vernacular), which was more well-received by the pilot subjects. The contentious issue during the pilot study was not the subject matter of language diversity,

language policies or perceptions; rather it was the language in which the entire interview was to be conducted. Discussions with the pilot group offered the opportunity for the researcher to revise the schedule again into other more 'culturally-appropriate' languages. The interview schedules were translated into the Tutong and Dusun languages, in anticipation of the need for the use of such languages with informants from those ethnic backgrounds. There was a limit to how many languages the researcher could speak and use during the interviews; those excluded were Belait and Murut. With Belait and Murut informants the only option was to use Brunei Malay during their interviews, as the researcher himself does not speak either language. This rewording and rephrasing process was repeated in the second and third stage of the interviews.

5.2.3   Fieldwork Research in Brunei

Fieldwork research in this study in fact refers to the data-collection process in Brunei. Because all the informants involved in this study had to be indigenous Bruneians, data collection meant locating and interviewing the informants in their locality in Brunei. Furthermore, official documents as well as archival material pertaining to language issues in Brunei could only be obtained in Brunei. Genuine articles that are available online are scarce. This therefore meant that the researcher had to return to Brunei to gather the desired information, working within seriously restricted timeframes. Bureaucratic regulations limited the period of stay in Brunei to only three months at a particular stretch, at the end of which the researcher had to return to his place of study in the UK. The fieldwork for this study was therefore divided in the following timeframes:

June 2002	to	September 2002
February 2003	to	May 2003
December 2003	to	March 2004

5.2.4 The Informants

In this section, I outline the actual process of recruitment of the sample. The method of informant sampling in this study was purposive, meaning informants were chosen specifically because they were members of one of the seven ethnic communities. This was done so that their perspectives would accurately reflect the perspective of a member of that particular community, although it is recognized that their views are not necessarily representative of the entire community. During the course of the first stage of fieldwork, I became acquainted with another PhD researcher who was studying material culture in Brunei. Her study, like mine, involved interviewing 'ordinary folks' from various ethnic communities. She asked some of her own informants whether they would like to be involved in the present study. Some agreed and were subsequently contacted and interviewed by the researcher, while those who declined kindly recommended other members of their communities as potential informants. The rest of the informants were directly and randomly approached by the researcher.

In Stage 1, the self-perceived affiliation of these informants to their ethnic language and their experience of linguistic diversity was a major consideration particularly because the first stage of the interviews was where the themes or patterns were to be established. The informants were chosen from ethnic language speakers who mostly lived in their traditional villages. For instance, Informant 1 was chosen because of his Tutong parentage, and he had lived his entire life in a village of ethnic Tutong people where the predominant language spoken was the Tutong language. In this case, his self-identified ethnicity became the main criteria rather than his ability to speak any particular language; Informant 1 admits to speaking Brunei Malay predominantly despite his Tutong ethnicity. Another example is Kedayan Informant 13 who was brought up in a Kedayan village in Temburong by mixed Kedayan-Brunei Malay parents, although she strongly identified herself as a Kedayan. It was felt that in the first

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stage, a 'clear' sense of ethnic identification should be the ultimate criterion for selection, rather than personal linguistic practices, religion, sex, age or location (although these too were important), to include as broad a cross-section of different communities as possible. But ultimately it was hoped that this method of selection would produce clear patterns of ethnicity and language associations, as well as perceptions of linguistic diversity. The group of informants of Stage 1 included housewives, students and clerks, amongst others.

While in the first group the actual number of informants interviewed was not predetermined, a target of at least three members of each of the seven ethnic groups of the 'Malay race' of Brunei was set. This was done to avoid bias of one group only, as well as in view of the limited time for fieldwork. Needless to say, more than the minimum 21 informants were recruited and interviewed on condition of anonymity, but after 27 interviews it was felt that the information obtained was sufficient for this stage. It must be stressed however that the views of these informants need not necessarily be representative of their respective communities.

In Stage 2, the criteria for the selection of the informants (Informants 28-36) changed slightly with less emphasis on their ethnic affiliation or identification. In fact the sampling method was less purposive and more random. As outlined in Section 5.1.1 sampling at this stage was still purposive in the sense that the informants were chosen because of their knowledge of the local sociolinguistic context. On the other hand, the sampling was also random as informant participation was voluntary, i.e. if they were free and willing to it on the spot, the interview was done immediately. The reason for this was because as data from the first group of interviews and first stage of the fieldwork had been analyzed, and themes or patterns identified, the direction of questioning at this stage had also changed slightly. It was no longer to establish patterns, but rather to explore the themes that emerged from Stage 1, and to find explanations for them. The nine informants of Stage 2 were either recommended by fellow researchers at the

University of Brunei Darussalam as 'knowledgeable' and experienced informants, or directly approached by the researcher. Similar to Stage 1, the informants of Stage 2 were also promised anonymity. And also similar to Stage 1, the purpose of the study and the significance of their involvement in the study were clearly explained, and their agreement was sought. This initial contact was made via telephone in my official capacity as lecturer at the national university of Brunei, which was necessary because it was through colleagues at the university that I had obtained their names and contact numbers. The time and venue of the interview was mutually agreed upon. Stage 2 informants included educators, retirees as well as civil servants of various rankings.

The purposive sampling of informants was more evident in Stage 3 of the interviews. The patterns that emerged from data analyzed at Stage 1 and Stage 2 were presented to Informants 37-43 who were each chosen for their authority and capacity as well-known public figures in Brunei. In fact some of the informants in this stage have been directly involved language issues in Brunei. The informants' ethnicity did not matter so much; instead it is their views as 'influential figures' on matters pertaining to language and culture that became crucial. It is an accepted risk that interviewing officials in their public capacity might lessen the likelihood of the informants revealing opinions that would differ from the government's views, or at least opinions would undermine the government's official position. Due to their public positions, and the potential weight of their opinions, the informants of Stage3 all waived their right to anonymity. The informants in this group are:

YAM[7] Pengiran Setia Negara Pengiran Haji Md Yusop Bin Pengiran Haji Abdul Rahim- Esteemed member of the Royal Court (Cheteria), and one of the seven members of the Constitutional Committee in charge of drafting the 1959

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[7] 'Yang Amat Mulia' is a term of address for high nobility, especially high-ranking *Pengirans*, loosely translated into 'The Most Noble'.

Constitution. Pengiran Setia Negara has also produced literary works as well as a book on Brunei customs, Adat Istiadat DiRaja Brunei.

YM[8] Pengiran Dato Paduka Haji Ismail Bin Pengiran Haji Mohamed – Current Director of Radio Television Brunei (RTB), the government-owned broadcaster. The station produces and broadcasts programmes nationwide, and is the primary source of local news and official notices, including His Majesty's speeches that are telecast live. As Director, Pg Dato Ismail is the directly involved in decision- and policy-making within the organization, and this includes the language used in radio and television programmes.

YDM[9] Pehin Jawatan Luar Dr Hj Awang Mohd Jamil Al-Sufri Bin Begawan Pehin Udana Khatib Dato Seri Paduka Haji Awang Umar - Pehin Jamil is Head of the Brunei History Centre and is a well-known figure in Brunei. He has written extensively on Brunei history and culture, and is a strong proponent of the national ideology, MIB.

YM Dato Paduka Haji Mahmud Bin Haji Bakyr – Previously Director of Brunei's Language and Literature Bureau, which was established specifically to develop the Malay language and its use in Brunei. Dato Mahmud has written academic papers on the role of Malay as 'national language' in Brunei, in addition to numerous literary works which include poems and novels.

YM Dato Paduka Haji Ahmad Bin Kadi – Also a former Director of Brunei's Language and Literature Bureau. During his tenancy as director, Dato Ahmad was involved in important policy-making involving 'language', and he has also published numerous works on language use in Brunei.

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[8] 'Yang Mulia' is a term of address used to refer to 'common nobles' (e.g. common *Pengirans*) and individual members of the general public. It means 'The Respectable'.
[9] 'Yang DiMuliakan' means 'The Most Honorable', a term used to address high-ranking non-nobles such as *Pehins*.

Associate Professor Dr Haji Hashim Bin Haji Abdul Hamid - Currently Director of the Academy of Brunei Studies at the University of Brunei Darussalam. As a highly respected academic, Dr Hashim has produced literary works that deal with Brunei culture as well as language.

YM Puan Hajah Norjum Binti Haji Yusop - As current Director of the Curriculum Development Department at the Ministry of Education, Puan Hajah Norjum is directly involved in deciding what to include in the national curriculum for all Bruneian schools. This includes what languages to teach or what languages to be used as the medium of instruction.

Having identified the potential informants, official letters requesting an interview which also included the main questions to be asked were delivered via the official channel i.e. via the University of Brunei Darussalam where the researcher is employed. In addition to those listed above, an interview was also requested from the Minister of Education, the Director of Information Department, the current Director of the Language and Literature Bureau, and a well-known cultural activist and artist in Brunei. The latter group, however, either did not respond to the request or were not contactable by the researcher.

The full profile of all the informants involved in this study is provided in **Appendix 5**.

5.2.5 Interview Procedure

Informants in Stages 1 and 2 were approached and contacted by telephone, obtained through members of the communities who were or were not interviewed. The time and venue for the interview was mutually agreed upon by both the researcher and the informant, although in most cases, the interviews took place at the informant's residence or office. Very little formality was involved in the first

two stages compared to the third. As outlined above, Informants in Stage 3 of the interviews were approached and contacted more formally by letter via the University of Brunei Darussalam [see **Appendix 4**]. This was the standard protocol as the informants involved were senior figures and were contacted in their official capacity.

There were some informants who due to the pressures of time and work commitment could not fit interviews into their schedule. Informant 43, for instance, kindly furnished the researcher with an official written reply to the interview questions that were delivered to her beforehand. Other informants who were interested in sharing their opinions on the matter of languages and linguistic diversity but were not keen on an 'interview atmosphere' similarly offered a written response, as was the case with Informant 34 and 36. These written responses were the exceptions rather than the norm, but at this crucial stage of the study, any kind of response was most welcome. In fact, some of the written responses proved to be more interesting than spontaneous interview data because they had been well thought out and expressed.

5.2.6   Research Aids

For record purposes, and to ensure accuracy of the transcriptions, all the interviews were recorded with a conventional audiotape recorder as well as the more innovative tapeless digital recorder. Each form of recording proved useful and complimented the other. Digital recording removes the bulk of hardware that is normally required with conventional tape-recording, and provides better quality recording. On the other hand, cassette tapes and tape-recorders are more straightforward to operate and to store.

Basic stationery such as pen and paper were also used for the traditional fieldnotes. After each interview the interviewer noted down what was thought to

have been particularly interesting or striking during the interview. This included detailed comments about the overall interview context, conversations before or after the interview, and a general description of the atmosphere in which the interview took place. When technology failed, as it sometimes did, the humble fieldnotes became very useful safety nets. This was the case with Informant 38, during whose interview both the tape-recorder and digital recorder failed to register any of the conversations. It was rather fortunate that fieldnotes during the entire interview were made and could be referred to, and quoted from. Similarly in other interview situations where the recording quality was less than perfect, the fieldnotes have again helped clarify the data.

5.2.7 Transcription

Transcription of the interviews was done by the researcher himself. Ezzy (2002:70) sees two advantages of this. First, transcribing interviews allows the interviewer to observe himself in action, pinpoint strengths or weaknesses to be improved for the next round of interviews. Second, as transcribing the interview takes considerable time, it encourages detailed reflection on the issues of the research. As most of the transcriptions were done immediately after the interview had taken place, the reflective benefits certainly proved useful in the improvement of interviewing techniques in subsequent stages. The reader is reminded of the intrinsic reflective feature of the Successive Approximations discussed in Section 5.1 above. Broad transcriptions were used, as the primary focus was what was said or the content (Theme analysis), rather than narrow transcriptions normally used for the analysis of interaction (Conversational Analysis).

In this thesis, where the data are originally in Malay or in an ethnic language, they are transcribed and translated into English. Every measure was taken to ensure the translation remained faithful to the original statement. Assistance was

obtained from a Bruneian academic colleague to verify the accuracy of the translations.

Statements that are originally in English are reported here verbatim. Where additions are necessary for clarity purposes, these are indicated in square brackets. Each quotation is clearly labelled in a running order, with the informant or original source indicated as follows: [Extract number. Informant number / Source]. With Stage 3 informants, their names or designations are used because of the weight that they provide to the statements. These informants have given written consent for their names to be quoted. Excerpts from documents are indicated by the name of the author or of the document itself.

5.2.8   Data Analysis

Through content analysis, the researcher first of all reviewed the responses to each question and listed primary themes found in the data. After the initial review of the data, the preliminary list of themes was tested again on more data to see how their degree of relevance to the key issues in the study. The significant themes that emerged from the data were then reduced, and analyzed to generate different categories out of the emergent themes. The initial list of themes that were part of the questions in the first stage and the reduction of the themes of the data are as follows:

Table 1   Themes in the Data

Initial Patterns Stage 1	Reduced Patterns Stage 2
1. Language and Identity 2. Definitions of Malay 3. Functions of Malay 4. Functions of Indigenous Languages 5. Attitude to Diversity 6. Attitude to Uniformity 7. Attitude to Bilingualism/ Multilingualism 8. Attitude to English and Other languages 9. Changes in Languages 10. Historical Links	1. Language and Identity 2. Malay and Ethnic languages 3. Attitudes to linguistic diversity 4. Language shift and maintenance

The reduction of themes shown above exemplifies the train of thought that went into the analysis of the data. These themes were reduced and refined to a smaller and more manageable list that is relevant to the aims, scope and limitations as well as the conceptual framework of the study (i.e. *ecology, interrelationships*). The final list of patterns allows for overlap to reflect a more holistic account of the main themes. These themes are discussed in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 of this thesis.

5.2.9   Other Considerations

In quantitative statistics the benefits of computer analysis are clear, and many analyses could not be contemplated without a computer. However, in qualitative research the benefits are more ambiguous, with increased efficiency in retrieval of data balanced against the higher costs associated with different resource

requirements, additional learning and formatting tasks, and limitations of the available packages (Ezzy 2002:116). For this study, a Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis (CAQDAS) program called QSR-NUD*IST was considered for possible ease of use. However, while computer programs such as this do appear to offer speed and rigour in qualitative data analysis, they do not actually perform the analysis but merely assist it (Ezzy 2002:134).

In addition, the amount of data to be analyzed in this study did not really warrant complicated computer-assisted analysis, and could in fact be analyzed manually within the same period of time, and probably even with the same degree of efficiency. It was also felt and decided eventually that a more 'hands-on' approach with the data analysis would allow greater interaction between the researcher or the analyst and the data.

The use of paid research assistants had also been considered for efficiency and logistical purposes. However it was felt that the topic in hand, linguistic diversity in Brunei, would be too culture- and context-specific for assistants unfamiliar with the Bruneian setting. Furthermore, the delicate nature of the data collection process and the data itself necessitated particular personal attention from the researcher. Funding research assistants too would have been a problem as, due to the location of and access to the place of study, travel expenses had to be given top priority. These were therefore also financial considerations. The ultimate decision was that non-expert assistants would only incur unnecessary costs and impede the progress of the research.

5.2.10 Research Ethics

From the outset, research ethics had been given utmost priority in this study. 'Informed Consent' was sought from informants on the understanding that their anonymity would be strictly protected by concealing their names and other

identifying information in publications, with the exception of the 'official' and 'authoritative' groups of informants in Stage 3 of the interviews. The objective and purpose of the research was clearly explained to every single informant at the beginning of the interview, emphasizing the voluntary nature of their participation in the study. That the interviews would be recorded was also made clear and permission was sought for this. Each informant's consent had to be put on paper in the form of their signature. For their time and cooperation, the informants were offered a small amount of money as a token of appreciation, as is customary in Brunei. Many politely refused, however, saying they were only too happy to help.

With official or government documents, the materials used are public records or 'publicly shareable data' (Silverman 2001:43), hence there was little problem in this regard, except maybe the availability of and access to those documents. In Brunei, official and sensitive materials are fiercely guarded, and the fact that a particular document was made available to this study, obtained through the government archives or delivered personally, meant that it was indeed 'publicly shareable'. Documents such as journalistic texts, which also form part of the dataset in this study, are by their very nature meant for public consumption.

5.3   Summary

The nature of the data involved in this research entailed that a qualitative paradigm best be adopted, as this would provide the appropriate methodology to develop an informed understanding of delicate issues such as language diversity and national unity. Much thought and great care have gone into ensuring the effectiveness, reliability and validity of the chosen approach through meticulous question and research design, methodical data-collection protocols, systematic critical analysis, and the consideration of legal and ethical issues. The theoretical aspect of these arguments has been outlined in Section 5.1 of this chapter. The practical aspect of the approach in this study, on the other hand, has been discussed in Section 5.2, where issues of practicality and technicality encountered in the course of the fieldwork and data analysis are discussed. Considerations and concerns such as time allocation, travel, aids and funding have also been included in the discussion. The data that have been gathered and analyzed are presented in the next three chapters.

Chapter 6   Perceptions of Linguistic Diversity in Brunei

This chapter analyzes the main orientations in attitudes and perceptions toward linguistic diversity among the Bruneian sample of informants. It attempts to address the research question on the relationship between linguistic diversity and linguistic unity by exploring the views (through the use of their own voices) of the participants in the research using the Ruiz model of orientations discussed in Chapter 4, namely: *linguistic diversity as a problem, linguistic diversity as a resource, and linguistic diversity as a right*. Identifying these patterns provides one dimension toward building a fuller picture of the language ecology of Brunei.

Section 6.1 starts off the discussion with an analysis of references made to 'linguistic diversity' by the informants in Stage 1. It was outlined in the previous chapter that Stage 1 interviews would be used to discern emerging general patterns for discussion in the subsequent stage. Therefore, in this section, it will be argued that the informants are primarily tolerant of linguistic diversity.

In Section 6.2, the informants'perceptions of linguistic diversity as a problem are first discussed. Blommaert & Verschueren's (1998) 'policy of containment' is then applied to the situation in Brunei as to whether the reactions toward linguistic diversity are to discourage it, eliminate the differences, or to narrowly interpret the law. This is followed by an alternative view to the problem-orientation, that is, perceptions of linguistic unity discussed in Section 6.2.2. The discussion is extended to identifying which language is thought to serve best as the language of unity.

Section 6.3 discusses the informants' perceptions that linguistic diversity is a useful resource, as well as their perceptions of it as important rights in Section 6.4. From these discussions, it will be argued that there is a high degree of tolerance of linguistic diversity in Brunei, which is examined in Section 6.5. In

this section, linguistic diversity is discussed in relation to multilingualism in Brunei. It will be argued that as language contact increased in the 1950s, the monolingual ethnic population became multilingual (at the individual level), and that this was the impetus of a language shift process.

6.1 Orientations in Attitudes toward Linguistic Diversity

Using the Ruiz model discussed in Chapter 4 as the analysis framework, three main orientations in attitudes toward linguistic diversity in Brunei may be discerned. For the benefit of the reader, an explanation of each of the three main orientations in the informants' attitude toward linguistic diversity is reiterated in the following diagram:
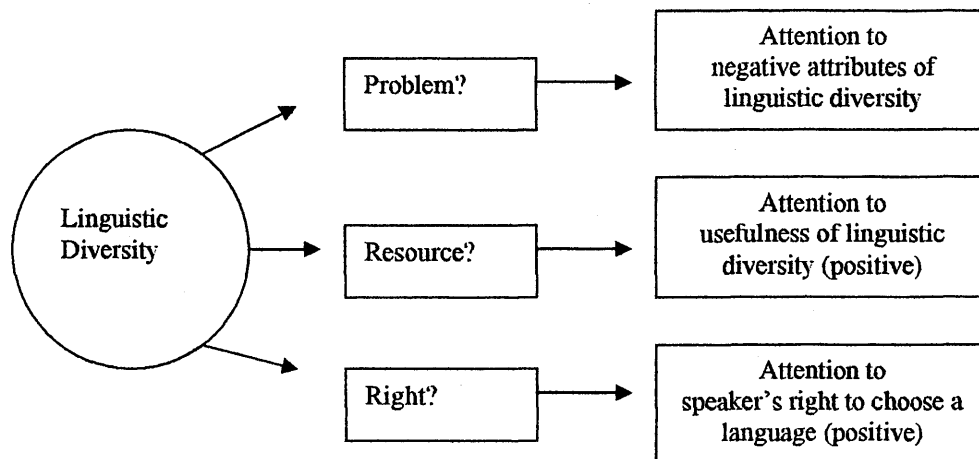
Figure 3 Orientations in Attitudes toward Linguistic Diversity

The resource- and right- orientations are essentially representations of tolerance toward linguistic diversity. As opposed to views that see linguistic diversity as a problem that are fixated on the negative aspects of it, perceptions of linguistic diversity as a resource or a right, on the other hand, both honed in on its positive

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qualities. Opinions that show linguistic diversity as problematic are suggested through expressions of it being divisive, politically problematic, and unmanageable, for instance. On the other hand, attitudes that see linguistic diversity is a resource can be discerned from statements on its many usefulness in terms of cultural, economic and political enrichment. Where the emphasis of the informant is placed on the legal or constitutional rights, or the basic right of choice of language, such comments may be taken as instances of 'language as a right' orientation.

An analysis of the transcripts of only Stage 1 informants' transcripts which involved identifying statements that conveyed a positive or negative disposition toward linguistic diversity and the general reason behind such inclinations, reveals an overwhelmingly positive attitude held among the informants. As described in Chapter 5, it was the intention of the study to discern patterns (as well as the reasons for these patterns emerging) from Stage 1 interviews only for the design new questions for subsequent stages. Stage 1 informants were canvassed about general linguistic issues, one of which was diversity. Stage 2 and Stage 3 interviews were therefore excluded because they were deliberately asked to provide the reasons for the emergent patterns from Stage1.

'Grassroots opinions' prove to be overwhelmingly positive given the greater occurrence of positive comments, compared to negative comments on linguistic diversity. This can be interpreted as a strong tolerance for linguistic diversity among the informants. A general explanation for the predominance of such tolerant views toward diversity is offered by Informant 34 from Stage 2:

> [E1.I34]
> ... there is a strong sense of respect and tolerance as far as the use of language among the people in Brunei. Brunei is a small country and people are related to each other either through blood or friendship.

Language is not a [publicly] contentious issue at all in this country thus people are free to speak their own language between them.

Of course the breakdown of 'resource' and 'right' (both positive) and 'problem' (negative) might differ slightly if interpreted by variables such as age, gender, ethnicity or religion etc. But as stated in Chapter 5, this study does not take these factors into account because the focus of discussion is the general feelings of the sample that might provide an insight into the possible attitudes of the wider population on the subject. Analyzing the data in terms of such variables would therefore go beyond the scope of the present study.

Further evidence and detailed discussion of more specific reasons for each of the orientations can be found in the subsequent sections. However, in the next section, negative perceptions of linguistic diversity are discussed first.

6.2   Linguistic Diversity as a Problem

Two main reasons have been given by the informants as to why they perceive linguistic diversity as problematic. One of them is the classic link between linguistic diversity and communication breakdown, as well as social disintegration, as implied in the following excerpt:

> [E2.I3]
> In order to avoid disunity among our people, we use one language that is given priority, that is, Malay... [Trans.]

This is a classic example of linguistic diversity being perceived as totally unmanageable, and that the only solution to the problem is to advocate the use of one language, described in Chapter 4. By saying that using one language would

avoid disunity, the implication is that using many languages could cause or reinforce it.

The second reason, not unrelated to the first one, is that at least in terms of government or administration the use of multiple languages would just be a great inconvenience:

[E3.I4]

[Q: ... can these seven ethnic languages be used in government or official business?]

...no! I think there's too many... because if we used them all, it becomes complicated. [Trans.]

This sentiment is shared by Informant 20:

[E4.I20]

[Q: do you feel that a country needs only one language?]

That depends, we can have various languages, but we must still have one official [language]. Because if there are too many languages, it would be difficult to deal with the government or work... [Trans.]

While some concession is made for the need of language unity at least for 'official purposes', it is evident from the above that the presence or use of multiple languages could be construed as an unnecessary burden. But first we examine the kinds of reactions that result from such negative views of linguistic diversity.

6.2.1   Reactions to Linguistic Diversity

While relatively minor in the sample, informants that view linguistic diversity as a
problem nevertheless indicate a presence of unfavourable disposition toward
diversity in language. As discussed in Chapter 4, in most societies linguistic
diversity creates the perceived need for 'a policy of containment' in anticipation
of ethnolinguistic problems in the following forms: *a discouragement of diversity,
the elimination of differences, and the narrow interpretation of legality*
(Blommaert & Verschueren 1998:12-14). The following is an examination of
three manifestations of such a policy as a reaction to linguistic diversity as
identified by Blommaert & Verschueren, and how the reactions in Brunei take
shape.

i. 'Discouragement of diversity'

Blommaert & Verschueren (1998) argue that a classic reaction to linguistic
diversity is an overt homogenizing tendency in language policies through explicit
bans of 'less significant' languages. In these terms, the Brunei government has
never issued any explicit statement to suggest a prohibition of the use of multiple
languages; although likewise neither has there been any visible encouragement to
the opposite effect.

[E5.Dr Hashim]

While there has been little encouragement on the use of the many different
languages and dialects of Brunei, there has also been no restriction
whatsoever, so the languages are allowed to be used in their own
communities.

[E6.Pg Setia Negara]

...in fact we encourage them to use [the languages], not terminate them
and there are no laws that say 'you cannot speak Tutong, or Dusun'...
There are no laws that disallow their use. [Trans.]

Such emphatic views from two of Brunei's most prominent public figures in the extracts above deny any practice of discouragement of the use of non-official codes. Indeed this study has found no documentary evidence of legal enactments, other than government circulars that were issued to remind government officers to use Malay in official business, that would suggest a policy of containment of any kind whatsoever. What is clear also is the absence of any forcible rhetoric to ensure the use of one language only. However, this is not to dismiss the existence of 'implicit' policies practiced by certain government departments that would appear to contradict the absolutist denial of any kind of language restrictions in E5 above. As for E6, while there does not exist any law against the use of Tutong or Dusun, for example, implicit forms of language restrictions could just be as lethal for linguistic diversity. One example of such implicit policies is the 'reluctance' of the Language and Literature Bureau to publish in non-Malay ethnic languages. It should be noted, though, that the bureau *was* created to develop the Malay language. [see also discussion in Section 7.3]

ii. 'Elimination of differences'

The active elimination of differences, including language differences, is another way of containing diversity as suggested by Blommaert & Verschueren (1998). The following informant recognizes the potential danger of ethnic tensions that might result from different ethnolinguistic group wanting official status for each of their languages, despite the unlikelihood of this happening in Brunei. However such expressions and feelings of 'fear of tribalism' are not necessarily translated into aggressive 'elimination' of ethnolinguistic differences. They could in fact be manifest in a 'de-emphasization' of differences, which is perhaps a more diplomatic means toward the same end.

[E7.Dr Hashim]

What we are afraid of is tribalism that might be perpetuated through the insistence of each ethnic group's language. But even in Belait or Tutong, the people can speak Brunei Malay, so why not use it? We have always been used to having many languages, furthermore there have also been more contact between the different groups.

In this statement the focus is being drawn away from ethnolinguistic differences, rather Bruneians take great pride in their long multicultural history to the extent of such differences being taken for granted. This study has certainly not found any evidence of aggressive 'elimination of differences' as a reaction toward ethnolinguistic diversity. What can be seen from the informants' views instead is a de-emphasis of the differences between various ethnolinguistic groups in the country. There is further discussion of this theme in Chapter 8.

iii. 'Narrow interpretation of legality'

Another form of 'policy of containment' identified by Blommaet & Verschueren (1998) is the restrictionist interpretations of legal statements. Technically speaking, there is no language law in Brunei apart from the official language declaration, Article 82. The reader will remember the 1961 Nationality Act which defined the 'Malay race', as discussed in Section 2.1. The common practice among Bruneians is to refer to this act, often wrongly equating the 'legal' definition of the Malay person with the 'linguistic' definition [see Section 2.5.1 for similar discussion]. These are obviously two different things. However, in Brunei, the problem may be not so much narrow interpretations, rather, it is the inconsistent interpretations of 'the law', so to speak. Some argue that the recognition of 'Malay' as the official language is justified as ethnic groups are all 'Malay people' (despite having their own distinct languages that are not Malay)

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[see Chapter 3]. Others might say, rightly to some extent, that the version of Malay that is meant to be official is the one in which the constitution itself is written, a language which no one in Brunei can really claim to be their own, not even the ethnic Brunei Malays. This interpretation totally negates any possibility of ethnic tensions. So, rather than a restrictive interpretation of Malay, the common interpretation of 'the law' (i.e. Article 82) in Brunei is conveniently 'broad' yet inclusive at the same time. This variable interpretation of the law on the matter is observed by Informant 2 in the following excerpt:

<u>**[E8.12]**</u>

... the rationale was [the seven ethnic groups] have cultural similiarities... the notion of 'Malay' has changed... it is only right that these indigenous groups are [considered] Malay in the broader perspective, but it's different if you look at it narrowly. [Trans.]

From the discussions above, it may be posited that there is no doubt that there is a certain form of 'policy of containment' (albeit implicit) with regards to linguistic diversity in Brunei. The manifestations of this policy however differ slightly than those originally described by Blommaert & Verschueren (1998:12-14):

i. instead of the discouragement of diversity, the absence of 'linguistic coercion' is more evident

ii. instead elimination of differences, there is a de-emphasis of differences

iii. instead of narrow interpretations of legality, interpretations are rather broad

Despite slight variations to the original notion defined by Blommaert & Verschueren the ramifications of these kinds of 'subdued' and 'measured' reactions to linguistic diversity remain just as effective: the successful diffusion of ethnolinguistic groups, and the circumvention of ethnolinguistic tensions. In other words, (ethno)linguistic diversity is contained implicitly. And as suggested

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earlier, although there is no evident aggressive stance against linguistic diversity, there is an agreement among the informants that for government and administration, some level of linguistic homogeneity needs to be achieved. This is discussed next.

6.2.2   Perceptions of Linguistic Unity

An alternative avenue for the analysis of the problem orientation is by looking at the informants' perceptions of linguistic unity, the antithesis of linguistic diversity. Some informants, while tolerant of linguistic diversity, are slightly apprehensive about the extent to which it should be allowed. Both of the following extracts attest to the cultural significance of linguistic diversity, yet still believe that for official business at least there needs to be linguistic unity or uniformity:

> **[E9.I19]**
>
> Let there be many languages, but for official communication use only one... For globalization... everything must be done using one language, but in the country, to show our national cultural wealth, we have a wealth of languages... [Trans.]

> **[E10.I20]**
>
> We can have different kinds of languages, but we need one official language, because if we used many kinds of languages it would be difficult, for example, in government business, or work... [Trans.]

Excerpts 9 and 10 above again emphasize cultural and linguistic diversity, expressed earlier in Excerpt 5 [E5.I21], although at the same time they recognize the need for one language for official purposes. In these cases therefore linguistic diversity itself is not seen as the main problem, but rather it is the potential risk of

inconsistency in linguistic communication resulting from the use of multiple languages, particularly in domains where consistency, regularity and familiarity of the code is of absolute importance. On the same premise, this has become the reason for some resistance to the notion of diversity of languages:

[E11.I17]

... [we need one language] so that it's easy for people to communicate... if you have too many not everyone will cope. [Trans.]

Here we see the inference of the classic view of 'diversity as a problem', discussed earlier. However it is important to note that rather than 'linguistic unity' in the literal sense, the informants here seem to propose it to mean 'having one language as a means of achieving national unity':

[E12.I1]

[To have linguistic unity] means [using] one language, Malay... which I'm sure is Brunei Malay that everyone understands in Negara Brunei Darussalam... It does not necessarily mean [we use only] one language! But [it] means [having] a language that everyone can understand... That's more advantageous... no prohibition... [Trans.]

Achieving national unity through one language should not, however, be done at the expense of linguistic diversity, as Informant 3 points out below:

[E13.I3]

A person's language shows his [ethnicity], and who he is... his ancestry... we shouldn't just promote Brunei Malay ethnicity and language, I would like to see also that these other languages be brought into the mainstream and can influence other languages. [Trans.]

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In [E13.I3] the informant broaches the partial attention that the Malay language receives from the authorities, while other languages in Brunei appear to have been neglected. Chapter 7 discusses this issue in detail.

Another interpretation of linguistic unity offered by Informant 4 is that there should be linguistic unity at least at the level of government administration, as illustrated in the following excerpt:

[E14.I4]

... we need to stick to one [language]... because if we used them all, it becomes complicated. So, "One" is Malay. That should be Malay because we have lived with it for a long time already, right? So it has to be Standard Malay, and Brunei Malay. But of course in formal business we use Standard Malay...

[Q: but what about the other languages?]

Actually, they're important, except Malay may be given more importance only to standardize things. If we used many languages, say to produce forms... seven languages means seven kinds of forms then, right? That's not efficient, is it? So it's for efficiency actually... that's why we use one language. [Trans.]

In this excerpt, the informant refers to the long history of Malay as lingua franca which was discussed in Chapter 3, and uses it as the reason why it should be the 'one' language that Bruneian people could have in common. At the same time, Informant 4 brings up the issue of efficiency with the use of one language. This also serves as a classic example of perceiving linguistic diversity as 'unmanageable', discussed in Chapter 4. Nevertheless, there is some validity in the claim that it would be impractical to have similar forms in multiple languages, not least because apart from Malay, the other languages in Brunei are not written

languages as also stated earlier.   In the same vein, ethnic languages it seems are less welcome in certain situations by Informant 5, not out of disrespect for them, but rather for pragmatic reasons in view of the multiethnic make up of the modern Brunei workforce, to avoid misunderstandings or communication breakdown in multiethnic and multilingual settings [See Chapter 7]:

[E15.I5]

Tutong language should not be used in offices, and Belait too should not be used in the offices. My reason is that the official language is Brunei Malay. If, for example, the Tutong and Belait people spoke their languages in the offices, [not many would understand them as] people nowadays do not speak them eventhough they themselves are children of Tutong or Belait parents...

[Trans.]

There is a universal disapproval of people speaking a language in the presence of others who do not speak or understand it.   This view contained in [E15.I5] represents the human or interpersonal aspect of the discussion of linguistic diversity in Brunei.   In other words, while we could easily be preoccupied with political argumentations of diversity that could create tensions and even divisions amongst different groups, interpersonal respect brings into the frame a more accommodating, tolerant, hence pacifying element while at the same time it demands the use of a language that is, in simple terms, understood by everyone.

6.2.2.1   The Language of National Unity

In the context of diverse linguistic settings, even in one with an apparently high level of tolerance toward diversity, there is bound to be a limit to the acceptance of the number of languages to be used for the sake of communicative efficiency, and national solidarity, no less.   In the case of Brunei, while the majority of the

informants are receptive of the linguistic diversity in the country, a high percentage of the sample has also expressed the need for one language nevertheless.

One of the reasons why Brunei really needs a language to be constitutionally identified as an official language, according to Informant 27, is that it is important to have a language that different ethnic groups can use to communicate with one another:

[E16.I27]

... whatever your race is, then that is the language that you would use... and what will actually unite these seven groups is our language... Brunei Malay [Trans.]

This argument is supported by Informant 17 in the following statement:

[E17.I17]

My own language is of course important too ... but to adapt to the surrounding, it's Brunei Malay... [Trans.]

Regardless of differing interpretations of the Article 82, if the view that 'Malay' in its widest definition was already understood to be the de facto language of the country and people, then is pertinent to ask why it was endorsed in the constitution. This question was broached to Pengiran Setia Negara, one of the original members of the Constitutional Committee, who says that prior to the 1959 Constitution Brunei did not have any official language:

[E18.Pg Setia Negara]

... we (the Constitutional committee) suggested that Malay be made the official language Malay, because this is a Malay country. And what we

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call the Tutong language, Belait, Murut, those are 'bahasa puak' (dialects) in this country. [Trans.]

The labelling of languages such as Tutong and Murut as 'bahasa puak' (dialects) in the statement above is clearly a subordination of their status. Choosing Malay as the official language, on the other hand, automatically gives it a superior status. When Indonesia proclaimed independence, it drew up a constitution and declared *Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian language) to be its national language. Malaysia also declared a national language in the form of *Bahasa Malaysia* (Malaysian language). Both of these varieties are essentially variants of Standard Malay. In the following extract, Pehin Jamil defends Brunei's choice to declare 'Bahasa Melayu' (Malay language) as the right one and would like to see it removed from the 'politicization' or the re-branding as happened in Indonesia and Malaysia:

[E19.Pehin Jamil]
We standardize [the language ourselves], we didn't refer to other people…because nowadays language has become political … In Indonesia they use 'Bahasa Indonesia', in Malaysia they use 'Bahasa Malaysia'… We use 'Bahasa Melayu'… sometimes there are similarities in meaning, sometimes there are differences… So we use our interpretations, not theirs, because their languages have been politicized… We can't say Bahasa Indonesia is our standard, or even Bahasa Malaysia… 'Bahasa Brunei' is fine….

… Malay language [was chosen] because the majority of the people here are of the Malay race… But we must have a language of our own, which is Malay. They [Malaysia and Indonesia] no longer use Bahasa Melayu, they use Bahasa Malaysia. In Indonesia, they use Bahasa Indonesia. [Trans.]

Although the decision to 're-brand the language' in the Malaysian and Indonesian fashion is said to be a refutation of the then 'colonial' English language, it is still tempting to suggest that at a time when anticolonial and nationalistic feelings were running high in the region, Brunei felt that it had to follow suit and declare a 'national' language, albeit under the guise of an 'official language' instead. Perhaps it is arguable that language could 'de-politicized' as conjectured by the informant in [E19.Pehin Jamil], but the point to be made here is that in naming Brunei's official language, it was not necessary to go down the similar route as everyone accepts that Malay (in one form or other) is the Brunei people's language. In other words, it was not deemed necessary to make a politically overt statement in naming Brunei's official language 'Bahasa Brunei'. Whatever the real reasons may actually be, it would be fair to say however that linguistic unity or linguistic uniformity was never meant to be the target to be achieved from nominating Malay as the official language. Rather it was 'national unity through language' that was desired, as stated in the following statement:

[E20.I30]

... the people drafting the constitution, even though that they are not sure about the label, but they have that idea of this kind of integration, putting the Bahasa Melayu, I assume it is Bahasa Melayu Brunei, to be the first, followed by these minority languages. The point really is to have this kind of solidarity. If you can speak Brunei Malay, it will help you. It will unite the whole other minority groups, even if they speak different languages, you see. But the problem now is to have a clear-cut definition of what they have written in the constitution. Perhaps you can change the whole constitution. [Trans.]

Clearly Informant 30 perceives a prioritization of the Malay language over the minority ethnic languages in Brunei because of its unifying ability. This view is shared by the following informants too:

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[E21.I36]

Brunei still needs one language that could be used by everybody. As citizens who supports a Muslim, Malay monarchy, it is fitting that the language be Malay. Local ethnic groups or whatever race that comes to Brunei should know the language. [Trans.]

[E22.Pehin Jamil]

The more languages that we have show the number of ethnic groups that exist. So we have all agreed that Malay is to be used here, everyone speaks it, just use it. We unite people using language. If everybody can speak this language, if the government wants to communicate with the public, they use this language... so that everyone will understand... [Trans.]

The excerpts above illustrate the delicate balance between tolerance of ethnic and linguistic diversity in Brunei and the perceived need for one shared 'national language'. In spite of this, the political act of electing one language out of many could still have had the disastrous and unfortunate segregative, discriminatory or divisive effect on the small population of Brunei. Brunei risked stretching the threshold of linguistic tolerance but there is some comfort for protagonists of linguistic diversity in the fact that the use of languages other than Malay has never been prohibited in Brunei, as outlined earlier [see Section 6.2.1].

The evidence for the resource orientation is examined next.

6.3   Linguistic Diversity as a Resource

The second orientation in the Ruiz model is the perception of linguistic diversity as a resource. In general there appears to be a profound tolerance and positive

view of linguistic diversity among the informants. In the following excerpt, the informant comments on intergenerational transfer of codes, the role that education could play, and indeed the observation of the public's behaviour toward ethnic languages. What is immediately obvious too is a sense of contriteness and longing for stronger effective actions to sustain linguistic diversity:

[E23.I1]

... parents should bring up their children using different languages so that the children pick up these languages... so that these languages could be sustained. It would be nice if these Brunei languages are promoted and be made part of the primary school curriculum, introduced in schools from a very early age... So far I don't see any effort. Nobody is looking into this matter seriously. Perhaps no one has realized the importance of these ethnic languages... perhaps no one has thought of the day when no one will inherit [these languages]. It's a loss if they disappeared... the wealth of languages, the diversity of languages

[Trans.]

In short the excerpt mentions all of the related issues that are significant to this study and which will be discussed further in subsequent sections and chapters of this thesis. In the excerpt above, Informant 1 highlights the importance of sustaining linguistic diversity as the failure to do so would mean a loss of linguistic wealth and linguistic diversity, and by implication, the loss of culture. Indeed, as discussed in Chapter 4, language is seen as a vital component of cultural and ethnic identity. The implication here is that the more languages that are used, the more accurately the multicultural and multiethnic make-up of the Brunei population is reflected.

Linguistic diversity is perceived by the informants in this study as a 'resource' in a number of ways:

i. As an economic resource

This view is significant in that language could be exploited as an important aspect of the multicultural society of Brunei, which the country is very keen to promote as a tourist attraction:

> #### [E24.I10]
>
> In my opinion, the more languages the better... for the majority of people today languages are important ... to be promoted to tourists as part of our culture... [Trans.]

ii. As a cultural resource

As in the previous point, linguistic diversity is used to reflect cultural diversity, illustrating the inherent link between language and identity, symbolic of cultural wealth of the people.

> #### [E25.I21]
>
> Actually, the more languages we have, the better. If we had more ethnic groups, the languages are varied...The more ethnic groups a country has, the better, the more the languages... If we had only one [language] say Malay, and only that is used, we won't have knowledge of other languages ... they'll disappear... [Trans.]

iii. As a communicative resource

Language is a means of communication, hence the more languages that are available, the more means people can use to communicate among them:

[E26.I22]

It's good to have many languages... the more ethnic variety, the more the languages... it's just us who don't know [how to speak these languages]... that's the problem... only Malay will [connect] us...

[Trans.]

iv. *As a linguistic resource*

This is also the view in the following extracts which see linguistic diversity as an important resource at a more linguistic level. Certain words from ethnic languages, it is argued, could be adopted and be used to complement and enrich the Malay vocabulary:

[E27.I26]

The advantage is that the more languages [we use] the more information we can get. For example in Brunei we have seven languages, an item not found in Brunei Malay could be found in the languages of the Dusun, Belait, Tutong, Murut...

[E28.Dato Mahmud]

I call these [ethnic languages] "the flowers of life", because [ethnic languages] enrich languages. If we find words that convey certain concepts that are not found in Malay, we can adopt them into Malay.

v. *As a 'social'/ integrative resource*

Yet another important value of linguistic diversity is its potential role in terms of instilling a common and shared sense of belonging in the country:

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[E29.I28]

... it's good that we have many languages, it shows our solidarity with
other communities... [As a Tutong person] the fact that I'm able to master
many languages proves that I do mingle around with people... the
interaction is there... and that interaction shows the amicability [among
the people]...

In sum, it might be said that the informants' acceptance of linguistic diversity as a
resource is multidimensional. But below the surface, lies an altruistic concern for
the wellbeing of all the languages in Brunei. [E29.I28] above moots the notion of
solidarity and amicability between different ethnolinguistic communities in the
country that could be procured through language [c.f. achieving national unity
through one language, Section 6.3.2]. The reader will notice too that language
enrichment and language loss have been mentioned by several informants.
Further discussion and illustration of these issues can be found in Chapter 8.
Similarly, the ability to speak many different languages is highly regarded in
Brunei [see Section 6.6].

6.4   Linguistic Diversity as a Right

The discourse of the right-orientation need not necessarily be in constitutional or
legal terms. The fundamental criterion, as outlined in Chapter 4, is the
recognition of the right of individuals or indeed communities to speak in the
language of their choice. The following extracts put this message across:

[E30.I10]

You can't stop people from speaking their own language among
themselves. [Trans.]

[E31.I25]

[Q: Is it OK if ethnic groups used their language in the office?]

Yes... you can't prohibit [people from using their own language]
[Trans.]

[E32.I13]

If we were to have only one language, our ethnic languages will be lost...
no one would want to lose their own language... [Trans.]

In these short statements, the message is clear that the right of the speakers to use
their own ethnic language need to be respected. No mention is made of legal
provision or protection of such rights, which illustrates the dispensability of such
measures, while at the same time it emphasizes basic tolerance.

6.5   Linguistic Diversity and Multilingualism

The willingness observed among the informants to learn, use and tolerate the use
of languages other than their own, are clear illustrations not just of tolerant and
accommodating attitudes, but also mutual respect among speakers of different
languages.

One suggested reason for the positive attitude toward linguistic diversity and
multilingualism is the long multiethnic history of the country:

[E33.I30]

...Because we are used to [having many languages], people next door are
Tutong, Kedayan... I live in a Kedayan community. Ok I can speak
Kedayan, so you're used to it, it's not something new. It's a matter of

getting used to... [Mulitingualism is] part of the culture. You exist with these different languages, different cultures, take things for granted, that's why ... It's part of the place you live in. It's geographical, it so happens that here in Brunei we have so many different languages.

As described in Chapter 3, there is a strong historical tradition of multiethnicity and societal multilingualism in Brunei. It was suggested that this long history was the main basis for the selection of Malay as the official language of the country.

On the other hand, a more recent influence has been the bilingual education system which was discussed in Chapter 2. According to the following informant, the education system has nurtured a favourable inclination to linguistic diversity:

[E34.I34]

I still believe that strong tolerance and acceptability are significant here. We are open to bilingualism and multilingualism. The acquisition of knowledge is one of the motivating factors. We believe it is advantageous to know many languages if we were to gain more knowledge. On this basis our education system of *Dwibahasa* (bilingual) is well accepted by all and the product is now widely enjoyed.

However, the education system can be a double-edged sword in that while here it is argued to have encouraged linguistic diversity, evidence in the next chapter will show that education also has the effect of granting differential status to different languages. It will be argued in Chapter 7 that this in fact is a major contributing factor to language shift.

But as the following informant suggests, even as late as the 1940s, there were still monolingual speakers of the Tutong language. In the following excerpt Informant 11 recalls his experiences in the 1940s when there were still monolingual speakers of ethnic language:

[E35.I11]

[When we met Kedayans] we used Kedayan! Because they didn't
understand Tutong... there were some people who could not speak Brunei
Malay... so whatever you wanted to buy you just pointed... [Trans.]

The reader is reminded that during the 1940s interethnic contact was still very
limited. It was also stated in Chapter 3 that roads were only developed in the
1950s, suggesting a large scale population mobility and interethnic contact only
started then. This is supported by Jones (1994:9), cited earlier in Section 3.5. So
perhaps this was the beginning of 'societal bilingualism' suggested by Romaine
(1994:45) to result from language contact, and that would eventually lead to
language shift discussed in the next chapter. Indeed by the 1950s bilingualism in
an ethnic language and Malay became began to become more common:

[E36.I10]

... In the 50s, 60s... it was amazing, even though we spoke Tutong, but in
school we could understand the language [Malay] without being taught
it... [Trans.]

This comment therefore confirms the observation made by Martin (2002) that
whereas previously the records showed ethnic groups as having languages of their
own, by the 1950s the same groups are described simply as 'Malay-speaking'. As
the extract above suggests, the groups could more accurately be described as
bilingual.

While it appears to be taken for granted, the ability to speak several languages
itself is placed in high regard because it allows people to transcend linguistic and
ethnic boundaries. This social integrative value of multilingual ability is
reiterated by Dato Ahmad:

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[E37.Dato Ahmad]

...it's necessary in terms of communication and fostering relationships...
when we want to get to know a group, we need to know their language, to
know their culture... there is importance in terms of economy, education,
culture. [Trans.]

In addition, Dato Mahmud offers a more philosophical take on the educative
value of multilingualism:

[E38.Dato Mahmud]

I've always considered a house with many windows would be brighter...
the more windows, the better the view... I use language as a means to
obtain information. [Trans.]

Indeed the feeling here is that the more language a person can speak, the more
learned or more educated he is perceived to be. On the other hand,
monolingualism i.e. the ability to speak only one language does not appear to be
well-received among the informants because it suggests a stand-offish attitude.
For this reason, although it was argued in Section 6.2.2 that 'linguistic unity'
(which the informants clearly recognize as different from 'monolingualism') is
necessary for solidarity and integrative purposes, some informants have expressed
a disapproval of monolingualism:

[E39.I29]

In my opinion... the reason [Brunei Malays] only know one language is
that they [they give] importance to their own language only... that's why
they don't speak [other languages than their own]... [Trans.]

[E40.I35]

... multilingualism too is common among ethnic groups apart from the Brunei Malays, because they [only] have their own language or dialect. [Trans.]

The fact that the Brunei Malays are subject to criticism by Informant 29 above for their inability to speak, or unwillingness to learn, other indigenous codes indicates that monolingualism can suggest the lack of appreciation of linguistic diversity. The singling out of the Brunei Malays as the only monolingual group in Brunei here is significant. Whereas the previously monolingual ethnic groups have now become bilingual, the Brunei Malay group have indeed remained monolingual. Monolingual speakers of ethnic languages, on the other hand, would be rare today, if not non-existent, due to the rapid sociological and sociolinguistic changes in the country over a relatively short period of time. This theme is picked up again later in Chapters 7 and 8.

Conflicts between ethnic groups arising from language controversy within the tiny population would have disastrous consequences. Hence the acceptance of linguistic diversity can be taken as indicative of acceptance of multiracial or multiethnic make-up of the Brunei populace, as can be seen in the following extract:

[E41.I29]

If we can speak many languages, that would be better ... showing that if [linguistic diversity] can be a problem for other countries, in Brunei it's not. Meaning that even though our country is [multilingual] ... our country is OK, peaceful and free ... [Trans.]

In this excerpt, it is evident that much like linguistic diversity has been held in extremely high regard, so is the ability to speak multiple languages.

6.6   Summary

The tolerance of linguistic diversity in Brunei is immediately obvious from what the informants say in their interviews. This chapter set out to discuss how linguistic diversity is perceived vis-à-vis the notion of linguistic unity: the use of one language is perceived to be a necessary requirement to attain national unity, though, in a show of altruism, not at the expense of linguistic diversity.

In general, attitudes toward linguistic diversity are split three-ways. Those who view linguistic diversity as problematic however are in the minority. A policy of containment of some sort is realized in several 'subdued' manifestations that rather than discourage, eliminate or use narrow interpretations of linguistic diversity, 'containment' in Brunei has been redefined. In place of active discouragement of diversity, containment of diversity is achieved through the absence of deliberate coercion of the use of one language only. There is also no evidence of active elimination of ethnolinguistic differences by the authorities. Instead, there is a de-emphasis of such differences. Similarly, adopting a more liberal interpretation of the constitutional label has proved to be more beneficial than narrow interpretations.

On the other hand linguistic diversity has enjoyed a tolerant attitude in Brunei. Ethnic variation is a natural occurrence, as far as the informants in this study are concerned, paralleled by the diversity in language and multilingual abilities of the people, resulting in their tolerance (and to some degree, indifference) toward the phenomenon. The ultimate underlying principle here is that language diversity is seen as essentially unproblematic. For this reason too, it is perceived as essential that everyone is allowed the right to speak their own languages. But despite the support for linguistic diversity, there has been a clear expression of the need for a particular language to be the de facto 'common language' that would unite everyone, linguistically at least. The factors that influence their choice and

process through which this linguistic unity appears to be achieved are examined in the next chapter.

Also highlighted in the discussions here was that the appreciation of linguistic diversity has also meant the appreciation of multilingual ability. Indeed previously monolingual communities have now become bilingual in their ethnic language and Malay, while the Brunei Malays have remained monolingual. It has been suggested that the beginning of societal bilingualism that began in the 1950s was also the start of language shift discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 7   Language Shift and the Contributing Factors

The present chapter discusses the interrelationship between the languages that make up the language ecology of Brunei by examining the balance of power that exists between the ethnolinguistic groups, and the factors that influence it. This is done through examining a prominent theme that has emerged from the data i.e. language shift, using the variables of Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (EVT), discussed in Chapter 4, in view of the relevant literature. The process of language shift therefore is seen as the main process that has changed the language ecology of Brunei. This chapter also attempts to locate the positions of the ethnic languages in relation to Malay, examining ways in which they interact with it, and how they might affect the language ecology of Brunei.

In the preceding chapter it was established that the informants tend to tolerate and even support linguistic diversity. The preference for one common language for national unity among Bruneians, observed in the previous chapter, automatically creates a status difference between the Official language (Malay) and the other languages (non-official i.e. ethnic languages). The discussion of 'status' is extended in Section 7.1 which analyzes how the informants perceive the status of the languages in Brunei, by identifying the associations that they make with each of the languages.

This will be followed by an analysis of how the number of speakers, population mobility and mixed marriages, including intergenerational language transfer, affect Brunei's language ecology in Section 7.2. It is argued that a more specific process of language transfer called the 'Intergenerational language switch' has taken place within Bruneian families. Through this process bilingual ethnic families make the conscious decision to choose one of the two languages to bring up their young children in, predominantly choosing Malay, whilst abandoning their ethnic languages.

In Section 7.3 the third type of EVT variables, institutional support for language, is analyzed. The three main institutions introduced in Chapter 2 will be further discussed, namely the Language and Literature Bureau (LLB), the education system, and the national broadcasting agency, Radio Television Brunei (RTB). More specifically, the policies that are held by these institutions with regards to language will be assessed.

Finally, it will be argued in Section 7.4 that language acquisition trends among the ethnic population has changed in favour of what could be termed as 'Pan-Brunei Malay', at once increasing the number of Malay speakers, both hastening and hastened by the reduction in the number of ethnic language speakers. In relation to this phenomenon, it will also be suggested that there are in fact two types of language shift processes occurring in Brunei: Language shift at dialect level, and Language shift at language level.

7.1   Language and Status

The status variables of EVT are related to economic wealth, social status, sociohistorical status and the status of the languages used by the ethnolinguistic groups discussed in Chapter 4. How these factors determine the status of each of the languages, how their perceived status reinforce the notion of a linguistic hierarchy in Brunei are discussed in the following sections.

A language's position in the linguistic hierarchy is often strongly influenced by attitudes held by society toward it. Preconceived generalizations and associations to specific images are common with language and culture. With Malay at the top of the language hierarchy in Brunei, a status sealed by Article 82 of the state constitution, the other indigenous languages of Brunei assume a subordinate position. One of the reasons these languages are less highly regarded than Malay

is the negative attitudes and connotations attached to them. The following discussions illustrate some of these associations.

7.1.1   Associations of Ethnic Languages with Low Social Status

In Chapter 4, it was stated that rural codes can lose their prestige through a process called 'social subordination' (Dressler 1982), that results from urbanization. There certainly exists a clear rural/ urban dichotomy in the informants' perceptions of ethnic languages, the evidence of which will be presented here. As discussed in Chapter 4, association with urban lifestyle and culture suggests modernity and sophistication. On the other hand, rural associations suggest unsophisticated culture. The terms used by some informants with regards to the status of ethnic languages were 'ulu' (upriver) and 'kampungan' (rural or village-like). This can be compared to Dorian's (1981) findings regarding the 'fisher' status of Gaelic in East Sutherland, and Gal's (1979) earlier study of Oberwart in Austria which she found was associated with peasant status, mentioned in Chapter 4.

The Belaits, Bisayas, Dusuns, Kedayans, Muruts and Tutongs traditionally inhabited rural areas of Brunei; whereas the dominant Brunei Malays lived around the capital of the county, which was also the centre of administration and business. In previous times when access to rural areas of Brunei was not easy, travel and contact between groups was very limited (Jones 1994:14), leading to marginalization and stigmatization of rural background:

> [E41.I29]
> ... it was different in the past, people were more concerned about Brunei Malay only... in the past, people like us [from inland areas] were ignored... in fact we were berated even... [we were] village people... you see... [Trans.]

[E42.I23]

[Us] from Kuala Balai, for instance, move to Bandar [the capital], there's
a kind of inferiority complex, [we] come from upriver areas... [Trans.]

The excerpts above provide differing dimensions to the perception of minority
ethnolinguistic groups. Informant 29 gives an account of how a minority group
was perceived by outsiders. Informant 23, on the other hand, suggests how such
negative perceptions are internalized by the minority groups themselves. Similar
feelings of inferiority can be seen from the example that Informant 7 provides
below as he recounts an incident where his Murut friend got embarrassed to use
his mother tongue at university:

[E43.I7]

Of course there are those who are embarrassed... like some of my friends,
when talking among ourselves [in Murut]... they would hint at us to speak
in Malay... 'Don't use Murut,' they say ... for sure they are afraid of
people knowing that we are Murut, afraid of people knowing our identity.
But to me there's nothing wrong in using Murut if the situation was
appropriate. [Trans.]

As stated earlier, according to the informant, upriver and/or rural lifestyle is in
turn related with a 'backward culture', which worsens the embarrassment for
some people of upriver and/or rural origin who speak indigenous languages.

[E44.I2]

[In the past] if you spoke Dusun, you'd feel unglamourous, or you'd feel
backward although not so much lately... In fact even the Kedayans didn't
dare speak Kedayan. But Kedayan began to be accepted in the fifties, you
could speak it in public. But Dusuns, Belaits, Muruts are sometimes

embarrassed because Malay, the Malay people's status is more urban...
[Trans.]

The lack of contact with each other has given rise to stereotypes among Bruneians in general. Informant 18 gives some examples as to what some of these stereotypes are:

[E45.I18]

Every code has its own identity ... for example, Kedayans [were considered] 'backward', Tutong language [was called] 'German' because it was difficult to understand... [Trans.]

In the excerpt above, the 'harsh' sounds and features of the Tutong language has seen it dubbed as 'German', a somewhat derisory label for the Tutong people. But the ridicule and derision does not stop at custom, language and culture, in fact it extends to even physical appearances of ethnic tribes as well, as further explained by Informant 18:

[E46.I18]

In the past, you wouldn't even try to speak [Kedayan]... [it was] the lowest, even our way of life was ridiculed... [People would say] 'Hey, you're being Kedayan!'... If your house was messy [they'd say] 'Hey, don't be a Kedayan!'... People made references to us... Kedayans were uneducated, our clothes were ugly, our faces were not attractive... our houses were huts... [Other people] were much better off... [Trans.]

The statement by Informant 18 confirms the comment made earlier by Informant 2 above.

Such stigmatization of ethnic backgrounds goes far back in time. In his 1904 report on Brunei, McArthur documents the following stereotypes:

[McArthur Report]

28. The Muruts… are said to be extremely dirty and depraved race, whose partiality to gin is rapidly destroying them

29. The Bisayas are "Kafirs" [infidels] and serfs.

…

33. [The Kedayans'] prevailing characteristics appear to be stupidity and petty avarice.

While in the previous chapter it was argued that there exists a high degree of tolerance for minority languages among the informants, some of their accounts do seem to suggest the otherwise. However, to assume absolute tolerance of linguistic diversity among all Bruneians or indeed among the informants in this study would be naïve. Extracts 41, 42 and 46 above actually recount the circumstances in the past, thus implying a changing/ changed attitude among the communities as observed by the informants. Although the stereotypes outlined above may not be so widespread today, the informants' statements above suggest that non-Malay indigenous languages are still associated with low status. This is in line with the findings of earlier studies such as Martin (1996b, on Belait), E.M. Kershaw (1994, on Dusun) and Bernstein (1997, on Dusun) that these languages are seen by the group themselves and outsiders as 'substandard' and 'stigmatizing'. With such negative images there is little wonder that a person of an ethnic background might choose to hide their identity and abandon a very important marker of that identity, their language. In their hope to be recognized as members of the larger dominant group, people of minority ethnic backgrounds, and speakers of these 'low status' languages, are under a certain kind of pressure to not appear different. Speaking a different language is a marker of difference. Speaking Malay hides that difference.

7.1.2 Associations of Malay with the Monarchy

At the other end of the scale is the association of the Malay language with the royal house. In Chapter 2, the monarchy was described as main component of the 'national ideology', *Melayu Islam Beraja* (MIB), hence it is a very significant. The Brunei monarchy has historically been seen to be the embodiment of true Brunei Malay culture as well as language. As mentioned in Section 3.2, there is stylistic variant of Brunei Malay that is used in the royal court, called 'Bahasa Dalam' (Palace speech). What is significant in terms of attitudes toward languages in Brunei is the fact that the monarchy governs the country, and this automatically elevates the status of the Brunei Malay group (hence their language). Royalty embodies power, wealth, wisdom and supreme status; the Malay language is accorded the same values thus:

> [E47.I3]
>
> [Malay] is more prominent in terms of its usage... possibly due to the royal factor... The country's sovereignty comes from the king's sovereignty, right? So from this, the influence of Malay for daily use is more prominent...than the other languages ... [trans.]

The acceptance of Malay because it is used by the sultan therefore may be seen as an expression of allegiance not just to the Head of State, but also allegiance to the Malay brotherhood that reveres the Malay Kingship. As stated earlier, this acceptance of the 'language of the sultan' has been discussed in Chapter 2, as one of the ways of defining Bruneian identity, that is, to be linguistically at one with the supreme power.

Evidence of the association of Malay with the royal house can be found in the informants' discourse during the interviews, as illustrated in the following extracts:

i. The word 'dinobatkan' in Informant 19's response below is usually only used in association with royalty. The closest English translation is 'to be installed'

[E48.I19]

*Cubalah kitani bayangkan kerajaan Brunei ujud di Tutong, inda mustahil bahasa Tutong atu yang **dinobatkan** dalam perlembagaan...*

[Translations: Imagine a Bruneian government centered in Tutong, it would not be impossible that the Tutong language would '**be installed**' in the constitution instead...]

ii. 'Martabat' in English means 'status'. 'Pemartabatan' refers to the act of elevating the status of Malay as official language.

[E49.I35]

*...**pemartabatan** bahasa Melayu sebagai bahasa rasmi telah menyebabkan perlunya bagi puak etnik yang lain ini untuk menguasai bahasa Melayu.*

[Translation: ... the 'elevation of the status' of Malay as official language has necessitated these other ethnic groups to master Malay.]

iii. 'Mahkota' literally means 'crown'. 'Memahkotakan' refers to the act of revering the language.

[E50.I36]

*Sebagai seorang rakyat yang **memahkotakan** negara Islam, Melayu, Beraja, adalah wajar bahasa itu adalah bahasa Melayu.*

[Translation: As a citizen who '**reveres**' a Muslim Malay Monarchy, it is appropriate that the language is Malay]

iv. 'Daulat' means 'sovereign powers' of, for example, the sultan or the country. In the following extract 'sovereign powers' are assigned to the Malay language.

[E51.Dr Hashim]

Bahasa Melayu adalah bahasa rasmi negara, through which *Bahasa Melayu "didaulatkan" sebagai bahasa rasmi.*

[Translation: Malay is the country's official language, through which Malay is **'conferred sovereign status'** as the official language]

All of the terms in bold in the extracts above suggest 'an elevation to a regal status'. 'Daulat' in particular, a word only used in association with royal persons and their sovereign powers, therefore bears a regal, almost divine, connotation when used in reference to the status of the Malay language. This practice is also evident throughout the media such as the daily newspapers, government publications, or in radio and television broadcasts. The word 'daulat' would never be used for any of the other languages in Brunei, certainly not by any of the informants or documents in this study. Certainly this practice is not surprising, but it does highlight the superior status that Malay enjoys in Brunei.

7.2   Demographic Factors

Demographic variables, as stated in Section 4.5.2, relate to the number of members comprising the ethnolinguistic group and their general distribution. This may be seen in terms of population figures, population movement or geographical distribution. The demographic figures and statistics have been analyzed in Section 2.2, with particular attention to the definition of the 'Malay' person and how it has affected population figures.

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7.2.1 Number of Speakers

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Malay has been and continues to be the significant lingua franca in the Malay archipelago, Malay being spoken in Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore too. Within the Bruneian context, however, the dominance of the Brunei Malay language, particularly in the coastal areas, is predetermined by the demographic dominance of the Brunei Malays (as well as the political, including royal, and historical position of the Brunei Malays), who are greater in number than any of the other groups. As stated in Chapter 4, Martin (1992, 1996b) has observed that the number of Malay speakers has increased due to language shift from ethnic languages to Malay. The following informants relate the widespread use of Malay with its greater number of speakers than that of the other languages:

> [E52.I36]
> Brunei Malay is indeed felt to be a little higher than the other ethnic languages ... because [the Brunei Malay group] is more populous than the other ethnic groups ... And when children start going to school, they begin to speak Brunei Malay
> [Trans.].

> [E53.I4]
> Of course Brunei Malay is more dominant... because it is widely used by everybody... [even] the other ethnic groups use it too. [Trans.]

Indeed Malay's currency transcends indigenous ethnic boundaries, as well racial boundaries too i.e. it is used by the Malays, the Chinese, the Indians etc., thus confirming its lingua franca status described in Chapter 2. This has been observed by the following informants:

[E54.I1]

... every one speaks Brunei Malay, where ever you are in Brunei... it's a language that every Bruneian speaks... Of course [there are other ethnic languages] but not everyone understands them. [Trans.]

[E55.I20]

... most [people] use Brunei Malay... even the Chinese people use it and Indians... It's a simple language for communication... understandable, even the old people understand it... Other languages are used too but not as widespread... Besides, it is often the case that they are used only among themselves within the ethnic group... [Trans.]

Certainly, by far, Malay is the most widely spoken language in Brunei. The point made by Informant 20 in Extract 76 above regarding the elderly understanding it is a comment on the existence of monolingualism before Malay became more widespread. Apart from monolingualism, a number of other informants have also raised the issue of intelligibility between the languages in Brunei. This has been addressed in the discussion of Nothofer's (1996) pivotal work in Section 3.1 earlier. It may also be deduced from informant comments that because ethnic languages such as Tutong and Belait could only be understood by a small number of speakers, their currency is limited to the realms of their own respective communities only. This fact can be related to the findings of previous studies, such as Martin (1995), which suggest that the role of ethnic languages is for intragroup communication.

7.2.2   Population Mobility

In the 1980s Brunei embarked on the development a modern network of roads and highways, and with the high ownership of cars among Bruneians, travel has

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changed their perceptions of geographical distance. Whereas in previous times, even as recent as 10 years ago, the journey from the capital to its furthermost district, Belait, took at least 2 hours, the same journey now takes less than an hour. The reason for this is the building of express highways and better road networks that have reduced travel time. It was noted in Chapter 4 that Lieberson (1984) has found that better transport and communication can help encourage language shift. In the previous chapter, increased contact between ethnic groups as a result of communication improvements was traced to the 1950s. Today, it is becoming increasingly common for people to commute from Belait and Tutong to work in Bandar Seri Begawan (the capital), or from Bandar Seri Begawan to the oilfields of Belait, on a daily basis with little need for permanent relocation. In sociological terms, there is a greater mobility among Bruneians now, resulting in the greater degree of socialization, integration and interethnic contact which again requires and reinforces the use of Malay:

[E56.I30]
People from Tutong work in Bandar, you know, centralization, rather than decentralization. If you're talking about mixed marriages, that also originate [sic.] from the centralization of administrative or government. You train to be a teacher in Bandar, not in [Belait]. You train to be a technician in Bandar... It's just the way of life now, you see. Probably because of the centralization of the government now, people has [sic.] to work in some other places, they get used to the language, and that's it.

In short, greater mobility has meant greater socialization and integration among the various ethnic groups, particularly with the younger generations.

The effect of population mobility is more felt by those who have moved out of areas of ethnic concentration and settled into areas where the main language used is not the migrant's language. Informants in this study suggest that migration has reduced the opportunity for ethnic language speakers who have moved to urban

areas in particular to practise their ethnic languages. As the following informant draws from her own experience, ethnic language speakers sometimes find themselves in situations where they are forced to adopt a different code, and abandon their own:

[E57.I29]

How do you expect people to lament the loss of Brunei Malay when even we, in different districts, use it too? ... I mean we migrate to where we live now, if there is no one we could speak our ethnic languages with, we would have to use Brunei Malay... so the number of people using Brunei Malay increases... more than (the number of people speaking) our own ethnic language... In reality, we love our mother tongues, but circumstances, place, time have forced us to put them aside. I mean situations where there is no one to speak it with, furthermore we have limited time to speak our mother tongue... limited chances... [Trans.]

From the extract above it is understandable that permanent relocation, as Informant 29 has done, can create circumstances that limit the use of one's own mother tongue. What these extracts suggest is that both permanent and temporary demographic movements encourage language shift and they determine the number of available speakers of any particular language for it to be used actively. Martin (1996b) has reported similar findings in terms of the migration of the Belait population from the inland areas to the coast, and the cultural and linguistic changes, resulting in language shift.

7.2.3 Mixed Marriage and Intergenerational Language Transfer

In addition to the variables discussed in the previous sections, mixed marriage or intermarriage was mentioned by almost every one of the informants involved as the main reason for the language shift. Analysis of the interviews reveals that the informants do not perceive an automatic causal link between interethnic marriages and language shift. In fact the informants observe that parents of different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds are commonly adopting Malay out of convenience as they both speak it between themselves. It is interesting that in addition to influencing the language of the children, mixed marriages may also determine the language used by spouses:

[E58.I13]

Well if old people like us no longer speak Kedayan, eventhough we're Kedayan by blood... I'm married to a Brunei, so we speak Brunei Malay. My children cannot speak Kedayan at all. [Trans]

[E59.I18]

... intermarriage can be an influence... my wife is a Brunei, so we don't speak Kedayan... [Trans]

The views of these informants back up what little research has been done in this area (e.g. Kershaw 1994). With the parents choosing to speak Malay between them, the linguistic foundation is therefore laid within the mixed-marriage family systems of these informants for their children to learn, adopt and use Malay as their mother tongue, rather than their parents' ethnic languages. What has also been suggested by the informants here is that even parents of the same ethnic backgrounds deliberately choose to use, in most cases, Brunei Malay, rather than their own native languages with their children, which means that 'intermarriage'

itself is not a determinant of language shift. This situation is the perfect illustration of Fasold's (1984) notion of 'intergenerational language switch' discussed earlier in Chapter 4, so called because bilingual parents deliberately choose to pass on only one of their languages to their children. This, as Informants 27 and 32 reveal in the following extracts, shows that mixed marriage itself is does not determine language shift to Malay. Rather, it is the parents' choice of the language that they use with their children, and this is affected by numerous factors such as language status, education and other variables discussed in this chapter.

[E60.I27]

... it's our own upbringing [of our children], nobody else is to blame... we've neglected the language... like my own children, I don't speak Belait to them... we speak Brunei Malay... that's what we speak daily...
[Trans.]

[E61.I32]

It is the parents' responsibility to expose to their children their ethnic language... Mixed marriages are not the cause of language loss, in fact it should result in children who can speak two languages from their parents.
[Trans.]

Although Informant 32 points out the children of mixed-marriages could easily be brought up bilingually, it is ultimately the language chosen by parents such as Informant 27 that will be the children's main language. [cf. Denison 1977, speakers decide which language to speak]

Indeed some of the informants did strongly feel it was their own fault for not bringing up their children in their own native ethnic languages:

[E62.I13]

We ourselves no longer speak it with our children. That's the mistake...
I'm a Kedayan, but I don't speak it with my children... that's why they
don't know it. They should be taught Kedayan once in a while at home...
so they would know the language... [Trans.]

The excerpt above is a clear expression of regret for not passing down the ethnic
language. It may be argued that despite their decision to bring their children up in
Malay, there is still much pride and loyalty toward the ethnic languages, as also
found by Martin (1996b).

However in certain families and homes, the agents of change are not necessarily
the parents but the siblings, who could be just as influential as the parents in
determining the language the younger children in family speak, as shown by the
following extract:

[E63.I16]

... The older sister taught them Malay... to help them in school... they
wouldn't understand Malay at school... that's what their older sister
thinks... [Trans.]

A significant point made by Informant 16 above is that the younger child or
sibling was brought up in Malay rather than in their ethnic language to prepare
them for school, with the idea that if they already know Malay from home,
communication and learning in school will be easier. But implicit in this
statement is that, as argued earlier, Malay has come to be perceived as a
prestigious language of education, hence a 'status language'. Such perceptions
can have significant consequences for language shift within the family and the
home domain, as observed by Informants 31 and 36:

[E64.I31]

... to them, the schools require Malay and English, so the parents decide not to use the ethnic language, fearing the children might use them in the schools... for fear of confusion at school... [Trans.]

[E65.I36]

In my opinion the older siblings have done this on purpose to teach the new generation [Malay] so they would learn better in school, because they only use Standard Malay or Brunei Malay in schools. [Trans.]

In addition to these extracts, at least one other informant (Informant 16), has suggested the older siblings' experiences of communication breakdown in the school as the reason for this kind of language transfer and shift. The underlying presumption therefore is that home languages that are not Malay could be a problem in terms of education and the classroom as pointed out by Informant 32:

[E66.I32]

The pronunciation of ethnic languages is different than that of Brunei Malay. There may still be some parents who are worried if their children cannot pronounce Brunei Malay [words] naturally if their children were brought up in an environment in which an ethnic language was spoken...
So these languages are neglected in bringing up their children. In previous times, some were afraid if their children could not follow their lessons in school and interact with colleagues, in which Brunei Malay is used...
This is a lame excuse and illogical. [Trans.]

The fact that pronunciation is brought up by this informant suggests an underlying concern for or disapproval of accented Malay speech. Heavy 'ethnic accents' could expose a perceived marginal or subordinate linguistic, hence ethnic, background. In an attempt to avoid this, as Informant 32 reveals, the children are brought up as native speakers of Brunei Malay by their parents and older siblings.

The argument of the agent of change not being just the parents today can be in fact extended to reflect the fact that today Brunei households commonly include an 'amah' (domestic helper), or several of them. This trend began in the early 1980s. The amahs would invariably come from Indonesia and to a lesser extent, the Philippines. The Filipino amahs mostly speak English and could justifiably be imputed for early exposure of young Bruneian children to the English language in the homes. On the other hand, the Indonesian amahs would speak Indonesian Malay with the children. The impact of this would not so much be seen in ethnic Brunei Malay households, but more visible in homes where Malay was not the first language. In such cases, therefore, Malay had to be used with the amahs who would not be expected to speak the ethnic language.

7.3   Institutional Support

As discussed in Chapter 4, the third type of EVT variable, the institutional support variable pertains to the formal or informal representation that a language receives in various institutions in the community. It is clear that the Malay language as befits it official language status receives institutional support as has been outlined in Section 3.7. In the present section, the actual working policy of the Language and Literature Bureau (LLB), the education system, and the media with regards to Malay and ethnic languages are analyzed. The main sources of information in this section are Stage 3 informants who were chosen because of their authority and experience in language issues at national level in Brunei.

7.3.1   Language and the Education System

It has been argued in Chapter 2 that the most important and most effective government agent in the spread of Malay is the Ministry of Education through the schools. In the earlier section of this chapter, the status of Malay as a school

language was also highlighted by the informants. In this section, more evidence of institutional support for Malay is outlined. In a written response to the interview questions of this study, the Director of the Department of Curriculum Development (DCD) states that the National Education Policy of Brunei prioritizes the Malay language as the official language over the ethnic languages as one of the media of instruction. In a written statement issued by the Director of DCD, specifically for this study, it is clear that the MOE, in the same way other informants do, perceive the ethnic languages of Brunei as 'dialects' of the Malay language:

> **[Director of Curriculum Development, MOE]**
> This is evident in the interpretation of the Malay race as outlined in the Brunei Constitution (1959) that states all ethnicities, that are Belait, Bisaya, Brunei, Dusun, Kedayan, Murut and Tutong are categorized as Malay language. [Trans.]

This contention is, of course, inaccurate according to Nothofer (1996), as discussed in Chapter 3. Although it is understood that Brunei Malay and Kedayan are Malay language variants, there is in fact nothing in the constitution that states that the ethnic languages are Malay dialects [see Section 3.6]. This is a clear illustration of the confusion resulting from the inclusion in the constitutional label 'Malay' of two Malay-speaking groups, Bruneis and Kedayans, and five non Malay-speaking ethnic groups: Belaits, Bisayas, Dusuns, Muruts and Tutongs, that was discussed in Chapter 2. It was proven by Nothofer (1996) that such labellings as in the extract above are wrong [see Section 3.1]. Yet, politically, it serves the purpose for the educational authorities to refer to the ethnic languages as Malay dialects. The crux of the statement on the teaching of 'dialects', because they have been so categorized, is very clear: *'dialects' do not need to be taught as they do not have the status of a 'language'*. The dialect status therefore nullifies a code's worthiness to be taught in the Bruneian classroom, translating into a subordinate position in the 'language hierarchy'. This situation is by no means

unique to Brunei, but it highlights the inattention to ethnic languages within the education system.

This policy is translated into the national curriculum in which Malay is a compulsory, core and an examinable subject. As for the reasons for the exclusion of the indigenous languages of Brunei from the curriculum, the following reasons are offered:

[Director of Curriculum Development, MOE]

The other languages in this country are not taught in schools because:

i)   Those languages cannot perform the formal and official function as a language of education, compared to Malay and English which have a complete corpus in terms of lexis, phonology, morphology and syntax.

ii) The area of spread of these languages are limited and do not transcend the speakers' geographical boundaries. They are spoken in informal situations. Malay is used as a main regional language in MABBIM member countries. English on the other hand is an international language.

iii) The number of speakers of those languages is small and limited to each ethnic group. In the Asean region, Malay is spoken by roughly 250 million people while English is used by the global population.
[Trans.]

What is implied in the first point above is that is that the absence of a proper writing system for the ethnic languages, as suggested in the earlier discussion of language status, has made these languages virtually impossible to teach. However, even if these languages were codified and standardized, it is highly doubtful that they would ever be taught in the schools given the marginal status they are given, as suggested by the informants in this study. To extend Dorian's (1998:11) statement that literacy alone cannot save a language, literacy alone also cannot guarantee a language the elevation of its status. For that to happen first requires a

change in attitude among the ethnic groups themselves. Evidence presented in Section 7.1.4 show that ethnic informants in this study at least have very little confidence in their own languages. The second and third points in the statement above also confirm the contention earlier of the widespread usage of Malay and the relatively limited number of ethnic language speakers.

The Director of Academy of Brunei Studies, UBD, supports the Ministry of Education's decision and reasoning to include only Malay and not the ethnic languages in the curriculum:

[E67.Dr Hashim]
In terms of language policies we almost always refer to the 1959 Constitution [Article 82] through which, Bahasa Melayu is installed the official language. Apart from that we also have the Bilingual Education policy. The main reason why the education system included two languages was to ensure the 'kedaulatan' [sovereignty] of the Malay language, whilst recognizing the importance of English as the language of communication in the wider world. [Trans.]

In this extract, the informant emphasizes the 'sovereignty' (*Kedaulatan)* of the Malay language, which supports earlier discussions that Malay has a regal status in the country.
The implications of the National Education Policy on linguistic diversity are significant. When asked whether the education system reflects Brunei's wealth of indigenous languages, the Director of Curriculum Development admits it does not:

[Director of Curriculum Development, MOE]

The working policy of the Department of Curriculum Department and the
Ministry of Education in general... neither reflects the multiethnicity nor
the multilinguality of the population. [Trans.]

Seen in relation to the discussion of the academic value of ethnic languages in
Section 7.2.2 above, it may be inferred from this extract that there is no perceived
need for linguistic diversity to be reflected in the education system either.

However, when asked if indeed ethnic languages should be taught or included in
the schools, the response from the sample, who proved to be tolerant and
supportive of linguistic diversity and fiercely proud of ethnic languages in
Chapter 6, was very surprising - a majority of the informants was opposed to the
idea:

[E68.I7]

I don't feel that's necessary... they should be practiced. You can't force
the teaching of the Murut language, it's fine for those who want to learn
it... not made compulsory... similarly the teaching of the other ethnic
languages shouldn't be made compulsory... it's up to the individual to
learn the language... [Trans.]

[E69.I18]

The school is a formal institution... so just let the ethnic languages be
practiced by the ethnic group themselves or the others... to enrich not just
our own ethnic group but the others as well if the want... [Trans.]

Some informants, while averse to formal teaching, were more agreeable to
voluntary learning of the languages or for it to be done as optional extra-curricular
activity in the schools, as opposed to them being made compulsory and

examinable subjects. In the following extract, the informants welcome the idea of including the ethnic languages in the education system:

[E70.I20]

If it's just for introduction then you can teach it [casually]...For more serious purposes, we can examine them but just orally, no need for a written test... [Trans.]

[E71.I23]

[Q: Do you think then they should be taught in schools?]
Why not? If we had them as an option... all the different ethnic groups, not just Belait... An introduction will do... just an awareness [course] ... this is this group of people, and this is how they speak... that's good enough... [Trans.]

The following informant asks why English, a foreign language, is taught in schools instead. While this could be a rhetorical question, it does highlight the absence of ethnic languages from the national curriculum:

[E72.I19]

Include [Belait] in the education syllabus... it's our traditional language... Why do we learn English? ... It's a shame, we should learn our own language... included in the schools... as long as they know it... if they are interested they can learn further on their own... [Trans.]

In the above collection of extracts, even those who are in favour of teaching or including ethnic languages in the schools are at the same time either seemingly half-hearted about the matter or favoured only teaching them at introductory level, in particular, Informant 23 (that increasing public awareness is good enough). This attitude among the informants is puzzling given the welcoming attitude to

linguistic diversity discussed in the previous chapter. However, the final comment made by Informant 20 in Extract 67 [E67.I20] above may provide a little clue to explain the apprehension. And the reason suggested by the informants is very practical and pragmatic in nature: ethnic languages are not codified languages, and do not yet have well-defined structures and spelling systems that could be taught (see Chapter 3):

[E73.I23]

A bit difficult because we don't have this written code for these different dialects ... If I were to write in bahasa Belait, [first], I don't think anybody can understand... the second reason is that it looks awkward to write in Belait...

[E74.I17]

... it wouldn't look nice... when writing letters you don't use Dusun, because it's awkward... [Trans.]

It might be argued that while some of the minority ethnic languages may not currently be fully developed orthographically, it would not take much to develop them. What seems to be missing is the will to develop them. In this respect it could be further argued that why this has not in fact been done may have little to do with practical considerations, and could be linked to the earlier suggestion of 'implicit policies' in Section 6.2.1. In the last two comments above, it is interesting that the aesthetic quality of the ethnic languages, suggested by the terms 'looks awkward' and 'wouldn't look nice'. This could perhaps be linked to the association of ethnic languages with low status, as well as to the disapproval of 'foreign' accents when speaking Malay, as discussed above. As Informant 32 in the following extract further explains:

[E75.I32]

Ethnic languages can be put into written form, but it is difficult to read
because the Malay alphabet may not be sufficient to represent the ethnic
pronunciations. Because ethnic languages are difficult to write and read,
there is no 'practicality' in using them in literature or writing. [Trans.]

It may be concluded from the evidence presented above, that at least in one
respect some congruence may be found between what the sample thinks and what
the official language education policy purports, that 'dialects' have low academic
significance, hence need not be taught in the schools. The grounds on which the
informants and the officials base their judgments are different, however. The
informants perceive the low academic value of ethnic languages based on a
pragmatic response to their uncodified quality, as well as their perceived low
social status. On the other hand, it suits the DCD authorities to consider ethnic
languages as 'dialects' of Malay, which therefore does not warrant them a place in
the national syllabus.

7.3.2 Language and Literature Bureau (LLB)

As mentioned in Section 3.7, the Language and Literature Bureau (LLB), is
directly involved in linguistic matters and acts as the State's regulator of the use
of Malay language in publications. The LLB itself is responsible for various
publications, including academic studies in languages, although its priority lies in
the Malay language:

[E76.Dato Mahmud]

[Ethnic languages] are researched and published on. There are plenty of
them now, dictionaries... Research is encouraged, they are recorded so
they don't become extinct eventually...

[Q: But are there any publications that are 100 per cent in those languages..?]

As far as I remember, there's none. Even now there probably isn't one in Tutong, or Belait, none. Everything is in Malay... [LLB] is a government agency entrusted to propagate the Malay language. You hold on to that. Furthermore, I think everyone in Brunei now knows Malay.
[Trans.]

In the above statement, reference is made by the informant to the original aim of the creation of the LLB, which was to develop the Malay language. This suggests that the LLB cannot be accused of neglect of the ethnic languages because they were not the responsibility of the LLB in the first place. Nevertheless, as stated in Chapter 3, the LLB published a Tutong-Malay dictionary in 1991 and academic work relating to ethnic languages in Brunei. The LLB also works very closely with academics at Universiti Brunei Darussalam (UBD) in producing such research and publication. As stated in Section 3.7, it is one of the aims of the university to conduct research, including linguistic research. But research in ethnic languages remains much smaller in proportion to the work on and publication in the Malay language by the LLB or UBD. Strictly speaking, therefore, ethnic languages do not receive the same level of institutional or official backing that Malay does.

7.3.3   Radio Television Brunei

One government body which indirectly deals with languages is Radio Television Brunei (RTB). RTB plays an essential role in the spread of the language through its broadcast on TV and radio, conveying official information and news using Bahasa Melayu primarily. Prior to the arrival of satellite TV transmitted from

overseas, RTB was the only broadcaster in Brunei (apart from Malaysia's RTM, which Bruneians could receive as well). But despite the strong competition from satellite TV, RTB remains the main source of local news and official information. The official guideline for RTB transmission issued by the Prime Minister's Office outlines the following regulation as regards language use in broadcast:

[RTB Broadcasting Guideline 1998]
15. Language

a) The language to be used in news programmes, current affairs and local documentaries is the official Standard Malay or English (whichever is appropriate).

b) With the exemption of specific programmes aimed at elevating Brunei Darussalam's culture and traditions, interviewers, hosts, and others, should peruse Standard Malay or the English language (whichever is appropriate) even if the interviewee speaks in Brunei Malay. [Trans.]

There is no mention of ethnic languages in the said document.

From the researcher's observation most RTB programmes are in Malay, either produced locally or imported from neighbouring Malay-speaking countries. The researcher also recalls a popular programme in the late 1990s that invited a representative from each ethnic community to a forum that discussed cultural matters such as customs, beliefs and language in general broadcast on both radio and television. This production was conducted in Brunei Malay. A popular comedy series was 'Darah Kedayan' (Kedayan Blood) which was conducted fully in Kedayan. In the early 1980s RTB also broadcast the news fully in the Dusun language on Radio Brunei, but this was shortlived. The Dusun news in effect occurred long before the present director assumed his position at RTB.

According to the Director, the Dusun news broadcast ceased following a clear directive from the Prime Minister's Office. Although the Director did not provide any reason for the halting of the Dusun news production, he did offer the following justification:

[E77.Director of RTB]

If I'm asked at the moment to start [broadcast] in one or two ethnic languages, I would go for a survey ...just a random sampling... how many [people] speak this language, how many people can understand that language... then we'll go through a cost-effectiveness exercise. If we feel that the cost-effectiveness does not warrant [production], we don't do it.

The 'cost-effectiveness' argument does seem a plausible administrative consideration, in relation to number of available speakers for any particular ethnic language as discussed in Section 7.3 above (demographic factors). Understandably with a small and fragmented market to cater for, productions in minority ethnic languages, for which, expertise are not readily available, would be an uphill struggle, both practically and financially.

In an interview for this study, the Director of RTB reminds the researcher that RTB's responsibility is to transmit information to the masses, but not to educate them on language issues, a clear signal that language in general is not RTB's main priority. When asked to explain why, as discussed above, Brunei Malay and Kedayan programmes have been produced, and while none were ever produced in the other ethnic languages, the response was:

[E78.Director of RTB]

I think there are two elements... First, if we wanted to [make programmes] in these languages, we need to find people who can express these languages... Second, when we look at the percentage of such specific target audience, including these seven ethnic groups, at this point

in time it doesn't warrant the use of specific languages for these ethnic groups... At the moment, all television [and] radio broadcasts are segmented in terms of audience profile, not in terms of audience [ethnicities]... [Trans.]

The discussion above suggests that the currency or the 'market value' of a language is a very significant consideration in RTB's policy on language, rather than its social status or the perceived academic value. But as stated by the director in Extract 86 [E86.Director of RTB] above, the ultimate decision on the production of programmes in any particular language lies in the hands of RTB's higher authority, the Prime Minister's Office. A salient theme that can be seen in the RTB guidelines cited above is that the use of Brunei Malay (and Kedayan) on radio and television is not seen to be out of line with the 'official language' definition, and are therefore used in on television and radio programmes. What is also clear is the fact that linguistic diversity is not reflected in RTB's working policy.

7.4   Language Shift in Brunei

The preceding analysis of informant views confirms the existence of conditions favourable to a language shift process. As stated in Section 4.6, language shift is defined as a gradual or sudden move away from one language to another. This shift to a different code altogether whilst abandoning their own native language has been observed by the informants among Bruneians:

[E79.116]

... the children of today [don't speak] Bisaya! They speak Malay, all
Malay... they don't know how to speak Dusun... even my children, none
of them speak Bisaya... all of them speak Malay...

[E80.126]

Previously the Dusun community mainly used the genuine Dusun
language. When they go to school the younger generation now use Malay,
so their daily language is Malay... that's the loss, a language loss... if we
don't keep our language... [they'll] disappear... once the elderly are gone,
even once my generation is gone, the languages will disappear.

As Informant 16 above testifies, none of her children can speak the Bisaya-Dusun
language, which means that in her family, Informant 16 (aged 61) is the last
speaker of their traditional language. This situation is not unique, however. Many
of the other informants too can be considered as the final generation of speakers
of their language [cf. 'terminal heirs', E.M. Kershaw 1994:187]. But just as many
of the informants have expressed regret and worry over the loss of their ethnic
languages, one of whom is Informant 26 above. Again, this sense of remorse can
be attributed to Martin's (1996b) finding that Brunei's indigenous languages can
both be a source of stigma and pride. While it is recognized that language shift is
an on-going process and has been going on for centuries, the focus here is on the
shift processes that have taken place in modern Brunei within the last century [see
Chapter 2]. Paradoxically, despite the gloomy outlook for ethnic languages in
general, or perhaps even because of it, Informant 2 suggests, acceptance and
awareness of different ethnic languages among the general public have increased
in recent years:

[E81.I2]

Around 1986, 1987, people wouldn't dare speak [ethnic languages]. [They were] embarrassed! Only in 1988 after learning [about them at university] did we become aware of them. From then on, people no longer hesitated to speak [their own ethnic languages]. Before that, no one would dare.

To put this comment into perspective, Informant 2 reminisces his student years at the national university when it was first established. This extract highlights the impact of linguistic research at the university has had on public awareness (and appreciation) of ethnic languages in changing their attitudes toward them, and reducing the stigma associated with them. The fact that more and more speakers of ethnic languages are now moving away from their native tongues and adopting Malay, as observed by the informants in this study, implies that the use of individual ethnic languages is diminishing. This in turn suggests a diminishing linguistic diversity.

This reduction in linguistic diversity can be linked to two concurrent processes of language shift can be discerned from the informants' observations: A shift from non-Malay ethnic languages to Malay; and a shift from Kedayan and Kampung Ayer to Brunei Malay at the dialectal level. In fact, there is evidence to suggest a movement of all the ethnolinguistic groups toward a 'pan-Brunei Malay', these are presented in the next two sections. The following discussions will show that as much as there is shifting from ethnic languages to (Brunei) Malay, there is also a shift from dialects of Malay to Brunei Malay. The latter is discussed first.

7.4.1   Shift at Dialectal Level

A number of ethnic Brunei informants have reported differences between the Malay that they speak, and the code spoken by the younger generation of Bruneis,

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suggesting a dialect-to-dialect convergence. This dialectal shift from the Kampung Ayer ('*Balandih*'– generally considered the 'pure' form of Brunei Malay) [see Section 3.2] and Brunei Malay to Pan-Brunei Malay is attested to by Informant 2 and Informant 5 below. The examples that they give are phonological and lexical changes as follows:

[E82.I2]

In the seventies Kampung Ayer Malay could still be heard if you went to the market, [you would hear people saying] 'kayang tah' ('later')... Go to the market now, it will be difficult to hear it anymore... [Trans.]

Informant 2 highlights the phonological shift from /j/ in the word 'kayang' to /r/ which is more commonly used today (i.e. 'karang'). Lexical changes have also been reported by Informant 5 as follows:

[E83.I5]

Now even our children don't know. We are Kampung Ayer people... [when we say] "aih, alum kamu naik mendius atu?" [Haven't you finished taking your bath?]... They'd say, [what is 'mendius', mom?]. To us it means 'to bathe'. The children now speak Brunei Malay and say 'mandi'. [Trans.]

Further observations have been made by Informants 20 and 13 who highlight the influence of the standard variety, which is the variety taught in the schools and used in most formal settings, as well as in the print and televisual media (from Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia):

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<u>**[E84.I13]**</u>

The language now is very different. [We] don't really use the original
Brunei Malay anymore. It's already a mix of Standard Malay and Brunei
Malay... [Trans.]

<u>**[E85.I2]**</u>

The old Brunei Malay was very clearly the true Brunei Malay... if you
listen to people speaking it now, it's not really Brunei Malay, it's not
Standard Malay either, it's almost in between. So that's a difference in
language itself. [Trans.]

The shift is characterized by the substitution of phonetic, prosodic and lexical
features of Kampung Ayer Malay with those of the more 'modern-sounding'
variety of Malay, some examples of which are as follows (cf. the differences
between the Malay dialects in Brunei discussed in Section 3.2):

<u>Phonetic changes</u>

| 'karang' (lit. 'later') | /kajaŋ/ | → | /karaŋ/ |
| 'karita' (lit. 'car') | /karita/ | → | /kərita/ |

<u>Lexical changes</u>

'salt'	'sira'	→	'garam'
'dog'	'kuyuk'	→	'anjing'
'foot'	'batis'	→	'kaki'

Similar findings have been reported by Poedjosoedarmo (1996:108), who
additionally comments on the prosodic changes analyzed using the SIL Speech
Analysis System and the CECIL computer programme:

Balandih (Kampung Ayer Malay) speed of delivery was slower than Brunei Malay... the pitch for the Balandih sentence was higher than for the Brunei Malay sentence... With regard to stress, Balandih exhibited greater differentiation between stressed and unstressed syllables in terms of both length and loudness than occurred in Brunei Malay.

The same study by Poedjosoedarmo (1996:112) also finds among her sample that 'those 30 years old and under tended to speak Brunei Malay exclusively while those in the 31 to 55 age range tended to codeswitch between Brunei Malay and Balandih as indicated by their choice of lexical items'.

In addition to the above, a number of informants in the present study have also reported that typical Kedayan characteristics such as the r-dropping have now also been replaced with realizations of the phoneme, for instance:

| 'clear' | 'ta(r)ang' | /taːŋ/ | → | /taraŋ/ |
| 'running' | 'balusi(r)' | /balusiː/ | → | /belusir/ |

As discussed in Chapter 4, one of the outcomes of language contact was identified by Rosenberg (2001) as language convergence at dialect to dialect level. It can be argued therefore, as far as the informants in this study are concerned, that the Malay dialects of Kampung Ayer and Kedayan are possibly converging toward Brunei Malay. Brunei Malay now is seen as a 'Pan-Bruneian' language that every Bruneian irrespective of ethnic background could claim to be their own. Ownership of Kampung Ayer dialect, could only be claimed by and identified with the Brunei Malays, as stated by Informant 5:

<u>[E86.I5]</u>

The other languages are used among their own community, but if the real Brunei Malay was to be used as lingua franca ... Kampung Ayer Malay, it wouldn't be accepted ... we prefer to *this kind of language*... [Trans. - my emphasis]

Note that the informant in the extract above defines Kampung Ayer Malay as 'the real Brunei Malay'. On the other hand, the reference made to 'this kind of language' by Informant 5, a Kedayan himself, refers to the kind of Malay that he used with the researcher, Brunei Malay, not Kampung Ayer, not Kedayan, and definitely not Standard Malay.

7.4.2   Shift at Language Level

Earlier discussions too suggest that shifting has occurred in the form of adult speakers of ethnic languages abandoning their language and adopting Malay instead. According to observations made by the informants in this study, an increasing percentage the younger generation of the ethnic communities have been brought up in Brunei Malay since birth, an observation also made by earlier studies. The following informants comment on the phenomenon they observe happening in their respective ethnic communities:

[E87.I16] Bisaya

The children of today don't speak Bisaya! They speak Malay, all Malay... none of them know how to speak Dusun. [Trans.]

[E88.I26] Dusun

... In the past, the Dusun community used pure Dusun. Once they enter the schools, the younger people now already speak the Malay language, so their daily language is also Malay. [Trans.]

These extracts suggest that it is the younger generation that are seen as the final line of defence of their ethnic language, yet at the same time they are the ones who are abandoning it. But as shown in the discussion of the role of mixed marriages and intergenerational language transfer, the older generation too plays a critical role in language shift processes. Shifts from ethnic languages to Malay have been well documented by Martin (1992, 1996a, 1996b) and Kershaw (1994). It may be argued that, based on informant observations on intergenerational language transfer, and supported by the findings of Martin and Kershaw, adults who transmit ethnic languages to their children/ younger siblings are becoming smaller in number, influenced by apparent lack of favourable conditions discussed in the preceding sections. Malay, on the other hand, has derived its strength and high status from the bigger number of speakers it has both locally and internationally. With the lack of any form of institutional support for ethnic languages provided by the government or created by the ethnic groups themselves, and negative attitude toward them, the odds are stacked against ethnic languages, as stated by the following informants:

[E89.I28]

There is not much support for fighting for [these languages], you may feel strongly for it, feel sorry for your language, but you're just saying it but not take the initiative to find ways to strengthen the Tutong language. The initiative is not there, right? In that case, we're simply expressing our sadness without any further action...

[E90.I29]

... if you don't love those languages or if you don't appreciate them, it would be a shame... if they're no longer used, left just like that... they'll disappear, won't they? That's why it would be a shame. [Trans.]

Informants 28 and 29 above are among the many informants that have expressed concern over the loss of their ethnic languages. Such sympathetic attitudes and urges for support, however, never materialize into concrete action. Intragroup support, such as the ethnic family unit, has been shown to be weakening, suggesting an 'indifferent' attitude to ethnic language loss at least, or a sense of impotence on the part of ethnic language speakers, at best.

7.5   Summary

This chapter has analyzed the informant's views as well as official statements regarding the languages of Brunei using the variables of Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory as a framework. What emerges from these discussions is a linguistic hierarchy in which the Malay language supersedes the other ethnic languages in Brunei. This ranking is attributed to various factors such as positive and negative images that a language has, the available number of speakers, and the support the language receives. All of the languages have significant symbolic value in expressing ethnic identity, but because of negative stereotypical notions associated with ethnic languages, their status are perceived to be low. On the other hand, Malay enjoys association with the elite and powerful. Malay is also seen to have wider national and international currency than the ethnic languages, perpetuated by its academic value, and as discussed in Chapter 3, its historical value as a regional lingua franca. Evidence from Section 7.4 clearly shows that the working policies of government institutions do not generally reflect the diverse linguistic make up of Brunei, nor do they see the need for it. The following vitality rating by Martin (1995) in Table 1 surmises the effect of the culmination of the circumstances outlined above:

Table 1 Vitality rating of languages of Brunei (On a scale of 0-6: higher figures indicate greater vitality) [Adapted from Martin 1995]

Language/ Dialect	Vitality Rating
Brunei Malay	6.0
Kedayan	3.0
Tutong	2.5
Belait	0.5
Dusun	2.0
Bisaya	3.0
Murut	3.5

Martin's vitality rating takes into account the inter-generational rate of transmission of each language/dialect, the media and institutional support the language enjoys, and the geographical concentration of speakers, although Martin admits that these ratings are impressionistic. The findings of the present study, a decade after Martin's, would suggest that at least for some of the non-Malay languages above, the vitality rating could be significantly lower.

In this chapter it has been identified that there is a definite shift in language among Bruneians, particularly evident among the minority ethnic population. There are signs that among the Malay-speaking communities, the Brunei Malays and the Kedayans, their languages are moving away from their traditional characteristics. But at the same time, so are the languages of the non Malay-speaking communities.

Figure 4 Language and Dialect Shift

Belait
Bisaya
Dusun
Murut
Tutong

Language Shift →

Pan-Brunei Malay

← Dialect Shift

Kampung Ayer

Kedayan
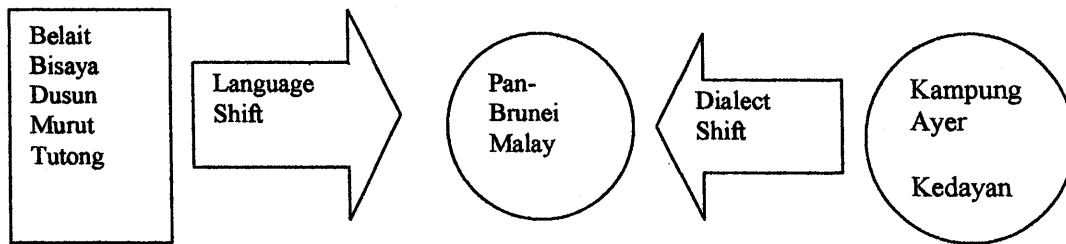
Figure 4 above shows both processes of language shift occurring at the same time: dialect shift and language shift. The most significant outcome of the language shift processes is the convergence toward a pan-Brunei Malay. The term 'Pan-Brunei Malay' is suggested here to highlight its 'supra-ethnic' qualities in terms of its dissociation from any particular ethnic group, including the Brunei Malays. Perhaps this emerging variety is what could be called a 'sprachbund', discussed in Chapter 4. 'Pan-Brunei Malay' refers to the form of Malay that most Bruneian youths now are making their own and speak as their first language all over the country. It may be described as a variant of Brunei Malay that contains elements of Standard Malay form, and perhaps even elements of English, with minor variations in terms of lexis depending on the speakers' location.

This finding appears to support the an important study that deals specifically with language convergence in Brunei by E.M. Kershaw (Final shifts: Some Why's and How's of Brunei-Dusun Convergence on Malay, 1994), in which Kershaw critically analyzes the process of language convergence using concrete linguistic evidence of language change in the Dusun language. This finding also appears to be consistent with Sercombe's (2002) observation of an apparent general leveling process in the coastal areas mostly toward Malay in his review of the literature on language shift and maintenance in Borneo. The implication in terms of

indigenous languages is that the younger generations, regardless of their ethnicity, are becoming monolingual speakers of Brunei Malay, hence suggesting a reduction of the linguistic diversity.

In fact, the informants in this study have reported that some ethnic language speakers are abandoning their language altogether and that the younger generations of all of these communities it seems are brought up speaking Malay as a first language. The maintenance of these languages, it seems, is not an important priority. The implications of this language shift and lack of maintenance of linguistic diversity are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 8 The Impact of Language Shift on the Language Ecology of Brunei

The present chapter discusses the implications of the language shift identified in the previous chapter on the future of linguistic diversity in Brunei. The main impact of the language shift process identified in the previous chapter is on linguistic diversity as well as cultural diversity. Discussed under these broad themes are questions of identity and the increasing significance of the English language in this study of indigenous languages of Brunei. Drawing on the discussions here and in the preceding chapters, the probable changes in the linguistic profile of Brunei's ethnic population are traced.

Section 8.1 examines the perceived decline in the use of ethnic languages by their respective communities, which would suggest a decline in linguistic diversity as a result of language shift. More specifically, this section discusses the maintenance of linguistic diversity through the maintenance of individual ethnic languages that constitute the language ecology of Brunei. Also discussed in this section is the diglossic nature of the relationship between Malay and the other languages, based on the observation that Malay has infiltrated into many of the domains traditionally reserved for ethnic languages.

This is followed by a discussion of the link between language and identity as perceived by the informants, as well as the perceived convergence of identities from various ethnic identities to a common national identity in Section 8.2. This convergence is seen as a reflection of the diminishing cultural diversity in Brunei that parallels the diminishing linguistic diversity discussed in the preceding section. The shift in language and identity is also linked with the growing significance of the English language, which is analyzed in Section 8.3. The persistent use of and reference to English by the informants throughout the interviews suggest that English, like Malay, has permeated the traditional domains of ethnic languages.

Section 8.4 traces the changes in the language ecology of Brunei from the 1950s and the processes and factors that have effected these changes by drawing on informants' views discussed in the previous chapters. This evidence includes the informants' perceptions of the effects of the passage of time, modernization and globalization on patterns of language use and linguistic diversity. In terms of indigenous languages, the linguistic diversity that for so long was comprised of distinctive ethnic languages is now slowly diminishing.

8.1   Implications for Linguistic Diversity

The decline in the use of ethnic languages and the shift toward Malay described in the previous chapter has significant implications for language diversity in Brunei. A number of measures to counter this decline in the use of ethnic languages and the corresponding shift to Malay (and English) have been suggested by some of the informants. One of these measures is increasing public awareness through education within the family system and the schools:

[E91.I13]

Parents should use the ethnic languages with their children... It would even better if they were taught in school [and] on TV... [Trans.]

The need to include these languages in the education system is also recognized by Informant 35:

[E92.I35]

There is also the need for exposure through the formal education system. The media too plays an important role in the spread of awareness about [these] languages. [Trans.]

Both the comments above remind us of May's (2002) suggestion for 'regular' and 'meaningful' use of 'endangered languages' both in the homes and the schools to counter language shift as outlined in Section 4.5. But perhaps more importantly, both comments confirm an awareness of the lack of institutional support for the ethnic languages among the informants as discussed in Chapter 7. Increasing public awareness of the plight of ethnic languages in Brunei as suggested by the informants above can be taken as an example of Fishman's (1989, 1991) 'conscience-heightening and reformation', the main target of his Reversing Language Shift theory (RLS), also discussed earlier in Chapter 4. However, as the following extract suggests, it is ultimately the responsibility of the respective ethnic communities and families to maintain their languages:

[E93.I34]

Teaching the languages by using them with young children everyday is an effective means. Older generations particularly parents should be more responsible to undertake this responsibility.

[E94.I23]

Apart from education, we need Belait [people] to transmit their languages, saying, 'Do not throw this language away'... because once it's gone, it's gone forever, there needs to be extensive awareness if possible...

Indeed the only people who can teach and transmit these languages are the people who can still speak them now. As argued by Denison (1977, cited in Chapter 4), it is ultimately the language choice of the community itself that decides the fate of their language. As noted earlier, E.M. Kershaw (1994), for instance, has identified the decision of the current generation of Dusun speakers to shift to Malay means that they are in fact the 'terminal heirs' (Kershaw's term) of these languages. Certainly in the extracts above, the importance of intergenerational language transfer has been recognized by the informants, but as shown in the previous chapter, the intergenerational language transfer within the most basic

unit of the ethnic communities, the family, is already in decline. The comment on language shift in Brunei made by Informant 23 above, 'once it's gone, it's gone forever', certainly casts an ominous outlook for the individual languages and linguistic diversity in general.

Informant 34 below highlights the urgent need to focus attention on the linguistic diversity of Brunei, especially on the ethnic languages:

[E95.I34]

Relevant government agencies and education institutions can play important roles in promoting such awareness. Research and studies of these languages should be done and recorded for future references and should be made easily available to the public. We should not worry too much about Brunei Malay and Standard Malay, because both languages are gaining strength. The shift from speaking an ethnic language to Brunei Malay is one of the reasons why [Brunei Malay] is getting stronger. [Trans.]

The extract above reiterates the contention in the previous chapter that while Malay speakers are increasing in number, ethnic language speakers are on the wane. The idea of increasing research efforts and the publication of studies as recording of 'dying' languages is certainly commendable, which again could be taken as a first step toward 'conscience heightening' suggested by Fishman (1989, 1991).

However there seems to be a naivité of some sort in the suggestion by the informants that research and publication of dictionaries alone are adequate countermeasures, and this can be felt from the following comment:

[E96.I36]

Writing a dictionary is a good idea... ethnic groups who want to maintain

their languages could organize various competitions, such as writing,

debates and so on. [Trans.]

These suggested measures seem 'academic' in nature. On the other hand,

however, Informant 29 argues that *any* effort is better than no effort at all in the

fight to keep the languages alive, and all kinds of measures are therefore

welcome:

[E97.I29]

For the time being, perhaps there are those two ways, speech and

dictionaries... they are beneficial because if we just let them be without

any effort, these native languages will disappear... [Trans.]

[E98.I35]

In general, the teaching of ethnic languages and the publication of

dictionaries may help the new generation to understand ethnic

languages... maybe one way to avoid extinction is using them at home...

[Trans.]

In both extracts above, the informants are aware of the gravity of the situation

with which their ethnic languages are faced: the threat of extinction. To suggest

that the informants are totally oblivious to the diminishing existence of their

languages therefore would be inaccurate. On the contrary, the informants in this

study are fully aware of the obsolescence of their languages.

Concern over the diminishing existence of these ethnic languages is not limited to

the informant group in this study only. In the Brudirect weblog

(www.brudirect.com), arguably Brunei's most popular website, a question specifically directed at RTB asks:

[Brudirect 22/3/2004]

...surprisingly why only one ethnic group is portrayed... there are many other ethnic groups... why hasn't there been any initiative for productions using the seven languages of Brunei? [Trans.]

What the poster of this question is referring to by the portrayal of 'only one ethnic group' on RTB is the perceived disproportionate air time that Malay (both in Brunei Malay and Kedayan form) receives. In effect, this question is about the apparent unbalanced relationship between the languages in Brunei, and is an indirect appeal for greater exposure of the ethnic languages. This question is indeed valid, the exposure of ethnic languages has been very minimal over the radio and television, as indeed testified by the Director of RTB in the previous chapter, and also by the following informant:

[E99.I13]

It's often just Brunei Malay that is [exposed]... There should really be [representation] of all the ethnic group [and] languages... [Trans.]

The language shift identified here suggests a non-reciprocal relationship, in which the ethnic languages are in fact losing out to Malay. Informants report that while the ethnic language usage among the younger generations is increasingly peppered with Malay words, there are very few ethnic words that have been adopted into Malay usage. This unequal relationship between ethnic languages and Malay, is reflected in the 'communal' shift to Malay described in the previous chapter, and the greater attention Malay receives as highlighted in Extract 99 above. These instances may be taken as an example of 'institutionalized language choice' (Romaine 1994:45).

In fact, this relationship between Malay and the ethnic languages may also be described as diglossic, as suggested by the following informant:

[E100.I35]

... Malay is a language that symbolizes the Bruneian identity in general. The status and position of its significant role in uniting the whole population.... However, this does not dismiss the importance of ethnic languages as [they are] used daily with family and friends who share the same ethnic backround or for those who are able to speak and understand the language. [Trans.]

In using Fasold's (1998) broad definition of diglossia outlined in Chapter 4, the observation made by Informant 35 above, amongst others in this study, perceives Malay to be the High variety that performs the function of a 'national' language. The ethnic languages, on the other hand, are the Low varieties. This argument is supported by the findings in the previous chapters 6 and 7. In Chapter 6, the informants identified Malay as the language of unity. In Chapter 7 association of Malay with high and elite status was confirmed, as was the association of ethnic languages with low and rural status.

The support for linguistic diversity shown in Chapter 6 disguises the real balance in the relationship between Malay and other indigenous languages in Brunei, described as un-reciprocal above. In reality, constitutional recognition has added leverage to Malay's long standing history as lingua franca in the Malay world (outlined in Chapter 3) and tilts the balance in its favour. In Chapter 7 the evidence strongly suggests that institutional support for ethnic languages in Brunei is virtually non-existent. The roles of the indigenous languages, it seems, remain confined to the home and intragroup domains, as suggested by the following informants:

<u>**[E101.117]**</u>

When it comes back to my family, it's still Dusun that I use...

<u>**[E102.122]**</u>

We speak Bisaya when in a Bisaya gathering... with our own people... [If I spoke Malay] that would be odd, awkward... Everyone's Dusun but you speak in Malay instead? We probably wouldn't connect... that's arrogant! [Trans.]

However the prevalent language shift identified in the previous chapter infers that both the home and intragroup communication domains have been infiltrated by the Malay languages as well. In other words, Malay is replacing the ethnic languages in performing these functions.

Apart from these sociolinguistic implications, language shift can also have cultural implications. Because of the intricate relationship between language and culture described in Chapter 4, a reduction in linguistic diversity, reinforced by the lack of language maintenance, therefore must have implications on the cultural diversity in Brunei.

8.2   Implications for Cultural Diversity

In Chapter 4, the link between language and culture, and linguistic diversity and cultural diversity was discussed. In particular, as cited in Chapter 4, Skutnabb-Kangas (2000:253) has argued that cultural diversity is unlikely to survive if linguistic diversity is lost. There is evidence in this study that supports this argument. It was also stated that the link between the two are best articulated in terms of the link between language and identity.

8.2.1 Language and Identity

The 'collocative' relationship between language and identity has been outlined in Section 4.3.1. And as discussed earlier in Chapter 2, in developing countries such as Brunei, being relatively newly independent, nationalistic sentiments are still very strong, and language is used as an important marker of national 'Bruneian identity':

[E103.I35]

... Malay is a language that symbolizes the Bruneian identity in general. The status and position of its significant role in uniting the whole population.... However, this does not dismiss the importance of ethnic languages as [they are] used daily with family and friends who share the same ethnic backround or for those who are able to speak and understand the language. [Trans.]

In this statement it is Brunei Malay, a non-standard vernacular, that is the preferred code used to show the Bruneian identity. The preference for Brunei Malay over Standard Malay in the expression of Bruneian identity has been mentioned earlier in Section 2.5.1 (MIB). The standard variety was deemed as 'affected' and even 'foreign' by the following informants:

[E104.I32]

Standard Malay is not considered to embody the 'Bruneian spirit' because in Brunei we have Brunei Malay. Furthermore, Standard Malay is also used in the Southeast Asian region including Malaysia, Singapore... [Trans.]

This statement emphasizes the stronger affinity that the Bruneian informants have with 'their' local variety of Malay, compared to the standard variety (bearing in mind that the ethnic communities traditionally have their own languages).

[E105.I23]

The one in the News (Standard Malay) is not natural! It's not our language even though it is Malay! It's awkward to speak... No, I don't feel natural to speak the Standard language... put that way! I prefer Brunei Malay.

[E106.I26]

The Bruneian language is Brunei Malay... Brunei Malay is accepted by all communities in Brunei whether it's Chinese, or the others, Kedayan, Dusun, Belait... Brunei Malay, not Standard Malay, that is better understood...
[Trans.]

The fact that Standard Malay is seen to be 'unnatural' by Informant 23 above, and the emphatic response, is significant. To label something as unnatural to them is a very strong gesture of rejection. Brunei Malay seems to be the more practical choice for interethnic communication, as expressed by Informant 26. And while Standard Malay does still project a Malay identity, the association is rather general:

[E107.I31]

... I feel Standard Malay is a regional Malay... But if you speak Brunei Malay, you belong to the Bruneian people... you feel you are Bruneian, setting you apart from other people within the Malay world... Of course we need unity through language... as a Bruneian, you'd still want your own language to be used... [Trans.]

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Extract 107 emphasizes the regional 'ownership' of Standard Malay stated earlier by Informant 32 (Extract 104). This sentiment is reiterated by the following Informant 29 too who says that Standard Malay does not represent an identity that is specifically Bruneian:

<u>[E108.I29]</u>
Because other people too could speak Standard Malay, even if they're not Bruneian nationals... But no foreigners can speak Brunei Malay...
[Trans.]

Significantly, what this informant is saying is that if person is heard to speak Brunei Malay, there is no reason to doubt that she is Bruneian, thus confirming Gunn's (1997) contention that facility in Malay is a precondition to being Bruneian (see Section 2.5.1.). The arguments above also confirm Martin's (1991) argument that it is Brunei Malay that best conveys harmony and national solidarity in Brunei. In this respect, speaking the language, the right code, is used not just a symbol of identity but also as a criterion by which group members identify each other, as stated in Chapter 4. Hence, the inherent inclination for membership in the bigger dominant group is expressed by the ability to use the language of that dominant group, in this case, Brunei Malay:

<u>[E109.I30]</u>
To belong, to be recognized, to be identified as part of the larger group Brunei Malay... you need to be able to speak the language... to be part of that larger group.

To some degree, this explains the language shift from traditional ethnic languages to Brunei Malay among the indigenous communities. In view of Gunn's (1997:84) statement on the 'given' social privilege between the Malays and the other ethnic groups, the comment above suggests that speaking Malay is

perceived to provide access to those social privileges. In other words, speaking Malay empowers an ethnic person by 'lending' them a Malay identity, which represents another level of argument, of how they assert both their national identity as well as 'ethnic group' identity through language. Reiterating the earlier debate of the diglossic relationship between Malay and the other languages, the following excerpt suggests that the 'national identity' is embodied in Brunei Malay, while a more communal identity is reflected through the use of ethnic languages:

[E110.I31]

...let's say you're a Tutong [person], so you speak the Tutong language to show that you are part of that Tutong community... If [a Tutong person] speaks Brunei Malay with other Tutong people, how can we see him as part of that community?
[Trans.]

But as argued in the previous chapter, in reality there are members of certain ethnic groups who do not speak their ethnic language, rather Brunei Malay as their mother tongue, and yet they remain greatly loyal to and are proud of 'their' ethnic language. When asked to explain this language loyalty, Informant 30 explains:

[E111.I30]

Probably because of their sense of identity, their sense of belonging to a certain community ... there's a circle within this ethnic minority... If you don't know, you don't understand the language, you can't speak the language, that means you are out of the group... the sense of belonging to that group is not the same as those who can speak or understand the language...

The observation made in this excerpt supports the argument that despite the prevalent language shift, language is still a very strong signifier of identity or identities. In the case of Bruneians who are from ethnic backgrounds, there appears to be a need to maintain both their 'national identity' as a Bruneian and their 'ethnic identity'. In the next section, evidence will be presented to suggest that of these two identities, greater emphasis appears to be placed on 'national identity'.

8.2.2   The Merging of Ethnolinguistic Identities

In Section 2.5.1 the emergence of a new Bruneian identity that has superseded individual ethnic identities was proposed. This was followed by a discussion of the link between language shift and identity shift in Chapter 4, termed by Martin (2002) as 'linguistic and cultural redefinition'. Even earlier in Chapter 2, Braighlinn (1992:19) specifically highlights the consolidation of 'a single national identity, born of convergence on a dominant Malay culture.' It will be shown here that the language shift process discussed in the previous section is denotative of a parallel shift in identity too. Informants in this study indeed already see signs of a merging of identity among the new generation of Bruneians. If a parallel is to be made, a shift from ethnic languages to Malay discussed in Chapter 7 can be said to be reflected in a shift from ethnic identities to a 'pan-Bruneian' identity.

While mixed marriages may not be the most important determinant of a shift in language, it certainly is in the shift in identity, more specifically, in the creation of new ethnic 'hybrids', as Informant 32 calls them:

> [E112.I32]
> The differences between ethnic groups may have been reduced
> particularly due to mixed marriages where the children are 'hybrids'.
> Because Brunei Malay is the language of communication in Brunei, there

is a great possibility that this language will be used. [Trans. Note: 'hybrid' used in original Malay quote]

The diminishing ethnocultural differences between the ethnic groups of Brunei have also been noticed by Informant 36 who suggests a redefinition of the Bruneian identity in light of this new development:

[E113.I36]

Certainly in the future there will no longer be ethnic groups or ethnic identities because mixed marriages have become phenomenal... It would be difficult to define the ethnic groups. Like it or not, government authorities should come up with new definitions for the groups... [Trans.]

This suggestion of a 'label' for Bruneians must be seen in terms of the discussion in Chapter 2 of 'Bruneian identity' which was argued could be defined in terms of MIB. But even so, it was noted that the interpretations of this concept can be problematic and inconsistent. Identity shift in Brunei has been observed by other researchers. Leach (1950) discusses the problems of classification of Borneo ethnic population because they have 'become Malay'. A similar observation has also been made by Brown that very clearly describes the occurrence of shifting identities in Brunei:

With the changes brought about in this century, such as improvements in communication, travel and education, Westernization, the growth of political parties and so on, the number of ethnic groups appears to have declined. Two processes seem to have been at work: the recognition of socio-cultural affinities previously obscured by classifications based on locality, and the merging of lesser ethnic groups with the greater... In Brunei we can clearly see a process whereby ethnic groups of lesser significance decrease in numbers through the movement of their members to classification as Malays... It is socially advantageous to identify with

Brunei Malays, and there is a considerable "passing" of indegenes into this
category – at least so far as census data is a reliable guide.

<div align="right">(Brown 1960:4-9)</div>

The problem of ethnic classification has been discussed at length in Chapter 2, but
perhaps more pertinent to the discussion here is the confirmation of the shifting in
identities by Brown. The factors that Brown identifies as the causes of shifts in
identity are essentially similar to the ones that influence language shift, described
in Chapter 4 and discussed in light of the informants' views in Chapter 6 earlier.
In addition to these studies, Maxwell (1980:189-197) discusses the shifts in
semantic classification of indigenous Brunei ethnic groups. More recent studies
on identity in Brunei, such as Braighlinn (1992:20), Gunn (1997) and Kershaw
(2001:124), have suggested identity shifts more as a result of deliberate political
pressures or even inventions to create a national identity, toward which the
indigenous populations are shifting. There is no evidence in this study to support
or refute this contention, but what has been discovered, on the other hand, is the
close link between the emergence of what I see as a 'Pan-Bruneian' identity that
parallels the emergence of a 'pan-Brunei Malay' discussed in the previous
chapter.

However, according to Informant 34, the phenomenon of 'convergence' toward a
'pan-Bruneian' identity itself is not too problematic, and in fact the informant
views it as a positive sign:

[E114.I34]

To some extent we can say that the interactions between ethnic groups are
increasingly getting closer partly due to the sharing of common languages,
that is, the [sic.] Brunei Malay and Standard Malay, as well as English.
This trend may contribute a positive result towards greater harmonization
of the society. The prediction of a new breed of generation may or may
not materialize. If it does, the new generation may still be Bruneians who

possess Brunei cultures and values. Losing ethnic language may not necessarily prompt them to abandon their cultures and values.

The 'sharing of common languages' here can be taken as a reference to the language shift to Malay outlined Chapter 7. It must be noted that Informant 34's optimism about the survival of cultural diversity is not shared by many of the other informants in this study. However it is significant that Informant 34 sees this identity convergence could bring 'greater harmonization', because this suggests the underlying belief that ethnic diversity is seen as problematic. The notion of 'diversity' in this study therefore is seen to be problematic not just at linguistic level, but also in terms of ethnic and cultural diversity.

As discussed earlier, language is used as an important expression of identity: ethnic languages to express ethnic identity, Malay language to express national identity. Analysis of the informants' views so far does suggest the declining importance of overt expression of ethnic identity, while on the other hand, greater emphasis is placed on national identity. This can be linked to the 'de-emphasis of differences' discussed earlier in Chapter 6. Seen in light of Dahl's (2001:61) findings that 'cultures do converge' and 'new identities do arise' described in Chapter 4, the prediction of a new hybrid or pan-Bruneian identity suggested here is therefore a very likely possibility. Based on the evidence of language shift presented in the previous chapter, this new breed will very likely be monolingual speakers of a pan-Bruneian Malay (with respect to indigenous languages). This argument is in line with Eastman's claim that speaking a different language changes a person's self identity, also discussed earlier in Chapter 4. This may also be seen as the continuation of the shift in identity that Brown (1960) observed already happening over 40 years ago, as well as Maxwell's (1980:189) 'semantic reclassification' of the ethnic groups in Brunei. Informant 30 relates these changes in identity to sociological changes and globalization, and confirms the parallel with linguistic shift:

... [There is] this kind of integration, centralization, and identity. [The younger generations] don't seem too particular about being Tutong, being Brunei Malay, it's MTV culture[10] now... There tends to be a shift between ethnic to Brunei Malay, and now the shift is from Brunei Malay to some sort of Englishes. These people would regard code-switching between Brunei Malay and English as part of their culture. It's expanding now, not within the Brunei circle itself, it's international now.

In this statement, the argument that ethnic identity is becoming less important among the younger generation confirms the observation made earlier. It is also significant that English is touted to be one of the languages that the new generation will speak alongside Malay. This is discussed next.

8.3 English

A significant occurrence throughout the fieldwork and interviews was the use of English in what was supposed to be a discussion on indigenous languages of Brunei. By 'English' I refer generically to all forms of English usage, ranging from 'Standard English' to the localized variety (so-called 'Brunei English') that is peppered with Malay linguistic features. At all levels of the data collection process, the researcher had deliberately refrained from using English in all the interviews, unless the informant had initiated its use. In fact it was ensured that the interviews were conducted or at least started out in either Brunei Malay, Tutong or Dusun (spoken by the researcher). This was to emphasize cultural and linguistic sensitivity throughout the data collection process, as well as to maintain focus only on the indigenous languages of the Malay race of Brunei. Many previous studies such as Martin (2002), Jones (1994), Cane (1993) etc have

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[10] Popular youth culture associated with the global spread of MTV (Music Television).

reported the significance of English in Brunei's linguistic ecology, but it had not been anticipated that it would feature prominently in this study. English was constantly being referred to by the informants throughout the discussions about indigenous languages as though it were an indigenous member of the language ecology. The following discussions will attempt to uncover why and how English has influenced the ethnic speech communities.

In the previous section, Informant 30 observed that the shift in language is not just from ethnic languages to Malay, but also from these languages to English. Some of Brunei's newer generations have in fact shifted to English, completely bypassing the transition from an ethnic language to Malay altogether. Indeed an increasing number of children are being brought up in English especially by elite and English-educated parents. The status of the English language as the language of education and global communication has seen an increasing number of Bruneians making it part of their linguistic repertoire in fairly recent times, as observed by Informant 2 in the following extract:

[E116.I2]

Just the way we speak now... we use a lot of English... this didn't happen twenty years ago. We used to speak in genuine Brunei Malay. [Trans.]

There are a number of factors why English has gained such a favourable status in Brunei, the most prominent of which is rooted in history.

As stated in Section 3.4.3, the first contact between Brunei and the British was around 1840s. Relations were boosted with the appointment of the British Resident in 1906, at once strengthening Brunei's protectorate status that had started in 1888 and lasted until 1984. However, as outlined in Chapter 2, unlike in Malaysia, for instance, where anti-colonial feelings were expressed in the promotion of the Malay language ('Bahasa Malaysia'), Brunei's peaceful

relationship with Great Britain greatly influenced the attitude toward the language of the 'colonizers'. This is clearly illustrated in the following extract:

[E117.I32]
The English language is a language that is used the world over, and the influence of English in our country has existed for so long, particularly because Brunei was once under British government, as a 'British Protected State'. [Trans.]

Under the administration of the British resident, an education system was established [see Section 2.6]. English was taught as a subject first, and in 1985 that English was made one of the two media of instruction (the other being Malay) through the Dwibahasa Bilingual Education System. Also described in Chapter 2 was the situation where previously there had been two streams of education, English and Malay. The bilingual system (*Dwibahasa*) now meant that everyone had to go through one system, hence giving them equal opportunities to learn both languages, although it has been argued by Braighlinn (1992:21) and Martin (2002) that English was in fact given more prominence [see Section 2.6].

There also appears to be a 'novelty value' associated with the ability to speak a foreign and global language such as English well, as demonstrated in the following extracts:

[E118.I17]
[Q: Which language do you think is the most prestigious in Brunei?]
... Now it's English...because it's not the mother tongue... [it's considered] to be cool ... [Trans.]

[E119.I23]

[Q: Among all languages in Brunei, which language is the most prestigious?]

... I would expect it to be English because it's a foreign language. If a person can command the language he will of course be respected... with Malay [it is] expected for you to know the language. But with other languages... you have to acquire it. Once you speak it well, you will be respected... [Trans.]

Clearly, a proficient command of the English language, already seen to be the language of good education, is perceived to render the speaker a high degree of respect. As a result, some young parents are nowadays more inclined to bring up their children in English, in preference to their ethnic languages, or even Malay:

[E120.I20]

... parents today would prefer their children to be able to speak the language used in schools, English... So teaching their own ethnic language becomes unimportant... only the older people know them... their children don't ... there's a lack of encouragement [to learn ethnic languages]... [Trans.]

The neglect of ethnic languages, coupled by the growing importance of English, to some extent, increases the threat to the ethnic languages in Brunei, as observed by Informant 3 as follows:

[E121.I3]

... The more advanced our country becomes, the more modern our people. Now the use of our old languages is left so far behind... In Brunei itself our language is mixed with English. The differences are visible. Our old languages are dying out because of it. [Trans.]

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It is significant that English has made its way into a study of indigenous languages of Brunei such as this. Nevertheless, it is an irrefutable fact that today English has assumed an increasing role in Brunei's language ecology. This fact has been observed by many previous researchers, in particular, by Martin (2002), Cane (1993), Ozog (1996), Jones (1994), amongst others. The adoption of English as an international language emphasizes the need for Bruneians to adapt to the challenges of globalization, whilst at the same time maintaining the sovereignty of Malay, discussed in the preceding chapters and sections in this chapter.

8.4   Changes in the Language Ecology of Brunei

The analysis in Chapter 6 reveals a high degree of tolerance and support for linguistic diversity in Brunei as multilingualism is the accepted norm in Brunei. Nevertheless, within the multitude of languages, the need for a common language seems imperative. A 'national language', so to speak, although never officially proclaimed, in fact exists in the form of Brunei Malay, which the informants say best expresses 'Bruneianness'. This is the language that everyone shares. The ethnic languages, on the other hand, express ethnic identities, as contended by the ethnic informants, even if some of them could not speak their own traditional languages. It is therefore difficult to reconcile the fact that there is much verbal support for these ethnic languages and for linguistic diversity with the fact they virtually no longer speak it themselves nor transmit it to their youngsters. The same could be said at ethnic community level, where the informants have reported a decline in the use of traditional languages. More importantly, there does not exist any support for ethnic languages, and neither do the authorities appear apologetic about not providing such support. One can only conclude that the expression of language loyalty in the face of obvious language obsolescence is to soften the blow of the realization that their languages are dying out.

Correspondingly, the language ecology of Brunei too has changed dramatically over recent years in that the majority of young Bruneians (roughly aged 35 and below) now speak Malay and English. The following diagram illustrates the probable metamorphosis of the linguistic profiles of Bruneians, particularly those of minority ethnic population, over the years, as deduced from the informant's views and the analysis of documents and literature:

Figure 5 Change of Linguistic Profile of Ethnic Population
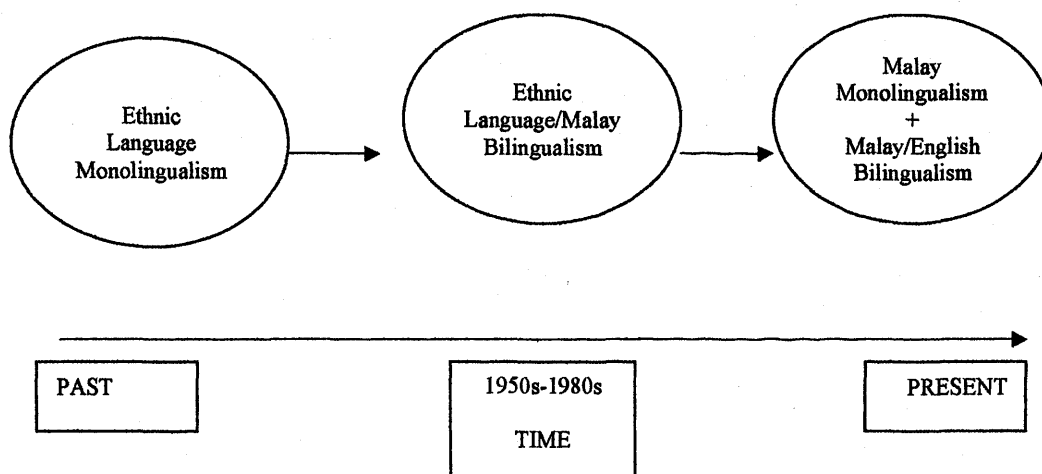
Figure 5 above encapsulates the following changes Brunei's language ecology:

1. Prior to the 1960/ 1970s contact between ethnic groups and travel was very limited, and the ethnic communities would predominantly if not exclusively speak their own language: Tutongs would predominantly speak Tutong, and the Bruneis and Kedayans would mostly converse in their respective dialects of Malay because they were confined to their

ethnic circles. And as argued in Chapter 6, when interethnic contact did occur, Malay was used as the lingua franca. Linguistic diversity could therefore be defined by clear separation of these speech communities who were predominantly monolingual. In Section 2.5.1 it was stated that already by the 1950s the ethnic groups, who were previously reported in government reports as having their own languages, were reported to be 'Malay-speaking'.

2. Rapid development road networks began in the 1960s with the building of proper tarmac roads along the coast linking the capital to the furthermost district, Belait. This led to increased population mobility, migration and dispersal, and therefore also increased interethnic contact, mixed marriages or intermarriage [see Chapter 7]. The Malay education system, in place prior to the introduction of the bilingual education system in 1985, had by now increased the chances of students to interact with people from various ethnic backgrounds through the use of Malay. As argued in Chapter 7 too Malay's status as a school language was reinforced. The language ecology could be seen to be changing in the 1960s:

    i.   Bilingualism in an ethnic language and Malay was on the increase.

    ii.   Monolingualism in respective ethnic languages was waning in turn.

3. The growing affinity for Malay in the 1970s and 1980s, and the belief among ethnic parents that bringing up their children in Malay would prepare them well for the schools, gave rise to a cohort of monolingual speakers of Malay among the ethnic communities. The importance of Malay grew due to the greater movement of the population (discussed in Section 7.2.2), hence greater social integration that necessitated the use of Malay for communication. This was also reinforced by the use of Malay

as a medium of instruction in the schools (cf. the association of Malay with the schools in Sections 7.2.3 and 7.3.1). While there was still a large number of those who could speak both an ethnic language and Malay, they belonged in the older age group. As the analysis in Chapter 7 might suggest, the linguistic scene at that time saw large-scale shifts from ethnic languages to Malay, hence a large increase in the number of monolingual Malay-speakers.

4. The 1980s saw a greater emphasis on the English language with the implementation of the *Dwibahasa* (bilingual) education system, as discussed in Chapters 2 and 7. English was now seen to be the language of high status and education, much more than Malay. This could be attributed to the status associated with the return en masse of students from British universities who were sent there following the breakdown of diplomatic relations with Malaysia (see Section 2.5). A Bruneian now could be defined as a Malay-English bilingual, while bilingualism in an ethnic language and Malay was fast disappearing among the younger generation.

5. Nowadays it would be difficult to find an ethnic language speaker below the age of 15, although many youngsters would claim to have receptive abilities in their ethnic language out of language loyalty. This was the case encountered by the researcher in the search for informants in this study. Chapter 7 identified a shift to Malay (and to English, discussed in this chapter), particularly, though not exclusively, among interethnic families from mixed-marriage parentage. The following trends may be discerned from the informants' views in this study:

    i.   Bilinguals who speak Malay and English outnumbering Malay monolinguals.

ii.   Bilingual speakers of an ethnic language and Malay are now
        dwindling in number.

iii.   Monolingual speakers of ethnic languages have virtually
        disappeared.

iv.   Bruneians who are brought up as first-language speakers of
        English on the other hand are on the increase.

Based on the preceding discussions, whereas in the past, monolingual speakers of ethnic languages were numerous, greater socialization and integrative processes in the past few decades has changed linguistic acquisition trends. The language shift processes described in the previous chapter has been the main contributor to this change in the language ecology, and the reduction of linguistic and cultural diversity in Brunei.

8.5   Summary

The phenomenon of language shift is a major factor in the changing language ecology of Brunei. One of the implications of language shift from different ethnic languages to a common language is the reduction of linguistic diversity. There appears to be a paradox in which the informants do realize their languages are disappearing, but at the same time, no effort seems to have been initiated to maintain the linguistic diversity. Language shift also has implications on cultural diversity, or more specifically, in the diversity of ethnic identities. Whereas the common facility in Malay is perceived as an important marker of 'Bruneian-ness', differences in ethnic identity too are becoming less and less emphasized. With modernization and greater integration among the population, the diverse languages and identities are concurrently converging and a common language and a common national identity are emerging in turn.

Chapter 9   Conclusion

In this final chapter, there will first be a detailed discussion on the main findings of this study. This is followed by a response to specific research questions, a critique of the study and suggestions for future research.

9.1   Discussion of Main Findings

This study set out to explore the notion of linguistic diversity without any anticipation of what patterns or themes might emerge from the data. In Chapter 6, the informants suggest that linguistic diversity is tolerated although some concession must be made for a nationally-shared language that would ease communication. The declaration of the Malay as 'official language' in 1959 and subsequent follow-up directives are not seen as coercive policy of elimination of linguistic diversity, although it has reinforced the high status of Malay. However, there is no doubt that linguistic diversity is diminishing in Brunei as a result of language shift from the ethnic languages to Malay, as also previously noted by Martin (1995, 1996a, 2002) and E.M. Kershaw (1994). As with these previous works, this present study has also found close parallels between the language shift phenomenon and the ethnocultural shifts. Martin (1995, 2002), in particular, finds a causal link between 'cultural and linguistic redefinition' and the contact and movement of previously 'rural' populations with the 'coastal culture', which at the same time broke down the 'social network' support for ethnic language and culture maintenance. In addition, both Braighlinn (1992) and E.M. Kershaw (1994) suggest a 'political pressure' for the incorporation of ethnic populations into the dominant 'Malay' society. This study, however, finds that the language and identity shifts described in Chapters 7 and 8 are a result of voluntary acquiescence on the part of the ethnic communities themselves. This illustrates Denison's (1977) argument that it is the speech community that decides its own

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fate. And true to Denison's suggestion, bilingual ethnic parents have been reported by the informants to have switched languages to Malay in bringing up their children, some of the reasons being to give their children a better opportunity to participate in the wider society, and to give them a better chance of moving up the educational ladder. This means that the functional domains of ethnic languages, in particular the homes, are now being taken over by Malay. This is in line with findings outlined in the previous two chapters, that ethnic languages are not maintained by the ethnic communities, who appear to be fully aware of the status quo of their language. Admittedly government policies on language have not been favourable in the sense that they only have provisions for the use of Malay in official business. One of the reasons for this was its long history of literature. But implicit in this choice is the perhaps the need to uphold the language of the dominant race in the country i.e. Malay. While there have been no overt coercive policies to reduce linguistic diversity, the obvious absence of ethnic languages from the education system, official administration and the media does also contribute to a sense of inevitability in the dominance of Malay. This in turn could be perceived as clever implicit strategies on the part of the government to reinforce the ideological dominance of Malay. One such move is the labelling of non-Malay languages as 'Malay dialects'. Certainly there is an apparent absence of any resistance at all to the forces of language shift, but then there have never been explicit bans or dismissal of ethnic languages, hence removing all possibilities of overt resistance and protestation: there is nothing to protest against.

At the same time, it seems that the main force behind the shift to Malay language and identity is the pressure on the ethnic communities to conform to a more modern and homogeneous Bruneian lifestyle, where the population are highly mobile and more socially integrated than they used to be, and in which, it is more important to be 'Bruneian' than to be an express member of any particular ethnic community. It can be argued that this trend in Brunei is a reflection of a 'local globalization' (cf. Mufwene 1998, 2000), in which, Malay identity and language

assume greater prominence and bring greater benefits than any of the others. Globalization in the international sense, on the other hand, is manifest in the growing significance of English alongside Malay in Brunei daily life. The adoption of Malay identity and language, as well as English, is therefore a reflection of the reality of present day Brunei.

9.2   Conclusion

In response to the first part of Research Question 1 regarding the position of ethnic languages in relation to Malay, the evidence presented in Chapters 3, 7 and 8 provide two perspectives. It is clear from the discussion in Section 3.6 that historically Malay has always had a superior status, not just in Brunei, but throughout the Malay archipelago through its role as a lingua franca. None of the ethnic languages of Brunei has ever played a role of such magnitude, so its selection as 'official language' seemed only a natural choice. In fact, the social status of the ethnic groups under the feudal government of Brunei, only abolished in 1906, was that of serfs, which would assign their respective languages equally subordinate positions [see Section 2.4.1]. Malay's association with the royal house of Brunei, the ruling elite, and the dominant ethnic group of Brunei Malays, is well documented throughout history. It is an association that survives to this day that has resulted in the undisputed selection of 'Malay' as 'Official Language'.

In Chapter 7, the current positions of ethnic languages are discussed with reference to Ethnolinguistic Vitality variables that show that today, the support systems such as social networks and intergenerational language transfer (Martin 1995, E.M. Kershaw 1994) for their survival are fast disintegrating. Formal or official institutional support however has never existed. The absence of official bans on the use of ethnic languages, while positive in their favour to a certain degree, has not softened the blow of implicit language policies in favour of Malay

in the form of language-in-education policies [see Sections 3.8 and 7.3.1], Malay-only publishing policy of the Language and Literature Bureau [see Section 7.3.2], and Malay-only broadcasts on national radio and television [see Section 7.3.3]. More importantly, the apparent complacent, if not apathetic, attitudes among the ethnic communities toward their own languages, evident in their intergenerational language switch practices too, has hastened the shift to Malay, hence reinforcing the relegated position of the ethnic languages against Malay.

Research Question 2 asks about the dynamics that have influenced the relationship between linguistic diversity and linguistic unity in the form of Malay. As seen in Chapter 6, there is a favourable attitude toward linguistic diversity among the informants in this study in general. This high degree of tolerance and support has been expressed through cognizance of linguistic diversity as important rights of the ethnolinguistic groups, and an important resource that could be exploited in various ways for the benefit of the country, not least for the maintenance of cultural diversity. Although this study has found no evidence of unyielding opposition to linguistic diversity, there is a perceived strong desire for a shared language to achieve national unity. And in this regard Malay is recognized as the most tenable option for Brunei's multilingual population. In other words, linguistic unity it seems is seen as a means of achieving national unity. At the same time, achieving national unity through a shared language could be viewed as identity formation through language, the latter being an important signifier of identity, as discussed in Sections 2.5 and 8.2. There is also a unanimous agreement in the views of the informants in this study that the code that would best express Bruneian identity is Brunei Malay. And as argued in Chapters 2 and 8, facility in this code ensures membership in the dominant Malay epicentre.

The existing language ecology of Brunei is the product of ongoing shifts in attitude and language as a result of the factors discussed in Chapter 7. While Malay is being spoken by more and more Bruneians as their first language,

simultaneously there is a sharp decline in the number of ethnic language speakers. There is clearly an intergenerational switch from ethnic languages to Malay within ethnic families, the final line of defence for ethnic languages in the country. What is emerging, as a result, is a new generation of Bruneians who all speak Malay and could rightly claim it as their mother tongue. It has been suggested that a process of convergence on a 'pan-Bruneian Malay' code, and concurrently a 'pan-Bruneian' identity, attributable to an increase in interethnic mixed marriages, and the detachment from, if not indifference to, traditional ethnic perceptions or identities among the population. What has also been postulated in Chapter 8 is the emergence of a new generation of Bruneians, the so-called 'MTV generation', who are making English their own. In fact, whereas in the past a bilingual Bruneian would speak an ethnic language as a mother tongue and Malay as a second language, a bilingual today could be defined as a native speaker of Malay, and a second language speaker of English. So, in the case of the present generation, English has now become part of the bilingual equation, replacing ethnic languages. The choice of languages available to Bruneians therefore has changed, in the same way that the choices that they make have.

This leads us to another significant finding in this study that, despite being a foreign language, English is seen by the informants as part of the existing language ecology. It is ironic that in this study which focuses on indigenous languages, Bruneian informants feel the need to bring English into their discussions and even use the foreign language as if it were indeed one of the local languages of Brunei. But while Malay and indigenous ethnic languages such as Belait, Bisaya, Dusun, Kedayan, Murut and Tutong are seen as the media for the expression of their respective indigenous ethnic identity, English is highly regarded in Brunei because of its association with modernity, education, and 'coolness', as argued in Section 8.3.

The evidence from this study reveals some profound changes in the language ecology of Brunei that coincide with the rapid modernization within the last century. In terms of indigenous languages, the prognosis is that the linguistically diverse population is now steadily morphing into a 'homogeneous' and 'monolingual' Malay speech community. Spurred by the nature of the relationship between Malay and the ethnic languages described in Section 8.1, and lack of maintenance, or even the inclination to maintain them, the ethnic languages are fast disappearing, some much sooner than others as identified by some of the informants, and previous studies such as Martin (1995). It is a dramatic change in the linguistic landscape, particularly in the context of an indigenous population of only less than a quarter million.

9.3   Critique

A number of potential shortcomings have been identified in this study.

The restricted time that was available to conduct the fieldwork and data collection in a community that is reticent and unfamiliar to research culture has become a hindrance to a more exhaustive collection of data. The three-month fieldwork period did not allow for enough time for reflection between interviews and entailed data gathering through interviews and document search within a short space of time. In this respect I feel that the research design could be improved to better suit the limited period available for fieldwork and data collection, or rather, the data collection period could be extended to accommodate the design of the study.

The design of the study could have been improved by the use of a questionnaire survey, for instance, which would have been a quicker way of gathering data,

although its use would remove the element of 'personal interaction' with the informants, as well as involve quantification which this study has deliberately avoided.

The number of informants in this study is much too small for any generalizations to be made. Unless the size of the sample is significantly increased, it has to be accepted that the findings of this study are restricted to data and have limited generalizability, although reference to earlier studies that point to similar findings do lend some support. In relation to this, the 'representative-ness' of the informants may be subject to debate, although it is not claimed that the informants necessarily represent their respective communities. Similarly the choice of Stage 3 informants in their 'public' capacity may raise questions about the likelihood of them revealing opinions that might differ from the government's view. Even in the absence of this, the informants are unlikely to undermine the government's position. This is perhaps where the use of a more anonymous method or approach (e.g. the questionnaire survey) might have been able to reveal alternative and critical views. It is therefore accepted that the respondents of Stage 3 are likely to have an official bias, which is difficult to avoid.

Attempts to involve members of the general public as informants in this study, was met with apprehension by some Bruneians who are not familiar with research culture, particularly the older informants. It was important that as many layers of the respective indigenous communities were approached and recruited to build an solid picture of the phenomenon under study. Brunei Malay or English, or where possible, a shared language, was used to facilitate the interviews and make sure they were carried out in a culturally sensitive way. However, a more ideal situation would be that all of the interviews were conducted by a speaker of each ethnic language. A similar apprehension to that mentioned above was also felt from several government officials who were approached for official documents that might be relevant to this study. Government documents are highly classified and fiercely guarded even when the objective of the study is academic. This study

would have benefited greatly had more of the government documents (such as memos, official correspondence, directives, circulars etc) and literature on Brunei been accessible.

9.4   Further Work

As noted in the introduction, the ethnic languages of Brunei have been largely understudied. It was in response to this that this topic was chosen, to add to the body of research literature. A number of other avenues could transpire from the present study.

This present work has approached the topic in a dichotomous manner in which all the ethnic languages have been grouped together in one hand, and while on the other hand, there is Malay. A more comprehensive extension of this study that examines each of the indigenous languages individually could be carried out. Previous researches have found that some of the ethnic languages are dying out faster than others. In addition to these, future studies could be carried out to identify what unique circumstances may have created that likelihood for them and not for the others. The scope of the study could also be amplified to include other languages such as Iban, English, Chinese, Arabic and other non native languages used by substantive speech communities in Brunei to form a more complete picture of the ecology of language of Brunei.

I would also welcome more academic interest in the languages of Brunei from my fellow Bruneians. As stated at the beginning of this thesis, local sources on local languages, particularly on the ethnic languages under study, have been less than capacious. It is critical that Bruneians put across a local or an insider perspective on issues of language and culture, which would not just stimulate debate, but also add a unique view and encourage further research into the area.

To conclude, the change that I had observed in the language choices within my own family, which was the impetus of this study, has proven not to be idiosyncratic. In fact, the practice of my family in bringing up our young children in Malay and English, instead of in our traditional Tutong or Dusun language, has also been observed by the informants in this study in many other families of various ethnolinguistic backgrounds. This study finds that such decisions to shift languages have been largely acquiescent on the part of the speakers themselves, possibly triggered by a sense of impotence or helplessness given the circumstances identified in this study. In fact, not only has language choice changed, so too have the choices that are now available to the speakers. Given this fact and given the enormity of the scale of the resultant shift in language, the prospect for the longevity of linguistic diversity in Brunei does not appear propitious.

APPENDIX 1

CONSENT FORM
(TRANSLATION)

UNIVERSITY OF LEICESTER
School of Education

Title of study: The Ecology of Language of Negara Brunei
                    Darussalam
Pengkaji: **Noor Azam Haji-Othman**
Penyelia: **Dr Peter W. Martin**
                    School of Education
                    University of Leicester
                    Pwm4@le.ac.uk

1.   The objectives of this study have been clearly explained to me. I understand and agree to involve myself in this study.

2.   I understand that I shall not receive any reward for my involvement in this study.

3.   I understand that all the information that I provide may be published and reported in my capacity as *'Informed and Official Voice'*

4.   I understand that I may withdraw myself from this study at any time and that it will not affect my rights in the present time and in the future.

Signature: _____

                    Yang Amat Mulia;
                    Pengiran Setia Negara Pengiran Haji Md Yusop bin
                     Pengiran Haji Abd.Rahim,
                    [ADDRESS DELETED]

Date: _____

▪■■

For the Researcher's use:

I have fully explained this study to the informant and assume that the informant has understood what is to be involved in this study.

Signature: _____

APPENDIX 2

Interview Schedule Stage 1

Preamble

Section 1   Language and Ethnicity

In this section I would like your opinion of languages in Brunei and its relationship to ethnic identity.

1. (Quote the constitution). Which ethnic group do you identify with the most? Why? What do you think is the most important language in Brunei?
   - In what perspective? Why?
   - If Malay- which variety of Malay: Std Malay, Brunei Malay, Kedayan?
   - Why?

2. In terms of ethnic grouping in the constitution, the Belait, Bisaya, Brunei, Dusun, Kedayan, Murut and Tutong people are considered as Malay. Why do you think this is so?
   - Does this mean that any of these languages can be used in government business?
   - In your opinion, do they really have equal prestige among Bruneians?
   - Would there be any situations where one or the other would be considered a more appropriate choice?

Section 2   Attitude to Monolingualism

In this section I would like your reactions to the following statements related to language.

3. 'Bahasa Jiwa Bangsa'. What does this mean to you? Which bahasa do you see as the jiwa of bangsa?

4. A famous slogan in Brunei is 'Bahasa Melayu Bahasa Rasmi Negara'.
   - [In your opinion, where does this put your chosen code?]
   - Having said that, where does this leave all the other languages?

5. (Show photo of Mural). The slogan in the DBP Mural says 'Berbahasa satu, berbangsa satu, bernegara satu.' What is your interpretation of this slogan?
   - Does Brunei need just one language?
   - What language would that be? Why?

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- Does one mean the other?

6. What does 'Melayu Islam Beraja' mean to you in terms of language?

7. Is there a particular language that ALL Bruneians should be able to speak in order to be identified as Bruneian? What are your reasons for saying so? What if a person does not belong to THAT ethnic group, does that make him less of a Bruneian?

8. Which is the most prestigious language in Brunei? Why?

Section 3   Social History and Language

In this section I would like to find out what links there might be between events in Brunei's history that might have influenced the language patterns

9. Do you think that the linguistic situation of today is different from the past?
    - In what ways to you think things are different?
    - Are there any events in Brunei's history that you think contributed to these changes or differences?

10. Do you think Education has had a role to play in the linguistic situation of Brunei? How do you think education has influenced the linguistic situation?

Section 4   Future Directions and Predictions

11. Earlier you said one code was the most important in Brunei.
    - What do you think should be done to show the importance of this language?
    - On the other hand, what should be done about the other languages? e.g. taught in schools? Increase public awareness?

Conclusion

11. FINAL QUESTION: Is there anything else that you would like to say about what we have just discussed?

APPENDIX 3

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE STAGE 2

This is the Second of a Three-stage interview approach adopted in this study. The first stage was conducted in June-September 2002, the results of which have been analyzed and used to formulate the following questions. Your responses to these questions will determine the shape of questions that will be asked in Stage Three.

> *Ini merupakan interviu Peringkat Kedua daripada Tiga-Peringkat yang digunakan di dalam kajian ini. Yang pertama telah dikendalikan pada Jun-September 2002 dan keputusannya telahpun dianalisa dan menjadi landasan kepada soalan-soalan berikut. Jawapan biskita kepada soalan-soalan ini pula akan menentukan bentuk soalan-soalan bagi Interviu Peringkat Ketiga.*

In this study, 'Bahasa Melayu' or 'Bahasa Melayu Standard' means 'Standard Malay' or the version of the Malay language that is used in the National News on Brunei Television.

> *Dalam kajian ini, 'Bahasa Melayu' atau 'Bahasa Melayu Standard' bermaksud 'Melayu Standard/ Baku' atau versi Bahasa Melayu yang digunakan di dalam Berita Nasional di Television Brunei.*

'Brunei Malay' on the other hand refers to the vernacular version used in daily conversations among the majority of Bruneians. Also known as 'Kurapak Brunei'.

> *'Bahasa Melayu Brunei' pula merujuk kepada versi bahasa Melayu yang digunakan dalam percakapan seharian di kalangan orang-orang Brunei kebanyakan. Juga dikenali sebagai 'Kurapak Brunei'.*

An 'Ethnic language' or 'ethnic code' in this study refers to one of the languages of the indigenous minority groups of the constitutional Malay race i.e. Non-Bruneis (Therefore, Belait, Bisaya, Dusun, Kedayan, Murut atau Tutong).

> *Sesuatu 'bahasa etnik' atau 'kod etnik' dalam kajian ini akan merujuk kepada salah satu daripada bahasa puak jati minoriti dalam bangsa Melayu mengikut perlembagaan, iaitu, bukan Puak Brunei (Jadinya, Belait, Bisaya, Dusun, Kedayan, Murut atau Tutong)*

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY / BAHASA DAN IDENTITI

1. In the first interview, my informants expressed a strong belief that language shows one's identity. It was said to be an important indicator of your ethnic and national identities, and this is done through at least two different codes: a Tutong Bruneian would say that the Tutong language represents his focus on his Tutong

ethnicity, while Brunei Malay emphasizes his national identity as a Bruneian. What do you think?

Dalam interviu yang pertama, para informan menyuarakan kepercayaan yang kuat bahawa bahasa itu menunjukkan identiti seseorang itu. Ia dikatakan sebagai petunjuk identiti bangsa/etnik dan identiti kebangsaan. Ini berlaku dengan sekurang-kurangnya dua bahasa: seorang rakyat Brunei berbangsa Tutong akan mengatakan bahawa bahasa Tutong melambangkan fokus/kepentingan bangsa/etnik/puak Tutongnya, manakala bahasa Melayu Brunei menampakkan identiti nasionalnya sebagai seorang rakyat negara Brunei. Apakah pendapat biskita?

2. There appears to be great loyalty among minority-ethnic informants toward their languages, yet some openly admitted that they did not speak it, although they understood it. Why do you think this is so? What do you make of it?
Ternampak seolah-olah ada ketaatan yang yang kuat di kalangan informan etnik-minoriti terhadap bahasa-bahasa mereka sendiri, namun ada yang mengaku secara terbuka yang mereka tidak menggunakannya atau tidak boleh menggunakannya walaupun mereka mengaku mereka boleh memahaminya. Dalam fikiran biskita, kenapakah ia sedemikian? Apa pandangan biskita mengenai perkara ini?

3. Some minority-ethnic informants say that they had at one point or the other felt embarrassed to speak their own languages in public and instead used Brunei Malay even among friends of the same ethnic background. Is ethnic language considered 'low'? But why Brunei Malay rather than any other codes, including Standard Malay? What do you think it was that made them embarrassed?
Ada sesetengah informan dari puak-puak etnik minoriti mengatakan yang mereka pernah terasa malu untuk menggunakan bahasa mereka sendiri di khalayak ramai dan menggunakan Bahasa Melayu Brunei pula walaupun sesama kawan dari suku puak yang sama. Adakah bahasa-bahasa etnik atau bahasa-bahasa puak ini dianggap 'rendah'? Tapi kenapakah Bahasa Melayu Brunei menjadi bahasa pilihan dan bukan pula bahasa-bahasa lain, termasuk Bahasa Melayu Standard? Dalam pendapat biskita, apakah yang membuat mereka malu itu?

4. However, some of those informants as well say that they no longer feel embarrassed. Does this mean that there is a new-found pride in ethnic languages in Brunei? Why?
Tetapi ada juga di antara informan tersebut mengatakan bahawa mereka sekarang tidak lagi merasa malu. Adakah ini bermaksud adanya 'rasa bangga yang baru' terhadap bahasa-bahasa puak/etnik di Brunei? Mengapa?

DEFINITIONS OF MALAY / MAKSUD MELAYU

5. In the Brunei Constitution Bahasa Melayu is declared as Official Language. The informants generally could not give a precise definition of what Bahasa Melayu means in the constitution. Some say it is Standard Malay, while some others say that 'Bahasa Melayu' includes all versions of Malay as well as the indigenous languages. Why do you think there is this confusion?
   Di dalam Perlembagaan Brunei, Bahasa Melayu diumumkan sebagai Bahasa Rasmi. Para informan keseluruhannya tidak dapat memberikan maksud 'Bahasa Melayu' yang di dalam Perlembagaan tersebut. Ada yang mengatakan ia bermaksud Bahasa Melayu Standard, dan ada pula yang mengatakan 'Bahasa Melayu' itu bermaksud kesemua jenis Bahasa Melayu termasuk bahasa-bahasa puak. Kenapakah terjadinya kekeliruan ini?

6. When asked why the Belaits, Bisayas, Dusuns, Kedayans, Muruts and Tutongs are labeled as 'Malay' in the constitution despite the differences of religion, many said they didn't know why but it seemed natural as they are generally believed to be the original inhabitants of the country. What is your opinion on this?
   Bila ditanya kenapa orang-orang Belait, Bisaya, Dusun, Kedayan, Murut dan Tutong dinamakan sebagai 'Melayu' di dalam perlembagaan walaupun adanya perbezaaan ugama, ramai yang mengatakan mereka tidak tahu mengapa, tetapi nampaknya lumrah sahaja kerana puak-puak tersebut dipercayai ramai sebagai penduduk awal negara ini. Apakah pandangan biskita mengenai perkara ini?

FUNCTIONS OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD MALAY/ KEGUNAAN DAN SIKAP TERHADAP BAHASA MELAYU

7. Brunei Malay and Standard Malay are allocated special domains of use by the informants. In the interviews, they associate Brunei Malay mainly with daily use and conversations, while Standard Malay is exclusively associated with offices, schools, the news, speeches, and written communication. Do you see this separation of duties between the two codes in practice?
   Bahasa Melayu Brunei dan Bahasa Melayu Standard diberikan kegunaan tertentu oleh para informan. Dalam interviu terdahulu, mereka lebih mengaitkan Bahasa Melayu Brunei dengan kegunaan dan percakapan seharian, manakala Bahasa Melayu Standard pula dikaitkan dengan pejabat, sekolah, berita, ucapan, dan perhubungan bertulis. Adakah biskita pun melihat pembahagian tugas yang serupa di antara dua kod/ bahasa ini?

8. Nonetheless, Brunei Malay is seen to be more "meaningful" (to have a stronger association/ affinity) by all the informants in terms of the language showing national identity, solidarity, and its role as the lingua franca. On the other hand, while Standard Malay is seen as important for business efficiency, it is not seen as being essentially "Bruneian". Why do you think this is so?

   Walaubagaimanapun, Bahasa Melayu Brunei dilihat sebagai "lebih bermakna" (lebih bererti/ lebih mesra) oleh kesemua informan dari segi bahasa tersebut menunjukkan identiti kebangsaan, kesatupaduan, dan kegunaannya sebagai 'bahasa penghubung'. Dalam pada itu, walaupun Bahasa Melayu Standard dilihat sebagai penting bagi kelancaran urusan kerja, ia tidak pula dikatakan "berjiwa kebruneian". Kenapakah ianya sebegitu rupa?

FUNCTIONS OF AND ATTITUDE TOWARD LINGUISTICALLY NON-MALAY LANGUAGES/ KEGUNAAN DAN SIKAP TERHADAP BAHASA-BAHASA YANG BUKAN 'MELAYU' DARI SEGI LINGUISTIK

9. My informants say that ethnic languages, apart from Brunei Malay, are and should be only used within their respective communities. It shows group solidarity and respect for non-group members. Do you agree? Why?

   Informan saya mengatakan bahasa-bahasa etnik/ puak, selain daripada Bahasa Melayu Brunei, cuma dipakai dalam masyarakatnya sendiri sahaja, dan memang begitulah juga yang sepatutnya berlaku (contoh: Bahasa Tutong tidak usah digunakan di luar lingkungan masyarakat puak Tutong). Ini menunjukkan kesatupaduan dikalangan ahli puak itu sendiri dan juga rasa hormat terhadap orang lain yang bukan dari puak yang sama. Adakah biskita setuju? Mengapa?

10. It also appears that the informants place Brunei Malay at the top and the other ethnic languages in the lower ranks, which are not necessarily less prestigious. What is your opinion?

    Kelihatan juga bahawa para informan meletakkan Bahasa Melayu Brunei terkeatas dan bahasa-bahasa puak/ etnik lain terkebawah sedikit walaupun ini tidak bermaksud mereka dianggap kurang berprestij/ bernilai. Apakah pendapat biskita?

11. Ethnic languages including Brunei Malay may be used in speech even in government offices where they are respectively spoken although never in written communication. One informant suggests that the real reason is of a practical nature: that there is no standard written code for these languages. Do you think this is the real reason or might there be any others?

    Bahasa-bahasa etnik/ puak termasuk Bahasa Melayu Brunei bolehlah digunakan dalam percakapan walaupun di dalam pejabat-pejabat kerajaan, di mana mereka dicakapkan mengikut setempat tetapi tidak di dalam tulisan. Seorang informan saya berpendapat ini disebabkan alasan praktikal, iaitu, ketiadaan daftar tulis yang standard/ diterima bagi setiap bahasa puak tersebut. Adakah ini sebab sebenarnya atau adakah lagi sebab-sebab lain?

12. While a few informants mentioned the English language's important role in Brunei, other languages such as Arabic or Chinese barely got a mention in the 27 interviews in the First Stage of this study. Why do you think English was discussed but not Arabic or Chinese or any other languages?

Walaupun ada sebilangan informan ada membangkitkan kepentingan Bahasa Inggeris di Brunei, bahasa-bahasa lain seperti Bahasa Arab atau Bahasa Cina tidak diperkatakan langsung dalam kesemua 27 interviu di Peringkat Pertama kajian ini. Dalam pendapat biskita, kenapakah Bahasa Inggeris itu dibincangkan, tapi tidak Bahasa Arab atau Cina atau bahasa-bahasa lain?

DIVERSITY AND MULTILINGUALISM/ KEBANYAKAN DAN KEPELBAGAIAN BAHASA/ MULTILINGUALISMA

13. There seems to be a positive and tolerant attitude toward the linguistic diversity in Brunei among the informants [i.e. "DIVERSITY" = Many languages are spoken by various ethnic groups in Brunei at the same time; as opposed to 'Individual Multilingual Ability'= "MULTILINGUALISM"]. There has certainly been no disapproval toward it, and in fact one informant even said "it's advantageous". In some other countries such diversity has been the cause of much disharmony among their people. Why do you think the attitude in Brunei is so positive? Is this reflected in Brunei Government's language policies?

Boleh dilihat adanya sikap yang positif dan toleran terhadap kebanyakan bahasa di Brunei ini di kalangan para informan ["DIVERSITY"/ "KEPELBAGAIAN" = Banyaknya jumlah bahasa yang digunakan oleh berbagai puak bangsa pada masa yang sama; Ini berbeza dari 'Kebolehan Seseorang Individu Menggunakan Banyak Bahasa' = "MULTILINGUALISMA"]. Ternyata tiada halangan atau bantahan terhadapnya, malah salah seorang mengatakan ianya 'sangat berguna'. Di sesetengah negara lain, ada rakyat mereka bertelagah disebabkan kebanyakan bahasa. Mengapakah di Brunei ini orang ramai lebih menerima? Adakah hakikat ini tergambar di dalam dasar/ polisi bahasa Kerajaan?

14. At the same time, a majority of the informants say that while diversity is good, Brunei still needs 'one common language'. What do you think? What language/ code might that be?

Pada masa yang sama, kebanyakan informan mengatakan walaupun mempunyai banyak bahasa itu bagus, Brunei masih tetap memerlukan 'satu bahasa yang boleh digunakan oleh semua orang'. Apakah pendapat awda? Bahasa apakah itu?

15. Also, bilingualism and multilingualism appear to be commonplace and to some extent taken for granted in Brunei, particularly among informants who were Bruneis, who are completely 'monolingual' in terms of indigenous languages.

Why is this so? What effect does Dwibahasa have on the language ability of the people?

Dan juga, dwibahasa/bilingualisma dan multilingualisma nampaknya suatu kejadian yang biasa dan dianggap remeh di Brunei, terutama sekali di kalangan informan dari suku puak Brunei. Mereka ini boleh dikirakan monolingual atau mempunyai satu bahasa sahaja. Kenapakah ia begini? Apakah kesan sistem pendidikan Dwibahasa atas kebolehan bahasa orang ramai?

LANGUAGE CHANGE AND MAINTENANCE/ PERUBAHAN BAHASA DAN PEMELIHARAAN

16. The linguistic changes that are reported by the informants are mainly those of "patterns of use" rather than "form". Less and less people are reported to use or are brought up in their own ethnic languages, but rather in Brunei Malay mostly. The reasons given are the influence of education and mixed marriages. What do you think is the reason behind this? Why are the younger generations moving away from the language of their forbears?

    Perubahan bahasa yang dilaporkan oleh para informan kebanyakannya "dari segi corak pemakaian" dan bukan "dari segi bentuk". Dilaporkan bahawa semakin kurang orang menggunakan bahasa puak mereka sendiri atau semakin kurang yang dibesarkan dalam bahasa puak mereka sendiri, malah kebanyakan menggunakan Bahasa Melayu Brunei. Alasan yang diberi adalah kesan dari pendidikan dan kahwin campur. Dalam pendapat biskita, apakah sebabnya? Mengapakah generasi muda semakin lari daripada bahasa orang tua mereka?

17. Another notion that was very clear in the informants' responses is that there is a genuine concern for the survival of the ethnic languages of Brunei. The majority of the informants mention their sentimental and cultural value, although they admit that some of these languages have fallen out of use. How do you reconcile these two contradictions? What does the fact that they are NOT worried about the survival of Brunei Malay and Standard Malay mean to you?

    Satu lagi perkara yang amat ketara dalam jawapan para informan terdahulu ialah adanya kebimbangan yang tulin mengenai hidupmatinya bahasa-bahasa puak di Brunei. Kebanyakan informan mengutarakan nilai mendalam dan nilai kebudayaan bahasa-bahasa tersebut walaupun mereka juga mengakui bahawa ada di antara mereka sudah tidak lagi di pakai. Bagaimanakah kita boleh menemukan pertembungan dua perkara ini? Apakah ertinya bila para informan tidak pula bimbang tentang hidupmatinya Bahasa Melayu Brunei dan Bahasa Melayu Standard?

18. Are the lines between different ethnic groups in Brunei thinning? Is there a new breed of young Bruneians who are void of any particular ethnic identity and who speak a common language? How would you define this group? What is that common language that they speak?

Adakah perbezaan di antara puak-puak etnik di Brunei semakin berkurangan?
Adakah bangkit suatu generasi Brunei yang baru yang 'tiada berpuak etnik' atau
'tiada beridentiti etnik' yang menggunakan SATU BAHASA sahaja. Bagaimakah
kita boleh mendefinisikan kumpulan baru ini? Bahasa apakah yang mereka
semua gunakan itu?

19. Among the maintenance efforts suggested by the informants are teaching
    indigenous languages to the young and the publication of dictionaries. Do you
    think these are substantial? Should anything else be done to increase the
    languages' chances of survival, what and by whom?
    Di antara cara-cara pemuliharaan yang dicadangkan oleh para informan ialah
    pengajaran bahasa-bahasa puak jati kepada orang-orang muda dan penerbitan
    kamus. Adakah ini sudah memadai? Adakah lagi perkara lain yang boleh dibuat
    untuk meningkatkan peluang hidup bahasa-bahasa tersebut, apa dan oleh siapa?

END

8 Muharram 1424
11 March 2003

Yang Amat Mulia;
Pengiran Setia Negara Pengiran Haji Md Yusop bin Pengiran Haji Abd.Rahim,
[ADDRESS DELETED]

Via:
The Dean,
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,
Universiti Brunei Darussalam

Pengiran,

REQUEST FOR A MEETING AND INTERVIEW

I would like to introduce myself as a lecturer in the Department of English Language and Applied Linguistics at Universiti Brunei Darussalam. I am currently a PhD candidate at the University of Leicester, United Kingdom. My sociolinguistic research entitled 'The Ecology of Language in Negara Brunei Darussalam' is a comprehensive study that covers all the seven languages/dialects of the Malay race in Brunei, as well as Standard Malay and English. The main objective of the study is to research the position of the Malay language that was declared as 'Official language' in relation to Brunei Malay and the languages spoken in Brunei through a historical and contemporary perspective. This study also aims to identify the dynamics between the said languages in terms of linguistic unity and linguistic diversity.

The approach in this study involves interviewing members of the public and also specific individuals who are responsible for the creation and enforcement of language policies on behalf of the government of Negara Brunei Darussalam. In this respect, in view of your position as an important member of the Tujuh Serangkai who was directly involved in language issues in the Brunei, you are a potentially significant informant that I would like to interview. I hope that you would be agreeable to a meeting and an interview with me, and to giving your opinions on matters such as follows:

1. Why was Malay chosen as the Official language of the country? Were there specific reasons for its selection and not other languages?

....2/-

2. What was meant by 'Bahasa Melayu' that was declared the official language? During the promulgation of the constitution was there a specific kind of Malay that was had in mind? If so, what was the form of this type of Malay? Was it not Brunei Malay that was meant by as the Official language? Why or why not?

3. Many of my informants identified the language used in the News or RTB programmes as the official version of Malay language. But to a majority of them this version does not embody the Bruneian spirit, in fact it was seen as foreign and 'Malaysian' instead. What is your comment on this?

4. When Bahasa Melayu is chosen as the official language, where does that put the other languages in Negara Brunei Darussalam? Are the ethnic languages considered less or not significant?

5. In the State Constitution, seven ethnic groups were identified as Malay: Belait, Bisaya, Brunei, Dusun, Kedayan, Murut and Tutong. Apart from the ethnic Bruneis, what was the history of the selection of the other groups into the Malay racial grouping? And why were only these seven groups and not others considered as indigenous Malays of Brunei?

I would like to inform you that I will only be in Brunei until the end of April 2003. I am hopeful that you would agree to a meeting while I am still in the country. I also wish to thank you for your cooperation.

Yours faithfully,

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APPENDIX 5

No.	SEX	AGE	EDUC.	JOB	Ethnicity	Religion	1st Lang	Common Lg.
INFORMANT PROFILE SHEET								
STAGE 1 INFORMANTS								
1	M	23	Ter	Engineer	Tutong	Islam	Brunei	Brunei
2	M	37	Ter	Lecturer	Dusun	'Dusun'	Dusun	Brunei
3	M	25	Ter	-	Kedayan	Islam	Kedayan	Kedayan
4	F	37	Ter	Lecturer	Murut	'Murut'	Murut	Brunei
5	F	42	Pri	Clerk	Brunei	Islam	Brunei	Brunei
6	M	62	-	Com.Ldr	Murut	Christ.	Murut	Murut
7	M	23	Ter	Teacher	Murut	Christ.	Murut	Murut
8	M	15	Sec	Student	Murut	Christ.	Murut	Murut
9	F	32	Sec	Clerk	Tutong	Islam	Tutong	Brunei
10	M	50	Sec	Vill. Hd	Tutong	Islam	Tutong	Brunei
11	M	80	-	Retired	Tutong	Islam	Tutong	Tutong
12	F	80	-	Housewife	Tutong	Islam	Tutong	Tutong
13	F	47	Sec	Clerk	Kedayan	Islam	Kedayan	Brunei
14	M	84	-	-	Dusun	'Dusun'	Dusun	Dusun
15	F	49	Pri	Housewife	Dusun	'Dusun'	Dusun	Dusun
16	F	61	Pri	Farmer	Bisaya	'Bisaya'	Bisaya	Bisaya
17	M	26	Ter	Steward	Dusun	Islam	Dusun	Brunei
18	M	60	Ter	Civ. Svt	Kedayan	Islam	Kedayan	Kedayan
19	M	30	Ter	Teacher	Belait	Islam	Brunei	Brunei
20	M	23	Ter	Student	Brunei	Islam	Brunei	Brunei
21	M	27	Sec	Teacher	Bisaya	'Bisaya'	Bisaya	Brunei
22	M	54	-	Civ. Svt	Bisaya	'Bisaya'	Bisaya	Brunei
23	F	46	Ter	Lecturer	Belait	Christ.	Iban	Brunei
24	F	72	-	Business	Brunei	Islam	Brunei	Brunei
25	M	74	-	Business	Brunei	Islam	Brunei	Brunei
26	M	60	Sec	Ex-Teachr	Dusun	'Dusun'	Dusun	Dusun
27	M	78	Sec	Ex-Civ.Svt	Belait	Islam	Belait	Brunei
STAGE 2 INFORMANTS								
28	M	33	Ter	Teacher	Tutong	Islam	Tutong	Brunei
29	F	52	Pri	Office Asst	Dusun	Islam	Dusun	Brunei
30	M	40	Ter	Lecturer	Brunei	Islam	Brunei	Brunei
31	M	33	Ter	Tutor	Brunei	Islam	Brunei	Brunei
32	F	36	Ter	Civ.Svt	Tutong	Islam	Tutong	Tutong
33	F	36	Ter	Civ. Svt	Tut/Dus	Islam	Tutong	Brunei
34	M	41	Ter	Civ. Svt	Tut/Dus	Islam	Tutong	Tut/Bru
35	F	32	Ter	Lecturer	Brunei	Islam	Brunei	Brunei
36	M	70	Ter	Ex-Teachr	Tutong	Islam	Tutong	Tutong
STAGE 3 INFORMANTS								
37	Dato Paduka Hj Mahmud Bin Hj Bakyr				Former Director of DBP			
38	Dr Hj Hashim Bin Hj Abd Hamid				Associate Prof./ Dir. Acad. Brunei Studies			
39	Pg DP Hj Ismail Bin Pg Hj Mohamad				Director of Radio Television Brunei			
40	Pehin Dato Hj Awang Mohd Jamil Al-Sufri				Principal of Brunei History Centre			
41	Pg Setia Negara Pg Hj Md Yusop Pg Hj Abd Rahim				Member of Tujuh Serangkai, Royal Court			
42	Dato Paduka Hj Ahmad Bin Kadi				Former Director of DBP			
43	Puan Hjh Norjum Binti Hj Md Yusop				Act. Dir. Curriculum Devt., Min of Ed.			

Note:

For Informants 2, 4, 14, 15, 16, 21, 22 and 26, their 'religion' is recorded here exactly as they reported it to the researcher. Although 'Dusun', 'Bisaya' and 'Murut' are not strictly religions, rather an ethnic classification, what was referred to by the respective informants was the traditional 'pagan' religion of their community.

The dashes (-) in the 'Education' and 'Employment' columns indicate either the fact that the informant never attended school or was unemployed, or that this particular information was not supplied by the informant.

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