bm 379394

A LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION OF SPOKEN BRUNEI ENGLISH IN THE 1990s

Graeme Cane

A thesis submitted to the Department of English Studies for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Strathclyde

August, 1993

ABSTRACT

A LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION OF SPOKEN BRUNEI ENGLISH IN THE 1990s

The thesis discusses the variety of English that is spoken today in Brunei Darussalam and assesses its status as a 'New English'. Using a corpus of spoken data which was recorded and transcribed by the author, the thesis attempts to produce an empirically based linguistic description of the grammatical, lexical and discourse features found in spoken Brunei English and to discuss the ways in which these features differ from the equivalent features in Standard British English. The final part of the study is concerned with the pedagogical and language planning implications of recognizing the existence of a Bruneian variety of English, and with proposing an appropriate English language teaching model for the Bruneian education system.

Graeme Cane,
August 1993.

DECLARATION OF AUTHOR'S RIGHTS

The copyright of this thesis belongs to the author under the terms of the United Kingdom Copyright Acts as qualified by University of Strathclyde Regulation 3.49. Due acknowledgement must always be made of the use of any material contained in, or derived from, this thesis.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people were involved in helping me to formulate the ideas that have gone into this thesis, from academics at universities in a number of different countries to sales assistants in the shops and supermarkets of Bandar Seri Begawan. I am most grateful to everyone who has helped, especially to the following :

- Deborah Cameron, my supervisor at Strathclyde, for her highly professional supervision throughout and her perceptive comments on each draft chapter of the thesis.

- Gloria Poedjosoedarmo, Senior Lecturer in Linguistics at Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, for her extraordinarily kind and generous help and encouragement throughout the project, especially with regard to Malay interference matters and computing problems.

- The B.A. Education (TESL) students I taught at Universiti Brunei Darussalam from 1988 to 1993, for the insights they provided into Brunei English during classroom discussions and for their willingness to take part in the recorded interviews

- Elizabeth, Andrew and Patrick Cane, for having put up with all of my nonsense since I first applied to the University of Strathclyde to do a Ph.D.

I should also like to say 'Terima Kasih Banyak' to the following people for their help and support :

Abu Bakar Hashim, Keiji Baba, Dato Haji Abu Bakar Apong, Datuk Professor Haji Sharom Ahmat, Albert Dempster, Kevin Dunseath, Hajjah Rosnah Haji Ramly, Haji Tarip bin Mat Yassin, Fiona Holliman, Mohd Gary Jones, Linda Lim, Peter Martin, James McLellan, Martin Montgomery, Jonathan Mossop, Susie Ng, Maznah Noordin, Diana Ooi, Anne-Marie Smith, Geoff Smith, Nigel Turton, Adrian Williams, Michio Yoshida.

Graeme Cane,
Faculty of Education,
Kumamoto University,
Japan.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Map of Borneo i
Map of Brunei Darussalam ii
Epigraph iii

CHAPTER ONE : GENERAL AIMS OF THE THESIS AND AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN BRUNEI DARUSSALAM *1*

1.0 Background to the Present Study *1*
2.0 Historical and Linguistic Background *2*
2.1 The Languages of Brunei Darussalam *2*
2.2 British Involvement in Brunei and the earliest uses of English in the country *5*
2.3 The Use of English in the Bruneian Education System *7*
2.4 The Domains in which English is used in Brunei *12*
2.5 The Brunei Variety of English : Previous Studies *14*
3.0 The Aims and Scope of the Thesis *15*
4.0 The Structure of the Thesis *16*

CHAPTER TWO : SOCIOLINGUISTIC CRITERIA FOR ESTABLISHING A NEW VARIETY OF ENGLISH AND THE APPLICATION OF THESE CRITERIA TO THE ENGLISH SPOKEN IN BRUNEI *18*

1.0 General Aims *18*
2.0 The Importance of English as a World Language *18*
3.0 Native Varieties of English *21*
3.1 The Spread of English *21*
3.2 Variation within Native Varieties *21*
4.0 Non-Native Varieties of English *22*
4.1 ESL, EFL, EIIL *22*
4.2 The New Englishes *24*
4.2.1 Criteria for the Establishment of a New English *25*
4.2.2 Variation within the New Englishes *27*
4.2.3 The Functions of the New Englishes *29*
4.2.4 General linguistic features of the New Englishes *30*
5.0 English in S.E. Asia : Individual cases and shared features *32*
5.1 English in Singapore *33*
5.1.1 Historical Background *33*
5.1.2 Linguistic features of Singapore English *34*
5.2 English in Malaysia *35*
5.2.1 Historical Background *35*
5.2.2 Linguistic features of Malaysian English *36*
5.3 English in the Philippines *38*

5.3.1 Historical Background *38*
5.3.2 Linguistic features of Philippine English *38*
5.4 English in Papua New Guinea *40*
5.4.1 Historical Background *40*
5.4.2 Linguistic features of Papua New Guinean English *41*
5.5 Features of the verb phrase in Four Varieties of English in S.E. Asia *42*
5.6 Summary of shared verb phrase features in S.E. Asian New Englishes *45*
6.0 The Status of Brunei English as a New English *47*
6.1 Criteria for a New English *47*
6.2 The Role of a New English *48*
7.0 Conclusions *50*

CHAPTER THREE : METHODOLOGY *51*

1.0 Data collection and the general aims of the study *51*
2.0 The selection of a linguistic group for data collection *53*
2.1 UBD Students *57*
2.2 The RTB Recordings *59*
3.0 Should the corpus of data be based on speech, writing or both forms? *60*
4.0 Stylistic considerations in the collection of data *61*
5.0 The choice of a standardised variety against which to compare the distinctive features of Brunei English *63*
6.0 Other methodological problems *64*
7.0 Conclusions *66*

CHAPTER FOUR : GRAMMATICAL FEATURES OF SPOKEN BRUNEI ENGLISH *68*

1.0 Introductory remarks *68*
2.0 The verb phrase *69*
2.1 Tense and aspect *69*
2.2 Verb phrase reduction *75*
2.2.1 Deletion of the copula *75*
2.2.2 Deletion of subject pronouns before verb phrases containing 'depend' *78*
2.2.3 VP reduction in oral responses to questions *79*
2.3 Subject-verb concord *80*
2.4 Creation of non-standard phrasal and prepositional verbs *83*
2.5 Question tags *84*
2.6 Inversion in subordinate noun clauses *86*
2.7 Comparison of Brunei English VP features with VP features in other New Englishes *86*
3.0 The noun phrase *87*
3.1 Use of articles in the noun phrase *88*
3.2 Singular and plural marking in the noun phrase *90*
3.3 Use of a possessive determiner for an article determiner *94*
3.4 Combined noun and pronoun subject forms *95*

4.0 Adverbials *96*
4.1 Position of adverbials *97*
4.2 Form of the adverb 'sometimes' *99*
4.3 The use of 'of course' in spoken utterances *99*
4.4 The use of 'until now' *100*
4.5 The use of adjective forms for adverb forms *101*
5.0 Prepositions *101*
6.0 Conjunctions *103*
7.0 Conclusions *104*

CHAPTER FIVE : LEXICAL FEATURES OF SPOKEN BRUNEI ENGLISH *107*

1.0 Introduction *107*
2.0 Lexical items borrowed from Malay *110*
2.1 Sociolinguistic reasons for incorporating Malay items *110*
2.2 Some examples of Malay items which regularly occur in Brunei English *112*
2.3 Names and titles in formal speech contexts *115*
2.4 Use of 'lah' *116*
2.5 Use of 'bah' *117*
2.6 Use of Malay-based lexical items : Conclusions *117*
3.0 Lexical items borrowed from Arabic *118*
4.0 Lexical items borrowed from Chinese *120*
5.0 Lexical items borrowed from other background languages *122*
5.1 'Amah' *122*
5.2 'Chop' *122*
6.0 English-based lexical items which display semantic or usage differences from Standard British English *123*
6.1 'Already' *123*
6.2 'Catch/catch up' and 'Grasp/grasp at' *123*
6.3 'Chit-chat' *124*
6.4 'Flower' *124*
6.5 'Follow' *124*
6.6 'Frus' *125*
6.7 'Jubilate' *125*
6.8 'On and off' *125*
6.9 'Pass up' *125*
6.10 'Perform prayers' *126*
6.11 'Place' *126*
6.12 'Schooling' *126*
6.13 'Scold' *127*
6.14 'Send' *127*
6.15 'Shophouse' *128*
6.16 'Sleep' *128*
6.17 'Stay' *128*
6.18 'Wait first' *128*
6.19 Some generalizations on the above lexical items *129*
7.0 English-based lexical items displaying morphological differences from Standard British English *129*
8.0 Differences in Collocation *130*

9.0 Lexical Reduplication *133*
10.0 Idioms and Cliches *133*
11.0 Conclusions *136*

CHAPTER SIX : DISCOURSE FEATURES OF SPOKEN BRUNEI ENGLISH *138*

1.0 Introduction *138*
2.0 Cohesion in Spoken Discourse *139*
2.1 Theoretical Background *139*
2.2 Reference *140*
2.3 Ellipsis and Substitution *144*
2.4 Exophoric reference in Brunei English *147*
3.0 Other linguistic features of unscripted spoken Brunei English discourse *149*
3.1 Expressing agreement and disagreement *149*
3.2 The use of 'Otherwise' as a discourse connector *152*
3.3 Intonation Juncture in spoken expository discourse *152*
3.4 Discourse Fillers *153*
4.0 Style, Topic Selection and Structure in Formal Spoken Texts *155*
4.1 Stylistic Features of a Radio News Bulletin *155*
4.2 Discourse Structure of a formal News Bulletin *157*
4.3 Topic Selection and Newsworthiness in a formal news bulletin *158*
4.4 Formal Spoken Discourse in Brunei English : Some Conclusions *161*
5.0 Conclusions *162*

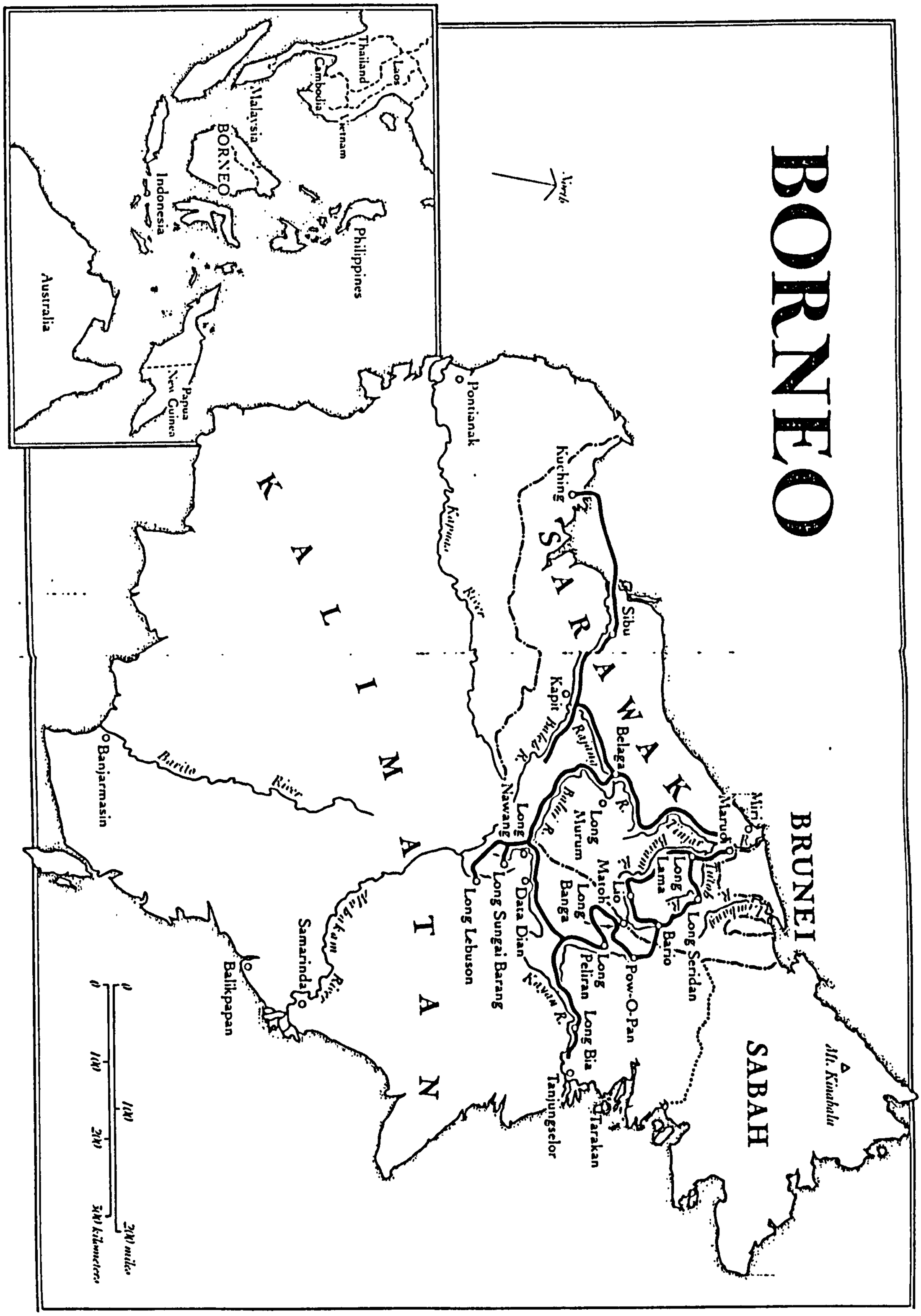
CHAPTER SEVEN : THE BRUNEI VARIETY OF ENGLISH : IMPLICATIONS FOR THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN BRUNEI *164*

1.0 Introduction *164*
2.0 The choice between an exonormative and an endonormative standard *165*
3.0 Theoretical and practical problems involved in designing a pedagogical model for New English language teaching contexts *169*
3.1 A Linguistic Model for the Philippines *169*
3.2 A Linguistic Model for Singapore *171*
3.3 A Linguistic Model for Fiji *174*
3.4 A Linguistic Model for Malaysia *175*
4.0 The design of a pedagogical model for New English situations *177*
4.1 The concept of a language standard *178*
4.2 Identification of appropriate speaker input for the establishment of an endonormative standard *179*
4.3 Establishing a systematic pedagogical model *180*
5.0 The choice of a pedagogical model for Brunei *181*
5.1 The adoption of an appropriate language standard for teaching English in Brunei *182*
5.1.1 An investigation into the linguistic role models of Bruneian trainee English teachers *182*
5.1.2 Arguments for selecting an exonormative standard *185*
5.1.3 Arguments for selecting an endonormative standard *187*
5.1.4 Finding a workable solution to the problem *187*
5.2 Selecting the most appropriate group of speakers to act as linguistic models for English teaching purposes *190*

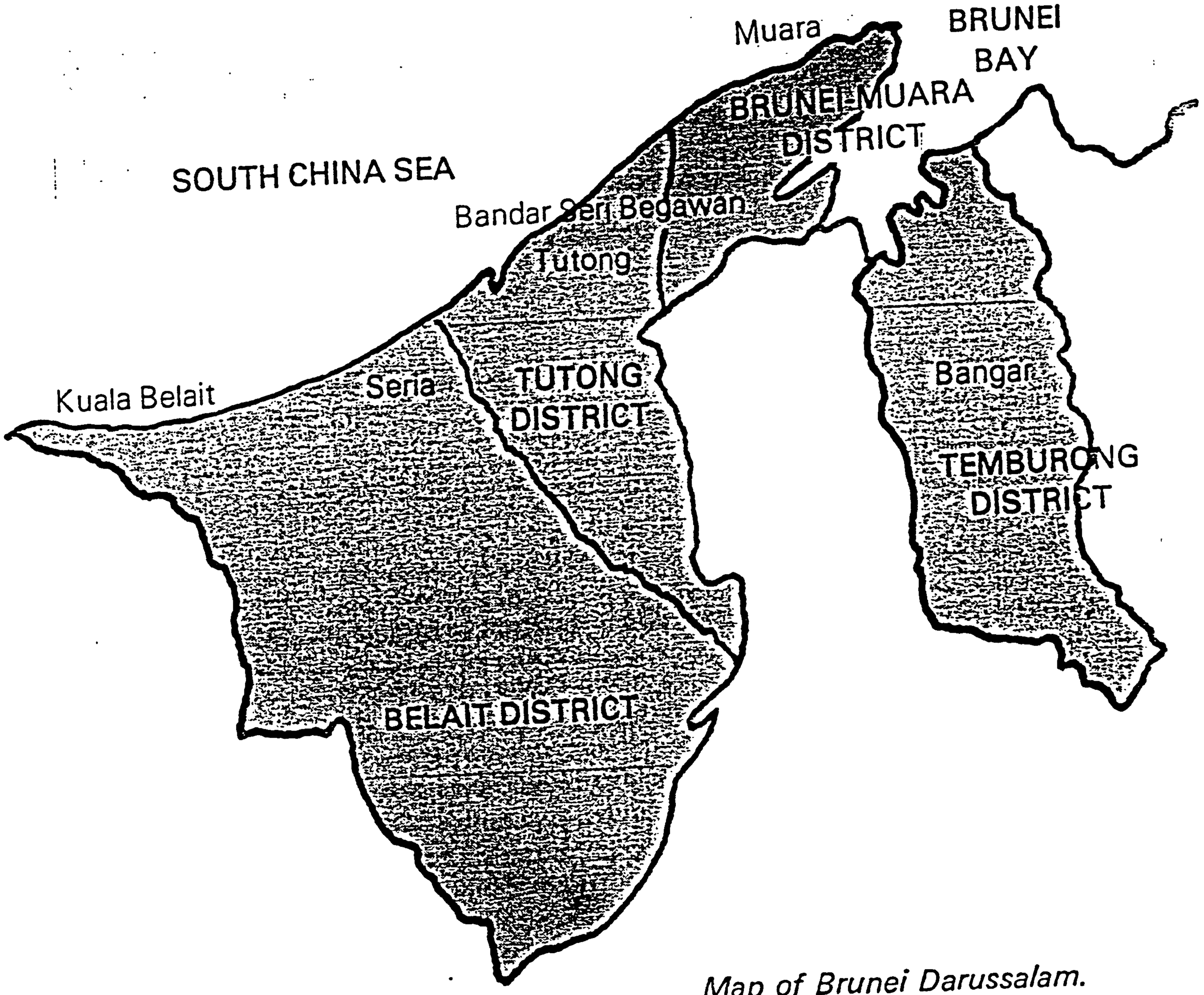
CHAPTER EIGHT : SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS *193*

1.0 Review of the Objectives *193*
2.0 The linguistic features of Brunei English : A summary of the main findings *195*
2.1 Grammatical features *195*
2.2 Lexical features *196*
2.3 Discourse features *197*
3.0 Further research into the Bruneian variety of English *197*
4.0 Brunei English : Future Directions *199*

Appendix *202*
Bibliography *234*



Map taken from Stranger in the Forest : On Foot Across Borneo by Eric Hansen, Abacus Books, 1990.



Map of Brunei Darussalam.

Map taken from Brunei Darussalam in Brief, published by the Prime Minister's Office, Brunei Darussalam, 2nd edition 1987.

'Butler!' yelled Ellis, and as the butler appeared, 'go and wake that bloody *chokra* up!'
'Yes, master.'
'And butler!'
'Yes, master?'
'How much ice have we got left?'
' 'Bout twenty pounds, master. Will only last today, I think. I find it very difficult to keep ice cool now.'
'Don't talk like that, damn you - "I find it very difficult!" Have you swallowed a dictionary? "Please, master, can't keeping ice cool" - that's how you ought to talk. We shall have to sack this fellow if he gets to talk English too well.'

George Orwell, *Burmese Days* (1934)

'So whose language is English anyway? The answer must be that it belongs to everyone who wants it or needs it, and that it belongs exclusively to no nation, no community, no individual.'

Peter Strevens, *What is Standard English?* (1982)

Chapter One

GENERAL AIMS OF THE THESIS AND AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN BRUNEI DARUSSALAM

1.0 Background to the present study

Although the theoretical conceptualisation of non-native speaker varieties of English goes back at least to the mid-1960s (Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens, 1964:296 ; Kachru, 1965), it is only in the last fifteen years or so that the implications of the concept have been widely discussed. Two conferences held in Hawaii and Illinois respectively in 1978 advocated the setting up of theoretical and applied research projects on the use of English as an international language, reflecting the unprecedented increase in the number of English users worldwide. In the early 1980s, it was noted that in a growing number of countries, such as Nigeria, Singapore and Papua New Guinea, English was regularly used not only 'internationally' for communication with native speakers but also 'intranationally' (i.e. within the country itself) for communication with other non-native speakers. (See, for example, Platt and Weber, 1980).

It was also noted that the varieties of English being spoken intranationally in these situations often contained lexical and syntactic features which were different from the corresponding features found in Standard British or Standard American English. The recognition by linguists such as Platt and Weber (1980), Kachru (1982) and Smith (1983) of these features as valid elements of linguistically legitimate new varieties of English produced, and today still continues to produce, debate and controversy both within the countries where these new varieties have developed and outside.

Kachru (1985) has used the term the 'Outer Circle' to group the countries which, he argues, have institutionalised English as an additional language. The twelve countries included by Kachru in the 'Outer Circle' grouping are Bangladesh, Ghana, India, Kenya, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Tanzania and Zambia. Over the last few years, the English spoken in virtually all of these twelve 'Outer Circle' countries has been examined and described in varying degrees of detail. While the English language situation in Brunei Darussalam would seem to have many features in common with the situations in the twelve countries of the 'Outer Circle', Kachru

does not include Brunei in the grouping. One aim of the present thesis is to compare the use of English in Brunei with that of countries included in Kachru's 'Outer Circle'. As sub-section 2.5 below indicates, very little research has so far been conducted on the English spoken in the sultanate.

In order to begin to fill this gap, the thesis uses a collected corpus of recorded spoken data (samples of which are given in the appendix) to analyse the English spoken by Bruneians. While the main body of the study (Chapters Four, Five and Six) is concerned with describing the linguistic features of an emerging variety of English, Chapter Two attempts to place the English spoken in Brunei within the sociolinguistic context of the 'New Englishes', in particular those varieties that have developed in South-East Asia. The final chapters discuss the implications of recognizing a new Bruneian variety on the teaching of English in the country.

2.0 Historical and Linguistic Background

This section examines the historical events which took the English language to Brunei and the linguistic factors which led to its establishment within the sultanate as a language of intranational and international communication. The historical and linguistic factors involved in the development of English in Brunei are discussed under the following sub-sections :

2.1 The Languages of Brunei Darussalam

2.2 British Involvement in Brunei and the Earliest Uses of English in the Country

2.3 The Use of English in the Bruneian Education System

2.4 The Domains in which English is used in Brunei

2.5 The Brunei Variety of English : Previous Studies

2.1 The Languages of Brunei Darussalam

The sultanate of Brunei Darussalam (`darussalam' is Arabic for 'abode of peace') is situated in the north-western part of the island of Borneo

and currently has a population of approximately 256,500 (Statistics Division, Economic Planning Unit, 1991). The country is divided into two geographically separate sections by the Malaysian state of Sarawak. The districts of Brunei-Muara, Tutong and Belait are situated in the larger western section of the country, and the Temburong district is situated in the smaller eastern section.

The largest ethnic group, which accounts for 69% of the total population, is Malay in origin. Approximately 18% of the population are of Chinese origin and other indigenous groups (e.g. Dusun, Belait, Murut etc.) make up 5% of the total population. The remaining 8% are foreign workers from Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia etc. More than half the population of the sultanate live in the Brunei-Muara district either in or near the capital, Bandar Seri Begawan. (The above percentages are taken from Martin, 1990).

Brunei Malay is the dialect of Bandar Seri Begawan and its surroundings and is also used in the main towns of each of the other three districts (Nothofer, 1987). Brunei Malay is spoken by approximately 85,000 people in the sultanate. Nothofer has used the word lists of basic vocabulary items devised for lexicostatistical glottochronological studies by Swadesh (see, for example, Swadesh, 1955) in order to determine the cognate percentages (i.e. degree of lexical similarity) between the dialects of Malay spoken in Brunei. Using this method, the researcher compares corresponding lexical items from the Swadesh lists in two dialects or languages and then calculates the number of related items found. If, for example, the researcher finds that fifty of the lexical items in a one hundred word list are cognates, he/she can then claim that Language/Dialect A has a cognate percentage of 50% with Language/Dialect B. Using this method, Nothofer found that Brunei Malay has a cognate percentage of 84% with Peninsular Standard Malay. This percentage seems relatively high, but, as Nothofer (1987) points out, significant phonological and syntactic differences also exist between the two varieties.

A sub-variety of Brunei Malay is Kampung Air (alternative spelling = Kampong Ayer, and sometimes called Balandih). It is spoken mainly in the water villages along the Brunei River to the north of Bandar Seri Begawan. Kampung Air has a cognate percentage of 82% with Peninsular Standard Malay and 94% with Brunei Malay (Nothofer, 1987).

Another variety of Malay spoken in Brunei is Kedayan, which has a cognate percentage of 80% with Peninsular Standard Malay and 94% with Brunei Malay (Nothofer, 1987). Kedayan is spoken mainly in the western parts of the Brunei-Muara district and in the easternmost areas of the Tutong district.

In addition to the above varieties, Standard Malay also exists in Brunei. Called 'Bahasa Melayu', it is very similar to Peninsular Standard Malay (i.e. 'Bahasa Malaysia' or Malaysian Standard Malay) but contains a number of typically Bruneian phonological and lexical features. According to Nothofer, Standard Malay ('Bahasa Melayu') is used in all published written materials, in public speeches and other formal situations by educated speakers. It was made the official national language in the Constitution of 1959 (Nothofer, 1987) and it is the variety of Malay used as one of the two media of instruction in Bruneian schools.

Although the cognate percentages between Standard Malay and the local varieties appear quite high, Poedjosoedarmo (personal communication) points out that there are significant phonological, morphological and syntactic differences between the local varieties and Standard Malay which are not reflected in the word lists used for calculating cognate percentages. Poedjosoedarmo argues that if speakers of Standard Malay and speakers of the Brunei varieties have had no mutual contact, they will find cross-dialectal communication extremely difficult. This point is raised again in sub-section 2.3 below in connection with the problems faced by Bruneian children in having to acquire and use Standard Malay once they enter primary school.

The other medium of instruction in Brunei's education system is English, which is the medium of instruction from the fourth year of primary schooling (the beginning of 'upper primary') up to university for all subjects apart from Islamic studies, history, art, Malay language and literature, and physical education. The role of English in the education system is discussed in detail in sub-section 2.3 below.

In addition to the varieties of Malay outlined above, a number of other regional languages are spoken in the sultanate. Like Malay, these languages are Austronesian and some have relatively high cognate percentages with Malay. These six Austronesian languages are Iban, Dusun (with two varieties), Tutong, Belait, Penan and Lun Bawang (Nothofer, 1987). Martin (1990) estimates the total number of speakers of these six languages to be approximately 25,000.

As noted above, approximately 18% of the population are of Chinese origin and speak various dialects of Chinese. The particular dialect spoken generally depends on the place of origin of the speaker's forebears. A study of Chinese students at Universiti Brunei Darussalam by Dunseath (forthcoming) indicates that the most widely spoken Chinese dialects in Brunei are Hokkien, Hakka, Cantonese, Hainanese and Mandarin. Radio Brunei (RTB) broadcasts five and a half hours daily in Mandarin.

Because Brunei is a Muslim country, Arabic is used in prayers, religious ceremonies and in certain everyday greetings between Bruneians. The language is taught at a number of religious schools in the country but few Bruneians are fluent in conversational Arabic and the general standard of spoken Arabic in Brunei is very much lower than the general standard of spoken English.

2.2. British Involvement in Brunei and the arrival of the English Language in the Country

It is thought that Islam came to Brunei during the early fifteenth century at the time of the Majapahit empire (Government of Brunei, 1986). During the sixteenth century, Brunei rose to a height of political power, never achieved before or since, under Sultan Bolkiah. This sultan made a number of expeditions with his fleet to Java and Malacca, and made conquests both in other parts of Borneo and in the Philippines (Government of Brunei, 1987). The first European to write an account of Brunei was Antonio Pigafetta, who visited the country in 1521 with the Magellan expedition. Pigafetta was impressed with the opulence of the sultan's court and estimated that the capital contained over 25,000 houses (Government of Brunei, 1992).

By the end of the eighteenth century, Bruneian power had fallen into decline. In 1838, the British explorer, James Brooke, arrived in Borneo. To repay Brooke for his help in quelling a rebellion and fighting against piracy, the ruling sultan ceded him the area which is known today as Sarawak and made Brooke the Rajah (Government of Brunei, 1987). In 1888, Brunei became a British protectorate, beginning an era of ninety-six years of British presence (Ozog, 1992). While the royal court continued to function in Malay during this time, the British administration used English in its work. Bruneians who wished for career advancement were therefore obliged to learn English. The sons

of the rulers and leading families were either educated privately or sent to English-medium institutions such as the Malay College in Kuala Kangsar in Malaysia (Ozog, 1992). A knowledge of English thus became associated with entry into the membership of the Bruneian elite. According to Ahmad (1992), the British policy led to feelings of separatism rather than to the development of a unified country.

Following a protectorate agreement between Britain and Brunei in1905, a British Resident was appointed to advise the sultan on all matters except Islam and Malay customs. This Residential period continued until 1959, when a new constitution was written for Brunei. The constitution declared the state to be self-governing, with its foreign affairs, security and defence remaining the responsibility of the United Kingdom (Government of Brunei, 1987). The post of Resident was abolished and a High Commissioner was appointed by Britain to advise the Sultan and his government (Ahmad, 1992).

A rebellion in 1962 by dissident groups who fought for reunification with Sarawak and the newly formed state of Malaysia was quickly put down by British military forces. The dissidents were rounded up and imprisoned.

In 1971, Brunei and Britain signed an amended version of the 1959 constitution, which made Brunei internally fully independent but with defence still remaining in British hands. The position of High Commissioner was converted from its previous advisory role to a normal diplomatic position (Government of Brunei, 1987).

Brunei Darussalam became a fully independent and sovereign state on 1st January 1984 under the leadership of His Majesty Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah, the twenty-ninth sultan. In the same year, Brunei joined the United Nations and the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) (Government of Brunei, 1987).

Oil was discovered in Brunei in 1929 and this discovery has led to substantial economic prosperity for the country. It also brought the Shell Petroleum Company to Brunei, which set up its local headquarters in Seria, near Kuala Belait. The influx of European oil workers into Brunei strengthened the use of English in the country for, even though Shell is a Dutch-based company, English is generally the lingua franca of employees working with Brunei Shell. In the nineteenth century, Bruneians seeking career advancement had needed English in order to work with the British administrators. Since

the establishment of the Brunei Shell company in the twentieth century, Bruneians have needed English for career advancement in the country's most important industry and source of revenue. Thus, the need for English continues to be significant in Brunei, and this need is reflected in the use of the language in the Bruneian education system. The following sub-section examines the role of English in Bruneian schools both before and after the gaining of full independence and sovereignty in 1984.

2.3 The Use of English in the Bruneian Education System

Ahmad (1992) assesses the period of British administration in Brunei (1906 to 1959) as one in which separatism was fostered and in which no attempt was made to formulate a national educational policy which would create a common outlook and philosophy for the citizens of Brunei. Immediately after the proclamation of the 1959 constitution, the Bruneian Government asked two Malaysian educationists to draw up a report examining the education system in terms of policy and content. The recommendations of the Aminuddin Baki/Paul Chang report (1959) were accepted by the government in principle but were not actually implemented in the schools. Ahmad (1992) states that the Baki/Chang report was the first attempt made to establish a national education policy for Brunei. Among a number of other aims, the report recommended :

> making/using the National Language (Malay) the medium of instruction in all schools in the country (Ahmad, 1992:9).

Prior to 1959, English was generally perceived as having higher academic status than Malay within the education system. From the 1930s onwards, private English-medium schools were set up and in 1952 the first government-run English-medium secondary school was opened (Ozog, 1992).

As Ahmad (1989) and Ozog (1992) point out, English-medium education was available only to those pupils who were thought to have strong academic potential. Until the establishment of the bilingual system in early 1985, the general pattern in secondary education was for brighter pupils to go to English-medium secondary schools and for less academically gifted pupils to attend Malay-medium secondary schools. This division served to strengthen the belief amongst

Bruneians that English was a language with higher academic and social status than Malay.

In order to eradicate this belief and to establish Malay as the language of instruction in Brunei, the Baki/Chang report of 1959 and the 'Surohanjaya Pelajaran' (sic) Education Report of 1972 both recommended the adoption of Malay as the main medium of instruction in primary and secondary schools. However, these recommendations were not implemented by the Ministry of Education (Ahmad, 1992), and the belief in the superiority of English as an academic language continued to exist amongst the Bruneian community.

In order to raise the level of both Malay and English proficiency and to instil the philosophy of M.I.B. ('Melayu Islam Beraja' or the 'Malay Islamic Monarchy' concept) in Bruneian children, the government introduced the 'Sistem Pelajaran Dwibahasa' (Bilingual Education System) in January 1985. The aim was to replace the previous division of English and Malay-medium education with one system for all pupils which would encourage equal competency in Malay and English. As Ozog (1992) notes, with the removal of the former English-medium school system, which had accepted only those pupils who were academically more capable, 'English has ceased to be solely the language of the elite and has now become the second language of everyone' (1992:151).

Under the Dwibahasa system, pupils take three years of Lower Primary education using Malay as the medium of instruction except in English language lessons. Pupils then go on to take three years of Upper Primary schooling during which time some subjects are studied in Malay and others are studied through the medium of English. The division is as follows :

<u>Malay-medium Subjects at the Upper Primary Level</u>

Malay language
Islamic Religious Knowledge
Civics
P.E.
Arts and Crafts

English-medium subjects at the Upper Primary Level

English language
Mathematics
Science
Geography
History (Ahmad, 1992:18)

A similar division is made during the five years of secondary schooling up to GCE O Level, although a recent recommendation that pupils should study history through the medium of Malay is soon to be implemented. The philosophy behind the division is basically that subjects relating to Malay culture will be taught in Malay and that other subjects will be taught in English. Ahmad (1992) has calculated that by the time a pupil reaches Lower Secondary level, 65% of his/her time at school is spent studying through the medium of English and 35% is spent studying in Malay. In order to strengthen the position of Malay, the government insists that every student in Brunei has to obtain a credit (i.e. Grade 6 or better) in Malay at GCE O Level before he/she can be accepted for tertiary level education. This requirement contrasts with the Grade 8 minimum at O Level in English language for students wishing to enter the sultanate's only university, Universiti Brunei Darussalam.

Ahmad (1992), the Deputy Minister of Education at the time of writing his 1992 paper, suggests that 'the general consensus of opinion amongst Bruneians is that Dwibahasa is a progressive step in the right direction' (1992:25). As Jones (1992) points out, the implementation of a successful bilingual policy in Brunei is more complex than some educationists and language planners in the country realise. One of the reasons for this is that the Bruneian child's first language is likely to be Brunei Malay or one of the other indigenous languages in the country rather than the school language, Standard Malay. As was noted in sub-section 2.1 above, there are substantial phonological, morphological and syntactic differences between Standard Malay and the local varieties spoken in Brunei, which pose considerable problems for many Bruneian children faced with acquiring Standard Malay when they enter primary school.

> In effect, if dialectal differences warrant describing Brunei Malay as a separate language from Standard Malay, then the first second language that many Bruneian children have to learn is actually Standard Malay (Jones, 1992:137).

Jones, a lecturer in English at Universiti Brunei Darussalam, is currently involved in a longitudinal assessment of the Dwibahasa education system at the request of the Ministry of Education. Jones's research is scheduled for a fifteen-year period and will include observation and analysis of selected school groups throughout their school careers. The results of Jones's research should provide language planners with a clearer understanding of both the effectiveness of the bilingual education system in Brunei and bilingual education theory in general. In a paper delivered at the 'Bilingualism and National Development' conference at Universiti Brunei Darussalam in December 1991, and which appears in Jones and Ozog (eds.) 1992, Jones argues (1992:142) that two of the most important prerequisites for successful bilingual education already exist in Brunei. These are :

a. The country's national language (Malay) is established and is perceived to have as much prestige, albeit in different domains, as the second language (English).

b. English is not perceived in the community as posing any threat to Malay.

With regard to the level of proficiency Bruneian students are expected to achieve in the two languages, Jones feels that equal Malay/English proficiency is an unrealistic goal for the Dwibahasa policy.

> A realistic objective of Dwibahasa is to maintain the first language, Malay, while trying to achieve a satisfactory level of competence in English, the second language. This can be described as secondary bilingualism (i.e. where a second language has been added to a first via instruction). It would be wrong for anyone in Brunei to assume that Dwibahasa will produce 'equi' or 'balanced' bilinguals - this would be unrealistic (Jones, 1992:139).

Although a testing instrument to measure the comparative English language proficiency of undergraduates entering Universiti Brunei Darussalam on a longitudinal basis was introduced in 1988 (Cook and Cane, 1988), Jones's notion of a 'satisfactory level of competence in English' has not been established by the Ministry of Education in specific performance terms. Until a testing mechanism is established which could compare the Malay/English levels of Bruneian students with secondary bilinguals in other parts of the world, it will not be

possible to make an objective judgement in comparative terms about the effectiveness of the Dwibahasa system of education in Brunei.

Edwards (1992:53) briefly raises the question of the variety of English that should be taught under the bilingual education policy in Brunei. Edwards recommends the implementation of a nation-wide survey on the policy which, among seven other question areas, would ask :

> ...questions about the type of English to be taught, and about the perceived and desired utility of English competence. It would also be interesting here to consider the matter of an emerging Brunei English.

The question of which variety of English should be selected as the language model for Bruneian schools is discussed in detail in Chapter Seven below.

In contrast to the bilingual policy in Bruneian primary and secondary schools, the country's only university, Universiti Brunei Darussalam (UBD), continues to run separate Malay-medium and English-medium study programmes. Students who are training to be teachers at the Lower Primary level, where the medium of instruction is Malay for all subjects except English language, and students training to be teachers of Malay language, Malay literature, religion and history all study through the medium of Malay at UBD. However, in addition, these students have to take (but not necessarily pass) eight units of English language during their four-year degree programmes.

All the other degree and teaching certificate programmes at UBD are studied through the medium of English with the exception of a compulsory two-semester course for all students in M.I.B. (the Malay Islamic Monarchy philosophy). As was noted above, students must achieve a credit pass (Grade 6 or better) in GCE O Level Malay language before they are allowed to enter tertiary education in Brunei. Once they have a place in an English-medium programme at UBD, undergraduates must take and pass at least eight units (two semesters) of English language before they are permitted to graduate. There is, however, no requirement for English-medium students to take courses in Malay language skills development while they are studying at the university. Thus, the requirement for entry into English-medium programmes at Universiti Brunei Darussalam is higher for Malay (Grade 6 at O Level) than it is for English (Grade 8 at O Level) but, while English language study continues for all

undergraduates at UBD, further study in Malay is not required for English-medium students.

Universiti Brunei Darussalam was established in October 1985. In the first two intakes (1985 and 1986), Malay-medium students outnumbered English-medium students. However, in all subsequent years, this weighting has been reversed.

2.4 The Sociolinguistic Domains in which English is used in Brunei in the 1990s

In a survey of 570 Bruneian respondents carried out by Martin and Ozog (reported in Ozog, 1992), English was perceived as being the most important language in the country by 30.5% of those questioned. This figure was higher than that for the official language, Bahasa Melayu (Standard Malay), which only 21.9% considered the most important language in the country. Brunei Malay scored highest in the Martin-Ozog survey, being considered the most important language by 41.4% of those questioned (Ozog,1992:152). As stated in 2.1 above, while Bahasa Melayu (Standard Malay) is the country's official language and is used in education and in the mass media, Brunei Malay is the language of everyday communication amongst Bruneians and acts as a sign of a speaker's wish to identify himself/herself as a Bruneian.

English has two official domains : education (see sub-section 2.3 above) and the law, where the language is used both as a language of legal statutes and as the language of the courts (Ozog, 1992). English is also used in the Bruneian mass media. The country's only daily newspaper, *Borneo Bulletin*, publishes articles in both English and Malay, but the majority of articles, including those on the front page, are in English.

In the Martin-Ozog survey (see Ozog, 1992:158-160), the researchers found that, of the 570 Bruneian citizens who took part in the survey, 393 (69%) used English regularly in their daily lives. Of these, 297 (75%) were under the age of thirty-five, suggesting that at least the occasional use of English is widespread amongst young Bruneians. The view that English is much less used by older people is supported by the fact that fewer than 19% of those surveyed who were over forty-five said that they used English regularly.

The Martin-Ozog survey also examined some of the unofficial domains in which English is used in Brunei. The domains selected were the following : home, friendship, employment, shopping, government offices and private sector offices. The following results were obtained :

Domain	Percentage of respondents claiming that they use English at certain times in this domain
a. Home	18.0%
b. Friends	61.1%
c. Traditional Market	0.0%
d. Small shop	27.7%
e. Supermarket	84.0%
f. Government office	33.4%
g. Private sector office	75.6%
h. At work	62.0%

(Ozog, 1992:158-160)

It can be seen from these results, therefore, that some use is made of English in all of the above domains except at traditional markets. As Ozog (1992) points out, English is seldom used by Bruneians in any of the domains mentioned in long monolingual stretches. It is far more common for Bruneians in these unofficial domains to code-mix with Malay.

In addition to broadcasting throughout the day in Malay, Radio-Television Brunei (RTB) has a separate radio service which broadcasts in Chinese (Mandarin) from 8.30 a.m. to 11 a.m. and 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. ; in English from 6 a.m. to 8.30 a.m., from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m., and 8 p.m. to 10 p.m. ; and in Gurkhali from 7 p.m. to 8 p.m. daily. The Chinese and Gurkhali transmissions are intended for listeners of Chinese and Nepalese origin (i.e. not for Brunei Malays). People of Chinese origin constitute 17.7% of the total population (Economic Planning Unit, 1991), and a regiment of Gurkha soldiers (The 6th Queen Elizabeth's Own Gurkha Rifles) is stationed in Seria with reserve units based in the capital, Bandar Seri Begawan. The English language broadcasts, however, are aimed at both expatriate native speakers and English-speaking Bruneians. Virtually all the announcers and listeners who take part in record request programmes and phone-in interviews broadcast on the English service of RTB are Bruneian citizens of Malay or Chinese origin, demonstrating that English is recognized by the media as a language of intranational communication in Brunei.

There is one television channel in Brunei, which is also controlled by RTB (i.e. by the government). A daily news bulletin is broadcast in English at 7 p.m. and feature films, cartoons, sports programmes and documentaries are regularly shown in English, generally with Malay sub-titles. Although it is true to say that RTB continues to broadcast some television programmes in English every day, the number has decreased in the last five years. This change coincides with a very noticeable rise in the government's public support of Islamic values during the same period. Another fairly recent change is that, in general, programmes in English are no longer shown during the peak viewing hours of 8 p.m. to 10 p.m.

2.5 The Brunei Variety of English : Previous Studies

In his 1992 paper on the unplanned uses of English and Malay in the sultanate, Ozog suggests that the variety of English used by Bruneians in unofficial contexts is not the Standard British English which is supposedly the variety taught at school but what he calls 'Brunei Colloquial English' (1992:151). The linguistic features of this variety are not discussed in the 1992 paper, but Ozog and Martin have described one feature of it (the use of the 'bah' particle) in detail in a paper published in Singapore in 1990. Ozog discusses other aspects of the variety in 'Brunei English : A New Variety' in a forthcoming book, *Linguistics and Oral Tradition in Borneo*, to be edited by J. Collins and published by the Borneo Research Council. These two papers are the only studies concerning the Brunei variety of English that have been published heretofore, although a book entitled *Language Use and Language Change in Brunei Darussalam* is currently being edited for future publication (probably in 1994) by Martin, Ozog and Poedjosoedarmo. This book will contain five chapters on various aspects of Brunei English by McLellan (on written discourse), Ozog (on the unplanned use of English), Mossop (on certain phonological features), Cane and Rosnah Haji Ramly (on the views of Bruneian bilinguals concerning suitable linguistic role models for Brunei) and Cane (on syntactic features) as well as reprinting the 1990 Ozog-Martin article on the functions of the 'bah' particle.

The above studies represent all the work published so far on the Brunei variety of English. None of the above attempts to deal with the subject in a detailed, descriptive manner in the way that, for example, Singapore English has been described by Platt and Weber (1980) or that Papua New Guinea English has been described by Smith (1986).

The present thesis aims to fill this gap by providing a comprehensive description of the linguistic features of Brunei English and by relating this variety to other first and second language varieties of English spoken across the world today.

3.0 The Aims and Scope of the Thesis

The thesis has four main aims :

a. To give a brief account of the spread of English across the world and the subsequent emergence of a number of 'new varieties' of the language.

b. To apply the recognized sociolinguistic criteria for classifying a particular dialect as a 'New Variety of English' to the English spoken by Bruneians in order to establish whether or not the Bruneian variety formally satisfies the requirements for classification as a 'New Variety of English'.

c. To record, transcribe and analyse a large selection of unrehearsed spoken texts by Bruneian speakers of English in order to produce an empirically based linguistic description of the grammatical, lexical and discourse features typically found in spoken Brunei English.

d. To describe the function of English in the Bruneian education system and to discuss the pedagogical and language planning implications of recognizing the existence of a Bruneian variety of English.

With regard to (c) above, it should be noted that the phonological system used by Bruneians when speaking English has been excluded from the description. The reason for this is that the phonological differences between a speaker of Brunei English and a speaker of Standard British or American English are so considerable that the sound system of Brunei English warrants a separate research study of its own. The extent of these phonological differences can be appreciated when one considers that Brunei Malay, the first language of the majority of Brunei English speakers, has a three-vowel system in contrast with the twelve pure vowels and eight diphthongs of British Received Pronunciation (R.P.) (Hooke and Rowell, 1982). It should also be noted that significant differences exist at the suprasegmental level, for example in the contrasting stress and

intonation patterns of Malay and English. As a result, the phonological system used in Brunei English is so different from that used in R.P. that problems of understanding between speakers of the two varieties occur with some frequency.

Some other descriptive studies of non-native varieties of English have discussed the use of English in the literature of countries where new varieties have developed. The literary importance of work written in English by African and Asian writers is now widely recognized, and both the output and reputation of these writers seem likely to grow in the next century. In Brunei, creative writers have so far chosen to use Malay exclusively in their published works, and English is considered by most Bruneian adults to be a language for non-fiction writing only. The thesis does not therefore attempt to examine Bruneian literature in English.

4.0 The Structure of the Thesis

Following this introductory chapter, the remaining seven chapters of the thesis are divided into the areas indicated below:

Chapter Two : The spread of English across the world and the emergence of local varieties of the language ; the established criteria for classifying 'New Englishes' ; English in South-East Asia and the question of whether the English spoken in Brunei can legitimately be regarded as a new variety of English.

Chapter Three : The selection of an appropriate methodological framework for analysing the corpus of collected data ; selection of a suitable linguistic group for data collection ; the choice of a particular lectal group for the study and the influence of stylistic variation in analysing the recorded data.

Chapter Four : Grammatical features of Spoken Brunei English - the verb phrase ; the noun phrase ; adverbials ; prepositions ; conjunctions.

Chapter Five : Lexical features of Spoken Brunei English - lexical items borrowed from Malay, Arabic, Chinese and other local languages; lexical differences from Standard British English ; idiomatic and collocational differences.

Chapter Six : Discourse features of Spoken Brunei English - cohesion in spoken discourse ; style, topic selection and structure in formal texts; other relevant discourse features.

Chapter Seven : Brunei English and its implications for the teaching of English in Brunei ; theoretical and practical problems involved in establishing appropriate models in countries where new varieties have developed ; the choice of an appropriate English teaching model for Brunei Darussalam.

Chapter Eight : The future of the English language in Brunei - new uses and domains ; suggested areas of future research ; possible linguistic developments in Brunei English.

Chapter Two

SOCIOLINGUISTIC CRITERIA FOR ESTABLISHING A NEW VARIETY OF ENGLISH AND THE APPLICATION OF THESE CRITERIA TO THE ENGLISH SPOKEN IN BRUNEI

1.0 General Aims

The chapter gives a brief overview of the spread of English across the world as both a native and a non-native language. It then discusses the standard criteria for classifying a 'new variety of English' and applies these criteria to the English spoken in Brunei. The final section assesses whether or not Brunei English can legitimately be regarded as one of the 'New Englishes' of the South-East Asian region.

2.0 The Importance of English as a World Language

Quirk et al. (1985:3) state that 'English is generally acknowledged to be the world's most important language'. Their claim is based on four criteria for assessing the importance of a language in world terms. With regard to the first of these, the number of speakers of the language, English is only in second position, as there are more speakers of Chinese in the world than there are speakers of English. The second criterion is the geographical dispersal of the language. Quirk et al. point out that over one third of the world's population (approximately 1500 million people) live in countries where English has some official status or is one of the native languages. The third criterion is the range of purposes for which the language is used. In addition to the size and quality of its literature, English is without doubt the dominant language of late twentieth-century science and technology. The final criterion proposed by Quirk by which the importance of a language can be assessed is the economic and political power held by native speakers of the language. Despite competition from Japanese, German and Russian, Quirk et al. argue that English - the language of the United States - still has the world edge. For three out of the four criteria proposed by Quirk et al., therefore, English is in a dominant position.

In describing how English is used by different speakers of the language, Quirk et al. note that in some countries (e.g. Australia), English is used principally for internal communication purposes as an

'intranational' language. In other countries (e.g. Saudi Arabia), English is used principally for communication with speakers from other countries as an 'international' language. The authors also point out the distinctions traditionally recognized by linguists between a native language, a second language and a foreign language. In New Zealand, for example, English is spoken as a native language (ENL) and is used by a largely monoglot population for intranational communication. In Nigeria, English is spoken as a second language (ESL), used for both intranational and international communication. In Indonesia, English is a foreign language (EFL) and is generally used for international communication only.

Kachru (1992) believes that the unparalleled spread of English in the twentieth century requires a new interpretation or a redefinition of the linguistic concepts involved. He feels that in discussing the functions of English in multilingual societies, 'the traditional dichotomy between native and non-native is functionally uninsightful and linguistically questionable' (1992:3). Kachru argues that the traditional distinction between English as a native language, as a second language and as a foreign language may no longer be relevant, as the situation in many speech communities across the world is far less clear-cut than the ENL, ESL, EFL labels suggest.

Kachru prefers to represent the English-speaking world as three concentric circles : the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle. The Inner Circle contains communities who speak mother tongue varieties of English. These are listed by Kachru (1992) as : USA, UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

In the Outer Circle, English has been institutionalised as an additional language within the speech community. Countries included by Kachru in this group are the following: Bangladesh, Ghana, India, Kenya, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Tanzania and Zambia.

The Expanding Circle includes the rest of the world where English is used as the primary foreign language and where use of the language is increasing for one reason or another. Kachru lists the following in his 'Expanding Circle' : China, Egypt, Indonesia, Israel, Japan, Korea, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Taiwan, countries in the former USSR and Zimbabwe.

Many linguists would agree with Kachru that the traditional ENL/ESL/EFL distinction is too clear-cut and rigid to be applied with

total accuracy to all English-speaking communities. In a country such as Singapore, for example, there are many younger people for whom English is virtually their first language ; it is certainly the only language that they are comfortable in using and in which they can communicate effectively. At present, however, Singapore would generally be classified as an ESL situation.

However, there are some practical problems with Kachru's three circles. He does not include South Africa or any of the English-speaking countries in the West Indies, 'since their sociolinguistic situation is rather complex' (1992:3). He excludes Papua New Guinea and Brunei from the 'Outer Circle', perhaps because of a lack of awareness of the sociolinguistic situations in those countries. The concept also ignores the distinction that has been made by Saville-Troike (1982, quoted in Pakir, 1992) between speech communities that are 'hard-shelled' (i.e. with strong language and cultural boundaries that allow minimal interaction between outsiders and members of the speech community e.g. Mongolia or Japan) and communities that are 'soft-shelled' (i.e. open to linguistic and cultural influences from elsewhere e.g. Singapore). Saville-Troike's distinction is clearly relevant in assessing which countries in the Expanding Circle are likely to be more open, and which are likely to be more closed, to the increased use of English in the future.

Thus, although Kachru's three circles are a perceptive representation of the ways in which English is spreading world-wide, the concept, in its present form, is not necessarily any more useful or more comprehensive than the traditional ENL, ESL, EFL distinction.

The following sections of the chapter will examine these distinctions in greater detail with the overall aim of relating the varieties of English which have recently emerged in South-East Asia to the ENL/ESL/EFL linguistic framework. The remainder of the chapter is divided into the following areas :

Native Varieties of English (Section three below)

Non-Native Varieties of English (Section four)

English in South-East Asia : Individual Cases and Shared Features (Section five)

The Status of Brunei English as a 'New English' (Section six)

3.0 Native Varieties of English

3.1 The Spread of English

Quirk et al. (1985) estimate that English is spoken as a native language by approximately 300 million people, most of them living in North America, the British Isles, Australia, New Zealand, the Caribbean and South Africa. As the authors point out, English may not be the only language spoken in these countries. Many South Africans speak Afrikaans, many Canadians speak French and many Welsh people speak Welsh, but all these speakers will have English as their second language.

With the landing of the 'Mayflower' at Plymouth Rock, Massachusetts, in 1620, the English language was taken to North America, and by the eighteenth century its use was widespread across the continent. Further south, in the Caribbean, the island of Barbados, sometimes called 'Little England', was settled in the 1620s (McCrum et al., 1986). It is worth noting, therefore, that while English was being spoken in parts of North America and the West Indies in the early seventeenth century, the language was not exported to South Africa, Australia or New Zealand and was not widely spoken in either Ireland or Wales until the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries (Trudgill and Hannah, 1985).

3.2 Variation within the Native Varieties

Variation in the native varieties of English may be phonological, lexical or grammatical and is generally the result of three principal factors :

(a) *regional factors*, e.g. the English spoken in Devon, in the south-west of England, has a number of different features from the English spoken in Essex, in the south-east of England.

(b) *social factors*, e.g. the English spoken by a working-class New Yorker may have different features from the English spoken by a middle-class New Yorker.

(c) *stylistic factors*, e.g. the English used in formal situations may differ in some respects from the English used in informal situations.

As Trudgill (1974) notes, variation in native speaker varieties of English tends to be greater at lower social class levels than at higher social class levels. The speech of a doctor from Aberdeen and a doctor from Somerset will tend to be linguistically more similar than the speech of two farm labourers from these two areas. This tendency in social-class variation applies, to a greater or lesser extent, to all the native speaker varieties of English spoken throughout the world.

It should be noted that the factors causing variation in the new varieties of English differ somewhat from those contributing to variation in native speaker varieties of English. These differences are discussed in sub-section 4.2.2 below.

4.0 Non-Native Varieties of English

4.1 ESL, EFL and EIIL

As was noted in 2.0 above, a distinction has traditionally been made between English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL). In ESL situations, English will have one or more intranational functions such as being the medium of instruction for education. In EFL situations, the language is not generally used for intranational purposes but may be used for international communication either with native speakers of English or with speakers of other languages. In an EFL situation such as that found in Japan, for example, English is not the medium of instruction in education but it is learned as an academic subject by Japanese students at high school and university, and it may be used to communicate with non-Japanese about commercial, technological or scientific matters.

Smith (1983) feels that EIIL (English as an International and Intranational Language) is a more helpful term than ESL or EFL because he feels that English is being used increasingly between native speakers and non-native speakers in situations where it may be the native language of one participant, the second language of another, and a foreign language for another. As Smith (1983:16) explains :

> Please note that students studying English as a foreign language, English as a second language and English as an intranational language are all non-native speakers of

> English ; however, for English as an international language both native and non-native speakers make up the student population...Native speakers must be taught what to expect in spoken and written form when they communicate in English with other internationals.

Smith feels that in some linguistic situations the terms EFL and ESL have 'negative overtones of cultural superiority' with the native speaker being given special rights over the non-native speaker to judge what is correct English usage and what is not. Smith (1983:20) thus questions the long-held notion in language teaching of 'native speaker privilege' with regard to linguistic correctness and acceptability.

> As English is used more and more frequently for international purposes, we must teach it as such. It doesn't require anyone to be 'western' but allows everyone to be 'international'.

Smith's argument that the distinction between ESL and EFL is less valid than linguists have generally assumed is an interesting one and may gain increasing influence in the years to come. However, for the purposes of the present study on English in the South-East Asian context, the ESL/EFL distinction continues to serve a useful purpose for it enables the linguist to separate the speaker who uses English for one or more practical, intranational functions in his/her daily life (i.e. an ESL situation such as one finds in, for example, Singapore) from the English speaker who uses the language only for academic or international communication purposes (i.e. an EFL situation such as one finds in Indonesia). It is within the ESL framework that the new varieties of English are generally placed. While English will have no internal or intranational functions in the typical EFL situation, Quirk et al. (1985) distinguish five types of function for which English may serve as a medium when it is a second language.

a. Instrumental - for formal education.
b. Regulative - for government administration and the law courts.
c. Communicative - for interpersonal communication between individuals speaking different local languages.
d. Occupational - both intranationally and internationally for commerce, science and technology.
e. Creative - for nontechnical writing e.g. fiction, political works.

In countries where it is the native language (see section three above), English will be used for all five functions. In countries where English is spoken as a second language, it will generally be used for between two to five of the above functions, depending on the sociolinguistic situation in a particular country. In Singapore, for instance, English may be used for all five functions but in Malaysia, English is no longer used for functions (a) or (b).

In approximately twenty-five countries where it is spoken as a second language, English has been legally designated as an official language. In ten of these countries (e.g. Nigeria), it is the sole official language, and in the other fifteen countries (e.g. India) English shares official status with one or more other languages (Quirk et al., 1985). While Quirk et al. estimate that more than 300 million people speak English as a second language, Strevens (1982) puts the figure at 400 million. What is clear from these figures is that the number of non-native speakers is now larger than the number of native speakers and that the number of non-native speakers of English is likely to increase steadily into the twenty-first century.

4.2 The New Englishes

Kachru (e.g. 1992) and Smith (e.g. 1987) have generally referred to the non-native varieties of English which have developed across the world as 'World Englishes' rather than 'New Englishes' because they are aware of the chronological inaccuracy in describing, for example, Indian English as 'new'. English has, in fact, been spoken in some parts of India since the early 1600s when the East India Company established settlements in Madras and Calcutta, making these particular varieties of Indian English older than either Australian or New Zealand English. In the South Asian sub-continent, English is widely spoken in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Strevens (1982:25) states that according to an unpublished research study carried out by Shaw, twenty-six million people in India alone (i.e. more than the combined populations of Australia and New Zealand) make regular use of English for intranational purposes. McCrum et al. (1986) state that other estimates put the figure at seventy million speakers. Some of the linguistic features of Indian English are discussed below in Section 4.2.4.

4.2.1 *Criteria for the Establishment of a 'New English'*

Despite the chronological inaccuracy in the case of Indian English, the term 'New Englishes' has been used by a large number of linguists to categorise the varieties of English which have developed as a second language in different parts of the world. Platt, Weber and Ho (1984:2-3) argue that a 'New English' is a variety which fulfils the following conditions :

a. It has developed through the education system and will be used in many cases as the medium of instruction.

b. It has developed in an area where a native variety of English was not the language spoken by most of the population. Platt et al. do not consider varieties that have developed from pidgins or creoles (1) to be New Englishes.

c. It is used for a range of practical functions in a speech community and may be used as a lingua franca among those speaking different native languages or even, on occasion, among those who speak the same native language.

d. It has become 'localized' or 'nativized' by adopting some linguistic features of its own.

Examples of New Englishes which meet these criteria include Indian English, Singapore English, Nigerian English and Papua New Guinean English. Platt, Weber and Ho (1984) argue that, within the South-East Asian region, Philippine English, Malaysian English and Singapore English can all be considered to be examples of New Englishes.

---

(1) Pidgins are linguistically simplified languages used in contact situations between people who have no common language.

Creoles are pidgin languages which have been linguistically developed and have acquired native speakers.

Llamazon (1983) discusses four 'essential features' of the new varieties of English. These can be summarised as follows:

a. *Ecological Features*

This heading refers to the linguistic environment in which the new variety has developed. Llamazon suggests that new varieties develop in multilingual communities where a speaker's code selection is often listener oriented (i.e. a speaker selects the appropriate code from his/her linguistic repertoire based on the language(s) spoken by the interlocutor) and where code-switching (i.e. changing from one language to another within a single conversation) is common.

b. *Historical Features*

Llamazon suggests that a second feature which is common to the new varieties of English is that they have developed relatively recently. Although this feature is generally true, English has in fact been spoken longer in some parts of India than it has in either Australia or New Zealand. However, while Indian English is considered to be a new variety, Australian English is not.

c. *Sociolinguistic Features*

Llamazon (1983:102) argues that 'it is the presence of native speakers, no matter if few in number, that firmly establishes the new variety of English'. While speakers of the old varieties of English tend to conform to the linguistic and sociolinguistic rules of one sociolect (i.e. a speech style determined by social class and educational background), speakers of the new varieties make use of a range of sociolects (acrolect, mesolect, basilect - see 4.2.2 below) to signal either social distance or intimacy.

d. *Cultural Features*

This heading refers to the development of a body of literature (i.e. novels, poetry, plays etc.) written in the new varieties.

With regard to Llamazon's first feature (development in a multilingual speech community), it could be argued that there are many multilingual societies where a new variety of English has not developed. More specific factors than Llamazon gives here are

required to account for the emergence of a new variety of English in a multilingual speech community.

It has already been shown that the second feature (recent historical development) cannot meaningfully be applied to all the varieties generally considered to be 'new' Englishes.

Llamazon's third category (the necessary existence of native speakers of the new variety) is perhaps the most controversial feature included in his description. Although native speakers of the new variety of English may exist in small numbers in some of the communities where the variety is spoken, they are generally vastly outnumbered by the people who speak the variety as a second language. The fact that the variety is acquired as a second language rather than as a mother tongue would in fact be a more meaningful general characteristic of the New Englishes.

Llamazon's fourth category (the existence of a body of literature written in the new variety) applies to many of the new varieties (e.g. Nigerian English, Indian English). In other speech communities, however, speakers of the new variety may use English for non-fiction (academic, scientific, technical etc.) writing but their first language for creative writing.

Llamazon's four 'essential features' of a new variety of English were discussed in a paper he presented in Singapore in April 1981 but which was not published until 1983. It therefore represented quite an early contribution to the canon of literature on the new varieties of English and, perhaps because of this, is less clearly formulated and consequently less helpful than Platt, Weber and Ho's later (1984) attempt to establish a more realistic theoretical framework for defining a new variety. In discussing the question of whether or not the English spoken in Brunei can be considered to be a member of the group of 'New Englishes', I have therefore used Platt et al.'s criteria rather than Llamazon's (see section six below).

4.2.2 *Variation within the New Englishes*

Before going on to look at the varieties of English in South-East Asia in detail, it will be useful to establish a general framework for describing linguistic variation within the new varieties and for identifying the functions English performs in countries where a new variety has

emerged. Platt, Weber and Ho (1984) apply the system of lectal grouping first proposed to describe the range of speech varieties within a post-creole continuum. (See, for example, Bickerton,1975). Applying the same categories to any of the New Englishes, it is possible to construct a lectal framework for describing linguistic variation within the variety.

If the term Standard English is used to denote any of the standard forms of a native-speaker variety of English such as Standard British, Standard Australian etc., the type of speech in the new variety which is closest to Standard English is referred to as the 'acrolect'. This type is generally used by highly educated speakers of the variety in formal situations.

Those speakers with very little English-medium education who choose to use the variety in what is likely to be an informal situation will tend to use linguistic forms which are very different from Standard English. This type of speech is referred to as the 'basilect'. A type of speech which contains elements of both the acrolectal and basilectal levels is referred to as the 'mesolect'.

acrolect	**The Post-Creole Continuum**
-------	
mesolect	
-------	
basilect	

Within the post-creole continuum situation, Platt et al. (1984) do not classify the type of speech occurring at the basilectal level as a New English because, within the post-creole situation, this speech level generally developed not from English but from a pidgin.

In the South-East Asian context, the new varieties of English which have emerged in Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines and Brunei did not develop from English-based pidgins but from Standard English. It would seem reasonable, therefore, in the South-East Asian context, to categorise the English spoken at all three levels (acrolectal, mesolectal

and basilectal) as legitimate elements of the new varieties of English found in the region. It must be remembered that the range of speech levels is a continuum and that it is not always possible to classify a speaker or a text neatly into one of the three sections on the continuum. For the purposes of the present study, the lectal levels are used to categorise both texts and speakers. If a spoken or written text is referred to as, for example, 'basilectal', the intended meaning is that the text contains features generally associated with the language type at the basilectal end of the continuum. If a speaker is referred to as, for example, 'acrolectal', the intended meaning is that the highest lectal range available to this speaker is the acrolectal type, even though on occasions the speaker may make use of other lectal levels. With speakers, therefore, the lectal classification throughout this thesis refers to the highest sociolect commanded by the speaker.

4.2.3 *The Functions of the New Englishes*

In many of the countries where the New Englishes have developed (referred to by Platt et al. (1984) as 'New Nations'), the term national language is used to refer to a local language spoken as a first language by at least some of the nation's population. In Malaysia, for example, Bahasa Malaysia (a dialect of Malay) is the national language. An official language in this context is generally used to refer to a language used in government administration, in the higher courts of law and in secondary and tertiary education. Because English was the language of the former colonial administration in many of these nations and because it was considered in many multi-ethnic situations to be politically neutral, English was often chosen as the official language or one of a group of official languages. Platt et al. (1984) list 34 countries in four different continents where English is not the native language but has official or semi-official status.

While descriptions of the patterns of English usage in 34 different countries can be based only on a broad generalisation of the linguistic situation in the 'New Nations', Platt et al. (1984) have identified the following functions to which English is put in these countries :

a. It is predominantly used in government administration and in the higher courts of law.

b. It is regularly used by professional people such as doctors, lawyers, university lecturers etc.

c. It is often the language of films shown in cinemas in the country.

d. It is one of the languages of the mass media in the country (newspapers, radio and television).

e. It is often used within the country with speakers of other local languages or, in certain situations, with speakers of the same local language.

f. It is often regarded by people in the nation as possessing high educational and socio-economic status.

6.2 below assesses the variety of English spoken in Brunei in terms of these six functions.

4.2.4 *General Linguistic Features of the New Englishes*

As was noted in sub-section 4.2.1 above, Platt et al.'s fourth criterion for a variety being classified as a New English is the development of linguistic features which are different from the corresponding features in the standard form of a native speaker variety. Differences may be related to pronunciation, syntax, lexis or the sociolinguistic rules of the variety.

Trudgill and Hannah (1985) describe some of the syntactic features of Indian English which differ from Standard British English. In the same way that Platt et al. are able to make generalisations about the functions to which English is put in the 'New Nations' (described in 4.2.3 above), it may be possible to make generalisations about some of the grammatical features of the New Englishes. The following features are based on Trudgill and Hannah's (1985:107-111) description of Indian English.

a. *Differences in countable/uncountable noun distinctions*
   e.g. We ate just fruits for lunch.
   I'd like two toasts, please.

b. *Differences in preposition usage*
   e.g. to air out one's views
   to pay attention on

c. *Different use of some auxiliaries*

e.g. We hope that you could join us.
The lecture would begin at two o'clock.

d. *Different tense and aspect usage*

e.g. I am here since three o'clock.
When I saw him last week, he told me that he is coming.
She was having many sarees.

e. *Different use of subject-verb inversion*

e.g. What this is made from?
Who you have come to see?
I asked him where does he work.

f. *Differences in question tag formation*

e.g. You are going home soon, isn't it?
They said they will be coming, isn't it?

With regard to (a) above, the non-standard usage of countable/uncountable nouns, Trudgill and Hannah (1985:104) give the following examples from West African English:

I lost all my furnitures.
The damages caused are great.

With regard to (b), non-standard preposition usage, Smith (1986:421) gives the following examples from Papua New Guinean English :

To my frustration
Interested with politics

Non-standard use of auxiliaries, (c) above, also occurs in Singapore English. Tongue (1979:42) gives the following examples :

From tomorrow, offenders would be liable to be prosecuted.
The meeting would begin at 6 o'clock.

Trudgill and Hannah's (1985) fourth category of non-standard syntactic usage in Indian English, tense and aspect differences, is also a feature of Singapore English. Platt and Weber (1980:65) give these examples :

I work about four months already.

I left school already three years.

The fifth category, non-standard subject-verb inversion, also occurs in West Indian English. Trudgill and Hannah (1985:99) give the following examples :

What time it is?
Why you are leaving?

The final category, non-standard use of question tags, occurs both in West African English :

She has gone home, is it? (Trudgill & Hannah, 1985:104)

and in Singapore English :

You check out now, is it? (Platt & Weber, 1980:75)

It has been shown that certain non-standard syntactic features of Indian English outlined by Trudgill and Hannah (1985) also occur in other varieties of English which meet Platt et al.'s criteria for New Englishes. We can therefore conclude that certain syntactic features which do not occur in the standard varieties of native-speaker Englishes are shared by two or more of the New English varieties. In the same way that Platt et al. have made generalizations about the functions of English in 'New Nations' (4.2.3 above), it would seem possible to make certain generalizations about the syntax of the New Englishes. Section five below examines the new varieties of English which have emerged in South-East Asia and attempts to identify certain shared linguistic features.

5.0 English in South-East Asia : Individual Cases and Shared Features

In terms of the New Englishes, the countries which make up ASEAN (the Association of South-East Asian Nations) can be divided into two groups : those in which English has second-language status and is used for both intranational and international purposes (Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines and Brunei), and those in which English is a foreign language used for international purposes only (Indonesia and Thailand).

Papua New Guinea currently has observer status at ASEAN meetings. It can be considered to belong to South-East Asia in geographical terms since it shares the island of New Guinea with Irian Jaya, which is part of Indonesia. However, in terms of ethnic and cultural background, Papua New Guinea is very different from the other countries in ASEAN. Because the country was formerly a colony of Australia, English is widely used as an intranational means of communication in Papua New Guinea. Some of the linguistic features of the Papua New Guinean variety are discussed below in 5.4.

The purpose of section five is to examine the roles and certain of the linguistic features of English in the countries of South-East Asia where the language has acquired intranational status. This will therefore involve a brief assessment of English in Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines and Papua New Guinea. The findings will then be used to compare the situation in these countries with the situation which exists in Brunei.

5.1 English in Singapore

5.1.1 *Historical Background*

Singapore was founded by Sir Stamford Raffles in 1819 and it later became part of the British Crown Colony of the Straits Settlements. According to the Handbook to British Malaya (1926), in 1911 Chinese made up approximately 52% of the population of Singapore, Malays 23%, Indians 11%, Eurasians 1%, Europeans 1% and others 1% (quoted in Platt, Weber and Ho, 1983:8).

At first the use of English was restricted to the British administration and to British employees in private business. Platt, Weber and Ho (1983:8-9) state that it was thanks to 'the education system, in its widest sense, that Singapore-Malayan English developed'. Enrolment in English-medium schools in Singapore rose from 32% of the student population in 1947, to 50% in 1962, to nearly 80% in 1979 (Platt, Weber & Ho, 1983:10). Although almost all Singaporeans use another language in certain situations, English has continued to increase in importance in both inter-ethnic communication (e.g. between Chinese and Malays) and intra-ethnic communication. All six of Platt et al.'s (1984) generalised functions of English in the 'New Nations' (see section 4.2.4 above) apply to the Singapore situation.

In order to show how extensive and rapid the spread of English has been in the last ten years in Singapore, Pakir (1992) points out that Platt's 1980 description of the typical verbal repertoire of a Singaporean can no longer be considered accurate for all speakers. She compares Platt's (1980:139) description with a survey she undertook of 62 National University of Singapore students in 1991. Platt indicates that the typical verbal repertoire of a Singaporean Chinese usually includes a number of Chinese dialects (but not usually Mandarin) plus Bahasa Pasar (Bazaar Malay) and may also include English and Mandarin. Pakir agrees that this picture probably still holds true for older Singaporeans but that it is now inaccurate for younger people. Her 1991 survey (which is described in Pakir,1992:1006) showed that English and Mandarin have changed from the status of 'may be included' to one of 'usually included' in the typical verbal repertoire of Singapore Chinese undergraduates. Pakir's argument concerning increased English usage amongst young Singaporeans is supported by a survey she reports (1992:1011) which was conducted by the *Sunday Times* of Singapore in November 1990 on the languages spoken at home by Singaporean children. The figures show that for 38,259 six-year-old children the most frequently spoken home languages are Mandarin (49.9%), English (25%), Malay (18%), Chinese dialects (4.1%) and Tamil (2.3%). Pakir is confident that, barring any major reversal of policy, the trend of greater English and Mandarin use among the Singapore Chinese will continue into the twenty-first century.

5.1.2 *Linguistic Features of Singapore English*

The aim in these sub-sections is not to give a detailed account of the phonetic, syntactic and lexical features of the varieties of English found in South-East Asia but rather to highlight a number of non-native English syntactic features in order to examine certain shared characteristics.

Platt and Weber (1980) identity the following verb phrase syntactic features of Singapore English which do not occur in Standard British English. The examples, given with the relevant page numbers, are taken from their 1980 book, *English in Singapore and Malaysia.*

a. *Use of Present Tense in Past Tense Contexts*

My mum, she come from China many years ago.

Oh, I see him last week. p.61

b. *Third Person Singular Present Tense Marking*

This radio sound good. p.62

c. *Deletion of 'Be' as Copula and Auxiliary*

This coffee house very cheap.
My brother working. p.63

d. *Simple Aspect instead of Perfective Aspect*

I work about four months already.
I only went there once or twice already. p. 66

e. *Different Modal Usage*

I hope the Government would take action to put a stop to this practice. p.69

f. *Generalised Tag Questions*

You want Mary, is it?
You check out now, is it? p.75

The following sections will examine non-standard syntactic features related to the verb phrase in the other South-East Asian varieties and will attempt to compare and contrast these features.

5.2 English in Malaysia

5.2.1 *Historical Background*

The earliest British colony on the Malay Peninsula and adjacent islands was Penang, which was established by Francis Light in 1786 (Platt, Weber and Ho, 1983). By 1896, the four Malay states of Perak, Selangor, Pahang and Negri Sembilan became the Federated Malay States, each state having a British Resident to advise the local sultan. By 1914, British influence had extended to the remaining five states. However, these states did not join the Federation and, with the

exception of Johore Bahru in Johore State, English continued to have less importance in the unfederated Malay States than in the four federated states (Platt, Weber and Ho, 1983).

In the early nineteenth century, a few English-medium schools were established in Penang and Malacca. More schools, founded either by the government or by church missions, opened up in both the Straits Settlements and the Malay States. By 1937, the total number of pupils enrolled in English-medium schools in the Federated Malay States was 17,161, compared with an enrolment of 27,000 pupils in Singapore in 1941 (Platt, Weber and Ho, 1983). Before the Second World War, most of the pupils attending English-medium schools were the sons and daughters of prosperous Chinese and Indians. Most Malay children went to Malay vernacular schools (Platt, Weber and Ho, 1983).

Malaya became an independent nation in 1957 and Bahasa Malaysia (a dialect of Malay) was declared the national language. While in 1964, 84% of the total secondary school population went to English-medium schools, in 1970 the Ministry of Education announced a policy to make Bahasa Malaysia the medium of education at all levels. This decision had the effect of raising the status of Malay in the country so that competence in Malay, rather than in English, became essential for entrance to government, administrative and some business positions.

The role and status of English in Malaysia today are therefore quite different from the situation in Singapore described above (in sub-section 5.1.1). While English is currently being used more and more in daily communication situations in Singapore, it is being used less and less in such situations in Malaysia.

5.2.2. *Linguistic Features of Malaysian English*

Platt and Weber (1980) divide speakers of English in Malaysia into two groups : (1) those who have had an English-medium education, (2) those who have had a Malay-medium education. Speakers in group (1) speak a type of English which is close to the Singapore variety of English. For speakers in group (2), English has less communicative value than Bahasa Malaysia. 'It lacks the regularity exhibited by the other type and shows some if not all of the idiosyncratic characteristics of a foreign language' (Platt and Weber, 1980:168). Whereas the standard for Singapore English and Malaysian English Type 1 is Standard British English, according to Platt and Weber

(1980), the 'unofficial' standard for Malaysian English Type 2 is more likely to be Malaysian English Type 1. The authors list the following verb-phrase syntactic features of Malaysian English Type 2.

a. *Irregular Past Tense Marking*

I learn some English - Standard Two - no, I think is Standard Three, I started English. p.174

b. *Omission of 'be' as copula and auxiliary*

The house, two-storeys building.
(The house is a two-storey building)
Some of them working.
(Some of them are working) p.174

c. *Use of Aspectual Markers*

Now my mother very sick, my sister use(d) to cook.
(Since my mother has been ill, my sister has been doing the cooking) p.176

d. *Generalised Tag Questions*

You like her a lot, isn't it?
You don't mind, is it?
He must be terribly clever, isn't it?
Examples taken from Wong (1983:136)

Platt and Weber feel that Malaysian English Type 2 lies between a foreign and a second language. For some of its speakers Malaysian English Type 2 is a foreign language, rarely used in oral or written communication. For other speakers, it may be more of a second language, occasionally used in oral communication and possibly in some written situations. While Malaysian English Type 1 can be considered to qualify as a 'New English', Malaysian English Type 2 does not fulfil the four criteria established by Platt, Weber and Ho (1984). Platt and Weber (1980) feel that the Malaysian government's education and language policies will continue to weaken the status of English in the country so that Malaysian English Type 1 will eventually disappear.

5.3 English in The Philippines

5.3.1 *Historical Background*

Following the 1898 Treaty of Paris which brought the Spanish American War to an end, the United States assumed control over the Philippines. They established a public school system which was characterised by the setting up of an English-medium school in every town. Hence, the education system from 1898 onwards was English-medium (Gonzalez, 1992).

Tagalog was declared the national language of the Philippines in 1937 and was first taught as a subject in 1940 (Gonzalez, 1992). After independence from the United States in 1946, Tagalog was taught as a subject throughout the primary and secondary school system but it was not until 1974 that the language was used as a medium of instruction side by side with English (Gonzalez, 1992).

As Gonzalez (1991) notes, Philippine English has been studied in some detail in terms of its structural characteristics by a number of linguists (Llamazon, 1969; Alberca, 1978; Gonzalez and Alberca, 1978). The following sub-section will examine some of the verb-phrase related syntactic features of Philippine English, following the method previously established for Singapore English and Malaysian English.

5.3.2 *Linguistic Features of Philippine English*

As with the linguistic descriptions in sub-sections 5.1.2 and 5.2.2 above, this sub-section will concentrate on features of the verb phrase only, so that a comparative assessment of these features within the new varieties of English in South-East Asia can later be made. Because of American influence in the country since 1898, and the fact that many of the English-language teachers in the country have been Americans, the model for Philippine English is educated American English. One of the most instantly observable differences in pronunciation between speakers of Singapore/Malaysian English and speakers of Philippine English is the presence of the American-influenced post-vocalic /r/ in the latter case. However, because Educated American and Standard British English differ very little in broad syntactic terms, the Educated American syntactic model is unlikely to be significantly different from the Standard British English syntactic model which has influenced the Singapore and Malaysian

varieties. The following examples of Philippine English syntactic features are taken from Gonzalez (1983).

a. *Aspect Usage*

There is a tendency in Philippine English to mark aspect in a different manner from Standard American English.

I have seen him yesterday.
(I saw him yesterday) p.162

The building was completed in 1960. Many people had contributed to its construction.
(Many people contributed to its construction) p. 162

b. *Hypercorrection relating to Tense Usage*

Where did you went?
He tried to sewed the dress yesterday. p. 163

c. *Subject-Verb Agreement*

He have gone.
He go to school.
There are still some who uses the old-fashioned way of cooking. p.163-64

d. *Intransitive Use of Transitive Verbs*

I cannot afford.
(I cannot afford it)

I don't like.
(I don't like it/something) p.166

e. *Use of Modals*

I like some ice cream now.
(I would like some ice cream now) p.166

Before assessing the similarities in the syntactic features of the varieties of English spoken in Singapore, Malaysia, and the Philippines,

this brief review of the New Englishes in South-East Asia will conclude with an examination of the situation in Papua New Guinea.

5.4. English in Papua New Guinea

5.4.1 *Historical Background*

The linguistic situation in Papua New Guinea is extremely complex. With a population of less than four million, the country has between 700-750 vernacular languages, two pidgin languages used as lingua francas (Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu), and English, the language of the former colonial administration.

After the Second World War, the Territories of Papua and New Guinea which formerly had been separate entities were united under one Australian administration which adopted a policy establishing English as the medium of education throughout the country (Smith, 1986). Despite the interest shown by some mission groups in promoting certain of the vernacular languages in education, the prevailing view of the administration was to encourage the use of English as the medium of instruction in schools. In 1957, the Deputy Director for Education, G.T. Roscoe, argued that the local people were in favour of English as the medium of education. He quoted a Simbu leader who is reported to have said : 'We want our children to learn English, proper English, not Pidgin...People who know English get good jobs in the government service' (quoted in Smith, 1986:13).

Despite the introduction of vernacular education in one or two areas of the country, such as the 'Tok Ples' (local language) primary schools project in the 1980s in the North Solomons Province, the general policy has been to maintain English as the medium of education in Papua New Guinea. The Department of Education's Primary School Syllabus (1977) states that : 'It has been decided that English is to be taught as a language and it is to be the medium of instruction in all schools. However, teachers may occasionally use a language other than English to explain things in Grade 1 and 2' (quoted in Smith, 1986:18).

Of the two pidgin languages spoken in the country, Tok Pisin is English-based and Hiri Motu is derived from Motu, one of the Austronesian languages spoken in Papua (Romaine, 1991). While the use of Hiri Motu seems to be on the decline, Tok Pisin is at present going through a process of creolization. The grammar and lexis of Tok

Pisin are expanding and it is becoming the first language of many children of linguistically mixed marriages, especially in urban areas. (See, for example, Lynch, 1975; Wurm and Muhlhausler, 1985). In contrast to this development, Romaine (1991:630) quotes former Prime Minister Michael Somare as being in favour of the use of English in schools.

"Mi ting yumi mas yusim Tok Inglis long skul na long bisnis na long toktok wantaim narapela kantri."

(*Wantok* newspaper, July 1976)
(I think we must use English at school and in business and in discussions with other countries)

However, as Romaine points out, while leaders like Somare may favour English as the medium of instruction in schools, 'it is clear that Tok Pisin has positive affective value for Papua New Guineans' (1991:630). Since there are some areas of Papua New Guinea, such as Milne Bay Province, where Tok Pisin is not spoken, Romaine's statement is clearly not true for all Papua New Guineans. However, for many people, it is an accurate account of their tendency to feel psychologically more comfortable when using Tok Pisin than when using English (Smith, 1986).

With regard to the type of English used by Papua New Guineans, there has been a certain amount of conflict in educational circles between the prescriptivists who have criticised the use of all non-standard grammatical forms and those who feel that a new variety of English with its own grammatical and lexical system is emerging in the country.

5.4.2 *Linguistic Features of Papua New Guinean English*

The most detailed studies of the English spoken in Papua New Guinea so far have been by Anne-Marie Smith (1978 and 1986). The following examples of verb-phrase related syntactic features of the variety come from her 1978 study.

a. *Inconsistency in Tense Usage*

The next day the manager looks for me I came and work. p.21

b. *Aspect Usage*

In 1970 I have tried very hard to go to school.
Only a few of us were having this opportunity. p.21

c. *Modal Usage*

I knew that I will never enjoy...
Wondering whether my life will be a good one. p.22

d. *Intransitive Use of Transitive Verbs*

We are always enjoying down by the river.
Could I ask you people to send to me. p.23

5.5 Features of the Verb Phrase in Four Varieties of English in South-East Asia

The following section will attempt to identify the common features of verb phrase usage in the four varieties of English studied. If non-standard features which are shared by two or more of the varieties can be distinguished, it may be possible to establish a generalised pattern of verb-phrase structure in the New Englishes of the South-East Asian region.

Sub-section 4.2.4 above demonstrated that some linguistic features are shared by new varieties of English which are geographically remote from one another, indicating that a universal simplification process may play some part in the formation of a new variety of English in addition to the influence of the background languages. However, as the aims of this chapter are (1) to establish whether or not the variety of English spoken in Brunei can be considered to be a New English, and (2) to gauge the place of this variety within the South-East Asian context, the section examines only the New Englishes of this geographical region.

It was decided to select the verb phrase for examination in each of the four varieties for the following two reasons :

i. variation in both native speaker and new varieties of English is very often related to differences in the structure of the verb phrase.

ii. verbs in two of the major background languages in South-East Asia, Chinese and Malay, are not inflected for tense or aspect. It is likely that this fact will influence the way in which native speakers of these languages will handle verb phrase structure in English.

The aim in this sub-section is to discover whether the syntactic features identified in 5.1.2, 5.2.2, 5.3.2 and 5.4.2 above occur within one variety only or in a number of the varieties of English in South-East Asia.

a. *Aspect Usage*

Examples of aspect usage which would not normally occur in native-speaker varieties of English were found in all four of the varieties studied.

1. I work about four months already. (Singapore English)
2. Now my mother very sick, my sister use(d) to cook. (Malaysian English)
3. I have seen him yesterday. (Philippine English)
4. In 1970 I have tried very hard to go to school. (PNG English)

(3) and (4) above both use the perfective aspect (with the present tense) in constructions which would use the simple aspect in the past tense in native-speaker varieties. In (1) and (2) simple aspect is used in what would probably be realised in the perfective progressive aspect in Standard British English.

b. *Use of Modals*

Examples of non-native speaker modal usage were found in three of the varieties.

1. I hope the Government would take action to put a stop to this practice. (Singapore English)
2. I like some ice cream now. (Philippine English)
3. I knew that I will never enjoy... (PNG English)

While (2) above omits the modal 'would', (1) and (3) demonstrate a different tense sequencing from standard native-speaker English. In standard native-speaker English, 'I hope' (present tense) requires 'will take' in the following subordinate clause and 'I knew' (past tense) requires 'would enjoy' in the following subordinate clause. It is

difficult to make generalisations about usage from so little language data, but it would appear to be the case that the systems of modal usage operating in these varieties do not conform to the patterns of modal usage in any of the standard native-speaker varieties. While the above examples do not demonstrate that the same rules can be applied in the three varieties, they do show that modal usage in all three varieties differs from modal usage in standard native-speaker varieties of English.

c. *Past Tense Marking*

Examples occur in three varieties of past tense use not being morphologically marked. Present tense (base) verb forms are substituted for what would be specifically marked past tense forms in standard native-speaker varieties.

1. My mum, she come from China many years ago. (Singapore English)

2. I learn some English - Standard Two - no, I think is Standard Three, I started English. (Malaysian English)

3. The next day the manager looks for me I came and work. (PNG English)

While it could be argued that the speakers in (1) and (2) above are substituting base forms of the verb for morphologically marked forms, the speaker in (3) is clearly using present-tense marking in 'looks' to denote past tense meaning. The structure seems to resemble the 'historic present' of some non-standard native varieties :

'So I'm standing there when this bloke comes up and asks me to lend him a fiver.'

However, the use of 'came' later on in (3) shows tense mixing. Without substantial further data it is impossible to establish any firm grammatical rules relating to past tense marking in these South-East Asian varieties. However, all three varieties demonstrate differences in past tense marking from standard native-speaker varieties.

d. *Third Person Subject-Verb Agreement*

The use of the base form of the verb in contexts where the third-person singular present tense form would be required in standard native-speaker English is another common feature found in the South-East Asian varieties.

1. This radio sound good. (Singapore English)
2. He go to school. (Philippine English)

e. *Deletion of 'Be'*

The South-East Asian data also includes examples where the verb 'to be' is omitted both as a copula and as an auxiliary verb in contexts where it would be required in standard native-speaker English.

1. This coffee house very cheap. (Singapore English)
2. My brother working. (Singapore English)
3. The house, two-storeys building. (Malaysian English)

f. *Generalised Tag Questions*

Another feature which is common to at least two of the varieties examined is the generalised tag question. It was shown in sub-section 4.2.4 above that generalised tag questions occur in Indian English and West African English. Examples of this feature also occur in Singapore English and Malaysian English.

1. You want Mary, is it? (Singapore English)
2. You like her a lot, isn't it? (Malaysian English)

5.6 Summary of Shared Verb Phrase Features in South-East Asian New Englishes

Although it would be necessary to collect a much larger corpus of linguistic data before a description of the specific syntactic rules relating to verb phrase usage could be made, it would appear from the data analysed here that the New Englishes of South-East Asia tend to differ from standard native-speaker varieties in the following general areas of verb phrase usage :

a. Tense and Aspect
b. Third person subject-verb agreement
c. Use of Modals
d. Omission of 'Be' as a Copula and Auxiliary verb
e. Use of generalised tag questions

There would seem to be at least three possible causes for the occurrence of these shared features in the South-East Asian varieties of English :

1. That a general simplification process has taken place which removes some of the syntactically complex but communicatively redundant features such as the tag question constructions.

2. That influence from the mother tongues of the speakers has affected the linguistic forms of the English variety. The omission of the copula, for instance, may be a result of the lack of a copula in Malay.

3. That socio-cultural factors have had an influence on linguistic forms. One reason suggested by Platt and Weber (1980) for the use of 'would' instead of 'will' in Malaysian English is that speakers think 'would' is a more polite form than 'will'.

The above suggested causes are merely speculative. An extensive corpus of authentic language material from a wide range of the new varieties of English would be required before one could begin to suggest reasons for some of the shared linguistic features found in the New Englishes.

Chapter Four below will use the corpus of data collected from a range of Bruneian speakers of English to identify some of the grammatical features of the Brunei variety which differ from the corresponding features in Standard British English. Prior to this grammatical analysis, section six below uses Platt et al.'s (1984) criteria to try to establish whether or not the Brunei variety can legitimately be considered a member of the 'New Englishes' in terms of its linguistic and social functions. If it can be demonstrated that the Brunei variety fulfils the necessary sociolinguistic and linguistic criteria to be considered a 'New English', it seems probable that Brunei English will exhibit syntactic tendencies in verb phrase usage which are similar to those previously identified in the other South-East Asian New Englishes. (See sub-section 2.7 of Chapter Four below.)

6.0 The Status of Brunei English as a 'New English'

6.1 Criteria for a 'New English'

Platt, Weber and Ho's (1984) criteria for the establishment of a 'New English' were discussed in 4.2.1 above. If we apply their criteria to the English spoken in Brunei, it should be possible to determine whether or not this variety qualifies as a New English in Platt et al.'s terms.

The first criterion relates to the development of the language through the education system and whether or not it is used as a medium of instruction. In Brunei prior to 1985, Bruneian pupils went either to English-medium or to Malay-medium schools. With the introduction of the 'Dwibahasa' (bilingual system) policy in 1985, subjects related to Malay culture (such as religion and literature) are now taught in Malay, and other subjects (such as geography, mathematics and science) are now taught in English in all schools in the sultanate.

The second criterion, the development of the language in an area where neither English nor an English-based pidgin or creole was the language spoken by the majority of the population, also applies to the situation in Brunei. Malay, Chinese and a number of indigenous languages were the languages spoken by the population before the arrival of English-speaking Europeans.

With regard to the third of Platt et al.'s criteria, the range of functions for which English is used, English is regularly used in the media in Brunei and often serves as a lingua franca between local people from different language backgrounds. The only daily newspaper in the country, *Borneo Bulletin*, carries more articles and advertisements in English than in Malay. The one Bruneian television channel, the government-controlled Radio-Television Brunei (RTB), broadcasts some programmes in English (with or without Malay sub-titles) every day.

Platt's fourth criterion for a New English is that the variety should have adopted some language features of its own. As my transcriptions of the recorded data demonstrate in Chapters Four, Five and Six below, virtually any unscripted English text of two minutes' duration or longer spoken by a Bruneian will contain phonetic, lexical and syntactic features which are different from any of the native speaker varieties discussed in section three above.

The above summary demonstrates that the English spoken in Brunei clearly fulfils all four of Platt et al.'s criteria for a New English. In these terms then, Brunei English can be considered to be just as valid a 'New English' as Philippine English, Malaysian English or Singapore English.

6.2 The Role of a 'New English'

Section 4.2.3 above listed Platt, Weber and Ho's (1984) six essential functions of a 'New English', based on the authors' analysis of the role played by English in 34 countries. This sub-section will assess the number of these functions which are performed by English in the Bruneian context.

a. *It is predominantly used in government administration and in the higher courts of law.*

Although the official language of the government administration in Brunei is Malay, English is regularly used by government officers when communicating with non-Malays (Chinese and others) and many official forms are bilingual (Malay and English). At higher levels of government especially, English may be used during meetings and in written documents.

The legal system in Brunei is based on English law and English is the medium of both the higher and lower courts. Interpreters are used in the courts when non-English speakers are involved.

b. *English is regularly used by professional people such as doctors, lawyers, university lecturers etc.*

English is commonly used at virtually all levels at the R.I.P.A.S government hospital in Bandar Seri Begawan. It is also the language of faculty, committee and senate meetings at the country's only university, Universiti Brunei Darussalam.

c. and d. *English is the language of films shown in the country and it is one of the languages of the mass media.*

Although a few cinemas exist in the capital, Bandar Seri Begawan, going to the cinema is not a popular social activity for the majority of

the Malay population. The films shown at local cinemas are usually in English or Chinese. Watching video tapes at home is popular amongst both Brunei Malays and Brunei Chinese and most of the commercially produced pre-recorded tapes on sale in the country are in English.

The only daily newspaper in the country, *Borneo Bulletin*, contains articles and advertisements in both Malay and English but the majority of the articles, including those on the front page, are in English.

Radio-Television Brunei has an English language section which broadcasts radio programmes for approximately nine hours every day. Although Malay is the predominant language of the one television channel which operates in the country, some programmes in English (including a twenty-minute news bulletin) are broadcast every day.

e. *English is used within the country with speakers of other local languages and, in certain situations, with speakers of the same language.*

English is regularly used in shops and supermarkets and other business transaction situations between speakers of different languages in Brunei. The language may also be used for meetings and seminars at which non-Malay speakers are likely to be present.

In some situations, Brunei Malays may choose to speak English with other Brunei Malays. This code selection may be based on the topic of conversation (e.g. computers) or on the physical or cultural context (e.g. the Pantai Mentiri Golf Club near Bandar Seri Begawan) or on a felt need to use a language that cannot be understood by a third party.

f. *English is often regarded as possessing high educational and socio-economic status.*

Many job advertisements in Brunei stipulate that applicants should be able to speak and write English. Many of the senior civil servants who have been educated in Britain regularly use English both at work and at home. As a result, it is common for Bruneians to associate the use of English by Malay speakers with the educated elite in the country.

7.0 Conclusion

This chapter has established that a variety of English must fulfil the following conditions to qualify as one of the 'New Englishes':

1. The four linguistic/sociolinguistic criteria proposed by Platt, Weber and Ho (1984) ; see sub-section 4.2.1.

2. The six sociolinguistic functions identified by Platt, Weber and Ho (1984) ; see sub-section 4.2.3.

Section six of this chapter has demonstrated that the variety of English spoken in Brunei fulfils all the above conditions of a 'New English' in Platt et al.'s terms. These conditions are fundamentally sociolinguistic in nature in that they are concerned with the role and function played by a language in society rather than with specific linguistic features. However, as Chapters Four, Five and Six below demonstrate, many of the linguistic features which have been identified in this chapter as being characteristic of two or more New English varieties are also found in the variety of English spoken today in Brunei Darussalam.

Chapter Three

METHODOLOGY

1.0 Data Collection and the General Aims Of the Study

As the previous chapters have indicated, two of the principal questions which this thesis sets out to explore are whether or not a new variety of English is emerging in Brunei Darussalam and, if so, what the specific linguistic features of this new variety are which distinguish it from other varieties of English. It was shown in section six of the preceding chapter that Brunei English adequately meets the standard sociolinguistic criteria that have been established by linguists such as Platt, Weber and Ho (1984) for recognizing a new variety of English. This chapter discusses the methodology used to identify the specific linguistic features of Brunei English.

Almost any sizeable text of spoken or written English by a Bruneian will contain linguistic features which would be unlikely to occur in, for example, Standard British English. In order to establish that such features are not simply random language errors caused by the incomplete mastery of a target dialect which the speaker is in the process of learning, it is necessary to demonstrate that the features are used with a certain degree of consistency. If there is no consistency, the features can be treated merely as part of a learner interlanguage (Selinker, 1972) or transitional dialect (Corder, 1981) which will eventually disappear when the learner becomes more competent in the second language. However, if it can be established that a significant proportion of Bruneian speakers of English regularly use these linguistic features when they speak English, it can justifiably be claimed that such features form part of the lexico-grammatical system of a separate variety. The methodology used for the analysis must therefore be capable of providing satisfactory answers to the following three questions :

a. Do Bruneian speakers of English employ linguistic features which are different from other varieties of English?

b. If so, what are these distinctive features?

c. Are the distinctive features used consistently enough for the language researcher to claim that they form part of the linguistic system of a new variety of English?

As was noted in Chapter One (sub-section 3.5), up to the present time, very little has been written on the English spoken in Brunei. As a result, there are almost no previously published data which the present study can make use of for the purposes of linguistic analysis. Faced with this lack of data and with a limited time period to undertake the study, the researcher who wishes to describe the English spoken in Brunei has two basic choices in terms of data collection :

1. To collect small samples of language data from a large number of different linguistic contexts (government ministries, schools, shops, markets, businesses etc.) in order to obtain as broad a picture as possible of the way English is used in Brunei.

2. To collect within a limited range of linguistic contexts a fairly extensive data sample from one selected section of the English-speaking population in Brunei.

The first method of data collection described above would be useful if one were trying to draw up a broad sociolinguistic profile of 'who' speaks English to 'whom' in Brunei, as well as providing answers to 'where', 'when' and possibly 'why' English is spoken.

The second option above would provide a much more limited corpus of data in sociolinguistic terms. It would allow the researcher to carry out a detailed analysis of the English spoken by only one section of the English-speaking population in Brunei. However, in terms of establishing the degree of consistency with which a group of Bruneian speakers of English uses a given set of grammatical, lexical and discourse features, this option would probably provide a more reliable corpus of data.

The general aims of the present study, as set out in Chapter One and in points (a), (b) and (c) above, are not to construct a sociolinguistic profile of English usage in Brunei but to identify the linguistic features of what might be considered an emerging variety of English. Thus, option two was favoured over option one as a more appropriate means of collecting linguistic data for the study. It was decided to examine the English used by one type of speaker and to look for speaker

sources and a methodology which would provide access to sufficient reliable data.

Once it was decided that option two above would provide a corpus of data which would satisfactorily meet the general aims of the study, the following questions then needed to be asked :

1. Which group or groups of Bruneian speakers of English should be selected for the study?

2. If linguistic features occur in the data that are different from other varieties of English, which particular variety should be used as a comparative linguistic yardstick or control?

3. Should the data collection be concerned with speech or writing or with both forms?

4. If we assume that a continuum of very informal to very formal language exists in the English spoken in Brunei, which section or sections of this stylistic range would provide the most useful data for the present study?

The following four sections of this chapter will be concerned with answering these four questions.

2.0 The Selection of a Linguistic Group for Data Collection

Reference was made in Chapter Two (sub-section 4.2.2) to the division of the speech levels of a given variety into lectal groupings. The type of speech closest to the standard variety is referred to as the acrolect and the type of speech furthest from the standard variety is known as the basilect.

In order to select the particular group which would provide the most useful language data for the present study, it will first be useful to examine the English language situation in Brunei in terms of lectal groupings. One way of categorizing speakers into different groups is to find a particular linguistic feature which is used more by one lectal group than another and then to determine if a given speaker uses this

feature regularly or not. One may find, for example, that Bruneian speakers who have been exposed to many years of English-medium education tend to mark regular plural noun forms with the plural morpheme more than speakers with very little or no English-medium education. One may then conclude from this that the linguistic feature of plural marking on regular nouns has become a variable by which it is possible to begin to categorise speakers into different lectal groups.

Trudgill (1974) notes that in British English there are two dimensions for measuring variation. These dimensions are regional variation and social variation. Regional variation in British English can be seen in the following example :

1. Do you want your clothes washing? (North of England)
2. Do you want your clothes washed? (South of England)

An example of what Trudgill means by social variation in British English is demonstrated in sentences 3 and 4.

3. I haven't done anything. (Higher social class)
4. I ain't done nothing. (Lower social class)

Platt and Weber (1980:46) point out that, unlike the regional and social dimensions of variation in British English, 'variation in Singapore English can be observed along one axis which is related to the educational level and the socio-economic background of the speaker'.

Variation in the English spoken in Brunei is closer to the situation in Singapore than it is to the situation in Britain. However, rather than restricting the analysis to Platt and Weber's dual concepts of socio-economic background and educational level, I would suggest that variation amongst speakers of English in Brunei is related to a wider range of possible factors including the following :

1. the amount of exposure a speaker has had to English-medium education.

2. the geographical proximity of a speaker's place of residence to either of the two major urban areas in the country - Bandar Seri Begawan or Kuala Belait/Seria.

3. the amount of time a speaker has spent in English-speaking countries.

4. the amount of contact a speaker has had with very competent speakers of English (including native speakers).

5. the degree of social contact a speaker has had with South-East Asians from other language groups with whom English is used as a lingua franca, e.g. at the mission schools in Brunei.

If one looks at variation in the English spoken in Brunei, all five of the above factors would seem to play a role. The hypothesis would be that an urban Bruneian speaker who has had a great deal of exposure to the conditions referred to in 1, 3 and 4 above is likely to use English in a way that is associated with the acrolectal group of English speakers.

Bruneians who have had exposure to other South-East Asian speakers of English through attendance at mission schools, sports clubs etc. will generally be more fluent in English than Bruneians who have not had such contact. However, the resultant level of speech may be that associated with the mesolectal group of English speakers rather than with the acrolectal group identified above.

It would seem probable that a rural Bruneian with very little exposure to the conditions referred to in 1, 3, 4 and 5 is likely to use English either not at all or in a way that is associated with the basilectal group of English speakers in Brunei.

Although the topic is an interesting one, the identification of the sociolinguistic factors involved in determining a Bruneian speaker's membership of a particular lectal group is not the principal objective of the present study. This thesis is instead concerned with the more preliminary step of using a corpus of spoken Brunei English collected from one particular lectal group to identify the linguistic features in this sub-variety which differ from the corresponding features in Standard British English. Once this study and other similarly fundamental linguistic descriptions of Brunei English have been completed, the influence of socio-demographic and contextual factors on the language of Bruneian speakers of English data would be a valuable and fruitful area of investigation for future researchers.

Platt and Weber's axis of variation for speakers of English in Singapore is based on general educational and socio-economic levels. In Brunei, these factors are in themselves less significant than in the Singapore situation for the following two reasons :

a. It is unlikely that Bruneians of very low socio-economic background, especially those living in rural areas, will use English at all as a normal code of communication. The reason is principally that this group had very little exposure to English at school and has had little need to use the language since leaving school.

b. As noted in Chapter One (sub-section 3.3), prior to 1985, when the Dwibahasa (bilingual) system of education was introduced, school children in Brunei went to either Malay-medium or English-medium secondary schools. At the national university, Universiti Brunei Darussalam, which was set up in October 1985, it is still possible to take a degree either through the medium of Malay or through the medium of English. In the first two student intakes (1985 and 1986), a higher percentage of undergraduates enrolled for Malay-medium degree programmes than for English-medium programmes. Many of those educated exclusively through the medium of Malay tend not to use English as a normal code of communication and tend to speak the language with more reluctance and less fluency than those educated through the medium of English. The existence of Malay-medium education up to university level in Brunei, therefore, means that it is not always appropriate to equate a person's level of education with his/her competence in English.

In selecting a linguistic group for data collection, the above factors must be borne in mind. Because speakers of the acrolectal group use English on a more regular basis than speakers in the other two groups, they generally handle the language more confidently and more competently and code-mix with Malay far less than other groups. As a result, acrolectal speakers tend to use English for a far wider range of communicative functions than speakers in the mesolectal or basilectal groups. For these reasons, it was decided to collect a corpus of data from speakers who, because of the amount of exposure they have had to English-medium education, would generally be considered acrolectal speakers of the variety of English spoken in Brunei.

The language data used in the study was collected from two sources :

(1) Universiti Brunei Darussalam (UBD) undergraduates

(2) Recordings of generally unscripted Radio-Television Brunei (RTB) radio programmes in English. The following two sub-sections explain why these particular sources were chosen.

2.1 UBD Students

Data involving UBD students is of two types : (1) audio recordings of student interviews with lecturers and (2) video recordings of peer teaching sessions. The group of informants selected were all Bruneians studying at tertiary level (aged 20 to 40), generally English-medium educated, who use English regularly in daily communication. In September 1991, I recorded interviews with forty (40) first-to-final year undergraduates at Universiti Brunei Darussalam who were all taking the B.A. Education programme in the Teaching of English as a Second Language (TESL) either as majors or minors. Each interview, which was recorded on tape with the full knowledge and consent of the interviewees, lasted ten to fifteen minutes. Similar questions were asked during each interview. The two interviewers were a Bruneian lecturer in the UBD English Department (Rosnah Haji Ramly) and a British lecturer in the same department (Graeme Cane). The following sample questions represent the types of questions we asked the interviewees :

a. Do you think there is such a thing as the Brunei variety of English?

b. What kind of English accent would you like to have if you could choose?

c. Do you find South-East Asian speakers of English easier to understand than native speakers?

d. Which group of non-native English speakers is the most difficult for you to understand?

This particular group of students was selected as informants for the study for the following reasons :

1. To be accepted as an undergraduate student at Universiti Brunei Darussalam (UBD), one has to be a Bruneian citizen. The students selected were therefore all Bruneian citizens of Malay, Chinese or indigenous origin (Dusun, Murut etc.) Their English usage ought therefore to be an accurate reflection of the variety of English spoken by educated Bruneians.

2. The group chosen had been educated up to university level through the medium of English. As a result, they were all fluent communicators in English, although their syntactic and lexical usage did not always follow Standard British English patterns.

3. Because all the students were on the TESL degree programme, they had all taken some courses in linguistics and were thus more language-aware than probably any other group of students at UBD.

These three factors indicated that the selected group represented informants who could be considered members of the acrolectal group of speakers of Brunei English. The individual interview situation allowed the informants to talk freely about topics with which they were familiar and in which they had a professional interest.

The second type of UBD student data was taken from a video recording of second-year Certificate in Education students involved in peer-teaching sessions. The recording was made in September 1992 by a colleague in the English Department at UBD, Jonathan Mossop, who had asked each member of a group of twenty students to prepare various teaching topics from the Primary Curriculum to 'teach' to their teacher-trainee peers in 5 - 10 minute sessions. This second group of informants were, in general, younger (18-22 years old) than the first group. Having entered the Teaching Certificate programme at the University after completing GCE O Levels rather than GCE A Levels, they were less qualified on paper than the B.A. Education (TESL) group. However, they had also been educated through the medium of English at school and were being trained to teach in English at the Upper Primary level. In general, the students could be considered fluent communicators in spoken English.

Data from the video recordings is used in this study primarily in the chapter relating to the analysis of discourse (Chapter 6). The material represents freer interaction between Bruneian speakers of English than is permitted by the more constrained Question-Answer format of the interviews. The video material is thus able to provide more penetrating insights into the structure and features of spoken discourse than the interview material. I am most grateful to Jonathan Mossop for having allowed me to view and analyse the video recordings he made. Transcription of the audio and video recordings was then carried out by Graeme Cane. Samples of the transcribed data are given in the appendix below.

2.2 The RTB Recordings

With regard to the second source of speakers for data collection, recordings were made of English-language radio news broadcasts and interviews/music request programmes produced and broadcast by Radio-Television Brunei (RTB). These recordings generally consisted of (1) news bulletins prepared and presented by Bruneian speakers of English or of (2) unscripted live interviews (phone-ins) between RTB personnel and members of the public or (3) music request programmes where an RTB presenter interspersed listeners' messages and record requests with announcements and pop music. Approximately nine hours of programmes in these three categories were recorded involving five Bruneian RTB presenters (Rukiah Hj Ali Khan, Idris Ali, Tajul Ahmad, Hajjah Zarina and Ak. Hisham) and more than twenty members of the listening public. The members of the public participating in these programmes as listeners, interviewees or record requesters were generally young (aged 15 to 25) English-medium-educated Brunei Malays or Brunei Chinese who use English on a fairly regular basis in their daily communication.

The RTB radio programmes selected for recording were programmes presented by Bruneian RTB personnel and designed for an intended audience of English-speaking Bruneian listeners. The programmes chosen for recording and transcription were not aimed at native-speaking expatriate audiences. None of the radio interviewees represented in the collected corpus and none of the listeners making record requests were non-South-East Asians, which would seem to confirm the assertion that the corpus recordings represent authentic intranational communication beween Bruneian speakers of English. The radio phone-ins and record request programmes contain authentic, unscripted speech and these speech samples ought therefore to be representative of the way Bruneian speakers of English communicate with one another within the linguistic context of a radio broadcast.

The news broadcasts are discussed in the chapter on discourse (Chapter 6). Because the news bulletins are scripted, they differ from all the other unscripted collected data. It was decided to include this material firstly because the news broadcasts are intended to be spoken rather than read and, more importantly, because they provide valuable insights into the relationship between culture and 'newsworthiness', and into the identification of the stylistic features of a highly formal and planned form of spoken Brunei English. As with

the UBD material, all the RTB recordings collected were transcribed by me. Samples of both sources of data are given in the appendix.

3.0 Should the Corpus of Data be based on Speech, Writing or Both Forms?

As stated in section two above, the corpus of data for the study is based on (1) audio recordings of interviews with student informants, (2) video recordings of peer teaching sessions, and (3) recordings of radio programmes that involve Bruneian speakers of English in unscripted conversations. Even though as a former UBD lecturer I have had open access to essays and assignments written by English Department students, I decided not to use written material in the corpus of data for the following reasons.

The two most common situations for Bruneians to use English as a written medium of communication are at school (in assignments and examinations) and at work (for administrative or business purposes). Within the secondary school system, the major examinations taken in Bruneian schools are the GCE O and A Level examinations set and assessed by the Cambridge Examinations Syndicate. The written language model to be followed by Bruneian candidates taking these examinations is the same as the written model followed by the Cambridge Examinations Syndicate i.e. Standard British Written English. Candidates who achieve good grades in these examinations will therefore generally be those who have mastered the written forms of the Standard British English variety. As a result of these examination requirements, Bruneian students consciously try to follow (with varying degrees of success) that written model and to avoid any linguistic features which they feel deviate from Standard British English.

The situation with written English in the work place is similar because the model, certainly in syntactic terms, is also Standard British English, and deviance from this syntactic model in business letters or memoranda generally meets with disapproval or even derision. Certain formulaic items used in written Brunei English (e.g. 'thanking you for your co-operation and kind support' ; 'please be informed that' etc.) may differ slightly from the corresponding items in Standard British business English but the differences are usually lexical rather than syntactic.

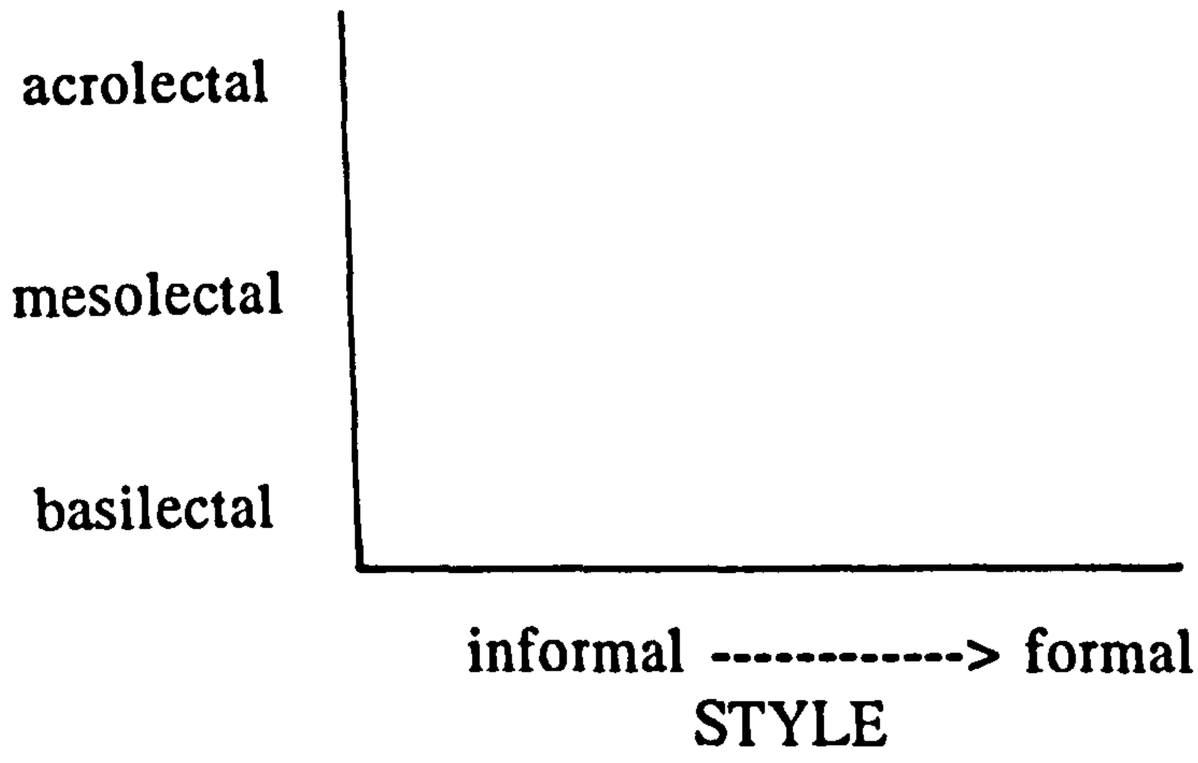
Because of this tendency for Bruneians to aim at a Standard British English model in their writing, it seemed probable that collecting samples of written English by Bruneians for inclusion in the data would pose the question of whether such material could be considered to be authentic illustrations of a new variety, or whether the non-Standard British English items which occurred in the collected written material were simply inaccurate attempts to produce a target variety (Standard British) which had not been completely mastered by the writer. Most examiners familiar with the situation would probably agree that when Bruneian GCE O and A Level candidates or university undergraduates take written examinations, the candidates are attempting to write Standard British English. Because of this, student academic scripts seemed an inappropriate source for the description and analysis of the Brunei variety of English. It was therefore decided that authentic, unscripted spoken samples (and a selection of samples which, though scripted, were intended as spoken texts) would provide a more valid data base for the linguistic analysis of a new variety than written texts.

4.0 Stylistic Considerations in the Collection of Data

As was noted in 2.0 above, the corpus of data collected for the thesis is largely restricted to the spoken English of a group of acrolectal Brunei English speakers. It was generally found from the transcribed extracts that the interviews, the peer teaching sessions and the radio programme material produced language of above average formality. All of these situations were perceived by the participants to be formal and this perception was generally reflected in their use of language. Although it would usually follow that acrolectal speech is more formal than mesolectal or basilectal speech, in contexts perceived to be informal, a member of the acrolectal group of Brunei English speakers is likely to use linguistic features which are normally associated with informal speech. An example to illustrate this acrolectal/informal combination occurs with the use of the 'bah' particle. In their paper on the function of 'bah' in Brunei English, Ozog and Martin (1990:26) conclude that 'the use of *bah* is compulsory for Bruneians using English in informal discourse. We cannot now envisage a long stretch of discourse without it.' By 'Bruneians using English', Ozog and Martin are clearly referring to all lectal groups. However, in the interview/ radio/video data, there is almost no use of the 'bah' particle because it is a marker of informal speech at all lectal levels but not of formal speech at any level, demonstrating that the informants perceived both

the interview/peer teaching sessions and the radio broadcasts to be formal contexts. (See Chapter Five, section 2.5 for more details of the functions of 'bah').

As with native speaker varieties, it is possible within second-language varieties to plot the position of a given text along the two dimensions of lectal group and language style.



It is therefore possible for a given text to be classified as belonging to a particular lectal group mainly for reasons of grammar, and then to be categorised in terms of stylistic formality mainly for reasons of lexis and discourse.

The interview situation between student informants and linguistics lecturers was perceived by the students to be highly formal. The language used therefore reflects not only the acrolectal level but also formal speech styles within that lectal grouping. The speech situations in the recorded radio broadcasts (excluding the news bulletins) are less formal than the student interviews but it seems likely that speakers who are aware that what they say will be broadcast by the national broadcasting company will not use the most informal speech styles available in their linguistic repertoires when speaking on the air.

As stated above, the main sources for the corpus of data were taped interviews with Universiti Brunei Darussalam undergraduates and radio programmes from the English section of RTB. Because the UBD interviewees were all highly educated undergraduates taking a degree programme involving English linguistics as either a major or a minor subject, the student interviews can be classified as containing language

which would be placed towards the acrolectal end of the continuum. Because of the perceived formality by the students of the lecturer-student situation, the language of the interviews can, in addition, be classified as occurring at the formal end of a formal-to-informal stylistic continuum.

Less information is known about the education and background of the radio programme informants. Unlike the undergraduates, these informants are not known to me personally. However, it would be accurate to suggest that they are generally English-medium educated Brunei Malays and Chinese currently attending secondary or tertiary educational institutions. They are speakers who are comfortable enough with English to choose to listen to the English-medium section of RTB rather than to the Malay section. The majority of these speakers can therefore also be classed as belonging to the acrolectal group.

The stylistic level of the radio programmes is less formal than the UBD interview material largely because of the differences in content. While the interviews deal principally with academic issues, the radio programmes are concerned with sending greetings, with personal accounts of past experiences and with descriptions and impressions of places or events. Cliches and idioms which are normally associated with informal speech styles in Standard British English occur with some frequency in the collected radio data. However, it should also be pointed out that the speakers are aware that what they say will be broadcast nation-wide and that very informal speech would be considered inappropriate. As a result, the recorded radio data generally falls into an area situated towards the formal end of the formal-to-informal stylistic continuum.

5.0 The Choice of a Standardised Variety against which to Compare the Distinctive Features of Brunei English

Throughout the thesis, the speech of the Brunei informants is compared with spoken Standard British English. Thus any grammatical or lexical feature which does not normally occur in Standard British English but which is used with some degree of consistency by Bruneian speakers is assessed for possible categorization as a feature of the Brunei variety of English. The comparison with Standard British English is based on Quirk et al.'s (1985) description of this variety in *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language.*

Because of long-term British influence in political, economic and educational areas, Bruneian speakers of English have for many years considered Standard British English to be the linguistic model to follow. The major secondary school examinations taken by school pupils in Brunei, the GCE O and A Levels, (the GCSE examination has not so far been adopted in Brunei), are still assessed in Britain by the Cambridge Examinations Syndicate, indicating the continuing influence of the Standard British English variety. It therefore seems logical for the present study to use Standard British English as the most appropriate variety against which to contrast the linguistic features of the English spoken in Brunei.

6.0 Other Methodological Problems

A further methodological problem in the collection of data for the study was the fact that most of the UBD interviews involved the presence of a British native speaker of English (Graeme Cane). At least one of the student informants felt that she used 'Brunei English' only with other South-East Asians but not with native speakers of English. The following is an extract from the interview with this student :

GC: Do you think there is such a thing as the Brunei variety of English?
S: Yes, there is.
GC: What is this then?
S: Maybe it's the way we are talking. Well, I think we can recognise it, you know, when we are among us, you know. Even if we are talking to our lecturers, those who are non-native speakers, we tend to use that type of variety of English.
GC: But when speaking to me, you tend not to use it?
S: No, I think so. I'm conscious avoid it.
GC: You try to avoid it?
S: Yeah.
GC: Why is that?
S: I think because of the context itself, you know. We know that we are talking to these native speakers so we tend to, you know, select which variety to speak, to be used.

It is not clear to me how many other student informants felt that they would not choose to use 'Brunei English' with native speakers. However, since a Bruneian interviewer, Rosnah Haji Ramly, took an

active part in more than twenty of the forty interviews, any tendency not to use 'Brunei English' to a native speaker should have been at least somewhat modified by the presence of a Bruneian speaker of English as one of the interviewers. In fact, no striking linguistic differences were noted between data obtained when the Bruneian interviewer was present and when she was not present at the interviews. Despite the above informant's belief that she avoids Brunei English when talking to native speakers of English, the transcription shows that she is not able to separate Standard British English from Brunei English in most reasonably lengthy conversations, regardless of the interlocutor's background.

One of the problems for the language analyst who is attempting to identify the features of a new variety is to distinguish features which are idiolectal (i.e. the idiosyncratic usage of one speaker) from those which are dialectal (i.e. used by many speakers of the variety). Even with a small corpus of data such as that being used for this study, it is possible to find constantly recurring grammatical features in the spoken texts of a number of different speakers which differ from other varieties. In the Brunei data, for instance, there are sufficient examples of non-Standard British English third person subject-verb agreement to support the claim that this feature is common to many speakers of the Brunei English variety. With regard to lexical features, however, it is less probable that a particular item will recur with the same degree of frequency. The claim that a certain lexical feature is part of the Brunei variety of English is unlikely to be supported by a mass of examples, therefore, and the language analyst is then forced to use his/her intuition and previous experience of listening to speakers of the variety to decide whether an item is idiolectal or dialectal. As Platt and Weber (1980:47) note, 'it is obviously simplistic to say that a speaker always uses or never uses certain linguistic features in English...As has been shown in linguistic research carried out in recent years, a linguistic feature is realized to a higher or lower degree i.e. it is sometimes used by one speaker and sometimes not. Such a feature can be considered a variable.'

The Brunei data accurately reflects Platt's comments in that it is unlikely that a speaker will consistently use a particular Brunei English variable in every context in which it could occur. Speakers will omit the plural morpheme, for example, in some semantically plural noun phrases but include it in others. Such variables can be used (1) to distinguish features which are used in one variety and not in another and (2) to distinguish speakers in one lectal group from those in

another. While it is possible to treat the use of base verb forms in the third person singular of the present tense (e.g. 'he go', 'she have' etc.) as a variable which distinguishes a speaker of Brunei English from a speaker of Standard British English, it is not the case that speakers of Brunei English consistently substitute the base form for the third person singular form of the verb in every utterance.

It is clear that the features marking a distinctive Bruneian variety of English are, for the most part, variable in this seemingly inconsistent sense. As the variety becomes more stable with long-term use, it will no doubt be possible at a later date to correlate the frequency of particular variants with sociolinguistic features. At present, however, such an attempt would have to take into account the fact that the degree of English language mastery in any variety of English is so far from uniform across the population that very significant individual variation occurs. As a result, sociolinguistic variables are less clear-cut and less informative than they would be in a more stable linguistic situation. As was stated in section 2.0 above, it is not the purpose of the present study to investigate the distribution of sociolinguistic variables across the Bruneian population. The intention here is rather to take the necessary preliminary step of examining a corpus of acrolectal and relatively formal speech in the hope of establishing a set of features for Brunei English that might support sociolinguistic investigation at a later date. Quantitative sociolinguistic analysis has therefore not been included in the present study.

7.0 Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter has been to describe the appropriate methodological procedures used to provide relevant data for the present study. It is hoped that the data supplied will prove helpful in meeting the stated objectives of the thesis. The two basic methodological procedures utilised during the course of the research were the following :

1. To record and transcribe a corpus of mainly unscripted spoken data from two groups of acrolectal speakers of English in Brunei. The two groups comprise (a) Universiti Brunei Darussalam students in individual interviews with the present researcher, and in videoed practice teaching sessions, (b) presenters and members of the public in selected radio programmes broadcast by Radio-Television Brunei (RTB).

In stylistic terms, the spoken data collected can generally be placed towards the formal end of the informal-to-formal stylistic continuum. While the news bulletins and individual student interviews represent highly formal speech samples, the record request and phone-in radio programmes are examples of careful but rather less formal spoken texts. The least formal speech samples occur in the practice teaching videos, where the interaction between speakers is both more flexible in terms of discourse structure and less inhibited in psychological terms.

2. In order to identify putative Brunei English grammatical, lexical and discourse features, Quirk et al.'s description of Standard British English in *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (1985) was used as a norm against which to compare the collected examples of English spoken by Bruneians.

Chapter Four

GRAMMATICAL FEATURES OF SPOKEN BRUNEI ENGLISH

1.0 Introductory Remarks

This chapter will use material taken from the recorded data (samples of which appear in the appendix) to examine certain grammatical features of the Brunei variety of English which differ from Standard British English. The many grammatical similarities between the two varieties (e.g. basic SVO sentence word order, similar order of premodifiers in the noun phrase, inversion of subject and auxiliary verb in interrogative sentences etc. etc.) are not discussed because the grammatical rules of Standard British English can generally be applied in these cases without substantial changes being made. The chapter also looks back to some of the grammatical features of the four New Englishes discussed in Chapter Two and compares them with the corresponding features found in the recorded Brunei English data.

The chapter will examine grammatical features in the following general areas :

1. The Verb Phrase
2. The Noun Phrase
3. Adverbials
4. Prepositions
5. Use of Conjunctions

All the Bruneian examples used in the chapter have either been recorded by me in interviews or transcribed from Radio Television Brunei (RTB) programmes, or collected in authentic speech situations by Bruneian students of Universiti Brunei Darussalam.

I have used Standard British English as the variety against which to compare the Brunei English examples. With regard to the syntactic forms discussed in the chapter, Standard British English can generally be regarded as synonymous with any standard native-speaker variety of English (American, Australian etc.). However, because of the possibility of occasional syntactic differences among the native speaker varieties, it would seem logical for these purposes to use a specific native speaker variety for the comparison with the Brunei variety. Throughout the

chapter, therefore, comparisons have been made with the syntax and morphology of Standard British English. Because of the British influence on the Bruneian education system outlined in Chapter One, Standard British English has been the most influential variety of English in the country and therefore seems a logical linguistic yardstick against which to compare Brunei English. Judgments about acceptability in Standard British English were generally based on my own competence as a native speaker of the variety. In cases where any doubt arose, Quirk et al.'s *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (1985) was consulted and followed.

In attempting to describe an emerging variety of English using a corpus of recorded data, there is a potential danger of categorising the idiolectal features of one speaker as general features of the variety. To avoid this danger, throughout the study I have included only features which occur more than once in the speech of several different informants. The features described can therefore be considered to be dialectal rather than idiolectal.

2.0 The Verb Phrase

This section will deal with elements of the verb phrase in Brunei English which differ from the corresponding elements in Standard British English and will then compare these verb phrase features with the equivalent features in the four New Englishes discussed in 5.5 and 5.6 of Chapter Two above. The following verb phrase areas will be examined :

2.1 Tense and Aspect
2.2 Verb Phrase Reduction
2.3 Concord
2.4 Phrasal and Prepositional Verbs
2.5 Question Tags
2.6 Inversion in Subordinate Noun Clauses
2.7 Comparison of Brunei English VP features with VP features in other New Englishes

2.1 Tense and Aspect

This section examines some of the differences in tense and aspect usage between Brunei English and Standard British English. I will suggest that there is a tendency towards tense/aspect simplification in Brunei English which is demonstrated by extensive use of the

present simple where other tense/aspect combinations would be required in Standard British English. In contrast with this suggested process of simplification, examples also occur in the data of speakers of Brunei English using other tenses in contexts where Standard British English speakers would use the present tense, demonstrating a further difference in the tense/aspect systems of the two varieties. These different tendencies are discussed below, following a brief explanation of the terms 'tense' and 'aspect'.

In discussing tense and aspect, I follow the definitions and analysis proposed by Quirk and Greenbaum (1973:40).

> By tense we understand the correspondence between the form of the verb and our concept of time. Aspect concerns the manner in which the verbal action is experienced or regarded.

Quirk and Greenbaum distinguish three tenses (past, present and future) which can be combined with at least five types of aspect (simple, habitual, progressive, perfective and perfective progressive) in the manner of the following examples. For a complete description of possible tense/aspect combinations in English, see Quirk et al. (1985), Chapter Four.

1. They swam yesterday = past tense, simple aspect
2. They used to swim = past tense, habitual aspect
3. They are swimming = present tense, progressive aspect
4. They will have swum = future tense, perfective aspect
5. They have been swimming = present tense, perfect.-progressive. aspect

Bruneian speakers of English may use the present tense in contexts where other tenses would be required in Standard British English. Examples from the data include the following :

6. We decided to meet every time we have a rehearsal for the National Day at the stadium. And that's when we started going steady.
   (Std. Brit. Eng.=...we had a rehearsal)
7. I get C. I could do better, you see, because I panic at the last minute.
   (Std. Brit. Eng. = I got Grade C. I could have done better but I panicked at the last minute)
8. It was quite a new experience for us since it's our first time overseas. (...since it was our first time overseas)

9. The song reminds me of my time when I'm on course in Singapore.
   (...when I was on a course in Singapore)
10. And I begin liking this song and I play it over and over.
    (And I began to like the song and played it over...)
11. This song reminds me of the old days when I'm with the group 'The Mixtures'.
    (...when I was with the group...)
12. A: People will laugh, you think?
    B: Not really. They don't laugh.
    (...They won't laugh)
13. Lecturer: Why didn't you attend the lecture last Saturday?
    Student : We can't find the room.
    (We couldn't...)
14. Lecturer : Did you go for an interview for Management?
    Student : Yeah, I go for interview.
    (...I went for an interview)
15. If we know that you are from Lambak Kanan, we are not going to ask you that same question, right?
    (If we had known that you were from Lambak Kanan, we wouldn't have asked you the same question)
16. A: Did you go to the stadium this morning?
    B: No. I just watch it on TV.
    (...I watched it...)
    A: So, just watch it on TV?
    (...you just watched it on TV?)
    B: Yeah.
17. Did you listen to the question which Hisham ask short while ago?
    (...the question which Hisham asked...)
18. A group of us was leaving for Kota Kinabalu to climb the mountain in 1973, that is. And as we board the plane, we hum this particular song softly and it was so touching.
    (...and as we boarded the plane, we hummed...)

One possible explanation for the retention of the present tense form here is that Bruneian speakers are following a phonological rule which simplifies clusters, and the fact that there are no final clusters in Malay would seem to support this theory. While phonological simplification is undoubtedly a factor, it would not explain the use of the following verb forms :

'get' for 'got' (sentence 7 above)
'it's' for 'it was' (8)
'begin' for 'began' (10)
'I'm' for 'I was' (11)

'can't' for 'couldn't' (13)
'go' for 'went' (14)
'board' for 'boarded' (18)

As Platt, Weber and Ho (1984:68-69) point out, the use of present tense forms to refer to events in the past occurs frequently in other new varieties of English.

19. I graduate there in 1975. (Papua New Guinea)
20. And then I go to the Public School. (Philippines)
21. We stay there whole afternoon and we catch one small fish. (Singapore)

The meanings intended by the speakers in the above sentences are clearly in relation to past time. Communication is therefore not impaired by the use of present tense verb forms. Taken in their contexts, the Brunei English examples (6 to 18 above) also adequately communicate the time reference intended by each speaker. It can be argued, therefore, that while there is greater tolerance of the use of present tense verb forms to indicate non-present time in spoken Brunei English than in Standard British English, such use of the present tense does not usually impair communication.

Platt, Weber and Ho (1984:70) argue that the use of adverbials to indicate time rather than marking tense in the verb phrase is also common in the New Englishes. They give the following examples to illustrate this view.

22. Before I always go to that market. (Malaysia)
    (In the past, I used to go to that market)
23. Last time she come on Thursday. (Singapore)

In sentence 22 above, the adverbial 'before' marks the time as past and the adverbial 'always' marks habitual aspect. In 23, past time is indicated by 'last time', not by the form of the verb. As Platt et al. (1984) indicate, this use of an adverbial to mark intended time/aspect also occurs in Malay, as the following examples illustrate :

24. Saya sedang belajar = I am/was studying
    I in the process study

25. Saya sudah belajar = I have/had studied
    I already study

In some contexts, adverbials are used in a similar way in Standard British English to indicate the time intended by the speaker. In 26 - 28 below, it is the adverbial 'next week' which indicates future time rather than the form of the verb.

26. They leave next week.
27. They are leaving next week.
28. They will leave next week.

It could similarly be argued that 'the old days' in sentence 11 above is functioning as a marker of past time, so that specific past tense marking in the verb phrase is unnecessary.

'...the old days when I'm with the group, "The Mixtures".'

As well as containing examples of present tense verb forms in contexts where other tense forms would generally be required in Standard British English, the Brunei data also includes examples of past tense forms being used where the present tense would be used in Standard British English. Platt et al.'s suggestion that adverbials are commonly used in some of the New English varieties to mark tense/aspect rather than the form of the verb may help to explain the verb phrase forms in at least three of the following examples taken from the Brunei data.

29. Even now I can still hear the song whenever I went to Singapore.
    (...whenever I go to Singapore)
30. Whenever I heard this song it reminds me of my first time on stage.
    (Whenever I hear this song...)
31. But in fact we know what it meant, you know, between us but then we tend to use between ourselves.
    (But in fact we know what it means...)
32. Usually we were given much of the work towards the end of the semester.
    (We are usually given...)

In sentences 29, 30 and 32 above, the notion of present tense with habitual aspect appears to be denoted by the adverbials 'whenever' and 'usually' rather than by marking in the verb phrase. The choice of the past tense rather than the present tense above indicates the greater flexibility in tense usage in Brunei English than in Standard British English. As was seen with the present tense usage in sentences 6 to 18, the communicative effectiveness of the speaker's meaning is not hindered in sentences 29 to 32.

The Brunei data also contains examples of the progressive aspect being used where simple or habitual aspect would be preferred in Standard British English.

33. I want to ask a question but I'm using in a kind of statement.
    (...but I use a statement)
34. Next card is coming up from X of Lambak.
    (The next card comes from X...)
35. This request is coming from G-Boy of Muara.
    (This request comes from ...)
36. I think Philippines because they're using the American English.
    (I think Filipinos because they use/speak American English)

The choice of progressive 'using' for 'use' in 33 and 36 and 'coming' for 'come' in 34 and 35 seems to be a matter of individual speaker preference in Brunei English, another illustration of the greater flexibility in tense/aspect usage in Brunei English. However, the use of non-progressive 'want' and 'think' in 33 and 36 suggest that similar rules apply in both Standard British English and Brunei English with regard to the distinction between stative and dynamic verbs. i.e. that the progressive occurs only with dynamic verbs. There are no examples in the Brunei data of a stative verb like 'think' in 36 being used with progressive aspect, so that

> * I'm thinking Philippines because they're using the American English

would be unacceptable in both Standard British English and Brunei English. This is a linguistic feature which Brunei English does not share with some of the other new varieties of English such as West African English and Indian English.

37. Ram was knowing that he would come. (Indian English)
38. He is thinking that he is stronger than everyone else.
    (West African English) Platt, Weber & Ho (1984:72)

One final feature of tense/aspect usage which seems to follow the tendency towards verb phrase simplification in Brunei English is the use of either the present simple or the future simple for Standard British English 'would' in complex sentences involving conditional clauses. As in the other examples of tense/aspect simplification noted above, the clarity of the speaker's intended meaning is not normally impaired by the changes made.

39. But if you speak like British accent maybe at a wedding, they probably will find it strange, you know.
(If you spoke with a British accent...they would probably find it strange)
40. If I speak my Brunei English, they probably have problems in understanding.
(If I spoke my Brunei English, they would probably have...)
41. A: Do you think it would be possible to write in the Brunei variety of English?
B: Think so. Of course, it looks awkward.
(...it would look awkward)
42. I think if I go out and speak like native speakers, I think people will see me as snobbish.
(I think if I went out and spoke like a native speaker, people would regard me as snobbish)

One example in the data of an occurrence of the reverse phenomenon (i.e. use of the conditional where Standard British English speakers would probably use the present simple) is the following :

43. ...on this monthly programme of 'Nostalgic Moments With', where you would be given the opportunity to recall back those good old memories ...
(...where you are given the opportunity to...)

The above example is not part of a complex sentence involving an 'if' clause, as was the case with sentences 39 to 42. The use of 'would' in sentence 43 is, I think, aimed at adding a feeling of uncertainty to the proposition expressed in the statement, perhaps because the speaker feels that only a few listeners will actually be given the opportunity to appear on the programme. Most speakers of Standard British English would not feel that such hesitancy was necessary here.

2.2 Verb Phrase Reduction

2.2.1 *Deletion of the Copula*

At times Bruneian speakers of English may choose to omit the verb 'be' in spoken clauses, where the copula would be required in Standard British English. Copula deletion has been discussed widely in terms of certain varieties of Black English spoken in the United States. (See, for example, Elgin,1979:115-118.) In American

Vernacular Black English, it is possible to make a distinction between simple and habitual aspect in the following manner:

1. My brother in the kitchen. (simple aspect)
2. I know John here. (simple aspect)
3. My brother be busy. (habitual aspect)
4. Tuesdays we be in Chicago. (habitual aspect)

The omission of the copula is variable in American Vernacular Black English. However, it can be stated that both copula deletion and the use of tensed variants (am, is, are) of the copula indicate simple (or non-habitual) aspect in the variety, while the inclusion of the infinitive 'be' form denotes habitual aspect. This use of 'be' as a habitual marker does not occur in the varieties of English spoken in South-East Asia, but copula deletion is occasionally found in the varieties of English spoken in both Singapore and Brunei. Platt and Weber (1980:62) note, for instance, that in Singapore English 'the verb "to be" is not always realized where it would appear in Standard British English in the copula function.' They give the following examples of copula deletion in Singapore English :

5. This coffee house very cheap.
6. My brother a teacher.

Platt and Weber also point out that the copula is not generally used before adjectives in Malay and that this may be one of the reasons for copula deletion in Singapore English. It should also be noted that in Malay the copula is not required between a noun phrase functioning as subject and a co-referential noun subject complement.

7. Rumahku besar = My house (is) big.
8. Abangku guru = My brother (is) a teacher.

As was previously stated, the omission of the copula and the use of tensed forms of the copula both indicate non-habitual aspect in American Vernacular Black English, while the infinitive 'be' is used to indicate habitual aspect. In Brunei English, the omission of the copula is not generally related to the aspect intended by the speaker.

It should be noted that many examples of Standard British English copula usage also occur in the Brunei data.

9. John Marshall, that's our lecturer, you see, told us to warn him if he's too quick.

10. I think it is possible.
11. If it is a native speaker, I can't understand, mainly because of the accent.
12. It's not really in sequence, you see.
13. I think it's all right for me.
14. There are some words which are not used in Malaysia but they are used in Brunei.
15. It's just a coincidence now I'm a soldier...

In other contexts, however, the same informants who provided the above 'Standard usage' examples omit the copula, where it would be required in Standard British English.

16. Sometimes, yeah it, eh, demanding, you see.
    (...it is demanding...)
17. Malays, of course, easy to understand...
    (Malays, of course, are easy to...)
18. I think quite similar with what the lecturers here doing at the time.
    (...what the lecturers here are doing...)
19. I better in written English...
    (I am better at written English)
20. The most difficult thing in the Western sites(?), right, the climates.
    (The most difficult thing in the ... is the climate)
21. Now the group still exists but not very active as before.
    (The group still exists but it is not as active...)
22. The people down there so lovely, right?
    (The people down there are so...)
23. This song always played in the night clubs, disco.
    (This song was always played...)

Sentences 9 to 23 contain only one example of copula deletion in a subordinate clause (18), deletion generally occurring in main clauses. The above examples show copula deletion

- between the subject and an adjective subject complement :
e.g.'The people down there so lovely'

- between the subject and a noun subject complement :
e.g.'The most difficult thing, right, the climates'

- and as an auxiliary verb :
e.g.'with what the lecturers here doing'
e.g.'this song always played' (passive voice).

It is not correct to say that Bruneian speakers of English always or even regularly omit the copula in linguistic contexts where it would be required in Standard British English. Speakers will tend to use the copula more consistently in subordinate clauses than in main clauses, but at this stage of the development of the variety, it would seem unwise to propose definitive grammatical reasons for copula deletion. One can suggest, however, that regular copula deletion is more common amongst basilectal speakers of Brunei English than amongst acrolectal speakers. The most likely reason for this is the more direct influence of Malay (which has no copula) on basilectal speakers. It should perhaps be noted that, in the recorded data, for every occurrence of a deleted copula, there are many more cases of the copula being used in accordance with the rules of Standard British English. Since the Bruneian speakers recorded were generally speakers of the acrolectal variety of Brunei English, their fairly consistent use of the copula may also serve to support the hypothesis that copula deletion occurs more frequently at the basilectal level.

2.2.2 *Deletion of Subject Pronouns before Verb Phrases containing 'Depend'*

The data contains examples of subject pronouns being omitted by Bruneian speakers when using the verb 'depend', where the pronouns would be required in Standard British English.

1. I think depends what subject they are taking.
   (I think it depends...)
2. Depends on the position.
   (it depends..)
3. So then depends on the chance and the results.
   (...it depends on...)

While examples like Number 2 above, where 'depends' occurs at the beginning of the utterance, could be found in the informal speech of Standard English speakers, it would be unusual to hear examples like 1 and 3 in the speech of native speakers of English. The Malay equivalent of 'depend' is 'tergantung', which never takes a pronoun subject. Interference from Malay may therefore be the reason for the deletion of 'it' in sentences 1 to 3 above.

Redundant subject pronouns may also occur in Brunei English. See sub-section 3.4 below for a description of this feature.

2.2.3 *Verb Phrase Reduction in Oral Responses to Questions*

A different type of syntactic simplification which occurs in Brunei English, more commonly at the basilectal end of the scale than at the acrolectal end, is found in the responses given to certain questions which would generally require a yes/no answer in Standard British English. The following pupil utterances were recorded by a Bruneian teacher at a primary school in Bandar Seri Begawan in response to questions put by her :

1. Teacher : Have you got a pencil?
   Pupil : Got. (Malay equivalent = ada)

2. Teacher : Can you see the blackboard?
   Pupil : Can. (Malay equivalent = boleh)

3. Teacher : Have you done your homework?
   Pupil : Already. (Malay equivalent = sudah)

It should be noted that in Standard British English the answer would be 'yes' or 'no' followed by the optional structure,

'I + auxiliary +/- not'.

4. Teacher : Have you got a pencil?
   Pupil : Yes (I have).

5. Teacher : Can you see the blackboard?
   Pupil : No (I can't).

The answers given in 1 to 3 above stem from transferring to English the corresponding syntactic pattern found in Malay.

6. Teacher : Ada pensil?
   (Have pencil?)
   Pupil : Ada / Tidak ada.
   (Have / Not have.)

This type of syntactic transfer in yes/no questions is not confined to children alone. It may also be used by adult Bruneian speakers of English particularly in informal situations, where acrolectal or native speaker forms might be considered overformal and therefore sociolinguistically inappropriate.

7. A: Turn left here, can? (Is it possible to turn left here?)
   B: Can, lah. (Yes, you can)

2.3 Subject-Verb Concord

In Standard British English, regular verbs in the present tense take the same form in all persons except for the third person singular form, where an 's' suffix is added to the base form of the verb. Agreement between subject and finite verb is maintained fairly strictly in Standard British English, in both the spoken and written forms. In non-standard varieties (both native speaker and non-native speaker) the verb forms and concord patterns may differ somewhat from those of the standard variety. As Hughes and Trudgill (1987:17) point out, in East Anglian English and in some American varieties, the present tense third person singular 's' is omitted. They give the following examples from East Anglia :

1. She like him.
2. It go very fast.
3. He want it.

There is a similar tendency in Brunei English for some speakers to use the base form of the verb in all persons of the present tense of both regular and irregular verbs. It could be suggested that these speakers are following a simplified verb phrase paradigm which reduces all present tense forms to one base form which is used for all persons. The fact that there is no subject-verb concord in Malay would support this hypothesis. However, speakers of Brunei English do not consistently use the base verb form for all subject persons, and the feature can be considered to be a variable in Brunei English, with more consistent subject-verb agreement occurring at the acrolectal end of the continuum. The following examples demonstrate that, while the third person 's' may be deleted in other verbs by some speakers of Brunei English, 'be' is generally conjugated in accordance with the rules of Standard British English.

4. Conrad at first we have difficulty in understanding because of the way he pronounce some words, it's quite difficult.
   (... he pronounces some words...)
5. I think it's also the same the word that he use.
   (I think he uses the same words)
6. I think the native speaker, if he speak just like you, I think it's easy.
   (...if he speaks just like you)
7. For me, for me a Bruneian, my accent tend to be...
   (...my accent tends to be)
8. And we have so much work because nearly every lecturer give us this work, you know, keep on piling it up.
   (...every lecturer gives us this work...it keeps on piling up)

9. It remind me when I was, you know, in the sixty, seventy...
   (It reminds me ...)
10. Any caller who give us one of them will be considered the winner.
   (Any caller who gives us...)

It was suggested above that the omission of the third person singular 's' suffix has variable use in Brunei English. The fact that there are no final consonant clusters in Malay may account for the omission of the final 's' in some of the above examples but not in all of them. The deletion of final 's' in 'speaks' and 'tends' (6 and 7 above) may be due to the 'ks' and 'nds' final clusters but the deletion of the final 's' in 'pronounces' and 'uses' (4 and 5 above) cannot be caused by the speaker's wish to avoid a final consonant cluster.

In contrast to the above, many examples of Standard British English usage in third person singular forms also occur in the Brunei data :

11. I think it depends what position you are.
12. It's a good way to...learn and grasp at what he means.
13. It depends on the lecturer.
14. If someone comes back from England or from the West...
15. I think that doesn't make any difference.
16. ...but when it comes to writing, I think no different.

The use of verb forms in the first and second persons (both singular and plural) generally follows Standard British English patterns.

17. I'm still trying to find out how it is related to the voice we pronounce.
18. Of course I want to speak like you.
19. You mentioned something like...we're going to achieve a very high level of proficiency. What do you mean by that?
20. Well, when we discuss the lecturers, I think we discuss more on the lecture than the person.

Generally speaking then, it is only in the third person of the present tense where Brunei English may differ from Standard British English present tense usage. Whereas sentences 4 to 10 above show the omission of the 's' suffix in third person singular verb phrases, sentences 21 to 25 below differ from Standard British English in that they use third person singular verb forms with third person plural subjects.

21. They tends to have a sort of mix, sort of mixture, of their own.

22. All of them is my teachers.
23. Some of them seems to be the same.
24. Sometime if I see my friends is go panic...
25. So there is no problems in getting help from them.

The recorded data generally shows that, with regard to first and second person usage of verbs in the present tense, Brunei English uses the same concord patterns as Standard British English. Where there is deviance, it occurs in the third person, in both singular and plural forms. This does not mean that Bruneian speakers of English consistently use non-Standard forms in the third person but that it is a variable feature used by some speakers in some contexts. This type of variability may also occur in non-Standard native speaker varieties of English. A song entitled *Unanswered Prayers* released in 1990 by American country and western singer, Garth Brooks, has the lines:

> 'Just because he doesn't answer,
> Doesn't mean he don't care.'

showing similar variability with regard to third person concord. In the Bruneian data, in cases of non-standard concord, there are more examples of the 's' suffix being omitted in third person singular verb phrases than of the 's' suffix being added to third person plural verb phrases.

Concord variation may also be found in verb phrases with modal auxiliaries. In such verb phrases in Standard British English, the auxiliary is finite and agrees with the subject, while the head of the verb phrase is non-finite and therefore does not agree with the subject. See, for example, Quirk and Greenbaum (1973:38-39).

26. He may go there tomorrow.
Aux Head

27. May your wish come true.
Aux Head

Amongst speakers of Brunei English, there is a tendency to create concord between the non-finite head of the verb phrase and a third person singular subject in certain constructions.

28. May your day brings you more luck.
(May your day bring you...)

In the above example, the modal auxiliary, 'may', occurs in front of the subject, 'your day'. As the third person subject comes immediately before the head verb, 'bring', i.e. in the usual subject-verb order, the speaker here seems to be applying normal third person concord rules. In Standard British English, of course, 'bring' is non-finite here and therefore does not agree with the subject, 'your day'.

2.4 Creation of Non-Standard Phrasal and Prepositional Verbs

Verbs may be used with an attached particle or particles to form verb-particle combinations, such as 'look after', 'switch on' or 'put up with'. When the particle can be placed either before or directly after the direct object, the verb is considered to be phrasal. If the particle has to be tied to the verb and therefore can come before the direct object only, the verb is considered to be prepositional. If there are two particles, the verb is considered to be phrasal-prepositional. For a fuller description of verb-particle combination, see Quirk and Greenbaum (1973:347-351).

1. She turned on the tap. (PHRASAL)
   S/ V / Od
2. They were looking after the baby. (PREPOSITIONAL)
   S / V / Od
3. How can you put up with such behaviour? (PHRASAL-PREP.)
   A / V- / S/ -V / Od

(S=subject ; V=verb ; Od=direct object ; A=adverbial)

Where there is no semantic link between a verb and a following preposition, the preposition is classified as belonging to a prepositional phrase functioning in the sentence as an adverbial and the verb is seen as an ordinary one-word verb.

4. The car turned down the lane. (VERB & PREP. PHRASE)
   S / V / A

In sentence 5, however, there is a semantic link between the verb and the particle, and so 'turn down' would be analysed as a phrasal verb.

5. John turned down the offer. (PHRASAL VERB)
   S / V / Od

In the recorded data, there are examples of phrasal verbs being used by Bruneian speakers which do not normally occur in Standard British English. One area of language change and innovation, therefore, which seems to be occurring in Brunei English is the creation of verbs with an attached particle where Standard British English would use either a single-word verb plus a direct object or a single-word verb plus a prepositional phrase functioning as adverbial. The following examples were found in the data.

6. This will **shorten up** the times of getting confirmations. (PHRASAL VERB)
7. I'm still **working out on** it. (PHRASAL-PREP. VERB)
8. That way we **discuss about** it. (PREPOSITIONAL VERB)
9. And not **forgetting for** Salina of Miri. (PREPOSITIONAL VERB)
10. The next card is **coming up** from X of Lambak. (INTRANSITIVE PHRASAL VERB)
11. We decided to **return back**. (INTRANS. PHRASAL VERB)
12. He's going to **request for** more information. (PREPOSITIONAL VERB)
13. You would be given the opportunity to **recall back** those good old memories. (PHRASAL VERB)
14. It's a good way to **grasp at** what he means... (PREP. VERB)

Some of the above examples, particularly 'discuss about' and 'request for' are consistently used even by acrolectal speakers of English in Brunei and regularly occur in the English-medium press (*Borneo Bulletin*) and on Radio Television Brunei (RTB).

2.5 Question Tags

One manner of forming questions in English is to place what is known as a question tag after a declarative statement.

1. He's a good runner, isn't he?
2. They spoke in Malay, didn't they?
3. Fatimah hasn't been to Singapore, has she?

As the above examples show, the form of the question tag depends on the gender and number of the subject, on the tense of the verb phrase and on the auxiliary or operator used by the particular verb to form the normal interrogative structure. The primary auxiliaries, 'be' and 'have', in Sentences 1 and 3 above function as operators in their own right and therefore do not require the addition of another operator to create the interrogative. However,

'spoke' in Sentence 2 requires the dummy operator, 'did', to form both the normal interrogative and the question tag. Another feature of tag questions which has to be manipulated by the user is the positive-negative relationship. If the initial statement is positive, the question tag must usually be negative. If the initial statement is negative, the question tag is generally positive.

4. They live in Tutong, don't they?
5. They don't live in Tutong, do they?

This fairly complex system of using question tags in Standard English is often simplified by users of Brunei English by the insertion of 'isn't it' after all declarative statements, regardless of the verb phrase used in the statement.

6. You are going, isn't it?
(...aren't you?)
7. You like curry, isn't it?
(...don't you?)
8. I mean you can understand native speakers who don't speak the RP accent, isn't it?
(...can't you?)

The formation of tag questions in English is generally more complex than the equivalent structure in many other languages. French, German, Spanish and Malay, for example, all have formulaic structures which do not depend on verbal context, viz. 'n'est-ce pas?', 'nicht wahr?', 'verdad?' and 'bukan/kan?'. A similar formulaic structure which has developed in English and which avoids the complexities of tag question construction is the universal tag, 'right'. Although American in origin, the use of 'right' as a universal tag appears to be on the increase in many English-speaking countries, including Brunei.

9. Because I'm exposed to native speakers, right?
10. That's because I'm from UBD, right?
11. Our mother tongue is Malay, right?
12. If we know that you are from Lambak Kanan, we are not going to ask you that same question, right?
13. And I think you did a special programme on one of them, right, a few months ago?

One reason for the use of 'right' as a tag structure might be the increasing amount of exposure to American TV programmes currently being experienced in Brunei. Another reason may be that the formal simplicity of 'right' in comparison with the syntactic

complexity of tag question forms makes it far easier to operate in everyday speech.

2.6 Inversion in Subordinate Noun Clauses

In interrogative complex sentences containing a main clause followed by a subordinate noun clause functioning as the direct object of the main clause, Standard British English requires the use of the interrogative form in the main clause followed by declarative S + V word order (i.e. no inversion) in the subordinate noun clause.

1. Do you know / what he said?
2. Can you tell me / what the answer is?
   main cl. sub. noun cl.

In Brunei English, there is a strong tendency amongst many speakers to use interrogative word order in both the main clause and the subordinate clause.

3. Can you tell us why have you organized the competition like this?
4. Does anybody know here what's 'ayam' in English?
5. You know what is this one?
6. Can you tell me what is safety precaution, Hing? (someone's name)
7. Can you tell me what the tongue, what is it used for?
8. Do you know what is this?

2.7 Comparison of Brunei English Verb Phrase Features with VP Features in other New Englishes

In sub-sections 5.5 and 5.6 of Chapter Two above, it was shown that the four South-East Asian varieties of English which were discussed have certain verb phrase features in common which do not occur in Standard British or American English. It was found that Singapore English, Malaysian English, Philippine English and Papua New Guinea English share some or all of the following verb phrase differences from Standard British English :

a. lack of morphological marking of the past tense
b. differences in subject-verb concord
c. deletion of the copula
d. differences in aspect usage
e. generalised question tags

Section two of the present chapter has shown that speakers of Brunei English may use similar non-Standard British English forms in the five verb-phrase areas listed above. It is possible to conclude, therefore, that, despite different background languages in four of the five situations studied (Singapore, Malaysia, Philippines, Papua New Guinea, Brunei), the varieties of English which have developed in these five countries share certain grammatical tendencies which are not found in standard native speaker varieties.

Trudgill (1983:102-107) proposes that language changes may be of two types : (a) natural change and (b) non-natural change. Natural changes occur without external stimulus from another language, while non-natural changes occur in a language as a result of contact with other languages. Since it has been shown above that the types of verb phrase simplification found in Brunei English can also be found in other new varieties of English, it might be suggested that a 'natural' process of language change is at work within the New Englishes and that this natural process has led to a general simplification of the verb phrase in these varieties. However, since verbs in Malay do not inflect for tense, person or number, it may also be argued that the tendency towards simplification in the verb phrase in Brunei English is a result of interference from Malay, the mother tongue of the majority of the informants (i.e. the result of non-natural change). A third argument, which also seems plausible given the notorious complexity of matters involving language change, is that 'natural' and 'non-natural' processes have simultaneously been at work in bringing about changes in the verb phrase in Brunei English. Further research in this area is clearly essential.

3.0 The Noun Phrase

This section will examine aspects of the noun phrase in Brunei English which demonstrate a different syntactic pattern from the corresponding features in Standard British English. The section will look at the following noun phrase areas :

3.1 Use of Articles
3.2 Singular and Plural Marking
3.3 Possessive Determiners and Article Determiners
3.4 Combined Noun plus Pronoun Subject Forms

3.1 Use of Articles in the Noun Phrase

The recorded data contains many examples of article deletion in noun phrases.

1. Is it with Bruneian accent?
   (with a Bruneian...)
2. I think I have problem with their accent, you see.
   (I have a problem...)
3. I think they are speaking in Brunei variety.
   (in the Brunei variety)
4. I think I accept South-East Asian variety.
   (the South-East Asian variety)
5. Sound like Bruneian. That's the identity.
   (I want to sound like a Bruneian)
6. Is Brunei variety very different from Singapore?
   (Is the Brunei variety...)
7. To be teacher is my last choice, you see.
   (To be a teacher...)

8. 'Just When I Needed You Most' is beautiful song.
   (...is a beautiful song)
9. When I'm on course in Singapore for two years.
   (...on a course)
10. Teaching style must be systematic.
    (The teaching style must be...)
11. A: You will get a consolation prize from RTB.
    B: Is it big one for me?
    (Is it a big one...)
12. Can you just read the question then maybe we receive call later.
    (...maybe we'll receive a call later)

The above examples demonstrate that both the indefinite and the definite articles may be omitted in spoken Brunei English, but consistent article omission is not a constantly recurring feature in the English of Bruneians. The data contains a far greater number of examples of noun phrases where both the indefinite and the definite articles are used as they would be in Standard British English. The omission of the article in Brunei English is certainly much less noticeable to the ear of the average British English native speaker than is the case with the omission of articles in Indian or Pakistani English. (See, for example, Tariq Rahman, 1990).

The data contains four examples of the article being used in noun phrases where it would not be used in Standard British English. One involves the use of the definite article with 'others'.

13. A: If you went to live in England, would you change your accent?
B: I have to, I think, to make the others understand about it.
(to make others understand what I was saying)

The use of the article above arises, I would suggest, from the speaker's uncertainty about usage related to this particular item, 'others/the others', rather than from a Bruneian tendency to use articles in noun phrases where they would not be required in Standard British English. 'Others' normally relates to an unspecified group of people:

14. Some people love football ; others hate it.

'The others' refers to a certain section of an already specified group:

15. All five children were waiting outside. Jack and Jill looked very tired but the others seemed fine.

Since 'others' in the Brunei example 13 above refers to an unspecified group of people, it would not require an article in Standard British English.

The three other examples in the data of the use of non-Standard articles involve (1) adding the definite article to 'National Day', (2) using the definite article instead of the indefinite article with 'RP accent' and (3) adding the definite article to 'American English'.

16. Everybody was busy getting ready for the National Day.
(...getting ready for National Day)
17. I mean you can understand native speakers who don't speak the RP accent...
(...who don't speak with an RP accent)
18. I think Philippines because they are using the American English.
(I think Filipinos because they speak/use American English)

The above non-Standard British English uses are caused by the specific lexical items involved, I would suggest, rather than by any general tendency to add articles to noun phrases where they would not be required in Standard British English. As the above examples

are the only ones in the data of non-Standard British English article insertion, it can be concluded that, while article deletion occurs more regularly in Brunei English than in Standard British English, non-Standard article insertion is not a common feature of the Brunei variety.

3.2 Singular and Plural Marking in the Noun Phrase

It has been suggested above (in 2.3 above) that concord between subject and verb is fairly strictly adhered to in Standard British English. A similarly strict pattern applies to the way in which nouns are marked for number (singular and plural). This notion of the marking of nouns for number is less strictly applied in Brunei English than it is in Standard British English, as the following examples illustrate :

1. In the village, we have gathering.
   (...gatherings)
2. When student get bored, especially in the afternoon.
   (When students get...)
3. At this UBD, my lecturer is Malay...
   (...my lecturers are Malay)
4. I mean South-East Asian.
   (I mean South-East Asians)
5. Even if a lecturer is a native speaker or a South-East Asian speakers, as long as they are co-operative...
   (...or a South-East Asian speaker...)
6. Because my lecturer, most of the lecturers, have been to Brunei.
   (Because my lecturers...)
7. It is a sort of direct links...
   (a direct link...)
8. If you don't have a strong determinations...
   (... strong determination...)
9. I like this song very much, for no particular reason, but I just like the songs.
   (...I just like the song)
10. Because most of us have family to look after.
    (...most of us have families...)
11. I used to play this songs from the Carpenters over and over again.
    (I used to play this song by the Carpenters...)
12. Well, this songs really remind me of my past.
    (...this song really reminds me...)

13. So we have only two choice now.
(...only two choices...)

As example 9 above shows, the same speaker may choose to mix singular marking with plural marking on two occurrences of the same noun in the same sentence, demonstrating the instability of singular/plural marking for many Bruneian speakers of English. It should be noted that plural marking may differ from Standard British English in two ways :

a) Omission of the plural -s when it would be required in Standard British English e.g. 'We have only two choice now.'

b) Insertion of plural -s when it would be unnecessary in Standard British English e.g. 'I used to play this songs from the Carpenters over and over again.'

In Malay, plurality is generally indicated by doubling the noun.

guru = teacher ; guru-guru = teachers

However, an undoubled noun form is not necessarily singular and, if other syntactic or lexical elements suggest plurality, it is considered stylistically inappropriate to mark the noun explicitly by doubling. In the following noun phrase, for example, it is not necessary to double the head noun.

banyak anak = many children
many child

Thus, Malay is less consistent in its marking of plurality than English and this fact may account for some cases of plural -s deletion.

The data also contains examples of plural marking of nouns which are considered to be uncountable (and therefore without plural forms) in Standard British English. The following nouns may be pluralised in Brunei English :

equipment	equipments
furniture	furnitures
staff	staffs (i.e. personnel)
information	informations
accommodation	accommodations

13. So we have only two choice now.
(...only two choices...)

As example 9 above shows, the same speaker may choose to mix singular marking with plural marking on two occurrences of the same noun in the same sentence, demonstrating the instability of singular/plural marking for many Bruneian speakers of English. It should be noted that plural marking may differ from Standard British English in two ways :

a) Omission of the plural -s when it would be required in Standard British English e.g. 'We have only two choice now.'

b) Insertion of plural -s when it would be unnecessary in Standard British English e.g. 'I used to play this songs from the Carpenters over and over again.'

In Malay, plurality is generally indicated by doubling the noun.

guru = teacher ; guru-guru = teachers

However, an undoubled noun form is not necessarily singular and, if other syntactic or lexical elements suggest plurality, it is considered stylistically inappropriate to mark the noun explicitly by doubling. In the following noun phrase, for example, it is not necessary to double the head noun.

banyak anak = many children
many child

Thus, Malay is less consistent in its marking of plurality than English and this fact may account for some cases of plural -s deletion.

The data also contains examples of plural marking of nouns which are considered to be uncountable (and therefore without plural forms) in Standard British English. The following nouns may be pluralised in Brunei English :

equipment	equipments
furniture	furnitures
staff	staffs (i.e. personnel)
information	informations
accommodation	accommodations

An example from the data of a noun which is uncountable in Standard British English but which is treated as countable in Brunei English is 'advice'.

14. And here's an advice for you all...

'Advice' in 14 is being treated as a countable noun, whereas in Standard British English, advice is considered to be uncountable :

15. Here's some advice for you...
16. Here's a piece of advice for you...

Speakers of Standard British English use 'much' before uncountable nouns and 'many' before countable nouns.

17. He doesn't have much time.
18. He doesn't have many friends.

However, there is not total conformity on the countable/ uncountable distinction even within native speaker varieties. As Trudgill and Hannah (1985) point out, some nouns which are categorized as countable nouns in American English may be considered uncountable in British English and vice versa. Trudgill and Hannah give the following examples of different usage :

19. I'm going to buy a lettuce. (British English)
20. I'm going to buy a head of lettuce. (American English)
21. Good accommodation is hard to find here. (British English)
22. Good accommodations are hard to find here. (American English)
23. John is good at sport. (British English)
24. John is good at sports. (American English)

Given this inconsistency between the British and American varieties, it does not seem surprising that in a new variety of English such as Brunei English the classification of nouns into countable and uncountable groups should differ in some respects from the classification operating in other varieties. The differences in countable/uncountable noun usage in Brunei English may stem either from the fact that a different system of classifying is in operation or that the distinction between countable and uncountable nouns does not exist in the variety and that forms are selected more or less at random. The following examples from the Brunei data show non-Standard British English use of 'much' with countable nouns in the plural.

25. Well, so far I don't think we've encountered much problems.
(...many problems)
26. I think not much examples are given.
(...not many examples)
27. I don't think it's linguistic. Maybe too much action.
Too much gestures.
(...Too many gestures)

As the above examples show, there is a tendency in Brunei English to use 'much' before countable nouns, where 'many' would be required in Standard British English. No cases of the use of 'many' before uncountable nouns were found in the corpus of data.

Another example of non-Standard British English singular/plural marking occurs in cases where 'one' acts as the head of a noun phrase followed by a prepositional phrase containing 'of the' plus noun phrase functioning as a post-modifier to the head. Standard British English usage is to pluralise the embedded noun phrase in the post-modifying prepositional phrase :

	S		V	Cs
28.	One	of the students/	was /	absent.
	Head	post-mod.		

In example 28, 'one' is regarded as the head of the whole noun phrase because there is concord between 'one' and the verb 'was'.

In Brunei English, there is a tendency to mark as singular the embedded noun in the prepositional phrase functioning as post-modifier.

29. That's one of the reason, I guess, why I have
chosen this song.
(That's one of the reasons...)
30. 'Forever Young' is one of the song during the party.
(...was one of the songs...)
31. I was really looked after by one of the lecturer who has
been in Brunei for more than five years.
(...by one of the lecturers...)

The speakers in the above examples appear to be applying the same concord rules in two linguistic contexts where different rules would be applied in Standard British English :

32.	One	lecturer /	was /	very kind.	= Brunei & Std. Brit. Eng.
	Num.	Head	V	Cs	

33. One of the lecturer / was / very kind. = Brunei English
Head pp as post-mod. V Cs

34. One of the lecturers/ was/ very kind. = Std. Brit. Eng.
Head pp as post-mod. V Cs

(V = verb ; Cs = subject complement ; Num = numeral;
pp = prepositional phrase)

One difference in singular/plural marking which is used by many Bruneians is to pluralise a noun following the demonstrative determiner 'every', in the same way that a countable noun following 'all' would have to be pluralised in Standard British English.

35. I can still remember every words from the song.
(...every word of the song)
(...all the words of the song)

There is also a tendency in Bruneian English to singularise the Standard British English prepositional phrase, 'in other words':

36. In other word, he was not about to give up.
(In other words...)
37. In another word, in a systematic way.
(In other words...)

As the differences in form between examples 36 and 37 above demonstrate, some of the non-Standard British English morphological and syntactic features that occur in Brunei English are not yet used with any strong consistency. With regard to number in the noun phrase, it seems that speakers have a certain flexibility to choose whether or not to mark singular/plural forms morphologically.

3.3 Use of a possessive determiner for an article determiner

Bruneian speakers will occasionally use a possessive determiner as a pre-modifier in a noun phrase where an article determiner or no determiner would be required in Standard British English.

1. Take your seat. I will call you later.
(Take a seat)
2. I go to take my bath.

(I'm going to take a bath)

3. I have my lunch at 1 o'clock.
   (I have lunch at 1 o'clock)
4. From my personal point of view, I think I accept South-East Asian variety.
   (From a personal point of view...)

There is also a stylistic tendency to use the possessive determiner 'our' where 'my' would probably be used in Standard British English.

5. Of course...no time to do our work, revision work.
   (...I've no time to do my work...)

This usage is comparable with the tendency for a speaker to use the first person plural in certain situations in which the speaker alone is involved and which would be conducted in the first person singular in Standard British English.

6. We have problem with this course,
   (I have some problems...)
7. We couldn't find the book, sir.
   (I couldn't find...)
8. We know that we are talking to these native speakers, so we tend to, you know, select which variety to speak ...
   (I know that I'm talking to a native speaker so I tend to, you know, select which variety...)

It could be argued that the speakers in the above are referring to more than one person and that their use of the first person plural is quite justified. However, in Brunei one regularly comes across first person plural use in cases where the speaker can be referring only to himself/herself. It might be suggested that the reason for first person plural usage is culturally based, that South-East Asians see their role in society as part of a group rather than as separate individuals.

3.4 Combined Noun and Pronoun Subject Forms

There are three examples in the recorded data of head nouns being combined with corresponding pronouns to form a dual-headed noun phrase.

1. I think the South-East Asian lecturers they are more...
   (I think the S.E. Asian lecturers are more...)

2. Rosnah, for example, I think she has got some British accent.
   (I think Rosnah, for example, has got some traces of a British accent)
3. Those who have been abroad they don't mind about that.
   (Those who have been abroad don't mind...)

This feature, which can be seen as an example of topic fronting, may be following a South-East Asian stylistic pattern as the use of a subject pronoun in combination with the related head noun is not uncommon in Malay. Poedjosoedarmo (1986) gives the following examples from Bahasa Indonesia, the Indonesian variety of Malay :

4. Apa sudah membeli beras, si Bibi?
   (Did she buy rice, the servant?)

5. Ditutupnya pintu itu.
   (He closed it, the door.)

As the data contains only three examples of this feature, it is not possible to state that topic fronting occurs regularly in Brunei English. Further investigation on this matter is clearly necessary.

4.0 **Adverbials**

As Quirk and Greenbaum (1973) note, a sentence may be described as comprising five sentence elements : subject, verb, object, complement and adverbial. The adverbial element may be realised by the following types of phrase/clause :

a) an adverb phrase
b) a prepositional phrase
c) a noun phrase
d) a finite clause
e) a non-finite clause
f) a verbless clause

The use of the term 'phrase' in this chapter follows Quirk and Greenbaum (1973) and relates to one or more words which function as a unit to realise one of the five sentence elements. 'She' and 'the girl in the corner' would, therefore, both be examples of noun phrases functioning as the subject element in the following two sentences :

1. She is John's daughter.
   S V Cs

2. The girl in the corner is John's daughter.
S V Cs

The following sentences give examples of the six adverbial types listed above :

3. Ali speaks very slowly.
S V A A = adverb phrase

4. Ali lives in Kampong Ayer.
S V A A = prepositional phrase

5. Ali left last week.
S V A A = noun phrase

6. As Ali listened more, he became worried.
A S V Cs A = finite clause

7. Before going to sleep, Ali said a prayer.
A S V Od A = non-finite cl.

8. Although not very fit, Ali won the race.
A S V Od A = verbless cl.

The use of adverbials in Brunei English is discussed in this section under the following sub-headings:

4.1 Position of Adverbials
4.2 Form of the Adverb 'sometimes'
4.3 The Use of 'of course' in spoken utterances
4.4 The Use of 'until now'
4.5 The Use of Adjective forms for Adverb forms

4.1 Position of Adverbials

The recorded data contains several examples of non-Standard British English word order concerning the position of adverbials in sentences. The following extracts contain single or multi-word adverb phrases being used in marked positions :

1. Well simply the message reads 'Hi'.
(...the message simply reads...)
2. We'll answer quickly to the next call.
(We'll quickly answer the ...)

3. They can't speak with a British or American accent definitely.
   (They definitely can't speak with...)
4. Instead of /baeg/ they say /ba:g/, so I can't get the meaning sometimes.
   (...so sometimes I can't get the meaning)
5. But after a few lessons, we probably can understand easily.
   (...we can probably understand...)
6. Usually we were given much of the work towards the end of the semester.
   (We were usually given...)
7. Now the group still exists.
   (The group still exists now/today)
8. Let's go very quickly through all these letters.
   (Let's go through all these letters very quickly)

One feature of adverbials in Standard British English is that they tend to be more mobile in a sentence than subjects, objects, complements or verb phrases. The following examples are from Lynch and Smith (1982:32).

9. Loudly, he called to his son.
10. He loudly called to his son.
11. He called loudly to his son.
12. He called to his son loudly.

However, there are certain restrictions on this mobility.

13. * He called to loudly his son.
14. * He called to his loudly son.

There are in fact no examples in the Brunei data of adverbials being placed within prepositional phrases (example 13 above) or between a determiner and the head of the noun phrase it is modifying (example14). The non-Standard British English location of the adverbials in sentences 1 to 8 above is generally much more acceptable to a native speaker's ear because the positioning is merely stylistically inappropriate in Standard British English terms rather than syntactically deviant. However, it can probably be concluded that the rules relating to the location of adverbs within the sentence are more flexible in Brunei English than they are in Standard British English, as sentences 1 to 8 above illustrate.

4.2 Form of the Adverb 'sometimes'

Many Bruneian speakers omit the final 's' when using the adverb which is realised in Standard British English as 'sometimes'.

1. I sometime go by car.
   (...sometimes)
2. Sometime with other people, I mean not educated people...
3. Because sometime we don't want ...
4. Sometime if I see my friends is go panic...

5. A: You think a sense of humour is important with teachers?
   B: Sometime. When student get bored.
6. I'd say that sometime they don't pronounce the words clearly.
7. Sometime it brings tears to my eyes.

The fairly regular occurrence of 'sometime' for 'sometimes' in the data shows that this form is widely used in spoken Bruneian English, even at the acrolectal level. As was stated earlier (see 2.3 above), Malay has no final consonant clusters and this factor might account for the omission of the 's' in sometimes. The reason could also be lexical confusion with 'some time'.

4.3 The Use of 'Of Course' in Spoken Utterances

The recorded data contains several examples of the adverbial 'of course' being used in contexts where the phrase would not be used in Standard British English.

1. Actually, I love this song very much. Nothing, ah, no particular reason, of course.
2. Especially when someone has got a lot of friends and, of course, I am dedicating this song especially for all my friends.
3. Well, I realised this one particular guy was sort of trying to get my attention. Of course, then he was as if he was invisible to me.

In spoken Standard British English, the phrase 'of course' has two basic meanings : 1) 'naturally', 'certainly' and 2) 'one has to concede'. The following sentences illustrate these two meanings.

4. Of course Rangers will win ; they haven't dropped a point in the last three matches.
5. She's very pretty, of course, but she's a dreadful actress.

It is the first meaning above which is generally intended in Brunei English. However, when 'of course' is used in this way in Standard British English, both speaker and listener usually have to be aware of an underlying reason which justifies why the accompanying statement naturally and logically follows. In Brunei English, 'of course' is often used by speakers in contexts where no underlying reason for natural entailment is given or implied. The function in these cases seems to be as a discourse connective in the same way that 'really', 'so', 'in actual fact' etc. might be used in informal Standard British English.

4.4 The Use of 'Until Now'

A construction using 'until now' which would be considered deviant in Standard British English occurs in several places in the recorded data.

1. And until now I still like the song very much.
   (And I still like the song...)
2. X used to be my favourite song. Until now I still like this song.

A similar example occurs in which the single word, 'now' is used as an equivalent to 'until now' above.

3. Now the group still exists but not very active as before.
   (The group still exists but it's not as active as it was)

Interference from Malay would seem to account for this construction, where 'sampai sekarang / sekarang' (up till now / now) is combined with 'masih / masih lagi' (still) without any redundancy.

Dia masih lagi suka lagu itu sampai sekarang.
He still like song that until now

or

Sampai sekarang dia masih lagi suka lagu itu.
Until now he still like song that

In Standard British English, the insertion of 'until now / now' would be considered redundant because 'still' already carries the idea of 'from that time until today'. An alternative adverb phrase which could be used in Standard British English in place of 'until now' would be 'even now' or 'even today'. However, if either phrase was used, many speakers would prefer to omit 'still' to avoid tautology.

4. I still like the song.
5. Even today I like the song.
6. Even now I like the song.
7. Even today I still like the song.

4.5 The Use of Adjective Forms for Adverb Forms

One feature occurring in some non-standard native varieties of English is the use of an adjective form where Standard English would require an adverb form. In very informal American English, for example, 'good' for 'well' and 'slow' for 'slowly' are quite common but this usage would not be considered acceptable in formal styles.

1. He don't talk proper
   (He doesn't talk properly)
2. He sings real good.
   (He sings really well)

The use of an adjective for an adverb may also occur occasionally in Brunei English. Interference from Malay might be the reason for this, as no formal distinction is made in Malay between adjectives and adverbs as lexical items.

3. I met an English lady today at ICC. She spoke so fluent,
   not Malay, Brunei language.
   (...She spoke so fluently, not in Standard Malay but
   in the Brunei variety of Malay)
4. Because he explained it very clear and I become interested.
   (...he explained it very clearly and I became interested)

Despite the occurrence of the above examples, the use of adjective forms for adverbs does not frequently appear in the data, which would seem to suggest that adverb replacement by an adjectival form is not a common feature of the acrolectal variety of Brunei English.

5.0 Prepositions

The choice of prepositions in particular linguistic contexts may vary among native speaker varieties of English.

1. There was a Porsche in back of us. (American usage)
2. There was a Porsche behind us. (British and American usage)

3. I was talking with Mrs Johnson last week. (American)
4. I was talking to Mrs Johnson last week. (British and American)
5. It's a quarter of nine. (American)
6. It's a quarter to nine. (British and American)

Even within British native speaker varieties one encounters differences in preposition selection in particular contexts. All three of the following prepositions are found among Standard British English speakers, even though only (7) is considered to be correct in prescriptive terms.

7. Your problem is different from mine.
8. Your problem is different to mine.
9. Your problem is different than mine.

As Smith (1978) points out, the use of prepositions in Papua New Guinea English may differ considerably from Standard British English usage. Smith lists the following non-Standard British English uses which she collected from written scripts submitted for an essay competition.

10. It was difficult to me.
    (It was difficult for me)
11. He got used of doing it.
    (He got used to doing it)
12. He had something behind his mind.
    (...at the back of his mind)

The Brunei data contains several examples of prepositions being used in contexts where they would be unlikely to appear in Standard British English.

13. That depends on how close I am with the lecturers.
    (...to the lecturers)
14. I think quite similar with what the lecturers here doing.
    (...similar to what the lecturers here are doing)
15. Yeah. 'Go', 'accompany with you'. We tend to use it.
    (...accompany you...)
16. Congratulations for your engagement.
    (...on your engagement)
17. Congratulations for those who got married.
    (...to those ...)
18. Sorry for that.
    (Sorry about that)
19. So in memory to this first date, I'd like to dedicate this song to X. (...in memory of...)

20. ...we used to dance with this beat.
    (...dance to this beat)
21. So I don't find any difficulty of getting good and delicious food.
    (...any difficulty in getting good food)

Preposition selection in Standard British English is often based on collocation rather than on specific syntactic rules. Why speakers should use 'to' in the phrase, 'to my mind', and 'in' in the phrase, 'in my opinion', seems to be based on established collocation patterns rather than on grammatical appropriateness. Because preposition selection is not rule governed in grammatical terms, it does not seem surprising that different collocation patterns for preposition usage should be developing in the new varieties of English. Examples 13 to 21 above illustrate some of the changes taking place in preposition usage in the Brunei variety.

6.0 Conjunctions

Speakers of Brunei English generally use conjunctions in accordance with Standard British English usage when linking or contrasting two noun phrases or two main clauses.

1. Like the word 'follow' or 'send' or 'fetch', you know.
   NP conj. NP conj. NP
   (NP = noun phrase ; conj. = conjunction)

2. I used to go to parties with all my friends together and we used to dance with this beat.
   Main Clause + Conjunction (and) + Main Clause

However, the following examples from the data contain conjunction usage which would be considered unacceptable in Standard British English.

3. As far as I speak correct English, you know, so I don't mind about that.
   (As long as I speak correct English, I don't mind...)
4. Even if it were accepted but it would be funny.
   (Even if it were accepted, it would be funny)
5. And you know in Brunei I think because not all Bruneians are educated, so I think if I go out and speak like native speakers, people will see me as snobbish.
   (...because not all Bruneians are educated, if I go out and speak like a native speaker, people will say I'm being snobbish)

All three of the above examples involve complex sentences which contain a subordinate adverbial clause followed by a conjunction followed by a main clause. In Standard British English it is not necessary to place a conjunction between the subordinate clause and the main clause. Sentence 4 above, for example, would take the following form in Standard British English :

6. Even if it were accepted, it would be funny.

However, if a compound sentence construction were used, it would be necessary to insert a co-ordinating conjunction between the main clauses.

7. It might be accepted but it would be funny.

Examples 3 to 5 above show co-ordinating conjunction insertion between a subordinate clause and a main clause. While co-ordinating conjunctions are required between two main clauses in a compound sentence in Standard British English, conjunctions are not placed between a subordinate clause and a following main clause. The above examples are the only instances occurring in the data of the structure :

Sub. adverbial cl. + co-ordinating conjunction + Main cl.

While it is therefore not possible to claim at this stage that the construction occurs regularly in Brunei English, it would seem reasonable to suggest that, in the Brunei variety, patterns of conjunction use are emerging which may be different from Standard British English usage.

7.0 Conclusions

One general characteristic of the Brunei variety of spoken English that has been observed in several linguistic areas is a tendency towards grammatical simplification. The following features have been noted in the analysis :

1. Use of the present tense where other tenses would be required in Standard British English.

2. Use of the base form of the verb in the present tense of both regular and irregular verbs regardless of person or number.

3. Use of 'isn't it' as a universal question tag.

A second characteristic that has been observed is a tendency in Brunei English towards greater grammatical flexibility than is the case in Standard British English. This tendency can be seen in the following areas :

a. Brunei English speakers are more tolerant of variation in article omission or insertion in noun phrases than speakers of Standard British English.

b. There is a greater acceptance of variable singular and plural marking in the noun phrase than is found in Standard British English.

c. There is greater flexiblity shown in the classification of nouns into countable and non-countable categories than there is in Standard British English.

d. There is tolerance of a wider range of possible adverbial positions within a sentence than in Standard British English.

The analysis also highlights some of the areas in which Brunei English is creating its own grammatical patterns. Developments are taking place in at least the following two areas :

1. The creation of new phrasal and prepositional verbs.

2. The use of prepositions in contexts where they would not be used in Standard British English.

It is probable that some grammatical changes have come about for phonological reasons. The fact that no final consonant clusters occur in Malay may well be the cause of the frequent omission of the final 's' in plural noun forms by Brunei English speakers, of the 's' morpheme in third person singular present tense, and of the 'ed' morpheme in past tense forms.

Trudgill (1983:102-107) proposes that linguistic changes may be of two types : (a) natural change and (b) non-natural change. Natural changes occur in a particular language system without external stimulus, while non-natural changes occur in a language as a result of contact with other languages. Trudgill argues that one of the results of language contact is syntactic simplification. He contrasts Norwegian, which has been exposed to high contact, with Faroese, which has experienced relatively little contact. It is clear from Trudgill's brief description of the contrasting syntactic systems that Norwegian has undergone much greater syntactic simplification

than Faroese. The reason for this, Trudgill argues, is that Norwegian has experienced more contact with other languages than Faroese and, as a result, has undergone simplification changes of the non-natural type.

It was demonstrated in 2.7 above that the types of verb phrase simplification found in Brunei English can also be found in other new varieties of English which have developed from a range of different first language backgrounds. It might therefore be suggested that a natural process of language change is at work within the New Englishes and that this natural process has led to a general simplification of the verb phrase in these varieties. However, since verbs in Malay do not inflect for tense, person or number, it may also be argued that the tendency towards simplification in the verb phrase in Brunei English has arisen because of interference from Malay, the mother tongue of the majority of the informants (i.e. as a result of non-natural change). A third argument, which also seems highly plausible, given the notorious complexity of matters involving language change, is that 'natural' and 'non-natural' processes have simultaneously been at work in bringing about simplification in the verb phrase in Brunei English.

Whatever the causes of change have been, it is apparent that Brunei English is beginning to establish some of its own grammatical patterns which, even at the acrolectal end of the continuum, may at times differ considerably from the equivalent structures in Standard British English.

Chapter Five

LEXICAL FEATURES OF SPOKEN BRUNEI ENGLISH

1.0 Introduction

The previous chapter attempted to examine the most significant grammatical features of spoken Brunei English in terms of basic differences from Standard British English. Grammatical differences occur consistently throughout the recorded data and are immediately apparent to the observer. However, lexical differences between Brunei English and Standard British English, particularly at the acrolectal level, occur less frequently and are less clear-cut for two reasons. One is that speakers are generally more aware of differences in lexis between two varieties than of differences in syntax. If, for example, a British speaker of English were asked to explain the differences between British and American English, it is unlikely that the speaker would list syntactic differences between the varieties such as the range of structures involved in tag question formation with 'have'. The following examples are taken from Noss (1979).

a. He hasn't got two daughters, does he? (Generally acceptable in American English but not in British English)
b. He hasn't any children, has he? (Generally acceptable in British English but not in American English)

The average British or American speaker of English is unlikely to be consciously aware of syntactic differences between the two varieties such as (a) and (b) above. Instead, he/she would be likely to point out differences in vocabulary between American and British English such as 'elevator/lift', 'cookie/biscuit', 'faucet/tap', 'trashcan/dustbin' etc.

In a similar manner, Bruneian speakers of English tend to be more aware of non-Standard British English lexical items than they are of non-standard syntactic features. As a result, they may consciously decide not to use what they consider to be non-Standard British English vocabulary items when speaking in formal situations. When I asked some student informants to give examples of what they considered to be typical 'Brunei English', the informants seemed generally very aware that the majority of the vocabulary-based (as opposed to syntax-based) items they had suggested :

(1) would be considered deviant in terms of Standard British English

(2) would be used at basilectal/mesolectal levels or in very informal speech situations rather than at the acrolectal level or in formal situations.

In informal situations one may hear, for example, the word 'timing' or the word 'action' (pronounced /aeksin/) used as adjectives to mean 'arrogant and difficult'.

1. She's very timing.
2. She's very action.
   (Standard British English = She's very arrogant)

Other examples of non-standard lexical items which can occur in informal situations are the following, which were provided by student informants at Universiti Brunei Darussalam :

3. You drop my water face.
   (You embarrassed me)

4. Can I follow?
   (Can I go with you?)

Only one of the lexical items in sentences 1 to 4 occurs in the transcribed data. The reason for this would seem to be that the recorded speakers were consciously aware that such items are not used by native speakers of English, and that they did not feel that these items were appropriate for a linguistic context which they perceived to be formal (either an interview or a radio broadcast). As a result, the data contains relatively few examples of lexical items which stand out immediately because of their obvious differences from Standard British English usage.

A second reason that makes the analysis and description of the lexical features of Brunei English less clear-cut than is the case with the syntactic features of the variety is the problem of judging whether certain items from the lexicon of Standard British English are used by Bruneian speakers with the same semantic sense as in Standard British English or with a different sense.
One informant, for instance, gave as an example of what he considered to be 'Brunei English':

5. The children escaped from school.

When I suggested that the use of 'escape' here was identical to the way it would be used in Standard British English, the informant argued that this was not in fact the case because 'escaping' is the normal way of indicating 'leaving without permission' in Brunei English but not in Standard British English. The word is thus used more frequently and idiomatically in this sense in Brunei than it would be by speakers in Britain. The linguistic analyst is therefore faced with the problem of whether to treat the lexical item 'escape' as having different or similar usage and sense properties in the two varieties. There are many similar examples in the data and these are identified and discussed below.

As Platt and Weber (1980:82) point out, the same word may be used with different meanings in different native varieties of English. In Scottish English, for example, the meaning of 'messages' in the phrase 'to go the messages' (Standard British English = to do the shopping) has a different semantic sense from the Standard British or American dictionary entry of 'spoken or written information passed from one person to another'.

The case of 'escape' above is more problematic because, while it is unlikely that a speaker of Standard British English would use (or perhaps even understand) 'to go the messages' with the semantic sense of 'to do the shopping', the Standard British English speaker might well use (and would certainly understand) 'escape' as it is used by Brunei English speakers in sentence number 5 above. Discussion of this problem continues in Section 5 below. The chapter will examine the lexical features of Brunei English under the following general headings :

1. Lexical items borrowed from Malay.
2. Lexical items borrowed from Arabic.
3. Lexical items borrowed from Chinese.
4. Lexical items borrowed from other background languages.
5. English-based lexical items which display semantic or usage differences from Standard British English.
6. English-based lexical items displaying morphological differences from Standard British English.
7. Differences in Collocation
8. Lexical Reduplication
9. Idioms and Cliches
10. Conclusions

The data used in this chapter is taken from the same corpus of transcribed data recorded by me during interviews with Universiti Brunei Darussalam students or from Radio Television Brunei radio

programmes broadcast in 1991 and 1992. Samples of the recorded data appear in the appendix.

2.0 Lexical Items Borrowed From Malay

This section will discuss lexical items borrowed from Malay which may be used in English utterances. The section will not be concerned with phrases or sentences in Malay which have been incorportated into an English-medium spoken text. Although code-mixing and code-switching occur very frequently in conversations between English-speaking Bruneians, neither is discussed here as this study is concerned with analysing an emerging variety of English in Brunei rather than with providing a description of how bilingual Bruneians communicate with one another in different sociolinguistic contexts. In conversations where there is a great deal of code-switching, it is sometimes difficult, and perhaps ultimately futile, to state whether the conversation is in Malay with inserted phrases from English or in English with inserted phrases from Malay.

The variety of English spoken in Brunei has gone beyond the stage of continuously being mixed with the mother tongue of the speakers. In the recorded data, there are no examples of multi-word code-switching, largely because the speakers are conscious that they are speaking a variety of English and that it would not be appropriate in the formal contexts of an interview or a radio broadcast to include phrases or sentences in Malay.

One related feature to the linguistic phenomenon of code switching is 'double coding' or the juxtaposition of a Malay word and its English equivalent, which is found in certain expressions used by some (generally older) Bruneians. Two examples given to me by informants were the following :

a) cuba-try = to try
b) pintu-gate = gate

It was suggested by one informant that such expressions were used by older, less educated people who did not know English and did not realise that the expression consisted of a bilingual repetition.

2.1 Sociolinguistic Reasons for Incorporating Malay Items

The recorded data contains several examples of single Malay words being incorporated into an English utterance, probably because the

Malay word seems to the speaker for one reason or another to be more appropriate. One of the student informants stated explicitly during the interview why he thought the occasional Malay word was inserted into spoken English texts by Bruneians.

S: How about the word such as, I think it's used even in Malaysia, 'makan' ... or just to 'belanja'. It is common use in our society, when, what I mean is when we talk in English we normally say, Let's go for makan' and 'Let's go for shopping', or something like that.
GC : 'Belanja', that means something like 'treat us' or...
S: Yeah, treat us. Give us the treat.
GC: Why do you think that's used and not the English word 'treat'?
S: I think it's more friendly. The term is more friendly.

(S = student ; GC = Graeme Cane)

The informant in the above extract therefore feels that the reason Malay words are occasionally inserted into an English spoken text is a sociolinguistic one. Using Malay words shows a speaker's willingness to display a friendly attitude to his/her interlocutor.

The two examples of Malay lexical items being used in the above extract are 'makan' and 'belanja'. 'Makan' means both 'food' and 'eat' in English. As eating together is seen as a vital part of social life in Brunei, it is not surprising that 'makan' has acquired the warm connotation of social togetherness which the English equivalent does not possess for Bruneians. Because of the importance of eating together in Bruneian culture and the resulting frequent use of the word, even non-Malay speaking expatriates may at times use 'makan' instead of 'food/eat' when talking in English to other expatriates. It is certainly likely to be one of the first Malay words acquired by English-speaking expatriates living in Brunei.

The other example in the transcribed extract above is 'belanja', which means 'to treat' in the sense of 'providing food or entertainment for one's friends at one's own expense'. The word is used more in Brunei than it would be in Britain because in Bruneian culture it is the practice for someone celebrating a birthday to 'treat' his/her friends and relations to a party at which there will, of course, be plenty of 'makan'. On English-language record request programmes on RTB, it is common practice for a listener to request a record to be played for a friend or relative who is celebrating a birthday that week. The message sent with the request will very often ask when the birthday celebrant will 'belanja' or 'treat'

(either the Malay or the English word may be used) the friend requesting the record. The transcribed data contains several examples of this usage :

1. Happy 18th birthday to you. May your day brings you more luck and don't forget to treat me. OK?

2. Well today is your big day, so happy 18th birthday. Don't forget to treat us, and have a lovely and fantastic day.

3. Happy advanced birthday. Your birthday is on 30th January and when's the treat?

4. Happy belated birthday. Well, how do you feel to be 17 and when is the treat?

The following two examples demonstrate that the item is not merely a static loan word, but that it is flexible enough to allow adjective premodification :

5. Happy 20th birthday. When is the big treat and forget me not.

6. Also going out to Haji Y for your 21st birthday. When is the big treat and lots of love.

The incorporation of both 'makan' and 'belanja' into English utterances therefore arises largely from sociolinguistic reasons and reflects the importance of these two concepts in Bruneian culture.

2.2 Some Examples of Malay items which regularly occur in Brunei English

The word for 'village' in Malay is 'kampong'. Speakers of Brunei English will often use the Malay word in an English utterance perhaps because they feel culturally closer to the word, 'kampong', than they do to 'village'. Towns in Brunei are divided into sections which are also known as 'kampongs'. The English term 'village', therefore, is not a consistently appropriate translation and explains why Brunei English speakers prefer to retain the word 'kampong' in many contexts.

7. Presenter : Where are you calling from?
   Listener : From Kampong Lambak.

8. Now especially for X of Kampong Mentiri in Jalan Kota Batu.

When talking in English about where something is located in the town, Bruneian speakers will almost always use the Malay words, 'jalan' (road) and 'simpang' (a smaller road linked to a 'jalan') rather than the English equivalents.

The most important holiday in Brunei falls at the end of the fasting month of Ramadan. The name given to this holiday, 'Hari Raya' (literally 'big day'), is never translated into English and the wish that someone will have a happy holiday is also usually expressed in Malay :

9. I'd like to wish Selamat Hari Raya to all my friends.

A further example of borrowing from Malay in an English text is the following, taken from a recorded interview. (RR = Rosnah Hj Ramly ; S = student)

RR: If a South-East Asian has lived in the UK or America for years and comes back speaking the language with a distinct British or American accent, do you think that's all right?

S: I think it's all right for me. I think it's good for the speaker itself but from the society I think there is a tendency that if someone comes back from England or from the West they speak as if they are speaking like Mat Salleh, they will be regarded as, what do you call this, a snob or something like people who are classy or some... showing off, like that.

'Mat Salleh' in the above extract is a term used to mean a European. The term is also used with the same meaning in Singapore and Malaysia and is thought to have come from combining a common Malay name ('Mat' is an abbreviated form of 'Mohamad') with the English, 'mad sailor' (Lugg 1984:14).

Present at the interview quoted above were the student informant, a Bruneian lecturer (RR) and a British lecturer (GC). The student certainly had no intention of being either impolite or confrontational in using 'Mat Salleh'. It seems clear that he found it to be just as appropriate in this situation as the term 'European' or the Malay term 'orang puteh' (= white man), both of which are commonly used to refer to Westerners in Brunei.

Other Malay terms which are used very commonly in English by Bruneians are the following :

a) 'bomoh' - a traditional medicine man.

b) 'dadah' - illegal drugs. When using English to discuss the drug problem, both individual speakers and the mass media in Brunei use the Malay word, 'dadah' rather than the English equivalent. Newspapers will refer to 'the war against dadah' and the 'anti-dadah campaign'. They may feel that using the Malay term has a more direct impact on hearers than the English word 'drugs'.

c) 'JKR' - The Public Works Department in Bandar Seri Begawan is known as 'Jabatan Kerja Raya' (JKR) in Malay. When speaking in English, both Bruneians and English-speaking expatriates will generally refer to this department as JKR rather than the Public Works Department or PWD.

d) 'padang' - When referring to an open space used for outdoor celebrations, parades, sports etc., Bruneian speakers of English will often use the Malay word 'padang' rather than an English equivalent.

e) 'parang'- a type of knife similar to a machete.

f) MIB - the Malay Islamic Monarchy Concept

MIB (pronounced /emaibi/) comes from the Malay 'Melayu Islam Beraja' and is considered to be a key philosophical concept in present-day Bruneian society. The concept is exclusively Bruneian and so the lexical item would be unlikely to occur in any other variety of English. Every undergraduate at Universiti Brunei Darussalam takes an obligatory two-semester course in MIB.

As the above examples indicate, when Bruneian speakers of English wish to discuss items for which there is no exact English equivalent because of socio-cultural differences, they will generally use the Malay term. The Malay words in (a), (c), (d) (e) and (f) above indicate referents for which there is no specific lexical item in English. The particular type of knife which is referred to in Malay as a 'parang', for example, does not exist in British culture. Consequently, native-speaker English lacks a specific word for it.

With regard to (b), while the conceptual meanings of 'dadah' and 'illegal drugs' are very similar, unlike the word 'drugs', 'dadah' does

not have the additional meaning of 'medicine'. There would also seem to be a difference in what Leech (1981:12) calls 'connotative meaning' between 'dadah' and 'drugs' for Bruneians, in that the psychological and social connotations associated with the Malay word 'dadah' are more developed and more deeply felt than is the case with the English 'drugs'. The fact that government warnings and media advertising use the word 'dadah' in English language texts would seem to support this view. The possession of illegal drugs such as heroin and cocaine in Brunei carries the death penalty.

2.3 Names and Titles in Formal Speech Contexts

In Brunei, it is considered very important to give a person's full name and title when referring to him/her in formal speech situations, and this detail and precision is reflected in the language used, both in Malay and in English. As a result, one area of lexis where Brunei English differs from other varieties of English in South-East Asia is in the language relating to a person's full name and title.

Once a Bruneian has made the pilgrimage to Mecca, it is customary to include either Haji (for men) or Hajjah (for women) as part of that person's name, and it would be considered sociolinguistically inappropriate to omit the title in a formal reference to that person. Extended members of the royal family have the title 'Awangku' (for men) or 'Dayangku' (for women). It would similarly be considered inappropriate to omit these titles in a formal spoken context.

The following extracts, taken from the RTB radio news of 25th September 1992, demonstrate the sociolinguistic importance of including details of names and titles.

1. 'Duli Yang Teramat Mulia Paduka Seri Pengiran Perdana Wazir Sahibul Himmah Wal-Waqar Pengiran Muda Haji Mohamed Bolkiah, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, has consented to receive courtesy calls from several delegates attending the 47th session of the United Nation's General Assembly in New York, which Duli Yang Teramat Mulia himself is attending.'

2. 'Religious functions to celebrate Maulud or Prophet Mohamad's birthday anniversary were held at two other places today. Staff of the Prime Minister's Office held such a gathering this afternoon at the Islamic Dakwah Centre. A Koran reading marked the start of the ceremony. This was followed by a speech by the chairman of the

function, Haji Abdul Kani bin Haji Mohamad Saleh. The chief guest was the Permanent Secretary at the Prime Minister's Office, Dato Paduka Awang Haji Mohamad Alimin bin Haji Abdul Wahab. Another Permanent Secretary at the Prime Minister's Office, Yang Dimuliakan Pehin Udana Khatib Dato Paduka Ustaz Awang Haji Badarudin, was also present.'

In (1) above, the first fifteen words are part of the title of Prince Mohamed Bolkiah, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. In the final sentence of extract (2), the ten words preceding the name 'Badarudin' refer to the Permanent Secretary's personal title. This type of attention to detail in giving a Bruneian's name and title is extremely common in formal spoken contexts.

2.4 Use of 'lah'

Platt and Weber (1980:76) give the following examples of 'lah' (or 'la') in Singapore English.

Then I get a job there as a part-time, la.
Evening swim is better, la.
You know, in my family, my name is actually N..., la.

The Brunei data also contains examples of 'lah' being used in a similar way in Brunei English.

Presenter : How's Hari Raya been for you this year?
Listener : Mm
P: Not too bad again?
L: Yeah. OK, lah.
P: OK, lah. That's the good part of it.

Platt and Weber (1980) note that Tongue (1979) categorized the 'lah' particle as sub-standard in Singapore English but agreed that it was frequently used by educated speakers of English in very informal discourse. Richards and Tay (1977) consider the particle to be a marker of rapport, solidarity, familiarity and informality. Both Tongue's description of the use of 'lah' amongst educated speakers of English in Singapore, and Richards and Tay's description of its discourse functions would seem to be similarly applicable to Brunei English, although the recorded Brunei data suggests that the use of 'lah' is higher in Singapore English than in Brunei English, partly because of competition from 'bah', as discussed in sub-section 2.5 below. Richards and Tay (1977) state that the sociolinguistic rules for the use of 'la' are complex and that the particle is often misused

by non-Singaporean residents trying to speak Singlish (the Singapore variety of English).

2.5 Use of 'bah'

One of the few academic papers published so far on the Brunei variety of English is a 1990 study of the 'bah' particle that was carried out by Ozog and Martin, two researchers at the University of Brunei Darussalam. The particle also occurs in Brunei Malay, where it can function as both a proclitic and enclitic (Simanjuntak, 1988). Ozog and Martin (1990:22) recognize a number of pragmatic functions carried by 'bah' in Brunei English such as concurring, inviting and closing a conversation. They note that, unlike 'lah', 'bah' can occur on its own. The following are some examples of the use of 'bah' by Bruneian speakers of English taken from their recorded data :

1. A: You want to come with me?
   B: Bah. (i.e. concurring)

2. A: Let's go for coffee.
   B: Bah.

3. A: That girl is very talkative, ah?
   B: Au bah. So noisy.

4. A: Bah. Please eat. (i.e. inviting)

5. A: See you.
   B: Bah. (i.e. closing conversation)

As the above examples indicate, 'bah' tends to be used in informal rather than formal speech contexts. The particle is rarely used, for instance, in RTB radio interviews involving Bruneian speakers of English because public broadcasts are perceived to be formal requiring a formal language style.

2.6 Use of Malay-Based Lexical Items : Conclusions

It can be concluded from the above discussion that, while Malay lexical items do not occur in the transcribed data with consistent frequency, these items are generally used in the following cases :

a). when the speaker feels the Malay term to be more appropriate in a specific cultural context.

b). when the speaker, even though he/she is fluent in English, wishes to demonstrate fellowship and good will through linguistic kinship with a Malay-speaking interlocutor.

3.0 Lexical Items Borrowed From Arabic

The predominant religion in Brunei is Islam. Almost all Brunei Malays take their religion very seriously and are proud of being part of a 'Malay, Islamic Monarchy' (Melayu, Islam, Beraja). Although very few Bruneians are able to speak fluent Arabic, they take a deep interest in public readings of the Holy Koran and in using Arabic in their prayers.

When speaking both in Malay and in English, Bruneians will incorporate Arabic expressions where they seem culturally appropriate. The use of Arabic in a spoken English text therefore arises, as was the case with the incorporation of Malay lexical items in English texts, for the sociolinguistic reason of wishing to demonstrate cultural/religious identity. When discussing the future, for instance, even when speaking English, Bruneians are likely to use the term 'insyallah', which means literally 'if Allah wills it'.

1. I'll come and see you tomorrow, insyallah.
   (Hopefully/God willing, I'll come and see you tomorrow).

When referring to specific prayers and religious ceremonies, Bruneian speakers of English prefer to use the Arabic forms.

2. Now is the time to perform the Zuhul prayer.
3. My brother has gone to perform the Haj.
   (My brother has gone to make the pilgrimage to Mecca)
4. Religious functions to celebrate Maulud or Prophet Mohamad's birthday anniversary were held at two other places today.

5. The main feature of the ceremony was a religious talk by the Assistant Director of the Islamic Dakwah Centre and a Zikir presentation.

The transcriptions of the radio programmes in the recorded data also contain the following examples of lexical items borrowed from Arabic :

6. And also for Y of Lumut, Kuala Belait, Assalammwalaikum.
   How are you and do sleep well tonight.

7. This is again from Harniwati, Aleikumsalam.

8. The next one is coming up from Mardini of Tutong.
   Aleikumsalam to you too, Mardini.

9. It says here Assalammwalaikum ; how's everyone?

Both the listeners who have written in to ask for a record to be played and the programme presenters in the above extracts generally feel that the use of Arabic to express greetings is more appropriate than using the English equivalent. Bruneians do not associate the English language with Islam. They feel Arabic to be more appropriate in religious contexts than English and generally prefer to use the few Arabic expressions that they know in these limited contexts when they are speaking in either Malay or English.

While Arabic is generally used where considered culturally appropriate in spoken English texts, the recorded data also contains examples of religious-based sentiments being expressed in English. The following are taken from the radio record request programme, 'Just For You'.

10. Happy belated birthday and may Allah bless you.
11. Happy birthday to you tomorrow. May God bless you always.

Whereas sentence number 10 retains the Arabic term, 'Allah', sentence number 11 uses the English equivalent to express the same idea. The speaker who produced sentence 11 presumably saw no conflict between the Islamic sentiment he/she wished to express and the use of the English language to express it. However, the degree to which Arabic is normally used in such situations demonstrates the fact that many other Bruneians would prefer not to use English in such a context. In a conversation in English, therefore, Bruneians will tend to avoid using English expressions when the subject relates to religious matters or to Islamic greetings. There is a general feeling amongst Bruneian speakers of English that Arabic is a more appropriate language in such contexts, even though, in the vast majority of cases, the speaker's knowledge of

English will be far more extensive than his/her knowledge of Arabic.

This inclusion of Arabic expressions is one feature of Brunei English which is not shared to the same extent by speakers of the other varieties of English in South-East Asia. The use of Arabic loan words does not occur in Filipino English, since the inhabitants of the Philippines are predominantly Roman Catholic. The feature would also be unusual in the English of non-Muslim Singaporeans. According to Platt and Weber (1990:138), while over 76% of the population of Singapore are people of Chinese origin, only 15.1% of the the population are Malays. Islam is therefore a minority religion in Singapore. Although Malays compose 53.3% of the population of Malaysia, people of Chinese and Indian origin, who are generally non-Muslims, together make up 45.9% of the population (Platt and Weber, 1980:138). In relative population terms, therefore, the other countries of South-East Asia are less Malay-dominated than Brunei with its 68.9% Malay population (Economic Planning Unit, 1991). As a result, the influence of Islam affects a much larger section of the population in Brunei than in the other countries of South-East Asia, and this fact is reflected in the frequent use of Arabic expressions in the English of Bruneians.

4.0 Lexical Items Borrowed From Chinese

Although people of Chinese origin make up only 17.7% of the population of Brunei (Economic Planning Unit, 1991), the Chinese community plays an important part in business and trade in the country. The first day of the Chinese New Year is a public holiday in Brunei and all Bruneians, whether Malays or Chinese, are familiar with the the Mandarin expression, 'Gong Xi Fa Cai', to wish someone a happy new lunar year. An RTB radio programme recorded on the first day of the 1992 Chinese New Year contains the following examples :

1. And now since today is fourth of February, it's Chinese New Year, so here's wishing all our Chinese listeners, to all Chinese friends from 'Just For You' well, Gong Xi Fa Cai and enjoy the festive season.

2. And this one is going out to Mr Chin Fook Lee of Seria. It says here Gong Xi Fa Cai and please enjoy your Chinese New Year celebration.

3. It says here Gong Xi Fa Cai, Happy New Year and nice knowing you all.

The transcription of the same 'Just For You' programme included other references to Chinese New Year customs.

4. Happy Chinese New Year to you. Gong Xi Fa Cai. Have you received lots of hong bao ?...Well, I'm sure she has received lots from her family, yeah?

5. Another red card here. It reminds me of the red packets and this goes out to all Chinese friends of SAMJA...Happy Chinese New Year and be happy always.

Both extracts above refer to the Chinese New Year custom of putting money into a small red envelope and giving it as a gift ("hong bao") to friends and relatives. SAMJA, which is mentioned in sentence number 5, is a secondary school in Bandar Seri Begawan.

The presenter of 'Just For You' is a Brunei Malay Muslim. Although she is quite willing to wish her Chinese listeners a happy Chinese New Year, she continually makes it clear that it is a celebration for Chinese people and not for Malay Muslims.

6. Gong Xi Fa Cai. I understand it's year of monkey this year.

7. Did I mention Ronnie in my dedication just now? If I haven't, also for you, Ronnie, enjoy your Chinese New Year.

Ronnie Ang is a Chinese programme presenter who works for the English section of RTB. Here Rukiah Haji Ali Khan, the Muslim presenter of 'Just For You', distances herself from this non-Muslim activity by demonstrating uncertainty about which animal is the symbol for the coming year :

6(a) I understand it's year of monkey this year.

and by using the possessive determiner 'your' to demonstrate that it is not 'my/our':

7(a) Enjoy your Chinese New Year.

Because the Chinese community makes up an important and very visible part of Bruneian society, certain aspects of Chinese culture

and certain related Mandarin linguistic items are well known to both Malays and Chinese. The above extracts show that Brunei Malay speakers of English are willing to use either the English or the Mandarin expression to wish their Chinese friends a happy new year. In this case, Brunei Malays do not feel the same psychological attachment to a particular language as they do towards the use of Arabic or Malay in expressions relating to religion. (See section three above.) Because the Chinese New Year is unrelated to Brunei Malay culture, when speaking in English, Brunei Malays feel both Chinese and English to be appropriate codes for sending new year greetings to their Chinese friends, as sentences 6 and 7 above demonstrate.

5.0 Lexical Items Borrowed From Other Background Languages

5.1 Amah

'Amah' is the term used by both Bruneians and expatriates working in Brunei to refer to domestic servants in both speech and writing. On noticeboards outside the larger supermarkets in Bandar Seri Begawan, for example, one sees advertisements in English for maids under the heading 'Amah Required'. The reason for this usage among British expatriates may be that they are somewhat embarrassed by the idea of employing servants in their homes and are more comfortable with the local term 'amah' than with an equivalent English word. In other developing countries, it is often the case that British expatriates will use a local term to refer to their servants (c.f. 'ayah' in India, 'haus meri' in Papua New Guinea etc.) rather than an English word.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, 'amah' is of Portuguese origin but the dictionary also states that 'amah' was the name given to a wet nurse in the south of India.

5.2 Chop

The word is used as a noun or a verb in Brunei English to refer to an official stamp.

Could you put your chop on this form?
You need to get your passport chopped.

As Platt and Weber (1980:83) point out, it is generally thought that the Malay word 'cap' (a stamp or seal) comes from the Chinese printing process, 'chopping'. The Oxford English Dictionary, however, gives the origin as the Hindi word 'chhap' meaning 'stamp'. The word also occurs in Singapore English and Malaysian English. Many English-speaking expatriates living in Brunei incorporate this use of 'chop' into their normally standard variety of spoken English.

6.0 English-Based Lexical Items which Display Semantic or Usage Differences from Standard British English

6.1 Already

It was pointed out in the chapter on grammatical features (Chapter Four) that 'already' may be used as a reply to a question with the intended meaning that some action has already taken place. This use of 'already' occurs frequently at the basilectal end of the Brunei English continuum but it is unlikely to occur frequently at the acrolectal end. The usage comes directly from 'sudah', the Malay equivalent of 'already'.

1. Q: Have you done your homework?
   A: Already.

2 . Q: Is there any A4 paper in the office?
   A: Finished already.

3. Q: Have you got any table napkins?
   A: Gone already.

6.2 Catch/Catch Up & Grasp/Grasp At

1. Q: Which subjects do you find difficult?
   A: I feel not really able to catch up fully on the syntax one.

2. Probably it's the pronunciation. Sometimes we have to listen very hard to catch what is the, what the word really is.

3. If the lecturers are speaking their first language, I think we have a better chance to grasp the ways and style of how they speak.

4. Even though we don't understand some of these jargon words, for example, it's a good way to, what do you call, learn and to grasp at what he means...

5. That means we could grasp even if it's not in a, what do you call, even though we won't be able to mm grasp all, maybe more.

The intended meaning of 'catch up' in 1 above seems not to be 'to do arrears of work' but 'to cope with'. The intended speaker meaning of 'grasp at' in 4 seems closer to 'try to understand' rather than the Standard British English sense of either 'to snatch at' (grasp at) or 'to fully understand' (grasp).

It seems likely that this type of semantic extending of lexical items will continue to grow in Brunei English.

6.3 Chit-Chat

1. There were no dancers, just pictures from the High Commissioner and a little bit of prayer, and later on food and then we chit-chat among ourselves, that's all.

2. In UK we just chit-chat and eat the food.

The word 'chit-chat' is used as a noun in Standard British English, whereas in Brunei English it is almost always used as a verb in the sense of 'to have an informal conversation'.

6.4 Flower

One group of student informants agreed that a possible informal use of the word 'flower' in Brunei English could be with the sense of 'tread on a tyre' as in the following :

1. My tyre has no flower. (My tyre has no tread)

6.5 Follow

'Follow' is often used in Brunei English with the sense of 'accompany'.

1. Can I follow you? (Can I go with you?)
2. Can I follow? (Can I go with you?)

In Malay, the verb 'ikut' carries both meanings of what is rendered in Standard British English by the two verbs 'follow' and 'accompany'.It seems likely that this usage has led to both meanings being attached to 'follow' in Brunei English.

6.6 Frus = Frustrated

In informal situations, the adjective 'frustrated' may be shortened to 'frus', as in the following example.

1. I'm frus because unable to solve my problems.

6.7 Jubilate

A lexical innovation which has begun to appear in the context of sporting events is the verb 'jubilate'.

1. The runner jubilated on the track after his victory.

The neologism seems to be a combination of Standard British English 'celebrate' and 'jubilation'.

6.8 To On and to Off

The prepositions 'on' and 'off' may be used in Brunei English as verbs meaning to 'switch on' and to 'switch off'.

1. Please on the light.
2. Shall I off the light?

6.9 Pass Up

The phrasal verb 'pass up' carries the meaning 'reject' in both Standard British and Brunei English.

1. She decided to pass up the offer.

In Brunei English, the verb has also taken on the different semantic sense of 'hand in'.

2. The lecturer told us to pass up our assignments.

In the data, there are also examples of lexical items being used not with an entirely new meaning as with 'pass up' but with a wider semantic application than would be the case in Standard British English. Two examples of this phenomenon are the verbs 'catch/ catch up' and 'grasp/grasp at' as discussed in 6.2 above.

6.10 Perform prayers

Whereas the usual collocation with 'prayers' in Standard British English would be to 'say one's prayers', the normal idiom in Brunei English is to 'perform one's prayers'. Brunei Muslims also use 'perform' in the context of the pilgrimage to Mecca (the Haj).

1. It's time to perform the Asar prayer.
2. To all Muslim listeners in Brunei-Muara and Temburong districts, now is the time to perform the Zuhul prayer.
3. My brother has gone to Mecca to perform the Haj.

6.11 Place

The word 'place' is often used as a noun to mean the area one is from. The following extract from an RTB radio interview contains an example of this usage :

1. Presenter : Where are you calling from?
   Listener : Kampong Jerudong.
   P: How's Hari Raya in that area, your place?
   L: So so.
   P: Were there a lot of visitors?
   L: No.

6.12 Schooling

Platt and Weber (1980) note that the term 'schooling' is used in both Singapore and Malaysia. The following two examples of its use in Brunei English are taken from transcriptions of two RTB radio call-in programmes :

1. Presenter : You're still schooling, of course.
   Caller : No.
   P: You're not schooling?
   C: No.
   P: What are you doing now?

2. Presenter : Are you working or are you still schooling?
   Caller : I'm still schooling.

6.13 Scold

When the verb 'scold' is used in Standard British English, it is generally applied only to young children and its use today seems somewhat old-fashioned. In Brunei English, however, and in Singapore and Malaysian English, the verb occurs with frequency and has wider stylistic usage than in Standard British English as it can be applied to adults as well as to children.

1. My husband is always scolding me for doing that.
2. My boss scold me last week.

It may be that this wider semantic usage of 'scold' reflects a deficiency in the lexicon of Standard British English. Alternative verbs which could be used in this context are either very formal (e.g. 'reprimand', 'admonish' etc.) or very informal (e.g. 'tell off'). In spoken Brunei English, 'scold' covers this semantic area without being considered overly informal or formal.

6.14 Send

The semantic range of 'send' in Brunei English has been extended beyond that covered by 'send' in Standard British English. As the following examples illustrate, in Standard British English 'send' can be used only when the sender does not accompany the person or item being sent. If the sender accompanies the 'sendee', the verb 'take is used instead.

1. We're being sent to the Gulf.
2. We've decided to send Andrew to school in England.
3. Will you send me to Rome for my next posting?
4.* I have to leave now to send my children to school.
5. I have to leave now to take my children to school.

In Brunei English, however, 'send' would be appropriate in sentence 4 above. The same usage is found in the following example :

6. Can someone send me to Tiong Hin?
   (Std. Brit. Eng. = Can someone take me to Tiong Hin?)
7. Who's going to send you to the airport?
   (Std. Brit. Eng. = Who's going to take you to the ...?)

6.15 Shophouse

A shophouse is a building with a shop downstairs and a living quarters upstairs.

1. A big fire destroyed a complete row of shophouses in Jalan Roberts last night.

6.16 Sleep

The verb 'sleep' is often used to mean the equivalent of Standard British English 'to go to bed'.

You sleep early but we sleep late.
(You go to bed early but we go to bed late.)

6.17 Stay

The verb 'stay' is often used in Brunei English where 'live' would be used in Standard British English. This same usage may also be found in some non-standard native speaker varieties such as in some Scottish English varieties. The following extracts are taken from (1) an RTB radio prayer announcement and (2) a radio call-in programme :

1. It is 12:24 p.m. Brunei time. To all Muslim listeners in Brunei-Muara and Temburong districts, now is the time to perform the Zuhul prayer. And for those staying in the Tutong district, Zuhul prayer is at 12:25 p.m., while in the Belait district, Zuhul prayer is at 12:27 p.m.

2. Presenter : Which part of Lambak do you stay?
   Caller : My aunty house.

6.18 Wait First

In informal situations, speakers of Brunei English may use the word 'first' in utterances such as the following :

1. Wait first.
   (Wait a minute)
2. Wait first until I finish this.
   (Wait until I finish this)

The Malay equivalent 'tunggu dulu' (wait first) is likely to be the cause of this combination in English.

6.19 Some generalizations on the above lexical items

The eighteen lexical items listed above represent some of the general directions being taken both in the creation of new words and in the way the same lexical form may cover different semantic areas in two different varieties of English. Some of the above-listed items (e.g. 'shophouse', 'schooling', 'to on and to off', 'send' etc.) also occur in Singapore and Malaysian English, demonstrating the shared linguistic and communication channels which exist between the new varieties of English in South-East Asia.

It seems likely that many more new words which do not exist in Standard British English will enter the lexicon of Brunei English over the next ten to twenty years. The two major causes of neologisms in the variety are the following :

a. the wish to discuss culturally based items which are not part of established British/American culture and which therefore have no established linguistic equivalents in English.

b. the direct translation of a Malay term into English. While 'parang', 'bah', 'MIB' etc. have passed untranslated into Brunei English, other Malay items have adopted English language forms but it is clear from the examples of, for instance, 'pass up' and 'follow' that they cover different semantic areas in Brunei English from those covered in Standard British English. Such lexical items can therefore be considered to have different semantic values in the two varieties.

7.0 English-Based Lexical Items Displaying Morphological Differences From Standard British English

The recorded data contains some examples of lexical items being used by Bruneian speakers in a different morphological form from that of Standard British English.

1. The difference is only in term of pronunciation.
   (The difference is only in terms of pronunciation)

2. In another word, in a systematic way.
   (In other words, in a systematic way)

It is often difficult to tell whether such items are newly created Brunei English forms or simply interlanguage errors caused by the speaker's lack of competence in any variety of English. The usual test of a newly established form is the level of consistency with which it occurs in the new variety. However, in the case of many of these problematic items, the corpus of data for Brunei English is at present still too small for the consistency test to be applied. The analysis of grammatical features in the previous chapter showed that it is possible to identify certain tendencies in the syntactic patterns of Brunei English. Lexical items are more idiosyncratic in their usage and it is thus much more difficult to predict general trends in the present and future development of the lexis of Brunei English.

8.0 Differences in Collocation

In addition to possessing an awareness of syntactic acceptability, a competent speaker of a language must also be able to judge which word combinations are considered to be appropriate and which combinations are considered to be inappropriate. The reason that one particular word combination or 'collocation' should be considered appropriate while another should not is unpredictable and is acquired only through long-term exposure to the language. The verb 'set', for example, collocates with 'sail' and 'eyes on' in the following :

1. They set sail for Jamaica.
2. She's the prettiest girl I've ever set eyes on.

but the verb 'put' does not.

3. *They put sail for Jamaica.
4. *She's the prettiest girl I've ever put eyes on.

even though there are no grammatical reasons for not using 'put' in these sentences.

While 'behind' and 'at the back of' can be used with virtually identical meaning in :

5. There's a shed behind the house.
6. There's a shed at the back of the house.

only 'at the back of' can be used in the following sentence in Standard British English :

7. The answer was at the back of my mind.
8.*The answer was behind my mind.

However, as Smith (1978) notes, sentence 8 is acceptable in Papua New Guinean English. There may, therefore, be differences in collocation between different varieties of a language. The Brunei data shows a number of examples of collocation which would be considered non-standard in British English terms.

9. So again, Momin, happy smashing birthday. Now let's listen to the next song.

10. To all the guys and girls who know me, happy merry Christmas.

Sentence 9 is deviant because it would be abnormal in Standard British English to break the 'happy birthday' collocation by inserting an extra adjective before the head of the noun phrase, 'birthday'. Sentence 10 combines two adjectives which could only occur separately in this context in Standard British English.

In sentence 11, the juxtaposition of 'just great' (i.e. a very positive evaluation) with OK spoken with a falling intonation (i.e. a fairly neutral evaluation) gives rise to an utterance which is confusing in terms of its pragmatic force:

11. Presenter : Where are you calling from?
Caller : From Kampong Lambak.
P: So how's Hari Raya in that area?
C : Just great. OK.
P: Just great. OK. (same intonation)
C: Yeah.
P: So that's enough, eh?

Another non-standard combination with 'OK' which is found in Brunei English is the term 'quite OK'. In Standard British English, it would be unusual to modify 'OK' with an adverb.

12. *The game was very OK.

'Quite OK' in Brunei English would seem to be equivalent to 'very satisfactory' in Standard British English.

13. It was quite a new experience for us since it's our first time overseas and we went out to buy new shoes, new earrings and did our hair for the special occasion. And the food was quite OK as well because it's buffet style.

Other examples of non-standard adjective usage are the following :

14. And not forgetting to my brother and family in Hong Kong, and to my lovely nephews, Mohamad H and Mohamad Z, with the message...

15. Keep up the handsome face.
(= Stay handsome)

16. Have a lovely and fantastic day.

17. And finally all the long way from Australia...

18. Presenter : Did you take part in this morning's gathering?
Caller : No, I don't.
Presenter : So just watch it on TV?
Caller : Yeah.
Presenter: So what do you think of it? Was it colourful? Was it wonderful, you know?
Caller : Very wonderful.

The above examples of adjective use do not break the grammatical rules of English. Their deviance comes instead from non-standard collocation. In sentence 14, for example, the 'nephews' which has masculine reference is premodified by the adjective 'lovely', which tends to modify feminine or neuter nouns in Standard British English ('lovely girl', 'lovely colour' etc.)

Non-standard collocation with noun premodifiers also occurs in Brunei English. In both Brunei English and Standard British English, it is possible to use the prepositional phrase 'in my time' to refer to a time in the past.

19. I've had some good moments in my time.

The data provides examples of 'school' being used as a noun premodifier within this phrase. Standard British English would not generally permit such premodification.

20. I never dreamed to be in the army in my school time.
21. Well, this song reminds me of my school time.
22. All my happy and sad memories from my school time till now.

One final example of non-standard collocation in the data is the combination of 'a little bit of' with 'prayer'.

23. There were no dancers, just pictures from the High Commissioner and a little bit of prayer.

In informal Standard British English, 'a little bit of' is generally applied informally to uncountable nouns -'a little bit of butter', 'a little bit of soap' 'a little bit of restraint' etc. However, it is not usually applied to countable nouns. While 'prayer' can be used on occasions as an uncountable noun (e.g. 'Prayer made the boy well'), it would generally be used in the context of sentence 23 as a countable noun in Standard British English (e.g. 'We said a few prayers').

9.0 Lexical Reduplication

When asked what she considered to be typical features of Brunei English, one informant suggested the repetition of a lexical item. Reduplication in order to give emphasis is a feature of spoken Malay, and the following examples of this feature occur in the data :

1. I am waiting waiting for you.

2. It's been quite a long long time ago.

3. I think it's very very difficult.

While sentence 3 might well occur in Standard British English, sentences 1 and 2 seem less likely to occur. The source of this type of reduplication would appear to be Malay, where 'Saya tunggu-tunggu' (I'm waiting, waiting) would not be uncommon.

10.0 Idioms and Cliches

Amongst Bruneian speakers of English, there is often a striking contradiction between the basic level of proficiency in Standard British English terms at the syntactic level and the degree of linguistic sophistication in the speaker's use of idioms. In sentences 1 to 7 below, the speakers' use of idioms is both correct and appropriate in Standard British English terms, while their use of syntax at times shows considerable difference from Standard British English usage.

1. It's a beautiful number and I hope everybody also like to listen to this song.

2. And you don't get to know the other unless you are the chatty type.

3. So I thought about the note and the message and figure out that I might as well get it over with, I mean tell him to quit bugging me.

4. And that's when we started going steady.

5. I still have, what do you call it, contact in Cardiff. I even still, what do you call it, sort of communicate with them, write to them once in a while, once in a blue moon. Yeah.

6. To one and only Z, so what's up and why haven't you contacted me, you dumb fool? I've been waiting for you for how many years already?

7. I mean when you compared to London, Cardiff better. In which London you will get easily being influenced by the situations down there, you see. Because they are all sorts of people there in which you, for youngsters, they will tend to neglect their studies.

Sometimes, idioms in Brunei English are used with a Standard British English semantic/pragmatic function but in a lexical form in which there are collocation differences from Standard British English:

8. May you get flying colours on your A level exam.
   (May you pass your A level exam with flying colours)

One interesting development in this area is the creation of new idioms in Brunei English. The following examples all come from radio record request programmes where the listeners send greetings to their families and friends. The form and lexis of the greetings demonstrate substantial differences from the equivalent structures in Standard British English. However, the same idioms recur with such regularity on the programmes that one has to conclude that they have become fairly widespread amongst teenage speakers of Brunei English, if not amongst the entire community. The sentiments expressed and the manner of their expression are sometimes quite unlike those that would occur in an equivalent British record request radio programme.

9. You being our friend makes our heart bounce up and down, so stay the way you are and thanks for being such a great friend.

10. Have a nice New Year and smile always.

11. For you ex-friends like A, B and C. Happy listening. What's up? Long time no see and keep in touch.

12. Happy advanced birthday.

13. Happy listening and sweet dreams.

14. I want you to know that you are my only best friends ever and I do hope our friendship will last for ever.

15. Remember me always.

16. Forget me not and smile always.

17. Please forgive me for everything I did. Smile always. Be happy for ever.

There is, in general, a higher degree of formality in Brunei English greetings and in public discussion/speeches than would be the case in Standard British English. The following extracts, also taken from informal teenage-centred radio programmes, reveal a level of formality that would probably be regarded as inappropriate in equivalent programmes in Standard British English broadcast by the BBC.

18. Presenter : May I know who's on the line, please?

19. Presenter : May I know who's calling, please?

20. Didi would like to extend greetings to all her friends.

21. I would like to convey my Hari Raya greetings especially to my parents, to my sisters, to my brothers...

22. Presenter : Name the other popular recreational spot.
Caller : If I'm not mistaken, it's Tasek Merimbun.

Public speeches in Brunei both in Malay and in English tend to be very formal in style with lengthy introductions and acknowledgements, and some of this formality carries over into verbal activities which would be linguistically less formal in

Standard British or American English. Expressions such as 'to convey my greetings' and 'to extend greetings' are certainly much more frequently heard on teenage radio programmes on RTB than would be the case on Radio One.

11.0 Conclusions

While examples of non-standard grammatical usage in Brunei English can be found in even a very small sample of recorded data, more extensive data collection will be necessary before a comprehensive analysis of regularly recurring non-standard lexical items can be established for the Brunei variety of English.

In the corpus of data available for this study, there is enough item recurrence to argue that, for example, 'send' and 'perform' (of prayers) are used differently in Brunei English from the ways they are used in Standard British English. However, more examples of consistently recurring non-standard usage are necessary before it could be reliably concluded that, for example, 'catch up' or 'a little bit of' have acquired new meanings or usages in Brunei English.

Despite the lack of a more extensive corpus of data, it is possible to point to some general trends in lexical development in the Brunei variety of English. The following is a summary of these general trends.

1. Topics which have a specific Malay or Islamic cultural basis tend to retain key Malay or Arabic words because many Brunei English speakers consider these words to be culturally more appropriate than the English equivalents.

2. Brunei English shares a number of non-standard lexical items with some of the other non-native varieties of English. There is a particularly strong overlap with the lexis of Singapore English and Malaysian English.

3. In general, Standard British English cliches and idioms are acquired and used with surprisingly little difficulty by speakers of Brunei English, even by speakers whose use of English syntax differs greatly from the Standard British English variety.

4. There is a dynamic tendency, especially amongst teenage speakers of Brunei English, to create new collocations and idioms which do not occur in Standard British English.

5. Speakers of Brunei English tend in many linguistic contexts to use words which are stylistically more formal than would be used by speakers of Standard British English.

Provided that the Brunei government continues to pursue its Dwibahasa Malay/English education policy into the twenty-first century, it seems likely that the lexis of Brunei English will continue to expand and develop over the next ten to twenty years. Whether these new lexical items are adopted by all Bruneian speakers of English, in formal as well as in informal speech situations, will depend to a large extent on whether or not Brunei retains Standard British English as its principal English language model for the Dwibahasa system.

Chapter Six

DISCOURSE FEATURES OF SPOKEN BRUNEI ENGLISH

1.0 Introduction

This chapter attempts to look beyond the sentence and lexical levels described in the last two chapters to identify some of the ways in which Bruneian speakers of English organise larger sections of spoken text. The chapter examines the characteristic linguistic features of Brunei English discourse and some aspects of its cultural content. In addition to the interviews conducted with Universiti Brunei Darussalam students and the unscripted RTB radio programme material which provided the majority of the data analysed in chapters four and five, the main sources of data for this chapter were also the following :

a. A videotape recorded in September 1992 by a colleague at UBD, Jonathan Mossop, who videoed a group of second-year Certificate of Education students at Universiti Brunei Darussalam in peer teaching sessions. During the sessions, each student in the group became the teacher and tried to teach his/her colleagues an item from the primary syllabus. In the teacher/student extracts quoted below, it should therefore be noted that the 'teacher' is in fact a trainee primary teacher and that the 'students' are other trainees. The material has an advantage over the audio data recorded by me in that the peer teaching situation creates a substantial amount of spoken interaction between the students in a fairly realistic communicative setting. I am most grateful to Jonathan Mossop for allowing me to view and to use material from the video sessions he recorded.

b. Radio Television Brunei (RTB) radio news bulletins recorded by me from live broadcasts by the English Section of RTB in November 1992. As a fairly regular RTB radio listener over the past seven years, I was aware of some of the stylistic and cultural differences between RTB and, for example, the BBC in reporting the news. I therefore decided to record a selection of RTB news bulletins and to use them as examples of stylistically formal spoken texts produced by Bruneian speakers of English. The chapter is in three main sections : Cohesion in Spoken Discourse ; Other Linguistic Features of Unscripted Spoken Brunei English Discourse ; Style, Topic Selection and Structure in Formal Spoken Texts.

2.0 Cohesion in Spoken Discourse

2.1 Theoretical Background

Following the work of linguists such as Quirk et al. (1972) and Halliday and Hasan (1976), discourse analysts generally make a distinction between anaphoric referencing which points back to previous items which have occurred in a piece of discourse, and cataphoric reference which points forward to forthcoming items.

1. Many students never improve. They probably get insufficient advice from their lecturers.

'They' and 'their' in the text above display anaphoric reference in that both words refer back to 'students' in the first sentence.

2. The following points should be noted by all students. Firstly, no student will be allowed to enter the examination hall before nine o'clock. Secondly, no student...

'The following' in the first sentence of 2 above displays cataphoric reference in that it points forward to a number of items to be stated later on.

The Brunei data contains a number of examples of anaphoric and cataphoric referencing which differ somewhat from that generally used in Standard British English because the intended referent is implied rather than explicitly stated in the discourse. While referencing in informal Standard British English may also at times be implicit rather than explicit, the degree of implicitness is not generally as great as is often found in Brunei English. Some of the differences in referencing between the following Brunei English examples and Standard British English are discussed in detail in sections 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4 below.

3. Malays, of course, easy to understand because **it's ours.**

4. I think more examples should be given. In our case, I mean in my case, I couldn't cope with **it** because too much is coming at one time.

5. If they want to put on a British accent, they just pronounce **it** or speak **it** sort of fluently.

6. In Brunei we speak like a British accent, I think. Those who have been abroad they don't mind about **that**, you know, when we use that accent like at a university.

7. A: What do you think is a good teaching style?
   B: He speaks, he make **it** ... simple to understand.

8. A: I have another shape here. Does anybody know?
   B: A triangle.

9. I want you to pick from the board which **one** is the square one.

While the listener will use his or her discourse competence to find a probable referent in each of the above cases, anaphoric and cataphoric referencing in Brunei English is frequently less explicit than it would be in the spoken discourse of Standard British English speakers. These differences between the two varieties tend to occur mainly in the types of cohesive tie which Halliday and Hasan (1976) refer to as (1) reference, and (2) ellipsis and substitution. The following sub-sections examine sentence/utterance cohesion in these two areas.

2.2 Reference

Halliday and Hasan (1976) use the term 'reference' for items which are not interpreted semantically in their own right but whose meaning can be interpreted only in relation to something else. When an item relates to the surrounding situation, it has exophoric reference. When an item relates to another item in the text, it has endophoric reference. If reference items are endophoric, they may be cataphoric (relating to a coming item in the text) or anaphoric (relating to a previously mentioned item).

Halliday and Hasan divide reference into the three categories of personals, demonstratives and comparatives.

Personal reference items are subject and object pronouns, possessive pronouns and possessive determiners (e.g. I, me, mine, my, etc.).

Demonstrative reference items are adverbs of time and place (e.g. here, now etc.), the definite article and 'this', 'that', 'these' and 'those' used either as demonstrative determiners (e.g. 'this behaviour') or as demonstrative pronouns (e.g. 'this is interesting').

Comparative reference items have less direct endophoric relation than personals or demonstratives but create reference through notions of identity or similarity. The items may be adjectives or adverbs involving comparison such as 'same', 'other', 'different', 'likewise', 'similarly', 'more', 'less' etc.

As was noted in 2.1 above, discourse cohesion in Brunei English tends to be less explicit than it is in Standard British English and this tendency applies particularly to reference features. In the following adjacency pair, for example, the pronoun 'it' in the second pair part is not related to a specifically stated noun phrase but rather to an implied one.

1. A: Which group of non-native speakers is most difficult to understand?
   B: Malays, of course, easy to understand because **it's** ours.
   ('it' here would seem to refer to an implied noun phrase such as 'that variety'.)

2 and 3 below contain similar examples of inexplicit reference.

2. A: What do you think is a good teaching style?
   B: He speaks, he make **it** simple to understand.
   ('it' here would seem to refer to 'the content of a lesson'.)

3. I think more examples should be given. In our case, I mean in my case, I couldn't cope with **it** because too much is coming at one time.
   ('it' = the course content)

The above utterances are parts of larger spoken texts (recorded interviews) and the intended reference of the pronouns in 1 to 3 could be inferred by any English speaker who was present during the interviews.

In the video recordings of peer teaching sessions, the teachers frequently used demonstratives rather than specific nouns when referring to items or concepts.

4. Teacher : Does anybody know what is this? (= what this shape is)
   Student : Triangle.

5. Teacher : Now what I want you to do is name one of **these** which does not belong to the same group.

6. Teacher (points to the board) : How do you say **this**? (this word)

7. Teacher : What do you call **this** ? (= this sign)
Student : Plus. (= a plus sign)

8. Teacher : Class, do you know what is **this**? (= this sign)
Student : Plus.
Teacher : This one?
Student : Minus.
Teacher : This one?

While it might be argued that a speaker of Standard British English would also use 'this' as a demonstrative pronoun when pointing to a word or symbol, the extent to which 'this' occurs in this way in the collected Brunei data suggests far greater frequency than would be normal in spoken Standard British English discourse.

There is also a tendency to use 'this' where 'it' or 'that' would be required in Standard British English. Thus, the distinction usually made in Standard British English between 'this' to refer to items which are near the speaker and 'that' to refer to items which are some distance from the speaker seems to be less clear in Brunei English. Poedjosoedarmo (personal communication) points out that the reason for the difference in 'this/that' usage in Brunei English may be that Malay speakers use 'ini' (=this) rather than 'itu' (=that) for something which is the topic of conversation, even if the referent is physically located some distance away. The Brunei English lack of distinctinction between 'it' and 'this' may be due to the fact that the demonstrative pronoun 'ini' would be used in this context in Malay instead of an object pronoun. 'What is it?' would therefore usually be translated in Malay as 'Apa ini?' (literally, 'what this?').

9. Teacher (holds up picture) : Please class, is this a mammal, class?
Students : Yes.
Teacher : Say again.
Students : Yes, this is a mammal. (Std. Brit. Eng.=Yes, that/it is a mammal)

10. Teacher : What do you call this?
Student : A flower.
Teacher : This is not a flower for goodness' sake. This is a butterfly. (= it's a butterfly).

Another type of semantic blurring similar to that described above with 'this/that' and 'this/it' occurs in the use of 'here' and 'there', which are also categorized by Halliday and Hasan as having demonstrative reference.

11. Teacher (looking out of the classroom window) : Here, we can see coconut trees, many kinds of trees. (= Over there, we can see...)

The Brunei data demonstrates that personal and demonstrative reference is handled somewhat differently by Bruneian speakers of English. There is less use of specific nouns and more use of personal and demonstrative reference items than generally occurs in Standard British English. As a result of this usage, identification of the intended referents in spoken discourse may often depend on exophoric factors.

McLellan (1992) suggests that Malay speakers of English are more 'interlocutor-focused' in spoken discourse situations, while speakers of Standard British English are more 'event-focused'. As a result, McLellan argues, Bruneians tend to be less concerned than speakers of Standard British English with the content items in a conversation and with making explicit references to these items (as has been noted above) but tend to be more concerned than speakers of Standard British English about creating and sustaining harmonious relationships with their interlocutors in speech situations. McLellan suggests that this concern is demonstrated in the extensive use of explicitly signalled speech acts and in regularly checking that the interlocutor is interpreting the speech act functions correctly and that he/she is willing to accept what is being said ('do you understand what I mean?'; 'is it OK?' etc.). When I asked McLellan informally about his use of the terms 'event-focused' and 'interlocutor-focused', he replied as follows :

> I came up with these terms when analysing English and Malay conversational data recorded from Universiti Brunei Darussalam students...It was very noticeable that the students didn't immediately get on with the task given to them, namely retelling a story fragment they'd just seen on video, but spent time exchanging pleasantries or commenting about the task both before and after the retelling. When I recorded two native speakers performing the same task, the interaction was entirely event-focused : they just got on with the job. (McLellan, personal communication, 1993)

McLellan also believes that the extensive use of backchannel behaviour ('mm', 'yeah', 'right' etc.) in Brunei English may be a

further indication of how interlocutor-focused Bruneian speakers are in conversation. Further detailed research is necessary before McLellan's hypothesis can be validated, and before the possible effects of event-focusing vs. interlocutor-focusing on referencing in conversations can be adequately explained.

2.3 Ellipsis and Substitution

Despite similarities in the discourse functions of ellipsis and substitution, Halliday and Hasan (1976:143) feel it useful to make a distinction between the two categories in their analysis of cohesive devices in English.

> An elliptical item is one which, as it were, leaves specific structural slots to be filled from elsewhere. This is exactly the same as presupposition by substitution, except that in substitution an explicit 'counter' is used. e.g. 'one' or 'do', as a place-marker for what is presupposed, whereas in ellipsis nothing is inserted into the slot.

Thus in Halliday and Hasan's terms, sentences 1 and 2 below contain examples of ellipsis, and sentences 3 and 4 contain examples of substitution.

1. Gordon brought his guitar, and David his violin.

2. Would you like to hear another sea shanty? I know twelve more.

In 1 above, the verb 'brought' is understood in the second main clause, and in 2 above, the noun 'sea shanties' is understood after the numeral 'twelve'. In sentence 3 below, 'one' is substituted as 'a sort of counter which is used in place of the repetition of a particular item' (Halliday and Hasan 1976:89), in this case to avoid the repetition of the noun 'car'. In sentence 4 below, 'does' is substituted for the verb 'knows'.

3. My car is just too unreliable. I must get another one.

4. A: Do you think Joan already knows?
   B: I think everybody does.

Halliday and Hasan divide both substitution and ellipsis into three types : nominal, verbal and clausal. Sentences 5 to 10 below illustrate these six categories.

5. A: I'd like another cup of coffee.
B: Then pour yourself one. (Nominal substitution)

6. I finally called on him. I felt bad at not having done so before.
(Verbal substitution)

7. A: Is Mary going to have a party?
B: She said so. (Clausal substitution)

8. A: Which last longer, the curved rods or the straight rods?
B: The straight are less likely to break. (Nominal ellipsis)

9. A: Have you been swimming?
B: Yes, I have. (Verbal ellipsis)

10. A: Who was going to wash the dishes every evening?
B: John was. (Clausal ellipsis)

The above examples of substitution and ellipsis are, as Halliday and Hasan point out, perfectly normal in spoken Standard British English. The Brunei data contains examples of ellipsis which would be considered deviant in Standard British English, suggesting that the rules for the types of lexical items which can be omitted are different in the two varieties. In sentence 11 below, for example, the omission of the dummy operator 'does' before 'anybody' would be commonly found in spoken Standard British English. However, the ellipsis of the following subordinate noun clause 'what this is' would be unlikely in this context as an initial question asked by a teacher trying to elicit information from the class. It would be found in Standard British spoken English only as a reinforcement after the complete question had been asked.

11. Teacher (pointing to a picture on a chart) : Now, anybody know?
(Std. Brit. Eng. = [Does] anybody know what this is?)

Sentences 12 to 17 below all contain examples of ellipsis which would be considered deviant in spoken Standard British English.

12. Teacher : Just look around you, if you can find any of these shape.
(= 'see if you can find any of these shapes' i.e. there is ellipsis of the main clause in 12)

13. Teacher : I have another shape here. Does anybody know?
(= 'Does anybody know what it is?' i.e. ellipsis of sub. noun clause)

14. Teacher : Please class. Is this a mammal, class?
Class : Yes.
Teacher : Say again.
(= 'say it again' i.e. nominal ellipsis)

15. Student : Why cow mammal?
(=why is a cow a mammal? i.e. verbal ellipsis [copula deletion])
Teacher : Oh, mammal. Because a mammal is a name for some animals. We'll come to that later.
(Oh, mammal = 'you want to know about mammals' i.e. clausal ellipsis)

16. Teacher : Norgandi, what are you laughing? (= why)
Student : Because funny, teacher.
(ellipsis of subject and copula)
Teacher : Funny! Otherwise, I will ask you to stand in front.
(= 'stop it or' i.e. sentence ellipsis)

17. Student : Go to toilet.
(= I want to go... i.e. clausal ellipsis)
Teacher : Go to toilet? You half hour? You half hour late? Do you have stomach ache?
(= and didn't you arrive half an hour late today? i.e. clausal ellipsis)

The ellipsis contained in 'you half hour late?' in Sentence 17 is so great that an understanding of the exophoric context and of teacher-pupil behaviour is necessary to process the meaning of the utterance. In Sentence 18, the adverb 'still', as it is used by both the teacher and the student, becomes a linguistic counter standing in for a whole sentence.

18. Teacher : You want me to end here?
Student : No, teacher.
Teacher : O.K., Ida, still. (= carry on, there are still some words to be written on the board)
Student : No still, teacher. (= we've already finished the exercise)

The Brunei data also contains substitution usage which differs somewhat from the way it is generally handled in Standard British English. The use of 'one' as a substitute for a noun in the following utterances illustrates this different usage.

19. Teacher : I want you to pick from the board which one is the square one. The square one. ('one' is here a substitute for 'shape')

20. Teacher : Azimah she write that OHP stand is square. What she mean is this one. (points to the overhead projector)

21. We have learned this one, consonants and vowels.

22. Teacher : Do you know what is this? (= what this sign is)
Student: Plus.
Teacher : This one?
Student : Minus.
Teacher : This one?

It was noted in chapter four above that one of the syntactic characteristics of Brunei English is a tendency towards less explicit marking of tense and person in the verb phrase and of number in the noun phrase than in Standard British English. With regard to discourse, the above examples clearly demonstrate that anaphoric and cataphoric references also tend to be less explicitly marked in spoken discourse than they would be in Standard British English.

2.4 Exophoric Reference in Brunei English

Despite the greater use of exophoric referencing in informal Brunei English, it would be unwise to suggest that speakers of the variety are linguistically limited to the extent of having to operate continually in what Bernstein (1971) would term a restricted code of English and that they are incapable of handling elaborated code. As Hasan (1973:263) points out :

> It is important to realise that the high frequency of exophoric reference by itself is not a crucial characteristic of this (restricted) variety of language alone. That is to say, there are varieties not necessarily controlled by the restricted code in which the frequency of such reference may be equally high.

As news bulletins broadcast by the English Language Section of Radio-Television Brunei (RTB) demonstrate, in certain contexts, such as public references to members of the Bruneian royal family, government ministers and other VIP's, full titles of the referents are explicitly stated and minimal use is made in these contexts of personal pronouns. The following example, taken from RTB's 9:15

p.m. radio news bulletin on 20/11/1992, would clearly be considered elaborated code in Bernstein's (1971) terms.

'His Majesty Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah, Sultan dan Yang Di-Pertuan Negara Brunei Darussalam (= the Sultan's title) last night consented to attend a Majlis Doa...
...The ceremony was held at the Surau of Berakas Garrison where His Majesty Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan dan Yang Di-Peruan Negara Brunei Darussalam joined officers and members of the Royal Brunei Armed Forces in performing the Magrib and Ishak prayers...
...At the ceremony, His Majesty Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan dan Yang Di-Pertuan Negara Brunei Darussalam consented to sign the 'warkah' to mark His Majesty's attendance at the ceremony.'

In contrast to the formal explicitness of referencing that is considered stylistically appropriate for news bulletins, Poedjosoedarmo (personal communication) notes that referencing in informal spoken Malay is generally less explicitly marked than would normally be considered acceptable in native speaker spoken English. One reason for less specific anaphoric and cataphoric referencing in the Brunei English examples may therefore be due to transfer from referencing in Malay discourse. In addition to interference from Malay, it also seems likely that a speaker of English as a second language will recall vocabulary items less quickly and less confidently than a native speaker of English. In fast conversation, therefore, it is less linguistically demanding for a speaker (1) to use personals and demonstratives than to recall and select specific nouns and (2) to omit those verbal and clausal items which are not essential to the information to be communicated.

Some years ago, at a university in Colombia where I was teaching, a visiting British specialist in metallurgy who had very limited Spanish was asked to give a public lecture. The audience were impressed by the strings of formulae which the lecturer wrote on the blackboard, but the lecture consisted mainly of pointing to the board and saying 'este y este' (this one and this one) repeatedly because the lecturer could not recall or did not know the appropriate noun phrase referents in Spanish. Speakers of Brunei English are, of course, much more fluent in English than the metallurgist was in Spanish, but the same simplification process may be at work in the frequent reduction of specific referencing observed in the transcribed spoken discourse.

3.0 Other Linguistic Features of Unscripted Spoken Brunei English Discourse

While section two of this chapter discussed aspects of cohesion in the unscripted spoken discourse of Bruneian speakers of English, this section examines a selection of linguistic features which reflect differences from the corresponding features in spoken Standard British English discourse. The topics discussed in the section are as follows :

3.1 Expressing agreement and disagreement
3.2 The use of 'otherwise' as a discourse connector
3.3 Juncture features in spoken expository prose
3.4 Discourse fillers

3.1 Expressing Agreement and Disagreement

In response to a negative question, a speaker of Brunei English will normally agree by saying 'yes' i.e. confirming the truth of the first speaker's statement. Speakers of Standard British English would use 'no' in order to agree with the first speaker in such cases.

1. Presenter : How long have you been waiting to get through to us?
   Caller : Mm, I think, five minutes.
   Presenter : So not very long, ah?
   Caller : Yeah.

2. A: How are you today? Not very well?
   B: Yes.

3. A: So you didn't do as well as you had hoped?
   B: Yeah. Panic, sweating, ah.

In the above, 'yes' is not intended to contradict the radio presenter's or Speaker A's suggestions ; instead, it is intended to mean 'yes, you are right. What you say is correct'. In all three of the above cases, speakers of Standard British English would have used 'no' rather than 'yes' to convey agreement with Speaker A's suggestion.

Speakers of Brunei English will sometimes use 'ah' in place of 'yes' to express agreement. The same intonation is used on 'ah' by speakers in this context as on the Brunei Malay equivalent 'au'

(=yes), suggesting a possible connection between Brunei English 'ah' and Brunei Malay 'au'.

4. A: Do you always get like that in an examination?
   B: Sometime if I see my friends is go panic then I sometime...
   A: You follow them?
   B: Ah. I go panic too.

5. A: Why don't they separate the undergraduates with the freshers?
   B: You mean the teachers from the school leavers?
   A: Ah.

The frequent use of 'right' as a universal tag was discussed in chapter four above. The Brunei data also contains the use of 'right' with a slightly different meaning from the simple expression of agreement which is usually intended in native speaker (especially American) English. In a radio interview with the organizer of a conference on career development for women in Brunei, the programme presenter asked :

6. Programme presenter : Now what are the objectives of this conference?
   Conference organizer : Right. Well, I have a piece of paper in front of me here and I have listed five main objectives.

The pragmatic force of 'right' here is not, strictly speaking, agreement with the first speaker as in 'yes, you are right'. Instead, it seems to be to show the second speaker's willingness to accept and answer the question.

Strong disagreement with the opinions of others is seldom expressed publicly in Brunei English. However, during the period of time for questions after a recent linguistics presentation in English at Universiti Brunei Darussalam, a Bruneian speaker of English in the audience first made a few introductory comments and then told the the Bruneian seminar presenter :

7. 'I don't quite agree with you.'

The questioner then proceeded to give an alternative explanation for the linguistic issue discussed in the seminar. The reaction of the audience to the comment was one of shock. In a British university context, the statement, 'I don't quite agree with you', would probably be regarded as a mild objection ; in the Brunei context, it was seen as hostile and confrontational.

Because disagreement and confrontation are often regarded by Bruneians as being in bad taste, politeness in language is considered important. During a call-in programme on the radio, the Bruneian programme presenter, wanting the callers to give their names, used on two occasions the hyper-polite :

8. 'May I know who's on the line, please?'
9. 'May I know who's calling, please?'

The following extract from another call-in programme demonstrates both the very formal vocabulary of Radio Brunei announcers in certain contexts (e.g. 'convey greetings') as well as their general concern with politeness and the avoidance of confrontation.

10. Presenter : So before we play the song, we'll let you convey greetings maybe to your friends or maybe even to your parents.
Caller: Yes. Thank you.
Presenter : You're welcome.

In the same radio programme, callers were asked questions on local matters and those who answered sucessfully were given prizes. One of the callers was asked the following :

11. Presenter : Name the other popular recreational spot.
Caller : If I'm not mistaken, it's Tasek Merimbun.
Presenter : Congratulations. You've got it right.

The use of 'if I'm not mistaken' here demonstrates the high degree of formal politeness frequently found in spoken Brunei English. It is unlikely that this expression would be used in a similar context in Standard British English.

The above demonstrates how cultural values such as the Malay concept of politeness are reflected in the language of Brunei English speakers. Another cultural tendency, that of showing public respect towards Islam, is seen in the following teacher-student interaction. After asking her students to tell her the names of some mammals, the teacher misinterprets the student's utterance of 'goat' as 'God' and warns the student that mentioning God's name in this context is blasphemous.

12. Student : What about goat, teacher?
Teacher : Oh, don't mention that. God is our creation. (= creator)
Student: No, no. I mean G-O-A-T.

3.2 The Use of 'Otherwise' as a Discourse Connector

The Brunei data contains two examples of 'otherwise' being used differently from the way it is generally used in Standard British English discourse.

1. Teacher : Norgandi, why are you laughing?
   Student : Because funny, teacher.
   Teacher : Funny! Otherwise, I will ask you to stand in front.

2. Student : I want to go, teacher.
   Teacher : Stand there. Otherwise, I will tell your parents.

In both the above cases, 'otherwise' is being used as a substitute for a subordinate conditional clause such as 'If you don't do what I say'. These are the only examples of 'otherwise' being used as a discourse connector which occur in the data. However, these examples suggest that its use has been extended in Brunei English to function as a substitute for an implied conditional clause in certain contexts.

3.3 Intonation Juncture in Spoken Expository Discourse

While the phonology of Brunei English is not included as part of this thesis, one feature of spoken discourse which should be mentioned in an analysis of discourse in Brunei English relates to juncture between tone group boundaries or intonation units in spoken explanations or descriptions. In the following three examples, each of the final noun phrases would normally form part of one tone group in Standard British English. In the Brunei examples, there is a rise on 'the' in 1 and 3 below and on 'of' in 2, a pause, and then a very noticeable fall on the head of the noun phrase in each case. This feature of intonation occurs in spoken presentations and lengthy descriptions where one speaker continues uninterrupted for some time. The following examples come from final-year students at Universiti Brunei Darussalam who were presenting the findings of their linguistic research projects at a seminar.

1. 'when you speak on / the \ phone.'
2. 'towards the learning / of \ English.'

the
3. 'and / \
question type.'

As I note in Chapter Eight below, a detailed research study of the phonology of Brunei English should be carried out in the near future to provide more information on such features.

3.4 Discourse Fillers

As Brown and Yule (1983:18) point out, one characteristic of speech which differs from the written form of a language is the presence of interactive markers and fillers. Common discourse fillers in Standard British English speech are 'well', 'erm', 'you know', 'if you see what I mean' and so on.

1. '...And you're driving along the road and far away you see, well, er, a series of stripes...'

Speakers of Brunei English also use fillers both to mark extra-textual interaction with listeners and to demonstrate that, despite a pause or hesitation, they have not finished and do not wish to give up their turn in the conversation. However, the discourse fillers they use are at times different from those used by speakers of Standard British English, as the following examples demonstrate :

2. ...where they draw the diagram according to the shape of the what do you call, mouth, see.
3. Ah, this, what do you call, Marshall, John Marshall, that's our lecturer, you see.
4. In the questionnaire, they ask about this, what do you call, English native speakers, and, what do you call, Asians. I couldn't decide.
5. I think it's not a problem from, ah, our, what do you call, language point of view.
6. It's a good way to, what do you call, learn and to grasp at what he means...
7. I think it's difficult with the babies, what do you call this, all the children still awake at ten p.m.
8. I think not much examples are given, see, when they are dealing with the subject.
9. So I was having, what do you call, a good time then, even though it was tougher, you see, because you need to work hard.

The above use of 'what do you call' and 'what do you call this' as discourse fillers would be highly unlikely in Standard British English. The use of 'see' in examples 2 and 8 above would be more likely to occur in non-standard native speaker varieties than in Standard British English. Its use would generally be restricted to informal speech contexts as in the following (hypothetical) example:

10. I was casing the joint down in Brooklyn, see, when this guy comes up to me...

The two Brunei English examples (2 and 8 above) of 'see' were provided by university undergraduates speaking in fairly formal interview contexts. Given the setting and the speakers involved, the use of 'see' here would be considered stylistically inappropriate in Standard British English terms.

The data also contains examples of discourse fillers that would be considered completely appropriate and acceptable in Standard British English spoken discourse :

11. That is (=was) my real problem over there, you see.
12. It's sometimes difficult for me to, you know, to make out what they're saying.
13. I thought English was just simple, you see. Then it becomes complicated. (...Then it became complicated)

It should be noted that all of the cases of the use of 'what do you call' as a discourse filler in the data were produced by male speakers. Female speakers used 'you know' and 'you see' as fillers but never 'what do you call'. However, when I mentioned these findings to a Bruneian speaker of English, Hajjah Rosnah Haji Ramly, she assured me that female speakers also use 'what do you call it' as a filler. It will be interesting to see, when a larger corpus of Brunei English data becomes available, whether or not this indication that 'what do you call (it)' is predominantly used by male speakers is verified. Some groups of second-language speakers of English insert mother-tongue equivalents as discourse fillers in the middle of a spoken text in English. Saudi Arabian speakers of English, for instance, may use the Arabic term 'ya:ni' (literally, 'it means') in the middle of an English utterance. There are no examples in the data of speakers using a Malay discourse filler in this way.

4.0 Style, Topic Selection and Structure in Formal Spoken Texts

The spoken texts used for analysis in sections two and three above can be regarded as examples of unscripted spoken discourse produced by educated Bruneian speakers of English in conversational contexts. This section examines a selection of more formal spoken texts : English news bulletins broadcast by Radio-Television Brunei (RTB). The news bulletins are discussed in terms of their stylistic features, discourse structure, topic selection and newsworthiness.

4.1 Stylistic Features of a Radio News Bulletin

The English Section of Radio-Television Brunei (RTB) broadcasts three bulletins of news every day at 7:30 a.m. (local news), 12:30 p.m. (local and world news) and 9:15 p.m. (local and world news). The compilers of all the news items and the writers of local news items are English-speaking Bruneians. As such, the news bulletins are the linguistic and cultural products of Bruneian users of English and therefore can be treated as a legitimate source of data for the analysis of formal spoken texts in Brunei English. Although the texts are written down before being broadcast, they often reflect the grammatical and lexical features of spoken Brunei English described in Chapters Four and Five above as the following examples illustrate.

1. The briefing was followed with a question and answer session. (Std. Brit. Eng. = followed by)

2. Yang Berhormat also suggested that senior officials should take particular attention of the welfare and well-being of their staff.
(Std. Brit. Eng. = pay particular attention to)

3. Her Royal Highness hoped the caring attitude in our society should always be preserved and developed. (Std. Brit. Eng. = would always be preserved)

4. Such methods has proved to be effective in Singapore.
(Std. Brit. Eng. = have proved)

Items written for inclusion as local news are generally factual descriptions of events that have taken place. They do not include speculative comments about events that will or might take place in the future. One of the most striking stylistic features is the formality and seriousness of the language. Humour or light-hearted

comments expressed in an informal style are regarded as being inappropriate in this context.

5. At the dinner, the Minister of Law also took the opportunity to express deep gratitude and appreciation of His Majesty's Government to Her Majesty's Government in United Kingdom for the long and beneficial arrangements between the judiciaries of Brunei Darussalam and Hong Kong. (RTB news, 21/11/92)
Despite the lexical and syntactic formality of 5 above, it should be noted that the definite article would be required before 'deep gratitude' and 'United Kingdom' in Standard British English, showing that article usage in Brunei English differs from Standard British English usage in both formal and informal spoken styles. At times, the generally very formal style of news reporting is mixed with usages that would be considered overly informal for a news bulletin.

6. Yang Berhormat (= the Honourable Minister) also suggested that senior officials should **keep an eye on** their subordinates to ensure that they carry out their duties efficiently.

Lexical items associated with journalistic reporting but which would be regarded as somewhat hackneyed by British listeners are frequently used by RTB in connection with sports reporting.

7. This morning, Pesta Baru's president, Pengiran Haji Ali Hasan, **launched** a tournament organized by BIPA association. Fourteen teams are taking part in the championship...They are **vying for** a trophy donated by the Deputy Director of Land Transport, Haji Abdul Rahman bin Haji Mohamad Hussain.

Politeness and deference to members of the Bruneian royal family are reflected in the language of the news bulletins. In the last two or three years, the use of the verb 'consent' has become common in news broadcasts in connection with actions performed by members of the royal family.

8. Her Royal Highness then consented to receive keys from the Bank Association's chairman and the director of NBT.

9. His Majesty's son, Yang Teramat Mulia Paduka Seri Pengiran Muda Haji Abdul Azim, this morning consented to visit the Brunei Shell complex in Seria.

This usage is now applied to even the most mundane actions carried out by members of the royal family. The 21/11/92 RTB radio news carried the following item :

10. Her Royal Highness and the royal entourage then consented to have a closer look at the two buses.

4.2 Discourse Structure of a Formal News Bulletin

The structure of all English language news bulletins broadcast live by RTB is as follows :

1. *Opening*

If the news reader is a Muslim : 'Assalamualaikum Warahmatullah. First the headlines.' If the news reader is a non-Muslim : 'Good morning/afternoon/evening. First the headlines.'

2. *Headlines*

Usually three items are outlined in the present tense, with local news items preceding international items.

1. The Minister of Development says the formation of an association needs careful consideration.
2. The Deputy Minister of Welfare, Youth and Sports calls on welfare and youth organizations to increase their welfare activities.
3. The Belait District Officer says a capable man with a high degree of personality is needed to carry out the job of village chief.

3. *News in Detail*

Local news comes first. If sufficient time allows, international news follows. The items considered most important are given first. This is the longest of the five sections in the news broadcast.

4. *Main Points*

The announcer says : 'And to end the news here are the main points again.' The three items given in the opening headlines are repeated.

5. *Closing*

The announcer says : 'That's the end of the news from Radio Brunei. The next English bulletin can be heard (e.g.) tomorrow morning at 7:30.'

4.3 Topic Selection and Newsworthiness in a Formal News Bulletin

As Coulthard (1985) points out, the suitability of topics in spoken discourse will depend on the person one is talking to. If the speaker in a conversation wishes to follow Grice's (1975) maxim of relation, he/she will select topics which are thought to be relevant to the hearer. An additional constraint on a speaker is that it is not considered appropriate to tell listeners what the speaker thinks they already know. There are certain pieces of information such as a fire warning or a cry for help which have a totally unrestricted audience. In fact, the speaker is obliged to communicate immediately to everyone around if he/she is the first person to discover something dangerous such as a fire or a gas leak. Other types of information have to be told immediately to certain people known to the speaker, but to others the information need be given only if the speaker happens to meet them. To yet another group, the information would not be passed on at all because the speaker knows that people in this group would find it either irrelevant or inappropriate. The ability to divide what is a newsworthy item for Hearer A from what is newsworthy for Hearer B forms part of a speaker's communicative competence.

Cultural factors may also be involved in determining whether or not a topic is newsworthy or suitable. This is particularly true when the information comes from an official source such as a government agency and is to be broadcast publicly. The following items formed the 9:15 p.m. nation-wide radio news bulletins in English broadcast by RTB on 20/11/1992, 21/11/1992 and 22/11/1992 :

20/11/1992

1. His Majesty the Sultan's attendance at a religious ceremony.
2. A presentation of Koran recitations held in Bandar Seri Begawan.
3. A speech by the Deputy Director of Welfare, Youth and Sports.
4. A children's poetry competition.
5. A promotion ceremony involving members of the Royal Brunei Armed Forces.

10. Presentation of prizes for an inter-ministry squash championship.
11. Report of a Sepak Takraw tournament.
12. Presentation of prizes for a bowling championship held in Bandar Seri Begawan.
- No international news given in this bulletin.

The above outlines demonstrate the predominance of cultural considerations in the topic selection of news items. Each news bulletin generally lasts between fifteen to twenty minutes. The items considered of most importance are placed first in the news bulletin, as would also be the case in radio and television news broadcasts in most other countries. RTB always gives local news before international news. Local news items involving members of the royal family take precedence over other local items and therefore come as the first-mentioned item in a news bulletin. These items cover speeches or visits made by members of the royal family. They are entirely factual in nature and therefore very different from news reports by, for example, the British media of marriage difficulties or other personal problems experienced by royal family members. Speculative reporting of the personal lives of Bruneian royal family members would be considered highly inappropriate for inclusion in RTB news broadcasts.

News items relating to government ministers are generally considered to rank next in importance, followed by religious events, functions involving local associations and finally local sports news. Items of international news are then given. If a particularly lengthy account of a local item is broadcast (e.g. a speech given by His Majesty the Sultan) and the fifteen to twenty minute period allotted to the news is used up, RTB will generally decide to dispense with all or most of the international news for that particular bulletin. In the news of 22/11/1992 outlined above, the number of local items was above average and as a result there was insufficient time to report any international news.

The above outlines of news broadcast items demonstrate the kinds of topics which are considered to be newsworthy in Brunei. The manner in which each selected topic is treated demonstrates the particular features of the topic which are considered to be important and of public interest. As was noted in Chapter Five, it is considered of vital social importance to ensure that all individuals mentioned publicly are correctly identified by title and position. References to, for example, government ministers are given in the following manner :

1. Also present at the ceremony was the Minister of Education, Yang Berhormat Pehin Orang Kaya Laila Wijaya Dato Seri Setia Awang Haji Abdul Aziz bin Begawan Pehin Udana Khatib Dato Seri Paduka Awang Haji Umar. (= name and title)

Item 6 in the 21/11/1992 news broadcast was a report of a function held by the National Road Safety Council. At the function, the winners of some road safety awards were given prizes. The degree of detail contained in the news report of this relatively unimportant event reflects the cultural and sociolinguistic significance attached to names and titles in Brunei.

2. The highlight of the function was the announcement of the winners of the 1992 awards for the best exemplary drivers. Winners in five out of the six categories received their awards from the chief guest (previously named in full in an earlier part of the item). Corporal Mohamad Fadila bin Abdullah from the Royal Brunei Police Force received the award in the ordinary car and saloon category. Awang Besar bin Serudin of the Fire Services Department won the award for the jeep and dual-purpose vehicle category...The best bus driver went to Awang Ibrahim bin Haji Jafar.

Items relating to the practice of Islam are given prominence in news bulletins, demonstrating the emphasis placed on promoting religion and the Malay Islamic Monarchy (MIB) concept in general. Names of those reading the Koran or saying prayers at events covered by the media are often given in the news report.

3. Doa Selamat (The welcoming prayer) was read by Yang Di-Muliakan Pehin Dato Imam Dato Paduka Seri Setia Ustaz Awang Haji Abdul Hamid bin Bakal.

4.4 Formal Spoken Discourse in Brunei English : Some Conclusions

A selection of the news bulletins broadcast three times daily by the English Section of RTB were analysed as examples of formal spoken Brunei English. The overall structure of each news bulletin shows few differences from news bulletins in many other countries in that there is an opening and a closing, a summary of the main points after the opening and just before the closing, and that items are placed in descending order of importance. The following observations can be made about the RTB texts in general :

1. The topics selected for inclusion reflect the government's wish to emphasise certain cultural values in Brunei. In particular, there is an emphasis on topics which endorse the Malay Islamic Monarchy concept.

2. These formal spoken texts contain some of the same grammatical and lexical features which were described in Chapters Four and Five as being characteristic of spoken Brunei English.

3. There is a concentration on reporting events such as speeches or events that have taken place in Brunei. Speculation about possible happenings in the future and comments about any Bruneian's personal life do not occur. Details, such as the name, title and rank of the Bruneians mentioned in the news items, are considered to be important and are therefore included in full in news bulletins.

4. The lexis and syntax used in news bulletins are generally formal. A light-hearted, humorous or colloquial style would be considered inappropriate in this context.

5.0 Conclusions

This chapter has attempted to examine some of the most important differences in spoken discourse between Brunei English and Standard British English. While sections two and three above examined a selection of features of unscripted conversation, section four attempted to describe some of the features of formal scripted spoken discourse.

In section two on discourse cohesion, it was noted that Halliday and Hasan's (1976) categories of reference, ellipsis and substitution are generally handled in a less explicit manner in informal spoken Brunei English than in informal Standard British English and that there appears to be greater use of exophoric reference in Brunei English. It was suggested that one possible reason for this tendency was transfer from informal spoken Malay, where referencing is generally less explicitly marked than it is in informal Standard British English. A second possible reason given was that speakers of English as a second language are likely to have a more limited vocabulary and slower lexical recall than first-language speakers of English. As a result, even quite fluent second-language speakers of English will find it mentally easier and faster to use general reference items (such as 'this' or 'this one') rather than recalling and using a specific noun.

Section four demonstrated that cultural values and preoccupations are often conspicuously reflected in the content and style of formal spoken texts in Brunei English. The section also noted that, in contrast to referencing in everyday conversation, referencing in formal spoken texts in Brunei English is generally more elaborate and more meticulous than would be usual in Standard British English.

Chapter Seven

THE BRUNEI VARIETY OF ENGLISH : IMPLICATIONS FOR THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH IN BRUNEI

1.0 Introduction

The grammatical, lexical and discourse analyses of the recorded data undertaken in Chapters Four, Five and Six above have shown that in all three areas (grammar, lexis and discourse) linguistic features can regularly be found in the spoken English of Bruneians which would occur either very infrequently or never in Standard British English. It is possible to claim, therefore, that sufficient regularly occurring idiosyncratic features have been identified in the spoken English of Bruneians to indicate that a new variety of English is emerging in Brunei which differs significantly from the Standard British English model on which it is based. This chapter moves from the descriptive to the applied in that it is concerned with the pedagogical implications and effects of recognizing that a new variety of English is emerging in Brunei.

Once the descriptive linguist has identified the specific features of a new variety, curriculum development officers, school inspectors and English language teachers working in New English educational contexts are left with the difficult task of having to react in their official capacities to the linguist's description of the new variety. Since English was introduced into the school system, the educational model for English language in Bruneian schools and colleges has been Standard British English. Secondary school pupils in Brunei continue to take British-based examinations (the Cambridge GCE O and A level examinations) which are validated and externally marked by speakers of Standard British English. Faced with the continuance of these Cambridge-based examinations, some education officers in Brunei may feel that they should refuse to recognize the existence of Brunei English and persist with the traditional Standard British English model in Bruneian language classrooms. Others, however, might regard Brunei English as both culturally and linguistically more appropriate for the country than Standard British English and may welcome its incorporation into the English programme for Bruneian schools and colleges. The issue will form the main focus of this chapter, which is divided into the following general areas :

a. Theoretical and practical problems in establishing appropriate educational models for the teaching of English in countries where local varieties of English have emerged.

b. The choice of an appropriate English-teaching model for Brunei Darussalam

Before discussing the specific proposals that have been put forward for English language models in several different New English situations, it will first be useful to examine the distinction that has been made between an exonormative standard (i.e. a language standard based on an external model such as Standard British or American English) and an endonormative standard (i.e. a standard based on a local variety of English). This distinction is discussed in the following section.

2.0 The choice between an exonormative and an endonormative standard

With regard to the choice of a standard or model for teaching English in a country where a new variety of English has emerged, education planners have generally felt that they have to make a choice between the adoption of an exonormative standard (e.g. Standard British, American, or Australian) and the adoption of an endonormative (i.e. local) standard. The American linguist, Clifford Prator, and the British linguist, John Honey, have given strong support to teaching a native-speaker standard model in ESL situations. Prator writes :

> ...the heretical tenet I feel I must take exception to is the idea that it is best, in a country where English is not spoken natively but is widely used as a medium of instruction, to set up the local variety of English as the ultimate model to be imitated by those learning the language (Prator 1968:459, quoted in Kachru 1976:223).

Prator's 1968 paper was entitled 'The British Heresy in TESL' because he felt that the acceptance of a local variety as a teaching model had been mainly encouraged by British linguists (such as Abercrombie, Halliday and Strevens) rather than by Americans. In the paper, Prator argues that the British attitude is caused not by linguistic tolerance, as a reader in the 1990s might imagine, but by 'a deep-seated mistrust of the African who presumes to speak English too well...If an Englishman is himself a proud speaker of RP, he may find each encounter with a person who obviously does not

speak his language well a pleasantly reassuring reminder of the exclusiveness of his own social group' (1968:471). Prator contrasts this generalised 'British' view with the generalised 'American' feeling of antipathy towards English spoken with a foreign accent. This antipathy, argues Prator, is based on a distrust of non-English-speaking immigrants who have represented 'an economic threat and a social problem' to native-born Americans (1968:471).

Kachru's 1976 paper is a response to Prator's arguments. He highlights Prator's misunderstanding of the functions of local varieties of English in, for example, the Indian subcontinent and Africa, and notes that in these countries English is no longer regarded as having strong links with British or American culture but has been adapted to meet the sociolinguistic needs of the local culture. Kachru criticises Prator's 'unrealistic' attitude towards the new varieties of English by arguing, in relation to Indian English, that :

a. the users of Indian English form a distinct speech community who speak a variety of English which performs different functions from other varieties of English

b. Indian English functions in the Indian socio-cultural context in order to perform those roles which are relevant and appropriate to the social, educational and administrative network of India.
(Kachru, 1976:235)

Honey's arguments for using a standard native speaker variety as a teaching model in ESL situations are based on his belief that standard native-speaker English is multi-functional whereas 'non-Standard English' has limited functions.

> Standard English is codified and teachable, but non-Standard English is not codified, and thus in practice is not, and cannot be, formally taught...If our analysis of the necessarily greater functional value of Standard English is authenticated, then we can see that the activity of giving access to it to underprivileged groups, so far from being an act of oppression, is instead one of liberation and empowerment (Honey, 1992:193 & 195).

Prator's and Honey's recommendations for the adoption of an exonormative standard contrast sharply with virtually everything Kachru has written on World Englishes. The following extract from Kachru's 1976 *TESOL Quarterly* article is representative of his

usual energetic opposition to the views of linguists like Prator and Honey.

> It will, therefore, be appropriate that the native speakers of English abandon the attitude of linguistic chauvinism and replace it with an attitude of linguistic tolerance. The strength of the English language is in presenting the Americanness in its American variety, and the Englishness in its British variety. Let us therefore appreciate and encourage the Third World varieties of English too.
>
> (Kachru, 1976:236)

Kachru's encouragement of diversity tolerance in English usage has been supported by a number of English-native-speaking linguists, both British and American, such as Strevens (1982), Smith (1987) and Phillipson (1992). Within the first-language context, no language planner would consider it reasonable to impose Standard British English syntax, lexis and pronunciation on all American or Canadian schools. The above-mentioned linguists would argue that it is equally unreasonable to impose Standard British or American English on Third World countries where a different variety of English is used daily by a large percentage of the population.

Many educators and language planners would agree that, for example, Australian English should be given the same linguistic status as, for example, British English. However, some educators are much less willing to put a Third World variety of English on a par with a native speaker variety. This reluctance to accept equal linguistic status for Third World varieties is generally justified by the argument that a new variety such as Papua New Guinea English is, unlike, for example, Australian or Canadian English, a second language for most of its speakers. One cannot help wondering, however, what the international status of the Papua New Guinean variety would be if Papua New Guineans were white, westernised, economically powerful and technologically advanced. In the face of possible linguistically irrelevant prejudice, it is important for language planners not to be distracted by their own cultural bias in deciding on an appropriate pedagogical model for New English situations. As Kachru (1976) points out, British and American language educators must make themselves fully aware of the cultural and sociolinguistic contexts of each New English situation before passing judgements on the local variety. If they refuse to do so, Kachru argues, the value and relevance of their pronouncements will be increasingly questioned by speakers of the new varieties.

With regard to the adoption of an exonormative or endonormative standard, Newbrook (1992) feels that more objective empirical research into the matter is essential before valid decisions can be taken on the adoption of a suitable language model for a country where a new variety of English is spoken. Newbrook suggests that in countries where new varieties of English have developed there is often a great deal of misunderstanding in the minds of local teachers and textbook writers about the differences between the local variety, which they themselves speak, and the relevant official exonormative standard. Newbrook believes that local teachers are often unaware that some of the local features which they use daily do not, in fact, belong to Standard British or American English. He claims that after local English language teachers have been informed that a particular New English feature is not part of the official exonormative standard, their subsequent reactions vary considerably. Some teachers decide to limit the use of the feature to local situations ; others are prepared to accept the fact that it is a local feature but continue to regard it as 'correct' ; a third group of speakers are so convinced that the linguistic feature is normal educated usage that they refuse to believe that the feature is not used in Standard British or American English. In a discussion I had with some South-East Asian English teachers in Brunei in 1991, one of the teachers argued vigorously for maintaining an exonormative Standard British English model in Brunei. When I asked the teacher whether or not she would accept the following South-East Asian English utterance commonly heard in school and university classrooms in Brunei

'Please pass up your papers'
(Standard Brit. Eng. = Please hand in your papers)

the teacher admitted that she thought 'pass up' in this sense was normal Standard British English usage. Newbrook (1992:208) gives an account of a similar experience he had in Hong Kong.

> On one occasion I was accused of teaching non-standard Liverpool English (the student in question knew I was from Liverpool), because the standard usage I was recommending appeared very unfamiliar to him by comparison with the typical Hong Kong usage he had acquired from his secondary school teachers.

Newbrook suggests that, if a country where a new variety of English has developed decides to continue to use an exonormative standard, their educational planners must inform themselves much more thoroughly than they have done previously of the precise

differences between the exonormative standard and the local variety of English. Having accomplished this, planners must then try to make local teachers and textbook writers consciously aware of these differences.

If an endonormative standard is adopted, Newbrook (1992:225) suggests that it must first be properly codified.

> In some countries there is still a dearth even of descriptive material on the sort of acrolectal usage that might be adopted as the basis of such a standard.

Newbrook's 1992 paper is an important reminder to those involved in the exonormative-endonormative debate that, before adopting either standard, it is essential to have comprehensive linguistic descriptions of the features and functions of the relevant varieties.

3.0 Theoretical and practical problems involved in designing a pedagogical model for New English language teaching contexts

This section will examine some of the principal theories and proposals for the selection of appropriate English language teaching models which have been put forward by a number of different linguists and language planners working in New English situations around the world. The English language situations in the following countries are discussed : the Philippines, Singapore, Fiji and Malaysia.

3.1 A Linguistic Model for the Philippines

Gonzalez (1983:150) notes that Philippine English has been considered a legitimate variety of English at least since 1969 when Llamazon published a book entitled *Standard Filipino English,* and that the variety can now be considered 'at par with American, British, Australian, Canadian and other varieties of English in formerly colonialized countries in Asia and Africa.'

Gonzalez feels that the most influential variety of Philippine English in the country is that spoken by radio and television broadcasters and the elite groups which receive high exposure in the Philippine mass media. Gonzalez (1983:151) refers to this variety as 'the acrolect of the Philippine elites'.

> And for all their exposure to the standard varieties of American and British English, our elites, by the ineluctable processes of second language acquisition, do NOT speak like Americans and the British and do NOT use English in quite the same way that the latter do.

Despite the acceptance of Philippine English by theoretical linguists as a valid new variety, Gonzalez argues that 'those of us involved in the process of second language acquisition as teachers cannot take comfort in this legitimation since we are still confronted with the problem of which standard to use as the model for language teaching' (1983:152).

With regard to lexical items which are specific to Philippine English, Gonzalez feels that, in general, they should be accepted by language teachers, since the English teacher will encounter and generally accept differences in lexis between native-speaker varieties such as American, Australian and British English. The range of lexical items referred to by Gonzalez extends to the use of prepositions. Because prepositional usage is often 'quite arbitrary' and 'not predictable from the semantic features of the root...there is room for diversity and localization' (1983:161). Gonzalez gives the following Philippine English examples to illustrate what he would consider to be acceptable lexical differences from Standard British or American English (1983:160).

1. It's up for you. (Standard British English = It's up to you)
2. In Number 45, Cordillera Street. (= At No. 45)
3. He goes down the bus. (= He gets off the bus)

With regard to grammatical differences, Gonzalez's argument in general is that if communication is hindered by the use of a Philippine feature, the feature should be regarded as unacceptable (i.e. an error) by English teachers. He cites the gender and number confusion of pronoun usage in Philippine English ('he' for 'she', 'it' for 'them' etc.) as a major learning problem for Philippine students which has to be addressed and corrected by English teachers. However, where syntactic differences do not create communication problems, Gonzalez feels that the Philippine English forms should be tolerated by the language teacher. Third person present tense agreement differences, he argues, rarely cause communication difficulties.

> Clearly, the markers are redundant and do not hinder the communication process. If I insist on agreement in my

> classes, it is for subjectively dictated aesthetic reasons more than linguistic reasons (1983:164).

Gonzalez concludes that until Philippine English becomes the first language of a significant number of speakers, English teachers in the Philippines should use General American English as the model variety. He recognizes, however, that few learners will be able to acquire the model in its entirety and that a local variety will continue to develop simultaneously with the General American model. Gonzalez is therefore proposing that English teachers in the Philiipines should aim at teaching a native speaker variety, even though their students will probably complete their English studies speaking a mixture of the General American standard and the local Filipino variety. Gonzalez feels that this mixing of varieties is probably inevitable in a New English situation:

> Any kind of cultural transfer (and language is a kind of cultural transfer, the transplantation of an entire code into a different society,) is bound to undergo local modifications and adaptations, even indigenization, as the members of this society adopt this code (1983:169).

3.2 A Linguistic Model for Singapore

Tay and Gupta (1983) argue that, in countries where English is not the first language, E.F.L. and E.S.L. teachers have to choose between an exonormative standard and an endonormative standard. With regard to the selection of a model for teaching English in Singapore, Tay and Gupta suggest four possible pedagogical models :

a. Standard British English with an RP accent;
b. Standard British English with a Singapore accent;
c. Standard Singapore English with a Singapore accent;
d. Any form of Singapore English.

Tay and Gupta feel that (a) above is neither desirable nor realisable because there are not enough teachers with RP accents in Singapore to make a significant impact on the English-speaking community. They feel that (d) is not desirable because 'it is the duty of teachers not to propagate the use of non-standard forms' (1983:185). They feel that the basilectal form of Singapore English, for example, cannot serve as an educational model in Singaporean schools because the form has low social status within the community and it would not be intelligible to non-Singaporeans. Before explaining what would be involved in adopting (c) above as a pedagogical

model, the authors devote a large section of their paper to discussing what they mean by the term 'Standard Singapore English'.

Tay and Gupta describe Standard Singapore English as a variety which is highly intelligible to all speakers of English but which reflects local phonetic, syntactic and lexical characteristics. Their description is weakened by the fact that there is no discussion of the number or type of local characteristics which can be included in a text before the text stops being 'highly intelligible' to non-Singaporean English speakers. As examples of syntactic differences between Standard British English and Standard Singapore English, Tay and Gupta list differences in tense/aspect choice in verb phrases, and differences in constructions involving verb + preposition + non-finite verb such as the following :

1. This did not prevent them to make an attempt.
   (Standard British English = This did not prevent them from making an attempt.)

With regard to an English model for Singapore, Tay and Gupta feel that 'no single exonormative standard of English can adequately fulfil the many functions served by English in Singapore as an official language, language of education, working language, lingua franca, expression of national identity etc.' (1983:177). However, in their selection of a pedagogical model for the republic, they decide to err on the side of linguistic caution by advocating not a totally endonormative-based version but rather 'an internationally high-valued form consisting of Standard English spoken with an identifiable local accent (but not so strong as to be unintelligible outside Singapore) with a small admixture of local expressions and vocabulary' (1983:186). Tay and Gupta justify this choice of a fairly neutral standard by stating that 'the language teacher has no choice but to be prescriptive. The learner, particularly the adult learner, wants to know whether something is correct or incorrect' (1983:187).

This statement serves to highlight a basic theoretical weakness in the Tay/Gupta paper. Does 'correct' in the above quotation mean 'in accordance with the rules of an exonormative standard' such as Standard British English or 'in accordance with the rules of the endonormative Singaporean standard'? How does the language teacher in the classroom deal with the example of 'Standard Singapore English' quoted above :

'This did not prevent them to make an attempt'.

Because different varieties have their own individual grammatical rules, linguistic 'correctness' is not a static universal quality but something which is relative to the linguistic system of a specific variety and to a particular social context. Tay and Gupta's proposals to promote Standard Singapore English as an endonormative teaching model are thus seriously weakened by their constant concern with maintaining international intelligibility and their equivocation about which standard to use for judging the 'correctness' of linguistic items. As Newbrook (1992) has argued, before an endonormative standard can be adopted as a teaching model, it must first be adequately described and codified. Tay and Gupta propose the adoption of Standard Singapore English prior to adequate codification of the variety and, as a result, their arguments appear somewhat undeveloped and inconsistent.

Tay and Gupta's (1983) proposals for the description of a Standard Singapore English define a standard variety of English as 'that dialect of English spoken by those educated primarily in English and who use English in most, if not all, of the domains of family, friendship, transactions, employment and religion' (1983:175). Using this definition, it is thus possible to extend the use of 'Standard English' to mean not only a variety which has been developed by native speakers but also a variety of the language spoken by English-educated second-language speakers. In discussing the theoretical phonological, syntactic and lexical composition of an endonormative-based Standard Singapore English, Tay and Gupta conclude that the variety would be intelligible to English speakers everywhere, that it would be spoken with an identifiable local accent 'but not so strong as to be unintelligible outside Singapore' (1983:186) and that it would contain 'a small admixture of local expressions and vocabulary' (1983:186).

While it is true that Tay and Gupta's 1983 paper does not attempt to provide a comprehensive description of Standard Singapore English, the vagueness of their description in the above outline makes it difficult to estimate the exact linguistic relationship Standard Singapore English would have with Standard British English, on the one hand, and with the basilectal variety of Singapore English on the other. Tay and Gupta emphasise the importance of international intelligibility but they also feel that 'a small admixture' of local lexical items should be included in Standard Singapore English. Tay and Gupta state that they would include local words like 'nonya' and 'ketumba', as well as words with different or extended meanings from Standard British English

such as 'alphabet' to mean a 'letter of the alphabet'. However, their proposed use of local lexical items may well conflict with the authors' concern for international intelligibility. Unfamiliar lexical items such as 'nonya', 'towkay' or 'padang' are probably more likely to create unintelligibility for the non-Singaporean speaker of English than unfamiliar syntactic patterns. This conflict of an insistence on international intelligibility with the inclusion of local lexical features would seem to demonstrate a fundametal problem in Tay and Gupta's admittedly preliminary description of Standard Singapore English.

3.3 A Linguistic Model for Fiji

Tay and Gupta (1983) refer to a 1979 study of Fiji English by Moag and Moag, which suggests other possible criteria for establishing a pedagogic model in a New English situation. Moag and Moag make a distinction between linguistic features caused by first language interference (which, they feel, should be corrected by the teacher) and features which 'can be ascribed to the norms of Fiji English' (1979:77) which, they argue, should be regarded as acceptable. There are certain similarities in this dichotomy with Trudgill's (1983) distinction between non-natural change (language changes which result from contact with other languages) and natural change (changes which take place without external stimulus).

In the Brunei English context, Moag and Moag's recommendations would mean that (1) below would be corrected by English teachers in Brunei because it can be argued that the copula and article deletion therein result from Malay interference. (Neither a copula nor an article would be used in the equivalent Malay sentences.) However, (2) below would not be corrected by the language teacher because the phrasal verb, 'shorten up', and the treating of 'information' as a countable noun can be considered 'natural change' features of the Brunei English system.

1. I think quite similar with what the lecturers here doing at the moment. Teaching style must be systematic.

2. This will shorten up the times of getting confirmations, important informations and important documents that we need.

As Tay and Gupta (1983) point out, Moag and Moag's distinction ignores the practical reality of teaching in a second language situation. The source of the 'deviations' in a New English utterance of any length is generally either multi-factorial or a matter of

linguistic conjecture. If one examines the following spoken Brunei English text, for instance, it is very difficult to pinpoint exactly which features are due to first-language interference and which to the natural development of a new variety of English.

> 3. That's a difficult question to answer. I think we don't have to follow other people accent. For me, for me a Bruneian, my accent tend to be...I can't follow the native speaker accent. Very difficult. Because if I do that, somebody might say something about me. So if I speak English, I tend to speak like a Bruneian.

With regard to (3) above, a 'Moag-style' analysis might claim that the omission of the *'s* in 'other people accent' is due to the lack of a possessive inflectional morpheme in Malay, and that the use of 'follow' for Standard British English 'copy' is a semantic extension of the verb 'follow'. It should be noted here that

4. 'I can't follow the native speaker accent'

means 'I can't copy the accent of a native speaker'. It does not mean 'I can't understand' (as the utterance would probably be interpreted by a speaker of Standard British English), nor is it related to the Malay-influenced use of 'follow' (a translation of 'ikut') in sentences like

5. 'Can I follow you?'
   (Standard British English = Can I come with you?)

This use of 'follow' could therefore be considered an example of natural change (in Trudgill's terms) which has developed in Brunei English. However, for the teacher of English in a classroom situation, to decide what is 'correct' and 'incorrect' on this natural/non-natural basis is highly problematic because it is so fraught with speculation about the possible causes of non-standard linguistic forms. Although superficially attractive then, Moag and Moag's proposals for identifying the non-Standard British English items which should be included in an endonormative pedagogical model of 'Standard Fiji English' are too problematic to be of practical use to an English teacher at work in the language classroom.

3.4 A Linguistic Model for Malaysia

Platt and Weber (1980) have suggested that Malaysian English can be divided into two types : ME I (the variety spoken by Malaysians

who have had an English-medium education) and ME II (the variety spoken by people who have had a Malay-medium education). Platt and Weber believe that ME I has strong similarities with Singapore English, while ME II is more limited in both structure and usage. Following the 1970 decision to make Bahasa Malaysia (i.e. the Standard Malaysian variety of Malay) the medium of instruction in all schools, the level of English among younger Malay-educated Malaysians has steadily declined (see, for example, Asmah Hj Omar, 1983) so that an increasing number of Malaysians speak ME II and a decreasing number speak ME I. Platt and Weber (1980) feel that ME II is at present hovering on the border between a second language and a foreign language. Since all schools in Malaysia are now Malay-medium, English has declined to the status of being taught only as one of the subjects in the school curriculum. Articles regularly appear in the Malaysian press pointing to the decline in the level of English in the country. The following article by Saran Kaur Gill, taken from the July 14th 1991 edition of *Sunday Star*, is fairly representative.

> In fact, in the 80s and 90s, due largely to the relegation of English as a subject to be taught in schools and an insufficient number of quality English teachers among a host of other reasons, there exists a larger number of speakers who are only able to speak what is commonly termed non-standard Malaysian English. It is this that is worrying the government, especially if one thinks of maintaining English as a means of international communication and of the decreasing numbers who will be able to utilise it as such.

However, as Platt and Weber (1980) point out, urban dwellers in Malaysia still have opportunities to use English in a number of possible situations such as in the commercial section, in tourism, in the media etc. The English teacher in Malaysia is therefore faced with an EFL situation in the language classroom but with what often seems more like an ESL situation outside the school, especially in urban areas. There is a daily newspaper in English and the three Malaysian TV channels broadcast some programmes in English (generally with Malay sub-titles) every day.

Platt and Weber (1980) state that the standard on which 'Singapore-Malayan English' (i.e. Singapore English and ME I) is based is Standard British English. They suggest that, although the official standard on which ME II is based is also Standard British English, the unofficial model for ME II is ME I.

> We feel that these and other linguistic features (of ME II) came into being as language strategies in Singapore-Malayan English and were transmitted to the speakers of ME II either in the work situation in communication with English-medium educated Malaysians or, as is more likely, they were transmitted by local teachers of English, speaking various sub-varieties of Singapore-Malayan English or ME I. Many of the (ME II-speaking) interviewees, when questioned on the use of the various Singapore/ME I features, declared them to be 'correct English' (Platt and Weber, 1980:169).

It can be seen from the above that although the official pedagogical model in Malaysia may be Standard British English, in reality, many English teachers are speakers of ME I rather than Standard British English. There is, therefore, a conflict between the theoretical exonormative standard imposed by the Ministry of Education and the actual endonormative language standard of many English teachers. As Newbrook (1992) has pointed out, this pedagogical conflict between an imposed theoretical standard and the language model spoken and transmitted by local English teachers applies not only to Malaysia but to many other countries where new varieties of English have emerged. The reality of this conflict has to be taken into account in the design of a suitable English teaching model for any country where the variety of English spoken differs considerably from a standard native-speaker model.

4.0 The Design of a Pedagogical Model for New English Situations

As discussed in 2.0 above, Newbrook (1992) believes it necessary to establish accurate and comprehensive descriptions of both the relevant exonormative and endonormative varieties before a pedagogical model can be selected for a New English teaching situation. At present in South-East Asia, most English speakers are not linguistically aware enough to be able to make clear distinctions between Standard British/American English, the local variety of English and second-language learner errors. As a result, they may turn for help to prescriptive guides on 'correct' English usage for South-East Asians such as those written by Turton (1989) or Hughes and Heah (1989). Turton, a senior lecturer in English at Universiti Brunei Darussalam, classifies the examples of South-East Asian lexical usage discussed in Chapter Five above as 'incorrect', even though they are used virtually every day by many speakers of the acrolectal varieties of South-East Asian Englishes, and lists the Standard British English equivalents as the 'correct' form.

Turton is well aware of how controversial this type of classification is for many linguists but was asked specifically by the Singaporean publishers to produce a guide that was unequivocal enough for non-linguists to understand clearly. The popularity of this type of usage guide in Singapore (Turton's book has been reprinted every year since 1989) shows that many publishers and other influential people continue to regard the exonormative standard as the most appropriate language standard for the republic.

4.1 The concept of a language standard

Platt, Weber and Ho (1984) suggest that it is possible to interpret the term 'standard' in two ways. It can firstly be seen as a fixed concept which will categorise as sub-standard any language form which differs from this standard. Platt et al. visualise this interpretation of a language standard in terms of a rigid line : anything above the line is 'correct' and everything below the line is 'incorrect'. However, as the authors point out, in areas of human behaviour such as human language, it is unusual to find clear-cut dichotomies between 'right' and 'wrong'. They therefore prefer to interpret a 'standard' as 'an ideal towards which one may strive but may not necessarily reach' (1984:162). Within this context, Platt et al. use the adjectives 'appropriate' and 'inappropriate' rather than 'correct' or 'incorrect' to describe language use. Both the following sentences can be considered to be grammatically correct :

1. I am most grateful to you for your generous offer of assistance in this matter.

2. Thanks for offering to help.

However, (1) would be considered inappropriate if uttered in an informal spoken context, and (2) would probably be judged inappropriate in a very formal written context. In a first-language English teaching situation, it would be unnecessary for the teacher to consciously teach (2), since informal usage such as this would already be familiar to the student. The L1 English teacher would therefore concentrate on making his/her students more aware of more formal, less familiar usage such as that found in sentence (1) and on pointing out the appropriate use of such items.

Platt et al. (1984) feel that in New English situations it is similarly unnecessary to teach the colloquial varieties of English used in informal spoken situations. They argue that both first and second language speakers acquire these varieties naturally from other

members of the local community, whether the community is in Milngavie, Glasgow, or in Toa Payoh, Singapore. It is thus the language forms which are appropriate for use in stylistically formal situations that both Scottish and Singaporean teachers of English will be consciously concerned with in their classrooms.

4.2 Identification of appropriate speaker-input for the establishment of an endonormative standard

As was noted above, Tay and Gupta (1983), Moag and Moag (1979) and Kachru (e.g. 1982) have argued in favour of selecting an endonormative standard for different New English situations. Platt et al. (1984) feel that if a local teaching model is adopted, it should be based on the English used by 'educated speakers' of the local variety. The definition of the term 'educated' may depend on the particular country for which a linguistic model is being established. Does 'educated' refer to someone with a university education or to a secondary school leaver? Platt et al. argue that in some contexts, such as in Singapore and Malaysia, the social background of the speaker must be taken into consideration in addition to his/her level of education.

In designing a standard for Nigerian English, Bamgbose (1982) believes that locally educated speakers reflect the local variety more accurately than do foreign-educated Nigerians.

> Whose usage is to be accepted? I hasten to suggest that it should not be that of the purist (who does not believe in a Nigerian English anyway) nor that of the foreign-educated elite...The natural and spontaneous usage of the locally educated Nigerian user of English is a more reliable guide to the identification of typical Nigerian usage.
>
> (Bamgbose, 1982:99 and 105, quoted in Platt et al. 1984:165).

Bamgbose's view that foreign-educated speakers cannot be considered appropriate users of the local variety of English is probably not applicable in all New English cases. 5.2 below discusses the factors involved in selecting a particular group of English speakers to act as language teaching models in the Bruneian context.

4.3 Establishing a systematic pedagogical model

Honey (1992:193) argues that a standard native speaker variety of English is pedagogically superior to a New English variety because all New English varieties have developed too recently to have achieved grammatical or lexical stability with the result that they do not as yet constitute stable systems.

> Standard English is characterised by stability, while the instability of non-Standard English forms may involve very serious disadvantages. Standard English is codified and teachable, but non-Standard English is not codified, and thus in practice is not, and cannot be, formally taught.

Before considering Honey's views on the unteachability of non-Standard English forms, it may be worth reiterating the point made in Chapter Two above that a variety of English was spoken by the local people in parts of India in the early seventeenth century i.e. much earlier than the language was introduced to either New Zealand or Australia. While recognizing that all languages and varieties are in a constant process of change (including all standard varieties of English), it would seem reasonable to suggest that the Indian English syntactic and lexical forms spoken in areas around Madras and Calcutta have achieved a certain degree of stability in their lengthy period of existence.

Honey's statement above suggests that non-Standard English varieties are unteachable because either they have no system or their systems have not been 'codified' i.e. described in detail by grammarians. As dialectologists such as Trudgill have pointed out at length (e.g. Trudgill, 1975, 1983, 1991) all the non-standard varieties of native-speaker Englishes are just as grammatically systematic as Standard British or American English. They make use of different syntactic systems from Standard English varieties, of course, but systematicity is present. While detailed descriptive grammars of Cornish English or Staffordshire English may not be available to teachers, this does not mean that these two varieties lack grammatical systematicity and are therefore unteachable. Platt and Weber (1980) have demonstrated the systematicity of Singapore English to point out that second language varieties of English can also be regarded as being syntactically systematic and therefore capable of codification.

In contrast to Prator's and Honey's support for the imposition of an exonormative standard, Platt and Weber (1980) note that speakers of English in an ESL situation are very likely to be exposed to

several different exonormative models, even though one particular native-speaker standard has been selected for teaching purposes. In Brunei, for example, while Standard British English is currently recognized as the English language model for schools, Bruneian speakers of English are exposed to American television programmes virtually every day but to British-produced television programmes much less often. Radio-Television Brunei (RTB) also occasionally broadcasts programmes imported from Australia and New Zealand.

Another source of mixed exonormative influence which Platt and Weber (1980) identify is provided by imported native-speaking teachers. To take Brunei as an example again, in the Bruneian primary, secondary and tertiary education systems there are English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh, Canadian, American, Australian and New Zealand teachers and lecturers who do not speak English with an RP accent and whose lexico-grammatical usage does not always conform to the Standard British English teaching model. While a Sydney or a Wolverhampton accent is, of course, just as legitimate as an RP accent, it is hard to argue that these accents are preferable to a Brunei English accent as a teaching model within the Bruneian education system.

As was noted in sub-section 3.2 above, Tay and Gupta (1983:177) believe that 'no single exonormative standard of English can adequately fulfil the many functions served by English in Singapore'. This statement may be true, but it is also possible to argue that neither will a single endonormative standard be able to fulfil all the functions in the wide range of formal and informal stylistic contexts required by the acrolectal speaker of English in Singapore or Brunei. The pedagogical model may therefore have to be based on something broader than either a single exonormative or a single endonormative standard. The choice of a linguistic model for Brunei is discussed in greater detail in the following section.

5.0 The Choice of a Pedagogical Model for Brunei

Section four above has attempted to highlight the constraints involved in choosing a language teaching model for New English situations. The discussion has shown that the following factors are of major importance in selecting an appropriate English language teaching model for Brunei :

a. It is essential to adopt a language standard for teaching English which will be capable of handling formal and informal usage and which is realistically attainable by a majority of the learners.

b. Once a language standard has been adopted, it is necessary to select an appropriate group of speakers to act as linguistic models for teaching purposes.

5.1 and 5.2 below discuss these points in relation to the Bruneian context.

5.1 The adoption of an appropriate language standard for teaching English in Brunei

Sub-section 5.1.2 below examines the arguments for adopting an exonormative standard for Brunei, and sub-section 5.1.3 discusses the advantages of adopting an endonormative standard in Bruneian schools. Before addressing this exonormative-endonormative dichotomy, however, it might be useful to look at the results of a study undertaken in 1991 by Cane and Ramly (published in 1992) on the attitudes of Bruneian trainee teachers to different linguistic models.

5.1.1 *An investigation into the linguistic role models of Bruneian trainee English teachers*

Phillipson (1992) questions the validity of the widely held belief in British/American-based ELT circles that native speakers of English are more competent than non-native speakers to teach the language in ESL/EFL situations. Phillipson (1992:15) puts forward the following viewpoint :

> It is arguable, as a general principle, that non-native teachers may, in fact, be better qualified than native speakers, if they have gone through the complex process of acquiring English as a second or foreign language, have insight into the linguistic and cultural needs of their learners, a detailed awareness of how mother tongue and target language differ and what is difficult for learners, and first-hand experience of using a second or foreign language.

The Cane-Ramly (1992) study arose from a staff recruitment exercise at Universiti Brunei Darussalam (UBD) during which a Malaysian lecturer in the English Department put forward views similar to Phillipson's, as well as suggesting that South-East Asian students would be unlikely to identify in a psychologically positive way with non-South-East Asian lecturers. Cane and Ramly, a British

and a Bruneian lecturer in the UBD English Department, decided to test the validity of these opinions by collecting the views of English Department students at Universiti Brunei Darussalam. Information for the study was obtained by interviewing forty B.A. Education (TESL) students at Universiti Brunei Darussalam and asking the same students to complete a separate questionnaire. The participants were asked to give their opinions on such issues as which group of lecturers (native speakers or non-native speakers) they found were more helpful, better informed, more culturally aware etc., as well as giving their opinions on the variety of English which carries the highest social prestige in Brunei, the variety of English they find easiest to understand, whether or not they thought a Bruneian variety of English existed and, if so, what the idiosyncratic features of the variety were.

In general, the questionnaire findings showed a clear tendency by a majority of the respondents to prefer to be taught by non-South-East Asian lecturers (i.e. native speakers) than by South-East Asian lecturers. A majority of the participants thought native speakers were easier to understand than South-East Asians, and 58% of those questioned thought that there should be more native speakers than South-East Asians in the University's English Department. While 36% of the participants said they would like to model themselves on the South-East Asians in the English Department when they took up teaching, 58% said they would choose the native-speaking lecturers as models.

In answer to a question on the type of English that should be spoken by Bruneians, 64% showed a preference for a type of spoken English which exhibited native-speaker grammar and vocabulary but which was spoken with a Bruneian accent, 22% opted for a variety of English with native-speaker grammar, vocabulary and accent, and only 14% felt that Bruneians should speak English with South-East Asian accent, grammar and vocabulary.

In the interview context, the tendency to favour native speakers as linguistic models was less strong. While some interviewees claimed that they would like to speak English like native speakers, it became clear to the interviewers that many of the students felt that there is a certain social pressure on Bruneians to sound like South-East Asians when they are using English with other Bruneians. The following comment was fairly typical:

> I think I would use that accent (native speaker) when I speak to native speakers of English but not to, you know, people like me, I mean South-East Asian.
>
> (Cane & Ramly, 1992:713)

Some of the interviews reinforced Newbrook's (1992) claim that many speakers of new varieties of English are unaware that some local features are not part of the official exonormative standard. One of the students told Cane during the interview that she never used the Brunei variety with native speakers like him. However, the language forms which the student used often showed marked deviation from Standard British English.

Cane: Do you think there is such a thing as the Brunei variety of English?
Student : Yes, there is.
Cane: What is this then?
Student: Maybe that's the way we are talking. Well, I think we can recognise it, you know. When we are talking among us, you know. Even if we are talking to our lecturers, those who are non-native speakers, we tend to use that type of variety of English.
C: But when speaking to me, you tend not to use it?
S: No. I think so. I'm conscious avoid it.
C: You try to avoid it?
S: Yeah.
C: Do you think you can handle both of these varieties equally well?
S: I can't say that. I don't know whether I am competent in both but I think I can.
C: Can you give me any examples of words used in Brunei English which are not used by native speakers?
S: Yes. Like the word 'follow'. I follow you, but in fact we know what it meant, you know, between us but then we tend to use between ourselves. Like the word 'follow' or 'send' or 'fetch', you know.
C: 'Follow' meaning 'I'll go with you'?
S: Yeah. 'Go', 'accompany with you'. We tend to use it. But maybe if I speak to a native speaker, I may not use it. Yeah.
C: Is that a direct translation from Malay?
S: Think so, mm...why we use. (Cane & Ramly, 1992:711)

The above interview reflects a tendency in speakers of new varieties of English to be much more aware of lexical differences than they are of grammatical differences between the local variety and the exonormative standard. The student in the above interview feels that she uses Brunei English with her Malay friends and

colleagues, but tries to avoid using any features she knows to be Brunei English features when talking to native speakers of English.

Beebe and Zuengler (1983) have suggested that style shifting in second language dialects can be explained in terms of Accommodation Theory. According to Accommodation Theory, which was developed by the British social psychologist, Howard Giles, people adjust their speech in order either to identify with or distance themselves from their interlocutors. Accommodation can take two forms :

a. *Convergence* - when speakers adjust their speech so that it becomes closer to the speech of their interlocutors,
b. *Divergence* - when speakers adjust their speech the other way in order to distance themselves from their interlocutors.

Although accommodation theory has usually been applied to first language situations, Beebe and Zuengler (1983) suggest that the theory can also be applied to second language situations. They conducted a study with Puerto Rican children in the United States which suggested that the children's speech showed convergence in different directions towards a Spanish-dominant Hispanic interviewer, on the one hand, and a native-speaking Anglo interviewer on the other. There was much less convergence in the children's speech towards an English-dominant Hispanic interviewer because, Beebe and Zuengler argue, the children perceived this interviewer to be a 'cultural traitor' (1983:207). The Bruneian student's belief that she uses Brunei English only with other Bruneians or other South-East Asians, and Standard British English with non-South-East Asian native speakers would seem to be further evidence in support of Beebe and Zuengler's hypothesis.

5.1.2 *Arguments for selecting an exonormative standard for Brunei*

This sub-section and the following one, 5.1.3, examine the advantages and disadvantages of adopting either a Standard British English exonormative standard in the Bruneian education system or an endonormative standard based on the variety of English used by Bruneians. Secondary school pupils in Brunei take the Cambridge Board GCE Ordinary Level examinations in Form Five. (The GCSE has not so far been introduced into the Bruneian examination system.) Pupils who go on to take sixth-form courses (either at the Maktab DPM Al-Muhtadee Billah or at the Maktab Sains Paduka Seri Begawan Sultan in Bandar Seri Begawan) sit for the Cambridge

Board GCE Advanced Level. Passes in at least two subjects at GCE A level are required for entry into undergraduate programmes at the country's only university, Universiti Brunei Darussalam. As these examinations are set and marked in Britain by speakers of Standard British English, it seems likely that students who do not write in a variety which closely resembles Standard British English will be penalised by the Cambridge examiners.

In January 1993, there were approximately 230 British teachers of English language working in primary and secondary schools, either as employees of the Centre for British Teachers (CfBT) or on government contracts. The CfBT began sending teachers to Brunei to teach English in early 1985. The organization had originally been asked by the Brunei government to supply teachers for lower-secondary forms only, but by the late 1980s CfBT-recruited teachers were working in fairly large numbers as English teachers in primary schools. While the accents of the British teachers vary considerably depending on the teachers' social and geographical backgrounds, all the teachers recruited have qualifications from British universities and are therefore competent speakers and writers of Standard British English. It is highly unlikely that these British-trained teachers could teach another variety of English (such as Brunei English) in their language classes without considerable additional training.

The Cane and Ramly (1992) study described above demonstrates that, at university level anyway, students of English believe that it is important to be exposed to native speakers as language models. A clear majority of the UBD undergraduates who participated in the study showed a preference for a variety of English which exhibited native-speaker grammar and vocabulary but which was spoken with a Bruneian accent. In grammatical and lexical terms, therefore, these undergraduates were strongly in favour of maintaining an exonormative standard of English in the Bruneian education system.

In addition to the native-speaker teachers of English in the country, second-language speakers of English from India, Pakistan and the Philippines also teach English in Bruneian schools. These teachers may not have native-speaker control of Standard British or American English but, like the native-speaker teachers, they are not familiar with the specific linguistic features of Brunei English and could not teach the variety adequately without additional training.

5.1.3 *Arguments for selecting an endonormative standard for Brunei*

In Section 3.4 above, which discussed language models for the Malaysian context, it was suggested that although Standard British English is theoretically the pedagogical model for Malaysia, many English teachers in the country are speakers of ME I rather than of Standard British English. In Malaysian schools, there are far fewer imported native-speaker teachers of English than there are in Brunei, and so most Malaysian school children are taught English by a teacher of their own nationality. Thus, even if the Malaysian Ministry of Education claims that Standard British English is the model for English teaching in Malaysia, in practice, it will be ME I in many schools because that is the variety spoken by the English teacher.

A four-year undergraduate degree programme for the training of ESL teachers was set up at Universiti Brunei Darussalam in 1988 and the first batch of five B.A. Education TESL students graduated in 1992. The number of Bruneian teachers of English in Bruneian schools is still small but, as the TESL programme at Universiti Brunei Darussalam expands, more local teachers of English will be produced. As is already happening in Malaysia, teachers who cannot be considered totally competent users of Standard British English will present a language model for their students which is different from the official exonormative standard. In this situation, to insist on the maintenance of an exonormative standard in the education system is to ignore the linguistic reality of the teaching situation.

Several of the students who took part in the interviews in the Cane and Ramly (1992) study emphasised that a Bruneian should sound like a Bruneian when talking to other Bruneian speakers of English. In terms of pronunciation, therefore, a clear preference was indicated by many students for the adoption/acceptance of an endonormative standard of pronunciation in the English classroom.

5.1.4 *Finding a workable solution to the problem*

Since it seems likely that a mixture of mainly British native speakers of English, Bruneian speakers of English and other second-language speakers from a number of different Asian countries will continue to teach English in Bruneian primary and secondary schools for the foreseeable future, it is important to find a standard

with which all the teachers are familiar and with which they feel linguistically comfortable. Given the small number of Bruneians teaching English in the schools at the moment and the fact that the English taught to and acquired by Bruneian school children should be intelligible to other speakers in both intranational and international contexts, the most workable solution for the Brunei context might well be one similar to that proposed by Andrew Gonzalez for the Philippines in Section 3.1 above. Because of the Philippines' continuing links with the United States, Gonzalez suggests that the English teaching model for Filipino schools should be General American. In the case of Brunei, continuing trade, military and political links with Britain would indicate that, if an exonormative standard continues to be used in schools, Standard British English should be the model, especially for formal written contexts.

While Standard British English would be the model for formal written texts, it would not provide a rigid model for either informal written texts (personal letters, informal notes, poems, short stories etc.) or for informal spoken texts. In these types of texts, Brunei English pronunciation, syntax and lexis would be accepted and even encouraged by the English teacher. This more tolerant and relaxed attitude to the acceptance of Brunei English features might help to decrease the learner's anxiety about avoiding local features when speaking English in the classroom. Such an approach should help to 'lower the learners' affective filter', to use Krashen's (e.g. 1982) widely quoted terminology. As the following statement from Shem Yarupawa, a speaker of Papua New Guinea English, lucidly demonstrates, the lack of linguistic tolerance and flexibility in the English classroom may serve only to inhibit the learner's communicative progress.

> I have noted that the speech of the speaker in Milne Bay Story Style (i.e. Story-Telling Style) English tends to flow smoothly in informal conversations or story telling situations as opposed to the clumsy attempts demonstrated in the use of Target English.
>
> (quoted in Smith, 1986:333).

Educators would have to realise that the Standard British English teaching model for formal written texts is a target which will not be fully attained by large numbers of learners. However, since most English learners in Brunei will not need to write formal documents in English when they take up employment, the incomplete attainment of this target model does not represent a serious pedagogical disadvantage to the proposal. What this group of

learners will need to acquire from their English classes is the ability to use informal spoken English in their social and working lives, either in communication with other South-East Asians or, less commonly, with native-speaking foreigners.

Another (much smaller) group of Bruneian school pupils will go on to university and subsequently take up jobs where they will be required to write formal written English in both intranational and international contexts. It will be necessary for this group of learners to attain the Standard British English written model more comprehensively than the first group in order that the formal written texts they produce will be internationally acceptable. However, in spoken English and in their informal writing, this second group of learners would probably use many of the features identified in this thesis with the Bruneian variety of English.

If the target model in the classroom for formal written English is Standard British English but, at the same time, the use of local features is accepted and encouraged in less formal contexts, Bruneian learners will receive useful language input in their English classes for both informal/formal and intranational/international contexts. As Newbrook (1992) has cogently pointed out, before implementing such a policy, it is important for education administrators, language planners and teachers to be made aware of the specific features of both the exonormative and the endonormative varieties. Descriptions of the two varieties and the major differences between them should be carefully and clearly drawn up and distributed by a combined group of Bruneian and British linguists based either at the Ministry of Education or at Universiti Brunei Darussalam. These descriptions will enable text-book writers, curriculum development officers and English teachers to differentiate between features of Standard British English, features of Brunei English and what are simply second-language learner errors, when dealing with the students' spoken or written output. The acceptance by English teachers of features of Brunei English does not mean that they should accept without question every sentence produced in English by their pupils. The students at Bruneian schools and colleges are still in the process of learning and improving their English, and so they will inevitably make mistakes and produce language which is neither correct Standard British English nor correct Brunei English. However, without a clear description of the features of Brunei English, it is difficult, especially for the expatriate teacher, to distinguish between regularly occurring features of Brunei English and random second-language learner errors.

Learners and teachers will have to be made aware that the variety that has been suggested for formal contexts is linguistically no better or worse than the variety that has been suggested for informal contexts, and that selection is simply based on stylistic appropriateness. While Standard British English would generally be more appropriate for a formal business letter, Brunei English would generally be more appropriate for chatting with friends or for writing entries in a personal diary. If the Bruneian Ministry of Education decided to adopt this kind of strategy towards the establishment of a dual-based pedagogical model, one would hope that a new awareness of and respect for the differing features and functions of both Brunei English and Standard British English would begin to develop amongst language educators and language learners in the sultanate.

5.2 Selecting the most appropriate group of speakers to act as linguistic models for teaching purposes

Gonzalez (1983) suggests the most influential group of English speakers in the Philippines are people working in television and radio and those whose position in Philippine society gives them exposure in the mass media. The requirement for group membership in the situation described by Gonzalez is thus not level of education but whether or not the speaker is considered to be a member of the social elite. Gonzalez feels that such speakers can be regarded as representing the acrolectal end of the Philippine English continuum, and that their use of the language could serve as a valid model for ESL learners in the Philippines.

Platt et al. (1984) use the phrase 'educated speakers of a New English' to describe what they feel to be the most appropriate group for providing a language model for other speakers of the new variety. As Platt et al. note, formulating an adequate definition of 'educated speakers' is problematic. Where does one draw the dividing line between 'educated' and 'uneducated'? Is the completion of GCE Ordinary Level sufficient to catergorise a speaker as educated, or is a university degree necessary?

Bamgbose's (1982) view that foreign-educated speakers cannot be considered appropriate users of the local variety of English is probably not applicable in all New English cases. Bruneians who go abroad for secondary or tertiary education, for example, generally revert to speaking the local variety once they return to Brunei. If they continue to try to speak Standard British or Australian English with a British or Australian accent upon returning home, they run

the risk of incurring social disapproval. As a university student told me in one of the recorded interviews :

> In Brunei we speak like a British accent, I think. Those who have been abroad they don't mind about that, you know, when we use that accent like at a university, at the right, you know, place, but if you speak like British accent maybe at a wedding they probably will find it strange, you know.

As a result, Bruneians who have been abroad generally revert to a variety which is recognisably local when they are speaking in English with other Bruneians. Another student I interviewed emphasised the importance of sounding like a Bruneian when speaking English.

Graeme Cane : When you speak English, would you like to sound like me?
Student : No.
GC : You want to sound like a Bruneian?
Student : Sound like Bruneian. That's the identity.

In selecting the variety of English spoken by an 'educated speaker' as a local standard for the Brunei context, the difference between a Malay-medium educated Bruneian and an English-medium educated Bruneian would also have to be taken into consideration. Although differences in the levels of English of pupils leaving the two types of school will eventually disappear once the effects of the Dwibahasa (bilingual) system of education are fully felt, at present only Bruneians educated in English-medium schools up to sixth-form level or beyond could be considered 'educated speakers of Brunei English' in the terms described for other New Englishes by Platt et al. (1984).

Radio-Television Brunei (RTB) broadcasts the news in English every evening on the national television channel. This twenty-minute programme is usually presented by Bruneian speakers of English, although one television news reader currently employed by RTB is Malaysian. The news readers have very noticeable Brunei English accents and the texts they read have the lexical and grammatical features described in section four of Chapter Six above on radio news bulletins. Although no study has been done to investigate the influence of RTB English announcers on Bruneian speakers of English, the news in English has a large viewing audience in the country. It therefore seems likely that Bruneian speakers of English employed by RTB are regarded as unofficial models for English pronunciation and syntax by many people in the sultanate.

Sub-section 5.1.4 supports Gonzalez's (1983) recommendations for the adoption of a workable language standard and proposes that educational institutions in Brunei should regard Standard British English as an ideal teaching model especially with regard to formal written contexts, even though the model will be fully attained by very few learners. At the same time, the proposal suggests that the phonetic, syntactic and lexical features of Brunei English should be welcomed, discussed and accepted by educational planners and teachers in all but the most formal of language contexts.

There are therefore two groups of speakers who could act as English language models for Bruneian schools. The first would be British native speakers who would provide the model for formal (especially written) contexts. The second group would be Bruneian speakers of English with an English-medium educational background educated at least up to GCE Advanced Level and probably beyond, who use English regularly in their work both in private and in public (giving interviews, making speeches, in broadcasting etc.). This group would provide the language model for less formal contexts. The establishment of such a dual-based language model would serve to encourage teacher/pupil tolerance of both Standard British English and Brunei English, and would demonstrate to learners the role of context in determining the appropriateness of a speaker's stylistic choice.

Chapter Eight

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1.0 Review of the Objectives

This chapter reviews the four objectives outlined in Chapter One of the thesis and provides a summary of the principal findings. It then suggests possible areas for further research and concludes by discussing the directions Brunei English may take in the future.

The thesis set out to achieve four principal objectives :

a. To give a brief account of the spread of English across the world and the subsequent emergence of a number of new varieties of the language.

b. To apply the recognized sociolinguistic criteria for classifying a particular dialect as a 'new variety of English' to the English spoken by Bruneians in order to establish whether or not the Brunei variety formally satisfies the requirements for classification as a 'New English'.

c. To record, transcribe and analyse a collected corpus of unrehearsed spoken texts by Bruneian speakers of English in order to produce an empirically based linguistic description of the grammatical, lexical and discourse features typically found in spoken Brunei English.

d. To describe the functions of English in the Bruneian education system and to discuss the pedagogical and language planning implications of recognizing the existence of a Bruneian variety of English.

With regard to objectives (a) and (b) above, it was noted that sustained periods of British/American economic, political, administrative or military contact with non-native speakers of English across the world had, in some cases, led to the establishment of speech communities where English began to take on certain functions in the community instead of, or in addition to, the local language or languages. In some of these speech communities, varieties of English began to develop which differed from the original native-speaker model. Kachru (e.g. 1986) and Smith (e.g. 1987) have referred to these varieties as 'World Englishes'. Platt, Weber and Ho (1984) use the

term 'New Englishes' and have established linguistic and sociolinguistic criteria for the classification of a variety as a 'New English'. It was demonstrated in Chapter Two above that the variety of English spoken in Brunei unquestionably fulfils these criteria and therefore qualifies as a 'New English' in Platt et al.'s terms.

Objective (c) above relates to using the corpus of recorded data to assess whether or not Bruneian speakers of English employ linguistic features which are different from other varieties of English and, if so, to describe these features in terms of syntax, lexis and discourse. The corpus is based on the unscripted spoken English of urban-dwelling, English-medium educated Bruneians. It was established that the corpus of recorded data could be considered as belonging to the acrolectal end of the Brunei English speech continuum for the following reasons :

a. the high level of education (tertiary level in most cases) of the informants who provided the spoken data

b. the frequency with which these informants use English in their daily lives (in work/education/social situations)

c. the relative ease and fluency with which these informants speak English.

After recording, transcribing and analysing the corpus of spoken data, it was noted (in Chapters Four, Five and Six respectively) that Brunei English differs from the original model, Standard British English, in terms of certain grammatical, lexical and discourse features. Some of these linguistic differences are shared by other new varieties of English, especially by the varieties spoken in Singapore and Malaysia, but certain other linguistic features are peculiar to the Brunei variety. A summary of some overall tendencies in the grammar, lexis and discourse of Brunei English is given in section two below.

The first part of objective (d), a description of the role of English in the Bruneian education system, is covered in 2.3 of Chapter One above. The second part is discussed at length in Chapter Seven, which concludes by suggesting that teaching institutions in Brunei should adopt a dual (Standard British English / Brunei English) language model in their English classes, since such a model would meet both the formal/informal and the international/intranational needs of Bruneian speakers of English.

2.0 The Linguistic Features of Brunei English : A summary of the main findings

2.1 Grammatical Features

It was observed that one general characteristic of the verb phrase in Brunei English is a tendency towards grammatical simplification. Features noted included the use of present tense forms where other tenses would be required in Standard British English and the use of the base form of the verb in the present tense, regardless of person or number. It was suggested that this type of simplification was the result of two factors :

a. Contact with Malay, the mother tongue of most of the informants. Since verbs in Malay do not inflect for tense, person or number, it may be argued that the simplification tendency in the verb phrase in Brunei English is a result of 'non-natural' change in Trudgill's (1983) terms.

b. Since similar types of verb phrase simplification are found in other new varieties of English such as Singapore English, Papua New Guinea English and Philippine English, it may also be argued that a 'natural' process of language change (Trudgill, 1983) is simultaneously at work within the New Englishes, and that this natural process has led to a general simplification in the syntax of these varieties.

'Natural' language change seems to be involved in other syntactic areas where Brunei English is creating its own grammatical patterns which differ from the corresponding forms in Standard British English. These areas include the creation of new phrasal and prepositional verbs and differences in preposition usage.

In addition to this tendency towards simplification in the verb phrase, there is a second tendency in Brunei English towards greater grammatical flexibility. It was shown that Bruneian speakers are generally more tolerant than speakers of Standard British English would be of the following features:

(a) variation in article omission or insertion in noun phrases
(b) variation in the specific marking of plural forms in noun phrases
(c) variation in the classification of nouns into countable and uncountable categories.

2.2 Lexical Features

It was felt that the corpus of recorded data was not extensive enough to provide a comprehensive survey of all the regularly recurring lexical items and usages which occur in Brunei English but not in Standard British English. Despite this shortcoming, the corpus collected for this study did reveal a number of general trends in the lexis of Brunei English.

a. Topics which relate to Malay or Islamic culture tend to retain key Malay or Arabic words because Brunei English speakers consider these words to be more culturally appropriate than the English equivalents.

b. Brunei English shares with some of the other New English varieties a number of English-based lexical items which have taken on different usages and semantic values from the ones they generally have in Standard British English. There is a particularly strong overlap with the lexis of Malaysian and Singapore English.

c. There is a dynamic tendency, especially amongst teenage speakers of English, to create new collocations and idioms which do not occur in Standard British English.

With regard to (b) above, while it is true that many of the non-British lexical items in Brunei English can also be found in Malaysian and Singapore English, certain other items are peculiar to the variety spoken in Brunei. The use of Islamic expressions, for instance, (e.g. the occurrence of items such as 'May Allah bless you', 'May God bless you always' in radio record request programmes), within a spoken English text is more widespread than in Singapore or Malaysian English. The use of the 'bah' particle is another lexical feature which has been shown to be peculiar to the variety of English spoken in Brunei.

It is possible to argue that lexical development in Brunei English, like syntactic development, can be explained in terms of Trudgill's distinction between 'natural' and 'non-natural' language change (Trudgill, 1983). Some lexical items, such as 'follow' (=accompany) and 'already' (as in 'gone already', 'finished already' etc.) are clearly the result of direct translation from the Malay 'ikut' and 'sudah' respectively. This would be described as 'non-natural' change in Trudgill's terms, as the lexical items have arisen as a result of direct contact with another language. Other lexical items, such as 'jubilate' and the creation of new collocations and idioms ('happy smashing

birthday', 'keep up the handsome face' etc.) have not arisen from contact with local languages and can therefore be explained in terms of 'natural' change.

2.3 Discourse Features

It was noted that Halliday and Hasan's (1976) categories of reference, substitution and ellipsis are generally handled in a less explicit manner in conversational spoken Brunei English than they would be in conversational Standard British English. It was suggested that one reason for this tendency was transfer from informal spoken Malay, where referencing is less explicitly marked than in Standard British English. A second possible cause of this tendency is that speakers of English as a second language are likely to have a more limited vocabulary and slower lexical recall than first language speakers of English. As a result, even fluent second-language speakers will find it easier and faster to use general reference items (such as 'this' or 'this one') in conversation rather than recalling and using the specific noun.

In contrast to the less explicit referencing noted in conversational texts, it was observed that in formal spoken texts in Brunei English, referencing may be more meticulous and elaborate than would be usual in formal Standard British English.

3.0 Further Research on the Brunei Variety of English

It was pointed out in 2.5 of Chapter One that very little research has so far been undertaken on the variety of English spoken or written by Bruneians. While the present thesis has attempted to describe the major features of grammar, lexis and discourse in spoken Brunei English, other linguistic and sociolinguistic features of the variety still need to be analysed. Further research studies might look at the following areas:

a. Phonology

Brunei Malay, the first language of the majority of Brunei English speakers, has a three-vowel system in contrast to the twelve pure vowels and eight diphthongs of British Received Pronunciation (R.P.). As a result, the sound system of Brunei English differs significantly from the sound system of R.P. A paper by Mossop on some of the

phonological features of the variety is to appear in Martin, Ozog and Poedjosoedarmo (forthcoming). Mossop's paper represents a useful beginning and paves the way for the undertaking of a more comprehensive and detailed description of the phonology of Brunei English which should be carried out in the near future.

b. Lexis

There is a need to collect a more extensive corpus of spoken data than was used in the present study. A larger corpus would provide more examples of regularly recurring non-British lexical items and would provide greater insight into the types of lexical innovations that are taking place in Brunei English. Further studies on lexis should also allow researchers to make a more precise and comprehensive distinction between non-British lexical items which are also found in other South-East Asian varieties of English and lexical items which are found exclusively in Brunei English.

c. Variation in Brunei English

As was noted in 2.0 of Chapter Three, little information is currently available on the causes of variation in Brunei English. It was suggested that such factors as the amount of exposure to English-medium education, geographical proximity to urban areas, age, the degree of social contact with fluent speakers of English etc. might play a role in determining both the amount of English used in different speech situations and also the type of English used by speakers in terms of the lectal continuum. A research study which attempted to identify the key factors in variation would be a useful first step towards the establishment of a sociolinguistic profile of Brunei English.

d. Code-Mixing

While Ozog (1990) has written on some aspects of Malay-English code-switching in Brunei, code switching and code mixing would seem to be worthy of very detailed research investigation because, in informal situations between Malays, Brunei English is very often produced within code-mixed spoken texts.

e. The Dwibahasa (bilingual) System

Jones (1992) is at present involved in setting up a fifteen-year longitudinal study of the Dwibahasa system. The findings of this study

should provide valuable insights into the effectiveness of the Dwibahasa policy and the effects of bilingual education in general.

f. Exonormative and Endonormative Standards

Whether the exonormative Standard British English model or an endonormative Brunei English model is selected for teaching purposes, language planners and educators in the country must be aware of the specific linguistic differences between the two varieties. As Newbrook (1992) has pointed out, local English language teachers and textbook writers in countries where 'New Englishes' have developed are often under the impression that, for example, 'Singapore English' or 'Philippine English' are terms which refer only to basilectal usage. Such educators, Newbrook argues, believe the acrolect of the local variety to be identical to the exonormative standard and teach English accordingly. This is the case with many South-East Asian teachers of English in Brunei who speak a noticeable South-East Asian variety but who often argue for maintaining the Standard British model because they mistakenly believe that this is the variety they speak. Greater awareness of the specific differences between Brunei English, the exonormative British standard and random second-language learner errors can be achieved only if the features of the Brunei variety are described in detail and made available to education administrators, textbook writers, language planners and English teachers.

Although little research has so far been carried out on Brunei English, most of the previous studies have been undertaken by members of the Department of English at Universiti Brunei Darussalam, and this department would appear to be the most appropriate location for housing a collected corpus of spoken and written Brunei English.

4.0 Brunei English : Future Directions

Platt, Weber and Ho (1984) argue that the new varieties of English which have emerged across the world are likely to develop in different ways, particularly in terms of their status and function in any given country. While some New Englishes may take on more and more sociolinguistic functions, others may diminish in social importance and, rather than being regarded by the community as a viable language for intranational communication, may acquire the more humble status of a foreign language.

Platt et al. (1984:198) suggest that the status of a new variety of English in a given speech community can develop in three ways :

a. A local language becomes the national/official language with the result that English loses virtually all its functions in the society.

b. A local language is made the national/official language but English still retains some, often quite important, functions.

c. English is made the national/official language (or one of them) and fulfils a wide range of functions. Some other functions would be fulfilled by the local language(s).

A new variety of English spoken in a country with a policy similar to that covered by (c) above is likely to become fully developed and multi-functional. A country which adopts a policy similar to (a) is likely to witness a sharp decline in the internal use and importance of English.

The situation in Brunei is closer to (b) above than to (a) or (c). Malay has been established as the country's national language and, while Malay and English have different functions in the country, Malay is certainly perceived to have as much prestige as English. As long as the Dwibaḥasa (bilingual) system of education continues to be politically and culturally acceptable, the use of English in Brunei is likely to continue and perhaps increase. In 1992, the Dwibahasa system became fully functional for all grades, bringing to an end all exclusively Malay-medium primary and secondary schooling in the state.

In the past two or three years, there has been a tendency towards greater Islamization in certain social and cultural areas in Brunei. The sale of alcohol is now illegal in the country, shops are no longer allowed to display Christmas decorations in December, and the official attitude to the practice of other religions is less tolerant than it was in the 1980s. Some members of the highly influential Ministry of Religious Affairs now regard Saudi Arabia as a more suitable model for Brunei to follow than Britain or America. While this process of Islamization has had little noticeable effect on the use of English in the country so far, if Islamization continues to develop and spread throughout the community, it seems likely that pressure will be put on the Ministry of Education to make changes in the Dwibahasa system

and reduce the amount of English used in schools. If this happens, English will lose perhaps the most important of its present functions, and Brunei would move from a (b) situation (in Platt et al.'s terms) to something closer to an (a) situation. Such a change would clearly affect the type of English spoken and the frequency with which the language is used in the community. In this situation, English would eventually take on the role of a foreign language and the Brunei variety could no longer be considered to be one of the 'New Englishes'. For the present, however, the Dwibahasa system is in operation in all Bruneian primary and secondary schools and the use of English, especially in urban areas of the country, remains extensive in a wide variety of domains. Because of the dynamic nature of the language situation in Brunei described above, it will be necessary for researchers to re-assess the situation at regular intervals, as political, cultural and educational developments take place in the country.

This thesis, the first detailed study undertaken of the English spoken by Bruneians, is intended to highlight some of the principal linguistic features of acrolectal Brunei English and to demonstrate how they differ from the equivalent features in Standard British English. Before a linguistically valid and appropriate English language policy can be effectively implemented in the Bruneian education system, it is essential for curriculum development officers, education administrators and English teachers in Brunei to be made aware of the specific differences between Standard British English and the variety of English which has emerged in the sultanate. At present, there is still insufficient information available on the features of Brunei English for this type of language awareness training to take place. It is, however, hoped that a comprehensive description of Brunei English will eventually be established, and that this thesis will be seen as representing a first step towards that end.

APPENDIX

Samples of the collected corpus of data used in this thesis are given in the following order :

a) Interviews with Universiti Brunei Darussalam (UBD) B.A. Education (TESL) undergraduates, recorded and transcribed by Graeme Cane.

b) Radio Television Brunei (RTB) recordings of record request programmes, interviews and phone-ins, recorded and transcribed by Graeme Cane.

c) Second-year UBD Certificate of Education students taking part in peer teaching sessions. The students were videoed at the university by Jonathan Mossop and the recordings were transcribed by Graeme Cane.

APPENDIX : Recorded Data

RECORDED MATERIAL 1991-92

In the transcriptions, GC = Graeme Cane, RR = Rosnah Haji Ramly,
S = Student

STUDENT : S

GC: What about the Phonetics? How's that going?
S: Phonetic ...well, Phonetic. We have learned, this one, consonants and vowels. I found consonants much easier than learning vowels, it's much more complicated.
GC: Yes, I think I agree with you.
S: In fact, I'm still confused see where they place this one, where there is a diagram, you see, where they draw the diagram according to...the shape of the, what do you call, the mouth, see. Then they place /a/ and /i/ see. I'm still trying to find out how it is related to the voice we pronounce. I'm still working out on it.
GC: I see, I see.

S: Like what was that lesson in Psychology, you see, Psychology of Learning. ..Ah,this what do you call...Marshall, John Marshall, that's our lecturer, you see, told us to warn him if he's too quick, you see.

GC: So things are going OK?
S: Yeah, yeah.
GC: That's good.
S: And this one, on this Conrad's, this computer, you see. Luckily, I've had my own computer for years...So I have no problem with that one.
GC: Yes. That's with Language Development, is it?
S: Yeah.

S: In the questionnaire, they ask about this, what do you call, English native speakers and, what do you call,Asians, I couldn't decide...

GC: How would you estimate your own level of English?
S: Well, how would I say? I haven't thought of that before...

I'm not very sure about that. but given training and, what do you call, practice, I think it is possible.

Student : R

GC : If you had to gauge them, would you put the Bruneian teachers at the top in terms of easy understanding?
S: I think depends what subject they are teaching. I think if they are teaching English, I would put native speaker on top.

S: I can understand Indians easily than the Chinese.
GC: And the Filipinos?
S: I can understand the Chinese easily than the Filipinos.
GC: So Filipinos you would put as the least comprehensible. Why do you think that is?
S: Don't know. I think probably the accent.

S: I think I'm used to English, British accent.

GC: Which type of accent would you like to have if you could choose?
S: How do I speak now? Is it with Bruneian accent?
GC: I suppose so.
S: So, Bruneian accent.
GC: When people hear you, you want them to say this is a S.E. Asian speaking English.
S: Oh yes.

GC: What kind of accent in English do you think someone like the Minister of Education should have?
S: South East Asian accent...They can't speak with a British or American accent, definitely.
GC: You mean it's physically impossible?
S: I think it's very very difficult.
RR: Difficult in terms of actually speaking it or difficult for people to accept?
S: I think it's difficult to speak with this.
GC: And you wouldn't really want them to, anyway.
S: I think if they can speak with whatever accent, British or American, that would be good. Yes.
GC: You don't think they should sound like a S.E.Asian?
S: If they can sound like British, why not?
GC: I don't know. Let's imagine His Majesty the Sultan gives a speech in English and he has a cowboy-type accent. Do you think that would go down well with people?
S: I think it depends on what position you are. As you said, if a sultan speaks with a cowboy accent, it sounds, I mean, even if it's not, even if it were accepted but it would be funny.
GC: How should he speak then? Like Robert Redford?
S: It depends. If a student spoke with Robert Redford's accent whatever, I think that would be accepted, rather than a sultan. Depends on the position.
GC: OK, which variety would you say had the lowest prestige then?
S: (Pause) Maybe somebody like a sultan with a cowboy accent.

S: I met an English lady today at ICC. She spoke so fluent, not Malay - Brunei language. I couldn't believe her.

GC: Would you be interested in lecturing at the University?
S: As a matter of fact, yes.

GC: Do you think the local lecturers at UBD are easier to understand than the European lecturers?
S: I think the local lecturers are easier to understand.
GC: Why do you think that is?
S: I think I have problem with their accent, you see. If it is a native speaker, I can't understand, mainly because of the accent, you see.
GC: Is it that native speakers speak in a more complicated way?
S: I think so.

GC: If you had an academic problem, would you go to a European or to a SE Asian lecturer?
S: It depends on the subject. If it is geography, then most of the lecturers are SE Asian, so I think it's better for me to go and get help from them. But if it is an English course, of course I think I have to go to a native speaker.
GC: And if it was a personal problem?
S: I would rather go to a S.E. Asian.
GC: I see. Why is that?
S: I think maybe that person will understand my problem if I'm going to explain. But if I go to a native speaker, maybe that person will not understand my problems.
GC: Do you think he won't understand the language or the...
S: ...the situation. Especially the culture. There's a difference in culture.
GC: What would you say that difference in culture was?
S: Mm. I can't answer that.

STUDENT : B:
GC: Which subjects do you find difficult?
S: I feel not really able to catch up fully on the syntax one. It's because how the lecture's conducted. It's not like what you did last year in our first year. Sometimes, it's not really in sequence, you see. So sometimes we are a bit mix up. Not only me myself, I think.
GC: Do you think having European lecturers is a problem or it's OK?
S: Well, in terms of language, I think it's not a problem because from ah... our, what do you call, language point of view, we are get used to the language because we are in the TESL group. We like it to be, what do you call it, from those who are first speakers of the language... If the lecturers are speaking their first language, I think we have a better chance to grasp the ways and style of how they speak.

S: I'm not saying that the second language speakers like the South-East Asian lecturers are, what do you call, not as the same level as the European lecturers. They are as good actually. But what I mean is we could benefit a lot from hearing from the European lecturers.
GC: Do you generally find the S.E.Asians easier to understand than the Europeans?
S: Mm no. Both are equally understandable. Even though we don't understand some of these like jargon words, for example, it's a

good way to, what do you call, learn and to grasp at what he means by that words which we do not understand.
GC: If you don't understand a word, would you normally ask the lecturer to explain?
S: Yes. Actually, we have to.. Like in syntax, for example, we usually have this ... ah... words like..ah...new words, like 'adjunct'... When you were giving the lectures to us last year we don't come across that 'adjunct'. We don't use that term.

S: That means we could grasp even if it's not in a, what do you call, even though we won't be able to mm grasp all, maybe more.
GC: If you had a problem, would you go to a SE Asian or to a European lecturer?
S: Mm. For me there's not much difference if the problem is...could be solved...I can go to anyone. As long as they can, what do you call, solve my problem or say something which can ease my problem.
GC: You don't find that a SE Asian would be able to understand better because he's more culturally attuned? You know the same culture, same religion etc. etc.
S: No, I don't think. It depends on the lecturer. If they are helpful, really helpful...It depends yes.

STUDENT : A..
S: I think my main problem is time cos having this family with three kids and one to come next February, I think my commitment to the family is high. Not the programme is very hard but, I have, I think it's difficult with the babies, what do you call this, all the children still awake at ten p.m. I have to start working at eleven.
GC: How old are the children?
S: The eldest is four years and the youngest is six months.

(Re Language Development)
S: Sometimes, yeah it eh, demanding you see. You have to read the text and some of the words are not familiar with, I'm not familiar with, so I need to, rather, a bit difficult to grasp.

RR: What do you think of the English that Bruneians speak?
S: I think they are speaking in Brunei variety.
GC: Is there a difference between the Brunei variety and say Malaysian English?
S: In fact, there is no not much different. There are some words which are not used in Malaysia but they are used in Brunei.
GC: Can you give me an example?
S: Mm. How about the word such as, I think, it's used even in Malaysia, 'makan'... or just to 'belanja'. It is common use in our society, when, what I mean is when we talk in English we normally say 'Let's go for makan' and 'Let's go for shopping' or something like that.
GC: 'Belanja', that means something like 'treat us' or...
S: Yeah, treat us. Give us the treat.

GC: Why do you think that's used and not the English word 'treat'?
S: I think it's more friendly. The term is more friendly;----

GC: Do you find the S.E. Asian lecturers are easier to understand than the native speakers?
S: Mm. Yeah, in terms of the language they use. I think the S.E. Asian lecturers they are more, I mean, sometimes they tend to be not too formal in their speech and try to... as if they don't regard us as students but as ah, colleagues.
GC: You think the Europeans treat you very much like students then?
S: Yes, some of them.

S: They (SEA) are more intelligible than the native speakers.
RR: In terms of clarity of voice or what?
S: In terms of pronunciation and vocabulary.

S: From my personal point of view, I think I accept S.E.Asian variety. Of course it's very difficult to make a Bruneian to speak like a native speaker of English.
RR: If a SEA has lived in the UK or America for years and comes back speaking the language with a distinct British or American accent, do you think that's all right?
S: I think it's all right for me. I think it's good for the speaker itself but from the society I think there is a tendency that if someone comes back from England or from the West they speak as if they are speaking like Mat Salleh. They will be regarded as, what do you call this, a snob or something like people who are classy or some...showing off, like that.

GC: If you had a problem, would you go to a European or SEA lecturer?
S: That depends on how close am I with the lecturers. It depends on the individual.

S: Because if we talk about language, we can't be as good as the one who has the mother tongue of it. Suppose like us, English is our second language, I think the one who has, who speaks English as his or her mother tongue will be much more better than the one...
RR: ...Are you talking about oral skills or knowledge of the content itself?
S: I think both.

STUDENT : S
S: For example, just for example, Conrad at first we have difficulty in understanding because the way he pronounce some words, it's quite difficult. But as the lectures goes on, I think we just can understand him.
GC: Do you find with Myint, say, the vocabulary is easier to understand?
S: Vocabulary, I think it's also the same the word that he use...The difference is only in term of pronunciation.

GC: And if it's a SE Asian pronunciation, do you find that easier to catch?
S: Actually, it's much easier.
GC: Even if a native speaker is very clear, it's still easier to understand a S.E. Asian?
S: I think if the native speaker, the way he speak just like you, I think it's easy. I think its only depends on the accent.
GC: Which SE Asian accent would you say was the least easy to understand?
S: I think Philippines, because they're using the American English. Instead of /baeg/ they say /ba:g/, so I can't get the meaning sometimes.
RR: Would you find it difficult to accept an ordinary non-native speaker say, someone who sells flowers for a living, speaking with a very distinct British or American accent?
GC: Would you find that OK?
S: In my opinion, as for me it's OK.
RR: What about say, important people in the government? Is it better for them to speak English like a native speaker?
S: I think just like a, native speaker but with the accent. I think it's much better.
RR: Native speaker accent?
S: Native speaker.
RR: Would it be acceptable for the Sultan to have a British accent?
S: If he can. He's used to deal with the...
GC: ...with foreign people, that's right.

GC: When you speak English, would you like to speak like me?
S: No.
GC: You want to sound like a Bruneian?
S: Sound like Bruneian. That's the identity.

STUDENT : A

S: Probably it's the pronunciation. Sometimes we have to listen very hard to catch what is the, what the word really is.
(N.B. 'catch' = wider usage in Brunei Eng.)

GC: If you were lecturing here, what teaching style would you adopt?
S: I think quite similar with what the lecturers here doing at the time. Teaching style must be systematic and then we know, we have to tell the students what are expected of them and what are the topics that will be covered within the semester. In another word, in a systematic way.
RR: Which group of non-native speakers is most difficult to understand?
S: Malays, of course, easy to understand because it's ours. I do find that Indian speakers are a bit difficult to understand among non-native speakers.
RR: Why is that?
S: I don't think it's linguistic. Maybe too much action. Too much gestures.

GC: What about Filipino speakers of English?
S: They are more influenced by Americans. I think they are easy to understand.
GC: What accent would you like to have if you could choose? The way you speak now, or like Rosnah, or like me, or what?
S: Of course I want to speak like you but I don't think I will be able to change my style, I mean...
GC: ..but if you could change, you would like to?
S: Yes. Like a native.
GC: Do you think native speakers speak more correctly than non-native speakers?
S: They do speak correctly, don't they?
GC: I thought I was asking you!
S: Well, I think so because it's their native language. Our native, our mother tongue is Malay, right, so we speak Malay correctly.

Re TESL Programme:
S: Then it was suggested maybe we would like to give the lectures and do the research. So I was, we were discussing with the others just now and we hope that none of us are suggesting this one because we are not, this is not our, say, we are not experts in this, so we expect to have lectures from the lecturers and then we can do the research but we don't want to present this, the topics which have been given.

S: They do the same thing what they have done.
(Standard Eng. what = as)

STUDENT : J. . ..
GC: Is that because the lecturers are not clear?
S: Yeah, I think not much examples are given, see, when they are dealing with the subject. See, so concerned with terms especially... Then maybe lecturers are, you know, not as, their knowledge is not so broad to give the subject. In fact, they admit it themselves, you know.
my case, I couldn't cope with it because too much is coming at one time.
GC: How's the Stylistics course going?
S: That's your course?
GC: Yes.
S: I think it's OK because the way you present it we can understand it better. That way we discuss about it. It's the method the lecturers are using. How they present it you know, in stages. Especially you know when we talk about lectures in the second year.
GC: Do you find the SE Asian lecturers easier to understand than the British lecturers?
S: Actually, there's nothing, no different between British and Asians as far as approach is concerned.
English.

S: They tends to have a sort of mix sort of mixture of their own language.

GC: Should Bruneians sound like Bruneians or native speakers when they speak English?
S: As far as they don't, how well they act, you see. If they want to put on a British accent, they just pronounce it or speak it sort of fluently and smoothly, you see. They don't have to, say, twist their tongue or anything you see... I can tell when they are acting or speak naturally, you see. Rosnah, for example, I think she has got some British accent. It's very natural, it comes naturally. Not like the others who...
GC: You don't think she's twisting her tongue when she speaks?
S: Yes, in a way but it's so natural, you see.
GC: Would you like to have a totally British accent if you could?
S: Yes. But as long as I don't act...We can tell whether a person is acting or twisting his tongue.

STUDENT : I
GC: You don't have any trouble understanding the lecturers?
S: Sometime. For the first time they give us lecture, I mean the way, the accent...the first time. Now it's OK cos we get used to the way.
GC: What sort of accent do you think Bruneians ought to have when they speak English?
S: That's a difficult question to answer. I think we don't have to follow other people accent. For me, for me a Bruneian, my accent tend to be ... I cannot follow (i.e. COPY) the native speaker accent. Very difficult. Because if I do that, somebody might say something about me. So if I speak English, I tend to speak like a Bruneian.
GC: What do you think people will say about you?
S: (laughs) : Suppose I speak English all the time, with my, with my friends it's OK but with other people if I speak English, they speak me I tend to forget my language because they said my language is a bit lower, so I want to have my prestige so I speak English like that. If I speak English all the time, people will, I don't know what they say about me.

S: Sometime with other people, I mean not educated people, in the village, we have gathering, we speak English, they tend to, you know, different look. They have different look on us. Even when we switch, code-switching like that, they tend to have, you know, they turn their head like that and then give us different impression. Yeah.
GC: When you're in the village, when would you use English? Why would you use English?
S: Because sometime we don't want that somebody to know what we're talking about. We tend to switch.
GC: Does that go on a lot in Brunei then?
S: Yes. Even parents also when they want to have the secret. They don't want the children to know, they tend to speak in English.

Student : T.
GC: How do you find the non-native speakers of English who teach you Geography in terms of understanding their English?
S: Very easy.
GC: Easier in fact than Europeans?
S: Yes. But of course some of them have, I think, problems a bit with, you know, the way sentence.
RR: Sentence or is it pronunciation?
S: Yeah, pronunciation as well but sometimes they speak too simple English.
GC: So you're quite happy to have SE Asians teaching Geography rather than Europeans?
S: I haven't had any European lecturers yet. I think that doesn't make any different whether Europeans or, yeah, Asians.
GC: How would you classify your accent?
S: I think my accent is Asian, you know, Brunei style.
GC: And you're happy to have a Brunei-style accent?
S: Oh yeah. As far as I speak correct English, you know, so I don't mind about that. I don't think I can change it.
GC: You wouldn't want to change it?
S: Not really in Brunei, I don't think so.
GC: If you went to live in England, would you change your accent?
S: I have to, I think, to make the others understand about it, you know. So if I speak my Brunei English, they probably have problems in understanding.
GC: Do you think there is such a thing as the Brunei variety of English?
S: What about ah...Is Brunei variety very different from Singapore or Malaysia?
GC: What do you think?
S: I think they are very much the same like in Singapore probably.But I haven't met people from Indonesia yet, I think. But they probably have a very strange accent.
GC: What do you think the differences would be between SE Asian English and British English?
S: There is different, I think, very much in accent. But ah when it comes to writing, you know, sometimes I think no different.
RR: If a Bruneian were to speak with a distinct British or American accent, would people here find it peculiar?
S: In Brunei we speak like a British accent, I think. Those who have been abroad they don't mind about that, you know, when we use that accent like at a university, at the right, you know, place, but if you speak like British accent maybe at a wedding, they probably will find it strange, you know.
GC: People will laugh, you think?
S: Not really. They don't laugh.

GC: What will you do when you leave the university?
S: I think first of all back to school, you know, so then depends on the chance and the results.
GC: Would you like to be a post-graduate student?
S: Yeah, I'm looking forward if given the chance.
GC: So would you like to become a lecturer in geography then?

S: Oh sure. Why not?

S: Let's say when we have Indian teachers. For the first lesson we probably can't understand his or her accent. But after few lessons we probably can understand easily, you know.
(note position of 'probably' in this student's syntax;
note also 'few' for 'a few')

RR: It's just like... I mean you can understand native speakers who don't speak the RP accent, isn't it.
(NB non-standard tag for 'can't you' ; 'the RP')

Student : N
GC: How are you today? Not very well?
S: Yes. (Brit. Eng.'no'?)
GC: Do you think it's the weather or pressure of work or...
S: Think so. Both.
GC: How are things with the TESL programme?
S: The only thing is, the one which we, well I think most of us complaining, the amount of work we are given at the time. Usually we were given much of the work towards the end of the semester itself.And we have so much work cos nearly every lecturer give us this work, you know, keep on piling up. Of course, towards the end of the exam, no time to do our work, revision work.
(N.B. position of 'usually' above ; use of 'our' - rather than my- very common in Brunei Eng.)
GC: Do you think there is such a thing as the Brunei variety of English?
S: Yes, there is.
GC: What is this then?
S: Maybe that's the way we are talking. Well I think we can recognise it, you know. When we are among us, you know. Even if we are talking to our lecturers, those who are non-native speakers, we tend to use that type of variety of English.
GC: But when speaking to me, you tend not to use it?
S: No. I think so. I'm conscious avoid it.
GC: You try to avoid it.
S: Yeah.
GC: Why is that?
S: I think because of the context itself, you know. We know that we are talking to these native speakers, so we tend to, you know, select which variety to speak, to be used.
GC: Do you think you can handle both these varieties equally well?
S: I can't say that. I don't know whether I am competent in both but, well, I think I can.
GC: But when you're speaking to me now, you would say you are not speaking the Brunei variety now.
S: I think so. I don't know.
GC: You think you are or you think you aren't?
S: (laughs) Well, mm, I try to avoid most of the way I talk to my friends or talk to non-native speakers. So sometimes I'm

conscious of, especially, the vocabulary, we tend to use different words.

S: Say, for example, take this example. In fact, I want to ask a question but I'm using in a kind of statement : 'You are going today?' I think sometimes I use that with you, I mean that type of variety.
GC: Are there words used in Brunei English which are not used by native speakers?
S: Yes. Like the word 'follow'. I follow you, but in fact we know what it meant, you know, between us but then we tend to use between ourselves. Like the word 'follow' or 'send' or 'fetch', you know.
GC: 'Follow' meaning 'I'll go with you'?
S: Yeah. 'Go', 'accompany with you'. We tend to use it. But maybe if I speak to a native speaker I may not use it. Yeah.
GC: Is that a direct translation from Malay?
S: Think so, mm...why we use.

GC: Do you think it would be possible to write in the Brunei variety of English?
S: Think so. Of course, it looks awkward.
GC: Do you think the Brunei variety is any worse or any better than British English?
S: I think it's the same. You have your own variety and we have our own variety.

Student : B:
GC: Do you think that students identify with the teacher and want to be like them?
S: I think very young children do.
RR: Do you think university students do that too, have favourite lecturers?
S: Maybe we prefer certain lecturers, but not really for his style or for her teaching style, more for the personality.
RR: Oh, I see.
GC: And do you think they would say, I would like to be like that person?
S: Personality-wise, yes. Not teaching styles.
RR: Do you think that university students have a tendency to feel that this is somebody to emulate in terms of language style?
S: Not the lecturers, but maybe the pop stars and the singers.
RR: Oh, I see.
GC: Do you think that's because pop stars and actors are younger?
S: No, the glamour is what appeals.
RR: So, we are not glamorous people!

GC: So people see the lecturers as giving information and then it stops at that, rather than 'I want to be like this person'.
S: No, not that.
RR: I see.
S: Well. when we discuss the lecturers, I think we discuss more on the lecture than the person.

RR: I suppose it would help if we all drove Porsches and Jaguars...
GC: ...and had records in the top ten!
S: There's something I want to ask you. You mentioned something like...we're going to achieve a very high level of proficiency. What do you mean by that?

Student : H
GC: How are you finding the TESL programme?
S: I think I can manage to...a bit difficult, you see because I thought English was just simple, you see, then it becomes complicated, especially in class.

GC: Some of the students have been teachers before, haven't they?
S: All of them is my teachers.

S: At this UBD, my lecturer is Malay but I prefer to be foreigners because my former teacher at Maktab Duli is a foreigner, Mr Gough, and I understand economics just like that. Because he explained it very clear and I become interested.

GC: Do you think there is a Brunei variety of English?
S: For me I think that English is all the same.
GC: Do you think your spoken English is better than your written English?
S: I better in written English because spoken ...difficult for me to express my words continuously, but in written...slow...more time.
GC: What do you think about the syntactic analysis part of our course?
S: I understand it a lot. (Standard Brit. = I understand a lot of it?) Except that it's too many. Some of them seems to be the same, but actually it's not.

GC: What did you get in A level Economics?
S: I get C. I could do better, you see, because I panic at the last minute.
GC: So you didn't do as well as you had hoped?
S: Yeah. (Brit. Eng. = No?) Panic, sweating, ah.
GC: I see. Do you always get like that in examinations?
S: Sometime if I see my friends is go panic then I sometime...
GC: You follow them?
S: Ah. (= yes) I get panic too.

GC: What do you think is a good teaching style?
S: He speaks, he make it, subject too simple to understand and interesting and have a sense of humour.
GC: You think a sense of humour is important with teachers?
S: Sometime. When student get bored... especially in the afternoon.

GC: Are you interested in teaching?
S: Actually, the course I want to took here is Management. But they give me teachers, ah.

GC: Did you go for an interview for Management?
S: Yeah, I go for interview.
GC: I see.
S: To be teacher is my last choice, you see.

S: Why don't they separate the undergraduate with the freshers?
GC: You mean the teachers from the school leavers?
S: Ah. (= yes)

GC: If you did better than your former teacher, Sahari, in the class, do you think he would feel upset?
S: Better than him?
GC: Yes. If you do better than him?
S: I feel proud, you see. (St.Eng. = I would feel)

Student : M
S: Well, so far I don't think we have encountered much problems.
GC: Do you think progress came at the beginning, middle or end of the course?
S: You mean my progress?
GC: Yes.
S: As for me, I think it's from the beginning of the course and actually I've gained more knowledge than I used to have.
GC: I feel you've made a lot of progress over the last year or so.
S: Maybe so. But I don't realise that.
GC: Have you found SE Asians easier to understand than native speakers?
S: No, I don't see the difference because I can understand them, I don't think I have any problem, you know, both native speakers or South East Asians English speakers.
GC: Both are just as easy to understand?
S: Yes, I find that.
GC: Did you have any problem understanding Indian teachers?
S: Yes because I don't, don't...It's sometimes difficult for me to, you know, to make out what they're saying because most of the pronunciation are, you know, using the rhythm...
RR: Indian rhythm?
S: Yeah.
RR: How would you say the words are pronounced by Indian speakers of English?
S: I'd say that some time they don't pronounce the words clearly...it makes me difficult to make out what they're saying.
GC: Do you think educated Bruneian speakers of English should sound like native speakers or something different?
S: I'd say that they should sound...I don't mean they should sound like native speakers but as long as their pronunciation are clear and can be, and is intelligible to, you know, to most speakers, especially native speakers.
GC: If you could take a course that would teach you to sound like a native speaker, would you take that course?
S: Yes, I think I would be glad to take it.

RR: Would you go out and use that native speaker accent acquired during the course?
S: I think I would use that accent ah when I speak to native speakers of English but not to, you know, like people like me. I mean South East Asian.
GC: Why wouldn't you use it with SE Asians?
S: Because maybe I was seeing it from the point of view that because this or that person is just like me so I think I'd use mine, the accent that we share together.
GC: Is it just a matter of accent when we're talking about the way English is spoken in Brunei or is it something else?
S: I think it's more a matter of accent. And you know in Brunei I think because not all Bruneians are educated so I think if I go out and speak like native speakers, I think people will see me as being snobbish. That's because I'm from UBD, right? So I don't want people to see me that way.
GC: You mean if you'd gone to university in Britain, it would be OK to have a British accent?
S: Yeah.
GC: Do you think then that if you'd done the TESL programme in Britain, you'd speak English better than you do now?
S: Yes, because I'm exposed to native speakers, right?
GC: Do you think your English is not very good then?
S: Yeah. Most of the time I feel that's, you know...
GC: You feel that your Malay is much better than your English?
S: Yes.
GC: I see. What about in writing?
S: In writing? Yeah, I think it goes the same with my writing.

GC: Do you think students here would tend to identify with SE Asian lecturers rather than with Europeans?
S: In my opinion, it doesn't make any difference. Even if a lecturer is a native speaker or a South East Asian speakers, as long as they are, you know, co-operative and sincere in teaching us.
GC: It doesn't make any difference?
S: Yeah. (Brit. Eng. 'no'?)

This programme is a radio record request show. The spoken text is a mixture of personal comments by the Bruneian presenter, Rukiah Hj Ali Khan, together with listeners' written requests read out by the presenter. The listeners tend to be teenagers at secondary school or college in Brunei. Almost all of the listeners writing in to the programme for musical requests are Bruneian citizens, either Malays or Chinese.

And not forgetting for Salina, or better known as Lo, of Miri. Well, hello,how are you? It's long time since we haven't seen each other and miss you, so keep in touch.

Now especially for X of Kampong Mentiri in Jalan Kota Batu, Happy Birthday to you tomorrow. May God bless you always.

Happy 18th birthday to you. May your day brings you more luck and don't forget to treat me, OK? This is coming up from Nora of SMLK.

Next card is coming up from X of Lambak. Well girls, what's up? Stay as cute and pretty as you are now and sweet dreams tonight.

And also for Y of Lumut, Kuala Belait, Assalammwalaikum. How are you and do sleep well tonight.

And finally, all the long way from Australia...Now this is from X and is going out specially for Y.

This comes out from X of Jalan Tutong.

Be careful with your wheels since you have two ways of hitting lamp-post, yeah. You'd better be careful.
And a reminder if you're driving out there, please do drive carefully and don't forget to buckle up.

And our next card is coming from ...it's coming from X of Tutong. It's going out to Z of Jalan Kebangsaan. Happy 18th birthday. May Allah bless you. And also for pals like A,B and C, not forgetting for friends Mohd Harris, Y and Z. This is again from Harniwati, Aleikumsalam.

And here's an advice for you all : "What brings joy to the heart is not so much the friend's gift as the friend's love." This is from Amida of Panaga.

Well simply the message reads,'Hi'. This is coming up from X of Brunei House.

Well, today is your big day, so happy 18th birthday. Don't forget to treat us. And have a lovely and fantastic day.

For you ex-friends like A,B and C, Happy listening. What's up? Long time no see and keep in touch.

This comes out from Haji M of Lambak.

Well hi guys, what are you all doing tonight? Hope you all are not up to any mischief and stay cool always.

Happy advanced birthday. Your birthday is on 30th January and when is the treat?

And not forgetting for beloved sister, M.

This request is coming from G-Boy of Muara, so spinning you this song. Well this is from Simple Minds, 'Let there be love'.

Happy belated birthday and may Allah bless you and when is the treat? .....

And lastly well friendship for ever and may you get flying colours on your A level exam.

And not forgetting for Yahya Ramli in Seria. Well, how are you and sweet dreams. This is again from Maswini of Panaga.

"JUST FOR YOU" R.T.B. 21/1/92

And she says, Hi X, what's up? Don't worry, be happy. Smile always and keep in touch. I miss you all the time and just wait what will happen next. Yes, just wait for what will happen next, OK?

The next one is coming up from Mardini of Tutong. Alleikumsalam to you too, Mardini.You say the next song is to be spun for lovely gorgeous lady Y of Tutong. Well firstly you would like to say sorry and how are you tonight? And wishing you all the best and don't forget to reply my letter as soon as possible.

Forget me not and smile always. This is again from X of BSB.

Any song is to be spun for friends A and B with the message, Congratulations for your engagement.

How are you tonight? Happy listening and sweet dreams.

soon and remember me always.

It says (/seiz/) here Assalammwalaikum,how's everyone? Hope everything is OK. Good luck always and forget me not. This is from M of Kuala Belait.

Congratulations for those who got married and Happy New Year 1992.
May our friendship last for ever.

Thank you very much, Haslina, for writing in. So we have the next song coming up. Yeah, now let's have something from 'The Farm'.

Sorry for that.

I hope you all are listening and, well, I want you to know that you are my only best friends ever and I do hope our friendship will last for ever. This is coming up from L of Gadong.

Happy belated birthday. Well how do you feel to be 17, and when is the treat?

RTB - "NOSTALGIC MOMENTS WITH "
This is a radio programme presented by Hjh Zarina. In each programme, the presenter interviews a guest speaker who has to choose songs which are in some way personally memorable. The guests are almost always Bruneian citizens.

Programme for 29/9/91 - Guest : Hassan Haji Shari
Presenter : He's a very active youth and loves sentimental music as we can listen from his selections today.
P: Tell us why you have chosen this particular song.
Guest : Actually, I love this song very much. Nothing, ah..no particular reason, of course. But I just love to listen to the rhythm and the wordings of the song.

P: "Just when I needed you most" is beautiful song sung by X. This song has also got memories on my lifeline.

Particularly, this song is very meaningful. Especially when someone has got a lot of friends and, of course, I am dedicating this song especially for all my friends, especially to A, B and C.

I like this song very much, for no particular reason, but I just like the songs.

That's one of the reason, I guess, why I have chosen this song.

I still remember listening to this song when I was still a teenager, I guess (Amer.influence?), very young. And I begin liking this song and I play it over and over, and there it is and until now I still like the song very much. It's a beautiful number and I hope everybody also like to listen this song.

X used to be my very favourite song. Until now I still like this song.

NOSTALGIC MOMENTS WITH... 27/10/91
Guest : Pg Yahya

G: Well, this song reminds me of the old days when I'm with the group 'The Mixtures'. Now the group still exists but not very active as before because most of us have family to look after. So there's not much time to practise now.

P: Why have you made this as your second selection?

G: Well, this song reminds me of my school time. I used to play this songs from The Carpenters over and over again. Now when I heard the song again, those memories come back to me.

Whenever I heard this song, it reminds me of my first time on stage. It's been quite a long long time ago. It was in a concert held at Youth Centre by The Mixtures. I can still remember every words from the song. It's just a coincidence now I'm a soldier from the Royal Brunei Armed Forces. I never dreamed to be in the army in my schooltime.

Well, this particular song reminds me of my time at Jefri Bolkiah Training Technical School in KB. There I sit for my City and Guild exam for telecommunications. Unfortunately, I fail. After that I joined the Armed Forces in 1977.

The song reminds me of my time when I'm on course in Singapore for two years in 78 to 1980. This song always played in the night clubs, disco. Even now I can still hear the song whenever I went to Singapore.

Well, this songs really remind me of my past. All my happy and sad memories from my school-time till now. Whenever I hear this song, all those memories pass by just like a movie. (Amer.) Sometime, it brings tears to my eyes. Anyway, they are all the past now and they are all remain there in my heart for ever. Thank you.

Presenter: Nostalgic moments there spent with another of our guest listener, Pg Yahya..., on this monthly programme of 'Nostalgic Moments With', where you would be given the opportunity to recall back those good old memories with regards to your all-time favourite songs or singers.

DECEMBER 1991 - Nostalgic Moments With... Special end of year programme
GUEST ONE (female)
Guest : It was quite a new experience for us since it's our first time overseas and we went out to buy new shoes, new ear-rings and did our hair for the special occasion. And the food was quite OK as well because it's buffet style.

The celebration is mainly for Brunei students only but we brought along our friends from our college, that is Farnborough College, and they enjoyed themselves very much. There were no dancers just pictures from the High Commissioner and a little bit of prayer, and later on food and then we chit-chat among ourselves, that's all.
Presenter: How did you feel celebrating National Day overseas?
Guest : I felt quite a little bit sad, not that very sad, actually. Ah, I miss my family.
In UK we just chit-chat and eat the food but here we get along with everybody while we participate when we have practice week after week. And that's how we get along with other people and

from other firms and other departments. But in UK you just sit at one table and mingle around with your own group, that's it. And you don't get to know the other unless you are the chatty type.

GUEST TWO (female teenager)
P: Can you tell us why the 23rd February is so significant for you?
G: Well, it all happened a couple of years ago when the school has just re-opened. Everybody was busy getting ready for the National Day. Well, I realised that this one particular guy was sort of trying to get my attention. Of course, then, he was as if he was invisible to me.
What surprised me was that he hardly get bored doing it. What I mean is trying to get my attention. Well, in other word, he was not about to give up (Amer.?) unless I respond. I didn't, of course, until one day he sent me a note with his phone number written on it and a message saying that he wanted me to call him at two p.m. that very afternoon. I remember it was the 23rd of January, so I thought about the note and the message and figure out that I might as well get it over with, I mean tell him to quit bugging me. (Amer.?) So I call at exactly 2 p.m. and he answered it. What happened that afternoon I couldn't really believe. The second I heard his voice, it was as if I've been hypnotise and he was doing it through the line from his end to mine. I really didn't know what happened but what I know is that I really regretted that I called him. But I have to admit that I really loved the way he kept saying "uh-uh". So it turned out that it wasn't the last of our phone call. We decided to meet every time we have a rehearsal for the National Day at the stadium. And that's when we started going steady. That is--on the 23rd February 1989. So in memory to this first date, I'd like to dedicate this song to whoever called himself 'Ami-Boy'. I remember you always.

GUEST 3 (Ibrahim)
G: A group of us was leaving for Kota Kinabalu to climb the mountain in 1973, that is. And as we board the plane, we hum this particular song softly and it was so touching and by now you should know why I choose this song.

GUEST 4 (Female)
G: Well, this song reminds me during my school days when we went to Temburong--for a gathering. We organize a party and 'Forever Young' is one of the song during the party.

GUEST 5 (Male)
G: I choose this song because, ah, got a nice beat. And it remind me when I was, you know, in the sixty, seventy, I used to go to parties with all my friends together. And we used to dance with this beat, and it's a very nice song. With this song I'd like to dedicate to all my friends.

Presenter (Hjh Zarina) : So until the next time round here's

Hajjah Zarina wishing each and every one a forthcoming Happy New Year 1992. Goodbye.

PRAYER ANNOUNCEMENT (RTB)
It is 12.24p.m. Brunei time. To all Muslim listeners in Brunei-Muara and Temburong district, now is the time to perform the Zuhul prayer. And for those staying in the Tutong district, Zuhul prayer is at 12.25p.m., while in the Belait district, Zuhul prayer is at 12.27p.m.
(N.B. use of 'staying' for 'living' above)

NATIONAL DAY 23/2/92 RTB Radio programme
Ak. Hisham and Idris Ali ask listeners questions about Brunei.

Presenter: May I know who's on the line, please.

P: Did you listen to the question which Hisham ask short while ago?

P: You will get a consolation prize from RTB.
Hjh Nor: Is it big one for me?
P: That's a surprise for you.

P: That was not an easy question, Hisham. I personally don't know the title of that song.

P: May I know who's calling, please.
Listener: X
P: Where are you calling from?
L: Lambak Kanan.
P: We had a question about Lambak Kanan earlier on. If we know that you are from Lambak Kanan, we are not going to ask you the same question, right?

P: Give us the date when our country became a member of the O.I.C. Is it the 6th Jan. 1984, 16th Jan. or 26th Jan.1984?
('Is' = 'Was')

P: So we have only two choice now. Is it the 6th or the 16th Jan.?
('choice' = choices)

P: Congratulation.(i.e. singular) Thank you for calling.
L: What shall I get?
P: A National Day souvenir.

P: Where are you staying? (i.e. where do you live?)

P: Did you go to the stadium this morning?
L: No, no. I just watch it on TV.

P: Thank you for calling.
L: It's OK. (Pragmatic deviance? you're welcome etc.)

JUST FOR YOU - 4/2/1992 (Chinese New Year)

Presenter : Rukiah Hj Ali Khan

And now since today is fourth of February, it's Chinese New Year, so here's wishing all our Chinese listeners, to all Chinese friends, from JUST FOR YOU well, Gong Xi Fa Cai and enjoy the festive season.

And we do receive lots of request letters on Just For You, so let's not waste time. (USE of emphatic 'Do')

And this one is going out to Mr Chin Fook Lee of Seria. It says Gong Xi Fa Cai and please enjoy your Chinese New Year celebration.

Also going out to Haji Y for your 21st birthday on 3rd February, that was yesterday, so when is the big treat and lots of love.

Happy 20th birthday. When is the big treat and forget me not.

The first song is to be spun for nutty friend, Saiful Hj Ismail, of JVC. Happy belated birthday. You being our friend makes our heart bounce up and down so stay the way you are and thanks for being such a great friend.

Here comes the first song. Well, I'm sure this one is familiar with you -'Take My Breath Away'.
(i.e. confusion with YOU ARE FAMILIAR WITH THIS ONE)

Happy Chinese New Year to you, Gong Xi Fa Cai. Have you received lots of HONG BAO? ...Well, I'm sure she has received lots from her family, yeah?

This is for beloved teacher Ng... of Arabic school. It says here Happy Chinese New Year. Have a nice New Year and smile always.

So again to Momin, Happy Smashing Birthday. So now let's listen to the next song. (BREAKS THE CLICHE BY INSERTION OF ADJ)

Didi would like to extend greetings to all friends.
(VERY FORMAL)

It says here Gong Xi Fa Cai. Happy New Year and nice knowing you all.

The message for you all Happy Chinese New Year and be happy with your family.

Another red card here, it reminds me of the red packets and this goes out to all Chinese friends of SAMJA. Happy Chinese

New Year and be happy always.

Gong Xi Fa Cai - I understand it's year of monkey this year.

Did I mention Ronnie in my dedication just now? If I haven't also for you, Ronnie, enjoy your Chinese New Year.

HARI RAYA RTB - 6/4/92 Ak Hisham & Idris Ali

Presenter : You're still schooling, of course.
Listener : No.
P: You're not schooling?
L: No
P: What are you doing now?

P: Where are you calling from?
L: From Kampong Lambak.
P: So how's Hari Raya in that area?
L : Just great. OK. (DEVIANT USE?)
P: Just great OK.
L: Yeah.
P: So that's enough, eh?

P: Where are you calling from?
L: From Manggis Dua.
P: Manggis Dua, that's not very far away.
L: Yes. (YES/NO DIFFERENCE)

P: Where are you calling from?
L: Kampong Jerudong.
P: How's Hari Raya in that area, your place? (N.B.place)
L: So so.
P: Were there a lot of visitors?
L: No.
P: No?
L: Yes.
P: Probably tonight, ah?
L: Ah.
(Use of yes/no & ah)

P: Hello?
L: Hello. Assalamwalaikum.
P: Aleikumsalam. How are you?
L: Not too good.
P: What happened? DEVIANT
L: I have a sore throat.
P: Ah, you have a sore throat. Who's on the line anyway?

P: How's Hari Raya been for you this year?
L: Mm.
P: Not too bad again?
L: Yeah. OK,lah.
P: OK, lah. That's the good part of it.
(USE OF LAH)

L: I would like to convey my Hari Raya greetings especially to my parents, to my sisters, to my brothers...
(CONVEY = very formal)

L: And not forgetting to my brother and family in Hong Kong and to my lovely nephews, Mohd H and Mohd Z, with the message ... (USE OF 'LOVELY')

RADIO-TELEVISION BRUNEI PHONE-IN (25/12/1992)

(Presenters : Tajul Ahmad and Rukiah Hj Ali Khan)

1. Karmawarina

Presenter : Hello, may I know who's on the line?
Caller : Karmawarina of Lambak.
P: You have to go slowly now. How do you spell that? K-A-R-M-A, is it?
C: Mm?
P: How do you spell your name?
C: KARMAWARINA.
P: And which part of Lambak do you stay?
C: My aunty house.
P: I see. And have you been waiting long to get your call through?
C: Sorry?
P: How long have you been waiting to get through to us?
C: Mm, I think, five minutes.
P: So not very long, ah?
C: Yeah.
P: Rukiah, you like to say anything to Karmawarina?
P2(Rukiah) : So Karma, can you tell us about yourself, a little bit of yourself?
C: Sorry?
P2: Can you tell us a little bit of yourself? Which school do you go to?
C: Ah, to X school.
P2: What class?
C: In Form 3D.
P2: So how do you spend your holiday?
C: Ah...it's OK.
P1: OK, only. And do you have any favourite singer or group, Karma?
C: No.
P1: So we'll just play any song, OK?
C: Yes.
P1: So before we play the song, we'll let you convey greetings maybe to your friends or maybe even to your parents?
C: Yes, thank you.
P1: You're welcome.
C: This song is dedicated to my teacher, Mrs Y, with the message Merry Christmas and Happy New Year. Also to my friends, A, B and C, with the message, Happy Holiday, What are you doing now? Be true always. And also not forgetting my beloved one, A, with the

message to you, I love you so much and I hope you are listening...Hello?
P: OK, that's all?
C: Yeah.
P: In fact, we were waiting for you to say some more. So thank you once again for calling and thank you for your donation.
C: Ah, OK. Thank you.
P: You're welcome. Bye bye.

2. Haji Sabri

P: May I know who's on the line?
C: Chabai.
P: Chabai, is it? Is that your real name?
C: No. My real name is Haji Sabri.
P: Haji Sabri, where do you call from?
C: Lambak.
P: Hj Sabri, are you working or are you still schooling?
C: I'm still schooling.
P: So, who's your favourite singer, by the way?
C: Well...
P: Any favourite singer?
C: Yes, I think I have a lot of favourite singer.
P: What about Whitney Houston?
C: No.

3. Nora

P: We'll answer quickly to the next call. Hello?
C: Hello.
P: May I know who's on the line.
C: Nora.
P: Ah, I think you call us earlier, I mean, in advance. And I'd like to thank you for your ten dollars, will be passed to Rukiah. Where are you calling from, Nora?
C: Gadong.
P: Not very far from our studio here?
C: Yeah.
P: And did you wait long for us to call you?
C: No.
P: I see. Glad to hear that.

4. Shariffah

P: So for the time being, let's have your dedication now.
C: This dedication is dedicated to my two beloved teachers, Mrs X and Mrs Y. Thank you for speaking up for me when I was a real big trouble-maker in my school. And to my best friend, Julia, who is now in Seria, I think. So don't wait the radio because I'm the latest one to call in. So don't wait the radio in your car.
P: OK, so...
C: There's more! Wait a minute! To A, B and C, Happy Merry Christmas to all the guys and girls who know me. To one and only Z. So what's up? Why haven't you contacted me, you dumb fool? I've been waiting for you for how many years already?
P: Thanks for calling.

VIDEO RECORDINGS OF EDUCATION STUDENTS DOING PEER TEACHING

1. TEACHER : N

Teacher : Today I'm going to teach you about geometrical shape. What did I have in my hand now?
Student : A rectangle.
T: Do you know erm...(pause) OK, this is a rectangle. I have another shape here. Does anybody know?
S: A triangle.

T: What is this shape?
S1: Round shape.
T: Yes, it is round.
S2: Like wheel.
S3: A circle.

T: And lastly...
S: A square.
T: How about the others?
S(in chorus) : A square.

T: Just look around you, if you can find any of these shape.
T (asks a student to come to the front) : Turn round please and stand straight. (=stand up straight)
T to same stud. : I want you to pick from the board which one is the square one. The square one.

T: Azimah she write that OHP stand is square. What she mean is this one. (points)
S (in chorus) : Yes.
T: And how about the others?
S: The cushion on the seat. It's square.

T (asks student to write on the board) : OK class, is this right?
S: One small letter teacher. (i.e. a mixture of caps. and small letters)
T: But it is still right, isn't it?
S(in chorus) : Yes.

2. TEACHER : F

T (holds up picture) : Please class. Is this a mammal, class?
S (in chorus) : Yes.
T : Say again.
S (Chorus) : Yes, this is a mammal.

T: Sofian, what do you call this?
S: A flower.
T: This is not a flower, for goodness' sake. This is a butterfly.
S: Oh, butterfly.

S: Why cow mammal?
T: Oh mammal. Because a mammal is a name for some animals. We'll come to that later.

S: What about goat, teacher?
T: Oh, don't mention that. God is our creation.
S: No, no. I mean g-o-a-t.

T: Does anybody know here what's 'ayam' in English?

T: Can anyone give me examples of animals around this school? We have butterflies, aren't we? We have grasshoppers, aren't we? We have lots. What about plants?
S: Grass.
T: Yes, grass is a plant.

3. TEACHER : R

T: Anyone of you know what is this?
S: A fan.
T: Not a fan. It's a protractor. Sorry for my artwork.

T: What's this?
S: A beaker, sir.
T: Yes, yes, you are right. (i.e. NOT you're)

S: A nail with a long, long...What's that, sir? Like me, sir.
T: Oh, you mean the head.
S: Aah, (=yes) and the tail, sir.

T: She know quite a lot. (points to stud.)
S: My father is Chinese, sir.
T: Oh, I see.
Class : Oooh (drawn out, high pitched) followed by laughter.

S: It's like that rectangle.
T: Aah, Aah. (=yes).

T: Now we come...
S: Can I go out, sir?
T : Sure, sure. (Amer. influence?)

During this peer teaching exercise, the students generally referred to the female student teachers as 'teacher', and to the male student teachers as 'sir'.

4. TEACHER : A

T: You know what is this one?
S: Jug.
T: You can call it measuring cup or measuring jug.

T: You want me to end here?
S: No, teacher.
T: OK, Ida. Still. (=there are some more words to be written on the board)
S: No still, teacher. (=let's finish with this exercise)

5. TEACHER : S

T: What is this made of? Yes?
S: Plastic, teacher, can be.
(=it could be made of plastic)

T: (spends a long time sticking the corner of a card to the whiteboard)
S: Never mind, teacher.

T: Can you tell me what the tongue, what is it used for?
S: For tasting and licking.

T: Hajjah Azimah.
S: Again. (What me again!)
T: Again! OK Norgandi. (=I didn't mean to pick on you again. She then asks Norgandi to answer the question.)

T: Now, do you know now?
S: Yes, teacher.
T: OK, I think that's all for now.

6. TEACHER : I

T: Norgandi, what are you laughing?
S: Because funny, teacher.
T: Funny! Otherwise, I will ask to stand in front.

T: Are you crying?
S: Yes, teacher.
T: Never mind. This will teach him to be good.

T: Class, do you know what is this?
(non-stand. inversion in sub. noun cl.)
S: Plus.
T: This one?
S: Minus.
T: This one?

S: How to spell 'multiplication'?
T: OK class. Norkartini, stand up. Do you have a phone, telephone, at your home? What's the number?
S: Uh?
T: Your phone number.

S: Go to toilet. (=I want to go to ..)
T: Go to toilet? You half hour? You half hour late? Do you have stomach ache?

T: OK, class. How do you pronounce this number?

T: Norgandi, you talk a lot. OK, stand up. Sit there.
S: I want to go, teacher.
T: Stand there. Otherwise I will tell your parents.
S: I will told my father! (NOTE USE OF 'otherwise' for 'or')

T: Azimah, if you talk a lot, you will stand here too.

T: But if you talk once more I will have to let you stand here.OK?

7. TEACHER : Z

T: Anybody absent today?
S: A, B & C.
T: What happened to them?

T: Today we're going to learn about safety precaution.
Can you tell me what is safety precaution? (sub n.cl.invers)
Hing, can you tell me what is safety precaution?
S: How to keep away from danger.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ahmad, Dato Haji bin Haji Jumat, *A Chronological Study of the Development of Education in Brunei from 1906 to 1984 with special reference to educational policies and their implementation*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, California Coast University, 1989

Ahmad, Dato Haji bin Haji Jumat, 'The Dwibahasa System of Education in Negara Brunei Darussalam' in Jones G. and Ozog A.C. (eds.) *Bilingualism and National Development*, Bandar Seri Begawan : Universiti Brunei Darussalam, 1992

Alberca W. *The Distinctive Features of Philippine English in the Mass Media*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Santo Tomas, Manila, 1978

Asmah Hj Omar 'The Roles of English in Malaysia in the Context of National Language Planning' in Noss R. (ed.) *Varieties of English in South-East Asia*, Singapore : RELC, 1983

Attwood J. and Bray M. 'Wealthy but small and young : Brunei Darussalam and its Education System', *Education Research and Perspectives*, Vol. 16, No.1, June 1989

Bamgbose A. 'Standard Nigerian English : Issues in Identification' in Kachru B. (ed.) *The Other Tongue : English Across Cultures*, Urbana : University of Illinois, 1982

Bamgbose A. 'Language Policy and Practice in Education : The Nigerian Experience' in Jones G. and Ozog A.C. (eds.) *Bilingualism and National Development*, Bandar Seri Begawan : Universiti Brunei Darussalam, 1992

Beebe L. and Zuengler J. 'Accommodation Theory : An Explanation for Shifting in Second Language Dialects in Wolfson N. and Judd E. (eds.) *Sociolinguistics and Language Acquisition*, Cambridge, Mass. : Newbury House, 1983

Bernstein B. *Class, Codes and Control* Vol. 1, London : Routledge, 1971

Bickerton D. *Dynamics of a Creole System*, Cambridge : CUP, 1975

Brown A. *Making Sense of Singapore English*, Singapore : Federal Publications, 1992

Brown G. and Yule G. *Discourse Analysis*, Cambridge : CUP, 1983

Cane G. 'Syntactic Simplification and Creativity in Spoken Brunei English' in Martin P. et al. (eds.) *Language Use and Language Change in Brunei Darussalam* (forthcoming)

Cane G. and Rosnah Hj Ramly 'Factors Influencing the Choice of a Role Model for Bilinguals in Brunei Darussalam' in Jones G. and Ozog A.C. (eds.) *Bilingualism and National Development*, Bandar Seri Begawan: Universiti Brunei Darussalam, 1992

Cheshire J. (ed.) *English Around the World*, Cambridge : CUP, 1991

Collins J. (ed.) *Linguistics and Oral Tradition in Borneo*, Borneo Research Council (forthcoming)

Cook A. and Cane G. *UBD English Language Entry Test*, Bandar Seri Begawan : Universiti Brunei Darussalam, 1988

Corder S.P. *Error Analysis and Interlanguage*, Oxford : OUP, 1981

Coulthard M. *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis*, London : Longman, 2nd edition 1985

Dunseath K. 'Aspects of Language Maintenance and Language Shift among the Chinese in Brunei' in Martin P. et al. (eds.) *Language Use and Language Change in Brunei Darussalam* (forthcoming)

Economic Planning Unit *Brunei Darussalam Statistical Yearbook 1990*, Bandar Seri Begawan : Ministry of Finance, 1991

Edwards J. 'Dilemmas of a Bilingual Society' in Jones G. and Ozog A.C. (eds.) *Bilingualism and National Development*, Bandar Seri Begawan: Universiti Brunei Darussalam, 1992

Elgin S. *What is Linguistics?* New Jersey : Prentice Hall, 2nd edition 1979

Foley J. (ed.) *New Englishes - The Case of Singapore*, Singapore : Singapore University Press, 1988

Gill S. 'Speak Standard Malaysian English' in *Sunday Star*, Petaling Jaya, 14 July 1991

Gonzalez A. 'When does an error become a feature of Philippine English?' in Noss R. (ed.) *Varieties of English in South-East Asia*, Singapore : RELC, 1983

Gonzalez A. 'Stylistic Shifts in the English of the Philippine Print Media' in Cheshire J. (ed.) *English Around the World*, Cambridge : CUP, 1991

Gonzalez A. 'The Experience of Bilingual Education in the Philippines' in Jones G. and Ozog A.C. (eds.) *Bilingualism and National Development*, Bandar Seri Begawan : Universiti Brunei Darussalam, 1992

Gonzalez A. and Alberca W. *Philippine English of the Mass Media*, Manila : De La Salle University, 1978

Government of Brunei Darussalam 'The History of Brunei' in *Muhibah* Vol. 5 No. 1, Bandar Seri Begawan : RBA, 1986

Government of Brunei Darussalam *Brunei Darussalam in Brief*, Bandar Seri Begawan : Prime Minister's Office, 2nd edition 1987

Government of Brunei Darussalam 'History' in *Muhibah*, Bandar Seri Begawan : RBA, March 1992

Grice H.P. 'Logic and Conversation' in Cole P. and Morgan J. (eds.) *Syntax and Semantics 3 : Speech Acts*, New York : Academic Press, 1975

Halliday M. and Hasan R. *Cohesion in English*, London : Longman, 1976

Halliday M., McIntosh A. and Strevens P. *The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching*, London : Longman, 1964

Hansen E. *Stranger in the Forest : On Foot Across Borneo*, London : Abacus Books, 1990

Hasan R. 'Code, Register and Social Dialect' in Bernstein B. (ed.) *Class, Codes and Control* Vol. 2, London : Routledge, 1973

Honey J. *Does Accent Matter?*, London : Faber and Faber, 1989

Honey J. 'Standard English and its Rivals' in Jones G. and Ozog A.C. (eds.) *Bilingualism and National Development*, Bandar Seri Begawan: Universiti Brunei Darussalam, 1992

Hooke R. and Rowell R. *A Handbook of English Pronunciation*, London: Edward Arnold, 1982

Hughes A. and Trudgill P. *English Accents and Dialects*, London : Edward Arnold, 2nd edition 1987

Hughes R. and Heah C. *Common Errors in English : Grammar Exercises for Malaysians*, Petaling Jaya : Penerbit Fajar Bakti Sdn. Bhd., 1989

Johnson L. (ed.) *Mini-Dictionaries of Southeast Asian Englishes*, Singapore : RELC, 1984

Jones G. 'From Here to Eternity? Bilingual Education in Brunei Darussalam' in Jones G. and Ozog A.C. (eds.) *Bilingualism and National Development*, Bandar Seri Begawan : Universiti Brunei Darussalam, 1992

Jones G. and Ozog A.C. (eds.) *Bilingualism and National Development*, Bandar Seri Begawan : Universiti Brunei Darussalam, 1992

Kachru B. 'The Indianness in Indian English' *Word* 21, 391-410, 1965

Kachru B. 'Models of English for the Third World : White Man's Burden or Language Pragmatics?' *TESOL Quarterly* 10:2, 1976

Kachru B. (ed.) *The Other Tongue : English Across Cultures*, Urbana : University of Illinois Press, 1982

Kachru B. 'Standards, Codification and Sociolinguistic Realism : The English Language in the Outer Circle' in Quirk R. and Widdowson H. (eds.) *English in the World*, Cambridge : CUP, 1985

Kachru B. 'The Power and Politics of English' in *World Englishes* 5, 2/3 121-140, 1986

Kachru B. 'World Englishes : approaches, issues and resources' in *Language Teaching* Vol. 25 No. 1, January 1992

Krashen S. *Principles and Practice in Second Language Acquisition*, New York : Pergamon Press, 1982

Leech G. *Semantics*, Harmondsworth : Penguin, 2nd edition 1981

Llamazon T. *Standard Filipino English*, Manila : Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1969

Llamazon T. 'Essential Features of New Varieties of English' in Noss R. (ed.) *Varieties of English in Southeast Asia*, Singapore : RELC, 1983

Lugg M. 'Singapore English Mini-Dictionary' in Johnson L. (ed.) *Mini-Dictionaries of Southeast Asian Englishes*, Singapore : RELC, 1984

Lynch J. *Pidgins and Tok Pisin*, Port Moresby : University of Papua New Guinea, 1975

Lynch J. and Smith A-M. *English Grammar Workbook* 1, Port Moresby: University of Papua New Guinea, 1982

Martin P. *Interlingual and Intralingual Communication in Brunei Darussalam : Some factors governing code choice*, paper presented at ASANAL Conference, Kuala Lumpur, May 1990

Martin P., Ozog A.C. and Poedjosoedarmo G. (eds.) *Language Use and Language Change in Brunei Darussalam* (forthcoming)

McCrum R., Cran W. and MacNeil R. *The Story of English*, London : BBC Books, 1986

McLellan J. 'A Discourse-Contrastive Investigation into Perceptions of Time in Spoken Narratives in English and Malay' in Jamaliah Mohd Ali et al. (eds.) *Papers presented at the International Conference on Language and the Perception of Time and Space*, Kuala Lumpur : University of Malaya, 1992

McLellan J. 'Some Features of Written Discourse in Brunei English' in Martin P. et al. (eds.) *Language Use and Language Change in Brunei Darussalam* (forthcoming)

Moag R. and Moag L. 'English in Fiji' in Richards J. (ed.) *New Varieties of English*, Singapore : RELC, 1979

Mossop J. 'Some Phonological Features of Brunei English' in Martin P. et al. (eds.) *Language Use and Language Change in Brunei Darussalam* (forthcoming)

Newbrook M. 'Which Language and How? Institutionalised Second Language Varieties of English in Asia and the Implications for Teaching : The Cases of Singapore and Hong Kong' in Jones G. and Ozog A.C. (eds.) *Bilingualism and National Development*, Bandar Seri Begawan : Universiti Brunei Darussalam, 1992

Noss R. *Papers on Variation in English*, Singapore : RELC, 1979

Noss R. (ed.) *Varieties of English in Southeast Asia*, Singapore : RELC, 1983

Nothofer B. *The Austronesian Languages of Brunei Darussalam*, paper presented at the International Seminar on Malay Language, Literature and Culture, Bandar Seri Begawan, August 1987

Orwell G. *Burmese Days*, London : Penguin edition, 1989

Ozog A.C. *Codeswitching in Peninsular Malaysia and Brunei : A Study in Contrasting Linguistic Strategies*, paper presented at the 8th ASANAL conference, Kuala Lumpur, May 1990

Ozog A.C. 'Bilingualism in Brunei : English and Malay in the Community' in Jones G. and Ozog A.C. (eds.) *Bilingualism and National Development*, Bandar Seri Begawan : Universiti Brunei Darussalam, 1992

Ozog A.C. 'Brunei English : A New Variety' in Collins J. (ed.) *Linguistics and Oral Tradition in Brunei*, Borneo Research Council (forthcoming)

Ozog A.C. and Martin P. 'The Bah Particle in Brunei English' *RELC Journal*, Vol. 21 No. 2, December 1990

Pakir A. 'Two Tongue Tied : Bilingualism in Singapore' in Jones G. and Ozog A.C. (eds.) *Bilingualism and National Development*, Bandar Seri Begawan : Universiti Brunei Darussalam, 1992

Phillipson R. 'ELT : the native speaker's burden?' in *ELT Journal* Vol. 46/1, 1992

Platt J. and Weber H. *English in Singapore and Malaysia : Status, Features, Functions,* Kuala Lumpur : OUP, 1980

Platt J., Weber H. and Ho M.L. *Singapore and Malaysia,* Amsterdam : John Benjamins, 1983

Platt J., Weber H. and Ho M.L. *The New Englishes,* London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984

Poedjosoedarmo G. 'Subject Selection and Subject Shifting in Indonesian' in Dardjowidjojo S. (ed.) *Miscellaneous Studies of Indonesian and Other Languages in Indonesia Part VIII,* Jakarta : NUSA, 1986

Prator C. 'The British Heresy in TESL' in Fishman J. (ed.) *Language Problems in Developing Nations,* New York : John Wiley, 1968

Quirk R., Greenbaum S., Leech G. and Svartvik J. *A Grammar of Contemporary English,* London : Longman, 1972

Quirk R. and Greenbaum S. *A University Grammar of English,* London: Longman, 1973

Quirk R., Greenbaum S., Leech G. and Svartvik J. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language,* London : Longman, 1985

Richards J. and Tay M. 'The La Particle in Singapore English' in Crewe W. (ed.) *The English Language in Singapore,* Singapore : Eastern Universities Press, 1977

Romaine S. 'The Pacific' in Cheshire J. (ed.) *English Around The World,* Cambridge : CUP, 1991

Saville-Troike M. *The Ethnography of Communication,* Oxford : Blackwell, 1982

Selinker L. 'Interlanguage', *International Review of Applied Linguistics* 10, 209-231, 1972

Shariffah Mastura Alsagoff *Motivation and Attitudes of Form Five Students in Brunei,* unpublished B.A. dissertation, Universiti Brunei Darussalam, 1992

Simanjuntak M. 'Serba Serbi Bahasa Melayu Brunei' in *Beriga*, Bandar Seri Begawan, April-June 1988

Smith A-M. *The Papua New Guinea Dialect of English*, Port Moresby : University of Papua New Guinea, 1978

Smith A-M. *Papua New Guinea English*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Papua New Guinea, 1986

Smith L. 'Some Distinctive Features of EIIL vs ESOL in English language teaching' in Smith L. (ed.) *Readings in English as an International Language*, Oxford : Pergamon, 1983

Smith L. *Discourse Across Cultures : Strategies in World Englishes*, London : Prentice Hall, 1987

Strevens P. *What is Standard English?*, Singapore : RELC, 1982

Swadesh M. 'Diffusional Cumulation and Archaic Residue as Historic Explanation', *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 7.1-21, 1951

Swadesh M. 'Towards a greater accuracy in lexicostatistical data', International Journal of American Linguistics, 21 : 121-137, 1955

Tariq Rahman *Pakistani English*, Islamabad : National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, 1990

Tay M. and Gupta A. 'Towards a description of Standard Singapore English', in Noss R. (ed.) *Varieties of English in Southeast Asia*, Singapore : RELC, 1983

Tongue R. *The English of Singapore and Malaysia*, Singapore : Eastern Universities Press, 2nd edition 1979

Trudgill P. *Sociolinguistics*, Harmondsworth : Penguin, 1974

Trudgill P. *Accent, Dialect and the School*, London : Edward Arnold, 1975

Trudgill P. *On Dialect*, Oxford : Blackwell, 1983

Trudgill P. and Chambers J. *Dialects of English : Studies in Grammatical Variation*, New York : Longman, 1991

Trudgill P. and Hannah J. *International English*, London : Edward Arnold, 2nd edition 1985

Turton N. *Send or Take? : A Guide to Correct English Usage*, Singapore: Federal Publications, 1989

Wong I. 'Simplification features in the structure of Colloquial Malaysian English' in Noss R. (ed.) *Varieties of English in Southeast Asia*, Singapore : RELC, 1983

Wurm S. and Muhlhausler P. (eds.) *Handbook of Tok Pisin*, Canberra : Pacific Linguistics, 1985