Department of Languages and Intercultural Education

Malay-English language alternation in two Brunei Darussalam on-line discussion forums

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Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university.

To the best of my knowledge and belief this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgment has been made.

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Date: ......20th February 2005

Abstract

This is a study of language choice and language alternation patterns in a corpus of messages posted on two Brunei Darussalam on-line discussion forums.

It aims to break new ground by investigating Malay-English language alternation in the context of computer-mediated communication (CMC), in contrast to previous research which has mostly studied alternation or code-switching in informal conversations.

The corpus of texts consists of 211 messages posted on the 'Bruclass' and 'Brudirect' forums. These were analysed in terms of their grammatical and discoursal features to determine what role is played by each of the contributing languages.

Chapter 1 outlines the major research questions: how much alternation is there between Malay and English, how is this alternation achieved, and why do the bilingual text producers make these language choices when posting their messages in the on-line forums? This chapter also includes outline description of the sociolinguistic context of Brunei Darussalam in terms of its population, history, system of education, and discussion of the varieties of Malay and of English used by Bruneians.

In Chapter 2 relevant literature on language alternation is reviewed, with a gradual narrowing of the focus, from theories of code-switching and language alternation to studies dealing specifically with Malay-English code-switching in Malaysia and in Brunei Darussalam. Studies on language use and alternation in the CMC domain are also reviewed.

Chapter 3 discusses the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, and the rationale for these.

Findings from the grammatical and discoursal analyses are reported and discussed in Chapter 4. Whilst monolingual English messages are the most frequent, almost half of the corpus texts are found to include a measure of Malay-English alternation. Many of these display an asymmetric alternation pattern, in which one language supplies the grammar and the other the lexis, but there are also examples of equal alternation, where Malay and English both contribute to the grammar and to the lexis.

The reasons for these choices are investigated through a questionnaire survey, which includes a text ranking task, and through other published texts in which Bruneians discuss their use of language. Chapter 5 discusses these findings, and the concluding Chapter 6 considers connections between the analysis of the texts and the questionnaire survey, especially the preference for monolingual English. Chapter 6 also includes discussion of questions of identity as reflected in the language choices and of language use in the CMC domain.

Abstrak

Kajian ini adalah mengenai pemilihan bahasa dan bahasa berganti-ganti di dalam mesej-mesej yang terpapar dalam dua buah forum umum di laman web.

Tujuannya untuk mengkaji satu perkara baharu, iaitu pertukaran kod antara Bahasa Melayu dan Bahasa Inggeris dalam konteks Kommunikasi Melalui Komputer (Computer-mediated Communication). Penyelidikan sebelum ini telah mengkaji pertukaran kod atau peralihan bahasa semasa perbualan tidak formal.

Teks-teks yang dikaji terdiri daripada 211 buah mesej diambil daripada forum umum "Bruclass" dan "Brudirect". Aspek nahu dan wacana dianalisa untuk menetapkan peranan yang dimainkan oleh tiap-tiap satu bahasa tersebut.

Dalam Bab 1 soalan penyelidikan utama digariskan: sekerap mana Bahasa Melayu beralih dengan Bahasa Inggeris, bagaimana peralihan ini dicapai, dan kenapa penghasil-penghasil teks-teks ini memilih Bahasa Melayu dan Bahasa Inggeris atau peralihan bahasa. Bab ini juga menjelaskan secara ringkas latarbelakang sosiolinguistik Brunei Darussalam, jumlah penduduk, sejarah, sistem pendidikan dan jenis Bahasa Melayu dan Inggeris yang muncul di ruang siber.

Bab 2 mengulas penerbitan-penerbitan akademik, daripada teori-teori peralihan kod kepada kajian yang mengenai peralihan antara Bahasa Melayu dan Bahasa Inggeris di Malaysia dan di Brunei Darussalam. Kajian-kajian mengenai kegunaan dan peralihan bahasa di laman-laman web jugah turut diulas.

Bab 3 membincangkan cara-cara penyelidikan ini diuruskan, melalui analisis baik secara kuantitatif mahupun juga secara kualitatif, dan sebab-sebab metodologi ini dipilih.

Hasil-hasil analisa dari segi nahu dan wacana dilaporkan dan dibentangkan di Bab 4. Walaupun kebanyakan mesej dalam Bahasa Inggeris, hampir setengah daripada jumlah 211 mesej dalam kedua-dua forum mengandungi Bahasa Melayu dicampur dengan Bahasa Inggeris. Banyak daripadanya menunjuk cara peralihan yang tidak samukur, di mana bentuk sintaktik terdiri dari salah satu bahasa, dengan kosakata leksikal dari bahasa yang lain. Terdapat juga beberapa mesej dengan peralihan bahasa secara seimbang, dimana kedua-dua bahasa memainkan peranan yang sama.

Sebab-sebab pemilihan bahasa dikaji melalui satu soalselidik dan lain-lain teks umum di mana soal bahasa dikemukakan oleh orang Brunei. Bab 5 menunjukkan hasil soalselidik ini. Kesimpulan di Bab 6 mencari hubungan antara analisa teks dan soalselidik, terutama kelebihan teks dalam Bahasa Inggeris tanpa campuran Bahasa Melayu. Bab 6 juga membincangkan soal identiti kebruneian, dan bagaimana identiti ini digambarkan dalam teks-teks di ruang siber.

Acknowledgements

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Abbreviations & Glossing Conventions

Abbreviations used in data sample interlinear glosses, in text and in Appendix B:

1s	First-person singular pronoun
1pi	First-person plural inclusive pronoun
1pe	First-person plural exclusive pronoun
2s	Second-person singular pronoun
2p	Second-person plural pronoun
3s	Third-person singular pronoun
3p	Third-person plural pronoun
Ar.	Arabic
AV-	Active verb
DEM	Demonstrative pronoun/adjective
DM	Discourse marker
FUT	Future
IMP	Imperative
INT	Interrogative marker (particle)
NEG	Negative particle or adverb
PASS-	Passive verb
POSS	Possessive
RDP	Reduplication
REL	Relative pronoun
RFL	Reflexive
Sp.	Spanish

Abbreviations and symbols used in thesis text and appendices:

/	switch from English to Malay (+ subscript number)
\	switch from Malay to English (+ subscript number)
= LA	Equal language alternation (eq. LA in Appendix A spreadsheets)
BMB	Bahasa Melayu Brunei (Brunei Malay)
BMS	Bahasa Melayu Standard (Standard Malay)
CMC	Computer-mediated communication
CP	Projection of complementizer
E-	Monolingual English
L1	First language
L2	Second language
L3	Third language
LA	Language alternation
M-	Monolingual Malay
ML	Main language
ML-E	Main language-English
ML-F	Matrix language – Frame (theory)
ML-M	Main language-Malay
NP	Noun / Nominal phrase
PP	Prepositional phrase
SV	Subject-verb word order
VP	Verb phrase
VS	Verb-subject word order

Chapter 1

Introduction: Background to the Study

"There is no substitute for the data of actual spontaneous language usage for sociolinguistic study..."
(Errington, 1985, pp. 21-22).

"There is a need for published scholarship on computer-mediated interaction in other languages, and on CMC that involves language mixing."
(Herring, 1996, p. 10)

"**Bahasa Jiwa Bangsa:** After reading *komen-komen di laman ini* I wonder what happened to our *bahasa jiwa bangsa* has it become so *rojak* – is the language we are using called *dwibahasa* now – hey c'mon you all *kalau Pengarah Dewan Bahasa membaca laman ani* he will surely FREAK OUT! I remember his call to keep *Bahasa Melayu* pure when using your SMS and this column is hardly an SMS! C'mon *dwibahasa* does not mean *rojak* – you learn another language (English in our case) as a second language *untuk menambah ilmu* – sorry, beg your pardon, I know, I know *aku pun sama juga – cakap inda serupa bikin*! Case closed!"

Message posted on Brudirect discussion forum, 20/3/02. Free translation:

Language is the soul of the Nation: After reading the comments on the website I wonder what has happened to our language, the soul of the nation, has it become so mixed-up – is the language we are using called 'two-languages' now – hey, c'mon you all, if the Director of the Language Bureau reads this site he will surely FREAK OUT! I remember his call to keep the Malay Language pure when using your SMS and this column is hardly an SMS! C'mon 'two languages' does not mean mixed-up – you learn another language (English in our case) as a second language to increase your knowledge – sorry, beg your pardon, I'm just the same – talking isn't the same as doing! Case closed.

1.1 Statement of purpose and central research questions

The main focus of studies on language alternation, alias code-switching, has hitherto been on informal spoken interaction, and on switching between related languages such as Spanish and English. This study represents an attempt to break new ground in two ways:

(a) to study texts from a computer-mediated context: Warschauer, El Said and Zohry (2002, Introduction, ¶5) note that "In spite of the concern about the competition between English and other languages online, very little research has been done on the topic".

(b) to respond to the many calls for further studies on alternation between two unrelated languages from different language families, in this case Malay and English (e.g. Nortier, 1990, p. 3; Herring, 1996, p.10; Li, 1996, pp.12-13; Jacobson, 1998, pp. 63-64).

The purpose of this study is to apply (with necessary adaptations) theoretical and descriptive approaches hitherto used in the analysis of informal unplanned conversations to codemixed texts that derive from a more formal context. The context is two on-line discussion forums in Brunei Darussalam, 'Bruclass' and 'Brudirect'. Some of these texts posted on these forums show alternation between Malay and English. Texts of this type differ from informal conversational interaction in that they are planned: the text producer, while typing on a computer keyboard, has the opportunity to reflect on language choice before the texts are aired in public, and the text receiver, the reader, is able to refer back in cases of comprehension difficulty, unlike in an informal face-to-face conversation that takes place in real time. Intuitively, this should reduce the scope for the occurrence of language alternation: the participants typically are individuals with high levels of bilingual competence, so it should not be necessary for them to draw on more than one of their available languages.

Researchers traditionally approach the study of texts showing language alternation (henceforth LA) from two main perspectives: grammatical and sociolinguistic. A third possible avenue of investigation, the psycholinguistic study of how bilinguals encode and decode text showing language alternation, will be of less importance for this study, since the texts are posted with pseudonyms, hence the producers cannot be identified or interviewed.

The most complete theoretical reference in the field of LA and code-switching research is the work of Carol Myers Scotton and her associates. Her approach is of particular relevance as it comprises both a grammatical framework and an attempt to account for social motivations for language alternation: "speakers first consider socio- and psycholinguistic aspects of lexical-conceptual structure" (Myers Scotton and Jake, 2000, p. 289), before attending to grammatical and lexical choices including the selection of a Matrix Language.

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Myers Scotton's grammatical theory is termed Matrix Language – Frame (ML-F), and is most fully elaborated in 'Duelling languages: Grammatical structure in codeswitching' (Myers Scotton, 1993a). Her investigation of social motivations for code-switching (Myers Scotton, 1993b) incorporates the notion of Markedness and the theory of Rational Actors, and is applied to the analysis of informal spoken interaction from a variety of contexts, mostly from Africa. The latter monograph includes an important chapter reviewing previous studies that have attempted to determine the motivations for code-switching.

In ML-F theory, it is assumed that there is always an unequal or asymmetric relationship between the two (or more) languages that contribute to codeswitched text. The "Matrix Language" provides the syntactic frame, whilst the "Embedded Language" contributes mostly content words, i.e. nouns and verbs. In her more recent publications, this basic asymmetry of role is said to operate at the level of the projection of complementizer (CP), a syntactic unit akin to the clause (Myers Scotton, 1997, p. 243). It underlies many code-switching research studies, and has parallels in Pidgin and Creole studies, where one language, usually a local vernacular, is designated as the base language, and another functions as the lexicalizing language (Sebba, 1997, pp. 25-26).

However, Bentahila and Davies (1998) and Jacobson (2001a) argue, on the basis of Arabic/French, Spanish/English and Malay/English examples, that it is also possible for two languages to play an equal role in the construction of codemixed text. Jacobson (2001a, p. 60) suggests that the term "language alternation" could be used to describe such cases. In other recent publications Jacobson (2001b, 2002) has demonstrated that Malay-English language alternation can also occur in more formal contexts in Malaysia, such as during meetings of university staff.

Central research questions

In simple terms, the thesis aims to investigate both a "how" and a "why" question, in relation to code-switching practices of Bruneian participants: how do they make use of the resources offered by Malay and English for the construction of their texts in the online discussion forum context, and why do they use the languages in this way?

Inevitably, in a situation where ethical and practical considerations preclude any direct access to the text producers, discussion of the "why" question will be more speculative. This study attempts to reduce this difficulty by collecting and analyzing the views of some bilingual Bruneians who are members of the same speech community as the discussion forum text producers.

The key question in terms of how LA is accomplished is whether the four sets of Brunei on-line discussion forum postings show evidence of equal language alternation, or whether there is always some inequality in the roles played by the two languages.

As explained in section 3.2, this study makes use of the label 'Main Language' rather than 'Matrix Language' in the classification of the texts. Nonetheless, frequent reference is made to the asymmetric Matrix Language/Embedded Language distinction as defined by Myers Scotton.

Analysis along the lines proposed by Myers Scotton, Bentahila and Davies and Jacobson does not of course preclude reference to other theories and approaches to language alternation where appropriate. Myers Scotton regularly acknowledges the influence of Gumperz (1982, pp. 75-81) whose interactional sociolinguistic approach identifies six conversational functions of code-switching, namely reiteration, quotation, addressee specification, interjection, message qualification and personalization / objectivization. Many subsequent LA studies have used these functions as part of their analytical apparatus. Gumperz admits that this taxonomy of functions has no explanatory adequacy in terms of listeners' perceptions and the interpretation process, and that "to attempt to set up language usage rules which predict or reliably account for the incidence of code switching proves to be a highly difficult task." (Gumperz, 1982, p. 82).

Muysken (2000) develops a grammatical theory of code-switching within a sentence which comprises three basic processes, insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalization.

A 'congruence approach' to the syntax of code-switching has also been put forward by Sebba (1998). As noted by Hamers and Blanc (2000, pp. 268-269), this approach opens up a number of new avenues for analysis of texts which show language alternation. Indeed Sebba (1998, p. 18) makes passing reference to Malay-English alternation to illustrate syntactic congruence.

It should be emphasized at this early stage that many researchers into LA recognize the need to approach the topic from more than one angle: "a combination of functional analysis and an analysis of grammatical constraints seems a promising avenue for future research." (Nortier, 1990, p. 5); "it is only by linking ethnographic observations with linguistic analysis that code-switching behaviour may be adequately explained" (Poplack 2000, p. 224). Sebba (1998) also argues the need for social factors to be incorporated into a syntactic theory of code-switching, as do Gardner-Chloros and Edwards (2004) in a state-of-the-art review of assumptions behind grammatical approaches to code-switching. Winford (2003), however, follows Myers Scotton's approach by treating linguistic and social aspects separately in his textbook on Contact Lingustics.

1.2 Terminological issues: Language Alternation/Code-switching/Codemixing etc.

Research into bi- and multilingual language use is fraught with contentious issues and debate surrounding appropriate terminology (Clyne, 2003, pp. 70-76). Hence there is a need to address such issues at this point, and to come up with workable solutions that will be applied throughout the thesis. In an attempt to cut through the terminological forest without avoiding any of the major underlying issues, three questions are addressed separately in this section:

- Code-switching and codemixing: the same or different?
- Code-switching and language alternation: the same, overlapping, or distinct?
- Code-switching and borrowing: separate issues, or intricately related?

The first of these is perhaps the easiest to summarise: some researchers regard the two terms as synonymous; others make the often important distinction between code-switching, where one sentence might be in language X and the following sentence in language Y (i.e. intersentential) and codemixing, where constituents from more than one language co-occur within the same sentence (i.e. intrasentential). Still others use code-switching as a superordinate term referring to the whole field of research, restricting codemixing to refer to items occurring within the same sentence. In this thesis, where it is necessary to refer to these terms, it will be in this latter sense, hence the code-switching/codemixing distinction is maintained.

The language alternation v. code-switching issue is discussed by Alvarez-Caccamo (1998, pp. 34-36), who notes the earlier identification of 'code' and 'linguistic variety' as interchangeable notions. Gafaranga (1999, p. 202) prefers to use language alternation to describe talk among bilingual speakers as "practical social action", in the research tradition established by Auer (1984). In the context of this thesis, the preference for the term 'language alternation' is based on two factors: the desire to avoid the pitfalls of dealing with the notion of a 'code', and the fact that with English and Malay one is dealing with two languages clearly recognizable as distinct, since they are from different language families, namely Indo-European and Austronesian (as opposed to the finer distinction between Brunei Malay and Standard Malay, which is discussed in 1.5 as well as subsequently in relation to the data). A wider, all-embracing approach is preferred, and the cover term 'language alternation' seems more expedient, since it sidesteps the involved arguments over whether 'code' and 'language' are synonymous.

For the third terminological issue, code-switching v. borrowing, Myers Scotton (1993a, pp.15-16) uses an arbitrary numerical cut-off point: "Those E[mbedded] L[anguage] lexemes found in three or more conversations are counted as borrowed forms". The codeswitched forms are thus lower in frequency. Other researchers also classify single-noun phonologically unassimilated embedded language intrusions, the most common category in every corpus of LA data thus far examined, as 'nonce borrowings' (Poplack & Sankoff, 1988; see discussion in Romaine, 1995, pp. 142-145). For the present corpus of data, the exclusion of both frequent borrowings and nonce borrowings would seem to be too extreme, especially given that analysis of

phonological features is not directly relevant (aside from their possible influence on orthographic forms), since one is dealing with written texts. The adoption of 'language alternation' as a cover term thus avoids debate over what counts as code-switching and what counts as borrowing. Section 3.3.1 explains the method used to determine what counts as 'English' and 'Malay' items. The underlying model views languages as leaking paradigms or fuzzy entities, as opposed to 'fortresses' with clearly-defined boundaries (Muysken, 2000, p. 41).

The quantitative analysis of the discussion forum texts nonetheless requires some decisions to be made about which items are to be counted as "Malay" and which as "English". This methodological issue is further discussed in Chapter 3.

'Language Alternation' (LA) is thus used throughout as a superordinate term referring to the field of research which investigates texts that show the use of more than one language. When other studies are being discussed, the terminology used by the respective researchers will be retained.

In the analysis of texts from the two on-line discussion forums, explained and justified in Chapter 3, section 2, the term "=LA" (equal language alternation) is used to designate those texts which show Malay and English making an equal contribution to the discourse. Where there is inequality, texts are designated 'Main Language-Malay' (ML-M) or 'Main Language-English' (ML-E), on the basis of a word- and group-count.

1.3 'No language is an island': Mixed code as a distinct code, or as unmarked variety

Studies of Language Alternation have the potential to challenge traditionally-held views of one speaker belonging to one speech community speaking one clearly-defined and delineated language, the "separate fortresses" argument (Muysken, 2000, p. 41). This is a view which underlies much of descriptive and theoretical linguistics, especially the school associated with Chomsky (Gardner-Chloros, 1995, p. 68; Nelde, 1997, p. 285). Myers Scotton believes that theoretical linguistic approaches

devised for the study of single languages in isolation are of limited relevance to texts showing LA (Myers Scotton, 2002a, p. 1; Newbrook, 2003). Hence she sees a need for theories specific to language contact situations:

> "My assumptions regarding language activation and language
> switching do not necessarily depend on treating languages themselves
> as 'discrete' in the sense of being closed or finite rule systems."
>
> (Myers Scotton, 1993a, p. 8)

Studies such as that by Marasigan (1983) treat the mixed code as distinct from both the languages in contact, in her case Pilipino and English. This argument has been further developed by Blommaert (1999, p. 192) who notes that, in multilingual contexts such as central Africa, purely monolingual texts are highly marked. Such texts are only likely to be found in restricted contexts, and decisions not to mix syntactic and lexical items from more than one language signify as much as the presence of LA elsewhere.

Romaine (1995, p. 1) opens her discussion of bilingualism by asking why there are no books on library shelves entitled "Monolingualism", and why multilingualism, the norm for most of the world's population, is viewed as marked and deviant. Modern Linguistics has largely evolved in the minority of societies which are in large part monolingual, and has thus come to view multilingualism as problematic, and even as a cause of the retarded social and economic development so often found in multilingual states, rather than as the default condition.

Approaches to language alternation such as those of Bentahila and Davies, Jacobson and Myers Scotton, whilst not denying the possibility of languages being discrete systems or sets of systems, offer scope for languages to be seen as fuzzy, leaking paradigms and are thus better-suited to the type of text under discussion in this thesis. If there are broader implications to be drawn from the findings of this thesis, these may constitute a challenge to traditional views of languages as independent self-contained systems.

G. Huang and Milroy (1995, pp. 43-44) in an intergenerational study of Chinese-English bilingual speakers in Tyneside, UK, discuss the question of whether these speakers use one, two or three grammars in their informal communication. Without coming to any firm conclusions, they suggest that based on their relative proficiency in Chinese and English, members of this community have access to a code-mixed grammar alone, or both a Chinese and an English grammar, or else all three. Using the notions of insertion and alternation, discussed in section 1.1 above with reference to the work of Muysken, Huang and Milroy report a higher incidence of alternational code-switching among younger, UK-born speakers, and suggest that it is often difficult to identify a Matrix Language in the spoken output of this younger group.

A second related issue of importance here is the question of LA as the unmarked choice for participants, that is, the variety which they will naturally tend to use, unless there are any extenuating circumstances such as the presence of an addressee not fluent in one of the languages concerned. This can be investigated through quantitative analysis of a corpus of texts from the same or similar sources. Myers Scotton (1993a, pp. 12-13) notes that such unmarked code-switching is only likely to occur in sociolinguistic contexts where both languages are regarded as having some degree of prestige and status, but not in cases where ethnic groups are using the languages are in competition with each other. Sebba (1998, p. 2, p.18) also suggests that unmarked code-switching is most likely to occur where there is a high level of both individual and societal bilingualism. As discussed below in the section (1.6) describing the sociolinguistic context of Brunei Darussalam, and in the review of previous studies on Brunei (2.9.2), these requirements are met in respect of the Brunei on-line discussion forums. Myers Scotton (1993a, p. 13) goes on to note that since unmarked LA has such a large amount of switching, not every single intrasentential switch contains social meaning, and any attempt to ascribe such meaning to every instance of alternation in the texts under discussion in this thesis would be unproductive as well as an arbitrary artefact of the analysis (see also Gumperz & Hernandez-Chavez, 1971, Noor Azlina, 1979, Li, 1996).

The Philippines offers a direct parallel to Brunei as a context in which alternation between English and indigenous languages is a common feature at all points along the formal-informal continuum, as can easily be ascertained from a study of any

Pilipino national daily newspaper or weekly magazine, as well as through research studies such as those of Bautista (1980, 1991). The indigenous languages in question (e.g. Tagalog/Pilipino, Ilocano, Cebuano in the Philippines, Malay in Brunei) belong to the same Western Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family (Ross, 1994), and there are many similarities in the roles played by the respective languages (English and indigenous) in the education systems of the two nations. Marasigan's (1983) study of code-switching and codemixing offers data taken from both spoken and written contexts. As noted above, Marasigan subscribes to a view of the mixed code as a separate code, and her analysis of her corpus of data takes the form of a three-way classification, English, Pilipino and "Mix-Mix".

The view of the mixed code as a distinct third code is also espoused by Poplack, a major contributor to advances in code-switching research through her suggestions of universal syntactic constraints: the "equivalence constraint" and the "free morpheme constraint" (Poplack, 2000, pp. 227-230). Referring to the Puerto Rican community in New York City, she claims that code-switching "is such an integral part of the community linguistic repertoire that it could be said to function as a mode of interaction similar to monolingual language use" (Poplack, 1988, p. 217). Other leading code-switching researchers who support this view include Kachru (1978) and Singh (1985, p. 34). The latter suggests that "the mixed code is a new code that enters in opposition with the other two codes that it mixes." Romaine (1995) provides an overview of this debate, as do Hamers and Blanc (2000).

Clearly LA texts differ from monolingual texts in the respective languages. The methodological question that needs to be addressed here is whether it is productive and revealing to analyse the mixed texts as a separate third code, or simply as texts in which two or even three distinct grammatical systems are operating. The texts that form the data corpus for this thesis enable direct comparison between those showing LA and those which are monolingual Malay or monolingual English, since they are all located in the same environment.

1.4 The study of LA in formal, written contexts, and in Computer-mediated Communication

Studies of LA have traditionally made use of data from informal conversational interaction. While reviewing code-switching as a research topic and assessing the theoretical contribution of Gumperz, Myers Scotton notes that Gumperz's approach is based on the following premises:

(1) small-group interactions are the proper research site and naturally occurring data are the object of study;

(2) the social meanings of language use are a function of situated contexts;

(3) the use of linguistic choices as a strategy adds intentional meaning to an utterance.

(Myers Scotton, 1993b, p. 56)

The first of these premises may be challenged and overridden by the recognition that LA is also found in more formal and in written contexts (Jacobson, 2001). It is, however, possible to view on-line discussion forum texts as akin to small-group interactions, since sequences of postings may be the work of a small number of regular contributors replying to earlier postings. The second and third premises remain valid underpinnings for research into any data that shows LA. Gumperz's six functions of conversational code-switching (see above, section 1.1), however, do not all apply equally to the type of texts under investigation in this thesis. Some of these functions (e.g. addressee specification) are peculiar to face-to-face informal interaction (McClure, 1998, pp.133-134), although they may also be found in synchronous on-line chat-room discourse (Lai, 1999). Reiteration is also likely to be managed in different ways when participants are not operating in real time and have the ability to refer back to previous postings in the on-line discussion forum.

Sridhar points out that "[c]ontrary to what is often claimed, code mixing is not confined to speech: it is also found in formal writing" (Sridhar, 1996, p. 59). Sridhar refers to studies by Yau (1993) on written Chinese/English switching in Hong Kong, and by Tay (1989) referring to mixing English with several Chinese dialects in

written texts in Singapore. Yau supports Fasold's (1984) contention that "conversational language switching patterns, in particular, seem to be beyond the conscious control of individual speakers, and often even *contrary* to their expressed language attitudes" (p. 206, original emphasis), but importantly notes that "the switching of codes in written printed material is deliberate and intentional" (Yau, 1993, p. 25). The question of language alternation in written contexts, as distinct from the informal spoken mode, being the result of a conscious choice on the part of text producers, is an important avenue for further investigation. However, it is uncertain whether a text-based study such as this thesis will be able to reach any significant conclusions, not having direct access to the text producers in order to ask why they choose to alternate or not to alternate between languages.

Linguistic and discoursal features specific to computer-mediated communication (henceforth CMC) are described by Murray (1995, 2000), Herring (1996) and by Crystal (2001). Research studies of texts showing LA consistently emphasise the necessity for situating such texts within their social and discoursal context. Hence it is necessary to relate the occurrence and non-occurrence of LA to the medium in which the texts appear: section 2.11, below, reviews previous studies of CMC.

In terms of methodology, studying bilingual texts that appear on open online discussion forums has the advantage that these are readily accessible, and they do not require painstaking transcription. Transcribing tape-recorded spoken interaction inevitably involves a degree of abstraction and the a priori application of theory. When written texts are studied, such decisions are those of the text producers themselves, e.g. whether to flag a codeswitched item by devices such as inverted commas ("..., ia menjadi *'balancer'* pelindung rakyat tani...", posting 3.28, 'it becomes a balancer, a protector of our people'[1]). The determination of word boundaries in spoken text, a vital issue in any discussion of mixed morphological affixation, is the task of the transcriber, not of the text producer. In this data corpus,

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[1]: Extracts from texts in the data corpus of this study are cited verbatim, without any alterations, even where there are clear typographic infelicities. For explanation of conventions used for textual citation from the data sources, please refer to 3.4 below. Translations from the Malay are those of the researcher unless otherwise stated – see Acknowledgements, p. vii.

texts are as submitted by their producers, with no requirement for a transcriber to play an intermediary role.

1.5 Background: The context of Negara Brunei Darussalam

This section provides relevant background information on Negara Brunei Darussalam, its history and the development of the education system.

Brunei Darussalam is a Malay Islamic monarchy on the north-west coast of the island of Borneo, with a land area of 5765 square kilometres. It has a coastline of about 160 kilometres on the South China Sea. It is surrounded on three sides by the Malaysian state of Sarawak, which, through its (disputed) possession of the Limbang river valley divides Brunei into two parts. The sparsely-populated Temburong district is thus isolated from the other three administrative districts: Belait, Tutong and Brunei-Muara, where the capital city, Bandar Seri Begawan (formerly known as 'Borneo Proper' and as 'Brunei Town') is located (Borneo Bulletin Brunei Yearbook, 2001, pp. 20-21).

The population totals 330,700 (mid-1999 estimate), comprising 223,500 Malays (67%) and 19,600 other indigenous. The figure for Malays includes the seven *'Puak Jati'* ('indigenous groups'), Brunei Malay, Kedayan, Lun Bawang (Murut), Dusun, Bisaya, Tutong and Belait. The category "other indigenous" includes Iban and a small number of Penan. In mid-1999 there were also 49,300 Chinese and 38,300 "other races" including the substantial number of foreigners employed in Brunei (Borneo Bulletin Brunei Yearbook, 2000, pp. 88-89). It should be noted that this classification of the population is by ethnic self-identity, with no reference to citizenship.

The demographic profile gives some indication of the considerable linguistic diversity that exists within the Bruneian speech community.

Since the beginning of the Islamic Sultanate, probably around the 15th Century AD, the Brunei Malays, traditionally resident in the 'Kampung Ayer' (Water Village) in

the Brunei River in the capital, have been the dominant group. There is a continuing process of assimilation into this group of other minorities, through conversion to Islam and exogamous marriage.

Brief historical notes

Historically, Brunei once controlled a large maritime trading empire, whose influence extended over Northern Borneo and the Sulu Archipelago as well as Sambas and Pontianak in western Borneo and possibly as far as Banjarmasin in southern Borneo. This was at the time of Sultan Bolkiah, the fifth Sultan, in the sixteenth century (Brown, 1970, p.136; Leake 1990, p.12). It was around this time that the first European accounts of Brunei were recorded (e.g. Pigafetta, 1525?, cited in Brown, 1970, p.138). These describe the wealth of Brunei, the importance attached to ceremonial events, and also include wordlists that attest to the powerful role of Malay as a trade lingua franca (Collins, 1998, pp.16-21).

Brunei's more recent history can be summarized as a gradual shrinking of its boundaries to their present position, as a result of cession of territory to foreign interests. The 23rd Sultan installed James Brooke as Rajah of Sarawak in 1842, and the British North Borneo Chartered Company was formed in 1881 (Cleary & Eaton, 1992, pp. 49-51). In 1862, St. John commented with reference to Brunei, "[n]ominally, this kingdom extends from Sarawak to Maludu Bay[2] and the islands to the north of it; but, in reality, it possesses no power, and exercises little influence over its dependencies." (St. John, 1862, p. 245).

Brunei was a British Protectorate from 1888 until 1984, except for the period of Japanese occupation from 1941 to 1945. It was during the British Protectorate period that substantial reserves of oil and natural gas were discovered both on- and offshore. These discoveries transformed the economy and resulted in the infrastructure development that is evident in present-day Brunei. A consequence of the exploitation of these resources, and of the resulting economic progress, was the influx of a multilingual workforce which further contributed to the country's

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[2] : located near the northern tip of Borneo in what is now Sabah, Malaysia.

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linguistic diversity, leading to the wider use of both Brunei Malay and English as lingua francas.

Brunei regained internal self-rule in 1959, when the Constitution was promulgated and the British Resident became a High Commissioner with advisory responsibilities. Around this era of decolonization, there was prolonged debate over whether Brunei should join the proposed Federation of Malaysia, eventually formed in September 1963 between the eleven states of Peninsular Malaysia, Sabah and Sarawak in Borneo, and Singapore (until the last-named withdrew in 1965). Brunei chose to remain outside this Federation, leading to occasionally strained relations with its larger neighbour through the 1960s and 1970s.

Since the resumption of full independence in 1984 Brunei has operated as a full sovereign state on the world stage, becoming a member of the United Nations, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) and other international bodies.

One central theme in Brunei since 1984 has been the promulgation and promotion of 'Melayu Islam Beraja' (MIB, Malay Islamic Monarchy) as the national philosophy and ideology. MIB is now a compulsory subject throughout the education system from primary to tertiary levels, and the 'Akademi Pengajian Brunei' (Academy of Brunei Studies), located within Universiti Brunei Darussalam, is tasked by royal decree with researching and developing appropriate teaching material for MIB at all levels (Abdul Aziz, 1992; Abu Bakar, 1992, p.xv; Hashim, 1992). The centrality of MIB to the Bruneian identity is reflected in many of the discussion forum postings analysed in this thesis.

Owing to the country's relative affluence, access to electronic mail and to the Internet has spread rapidly since these became available to residents of Brunei in the mid-1990's. Steinour (2003) cites an increase for Brunei from 10.45% to 20% between 2001 and 2002 for internet access in relation to total population, a figure comparable with many 'developed' nations.

<u>The education system of Brunei</u>

At the start of the twentieth century Brunei had no education system as such. Developments in the education system in twentieth-century Brunei, which have had significant influence over patterns of language use in the Brunei community, need to be situated against the background of these major historical developments. '*Laissez faire*' policies under the British Residency, otherwise characterized as 'divide and rule', allowed the gradual development of different school systems for different sections of the community.

The following list contains a number of significant developments in the field of education in Brunei during the 20th century:

1912   Founding of first vernacular (Malay) boys school

1916   Founding of first Chinese school

1931   Opening of first English-medium Mission school, in Seria town

1951   Opening of Brunei Town Government English School

1956   Opening of Maktab Perguruan Melayu Brunei (Malay Teacher Training College)

1957   Chinese primary and secondary schools brought under effective government control

1959   Commissioning/publication of the Aminuddin Baki/Paul Chang Education Report

1962-3 Brunei revolt. Education system described as "chaotic" in early 1963 (State of Brunei Annual Report, 1963, p.91)

1966   Opening of first Malay-medium government secondary school

1966-7 Establishment of Arabic Boys and Girls Secondary Schools

1970   Establishment of Trade School (subsequently Technical College)

1972   Publication of Report of the Brunei Education Commission, again recommending a move to a mainly Malay-medium education system

1985   Introduction of the Bilingual Education (Dwibahasa) System from Primary year 4;

        Establishment of Universiti Brunei Darussalam, offering programmes in Arabic, Malay and English medium.

(Sources: Ahmad Jumat, 1991; Gunn, 1997; Jones, 1997; Saxena & Sercombe 2002; Brunei Darussalam Ministry of Education, 2004)

This list shows the initial separate development of five educational subsystems, Vernacular (Malay), Arabic (Islamic), English, Chinese and Mission, prior to a process of centralisation and unification following the resumption of full independence and the introduction of the bilingual education policy in 1985 (Ahmad Jumat, 1991, pp. 6-9).

Under the current system, after three years of primary education in Malay with English as a subject only, students learn English, Mathematics, Science and Geography through the medium of English from primary year 4 onwards. Malay, Islamic Religious Knowledge, PE, Art and Civics (MIB) are taught through the medium of Malay (Jones, 1996, p. 281). At secondary level and above, this separation persists, with an increasing number of subjects, especially scientific and technical, being taught in English. The language of educational administration, however, is predominantly Malay.

History was initially an English-medium subject in the bilingual education system; however, since 1995 it has been taught through the medium of Malay in primary years 4-6, then in English at secondary level. This has been the only significant modification since the introduction of the bilingual education system.

Jones (1997, p.18) has suggested that the current bilingual policy would never have come about but for the Brunei revolt of December 1962. This was when the 'Parti Rakyat Brunei' (Brunei People's Party), following annulment of the result of elections in which they had gained the majority of seats on the Legislative Council, provoked an uprising. This was sparked by their fear that the Sultan, under British influence, would agree to Brunei becoming a part of the proposed Malaysian federation (Brown 1970, pp.160-163, Leake 1990, pp. 51-55). Without this abortive uprising Brunei would have followed Malaysia and Indonesia by choosing Bahasa Melayu as the main medium of education at all levels, following the recommendations of the Aminuddin/Chang Education Report of 1959 (see also Braighlinn, 1992, p. 21; Gunn, 1997, pp. 152-153).

Likewise, the recommendations of the 1972 education report were not implemented, for political rather than educational reasons: relations between Brunei and Malaysia were less than cordial at this time, and the switch to Malay-medium would have required large numbers of Bruneian students to pursue their education in Malaysia (Jones 1997, pp.19-20).

This brief historical overview also demonstrates patterns of continuing societal multilingualism, reflected especially in the education system, and serves as a background for the synchronic analysis of texts occurring in Brunei on-line discussion forums.

1.6 Which varieties of Malay and which varieties of English are used?

Two further research questions relate to the main issue of the description of LA patterns in the on-line discussion forum postings: which varieties of Malay, and which varieties of English, are used in the posting texts? These are important questions, since previous accounts of the syntax of language alternation have tended to avoid this issue or assume that the standard varieties are being alternated, mixed or switched. Yet research in the tradition established by Kachru (1982), and by Platt, Weber and Ho (1984), has clearly shown systematic variation between different L2 'Englishes' and the L1 "inner circle" varieties. Similarly, there are distinct regional and social varieties of Malay (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985, pp.191-192; Collins, 1998), which exist at points along a continuum rather than as clearly defined varieties.

Brunei Malay
Following the position taken by most linguists who have researched the varieties of Malay found in Brunei, a distinction is drawn between 'Bahasa Melayu (Standard)', the official language of Brunei Darussalam, and Brunei Malay (Bahasa Melayu Brunei), the indigenous vernacular and lingua franca used in everyday informal communication. The latter is sometimes referred to as "dialek Melayu Brunei" ('Brunei Malay dialect', Jaludin, 2001, p.164).

The term "Bahasa Melayu" is used throughout this thesis to refer to the standard variety that has been designated as Brunei's official language since the Constitution was first promulgated in 1959:

"Bab 82 (1): Bahasa rasmi negeri ini ialah bahasa Melayu dan hendaklah ditulis dengan huruf yang ditentukan oleh undang-undang bertulis." (Chapter 82 (1): The official language of the State is Bahasa Melayu and must be written with whatever script is specified by the Laws as encoded).

(Gunn, 1997, p.181; Ahmad bin Kadi, 2001, p.132)

To distinguish Brunei's official language from the national languages of Malaysia and Indonesia, these are referred to 'Bahasa Malaysia' and 'Bahasa Indonesia' respectively, although policymakers in Brunei emphasise that the three are one and the same language:

"Kita semua mengakui bahawa Bahasa Indonesia, Bahasa Malaysia dan Bahasa Melayu di Brunei adalah pada dasarnya satu bahasa iaitu bahasa Melayu" ("We all acknowledge that Bahasa Indonesia, Bahasa Malaysia and Bahasa Melayu in Brunei are effectively one and the same language, that is Bahasa Melayu")

(Muhammad Jamil Al-Sufri, 2000, p. 43).

To maintain consistency and minimize potential confusion, the nomenclature 'Brunei Malay' is used throughout with reference to the indigenous variety, normally used for informal in-group interaction. In the analysis of texts, abbreviations are used as follows:

BMB for 'Bahasa Melayu Brunei / Brunei Malay, Bruneians' in-group variety
BMS for 'Bahasa Melayu Standard'/ Standard Malay, the official language

Brunei Malay displays segmental and suprasegmental phonological distinctiveness, and variability between subject-verb and verb-subject word order. It also has a range of morphological affixation systems not found in other Malay varieties, a distinctive pronoun system, and many unique lexical items (Mataim, 1992; Jaludin, 1994; Pengiran Mohamed, 2001; Clynes, to appear).

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Phonological distinction of Brunei Malay from other varieties, including the 3-vowel

(/a/,/I/,/u/) phonemic inventory of Brunei Malay, as reflected in the orthography, can

be exemplified by the following:

[1]

Bahasa Malaysia / Bahasa Indonesia	Brunei Malay	
benar	banar	(true)
lebih	labih	(more)
bekerja	bakaraja	(work)
memberi	mambari	(bring)
terjun	tarajun	(fall)

As discussed by Jaludin (1994, pp.126-127), phonological assimilation of loanwords

from English in the Kampong Ayer dialect of Brunei Malay results in borrowed

forms which are barely recognizable:

[2]
baga   (burger)
mutubut   (motorboat)
bikyum   (vacuum, vacuum cleaner)

The question of assimilated and unassimilated loans is central to the distinction

between borrowing and code-mixing, hence highly relevant to the present study.

Present-day Bahasa Melayu, like Bahasa Malaysia and Bahasa Indonesia, has a

predominantly subject-verb (SV) constituent structure. Brunei Malay, in contrast, has

both SV and VS word order (G. Poedjosoedarmo & Rosnah, 1996; Pengiran

Mohamed, 2001; Clynes, to appear).

[3] VS order in Brunei Malay:

Untung sudah tani rakyat Brunei....
gain   already 1pi   people Brunei

We the Bruneian people have already benefited...
                                    (Data source: posting 3:28)
(See p. xii for abbreviations and glossing conventions used in this thesis. Conventions adopted for
citing from the data corpus and from other researchers' examples, are explained and justified in
section 3.3)

[4] SV order in Brunei Malay:

Kitani inda ada   kuasa...
1pi   NEG have   power

We don't have power

                                    (Data source: posting 4:36)

It is hypothesized that this wider range of syntactic choices available in Brunei Malay serves to facilitate Language Alternation involving English.

According to Nothofer's (1991, p.158) lexicostatistical analysis, using the 200-word Swadesh list, the percentage of shared cognates between Brunei Malay and "Peninsular Standard Malay" is 84%. However, measurement by this wordlist-based method tends to minimize important differences which become more apparent when comparing connected speech or writing, thus spoken Brunei Malay and the standard varieties of Malaysia and Indonesia may not be mutually intelligible. Martin (1996a, pp.141-142) provides parallel Bahasa Melayu and Brunei Malay texts that illustrate the distinctiveness of the latter. Jaludin (2003) and Clynes (to appear) contain the most comprehensive and detailed discussions of the distinctive phonological, lexical and morphosyntactic features of Brunei Malay. Classification of texts as either Brunei or Standard Malay is maintained for this study, using some of the features that distinguish these varieties, although this is a subsidiary research question, in an area in which fuller linguistic descriptions are not yet available.

S. Poedjosoedarmo (1996) outlines distinctive features of Brunei Malay verb morphology, whilst Martin (1996b, pp. 28-29) compares Brunei Malay with Bahasa Melayu in both linguistic and sociolinguistic terms, suggesting that the term Brunei Malay has been used to refer to two varieties: firstly that spoken as a first language by the Brunei Malay speech community, and secondly the *lingua franca* used for everyday interaction, both inter- and intra-ethnically by Bruneians of whatever ethnic background. Martin (1998, p.12) states that "Bahasa Melayu is simply not used in everyday communication in Brunei. Use of this language would be extremely marked indeed and would make the speaker appear idiosyncratic or pompous". Some Bruneians, including linguists and sociolinguists, however, feel that differences between Brunei Malay and other varieties are over-emphasised, basing this view on their sensitivity towards interlocutors, which facilitates shifting between Brunei and 'Standard' varieties according to the context of situation (Noor Azam, personal communication).

The question of whether the discussion forum postings predominantly use Brunei Malay or Bahasa Melayu (Standard), both in monolingual Malay postings and in those that have LA, is significant in terms of how these choices serve as identity markers for the text producers, and is taken up in section 5.3 and in the concluding Chapter 6.

Brunei English

The position with regard to the variety of English spoken and, more importantly for this study, written by Bruneians is more uncertain. The neighbouring Southeast Asian nations, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines, all have comparable though by no means identical colonial and post-colonial histories. Distinct second-language varieties of English have evolved in these countries, and these have been described both in terms of their linguistic features and their sociolinguistic roles and functions.

The very existence of Brunei English ('Brunglish' or 'Brulish') is contested, even though, as noted by Ożóg (1993) and by Cane (1993), Brunei meets the criteria set by Platt, Weber and Ho (1984) for a 'new variety' of English. As with 'Singlish' in Singapore, 'Manglish' in Malaysia and 'Taglish' (Tagalog / English) in the Philippines, Brunei English is recognized as a distinct variety by its users, but its desirability as a target model for English language teaching, as well as its very existence, has been called into question by those with the power to determine educational policy, who fear that any official acknowledgement of the existence of an emerging Brunei variety of English would result in lower levels of achievement by Bruneian learners (McLellan, 1997, pp.161-163; Noor Azam & McLellan, 2000).

As shown by Cane (1993) and by Svalberg (1998) among others, it is nonetheless possible to describe syntactic, lexical and discoursal features peculiar to Brunei English, as well as features shared with other Southeast Asian second-language varieties. One important issue concerning Brunei English is whether it is defined and identified by the presence of LA, since Brunei English is very likely to be used among Malay-English bilinguals who also have access to Brunei Malay (Ożóg, 1990, pp.13-14). Brunei English texts have been shown to have 'nativized' features that arise out of contact with and influence from Malay, both Bahasa Melayu and Brunei Malay (Rosnah, Noor Azam & McLellan, 2002).

The question of varieties of English and of Malay in relation to the present data is discussed in greater detail in section 2.3, with particular reference to published studies of the concurrent processes of englishization of Malay and nativization of English. If it could be shown that alternation occurs mostly between Brunei Malay and a systematic Brunei variety of English, then it is the 'rules' and regularities of these two codes that need to be compared if one is seeking to investigate questions of 'congruence' and permissible switching sites, in order to arrive at an accurate description. However, the lectal continuum of varieties of English, from international standard to colloquial Brunei, combined with the frequent performance infelicities that inevitably occur in the CMC discussion forum domain, make it impossible to use a binary Brunei English / Standard English categorization in the present analysis. This apparent inconsistency, when set against the Bahasa Melayu / Brunei Malay distinction, is taken up in subsequent chapters, and further discussed in the conclusion.

1.7 Status and functions of languages in the Brunei sociolinguistic context

The analysis of Brunei's sociolinguistic profile using an 'ecology of language' approach, as conducted by Martin (1994) and by Gunn (1997, pp. 179-207), reveals a number of factors that point to the need for a more detailed study of LA in the Brunei context.

The role of English in Brunei in relation to other languages has been described in some detail in a number of research studies, and is discussed in a separate section of Martin, Ożóg and Poedjosoedarmo (1996). The historical development of English in Brunei has been outlined by Cane (1993, 1994) and by Jones (1995, 1997). It requires situating in its sociohistorical context, as noted in the preceding section, in order to understand the current situation, in which a degree of additive Malay-English bilingualism is the norm for most Bruneians educated beyond primary level since the introduction of the bilingual (*Dwibahasa*) system of education in 1985.

The salient finding from previous research, for the purposes of this study of Malay-English LA, is that both English and Brunei Malay are highly valued and have high status, and can be considered as the unmarked choice in different domains, to such an extent that the languages are not seen to be competing with or threatening each other. Research studies during the 1990s, which had the ultimate aim of drawing up a sociolinguistic profile of Brunei, reveal that some very specific public or workplace domains, such as certain government departments and small shops, are seen as the preserve of Malay. In others – large department stores and private-sector businesses such as banks and travel agencies – the preferred or unmarked language choice is English (Jones, Martin & Ożóg, 1992; Ożóg, 1996a). As an illustration of how language use issues are discussed in the public domain, the following exchange of views appeared in the Borneo Bulletin "Letters to the Editor" column in mid-1999:

[5]

Use of Malay language

You may have noticed that there are many "borrowed" English words used in the RTB[3] Malay news or the local Malay media. Is there any reason for this? In other words, they are not using 100% pure Malay language/words.

It is no problem for those who have a good knowledge of English but how about our older people? If we read or listen to other non-Malay news, they do not use many Malay words.

I agree that some of the English words are difficult to translate exactly into Malay but at least try to give the nearest meaning so it would be easy to understand.

I suggest to the authority concerned to please use our Malay language/words as purely as possible so that Malay words will last forever and ever.

We have noticed there are a lot of signboards saying "Gunakanlah Bahasa Melayu"[4], so please "Mind Our Language" - "jangan sampai orang Malayu cakap English dan orang English cakap Melayu"![5]

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[3] : RTB: 'Radio Televisyen Brunei', the national broadcasting service
[4] : translation: "Use the Malay Language"
[5] : translation: "Don't come to a point where Malay people speak English and English people speak Malay"

(Source: 'Melayu Jati', 1999)

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A reply to this letter, [6] below, was published in the same opinion column on August 4th, 1999:

[6]

English influence in Malay

While reading a single Malay article in a Malaysian newspaper, I came cross all the following 'Malayanized' English words: skuad, serius, kontinjen, kriteria, organisasi and merealisasikan. But we don't have to look to the media to find this trend.

Consider the words: telefon, universiti, basikal, lesen, bas, polis, doktor and teksi.

These are all considered Malay words in every-day usage. If we want to use "100% pure" Malay words only (in the words of Melayu Jati on 28/7 BB), we would have to say "kenderaan dua roda" as a literal translation of bicycle which is cumbersome, to say the least.

Why does Melayu Jati stop at objecting to the influence of English on Malay? How about words from Sanskrit like jaya and putera, or Arabic like dunia, sultan and even darussalam, or words in common with Filipino languages like anak?

In fact there is no such thing as a "pure" language. English itself has many words derived from ancient Greek and Latin, themselves defunct languages.

Allowing Malay to adopt words from other languages doesn't necessarily mean displacing the words already present; it expands its vocabulary and usefulness as a tool of communication. This will not only ensure its survival, it will enrich the language.

(Source: 'Polyglot Melayu', 1999)

This exchange of opinions through the 'Letters to the Editor' column serves to demonstrate the ongoing public discussion over borrowing and language purity with reference to Malay. The purpose of including these letters is to highlight that these are the concerns of Bruneians, as well as of outsider researchers and observers of the language situation in Brunei.

Another facet of the same issue is revealed through study of the text of speeches delivered at the University of Brunei Darussalam's annual Convocation ceremonies by His Majesty the Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan of Negara Brunei Darussalam, who is also Chancellor of the university. This reveals examples of LA, some of which are 'flagged' (Romaine, 1995, p.139) by the use of single or double inverted commas, whilst others are parallel forms in which the English lexeme follows the equivalent Malay expression:

[7] (flagged)
...khasnya   dari segi *"cost-effectiveness"* kursus-kursus yang ditawarkan. (p.17)
  special-3s-POSS from side   course-RDP   REL PASS-offer

...especially concerning the cost-effectiveness of courses that are offered.

Inilah   antara kriteria-kriteria yang boleh dijadikan ukuran dalam menentukan
DEM-DM among criteria-RDP   REL can   PASS-be   measure in   AV-ensure
"career performance" mereka di masa-masa yang akan datang. (p.22)
                  3p   in time-PDP   REL FUT come

These are among the criteria which can be used as yardsticks to measure their future career performance.

[8] (unflagged)
..jika kerjasama yang sedia wujud secara *bilateral* akan diperluaskan menjadi
  if   cooperation REL ready exist   as   FUT PASS-broaden AV-be
kerjasama *multilateral*. (p.42)
cooperation

...if the bilateral cooperation that already exists can be broadened to become multilateral cooperation.

[9] (parallel constructions)
... sebuah universiti yang unggul dalam pendidikan atau *"excellence in*
  one-piece university REL excellent in   education   or
education."(p.54)

...a university that demonstrates excellence in education.

...ijazah lanjutan   dalam Pengajian Persekitaran atau *Environmental Studies...*
  degree continuing   in   studies   environmental or   (p.55)

...a higher degree in Environmental Studies...

(Source for examples in [7]-[9]: Universiti Brunei Darussalam, 2000)

These examples show instances of Malay-English LA in a very formal context, and, alongside the letters quoted above, highlight the duality of attitude towards LA that is found among Bruneians, as well as in other multilingual societies.

The Bruclass and Brudirect discussion forums as Brunei's 'vox populi'?

It is necessary at this point to situate the online discussion forums within the Bruneian sociocultural context. Because the use of pseudonyms and the nature of CMC permits contributors to remain unidentified, the two forums have become a medium in which views on 'sensitive issues', such as criticism of Brunei's ruling family and of government ministers, can be aired in ways which would be unthinkable in other media. Formerly the 'Letters to the Editor' column in the Malay and English news media offered the only comparable opportunity for the general public's views to be expressed in the mass media. Critical letters of complaint published in newspapers are of a far milder nature (Noor Azam & McLellan, 2000), in part because of the requirement for writers to provide full name and contact details before the editorial staff will consider publication (Mitton, 1997). Topics of complaint in newspaper letters are confined to the inefficiencies of government services, and these may be mild in nature, owing the perception that a complaint against a section of the government is tantamount to a complaint against the Monarch, who is both Head of State and, in his capacity as Prime Minister, Head of Government.

On occasions the perceived lack of respect and irresponsibility of those posting discussion forum messages has come in for official censure, and there have been periodic threats to have them closed down (e.g. postings 3.36 and 3.40 in the corpus of messages, also Rosli Abidin Yahya, 2002, December 5). It is likely that one reason for their remaining open is that they serve as a feedback channel for those in positions of executive power to find out the feelings of one section of the 'rakyat' (people). There is a tendency for high-ranking officials to be shielded from unpalatable information which might imply that lower-ranking officials had been negligent in discharging their responsibilities. This can result in those of ministerial

level and above being obliged to take executive decisions without being in full possession of facts, or remaining unaware of popular opinion[6].

Following the post-colonial approaches to the analysis of non-standard texts showing LA by Parakrama (1996), Canagarajah (1999) and Lin (2001), it is possible to consider Bruneians' use of unmarked LA as an expression of resistance, against both the global dominance of English and local elite groups' insistence on the preservation of pure Malay. In this way they may be reclaiming ownership of a language formerly imposed from outside or from above. This issue is taken up in the concluding chapter (6.8).

This introductory chapter has outlined the background of the study in terms of code-switching and LA research, and has described relevant aspects of the sociolinguistic context of Brunei Darussalam. The study attempts to combine quantitative and qualitative analysis to describe and account for the occurrence and the non-occurrence of LA in on-line discussion forums in Brunei, and to combine micro-level linguistic with macro-level discoursal analysis in order to situate the posting texts in their sociocultural context. The selected corpus of on-line discussion forum texts permits investigation into how and why language alternation occurs or does not occur.

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[6] : In 1988 students and teachers of a government secondary school were told to amend a display at a Science exhibition showing the results of a survey on smoking among school students. They were told it was not suitable for the Ministers and other invited guests at the opening ceremony to see an exhibit that showed that a high proportion of students were smokers.

1.8 Notes on ethical issues relating to this study

Procedures

The Human Research Ethics committee of Curtin University of Technology gave its initial approval for this study in March 2000 (ref. HR 48/2000). In April 2003 an amendment to the research design was submitted to this Committee, requesting approval for the questionnaire survey instrument to be used with Bruneians currently studying or working in Western Australia. This was also approved (letter of May 29, 2003, renewed May 27, 2004). An amendment of the thesis title to its current wording was approved as per a letter dated November 24, 2003.

Ethical issues concerning CMC text ownership

Herring (1996, pp. 5-6) comments on issues surrounding CMC text as research data. She identifies two extreme viewpoints: that messages should be taken as published written material and duly referred to as such in compliance with copyright and anti-plagiarism dictates; or alternatively, that researchers should avoid all mention of specifics of the messages posted and their source so posters' privacy is not violated. Herring suggests a compromise position which distinguishes between restricted and public, open-access forums: those who choose to post messages on open-access forums, such as Bruclass and Brudirect, show a universal preference for the use of pseudonyms, thereby protecting their identity. Frankel and Siang (1999, pp.11-13) draw a similar distinction. Analysing message texts on an open public forum for their language choice and language alternation patterns, as opposed to their content, cannot be construed as threatening or as a potential infringement of rights when the text producers are known only by pseudonyms and their identities cannot be known to the researcher. Furthermore, they are fully aware that their postings are readily accessible to all who log on to the Brudirect and Bruclass websites. Paolillo (1996) adopts a similar position with reference to his analysis of Punjabi and English Usenet texts, as does Harrison (2004, p.75). Further support for this stand comes from advice given to Curtin University of Technology students concerning their discussion board postings: "While writing messages for the Discussion Board is not a formal activity like writing assignments, you are in essence 'publishing' material on a university website" (Curtin University of Technology, 2004). Hence the same policy is adopted for this thesis: the postings texts are therefore treated as on-line publications in

respect of text ownership, with the privacy of the text producers respected and maintained through referring to them, wherever this is necessary, only by their chosen pseudonyms. A consequence of this positioning is that there is no possibility of gaining access to the opinions of the text producers themselves, hence a major part of the analysis consists of text-based analysis of linguistic and discoursal product, the exception being the questionnaire survey.

Having outlined the purpose, background, scope and limitations of this study in this introductory chapter, I now proceed to a more detailed review of relevant literature in Chapter 2.

Chapter 2

Review of Related Literature

2.0 Overview

This chapter contains a review of some previous studies of code-switching and
language alternation (LA), beginning with those which offer relevant theoretical
underpinnings for this study of Malay-English language alternation occurring in the
context of two Brunei on-line public discussion forums. These include the
grammatical and sociolinguistic theories of Myers Scotton, which are compared to
the approach adopted by Bentahila and Davies and by Jacobson. Other significant
theoretical issues covered include: the notions of englishization and nativization; the
research tradition of Interactional Sociolinguistics, as established by Gumperz and
developed by Auer among others, and the typology of bilingual speech of Muysken.

The concept of identity as projected through the language choices made by speakers
and writers is central to any analysis that attempts to link grammatical and
sociolinguistic analysis. It is especially relevant in the context of Brunei, as
Bruneians demonstrate a high degree of consciousness of how their linguistic choices
serve as identity markers. Therefore, section 6 of this chapter deals with questions of
identity maintenance, negotiation and multiple identities, and how these relate to
mixed language use.

In terms of the methodology used in this thesis, the use of a corpus of texts is central,
hence there is a need to consider the importance of corpus-based approaches to
textual analysis, in particular to texts that show patterns of LA.

The focus is then narrowed to studies of previous LA research from comparable
contexts elsewhere in the Southeast Asian region, notably Hong Kong and the
Philippines, in 2.8. Sections 2.9 and 2.10 review previous studies of Malay-English
LA in Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam respectively. Studies of language in CMC
contexts, especially those investigating mixed language use, are reviewed in 2.11.

2.1 Approaches to code-switching, language alternation and language contact research

Research into language alternation can be traced back at least to the 1950's. Weinreich's (1953) study of languages in contact draws a distinction between loan translations (literal, word-for-word), loan renditions (e.g. French 'gratte-ciel', German 'Wolkenkratzer' – 'skyscraper'), and loan creations or calques which arise out of functional need, for which Weinreich (1953, p. 51) gives the Yiddish example 'mitkind' for 'sibling'. However, as noted by Myers Scotton (1993b, p. 48) among others, Weinreich is dismissive of the very idea of intrasentential code-switching, perhaps because his aim is to describe the language use of "the ideal bilingual" (Weinreich, 1953, p. 72), in much the same way as Chomsky's early linguistic writings are concerned with idealized native speakers. More recently, in Sociolinguistics as well as in the field of Linguistics generally, there have been moves away from idealizations towards the study of real language in use (Le Page, 1997, p.19).

According to Alvarez-Caccamo (1998, p. 32), the term 'code-switching' is first mentioned by Vogt (1954), who defines it as a psychological phenomenon with extra-linguistic causes. Gumperz is credited with the development of a functional, interactional-sociolinguistic view of code-switching arising out of his work in India in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The search for grammatical rules, especially constraints on code-switching, is a more recent development, stimulated by Poplack's (1980 [2000]) paper entitled 'Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish *y termino en espanol*'.

The profusion of recently-published overviews of the field of code-switching and LA research testifies to the vitality of the field. Myers Scotton (1993b, pp. 47-50), reviewing the recent history of code-switching research, notes that linguists, herself included, were initially reluctant to acknowledge the use of more than one language in a single speech event, ascribing this reluctance to the formerly dominant sociolinguistic paradigms of Diglossia (Ferguson, 1959) and Fishman's (1968) domain model. Both of these are binary choice models, which assume that

participants in any given speech event will choose one of the available varieties and will use this consistently.

Muysken (2000, pp.10-34) also reviews the historical development of code-switching research. His overall focus is on the grammar of code-switching, in which psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic factors are only relevant inasmuch as they are manifested in grammatical patterns (Muysken 2000, p. 3). Clyne (2003, pp. 70-92) offers a comparable review, which reflects his view of code-switching as one important aspect in the wider field of Language Contact, in which "the dynamics of convergence" (p. 70) and the notion of "transference" (p. 76) are central features. Winford (2003) likewise locates code-switching within Contact Linguistics, and follows Myers Scotton's practice of separate discussion of linguistic aspects and social contexts.

The focus on the grammar of LA has been challenged by Gardner-Chloros and Edwards (2004), who note that "sociolinguistic factors frequently override 'grammatical' factors" (p.103), and express doubts as to whether purely grammatical approaches can ever satisfactorily account for texts that show LA (p. 126).

2.2 Code-switching as an equal or unequal partnership between languages

Myers Scotton's theories on code-switching are elaborated in greatest detail in two monographs published simultaneously (Myers Scotton, 1993a, 1993b). 'Duelling Languages' (Myers Scotton, 1993a) is subtitled 'grammatical structure in codeswitching', whilst Myers Scotton (1993b) bears the title 'Social Motivations for Codeswitching: evidence from Africa'.

Myers Scotton (1993a) outlines and exemplifies the Matrix Language-Frame (ML-F) theory. One of the two alternating languages serves as the matrix language which supplies the morphosyntactic frame, including the grammatical function words and morphemes. The other is termed the embedded language, which supplies content morphemes and words. Jacobson (1977) is acknowledged by Myers Scotton (1993a, p. 20) as the first to use these terms with reference to code-switching.

It is possible for there to be more than one embedded language in cases of plurilingual contact. McLellan (1994) and McLellan and Nojeg (1996) discuss spoken and written examples where the matrix language is Bau-Jagoi Bidayuh, a western Borneo indigenous isolect, and Malay and English both function as alternative embedded languages. Callahan (2002, p. 4) makes a similar observation in a study of the application of Myers Scotton's ML-F theory to Spanish-English written code-switching in prose fiction.

In discussing the Matrix Language-Frame theory, other code-switching researchers and commentators have raised the problem of how to determine the matrix language (Nortier, 1990, pp. 157-161, Halmari 1997, pp. 19-21). This problem is especially acute where the data texts are conversational, consisting of many sentence fragments or syntactically incomplete utterances. For Myers Scotton (1993a, pp. 232-233) designation of the matrix language is a socially, not a syntactically motivated decision, in spite of the apparent contradiction of the matrix language governing the morphosyntax of the text. Designation is over longer stretches of discourse, rather than at sentence- or sub-sentence levels (Myers Scotton, 1993a, pp.66-8, p. 72). The distinction here lies between the choice of the matrix language and its operational mechanism.

In the 'Afterword' of the second edition of this monograph, there is a clarification and a retraction of these earlier statements, and it is explained that "the ML versus EL opposition only applies when at least two codes are present in the same CP (projection of complementizer)" (Myers Scotton, 1997a, p. 246). Thus, in this refinement, the unit of analysis is reduced from sentence- or text-level to the subsentential level of the CP, a unit akin (although not always equivalent) to the clause, used especially in Government and Binding and Universal Grammar syntactic theories (Myers Scotton, 1997, p. 243).

A further refinement to ML-F theory is discussed by Myers Scotton (2002, pp. 16-18). This is the 4-M model, which subdivides morphemes into four categories: content morphemes, early system morphemes, and two types of late system morphemes, bridge and outsider. Possessive adjectives and the English –s plural are examples of early system morphemes, which should occur in the matrix language in

a code-mixed CP (pp. 78-79). This model derives from psycholinguistic study of how and when these morpheme types are accessed by speakers, including aphasics (Myers Scotton (2002, p. 74).

Whilst the matrix and embedded language notions are extremely useful constructs for the analysis of texts showing LA, a more empirical, less abstract formulation, 'Main Language' is used in this study, as explained in 3.2 below. The developments within Myers Scotton's ML-F theory over a series of publications make it necessary for this theory to be a loose basis, not an instrument of analysis, for this thesis. ML-F theory also highlights one major difficulty that arises in any study of LA, that of determining the appropriate level or unit of analysis. The solution offered here is that of a 2-level approach to the texts. Firstly the 'Main Language' of each posting text is determined through a word- and group- frequency count. Then syntactically mixed groups are analyzed in order to show predominant patterns and to focus on specific aspects of congruence and non-congruence between Malay and English. This helps to resolve the uncertainty caused by Myers Scotton's dual use of the 'Matrix Language' notion, both as an abstract 'theoretical construct' (comparable to linguistic notions such as 'sentence' and 'word') that is socially determined, but also as one of the components of bilingual CPs, alongside the 'Embedded Language' (Myers Scotton, 2000, pp. 32-35, p. 55 n.5).

The matrix/embedded language distinction has parallels in Pidgin and Creole linguistics, where one language, usually that of the colonizer, serves as 'lexifier', whilst the grammar may come from one or more local vernacular languages (Sebba, 1997, p.25). Creoles develop when a Pidgin language becomes the first language of a community. Where a Pidgin undergoes processes of stabilization and modernization, such as with the elevation of Tok Pisin to national-language status in Papua New Guinea, it becomes possible to describe alternation of the Pidgin with the initial lexifier, in this case English (Smith, 2002, p. 117-119). However, Pidgin and Creole contact languages differ in significant ways from the type of LA that is used in the Brunei discussion forum texts. The former arise out of practical necessity, whereas the corpus shows that Bruneians who can and do post monolingual messages in either Malay or English, at times choose to alternate within the same text.

In Myers Scotton (1993b) a model of markedness is developed to account for speakers' choices, "to explain the socio-psychological motivations behind C(ode) S(witching)" (Myers Scotton, 1993b, p. 3). "The book suggests what bilingual speakers achieve by engaging in CS rather than staying with only one language for a conversation" (Myers Scotton, 1993b, p. 6). Myers Scotton and Bolonyai (2001, pp. 7-15) recast the markedness model in terms of rational choice; Myers Scotton (2002b) uses a quantitative frequency count method to support notions of what is marked and what is unmarked. As in all attempts to develop a theory of language in use, there is a dilemma: any theory, in order to have a claim to universal validity and explanatory adequacy, needs to be more than just a taxonomy of motives which may only be valid in one local context. For this to happen, the theoretical premises have to be formulated at a high level of abstraction (Myers Scotton, 1993b, p. 84). Constructs such as 'topic' and 'setting', which are central to any sociolinguistic description, are themselves situational variables, as are the status descriptors (high, low, lingua franca, vernacular, etc.) for the language varieties involved.

It is noticeable how, throughout the various restatements and refinements, Myers Scotton consistently attempts to maintain a separation of the grammatical and the sociolinguistic sides of her theoretical approach. In Myers Scotton (2002a), where her focus is on the wider field of 'Contact Linguistics' as distinct from code-switching alone, only one chapter out of seven is devoted to sociolinguistic aspects of language contact; the others deal only with grammatical aspects.

As outlined in section 1.1, Myers Scotton's insistence that there is always inequality between the languages involved in code-switching is challenged by Bentahila and Davies (1998), in their study of Moroccan Arabic and French, and by Jacobson (1998, 2000, 2001, 2002) with reference to Spanish-English and Malay-English alternation.

Bentahila and Davies (1998, pp. 45-47) discuss a spoken narrative text in which there is near equality in the total of French and Arabic words, as measured both by a word count and by counting the French, Arabic and mixed clauses. They comment, "[t]he frequent alternation between whole statements in one language and those in the other means that both languages seem to have equal parts to play in the unfolding of the

story" (Bentahila & Davies, 1998, p. 46), and note that this balanced alternation tends to occur in the output of highly proficient Arabic-French bilinguals (p. 47). They further raise the possibility that "bilinguals who are quite able to speak exclusively in the second language do not wish to adopt the level of formality which total exclusion of the solidarity language would suggest," (Bentahila and Davies, 1998, p. 48). These findings and observations are highly relevant to the Brunei context.

In a series of significant studies, Jacobson summarises the state of the argument in code-switching research and adds further examples which support the possibility of equal language alternation raised by Bentahila and Davies. Jacobson (2000, pp. 61-63, p. 71) emphasizes that this third mechanism of equal language alternation is additional rather than alternative to the more common asymmetrical (Matrix/Embedded) pattern, which is also shown to occur in his Spanish-English and Malay-English data. Jacobson (2000, p.71) points out that the other main area of disagreement between himself and Bentahila and Davies on the one side, and Myers Scotton and colleagues on the other, is over the preferred unit of analysis: either the sentence, or else the projection of complementizer (CP) as used by Myers Scotton. The solution adopted for this study is a two-level analysis, initially at text level, then at the level of the group, akin to the CP. This is discussed further in 3.2 and 3.3. below.

In terms of the sociolinguistic roles of Malay and English in Malaysia, often perceived to be competing, Jacobson (2000, pp. 70-71) suggests that the existence and frequency of balanced Malay-English alternation could be given official sanction and used by language planners and those holding political power to show that Malay and English can coexist harmoniously.

Although the experimental study design, recommended for future research by Jacobson (2000, p.69) [1], is not a part of the design for this thesis, a major aim is to

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[1] : Li and Tse (2002) conducted a comparable study in the context of Hong Kong, in which they asked participants to spend 24 hours refraining from using any English, saying all they needed to say in Cantonese, all the while keeping a diary in which they recorded the difficulties they experienced in so doing.

shed further light on the question of unequal versus equal LA using the corpus of discussion forum texts. In Jacobson (2001) the focus is on the pragmatics of code-switching, and he demonstrates that Malay-English LA can occur in formal as well as in informal settings. He also makes an important claim about grammatical structure in noun phrases:

> where both languages are joined together, it is often the Malay grammatical structure that determines the outcome, as in *kategori interdisciplinary, kursus major, grade yang baik, thought ini* where speakers follow in all instances the Malay word order of adjectives following, and not preceding, nouns.

(Jacobson, 2001, p.189)

This question is a major issue in the present study, discussed in terms of the notion of congruence, and this claim is tested against the data from Brunei.

Jacobson (2001) refers in some detail to a study by Azhar and Bahiyah (1994), which specifically addresses questions of language and code-switching by elite Malaysian bilinguals, and relates issues of Malay-English LA to bilingual proficiency. Azhar and Bahiyah (1994) are acknowledged as having recognized the LA pattern in which both languages play an equal role (Jacobson 2001, p.184). They develop the notion of 'holey English', defined as holes in stretches of English filled with stretches of Malay, or *vice versa*, and characterized by "seamlessness" (Azhar & Bahiyah, 1994, pp.133-137). A number of important issues raised by Azhar and Bahiyah and by Jacobson (2001) with reference to Malay-English LA are investigated in this thesis in the context of CMC in Brunei. For example, the claim that "code switching is not only a means of social cohesiveness, but an effective means of production" (Azhar & Bahiyah, 1994, p.133) is highly relevant to the texts analysed in this thesis. The claim the codeswitching is a "bonding agent" for Malaysian speakers of English (Azhar & Bahiyah, 1994, p. 133) can also be validated with reference to the Bruneian English-knowing bilingual community.

The divergent attitudes of Malaysians towards language alternation and mixing are discussed in Jacobson (2002). These range from fascination and delight in bilingual proficiency, to outright condemnation. Since attitudes are clearly a factor in addressing the question of why Bruneians choose to use or avoid LA, this thesis includes a small-scale survey of Bruneian attitudes to Malay-English LA. The attitudes emerging from the questionnaire survey responses, and from texts that directly address the issue, are reported and discussed in later sections of this thesis.

This section has highlighted the crucial question of whether the partnership between contributing languages in text showing LA is always unequal and asymmetrical, in terms of which language provides the grammatical structuring and which supplies the embedded lexical items.

2.3 Studies of LA as englishization and nativization processes

In a study of Malay academic discourse, Asmah (1982) characterizes this as showing a degree of "anglicization" (p. 142). The parallel terms englishization ("anglicization" and "englishization" are taken to be synonymous) and nativization are used by Kachru (1994) to describe language contact phenomena in contexts where English was initially introduced as the colonial language. Englishization refers to the ways in which English influences other languages, while nativization is the reverse process, by which indigenized varieties of English develop through contact with other languages. Rosnah, Noor Azam and McLellan (2002) have applied these terms to the Brunei situation, stressing the co-occurrence of the two processes, as well as aspects of bilinguals' creativity (Kachru, 1982) and issues of ownership of the languages concerned.

Examples of these processes can be found in some of the semantic shifts that occur when English lexemes are nativized by Bruneians, whether or not they undergo orthographic modification. Hence, 'konfiden' (confident) undergoes semantic restriction and is taken to mean 'overly confident' or even 'arrogant', having only negative connotations. 'Proud' is likewise used only in a negative sense, as a translation equivalent of the Malay lexeme 'sombong' ('haughty') rather than 'bangga' ('proud' as in 'he is proud of his country's achievements'). Noor Azam

(personal communication) also notes that these shifts apply both when Bruneians are mixing Malay and English and when they are using English alone.

Mashudi's (1994) study of anglicized Malay demonstrates how the processes of anglicization / englishization and nativization represent an alternative framework for describing language contact in texts showing LA. This work by Mashudi is discussed in detail in 2.9 below.

2.4 Situational v. metaphorical code-switching in conversation: The research tradition of Gumperz and Auer

As noted in 1.1, Myers Scotton (e.g.1993b, pp. 46-60) acknowledges the major contribution of Gumperz in defining the whole field of LA and code-switching study, in particular the distinction between 'situational' and 'metaphorical' code-switching, first drawn in Blom and Gumperz (1972, pp. 422-423). Situational code-switching occurs when there is a change in the social setting or in the participants in conversational interaction; metaphorical switching is when these remain constant but there is a change in "topical emphasis" (Blom & Gumperz, 1972, p. 409).

Myers Scotton notes how many code-switching researchers have made use of Gumperz's (1982, pp.75-81) taxonomy of the functions of code-switching. The research tradition of Interactional Sociolinguistics, established by Gumperz, has been further developed, notably by Auer (1984, 1998), into an approach to conversational code-switching along the lines of ethnomethodological conversation analysis. As such, in spite of the interactive aspects of the threads of postings in the discussion forum texts under investigation in this thesis, this approach is of less direct relevance to texts located in a CMC domain that show more of the features of written text rather then spoken conversational interaction.

2.5 Muysken's typology of code-mixing

Muysken (2000, p. 3) identifies three major categories of code-mixing, namely insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalization. He concurs with Myers Scotton in suggesting that the bilingual speaker's choice of whether to use any of the types depends on the grammatical structures and on socio- and psycholinguistic factors. Muysken acknowledges the importance of Sebba's (1998) notion of congruence as a crucial factor in the grammatical analysis of code-switching. However, in an extensive review of Muysken (2000), Kamwangamalu (2001) questions the necessity for the introduction of yet more new terminology, claiming that the distinction between insertion and alternation is equivalent to (intrasentential) codemixing as against (intersentential) code-switching, whilst congruent lexicalization is simply another term for borrowing, since it is characterized by morphological integration.

Although the 3-way theoretical formulation proposed by Muysken has the merit of elegance and is based on an equally wide range of language pairs as those drawn upon by Myers Scotton, Bentahila and Davies and Jacobson, Muysken's categories of code-switching processes are not used as an analytical framework in this thesis. This is because, as noted in 2.1 above, they represent a purely grammatical approach to bilingual speech, rather than one that is equally based on sociolinguistic aspects of LA. Furthermore, the reservations expressed by Kamwangamalu (2001) concerning duplication of terminology appear to have some validity.

2.6 Acts of Identity: Issues of identity and language alternation

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) is a Creole-based study which draws its data largely from the Caribbean region, though there are passing references to Malaysia and Singapore. For this thesis, their discussion of the relationship between language and ethnic identity (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985, pp. 234-249) is pertinent, likewise the suggestion that all linguistic output represents an act of identity, and their notions of projection, focussing and diffusion (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985, pp. 181-182; Le Page, 1997, pp. 29-30). According to this approach, speakers and writers are performing acts of identity by choosing to use one language or

another, or to mix two or more languages in their output: they project their chosen identity in part through the linguistic choices they make.

Myers Scotton (1993b, pp.119-125) also discusses issues of identity surrounding participants for whom code-switching is the "unmarked" choice in their face-to-face interaction. Her observations concerning motivations for LA in urban centres in Africa, especially the association of English with upward social mobility (Myers Scotton, 1993b, p.122) have resonances in the Brunei context.

Myhill (2003, p. 95) is critical of simplistic applications of the "native-language-and-identity ideology". Theories of multiple or shifting identities may be more applicable in complex multilingual contexts, in which speakers may wish to signal, through their language choices, membership (or non-membership) of a variety of social groups, ranging from a village community to a worldwide academic community. As explained by Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001, p. 247), poststructuralist approaches view identity as "multiple, dynamic, and subject to change, and the relationship between language and identity as mutually constitutive". As such, identities are open to negotiation, and Blackledge and Pavlenko acknowledge code-switching as "the key linguistic means of negotiation of identities" (p. 248).

Asmah (2000, pp.15-20), in a study on language and identity questions from a Malaysian perspective, also discusses how individuals can have more than one linguistic identity, and her informants' comments support the 'Acts of Identity' approach of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985). Similar support can be found in a discussion of identity and language maintenance and shift in a small Brunei indigenous minority group, the Penan, by Sercombe (2000). Questions of identity, as negotiated, projected and reflected through language choices in text construction, are central to the texts under investigation in this thesis, and are discussed with relations to findings in section 6.5 in the concluding chapter.

2.7 Corpus-based approaches to codemixed texts

In recent times the development of computer software for lexical, syntactic and textual analysis has led to greater emphasis on textual corpora as research resources, although the use of a corpus, usually consisting of recordings of spoken conversations, has long been standard practice for code-switching researchers. Nortier (1990) and Halmari (1997) both use sets of recorded conversations involving a limited number of participants: these constitute a data corpus, even though they are not referred to as such. Myers Scotton (1993a, pp. 9-18) and Kurtböke (1998), by contrast, make use of specifically corpus-based approaches in their data collection and analysis.

Partington (1998), Scott (2001) and Henry and Roseberry (2001) all point out that textual corpora do not need to be inordinately large for them to have validity both as research data and as input for language teaching, especially when the corpus consists of texts belonging to a specific genre, defined by communicative purpose as well as by the context in which the texts appear.

Kurtböke's (1998) thesis places corpus analysis at the centre of a study of Turkish-English language contact in Australia. She uses a corpus of texts from community publications of the Turkish migrant community in Australia to investigate alternation between Turkish and English, referred to as 'Ozturk'. Since the texts are collected from publications spanning a number of years, she is able to use the tools of corpus analysis, including word frequency and collocation analysis, to obtain a diachronic perspective on changing patterns of contact, and to analyse patterns of both (lexical) collocation and (syntactic) colligation in this code-mixed variety. Kurtböke's study demonstrates the potential for corpus-based approaches to code-switching and language alternation research, but there are differences between her research objectives and methods and those used in this thesis. Firstly Kurtböke's study is from a diachronic perspective. Secondly, her analysis is of language use in an immigrant community in an L1 English sociolinguistic context where questions of language shift are of paramount importance; and thirdly, the texts which constitute her corpus are dissimilar to the Brunei online discussion forum postings analysed in this thesis.

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Kurtböke's study nevertheless demonstrates the importance of a corpus-based approach to the study of texts showing LA.

The present study uses corpus-analytical and concordancing tools, in particular Wordsmith Tools Version 3 (Scott, 2001), as support, where relevant, rather than as the central instrument of the analysis.

2.8 Studies of LA from the Southeast Asian region

Li (1996) subsumes analysis of spoken and written codemixed Cantonese-English discourse within a discussion of bilingualism and biculturalism. In his concluding chapter on implications for future research, he addresses the question of the grammaticality of code-mixed sentences, suggesting that grammaticality judgements are of limited use owing to the typological distance between Chinese (specifically Cantonese) and English (Li 1996, pp.151-152). Li's reference to sentences which are ungrammatical in both languages can be related to Sebba's (1998, pp.14-15) 'compromise strategy', which accounts for such mixed groups. Evidence of this nature supports the idea of a third separate grammar of codemixing, to be operationalised at points where there is a lack of congruence, such as the Malay head-modifier versus the English modifier-head nominal phrase structure.

Li (2000) reviews code-switching research in Hong Kong, a context which, like Malaysia and the Philippines, has many parallels to Brunei, especially in the roles of English in the respective education systems. This is one of the few studies, aside from Myers Scotton's work, which attempts to categorize the motivations for code-switching. Li suggests euphemism, specificity, bilingual punning and the principle of economy, and offers examples of all these, with some derived from written contexts such as entertainment news stories. His conclusion refers to "the prevailing societal disapproval against Chinese Hongkongers using English exclusively for intraethnic communication" (Li, 2000, p. 318), highlighting one direct point of comparability with the Brunei context.

One problem with any attempt to ascertain whether Bruneians' LA behaviour shares similar motivations to those of the Hong Kong speakers and writers discussed by Li

(1996, 2000) is that such a research question is really best addressed by members of the Bruneian speech community: an outsider's familiarity with the languages involved is not in itself a sufficient qualification for making statements about motives for code choices. Since the text producers are only identified by pseudonyms at the foot of their postings, it would be both a practical impossibility and unethical to identify and interview them (q.v. 1.8). The methodology adopted in this study attempts to circumvent this problem by allowing a group of informants from the same social and linguistic background as the text producers, i.e. educated Malay-English bilinguals, to express their opinions on the linguistic and lexical choices in the texts (see 3.7 and 5.1 below).

2.9 Malay-English language alternation in the context of Malaysia and Singapore

The earliest studies of English-Malay language alternation date from the 1970's (e.g. Noor Azlina, 1979). Up until this time, the attentions of Malaysian linguists and sociolinguists were focused on the development and implementation of the National Language policy. The relative paucity of codeswitching studies may also derive from the perception that research into stigmatized codes, as with Pidgins and Creoles (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985, pp. 191-192; Mühlhäusler, 1996, p. 15) and Bazaar Malay (Collins, 1987) is an activity unworthy of serious linguists who should be spending their energies describing and prescribing standard rather than 'sub-standard' languages. Only in the 1980s and 1990s, with the recognition of the importance of 'nativized' varieties of English such as 'Singlish' and 'Manglish' as identity markers, has this disdain been overcome.

Evidence for this perception of LA text as debased can be found in the Malaysian context from a series of newspaper reports and comments lamenting the frequency of what is termed *'Bahasa rojak'* (from *rojak*: Indonesian dish with a wide diversity of ingredients in a thick sauce, hence glossed as "mixed language"; Tan, 1996, July 15, p. 12). In response to high-level condemnation of *Bahasa rojak*, the Malaysian national broadcasting authority RTM pledged not to run dramas and interviews in which politicians and others lapse into this variety (End of 'Bahasa Rojak' for RTM,

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2000; Is 'rojak' too much to stomach?, 2000; Farush Khan, 2002). However, as is often the case, this has not been followed through, perhaps because the practice is so frequent among the Malaysian elite, including the present and previous Malaysian Prime Ministers, who regularly codeswitch between Malay and English during broadcast interviews[2].

Noor Azlina's (1979) study is significant for its use of informal spoken data in which the participants are members of the Malaysian Malay-English bilingual elite, a group which holds political power, as well as a gradually increasing amount of economic power in Malaysia. Noor Azlina's study provides both a syntactic analysis of switches recorded in one extended conversation, and an account of possible motives for such switches. It serves to demonstrate that, in the Malay world as elsewhere, LA is not a deficit strategy used only by those speakers with limited L2 competence, but a feature of the informal speech of highly proficient bilinguals. Noor Azlina (1979, p. 3) tabulates the sociolinguistic variables that influence the incidence of code-switching among Malay-English bilinguals: the situational variables of topic, setting, and participants and their role-relationships, and the motivational variables which are the attitudes and meanings participants wish to convey through their code choices, such as downplaying social distance. She stresses the importance of speakers being aware of their interlocutors' bilingual abilities, notes that certain topics are handled better in one language than another (Noor Azlina, 1979, p. 5), draws up a table of which topics are discussed in which language (p. 6) and follows Gumperz and Hernandez-Chavez (1971) in suggesting that not every instance of LA conveys social meaning (Noor Azlina, 1979, p. 7).

Pakir (1989, p. 381) makes use of Gumperz's typology of functions of conversational code-switching (see above, section 1.1, section 2.4), but emphasizes that LA has the major function of negotiating relationships among the participants, and negotiating a

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[2] : Former Malaysian Finance Minister and Deputy Prime Minister Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim made a conscious stand against this trend. He was renowned for giving Budget speeches without borrowed forms from English but with many obscure and infrequent Malay words including Arabic, Javanese and Sanskrit borrowings.

collective social identity for the Baba/Nyonya speech community, with the move from Hokkien to Malay as the most common reiteration strategy (Pakir, 1989, pp. 383-385). While Pakir's study has important implications for the methodology for ascribing functions to LA in this present thesis, her conclusion makes clear that the findings are limited in their applicability to that particular, rapidly-declining speech community. Applicability and universality of findings recurring problems within the LA research field (Halmari 1997, p.194).

Ożóg (1987b, 1993) has published studies of code-switching in both Malaysia and Brunei, covering syntactic structure and sociolinguistic functions, and a comparative account of LA practices in both nations (Ożóg 1996b). He describes the syntax of mixed Malay and English bilingual speech, using Hallidayan systemic grammar categories, mostly at group and clause level. Examples are given of mixed nominal and verbal groups, English subject and object governed by a Malay predicator (verb), and switched discourse markers and fillers. His data do not include any examples of intra-word mixed morpheme affixation of the "*mem*ban" type (Ożóg, 1987b, p. 73).

The frequent occurrence of pronominal switches in the Malaysian context is also noted by Ożóg (1987b, p. 84), and by Noor Azlina (1979, pp. 10-11), but Ożóg (1996b, p.186) suggests that this is not a feature in Brunei. The question of Malay-English pronominal switches, also discussed by Jacobson (1993, pp. 411-412), and by Wan Imran (2000) in the context of internet relay chatrooms (IRCs), is investigated with reference to the corpus of texts studied in this thesis.

Wong (1991) analyses spoken Malay-English code-switching using an interactional sociolinguistic framework, noting that switches can occur without any change in the setting or participants. Wong (1991, p.1056) suggests that switches may occur with participants who were educated through Malaysia's (pre-1980) English-medium system and hence are bilingual. He concludes that such practices are likely to be only a transitional phenomenon with the switch to a mainly Malay-medium education system:

"Tetapi dengan peredaran masa, fenomena ini mungkin berkurangan atau hilang pada suatu masa nanti". (translation: "But with the passage of time this phenomenon will probably decrease or die out at some future time")

(Wong, 1991, p.1056).

This analysis, however, does not take into account the continued role of English in Malaysian society, especially in urban and elite contexts.

Language alternation in the workplace is the topic of a study by Morais (1995), who uses an interactional sociolinguistic approach in the setting of a Malaysian subsidiary of a multinational company. Through this she is able to determine the relative frequency of LA at different hierarchical levels. She identifies three varieties of English: a standard variety having international intelligibility, a 'Malaysian English' variety, and a pidginised variety. For Malay also three parallel varieties are observed: a (rarely-used) standard variety, a 'social' variety, and a pidginised variety used by those who are not ethnic Malays. A number of other Malaysian researchers, among them Baskaran (1994) and Gill (1999), posit the existence of at least three varieties of Malaysian English along a lectal continuum from acrolect through mesolect to basilect, and the question arises whether such a formulation may also have relevance in the Brunei CMC context. Nair-Venugopal (2000, pp. 51-62) reviews the lectal continuum model in Malaysian English and codeswitching research.

David has published a series of studies of code-switching in the Malaysian context, focussing on creativity in the language of young people (David, 2000), and on language choice in Malaysian courtrooms (David, 2003). In a major sociolinguistic study of the minority Sindhi community in Malaysia, David (2001) discusses Sindhi-Malay-English code-switching as an indicator of intergenerational language shift. As in the present study, David uses a variety of research methods in order to achieve triangulation, including participant observation, analysis of recorded conversations, interviews and questionnaires.

Mashudi (1994) is a syntactic study of 'anglicized Malay' (see 2.3 above), which offers evidence that Malay-speakers from elite groups, (i.e. those who are English-knowing bilinguals) modify the syntax and lexis of their Malay-language output in

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ways that show the influence of English. A question that arises here is whether such examples can be considered as a form of LA, even though there may not be any actual switches into English. Mashudi offers examples of the preference for using single non-technical English lexemes in Malay discourse, e.g.

[1]
Saya sedikit *concern* tentang masalah itu
1s   a.bit   concerned   about   problem   DEM

'I am a bit concerned about that problem' [3]

(Mashudi, 1994, p. 10)

"Concern" in this example could be rendered by the Malay form "*prihatin*". Other examples discussed by Mashudi include 'efficient / *berkesan*', 'in fact,.../ *sesungguhnya,...*', 'contact / *hubungi*' and 'settle / *selesaikan*'. Mashudi offers a potential motive for the preference for the English lexemes:

> "[T]he English words that are preferred over the Malay equivalents
> are those whose concepts are familiar to the interlocutors compared to
> the concepts of the corresponding Malay words which are relatively
> "new" vocabulary items for them as their educational backgrounds
> have largely been via the English medium."

(Mashudi, 1994, p. 11)

This would imply that younger Malaysians, educated through the post-1970 mainly Malay-medium system that has been in place since that date, would be less likely to use the anglicized forms, a question that lies beyond the scope of the present study. However, younger Bruneians educated through the bilingual '*Dwibahasa*' system (see above, 1.5) could be expected to show a comparable penchant for the use of anglicized forms. Mashudi's discussion here is a reflection of the important influence of language policy in education on patterns of LA.

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[3] : See p. xii for list of abbreviations used in this thesis. Conventions adopted for citing, both from the data corpus and from other researchers' examples, are explained and justified in section 3.3.

Mashudi then extends the argument by suggesting that Malay sentences with anglicized syntactic structures count as examples of the same phenomenon: hence [2], despite having no borrowed or codemixed forms, is considered an anglicized form because of the cleft structure:

[2]
Bila dia akan tiba, tiada   yang tahu.
When 3s FUT arrive, NEG-have. REL know

When he will arrive, no one knows,

whilst [3] represents the purer 'classical' Malay form:

[3]
Tiada   yang tahu masa dia akan tiba
NEG-have REL know time 3s FUT arrive

No one knows when he will arrive

(Mashudi, 1994, p. 14)

Mashudi concludes by suggesting that these and other anglicized forms will inevitably become part of the "native language - Malay" in the same way that Arabic lexis has been assimilated and accepted into Malay (p.18). The implication is that such unnatural changes are features of language contact and are liable to occur in any bi- or multilingual context.

The work of Jacobson on Malay-English code-switching in Malaysia has been discussed in detail in 2.2 (above).

2.10 Malay-English language alternation research in the context of Brunei.

It would be inaccurate and reductionist to assume that all LA that occurs in Brunei involves the use of English: in this complex multilingual environment there can be code-switching between the lingua franca, Brunei Malay, and Bahasa Melayu, as well as between Brunei Malay and the other indigenous languages, and between Brunei Malay and the Chinese languages spoken by Chinese Bruneians (Mariam, 1992; Martin, 1996a, p. 131, p. 141; Fazilah, 2002, p. 1).

The study of Malay-English language alternation in the Brunei context does not have a long history: Ożóg (1987a) is the first to address the topic. More recent research focuses largely on the school classroom context, addressing issues of immediate practical relevance to Brunei's developing bilingual education policy and its practical implementation. The classroom domain is quite distinct and generates interaction patterns such as the Initiation-Response-Follow-up (IRF) originally described by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) using recordings from British classrooms. Brunei classroom interaction studies such as those of Martin (1997), Chua-Wong (1998) and Fatimah (2002), as well as those studies that use data from informal interaction outside the school classroom, all demonstrate the powerful influence of the physical, social and cultural context of situation. McLellan (2000a) draws attention to the occurrence of language alternation in formal contexts, including written discourse, in Brunei. As yet, however, there are no doctoral-level or monograph-length studies of language alternation in Brunei outside of the school classroom domain.

Previous studies on language alternation in the context of Brunei can be further divided into those which make use of recorded or textual data (Table 2.1) and those which report on surveys of attitudes and opinions on the use of code-switching and language alternation strategies, listed in Table 2.2.

Table 2.1

Data-based studies of LA in Brunei

Classroom	Non-classroom
Cath & McLellan (1993) Jainap (1994) Martin (1996a,1997) Murni (1996) Chua-Wong (1998) Fatimah(2002)	Ożóg (1987a, 1996) McLellan (2000) Zini (1997) Rosnah *et al.* (2002) Fazilah (2002)

Table 2.2

Opinion and attitude surveys of LA in Brunei

Classroom	Non-classroom
Zulkarnain Edham (1996) Cane & Rosnah (1996) Chung (1999)	Jones (1995) McLellan & Noor Azam (2000) Saxena & Sercombe (2002)

Studies which investigate participants' opinions on language alternation are valuable in that they can reveal attitudes of participants to their own and others' use of LA. Saxena and Sercombe (2002) cite interviews with Bruneian students which lend support to the notion of code-switching as the unmarked choice among younger bilinguals educated through the country's *Dwibahasa* bilingual system, in place since 1985: "mixing of both languages (Brunei Malay and English)…is a very usual way." (Saxena & Sercombe, 2002, p. 254). Their informants also display more positive attitudes towards the local as opposed to the standard varieties:

> "Brunei Malay 'describes' me as a Bruneian – it gives me social identity and serves as a statement of membership of the community I belong to";

> "I consider it (Standard Malay) as a foreign language for me even though Brunei Malay is my mother tongue";

> "particularly in the friendship and family domains, where the environment is saturated with casualness, it feels natural to use Brunei English together with Brunei Malay"

> (Saxena & Sercombe, 2002, pp.255-256).

Comments such as these are relevant to the issues of identity and language choice and use, in terms of which varieties occur in the CMC medium and in particular which varieties are alternated.

Younger Bruneians have grown up using both Brunei Malay and Standard Malay, as well as English, and it has been claimed that codemixed Malay-English is the default code for this group (Ożóg 1996b, p.183). The use of unmixed Brunei Malay would only be expected in the context of interaction with speakers with no facility in English, such as older relatives. According to Martin (1996b, p. 33) and to Saxena and Sercombe's (2002) informants, Standard Malay in spoken contexts is felt to be a foreign language with which they feel "uncomfortable" (pp. 255-256). Unmixed English is stigmatized as being snobbish or "stuck-up" (Zulkarnain Edham, 1996), and is associated with those who have obtained university degrees overseas and thus enjoy high prestige in Bruneian society (Cane & Rosnah, 1996). One informant sees

'Standard English' as reserved for occasions when they wish to show disrespect, distance or divergence and show off their level of education (Saxena and Sercombe, 2002, p. 257; see also Svalberg & Fatimah, 1998, p. 55). All Saxena and Sercombe's Bruneian informants report that they would never use English to address older family members, as this would be considered disrespectful, *'sombong'* (haughty) and showing off. These observations and quotations indicate the relevance of Myers Scotton's (1993b) theory of markedness to the Brunei context, and the essential need to link the grammatical with the sociocultural aspects in any attempt to account for texts showing any measure of LA.

Opinion surveys have shown that, for Bruneians (unlike for many Malaysians), English is not perceived as a threat to the maintenance of their in-group language, Brunei Malay (Jones, 1995). Attitudes both towards the language itself and its role in the Bruneian education system are generally positive. English fulfils instrumental rather than integrative roles, being the means of access to better-paying higher-status jobs and to international communication. Even strongly nationalistic advocates of Malay recognize the instrumental need for English among Bruneians (Muhammad Jamil, 1991, p.13; Mataim, 1994 - see discussion in McLellan, 1997). Such a division of sociolinguistic roles between the languages in the Brunei context provides optimum opportunities for language alternation to occur.

However, the broader claim that language alternation is the norm for younger educated Bruneians in all domains, is disputed by others who have studied the sociolinguistics of Brunei (e.g. Wood, Sharifah, Swan & Elgar, 2001, c.f. Martin, 1996a, p.139). This claim is not specifically under investigation in this thesis, which is restricted to analysis of texts appearing in one single domain, on-line discussion forums dealing with Brunei current affairs topics.

Attitude surveys also shed light on the 'purity of language' (Davies 1991) and *'pencemaran bahasa'* (Malay: 'pollution of language') arguments, previously referred to in the Malaysian context in 1.7 and 2.9 above. In Brunei, by contrast, there are fewer instances of official proscription of *'Bahasa Rojak'*, although anecdotal evidence suggests that such usage is likewise frowned upon by defenders

of pure Malay. Amongst elite groups having the power to make public and publicized pronouncements, it is often reported that those who prescribe 'pure' language use for others themselves resort to language alternation when expedient (Fasold 1984, pp. 206-27; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985, pp.191-192; Romaine 1995, p.122)[4].

Among the limited number of previous studies of LA in Brunei outside the classroom context, McLellan (2000a) shows that LA in the Brunei context is not confined to informal spoken interaction, but can occur anywhere along the formality continuum, including in academic writing and political speeches reported in the print media.

Zini (1997) is a study of code-switching in Brunei using data from a radio phone-in programme aired on *Rangkaian Pelangi*, a local radio station. Zini offers a descriptive classification with seven categories of switched items: *Sapaan* (greetings), *Inter-ayat* (intersentential), *Intra-ayat* (intrasentential), *Rangkaian* (links, discourse markers), *Pencelahan* (insertions, i.e. single lexical items), *Pengulangan* (repetitions i.e. parallel translations), and particles. In his conclusion he makes the telling comment, "Secara realitinya kejadian beralih kod sudah menular dalam masyarakat yang berpendidikan" (translation: "In reality instances of code-switching have infected educated society", Zini 1997, p. 98), thereby revealing that he views the instances of LA that he has analysed as pollution of 'proper' Malay.

A recent study of code-switching among undergraduates studying at the University of Brunei Darussalam (Fazilah, 2002) contains pertinent findings both from her analysis of transcribed conversations and from an opinion survey concerning code-switching. This study is significant for a number of reasons, not the least being that it

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[4]: A workshop held at the University of Brunei Darussalam in 1997 had the theme "*Pengunaan Bahasa Melayu Standard yang baik dan betul*" (Malay: 'good and correct Standard Malay language use' (Abdullah Hassan 1997, emphasis added). The Malay metalanguage of academic subjects is likely to include loanwords, transfers and instances of language alternation. (See Salleh Ben Joned, 1994, pp. 71-73.) At a forum held in Universiti Brunei Darussalam in 2000, where a resolution was passed (*nem. con.*) supporting the abolition of all English-medium degree programmes in the University, the facilitator constantly corrected other Malay-speaking participants who used anglicized Malay forms or English-derived loanwords. Universiti Brunei Darussalam nonetheless continues to offer a majority of its degree programmes through the medium of English. See also 'Memartabatkan Bahasa Brunei' (2004, May 26).

is the work of a Malay-English bilingual Bruneian investigating the code-switching behaviour of her peers. The methodology involves controlling for language choice and pre-determining the topic: participants were asked to speak English in one of the discussion sessions, and in Malay in the other. Nonetheless, as with the separation of the Brudirect discussion forum into "English Have Your Say" and "Malay Have Your Say" in mid-2003, this did not produce monolingual texts. One of Fazilah's five hypotheses states that "[t]here will be more English in a discussion using Malay as the matrix language than Malay language embedded in the English matrix language discussion". She finds this to be strongly supported in the analysis of her conversational data: switches into English in the 'Malay' conversation occur twice as often as switches into Malay in the 'English' conversation (Fazilah, 2002, p. 7, pp. 41-43, pp. 61-62, p. 65). Fazilah's study also discusses the motives for code-switching as reported by her informants. Her questionnaire survey invited them to tick agreement with one or more of the following motives:

"so the listener could understand better"
"easier to express idea using English"
"unable to find equivalent word in English"
"just like using English"
"like to show some knowledge of English".

(Fazilah, 2002, p. 53)

The highest levels of agreement were obtained for the second and third of these choices. This suggests that the code-switching practices of these bilingual university students are motivated by ease of access to appropriate lexical choices both when switching into Malay from English and *vice versa*. These motivations are comparable to the "principle of economy" (Li, 2000, p. 317), and to the "most available word phenomenon" (Grosjean, 1982, p. 152; Jacobson, 2001, pp. 182-183). Fazilah's findings are compared with those of this study in the concluding chapter.

Svalberg and Fatimah (1998) is a Brunei-based study which does not directly address questions of LA, but is nonetheless relevant, as their paper discusses the acquisition of English tense, mood and aspect by Bruneian learners using a contrastive analytical

approach. They note the absence of any reference time distinction in the Malay verbal group, as opposed to English, where this is always marked on the first verb in a finite verb group (Svalberg & Fatimah, 1998, p. 33, pp. 35-36). In Malay, including in Brunei Malay, tense, mood and aspect are marked adverbially with markers such as 'sudah' (already), 'telah' (already, completed) and 'sedang' (in the process of). The effect of this distinction in tense, mood and aspect marking in texts where there is Malay-English LA is a question of major interest that is further discussed in chapter 4.5. (See also discussion of these issues in Jacobson, 2001b, pp. 188-189).

The study of classroom language alternation in Brunei.

Classroom LA studies based on the analysis of actual interaction have shown that switching codes is one of a number of available strategies for the cooperative joint negotiation of points of possible miscommunication (Cath & McLellan, 1993; Murni, 1996; McLellan & Chua-Wong, 1996). These are likely to occur very frequently when Bruneian teachers and pupils, who share access to the same set of languages, have to jointly negotiate a prescribed text, both in English language lessons and in content-subject lessons, such as Science, Geography and Mathematics, taught through the medium of English from Primary year 4 onwards. Tension thus arises between the system that demands the use of English only, and the desire of teachers to explain syllabus content as laid out in textbooks so that pupils achieve some level of understanding rather than just indulge in empty chorused repetition. Textbooks which are centrally controlled for their content and cultural appropriateness are not so controlled in terms of their language level, hence a Science teacher at Primary year 5 level may have to negotiate the meaning of terms used in the textbook such as "infectious", "chills" and "rare". None of these may be immediately comprehensible to pupils whose level of English has not reached the necessary threshold level for English-medium study of content subjects (Jones, 1996, pp. 283-286).

Martin's (1997) study views Brunei classroom LA as one aspect of "safetalk" (Chick, 1996; Hornberger & Chick, 2001), suggesting that both teachers and pupils collude to maintain the appearance of syllabus content being effectively transmitted from the textbook through the mediation of the teacher. Bruneian teachers and pupils switch to the language in which they feel more secure so as to minimize the risk of a potentially face-threatening communication breakdown, not only for matters of

classroom management, but also, more frequently, for explanation and negotiation of meaning for concepts that are hard for students to grasp (McLellan & Chua-Wong, 1996).

2.11 The place of Computer-mediated Communication in the spoken-written, formal-informal continua.

The linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis of computer-mediated communication (CMC) is, not surprisingly, a recent development, now of course burgeoning with the rapid expansion of electronic communication. CMC is defined as "communication that takes place between human beings via the instrumentality of computers" (Herring, 1996, p.1). It can occur in different domains: real-time chatrooms, e-mail and on-line discussion forums. Asynchronous discussion forums, like bulletin boards, enable contributors to post messages to which others have the chance to respond. They are thus a form of computer conferencing (Crystal, 2001, pp.11-12, pp. 129-130). The format requires contributors to provide a title or topic, and an addressee, which could be 'All' (i.e. all those who log on to the forum website) if a topic is being raised for the first time. They are also required to sign off at the foot of their posting. In the Brunei discussion forums under investigation, this is almost always done by means of a pseudonym, although on occasions a full e-mail address is provided by the text producer. Postings are controlled and liable to censorship by a webmaster. The rubrics for contributors to the Brunei forums advise restraint, respect for Bruneian norms of politeness and modesty, and avoidance of personal insults and invective [5].

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[5] : Perceived infringement of these norms has led to critical comments by government officials in the Brunei print media) and threats to close down the websites involved (e.g. Top Brunei official's call..., 2003, May 19).

[4] Brudirect rubric for posting messages

HAVE NO FEAR! HAVE YOUR SAY!

Post your views on any subject under the sun but please avoid being vulgar or rude. BruDirect.Com is pleased to be your host and, of course, the views you may air are yours alone and we disclaim any responsibility. So go ahead enjoy and Have Your Say! Terms and Conditions: We reserve the right to edit, modify or withhold your comments.

(Source: www.bruneidirect.com)

[5] Bruclass disclaimer:

Disclaimer: Bruclass or any of its associated companies would not be held responsible for the contents of this bulletin board. The contents are submitted "Live" by users and therefore would not permit proper editing. Please refrain from using this bulletin board for personal attack, racist messages, foul language or any other undesirable messages. Bruclass reserve the rights to edit messages.

(Source: http://www.bruclass.com [Asian Community])

The discourse patterns of the threads in on-line discussion forums resemble those of spoken interaction in that they consist of a series of turns during which discussion topics develop and gradually evolve. To read the postings in the correct sequence it is necessary to start from the bottom, as the latest postings appear at the top of the webpage. Dates and posting times are given, so it is possible to see whether a new posting is an immediate riposte or one that is posted only after a certain interval.

According to Murray (1995, p. 79) CMC "free[s] participants from the some of the barriers to open communication (such as power), but at the same time removing some of the constraints that make for 'polite' conversations". In a society such as that of Brunei, where maintenance and observance of cultural politeness norms are highly valued, the existence of a medium which permits unfettered discussion of current affairs undoubtedly has a liberating effect, resulting in a level of directness and sometimes *ad hominem* critical comment that would be highly marked if found in any other spoken or written discourse context (see discussion in 1.7 above).

As yet little research has been undertaken into bi- and multilingual language use in the context of CMC. Studies in this developing field have tended to focus on second-language pedagogical aspects (e.g. Hanna & de Nooy, 2003) rather than on formal, functional and sociolinguistic dimensions.

Paolillo (1996) is an important early study in the CMC field, and in many respects a precursor of this thesis. Paolillo analyses the use of Punjabi and English on the Usenet newsgroup 'soc.culture.punjab', finding English to be statistically predominant. Through a functional analysis, he identifies four reasons for the limited use of Punjabi in postings to this newsgroup: "inter-generational language shift, cultural ambivalence among expatriates, the prestige status of English in South Asia, and the predominance of English on the Internet" (Paolillo 1996, abstract). All four of these reasons may also be relevant when transferred to the Brunei context. In terms of code-switching, Paolillo finds the use of Punjabi to be mainly formulaic or in quotations, for instance at the start and at the end of postings. When used "creatively", Punjabi is found in insults and appeals, and at the conclusion of jokes.

Warschauer, El Said and Zohry (2002) address issues of language choice among Egyptian professionals, covering e-mail and on-line (synchronous) chat. They also find a predominance of English within these CMC media, although this is less pronounced for informal e-mails, and they cite examples of codemixed English and romanized Arabic. In the context of Egypt there is the additional issue of the choice of Roman or Arabic script for the Arabic text. A similar choice of script is discussed in D. Huang's (2003) study of e-mail messages in Chinese and English in Taiwan [6].

Danet and Herring (2003), introducing a special issue of the Journal of Computer-mediated Communication on "The Multilingual Internet" observe that none of the papers in this collection specifically address issues of code-switching and LA in CMC contexts, in spite of their earlier appeal for studies in this area.

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[6] : The Malay texts in the discussion forums in the present study are all in Roman script, although the earliest writing in Malay was in the Indian Pali and later in the eastern Arabic 'Jawi' script (Gunn, 1997, pp. 39-50, Collins 1998, pp. 6-21). Jawi is still used and promoted in Brunei today in educational and Islamic religious domains, as well as by official decree on public signboards and shop fronts, where the Jawi text is required to be above, and twice as large as both the Roman and the Chinese text (Gunn, 1997, p. 182).

In a study of language choice on a Swiss mailing list, Durham (2003) finds that in spite of Switzerland being highly multilingual, only a small proportion of the e-mail messages on the list show any degree of language alternation: consistently 5% or less annually over four years. "Mixed balanced messages" are an even smaller subset of this corpus. The reasons for these findings are ascribed to the particular context of Switzerland, reinforcing the view that it is the sociocultural context which is a crucial determining factor for the occurrence or the absence of mixed language interaction.

Warschauer (in press) is entitled "Language, identity and the Internet", and includes a case study of Hawaiian language revitalization and projection of Hawaiian identity, through online processes of re-localization which aim to counter the forces of globalization.

In a study of language use in internet relay chatrooms by Malay speakers in Singapore, Wan Imran (2000) offers a taxonomy of the functions of code-switching comparable to that of Zini's (1997) study, referred to in the previous section. Some of Wan Imran's functional categories are the same as those of Gumperz (1982), whilst another, "pengenalan peranan" (role identification), is from Kachru (1983). In discussing this function he states the belief that Malay is not considered as a stigmatised language:

> "pengkaji berpendapat bahawa penutur IRC....tidak menanggap bahasa melayu sebagai *stigmatized*" ("the researcher believes that chatroom participants do not consider the Malay language to be stigmatized")
>
> (Wan Imran, 2000, p.14).

There is one Brunei-based study of CMC, by Lai (1999), who analyses interactional features, language choice and code-switching in a Brunei-based internet relay chatroom, '#Brunei: wsup'.

One other precursor of the present study is McLellan (2000b), an investigation of the language and discourse of the 'Minyu Sarawak Talk', a Malaysian public discussion form in which participants discuss current affairs in the Borneo state of Sarawak, contiguous with Brunei on three sides. This focuses on language choice, using the

titles of postings, and compares language alternation patterns in twenty main-language English postings with twenty postings for which Malay was the main language.

2.12 Literature review: Closing remarks

In the burgeoning research field of language use in the CMC domain, there is still a paucity of studies on language alternation. There are as yet few in-depth studies of alternating Malay and English in written and formal spoken contexts in Brunei, despite the evident frequency of such occurrence.

The studies on LA by Martin (e.g. 1997) and by Fatimah (2002) in the context of school classrooms, discussed in 2.10 above, are the only ones to have addressed this issue thus far. The significance of the research into bilingual classroom discourse in Brunei lies in the notion of negotiation and joint construction of meaning, as described by Murni (1996), McLellan and Chua-Wong (1996) and by Martin (1997). Clearly the classroom should be considered as a formal discourse context; nonetheless, owing to the unique nature of language use in the classroom context, classroom discourse is a separate field, worthy of many more doctoral theses, and lies outside the scope of the present investigation.

This thesis can therefore be situated in terms of three principle points of reference: in the Brunei context, as an expansion of Martin's and Fatimah's studies of LA in the classroom domain; also as a parallel study to those of Noor Azlina, Jacobson and Nair-Venugopal on LA in the context of Malaysia. In the broader area of code-switching and LA research worldwide, it seeks to shed light on questions of equal and unequal language alternation in a CMC context.

There has been a gradual recognition of the interactive aspects of written texts, whose interpretation depends crucially on reader expectations and on shared conventions and assumptions between reader and writer. The discussion forum postings that form the data for this study are more obviously interactive, since they form part of an ongoing debate on Bruneian current affairs, with many of the

postings responding to points raised in earlier messages: the presence or absence of LA can provide "contextualization cues" (Gumperz, 1982, p.131) which indicate intended readership.

The restricted number of previous studies of LA in formal, written or CMC contexts renders it necessary for relevant theory relating to spoken interaction to be selectively applied, and modified where expedient.

This study is considered to be significant in that it charts new territory in sociolinguistic research into LA, especially in the application of the aforementioned theories and methods of analysis to planned written texts posted in on-line discussion forums. The chosen corpus of texts enables direct comparison of texts with and without LA. For the purposes of this thesis the monolingual Malay and monolingual English texts are of equal interest and importance as those showing LA.

If it can be shown that LA is the unmarked choice for participants who are members of this speech community participating in the on-line discussion forum, and that for them "switching is analogous to using a single code for an exchange" (Myers Scotton, 1988, p.164), then the whole notion of code-switching and indeed language alternation may be challenged. If the codes are not separate, i.e. if the "third system" argument (Romaine, 1995, pp.159-160) has any validity, then how can they be said to be switched? If the languages are not separate, how can they be said to alternate? Are these issues resolved, or further confused, by postulating a separate third code or language? These questions are addressed in sections 6.4 and 6.9 in the concluding chapter.

Following this survey of some of the relevant literature sources, Chapter 3 outlines the research methods adopted for the study and the rationale for choosing these methods.

Chapter 3

Research Design, Methodology and Rationale

3.0 Overview

This chapter discusses the research design and methodology adopted for the thesis, and explains the rationale for the choices made. The research design combines quantitative and qualitative approaches, since the data chosen for analysis are in the form of texts, which require initial quantitative analysis that in turn serves as a basis for further investigation and discussion within a qualitative paradigm. I believe such an approach to be feasible and appropriate for the study of the topic of language alternation (LA) in the context of Computer-mediated Communication (CMC), in spite of reservations over the use of combined research paradigms (e.g. Creswell, 1994, pp. 7-8). The aim is to provide initially a broad overview using a quantitative approach, prior to narrowing the focus by analyzing particular instances where LA does or does not occur in the data corpus, and attempting to account for these by reference to the sociolinguistic context of Brunei and to the specific context of texts in a CMC environment.

Analysis by quantitative methods can address questions concerning how much LA there is in the corpus and in what ways LA manifests itself in the various syntactic contexts. To address the second macro-question of why Bruneians choose to alternate between Malay and English requires a combination of different methodologies. In part these are also quantitative, in the analysis of the responses to the survey questionnaire, but there is a gradual move towards situating the CMC texts in the sociolinguistic context of situation of Brunei. As far as possible this is done though discussion and analysis of other texts, produced by Bruneians, which specifically refer to issues of language choice and use. Some of these are also discussion forum postings from outside the main corpus; others have been collected over a number of years from the Brunei print media.

3.1 Data selection procedure and criteria

Some of the reasons for the choice of on-line discussion forum texts for analysis have been outlined in Chapter 1, as these form part of the basic rationale and design of the study. The traditional focus of most code-switching and language alternation research has been on informal spoken interaction, which requires lengthy and complex transcription procedures. Nortier (1990, p. 91) only transcribes those parts of her recorded data in which code-switching occurs; others avail themselves of the services of research assistants or local informants for this task. Transcription of spoken text inevitably involves levels of abstraction, aspects of the 'observer's paradox' and decisions on what to leave out as well as what to include. The use of CMC texts avoids the risks associated with the transcription procedure, and allows for analysis of the texts exactly as they are posted in the discussion forum sites. A further validation for this approach is that the 'end-product' texts available to the researcher are the same as those accessible to discussion forum participants: they also do not have access to the processes of editing, correcting and redrafting, involved in the construction of the texts. This also distinguishes CMC texts from real-time face-to-face conversations which may be full of hesitations, false starts and other performance variables (Harrison, 2004, p. 70).

Ethical considerations preclude the use of private electronic mail messages, along with reservations on the extent to which these could be considered generalisable as instances of the linguistic output of a speech community. By comparing the present corpus with spoken interactional data used in other studies of code-switching in Brunei (e.g. Fazilah, 2002), it is possible to analyse whether the discussion forum postings are typical of the output of Malay-English bilingual Bruneians, as well as whether the texts are similar to informal spoken interaction or the unique product of the online discussion forum context.

Brudirect and Bruclass were selected as sources of textual data for this study, because at the material time they were the only Brunei-based online public asynchronous discussion forums. Others, such as 'Bruneitalk' and 'Bruneistudent.com' have subsequently come into being. The layout and format of Brudirect and Bruclass have undergone modification subsequent to the collection of

the text corpus: Brudirect now separates postings in Malay from those in English, whilst Bruclass offers a choice of modes for viewing postings: either chronologically in order of time posted, or else according to 'threads'. It is noticeable that the separation of Brudirect into English and Malay sections has not resulted in any strict separation of languages used in postings: postings in the English section still contain some Malay, and vice versa.

Brudirect is part of a larger site providing all kinds of online information relating to Brunei, managed by QAF Sendirian Berhad, a diversified holding company which publishes Brunei's Malay and English daily newspapers, 'Media Permata' and 'The Borneo Bulletin'. The webmaster is a senior reporter who files stories for the former. The Bruclass 'Asian Community' discussion forum is again part of a larger site, maintained by Dalplus Technologies, a retail company selling computer hardware and software in Brunei's capital, Bandar Seri Begawan.

Instead of any process of mathematically randomized selection of texts from the two forums, a decision was taken to select two continuous 'tranches' from each forum. This facilitates analysis of four series of texts on the same topics or related topics as part of an ongoing dialogue, referred to, both on the websites concerned and in Chapter 4 below, as 'threads'. This allows for analysis of language choice patterns within the threads, how language choice may relate to posting topic, and of patterns of lexical cohesion, especially collocation, within and between postings.

In order to obtain a representative cross-section of postings, two continuous sets were taken from each of the two websites, Bruclass (http://www.bruclass.com/) and Brudirect (http://www.brudirect.com/DailyInfo/advertise/have_your_say/brunei/htm) at different times during the calendar year 2001. A roughly equal number of texts were extracted from each of the discussion forum sites: 101 postings from Brudirect and 110 from Bruclass. To ensure a sufficiently wide range of discussion topics, which have an influence on lexical choices, the first set from Bruclass (data set 1) was taken from February 2001, whilst the first from Brudirect (data set 2) was from August of that year. The other Bruclass and Brudirect sets (sets 3 and 4 respectively) cover an almost identical span of time in early December 2001.

This was to allow quantitative analysis of an uninterrupted sequence of postings to show the extent or lack of LA, and also to facilitate analysis of discoursal features such as collocation, in particular lexical reiteration with or without LA. This method of selection allows comparison of the four separate 'tranches' of postings, which should reduce the possibility of idiosyncratic findings emerging as a result of the particular topics discussed in the postings, or of the variable linguistic competence of the individual text producers, without the need for a corpus that is too large and hence unmanageable.

In order to confine the analysis to texts produced by Bruneians, any messages obviously submitted by non-Bruneians are excluded from detailed analysis, although these still remain part of the corpus. It is possible, although unlikely, that the pseudonyms used may conceal the identity of non-Bruneians posing as Bruneians: whilst some long-term expatriates acquire proficiency in Brunei Malay, particularly those married to Bruneians, the use of Brunei Malay is normally a reliable indicator of Bruneian identity. When compared with the postings on the Malaysian 'Sarawak Talk' discussion forum, analysed by McLellan (2000b), there are very few instances of 'cut and paste' postings where texts from other online sources such as global news providers (BBC, Reuters, Ananova) and international newspapers are downloaded and reposted.

The selection procedure results in a corpus of just over 30,000 words in total. Compared to the corpora used for compiling dictionaries and student grammars, such as the 450 million word Bank of English, the reference corpus for CoBuild dictionaries and English language teaching materials (http://www.titania.bham.ac.uk/docs/about.htm.), this is by no means a large corpus. It is, however, sufficient for investigation of the questions that form the research objectives for this study, following a recent trend towards the use of small corpora, especially for analysis of specific genres in areas of Applied Linguistics (Ghadessy, Henry & Roseberry, 2001). The cautionary advice offered by Johnstone (2000, p. 122), about making claims based on too small a corpus of texts, is duly noted. Studying four separate tranches also serves to validate the findings in terms of their internal consistency within the corpus. Cases where one set of texts has a disproportionate amount of any given feature may represent idiosyncrasies resulting

from the discussion topic, from stylistic quirks on the part of a small number of text producers, or from a variety of other reasons. Features that occur consistently across the four tranches can be more confidently described as valid findings.

By looking at texts posted in these two forums outside the 4 tranches chosen for investigation, the extent to which the corpus is 'typical' rather than idiosyncratic, in terms of this particular genre, can be investigated and contextualized. Constant daily monitoring of the two discussion forums since 2001 is one further method of ensuring that the selected corpus represents the patterns of language choice that generally occur in this CMC context. This issue is taken up in the concluding chapter (6.11).

A corpus-based approach to the study of Malay-English alternation allows more systematic investigation of the regularities and recurrent patterns, and is likely to lead to more substantial findings, beyond a mere statement of fact that LA does occur in Brunei on-line discussion forums. This avoids the risk inherent in making statements about constraints and possible switching points based on limited evidence, which can be challenged by reference to a single counterexample. A further benefit of using a small corpus approach is that equal emphasis can be given to those postings in which no LA occurs, and analysis by word-count and text-type frequency can reveal statistically valid findings.

3.2 Data analysis: initial stages

Once selected, the four data sets were cut and pasted into MS-Word documents, and subsequently translated into text-only files to enable them to be analysed both manually and by use of the Wordsmith Tools (version 3) concordancing and other applications (Scott, 2001).

Spreadsheets were created for analysis of each of the four data sets; these can be found in Appendix A. Basic information about each posting text is listed, including title, sender and addressee, and a coding to show whether it is a new topic or a reply to a previous posting, hence part of thread. This information is a prerequisite for the

analysis of language maintenance or alternation patterns within threads in section 4.6.1, and of collocation patterns within and between postings in section 4.6.2.

Postings were then classified according to their language choice using the following system:

E-	monolingual English, i.e. with no Malay words
ML-E	main language English, where English dominates in terms and word- and group-count
= LA	equal language alternation
ML-M	main language Malay, where Malay dominates in terms and word- and group-count
M-	monolingual Malay

E>BMB}
BMS>E}   postings which begin in one language and show a single intersentential
(etc.)[1]   switch

This classification facilitates the overview of language choice and alternation patterns, reported in section 4.2, where texts in each data set are divided into these five categories: monolingual Malay and monolingual English, Main-Language-English and Main Language-Malay, and texts showing equal language alternation. A sample extract of each of these five text classifications is analysed in section 4.3. Chapter 1.2 includes discussion of why the label 'Main Language' is employed here rather than 'Matrix Language', which forms part of Myers-Scotton's ML-F theory (Myers Scotton, 1993a, pp. 75-119), and why this label is applied at the text level rather than at any lower level on the rankscale.

The next stage of the analysis involves more detailed investigation of the posting texts that show rich and complex LA patterns. These are tabulated in section 4.4 (Table 4.8) in order to identify the Main Language in each case, and in order to show

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[1]: Issues concerning Brunei Malay (BMB) and Standard Malay (BMS), Brunei English and Standard English are discussed in chapter 1.6.

which texts are Main-Language-Malay, which are Main-Language English and which are equal in terms of their use of Malay and English. To accomplish this two procedures are used. A word count serves to establish the predominant language in the whole text with a basic Malay and English classification but with provision for morphologically-mixed bicodal words such as 'ter*pressure*', which has the Malay prefix 'ter-' affixed to the English noun root 'pressure'. Following this word count a separate manual count is made of all the groups in the posting text. These groups are again categorized as Malay, English and mixed.

The notion of the 'group', taken from systemic functional grammar, has previously been used by Ożóg (1987b) for syntactic analysis of Malay-English code-switching. The group is described as "lying in between word and clause" (Sinclair, 1972, p. 256) in the hierarchic rank-scale, and is chosen here for its flexibility compared to other potential categories. It is generally 4-7 words in length in both Malay and English.

The CP (projection of complementizer), Myers Scotton's unit of analysis for the ML-F approach is not used owing to its close association with government and binding grammatical theory: Muysken, an early proponent of the "government constraint", describes how this hypothesis has been challenged by counterexamples from those using functional grammar to analyse codemixed texts, and eventually restated as the "functional head constraint" (Muysken, 2000, pp. 20-25). There is also a degree of uncertainty over the precise definition of the CP, brought about by its various reformulations and restatements (Myers Scotton, 1993a, 1997, 2002, pp. 54-57). The group, an admittedly looser category than the CP, can encompass both the phrase and the clause in traditional grammar, and is in many ways comparable to the "t-unit" or "information unit", recommended as suitable units for discourse analysis (Brown & Yule, 1983; Crookes, 1990).

Groups are designated Malay, English or mixed. To establish whether texts contain equal language alternation, a formula is used: if the total of Malay groups in the text outnumber both the English and the mixed groups, then the text is designated Main-Language-Malay (ML-M). Likewise, if the English groups outnumber both the Malay and the mixed totals, then the text is Main-Language-English (ML-E). If,

however, there are sufficient mixed groups for neither of these patterns to occur, then the text is labeled as equal language alternation (= LA). The label 'main language' operates at the level of the text, not the group or the CP, and does not impose any restrictions on the occurrence of any type of alternation at sentence- or group-level lower down the rankscale. Thus, a posting text designated ML-M can contain mixed sentences and groups that are predominantly English or that show equal LA. ML-M postings may also have groups or even sentences wholly in English.

The word and the group count are used to show the differing patterns of alternation between texts. Some texts may have very little group-level mixing and tend more towards intersentential alternation with switches at group and sentence boundaries. Others have higher levels of intra-group alternation. Establishing these patterns is a major focus of the present study. This information is tabulated in table 4.8 along with the pseudonyms of the contributors, in order to show whether the degree of LA is a feature of particular individuals' style of message posting.

3.3 Data analysis: Rationale

The initial stages of the analysis, described in section 3.2 above, are necessary in order to present an initial broad overview of language use patterns that occur in the corpus. Such an overview also serves to contextualize the subsequent closer analysis of instances of language alternation. Other studies have tended to focus only on code-mixed examples and may thus give a distorted picture, or no picture at all, of the frequency of instances of LA within a set of texts. The methodological approach is strongly influenced by that of Bentahila and Davies (1998) and Jacobson (2001a), who develop the concept of equal language alternation and seek to establish this by means of an initial word-count for both the languages involved in the alternation, then a clause count, followed by closer analysis of mixed clauses. These quantitative methods serve to establish predominant patterns of alternation across the whole corpus.

Subsequent analysis breaks down the mixed groups according to their grammatical classification, allowing for analysis of the syntactic environment in which LA most

frequently occurs. Previous studies of spoken and CMC texts have generally found LA to occur most frequently within nominal groups as compared to verbal and adjunct (or adverbial) groups (Myers Scotton, 1993a, p.15; McClure, 1998, pp.132-133; McLellan, 2000a, p.166), and this is one of the major areas of interest for the present study. Within mixed nominal groups two congruence issues are investigated: the order in which heads and modifiers occur in these mixed groups, and the marking of plurality. In contrast to the English modifier-head nominal group structure, Malay noun phrases consist of "a head and a modifier in that order" (Asmah 1983, p. 96).

Plurality in Malay is not marked inflectionally, so the presence or absence of plural inflections can identify the main language at the level of the nominal group. The third area of investigation is in mixed verbal groups: whether English verbal inflections showing tense and aspect are retained, following English patterns, or dropped, resulting in 'bare' English verb forms in ML-Malay contexts. If inflections on English verbs do not occur in contexts where these would be required in English, then this constitutes evidence for Malay providing the syntactic frame for the verbal group.

3.3.1 What counts as language alternation at different levels

The quantitative methods used allow for consideration of language choice patterns at the level of the text as posted by individual contributors, as well as alternation at the micro-level, that is within sentences, and specifically within groups. This dual perspective allows for a discourse analytical approach to the corpus of texts, as well as grammatical analysis at group level, which aims to determine whether there are patterns of dominance of one language over another, or equal alternation in which both languages play an equal part in meaning making.

Words which show any measure of orthographic assimilation are excluded from the analysis. Thus, "konsep" is treated as a Malay word, as it shows evidence of assimilation to Malay orthography, reflecting rules of Malay phonology. However "*concept* kitani" (our concept), where the unassimilated English noun co-occurs with a Malay possessive adjective, is considered as a mixed nominal phrase, as is "polis *traffic*" (traffic police).

Names of people and places are excluded from the quantitative analysis of language choice within the corpus, so that where a posting refers to the producer of an earlier posting by pseudonym (e.g. 'Rakyat Brunei'), this is not counted as an instance of LA in an otherwise English-only text.

Words and phrases forming part of the rubric for submission of postings to Bruclass and Brudirect are likewise excluded from the analysis, which is limited to the actual text submitted for on-line posting.

3.3.2 Methodological issues surrounding the direction of switching.

Determination of the direction of switching has long been problematic in code-switching research. It is ultimately dependent on the choice of unit of analysis, as is the question of determination of the matrix language (e.g. Myers Scotton, 1993a, p. 66f; Muysken, 2000, pp.15-18). Discussion of the text of posting 2.58, in particular the first sentence, can illuminate this methodological issue:

[1]
Auction stuff: Frankly speaking,/₁ baiktah   jangan   dibali   barang2
                                   good-DM NEG-IMP PASS-buy RDP-thing

yg   kena \₂ *auction* /₃ atu,   bukannya   apa \₄, *if we buy them, in a way, we are*
REL PASS   DEM, NEG-3s-POSS what

helping those who have used /₅ duit   ketani \₆ *for their personal interest, to*
                                 money 1pi-POSS

pay for their debts./₇ Mana tia   yang dulu\₈ *the famous* /₉7 org   atu?   Inda
                        Where DM REL before   person DEM   NEG

kedengaran.\₁₀ *Has the trial started?? It's so sad, isn't it, how our beloved*
hearing

country /₁₁ jadi   cemani.
             become like-DEM

Frankly speaking, it's better not to buy the things that are being auctioned, isn't
it right, that if we buy them, in a way, we are helping those who have used our
money for their personal interest, to pay for their debts. Wherever are the
famous seven people from before? We don't hear of them anymore. Has the trial
started? It's so sad, isn't it, how our beloved country has come to this.

(Data source, posting 2.58, =LA)

Each switch, as throughout the thesis in quotations from the data corpus, is marked by '\' from Malay to English, and '/' from English to Malay. These switches are given subscript numbers for ease of reference. The first switch is between an English discourse marker and a Malay main clause. This is at a syntactic group boundary and punctuated with a comma, so this switch is included in the intra-group switches list under the discourse markers category (Appendix B). The second switch is a single-word English verb, which occurs within a defining relative clause in Malay: "auction" here is a switch to an English passive verb in an otherwise wholly Malay syntactic group. Of interest here is the absence of English past-participle marker, '-ed' that would be required if the whole sentence were in standard English. (See below, section 4.5.3 for further discussion of the question of verb inflection in mixed groups throughout the corpus). The third switch reverses the second, and thus suggests the possibility that "auction" here could be analysed as part of a Malay syntactic frame. The fourth switch is similar to the first, occurring at a group boundary and punctuated with a comma. Switch 5 occurs between an English verb within a relative construction and its direct object, the nominal phrase "duit ketani" ('our money'). The sixth and final switch in this sentence is back to English after this NP in the object position. The two English groups following this switch are still governed by the verb "have used" in the relative clause, hence the switched NP filling the direct object slot violates the original, strong version of the government constraint (Muysken, 2000, pp. 20-23).

This mixed sentence thus contains one example of a switch to English in a Malay environment ("*auction*"), and one of a switch to Malay in an English environment ("duit ketani"), a noun phrase that follows Malay structural rules. Clearly it is problematic if one tries to allocate a "matrix language" to the sentence in its entirety, or even at the level of the 'projection of complementizer', as suggested by Myers Scotton (2002, pp. 56-57). This sentence, indeed the whole text of this posting, is better analysed as a case of equal language alternation as defined by Bentahila and Davies (1998, p. 46), and measurable according to the counting system for words and groups explained in 3.2 above (see Table 4.8 for figures pertaining to this text.) Beyond the syntactic analysis of the sentence lies the question of why the text producer should choose to make these switches, especially with the alternative of staying in English and using the equivalent English phrase "our money". This choice

relates to questions of identity, stylistics and the emotive value of lexical and language choices, which would normally be investigated through interviews with the text producers, a method not available for this study.

Discussion of this sample posting text serves to illustrate the approach adopted to the determination of what counts as LA, to bidirectional switching, and to the analysis of postings texts that are constructed using elements of Malay and English. Positing categories at the text level avoids unproductive argument over whether this text has Malay islands within an English frame, or vice versa. Such an approach also facilitates discussion of how Bruneian identity is reflected in texts in which Malay and English both contribute to the construction of meaning.

3.4 Transcription and glossing system used for the discussion forum data

A numbering system is applied to all four sets of posting texts based on their order of posting. Thus, 1.1 is the first text in data set 1 (posted on February 14, 2001), whilst 1.64 is the sixty-fourth and final text in this tranche (posted on February 24, 2001).

Partial or whole texts from the two discussion forums are cited verbatim, with no modification of performance and typographic errors on the part of text producers. Where these are considered potentially confusing or intrusive they are marked using the conventional '(sic)' in parentheses. Any form of emphasis such as capitalization or repeated characters ("Arghhhhhhhh!!!" in 1.26) is retained as in the original text, except where otherwise specified, such as in the underlining of particular phrases or groups in Chapter 4.5 under the various grammatical categories, in order to show membership of a particular category.

As a general principle, English text in citations from the data corpus is italicized, whilst Malay text is in the default font. This may appear to be anomalous in the light of the findings showing overall frequency (see section 4.2), but it is not intended to reflect any *a priori* assumptions about any default choice of language. It is necessary, in terms of presentation of examples, and for the benefit of readers not conversant

with Malay, to adopt some such graphic convention for distinguishing between the two juxtaposed languages.

In common with other linguistic and pragmatic studies of bilingual texts, a three-line glossing system is employed for texts wholly or partly in Malay, in which the top line represents the original vernacular text as posted in the discussion forum. The second line contains the gloss giving appropriate grammatical and lexical information about each word. A list of abbreviations used in glossing is found on p. xii. The third line is a relatively free idiomatic translation into English (see Acknowledgments, p. vii). Any local references specific to Brunei, such as abbreviated names of companies or government departments are explained in footnotes under the data extract. Where whole texts or extracts of more than one or two lines in length are quoted, the free translation is placed separately immediately below the cited text, for the sake of legibility. In shorter phrase-length citations from the corpus, the original text, the gloss and the free translation follow each in linear order. The glossing conventions are adapted from Adelaar and Himmelmann (in press), who prescribe a glossing format for use with Austronesian languages. These conventions are followed throughout the thesis, including Appendix B, which contains full listings under the categories discussed in section 4.5.

3.5 Quantitative analysis of mixed groups according to grammatical category

Following the initial word-count determination of the main language for each posting, a proportion of the 211 texts are identified as candidates for 'equal language alternation', i.e. using Malay and English in equal measure, as described by Bentahila and Davies (1998) and by Jacobson (1998).

In the next stage of the analysis, mixed groups from the whole corpus, not just from this subset of postings showing equal LA, are collected and listed according to grammatical categories and to the direction of switching, either English in main-language Malay contexts or Malay in main-language English.

The categories used are:

nouns / nominal groups
verbs / verbal groups
pronominals
prepositions / prepositional groups
conjunctions,
discourse markers
other adverbial/adjunct groups
bicodal words (i.e. morphological mixes at the sub-word level such as 'ter*pressure*')
relative clauses
others.

The 'others' category includes instances of multiple alternations within the same group or sentence, which cannot easily be classified according to grammatical category.

There is no separate categorization for adjectives, since, as explained by Cumming (1991, p. 24), there is a particular problem of comparability owing to the status of adjectives in Malay. Clynes (to appear, p. 32 n.34) suggests that any Malay adjective has the potential to function as a verb.

A master list was compiled classifying all switches at group-level or below into one of these categories. This is shown in tabular form in Table 4.9. In this broad categorization the direction of switching is not taken into account: both Malay insertions into English groups and English insertions into Malay groups are included. Examples where tokens of more than one category co-occur in close juxtaposition are listed under both categories with the salient item underlined. In section 4.5 only samples from the more frequently occurring categories are listed and discussed, with the full inventory being located in Appendix B. Less frequent categories include complete listings.

For mixed nominal and verbal groups, three major issues related to the notion of congruence are investigated:

- the head-modifier pattern in Malay as against the modifier-head pattern characteristic of English. Section 4.5.1 lists and discusses examples, firstly of cases where English modifier-head structure is retained in main-language Malay contexts, then examples of where the Malay head-modifier structure is

used. Following this is a listing of Malay nominals in main-language English environments. Since nominal groups in Malay and English are not congruent in terms of their internal structure, this is a central issue in determining whether one or both languages are contributing to the syntactic frame (Myers Scotton, 2002, pp. 59-63, Clyne 2003, pp. 82-84).

- marking of plurality, by reduplication in Malay unless it is understood or retrievable from the context, as opposed the word-final morpheme –s that marks plurality in most English nouns. This second congruence issue is discussed in section 4.5.2, with respect to the marking of plurality in mixed nominal groups. Listings show cases in which English plural inflection is retained, then others where Malay reduplication is applied to English nouns. This section also analyses the occurrence of single English nouns in Malay nominal groups. There are separate listings of English single ('bare') nouns occurring in ML-Malay groups, and Malay single nouns in ML-English contexts, in section 4.5.3.

- The third congruence issue concerns the marking of verbs for tense and aspect. These are shown in English through morphological inflection of the verb and through the use of modal auxiliary verb forms. In Malay, tense and aspect are marked adverbially (Cumming, 1991, p. 68, Svalberg & Fatimah, 1998). This third area of non-congruence is discussed in section 4.5.4, where instances of mixed verbal groups are classified in terms of those verbal groups showing English inflections and word order, then those which have uninflected English verbs, followed by a listing of Malay verbs in ML-E environments.

Instances of alternation within other word and group classes are listed and discussed in section 4.5.5, with particular attention given to alternation within and around relative clauses.

3.6 Treatment of 'bare' single-noun lexical borrowings

The question of how to handle single nouns remains an unresolved issue in code-switching and language alternation research, and in the continued debate on whether to classify these as codeswitches or borrowings (Nortier, 1990, p. 183ff; McClure, 1998, pp. 129-132; Myers Scotton, 2002, p. 127f.). In the case of Malay, the problems are exacerbated by the large volume of lexemes that have entered the language from English, as a consequence of the processes of modernization and language spread (Asmah, 1982, pp. 139-159), and by the varying degrees of assimilation to the phonological and orthographic systems of Malay.

At the word level, single words showing orthographic evidence of assimilation (e.g. 'topik', 'ekonomi', 'bisnes') are excluded and treated as borrowings rather than as instances of LA. However, they are treated as LA if they occur in collocation with non-assimilated forms (e.g. in the nominal groups "polis *traffic*", "bisnes *global*"). This is in preference to Myers Scotton's (1993a, pp. 15-16) criterion in which more than three tokens of any type in the corpus is counted as a borrowed, not as a codeswitched form, outlined in 1.2 above.

3.7 Analysis of discoursal features within threads of postings

As noted earlier, selection of four uninterrupted series of postings on the two discussion forum sites permits investigation of intertextual discoursal features. In the context of this study of language alternation, there are two discoursal aspects that are of particular interest: language choice within threads of postings and lexical choices across postings within threads. Language choice here relates to whether contributors to the same thread retain the same language as that used in the first posting, or whether there are modulations and switches within the threads. This can shed light on the relationship between language choice and posting topic (Noor Azlina, 1979), whether certain topics are more readily discussed in one or other language or whether there is a greater propensity for LA with some topics than with others. Once again this allows for an initial overview at text-level prior to a narrowing of the focus.

Choices are also made at the level of individual lexemes and lexical phrases, and these are investigated in terms of the patterns of lexical cohesion within and between postings in the same thread. This is the second discoursal aspect, and examples of lexical cohesion within different threads are presented and discussed. Lexical cohesion, according to the model developed by Halliday and Hasan (1976), comprises synonyms and near-synonyms, antonyms, hyponyms and superordinates, as well as collocations. The last named have subsequently been studied in greater detail with the use of concordancing software tools (Sinclair, 1991, Partington, 1998). Examples of recurring lexemes are discussed in terms of maintenance and alternation within collocational chains. Maintenance here refers to repeated occurrences of the same term across postings within a thread, which may have differing main-language classifications. Alternation is when lexemes from both Malay and English, or indeed mixed lexical phrases, are used in the postings to co-refer to the same exophora.

The method used here is tabulation of the postings in all of the four sets which form 'threads'. The online format of both the Bruclass and the Brudirect forums permits the threads to be identified through the message title: a response to an earlier posting will have the title "Re:........." in Bruclass. Brudirect gives message posters the freedom to choose titles, but replies often use the same title as the earlier message and begin with "To........", followed by the pseudonym of the addressee. This enables an overview showing how many postings in each set form part of a thread, as opposed to new postings opening a new discussion topic. Once the threads have been identified and tabulated, they are analysed in terms in terms of the language choice, classified in the manner explained in 3.2 above: whether the same language is maintained throughout the thread, or whether there is variation, with an initial posting in Malay-only (M-), followed by responses in mixed ML-E or ML-M. This enables statements to be made about the bilingual abilities of the on-line discourse community. The findings for this analysis of threads are presented and discussed in section 4.6.1.

Section 4.6.2 then presents an analysis of some examples of maintenance and alternation of several lexemes across series of postings within the same thread.

3.8 Incorporating the views of Bruneians: Questionnaire survey

The methods outlined above attempt to address the question of <u>how</u> language alternation is achieved in the context of Brunei CMC, in particular how much LA there is, which LA patterns are most prominent, and to what extent Malay and English are mixed in equal measure. The second major research question, <u>why</u> participants choose to alternate between Malay and English to any extent when communicating in this online medium, demands different methodologies.

As noted in Chapter 1, it has been my recent practice to conduct collaborative sociolinguistic studies with co-researchers who are insiders, with the aim of achieving a synthesis of insider and outsider perspectives. McLellan (2002) specifically details the merits of such an approach with relation to the study of language maintenance and language shift in the context of Borneo. Insider-outsider collaboration permits a degree of triangulation, or diversity of method (Johnstone, 2000, pp. 61-62) by which the same phenomenon can be studied from different angles.

For the present undertaking, however, joint research and production is not an option. Hence it is expedient to seek other ways to achieve a measure of triangulation: collecting the views of Bruneians on their language use and on language alternation, and reporting these alongside the views of the outside observer. This is done in two ways: firstly, through a questionnaire survey of Bruneians, mostly based in Western Australia, who form part of same Malay-English bilingual speech community as the producers of the discussion forum texts, and secondly, through reference to other published texts such as articles and letters in the print media, which address the topics of language choice and language alternation. Also included here are other Brunei discussion forum postings from outside the four data sets.

Current research ethics guidelines, from United Kingdom (Sebba, 1993; BAAL, 1994) as well as Australian sources (National Health and Medical Research Council, 1999; Curtin University of Technology Human Research Ethics Committee, 2004) were followed. An introductory letter was given to potential participants. They were encouraged to remain anonymous, and only reveal their identity to the researcher if

they wished to receive a copy of the analysis and discussion of the survey for them to make further comment, which could in turn be incorporated into the discussion of findings from the survey (see sections 4.6, 5.3).

The questionnaire survey was originally intended to be administered to students at the University of Brunei Darussalam, who are by definition Malay-English bilinguals and who often read and may contribute to the discussion forums. However, it was felt to be more appropriate to request the cooperation of Bruneians residing in Western Australia, as the University of Brunei Darussalam students might have felt some measure of compulsion or duress, or under some pressure to produce answers in line with the researcher's wishes, owing to my position there as Senior Lecturer. In the context of Western Australia this concern does not apply, as I have no such 'hold' over the participants, and there is no asymmetric power relation between researcher and participants. There were not enough suitable Bruneians in Western Australia, so, in order to ensure a reasonable sample size, survey forms were also forwarded to a colleague in Brunei, who then distributed them on my behalf to a further eight suitable Bruneians there.

The survey asks for some background information on participants' language abilities and level of formal education. The core section consists of five texts extracted from the corpus of discussion forum postings. All of these show a measure of Malay-English alternation. Alongside them are monolingual Malay and English versions of the same text. Participants are asked to rank the texts in each set from 1 to 3 for clarity and appropriateness. Since the only difference between the three texts lies in the language, their judgments should be based on this factor alone. Analysis of these five sets of texts thus involves an ordinal variable. The ranking numbers given by the participants were added, with the sum being divided by the number of participants who gave a ranking. This procedure enables the calculation of a mean score and an overall ranking of the five sets of texts in terms of clarity and appropriateness.
A further section asked whether they themselves read the online forums and whether they have ever posted any messages to Brudirect or Bruclass. Participants were invited to submit any comments they might have on the use of Malay and English by Bruneians.

To reduce the risk of drawing unjustified conclusions from the questionnaire, all participants were offered a draft copy of the analysis (sections 5.1 and 5.2) for their further comment, conditional on their voluntarily providing an e-mail address. Appendix C contains the full version of the survey instrument along with the responses; the questionnaire survey results are presented and discussed in section 5.1, and discussion of feedback on the draft analysis is in 6.5.

3.9 Incorporating the views of Bruneians: Other sources

Aside from the questionnaire survey, Bruneian attitudes to their choice and use of Malay and English can be accessed through other channels including news reports and letters to the editor in the print media. Some of these have already been cited in earlier discussion, e.g. in 1.6 on the Brunei sociolinguistic context. Especially relevant are other attitude studies and surveys conducted by Bruneian insiders. These have been referred to in section 2.8.2, and are related to the findings of this study in 6.3 and 6.5.

A further source is through discussion forum postings outside the corpus which specifically address issues of language choice, use and alternation among Bruneians. A selection of these is discussed in section 5.2. Two of these postings specifically discuss the possible motivations for LA in discussion forum postings. Consequently, an additional question was included in some of the questionnaire survey forms distributed during 2003. Although the number of responses is far from sufficient for any claim of statistical validity, the results are included in section 5.2, and discussed and analysed subsequently, because they represent the views of bilingual Bruneians as opposed to those of an outsider-researcher.

3.10 Links between the levels of analysis

The final section of chapter 5 (5.3) attempts to link the various levels and methods of analysis, in order to achieve a measure of triangulation. This section outlines some of the issues arising from the discussion of findings from different sections, which are further discussed in the concluding chapter. In particular section 5.3 takes up the question of the varieties of Malay and of English found in the postings showing LA.

Chapter 4

Findings and Discussion I:
Language Choice and Alternation Patterns

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings from an analysis of grammatical and discoursal aspects of the four sets of Brunei discussion forum postings. It begins with quantitative tabulated overviews which serve to describe the corpus of texts and to reveal overall patterns of language choice and alternation within and between the four sets. This is followed by an analysis of one sample extract of each of the five categories, a detailed grammatical analysis of alternations, then finally by an analysis of language maintenance and lexical choices within threads of postings on the same topic. Findings are discussed in relation to the research questions outlined in Chapter 1 and to issues raised by other relevant studies as discussed in Chapter 2. The sequence in which the findings are presented and discussed follows that of the discussion of methodology in Chapter 3.

Section 4.2 presents a tabular overview of the four sets of postings in terms of their language choice and extent of LA. In section 4.3 five extracts from texts are analysed in greater detail, one of each category: English-only, main-language English, equal language alternation, main-language Malay and Malay-only. Section 4.4 focusses on a subset of 29 postings which contain a substantial amount of Malay-English alternation, analysed by means of a word-count and the number of English-only, Malay-only and mixed groups. Issues of congruence or otherwise within the group are analysed in detail in section 4.5, whilst 4.6 contains an analysis of language choice and lexical cohesion within threads of postings on the same topic, investigating patterns of maintenance and alternation.

4.2 Overview of language choice findings

This section provides a broad overview of the whole corpus of message postings, and aims to establish the percentage of postings in which LA occurs throughout the corpus.

Details of the four data sets are given in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1

Data Sets 1, 2, 3 & 4

Set no.	Source	Dates	No.of postings	Total word-count
1	Bruclass	14/2/2001– 24/2/2001	64	7,686
2	Brudirect	16/8/2001– 18/8/2001	61	7,363
3	Bruclass	1/12/2001– 5/12/2001	46	11,168
4	Brudirect	2/12/2001 - 5/12/2001	40	5,296
		Totals:	**211**	**31,513**

By comparison, Nortier (1990, p. 88) uses a database of 9 conversations totalling 3 hours 35 minutes, which contains 182 intersentential and 275 intrasentential switches between Moroccan Arabic (MA) and Dutch (D). [Intersentential: 32.4% MA>D, 67.6% D>MA, Intrasentential: 77.8% MA>D, 22.2% D>MA]. Paolillo's (1996) study of Punjabi and English postings on a Usenet newsgroup uses a corpus of 759 messages, totaling 81,000 words. Halmari (1997, pp. 42-43) uses a database of 26 hours of recordings, which include a total of 809 switches between Finnish and English, with a 95%:5% ratio of English in ML-Finnish as against Finnish in ML-English. Kurtböke's (1998, p.6) corpus of written 'Ozturk' draws on a corpus of 1000 texts from Turkish community newspapers and information leaflets in Australia.

The data source for sets 1 and 3 is
http://www.bruclass.com/cgi-bin/asian.pl?brunei:bru
The forum can also be accessed via http://www.bruclass.com, then clicking on the 'Asian Community' link.

The data source for sets 2 and 4 is
http://www.brudirect.com/DailyInfo/advertise/have_your_say/brunei.htm
This forum can also be accessed via http://www.brudirect.com, then clicking on the 'Have no fear, have your say' link.

<u>Data Set 1</u>

Data set 1 consists of 64 texts posted consecutively on the 'Bruclass' discussion forum, http://www.bruclass.com/cgi-bin/asian.pl?brunei:bru , between 14th and 24th February, 2001. 38 of these (59.3%) have English as their main language (ML-E), whilst 23 are ML Malay (35.9%), with three postings (4.7%) classified as equal language alternation (=LA). Table 4.2 shows the language alternation patterns occurring in these 64 postings:

Table 4.2

Presence / Absence of LA in 64 Postings, Data Set 1

Language classification	Number of postings	% of total in this set
English only (E-)	24	37.5
Main-language English (ML-E)	14	21.9
= Language Alternation (=LA)	3	4.7
Main-language Malay (ML-M)	17	26.6
Malay only (BM-)[1]	6	9.4

[1]: of these 6 monolingual Malay postings, 3 are in Standard Malay and 3 are in Brunei Malay.

<u>Data Set 2</u>

Data set 2 consists of 61 texts posted consecutively on the 'Brudirect' discussion forum, http://www.brudirect.com/DailyInfo/advertise/have_your_say/brunei.htm between 16th and 18th August, 2001. It should be noted that postings 2.8 and 2.39 in this set, classified as "English only", clearly come from English native speakers, who identify themselves by providing their full names. 42 postings in set 2 (68.8%) have English as their ML, 16 are ML Malay (26.2%), with three postings (4.9%) showing =LA. Table 4.3 shows the language alternation patterns occurring in these 61 postings.

Table 4.3

Presence / Absence of LA in 61 Postings, Data Set 2

Language classification	Number of postings	% of total in this set
English only (E-)	27	44.2
Main-language English (ML-E)	15	24.6
= Language Alternation (=LA)	3	4.9
Main-language Malay (ML-M)	10	16.4
Malay only (BM-)[2]	6	9.8

[2] : of these 6 monolingual Malay postings, 1 is in Standard Malay and 5 are in Brunei Malay.

Data set 3

Data set 3 consists of 46 texts posted consecutively on the 'Bruclass' discussion forum, http://www.bruclass.com/cgi-bin/asian.pl?brunei:bru

between 1st and 5th December, 2001. In this set of postings there are 20 ML-English (43.5%) and 21 ML-Malay (45.6%) postings , with five postings (8.7%) having =LA. Table 4.4 shows the language alternation patterns occurring in these 46 postings.

Table 4.4

Presence / Absence of LA in 46 Postings, Data Set 3

Language classification	Number of postings	% of total in this set
English only (E-)	14	30.4
Main-language English (ML-E)	6	13.0
= Language Alternation (=LA)	5	10.9
Main-language Malay (ML-M)	19	41.3
Malay only (BM-)[3]	2	4.3

[3] : both of these monolingual Malay postings are in Brunei Malay.

<u>Data set 4</u>

Data set 4 consists of 40 texts posted consecutively on the 'Brudirect' discussion

forum, http://www.brudirect.com/DailyInfo/advertise/have_your_say/brunei.htm ,

between 2nd and 5th December, 2001. In this set of postings there is again a near-

equal split of ML-English (19 postings, 47.5%) and ML-Malay postings (20, 50.0%),

with a single =LA posting (2.5%). Table 4.5 shows the language alternation patterns

occurring in these 40 postings.

Table 4.5

Presence / Absence of LA in 40 Postings, Data Set 4

Language classification	Number of postings	% of total in this set
English only (E-)	18	45.0
Main-language English (ML-E)	1	2.5
= Language Alternation (=LA)	1	2.5
Main-language Malay (ML-M)	11	27.5
Malay only (BM-)[4]	9	22.5

[4] : of these monolingual Malay postings 7 are in Standard Malay and 2 are in Brunei Malay.

Table 4.6 is a composite table giving a breakdown of the total of 211 postings from

all the four data sets.

Table 4.6

Presence / Absence of LA in Whole Corpus of 211 Postings

Language classification	Number of postings	% of total
English only (E-)	83	39.3
Main-language English (ML-E)	36	17.1
= Language Alternation (=LA)	12	5.7
Main-language Malay (ML-M)	57	27.0
Malay only (M-)	23	10.9

Over the whole corpus there is a predominance of English- over Malay-medium, 56.4% to 37.9 %. In terms of monolingual against mixed-language postings there is an even split, 106 E- and BM-, as against 105 showing some measure of alternation between languages.

For the Malay-only (M-) postings there is also a near-even split between Standard Malay (eleven texts) and Brunei Malay (twelve texts).

On the basis of the findings outlined in Table 4.6, the presence of some degree of LA is the norm for ML-Malay postings, whereas monolingual English is the norm for ML-English postings, although a substantial minority of these show some form of LA.

The consistency between the four sets of figures from 2 separate discussion forums points to the validity of the findings. The figures show that unmixed monolingual English is the most frequent choice for those posting messages on the two websites. However, postings that contain some LA amount to 49.8% of the total of 211 posting texts. As with the 'Sarawak Talk' discussion forum postings (McLellan, 2000), there is a substantially higher tendency towards LA in ML-Malay postings (66.7%) than in ML-English postings (31.9%).

Very few postings contain only intersentential alternation. There are only five postings in which there is a single major switch of language, listed in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7

Postings with a Single (Intersentential) Switch of Language

Data set & Posting no.	Direction of switch
1.7	BM (Brunei) > E
1.40	E > BM (standard)
2.31	BM (standard) > E
2.32	BM (standard) > E
2.33	E > BM (Brunei)

4.3 Analysis of sample extracts of texts in each of the five categories

This section offers a more detailed textual analysis of one posting in each of the five categories, English-only (E-), main-language English (ML-E), equal language alternation (=LA), main-language Malay (ML-M) and Malay-only (M-). Three of these (texts [2], [3] and [4] below) are extracts which were also used in the questionnaire survey, discussed in Chapter 5. Switches are indicated in the texts in this section by '/' for English to Malay, and by '\' for Malay to English, so a forward slash signals English to Malay and a backward slash Malay to English. Subscript numbers follow each of the slash-marks to keep a count of the number of switches and for ease of reference.

1]
From data set 1, posting no. 39 (extract)
Classification: E-
Thread: Brunei – the best
Reply to 1.38, ML-M (shift in language choice)

I am proud of Brunei. Everybody here is treated the same irrespective of race, religion and colour. When one fills in forms, there is no need for one to differentiate between race nor religion. You see, we trust each other. I am proud of that. We preach for moderation and tolerance and harmony and respect. We are proud of our richness in culture, our country is the more richer because we tolerate diversities. I am proud that we can live together in harmony despite our differences and diversities. We are proud of ourselves

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because through the teaching of our elders, we are trusted to distinguish ourself between right and wrong.

This posting occurs in the middle of a long thread, consisting of 41 postings in data set 1, and including examples of all five language choice categories. It is responding to the previous posting (1.38) which is classified as ML-M and includes a substantial amount of LA. In line with many of the English-only texts, the English is close to 'standard', and idiomatic, with only minor departures from international norms: "preach for" is not a normal collocation of verb and post-position; "the more richer" is a double comparative form which also occurs in the speech and writing of many 'native speakers', and "ourself" in the final sentence is grammatically and stylistically odd, in contrast to the more standard use of "ourselves" in the previous line. The use of the double comparative is the only feature characteristic of 'Brunei English' (see 1.6 for discussion), although this feature also occurs in other varieties of English.

In terms of the topic of the posting, one might expect that the issues of race, religion, culture and national pride would be more likely to find expression through the medium of Malay. As noted in 4.5, though, there is no strong evidence of any correlation between language choice and topic.

[2]
From data set 3, posting no. 46
Classification: ML-E
Thread: BIA and Global / MIB
Reply to 3.41, also ML-E

Memang \\₁ *no one dares to fight Allah's will. Our concept is totally not contradicting*
Of course

with Islamic teachings. That's why /₂ ianya   di satukan   menjadi   satu Falasafah,
                            3s-3s-POSS PASS-unified AV-become one philosophy,

MIB Supaya ianya   inda bercanggah. Kalau \\₃ *Oil and Gas* /₄ kan habis... memang
MIB   So that   3s-3s-POSS NEG AV-oppose. If   FUT finish   indeed

tia sudah takdir...bukankah kerajaan   kitani   sedang   mempelbagaikan sumber
DM already fate   NEG-DM government 1pi-POSS currently AV-diversify   source

ekonomi. Atu tah   sebabnya...   untuk masa depan kitani,\\₅ *our children and our*
economy   DEM DM reason-3s-POSS   for   time ahead 1pi-POSS

children's children.

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> Of course no one dares to fight Allah's will. Our concept is totally not contradicting with Islamic teachings. That's why it's been combined to form one single philosophy, MIB. So that it's not opposed. If the oil and gas runs out...It's already pre-ordained. Isn't our government in the process of diversifying the sources of economic revenue. That's the reason... for our future, our children's and our children's children's future.

This extract is from a text classified as ML-E. The whole text has a predominance of English over Malay of 93 words as against 47. The text occurs in the midst of the lengthy "BIA and Global / MIB" thread which consists of 25 postings in all. As shown in Table 4.12, the thread includes postings in all categories except M-, and ML-E is the most frequent classification. There are a total of five switches in this extract. The first two occurs between sentence-initial discourse markers and the main proposition, with the Malay adverbial 'memang' introducing an English sentence, then the reverse in the second sentence, where 'That's why' introduces a Malay sentence. The third and fourth switches are for the English noun phrase "*Oil and Gas*", which occurs in an otherwise Malay-only sentence beginning with the conditional "Kalau" (if). This may be seen as a formulaic set phrase, and thus as an "EL-island" according Myers Scotton's ML-F theory, but the Malay equivalent 'minyak dan gas' is also frequently found in spoken and written discourse in Brunei, hence it is not a necessary switch. The switch to English for another formulaic phrase, "*our children and our children's children*" is perhaps an example of a switch for stylistic or emotional effect, since it can be equally well rendered in Malay ('kanak-kanak dan cucu-cucu kitani').

The topic of this posting, the national philosophy and the future of the country, again lends itself more towards Malay, as with text [1], above, and for these topics to be addressed in an ML-E posting may be considered as marked.

[3]
From data set 2, posting no. 22 (extract)
Classification: =LA
Thread: Rumah expo99
Reply to 2.20, E- (shift in language choice)

For your info ah, as a teacher, I come across so many different students with so many

different backgrounds, /₁ baik   anak pehin atau org2   biasa,   betukar   sudah \₂
                    good   child (title[5]) or   person-RDP ordinary AV-change already

attitude /₃kanak2   sekarang ani,\₄ *and also the parents, they work hard to achieve good*
        child-RDP now   DEM

results and parents /₅ nya   pun,\₆*very* /₇ bertanggung jawab \₈ *and* /₉ berfikiran terbuka \₁₀
              3pPOSS DM   support   answer   thinking   open

and educated,...

For your info, ah, as a teacher I come across so many different students with so many different
backgrounds, both the children of Pehins[5] and of ordinary people, now the children's attitudes
have changed, and also the parents, they work hard to achieve good results and their parents are
very responsible, open-minded and educated people.

[5] Pehin: title conferred by the Sultan on those of non-royal and non-noble birth for distinguished
service, corresponding to a UK knighthood.

This posting occurs in the middle of a thread of sixteen postings on the "Rumah expo99" topic, which runs throughout this tranche of texts. Again this is a thread which includes at least one posting in all of the five categories. It is a response to posting 2.20, which is English-only, so it marks a shift in language choice within this thread.

This extract is from the longest text classified as =LA, although in this extract from it there is an imbalance, with 17 words of Malay as against 37 English. The extract has a total of ten switches, including examples of single-word switches into English, switches within groups, and longer, group-length alternations. The single-word switches are the noun "*attitude*", the adverbial intensifier "*very*" and the conjunction "*and*". The first switch is at a group boundary, whilst "*attitude*" is an example of an English 'bare noun' insertion into an otherwise Malay noun phrase. The mixed noun phrase "*parents* nya pun", by contrast, shows retention of the English –s plural. It forms the subject of a copular construction which follows the Malay pattern by not having a copula verb. The three-part complement of this sentence demonstrates the

notion of equal language alternation through the mixed adjectival phrase "*very bertanggung jawab*" as the first item, the choice of the English coordinating conjunction "*and*", then Malay for the second part ("berfikiran terbuka"), with English for the third part, "educated". This extract again demonstrates a high level of control of both languages, especially at the points where switches are made.

[4]
From data set 3, posting no. 26 (extract)
Classification: ML-M
Thread: BIA & Global / MIB
Reply to 3.24, also ML-M

As for me, Bruclass /₁ ani \₂ *my mind opener*/₃walaupun ada masanya \₄*idea* /₅ atu   inda
                                    DEM   although have time-3s-POSS   DEM NEG

sehati   dengan \₆ *contributors. I have also been proud* /₇meliat \₈*idea-idea* /₉ yang
one-heart with   AV-see   RDP   REL

diusulkan   menunjukkan anak2   Berunai ani   pintar dan befikiran. Mungkin cara
PASS-originate AV-show   RDP-child Brunei DEM smart and thoughtful Maybe   way

penyampaian seseorang atu   berbeda \ ₁₀ *and* /₁₁ ada masanya   tunggang tebalik,
presentation one-person DEM AV-differ   have time-3s-POSS   topsy-turvy

panjang\₁₂ (*like me*) *and* /₁₃payah   kan   di\₁₄*comprehend, but at the end of the day it's*
long   difficult FUT PASS-

one opportunity /₁₅ untuk diorang meluahkan isihati   demi kepentingan negara.
                      for   3p   AV-reveal contents-heart for interest   nation

Samada diterima   atau inda atu terserahlah...
same-have PASS-receive or   NEG DEM PASS-offer-DM

As for me, Bruclass has opened my mind, although at times my ideas are not in line with those of the contributors. I have also been proud to see original ideas showing that Bruneians are smart and thoughtful. Maybe their manner of presentation is different and at times topsy-turvy, lengthy (like me) and hard to comprehend but at the end of the day it's one opportunity for people to open up their hearts in the national interest. Whether they're accepted or not, they're freely offered.

This extract comes from a main-language Malay posting from the 'BIA and Global / MIB' thread in data set 3. It is one of six out of the 25 postings in this category classified as ML-M. The previous posting in this thread, 3.24, is also ML-M.

It has 45 words in Malay, 30 words in English, with one mixed word, and includes a total of fifteen switches of language, one of which is within the mixed word (switch 14, "di*comprehend*"). Aside from the word-count and group-count criteria for

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determining the ML-M classification, this extract also shows evidence of Malay grammar predominating at points of non-congruence. In the first sentence the main clause is entirely in English except for the Brunei Malay demonstrative "ani", yet the grammatical structure is that of Malay, with the zero-copula construction. The Malay subordinate clause following "walaupun" (although) contains two single English nouns: "idea" clearly has plural reference, but it is not marked as such, whilst "contributors" retains the English plural –s. In the second sentence, switches number 7 and 8 are around the Malay verb "meliat": if the dominant grammar (or matrix language) were English, the infinitive marker "to" would be required after the adjective 'proud'. The object of this Malay verb is *"idea-idea"*, an example of Malay plural reduplication operating on an English noun found frequently in Malay text, which could be regarded as a loan word. Switch 9, prior to the relative marker "yang", brings about a return to Malay for the remainder of the sentence. This is not listed under example set [32] in section 4.5 owing to the uncertain language status of the antecedent *"idea-idea"*. In the third sentence switches 10 and 11 are around the single English conjunction "and". Switch 12 appears to be mainly for stylistic effect, conveying a self-deprecating tone on the part of the text producer. This extract illustrates how LA can occur with great frequency leading to switches of varying lengths. It is a clear example of "seamless" Malay-English LA, previously described by Azhar and Bahiyah (1994) and by Jacobson (2001b).

[5]
From data set 4, posting no. 31 (extract)
Classification: M-
Thread: new / standalone

Selama ani   aku perhatikan RBA inda ada peningkatan apalagi   kemajuan, apalagi
During DEM 1s   AV-observe RBA NEG have improvement what-again progess   what-again

sekarang ani dengan pentakbiran yang diambil   alih   daripada shike Jamal, banyak
now   DEM with   administration REL PASS-take move from   Sheikh (name) many

perkara yang diselindungi dan ada perkara yang inda perlu   dibuat jadi   dibuat
matter   REL PASS-hide   and have matter   REL NEG should PASS-do happen PASS-do

tampa memikirkan akibatnya,   contohnya   penerbangan keHongkong,
without AV-think   outcome-3s-POSS example-3s-POSS flight   to-Hongkong

untuk apa? lisen   untuk berjual tiket juga belum dapat sudah membuat penarbangan
for   what licence for   AV-sell ticket also not yet get   already AV-make flight

kesana dan kesurabaya, penerbangan permulaannya   waktu petang tapi
to-there and to-Suarabaya flight   inaugural3s-POSS time   evening but

kenapa sekarang dirubah   kepegi,   apakah   sudah difikirkan sebelum ianya
why   now   PASS-change to-morning what-INT already PASS-think before   3s-3s-
POSS

dijalankan,   dan berapa banyak sembutan penumpang yang mengunakan jadual
PASS-operate and how   many   receive   passenger   REL AV-use   schedule

penambahaan ini.
addition   DEM

Recently I have observed that Royal Brunei Airlines has neither improved nor progressed,
especially now that the administration has been taken away from Sheikh Jamal. There are many
matters which have been covered up, and some things that should not have happened have been
done without thinking of the consequences, for example, why the flight to Hongkong? The licence
to sell tickets has not yet been obtained but already they are flying there and also to Surabaya, the
inaugural flight was in the evening but why has it now been changed to the morning, has this all
been thought through before being implemented, and what has been the response of those
passengers using these additional scheduled flights?

This Malay-only text extract does not form part of a thread. It is about Royal Brunei
Airlines (RBA), Brunei's national air carrier, and once again illustrates the point that
posting topic and language choice are unrelated, as one would have thought that
English or a form of LA would be a more likely choice for this 'modern' topic,
where the text producer is commenting on decisions made by the management of the
national airline.

This extract illustrates the problem of classifying texts as either Brunei or Standard
Malay. There are some specifically Brunei Malay forms, including the demonstrative
"ani" (this), the negative "inda" (not), and some non-standard orthography which
reflects Brunei Malay pronunciation, such as "penarbangan" (Standard Malay:
'penerbangan'). However, the grammatical structure and especially the
morphological affixations are characteristic of Standard Malay, hence this text is
classified as Standard rather than as Brunei Malay.

4.4 LA patterns in 29 postings with near-equal amounts of Malay and English

The tables in section 4.2 do not distinguish between postings which have rich and
frequent intrasentential alternation and those which have only one or two such

instances. This finer distinction can be established by using a word-count and a group-count of a subset of 29 postings which show high levels of both inter- and intrasentential switching and thus have the potential to be classified as =LA. This subset was identified through a manual search of the whole corpus. The subset includes the 12 postings categorized above as = LA and labeled as such in the right hand column of Table 4.8.

Table 4.8

Word and Group Count of 29 Postings

Posting no.	Word- Count			Group- Count			Author (Pseudonym)	Language category
	English	Mixed	Malay	English	Mixed	Malay		
1.10	30		58	10	4	24	Penyokong penunggu kerusi	ML-M
1.11	27		62	5	7	14	New blood	ML-M
1.12	4		5	2		2	Katun	= LA
1.34	8		9	2	1	2	Muftiless	= LA
1.35	15		19	5	1	4	Anak iblis	= LA
1.38	41	2	195	7	10	66	Anaknda	ML-M
2.1	69		119	10	8	22	Rakyat Brunei	ML-M
2.22	149		191	34	23	47	Mambang tanah	= LA
2.37	7		12	1	3	2	Aint it funny	= LA
2.57	115		294	30	26	82 (+ 2 Arabic)	Peaches	ML-M
2.58	41		21	11	3	9	Aint it funny	= LA
3.1	390	3	116	20	35	71	Jati expat	ML-M
3.16	94	1	70	24	6	20	Jati expat	= LA
3.25	2		2	1		1	Nanas-tunku	= LA
3.26	73	2	228	12	21	102	Salsera D	ML-M
3.27	45		38	5	5	10	Mudro	= LA
3.28	304	9	829	54	11	195	Salsera D	ML-M
3.29	490		186	194	6	58	Jati expat	ML-E

Posting no.	Word- Count			Group- Count			Author (Pseudonym)	Language category
	English	Mixed	Malay	English	Mixed	Malay		
3.30	212	2	217	39	23	41	Salsera D	= LA
3.31	15		17	6	1	6	Jati Expat	= LA
3.34	110		68	32	5	19	Cdaun	ML-E
3.37	21		10	7	1	2	Salsera D	ML-E
3.38	225		54	68	4	27	Seria	ML-E
3. 41	103		41	21	8	8	Jen21	ML-E
3.43	32	1	77	10	3	53	Cdaun	ML-M
3.45	169		339	54	11	93	Kalam ku	ML-M
3.46	93		47	24	4	16	Kalam ku	ML-E
4.1	103	1	112	27	7	38	Maidini	ML-M
4.34	53		53	17	4	21	Local visitor	=LA

In table 4.8, "Mixed", in the word-count column, refers to bicodal words like "Ter*pressure*", which have both Malay and English elements. ML-M stands for main language-Malay; ML-E stands for main language-English, and = LA denotes postings which include Malay and English in equal measure.

The subset contains 29 postings by 20 different contributors, assuming that no two use the same pseudonym and that a different pseudonym indicates a different individual. 22 of these are from Bruclass (sets 1 and 3), whilst seven are from the Brudirect forum (sets 2 and 4). Postings 3.26 (ML-M), 3.28 (ML-M), 3.30 (= LA), and 3.37 (ML-E) are posted by the same person, and show variation in the balance between Malay and English. Other contributors also display the capacity to post messages in monolingual Malay and English as well as others showing LA: "Jati Expat" ('indigenous expatriate') is responsible for postings 3.1 (ML-M), 3.16 (= LA), 3.29 (ML-E) and 3.31 (= LA) all of which have alternation, but also for 3.2 and 3.5, which are in monolingual English, and 3.3, which is in entirely in Brunei Malay except for two codemixed groups. The diversity of contributors shows that instances of LA are not just idiosyncratic language choices on the part of a few individuals.

This analysis of texts that potentially show language alternation reveals that twelve out of these 29 texts have a sufficiently even balance of Malay and English words and groups to be considered equal, that is twelve postings out of 211 within the whole corpus, or 5.7 %. The criterion adopted for determining equality is whether the total of monolingual groups in one language outnumbers the monolingual groups in the other language plus the mixed groups. Thus posting 3.37 is deemed ML-E, as pointed out above, since it has seven English-only groups, outnumbering the two Malay-only plus the one mixed group. Posting 2.58 is classified as equal language alternation, since the nine Malay-only groups plus the three mixed groups exceed the eleven English-only groups. The text of this posting is discussed in 3.3.2 above, as an example of how alternation patterns occur in posting texts. The other texts in this subset of 29 are either predominantly Malay (ML-M, eleven texts) or predominantly English (ML-E, six texts) in terms of both words and groups, as is clear from Table 4.8 above. Postings 2.1 and 4.1 just fail to be classified as equal: the totals (by group count) come very close to equality.

Within this subset of texts there is variation in the degree of alternation: text 4.34, for example is exactly equal in terms of the number of Malay and English words, 53 each, but it has only four mixed groups, against seventeen English-only and 24 Malay-only groups. This represents a low level of integration: even though there is much intrasentential LA, the switches tend to occur at group or sentence boundaries. In text 3.1 on the other hand, English is dominant in terms of the word-count by 390 to 116, and yet the mixed groups outnumber the English-only groups by 35 to 20, with the majority of groups (71) being Malay only.

4.5 Areas of grammatical non-congruence

The overview in section 4.2 shows patterns at the text level across the whole corpus. The analysis in section 4.4 is of those postings showing rich patterns of near-equal LA, both inter- and intrasentential. This section analyses the whole corpus of 211 texts in terms of the grammatical categories in which LA occurs.

Analysis of the corpus by grammatical category shows that, as in most other grammatical studies of language alternation or of code-switching (e.g. Nortier, 1990, pp.140-141, Myers Scotton, 1993a, p.15, Halmari, 1997, pp. 53-54, McClure, 1998, p.133, also McLellan, 2000a, 2000b; McLellan, forthcoming), most switches occur within nominal groups. Appendix B lists all the mixed groups in the various categories: Table 4.9 below is a summary of findings from this group-level analysis, which also shows the distribution across each data set.

Table 4.9

Distribution of Mixed Groups in the 4 Data Sets, 211 Postings

	Data set 1	set 2	set 3	set 4	**Total**
Nouns / Nominal groups	15/8 [5]	31/24	106/47	14/12	**168/91**
Verbs / Verbal groups	6/6	12/8	18/12	6/4	**42/30**
Pronominals	2/2	1/1	5/3	-	**8/6**
Prepositions / Prepositional groups	-	4/4	3/3	-	**7/7**
Conjunctions	4/3	9/4	13/9	1/1	**27/17**
Discourse markers	1/1	5/3	3/3	1/1	**10/8**
Adverbials/Adjuncts	1/1	6/3	11/9	4/3	**22/16**
Intra-word / Bicodal words	6/5	3/3	27/9	7/6	**43/23**
Relatives	2/2	6/3	4/3	-	**12/8**
Others	1/1	5/3	3/3	1/1	**10/8**

Key: In Table 4.9, 15/8 means that there are 15 mixed nominal groups occurring in 8 different postings in data set 1.

The postings in Data set 3 contain the highest number of mixed groups in all categories, except for prepositions. This is especially noticeable for the nominal groups. In part this can be accounted for by the greater total number of words in set 3 (see table 4.1 above).

Table 4.9 shows that the occurrence of mixed groups and of LA in general is spread throughout the whole corpus, albeit unevenly in some categories. It presents an overview, without distinguishing between English in ML-M and Malay in ML-E environments. This distinction is drawn in the separate listings in this section (below) and in Appendix B.

The categories of groups showing LA in Table 4.9 are further subdivided in this section, where they are discussed in terms of the notion of congruence, especially within nominal and verbal groups. This enables investigation of the way in which the two languages contribute to making meaning in the postings texts, and allows for investigation of the question of congruence or otherwise in three specific areas.

The issue of congruence, as defined in the literature on code-switching (e.g. Sebba, 1998, Myers Scotton, 2002, pp.19-21), currently seems to be the most productive path for the further syntactic study of LA. As discussed in earlier chapters, for the present corpus it is used to identify three major areas of non-congruence between the grammatical systems of Malay and English. As noted by Sebba (1998, p.18), the typological features of these languages show a high degree of congruence and thus have a propensity for LA, except for three major areas in which congruence is lacking:

a) the internal structure of nominal groups: modifier-head in English, but head-modifier in Malay (Cumming, 1991, pp. 21-25);

b) marking of plurality in nominals: -s in most English nouns; reduplication in Malay, or zero marking if the plurality is retrievable from context;

c) verbal inflections signalling tense and aspect in English, whilst in Malay these are marked adverbially ('sudah', 'telah', 'sedang' etc.) (Cumming, 1991; Svalberg & Fatimah, 1998)

If regularities can be established in these areas of grammatical non-congruence, then and only then can valid statements be made about one or other language being dominant through providing the syntactic frame. The alternative is to posit a wider degree of variability along a formality-informality continuum, or to suggest that there

are cases where the grammars of both Malay and English are operationalised within the same group.

4.5.1 Nominal group structure

Example set [6] below contains a sample of the 54 instances of mixed groups with English nouns and their modifiers following the English NP modifier-head structure. The full listing is in Appendix B. Free translations are provided, followed by the posting number and the main-language designation of the text in which it occurs. In the sets of examples listed in this section, underlining serves to mark the relevant items in the example texts; formatting features such as capitalization in cited examples are retained. A few of the examples listed in Appendix B occur in ML-E texts, but in sentences which have a Malay grammatical frame.

These examples demonstrate some degree of fixity, that is, the English nominal groups collocate sufficiently closely to be considered as inseparable and not liable to appear with the Malay head-modifier structure. In Myers Scotton's model, they would be classed as "EL islands".

[6] English noun phrases with modifier-head word order

a] Bejam jam bah _traffic jam_ atu
    hour-RDP DM   DEM

that traffic jam lasted for hours and hours, 1.8, ML-M

b] Ia jua _commercial city centre_
    3s also

It is also the commercial centre of the city, 1.8, ML-M

c] _Public transport_ balum lagi _effective_
                not yet again

public transport is not yet effective, 1.8, ML-M

d] _You were saying_ pasal   melihat wayang di _Empire Cinema_ $10 atu
              because AV-see film   at   DEM

you were saying because they watch films for $10 at the Empire Cinema, 2.57, ML-M

e] Walaupun _sound system_ inda seberapa
    Although   NEG amount

even though the sound system is not so great, 2.57, ML-M

f] hakitatnya,   *only certain class of people* saja yang sanang2...
truth-3s-POSS   only REL   RDP-easy

the truth of it is, only a certain class of people are able to...2.57, ML-M

g] Nampak banyak *time off* tapi inda tah orang tau
Seem   much   but NEG DM person AV-know

it seems like they have a lot of time off but people don't really know, 3.1, ML-M

h] *Economic talk* mu   isi   nya   manis manis
2sPOSS content 3s-POSS RDP-sweet

the content of your economic talk is very sweet, 3.6, MLM

i] *carrying capacity* kitani *overloaded* sudah
1piPOSS   already

our carrying capacity is already overloaded, 3.7, ML-M

j] *most of our people* yang ke mesjid macam ria' sahaja
REL to mosque like   fun only

most of our people who go the mosque only go there for fun, 4.1, ML-M

k] penggunaan *local call* bagi *fixed* akan dikenakan   3c seminit
use   for   FUT PASS-charge 3c a-minute

the use of a fixed line for a local call will be charged at 3 cents a minute, 4.20, ML-M

l] *Line* yang digunakan oleh pengguna simpur net bukanlah *toll free line*
REL PASS-use by   user   Simpur Net NEG-DM

the line that is used by Simpur-Net[6] users is not a toll-free line, 4.20, ML-M
    [6]: Simpur-Net: name of private Internet Service Provider company)

(Note: see Appendix B for the full listing of the 54 nominal groups in this category)

In [6] a], b], d], e], f], k] and l], articles that would be required if the text were in monolingual English do not occur. This is a case of a "compromise" strategy (Jake and Myers Scotton, 1997; Sebba, 1998, pp. 14-15). Since Malay lacks direct equivalents to English definite and indefinite articles, these are not normally found where Malay is functioning as the main language. [7a] below is the only one case of an English indefinite article, and [7b] is the only English definite article in this set of nominal groups showing the modifier-head order; these both occur in postings classified as = LA:

[7]
a] Kalau *Singapore a "FINE" country*, tani kan mengikut tah jua,
    If   1pi FUT AV-follow DM also

If Singapore is a "Fine" country, we can do the same as well, 1.12, = LA

b] *How sure are you all* yang *the ex minister* atu...
                            REL   DEM

How sure are you all that that ex-Minister....2.22, = LA

Example [7b] is also a case of double marking (see [10] below). In the other

examples English articles do not occur. Other English system morphemes do occur:

the deictic 'such' in [8a], and English possessive adjectives in [8b] and [8c]. Plural

markers are discussed separately in section 4.5.2. below.

[8]
a] kalau ada *such Task Force*
    if   have

If there is such a Task Force, 2.31, ML-E

b] *As for me, Bruclass* ani *my mind opener* walaupun ada masanya...
                          DEM   although have time-3sPOSS

As for me Bruclass is my mind opener, although there are times when...3.26, ML-M

c] *So Dear*, jangan   mencampuradukkan Islam dengan *your negative thoughts*
              NEG-IMP AV-mix up   Islam with

So, Dear, don't mix up Islam with your negative thoughts, 3.46, ML-E

Apart from this tendency towards deletion of articles, all the nominal groups showing

the English modifier-head order are well-formed. In mixed nominal groups,

therefore, the English articles are the most likely candidates for deletion. Absence of

English articles may thus represent one step along a continuum of variability

between English-only and Malay-only text. Absence of the English copula verb, as in

[6b], [6e], [6h], [6i] and [6l], may represent the next stage on this continuum. Wan

Imran (2000, p. 8) discusses comparable nominal phrases from chat-room data:

"semua kes *wrong timing* la" (it's all a case of wrong timing), and "*I* baru aje dapat

corporate account hari nih" (I've just got a corporate account today), where the

English function word 'of' and the indefinite article are not present.

Whereas [6] above lists examples of nominal groups with English modifier-head word order, the mixed nominal groups in [9] below show the Malay NP head-modifier structure, where the modifier is either a noun in apposition, a demonstrative (e.g. Brunei Malay 'ani' (this) / 'atu' (that)), a possessive (e.g. 'nya') or an adjective. There are a total of 29 nominal groups in this category, listed in Appendix B.

[9] English noun phrases with Malay head-modifier word order

a] Polis *traffic* lagi   indada
   police   again NEG-have

Again there were no traffic police, 1.8, ML-M

b] Walaupun *quota* sudah *limited*
   although   already

Although the quota is already limited, 1.44, ML-M

c] Bagas   Amedeo hilang sudah *konfiden investors* kan ke sana
   debacle Amedeo lose   already confidence   FUT to there

The debacle of Amedeo[7] has lost investors' confidence to go in there, 3.8, ML-M
     [7] : Amedeo: name of a Brunei development company

d] Inda jua baik kalau kitani karang pepacah balah   pasal   *issue terrorists* atu
   NEG also good if   1pi   later   broken   quarrel because   DEM

It's not good if we're going to be in conflict over the terrorist issue, 3.15, ML-M

e] ...dalam pemajuan   ekonomi *(particularly* bisnes   *global).*
    in   development economic   business

... in economic development (particularly global business), 3.27, = LA

f] Kalau kan melihat *body sexy* bolehlah.
   If   FUT AV-see   can-DM

If you want to see sexy bodies you can, 4.4, ML-M

g] *inventor page* ani   dengan kuncu-kuncu nya
             DEM with   RDP-crony   3s-POSS

the inventor of this page with his cronies, 4.39, ML-M

By comparison, Myers Scotton's Nairobi Swahili-English corpus of 40 conversations has only five examples of the head-modifier ('issue terrorists', 'body sexy') type (Myers Scotton, 1993a, p. 84).

Double marking, or double morphology, is considered by Myers Scotton (2000, pp. 51-52) as an instance of 'mistiming' on the part of a speaker, and consequently one would not expect such a feature to occur in a written CMC context, except as a performance error (see also Clyne, 2003, pp. 82-83). There are only three examples in the corpus of double-marking within a nominal group:

[10] Double marking in a mixed NP

How sure are you all yang *the ex minister* atu kana *remove from office....*
                       REL   DEM PASS

How sure are you all that that ex-Minister was removed from office..., 2.22, = LA

"The" and "atu" are tautologous here. "Atu" (Brunei Malay deictic demonstrative, 'that') serves to mark specificity or definiteness (Cumming, 1991, p. 23) in the same way as English 'the'.

[11] Double marking in a mixed NP

since this forum ani terlalu *open*
                    DEM too

Since this forum is too open, 3.26, ML-M

'This' and 'ani' are tautologous here. The conjunction is in English, yet the clause that it governs has the Malay zero-copula structure.

[12] Double marking in a mixed NP

That Bangsa melayu *to exist for* another 1000 tahun lagi
       race   Malay   year more

that the Malay race is to exist for another thousand years, 3.41, ML-E

'Another' and 'lagi' are tautologous in this nominal group governed by the English preposition 'for'.

These infrequent examples of double marking of morphological features illustrate LA at group level occurring in a mixed text, showing the grammatical systems of both languages in operation within the same nominal group.

There is a much smaller set of Malay nominal groups occurring in main language - English environments, comprising only thirteen instances in total. This is consistent

with the overall distribution of switching within the corpus, as shown in tables 4.2 - 4.6. A sample of these is given in [13] below. In all the examples which contain more than one word of Malay, the Malay head-modifier nominal group structure is maintained. There are no examples of Malay nouns and their modifiers following the English modifier-head structure: forms such as *'malam pasar' or *'melayu bangsa' do not occur.

[13] Malay nominal groups in Main-language English environments

a] *BAN* <u>pasar malam</u>
       market night

Ban the night market, 1.26, MLE

b] *As for the men out there who resort to* '<u>pujuk rayu</u>' *or coercion to demand sex....*
                                   persuade coax

As for the men out there who resort to coercion to demand sex, 2.12, ML-E

c] *the Concept* MIB *had suppressed certain group of individual especially* <u>puak2 lain</u>
                                                          RDP-group other

the MIB concept has suppressed a certain group of individuals, especially other ethnic groups,
                                                      3.39, ML-E

d] *...and there is no more* <u>bangsa melayu</u>
                     race   Malay

and there is no more Malay race, 3.41, ML-E

e] *Are we still* berkonsepkan MIB? *I wonder*
           concept

Are we still following the MIB concept? I wonder, 3.41, ML-E

In example [13b] there is flagging of the Malay phrase, and this is a rare case of a parallel translation being provided. [13c] shows the Malay head-modifier order applied to the mixed nominal group "Concept MIB", even though it occurs in an English syntactic frame. Omission of the indefinite article and the absence of plural marking on 'individual' are further evidence that grammatical systems of both English and Malay are operative here, even though the text of posting 3.39 is classified as Main-language English.

4.5.2 Plural marking in nominal groups

Plurality is categorized as an "early system morpheme" in the "4-M Model" proposed by Myers Scotton (2002, pp. 73-80) and discussed earlier in section 2.2. As such, it is predicted that plurality is more likely to be marked in the "Matrix Language" in a mixed group (Myers Scotton, 2000, p. 47). This claim can be tested with reference to Malay/English LA.

The following are examples from the total of 14 mixed nominal groups which show retention of English plural inflection:

[14] Retention of English plural inflection

a] pikirkan *both sides* bah, jangan   tah *consider one side only*
     think   DM, NEG-IMP DM

Think of both sides, don't only consider one side only, 2.4, ML-E

b] Jangan   tah sabut   *benefits* keraja'an Brunei
    NEG-IMP DM mention   government

Don't mention the benefits to the Brunei government, 3.1, ML-M

c] Kalau ada *expats* yang angan2   kan duduk di *position* #1, ...
    If   have   REL RDP-aspire DM sit   in

If there are expats who aspire to occupy the #1 position,... 3.1, ML-M

d] dan baritau *consequences* akan datang untok anak cucu   kitani
    and inform   FUT come   for   child grandchild 1pi-POSS

and inform of the consequences for our grandchildren, 3.8, ML-M

e] *unless of course* ada *documents* untok menya*pport*
                have   for   AV-support

unless of course there are documents for support. 3.19, ML-M

f] *Idea* atu   inda sehati   dengan *contributors.*
    DEM NEG one-mind with

Those ideas are not in agreement with those of the contributors.3.26, ML-M

g] Sudah tah banyak *rides* yang rosak,
    already DM many   REL broken

There are already many rides not working, 4.34, = LA

It is noticeable here that all except one of these are single nouns, the exception being the formulaic set phrase in example [14a], "pikirkan *both sides* bah,...". With the exception of this example, all the others in this category show use of the English –s plural morpheme in environments which are main-language Malay at the level of the group, or CP in Myers Scotton's terminology. [14g] here is an example of the use of resources from both languages to mark plurality: 'banyak' (many) does not require reduplication of the following noun.

A total of eleven English nominal groups show Malay plural marking in the form of reduplication, often represented graphically in written Malay by the figure '2', as exemplified in [15]:

[15] Malay plural marking: reduplication

a] Sesiapa yang terlibat   dalam meluluskan *application2* atu,...
     whoever REL   AV-involve in   AV-approve   DEM

Whoever was involved in approving those applications..., 2.1, ML-M

b] ...seperti *manuscript2* atu.
     like   DEM

     ...like those manuscripts. 2.57, ML-M

c] Tuduh menuduh, dan sampai tia tekeluar *issue2 sensitive* ugama
    RDP-accuse   and reach   DM AV-arise   religion

  Making accusations to such an extent that sensitive religious issues arise. 3.15, ML-M

d] ...*idea-idea* bernas   dari rakyat
                constructive from people

  constructive ideas from the people, 3.26, ML-M

e] *EMPIRE-EMPIRE* ISLAM TAK KAN ADA
                     NEG FUT   have

  There will no Islamic empires, 3.27, = LA

f] ..., tapi *value2* yang positif seperti kehalusan...
     but   REL positive like   refinement

... but positive values such as refinement...3.28, MLM

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Example [15c], from posting 3.15, shows yet again that the Malay head-modifier nominal group word order can be found used with English nouns and adjectives (q.v. examples [9d] and [9f] above, and discussion of the "Estet Industrial" street sign text in McLellan, forthcoming).

Here the English nominals are treated as part of Malay in every respect, except that in these cases there is no assimilation of their orthographic form (q.v. 'polis' [9a], 'konfiden' [9c], 'bisnes'[9e] in example set [9] above, where these assimilated heads co-occur with unassimilated modifiers).

The occurrence of both of these patterns for plural marking again suggests that a 'free-for-all', 'anything goes' model of equal LA is applicable here. Reservations may be expressed over the fact that four out of the ten examples in this category above are from the same posting, 3.28, and may thus be idiosyncratic on the part of the text producer.

There are no cases of the English –s plural inflection being used with Malay lexemes in this corpus of texts, although expressions such as "kampong ketuas" ('village headmen', discussed in McLellan, 1996, pp. 224-227) are occasionally attested from elsewhere in the English-medium print and broadcast media of Brunei.

The total of plural nouns in both these patterns is not large enough to constitute strong evidence for or against Myers Scotton's contention that plurality is more likely to be marked by affixation of matrix-language morphemes. The congruence question is once again salient here, because of the contrasting systems of English and Malay for marking plurality. Since the reduplication in Malay is not obligatory if plurality is retrievable from the syntactic or semantic context, many nouns that have the feature '+plural' occur as 'bare' forms.

4.5.3 'Bare' / single nouns

A sub-category of nominal groups includes what Myers Scotton (1993a, pp. 95-97) describes as 'bare forms'- uninflected single English nouns which would require an article or a plural inflection if the whole group were in English. There are a total of 43 'bare' nouns in this category:

[16] 'Bare' / single nouns

a] BUKAN UNTOK SIMPAN *ACCOUNT* ORANG ORANG ISLAM
    NEG   for   keep   RDP-person   Islam

 not for holding the accounts of people of the Islamic faith, 1.9, ML-M

b] Tahu kita *idea* biskita   atu *style* lama sudah
    know 2p   2p-POSS DEM   old   already

 Do you know that your ideas are already old-style, 1.10, ML-M

c] ertinya   ada *bias* disana
    meaning-3s-POSS have   there

 it means there is a bias there, 2.22, = LA

d] Apakah *multiculturalism* yang ketani kejar   atu banar2   *multi-culturalism*
    what-INT   REL 1pi   pursue DEM RDP-true

 Is the multiculturalism that we are pursuing really multiculturalism,…3.28, ML-M

e] Ada lagi *example,* yang disetengah-setengah negara…
    have more   REL   in-half-RDP   nation

 There are more examples, which in half the countries…3.45, ML-M

f] Mungkin jemaah lain yang menurut peraturan *parking* bisai2,..
    Possibly worshipper other REL AV-follow rule   RDP-nice

 Maybe there are other worshippers who follow parking rules nicely, 4.1, ML-M

g] Lagipun aku suka dengar lagu Melayu dan *instrumental* serta *Radio* Brunei
    Again-DM1s like hear   song Malay and   with

 Also I like to hear Malay songs and instrumentals on Radio Brunei, 4.4, ML-M

These are indicative of English bare nouns being treated as if they were Malay nominals, a common feature of insertional code-switching, in Muysken's (2000) terminology. This is problematic in terms of the syntax of English, hence these examples are instances of Sebba's (1998, pp.14-15) "compromise" strategy.

Apart from proper nouns (including local place-names and references, and pseudonyms of previous message posters) there are only three examples of the reverse phenomenon: bare or single Malay nouns are only found in ML-E environments in four instances, listed here in [17].

[17] 'Bare' / single Malay nouns in ML-E environments.

a] *Jones can give all he's* 'alasan' *to the public like 2 players are still schooling* lah
                         reason   DM

    Jones can give all his reasons to the public, such as that two players are still at school, 2.28, ML-E

b] JPM *for this matter should be thankful that they have avenue to look at* rakyat *argument*
   PM's Department   people

  The Prime Minister's Department should be thankful that they have an avenue to look at people's arguments, 3.40, ML-E

c] *So* rakyaat *could make formal complain*
      people

  So the people could make formal complaints, 3.40, ML-E

d] *There are ample parking spaces in most* masjid
                                      mosques

  There are ample parking spaces in most mosques, 4.1, ML-M

[17d] here occurs in an ML-M text, but in a sentence that is entirely in English except for the single noun 'masjid'. Comparing the examples in [17] with the much larger listing exemplified in [16] and listed in full in Appendix B, there is asymmetry in terms of the occurrence of bare nouns, with more frequent instances of single uninflected English nouns occurring in ML-Malay contexts, and very few single Malay nouns occurring in ML-English environments. Borderline cases, such as the Arabic terms 'halal' (permitted), 'haram' (unlawful), 'Mufti' (chief religious adviser), and 'khalwat' (close proximity), are not included in this analysis, since they are understood by all members of the Bruclass and Brudirect discourse communities, and cannot readily be translated. These terms also occur frequently, without translation or explanation, in the Brunei English-medium print media. The same is true for the lexeme 'rakyat', (meaning 'people'), which occurs twice in posting 3.40. In classical Malay texts 'rakyat' collocates and contrasts with 'Raja' (ruler). The low frequency of such examples is somewhat surprising, given the propensity in many multilingual situations to construct main-language English texts using unglossed lexemes from other languages: the frequent use of Maori words in New Zealand print media reports serves as a comparable example of this phenomenon (Gordon & Deverson, 1998, pp. 65-74). Elsewhere in this thesis, this issue is considered as an aspect of 'nativization' (2.3, 5.2).

Bare forms have been the topic of much discussion in the code-switching research literature (Myers Scotton, 2002, pp.127-131, pp. 227-228). It is prudent to restrict discussion in this area to the specific context of Malay-English language contact, rather than make any universal claims (Jacobson, 1998, pp. 56-60; Jacobson, 2000, pp. 62-63; Muysken, 2000, p.10). Since Malay lacks an article system that is congruent with or comparable to that of English, it is possible for English nouns and nominal groups to be inserted into ML Malay texts without transgressing any rule of Malay syntax. Hence these examples can be considered as instances of the "compromise" strategy, according to Sebba's (1998) formulation.

Conclusions from study of nominal groups

Two of the basic findings of this study are strongly supported by evidence from nominal groups:

(a) there are a great deal more English insertions in main-language Malay texts than Malay insertions in texts that are main-language English;

(b) most of the alternations that occur are located within the nominal group environment.

There is variability in the extent of dominance of Malay head-modifier structure. Sometimes English modifier-head is maintained ("traffic jam"). These groups, exemplified in [7] above, contravene Myers Scotton's (2002, p. 59) revised criteria for identification of the matrix language, and in her analysis would be counted as "EL islands". There are, however, also many cases of English nominal groups with the Malay head-modifier structure ("issue terrorists" = the terrorists issue). In the case of plurals there is likewise a slightly higher frequency of English nominals showing English '–s' pluralization over those showing Malay reduplication. Many English nominals that would show plurality in a monolingual English group, however, appear as bare nouns in cases where plurality is retrievable from the textual context (e.g. "Bukan untok simpan *account* orang orang Islam ("not for holding the accounts of people of the Islamic faith", posting no.1.9)", "Suka dengar lagu Melayu dan *instrumental* serta *Radio* Brunei" ("like to hear Malay songs and instrumentals on Radio Brunei", posting no. 4.4).
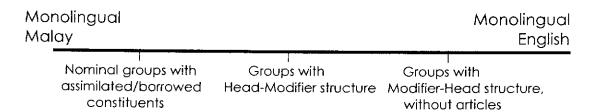
The question arises here of whether lexemes such as "polis traffic", listed as example [9a] above, should be considered as belonging to Malay, hence excluded from a list of codemixed groups. This question lies at the heart of the ongoing debate over what constitutes codemixing as opposed to borrowing (Romaine, 1995, pp.131-147; Myers Scotton, 2002, pp. 234-245; Clyne, 2003, pp. 70-76; see also discussion in 3.4 above). "Polis" has been assimilated towards Malay orthography, but "traffic" has not: elsewhere in Malay texts it is found spelt 'trafik'. Hence the nominal group "polis traffic" is considered as a nominal group showing LA. The same applies to "konfiden investors" ([9c] above, in posting text 3.8).

Myers Scotton (2002, p.139) cites a comparable example, "un autre gros building high-rise...." (French/English, 'another big-high-rise building'), explaining that this not be considered as an EL island in terms of her ML-F theory, as the morpheme order in this case is that of French, the Matrix language, not English, the Embedded language.

A number of points can thus be identified on a continuum of nominal group language alternation, as shown in Figure 4.1. Wholly monolingual groups are at each extreme:

Figure 4.1

Nominal group continuum

Monolingual Malay		Monolingual English
Nominal groups with assimilated/borrowed constituents	Groups with Head-Modifier structure	Groups with Modifier-Head structure, without articles

The texts in the corpus show variability along this continuum. A similar continuum can be shown to apply in cases of plurality marking, ranging from retention of the English word-final –s morpheme to the use of Malay reduplication patterns with English nouns. A complicating factor is the optional nature of plural marking in Malay, as discussed above.

<u>4.5.4 Verbal groups</u>

Comparable to the nominal groups discussed above, there are verbal groups which show retention of English inflections, auxiliaries, and the infinitive marker 'to'. All are internally well-formed in English. Example set [18] shows five instances from a total of seventeen mixed verbal groups showing English inflections and word order. As in earlier example sets, underlining serves to mark the relevant verbal group.

[18] English verbs in Main-language-Malay groups

a] membuka ladang kah, *enjoying your pension,.,* bagi tah chan   orang yang muda
    AV-open   farm INT   give DM chance person REL young

cultivating a farm maybe, enjoying your pension.., give a chance to our young people, 1.10, ML-M

b] BOLEH ANGKAT BEG DAN *GET OUT FROM BRUNEI*
   can   carry   bag   and

Can pick up your bag and get out of Brunei,1.46, ML-M

b] *How sure are you all* yang *the ex minister* atu, kana *remove from office....*
                REL   DEM PASS

How sure are you all that that ex-Minister was removed from office..., 2.22, = LA

c] Mana ada *indication* yang ku tulis pasal si Dang Awang manyatakan kamu *should follow*
   Where have   REL 1s write because (name)   AV-say   2s

  Where is there an indication that I'm writing because Dang Awang said you should follow,
                                                          3.6, ML-M

d] Hal   Beraja atu *status quo, am not going to* pertikaikan
   Affair royal DEM   AV-dispute

Royal matters are the status quo, [I] am not going to dispute that. 3.28, ML-M

e] *Don't you think* kitani macam ketulahan saja
              1pi   like   misfortune only

Don't you think we're just like unfortunate people, 4.29, ML-M

As with the nominal groups, exemplified in [6] above, which retain English modifier-head structure, the verbal groups in [18] would be classified as "EL islands" in Myers Scotton's ML-F formulation.

Set against these are twenty examples of verbal groups occurring in ML-M or =LA environments which have uninflected English base-form verbs, and thus are located further along the continuum towards monolingual Malay. Some are not well-formed

in English, as shown by the free translations. In these instances the Malay syntax is more dominant, resulting in non-occurrence of inflections or auxiliaries required by English.

[19] Uninflected English base-form verbs

a] Kenapa inda <u>di</u>   *label* jua yg bank bank yg bukan berbentuk keislaman nya.
   Why   NEG PASS   also REL RDP   REL NEG AV-form Islamic   3s-POSS

Why aren't the banks that don't follow Islamic principles so labeled? 1.9, ML-M

b] bukan kami inda *respect* orang tua kitani   atu   pulang
   NEG 1pe   NEG   person old 1pi-POSS DEM again

It's not that we don't respect our old people any more, 1.11, ML-M

c] ...*ex minister* atu, kana *remove from office due to this housing scheme*
           DEM PASS

the ex-Minister was removed from office due to this housing scheme, 2.22, = LA

d] Polis pun *modify* kereta bah!
   Police DM   car   DM

Even the police modify their cars! 2.36, ML- M, (title of posting)

e] jan   kechewa sasudah membacha apa si   Dato Huzair *announce* atu
   NEG-IMP disappoint after   AV-read   what DEM (name)   DEM

Don't be disappointed once you've read what Dato Huzair has announced, 3.17, ML-M

f] Beraya   di Berunai, *enjoy and appreciate* tah jua
   AV-celebrate in Brunei   DM also

Celebrate Hari Raya in Brunei, enjoy and appreciate it, 3.30, = LA

g] Selalu nya   bisdiorang cuma *ignite spark*nya   saja,
   Always 3p-POSS 3p   only   -3p-POSS only

They always just ignite the spark, 4.39, ML-M

h] Ataupun macam mana kalau kitani *start competition* mencari kesalahan nya...
   or-DM   like   what if   1pi   AV-find error   3p-POSS

Or how about if we started a competition to find the errors in it... 4.39, ML-M

This selection of examples shows both single 'bare' verbs ('label', 'respect', 'modify', 'announce'), and cases where the English verb governs other constituents also in English ('remove from office', 'ignite sparknya', 'start competition').

Malay verbs occur very rarely in Main-Language English contexts. Only five instances are found throughout the whole corpus, two of which involve the Malay form 'jadi' (become):

[20] Malay verbs in Main-Language-English contexts

a] *Then at the end of time our population* jadi   0
                            become

   Then at the end of time our population will become zero, 1.31, ML-E

b] *so they prefer to* minum kopi
                 drink   coffee

   So they prefer to drink coffee, 2.26, ML-E

c] *It's so sad, isn't it, how our beloved country* jadi   cemani
                                   become like-DEM

   It's so sad, isn't it, how our beloved country has become like this. 2.58, =LA

d] *So far are we really-really* tertindas   *by the concept...*
            RDP   AV-oppressed

   So far are we really oppressed by the concept..., 3.35, ML-M

e] *I agree that instead of* cari pahala, *most of our people* yang ke mesjid macam ria' sahaja.
                           seek merit   REL to mosque like   fun only

   I agree that instead of seeking divine merit, most of our people go to the mosque only to show off,
                                                         4.1, ML-M

Conclusions concerning verbal groups

What happens in terms of alternation in verbal groups is crucial, as theories of code-switching such as the Matrix Language-Frame theory have been based on the language choice for the 'tensed' verb (Myers Scotton, 2002, pp. 60-61).

Evidence from the mixed verbal groups exemplified here and listed in Appendix B once again points towards variability, with a similar number of instances of retention of English inflections and verbal group order, as shown in the examples in [14], and instances where English verbs are not inflected or do not have infinitive markers or auxiliaries. As with the 'bare' nouns, the uninflected English verbs in mixed verbal groups in example set [19] are instances of Sebba's (1998, pp. 14-15) 'compromise' strategy.

There is evidence in the data corpus of English verbs and verbal groups with English elements occurring in texts of all three alternation types: ML-M, ML-E, and equal LA. Where Malay verbs occur in ML-E texts, these do not perforce turn into ML-M texts. These findings are further discussed in 5.3 below, in the light of observations by Cumming (1991) and by Clynes (to appear) concerning the problematic application of linguistic analytical metalanguage (e.g. constructs such as 'noun', 'verb', 'adjective') to Austronesian languages such as Malay.

4.5.5 Other word classes / groups

Adjectival groups

For the adjectival category there is a particular problem of comparability owing to the status of adjectives in Malay (Cumming, 1991, p. 24). Basically, any Malay adjective has the potential to function as a verb (Clynes, to appear, p.32n34). Hence there is no separate listing of examples from the corpus in this subsection. Where adjectives are used predicatively, following copula verbs, the congruence issue is that of the verb, since Malay has no copula verb equivalent to the English verb 'to be'. It is noticeable that in the few instances where there is a potential lack of congruence in nominal groups having attributive adjectives, the Malay head-modifier structure takes precedence. These are listed above under nominal groups, with only one counterexample (*"Where are the famous* 7 orang atu?": 'Where are those famous seven people?', posting no. 2.58, = LA).

Pronouns

Ożóg (1996b, pp.185-186) highlights a distinction between code-switching patterns in Malaysia and Brunei. He notes the frequent use of English personal pronouns, especially 'I' and 'you' in Malaysian Malay informal interaction, but finds this to be much rarer in Brunei. Ożóg suggests that this is because Brunei society is more conservative and hierarchical, hence interlocutors maintain their use of the complex Brunei Malay pronominal system which marks for social status as well as number.

The small number of English pronouns found in ML-M contexts in the corpus offers some measure of support for Ożóg's position. All eight instances of English pronouns preceded or followed by Malay constituents are listed here:

[21] English pronouns in ML-M or =LA contexts

a] Sasak nyinta.   *I* jua *jam* pasal   sekolah.
   busy DEM-DM   also   because school

   It sure was busy. I was also in a jam caused by the school. 1.8, ML-M

b] … sanang saja, *u* kuatkan   *rules and regulations* nya,
       easy only,   AV-strong   3s-POSS

   it's easy, you just enforce the rules and regulations, 1.38, ML-M

c] Hello **court lawyer**, apa lah *you*…kalau ada   pun *ex-minister* atu   semula,…
                          what DM   if   have DM   DEM again

   Hello, court lawyer, what's with you… if that ex-Minister was still around,…2.38, ML-M

d] Bukan *I* meliat   kurikulum sekolah2
   NEG   AV-see curriculum school-RDP

   I have not seen the schools' curriculum, 3.30, =LA

e] *You* tak   boleh lari daripadanya atau menafikannya
        NEG can   run from-3s   or   AV-deny-3s

   You cannot run from it or deny it, 3.34, ML-M

f] *you* mengutarakan mengenai kecurian…
        AV-suggest   about   robbery

   you are suggesting about robberies, 3.45, ML-M

g] *you* sudah   tau   yang Brunei ani   damit
        already know REL Brunei DEM small

   you already know that Brunei is a small place, 3.45, ML-M

h] … seperti yang *you* sebutkan   atu ???
       as   REL   AV-mention DEM

   as you were mentioning, 3.45, ML-M

These examples are all of English first-and second-person pronouns. No third-person pronoun examples are found, and there are no examples in the corpus of Malay pronouns in Main-language-English environments. Alternations involving relative pronouns are exemplified and discussed separately below.

Prepositional groups

In a small inventory (see table 4.9 above) there are five cases of an English preposition followed by the nominal group in Malay.

[22] English prepositions governing Malay nominal phrases

a] ...*the Task Force* yang *discover the big black secret behind* projek rumah *expo* atu
            REL   project house   DEM

...the Task Force which discovered the big black secret behind that expo housing project, 2.1, ML-M

b] Jangan   tah luan   *pessimist towards* org   ketani   sendiri
   NEG-IMP DM always   person 1pi-POSS RFL

Don't always be pessimistic towards our own people, 2.22, = LA

c] *In addition to* semua ani,
                 all   DEM

  In addition to to all of this, 2.57, ML-M

d] *To* anggota ADBD
        member (Royal Brunei Armed Forces)

  To members of the Royal Brunei Armed Forces, 2.59, ML-M

e] *Message* ani   *in reference to* surat si Solomon
       DEM   letter (name)

  This message is in reference to Solomon's letter, 3.1, ML-M

There are two instances of the converse, a Malay preposition followed by an English nominal group:

[23] Malay prepositions followed by English nominal groups

a] *Idea* atu   inda sehati   dengan *contributors.*
       DEM NEG one-heart with

those ideas are not in agreement with those of the contributors.3.26, ML-M

b] ...sikap   materialistik ketani   kepada *not-specifically spiritual development...*
    attitude materialistic 1pi-POSS towards

...our materialistic attitude towards not specifically spiritual development..., 3.28, ML-E

Conjunctions

Instances of LA concerning conjunctions are predominantly English, linking Malay propositions. Example set [24] includes five out of a total of twenty of these. There is a smaller collection of Malay conjunctions linking English propositions. Conjunctions which function as signalling devices or discourse markers are listed separately below.

[24] English conjunctions linking Malay propositions

a] Inda payah   bayar balik2   kan...*but* untuk jualan atu   *its free to enter...*
   NEG necessary pay   RDP-return FUT   for   sales DEM

No need to pay again and again... but for selling it's free to enter...2.55, ML-E

b] Inda ku men*encourage* biskita menyabut   nama *unless of course* ada *documents*
   NEG 1s AV-   2p   AV-mention name   have
   untok meny*apport*
   for   AV-support

   I don't encourage you to mention names unless of course there are supporting documents,
                                                                        3.19, ML-M

c] Ia mengajukan *that* tani Melayu dan bukan *short of this concept.*
   3s AV-tease   1pi Malay   and NEG

   He teased us saying that we are Malays and not short of this concept. 3.28, ML-M

d] ..yang kena rejam sampai mati kalau berzina. *So* rata-rata konsep kitani   ani   inda
      REL PASS throw until   dead if   adultery   RDP-level concept 1pi-POSS DEM NEG
   extreme

..who were thrown to their death if caught committing adultery. So all in all our concept is not so
extreme. 3.35, ML-M

e] Berjalan kaki jauh di *car park* pun dapat pahala *instead of* menyusahkan jemaah   lain
   AV-walk foot far   to   DM get   merit   AV-disturb   worshipper other

Walking a distance from the car park gains divine reward, instead of disturbing other worshippers,
                                                                        4.1, ML-M

There are also two instances of English conjunctions following an English
proposition but introducing a Malay proposition:

[25]

a] ...*must not be left unchecked. Otherwise* siok   sendiri tia karang.
                                              show-off self   DM later

                  Otherwise they will be showing off later.1.33, MLE

b] *It's really huge...so* paksa kan tah sabar tuh...beatur...*but u will only get this one in a lifetime..*
                      force FUT DM patient DEM AV-queue

   so you have to be patient.. wait in line... but you will only get this once in a lifetime, 2.54, MLE

Examples of Malay conjunctions conjoining English groups are far less frequent,

totalling only seven instances, all of which are listed under [26] here:

[26] Malay conjunctions conjoining English groups

a] ...kita mesti adil dan saksama...Pasal *nobody is above the law*, bah atu   tah dulu.
    2p   must   just and impartial   because   DM DEM DM first

...you must be just and impartial...because nobody is above the law, that's the first thing. 1.38, ML-M

b] ...orang tua ketani   atu   pulang...pasal *without them who are we?*
    people old 1pi-POSS DEM again   because

... our old people any more....because without them who are we? 1.11, ML-M

c] Tambah sedih lagi bila *I realize that* orang2   yang mengajukan   prinsip ani...
    increase sad   again when   RDP-person REL   AV-make fun of principle DEM

I felt even sadder when I realized that people who were making fun of this principle.., 3.28, ML-M

d] ...yang dulu merasai sira   tu... tapi *its time to* lapaskan *daddy*/bapa/*mummy*/ibu
    REL first AV-taste syrup DEM but   AV-leave   father   mother

   ..who first tasted the sweet syrup.. but it's time to leave daddy and mummy...1.11, ML-M

e] Awu banar tu   nyanta,   iatah   *I stated earlier,*
   Yes   true   DEM 3sPOSS-DM 3s-DEM

   Yes, it's true, that's what I stated earlier, 3.30, =LA

f] ...*an interesting case to look at,* cemana *a transitional economy is coping ...*
                          like-how

... an interesting case to look at, the way a traditional economy is coping...3.30, = LA

g] Pasal   *ECONOMIC SECURITY, what more can you ask for?*
   Concerning

   As for economic security, what more can you ask for?, 3.45, ML-M

Only in [26f] is the Malay conjunction found in isolation, conjoining two English propositions. The other six follow a Malay proposition but introduce a proposition in English or showing LA.

Discourse markers

Discourse markers function as textual signals indicating a shift in the writer's argument or a change of voicing. [27] lists the nine instances of English discourse markers found immediately preceding Malay text:

[27] English discourse markers in ML-M text

a] *And by the way,* banyak lagi perkara lain *which is most urgent* balum   lagi   selasai...
                many   more matter other   not yet again settled

   And by the way there are many other most urgent matters yet to be settled... 1.33, ML-E

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b] *one in a lifetime...so* paksa   kan tah sabar tuh...beatur.. *but u will only get this one in*
                           necessary FUT DM patient DEM AV-queue
*a lifetime..*jangan   nda pigi.. rugi..
                 NEG-IMP NEG go   lose

once in a lifetime.. so you'll just have to be patient and queue up, but you will only get this once in a lifetime, don't miss out by not going.., 2.54, ML-E

c] ...alum   tantu ketani inda tais liur eh, *so*, waspada lah selalu...
        not yet sure 1pi   NEG drool   DM   alert   DM always

   ...not sure we won't be drooling, so best to be ever watchful...2.22, = LA

d] seluruh rakyat Brunei kan meliat??? *So far that I know*, inda pun pernah panuh tempat2
    all   people Brunei FUT AV-see   NEG DM ever   full   RDP-place
    concert ani...
             DEM

   ...all Bruneians attend??? So far as I know these concert venues have never been full... 2.57, ML-M

e] ...nini2   ketani   pun ingin kan meliat, *so that is why,I believe* sepatutnya
        RDP-grandparent 1pi-POSS DM want AV-see,   should-3sPOSS
   inda di   *charge*...
   NEG PASS

   ..our grandparents want to see it, so that is why I believe there should not be a charge...2.57, ML-M

f]...belanja kepasar dua minggu bah tu. *So*, harap2   dapat JMK   men*discount* kan nanti,
        pay   to-market two week   DM DEM. RDP-hope get   (name) AV-   FUT soon

   ...pay for two weeks' shopping. So, we hope the JMK[8] can give a discount soon. 2.57, ML-M
              [8] : JMK: Jabatan Mufti Kerajaan (Government Islamic Adviser's Department)

g] *Bruclass will be closed down. Well, those* yang mengutarakan *for such closure* atu mesti
                                            REL AV-suggest   DEM must
   ada   kan diorang   tapuk,
   have FUT 3p   hide

   Bruclass will be closed down. Well, those who suggest such closure should hide away, 3.26, ML-M

h] ...didalam *group2* lain ani, *so* inda perlu dipertikaikan.
        in   RDP   other DEM,   NEG should PASS-dispute

   ...in other groups, so this should not be disputed. 3.28, ML-M

i] Eh... siok tu!! *Anyway*...apa lagi cerita yang akan datang abis diorang kan *ignite*
         good DEM   ... what again story REL FUT   come   3p   FUT

   Eh.. that'd be good!! Anyway, what other stories in the future are they going to ignite, 4.34, = LA

Three of these examples, [27a], [27b] and [27g], show the English discourse markers

linking a preceding English proposition with a succeeding Malay proposition, whilst

in the remainder the English discourse marker is located between stretches of Malay.

By contrast, but consistent with overall patterns in this grammatical analysis section, there is only one example of a Malay discourse marker located between a preceding and a succeeding English group, and this occurs at the start of a paragraph:

[28] Malay discourse marker in ML-E text

...supposed to be responsible people. // [9]

                Atutah   *sometimes like you, I wish ...*
                DEM-DM

supposed to be responsible people. That's it, sometimes like you I wish... 3.30, = LA
[9] : // paragraph break in text at this point

Sebba (1998, p.18) cites comparable examples from Holden's (1990) spoken Malaysian data, including "It's soft *tapi* it's nice" (tapi: but). Commenting on these, Sebba notes that typological similarities between Malay and English permit even closed-class categories like conjunctions to be treated as congruent.

In recent studies of code-switching (e.g. Myers Scotton, 2002, pp. 240-241; Clyne, 2003, pp. 225-232), there is considerable discussion of discourse markers. The findings from this study for discourse markers, prepositions and conjunctions for this corpus do not support the notion that closed-class system morphemes should be in the same language as the nominal group or clause that they govern. They do, however, support Sebba's opinion that typological similarities between Malay and English permit closed-class categories to be treated as congruent, and that this permits a relatively free transfer of lexical items between languages (Sebba, 1998, p.18).

Adverbials / adjuncts

In a small inventory there is a predictable majority of English adverbs inserted into ML-M text. As noted by Myers Scotton (2002, p.141) switching in any direction with adjuncts is unproblematic in terms of congruence, since they neither assign nor receive roles, nor are they restricted in terms of where they can occur in the sentence, both in Malay and in English. There are a total of fourteen examples of English adverbials in ML-M or =LA contexts; six of which are cited in [29] here:

[29] English adverbials in ML-M or =LA contexts

a] *BAN* tarus   segala persatuan2   *esp.* persatuan2   bini2....
   at once all   association-RDP   association-RDP woman-RDP

   BAN all those associations at once, especially women's associations... 1.60, ML-M

b] orang   basar2 ani *(im speaking generally* lah ni   ah) memang *often* membuat kesilapan
   person big-RDP   DM DEM DM indeed   AV-make mistake

   these influential people (I'm speaking generally) certainly often make mistakes, 2.22, = LA

c] *Expo* Islam ani   *inevitably.* menarik perhatian seluruh rakyat Brunei *especially* yang Islam,
   Islam DEM   AV-pull attention all   people Brunei   REL Islam

   This Islamic expo inevitably attracts the attention of all Bruneians, especially the Muslims,
                                                                              2.57, ML-M

d] ...memainkan peranan tinggi dalam ekonomi dan *consequently* kesejahteraan negara
   AV-play   part   high   in   economy and   wellbeing   nation

   plays a major in the economy and consequently in national wellbeing, 3.28, ML-M

e] *...so far* tidak ada yang abaikan   oleh kerajaan,
   NEG have REL neglect-PASS by   government

   ...so far there are none who have been neglected by the government, 3.35, ML-M

f] Payah kan mendapat tanah di KB ani.   *Even* tanah tol[10].
   Hard   DEM AV-get   land   in KB DEM   land   TOL

   It is hard to get land in Kuala Belait (district). Even TOL[10] land. 4.15, ML-M
                                       [10]: TOL: temporary occupation licence

There are seven examples of single Malay adverbials in English contexts, listed here:

[30] Malay adverbials in ML-E contexts

a] ...mau inda mau *u have to pay up...*
   want NEG want

   ...whether you want to or not you have to pay up... 2.55, ML-E

b] Sedih *I heard that a lot of us* ani   *against this philosophy.*
   Sad   DEM

   Sadly I heard that a lot of us are against this philosophy. 3.28, ML-M

c] As for me, 1 *week* lagi *then my breathing will be* inda *as suffocating as now,*
                   again   NEG   (2 examples here)

   As for me, one more week then my breathing will not be as suffocating as now, 3.30, = LA

d] Payahkan *I explain now,*
hard-FUT

It's hard for me to explain now, 3.37, ML-E

e] <u>Mudah-mudahan</u> *GE*[11] *will come back and take over...*
easy-RDP

Hopefully GE will come back and take over...4.34, = LA
[11] : GE: Global Evergreen, company name

f] *So if JP*[12] *Management* <u>betul-betul</u> *thinking of profits and service,*
right-RDP

So if JP Management is really thinking of profits and service, 4.34, = LA
[12] : JP: Jerudong Park, recreational amusement park

Examples [30b] , [30d] and [30f] here are not well-formed in English owing to the lack of a copula / auxiliary verb, whilst [30c] and [30e] are well-formed with the future auxiliary 'will'. Example [30c], from posting 3.30, contains two examples of Malay adverbials in the same sentence, but isolated from each other.

Intra-word, mixed morphology

All cases of intra-word mixed morphology, also referred to as "bicodal words" by McClure (2001, pp.165, 176), are verbs, except for a single adjectival ("ter*perfect*" in 3.35). Some examples from a total inventory of 43 bicodal words across the whole corpus are given in [31], showing the immediate context in which they occur.

[31] Bicodal words

a] Kami atu sebanar nay[13]   kan men*test* abis kita tu.
1pe   DEM truly   3s-POSS FUT AV-test 2pe   DEM

We actually are going to test you all, 1.16, ML-M
[13] : 'nay' here is assumed to be a typographic error for 'nya'

b]Kalau kan diikut   dibrunei ani   banyak kadai ber*label* merah yang berukuran 10
   if   FUT PASS-follow in-Brunei DEM many   shop   AV-label red   REL AV-measure
kaki x 10 kaki...
   feet   feet

If this is done in Brunei many shops would have a red label 10 feet by 10 feet in size...1.28, ML-M

c]What is wrong they (Jabatan   Mufti Kerajaan) meng'*impose'* *charge* untuk masuk
                                Department Mufti Goverment AV-impose   for   enter
exhibition

What is wrong with them (State Mufti's Department) imposing a charge for entering the exhibition,
2.46, ML-M

d] *So*, harap2   dapat JMK men*discount* kan nanti,
         hope-RDP get   AV-discount   FUT soon

So, we hope the State Mufti's Department can give a discount soon. 2.57, ML-M

e] kalau di biarkan   diurang meng*intimidate* kitani,
     if   PASS-allow 3p   AV-intimidate   1pi

if they are allowed to intimidate us, 3.8, ML-M

f] Panjang (*like me*) dan payah kan di*comprehend*,
     long   and hard   FUT PASS-comprehend

lengthy (like me) and hard to comprehend, 3.26, ML-M

g] Ani,   datang sudah tah akhir, mem*block*   kereta, kemudian ...
     DEM, come already DM last   AV-block   car   then

these people, they come last of all, block the cars, then... 4.1, ML-M

h] Selalu nya   bisdiorang cuma *ignite spark*nya   saja,
     often 3p-POSS 3p   only   3p-POSS only

They often just ignite their spark, 4.39, ML-M

These bicodal words involve Malay affixes on English stems. The great majority of these are prefixes, with just one example, [31h], having the Malay possessive post-clitic '–nya', and one other with the Malay verbal suffix '–kan' ("cuba kita *list*kan', 3.19). These findings lend support to the position taken by Bentahila and Davies (1998) concerning intra-word switching in terms of Poplack's Free Morpheme Constraint: "It is always one language which provides the roots and the other which provides the grammatical morphemes" (p. 26).

However, Rosnah, Noor Azam and McLellan (2002, p.112) list some counterexamples from Brunei that show English affixes on Malay root words. These are instances of bilinguals' creativity in playing with words. There is also an example from a posting on the Brunei Talk discussion forum (9/6/03), "he makes it worse from mismanagement and *penakut*ness (no balls)" ('penakut': coward, hence 'cowardliness'). Once again, the existence of even a single counterexample in a

corpus of texts demonstrates the danger of any attempt to propose hard and fast rules, rather than general trends and regularities.

In a few cases within the inventory of bicodal words there is flagging through separation, use of a dash or inverted commas. Phonologically-derived co-articulation rules in Malay which determine the actual form of the prefix are applied to English lexemes: the Malay actor-voice prefix 'meN-' has the allomorphs 'me-', 'mem-', 'men-', 'meny-', or 'meng-' depending on the initial sound in the root verb, hence "menyapport" has the Malay prefix 'me-' with the English verb 'support' (in posting no. 3.19). English, of course, has a comparable set of affixation rules for prefixes such as 'in-': 'impossible, 'illegal', 'irresponsible'.

Mixed relative constructions

There are a number of mixed relative clauses with the Malay relative pronoun 'yang', which is congruent with the inventory of English relative pronouns. Others have complex switches within the group, and are further examples of =LA. As the examples in [32] – [36] show, there are alternations of various types within and around relative clauses. Example set [32] shows the six instances of relative clauses in Malay following an English main clause or antecedent.

[32] Relative clauses in Malay following an English main clause or antecedent

a] *And bad luck to some u people* yang suka berkhalwat...   heheh..*ooops sorry,*
                                    REL like AV-(Ar.)close proximity

And bad luck to some of you people who like to commit close proximity... heheh... ooops sorry,
                                                                              1.37, ML-E

b] *you owe a big apology* arah orang2   yang telah   kamu aniaya ...
                          to   person-RDP REL already 2s   ill-treat

you owe a big apology to those people whom you have ill-treated...2.1, ML-M

c] *go and look at* siapa yang datang kesana, orang yang *class*
                   who REL come to-DEM person REL class

go and look at who goes there, people who have class, 2.57, ML-M

d] *Well, those* yang mengutarakan *for such closure* atu   mesti ada kan diorang tapuk
                REL AV-suggest   DEM must have FUT 3p   hide

Well, those who suggest such closure should hide away, 3.26, ML-M

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e] *I have one question to those* <u>yang mahu jadi   anak 'Berunai'</u>
                                      REL want   become child   Brunei

I have one question to those who want to become Bruneians, 3.28, ML-M)

f] *Please give me one country* yang lebih baik dari Brunei
                                        REL more good than Brunei

Please give me one country that is better than Brunei 3.45, ML-M

These examples show the switch occurring either within the main clause, so the antecedent and the relative clause are in Malay, or else between the antecedent and the relative clause. In [33], a Malay relative pronoun introduces English verbal and nominal groups.

[33] Malay relative pronoun introducing English verbal and nominal groups

a] *the Task Force* <u>yang *discover the big black secret* behind</u> projek rumah expo atu
                        REL   project house   DEM

the Task Force which discovered the big black secret behind that expo housing project, 2.1, ML-M

b] *And so are those top 2 people* <u>yang *involve in the amedeo case* atu,</u>
                        REL   Amedeo[14]   DEM

And so are those top 2 people who are involved in the Amedeo case, 2.1, ML-M
  [14] : Amedeo: name of Brunei private company)

c] satu konsep *in REAL* <u>yang men*discriminate non-MOSLEM MALAYS*</u>
one concept   REL AV-discriminate

a concept which in reality discriminates against non-Moslem Malays , 3.28, ML-M

All three examples in [33] show reduction or simplification of the English verbs to the base form. In example [33c] the Malay transitive prefix 'men-' ("agent-trigger" Cumming, 1991, p. 36) on the bicodal verb appears to override the requirement for the English verb 'discriminate' to be followed by 'against', even though the object / patient is a well-formed English nominal group, "non-Moslem Malays", showing English plural marking.

[34] is an example of an English antecedent and relative pronoun introducing Malay verbal and nominal groups:

[34]

... about <u>those who</u> ucapkan org ketani ani, luan minta *spoonfed, I don't totally*
       AV-say person 3pPOSS DEM always want
agree...

  about those of you who say that our people are always spoonfed, I don't totally agree ....,
                          2.22, = LA

In [35] an English relative clause is found with a Malay adjunct:

[35]

and don't you know that the salary <u>that you get</u> bulan2 atu, dikirakan haram bah
               month-RDP DEM PASS-calculate unlawful DM
atu.
DEM

and don't you know that the salary that you get every month is considered unlawful, 2.1, ML-M

[36] is an example of an English relative clause following a Malay antecedent.

[36]

And by the way, banyak lagi <u>perkara lain *which is most urgent*</u> balum lagi selasai...
       many again matter other   yet again resolve

And by the way there are many other matters which are most urgent yet to be resolved, 1.33, ML-E

Others

There is a small remainder category of ten which cannot easily be fitted into any of these grammatical classifications, as these are instances of rich intrasentential alternation in a variety of grammatical categories. Six of these are listed in [37].

[37]

a] *You men out there have the cheek to want* / anak dara tapi kamu jua pun pernah \
                   child maiden but 2p also DM ever
 'sowing your seeds' !

You men out there have the cheek to want pure maidens but you have also been sowing your seeds!
                          2.12, ML-E

b] Tapi memberi takut jua \ *that the nurse* / di*hospital* / atu inda menyuruh \ *your wife to*
  but AV-bring fear also   in   DEM NEG AV-ask
 bottlefeed the baby first.

 But it is frightening that the nurse in that hospital did not ask your wife to bottle-feed the baby first.
                          2.13, ML-E

c] *Babies can become very dehydrated so* / inda jua mengapa tu \ *to try to both bottle and*
                NEG also why   DEM
breast-feed the baby.

Babies can become very dehydrated so it doesn't matter if you try to both bottle and breast-feed the
baby...2.13, ML-E

d] seperti yang saya cakapkan dulu,\ *personally, you cannot compare concert /* dengan expo
like   REL 1s AV-say   before   with
Islam

like I said before, personally, you cannot compare concerts to the Islamic expo, 2.57, ML-M

e] kalau NE, Bruclass,\ etc./ kana suruh tutup \ *it's a bad news to all of us.*
if   PASS order close

if NE[15] , Bruclass are ordered to be closed down it's bad news for all of us, 3.24, ML-M
     [15] : NE = News Express, Brunei daily newspaper which ceased publication in 2002

f] Mengapa tia kian \ *we have /* kes dadah belabih labih, kes rogol, kes \ *domestic abuse,/* kes
why   DM as much   case drug more-RDP   case rape case   case

rompak, kes \ *road rage,/* kes orang tampar betampar,\ *and /* pelacuran \ *among our own*
robbery case   case person abuse-RDP   prostitution

(mostly MALAY) schoolgirls!

Why is it that increasingly we have more and more drug cases, rape cases, domestic abuse cases,
robbery cases, road rage cases, physical abuse cases and prostitution among our own mostly Malay
schoolgirls!   3.38, ML-E

In the examples in [37] the switches mostly occur at group boundaries: in [37a] the
first switch is between the verb phrase and the object noun phrase of an infinitive
clause: this serves as a 'trigger' for the text producer to continue in Malay into the
following subordinate clause, introduced by the conjunction 'tapi' (but). Within this
clause the reverse switching pattern occurs, with the pronoun subject ('kamu') and
adverbial particles in Malay preceding a switch to a formulaic idiomatic English verb
phrase, which is 'flagged' by the use of inverted commas.

[37b] has five switches within an 18-word sentence, including one, '*dihospital*',
which is within a word, whilst in [37f] there are nine switches in a sentence of 31
words. In spite of this high-frequency switching, switching points are at group
boundaries, and the single-word switches occur with a coordinating conjunction
('and') and with a single-noun NP, ('pelacuran') in [37f]. This example also shows
both languages contributing to the grammatical structure, illustrating the difficulty of
determining a matrix language at the sentence level: following the Malay
interrogative and particles 'Mengapa tia kian', the subject and main verb ('we have')
are in English. Whilst the text (3.38) in which this example occurs is classified as
ML-E, this sentence is an example of =LA.

Conclusion to this section

As shown in both the statistical overview of the whole corpus of 211 texts in sections 4.1 and 4.2, and in the analysis of alternation across a range of grammatical categories in this section, alternation occurs to varying degrees, from none whatsoever in the Malay-only and English-only postings, to the multiple intrasentential alternations as exemplified in [37] above.

Regularities, rather than hard-and-fast rules, can be stated in the framework of a 'weakened' version of Myers Scotton's Matrix-Language-Frame theory. This identifies a 'main' language at the level of each individual posting text, rather than a matrix language at the level of the "CP" (projection of complementizer). These regularities cannot claim to be predictive beyond the basic level of observational accuracy, and arise as a result of the high propensity for congruence of Malay and English syntactic categories, noted by Sebba (1998, p.18). In three major areas of Malay-English non-congruence, discussed above, there is a need for one or other of Sebba's three strategies to be operationalised. Clearly the fourth, "blocking" strategy is inapplicable, as this is the one which prevents LA from occurring.

Both the regularities and the variability are also attributable to the particular medium, online discussion forum postings, in which the texts appear. The important role played by this CMC medium becomes even more apparent in the analysis of discoursal features in the following section, 4.6.

4.6 Discoursal features

4.6.1 Language maintenance or alternation across threads of postings on the same topic

This section of the analysis considers the messages in the 4 data sets in their discourse context, that is, as contributions similar to turns at speaking in face-to-face conversations. Tables 4.10 – 4.13 below provide an overview of which topics are discussed in which language, showing the threads in each set, along with the number of postings within each thread in Malay only, ML-Malay, = LA, ML-English and English-only, the same classifications as those used for the whole corpus in section

4.2. The right column indicates whether there is a shift in language choice between the initial posting and the first reply. Threads are named according to the topic of the posting that initiates the discussion. Other postings that do not form part of a thread are not included in this analysis. This accounts for discrepancies in the figures between these tables and tables 4.2 – 4.6 (above). A fuller listing showing posting topic, sender and addressee, and language classification for all four sets of postings can be found in Appendix A.

Table 4.10

Data set 1 – Threads in 64 Postings

Thread	No. of postings	Malay only	ML-M	= LA	ML-E	English only	Initial posting no. & language	2nd posting no. & language
Brunei-the best	41	2	9	3	12	15	1.1 E -	1.2 E-
SCB	2	-	-	-	-	2	1.3 E-	1.48 E-
Miri	6	2			1	3	1.7- ML-E	1.17 E-
Pengangguran (Unemployment)	5	-	5			-	1.10 ML-M	1.11 ML-M

The 64 texts in Data set 1 were posted by 62 different message posters, that is to say only two individuals posted more than one message in this tranche. 54 out of the total of 64 postings form part of a thread, with the remaining twelve being 'standalone' postings. As shown in the two columns on the right, some replies are immediate, whilst the two postings in the SCB (Standard Chartered Bank) thread are remote, with the first being posted on February 14, 2001, the second (1.48) on February 23.

Table 4.11

Data set 2 – Threads in 61 Postings

Thread	No. of postings	Malay only	ML-M	= LA	ML-E	English only	Initial posting no. & language	2nd posting no. & language
Rumah Expo 99	16	1	4	2	3	6	2.1 ML-M	2.3 E -
Virginity	7	-	1	-	2	4	2.12 ML-E	2.21 E -
Pirated VCD's (Malaysian watchdog)	5	-	1	-	2	2	2.15 ML-E	2.18 E-
Islamic Expo	9	-	3	-	4	2	2.23 E-	2.35 E-
Burning	2	1		-		1	2.50 E-	2.61 M-

The 61 messages in Data set 2 were posted by 50 different message posters. 39 of these 61 messages form part of a thread, leaving 22 standalone postings in data set 2.

Table 4.12

Data set 3 – Threads in 46 Postings

Thread	No. of postings	Malay only	ML-M	= LA	ML-E	English only	Initial posting no. & language	2nd posting no. & language
BIA & Global/ MIB	25	-	6	2	10	7	3.2 E-	3.4 E-
Terrorist & Afghanistan	3	-	3	-	-	-	3.3 ML-M	3.11 ML-M
BB hear say[16]	15	2	6	2	-	5	3.9 E-	3.10 E-

[16] : this title refers to a news story in the print media (BB: Borneo Bulletin), reporting a speech in which Bruneians were advised not to abuse the freedom to post messages in online discussion forums by slandering or criticizing public figures.

In data set 3, 43 out of the 46 postings form part of a thread, with just three standalone postings. There are only 15 individual contributors in this tranche.

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Table 4.13

Data set 4 – Threads in 40 Postings

Thread	No. of postings	Malay only	ML-M	= LA	ML-E	English only	Initial posting no. & language	2nd posting no. & language
Parking at mosques	3	2	-	-	1	-	4.1 ML-M	4.6 M-
Consumers' Association	2	-	-	-	-	2	4.8 E-	4.23 E-
Konsert	7	5	-	2	-	-	4.14 M-	4.18 M-
DST	7	3	4	-	-	-	4.20 ML-M	4.30 ML-M

The 40 postings in set 4 come from 39 different message posters, so there is only one contributor posting more than one message in this tranche.

Data set 1 has a limited range of topics, with one thread covering 41 of the 64 postings (64%), and very few repeat message posters. There is a wider diversity of topics and a large number of different contributors (assuming that a different nickname indicates a different contributor) in sets 2 and 4. Set 3 is more unified, with very few postings on new topics, longer and more complex threads, with fewer individual contributors. Set 4 has no lengthy threads and shows the highest proportion of new topics and different individual posters.

In her study of spoken code-switching among elite Malaysian Malay/English bilinguals, Noor Azlina (1979) finds an association between topics discussed and languages used, and thus supports Fishman's (1972) claim that some topics are better handled in one language than in another. This is not the case in the Brunei discussion forum texts: the monolingual Malay postings in set 4, for example, cover the diverse topics of concerts, parking at mosques, RTB (national broadcasting service) and hygiene at foodstalls. Those in monolingual English in this set cover a similarly broad range of topics: inappropriate language choice in the print media, the Consumers' Association of Brunei, freedom of expression, mobile communications providers etc. Likewise, those postings showing equal LA cover topics such as satellite television, problems leasing land, water bills and the Jerudong Park Playgound , aside from those topics that form threads listed in Table 4.13 above.

There is no clear link between topic and language choice: topics that might be thought more suitable for discussion in Malay, such the 'International Islamic Expo' (set 3) and issues of national identity and philosophy ('BIA and Global/MIB', also in set 3) are initiated in English and continue in mixed language.

Findings for language choice within threads reveal a tendency for maintenance between the first posting and the first reply in eleven out of the sixteen threads (69%). Beyond this there are no striking regularities, but a great deal of diversity. Some threads maintain the same language choice throughout, such as the 'unemployment/pengangguran' topic in set 1, which is codemixed, ML-Malay throughout the thread of five postings. This also applies to the 'Terrorists and Afghanistan' thread in set 3, across three postings. Others, such as the 'Rumah expo99' thread (set 2), contain postings in all five categories of language choice.

In face-to-face informal conversations participants have been found to follow asymmetric power structures by taking their cue from the initiator as to whether they choose language x, language y or a mixture. The discussion forum postings do not seem to follow such a pattern: the thread in set 4 on parking at mosques begins with a mixed posting showing LA with a slight predominance of Malay (see analysis in table 4.8 above), but the two subsequent postings are in monolingual Malay. In set 3, the longer 'BB hearsay' thread begins with two postings in monolingual English (postings 3.9 and 3.10), but contains a majority of mixed LA postings with two contributions in monolingual Malay.

The variation in patterns of language choice within these threads of postings supports the decision to posit a main language for each individual posting text, rather than for a whole thread. Postings in Bruclass during 2003, subsequent to the reorganisation of the site into threads, continue to show variable language choice within threads, offering further evidence that message posters are part of a fully bilingual Malay-English discourse community.

This section has presented an overview of the threads of postings on related topics, and the language choices within these threads. The next section includes analysis of lexical cohesion within postings and threads, to address the question of whether

lexemes and phrases related to the thread topic are maintained in one language throughout, or whether there is interlingual variation.

4.6.2 Lexical cohesion within threads: Examples of collocational chains

This section discusses collocational chains within threads of postings. The first example demonstrates maintenance of the English lexemes 'ban' and 'concert', which are central to the topic under discussion. In the second thread, where the topic is the security of Bruneians travelling to Malaysia, by contrast, there is alternation between Malay and English lexemes and expressions referring to the same topic. A third example shows both maintenance and alternation throughout a lengthy thread.

In data set 1, the thread entitled "Brunei – The best" begins with the posting number 1.1, which appears to be a response to an earlier posting outside the set. Posting 1.1 raises (or recycles) the topic of concerts and live music being banned in Brunei. It is in monolingual English. A later posting (dated 20/2/01, numbered 1.12) refers to items that are banned in Brunei, comparing this ironically with neighbouring countries and their slogans:

[38]
Title: "BAN" - 20/2/01   **To**: *Kawan ku semua*
                             friend   1s   all

                             all my friends

Malaysia "BOLEH"... Brunei "YAKIN"...   Kalau *Singapore a "FINE" country*, tani
Malaysia   "CAN"   Brunei "CONFIDENT" If   Singapore   1pi

kan mengikut   tah jua, "BAN"dar Seri Begawan *a "BAN" country... hehehe....*
FUT AV-follow DM also

From: katun

Malaysia "CAN DO IT" {Malaysian motto or slogan}...Brunei is "CONFIDENT" {Bruneian motto / slogan} ...If Singapore is a "FINE" country {ironic slogan often found on t-shirts and souvenirs on sale in Singapore}, we can follow this trend too: "BAN"dar Seri Begawan is a "BAN" country {play on name of Brunei Capital}...hehehe. 1.12, =LA.

The topic of this posting is taken up and developed in series of responses, specifically the subtopic of the banning of live music concerts, which were announced as having been banned as unIslamic by the state 'Mufti' (Senior Islamic Religious Officer). Arising from posting 1.12 which itself shows intrasentential LA with (Brunei) Malay as the ML, the topic of banning concerts and other events

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deemed unIslamic is recycled and developed in a succession of subsequent postings, all of which maintain the choice of the English lexeme 'ban', as opposed to its congruent Malay equivalents *'melarang'* or *'menegah'*. Likewise, none of the ML Malay postings in data set 3 assimilate the spelling of concert to *'konsert'*.

A subsequent posting (no. 1.21) continues the play on words in its title, addressee and sender's pseudonym, which is a play on the Malay noun *'bantuan'*, meaning 'support':

[39]
Title: BAN – 21/2/01   **To**: Brunei BAN..ners

BAN..dar Seri Begawan...kahkahkah....banar jua tu   ah....pintarrrrrrr...pintarrrrrrrr.....*BAN*
                                    true   also DEM   smarrrrrt ....smarrrrrt

all.....let's celebrate Brunei BAN year.........WARGGHHHAHAHAHAHAHAHA!!!!!

From: BAN...tu..Wan

BAN dar Seri Begawan... .....you're so right...smarrrrrt....smarrrrrt....BAN all....let's celebrate Brunei BAN year..............., 1.21, ML-M

Posting number 1.26 is apparently from the same contributor as posting 1.12, since it is signed "*katun* again":

[40]
Title: BAN – 21/2/01   **To**: Brunei BANners...

BAN concerts... BAN cenimas[17] *....BAN* pasar malam*...BAN Private Functions...BAN*
                                                market night
RTB...BAN Polo Club...BAN scb[17]*!! BAN students to overseas..BAN..BAN..BAN..*
Arghhhhhhhh!!!

From: katun again

Ban concerts, ban cinemas, ban the night market...ban private functions, ban RTB, ban the Polo Club, ban the SCB, ban students from going overseas, ban , ban , ban..., 1.26, ML-E

[17] : 'cenimas' presumably = cinemas; *pasar malam*: market night = night market; RTB = Radio Television Brunei, national broadcasting service; Polo Club = private members' club located in the grounds of royal family-owned Jerudong Park; SCB = Standard Chartered Bank

In a subsequent longer posting (1.38) that is once again ML Brunei Malay, with some intrasentential LA from word up to clause level, the English lexemes 'concert' and 'ban' are maintained, the former with the English plural –s dropped and the latter with a Malay verb-morpheme prefixed:

[41]
...Macam *concert* atu   kalau ada hasrat kan mem*ban*, cara nya   sanang saja, *u*
    like   DEM. if   have desire FUT AV-ban, way 3sPOSS easy   only, 2p

kuatkan   *rules and regulations* nya,
AV- enforce   3sPOSS

As for those concerts, if you want to ban them, it's easy, you just enforce the rules and regulations,
<div align="right">1.38, ML-M</div>

In this instance one intertextual collocational chain is established and maintained by different individual contributors through a series of postings in Malay and English containing varying amounts of LA, even when the discussion develops to cover questions of Bruneian national identity. The English lexemes 'ban' and 'concert' are retained throughout, even in postings 1.50 and 1.60 that are otherwise in Brunei Malay with minimal or no LA. Hence the use of 'ban' and 'concert(s)' is considered as maintenance of the same lexeme, as defined in chapter 3.7. Li (1996, p.105) discusses examples of the same lexeme, 'ban', appearing in Chinese-English codemixed texts.

The banning of concerts forms the topic for another thread in set 4, covering a total of seven postings. Here the orthographic form is assimilated to Malay in the title of the first posting, 4.14, 'Konsert', and this is also maintained throughout the thread, which has three Malay-only and four main-language Malay postings.

There are also examples of alternation rather than maintenance of terms which are part of the topic under discussion. A sequence of postings, again in data set 1, raises the issue of the town of Miri, in the East Malaysian state of Sarawak close to the international border with Brunei, being no longer a safe destination for Bruneians. This was following a series of muggings and threats allegedly carried out by Sarawakians, as reported in the Brunei media. This topic is first raised in posting 1.7 which shows intersentential LA in its opening two sentences:

[42]
Title: Protect Bruneian in Miri – 15/2/01   **To**: All

Mengapa orang Brunei selalu kena hantam saja di Miri atu. *Why don't our government*
Why   person Brunei always PASS hit   only in Miri   DEM

publicly show dissatisfaction to authorities in Miri for not doing enough to protect

our citizens? ....

Why do Bruneians always get mugged whenever they go to Miri?..... 1.7, ML-E

This topic is taken up in two subsequent postings, both in monolingual English:

[43]
Title: Stop going to Miri – 20/2/01   **To**: All Bruneians

We have heard reports and stories from our fellow Bruneians that visiting and shopping in Miri is no longer safe for us Bruneians....(1.17, E-)

[44]
Title: Stop going to Miri – 20/2/01   **To**: All shoppers

Yes I support all that think Miri is no longer a safe place to go.... (1.18, E-)

Two later postings maintain and develop this topic, but with a switch to monolingual Brunei Malay:

[45]
Title: Jangan   ka Miri – 21/2/01   **To**: Orang Kitani
        NEG-IMP   to   Miri]   person 1pi-POSS

        Don't go to Miri   Our Bruneian people

masa ani   sering   saja kedengaran dimana mana sana ada   disiarkan   dalam surat
time   DEM repeatedly only hearing   where-RDP   there   have PASS-broadcast in   letter

khabar dan inda kurang nya   kes kes   yang inda berlapur   kejadian   orang   kitani
news   and NEG less   3sPOSS. RDP-case REL   NEG AV-report happening person 1piPOSS

kena ugut rompak macam macam lagi   kejadian   jenayah....
PASS beat   rob   like   like   again happening   crime

just now we've been hearing everywhere there reported in the newspapers and no doubt just as many cases have gone unreported of our people getting beaten up, robbed and suffering other criminal attacks, 1.20, M-

[46]
Title: Miri – 21/2/01   **To:** Relevant Authorities

Kepada pihak   yang berkenaan.. Barangkali sampai sudah   masanya   ketani menaruh
To   authority REL concerned   Probably   reach   already time-3sPOSS 1pi   AV-place

wakil   kerajaan   ketani   untuk menangani masalah yang dihadapi oleh   orang
representative government 1piPOSS to   AV-address problem REL PASS-face by   person

ramai di Miri dan lain lain   tempat...
many in Miri and other-RDP   place...

To the relevant authorities: maybe it's time we placed a representative of our government there to
address the problems faced by people in Miri and other places..., 1.22, M-

The specific topic raised in posting 1.22 ([46] above) thus reiterates in monolingual

Malay a topic that was initially raised in a mixed Malay/English posting, with an

intersentential switch in the second sentence of [42] above. In this thread the topic is

maintained and developed, whilst the language changes initially from Malay to

English, then back to Malay, finally back to unmixed English for a posting (1.24)

referring to Malaysian nationals from Miri controlling Brunei-registered businesses.

Running through this thread there are codemixed collocational chains. One of these

refers to the indignities suffered by Bruneians at the hands of Miri people:

[47]
Kena hantam – (1.7) ... *trash us and victimise us* – (1.18) –... kena ugut rompak – (1.20) -
PASS hit   PASS beat rob
"get mugged"   "getting beaten up, robbed"

...*fleecing Bruneians of their livelihood* (1.24)

Another collocational chain refers to the Brunei civil authorities to whom the writers

are appealing for action on this security issue:

[48]
Our government – (1.7) .... *our authorities* – (1.17) .... Pihak yang berkenaan (1.22)....
                                                        party REL   concerned

                                                        relevant authorities
wakil   kerajaan   ketani (1.22).......
representative government 1piPOSS

our government representatives

In contrast to the "ban / concerts" chains, these collocational chains from the "Miri"

thread show alternation rather than maintenance of the terms in a series of postings

on the same topic. Lexical cohesion here is established and maintained across languages between postings. The contrasting patterns of

(a) maintenance of English terms within mainly Malay texts, and
(b) alternation between Malay and English terms with in the same thread,

however, both point to the same conclusion, that these texts are constructed by highly competent Malay-English bilinguals who assume a similar level of bilingual competence in their readership.

A further example of lexical cohesion across languages within a series of postings is from set 2. This is within a longer thread whose initial posting, 3.1, is entitled "Rumah expo99". This title refers to a housing development project which became a newsworthy item, as it was reportedly the grounds for the dismissal of a Brunei Cabinet Minister. The references to this housing scheme, often as part of the title of the postings, form a collocational chain of particular interest for the study of LA patterns, since it is an example of a nominal group where the English modifier-head word order contrasts with the Malay head-modifier (see above, section. 4.4.1). "Rumah expo99" follows the Malay word order; the full title in Malay, which never occurs in the postings, would be "Projek Perumahan Expo99"; standard English would have "Expo99 Housing Project". Posting number 3.1, a posting showing LA with ML-M, has "Rumah expo99" as its title, and has an anaphoric reference in the text to "projek rumah expo atu" ('that expo housing project'). Table 4.14 shows all the references to this topic, along with the language classification of the postings in this thread.

Table 4.14

References in "Rumah Expo99" Thread, Data set 2

Posting number	Reference	Language of posting
2.1	(Title) Rumah expo99	ML-M
	Projek rumah expo atu	
2.3	(Title) Expo House 99	E-
2.4	the Housing Expo	ML-E
	the housing EXPO	
	the Expo thingy	
2.9	(Title) EXPO 99	M-
2.10	(Title) Housing Scheme	E-
	The Housing Scheme	
2.14	(Title) EXPO 99	ML-M
	EXPO 99	
2.16	(Title) Housing Expo	E-
	the scheme	
	the EXPO	
	The scheme	
2.17	(Title) Expo House 99	E-
2.19	(Title) Housing Expo	E-
	the housing expo	
2.20	Expo 99	E-
	this scheme	
2.22	(Title) rumah expo controversial	= LA
	Rumah expo ani	
	Rumah atu	
	Rumah expo ani	
	Rumah atu	
	Rumah atu	
	Back to house expo ani	
	this housing scheme	
2.26	(Title) Housing Expo	ML-E
	the scheme	
	the housing scheme housing schemes	
2.31	(Title) Rumah Expo	ML-E
	Rumah Expo	
2.48	(Title) Rumah Expo / Ex-MOD	E-
2.49	(Title) Rumah Expo	ML-M
	Expo	
2.59	(Title) Rumah Expo	ML-M
	Rumah Expo	

As in face-to-face informal conversation, once the topic has been established through initial mention and discussion, there is no need to repeat it in full. The exophoric reference, whether in Malay, English or mixed as in 2.22 in the above table, is clearly understood by all participants of this discourse community.

The patterns of both maintenance and alternation of key lexical expressions related to the message topic can be viewed as strong evidence in favour of participants writing for a bilingual Bruneian online community, of which they are members. There is an assumption on the part of text producers that content words in Malay and in English will be understood and accessible. There are very few examples of parallel, in-text translation. Thus it seems that the discussion forums are not intended for 'outsiders', as no allowances are made for non-Malay speakers, but neither are the majority of postings accessible to monolingual Brunei Malay speakers. The findings showing no strong relationship between topic and language choice (+ or − alternation) further support this view. These findings contrast with those of Noor Azlina (1979, p. 5), based on a spoken Malay / English interaction, and with those of Paolillo's (1996) study of Punjabi and English in a Usenet newsgroup.

Paolillo finds the use of Punjabi to be restricted in this CMC context to fixed and formulaic phrases such as greetings and quotations, and to "creative" uses including insults, appeals and jokes. He concludes that English is the unmarked choice in this newsgroup, whilst Punjabi is marked, and sees the language choice patterns as evidence of intergenerational language shift. In spite of English-only postings having the highest frequency in the Brunei CMC corpus, as noted in 4.2, closer textual and intertextual analysis points to a fully English-Malay bilingual online discourse community, with no functional restriction on the role of either language.

4.7 Summary

This chapter has presented an overview of language choice within the four sets of discussion forum postings, and with exemplification of each of the five categories. A subset of 29 postings showing rich alternation between Malay and English has been analysed in greater detail in order to show that twelve out of the total of 211 texts have equal language alternation (=LA). Examples of mixed nominal, verbal and other groups taken from the whole corpus have been listed, classified and discussed in terms of congruence features, with the aim of determining the roles played by each language in terms of syntax and lexis.

Section 4.6 has presented and discussed findings deriving from the study of threads of postings on the same or related topics in terms of language choices and intertextual lexical cohesion patterns. The presence of such threads, in varying degrees within all of the four data sets, makes the discussion forum data more like face-to-face informal conversational interaction, and less like planned written texts. This is especially so in data set 3, where all except one of the 40 postings form part of a thread.

Following this micro-analysis of linguistic and discoursal features of the corpus of texts, the focus shifts in the following chapter to the presentation of findings from a questionnaire survey of bilingual Bruneians, mostly those resident in Western Australia, and from other texts which reveal Bruneian attitudes to language choice and alternation.

Chapter 5

Findings and Discussion II:
Motivations for Language Choice and Alternation

The question of motivations for language choices and switches is addressed initially in the analysis of the questionnaire survey. The views of a sample population of Bruneian bilinguals on questions pertaining to language alternation are reported in 5.1, whilst 5.2 includes analysis and discussion of other sources which convey Bruneians' opinions about their choice and use of languages. Section 5.3 attempts to connect and situate the findings in the wider sociolinguistic context of Brunei Darussalam and of the Malay world, and to introduce some of the issues discussed in the concluding chapter 6.

5.1 Motivations for LA: Results of questionnaire survey of bilingual Bruneians

As outlined in section 3.9, a survey in the form of a questionnaire was given to 25 bilingual Bruneians, most of whom were engaged in full-time study in Western Australia during 2003. The questionnaire survey was conducted to discover the attitudes of younger bilingual Bruneians to Malay, English and mixed texts, and thus to ensure that statements regarding attitudes to the alternation of Malay and English are not just the speculative opinion of one outside researcher who is not a member of the Bruneian speech community. Nineteen surveys forms were completed and returned, giving a 76% rate of return. The full questionnaire instrument and the tabulated analysis of results obtained can be found in Appendix C.

5.1.1 Language and educational background of participants (questions 1 and 2)

The participants were first asked to fill in some background details on their language and educational background. They were not asked to reveal their age, as this is not felt to be a significant factor in this analysis. It is presumed that all are within the 18-35 age range. No information was sought concerning the citizenship of the

participants: it is presumed that all are Bruneian citizens, although it is possible that some may have 'permanent resident' status.

All nineteen participants indicated an ability to understand Brunei Malay; seventeen out of the nineteen (89.5%) claimed to be able to speak Brunei Malay.

For Bahasa Melayu / Bahasa Indonesia the figures were seventeen out of nineteen (89.5%) for understanding and fifteen out of nineteen (78.9%) for speaking.

For other indigenous Brunei languages, six (31.6%) signalled an ability to both understand and speak Kedayan, with one other signalling only understanding; for understanding Tutong the figures were three out of nineteen (15.8%), with two of these also able to speak that language. No respondent mentioned any other indigenous languages, such as Belait, Lun Bawang or Dusun.

Four (21.0%) of the respondents claimed the ability to speak and understand Chinese languages: one of these specified being able to understand and speak Cantonese, and one both understood and spoke Hokkien; another understood both Cantonese and Hokkien but spoke neither; the fourth did not specify which Chinese languages s/he understood and spoke.

One would expect all participants to be competent users of English: in fact the figures were eighteen out of nineteen (94.7%) for speaking, and seventeen out of nineteen (89.5%) for understanding.

For other languages, one respondent signalled the ability to understand and speak both Japanese and French. No other languages were mentioned.

In spite of the small sample size these figures show a fair cross-section of the population, as well as a predictably high degree of multilingualism. One participant claimed receptive and productive competence in five languages, Brunei Malay, Bahasa Melayu, Kedayan, Cantonese and English; another professed to speak Brunei Malay, Bahasa Melayu, Hokkien and English, and to understand Kedayan and Tutong in addition to these.

Question 2 asked for information on the participants' highest level of education, both in Brunei and overseas. Here the total amounted to more than nineteen, as some participants marked more than one category, thereby revealing a weakness in the design of the survey question. It is possible that some of them misread or misunderstood the rubric "Highest level reached so far", and ticked the programme of study they were engaged in at the time of the survey. The expectation was for one category to be marked per participant, or at the most one "in Brunei" and one "overseas". In fact, some respondents marked up to four categories. Nevertheless this question still succeeds in revealing the educational level of the participants, and in showing that they are from the 'educated' sector of the Brunei community.

Three (15.8%) have overseas Masters degrees, and six (26.3%) have Bachelors degrees, four from overseas, two from Brunei. Seven (36.8%) have obtained Brunei Cambridge GCE Advanced levels from Brunei, with a further two (10.5%) having equivalent Advanced level qualifications from elsewhere. Ten (52.6) have GCE Ordinary level passes from Brunei.

The box labeled "Other (HND etc.)", where HND stands for 'Higher National Diploma', a qualification obtainable within Brunei at the Institute of Technology, was ticked by six (31.6%) participants, whilst 3 had obtained or were studying for other qualifications overseas.

5.1.2 Analysis of text ranking task for clarity and appropriateness of Malay-only, English-only and mixed texts

The participants were then invited to grade texts in terms of their clarity and appropriateness. There were five texts, and each text was given in three versions, Malay only, followed by mixed and then by English only, making a total of fifteen texts. In each case the mixed text was the original, authentic text taken from the corpus of texts analysed in this thesis. For consistency this text was placed centrally and labeled ' b]', with 'a]' being the same text in monolingual Malay and 'c]' the same text in monolingual English. The accuracy of the Malay translations was verified by Bruneian colleagues.

Although the intention was for each set of three texts to be ranked from 1 to 3 for clarity and appropriateness, some participants chose to rank texts equally, showing that they saw no difference between the texts. There were no *a priori* expectations or predictions as to which text would be judged the clearest or most appropriate in each case.

As noted in 3.9 above, this method allows for a counting system in which the lowest total score represents the text that is judged to be the clearest and the most appropriate.

Once again the full analysis can be found in Appendix C. In a few cases, boxes were left blank. One participant consistently filled in only the 'Clear' column, leaving the 'Appropriate' column blank. In order to accommodate this factor, the mean score for each box is calculated using the number of participants who gave a score, discounting those left blank. Thus for text 1c], all nineteen respondents gave a ranking for clarity, whereas two left the appropriateness box blank. Hence the raw score for clarity is divided by 19, whilst that for appropriateness is divided by 17 in order to avoid a skewed result.

Tables 5.1 - 5.5 show the results for each text giving the raw score, obtained by adding together all the ranking numbers, then the mean, then the overall ranking of the three parallel texts in each set.

Table 5.1

Text 1 rankings

	Clarity			Appropriateness		
	Raw score (no. of responses)	Mean	Rank	Raw score (no. of responses)	Mean	Rank
1a (Malay)	43 (18)	2.26	3	41 (18)	2.28	2
1b (Mixed)	40 (19)	2.10	2	40 (16)	2.50	3
1c (English)	26 (19)	1.37	1	21 (17)	1.23	1

Table 5.2

Text 2 rankings

	Clarity			Appropriateness		
	Raw score (no. of responses)	Mean	Rank	Raw score (no. of responses)	Mean	Rank
2a (Malay)	41 (19)	2.16	3	43 (17)	2.53	3
2b (Mixed)	35 (19)	1.84	2	40 (17)	2.35	2
2c (English)	28 (19)	1.47	1	29 (17)	1.70	1

Table 5.3

Text 3 rankings

	Clarity			Appropriateness		
	Raw score (no. of responses)	Mean	Rank	Raw score (no. of responses)	Mean	Rank
3a (Malay)	37 (18)	2.05	3	38 (18)	2.11	2
3b (Mixed)	33 (18)	1.83	2	38 (18)	2.27	3
3c (English)	24 (18)	1.33	1	25 (18)	1.39	1

Table 5.4

Text 4 rankings

	Clarity			Appropriateness		
	Raw score (no. of responses)	Mean	Rank	Raw score (no. of responses)	Mean	Rank
4a (Malay)	32 (18)	1.78	2	31 (18)	1.72	2
4b (Mixed)	33 (18)	1.83	3	34 (18)	1.88	3
4c (English)	26 (18)	1.44	1	25 (18)	1.39	1

Table 5.5

Text 5 rankings

	Clarity			Appropriateness		
	Raw score (no. of responses)	Mean	Rank	Raw score (no. of responses)	Mean	Rank
5a (Malay)	28 (19)	1.47	1	29 (18)	1.61	2
5b (Mixed)	32 (18)	1.78	3	41 (18)	2.28	3
5c (English)	30 (18)	1.67	2	26 (18)	1.44	1

These tables show that in four out of the five sets, the monolingual English text is ranked highest for clarity. The exception is text set 5, where the monolingual Malay text is ranked highest. For text sets 1, 2 and 3, the original, authentic mixed text (showing LA) is ranked second and the monolingual Malay text lowest for clarity. This pattern is reversed for text set 4, whilst for set 5 the monolingual Malay text is ranked highest for clarity, followed by the English then the mixed text.

The monolingual English text is consistently ranked highest for appropriateness over all of the five sets of texts, by a substantial margin. It is only in text set 5 that there is a disparity between the rankings for clarity and those for appropriateness. If one relates these questionnaire survey findings to the language choice in the corpus of discussion texts (see table 4.6 in section 4.2 above), which show monolingual English as the most common choice throughout the 211 postings, the picture emerges of a discourse community which is comfortable with monolingual English, though not to the complete exclusion of Malay or Malay-English LA.

Because participants were not asked to justify the rankings which they gave (but see below, 5.1.3), any conclusions drawn from this section of the questionnaire survey must remain tentative. Nevertheless, a clear pattern emerges, showing that the monolingual English version is favoured in all five cases for appropriateness, and in four out of five for clarity.

One possible explanation for the different rankings given for text set 5 is related to the topic of that text: unlike the other four texts which deal with more general current affairs topics, text 5 includes mention of aspects central to Bruneians' national identity and consciousness, "Islamic teachings" and "MIB" (*Melayu Islam Beraja*, 'Malay Islamic Monarchy', the national philosophy and ideology – see section 1.5 in Chapter 1 for discussion). Participants maybe feel that such topics can be better elucidated in Malay. However, if suitability of the language for the topic were the salient factor, one would also expect the English text to be ranked lowest in terms of appropriateness, as well as for clarity, so the evidence is not conclusive here.

As noted in 3.8, survey participants who expressed a willingness to reveal their e-mail addresses were sent a draft copy of the questionnaire analysis and invited to

submit further comments if they so wished. This was in order to allow for the expression of more Bruneian insiders' opinions on their language choice and use. One of the participants, after having read the draft version of the questionnaire analysis, noted an anomaly in the Malay translation of text 1, and expressed the opinion that LA was less appropriate in written as opposed to spoken discourse. The same participant also concurred with the suggestion that there is no correlation between message topic and language choice, and suggested the presence of LA in this CMC medium indicates that Bruclass and Brudirect forums are informal settings, akin to casual conversation, as opposed to more formal written discourse contexts.

One striking finding which emerges from this section of the survey is that the original authentic (mixed) texts, as posted on the discussion forum, in no case obtain the highest ranking, neither for clarity nor for appropriateness. The mixed (LA) text is ranked lowest for clarity in text sets 4 and 5, and lowest for appropriateness in sets 1, 3, 4 and 5. This may indicate a preference for monolingual unmixed texts, as opposed to officially stigmatized LA, with a concomitant acceptance of the instrumental and communicative need for recourse to LA, in order to convey meaning under time and logistical constraints, and to express membership of the educated bilingual Bruneian online discourse community.

5.1.3 Open questions about discussion forums and language choice

Following the ranking task, participants were asked about the Brudirect and Bruclass online discussion forums. Twelve out of the nineteen (63.1%) stated that they read these. When asked to specify which forum and how often, the responses were as follows (overleaf):

Table 5.6

Reading Brudirect and Bruclass online forums

	Brudirect	Bruclass
Everyday/always	5	-
2/3 times per week	4	3
Once a week	1	-
Sometimes/once a month	2	5
Not at all	-	4

Table 5.6 shows that those participating in this survey read the Brudirect forum more often than Bruclass. This may be because the Brudirect 'Have your say' forum is accessed via a homepage which carries news reports from Brunei, and is known to many Bruneians studying outside the country. Bruclass appears to be less well-known and less often read.

A further question asked if they had ever contributed by posting messages themselves on these two forums. Sixteen of the nineteen (84.2%) replied 'No'. Three participants (15.8%) replied 'Yes', and all three specified that they had posted messages only on the Brudirect forum.

A final open question in the questionnaire survey provided the opportunity for all participants to give their own views on language choice and use in the Brunei context.

As is often the case with such open questions in surveys, a number of participants exercised their right not to give any comment, either by leaving this section blank, or by writing "no comment". Eight out of the nineteen (42.1%) did offer comments, including the following (The participants' texts are cited verbatim, without modification. The full set of replies to this open question can be found in Appendix C, pp. 272-273):

[1]

"I think the way Bruneians are adopting Malay/English is forming their own kind of 'Singlish' the Singaporeans and Malaysian speak." (participant no. 6)

"It is common among Bruneians to use combination of English and Malay (esp. Brunei Malay) in their daily communication especially at a non-formal situation. Although Bahasa Melayu is the national language, Bahasa Brunei continues to be adopted as a lingua franca. BM (Standard) is mainly used for formal written communication, (schools and govt depts) speech and media presentations e.g. news..." (participant no. 8)

"In my opinion, the language in Brunei are getting mixed between English & Brunei Malay, and most of them are understood by the majority of users.." (participant no. 9)

"Bahasa boleh di-fahami mengikut penyampaian yang ringkas dalam keadaan bersahaja dengan mengunakan bahasa standard dan pasar." (Language can be understood through concise presentation in normal conditions through the use of both standard and bazaar language.) (participant no. 13)

"I'm very proud of being a Bruneian because our education system is bilingual, Malay and English. Having this kind of system really help us to 'master' our English and give us confidence when conversing with others apart from our Malay people." (participant no. 14)

"Language choice in Brunei often depends on the crowd or the audience. If the crowd can understand both English or Malay then a mixture of both languages are used. However there cannot be 50% English and 50% English during any sentences conversed. 80% to 90% would be Malay and the rest English. And vice versa." (participant no. 17)

These comments can be compared with those reported by Saxena and Sercombe (2002), some of which are cited in section 2.10. The last of the comments, by participant (17) is a further example of the frequently noted disparity between

expressed attitudes and actual practice (Fasold, 1984, pp. 206-207). Despite the claim made by this participant, texts that mix Malay and English in almost equal proportions do occur in the corpus (see 4.2 above), although not with high frequency. The lack of fit may not be so surprising: one can express disapproval of split infinitives, or of the use of 'hopefully' as a discourse marker, and nonetheless make use of these forms in speech and writing. It is not necessarily inconsistent to express a preference for monolingual texts, and to exhibit a tolerance for and even construct mixed texts.

Also noteworthy are the comments made by participants (8) and (9) which refer explicitly to the distinction between Brunei and Standard Malay, with no prompting from the questionnaire rubric.

Both the results from the text ranking task and the open question responses demonstrate that, in spite of possible reservations over the small number of participants, this questionnaire survey has elicited valid opinions from the same section of the Bruneian speech community who both read and contribute to the online discussion forums. Whilst it would be injudicious to draw strong conclusions from this survey alone, the findings can be triangulated with those from the wider survey of actual language choice and use in the corpus of postings, and with other expressed opinions, including those discussed in the following section.

5.2 Analysis of other texts discussing questions of language choice and use

Aside from the questionnaire survey, it is also possible, and useful, to investigate Bruneians' attitudes to languages and to LA in particular, as expressed publicly. The texts discussed in this section are other discussion forum postings taken from outside the corpus investigated in this thesis.

The discussion of Bruneians' attitudes to "*Bahasa Rojak*" and pollution of language (in section 1.6) is pertinent here: this can be summarized as a duality, as exemplified by the posting cited on the opening page of this thesis, which presents an ironic 'do as I say, not as I do' perspective on the issue:

[2]

Bahasa Jiwa Bangsa: *After reading /₁* komen-komen di laman ini \₂ *I wonder what*
comment-RDP in site　DEM

happened to our/₃ bahasa　jiwa bangsa \₄ *has it become so/₅* rojak\₆- *is the language we*
language soul　nation　　　　　　　　　　　mixed

are using called /₇ dwibahasa \₈　*now – hey c'mon you all/₉* kalau Pengarah Dewan
two-language　　　　　　　　　　　　　　if　Director　Hall

Bahasa membaca laman ani \₁₀ *he will surely FREAK OUT! I remember his call to keep*
Language AV-read　site　DEM

/₁₁ Bahasa Melayu \₁₂ *pure when using your SMS and this column is hardly an SMS!*
language Malay

C'mon/₁₃ dwibahasa\₁₄ *does not mean/₁₅* rojak \₁₆ *– you learn another language (English*
two-language　　　　　　　　　mixed

in our case) as a second language /₁₇ untuk menambah　ilmu -\₁₈ *sorry, beg your pardon,*
for　　AV-increase　knowledge

I know, I know /₁₉ aku pun sama　juga – cakap inda serupa bikin!\₂₀ *Case closed!*
1s　DM　same　also　　talk　NEG like　　do

Language is the soul of the Nation: After reading the comments on the website I wonder what
has happened to our language, the soul of the nation, has it become so mixed-up – is the language
we are using called 'two-languages' now – hey, c'mon you all, if the Director of the Language
Bureau reads this site he will surely FREAK OUT! I remember his call to keep the Malay
Language pure when using your SMS and this column is hardly an SMS! C'mon 'two languages'
does not mean mixed-up – you learn another language (English in our case) as a second language
to increase your knowledge – sorry, beg your pardon, I'm just the same – talking isn't the same as
doing! Case closed.

Despite the ironic self-deprecation, this text reflects Bruneian discussion forum
participants' awareness of what they are doing when alternating languages in their
postings. It has a predominance of English, 72 words as against 31 of Malay, hence it
can be classified in the ML-E. There are no bicodal words, and the switching points,
20 in total, all occur at group or sentence boundaries, except around the switches
numbered 3 and 4, "...*what has happened to our* bahasa jiwa bangsa". The choice of
the English first-person plural possessive "our", in pre-head position, rather then the
Brunei Malay "kitani", which would follow the nominal phrase (proverb) "bahasa
jiwa bangsa", is most likely a consequence of the ML-E posting: in this text, the
grammatical frame is English, apart from five short stretches of Malay, which would
be classified as islands in Myers Scotton's Matrix Language-Frame theory. By so
doing the author avoids any potential points of non-congruence. One implication of

the content of this posting is that participants use LA in spite of it being a stigmatized form of expression, against their better nature.

Two further postings that appeared in the Brudirect discussion forum in February 2003 directly address the question of language choice and language alternation. These are also analysed here in detail, since both content and form are relevant.

[3]

Bahasa campur aduk: Aku ani kan mau tau   saja... bukan kan meng*offend* /*2*orang
language combine mixed: 1s DEM FUT want know only   not   FUT AV-   person

yang memakai bahasa   campur aduk melayu sama*3* *English*/*4* pasal   cakap ku sendiri
REL AV-use   language combine mixed Malay same   because   talk 1s self

pun becampur2 Tapi ku liat kebanyakkan *postings* /*6* dalam *Brudirect*
DM mixed-RDP. But 1s see many   in

ani   pakai *7* *mixed language* /*8*.. jadinya   aku mau tau   kenapa ketani *9* *code-mix?*
DEM use   be -3sPOSS p1 want know why   1pi

Interesting*10*kan? Andangnya   kah masa ani *11* *mixed language*/*12* ani *13* *style* /*14* cakap
              NEG? Maybe-3sPOSS INT time this   this   talk

orang muda2 *15* *or a modern way of speaking?*/ *16* atau pun pasal *17* *identity* /*18* tani
person young-RDP   or   DM because   1pi-POSS

orang Brunei mesti tani selit2   kan cakap Brunei *19* *time* /*20* tani cakap *21*
people   must 1pi insertion-RDP DM speak   1pi speak

English/*22* supaya orang tau   tani ani orang Brunei?*23* *Or* /*24* ada lagi kah /*25*
            so that people   know 1pi DEM people   have more INT

reasons *26* lain? *27* *So*.. /*28* yang bijak pandai atu cuba   dih   tolong *29* *explain* /*30*....
                other   REL wise   clever DEM try   PASS help

arah   ku. Sekian.   Assalamualaikum!   *curious*
direction 1s DM-finish (Ar.: peace be with you)

Mixed language: I just wanna know, don't want to offend those who use mixed language
Malay as well as English because my own language is mixed. But I see that many postings in
Brudirect use mixed language ....So I wanna know: why do we code-mix? Interesting, isn't it?
Maybe this mixed language is the style of talking of young people or a modern way of speaking?
Or else because our identity as Bruneians makes us insert Bruneian talk when we are talking
English so that people know that we are Bruneians? Or again, are there some other reasons? So,
those of you who're smart, please explain to me ..... End of message. Peace be with you!

[4]

Waalaikumsalam... \₁ *Regarding your post, personally I think that that the use of mixed*
(Ar. - with you be peace)

language is not just restricted to that of the younger generation and that it is not a

modern way of speaking and I don't think that it is a matter of preserving identity

either, if you want me to tell you my justifications on why I think it's not any of these

reasons, just ask :P I think that a majority of the postings here are in mixed language

because of the convenience of mixing languages in comparison with that of just

conversing in a single language. Another reason I think, is because it is unavoidable

due to a majority of us being bilingual, hence the usage of mixed language here. /₂

Tapikan nda lang ku tau banar,\₃ *that's just what I think* :P W'salam
But-FUT NEG again 1s know true

But that's not to say I know for sure, ...

The author of posting [4], using the pseudonym "W'salam", has cut and pasted the original message from "Curious" prior to making her/his own contribution, which only contains a single code-mixed sentence (M=>E) in its final line, being otherwise in accurate English. The main language of the initial posting ([3] above) is Malay, using the criteria as applied to the data corpus (by word count: 74 Malay, 27 English, 2 mixed; by group count: 14 Malay, 1 English, 11 mixed). Text [3], 103 words in length, has a very high total of 30 switches, the most frequent categories being single English nouns, verbs and conjunctions.

The Malay used in text [3] shows some features of the Brunei variety, as distinct from any standard variety, whilst the syntax is akin to that of Standard Malay: distinctively Brunei features include. "ani" (Standard. = ini, *this*), "ketani" (Std. = kami, 1 pers. pl. pron., excl., '*we Bruneians*'), and "banar" (Std. = benar, *true*).

There are two instances in text [3] of mixed morphological affixation, one with the (fairly frequently-occurring) pattern Malay affix-English verb ('meng*offend*'], and the other, '*interesting*kan', an English adjectival with a Malay question tag. The latter pattern occurs only rarely in the main corpus.

As in the main data corpus, most mixing occurs within nominal groups:

[5]
<u>Nouns</u>
melayu sama *English*
Kebanyakkan *postings*
Mixed language ani
Style cakap orang muda2
Atau pun pasal *identity* tani
Reasons lain

<u>Verbs</u>
Kenapa ketani *code-mix*
Cuba dih tolong *explain* arah ku
*Interesting*kan?

<u>Conjunctions</u>
...orang Brunei? *Or* ada lagi kah *reasons* lain?
...*reasons* lain? *So*...yang bijak pandai atu...

Within the mixed nominal groups, there are two examples that further show Malay supplying the syntactic frame: '*mixed language* ani' and '*reasons* lain' both show Malay phrase-structure, head>modifier, as opposed to English modifier>head. The head noun "*reasons*" nonetheless retains the English plural form, as does the English head noun in "kebanyakkan *postings*".

There is only one English-only group, which Myers Scotton's Matrix Language-Frame theory would label an 'EL-island': "*or a modern way of speaking*". The two instances of the English conjunction 'or' are noteworthy, as the first governs this clause-level switch, whilst the other, sentence-initial governs a Malay sentence: "*Or* ada lagi kah *reasons* lain?". The first is immediately followed, in the very next phrase, by a further alternative suggestion following the Malay 'atau', equivalent to 'or'.

The use of "*time*", not listed in the above classification, requires separate comment. Although clearly an English lexeme, it has become a conjunction in informal Brunei Malay, equivalent to "when", and its orthographic form sometimes changes to 'taim' to fit Malay spelling rules: "*time* kanak-kanak atu..."(= 'when we were children', McLellan, 2000a, p.167).

The second posting here is no less interesting for being in monolingual English except for the Arabic greeting and the single Malay clause at the end. Analysis of the whole corpus shows how infrequently the pattern {initial posting mixed ML-M, response mixed ML-E} occurs in a thread or sequence of postings: only in the 'Rumah expo 99' thread, where an initial mixed ML-M posting is followed by a monolingual English (E-) posting (q.v. 4.6.1 above). This is therefore a marked pattern, as main language maintenance is the most common, unmarked pattern within the threads.

Social aspects of language choice in these postings
The producers of texts [4] and [5] are discussing a question that is central to this thesis, hence the message content is highly significant here: three motivations for mixing are put forward by the first writer, 'Curious':

  (a) young people's talk
  (b) modern way of speaking
  (c) a desire to show maintenance of Bruneian identity especially when communicating in English.

The second poster, 'W'salam' disputes all of these reasons, and suggests two others, practical convenience (similar to the "principle of economy" as discussed in Li, 1996, and in Li, 2000), and the fact that a majority of message posters and readers of the discussion forum are Malay-English bilinguals. If the first two of these motivations are conflated and treated as synonymous, this gives a taxonomy of four possible motivations for Bruneians' use of LA, listed in Table 5.7 below.

These two postings lend a measure of external validity to the analysis of why producers of these online postings choose to use or not to use LA. Following the appearance of these postings in February 2003, an additional question was included for the survey participants not based in Western Australia, who received their survey forms through the a Bruneian colleague who acted as intermediary. This question was structured in a similar way to the text ranking task in the central section of the questionnaire. It listed the motivations suggested and asked respondents to rank these in order of importance, and to suggest any additional motivations. Six participants provided answers to this additional question. The results are shown in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7

Ranking of four motivations for LA

	Raw Score	Rank
a] Young people's modern way of speaking	13	2
b] Desire to show Bruneian identity while communicating in English	23	4
c] Practical convenience, especially when discussing modern or technical topics	9	1
d] Most participants in the on-line forums are Malay- English bilinguals	14	3

As with the text ranking question, some participants chose to give equal ranking to more than one of these possible motivations for the use of LA. A strong tendency emerges, nevertheless, with five out of the six respondents giving the highest ranking to practical convenience (reason c]), and the identity motivation (reason b]) coming a clear last. The high ranking given to the practical convenience motivation supports Fazilah's (2002) findings, from her survey of participants in her study of spoken code-switching among Bruneian university students (see chapter 2.10). The support expressed for practical convenience again suggests that LA is tolerated, rather than actively approved of, by educated bilingual Bruneians. From the text ranking task, however, it appears that the use of mixed language is not seen as the clearest or the most appropriate way to construct texts. Replication in the Brunei context of Li and Tse's (2002) experimental study, conducted in Hong Kong, could throw further light on this aspect of language use.

With such a small number of participants, however, no strong conclusions can be drawn from this additional survey question. It is likely that all four of the motivations mentioned by these writers play some role in the production of online texts showing Malay-English LA.

In another text posted on Brudirect, again outside the main corpus analysed in this thesis, the contributor, using the pseudonym "UK student", makes suggestions for research that the University of Brunei Darussalam could usefully conduct. This is in reaction to a news report of a speech by the university's Vice-Chancellor in which a call was made for private sector companies to provide funding for relevant research projects. This text ([6] below) is classified as Main-language English, (ML-E), since it includes a two-word switch to Malay, "lagi tu" in line 3. As with the two postings discussed above, the points made here about researching Bruneians' attitudes towards English and Bahasa Melayu coincide with the broader aims of this thesis, and provide further evidence that Bruneians themselves are asking similar questions about their bilingual language use.

[6]

UBD need to research lots of thing: *Okay ... UBD needs fund from private sectors to research the Bahasa Melayu language, a research that would unveil why Bruneian love to use English language and plus, with a British or American twang (accent) /₁*

lagi   tu. \₂ *Why is it that by using English language anywhere and everywhere,*
again DEM

*he or she would think that others would respect him or her as users of the English language in a Malay country consider being smart and educated people. You cannot use Bahasa Melayu if you want people to think you are smart and modern blah blah blah. A small kid speaking in English is also considered to be cute. This research would undoubtedly benefit the private sector in the long run. How?? How the would I know? That's for UBD to come up with. Mr. Vice Chancellor, what else is there for UBD to research?? Oh yeah!! Why so many uncivilised drivers on the Brunei road, what lead them to be to selfish and undisciplined?? This would also let to benefit for the private sector in the long run, thus good returns for their sponsorships. Now how much ($$$) is needed for these kind of research? Thousands of dollars, mostly for UBD staffs to go overseas and meet friends in Australia, Singapore, UK, Russia?? Aaah!! If possible UBD can also make a research on Padi growing, lots of money is needed for the staffs to go to Thailand, Pattaya to study their padi, thousands of dollars..... hahaha. **UK student***

In this posting 'UK student' alludes to popular perceptions of the relative status of English and Bahasa Melayu among Bruneians. The statement, "You cannot use Bahasa Melayu if you want people to think you are smart and modern blah blah

blah", is a highly significant reflection of the perceived prestige of the languages in the international sphere, and of the perceived relationship between language choice and identity among Bruneians. Once again, though, it can be challenged in terms of the disparity between expressed opinions on language choice and actual practice. Those posting on Brudirect and Bruclass certainly consider themselves "smart and modern", yet many of them choose to post in monolingual Malay, and many more use mostly Malay with occasional English insertions (4.2 above).

5.3 Links between the levels of analysis

This section includes some discussion relating to the findings from both chapter 4 and from the earlier sections of this chapter, summarizing four issues, about which conclusions will be drawn in chapter 6.

The first is whether the findings are specific to the Brunei CMC context, or whether they can be generalized. One cannot expect to find direct cause-and-effect connections between all the grammatical features and participants' motivations for the choices they make in constructing bilingual texts. As noted by Meeuwis and Blommaert (1998, p. 81), not every individual switch has a functional meaning, nor does every speech event where LA occurs necessarily involve identity negotiation.

Equally fruitless is the search for any "universals" that apply in all contexts where two or more languages alternate. As noted at various points throughout this study, findings are expressed in the form of tendencies and regularities, rather than as hard and fast rules. Patterns of alternation are determined by the grammar, especially congruence or the lack of it, by the sociolinguistic roles of the languages involved, and perhaps most of all by the discourse context, that is, in this instance, the Brunei CMC medium.

Hence, studies of LA and code-switching in migrant populations, such as those of Clyne (1987, 2003), Nortier (1990) and Halmari (1997), are likely to reveal different patterns if compared to studies of alternation in contexts such as Brunei, where a former colonizing language, English, is being reclaimed and indigenized (see discussion in Boeschoten, 1998, pp. 21-22, and 6.8 below). In migration contexts, it

has been suggested that there is a general pattern of replacement of the original home language of the migrant community by the dominant language of the majority in the new country, e.g. Dutch in the Netherlands (Nortier, 1990) or English in Australia (Clyne, 2003).

In the Brunei context, English is the 'immigrant' language undergoing processes of indigenization and is not generally perceived as constituting a threat to the maintenance of Brunei Malay (as noted previously in 1.7 and 2.10). Arising from the findings of this thesis, two parallel tendencies can be posited in addition to the other issues that have been raised earlier, in Chapters 1 and 2:

(a) compartmentalization of English through LA practices, especially through the use of English content morphemes in a Malay syntactic frame;

(b) appropriation, leading to the reclaiming of English as one of a number of codes available to Bruneians for in-group interaction, in oral, written and computer-mediated contexts.

These are further discussed in sections 6.7 and 6.8 of the concluding chapter. Other themes are those which have been highlighted earlier, starting with the major research questions of how much language alternation is found in the corpus, how this alternation is achieved in terms of an equal or unequal partnership between languages, and why the participants make these language choices.

The second issue arising from a comparison between the language choice patterns in the corpus and results from the questionnaire survey is the preference for monolingual English. English-only with no LA (E-) is the most common category for the discussion forum postings, with 83 out of the total of 211 texts, or 39.3%. In the questionnaire survey, as noted in 5.1.2, all five of the monolingual English versions obtain the highest ranking for appropriateness in the text ranking task, even though these were not the original texts as posted on the forums. Taken together, this positioning with relation to the use of monolingual English indicates a clear preference on the part of this online discourse community for English-only in the CMC domain.

A third issue arises from the lists of groups showing LA by grammatical category. Comparability between English, Malay and mixed groups in terms of their syntactic structure is limited by the problematic status of constructs such as 'noun', 'verb' and 'adjective' when these are used with reference to Malay. These constructs were initially devised to handle the grammar of Greek and Latin, and are not readily applicable to the grammar of an Austronesian agglutinative language such as Malay. The listings in this thesis, in section 4.5. and in Appendix B, follow those of Clynes (to appear), who has no separate listing for adjectives, assuming that "semantic adjectives are syntactically a kind of verb." (p. 32n34).

Fourthly, there is the question of whether it is predominantly Brunei and Standard Malay which is found alternating with English, raised initially in section 1.6. This extract from posting number 2.57, which is classified as ML-M because of the predominance of Malay, illustrates the way Brunei Malay typically alternates with English that is close to a 'standard' variety:

[7]

And sponsors of this expo \1 bukan nya   calang2   punya \2 *sponsor and*
                   NEG   3sPOSS   cheap-RDP   DM-3sPOSS

the amount of money that they give \3 pun bukannya   seribu   dua,\4 *its*
                   DM   NEG-3s-POSS   one-thousand   two

far more than that. In addition to \5 semua ani,\6 *they should think of* \7
                     all   this

rakyat ketani.. bukan semua rakyat ketani   ani   mampu,\8 *things have*
people 1pi-POSS NEG   all   people   1pi-POSS DEM capable

changed now. Now we have heard and encountered \9 orang yang sudah inda
                                person REL   already NEG

segan silu meminta sedekah diluar kadai, \10 *and* \11 ada yang   sanggup
reluctant   AV-ask   alms   outside shop   have REL   ready

menipu untuk meminta duit?
AV-cheat for   AV-ask   money

And the sponsors of this expo are not cheapskate sponsors and the amount of money that
they give is not just a thousand or two, it's far more than that. In addition to all that, they
should think of our people...not all our people are capable, things have changed now. Now
we have heard about and encountered people who are prepared to beg for alms outside
shops, and there are those who are willing to cheat to ask for money, 2.57, ML-M

This extract shows the use of the Brunei Malay demonstrative 'ani', and the first person plural inclusive possessive 'ketani' is spelt in the more traditional way, as opposed to 'kitani'; 'inda' is a Brunei Malay negative particle, equivalent to the standard 'tidak' (not); 'kadai' reflects the Brunei Malay pronunciation, as the standard Malay form would be 'kedai' (shop). However, the agentive prefix on the verbs 'meminta', which occurs twice, and 'menipu' have the standard spelling 'me-': elsewhere this appears as 'ma-' in Brunei Malay verbs.

The English phrases used are in accordance with standard norms, with complex and idiomatic constructions, and the appropriate use of the present perfect tense in "…things have changed now. Now we have heard and encountered…". In terms of LA the switching points offer evidence of a high level of bilingual competence, and of the quality of "seamlessness" noted by Azhar and Bahiyah (1994) in their study of Malaysian Malay-English texts. The first sentence in example [7] has two instances of an English subject followed by a Malay complement, without a copula verb. The absence of the English plural marker on the second occurrence of "sponsor" indicates that the Malay grammar of the complement group remains dominant, and that the reversion to English syntax only comes into effect with the conjunction "and". The second sentence has one of the few examples of a switch within a prepositional group, "*In addition to* semua ani," where an English prepositional phrase immediately precedes a Malay pronominal phrase. This sentence and the one following also include examples of English subject and verb preceding Malay direct object. Switches invariably occur at group boundaries: in Muysken's (2000) terminology this would be a case of alternation, rather than insertion or congruent lexicalization.

Not all the 211 texts show the same admixture of Brunei Malay and 'standard' English as in [7], since many have performance errors in the English of the type that occur whenever texts are produced hurriedly and posted as immediate replies. However, the examples discussed in 4.5 and listed in Appendix B show alternation of Brunei Malay and 'standard' English to be the most frequent pattern in texts showing LA.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

"Why should highly proficient bilinguals bother to engage in c(ode) s(witching) at all?"
(Myers Scotton, 1997, p. 235)

6.0 Preliminary remarks

In this concluding chapter the aim is to review the findings in the light of the previous studies of LA summarized in Chapters 1 and 2, and to consider the extent to which the research questions have been addressed and answered.

This study cannot directly support or challenge any major claims in the field of LA and code-switching, as it covers only alternation between one pair of languages in a distinct discourse context. It may, nonetheless, offer a way forward in language alternation research, through the use of a dual focus on how both grammatical and sociocultural factors influence the construction of text in contexts where bilingual participants are interacting, in line with the recommendations for research suggested by Gardner-Chloros and Edwards (2004, p.124).

The findings from this study can, however, be situated within ongoing debates in the field of code-switching and LA research. Myers Scotton (2002, pp. 59-61) insists that there is always inequality between the matrix and embedded languages in codemixed CPs. Jacobson (2001a, pp. 63-69), following Bentahila and Davies (1998), claims that there can also be language alternation in which both languages play an equal role, and offers evidence of this from Malay-English codeswitching in Malaysia. The corpus of CMC texts analysed here show both these patterns. Whilst most texts in the corpus show a predominance of one or other language, a substantial minority show intricate patterns of alternation, as described and exemplified in the preceding chapters, with some texts showing equal LA, in which meaning is constructed through the use of both languages at sentence-, group- and even at word-level.

The question of how this alternation is achieved has been addressed through the detailed listings in section 4.5, and by situating these choices on the part of

discussion forum participants within the context of the CMC medium, and within the wider sociolinguistic context of Brunei Darussalam.

The more complex question of why the text producers make their choices of code is addressed in the sections below which discuss levels of formality, negotiation of identities and the role of the CMC medium.

6.1 Malay and English: An equal or unequal partnership?

This section addresses the key question of whether LA is always asymmetrical and unequal, or whether it is possible for two languages to be mixed in equal measure in terms of their contribution to grammar and to meaning.

The analysis of language choices in the corpus of 211 postings provides a basis in which discussion of equal or unequal language alternation can be situated.
As shown in tables 4.7 and 4.8, a total of twelve of the 211 posting texts (5.7%) are classified as equal language alternation (=LA), using a counting system for both words and groups. All other texts show a preponderance of either Malay or English, although these also include many sentences and groups in which both languages are used in equal measure. This provides support for the position of Bentahila and Davies (1998) and Jacobson (1998, 2001a), who claim that it is possible for both languages to play an equal role in codemixed texts, as opposed to the asymmetric matrix language / embedded language view of Myers Scotton. From the findings given in table 4.8, not all of these =LA texts are short postings: the longest is 431 words (in posting 3.30), and the mean length of the twelve texts designated =LA is 108.4 words.

Analysis of LA is not, however, confined to the small number of texts that show =LA, as this designation is applied at the level of the whole text rather than at group level: the examples in 4.5 and the complete listing in Appendix II are drawn from throughout the total of 211 texts.

The overview of the whole corpus of texts in Table 4.6 shows that there is a greater amount of English in texts which are main-language Malay, 66% of which show some measure of LA, than there is Malay in main-language English texts, where the figure is only 31%. These figures correspond closely with those obtained by Fazilah (2002) for spoken small-group interactions, discussed in 2.10.

In terms of the presumed competence of the text producers, this finding runs contrary to intuition. One would expect there to be more need for recourse to Malay in main-language English texts: why should competent, first-language Malay users choose to include this amount of LA, especially in a sociolinguistic context where such practices are stigmatized? Furthermore, a higher frequency of Malay in ML-English texts would be in line with the statement made by Bentahila and Davies (1998, p. 48), that "bilinguals who are quite able to speak exclusively in the second language do not wish to adopt the level of formality which total exclusion of the solidarity language would suggest," cited previously in 2.2. Possibly the reverse is the case: the participants, when posting in ML-Malay, wish to show that they are modern bilingual Bruneians who are not confined to the use of monolingual Malay and therefore choose to use English insertions and alternations. This is both explicit and implicit in some of the open questionnaire responses cited and discussed in 5.1. When choosing to post texts in main-language Malay with some English insertions and alternations, they may be constructing and negotiating dual or multiple identities, both local and global.

The process of appropriation of English by Bruneians means that English is becoming a part of their identity. Noor Azam (personal communication) reports ongoing language shift, whereby Malay-English bilingualism is gradually replacing an earlier pattern in which Bruneians had bilingual competence in Malay and in one of the other indigenous languages of Brunei, such as Tutong or Belait. Evidence from this corpus, showing monolingual English and main-language Malay mixed with some English to be the commonest choices, offers some support for this ongoing shift. A possible consequence of this shift is the occurrence of 'language death' for some of these minority indigenous languages of Brunei (Martin, 1995).

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6.2 Which Malay and which English? Do the englishization / nativization notions assist in analysing the texts?

This section addresses the issue of which varieties of Malay and English are predominantly found, raised in 1.6, and relates this to aspects of englishization and nativization, discussed in 2.3.

The unmarked pattern, in texts which show LA, is of Brunei Malay mixed with 'standard' English. Statistical evidence for the predominance of Brunei Malay can be adduced from a frequency count of the demonstrative forms 'ani' and 'atu' ('this' and 'that', Brunei Malay), which are equivalent to 'ini' and 'itu' in standard Malay. The Brunei Malay forms occur 230 and 220 times respectively throughout the corpus, whilst the standard form 'ini' occurs 43 times, and 'itu' 23 times. In general the examples cited in 4.5 from all of the 3 text types showing LA, that is ML-E, =LA and ML-M, display many characteristic features of Brunei Malay. This has been discussed and exemplified in 5.3, and can also be seen from the full listings in Appendix B. Slightly more of the Malay-only texts, as noted under Table 4.6, are classified as Brunei rather than 'Standard' Malay. Brunei Malay is usually considered to be primarily a spoken, in-group, hence informal variety, with a percentage of shared cognates figure of 84% when compared to the 'Standard' Malay of the Malay Peninsula (Nothofer, 1991, p.158). The finding that Brunei Malay features are used in alternation with relatively 'standard' English forms in these CMC texts may therefore give another indication that participants consider the online forums to be an informal domain.

As noted in 1.6, however, it is not possible, in the context of this thesis, to classify the monolingual English texts into 'Brunei' and 'standard'. The textual evidence, from this corpus and elsewhere, shows variability along a continuum.

Mashudi's (1994, p. 11) statement on the use of anglicized (englishized) Malay being attributable to a generation of influential Malaysians having greater familiarity with English lexemes and syntax, particularly in technical registers, was cited in 2.9. Evidence presented in chapter 4.5 and listed in Appendix B shows many cases where a similar motivation may apply for the lexical choices made by Bruneian text

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producers, especially the occurrence of English items in ML-Malay texts. Patterns of lexical cohesion within threads in 4.6, in particular the postings about the banning of concerts, which show the repeated occurrence of English lexical items within main-language Malay texts, are evidence of comparable patterns of englishization. In many instances it is not just for reasons of practical convenience or the "most available word phenomenon" (Grosjean, 1982, p.152), nor is it comparable to Li's (1996, 2000) "principle of economy", discussed in section 2.8. In posting 3.28, classified as main-language Malay, there are examples of 'bare' English nouns inserted into stretches of Malay which have direct Malay equivalents:

[1]
Ada jua yang kana bagi *title...*
Have also REL PASS give

There are also those who have been given the title..., 3.28, ML-M

Because the topic of honours and titles is closely related to Brunei customs and culture, the use of the English lexeme *"title"* is marked here, given the availability of the Malay equivalent 'gelaran'.

[2]
dan memberikan *opportunity* kepada rakyat
and AV-give   to   people

and giving an opportunity to the people, 3.28, ML-M

The Malay 'peluang' or 'kesempatan' could easily replace *"opportunity"* here. This is one reason justifying the text-level approach, which classifies this posting, 3.28, as main-language Malay, but with rich mixing including many groups and sentences in which both languages contribute to the "unfolding of the story" (Bentahila & Davies, 1998, p. 46).

6.3 Where do the CMC texts stand on the formal / informal cline, and on the lectal continuum?

This section takes up issues raised in sections 1.1 and 1.4. It was noted in section 2.9 that researchers studying the varieties of English in Malaysia and Singapore often use a tripartite division, drawing on the acrolect-mesolect-basilect formulation

originally used to describe a post-creole continuum (e.g. Baskaran, 1994, Gill, 1999, Nair-Venugopal, 2000). These classifications are used to analyse variable levels of formality in language use. Often the basilectal level is characterized as code-mixed, but there is no expectation of language alternation occurring at the higher acrolectal level, which is described as close to inner-circle or 'native-speaker' varieties, and is more likely to occur in written text.

Nortier (1990, p.85) is of the opinion that "code-switching in the speech of bilinguals and multilinguals only occurs in informal settings", and her data collection methodology controls for this factor. With reference to Malay and English alternation, however, McLellan (2000a) and Jacobson (2001b, 2002) offer evidence that an informal setting is not a prerequisite, and that LA of various types can also occur in more formal settings. Perhaps the most striking examples are those occurring in speeches by the His Majesty the Sultan of Brunei, discussed in section 1.7.

There is a danger of circularity here, and of oversimplification, in the suggestion that the discussion forum texts are informal because they contain frequent LA. The frequency of LA throughout the 211 texts, and the similar proportion of English items occurring in main-language Malay environments when compared to the spoken data studied by Fazilah (2002), both indicate that the discussion forum texts are regarded by their producers and readers as closer to the informal end of the continuum. This runs contrary to the *a priori* assumption, stated in 1.1, that they are located more towards the formal end by virtue of being planned and 'written'. Pertinent comments were offered by a questionnaire survey participant as feedback on the draft survey analysis:

> In regard to your major question to the use of mix languages in keyboard texts, one of the possibilities that come to mind is could it be internet forums, such as Bruclass and HYS are not treated as "formal" channel, therefore I guess it is ok to express one's opinion in such an informal manner. it is a way of communication where it is treated like 'one way conversation' (?)

Another possibility is bilingual or multilingual ability as it enables the speaker to use or look for alternative words at such circumstance. In addition, general perception that such usage of languages could be understood by the other parties, although it is not necessarily appropriate.

At least for me those are the reasons why I sometimes mix languages in certain circumstances (especially in conversation). I wouldn't use mixed language if I think my audience doesn't understand them.

(Siti Norkhalbi, personal communication, cited with permission)

The comments by this participant raise a number of important issues. There is support for the view that the discussion forums are informal, and that informal modes of expression such as LA are therefore legitimate in this context. There is also support here for another of the motivations discussed in 5.1 and 5.2, that of the bilingual competence of the text producers and readers. This was ranked third out of four in order of importance, but the expression of this opinion shows awareness of the wider choices for expression available to bilingual and multilingual participants.

As shown in Table 4.6, half of the texts in the corpus are monolingual, either English or Malay only, although a number of these show variability between the 'standard' and Brunei varieties. If one accepts the argument that informality in texts is indicated by the presence of LA, the corollary is that monolingual Malay and English texts indicate formality. Thus, the evidence from the corpus is inconclusive, pointing once again towards variability along the formal-informal continuum. This in turn points to uncertainty on the part of the Bruneian participants about the level of formality of the online discussion forums. In part this is due to the novelty and the peculiar character of the CMC medium, especially the aspect of spontaneity in the posting of messages.

6.4 LA as a separate third code, and as the unmarked code

The question of LA as a distinct third code, separate from both Malay and English, was raised in 1.3 and in 2.12. The conclusion from this study is that the Brunei CMC context is unlike the other research contexts out of which such views have evolved,

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e.g. The Philippines (Marasigan, 1983), the Puerto Rican community in New York (Poplack, 1988) and the former Zaire, now Congo (Meeuwis & Blommaert, 1998; Blommaert, 1999). These researchers argue that the mixed code has become the normal, unmarked choice for interaction, and that monolingual communication is a marked choice. In Brunei CMC discourse, on the contrary, monolingual English and monolingual Malay postings are unproblematic, and the threads showing variable language choice for the same topic demonstrate this clearly. Those who choose English-only or Malay-only are not necessarily making a marked choice, as they know their texts will be fully accessible to their intended readership, as are the texts showing different patterns of LA. For these reasons the notion of a third, mixed code, separate from both monolingual English and from monolingual Malay, is not considered helpful towards the analysis of language use in these CMC texts. The online medium could be a distinguishing factor here, since earlier discussion (in section 2.10) refers to Bruneians holding negative perceptions of unmixed language use, especially of standard Malay and English in conversation. These may be considered marked in face-to-face informal interaction, but less so in the Brunei CMC context, where online identities are being negotiated.

6.5 Issues of identity and language choice

It would be presumptuous to offer any firm conclusions of issues of identity and language choices among Bruneians. For a variety of sociocultural and geopolitical reasons, identity is a contentious question for Bruneians. A recent seminar was held on the theme of *"Calak* Brunei" at the University of Brunei Darussalam. Both the convening and the choice of theme of this seminar demonstrate the ongoing debate over Brunei identity, and the following statement appears in an online media report of the opening ceremony:

> "Pengiran Doctor Haji Abu Bakar bin Pengiran Haji Sarifuddin[1].... said
> 'calak' is a local word which means identity or image. It is related to the
> Brunei way of life from the perspective of language, the way they dress,
> culture and religion."

> [1]: The current Director of the Akademi Pengajian Brunei (Academy of Brunei Studies)
> (Boosting national identity people's job, says Minister, 2004, January 25).

This statement foregrounds the role of language in the Bruneian national identity, in the same way that, according to Asmah (1992, pp. 55-56), "*Bahasa*" (language), "*Bangsa*" (ethnicity) and religion constitute the "core values" which characterize the Malay race. Traditionally the language component of the Malay identity has referred exclusively to the Malay language. Texts in English-only, and those which include a variety of patterns of LA, show that English is becoming a part of the Bruneian identity as projected in the CMC texts. The extent to which this applies to the wider Brunei community, as opposed to the on-line discourse community of discussion forum participants, remains an open one, in the light of the reservations expressed by McLellan and Noor Azam (2000), where it is suggested that the wide spread of English throughout all sections of the Brunei community may be something of a myth, and that access to English for alternation with Malay may be confined to a limited 'elite' group consisting of those educated through the bilingual system.

In his discussion of Malaysians' Malay-English codeswitching, Jacobson (1998, p. 72), compares the codeswitching behaviour of Malaysians with that of Mexican-Americans. He observes that Malaysians now take pride in their command of English and in their ability to "fuse" English with Malay without becoming dependent on English, whilst retaining their loyalty to the variety of Malay they acquired as a home language. The analysis of the Brunei discussion forum postings suggests that similar variable attitudes towards identity and language choices, ranging between 'fusion' and 'contrast', may also exist among Bruneians. This could account for the varied choices, which, as demonstrated in section 4.6, do not correlate to the message topic in the way suggested by Noor Azlina (1979) in elite-group Malaysian codemixed discourse.

6.6 Role of the CMC medium

Given the dominance of English in the online environment, for example for keyboard functions such as 'enter', 'save' and 'delete', Bruneians perceive English to be an appropriate choice for CMC. This is comparable to the way international banks, supermarkets and department stores with branches in Brunei are perceived as settings in which the use of English is appropriate, whilst locally-incorporated banks and small 'sundry shops' are more conducive to the use of Malay (see discussion in Ożóg

1996a, pp.163-165). This domain factor may thus account for the overall predominance of monolingual English postings in the corpus, and for ML-M being the next most frequently-occurring posting category.

At the same time there is evidence for the discussion forums being supportive of multilingualism here, as the use of LA alongside monolingual texts provides a means for participants in an open public forum to maintain their sense of community, as the requirements for membership include the ability to operate in both languages and to alternate between them. There are no calls on the Bruclass and Brudirect for the use of English or Malay only, just occasional criticism of LA practices as '*Bahasa rojak*', as exemplified in the texts discussed in section 5.2. In the Malaysian "Sarawak Talk" forum (McLellan, 2000b), by contrast, there are frequent postings calling on participants not to use Malay. This is another indication of the relative lack of tension between languages in the Brunei context when contrasted to Malaysia.

Other websites, such as those from Hawai'i discussed by Warschauer (in press), have the expressed objective of promoting local identities and indigenous language revitalization. There is a distinction to be drawn here between these and the Brunei discussion forum sites. Warschauer suggests that Hawaiians may choose to use standard English in some online domains, but other languages or dialects in others, and that "the exercise of this choice represents an act of cultural resistance against the homogeneity of a white monolingual America" (Warschauer, in press, Conclusion). The language choices made by Bruneians when posting messages on Bruclass and Brudirect may also reflect their identity, even though identity projection may not be their prime objective. The Bruneian text producers at times refer to the fact that their postings can be viewed by any 'lurkers' within or beyond Brunei (e.g. in posting no. 3.26, where the possibility of restricting outsiders from viewing the postings is discussed). This attitude may be related to the low perception of texts showing LA that emerges from the questionnaire survey (section 5.2): they are not showing off their bilingual proficiency in the CMC environment, but are exploiting a resource which offers them an opportunity to interact without having to follow the sociocultural rules of face-to-face conversation.

It is evident that the questions addressed in this section and in the preceding two are very closely linked: LA as a third code, issues surrounding identity, and the role of the CMC medium. All of these have some bearing on the question of why Bruneians choose to alternate languages or not.

6.7 Compartmentalization of English

The intrasentential patterns of LA shown to occur in the corpus, and the relationship between Malay and English in Brunei which emerges from investigation of both the form and the content of the discussion forum postings, suggest the existence of processes of compartmentalization and appropriation. They are seen as complimentary, perhaps even as interdependent. They are also closely linked to questions of identity (discussed in sections 5.5 and 5.6 above). Compartmentalization is the topic of this section; appropriation, a notion closely related to nativization, is considered in the following section.

Compartmentalization is defined as the processes, both linguistic and sociolinguistic, by which users attempt to restrict the influence of English on Malay language and culture. In terms of the functional and situational distribution of languages according to topic and setting in multilingual contexts, it is not a new notion. It can be seen in the diglossia formulation of Ferguson (1959), and in Fishman's (1972) sociolinguistic theory of domain. Edwards (1993) discusses both these theories with relation to Brunei, noting in particular the risk that English may become "the preserve of a social elite" (p.34). In this respect it is viewed negatively.

Compartmentalization may also have positive aspects. Lim (1991) draws a distinction between English for technology and English for culture in the context of Southeast Asia, asking "[h]ow do we keep the instrumental function of English but deny it its expressive function?" (p.58). This functional compartmentalization represents a desire, on the part of both multilingual individuals and those involved in national language planning processes, to control and restrict the encroachment of English into domains that are the preserve of other languages, and thereby preserve the vitality of in-group indigenous languages.

Similar processes of compartmentalization of English can be found at the text level, as exemplified in postings from this corpus where English content morphemes occur within a Malay syntactic frame. Examples have been presented in section 4.5 above. These LA patterns do not necessarily indicate processes of ongoing language or identity shift, but they may occur in the CMC domain for a combination of the four reasons discussed in section 5.2: young people's modern way of speaking; a desire to show Bruneian identity while communicating in English; practical convenience, especially when discussing modern or technical topics; and the fact that most participants in the on-line forums are Malay- English bilinguals.

At the societal level, participants may engage in, with and through English, but all the while seek to maintain and to express their Malay identity. In particular, they seek to restrict and to control the creeping influence of English and of englishization noted by Mashudi (1994) and by Abdullah Hassan (1997), among others. Examples are found in the writings of linguists and educationalists, as well as in texts appearing in the print, broadcast and electronic media: text [5] in Chapter 1, quoted and discussed in section 1.7, is one instance.

Compartmentalization can also refer to the rigid categorization that is beloved of academic researchers, linguists included, when proposing theoretical or classificatory formulations. In this sense it occurs whenever binary distinctions are posited: a feature is either +x or –x; a text is either type A or type B. For example, Pennycook (1994, pp. 218-219), in a discussion of English in the context of Malaysia, draws a rigid binary opposition between those who are victims of the "dominant discourse of English as an international language", and those who demonstrate awareness of the "worldliness of English". In McLellan (1997, pp. 158-159) I take issue with this formulation, suggesting that it is overly rigid and that Malaysian attitudes to English are more likely to move between these two positions according to expediency. This is also the position taken by Asmah (2000), who supports the idea of multiple shifting identities that are indicated by language choices:

The identity of a Malay speaker who converses in English with her interlocutors in a particular speech event is not a carbon copy of the identity she assumes when she speaks in standard Malay, and this in turn shows a different identity from that which is reflected in her when she speaks in her own regional dialect.

(Asmah, 2000, p. 16)

One question, following from this observation, concerns the identities assumed by interlocutors and participants in on-line forums, when they choose to mix and alternate languages. A partial answer may be found in the work of Blackledge and Pavlenko (2003) who argue that identities are negotiated, not indexed through language choices, and can be multiple and shifting according to contextual factors. There are 'third spaces' between the extreme polarities of the globalized identity associated with the use of English, and the local identity signified by the use of Malay. Indeed, this identification of languages as global and local may be essentialist or reductionist, since no close correspondence has been found between language choice and posting topic in the CMC texts under investigation.

6.8 Appropriation of English

Appropriation is defined as the act of reclaiming or the repossession of some measure of control over the language of former colonial powers by the colonized, and it is outlined in a post-colonial Critical Applied Linguistics perspective by Pennycook (1994, pp. 259-294) and by Canagarajah (1999, pp. 173-198). It is seen as relevant in the context of Brunei despite the fact, noted elsewhere and often emphasized by influential Bruneians, that Brunei Darussalam was never officially a colony (e.g. Abdul Aziz, 1992, p. ii). The concluding sentence in Rosnah, Noor Azam and McLellan (2002), contributed by one of the Bruneian co-authors, reflects the notion of appropriation:

"Bruneians, therefore, do not believe themselves to be victims of the 'dominant discourse of English as an International Language'; they would like to echo the claim that they have some control over English, but that English has no control whatsoever over them."

(Rosnah et al., 2002, p.105)

Appropriation can be seen as part of a discourse of resistance, and is especially relevant where language purism arguments arise (Davies, 1991, Abdullah Hassan, 1997). It does not only refer to English, but also to Malay.

Rather than being categorized as restricted to 'Brunei Malay', Bruneians may simultaneously seek to identify with the wider Malay-speaking world encompassing Malaysia, Indonesia and beyond, whilst retaining loyalty to the variety that identifies them as Bruneians. Likewise they may not wish to be labelled or compartmentalized as users of 'Brunei English', as this is viewed as a gatekeeping device restricting them from access to varieties of English that have greater currency in the global marketplace. Debates in both academic and political spheres over 'Singlish' in Singapore, 'Manglish' in Malaysia, and 'Taglish' in the Philippines have demonstrated the risk associated with close identification with an indigenized variety of English.

The concentric circles model of McConvell (1988), used to describe language choice and use by indigenous Australians, is pertinent here: in this model the circles do not restrict or enclose, but speakers move among a "nested configuration of social arenas" (McConvell, 2001, p. 38), and may alternate between Australian English, which is the language of their outermost circle of contact, Kriol, standard Gurindji and local Gurindji varieties.

The variation that is apparent throughout the discussion forum postings indicates that participants have access to different levels of English, from international standard to highly localized basilectal, and are able to manipulate and appropriate these when constructing their texts. Similarly, they have access to more than one variety of Malay, as demonstrated by the near-equal number of Malay-only postings classified

as Standard and as Brunei Malay, and may choose to alternate between these varieties also (Martin 1996a, 1996b).

6.9 Limitations and shortcomings: Critique

There is one fundamental paradox that is not resolved in the discussion in this thesis, relating to the basis for the whole notion of codeswitching and of language alternation. If we are to conclude from the evidence presented here, as well as from the more substantial body of research into spoken LA, that the whole notion of 'a language' as a self-contained autonomous and separate system is highly questionable, then this may undermine the whole field of codeswitching and LA research. How can languages be said to alternate if there are no fixed boundaries between them? And does the positing of the mixed language as a distinct third code that lies between resolve or further complicate the question? Is it helpful to follow Blommaert (1999, p. 181) by suggesting that the mixed variety found in the texts is "monolectal": a variety in its own right, but one which can only be named in terms of the two contributing languages? Auer (1998, p. 73) sees evidence of eurocentric ideological bias in the desire to classify languages rigidly and to assume that all languages are homogeneous and codified in ways similar to European languages. Those who choose to alternate, as they do in half of the texts in this corpus, do not view the alternation as problematic, even though, as in the questionnaire survey, they may express a preference for monolingual texts when offered the choice.

Questions also remain as to the efficacy of a research design which tries to address Language Alternation from both a grammatical and a sociocultural perspective. In such an undertaking one risks doing neither satisfactorily, with no guarantee of success in linking the different analytical approaches. Gardner-Chloros and Edwards (2004, p.103), in their recent state-of-the-art review of grammatical approaches to code-switching, conclude that no grammar can account for the variability shown in code-switched texts, and that "sociolinguistic factors frequently override grammatical factors". In the light of this, the significance of the social roles of English and Malay in the Brunei context, outlined in earlier chapters, remains paramount.

In terms of the second macro-question addressed in this thesis, the answer to the "Why alternate?" question can only be tentative. It remains largely a matter of conjecture precisely why participants, who are able to operate in one language or another exclusively, should choose to use both in the same text, especially when such practices are stigmatized. Appropriation and discourses of resistance to both global English and pure unadulterated Malay may be partial explanations, along with a desire to negotiate between multiple identities, both local and global.

Other limitations are those noted in earlier chapters, about this being an outsider's view on Bruneians' language use, and about the efficacy of a methodology that is product-oriented, as opposed to one which also addresses the processes involved in CMC text construction.

6.10 Potential for further research

It is evident that a great deal more could emerge from further grammatical and textual analysis of corpora similar to that which forms the object of investigation for this study, using the analytical and descriptive tools of Corpus Linguistics, especially concordancing software and bilingual text processors. Aspects of intertextuality within and between threads of postings could also be further investigated.

Further research investigating text construction and production processes, using methods such as think-aloud protocols, matched guise and stimulated recall may be required, in order to shed more light on the question of why competent bilingual participants should choose to alternate languages.

The fuzzy boundaries between the systems which we refer to as languages can be researched in terms of 'interlingual dynamics', within the growing field of Language Contact studies. To judge by the titles of some recent publications, including Myers Scotton (2002), Winford (2003) and Clyne (2003), moves in this direction are already under way. One specific question, open to further investigation, is whether the Brunei discussion forum texts and Malay-English spoken language alternation in various domains indicate evidence of an emergent mixed language, similar to those

discussed by McConvell (2001), by Myers Scotton (2002, pp. 246-271), and by Winford (2003, pp. 168-207).

An experimental study, following a design similar to that of Li and Tse (2002), could reveal numerous insights about the grammatical and lexical choices and sociocultural issues surrounding decisions by Bruneians on whether, when and how to alternate between languages. Li and Tse asked a group of Cantonese-English bilingual student volunteers to refrain from using English items in their speech for a period of twenty-four hours, to keep a diary to record examples of English words and expressions that they wanted to use but could not, and to take part in a group interview sharing their experiences (pp.151-152). Replication of this in the Brunei context could be feasible with the active participation of Bruneian 'insider' researchers.

Another experimental study is suggested by Jacobson (2001a, p. 69). This would involve excluding all material in one language from texts showing LA, and testing whether the texts could still be understood. If they could not, this would show that both languages are jointly contributing to the "unfolding of the story".

Issues surrounding Brunei Malay and 'Standard' Malay, Brunei English and 'Standard' English remain contentious, largely for want of detailed linguistic description and sociolinguistic analysis. We may need to be wary, though, of too readily attaching classificatory labels to texts in a context such as that of Brunei.

6.11 Update: Developments in Brunei discussion forum sites since 2001

In January 2003 a new forum, Bruneitalk, was launched. This is formally organized in threads, with the earliest posting appearing at the top of each thread. Posters have to register their details before their postings are accepted. The main menu displays all active threads with the total number of postings and the date and time of the most recent posting.

Bruclass altered its onscreen format in February 2003, so that it is now also arranged in separate threads. However, this forum retains the option for viewing the 'old format' in which postings appear sequentially, with the most recent at the top.

As of May 4, 2003, Brudirect has separate English and Malay sections, although this separation has yet to be applied to archived messages prior to this date. It is also possible to access English and Malay postings together. It is noticeable that postings in the separate Malay and English sections still contain a considerable amount of language alternation.

These format modifications suggest that sequential organisation of threads and the question of language choice for postings are both salient factors in this discourse domain, and lend external validity to the analysis of language maintenance or change within threads (q.v. section 4.6).

The Bruneitalk forum was inaccessible to those logging on from within Brunei (as reported by Stephen, 2003, May 12), although it was still open and functioning, for a period of two weeks in May 2003.

In March 2004, the Borneo Bulletin reported the arrest, by Brunei's Internal Security Department, of three Bruneians for "subversion and treason". Two of these arrests, according to the Internal Security Department press release, were for "systematically disseminating propaganda through the Bruclass website" (Internal Security Department Press Release, 2004, March 5, ¶2).

Regular visits to all the Brunei public discussion forum sites throughout 2003 and 2004 confirm that patterns of language choice, including alternation between Malay and English, continue to occur in ways similar to those described and exemplified in this study.

6.12 Summary

It is hoped that this study helps to fill a research "gap", noted in 2.10, through its investigation of language choice and use patterns in Brunei Darussalam. Other major research into language alternation or codeswitching patterns in Brunei has focused on classroom discourse, or else on informal face-to-face conversational interaction. In the wider context of CMC research, this thesis also aims to fill an identified gap, by investigating mixed language use in CMC contexts, as illustrated by the quotation from Herring (1996, p. 10) given at the head of chapter 1.

This study sheds some light, I believe, on how Bruneian participants in online discussion forums make choices about their language use when constructing their texts. It has investigated the question of why they make these choices, and has indicated several directions in which answers to this more complex question may lie.

Perhaps the most important findings relate to the variability which is apparent throughout. It would be simplistic to describe this as 'anything goes', but the corpus shows that there are five classifications of language use which occur with varying degrees of frequency, from the most common, English-only (E-), to the least common, which is alternation of Malay and English in equal measure (=LA). Overall there is much evidence which supports the asymmetrical matrix language and embedded language formulation of Myers Scotton (1993a). Yet there is also sufficient evidence, of texts showing =LA, and of mixed groups in which both languages contribute to the grammatical framework, to demonstrate that equal language alternation, as described initially by Bentahila and Davies (1998), can also occur.

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Appendix A

Listing of Messages in Data Sets 1, 2, 3 & 4

Notes:

These listings provide information on all the messages forming the corpus of texts.

All postings are numbered within each of the four data sets.

For Bruclass postings, in sets 1 & 3, the name (pseudonym) of the addressee as well as the message poster is listed. Brudirect messages in sets 2 & 4 do not have an addressee.

The language categories are as in the list of abbreviations on p. xii

The right column shows whether the message is a new topic, or a reply to a message posted previously.

Number	Data set 1, Bruclass Title of posting	Date	To:	From:	Language	New/Reply
1	Brunei - The best	14th Feb	all	Focus Guy	E-	new
2	All is well attitude	14th	Focus Guy	AIWA	E-	R to 1
3	SCB retrenchment	14th	not in Brunei	Anak Brunei	E-	R to prev.
4	Mirror2 on the wall	14th	AIWA	Focus Guy	E-	R to 2
5	Any comments?	14th		MBA student	ML-E	new
6	Trendy	14th	MBA student	KFC student	ML-E	R to
7	Protect Bruneian in Miri	15th	All	Common sense	ML-E	new
8	Brunei dalam pembangunan	20th	Siapa yang bekenaan atu	Orang damit2	ML-M	new
9	halal & haram	20th	all muslim	orang penyibuk	ML-M	new
10	Pengangguran	20th	Orang Tua Ketani	Penyokong Penunggu Kerusi	ML-M	new
11	Pengangguran	20th	Orang Tua Ketani	New Blood	ML-M	R to 10
12	"BAN"	20th	Kawan ku semua	katun	eq. LA	new
13	BAN	20th	KATUN	LAPAS TIA	ML-M	R to 12
14	SUAMI ISTRI	20th	ORANG KAWIN	UDA LAMA KAWIN	M-	new
15	CONTOH	20th	Para pemimpin/Pengikut	Insani	M-	new
16	penunggu kerusi	20th	anak-anak	liau patualan	ML-M	R to 10?
17	STOP GOING TO MIRI	20th	All BRUNEIANS	Bye Bye Miri	E-	R to 7
18	Stop Going to Miri	20th	All shoppers	Proud Brunei	E-	R to 17
19	penunggu kerusi	20th	liau patualan	Penunggu kerusi asli	ML-M	R to 16
20	JANGAN KE MIRI	21st	ORANG KITANI	yupak yantang	M-	R to 18
21	BAN	21st	Brunei BAN..ners	BAN.. Tu...WAN	ML-M	R to 13
22	Miri	21st	Relevant authorities	Awang Budiman	M-	R to 20
23	Values	21st	All Muslim Hypocrites	Western Educated	E-	new
24	Miri	21st	Proud Brunei	For better Living	E-	R to 18
25	Kedai Runcit - KC	21st	to whom it may concern	jobless	E-	new
26	BAN	21st	Brunei BAN..ners	katun again	ML-E	R to 21
27	Renungan Bersama	21st	all	Bunian	ML-M	R to 26
28	SURAT ZAINUDDIN	21st	RAKYAT Brunei	Penyokong Abg. Din	ML-M	R to prev.
29	Brunei spells B-A-N	21st	banners and khalwaters	Very halal person	ML-E	R to 27
30	brunei sucks	21st	everyone	the game	E-	R to 29

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No.	Item	Date		SER		
31	Drones	22nd	All		ML-E	R to 30
32	direction	22nd		Weather Forcaster	E-	R to 31
33	Religious Police	22nd	All	Sri Brunei	ML-E	R to 32
34	Ban Mufti	22nd	Mufti Kerajaan Brunei	Muftiless	eq. LA	new
35	BAN ALL	22nd	all	anak iblis	eq. LA	R to 33
36	National flags on CARS	22nd	Organising Committee	Cuba Tah Buat Banyak	ML-E	new
37	Don't blame the Mufti	22nd	All	Sri Brunei	ML-E	R to 35
38	undang undang	22nd	Ayahnda	Anaknda	ML-M	R to 37
39	Proud	22nd		Proud Bruneian	E-	R to 38
40	WAR	22nd	All Anti-Islamic Forces	Para Mujahid Islam Brunei	ML-M	R to 39
41	Sabar	22nd	Mujahid Islam	Maulana	M-	R to 40
42	mayat	22nd	maulana	anak murid	ML-M	R to 41
43	Public Performance	22nd	All	An Observer	E-	R to 42
44	Syukur dan Sedeh	22nd	All Bruneians	Anak Watan	ML-M	new
45	Keindahan Islam	22nd	Maulana & Para Mujahid	saudara dalam Islam	M-	R- 40,41
46	Inda puas	22nd	Semua	Saya	ML-M	R to 43?
47	Satanic activities	22nd	Who-ever	Time Bomb	ML-E	new
48	Stan Chart	23rd		Victimised	E-	new
49	Grammy	23rd		MTV Fan	E-	new
50	Concert telanjang	23rd	semua	Orang Brunei biasa	ML-M	R to 46
51	Views	23rd		sad	E-	R to 40
52	views	23rd	all	THOR	ML-E	R to 51
53	Big Boys Pollute	23rd		Cleanaire	E-	new
54	BAN	23rd	THOR	Barisan MIB	E-	R to 52
55	VIEWS	23rd	SAD	UPHOLDERS	E-	R to 51
56	Views	23rd	Upholders	Muwahiddin	E-	R to 55
57	Iran & Afghanistan	23rd	THOR	THOR's Sympathiser	E-	R to 52
58	VIEWS	23rd	UPHOLDERS AND BAN	LKY	E-	R to 55
59	Views	23rd	LKY	NOT LKY	E-	R to 58
60	Jgn alang2	23rd	All	Insan yang rendah & hina	ML-M	R to 55
61	VIEWS	23rd	LKY	C T Goh	E-	R to 58
62	ALLAH IS WITH YOU	23rd	Religious Police	Ikhwanul Muslimin	ML-E	new

63	Authorities Effort	24th	ALL	DR.DRE II	ML-E	R to 62
64	Authorities Effort	24th	Bruneians	Fellow Bruneian	E-	R to 63
				62 different message posters		

Number	Title of posting	Date	From:		New or Reply	
	Data set 2, Brudirect, 16-18/08/01		N.B. No "to…" in Brudirect			
1	Rumah expo99	16/08	Rakyat Brunei	ML-M	new	
2	Anak dara	16/08	nini bini	ML-M	R to pre.	
3	Expo House 99	16/08	Jupiter	E-	R to 1	
4	House for all	16/08	Pikirkan	ML-E	R to 3	
5	Where is Danny Wong	16/08	Observer	E-	new	
6	Dyg. Zetty did her best...	16/08	Rahizah	E-	new	
7	RTB	16/08	SI MADAT	ML-M	new	
8	Breast feeding problems	16/08	Zoey tamber NS	E-	R to pre.	
9	EXPO 99	16/08	Hati Hati	M-	R to 1	
10	Housing Scheme	16/08	Don Juan	E-	R to 3&4	
11	Coffee Bean	16/08	James	E-	new	
12	Virginity / anak dara	16/08	Chastity	ML-E	R to pre.	
13	Breastfeeding / sus dada	16/08	Mama	ML-E	R to pre.	
14	EXPO 99	16/08	Brunei Jati	ML-M	R to 1	
15	Malaysian watchdog eyes…	16/08	Samseng Bula	ML-E	new	
16	Housing Expo	16/08	Rahmat	E-	R to 3&4	
17	Expo House 99	16/08	Jupiter	E-	R to 16	
18	Malaysian Watchdog	16/08	Venus	E-	R to 15	
19	Housing Expo	16/08	Snazyyyy	E-	R to 17	
20	Expo 99	17/08	Court Lawyer	E-	R to 19	
21	Virginity	17/08	another_pemerhati	E-	R to12	
22	rumah expo controversial	17/08	mambang tanah	eq. LA	R to 20	
23	Islamic Expo	17/08	Kahir	E-	new	
24	Malaysian Watchdog	17/08	NGO	E-	R to 18	
25	BERSYUJURLAH SUDAH ….	17/08	Madat	M-	new	
26	Housing Expo	17/08	john	ML-E	R to 22	
27	Virgins	17/08	romeo_must_die	E-	R to 12	
28	Sack Mick Jones	17/08	Samseng Bula	ML-M	new	
29	Obscene Scene	17/08	Cinderella	E-	new	
30	Q n A/ Virgin	17/08	Jibon2001	E-	R to 27	

#	Title	Date	Name	Code	Ref
31	Rumah Expo	17/08	Zeb	ML-E	R to 19
32	RBPF or RBAF	17/08	Dennis Hakeem	ML-E	new
33	M'sian watchdog…	17/08	Zeb	ML-E	R to 18
34	Newcomer	17/08	Zeb	E-	new
35	JMK	17/08	Peaches	E-	R to 23
36	POLIS PUN MODIFY KERETA…	17/08	Anak harta	ML-M	new
37	Lawyer	17/08	Aint it Funny	eq. LA	R to 20
38	JMK	17/08	Romeo	E-	R to 35
39	Brunei Damage Control	17/08	Peter J. Hellerman NS	E-	new
40	Perampas bf orang	17/08	Yanti	M-	new
41	Zeb	17/08	Samseng Bula	ML-M	R to 33
42	Islamic Expo	17/08	Hocus Pocus	ML-E	R to 38
43	Quote of the Day	17/08	Sang Jati Brunei	E-	new
44	Virgins / anak dara	17/08	Chastity	E-	R to 30
45	Mitsubishi 3000 GT	17/08	Dennis Hakeem	E-	new
46	Expo Islam Antarabangsa	17/08	Tok Imam Tak Bertauliah	ML-M	R to 42
47	Bnd 15 for adult & Bnd 7 for…	18/08	Dunia saja kan kamu pikir…1	ML-M	R to 46
48	Rumah Expo / Ex-MOD	18/08	Telescope	E-	R to 26
49	Rumah Expo	18/08	Anggota ABDB	ML-M	R to 48
50	Burning	18/08	Del hamba	E-	new
51	Hey! Wait a minute	18/08	romeo_must_die	ML-E	R to 44
52	Despite Fast Development…	18/08	Zaty	M-*	new
53	Islamic Expo	18/08	m chan	ML-E	R to 47
54	EXPO ISLAM	18/08	Melyssa B	ML-E	R to 53
55	ISLAM EXPO	18/08	Melyssa B	ML-E	R to 53
56	Quote of the Day	18/08	Sang Jati Brunei	E-	new
57	Expo Islam	18/08	Peaches	ML-M	R to 46
58	Auction stuff	18/08	Aint it Funny	eq. LA	R to 37
59	Rumah Expo	18/08	Zeb	ML-M	R to 49
60	Ikan Di Pasar	18/08	Madat	M-	new
61	Burning from Kalimantan	18/08	Tinggal jauh	M-	R to 50
			50 different message posters		

Number	Title of posting	Date	To:	From:	Lang.	New or Reply
	Data set 3, Bruclass	1-5/12/01				
1	PASAL EXPATRIATE	1-Dec	ALL	Jati Expat	ML-M	R to prev.
2	BIA & Global	1-Dec	Bumfelda	Jati Expat	E-	R to prev.
3	TERRORIST & AFGHANISTAN	1-Dec	X Men, Blu3eye & ALL	Jati Expat	ML-M	R to prev.
4	Re: BIA & Global	1-Dec	Jati Expat	Bumfelda	E-	R to 2
5	BIA & Global	1-Dec	Bumfelda	Jati Expat	E-	R to 4
6	Re: BIA & Global	1-Dec	Jati Expat	Nanastunku	ML-M	R to 5
7	BIA & Global	1-Dec	Nanastunku	Jati Expat	ML-M	R to 6
8	Royal in Business	1-Dec	submarine	Jati Expat	ML-M	R to prev.
9	BB hear say	2-Dec	all	Nanastunku	E-	new
10	Re: BB hear say	2-Dec	all	Nanastunku	E-	R to 9?
11	Re: TERRORIST & AFGHANI..	2-Dec	Jati Expat	Bruneian	ML-M	R to 3
12	Revelation vs Defamation	2-Dec		The X man	E-	R to10
13	Japan Royal birth	2-Dec		The X man	E-	new
14	Re: BIA & Global	2-Dec	Jati Expat	Bumfelda	E-	R to 7
15	TERRORISTS & AFGHANISTAN	2-Dec	Bruneian	Jati Expat	ML-M	R to 11
16	Brudirect	2-Dec	X Man, Nanastunku, ALL	Jati Expat	eq. LA	R to 12
17	Re: Brudirect	2-Dec	Jati Expat	Nanastunku	ML-M	R to 16
18	Halal & Haram	2-Dec	Bumfelda	Jati Expat	E-	R to 4
19	Brudirect	2-Dec	Nanastunku	Jati Expat	ML-M	R to 17
20	Time for vacation	2-Dec		The X man	E-	R to 16
21	Re: Time for vacation	2-Dec	The X Man	Nanastunku	BMB>E	R to 20
22	Over voiced	2-Dec	Nanastunku	Daughter	E-	R to 17
23	Re: Over voiced	3-Dec	Daughter	Daughter	M-	R to 22
24	HAK KEBEBASAN	3-Dec	all	eT	ML-M	R to 20
25	Re: Over voiced	3-Dec	Daughter	Nanastunku	eq. LA	R to 22
26	Re: HAK KEBEBASAN	3-Dec	eT	salsera_d	ML-M	R to 24
27	Re: Newspaper Article from UK	3-Dec	The X Man	Mudro	eq. LA	R to 20
28	Re: Halal & Haram	3-Dec	Jati Expat dan lainnya jua	salsera_d	ML-M	R to 18
29	Halal & Haram	3-Dec	Salsera_D	Jati Expat	ML-E	R to 28
30	Re: Halal & Haram	3-Dec	Jati Expat	salsera_d	eq. LA	R to 29

#	Subject	Date		Jati Expat	eq. LA	R to 30
31	Halal & Haram	3-Dec	Salsera_D	Jati Expat	eq. LA	R to 30
32	Re: Time for vacation	4-Dec	The X Man	jen21	BMB-	R to 20
33	Re: Halal & Haram	4-Dec	Salsera_D	jen21	ML-E	R to 30
34	MIB	4-Dec	jen21	Cdaun	ML-E	R to 33
35	MIB	4-Dec	All	Kalam Ku	ML-M	R to 34
36	Re: Halal & Haram	4-Dec	Jati Expat	piasau	E-	R to 31
37	Re: MIB	4-Dec	Cdaun	salsera_d	ML-E	R to 34
38	MIB	4-Dec	Kalam Ku, Cdaun, Salsera	Seria	ML-E	R to 37
39	Re: MIB	5-Dec	Cdaun	jen21	ML-E	R to 34
40	Re: Halal & Haram	5-Dec	piasau	jen21	E-	R to 36
41	Re: MIB	5-Dec	Salsera_D	jen21	ML-E	R to 37
42	VCD Piracy - the truth behind…	5-Dec		Mohd Ali	E-	new
43	Re: MIB	5-Dec	jen21	Cdaun	ML-M	R to 41
44	Re: MIB	5-Dec	jen21	Cdaun	E-	R to 41
45	Re: MIB	5-Dec	Seria	Kalam Ku	ML-M	R to 38
46	Re: MIB	5-Dec	jen21	Kalam Ku	ML-E	R to 41
				15 different message posters		

Number	Title of posting	Date	From:	Language	New or Reply
	Data set 4, Brudirect, 2-5/12/01		**N.B. No "to…" in Brudirect**		
1	To Mileey	2-Dec	Maidini	ML-M	R to pre.
2	Bad Title	2-Dec	Sha'anxi	E-	new
3	Bill Air	2-Dec	Pemakai Aing	ML-M	new
4	Pakej Baru Astro	2-Dec	Penonton Kristal-Astro	ML-M	new
5	Consumer rights	2-Dec	Global Watcher	E-	new
6	Parking di Jame's Asri	2-Dec	Hj Metussin	M-	R to 1
7	RTB	2-Dec	Bla Bla	M-	R to pre.
8	Shadon & CAB	2-Dec	Bla Bla	E-	new
9	What's so great about Brunei JB.	2-Dec	Hj Danniel Abdullah	ML-E	new
10	Freedom of expresion	2-Dec	Xpguy	E-	new
11	Wanted criminals	3-Dec	Scorpion	E-	new
12	parking di masjid	3-Dec	Amal Saleh	M-	R to 6
13	News Express	3-Dec	Omong	E-	new
14	Konsert	3-Dec	Ranee	M-	new
15	KESUKARAN MENDAPAT….	3-Dec	ahmad sarkawe	ML-M	new
16	Empire Hotel	4-Dec	Witch watcher	E-	new
17	Miri	4-Dec		E-	new
18	Tangah BadarKonsert	4-Dec	Tangah Badar	M-	R to 14
19	Take legal action	4-Dec	Yazdi Yahya	E-	new
20	Soalan untuk DST	4-Dec	Pengguna Simpur Net	ML-M	new
21	Parking space	4-Dec	RBA Cargo Staff	E-	new
22	Welcome Signboards	4-Dec	Artist	E-	new
23	Just to let you know	4-Dec	Courtman	E-	R to 8
24	Konsert & Fatwa	4-Dec	Orang Brunei Jua	M-	R to 18
25	Complaint	4-Dec	masayu	E-	new
26	SPU Result	4-Dec	Ummi	E-	new
27	Brunei Grand Sale	5-Dec	bujal50	ML-M	R to 9
28	Meja Peniaga dijilat Anjing	5-Dec	Hamba Allah	M-	new
29	konsert	5-Dec	emma suria	ML-M	R to 24
30	emma suria	5-Dec	Pengguna Simpur Jua	ML-M	R to 20

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31	Usai Tah	5-Dec		M-	new
32	I need the attention of....	5-Dec	Seeking the Truth	E-	new
33	IT IS WASTE OF MONEY & Ti	5-Dec	DR. SAM	E-	new
34	JP Playground	5-Dec	local visitor	eq, LA	new
35	Don't lose out	5-Dec	VCD Buyer	E-	new
36	Konsert	5-Dec	RaneeTwo	M-	R to 18
37	Konsert	5-Dec	org Brunei	ML-M	R to 35
38	Dr. Sam	5-Dec	John	E-	R to 32
39	What's next!	5-Dec	Awang Enda Celupar	ML-M	new
40	Konsert	5-Dec	Sanak sudah	M-	R to 37
			39 different message posters		

Appendix B

Full Listing of Groups of Various Grammatical Categories Showing LA

(discussed in section 4.5)

Notes about listings in Appendix B:

underlining here serves to mark the relevant items in the example texts;

capitalization and other formatting features in cited examples are retained;

some examples are listed more than once under different categories, e.g. bare
noun and inflected English verb: this is because they contain instances of
both these features;

abbreviations and proper names are explained in numbered footnotes;

see list of abbreviations and explanations on p. xii;

the glossing system is discussed in section 3.4;

for each set of examples there is a cross-reference to section 4.5.

1] Nominal groups

Nominal groups are listed are listed under the following subheadings:

English nominals in ML-M contexts
English (modifier-head) order
Malay (head-modifier) order

Malay nominals in ML-E contexts

Plurality in mixed nominal groups
Retention of English plurals
Malay plural marking of English nominals

Bare/single English nouns in ML-M contexts
Bare/single Malay nouns in ML-E contexts

English nominals in ML-M contexts

English (modifier-head) order
Example set [6] in ch. 4.5.1

Bejam jam bah *traffic jam* atu
hour-RDP DM   DEM

that traffic jam lasted for hours and hours, 1.8, ML-M

Ia jua *commercial city centre*
3s also

It is also the commercial centre of the city, 1.8, ML-M

Public transport balum lagi *effective*
                 not yet again

public transport is not yet effective, 1.8, ML-M

Macamani kan *visit Brunei year* kah..
Like-DEM DM   INT

So is this what Visit Brunei Year is like..., 1.8, ML-M

Kalau *Singapore a "FINE" country*, "BAN"dar Seri Begawan a "BAN" country
If

If Singapore is a "FINE" country, "BAN"dar Seri Begawan is a "BAN" country, 1.12, =LA

Jawatankuasa Pengeluar *Import Permit* Halal
Committee   issuer   (Ar.) permitted

The Committee which issues import permits for permitted food, 1.28, ML-M

...antar anak menantu untuk menuntut *directors fee*
    send child in-law   to   AV-collect

  send children or sons and daughters-in-law to collect the director's fee, 1.28, ML-M

pasal   ia ani   digalarkan *"Sleeping partner"*
because 3s DEM PASS-title

because he's been given the title of 'sleeping partner', 1.28, ML-M

Mana tia *sense of* AMANAH   kamu   atu!
Where DM   accountability 2p-POSS DEM

Where is you people's sense of accountability! 2.1, ML-M

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Pikirkan *both sides* bah, jangan tah *only consider one side*
AV-think   DM, NEG   DM

Think of both sides, don't only consider one side, 2.4, ML-E

breastfeed babies ani bisai akhlak   diaorang
              DEM nice character 3p-POSS

breastfed babies have good character development, 2.13, ML-E

Lagi elok kalau *Task Force* JPM[1]   dapat membari pilihan...
More good if   PM's Department can   AV-give choice

Even better if the PM's Department Task Force can give a choice, 2.14, ML-M
              ([1] : Jabatan Perdana Menteri, Prime Minister's Department)

napa tia bukan *open tander* atu...
why DM NEG   tender DEM

why isn't it done through an open tender..., 2.22, =LA

kalau ada *such Task Force*
if   have

If there is such a Task Force, 2.31, ML-E

masa *sea game* dulu   kenapa tah inda d kenakan bayaran
time SEA Games before why   DM NEG PASS-levy payment

At the time of the Southeast Asian Games previously why wasn't there a payment levied, 2.47, ML-M

You were saying pasal   melihat wayang di *Empire Cinema* $10 atu
              because AV.see film   at   DEM

you were saying because they watch films for $10 at the Empire Cinema, 2.57, ML-M

Walaupun *sound system* inda seberapa
Although   NEG amount

even though the sound system is not so great, 2.57, ML-M
hakitatnya, *only certain class of people* saja yang sanang2...
truth-3s POSS   only REL easy-RDP

the truth of it is, only a certain class of people are able to...2.57, ML-M

nampak banyak *time off* tapi inda tah orang tau ..
seems   much   but NEG DM person know

seems they have a lot of time off, but people know don't know the reality, 3.1, ML-M

Yang pandai *time management*, dapat rilex tapi yang inda pandai..sakit nyawa
REL clever   can relax but REL NEG clever. .sick spirit

Those who are smart at time management are able to relax but those who aren't smart are sick at heart,
3.1, ML-M

Kalau *grocery shopping* lagi banyak belaja *so the answer is*...
If   more much AV-pay

If you shop for groceries you pay a lot more so the answer is..., 3.1, ML-M

Kalau ada *opportunity training* dan menambah *income* ku ambil
If   have   and AV-increase   1s take

If there is an opportunity for training and increased income I'll take it, 3.1., ML-M

Economic talk mu   isi   nya   manis manis
                  2s-POSS content 3sPOSS sweet-RDP

the content of your economic talk is very sweet, 3.6, ML-M

carrying capacity kitani *overloaded* sudah
                    1pi-POSS   already
our carrying capacity is already overloaded, 3.7, ML-M

yang di Bruclass ku liat inda banyak *destructive* kritik,   banyak nya   *constructive*...
REL in   1s see NEG much   criticism, much 3s-POSS

what I see in Bruclass is not much destructive, but a lot of constructive criticism, 3.16, =LA

Ganya pichir ku kan *budget time* gawat ani
Only   think 1s FUT   crisis DEM

I'm only thinking that there'll be a crisis at budget time, 3.21, ML-M

Kan *holiday* ari raya,   abis atu, *Xmas and new Year*
FUT   day celebrate, finish DEM

I'm off on holiday for Hari Raya, after that for Xmas and New Year, 3.21, ML-M

As for me, Bruclass ani   *my mind opener* walaupun ada masanya...
                      DEM   although have time-3sPOSS

As for me Bruclass is my mind opener, although there are times when...3.26, ML-M

Jangan   luan   kan jadi *yes man* Dajjal   saja ani
NEG-IMP always FUT be   (Ar.)deceiver only DEM

Don't always be just a yes man like the evil Deceiver, 3.27, =LA

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indada   *compatible* dengan negeri lain yang lebih mengusulkan *free market or...*
NEG-have   with   country other REL more AV-propose

not compatible with other countries which are proposing a free market or..., 3.28, ML-M

sebagai satu *moral filter* kepada dunia bisnes   dan ekonomi
as   one   to   world business and economy

as one moral filter on the world of business and economics, 3.28, ML-M

dalam iklim   ekonomi barat yang dinamakan *free trade*
in   climate economic west REL   PASS-name

in a western economic climate which is called free trade, 3.28, ML-M

Sikap materialistik ketani   kepada *not-specifically spiritual development*
Attitude materialistc 1pi-POSS   to

our materialistic attitude towards not-specifically spiritual development, 3.28, ML-M

Dan agama sebagai satu *code of ethics* dalam berniaga
And religion as   one   in   AV-commerce

and religion as one code of ethics in commerce, 3.28, ML-M)

Hal   Beraja   atu *status quo, am not going to* petikaikan
Aspect monarchy DEM   AV-dispute

The monarchy aspect is the status quo, I'm not going to dispute that, 3.28, ML-M

banyak jua yang ampit *free-training* dalam bersukan
many   also REL   take   in   sports

there are many also who take up free training in sports, 3.28, ML-M

dan masuk jua *international tournament*
and enter   also

and they also enter international tournaments, 3.28, ML-M

I agree with you 100% yang ugama ani   menjadi   *moral filter* bagi kitani
                        REL religion DEM AV-become   for 1pi

I agree with you 100% that religion becomes a moral filter for us, 3.29, ML-E

Mungkin indada kitani tabaca   kes2   *social illness* seperti 'incest',
Possibly NEG   1pi   AV-read RDP-case   like

Maybe we haven't read of cases of social illness like incest, 3.29, ML-E

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seolah-olah konsep ani   satu *monomania attempt by these...people*
as though   concept DEM one

as if this concept was a monomania attempt by these...people, 3.30, =LA

kes *domestic abuse,* kes rompak, kes rasuah,   kes *road rage,* ...   *(x2)*
case   case robbery, case corruption, case

domestic abuse cases, robbery cases, corruption cases, road rage cases, 3.38, ML-E

such as dadah belabih-labih, kes rogol, *dosmetic* [sic] *abuse,* rasuah *etc.*
         drug   more-RDP   case rape   corruption

such as more and more drugs, rape cases, domestic abuse, corruption etc. 3.45, ML-M)

Kitani inda ada *income tax,* tidak ada cukai pintu
1pi   NEG have   NEG have tax   door

We don't have income tax, don't have door tax, 3.45, ML-M

Kalau *Oil and Gas* kan habis...   memang tia   sudah takdir
If   FUT finished...truly   DM already fated

If the oil and gas is going to run out...truly it is fated, 3.46, ML-E

So Dear, jangan   mencampuradukkan Islam dengan *your negative thoughts*
         NEG-IMP AV-mix up   Islam with

So, Dear, don't mix up Islam with your negative thoughts, 3.46, ML-E

I agree that instead of cari   pahala, *most of our people* yang ke mesjid macam ria' sahaja.
                          look for merit   REL to mosque like   fun only

I agree that instead of looking for religious merit, most of our people go to the mosque only for fun,
                                                                                        4.1, ML-M

Berjalan kaki jauh di *car park* pun dapat pahala instead of menyusahkan   jemaah   lain
AV-walk foot   far   in   DM obtain merit   AV- bother   worshipper other

It's meritorious to walk a long way from the car park instead of bothering other worshippers,
                                                                                        4.1, ML-M

Supaya Kristal Astro[2] mengusahakan *territorial rights* supaya ...
That   Kristal Astro   AV-endeavour   so that

So that Kristal-Astro will endeavour to acquire territorial rights so that..., 4.4, ML-M)
      [2]Kristal Astro : name of private satellite TV company

Tapi bini-bini cina atu bebas masuk meliat *master plan* tanah
But woman   Chinese DEM free enter AV-see   land

But that Chinese woman is free to go in and see the land master-plan, 4.15, ML-M

penggunaan *local call* bagi *fixed* akan dikenakan 3c seminit
use   for   FUT PASS-charge 3c a minute

the use of a fixed line for a local call will be charged at 3 cents a minute, 4.20, ML-M

Line yang digunakan oleh pengguna simpur net[3] bukanlah *toll free line*
        REL PASS-use   by   user   Simpur-Net   NEG-DM

the line that is used by Simpur-Net[3] users is not a toll-free line, 4.20, ML-M
                    [3] : Simpur-Net = name of private telecommunications company

harganya   sudah murah tapi ialah konsep *grand sale* atu bah
price-3sPOSS already cheap   but 3s-DM concept   DEM DM

its price is already cheap, but it's the concept of the grand sale, 4.27, ML-M

apatah   *form of entertainment* yang tinggal
what-DM   REL   stay

What forms of entertainment will remain, 4.29, ML-M

Bukannya   apa,   ani,   *my personal opinion, Royal family* pun ada terlibat meng*support*
NEG-3sPOSS what, DEM,   DM have involve AV-support
konsert2 ani
RDP-concert DEM

Nonetheless, this is my personal opinion, the Royal family too are involved in supporting these
concerts, 4.37, ML-M)

(Total = 54)

Malay (head-modifier) order
Example set [9] in section 4.5.1

Polis *traffic* lagi indada
police   again NEG-have

There were no traffic police either,1.8, ML-M

Kalau pun ada pengganguran, *percentage* nya   randah
If   DM have unemployment   3s-POSS low

If there is unemployment, its percentage is low, 1.19, ML-M

Walaupun *quota* sudah *limited*
 although   already

Although the quota is already limited, 1.44, ML-M

Atu *case negligent* sudah tu.
DEM   already DEM

That is a clear case of negligence, 2.13, ML-E

Rumah *expo controversial*
House

the controversial Expo housing, 2.22, =LA (posting title)

Indapun pernah panuh tempat2 *concert* ani
NEG-DM ever   full   RDP-venue   DEM

they're never full, the venues for these concerts, 2.57,ML-M

Hidup *expatriate* ani
Live   DEM
the life of expatriates, 3.1, ML-M

untuk men*solve* *problem* kitani di dalam negeri
for   AV-   1pi-POSS within   state

in order to solve our problem internally, 3.3, ML-M

Bagas   Amedeo[4] hilang sudah konfiden   *investors* kan ke sana
debacle Amedeo lose   already confidence   FUT to there

The debacle of Amedeo[4] has lost investors' confidence to go in there, 3.8, ML-M
[4]Amedeo: name of a Brunei development company

Inda jua baik kalau kitani karang pepacah balah pasal   *issue terrorists* atu
NEG also good if   1pi   later   broken quarrel because   DEM

It's not good if we're going to be in conflict over the terrorist issue, 3.15, ML-M

...*frustration and* negatif sedikit *or* banyak dalam *forum* ani semestinya   diambil   peduli
                      negative little   much   in   DEM must-3sPOSS PASS-take heed

a little or a lot of frustration and negativity in this forum must be heeded, 3.26, ML-M

...me*restrict* orang 'luar' dari ikut   serta atau pun meliat *forum* ani
     AV-restrict person outside from follow with or   DM AV-see   DEM

to restrict outsiders from participating in or viewing this forum, 3.26, ML-M

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...walaupun ada masanya   *idea* atu   inda sehati   dengan *contributors*
    although   have time-3s-POSS   DEM NEG one-mind with

although at times those ideas are not in line with those of the contributors, 3.26, ML-M

Pasal ugama *and state* ani, like B...   *I am pro that.*
As for religion   DEM,   (pseudonym)

As for religion and the state, like B... I am pro that, 3.28, ML-M

Bagi kita *religion* atu patut inda dikaitkan   dengan pemajuan ekonomi negara
For   2s   DEMshould NEG PASS-connect with   development economic nation

For you religion should not be connected with national economic development, 3.28, ML-M

...dalam pemajuan   ekonomi *(particularly* bisnes *global).*
    in   development economic   business
(... in economic development (particularly global business), 3.28, ML-M

Lagipun   ia merupakan *satu identity* Negara tani
Again-DM 3s AV-resemble one   nation 1pi-POSS
Moreover, it's one aspect of our national identity, 3.28, ML-M

Ataupun menerima *scholarship* mahupun *in-service* daripada kerajaan   HM
Or-DM   AV-receive   even   from   government His Majesty

or receive scholarships and even in-service study from His Majesty's government (3.28, ML-M)

inda tah seindah   *'multiculturalism'* ketani   di Berunei
NEG DM most-wonderful   1pi-POSS in Brunei

not as beautiful as our multiculturalism in Brunei, 3.28, ML-M

baik *di business* atau di mana2   saja
good in   or in RDP-where only

whether in business or anywhere else, 3.29, ML-E

mungkin inda   tah orang membawa *issue* Halal &   Haram sampai ka *forum* ani
possibly NEG   DM person AV-bring   (Ar.) permitted illegal   until   to   DEM

maybe no one will raise the permitted and illegal food issue in this forum, 3.29, ML-E

Dari sini jua   bisdiurang dengan mengunakan *knowledge* diurang   kan ugama,...
From here also 3p   with   AV-use   3p-POSS DM religion

From here also they by using their knowledge of religion..., 3.29, ML-E

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Beraja = *System* kerajaan
Monarchy   government

Monarchy = the system of government, 3.30, =LA

Bah, kemana *holiday* atu?
DM, to-where   DEM

Well, where are you going on holiday?, 3.30, = LA

untuk memberikan sedikit *'knowledge'* abisdia
for   AV-bring   little   3p-POSS

to give a little of his knowledge, 3.30, =LA

term ani   boleh kitani *identify with and relate to*
        DEM can   1pi

This term we can identify with and relate to, 3.34, ML-E

Horizon minda singkat.
                mind   narrow

The horizon of the mind is narrow, 3.43, ML-M

Kalau kan melihat *body sexy* bolehlah.
  If   FUT AV-see   can-DM

If you want to see sexy bodies you can, 4.4, ML-M

inventor page ani   dengan kuncu-kuncu nya
                DEM with   RDP-crony   3s-POSS

the inventor of this page with his cronies, 4.39, ML-M

(Total = 29)

Malay nominals in ML-E contexts
Example set [13] in section 4.5.1

BAN pasar malam
        market night

Ban the night market, 1.26, ML-E

As for the men out there who resort to 'pujuk rayu' *or coercion to demand sex....*
                                          persuade coax
As for the men out there who resort to persuasion or coercion to demand sex.., 2.12, ML-E

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when you start to add them all up (i.e. babu,   bapa, ninilaki,   ninibini, *etc.), it can be a*
                            Uncle/aunt, father, grandfather, grandmother

very expensive day out!

when you start to add them all up (i.e. uncles and aunts, father, grandfather, grandmother etc.) it can be a very expensive day out, 2.42, ML-E

I don't mind having non-virgin girl friends- kawan bini2   lah *(friends), comprende?*
                                   friend RDP-female DM   (Sp.) understand

I don't mind having non-virgin girl friends, you understand, 2.51, ML-E

the amount of money that they give pun bukannya   seribu   dua, *it's far more..*
                           DM NEG-3sPOSS one thousand two

the amount of money that they give is not just one or two thousand, it's far more, 2.57, ML-M

they should think of rakyat ketani
                   people 1pi-POSS

they should think of our people, 2.57, ML-M

The top position is usually reserved for the 'rakyat'
                                          people

The top position is usually reserved for the people, 3.1, ML-M

You are also not allowed to jawat jawatan tinggi dalam *Singapore government*
                          occupy position high   in

You are also not allowed to hold a senior position in the Singapore government, 3.28, ML-M

maybe afterall I live under tempurung
                       coconut shell

maybe after all I live under a coconut shell, 3.28, ML-M

.that the Concept MIB *had suppressed certain group of individual especially* puak2   lain
                                                   RDP-group other

that the MIB concept has suppressed a certain group of individuals, especially other ethnic groups,
                                                         3.39, ML-E

since as org   Brunei *I have seen...*
             person (abbreviation)

since as a Bruneian I have seen..., 3.39, ML-E

...and there is no more <u>bangsa melayu</u>
                                              race   Malay

and there is no more Malay race, 3.41, ML-E

when I went for jalan-jalan
                  RDP-walk

when I went for a walk around, 3.45, ML-E

(Total = 13)

Plurality in mixed nominal groups

Retention of English plural forms
Example set [14] in Section.4.5.2

pikirkan *<u>both sides</u>* bah, jangan   tah *consider one side only*
  think   DM, NEG-IMP DM

Think of both sides, don't only consider one side only, 2.4, ML-E

and <u>parents</u> nya   pun *very* bertanggungjawab *and* berfikiran terbuka
            3p-POSS DM   responsible   thinking   open

and their parents are very responsible and open-minded, 2.22, =LA

Berapa   patut   *parents* nya   membayar
How-much should   3p-POSS AV-pay

How much should their parents pay, 2.57, ML-M

Jangan   tah sabut *<u>benefits</u>* keraja'an Brunei
NEG-IMP DM   mention   government

Don't mention the benefits from the Brunei government, 3.1, ML-M

Kalau ada *<u>expats</u>* yang angan2   kan duduk di *position* #1, ...
  If   have   REL RDP-dream DM sit   in

If there are expats who dream about occupying the #1 position,... 3.1, ML-M

di mana ada banyak *benefits*
in where have many

where there are a lot of benefits, 3.1, ML-M

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Sama jua nya   macam *locals*
Same also 3p-POSS like

It's the same as for the locals, 3.1, ML-M

bukan nya   semua *locals* dapat dibuatkan   jadi   tauladan
NEG   3p-POSS all   can   PASS-make become example

not all locals can be seen as good examples, 3.1, ML-M

baru sedikit ketahuan *buzzwords* macam *'sustainable environment'*
new little   knowledge   like

they only have a little knowledge of buzzwords like 'sustainable environment', 3.7, ML-M

dan baritau *consequences* akan datang untok anak cucu   kitani
and inform   FUT come   for   child grandchild 1pi-POSS

and inform of the consequences for our grandchildren, 3.8, ML-M

Investors mana yang berani mati kan meng*invest* di Brunei…
            where REL   brave dead FUT AV-   in

which investors are foolhardy enough to invest in Brunei…, 3.8, ML-M

Kalau inda ada *challenges, check and balance* kurang chia pangatahuan
If   not have   less   DM knowledge

If there are no challenges, checks and balances, there will be less knowledge, 3.17, ML-M

unless of course ada *documents* untok meny*apport*
                   have   for   AV-support

unless of course there are documents for support. 3.19, ML-M

Idea atu   inda sehati   dengan *contributors.*
       DEM NEG one-mind with

Those ideas are not in agreement with those of the contributors. 3.26, ML-M

(Total = 14)

Malay plural marking of English nominals
Example set [15] in section 4.5.2

Sesiapa yang terlibat   dalam meluluskan *application2* atu,...
whoever REL AV-involve in   AV-approve   RDP DEM

Whoever was involved in approving those applications..., 2.1, ML-M

you cannot compare <u>*concert2*</u> dengan *expo* Islam ani
                   -RDP   with   DEM

you cannot compare concerts with the Islamic expos, 2.57, ML-M

...seperti *manuscript2* atu.
  like   RDP DEM

...like those manuscripts. 2.57, ML-M

Tuduh menuduh, dan sampai tia tekeluar *issue2 sensitive* ugama
  RDP-accuse   and reach   DM AV-arise   religion

Making accusations to such an extent that sensitive religious issues arise. 3.15, ML-M

idea-idea bernas   dari rakyat
      RDPconstructive from people

constructive ideas from the people, 3.26, ML-M

I have also been proud meliat *idea-idea* yang...
                   AV-see   RDP REL

I have also been proud to see ideas which... 3.26, ML-M

EMPIRE-EMPIRE ISLAM TAK KAN ADA
         RDP   NEG FUT have

There will be no Islamic empires, 3.27, = LA

..., tapi *value2* yang positif seperti kehalusan...
     but   RDP   RELpositive like   refinement

... but positive values such as refinement..., 3.28, ML-M

Value2 ani   pun menyerlah   jua...
RDP   DEM DM AV-outstanding   also

These values also stand out..., 3.28, ML-M

Tetapi harusnya   kita menencourage kajian   dan *idea2*
But   must-3sPOSS 2p   AV-encourage   research and idea-RDP

But you must encourage research and ideas, 3.28, ML-M

...didalam *group2* lain   ani, *so* inda perlu   dipertikaikan.
    in   -RDP other DEM,   NEG should PASS-dispute

...in these other groups, so this should not be disputed. 3.28, ML-M

(Total = 11)

'Bare' / single English nouns in ML-M contexts
Example set [16] in section 4.5.3
Note: those showing assimilation (e.g. 'konsep' – concept) are not included in this listing.

BUKAN UNTOK SIMPAN *ACCOUNT* ORANG ORANG ISLAM
   NEG   for   keep   RDP-person   Islam

not for holding the accounts of people of the Islamic faith, 1.9, ML-M

Tahu kita *idea* biskita   atu *style* lama sudah   (x2)
know 2p   2p-POSS DEM   old   already

Do you know that your ideas are already old-style, 1.10, ML-M

Saya ada terbaca dalam lain lain   *site*
1s   have AV-read in   RDP-other

I have read this in other sites, 2.7, ML-M

Betukar   sudah *attitude* kanak2   sekarang ani
AV-change already   RDP-child now   DEM

Now the children's attitudes have already changed, 2.22, =LA

Pemilihan *contractor* nya   atu   jua
Choice   3s-POSS DEM also

It's also about the choice of a contractor, 2.22, =LA
ertinya   ada *bias* disana
meaning-3s-POSS have   in-there

it means there is bias there, 2.22, =LA

orang2   yang *class,* yang memang nampak beduit
RDP-person REL   REL indeed   see   AV-money

people with class, who certainly appear to have money, 2.57, ML-M

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Orang ketani   beanak   ramai *average* lah dibrunei   ani 4-5
Person 1pi-POSS AV-child many   DM in-Brunei   DEM

Our people have many children, on average in Brunei 4-5, 2.57, ML-M

Membuat kurrikulum, membuat *exercise*, membuat *test*   (x2)
AV-do   curriculum,   AV-do   AV-do

Making up the curriculum, making up exercises, making up tests, 3.1, ML-M

Inda ku lagi mau jadi   kigu   banyak memakai otak sama *time,*
NEG 1s again want become teacher much   AV-use   brain same

I don't want be a teacher any more – too much brainwork and time, 3.1, ML-M

Andang nya jadi   *expat*, di mana ada   usin   banyak,
If   DM become   in where have earnings much

If you become an expat, there's a lot of money to be made, 3.1, ML-M

Hidup *expatriate* ani nyamu untok 3-5 tahun nganya…
Life   DEM sweet for   year only

Life as an expatriate is sweet but only for 3-5 years, 3.1, ML-M

Aku ani *expatriate* jua
1s DEM   also

I'm an expatriate also, 3.1, ML-M

Dan jua pasal   inda dapat jadi *director*
And also because NEG get   become

And also because they don't get to become directors, 3.1, ML-M

Semasa jadi *expatriate* atu   tah bisdiurang mengumpul   usin berayas rayas
While become   DEM DM 3p   AV-accumulate cash RDP-pile

While living as expatriates they make piles of money, 3.1, ML-M

Kitani kan mengarap *loyalty* dari bisdiurang
1pi   FUT AV-hope   from 3p

We hope for loyalty from them, 3.1, ML-M

Kitani inda mengambil *initiative* untuk meluruskan keada'an
1pi   NEG AV-take   for   AV-improve condition

We don't take the iniative to improve the conditions, 3.1, ML-M

Yang pandai2   mengambil *opportunity* untok menyeleweng atu..
REL   RDP-smart AV-take   for   AV-cheat   DEM

Those smart enough to take the opportunity to cheat..., 3.1, ML-M

Jangan   di salahkan *expatriate* atau orang lain
NEG-IMP PASS-accuse   or   person other

Don't be accusing expatriates or other people, 3.1, ML-M

Mana ada_*indication* yang ku tulis pasal si Dang Awang manyatakan...
Where have   REL 1s write because   (name)   AV-say

Where is there an indication that I'm writing because Dang Awang said..., 3.6, ML-M

...yang pintar dari segi *internet* ani   memberi pendapat
... REL   smart from side   DEM AV-give opinion

...those who are clever on the internet side give their opinions, 3.26, ML-M

...pengkaji dari ugama kristian   dan *Judaism*
...researcher from religion Christian and

researchers of the Christian and Jewish faiths, 3.28, ML-M

...bila membuat sesautu (sic) '*decision*' dan banyak lagi.
...when AV-make one   and many more

...when they are making any decision and many more. 3.28, ML-M

Ia menjadi '*balancer*'pelindung rakyat tani
3s AV-become   protection people 1piPOSS

It becomes a 'balancer', protecting our people, 3.28, ML-M

Ia merupaka (sic) satu '*guidance*' kepada tani
3s AV-resemble   one   to   3pi

It's a kind of guidance for us, 3.28, ML-M

Ada jua yang kana bagi *title*...
Have also REL PASS give

There are also those who have been given the title..., 3.28, ML-M

..dulunya di*sponsor* oleh kerajaan samada dalam *dentistry* kah..
  before-3s PASS-   by   government as   in   INT

was formerly sponsored by the government such as in dentistry..., 3.28, ML-M

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Indada   mampu satu hari menyebut apa *identity* BERUNAI.
NEG-have able   one day AV-mention what   Brunei

one day not being able to express what is the Bruneian identity, 3.28, ML-M

Apakah *multiculturalism* yang ketani kejar atu banar2 *multi-culturalism*
What-INT   REL 1pi   pursue DEM RDP-true

Is this multiculturalism that we are pursuing really multiculturalism, 3.28, ML-M

Bukan sahaja memberikan satu *identity* kepada orang BERUNAI...
NEG   only   AV-give   one   to   person Brunei

not only giving a single identity to Bruneian people..., 3.28, ML-M

Samada setiap negeri mempraktiskan *multi-culturalism,*
whether every   state   AV-practise

whether every state practices multiculturalism, 3.28, ML-M

dan memberikan *opportunity* kepada rakyat
and AV-give   to   people

and giving an opportunity to the people, 3.28, ML-M

Abis-abis memberi *proposal* sahaja.
RDP-finish AV-give   only

In the end I'm only making a proposal, 3.30 =LA

...kita pun *holiday* jua ?
  2s DM   also
...are you going on holiday as well?, 3.30, =LA

Report kan dihantar   kah?
       FUT PASS-send INT
Will the report be sent?, 3.30, =LA

Mana2 *student* yang kan *exam,* ...
RDP-what   REL FUT

To whichever students are taking exams,...3.30, =LA

scope dan penghayatan sempit dan kurang
      and life   narrow and less

Their scope and their lives are narrow and lessened 3.43, ML-M

Ada lagi *example,* yang didetengah-tengah negara...
have more   REL   in-half-RDP   nation

There are more examples, which in half the countries...3.45, ML-M

Mungkin jemaah lain yang menurut peraturan *parking* bisai2
Possibly worshipper other REL AV-follow rules   RDP-nice

Possibly the other woshippers who follow the parking rules nicely, 4.1, ML-M

Lagipun aku suka dengar lagu Melayu dan *instrumental* serta *Radio* Brunei
Again-DM 1s like   hear song Malay and   also

Also I like to hear Malay songs and instrumentals, also listen to Radio Brunei, 4.4, ML-M

(Total = 43)

'Bare'/single Malay nouns in ML-E contexts
Example set [17] in 4.5.3

Jones can give all he's '<u>alasan</u>' *to the public like 2 players are still schooling* lah
                    reason   DM

Jones can give all his reasons to the public, such as that two players are still at school, 2.28, MLE

JPM[5] *for this matter should be thankful that they have avenue to look at* rakyat *argument*
PM's Department   people

The Prime Minister's Department should be thankful that they have an avenue to look at people's arguments, 3.40, ML-E
[5] : Jabatan Perdana Menteri (Prime Minister's Department)

So <u>rakyaat</u> *could make formal complain*
    people

So the people could make formal complaints, 3.40, ML-E

There are ample parking spaces in most <u>masjid</u>
                                           mosques

There are ample parking spaces in most mosques, 4.1, ML-M

(Total = 4)

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2. Verbal groups

Verbal groups are listed are listed under the following subheadings:

English verbs showing inflections in ML-Malay contexts

'Bare'/uninflected English verbs in ML-Malay contexts

Malay verbs in ML-E contexts

English verbs showing inflections in ML-Malay contexts
Example set [18] section 4.5.4

membuka ladang kah, *enjoying your pension*..bagi tah chan   orang-orang muda tani..
AV-open   farm   INT   give DM chance RDP-person young 1piPOSS

developing a farm, enjoying your pension… give a chance to our young people,1.10, ML-M

BOLEH ANGKAT BEG DAN *GET OUT FROM BRUNEI*
can   carry   bag   and

can pick up your bags and get out of Brunei, 1.46, ML-M

im sure ada salah silapnya   penjualan rumah tu
          have wrong mistake-3sPOSS sale   house   DEM

I'm sure there were mistakes in the sale of that house, 2.22, =LA

How sure are you all yang *the ex minister* atu, kana *remove from office*....
                REL   DEM PASS

How sure are you all that that ex-Minister was removed from office…, 2.22, = LA

…orang besar2 ni   (*im speaking generally* lah ni   ah)
   person RDP-big DEM   DM DEM DM

…very important people (I'm speaking generally you know, 2.22, =LA

..kigu2   orang Brunei mana tah jua kan di   liat di restoran2   dan kan *sailing*
  RDP-teacher person Brunei where DM also FUT PASS see at RDP-restaurant and FUT

where can you see Bruneian teachers at restaurants about to go sailing, 3.1, ML-M

Masa lapang diurang mesti tah *sailing*
Time free   3p   must DM

In their free time they have to go sailing, 3.1, ML-M

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hari jumaat hari minggu mana ada masa kan be*sailing sailing*
day Friday day Sunday where have time FUT AV-RDP

on Fridays and Sundays whenever do we have time to go sailing, 3.1, ML-M

Mana ada *indication* yang ku tulis pasal   si Dang Awang manyatakan kamu *should follow*...
Where have   REL 1s write because (name)   AV-say   2s

Where is there an indication that I'm writing because Dang Awang said you should follow...

3.6, ML-M

Sedangkan   konsep MIB   ani *is beautiful.*
Actually-FUT concept Malay Islamic Monarchy DEM

Actually this Malay Islamic Monarchy concept is beautiful, 3.28, ML-M

Hal   Beraja atu *status quo, am not going to* pertikaikan
Matter royal DEM   AV-dispute

Royal matters are the status quo, (I) am not going to dispute that. 3.28, MLM

Di *Thailand*, Melayu petani nama 'Ibrahim' jadi 'Beroheng' *to ensure* ia atu   orang
In   Malay   farmer name   become (name)   3s DEM person
Thailand

In Thailand a Malay farmer named Ibrahim becomes 'Beroheng" to ensure that he is really Thai,
3.30, =LA

I am kurang dalam segi barang cematu
        less   in   area thing like-DEM

I am less knowledgeable about things like that, 3.30, =LA

I do not doubt how it is presented atu   berlainan, apa lagi...
                        DEM other,   what again...

I do not doubt that how it is presented is different, what more...3.30, =LA

term ani   boleh kita *identify with and relate to*   [x2]
        DEM can 2s

This term you can identify with and relate to, 3.34, ML-E

are we still berkonsepkan MIB?
            concept   Malay Islamic Monarchy

Are we still following the Malay Islamic Monarchy concept?, 3.41, ML-E

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Don't you think kitani ani   macam ketulahan saja
                          1pi   DEM like   misfortune only

Don't you think we're just like unfortunate people, 4.29, ML-M

(Total = 17)

'Bare'/uninflected English verbs in ML-M contexts
Example set [19], section 4.5.4

Kenapa inda di   _label_ jua yg   bank bank yg   bukan berbentuk keislaman nya.
Why   NEG PASS   also REL RDP-bank REL NEG   AV-form Islamic   3sPOSS

Why aren't the banks that don't follow Islamic principles so labeled. 1.9, ML-M
bukan kami inda _respect_ orang tua kitani   atu   pulang
NEG   1pe NEG   person old 1pi-POSS DEM again

It's not that we don't respect our old people any more, 1.11, ML-M

Kalau ada kelilingkan dan _publish_ arah _news express_
If   have AV-circulate and   by

If it's circulated and published in the News Express, 1.28, ML-M

mahu jua ko _join_ ah,
want also 1s   DM

I too want to join in, 2.22, =LA

..._ex minister_ atu,   kana _remove from office due to this housing scheme_
                DEM PASS

the ex-Minister was removed from office due to this housing scheme, 2.22, = LA

Polis pun _modify_ kereta bah!
PoliceDM   car   DM

Even the police modify their cars! 2.36, ML- M, (title of posting)

sini tampat _complain..tin_ kosong apa tu
here place   tin empty what DEM

here's the place to complain, what is this empty tin? 2.41, ML-M

cuba _imagine_, kalau satu keluarga atu
try   if   one   family   DEM

try to imagine if it was one family, 2.57, ML-M

mengapa patut di *charge?*
why   should PASS

Why should [an entry fee] be charged?, 2.57, ML-M

barang2   yg   kena *auction* atu
RDP-thing REL PASS   DEM

the things which are being auctioned, 2.58, = LA

kan *lunch* tia karang
FUT   DM later

later they'll have lunch, 3.1, ML-M

jan   kechewa sasudah membacha apa si Dato Huzair <u>*announce*</u> atu
NEG-IMP disappoint after   AV-read   what (name)   DEM

Don't be disappointed once you've read what Dato Huzair has announced, 3.17, ML-M

tune sikit deh *channel* atu
       little to   DEM

tune in to that channel a little, 3.27, ML-M

Indada   anak bukan Melayu *discriminate* dari menerima hak-hak   rakyat berunai...
NEG-have child NEG   Malay   from AV-receive RDP-right people Brunei

There is no non-Malay child discriminated against in terms of the rights of Bruneians, 3.28, ML-M

Banyak jua anak cina, India (jarang sekali *apply*) masuk UBD
Many   also child China India (rarely ever)   enter   Universiti Brunei Darussalam

Also many Chinese and Indians (although they rarely ever apply) enter UBD, 3.28, ML-M

Beraya   di Berunai, <u>*enjoy and appreciate*</u> tah jua
AV-celebrate in Brunei   DM also

Celebrate Hari Raya in Brunei, enjoy and appreciate it, 3.30, = LA

I mean seingatku, ada masa dulu   atu,   konsert inda digalakkan...
           recall-1s, have time   before DEM, concert NEG PASS-encourage

I mean I can recall that there was a time in the past when concerts were not encouraged, 4.29, ML-M

Selalu nya   bisdiorang cuma *ignite spark*nya   saja,
Always 3p-POSS 3p   only   -3p-POSS only

They always just ignite the spark, 4.39, ML-M

Anyway...apa   lagi cerita yang akan datang abis diorang kan *ignite*
               what other story REL FUT come   3p   FUT

Anyway, what other stories are they going to spread in the future? 4.39, ML-M

Ataupun macam mana kalau kitani *start competition* mencari kesalahan nya...
Or-DM   like   what   if   1pi   AV-find error   3pPOSS

Or how about if we start a competition to find the errors in it?... 4.39, ML-M

(Total = 20)

Malay verbs in ML-E contexts
Example set [20], section 4.5.4

Then at the end of time our population jadi   0
                                          become

Then at the end of time our population will become zero, 1.31, ML-E

so they prefer to minum kopi
                   drink   coffee

So they prefer to drink coffee, 2.26, ML-E

It's so sad, isn't it, how our beloved country jadi   cemani
                                      become like-DEM

It's so sad, isn't it, how our beloved country has become like this. 2.58, =LA

You are also not allowed to jawat jawatan tinggi dalam *Singapore government*
                          occupy position high   in

You are also not allowed to hold a senior position in the Singapore government, 3.28, ML-M

I agree that instead of cari pahala, *most of our people* yang ke mesjid macam ria' sahaja.
                    seek merit   REL to mosque like   fun only

I agree that instead of seeking divine merit, most of our people go to the mosque only to show off,
                                                                 4.1, ML-M

(Total = 5)

3. Other word classes

These are listed under the following subheadings:

Pronouns
   English pronouns in ML-M contexts

Prepositional groups
   English prepositions governing Malay nominal groups
   Malay prepositions governing English nominal groups

Conjunctions
   English conjunctions conjoining Malay groups
   Malay conjunctions conjoining English groups

Discourse markers
   English discourse markers preceding or linking Malay propositions
   Malay discourse markers preceding or linking English propositions

Adverbs/adjuncts
   English adverbs/adjuncts in ML-M contexts
   Malay adverbs/adjuncts in ML-E contexts

Intra-word, mixed morphology (bicodal words)

Mixed relative constructions
   Relative clause in Malay following an English main clause / antecedent
   Malay relative pronoun introducing English verbal and nominal groups
   English antecedent and relative pronoun introducing Malay verbal and
      nominal groups
   English relative clause with Malay adjunct
   English relative clause following Malay antecedent

Others

Pronouns

English pronouns in ML-M contexts
Example set [21], section 4.5.5

Sasak nyinta.   *I* jua *jam* pasal   sekolah.
busy   DEM-DM   also   because school

It sure was busy. I was also in a jam caused by the school. 1.8, ML-M

... sanang saja, *u* kuatkan *rules and regulations* nya,
      easy   only,   AV-strong   3s-POSS

  it's easy, you just enforce the rules and regulations, 1.38, ML-M

Hello **court lawyer**, apa lah   *you*...kalau ada   pun *ex-minister* atu   semula,...
                   what DM   if   have DM   DEM again

Hello, court lawyer, what's with you... if that ex-Minister was still around,...2.38, ML-M

Bukan *I* meliat   kurikulum sekolah2
NEG   AV-see   curriculum   school-RDP

I have not seen the schools' curriculum, 3.30, =LA

You tak   boleh lari daripadanya atau menafikannya
       NEG can   run from-3s   or   AV-deny-3s

You cannot run from it or deny it, 3.34, ML-M

you mengutarakan mengenai kecurian...
     AV-suggest   about   robbery

you are suggesting about robberies, 3.45, ML-M

you sudah   tau   yang Brunei ani   damit
     already know REL   Brunei DEM small

you already know that Brunei is a small place, 3.45, ML-M

... seperti yang *you* sebutkan   atu ???
     as   REL   AV-mention DEM

  as you were mentioning, 3.45, ML-M

(Total = 8)

Prepositional groups

English prepositions governing Malay nominal groups
Example set [22] in section 4.5.5

...the Task Force yang *discover the big black secret behind* projek rumah *expo* atu
        REL   project house   DEM

...the Task Force which discovered the big black secret behind that expo housing project, 2.1, ML-M

Jangan   tah luan   *pessimist towards* org   ketani   sendiri
NEG-IMP DM always   person 1pi-POSS self

Don't always be pessimistic towards our own people, 2.22, = LA

In addition to semua ani,
             all   DEM

In addition to all of this, 2.57, ML-M

To anggota ADBD
     member (Royal Brunei Armed Forces)

To members of the Brunei Armed Forces, 2.59, ML-M

Message ani *in reference to* surat si Solomon
         DEM   letter (name)

This message is in reference to Solomon's letter, 3.1, ML-M

(Total = 5)

Malay prepositions governing English nominal groups
Example set [23] in section 4.5.5

Idea atu   inda sehati   dengan *contributors.*
     DEM NEG one-heart with

(those ideas are not in agreement with those of the contributors.3.26, ML-M)

...sikap materialistik ketani   kepada *not-specifically spiritual development...*
   attitude materialistic 1pi-POSS towards

...our materialistic attitude towards not specifically spiritual development..., 3.28, ML-E

(Total = 2)

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Conjunctions

English conjunctions conjoining Malay groups
Example sets [24] and [25] in section 4.5.5

...must not be left unchecked. <u>Otherwise</u> siok sendiri tia karang.
                                                    show-off self DM later

Otherwise they will be showing off later. 1.33, ML-E

God knows. and biarkan tah ia
                            AV-let DM 3s

God knows and let it be thus 2.22, =LA

It's really huge...<u>so</u> paksa kan tah sabar tuh...beatur... *but u will only get this one in a*
                                force FUT DM patient DEM AV-queue
lifetime..

so you have to be patient.. wait in line... but you will only get this once in a lifetime, 2.54, ML-E

Inda payah   bayar balik2   kan...<u>*but*</u> untuk jualan atu *its free to enter...*
NEG necessary pay   RDP-return FUT   for   sales DEM

There's no need to pay again and again... but for selling it's free to enter...2.55, ML-E

Ada kan datuk2   *and* nini2   mahu meliat?
Have FUT RDP-grandfather   RDP-grandmother want AV-see

Will there be grandpas and grandmas wanting to watch?, 2.57, ML-M

<u>*And for*</u> orang yang makan di RBC, *or other top restaurants,* jarang saya meliat orang2
                    person REL eat   at (Royal Brunei Catering)   rare   1s   AV-see RDP-person
biasa   makan disana
ordinary eat   at-DEM

and as for people who eat Royal Brunei Catering restaurants, rarely do I see ordinary people eating
there,   2.57, ML-M

Meminta sedekah diluar kadai, *and* ada yang sanggup menipu
AV-ask alms   outside shop   have REL ready   AV-cheat

asking for alms outside shops, and there are those who are prepared to cheat, 2.57, ML-M

berapa   patut *parents* nya   membayar, *and expo* ani   jua, ...
how much should   3p-POSS AV-pay   DEM also

how much should their parents pay, and this expo also..., 2.57, ML-M

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I believe inda sepatutnya   di   *charge <u>and</u>* kalau banar2   patut di   *charge, pls,*
        NEG should-3sPOSS PASS-   if   RDP-true should PASS-
kurangkan tia
AV-less   DM

I believe there should not be a charge and if there has to be , please reduce it, 2.57, ML-M

$15 atu   banyak *and* kanak2 $7 atu   pun banyak
      DEM   much   RDP-child DEM DM much

$15 is a lot and for children $7 is a lot also, 2.57, ML-M

Inda ku men*encourage* biskita menyabut nama <u>*unless of course*</u> ada *documents* untok
NEG 1s AV-encourage   2p   AV-mention name   have   for
meny*apport*
AV- support

I don't encourage you to mention names unless of course there are supporting documents,
                                             3.19, ML-M

Mungkin cara penyampaian seseorang berbeda *and* ada masanya   tunggang tebalik
Maybe   way presenting   one-person different   have time-3sPOSS topsy-turvy

Maybe some people's ways of presenting are different and at times topsy-turvy, 3.26, ML-M

Kami yang kurang berpengalaman *and* masih mentah
1pe   REL   less   experienced   still   raw

We who are less experienced and still raw, 3.28, ML-M

Pasal   ugama <u>*and* state</u> ani, like B--- I am pro that.
concerning religion   DEM   (name)

Concerning religion and the state, like B--- I am pro that, 3.28, ML-M

Ia mengajukan <u>*that*</u> tani Melayu dan bukan *short of this concept.*
   3s AV-tease   1pi   Malay and NEG

He teased us saying that we are Malays and not short of this concept. 3.28, ML-M

it is sad that orang yang mengajukan 'konsep MIB'...
            person REL AV-mimic   concept Malay Islamic Monarchy

It is sad that people who make fun of the MIB concept..., 3.30, =LA

Islam *and other beliefs and* cara pemerintahan Negara Brunei
                     way government   State   Brunei

Islam and other beliefs and the Brunei national system of government, 3.34, ML-E

yang kena rejam sampai mati kalau berzina. _So_ rata-rata konsep kitani   ani inda
REL PASS throw until   dead if   adultery   RDP-level concept 1pi-POSS DEM NEG
extreme

..who were thrown to their death if caught committing adultery. So all in all our concept is not so
extreme. 3.35, ML-M

dari gejala sedemikian. _But please_ bukannya   konsep yang perlu disalahkan
from omen like that   NEG-3sPOSS concept REL should PASS-criticise

from omens of that kind. But please don't criticise the concept itself, 3.35, ML-M

Berjalan kaki jauh di _car park_ pun dapat pahala _instead of_ menyusahkan jemaah   lain
AV-walk foot far in   DM get   merit   AV-disturb worshipper other

Walking a distance from the car park gains divine reward, instead of disturbing other worshippers,
4.1, ML-M

(Total = 20)

Malay conjunctions conjoining English groups
Example set [26] in section 4.4.5

...orang tua ketani   atu   pulang... _pasal_ _without them who are we?_
people old 1pi-POSS DEM again   because

... our old people any more....because without them who are we? 1.11, ML-M

...yang dulu merasai sira   tu... _tapi its time to_ lapaskan _daddy_/bapa/_mummy_/ibu
REL first AV-taste syrup DEM but   AV-leave   father   mother

..who first tasted the sweet syrup.. but it's time to leave daddy and mummy...1.11, ML-M

...kita mesti adil dan saksama... _Pasal nobody is above the law,_ bah atu   tah dulu.
2p   must just and impartial   because   DM DEM DM first

...you must be just and impartial...because nobody is above the law, that's the first thing. 1.38, ML-M

Tambah sedih lagi   bila _I realize that_ orang2   yang mengajukan prinsip ani...
increase sad   again when   RDP-person REL AV-make fun   principle DEM

I felt even sadder when I realized that people who were making fun of this principle.., 3.28, ML-M

Awu banar tu   nyanta,   iatah _I stated earlier,_ ...
Yes true DEM 3sPOSS-DM, 3s-DEM

Yes, it's true, that's why I stated it earlier..., 3.30, =LA

...an interesting case to look at, <u>cemana</u> *a transitional economy is coping ...*
                                        like-how

... an interesting case to look at, the way a traditional economy is coping...3.30, = LA

Pasal *ECONOMIC SECURITY, what more can you ask for?*
As for

As for economic security, what more can you ask for?, 3.45, ML-M

(Total = 7)

Discourse markers
<u>English discourse markers preceding or linking Malay propositions</u>
Example set [27] in section 4.5.5

Be rational dear all. <u>*And by the way,*</u> banyak lagi perkara lain *which is most urgent* balum
                                                many   more matter other   not yet
lagi selasai...
again settled

And by the way there are many other most urgent matters yet to be settled... 1.33, ML-E

...alum   tantu ketani inda tais liur eh, *so,* waspada lah selalu...
    not yet sure 1pi NEG drool DM   alert   DM always

...not sure we won't be drooling, so best to be ever watchful...2.22, = LA

...<u>*so*</u> paksa   kan tah sabar tuh...beatur..*but u will only get this one in a lifetime..*
        necessary FUT DM patient DEM queue
jangan   nda pigi.. rugi....
NEG-IMP NEG go   lose

.. so you'll just have to be patient and queue up, but you will only get this once in a lifetime, don't
miss out by not going.., 2.54, ML-E

seluruh rakyat Brunei kan meliat? <u>*So far that I know,*</u> inda pun pernah panuh tempat2 *concert*
all   people Brunei FUT AV-see   NEG DM ever   full   RDP-place
ani.
DEM

...all Bruneians attend??? So far as I know these concert venues have never been full... 2.57, ML-M

...nini2   ketani   pun ingin kan meliat, <u>*so that is why, I believe*</u> sepatutnya
    RDP-grandparent 1pi-POSS DM want FUT AV-see,   should-3sPOSS
inda di   *charge*...
NEG PASS

..our grandparents want to see it, so that is why I believe there should not be a charge...2.57, ML-M

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...belanja kepasar   dua minggu bah tu.   *So,* harap2   dapat JMK[6] men*discount* kan nanti,
pay   to-market two week   DM DEM.   RDP-hope get   (name) AV-   FUT soon

pay for two weeks' shopping. So, we hope the JMK[6] can give a discount soon. 2.57, ML-M
          [6] : JMK: Jabatan Mufti Kerajaan (Government Islamic Adviser's Department)

Bruclass will be closed down. Well, those yang mengutarakan *for such closure* atu   mesti
                                              REL AV-suggest   DEM must
ada kan diorang tapuk,
have FUT 3p   hide

Bruclass will be closed down. Well, those who suggest such closure should hide themselves,
                                                                                3.26, ML-M

...didalam *group2*   lain   ani, *so* inda perlu   dipertikaikan.
   in   -RDP other DEM,   NEG should PASS-dispute

...in these other groups, so this should not be disputed. 3.28, ML-M

Eh... siok   ,tu!! *Anyway*...apa lagi cerita yang akan datang abis diorang kan *ignite*
         good DEM   what again story REL FUT   come   3p   FUT

Eh.. that'd be good!! Anyway, what other stories in the future are they going to ignite, 4.39, ML-M

(Total = 9)

Malay discourse marker linking English propositions:
Example set [28] in section 4.5.5

...*supposed to be responsible people.* //[7]
                                              Atutah *sometimes like you, I wish* ...
                                              DEM-DM
supposed to be responsible people. //[7] That's it, sometimes like you I wish... 3.30, = LA
          [7] : paragraph break in text at this point

(Total =1)

Adverbs/adjuncts

English adverbs/adjuncts in ML-M contexts
Example set [29] in section 4.5.5

BAN tarus   segala persatuan2   *esp.* persatuan2   bini2...
         at once all   association-RDP   association-RDP woman-RDP

Ban at once all those associations especially women's associations... 1.60, ML-M

orang basar2 ani *(im speaking generally* lah ni   ah) memang *often* membuat kesilapan
person big-RDP   DM DEM DM indeed   AV-make mistake
                                     (x2 instances here)

these influential people (I'm speaking generally, ahem) certainly often make mistakes, 2.22, = LA

…untuk org   yang inda bergaji   tinggi bah tu, *of course* lah, you are not going to…
    for   person REL NEG AV-salary high   DM DEM   DM

…for people who don't earn high salaries, of course you are not going to…2.22, =LA

and parents nya   pun *very* bertanggungjawab *and* berfikiran terbuka
             3p-POSS DM   responsible   thinking   open

and their parents are very responsible and open-minded, 2.22, =LA

Expo Islam ani *inevitably,* menarik perhatian seluruh rakyat Brune*i especially* yang Islam,
       Islam DEM   AV-pull attention   all   people Brunei   REL   Islam

This Islamic expo inevitably attracts the attention of all Bruneians, especially the Muslims,
                                                      2.57, ML-M

Orang siok2   bajalan *weekend*
Person enjoy-RDP AV-travel

People enjoy going around at weekends, 3.1, ML-M

then cari ilham   untuk merestrict orang 'luar'…
     seek (Ar.) inspiration for   AV-restrict person outside

then they seek divine inspiration to restrict outsiders…3.26, ML-M

…memainkan peranan tinggi dalam ekonomi dan *consequently* kesejahteraan negara
    AV-play   part   high in   economy and   wellbeing   nation

…plays a major in the economy and consequently in national wellbeing, 3.28, ML-M

C *babygirl*   pun inda kedangaran *recently*
DEM (pseudonym) DM NEG hearing

Nothing's been heard from that 'babygirl' recently, 3.30, =LA

…*so far* tidak ada yang abaikan   oleh kerajaan,
           NEG have REL neglect-PASS by   government

…so far there are none who have been neglected by the government, 3.35, ML-M

Undang-undang Syariah memang dipraktikkan tapi *to some extent*
Law-RDP (Ar.) Syariah indeed PASS-practise but

Syariah law is indeed practised but to some extent only, 3.35, ML-M

Ada kes curi *even* di Tanah Suci tempat beribadah
Have case steal in land holy place devotion

There are theft cases even in the Holy Land in places of devotion 3.45, ML-M

Payah kan mendapat tanah di KB ani. <u>*Even*</u> tanah *tol*[8]
hard DEM AV-get land in KB DEM land TOL[8]

It is hard to get land in Kuala Belait (district). Even TOL land. 4.15, ML-M
                                         [8] : TOL: temporary occupation licence

Anyway..apa lagi cerita yang datang akan abis diorang kan *ignite*?
          what more story REL come FUT 3p FUT

Anyway..what other rumours are they going to start in the future? 4.39, ML-M

(Total = 15)

Malay adverbs/adjuncts in ML-E contexts
Example set [30] in 4.5.5

...mau inda mau *u have to pay up*...
want NEG want

...whether you want to or not you have to pay up... 2.55, ML-E

<u>Sedih</u> *I heard that a lot of us* ani *against this philosophy.*
Sad   DEM

Sadly I heard that a lot of us are against this philosophy. 3.28, ML-M
As for me, I *week* <u>lagi</u> *then my breathing will be* <u>inda</u> *as suffocating as now,* (x2)
              again   NEG

As for me, one more week then my breathing will not be as suffocating as now, 3.30, = LA

Payahkan *I explain now*,
hard-FUT

It's hard for me to explain now, 3.37, ML-E

Mudah-mudahan _GE[9] will come back and take over..._
  easy-RDP

Hopefully GE will come back and take over...4.34, = LA
[9] : GE: Global Evergreen, company name

So _if JP[10] Management_ betul-betul _thinking of profits and service,_
            right-RDP

So if JP Management is really thinking of profits and service, 4.34, = LA
[10] JP: Jerudong Park, recreational amusement park

(Total = 7)

Intra-word, mixed morphology (bicodal words)
Example set [31] in 4.5.5

Untuk meg*ontro*l yg   makan haram atu
For   AV-control REL food   illegal DEM

To control which food are non-permitted, 1.9, ML-M

Kami atu   sebanar nay[11]   kan men*test* abis kita tu.
1pe   DEM truly   3s-POSS FUT AV-test   2pe   DEM

We actually are going to test you all, 1.16, ML-M
    [11]: 'nay' here is assumed to be a typographic error for 'nya'

Kalau kan diikut   dibrunei ani   banyak kadai ber*label* merah yang berukuran 10 kaki x
  if   FUT PASS-follow in-Brunei DEM many   shop AV-label red   REL AV-measure   feet
10 kaki...
    feet

If this is done in Brunei many shops would have a red label 10 feet by 10 feet in size...1.28, ML-M

Kalau ada   hasrat kan mem*ban*
If   have wish FUT AV-ban

If they wish to they will ban them, 1.38, ML-M

..kalau syarat syarat ani   dapat diikuti   baru dapat diapprove
  if   condition-RDP DEM get   PASS-follow new get   PASS-approve

...if these conditions are followed only then will it be approved, 1.38, ML-M

Kalau kan mem*BAN* atu.....
If   FUT AV-ban   DEM

If you're going to ban this,..., 1.60, ML-M

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...*that the nurse* di*hospital* atu   inda menyuruh...
                in-hospital DEM NEG AV-ask

...that the nurse in that hospital did not ask....., 2.13, ML-E

What is wrong they (Jabatan Mufti Kerajaan) [12] meng'*impose*' *charge* untuk masuk
                                         AV-impose   for   enter
Exhibition

What is wrong with them ([12] : Government Islamic Adviser's Department) imposing a charge for entering the exhibition, 2.46, ML-M

<u>*So*</u>, harap2   dapat JMK men*discount* kan   nanti,
     hope-RDP get   JMK AV-discount FUT soon

So, we hope the Government Islamic Adviser's Department can give a discount soon. 2.57, ML-M

...men*grade exercise* men*grade test* lagi payah   (x2)
     AV-grade   AV-grade   again hard

to grade exercises, grade tests is even harder, 3.1, ML-M

...untuk men*solve problem* kitani di dalam negeri
     for   AV-solve   1pi   within state

   to solve our internal problems, 3.3, ML-M

kalau di biarkan diurang meng*intimidate* kitani,
if   PASS-allow 3p   AV-intimidate 1pi

if they are allowed to intimidate us, 3.8, ML-M

investors mana yang berani mati kan meng*invest* di Brunei...
             where REL brave dead FUT AV-invest   in Brunei

which investors are foolhardy enough to invest in Brunei...,3.8, ML-M

Ada kita mendengar *investors* bebubut bubut kan mem*invest* di Brunei
Have 2p   AV-hear   AV-rush-RDP FUT AV-invest   in Brunei

Have you heard of investors rushing to invest in Brunei?, 3.8, ML-M

Barutahku kan berpeluang mem*post message* disini   ani
new-DM-1s FUT AV-chance AV-post   in-DEM DEM

It's only now that I have the chance to post a message here, 3.11, ML-M

Mengabiskan masa meng*debate* pasal *terrorist* ani...
AV-waste   time AV-debate   about   DEM

wasting time debating about these terrorists... , 3.15, ML-M

Baik tah meng*debate* pasal negeri kitani   sendiri
Good DM AV-debate   about state   1pi-POSS alone

It's better if we debate about our own country, 3.15, ML-M

inda banyak kitani yang be*position* tinggi dalam swasta, keraja'an.
NEG many   1pi   REL AV-position high   in   private, government

there are not many of us in high positions in the private or government sectors, 3.19, ML-M

Cuba tah kita *list*kan   peniaga2   Melayu ...
Try   DM 2p   list-FUT trader-RDP Malay

You try and list the Malay traders..., 3.19, ML-M

Inda jua ku men*encourage* biskita menyabut   nama...
NEG also 1s AV-encourage   2p   AV-mention name

I didn't encourage you to mention names, 3.19, ML-M

...*unless of course* ada *documents* untuk menya*pport*.
                      have   for   AV-support

unless of course there are documents to support this, 3.19, ML-M

then cari ilham   untuk me*restrict* orang 'luar'...
        seek (Ar.)inspiration for   AV-restrict   person outside

then they seek divine inspiration to restrict outsiders...3.26, ML-M

Panjang (*like me*) dan payah kan di*comprehend*,
     long   and hard   FUT PASS-comprehend

lengthy (like me) and hard to comprehend, 3.26, ML-M

Pada dasarnya   susah   untuk ketani meng-*accept* yang ugama atu   memainkan peranan
At   base-3sPOSS difficult for   1pi   AV-accept   REL religion DEM AV-play   role

Basically it's difficult for us to accept that religion plays a role..., 3.28, ML-M

Ketani secara *forced* atau inda ter*pressure* dalam iklim ekonomi...
 1pi   by   or NEG most-pressure in   climate economic

We are under pressure, whether forced or not, in the economic climate..., 3.28, ML-M

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Tetapi harusnya   kita men*encourage* kajian   dan *idea2*
But   must-3sPOSS 2p   AV-encourage   research and idea-RDP

But you must encourage research and ideas, 3.28, ML-M

..samada mau meng*implement and* percaya keupayaan 'ugama'...
    either want AV-implement   believe capability religion

either you want to implement it and you believe in the capability of religion..., 3.28, ML-M

...*identity* Negara tani   yang inda tani dapat sangkalkan di*dominate*   oleh puak Melayu
              nation 1piPOSS REL NEG 1pi get   forget   PASS-dominate by race Malay

our national identity which we mustn't forget is dominated by the Malay race, 3.28, ML-M

Kenyataannya Brunei di*dominate*   oleh rakyat Melayu....
reality-3sPOSS Brunei PASS-dominate by   people Malay

The reality of it is that Brunei is dominated by the Malay people, 3.28 ML-M

Kalau dapat tah di*employ*   saja anak Cina   jua.
If   get   DM PASS-employ only child Chinese also

If they can, they will only employ Chinese people, 3.28, ML-M

Banyak jua anak bukan Melayu yang dulunya di*sponsor*   oleh kerajaan...
Many   also child NEG   Malay REL before   PASS-sponsor by government

There have also been many non-Malays sponsored by the government, 3.28, ML-M

orang Brunei yang kenyataannya   di*dominate* oleh ISLAM dan MELAYU
person Brunei REL   explanation-3sPOSS PASS   by Islam   and Malay

Bruneians who, it's explained, are dominated by Islam and the Malay race, 3.28, ML-M

satu konsep *in REAL* yang men*discriminate non-MOSLEM MALAYS* (emphasis as in original)
one   concept   REL AV-discriminate

a concept which in reality discriminates against non-Muslim Malays, 3.28, ML-M

...tetapi tidaklah   ter*PERFECT* bagi semua hal.
    but   NEG-DM most-perfect   for   all   matter

...but it's not the most perfect for all matters, 3.35, ML-M

...tidak ada yang di-*abuse*...
   NEG have REL PASS-abuse

..there are none who are abused..., 3.35, ML-M)

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Ani, datang sudah tah akhir, mem_block_ kereta, kemudian ...
DEM, come already DM last AV-block car then

These people, they come late, block the cars, then... 4.1, ML-M

bila lagi kamu kan me _upgrade_ sistem kamu ani,
when again 2p FUT AV upgrade system 2pPOSS DEM

whenever are you going to upgrade your system, 4.6, ML-M

Dulu bunyi nya kan me _upgrade_ sistem...
before sound 3sPOSS FUT AV upgrade system

some time ago there was a rumour about a system upgrade, 4.6, ML-M

Kerana dipintu di_label._ DI TEGAH MASUK.
Because at-door PASS. PASS-prohibit enter

Because the door is labeled 'Entry Prohibited' 4.15, ML-M

Kononnya konsert di '_ban_' di Brunei
Rumour-3sPOSS concert PASS-ban in Brunei

It's rumoured that concerts are banned in Brunei, 4.29, ML-M

Royal family pun ada terlibat meng_support_ konsert2 ani
DM have involve AV-support concert-RDP DEM

The royal family are involved in supporting these concerts, 4.37, ML-M

Selalu nya bisdiorang cuma _ignite sparknya_ saja,
Often 3p-POSS 3p only 3p-POSS only

They often just ignite their spark, 4.39, ML-M

(Total = 43)

Mixed relative constructions

Relative clause in Malay following an English main clause / antecedent
Example set [32] in section 4.5.5

And bad luck to some u people yang suka berkhalwat... heheh.._ooops sorry,_
REL like AV-(Ar.)close proximity

And bad luck to some of you people who like to commit close proximity... heheh... ooops sorry,
1.37, ML-E

you owe a big apology <u>arah orang2   yang telah   kamu aniaya</u> ...
                   to   person-RDP REL already 2s   ill-treat

you owe a big apology to those people whom you have ill-treated...2.1, ML-M

go and look at <u>siapa yang datang kesana, orang yang *class*</u>
                who   REL   come   to-DEM   person REL class

go and look at who goes there, people who have class, 2.57, ML-M

Well, those yang mengutarakan *for such closure* atu   mesti ada   kan   diorang tapuk
           REL   AV-suggest   DEM   must have FUT 3p   hide

Well, those who suggest such closure should hide themselves, 3.26, ML-M

I have one question to those <u>yang mahu   jadi   anak 'Berunai'</u>
                                REL   want   become child   Brunei

I have one question to those who want to become Bruneians, 3.28, ML-M

Please give me one country yang lebih baik dari Brunei
                            REL   more good than Brunei

Please give me one country that is better than Brunei 3.45, ML-M

(Total = 6)

Malay relative pronoun introducing English verbal and nominal groups
Example set [33] in section 4.5.5

the Task Force <u>yang *discover the big black secret* behind</u> projek rumah expo atu
                REL   project house   DEM

the Task Force which discovered the big black secret behind that expo housing project, 2.1, ML-M

And so are those top 2 people <u>yang *involve in the amedeo*[13] *case* atu,</u>
                                   REL   DEM

And so are those top 2 people who are involved in the Amedeo[13] case, 2.1, ML-M
      ([13] : Amedeo: name of Brunei private company)

satu konsep *in REAL* <u>yang men*discriminate non-MOSLEM MALAYS*</u>
one concept   REL AV-discriminate

one concept which in reality discriminates against non-Moslem Malays, 3.28, ML-M

(Total = 3)

English antecedent and relative pronoun introducing Malay verbal and nominal groups
Example [34] in section 4.5.5

... about *those who* ucapkan org   ketani ani, luan minta *spoonfed, I don't totally agree*
            AV-say person 3pPOSS DEM always want

.....about those of you who say that our people are always spoonfed, ...2.22, = LA

(Total = 1)

English relative clause with Malay adjunct
Example [35] in section 4.5.5

don't you know that the salary that you get bulan2   atu, dikirakan   haram   bah
                          month-RDP DEM PASS-calculate unlawful   DM
atu.
DEM

don't you know that the salary that you get every month is considered unlawful, 2.1, ML-M

(Total = 1)

English relative clause following Malay antecedent
Example [36] in section 4.6.5

And by the way, banyak lagi perkara lain *which is most urgent* balum lagi selasai...
            many again matter other   yet   again resolve

And by the way there are many other matters which are most urgent yet to be resolved, 1.33, ML-E

(Total = 1)

Others
Example set [37] in section 4.5.5

tapi *its time to* lapaskan *daddy*/bapa/*mummy*/ibu   *even worse "Grandpa*/Nenek"
but   AV-leave   father   mother   Grandfather

but it's time to leave Daddy, Mummy and even worse Grandpa, 1.11, ML-M

You men out there have the cheek to want anak dara   tapi kamu jua pun pernah
                                   child maiden but 2p   also DM ever
'sowing your seeds' !

You men out there have the cheek to want pure maidens but you have also been sowing your seeds!
                                                            2.12, ML-E

Tapi memberi takut jua *that the nurse* dihospital atu   inda menyuruh *your wife to bottlefeed*
But   AV-bring fear   also   in   DEM NEG AV-ask
the baby first.

But it is frightening that the nurse in that hospital did not ask your wife to bottle-feed the baby first,
2.13, ML-E

Babies can become very dehydrated so inda jua mengapa tu   *to try to both bottle and breast-*
                                                    NEG also why   DEM
feed the baby.

Babies can become very dehydrated so it doesn't matter if you try to both bottle and breast-feed the baby...2.13, ML-E

Also get your wife to makan bijirin hitam *(a.k.a. blessed seeds/ black seeds...)*
                        eat   seed   black

Also get your wife to eat black seeds... 2.13, ML-E

seperti yang saya cakapkan dulu, *personally, you cannot compare concert2* dengan *expo*
like   REL 1s   AV-say before   with
Islam

like I said before, personally, you cannot compare concerts to the Islamic expo, 2.57, ML-M

kalau *NE*[14], *Bruclass*, etc. kana suruh tutup *it's a bad news to all of us.*
   if   NE,   PASS order close

if NE , Bruclass are ordered to be closed down it's bad news for all of us, 3.24, ML-M
[14.] NE : News Express, Brunei daily newspaper which ceased publication in 2002

Reality check - what is BERUNAI atu   kan?
                          Brunei   DEM FUT

Reality check – what is Brunei, in truth? 3.28, ML-M

Mengapa tia   kian *we have* kes dadah belabih labih, kes rogol, kes *domestic abuse*, kes rompak,
why   DM as much   case drug more-RDP   case rape case   case robbery
kes *road rage*, kes orang   tampar betampar, *and* pelacuran *among our own (mostly MALAY)*
case   case person abuse-RDP   prostitution
schoolgirls!

Why is it that increasingly we have more and more drug cases, rape cases, domestic abuse cases, robbery cases, road rage cases, physical abuse cases and prostitution among our own mostly Malay schoolgirls!   3.38, ML-E

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parking right at the doorway kalau bolih.
                                        if   can

parking right at the doorway if that's possible, 4.1, ML-M

(Total = 10)

Appendix C

Results of Questionnaire Survey given to 25 Malay-English Bilingual Bruneians in 2003
(discussed in sections 5.1 & 5.2)

Results from 19 returned forms
Questionnaire Survey: Language Use / Language Choice of Bruneians

Thank you for kindly agreeing to take part in this small questionnaire survey. It would be most helpful if you could firstly provide details about your own language and educational background. You need not reveal your name (see p.5 below). Please note that these details will not be passed on to any third party, but will only be used by the researcher for this study.

1] Languages that you speak and understand [*please tick the boxes*]:

	Speak	Understand
Brunei Malay	17	19
Bahasa Melayu / Bahasa Indonesia	15	17
Other Brunei language varieties		
Kedayan	6	7
Tutong	2	3
Chinese: (total)	4	4
Cantonese	1	2
Hokkien	1	2
English	18	17
Other languages:		
Japanese	1	1
French	1	1

2] Your educational background:
Highest level reached so far:

	In Brunei	Overseas
Master's Degree	-	3
Bachelor's Degree	1	4
A Levels	8	2
O levels	10	-
Other (HND etc.)	6	3

2] *You are invited to read* **five** *messages: each has* **three** *versions.*
For each message, rank the three versions according to <u>*clarity*</u> *and* <u>*appropriateness*</u>
in the columns on the right. (1 = most clear / most appropriate, 3 = least clear / least
appropriate). *'Appropriateness' refers to the suitability of the language to express*
the message content.

	Jelas **CLEAR**	Sesuai **APPROPRIATE**
1] a] Dan satu lagi, banyak lagi perkara lain yang paling segera balum lagi selasai di Negara yang kitani semua kasihani ani. Sikap rasuah perlu dielakkan sepenuhnya, supaya kitani boleh hormat kepada penguatkuasa2.	**1 : x 1** **2 : x 9** **3 : x 8** **- : x 1**	**1 : x 3** **2 : x 7** **3 : x 8** **- : x 1**
	43, mean 2.26	41, mean 2.28
b] And by the way, banyak lagi perkara lain which is most urgent balum lagi selasai di negeri yang kitani semua kasihani ani. Double standards should be totally avoided, then we can respect the "enforcers"...	**1 : x5** **2 : x7** **3 : x7**	**1 : x 3** **2 : x 2** **3 : x11** **- : x 3**
	40, mean 2.10	40, mean 2.50
c] And by the way, there are many other most urgent matters yet to be settled in this beloved country of ours. Double standards should be totally avoided, then we can respect the "enforcers"...	**1 : x14** **2 : x 3** **3 : x 2**	**1 : x14** **2 : x 2** **3 : x 1** **- : x 2**
	26, mean 1.37	21, mean 1.2
2] a] Untuk maklumat kita ah, sebagai guru ku betemu begitu ramai penuntut dengan latarbelakang yang begitu berpelbagai, baik anak pehin atau org2 biasa, betukar sudah pikiran kanak2 sekarang ani, dan ibubapa2 bisdiaorang karaja kuat mencapai keputusan yang baik dan ibubapa nya pun, banyak bertanggung jawab dan berfikiran terbuka dan berpendidikan	**1 : x5** **2 : x6** **3 : x8**	**1 : x2** **2 : x4** **3 : x11** **- : x2**
	41, mean 2.16	43, mean
2.53		
b] For your info ah, as a teacher, I come across so many different students with so many different backgrounds, baik anak pehin atau org2 biasa, betukar sudah attitude kanak2 sekarang ani, and also the parents, they work hard to achieve good results and parents nya pun, very bertanggung jawab and berfikiran terbuka and educated,...	**1 : x8** **2 : x6** **3 : x5**	**1 : x3** **2 : x5** **3 : x9** **- : x2**
	35, mean 1.84	40, mean 2.35
c] For your info, ah, as a teacher I come across so many different students with so many different backgrounds, both the children of Pehins and of ordinary people, now the children's attitude has changed, and also the parents, they work hard to achieve good results and their parents are very responsible, open-minded and educated people.	**1 : x11** **2 : x 7** **3 : x 1**	**1 : x9** **2 : x4** **3 : x4** **- : x2**
	28, mean 1.47	29, mean 1.70

	Jelas CLEAR	Sesuai APPROPRIATE

3]

a] Cakap banar, baiktah jangan dibali barang2 yg kena
dijual lelong atu, bukannya apa, jika biskita bali, sarupa
kitani membantu kpd diaorang yang guna duit ketani
untuk faedah mereka sendiri, untuk bayar hutang. Mana tia
yang dulu tujuh orang yang terkenal atu? Inda kedengaran.
Sudah kah kes mahkamah bermula? Kesihanlah, cara
Negara tercinta ketani jadi cemani.

	Jelas CLEAR	Sesuai APPROPRIATE
	1 : x5	1 : x6
	2 : x7	2 : x4
	3 : x6	3 : x8
	- : x1	- : x1
	37, mean 2.05	38, mean 2.11

b] Frankly speaking, baiktah jangan dibali barang2 yg
kena auction atu, bukannya apa, if we buy them, in a
way, we are helping those who have used duit ketani for their
personal interest, to pay for their debts. Mana tia yang dulu the
famous 7 org atu? Inda kedengaran. Has the trial started??
It's so sad, isn't it, how our beloved country jadi cemani.

	Jelas CLEAR	Sesuai APPROPRIATE
	1 : x7	1 : x4
	2 : x7	2 : x5
	3 : x4	3 : x9
	− : x1	- : x1
	33, mean 1.83	41, mean 2.27

c] Frankly speaking, it's better not to buy the things that
are being auctioned, if for no other reason than if we buy
them, in a way, we are helping those who have used our
money for their personal interest, to pay for their debts.
Wherever are the famous seven people from before? We
don't hear of them anymore. Has the trial started? It's so
sad, isn't it, how our beloved country has come to this.

	Jelas CLEAR	Sesuai APPROPRIATE
	1 : x14	1 : x13
	2 : x 2	2 : x 3
	3 : x 2	3 : x 2
	- : x 1	- : x 1
	24, mean 1.33	25, mean 1.39

4]

a] Bagi saya Bruclass ani pembuka minda walaupun
ada masanya pandangan atu inda sehati dengan penyumbang2.
Saya merasa bangga jua meliat cadangan2 yang diusulkan
menunjukkan anak2 Berunai ani pintar dan berfikiran.
Mungkin cara penyampaian seseorang atu berbeda dan ada
masanya tunggang tebalik, panjang (macam saya) dan payah
kan memahami, tapi akhirnya atulah satu peluang untuk
diorang meluahkan isihati demi kepentingan negara.
Samada diterima atau inda atu terserahlah.

	Jelas CLEAR	Sesuai APPROPRIATE
	1 : x8	1 : x7
	2 : x6	2 : x6
	3 : x4	3 : x4
	- : x1	- : x1
	32, mean 1.78	31, mean 1.72

b] As for me, Bruclass ani my mind opener walaupun
ada masanya idea atu inda sehati dengan contributors.
I have also been proud meliat idea-idea yang diusulkan
menunjukkan anak2 Berunai ani pintar dan befikiran.
Mungkin cara penyampaian seseorang atu berbeda and
ada masanya tunggang tebalik, panjang (like me) and
payah kan dicomprehend, but at the end of the day it's
one opportunity untuk diorang meluahkan isihati demi
kepentingan negara. Samada diterima atau inda atu terserahlah.

	Jelas CLEAR	Sesuai APPROPRIATE
	1 : x8	1 : x7
	2 : x5	2: x3
	3 : x5	3: x7
	- : x1	
	33, mean 1.83	34, mean 1.88

	Jelas **CLEAR**	Sesuai **APPROPRIATE**

c] As for me, Bruclass has opened my mind, although
at times my ideas are not in line with those of the
contributors. I have also been proud to see original
ideas showing that Bruneians are smart and thoughtful.

maybe their manner of presentation is different and at **1 : x12** | **1 : x13**

times topsy-turvy, lengthy (like me) and hard to comprehend **2 : x 4** | **2 : x 3**

but at the end of the day it's one opportunity for people to open **3 : x 2** | **3 : x 2**

up their hearts in the national interest. Whether they're accepted **- : x 1** | **- : x 1**

or not, they're freely offered.　　　　　　　26, mean 1.44 | 25, mean 1.39

5]

a] Konsep ketani tentu bukan melanggar ajaran Islam.
Oleh itu ianya di satukan menjadi satu Falasafah, MIB.

Supaya ianya inda bercanggah. Kalau minyak dan gas kan **1 : x12** | **1 : x 9**

habis... memang tia sudah takdir... bukankah kerajaan kitani **2 : x 5** | **2 : x 7**

sedang mempelbagaikan sumber ekonomi. Atu tah sebabnya... **3 : x 2** | **3 : x 2**

untuk masa depan kitani, kanak2 dan cucu2 kitani. Supaya **- : x 1**

negara kitani inda menjadi negara miskin.　　　28, mean 1.47 | 29, mean 1.61

b] Our concept is totally not contradicting with Islamic teachings.
That's why ianya di satukan menjadi satu Falasafah, MIB. Supaya

ianya inda bercanggah. Kalau Oil and Gas kan habis... memang **1 : x 8** | **1 : x 4**

tia sudah takdir... bukankah kerajaan kitani sedang mempelbagaikan **2 : x 6** | **2 : x 5**

sumber ekonomi. Atu tah sebabnya... untuk masa depan kitani, our **3 : x 2** | **3 : x 9**

children and our children's children. Supaya negara kitani inda **- : x 1** | **- : x 1**

menjadi negara miskin.　　　　　　　　　32, mean 1.78 | 41, mean 2.28

c] Our concept is totally not contradicting with Islamic teachings.
That's why it's been combined to form one single philosophy,
MIB. So that it's not opposed. If the oil and gas runs out...

It's already pre-ordained. Isn't our government in the process **1 : x 11** | **1 : x 12**

of diversifying the sources of economic revenue. That's the reason... **2 : x 2** | **2 : x 4**

for our future, our children's and our children's children's future. **3 : x 5** | **3 : x 2**

So that our country does not become poor. **- : x 1** | **- : x 1**

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　30, mean 1.67 | 26, mean 1.44

These texts are taken from the 'Brudirect' and 'Bruclass' on-line discussions forums.

Do you read the messages in these forums? **YES : 12 (63.1%)   NO : 7 (36.9%)**

If yes, how often? **Brudirect : everyday/always: 5**
                                        2-3 times a week: 4
                                        once a week :   1
                    sometimes/once a month : 2

Bruclass: 2-3 times a week : 3
                        once a week   : -
            sometimes/once a month : 5
                        not at all   : 4

Have you ever posted messages on the forums?   **YES : 3 (15.8%)   NO : 16 (84.2%)**
If yes, (tick)   **Brudirect 3**
                                                Bruclass 0

Have you any further comments on language choice Malay/English) in the context of Brunei Darussalam?

8 out of the 19 participants offered comments; 3 others wrote "no comment", whilst the remaining 7 left this section blank.

[1] "English is better as I am not very good in my Malay. In my opinion is a very difficult language to learn. English is a language that is used worldwide where as Malay is not."

[4] "No comment."

[6] "I think the way Bruneians are adopting Malay/English is forming their own kind of 'Singlish' the Singaporeans and Malaysian speak."

[7] "No comment."

[8] "It is common among Bruneians to use combination of English and Malay (esp. Brunei Malay) in their daily communication especially at a non-formal situation. Although Bahasa Melayu is the national language, Bahasa Brunei continues to be adopted as a lingua franca. BM (Standard) is mainly used for formal written communication, (schools and govt depts) speech and media presentations e.g.news. Kedayan ethnic dialect has now also been widely understood even among the non-Kedayans. "

[9] "In my opinion, the language in Brunei are getting mixed between English & Brunei Malay, and most of them are understood by the majority of users. Yet, it is essential for Bruneian to master 2 language, e.g. Malay and English due to the fact that Malay is the national language and English is the widely spoken around the globe. If we have these we can take advantage of the language."

[11] "Language should be used in proper communication style which majority can understand if certain message to be sent and understood."

[13] "Bahasa boleh di-fahami mengikut penyampaian yang ringkas dalam keadaan bersahaja dengan mengunakan bahasa standard dan pasar." [Language can be understood through concise presentation in normal conditions through the use of both standard and bazaar language.] It very interesting to read a message from boths information provider on the net, while other people in Brunei, who log on to this will have the same idea."

[14] "I'm very proud of being a Bruneian because our education system is bilingual, Malay and English. Having this kind of system really help us to 'master' our English and give us confidence when conversing with others apart from our Malay people. Frankly speaking, from my past experience, after undergone an intensive English speaking course prior to my nursing course really help me to understand further and enhance my ability to do better presentations and improved my interpersonal skills. Furthermore by having a good command of English nowadays , really help me since I'm working in one of the biggest oil company in Brunei and dealing with expatriates and their family members."

[17] "Language choice in Brunei often depends on the crowd or the audience. If the crowd can understand both English or Malay then a mixture of both languages are used. However there cannot be 50% English and 50% English during any sentences conversed. 80% to 90% would be Malay and the rest English. And vice versa. The minority language percentage is used to emphasize the meaning or words that are in line with conversation. Again it would sound strange to talk English and Malay in one sentence of conversation. Have you tried speaking French and English in any conversation altogether?"

[19] "No comment."

Once again, many thanks for your kind cooperation. If you do not mind revealing your identity (to the researcher), you will receive a copy of the questionnaire analysis once this has been completed, and you are then welcome to give any further feedback or comments on this.

OPTIONAL:

*NAME:*_____
Contact details – address:

_____

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Additional question (again completely voluntary)

Below are four possible reasons for the mixing of Malay and English by Bruneians. Use the boxes to rank these in order of importance (1 = most important, 4 = least important)

Total no. of participants answering this additional question = 6

a) Young people's modern way of speaking

        1 : x2
        2 : x3 **13, rank = 2nd**
        3 : x1
        4 : x0

b) Desire to show Bruneian identity while communicating in English

        1 : x0
        2 : x0 **23, rank = 4th**
        3 : x1
        4 : x5

c) Practical convenience, especially when discussing
  modern or technical topics

        1 : x5
        2 : x0 **9, rank = 1st**
        3 : x0
        4 : x1

d) Most participants in the on-line forums are Malay-English bilinguals

        1 : x2
        2 : x2 **14, rank = 3rd**
        3 : x0
        4 : x2

(Source for these motivations: postings on Brudirect, 15/02/03 and 20/02/03)

(Note: This is discussed in section 5.3)