Brunei Malay: An Overview[1]
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INTRODUCTION
Brunei Malay in its various forms can be identified with a nation, an ethnic group, and a region. Malay is the national language of Brunei Darussalam, with perhaps two-thirds of the population of around 330,000 (late 1999) speaking a variety of Brunei Malay (*cakap barunay, kurapak barunay*) as a mother tongue, and many more citizens speaking it as a second language.[2] More generally, varieties identified as Brunei Malay are spoken by the Brunei ethnic group, both in Brunei and in neighbouring areas of Malaysia - in Eastern Sarawak, in the Limbang, Lawas and Miri areas, and in Sabah, around Beaufort, Kuala Penyu, Sipitang and on the island of Labuan (Asmah 1985, Yabit Alas 1997). Further afield, BM is the basis for, or has strongly influenced, Malay varieties used for interethnic communication in this region (see below). Today, BM remains a vigorous, locally-expanding language; other indigenous languages are being abandoned by younger speakers in favour of it, and of Brunei Malay ethnic identity (Martin 1996a).

Historically *cakap barunay* is one of the most influential Malay varieties, both in northern Borneo, and further afield.[3] There is a clear Bruneian element in what is perhaps the very earliest example of Malay to be published (Collins 1996b, 1998), the 426-item wordlist collected in 1522 by the Italian Pigafetta, who visited Brunei while travelling through the Philippines, Brunei and the Moluccas (Skelton 1969). The list explicitly names Brunei as the source of at least one word: *biazzao* 'coconut, in Molucca and *Burne*' (c.f. modern BM *piasaw).* Other items accord in form and meaning with Brunei Malay, particularly the innovatory directional terms *iraga* 'north' and *utara* 'northeast' (Moulton 1921). The form and meanings of other terms also are consistent with modern Bruneian usage (allowing for Pigafetta's spelling, cf Kern 1938, Hj Muhammad bin Hj Jambul & Awang Alipuddin bin Hj Omarkandi 1997).[4]

Brunei Malay has long served as a regional lingua franca, reflecting the fact that large parts of present-day Sarawak and Sabah were once controlled by Brunei and settled by Bruneians. Collins (1990, 1994) argues that it is the basis for the Malay used in interethnic communication in Sabah; and cites studies showing its former influence on the lexis of various non-Malayic languages in Sarawak. Further afield, Wolff (1976) cites Pigafetta's lists as evidence that Malay was widely used as a lingua franca in the Philippines in the early sixteenth century. He moreover identifies 300 loanwords in Tagalog from what was certainly Brunei Malay (cf Collins 1994). These date from the sixteenth century at the latest, when Brunei controlled Manila Bay (Brown 1970, Saunders 1994). In Eastern Indonesia, Collins has characterised the language of Bacan as a development from an earlier form of Brunei Malay, brought by immigrants (1994, 1996a&b).

Here I discuss only Brunei Malay as spoken within modern-day Brunei Darussalam, since little information is available on usage elsewhere. In fact several distinct varieties of Malay are spoken as first languages in Brunei, each of which has at times been referred to in the literature as constituting, or being a variety of, Brunei Malay. These include:

- 'Brunei Malay', or *cakap barunay, dialek Melayu Brunei* (Nothofer 1991). Most usually the term refers to the variety spoken in most everyday contexts in and around the capital,

Bandar Seri Begawan (BSB), and also to related varieties spoken in other towns and settlements in Brunei, as well as by ethnic Bruneis in neighbouring Sabah and Sarawak. This group of varieties retains proto-Malayic *r* (Adelaar 1992), but has lost *h* in syllable onsets; it has pronominal clitics *-ngku* '1SG.POS', *-nta* '2.POS'. It lacks historical dissimilation of laminals before high vowels (a feature shared by the Kampung Ayer and Kadayan dialects) and is grammatically and lexically closer to Standard Malay than the latter two dialects. Core vocabulary is said to be 84% cognate with Standard Malay, 94-95% cognate with Kampong Ayer and Kadayan (Nothofer 1991, speaker from BSB). Examples of differences in basic vocabulary with Standard Malay include: *aing* 'water' (SM *air)*, *lauk* 'fish' (SM *ikan*), *aga* 'approach, go' (SM *datang*), *gadung* 'green'(SM *hijaw*), *babu* 'mother' (SM *ibu*), *sira* 'salt' (SM *garam*), *ajay* 'chin' (SM *dagu*).

- Kampong Ayer (*cakap/kurapak balandih, cakap kampung aing, cakap barunay*): the variety spoken by older ethnic Brunei Malays in Kampong Ayer, the large water village around which Bandar Seri Begawan has developed.[5] Characterised by proto-Malayic *r* > *y*, loss of *h* in syllable onsets, historical dissimilation of laminals before high vowels (see Phonology, below), and the clitics *–ngku* '1SG.POS', *-nta* '2.POS'. Core vocabulary is 82% cognate with Standard Malay, 95% cognate with Kadayan (Nothofer 1991). Nothofer estimated there to be around 25,000 speakers of this dialect; today the number would be far below that.[6] Examples of lexical differences between Kampong Ayer and Brunei Malay include (Hjh Sumijah Alias & G. Poedjosoedarmo 1996): *bulawa* 'knife' (BM *pisaw)*, *mangarus, mamajuh* 'eat' (BM *makan)*, *kaunam, kumbang* 'cloth' (BM *kain)*, *tabaung, gubang, bidar,* 'sampan, boat' (BM *paraw)*, *bukut* 'box' (BM *tumbuk*), *kaus* 'shoe' (BM *kasut*), *panggilan* 'invitation' (BM *jamputan*), *gulmat* 'dark' (BM *patang*).

- Kadayan (*cakap kadayan, Bahasa Kedayan*) the dialect of the Kadayan ethnic group, traditionally a land-based farming people found in Brunei, Sabah, and Sarawak, generally in areas where Brunei Malay speakers are also found (Maxwell 1980, Asmah 1985). Speaker numbers have been estimated at around 30,000 in Brunei (Nothofer 1991), 11,500 in Sabah (Moody 1984) and 9,200 in Sarawak (Julayhi 1991). As with Kampong Ayer, the number of speakers of Kadayan is rapidly declining. Kadayan is characterised by loss of proto-Malayic *r*, but retention of *h*, historical dissimilation of laminals before high vowels, and clitics *–ngku* '1SG.POS', *-nta* '2.POS'. Core vocabulary is around 80% cognate with Standard Malay (Nothofer 1991). Examples of differences between Kadayan and Brunei Malay include the following (Hjh Masni Hj Abdul Rahman 1994): Kadayan *mama* 'mother' (BM *babu*); *hawa* shy (BM *supan*); *ngaan, jaan* 'NEG IMP' (BM *nyan, nyangan*); *bang* 'above' (BM *di atas*), *taya* 'expressive particle' (BM *tia*), *kin* 'question particle' (c.f. BM *k(i)an*, SM *kah*), *antai* 'earlier' (BM *antadi*), *hantap* 'too' (BM *luan*); *hai ani* 'now (lit. 'day-this')' (BM *karang ani*); *mungguu* 'die' (BM *mati* 'die'), *bisia* '3PL' (BM *bisdia*).

- 'Standard Brunei Malay', the varieties of formal written and spoken communication in Brunei Darussalam, used in administration, in royal speeches, literature, newspapers, and tertiary and secondary education. Standard Brunei Malay is close to the Standard Malay of Malaysia, though with varying degrees of local lexical items (e.g. *ungkayahkan* 'organize, arrange', *aur galat* 'deference, politeness', *mamucang-mucang* 'do voluntary community work', *ristaan* 'memoir') as well as phonological and other grammatical elements (Nothofer 1991, Martin and G. Poedjosoedarmo 1996:10).

Variation and code mixing. Little published information is available about internal dialect variation, geographical or social, for any of these varieties. Virtually all speakers are bidialectal between Brunei Malay (in the first sense above), and at least one of the other varieties. Code mixing is moreover extremely common (Maxwell 1980:240, Martin and G. Poedjosoedarmo 1996). Hj Tamam Hj Samat (1998) found that even the oldest generation in Kampung Ayer mix elements of KA and BM phonology, according to contextual factors such as register. Martin and G. Poedjosoedarmo suggest (1996:9) that 'it is now rare to find a conversation which is conducted purely in Kadayan or Kampong Ayer.'

External relationships. Two main hypotheses about the origin of Brunei Malay have been put forward. Because of its lexical closeness to Standard Malay, retaining core vocabulary to a degree similar to Jakarta and Ambon Malay, Blust speculates that Brunei Malay may be a product of backmigration, 'a relatively late settlement of northwestern Borneo by Malay speakers, presumably from the Riau-Johore area' (1988:9). Others view BM as having developed solely on Borneo, though with recent influence from outside. The evidence for this latter view offered by Collins 1994 is the historical loss of /ə/, shared by many Borneo varieties, as well as the morphological possibility BM shares with Banjar Malay of combining both –i 'LOC' and -(a)kan 'APP' on the same verbal base.[7] Nothofer 1996a offers lexical evidence for the same view, though this time (often non-core) items *not* shared with Standard Malay. The evidence cited by both camps appears then of a preliminary nature. Given BM's extensive contact influence in Borneo, as well as the evidence of migration in the past by BM speakers (Collins 1994), it may be difficult to show that similarities with other coastal Malay varieties such as Banjar or Berau are not due to these influences. The task remains then of showing that the coastal varieties are linguistically closer to the inland Malayic languages, such as Iban, and Salako, than they are to non-Bornean varieties. For the time being the historical relationship of Brunei Malay to other Malayic isolects continues to be unclear (cf Teeuw 1959:156).

Substratum elements? Whatever the history of Brunei Malay, the process of conversion to Islam, and with it to the Malay language (and, in this century at least, ethnicity) is an old and ongoing one in northwestern Borneo. Oral tradition has it that the ancestors of the large *sakay* non-noble group in Kampong Ayer were originally 'Muruts' (Brown 1970). Similarly tradition has it that the first Sultan, Sultan Mohammad, was descended from the marriage of a deity with a Murut woman (*Syair Awang Semaun,* Teuku Iskandar 1992:135). Until more evidence is available, 'Murut' in both these contexts should probably be understood in its everyday BM meaning of 'indigenous non-Muslim', rather than its modern Standard Brunei Malay sense of 'the group who refer to themselves as Lun Bawang'. It is possible then that there is a substratum of non-Malay elements in Brunei Malay (see for example the items listed by Prentice 1988, also Maxwell 1990, though borrowing or inheritance are not ruled out as alternative sources for these).

Subgrouping. Both Kampong Ayer and some varieties at least of Kadayan share historical dissimilation of laminals; both too have undergone lenitions of *r (though generally with different results); Kadayan on the other hand retains PM *h, whereas KA and other BM varieties have lost it, albeit relatively recently, if Collins (1994) is correct in interpreting Wolff's (1976) data. In the absence of a detailed dialect geography study, and of an understanding of the past and present dynamics of contact between the three varieties, there

appears to be insufficient evidence for a further subgrouping. Often recent descriptive work implicitly treats Kampong Ayer and BM as subvarieties of a single dialect, more closely related to each other than to Kadayan. This no doubt reflects sociocultural rather than linguistic facts: unlike the Kampong Ayer residents, the Kadayans are not considered to be ethnically Brunei; moreover, due to recent large-scale migration, the majority of Brunei Malay speakers around Bandar Seri Begawan are descended from, or were themselves formerly, speakers of the KA dialect, largely abandoned once the water village is left (see Hjh Sumijah Alias 1992, Hjh Sumijah Alias & G. Poedjosoedarmo 1995).

Lexis. Already in 1521 Pigafetta found a bustling city and a complex hierarchical society. Not surprisingly, BM has a rich vocabulary, with much culture-specific lexis (particularly in traditional arts and crafts such as fishing, boat-building, seafaring, brass-work and weaving), a developed *bahasa dalam* or court language, as well as a rich literature, both oral and written. The classical literature follows the genres and conventions of classic Malay literatures elsewhere, though often with heavy local lexical (*barunay* or *kadayan*) and even grammatical influence (Awang bin Ahmad 1989, 1995).

Apart from possible lexical influences from Borneo languages, languages which have significantly influenced the lexis of BM include Sanskrit, Arabic, Chinese languages (Awang Mataim Bakar 1996), Javanese (Nothofer 1996b), the Standard Malays of Malaysia and Indonesia, and English. Examples of lexical borrowings traceable to these languages include:

Sanskrit: *raja* 'monarch', *jalama* 'person', *mandus(a)* 'human being', *S(a)ri Laila Jasa* (title), *hamba* '1SG', *duli* 'royal title', *kaula* '1SG (deferential)' [via Javanese?], *citiria* 'high ranking nobles, below the *wajir*'.

Arabic: *masgit* 'mosque', *sultan, wajir* 'the four highest-ranking noble officials, vizier', *watir* 'worry', *ujut* 'energy', *argiki* 'livelihood'.

Javanese: *ngaran* 'person of same name', *tumenggong* 'court official', *patih* 'court official', *ingsun* 'affectionate term of address', *pangiran* 'noble', *tulin* 'k.o. land title', *kuripan* 'k.o. land title', *piatin* 'anxious', *kalanguan* 'pleased' (in *inda ba-~* 'jaded, tired of'), *garagitan* 'feel sudden strong emotion (delight, anger)'.

Chinese: *samsing* 'criminal, badly behaved (person)', *tapaw* 'take-away food', *ping* 'ice', *angpaw ~ ampaw* 'small package with gift of money at Hari Raya', *ngam* 'well-fitting, convenient'.

English: *garan* 'grant', *baucar* 'voucher', *badiu* 'video', *talipun* 'telephone', *karan* 'electricity', *sapanar* 'spanner', *bap* 'light bulb', *ardiu ~ ridiu* 'radio'.

Standard Malay: *mereka* '3PL' (SBM), allomorphs such as *bar-, mang-* in contexts where older BM has *ba-, ma-*; many lexical and other elements, see below.

Current contact influences. Brunei Malay is currently under strong pressure from both English and other varieties of Malay. Brunei was a British protectorate from 1905 till 1984, when a bilingual education system was implemented; since then English has been the medium of instruction for all subjects except Malay, History & Religion from the latter years of primary school. There is as a result significant influence from English, particularly among younger speakers. Added to this is a long history of contact with other Malay varieties, with now daily contact with Bahasa Malaysia and Bahasa Indonesia through the media. It is not always a straightforward matter to identify elements borrowed from these latter sources. This, with the high frequency of code-mixing, makes it difficult to describe a purely homogenous Malay variety in Brunei. In the rest of this article, the term 'Brunei Malay' refers to elements common to or found in varieties spoken in and around BSB (the first of the

meanings listed above). Where comments apply only to Kadayan or Kampong Ayer this is stated.

Bibliographical sources. Brunei Malay is still relatively unknown, with most work carried out only in the last two decades, much of it unpublished. There is no grammar and the only dictionaries - Dewan Bahasa (1991) and the smaller Dewan Bahasa (1994) - are limited in scope. The main bibliographical surveys are Collins 1984, 1990.[8] Unpublished academic exercises and theses at Universiti Brunei Darussalam are an increasingly significant source, including for the present description.[9]

PHONOLOGY
Previous studies of the phonology include Awang Mataim Bakar's study of KA/BM (1992), also Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo 1996a, Gloria Poedjosoedarmo 1996. Information on Kadayan is mainly from Sipiah Hj Sawal 1992 and Awang Muhammad Awang Hj Jambol 1995.

Vowels. Brunei Malay and Kampong Ayer have just 3 vowel phonemes /a, i, u/, with historical loss of proto-Malayic /ə/ (Adelaar 1992).[10] This has lead to homophonies not found in dialects retaining /ə/, for example:

Brunei Malay		Standard Malay		
/padaŋ/ 'field'; 'sword'		/padaŋ/	'field';	/pədaŋ/' sword'
/barat/ 'west'; 'heavy'		/barat/	'west	/bərat/' heavy'

Kadayan Malay too lacks /ə/, though may have developed distinctive vowel length, with loss of *r in syllable codas being accompanied by compensatory vowel lengthening. Pairs such as these are reported (Sipiah Hj Sawal 1992, Awg Muhammad Awg Hj Jambol 1995):

V	V:
/bubu/ 'fish-trap'	/bubu:/ 'rice-porridge'
/bibi/ 'pout'	/bibi:/ 'lip'
/tabaw/ 'tubby'	/ka:baw/'buffalo'

Vowel allophony. As Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo (1996a) points out, the vowel space for each of the three vowels is large; for example, /i/ is generally [i] but may in some contexts be realized as [ɪ], [e], or [ɛ]. In all varieties, high vowels have lax allophones in final syllables, closed or open, cf BM: /aji/ [ajɪ] 'Haji', /lihir/ [lihɪr] 'neck'; /atu/ [atʊ] 'that', /bulbu/ [bulbʊ] 'Volvo', /iduŋ/ [idʊŋ]'nose'. *Utterance*-finally, high vowels often have mid or mid-low realisations (perhaps conveying pragmatic information, Gloria Poedjosoedarmo 1996): /tarima kasih/ [tɐrima kasɪh ~ kaseh ~ kasɛh] 'thank you', /bulih/ [bulɪh~ buleh ~ bulɛh] 'can, may'; /iduŋ/ [idʊŋ ~ idoŋ ~ idɔŋ] 'nose'.[11] /u/ often has low allophones before final /y/: /paluy/ [paloy ~ palɔy] 'stupid', /sikuy/ [sikoy ~ sikɔy] 'melon'. The low vowel /a/ has front-central realisations in final and penultimate syllables; elsewhere it is often raised: /barunay/ [bɐrunay] (~ [brunay]) 'Brunei', /mandaŋar/ [mɐndaŋar] 'hear'. In the Standard Brunei Malay of news broadcasts, where a 6-vowel inventory is found, there is again a tendency to centralize antepenultimate /a/ to [ɐ] or [ə]: *bərsamaan* [bərsɐmaʔan] '(occur) at same time', *kawasan* [kɐwasan] 'region', *balapan* [bɐlapan] 'race track'.

Consonant phonemes. Brunei Malay has the following consonant phoneme inventory: labials *p, b, m, w*; apicals *t, d, n, l, r*; laminals *c, j, ɲ, s*; dorsals/glottal *k, g, ŋ, h*. In Kampong Ayer

Proto-Malayic *r generally lenites to /y/, occasionally to Ø:[12] *darah 'blood' > /dayah/; *rumah 'house' > /yumah/. Even loanwords are affected: tayapik 'traffic', kayita 'car'; Umay 'Umar', Ajak 'Razak' (personal names). In Kadayan *r was lost completely, in most varieties: *darah 'blood' > /daah/; *rumah 'house' > /umah/, see above.

Consonant Allophony: /t/, like the other apical consonants, is produced in the alveolar region; /k/ generally has oral realisations, even word finally, though some (younger?) speakers have [ʔ] in that context. Amongst older Kampong Ayer speakers /k/ has backed realisations: /aku/ [aqu] '1SG', /anak/ [anaq] 'child'. /r/ is generally an alveolar trill. In all varieties non-distinctive gemination of consonants is common intervocalically, after a stressed syllable /makan/ ['makan ~ 'makkan] 'eat', /ludah/ ['ludah ~ 'luddah] 'saliva', batu ['batu ~ 'battu] 'stone'. Gloria Poedjosoedarmo has proposed that this is actually a syllable- or word-level phenomenon, with all elements being lengthened.

Non-distinctive [ʔ]. Utterance-finally, but not elsewhere, underlyingly vowel-final morphemes optionally occur with non-distinctive glottal stop (G. Poedjosoedarmo 1996) /mata/ [mata(ʔ)] 'eye', /ani/ [anɛ(ʔ)] 'this', /atu/ [atɔ(ʔ)] 'that'.

Phonotactics. There is a strong preference for a simple CV syllable structure, with only the morpheme-final syllable coda filled: tarabang ~ tarbang 'fly', caramin ~ carmin 'mirror' (compare SM tərbang, cərmin).[13] Epenthetic vowels are often introduced (including into loanwords) to break up consonant clusters. Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo (1996a:193) gives these examples: bakaraja 'work (vi)', misikin 'poor', karatas 'paper', munapaat 'benefit' (compare SM bəkərja, miskin, kərtas, manfaat).

Constraints on distribution of consonants. In syllable onsets, all consonants occur underlyingly with the exception in BM and KA of /h/, which occurs only morpheme-finally, underlyingly[14]. (Epenthetic [h] does occur in syllable onsets, see following paragraph). In Kadayan /h/ occurs freely in onsets as well as codas: Kadayan hayam, BM ayam 'chicken', Kadayan buhaya BM buaya 'crocodile'. In morpheme-final syllable codas, all consonants occur except laminal stops (c, j and ɲ) and voiced obstruents, though for some speakers these may occur in loan words: Mac 'March', kabab 'kebab'. In non-final syllable codas generally only sonorants (nasals, less commonly /r/) occur.[15,16] Coda nasals occur before homorganic obstruents: mangkanan 'food', ambuyat 'sago'; ampay 'put down', antadi 'earlier', though usually ŋ rather than ɲ occurs before /s/: jangsak 'place name', ingsun 'affectionate term of address'.[17] Dewan Bahasa 1991 lists a few non-loan items with non-final coda /r/: curmat 'careful (SM cərmat)', including several plant names with intial /mar/ e.g .marbahay 'k.o plant Pongamia pinnata', margading 'k.o plant Ixora sp.', markabung 'k.o plant macaranga gigantae'. Some speakers have forms such as pardian (~ paradian) 'siblings', tarbang (~ tarabang) 'fly', gargitan (~garagitan) 'feel sudden strong emotion (delight, anger)' karjaan (~ karajaan) 'government'.

Constraints on distribution of vowels. All three vowels occur in all syllable-nuclei (final, penultimate, and elsewhere). In antepenultimate positions /i/ or /u/ readily occur (-kilala 'recognise', gulambir 'wattle (of rooster)'), though there is often a doublet form with /a/: kulilawar ~ kalilawar ~ kalalawar 'kind of bat'; saraung ~ siraung 'large hat of woven palm fibre'; pinyaram ~ panyaram 'kind of cake', istana ~ astana 'palace'. Sequences of identical vowels occur freely, though with predictable epenthetic [h] in BM and KA (but not

Kadayan): /tuut/ [tuhut] 'knee'; /piin/ [pihin] 'honorary title', /taay/ [tahay] 'sun-dried fish'. Often such sequences are the result of affixation, particularly suffixation /ka-raja-an/ [kɐrajahan] 'NOM-king-NOM: government'; /mandi-i/ [mandihi] 'bathe-LOC: bathe (vt)'. After a prefix for some speakers [h] is not epenthesised: /ba-antu/ [ba:ntu] 'ba-ghost: haunted', /ta-ampay-kan/ [ta:mpaykan] /ta-put.down-APP/ 'put down' (Awg Mataim Bakar 1992:167ff). Other speakers do have [h] in this context: the determinants of the variation are at present unclear.

Historical dissimilation of laminals before high vowels. In KA and some varieties of Kadayan there occurred regular place dissimilation of laminal stop consonants to dorsal, before /i/:[18]

*ɲi > ŋi: *buɲi > buŋi 'sound', *suɲi > suŋi 'quiet, deserted'

*ci > ki: *cium > kium 'sniff, kiss', *ciɲcin > kiŋkin 'ring', kiri (~ ciri) 'sacred formula read at the installation of court officials', kilaka (cf SM cəlaka) 'misfortune', *cina > kina 'China', piɲcin ~ piŋkin 'pension' (< English).

*ji > gi: *biji > bigi 'seed; classifier', riŋgis (~ riɲjis) 'k.o. cake'; *jipaŋ > gipaŋ 'Japan(ese)'; *ijinkan > iginkan 'permit (vt)'; masgit 'mosque' (< Ar.); naik aji ~ naik agi 'go on the Haj pilgrimage'; iŋgin (~ iɲjin) 'engine' biŋgin ~ biɲjin 'regular petrol (< Ind. bensin, 'petrol').

Treatment of loanwords indicates that a constraint dispreferring laminal-high vowel sequences remains a synchronic one in conservative dialects. The form ba-kukur (SM bər-cukur) 'shave, cut hair' suggests that sporadic dissimilation of laminals before high back /u/ may also be found.

Metathesis of some sonorant sequences is regular: 1. /yVr/ regularly becomes /rVy/: *bayar > baray 'pay'; *layar > laray 'sail'; *wayar > waray 'wire (English)'. 2. Dissimilation of /r/ before /l, r/ is reflected in: *bar-ulih > ba-lurih 'obtain'; *bar-air (> *bal-air) > bal-aiŋ 'be watery', *bar-alih > bal-alih 'move house'.

A preferred disyllabic morpheme size is evident in the treatment of loanwords. Monosyllabic items have often undergone 'internal' epenthesis: *jam > jaham 'hour, clock' (Ar.), *bang > bahang 'azan, time of prayer' (Ar.); *ti > tihi 'tea', buhup 'book', buhur 'bore' (Eng.), *jin > gihin, jihin 'djinn (Ar.)'. Or else they may be prefixed: usin 'money' (< ?cent); ipin 'pin', istur 'storeroom', istim 'stamp'. Equally, longer source morphemes are often reduced to two syllables: watir 'worry' (c.f. SM khuatir, from Ar.), litrik 'electricity', Dulah (< Abdullah), baskil 'bicycle'.

Stress. There is no published description of stress patterns. Stress (in terms of intonational prominence and vowel length) appears to be generally penultimate bini-bini [bini'bin(n)ɪ] 'female', banar ['banar] 'correct'. Final stress appears to be an optional pragmatic affect, restricted to utterance final contexts: a marked fall in pitch from a very high penultimate to a low utterance-final syllable, which is also often lengthened, e.g.: bulih! [bu¹le:h] '(of course) you may!', (s)udah! [u¹da:h] 'already!'

Orthography and Phonology. The practical orthography used here (in BM wordforms in italics) is close to that of Standard Malay/Indonesian. It generally gives an unambiguous representation of the phonology, as long as the following points are noted:

- *<ng>* always represents ŋ, never the sequence /ng/;
- *<ny>* represents /ɲ/, never the sequence /ny/;
- *<n>* represents /ɲ/ in the sequences *<nc>, <nj>, <ns>* (realized as [n̪], a lamino-alveolar (or -postalveolar) allophone of the laminal /ɲ/.)
- [ə] is here represented as *<ə>; <e>* represents only [e]
- final [ay] and [aw] are here represented as *<ay>, <aw>*. (The standard orthographies of Brunei, Malaysia and Indonesian write them as *<ai>, <au>*.)[19]

MORPHOSYNTAX

The syntax of BM has been relatively little studied, and terms such as 'subject', 'argument' and 'transitive verb' are used here with that caveat. That said, BM appears to have many typical Austronesian syntactic features. Verb affixation often gives information about the semantic roles of core NP arguments. For example, in (1) the prefix *ma-* (a variant of *mang-*, see below) indicates that the subject of the verb (*aku*) has the Actor semantic role, while the suffix *-kan* indicates that the Undergoer argument (*dikau)* is a Causee (see also verbal affixation, below):

(1) *aku   ma-idup-kan   dikau*
      1SG   ACT.SUBJ-alive-APP   2SG
      'I gave life to you.' (FKA 55)

A second typical Austronesian characteristic is 'patient primacy': simple 'Undergoer Voice' or 'passive' clauses seem more basic than 'Actor Voice/active' clauses; they are for example more common in texts. The verb in Undergoer Voice is morphologically unmarked, carrying no voice prefix: see *kirimkan* in (2), whereas Actor Voice verbs, as in (1) above, carry the prefix *mang-*:[20]

(2) *ani   ku-kirim-kan arah si Bulan*
      DEM   1SG-send-APP to DET B.
      This I'm sending this to Bulan

Brunei Malay has a variety of other passive-like structures (see discussion of Undergoer Voice, the *kana* construction, and of certain functions of prefixes *ba-* and *ta-)*. Verbs are not inflected for tense or aspect or for other inflectional categories. Aspect is marked lexically, see for examples (10, 45, 77) *sudah* 'already'; (63, 86) *(b)alum* 'not yet'; (79, 86) *lakat* 'still', (62) *bagas* 'only just finished'.

As well as VPs, both NPs (3) and PPs (4) may fill the predicate position (*bukan* in 3 negates predicate NPs).

(3) *aku   anak raja,   bukan urang damit-damit*
      1SG   child king   NEG   person small-small
      'I [am] the child of a king, not a commoner. (FKA 67)

(4)　　*bapa mama-ku*　　　　*ka laut*
　　　　father mother-1SG　　　to sea
　　　　'My parents have gone to sea' (FKA 283)

Elsewhere, NPs in prepositional phrases are syntactic adjuncts:

(5)　　*suka-ku kan kadidia ah*
　　　　like-1SG to 3SG　PART
　　　　'*I like him*'

(6)　　*masuk ia ka lam utan*
　　　　enter　3　to in　forest
　　　　'*He went into the forest*' (FKA 135)

(7)　　*malas　tah ku*　　　　*kan ba-cakap-urang-putih*　　　　*arah-nya*
　　　　lazy　PART 1SG　　　to *ba*-language-person-white　　　GOAL-3
　　　　'I didn't feel like speaking English <u>to him</u>'

Word order. At clause level both subject-predicate, and predicate-subject word orders are common:

(8)　　*ilir*　　　　　*baliau,*　　*Aji Sahat*　　*ilir*
　　　　go.downstream 3HON　　　Haji Sahat　　go.downstream
　　　　He went downstream, Haji Sahat went downstream (too).
　　　　(Hj Jaludin Hj Chuchu 1993:132)

With transitive verbs 'VSO' and 'SVO' orders are common:

(9)　　*man-duduk-i-kan*　　*amas paun-ku ani*　　　　　　　(VO)
　　　　maN-sit-LOC-APP　　　gold pound-1SG DEM

　　　　k-arah Aji Rimah,　　*kami*　*man-duduk-i-kan*　　*amas ani*　　(SVO)
　　　　to-to　A. R.　　　　1exc　*maN*-sit-LOC-APP　　　gold DEM

　　　　mam-bali tah　　　*kami*　*karupuk*　　　　　　　　　(VSO)
　　　　maN-buy PART　　　1exc　crackers

　　　　'[I] pawned my gold coins to Haji Rimah, we pawned the gold, and we bought fish crackers.' (Hj Jaludin Hj Chuchu 1993:141)

(10)　　*man-jual ku*　*lauk　pakay paraw*　　　　(VSO)
　　　　maN-sell 1SG　fish　use boat
　　　　'*I sold fish, using a perahu…*

　　　　sesudah atu […] *ba-jumpa ku urang Limbang*　　(VSO)
　　　　after　DEM　　*ba*-meet 1SG　person Limbang
　　　　'*After that […] I met a man from Limbang*' (Dk Rokiah Hj Ladis 1992)

Determinants of word order variation have not been studied in detail. Since predicate-subject order occurs quite frequently, and in a wider variety of contexts than in SM or BI, Dk Rokiah

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(1992), S. Poedjosoedarmo (1994) and others have claimed that that is the neutral or unmarked word order in BM, though this is disputed (G. Poedjosoedarmo and Hj Rosnah Hj Ramly 1996, Pg Mohamed Pg Damit1997). Analysing a relatively small sample, G. Poedjosoedarmo and Hj Rosnah Hj Ramly in fact found SV order to be 'about twice as frequent' as VS order in colloquial spoken Brunei Malay (1996:66). In subordinate clauses, SV(O) order is most common (Soepomo 1994):

(11) *barang lamari,* <u>*mun kunci inda   di-bari-kan,*</u>   *di-ampas-i-nya*
     thing cupboard   if   key NEG *di*-give-APP,   *di*-smash-LOC-3
     '*Things in cupboards were smashed, if the key was not given.*'
                                                                (Hj Jaludin 1993:150)

Relative clauses. Relative clauses have at least two distinct structures:[21]

1. The relative clause has no overt marking (see also 16, 51, 77):

(12) *di-subuk-i   tah   urang mam-bawa   sanapang   pistul atu*
     di-spy.on-LOC PART   person *maN*-carry firearm   pistol DEM
     '*The people who were carrying the pistols were spied on.*' (Hj Jaludin 1993:151)

This may include 'headless relative clauses':

(13) *apa   lagaw-kan-raja?*
     what   call-APP-king
     '*what [was the thing that was] ordered by the king?*'(Norain bt Hj Hussin 1989:135)

2. The relative clause is introduced by *yang*:[22]

(14) '*aku kan ma-unjar   buaya   yang   kau kata-kan basar atu' nya*
     1sg to *maN*-search.for   crocodile   REL   2   word-APP big DEM   QUOT
     '*I will look for that crocodile which you said [is] big*' he said   (FKA 36)

In a study of texts by three older speakers Norain Hj Ali Hussin (1989) found very few occurrences of *yang,* suggesting that it is perhaps borrowed from standard Malay.

3. A third possibility is that one of the functions of *anu* (otherwise a hesitation marker) is to introduce relative clauses, see footnote 21 above.

Relativisation appears to be largely restricted to subjects:

(15) *naindah   ku-unjar atu*
     goods   1SG-seek DEM
     '*the things I was looking for*'

(16) **naindah   aku ma-unjar atu*
      goods   1sg-seek DEM
     *'the things I was looking for'

Phrase-internally, BM is a head-initial language, with these basic orderings:

Verb > Object/Complement e.g. *makan ambuyat atu* 'eat that sago'
Noun > Stative verb ('adjective') e.g. *anak bini-bini* 'child female: daughter'
Noun > Genitive e.g. *kaki-tangan karajaan* 'employee (of) government'
Noun > Relative clause: *anak-nya yang damit* 'child-3 REL small: her small child'
Adposition > Noun phrase e.g. *ka bandar* 'to the town'

Common grammatical morphemes include *inda* NEG, *bukan* NEG (of NP or sentential predicate), *(s)udah* 'already', *(b)alum* 'not yet', *kamas* 'finished', *lakat* 'still, in the process of', *bagas* 'only just finished', *malar* 'always, often', *nyangan/nyan(ta(h))/jan* 'NEG IMP', *luan* 'too', *yang* 'REL', *ani* 'this', *atu* 'that', *arah* 'to, with', *(a)kan* 'to, for', *miani* '(be) like this', *miatu* '(be) like that'; *siapa* 'who', *apa* 'what', *mana* 'which', *mun* 'if'.

Pronouns. There is a variety of pronominal forms, as well as terms of address used as 'pro-pronouns'. Pg Hj Mahmud Pg Damit 1992 lists many, with some information about usage: choice of pronominals is determined by contextual factors such as relative status, or kin relationships. Dk. Hjh. Mahani Pg Hj Md.Yusof 1993 and Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo (1992) have some discussion of the syntactic distribution of pronominals. Table 1 gives common basic pronominal forms in BM (compare Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo 1992, Pg Hj Mahmud Pg Damit 1992):

	LONG FREE	SHORT FREE	2nd pos. enclitic SUBJ (VI/AV)	clit. ACT (UV)	enclit. UND (AV)	OBJ of preposition	proclit POS
1SG	*kadiaku*	*aku*	*-ku*	*ku-*	*-ku*	*-ku*	*-(ng)ku*
2SG	*kadikau*	*kau*	*-kau*	*kau-*	*-kau*	*-mu*[23,24]	*-mu*
2SG POL	*kadikita*	*kita*[25]	<	<	<	<	*-(n)ta*
3SG	*kadidia*	*ia, (dia)*[26]	<	*-nya*[27]	*-nya*	*-nya*	*-nya*
1PL INC	>	*katani, kitani*[28]	<	<	<	<	<
1PL EXC	*kadikami*	*kami*	<	<	<	<	<
2PL	*kadikamu*	*kamu*	<	<	<	<	<
2PL POL	*kadikita*	*kita, abiskita*	<	<	<	<	*-(n)ta*
3PL	>	*abis(i)dia, abisia* (Kd.), *d(i)urang*[29], *ia*[30]*, mereka* (SBM)	<	*-nya*	*-nya*	*-nya*	*-nya*

Table 1 Principal pronominals of Brunei Malay
'< = see 1st filled column to left', '> = 'see 1st filled column to right'

The singular pronominals especially have several distinct forms: one or more distinct free forms (e.g. *aku, kadiaku* 1SG), as well as one or more clitic forms –one or more clitic verbal argument forms (e.g. '2nd position enclitic' *–ku* 1SG.SUBJ, verbal postclitic *–ku* 1SG.UND.AV, verbal proclitic *ku-* '1SG.ACT.UV'), and a possessor form (e.g. *-(ng)ku* 1POS). Plural pronominals are productively formed by combining singular forms with *(a)bis* 'all'.[31] Where there is no special clitic form, the (short) free form is used.

According to Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo (1992) the longer free pronoun forms (e.g. *kadiaku, kadikita*) are used to focus or give prominence, and 'are often used as Objects'. In the present writer's small corpus of texts from older speakers, longer pronouns occur in a wide variety of positions. They occur for example in 'intransitive subject' (17), 'object' (18), and 'adjunct' (19) positions, after prepositions (20), and as external topic (21).

(17) *panyakaki   kadidia atu!*
     paN-disturb   3   DEM
     'That person [lit. 'that (s)he'] is a nuisance.' (Mardina Hj Mahadi 1998:48)

(18) *siapa mam-bari   kadiaku   ba-nyawa,   mam-bawa kadiaku kamari?*
     who   give   1SG   ba-spirit?   bring   1SG   to.here
     'Who give life to me (and) brought me here?'

     manyaut   lah   anu mambawa kadidia.   "kadikau," nya.
     maN-saut   PART   *anu* bring   3   2SG   QUOT
     And the one who brought him replied, "You", he said. (FKA 58)

(19) *baik di-jual kadiaku*
        good *di*-sell 1SG
        'It would be good [if it] were sold to me' (FKA 179)

(20) *payah   ku   ba-kurapak   dangan   kadikau ani,   lai!*
        difficult   1SG   *ba*-talk   with   you   DEM   kid
     'I have difficulty talking to you, kid!'

(21) *kadiaku indada   -ku   makan isi,*
        1SG   NEG.exist   1SG   eat   meat

     diaku makan ku   batis sama sayap saja.
        leg   with wing only
     'me, I didn't eat the breast meat, me I only ate the leg and the wing' (FKA 285)

They did not occur in that corpus as 'subject of transitive (AV) verb', and so may have an absolutive-like distribution, in core argument position.[32] The *short* free pronouns did not occur in 'object of AV' verb position in the same corpus, and so may have a nominative-like distribution. More work is needed to determine whether these patterns reflect strict constraints or merely strong tendencies. Apart from apparently differing possibilities with

respect to cooccurrence with AV verbs, the long and short free pronouns have largely the same possibilities of syntactic distribution:

(22) *aku ani*   *tinggal*   *Kampung Saba.*
      1SG DEM   live   K.   S.
      'me, I live in Kampong Saba.' (Afesah Hj Abas 1998)

(23) *kadiaku ani*   *tinggal*   *di*   *Kampung Aing*
      1SG   DEM   live   LOC   K.   A.
      'I live in Kampong Ayer'   (Awang Zaini Awg Hj Tuah 1993)

According to Pg Mohamad bin Pg Damit 1997, citing Dk. Hjh. Mahani Pg Hj Md.Yusof 1993, as Subject *ku* is always an enclitic, never a proclitic. The usual writing system does not indicate this clitic status, writing it as a separate word. It appears to behave like a second-position enclitic, often cliticising to other than verbs:

(24) *inda-ku*   *pacaya*
      NEG 1SG   believe
      'I don't believe (it). (FKA 139)

As Subject, *-ku* occurs both with underived intransitive and transitive verbs, as in examples (25) and (26) respectively. SM would have only free forms in both these contexts:

(25) *iatah*   *ingat-ku*   *adi-ngku*
      PART   remember-1SG   younger.sibling-1SG
      'I remember my younger siblings.'

(26) *mambali-ku*   *kain ampat mitar*   *kan anakku*
      maN-buy-1SG cloth four   metre   to child-1SG
      'I bought four metres of cloth for my child.'

Proclitic pronominals *ku, kau* and so on occur only on transitive verbs, marking the Actor (not the Subject) of an Undergoer Voice verb - see for example (2) above.

The possessive clitics *-(ng)ku* 1POS and *-(n)ta* 2POS each have two allomorphs, the 'nasalised' forms occurring only following a vowel:[33]

(27) *laki-ngku* 'my husband'   *sigup-ku* 'my cigarette'
      ati-nta   'your liver'   *batis-ta* 'your leg/foot'

In contrast, clitic verbal argument forms are invariable: *iski-(*ng)ku* 'I am delighted', *suka-(*ng)ku* 'I am happy', though zero derivation produces contrasts such as these (Awang Mataim Bakar 1992:157-9):

(28) *mau-ku*   *ba-karaja*   *lagi*   *bah*
      like-1SG   ba-work   again   PART
      'I want to work again'

(29) *mau-ngku tah*   *macam miatu*
      want-1SG PART   kind   be.like.that
      'The thing I want is like that'

Derivational morphology. Lexemes belonging to the principal lexical classes occur variously as simple morphemes or with various derivational affixes. This section lists the principle nominal and verbal affixes, in turn.[34]

Noun morphology. Descriptions of nominal morphology include Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo 1992, Hjh Rokiah Hj Ladis 1996, Mardina Hj Mahadi 1998. Many nouns occur without affixation (e.g. *candas* 'tongs', *durian* 'durian', *dangan* 'friend, other person'). Affixes and affix combinations deriving nouns with counterparts in SM include *-an; pa-, pang-, pa-(root)-an -, pang-(root)-an* and *ka-(root)-an*.[35] The combinations *pang-(root)-i* and *pang-(root)-kan*, said to derive nouns in BM, have no counterpart in SM.

-an: derives nouns when occurring with verb bases. Meanings include 'thing which undergoes the action of (verb base)', 'tool used to (verb base)':

(30) *isis-an* 'wet clothes for drying (*-isis* 'dry VT')'
      bari-an 'gift' (*-bari* 'give')
      titi-an 'narrow bridge' (*-titi* 'walk along a narrow path VI');
      jamur-an 'tool for drying things (*–jamur* 'dry VT')'
      kukut-an 'tool for scraping (*–kukut* 'scrape VT')'
      latup-latup-an 'explosive, fireworks', (*latup* 'explode VI')
      parun-an 'place for burning things, incinerator (*-parun* 'burn VT')

With reduplication of the base, *-an* derives nominals:

(31) *urang-urang-an*   'scarecrow' (*urang* 'person')
      rumah-rumah-an   'playhouse'   (*rumah* 'house')
      latup-latup-an   'explosives, fireworks', (*latup* 'explode VI')

pa-   (with allomorphs *par-, pal-):* forms nouns. Meanings include 'person/thing which performs the action of the base':

(32) *pa-kayuh* 'oarsman' (*ba-kayuh 'to row'*);
      pa-balat 'fisherman' (*ba-balat* 'fish using k.o. net')
      pa-ranggau 'magician' (*ba-ranggau* 'perform black magic')
      par-anak 'children (relational term)'

(33) *par-anak-ku ani*   *gauk-gauk*
      par-child-1SG DEM   RED-naughty
      My children are very naughty' (Hjh Rokiah Hj Ladis 1996:108)

pa- -an. This combination occurs in the following relational terms:

(34)   *paradian*   'siblings' (*adi* 'younger sibling'),
                parindungan 'parents' (*indung* 'parent')
                palakian   'husband'(*laki* 'husband')
                pabinian   'wife' (*bini* 'wife')

pang-: (allomorphy parallels *mang-,* below) 1. with most verb bases, forms nouns with meaning 'person/thing performing the action of the (dynamic) verb':

(35)   *pa(ng)ikat*   'thing used to tie' (-*ikat* 'tie vt')
          pambali   'buyer, customer (n)' (-*bali* 'buy')
          panyisir   'comb (n)' (-*sisir* 'comb (v)')
          pamburis   'boat builder' (-*buris* 'build boat')
          panjawat   'recipient (n)' (-*jawat* 'receive (v)')

Where the verb root is semantically 'adjectival', the meaning is 'person/thing with the quality of the base':

(36)   *panjurit* 'person who habitually makes a mess (n)' (-*jurit* '(be) scattered about')
    pangingaw(-an) 'person who habitually worries (n)' (*ingaw* 'worry')
    panggalat 'shy person (*galat* 'shy')'
    pamanday 'clever person (*panday* clever)

pang- -an: occurs on agentive/instrumental nouns with verb and some noun bases:

(37)   *panuntutan* 'student' (*tuntut* 'study')
    panunuan 'place for burning' (*tunu* 'burn, roast')
    pamukatan '(i) boat for netting fish (ii) place [...]' (*pukat* 'kind of net')
    panjangatan 'place for looking' (-*jangat* 'crane one's head to look')
    pa-lumak-an 'stepping board' (*ba-lumak* 'step (iv)')

pang- -i: said to derive agentive/instrumental nouns with verb bases (Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo 1992, 1996b):[36]

(38)   *pangalusi*   'tool for smoothing' (*alus* 'smooth, polished')
    pangantati   'gift' (-*antat* 'deliver')
    palapiki   'lid' (-*lapik* 'cover')
    pamanisi   'sweetener' (*manis* 'sweet')
    pambasari   'tool used to enlarge sthg' (*basar* 'big')
    pangalakari   'lier' (*ba-kalakar* 'lie vi')
    pangarasi   'stubborn person' (*karas* 'hard')
    pangalaalai   'showoff' (-*ala* 'show off a possession vt')

(39)   *panyisik-i-mu lauk ani   tajam banar*
    paN-sisik-i-mu
    paN-scale-LOC-2 fish   DEM   sharp true
    'this fish scaler of yours is really sharp' (Mardina Hj Mahadi 1998:44)

(40)   *basuh   panuangi atu!*
        paN-tuang-i
    wash   *paN*-pour-LOC DEM
    'Wash that pourer!' (Hjh Rokiah Hj Ladis 1996:146).

Occurrence with *-mu* 2POS, as in (39) above, is a good indicator that items derived with *pang- ... -i* are nouns, since *–mu* does not occur on (what are unambiguously) verbs. Other examples look decidedly verbal, though this may be a distinct derivation:

(41)   *adi-mu   luan   pang-gagah-i*
        younger.sib-2 too   *paN*-stubborn-LOC:
        'Your younger sibling is a very stubborn person' (Mardina Hj Mahadi 1998:42).

(42)   *Nya nini,   buah kamiri   bulih   pang-itam-i   kiray*
        word grandpa fruit candlenut can   *paN*-black-*i*   eyebrow
        'According to grandpa, candlenut can [be] an eyebrow blackener' (Mardina Hj Mahadi 1998:55).

pang- -kan: is said to derive instrumental nouns with verb bases which are semantically adjectival (Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo 1992:77). According to Mardina Hj Mahadi (1998:54), other verb bases derive nouns only with *pang- -i,* never *pang- -kan*.

(43)   *pambasarkan* 'tool for enlarging' (*basar* 'big')
        pangitamkan 'tool for blackening' (*itam* 'black')
        pamutihkan   'whitener' (*putih* 'white')
        pangilatkan   'tool used to shine sthg' (*ba-kilat* 'shine')

(44)   *cuba kau pakay   pang-gasa daway,   pamutihkan   balanga atu*
        try   2SG use   *paN*-rub wire   *paN*-white-*kan*   pot   DEM
        'Try using a wire brush as a whitening tool for that pot' (Mardina Hj Mahadi 1998)

Verb morphology. Descriptions of Brunei Malay verb morphology or morphosyntax include Hj Jaludin 1993, 1994, 1997, Hj Nali Md Noor (1993), Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo 1992, 1996b), Pg Mohamed Pg Damit 1997).

A verb may consist of a simple root morpheme. Many simple intransitive verbs occur without affixation (e.g. *gugur* 'fall', *bangun* 'get up', *aga* 'go, approach', *damit* 'small', *lawa* 'beautiful', *gauk* 'naughty'). Many simple transitive verbs also occur without affixation in Undergoer Voice (below) and imperative mood: *bali* 'buy', *lagaw* 'summon, call', *liat* 'see', *bunuh* 'kill', *antat* 'accompany, send'. One can distinguish inherently intransitive from inherently transitive monomorphemic verbs. Only the latter occur with clitic Actor pronominals (*ku-* 1SG, *kau-* 2SG, *-nya* 3SG/PL) on Undergoer Voice verbs (e.g. *bali* in 45); intransitive and nominal roots must carry a derivational sufix (*–kan, -i*) to do so (e.g. *lapas-kan* in 45):[37]

(45)   *bila sudah ku-bali, [...] ku-lapas-kan burung atu*
        if   already 1SG-buy   1SG-free-APP bird DEM
        Once I have bought [it] .. I will release that bird   (FKA 171)

This rest of this section describes (i) Undergoer Voice clauses, and those of the *kana* construction (ii) suffixes *–i*, and *-kan* (iii) prefixes *mang-, ba-, ta-* and the affix combinations *ba-...-i, ba-...-kan , ta- ...-i, ta- ...-kan*, (iv) circumfix *ka-(root)-an* and (v) the marginal infix *-um-*.

Undergoer Voice verbs consist of a bare transitive verb stem (root plus any suffix(es), and/or causative prefix *pa(l)-*). They have an Undergoer subject, and may optionally cooccur with an Actor: clitic pronominal agents *ku-*1SG (45 above), *kau* 2SG (46) are proclitic, while *-nya* 3SG/PL is enclitic (47):

(46)　*Apa <u>kau-pal-ajar-i?</u>*
　　　what 2SG-study-LOC
　　　'what are you studying'

(47)　*ani　　sadakah-kan-nya*　　　*pulang k-arah urang miskin, usin ani*
　　　DEM　　donation-APP-3　　　too　　to-to　person poor　money DEM
　　　'*This too was donated by him to the poor, this money*'　　　(FKA 92)

Where the actor is third person (overt or understood), the verb may carry the prefix *di-*:

(48)　*kalaw kau　　inda ba-lurih,　　　kau kan di-bunuh*
　　　if　　2SG　　NEG ba-obtain,　　　2SG will *di*-kill
　　　If you don't obtain [one] you will be killed.　　　(FKA 284)

However often there is no prefix (also 47 above):

(49)　*jadi　<u>liat</u> ulih bini-nya　　kayu anu　　bər-harga　　　　bah*
　　　so　　see by wife-3　　　wood *anu*　　*have*-price (SM)　　PART
　　　So the wood which was valuable was seen by his wife　　　(FKA 193)

(50)　A:　　*mana tia　　karis-nya ah?*
　　　　　　where PART　kris-3　　PART
　　　　　　A: *Where was his kris?*

　　　B:　　*antah ih.　　　　<u>kubur-nya</u>　　di tanah ah.*
　　　　　　don't.know PART　　bury-3　　　at ground　PART
　　　　　　B: *I don't know. Buried by him in the ground.*　(Hj Jaludin 1993:149)

Often there is no marking of the Actor at all, when clear from context:

(51)　*<u>bayar</u> sa-ribu　　ah　　urang ba-usin　anak-nya ani <u>bayar</u>. <u>Tutur-kan</u> ka bini-nya.*
　　　pay　one-thousand PART　person *ba*-money child-3　DEM, pay.　tell-APP to wife-3
　　　He was paid 1,000, the rich man, his child was paid. It was related [by him] to his wife. (FKA 89)

(52)　*saudagar ani　batah-batah jatuh　　sakit. Pasan-kan　　　anaknya.*
　　　merchant DEM RED-long.time fall　　sick　message-APP　CHILD-3
　　　Eventually the merchant fell sick. His children where sent-for [by him].
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Norain Hj Ali Hussin 1989:132)

The Actor NP may occur in a PP, headed by *ulih* 'by', (elsewhere glossable as 'get'), see also (49) above:

(53) *si anu ani   di-suruh   mancari   parampuan   ulih raja*
DET *anu* DEM *di*-order   *mang*-look.for woman   by king
'This 'what's-his-name' was ordered to find a woman by the king' (FKA 297)

(54) *karang ayah mu   kan di-patuk   ulih ular tadung*
later   father 2SG will *di*-bite   by   snake t.
'Later your father will be bitten by a tadung snake.' (FKA 239)

Alternatively, the Actor of an Undergoer Voice verb may directly follow the verb:

(55) *kaula   pihin   di-suruh raja   ma-lagaw pihin*
1SG.DEF   P.   *di*-order king *maN*-call P.
I [lit. Pihin's servant] have been ordered by the king to summon [you] Pihin. (FKA 157)

(60) *abis   tia   lauk yang di-pais-kan   mama-mu ani   dimakan ucing*
finished   PART.3   fish REL *di*-cook-CAUS mother-2SG DEM   *di*-eat   cat
'*the fish cooked by your mother is all gone, it was eaten by a cat.'*

Another very common passive-like structure is *kana* plus bare verb stem, or noun. Clauses formed with *kana* have an Undergoer subject and are actorless. Unlike similar constructions with *kəna* in other varieties of Malay, they do not have an adversative sense.

(61) *kami ani   kana bayi dayma,   dayma anu   pakiy miskin*
1EXC DEM   *kana* give charity,   *anu*   pauper poor
'*we were given charity, charity for the poor'* (KA speaker, Hj Tamam Hj Samat 1998:124)

(62) *karita-ngku macam bagas   kana   jalan-kan, angat   lakat   inggin-nya*
car-1SG   kind just.finished   *kana*   go-CAUS, hot   still   engine-3
'*my car, it's like it has just been driven, its engine is still hot'* (Hj Nali Md Noor 1993:65)

(63) *alum   tah   kana cahat   dinding ani*
not.yet PART *kana* paint   wall   DEM
'*the wall has not yet been painted'*

(64) *daulu nama-nya bukan miani,   sabab   ia pan-damam,*
before name-3   NEG   be.like.this   because 3 *pang*-fever

kana nama-i   tia   nama-nya karang ani
kana name-LOC PART name-3   time   DEM

Before his name was not like it is now; because he often got fevers he was named the name he has now (Hj Nali Md Noor 1993: 62).

Other Verb Morphology. Complex verbs consist of a root with either (i) a prefix (*mang-, ba-, ta-, pa-*) or (ii) a suffix *–an, -i, -kan* or (iii) both prefix and suffix e.g. *mang- ...-i, mang-...-kan, ba-...-i, ba-...-kan, , ba- ...-an, ta- ...-i, ta- ...-kan, di-...-i, di- ...-kan*. More rarely a verb has two prefixes *mam-pa-bini* 'AV-CAUS-wife: have intercourse with', *di-pa-buat-i* 'UV-CAUS-make-LOC: clean, prepare (fish) for cooking'. There is a circumfix *ka-(root)-an* and, in Kampong Ayer at least, a marginal infix, *-um-*.

Suffixes *-i* 'LOCATIVE' and *–kan* 'APPLICATIVE' combine with verb or noun roots to derive transitive-like verbs subcategorising an Undergoer NP (and also in some cases at least, an Actor NP.) The derived verbs may be prefixless (in Undergoer Voice), or prefixed with either *mang-* (Actor Voice), *ba-*, or *ta-*. They also form nouns with *pang-* (see above). Brunei Malay differs notably from SM then in allowing 1) ready occurrence of either of the suffixes *–i* and *–kan* on roots prefixed with *ba-* and *ta-*, and 2) cooccurrence of both *–i* and *–kan* together on transitive verb stems.

The locative suffix *-i* has allomorph *–hi* when attaching to bases ending with *i*. It indicates the Undergoer is a Location (for example, static Location, affected Surface, or Direction [including Goal, Recipient]).

(65)   *arik-i* 'call to U = person called to'   *nama-i* 'name (U = person named)'
       unjar-i 'search for, U = object sought'   *subuk-i* 'spy on (U = object spied on)'
       mandi-hi 'bathe (vt, U = person bathed)'   *bagi-hi*, 'share out (vt, U = recipient)'
       dangan-i 'friend-LOC: accompany, U = person accompanied'

(66)   *makah ku   kamari ani   kan minta   bagi-hi   galagah   tah nya*
       so   1SG   to.here DEM   to ask.for   share.out-LOC sugarcane   PART QUOT
       'So I come here to ask to be given some sugarcane', he said.

The applicative suffix *-kan* (varies with *-akan* in older literary texts, particularly but not only those with Kadayan influence). It indicates the Undergoer has a 'circumstantial' role, including Causee (on intransitive and noun roots), Benefactee (on transitive roots), moved object (on verbs of giving/transferring), thing said/thought/heard (verbs of speaking/thinking/sense).

(67)   *bara-kan* 'give U to someone'   *kata-kan* 'say' (U = thing said)
       sadakah-kan 'donate U'   *idup-kan* 'cause U to live'
       bali-kan   'buy [sthg] for U' *sambah-kan*   'offer U up to someone'
       bar-anak-kan 'give birth to U'   *gugur-kan*   'cause U to fall, drop U'

Both *–i* and *–kan* may cooccur on the same transitive verb stem (Hj Jaludin Hj Chuchu 1994, 1997). The Undergoer NP is a Location; the presence of *–kan* appears to have a purely semantic function, signalling that the action is performed to benefit someone not represented in the syntax of the clause.

(68)   *panas-i-kan* 'heat U (for someone)'   *bali-hi-kan*   'buy U (for someone)'
       buntak-i-kan 'shorten U (for someone)' *dangan-i-kan* 'accompany U (for smn)'

Prefix *mang-*. This occurs on verbs with an agentive Subject NP. Often they also occur with an Undergoer NP (in 'Actor Voice').

(69)   *mang-alai*   'dance'   *manangis (tangis)* 'to weep'
            ma-lapihi   'to open U'   *manyubuk-i (subuk)* 'to spy on U'
            ma-ibun-kan 'to joke about U' *maninggi-hi (tinggi)*   'to make higher'
            man-dangar   'to hear U'   *mam-bagi-hi* 'to share out to U'

Allomorphy of *mang-* is similar to SM *məng-*: (i) [maŋ] occurs before roots with initial /a/, and optionally before root-initial /i/ and /u/ (ii) [ma] occurs before roots with an initial

sonorant, including before the vowels /i/ and /u/: *ma-intay* 'lie in wait for', *ma-unjar* 'look for' (iii) the nasal segment assimilates to the place of articulation of a root-initial obstruent, sometimes with loss of [ma]: *mam-bali ~ mbali* 'buy', *manjual ~ njual* 'sell' (iii) root-intial voiceless obstruents, including /c/, are 'deleted', again sometimes with loss of [ma] *maminjam* (root *pinjam*) ~ *minjam* 'borrow'.[38]

(70)   *si Ajah Munah   mang-arik-i   kadiaku mam-bali kambayaw-nya*
           DET Hajah M.   *maN*-call-LOC 1SG   *maN*-buy k.o.fruit-3
           'Hajah Munah was calling to me to buy her kambayaw (fruit).' (Hjh Sumijah Alias 1992)

(71)   *mana ka-dapat-an   urang m-bawa   sanjata   atu,   ah?*
             ka-get-an   maN-bawa
           where be.caught   person carry   weapon   DEM   PART
           'Has the person carrying the weapon been caught?' (Azmi Abdullah ms.)

Prefix *ba-* is generally invariant, though the allomorph *bar-* occurs before certain vowel-initial bases, e.g. *bar-inut* 'do slowly, happen slowly', *bar-anak* 'give birth, *bar-ubat* 'take medecine', in the variety described by Awg Mataim Bakar (1992:178). Occurrence (retention?) of the latter allomorph may be due to the influence of the cognate suffix in SM, *bər-*. Verbs with prefix *ba-* generally occur with a single NP argument, though transitive bases sometimes appear to have two arguments (see below). On intransitive verbal bases *ba-* generally forms verbs with meaning 'do (base)':

(72)   *ba-nanang*   'swim'   *ba-jaga-jaga* 'stay awake late'
           ba-kayuh   'row'   *ba-lusir*   'run'
           ba-rungkup   'fight'   *ba-tapuk*   'hide'

On nominal bases *ba-* forms verbs with meanings such as 'have (noun), do the action one typically does with (noun)':

(73)   *ba-bau*   '(give off) smell'   *ba-gubang*   'travel by boat'
           ba-saluar   'wear trousers'   *ba-antu*   'have a ghost (be haunted)'
           ba- kurapak 'speak, chat'   *bar-anak*   'give birth'

(74)   *kalaw kamu ba-galas,   pinjam-i   kami*
           if   2sg   ba-glass   lend-LOC   1EXC
           'If you have glasses, lend us (them).' (Hj Nali Md. Noor 1993:83)

(75)   *inda kami ba-paraw   kan ka sana*
           NEG 1EXC   ba-boat   for to there
           'We don't have a boat for (going) there.' (Hj Nali Md. Noor 1993:83)

Nominal bases may themselves be complex: *ba-ka-duduk-an* 'be married' (*kadudukan* 'seat'), *ba-ka-handak* 'intend' (*kahandak* intention).

On transitive stems (root, or root plus suffix), *ba-* often forms passive-like verbs, with meaning "(Subject) be in a state of having undergone/undergoing the action of (base):[39]

(76) *ba-ambak* 'be dismantled'   *ba-sasah*   'be washed'
    ba-buka   'be open(ed)'   *ba-baik-i*   'be repaired'
    ba-tabang 'be cut down'   *ba-karaja-kan* 'be done (of work)'

(77) *injin   paraw ba-baik-i   sudah*
    engine boat   ba-good-LOC already
    'the engine of the boat has been fixed'

(78) *ia mang-angkat atu   pisang sa-bigi,   pisang ba-rabus*
    3 *mang*-lift   DEM banana one-CLASS   banana *ba*-boil
    He took a banana from the fire, a boiled banana. (FKA 102)

(79) *sudah   ba-mata-i   kadidia atu,   lakat jua ulah-nya macamiatu*
    already   *ba*-eye-LOC   3SG DEM,   still   too behaviour-3 like.that
    *'That person (lit. 'that (s)he') has been watched closely, (but) his/her behaviour is
    still like that'* (Hj Nali Md Noor 1993:101)

Often the verb occurs with an agentive subject and a generic nominal, perhaps analysable as
intransitive (cf constructions in SM like *berjual kain* 'sell cloth' , *bertanam padi* 'plant rice'):

(80) *ia bajual kambayaw   anam ringgit sa-gantang,   Ajah Munah.*
    3 *ba*-sell k.o.fruit   six   ringgit   one-measure A. M.
    She sells kambayaw fruit for six ringgit for one gantang, (does) Hajah Munah.
    (Hjh Sumijah Alias 1992)

(81) *kami   indada   bajumpa lulu,   sa-ekor lulu   pun   indada*
    1PL.EXC   NEG.EXIST   ba-meet k.o.animal   one-CLASS   PART
    *'We didn't find a lulu.'   (FKA 74)

However in other clauses similar verbs appear to associate with both an Actor NP and an
Undergoer NP (see also 10):

(82) *karang ba-unjar tua-mu   kadiaku*
    later   ba-search uncle-2SG 1SG
    'Later I will be looked for by your uncle.'

(83) *'di   mana kau   ba-lurih amas ani?'   nya*
    LOC   which 2sg   get   gold DEM   word
    *'Where did you find this gold', [he] said.'   (FKA 39)

(84) *jadi   ba-jumpa   ia   urang tua ani   mangambil kayu*
    so   *ba*-meet   3   person old DEM   *maN*-take wood
    'So he came upon the old man gathering wood.' (FKA 273)

(85) *kalaw ada sudah   urang ba-suruh atu, macam kita kan basuruh kadiaku ah*
    if   BE already   person *ba*-order DEM, like   2POL will *ba-order* 1SG PART
    'If there is a person who orders, for example if you order me'   (FKA 326)

Prefix *ta-* attaches to nouns, and to both intransitive and transitive verbs. The combinatorial
possibilities and functions of verbs formed with prefix *ta-* are similar to those of SM, though

in BM *ta-* cooccurs with complex transitive stems: *ta-parang-i* '(able to) wage war against', *ta-hukum-kan* '(able to) judge', *ta-duduk-i* '(accidentally) sit on'. Semantically these verbs indicate either (i) ability to carry out action of the verb (usually in a negative sense):

(86) *balum tah ku   ta-butang-i baju-mu atu,   gagaw ku lakat*
not.yet PART 1SG   *ta*-button-LOC clothing-2 DEM, busy 1SG still
'*I have not yet been able to put a button on your shirt, I'm still busy*' (Hj Nali Md Noor 1993: 67)

(87) *mun ngalih macam ani, dada ku lagi   ta-lusir*
if   sore   kind DEM, NEG 1SG again   *ta*-run
'*If I'm sore like this, I'm not able to run any more.*' (Hj Nali Md Noor 1993:67)

(88) *siapa boleh ta-parang-i kapal atu, ia boleh jadi kawin dangan anak raja atu*
who can *ta*-war-LOC ship DEM, 3SG can become marry with child king DEM
'*whoever is able to wage war against that ship may marry the king's daughter*' (FKA 281)

(89) *adi-bar-adi ani* […] *inda tia ta-kilala   mangkali   muka atu udah berlainan*
siblings   DEM […] NEG PART *ta*-recognise perhaps   face DEM already different(SM)
The brothers didn't recognize [each other] ... their faces were already different. (FKA 55)

or (ii) accidental/ uncontrolled /non-deliberate performance of the action of the verb (see Hj Nali Md Noor 1993, Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo 1996b for more discussion and examples):

(90) *dami-nya   ta-cium   bau   kamanyan atu,   tarus tia   pingsan*
time-3   *ta*-smell   odour incense DEM   then PART   faint
'*On smelling the odour of of the incense, he immediately fainted.*' (Hj Nali Md Noor 1993)

(91) *aku atu kan   manakuti kau ganya,   sakali tatakuti tia pulang kadidia.*
1SG DEM will   *maN*-afraid-LOC 2SG only,   but   *ta*-afraid-LOC PART too 3SG
'I was going to scare just you, but [I] accidentally scared him too. (Hj Nali Md Noor 1993:67)

(92) *di-panggil urang manghukumkan* […] *inda sanggup manghukumkan,*
di-call   person *maN*-law-APP   NEG able
A person who could judge [the case] was called ... [he] was not able to judge [it]

[…] *sagala-galanya tuan imam inda ta-hukum-kan*
      all   sir imam NEG *ta*-law-APP
all the imam's were unable to pass judgement   (FKA 58)

The circumfix *ka-(root)-an*. This combines with verbal and nominal roots to derive passive-like verbs with Undergoer subjects and generally adversative meanings such as 'U suffer action of (nominal/verbal root)'. According to Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo (1996c), this is a very productive derivation in BM:

(93) *ka-simbur-an* 'U have sthg sprayed (on U) (*simbur* 'spray')'
ka-tumpah-an 'U have sthg spilt (on U) (*tumpah* 'spill')'
ka-takut-an   'U be very afraid (*takut* afraid)'
ka-ingar-an   'U suffer from excessively loud noise (*ingar* 'noisy')'
ka-miang-an   'U suffer from *miang* (fine sharp hairs on bamboo)'
ka-ranggit-an 'U be bitten by a *ranggit* (kind of gnat)'
ka-lanjar-an   'U be too long (*lanjar* 'long')'

Occasional forms do not have an adversative sense, such as *kadangaran* 'U be heard' (*dangar* 'hear')*, kadapatan* 'be found (by chance)', *kaabaran* 'U be reported' (*abar* 'news').

(94)   *jadi ka-abar-an ka raja*
         so   *ka*-news-*an* to king
         So [the event] was reported to the king   (FKA 219)

(95)   *ka-manis-an-ku oren [...] ani*
         ka-sweet-*an*-1SG sweet.drink DEM   (Hj Nali Md Noor1993:106)
         This sweet drink is too sweet for me (lit. I suffer the sweetness of this drink.)

(96)   *abis binasa kulit-nya ka-tumpah-an aing angat*
         all   destroyed skin-3 *ka*-spill-*an* water hot
         His skin was all destroyed, it had hot water spilt on it. (Hj Nali Md Noor1993:106)

The verbal infix *-um-*. In Kampung Ayer the infix *-um-* is used in a limited set of verbs expressing sense impressions. The following are reported in one ward, Kampung Tamoi (Dyg Merliani bte Murah, p.c.). Younger people and other dialects use the *mang*-prefixed alternants:

(97)   *lumagur* (~ *malagur*)   'make noise e.g. of an object falling to the floor'
         lumapuk (~ *malapuk*)   'make noise e.g. of an object falling into the water'
         cumapuk (~ *mancapuk*)   'make noise e.g. of an object falling into the water'
         cumabur (~ *mancabur*)   'fall into the water'
         lumatuk (~ *malatuk*)   'rap with knuckles, or with a hammer (etc)'

Dewan Bahasa 1991 lists also *lumapak* 'very white', as an alternative to *ma-lapak*, and *gumanta* 'noisy', *baganta-ganta* 'stop and start (noise)'.

Particles. A variety of distinctive discourse particles convey modal information. These include *bah* (examples 28, 49, 98)*, tah* (examples 7, 9, 12 etc)*, tia* (said to be a combination of *tah* and *ia,* examples 50, 60, 64 etc), *k(i)an, dih, jua, ah* and *ih*. See Hj Mohd. Taha bin Metali 1994 for a brief survey, Pg Hidop Pg Hj Samsuddin 1992 on *bah*.[40]

(98)   *suka-ngku atu bah*
         like-1SG.POS that PART
         'That is the thing I like'   (Awg Mataim Bakar 1992)

The *Bahasa Dalam*. The *bahasa dalam* or 'court language' is used to express often fine status differences; it is similar in function and use to the developed court style of *bahasa diraja* in Malaysia, and to some extent to the 'speech levels' systems found in Javanese, Balinese, Madurese and Sundanese.[41] Studies of the *bahasa dalam* include Brown 1970, Jabatan Adat Istiadat Negara n.d. (a wordlist), Hassin Hj Moktal 1989, Hj Kula Hj Md. Noor 1995, and Fatimah Awg Chuchu 1991, 1996. The *bahasa dalam* consists of (i) a lexicon (including titles) expressing status distinctions (ii) discourse conventions governing appropriate usage of lexis, appropriate ways of opening and closing exchanges, of inviting, ordering, requesting, refusing, and so on. Indirectness and euphemism are important (e.g. *ke siring* 'urinate, of person of lower status than the addressee', literally '(go) to the side'), along with (iii) paralinguistic conventions, including use of intonation and speed of delivery, and

'body language' such as ways of sitting and saluting and other physical signals signalling differences in status. The active use of *bahasa dalam* is generally limited to those who frequent the court circle (*orang dalam*), though all Bruneians now study Bahasa Dalam at school.

An elaborate set of pronominal forms and terms of address expresses fine shades of status distinction (see Brown 1970 for details of the social structure). There is a basic social distinction between nobles (*pangiran*), who trace their ancestry to a sultan, and commoners (*urang kabanyakan*). Further relevant social categories affecting usages in *bahasa dalam* include the *sultan*; wives of the sultan (their status varying with descent, or decree); *putra/putri gahara* children of a sultan by a noble wife, or one given that status; *putra/putri tidak gahara* children of a sultan by a non-noble wife; various classes of *pangiran*, including *wazir* or *wajir* the four highest noble officials, usually members of the sultan's immediate family, *citiria* high-ranking nobles immediately below the *wajir* in status and *raja-raja bataras* nobles descended from high officials. Commoner titles include *pihin mantiri* (commoners appointed to high office) and *patih* (a lower ranked position). Factors such as office, age, gender, and marital status are also relevant. For example, according to Jabatan Adat Istiadat Negara (n.d.), the sultan and his wife use various 1SG forms, including (i) *aku, kadiaku* to address people of all ranks (ii) *beta* when addressing commoners formally, (ii) *kaola* when addressing commoners appointed to high office, and (iii) *paramba* if addressing members of the royal family, *wajir, citiria*, and *raja-raja bataras.*

The lexicon of the *bahasa dalam* consists almost exclusively of items with human reference, for example (i) body parts and products: *ulu* 'head (of member of the royal family)', *jemala* 'head (of commoner)', *titah* 'words uttered by the Sultan or his wife';
(ii) bodily states and actions: '*siram* bathe, of *pangiran*'; *jatnyawa* 'sick, of *pengiran*', *lindung* 'die, of Sultan', *mangkat* 'die, of other high-ranking nobles', *maluaran* 'give birth (of a high ranking noble)';
(iii) 'salient' possessions: *paraduan* 'bed of member of the royal family or *wajir*', *cərpu* 'shoe/footwear of Sultan', *kamul* 'night sarong of high-ranking noble',
(iv) salient items and actions and officials in court activities: *pataratna* 'throne', *sembah* 'obeisance', *budayang* 'commoner nanny who looks after royal children'.

Often a single basic concept will be realised by more than one lexical item, depending on the status of the referent, thus *santap* 'eat, of Sultan or high nobles', *tamayapan* 'eat (of a commoner)'. One can thus make a broad distinction between Honorific and Deferential semantic classes, similar to Javanese *krama inggil* and *krama andhap* lexis, respectively:

(i) Honorific lexis is reserved for referents belonging to a particular high status group: *ba-titah* 'speak, command (of Sultan and wife)', *ba-sabda* 'speak, command, of other high ranking nobles'
(ii) Deferential lexis expresses the lower status of the person referred to, (usually the speaker), with respect to another person: *barung-barung* 'commoner's home (when speaking to a *pangiran*)', *irmas* 'child (of a *pihin mantiri*, speaking to a *pangiran*).

Most of the items in the typescript 'Bahasa Istiadat Di-Raja' (compiled in the 1950's and cited by Brown 1970), or other lists, can be classified into one of these two broad semantic classes. Bahasa Istiadat Di-Raja lists 42 lexical morphemes which appear classifiable as 'honorific', 23 classifiable as 'deferential', plus approximately 28 pronominals, whose selection is again determined by relative status. Based on a comparison of that list with later

ones, Fatimah Awg Chuchu (1996) reports prescriptive changes since the 1950's, all of which have the effect of heightening status distinctions. For example, *patik* '1SG' formerly used by anyone when speaking to the Sultan or his wife, now used only by nobles (others should now use *hamba kebawah duli tuan patek* (lit. 'slave below the dust on the feet of *patik*'s master'); *santap* 'eat' and *murka* 'angry' formerly used with reference to 'common nobles', now restricted to apply only to members of the Sultan's family, and high ranking nobles.

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The following abbreviations are used: Ar. Arabic; ACT actor; APP applicative; AV actor voice, 'active'; BI Bahasa Indonesia; BM Brunei Malay; BSB Bandar Seri Begawan; CAUS causative; CLASS classifier; COMP complement; DEF deferential; DEM demonstrative; DET determiner; Eng. English; EXC exclusive; FKA (see bibliography); FMG (see bibliography); HON honorofic; IMP imperative; INC inclusive; Kd. Kadayan; KA Kampong Ayer/Kampung Aing; LOC locative; NEG negator; NP noun phrase; O(BJ) object; PART expressive particle; PL plural; POL polite; POS possessive; QUOT quotative particle; RED reduplication; REL relative clause marker; SG singular; SM Standard Malay; S(UB) subject; U undergoer; UV Undergoer Voice, 'passive'; V verb; VP verb phrase; vt transitive verb; vi intransitive verb; *hypothetical reconstructed form, (*X) 'ungrammatical if X is present'.

[2]The estimate of 'two-thirds' mother-tongue speakers follows that of previous writers. It is impossible to give an exact figure, since for census and other purposes, the government treats all the indigenous languages of Brunei as dialects of Malay. These include the only distantly related languages Belait, Tutong, Lun Bawang (also known as Murut) and Dusun/Bisaya (cf Nothofer 1991:158), not discussed here. Also not discussed here is 'bazaar Malay', a simplified variety used for interethnic communication by some non-Malays, cf Martin 1996.

[3]The word 'Borneo' is itself a deformation of the word *barunay*. See also footnote 5.

[4]Items cited by Awang Hj Muhammad bin Hj Jambul & Awang Alipuddin bin Hj Omarkandi 1997 include the following:

Pigafetta's transcription	Pigafetta's gloss	BM
niny	grandfather	*nini* 'grandfather'
aghai	chin	*ajay* 'chin'
cuiu	dog	*kuyuk* 'dog'
garam sira	salt	*sira* 'salt'
tunda	fishing line	*tunda* 'fishing line'
tundun	neck	*tundun* 'nape of neck'
na	take	*nah* 'PART: please take …'
calabutan	'polypus'	*kalabutan* 'k.o. squid'

Other elements also consistent with a Bruneian source but not cited by those authors include the lack of final –*k* on kin terms: *nini, bapa* 'father'; Pig. *batis* 'foot' (BM *batis* 'foot, leg'); Pig. *quilai* 'eyebrows' (BM *kiray* 'eyebrows' - Pigafetta on several occasions transcribes SM /r/ as <l>, e.g. *saudala* 'brother', *lambut* 'hair'); Pig. *agun* 'gong' (BM *agung*); Pig. *orancaia* 'sir' (BM *orang kaya* 'honorific title'); c.f. also the form of the suffix on Pig. *biri-akan* 'bring me that', and Pig. and BM *badil* 'cannon'. At the same time other items in Pigafetta's list are clearly *not* Bruneian in origin, e.g. *tubi* 'water' *igao* 'green' [BM *gadung*].

[5]Until this century this village was referred to as simply *barunay*; foreigners sometimes called it *Borneo Proper*. The current local name, which dates from around 1910, is *kampung aing,* from *Kampong Ayer*, the Standard Malay translation of the then English administrators' *Water Village* (Abdul Latif Hj Ibrahim 1984). See also footnote 11 on orthography.

[6]While there may have been approximately 25,000 residents in KA in the 1980's, even then probably only the oldest generation were true '*balandih*' speakers. Younger generations speak a variety closer to the general Brunei Malay of Bandar Seri Begawan (Hj Sumijah Alias & Poedjosoedarmo 1996). The texts in Abdul Hamid and Paliniappan 1998, for example, do not generally show **r > y*. In recent decades there has been an ongoing major shift in population from Kampong Ayer to the mainland, with a concomitant stigmatization and abandonment of the KA dialect.

[7]Other features of Banjar mophosyntax exemplified by Wolff which are also found in BM include cooccurrence of *ta-* and *ba-* with –*i* and –*kan;* absence of prefix *di-* on Undergoer Voice verbs, and lack of an overt marker of relative clauses.

[8]See also Martin 1992 and 1996b, for briefer surveys of linguistic sources on Brunei.

[9]Younger people's Brunei Malay can be observed in use (with much admixture of English and Standard Malay) on the '#brunei' Internet Relay Chat channel.

[10]I am aware of no evidence for treating morpheme-final /aw/, /ay/ and /uy/ (in e.g. *gagaw* 'busy', *barunay* 'Brunei', *sikuy* 'melon') as phonemic diphthongs; I assume they are simple vowel-consonant sequences.

[11]Place names are written with a Malaysian-influenced orthography, which does not reflect BM phonology, e.g. Jerudong /jaruduŋ/, Temburong /tamburuŋ/, Kianggeh /kiaŋgih/, Kampong Ayer, /kampuŋ aiŋ/ in everyday BM.

[12]As well as *r > y*, Some speakers of Kampung Ayer have *r > Ø*, particularly word-initially, for some lexical items items only (see wordlists in Hj Tamam Samat 1998).

[13]Younger speakers have phonetic onset clusters: [brunay], [blait] (place names), [skulah] 'school'. Dewan Bahasa 1991 lists one expressive item with a medial onset cluster: *bantrah* 'slow to cook [*tidak mau masak*] (of rice)'. Usually such clusters are regularised: *nargi* (SM *nəgri*) 'country'; *satur* 'enemy' (cf Skt *satru* 'enemy').

[14]Dewan Bahasa 1991 lists two exceptions *ruha* 'untidy (household), broken (thing)' and *garha* 'rough (quality of work or behaviour).

[15]Kampung Ayer *gulmat* 'dark' has coda /l/.

[16]As cross-linguistically, exceptions to phonotactic regularities are often loanwords or expressives, which include names of plants and animals, iconics (sense impressions) and affective words (pejoratives, melioratives). The following /sC/ sequences, for example, occur in just one or two morphemes each, some at least are likely loanwords: (i) -sn-: *pisnin* 'ornament in bridegroom's hat'; -st-: *pistar* 'squint at', -*pisti* 'be in the habit of asking questions at length about sthg' [< English ?*pesky, pest*]; *ma-rista* 'recall past times'; (*inda ba*)*lastak* '(never) be in the same place (of hands, things)'; -sk-: *iski* 'joy(ful), delight(ed)'; *kaskul* 'instrument of royal regalia'; -sp-: *paspan* 'kind of metal saucepan (< English *saucepan*?).

[17]Dewan Bahasa 1991 lists *gurinsing ~ garinsing* 'betel leaf container'; c.f. also *bertolak-ansur* 'give and take' (Standard BM, from SM); <n> here no doubt realises an alveo-laminal allophone of /ɲ/.)

[18]The form *cicap* (~ *kicap*, 'soy sauce') listed in Dewan Bahasa 1991 may be the result of hypercorrection; cf the listing as 'incorrect' of the (presumably jocular) pronunciations *bucit* for *bukit* 'hill', *kaci* for *kaki* 'leg' in Muda Omar 'Ali Saifuddin 1994:164-165.

[19]To disambiguate /ay/ from /a.i/ (where each vowel fills a separate syllable), Bruneian orthographies sometimes represent the latter as <aie>, e.g. <Kampong Pulaie>, 'placename', <*pulaie*> /pu.la.i/ 'k.o. plant (*Alstonia* sp.)' (Dewan Bahasa 1991:61), written *pulai* in the present orthography; contrast <malai> (*malay* in the present orthography), /malay/, 'title of person of Arabic descent'.

[20]As in this case the Undergoer Voice verb is generally preceded by a clitic actor pronominal: *ku-, kau-, kami, kitani, biskita, bisdia* and so on.

[21]It is possibile that *anu* (otherwise a hesitation marker) also functions as a 'relativiser'; examples such as the following are common (see also examples 18, 49):

  sudah jua abis *bakarajakan* *anu* *kita suruh atu*
  already too finish done   *anu* 2 order DEM
  'What you ordered has been done'   (S. Poedjosoedarmo 1996:48)

[22]A distinct function of *yang* is its occurrence before sentential complements:

  anak ani pun *takajut* *yang* *kadidia inda masuk aing*
  child DEM PART surpised COMP 3 NEG enter water
  'The child was surpised that he didn't enter the water' (FKA 36)

This may be due to influence from English *that,* which also has both functions.

[23]Examples of –*mu* as prepositional object: *kalau ia damam, tawar-tawar-i olehmu* 'If he is feverish, you neutralise it!' (FMG); *mana olehmu bajalan atu* 'where will you walk?' (FKA); *macam mana ku kan maminjam arah mu* 'How can I lend to you?' (FKA); Only one similar case of –*kau* was found, though clearly SM: *'itu budak saya sarahkan pada kau'*. 'The boy, I hand over to you.' (FKA).

[24]Note that -*mu* realises clitic 2SG.POS, not 2PL, while *kamu* realises 2PL, not 2SG underlyingly. *Kamu* is nonetheless 'appropriated' for use as an intermediate politeness 2SG form, where *kita*

is not considered appropriate. This parallels the uses of other basically plural forms for polite singular reference.

[25]Standard BM *awda* is a recent creation, probably on the model of BI, SM *anda;* it derives from <u>aw</u>ang-<u>da</u>yang ('sir-madam'), though is used for both singular and plural reference.

[26]*ia* is used both for human and non-human referents, including (occasionally) inanimate objects: '*burung atu [...] ia inda ditangkap'* That bird, it can't be caught' (FKA 46) ; *bila diliat dari atas Bukit Subuk atu antadi ka Sungai Si[a]imas ani antadi sabanarnya ia macam gunung amas.* 'Looking from Subuk hill to Sungai Siamas actually it is like a mountain of gold.' (FKA 35). FKA contains 642 tokens of *ia*, and 32 of *dia.* FMG, a collection of tales from the Gadong area, with many (but not all) from Kadayan speakers, contains 199 tokens of *ia*, and 80 of *dia.* While its low frequency suggests that *dia* may be a loanword from SM in KA, it is at present unclear if that is the case in Gadong.

[27]Not to be confused with *nya* 'words, speech, quotative particle', see examples (14), (28) and passim; also *nya-nya* 'his words, he said', *nya-ngku* 'I said; I say'; *nya-mu* often is best glossed as something like 'I say!'.

[28]The FKA texts contain 122 tokens of *katani*, and only one of *kitani*; FMG, a similar collection of texts collected in the Gadong area has 48 tokens of *kitani* and only one of *katani.* The latter texts are predominately by Kadayan speakers, but some are by Barunay speakers. It is unclear for thhe moment whether the difference in distribution is dialectal (KA/Barunay vs Kadayan), or geographical (KA area versus Gadong area).

[29]*(a)bisia* is said to be an exclusively Kadayan form, *bisdia* to be KA. FKA has 9 tokens of *(a)bis(i)dia*, and 34 of *diurang*; FMG has 35 tokens of *bisdia*, 2 of *basia* and 1 of *durang* (BM speaker). Factors determining the distribution of *abis(i)dia, ia,* and *d(i)urang* have not to my knowledge been studied. Soepomo 1992:70 lists *diurang* as having 3SG reference, Pg Hj Mahmud Pg Damit 1992 just as 3PL. Plural uses dominate in texts: *bapanya sudah maninggal, tinggal diurang adi-baradi* 'their father had died, they were left, brothers' (Norain Hj Ali Hussein. 1989:142).

[30]*ia* is usually glossed just as 3SG, however 3PL uses are also found: *cara kanak-kanak karang ani, ia mamilih juduhnya sandiri* 'like children these days, they choose their spouses themselves' (Hj Jaludin Hj Chuchu 1993:169); *urang-urang dari Saba kah* (sic) *Paramu inda ia barani malintas ni hampir-hampir* 'people [going] from Saba to Paramu, they don't dare cross close to here' (FKA 35).

[31]The singular-plural number distinction is not always well-defined: second-person *kita* can have both plural or (polite) singular reference, as can both *kamu* and *ia* (see footnotes 24 and 29); *d(i)urang* usually 3PL, possibly occasionally 3SG. The redundant *(a)bis* on *abiskita, abisdiurang* may convey politeness (Nor Azam Hj Othman personal communication).

[32]I have found only two or three (invented) examples with a long pronominal functioning as subject-of-transitive-verb; informants disagree as to their grammaticality:

> ma-liat sudah kadiaku   bini-nya
> ma*N*-see T/A   1SG   wife-3

'I saw his wife' (Dk Hjh Mahani 1993, cited in Pg Mohamad bin Pg Damit 1997:16. Pg Mohamad rejects the grammaticality of a similar clause 1997:19.) In general, younger and educated speakers say they do not use or control the longer forms.

[33]Most younger speakers have invariant *-ku*, *-ta,* see for example (4).

[34]I assume that semantic 'adjectives' are syntactically a kind of verb.

[35]It is unclear to what extent nominal derivation with *ka- ... -an* is productive in BM. Descriptions of *ka-... -an*: cite mainly forms also found in SM, such as *ka-boleh-an* 'ability' (*boleh* 'can'); *ka-laku-an* 'behaviour' (*-laku* 'go'), *ka-ulah-an* 'behaviour' (*ulah* 'do'). Hj Nali 1993:105 gives these examples:

(i)   *cuba tah bisai-bisai   ka-ulah-an ani,   dada kana marah-i*
           try PART   RED-good   *ka-go-an* DEM,   NEG *kana angry-i*
           'Try [to make] your behaviour nice, [so that] you are not scolded'

(ii)   *baik tah andang buatkan   ka-tarah-an ayam atu*
           good PART indeed   make-*kan ka-[?]-an   chicken* DEM-good
           'it is good if that chicken 'laying place' is made.'

[36]Mardina Hj Mahadi (1998) proposes that in this derivation at least –i has allomorph [hi] after final /i/ and zero allomorph after final /y/ (her post-vocalic <i>), hence: *pamandihi, paninggihi, pangisihi,* but *pamaluy, pamugay, pambaray.*

[37]Intransitive verbs may appear to carry proclitic pronominals, but these in fact are enclitic to a preceding element, see example (24) and discussion there.

[38]There appears to be no distinct allomorph for monosyllabic roots: *ma-lap* 'to wipe with a cloth'.

[39]According to Hj Nali Md Noor (1993:83) for some noun bases, 'particularly those referring to an instrument' the derived verb has a passive stative meaning: *ba-cangkul* 'be dug with a hoe' (*cangkul* 'hoe'), *ba-gunting* 'have a haircut' (*gunting* 'scissors'). I assume these are verbal bases.

[40]On the use of *bah* in Brunei English, see Ozog, A. and P.W. Martin 1996. 'The *bah* particle in Brunei English.', in Martin, Ozog, and G. Poedjosoedarmo (eds). pp236-249.

[41]In some respects the *bahasa dalam* appears to be a less developed system than the Javanese type, in that

(i)   the number of distinct lexical items/lexicalised expressions appears to be less. For example, both the 'Bahasa Istiadat Di-Raja' (cited in Brown 1970) and Jabatan Adat Istiadat Negara n.d. list less than 100 items, while both Javanese and Balinese have at least 800 commonly used distinct 'high' lexical items.

(ii)   there is no distinct set of grammatical words/functors specific to this style.

(iii)   there appears to be little or no equivalent of the general '*krama*' vocabularly or style, used not to convey status distinctions, but rather to express social distance/formality.

(iv)   there appears to be no distinct linguistic metalanguage, e.g. for referring to the various lexical subclasses.