The Use of American and British Lexis in Brunei English

Nur Raihan Mohamad
Universiti Brunei Darussalam
raihan.mohamad@ubd.edu.bn

Abstract. In pronunciation, influenced by American English, a shift in Brunei English can be observed in the increasing use of [r] in tokens such as *car* and *heard* particularly among younger speakers whose pronunciation may be influenced by American English. In contrast, older speakers tend to omit the [r] sound in these tokens as their pronunciation may be more influenced by British English. However, it is unclear whether American English has influenced the vocabulary of Brunei English speakers as the education system in Brunei favours British English due to its historical ties with Britain. This paper analyses the use of American and British lexical items between three age groups: 20 in-service teachers aged between 29 to 35 years old, 20 university undergraduates aged between 19 to 25 years old, and 20 secondary school students who are within the 11 to 15 age range. Each age group has 10 female and 10 male participants and they were asked to name seven objects shown to them on Power point slides. Their responses were recorded and compared between the age groups and between female and male data. The analysis is supplemented with recorded data from interviews with all 60 participants to determine instances of American and British lexical items in casual speech. It was found that there is a higher occurrence of American than British lexical items in all three groups and the interview data supports the findings in the main data. Thus, providing further evidence for the Americanisation of Brunei English and that Brunei English is undergoing change.

Keywords: *Brunei English, language change, vocabulary, American and British lexis, Americanisation*

INTRODUCTION

English was introduced in Brunei Darussalam (henceforth, Brunei) in 1888 after it became a British Protectorate (Hussainmiya, 1995, p. 13) and British English became the standard variety for speaking and writing in the country. However, the status of Malay remains as the official language of the Sultanate and it reflects the national identity and culture. English, on the other hand, is linked to high education, success, and status and is "the means of access to the outside world" (Ozóg, 1996, p. 159).

The uses of English in Brunei have increased over the years (Jones, 1997) with modernity to the degree that younger speakers tend to use English at home, with their peers, and on social media. One reason for this may be due to the implementation of the National Education System for the 21st Century which was implemented in primary schools in January 2009. In this system, English became the medium of instruction for all levels (Year 1 to Year 11) and core subjects such as Mathematics and Science. Thus, increasing the use of English among young learners. English (57.5%) has overtaken Brunei Malay (41.2%) as the preferred language of young speakers for everyday use (Salbrina & Afi, 2018). The increasing trend of young speakers in Brunei claiming to have English as their L1 could shift the status of English in the country and perhaps it will one day be "monolingually English-centric" (Salbrina & Hasharina, 2021, p. 1).

The English spoken in Brunei (henceforth, Brunei English) has undergone changes in its pronunciation (Salbrina, 2010; Deterding & Salbrina, 2013; Nur Raihan & Deterding, 2016) since it was first described by Mossop (1996). One of the significant changes that set Brunei English apart from other English varieties of Southeast Asia is rhoticity, in which a rhotic speaker would pronounce the 'r' wherever it is in spelling such as *heard* and *more.* Recent research on Brunei English pronunciation reports that Brunei English speakers are rhotic (Salbrina, 2010; Deterding & Salbrina, 2013) and an increasing number of younger speakers are becoming more rhotic (Nur Raihan, 2016; 2017). This change may be due to the influence of Malay (Clynes, 2014) as Brunei Malay is a rhotic variety, other rhotic varieties of English namely American and Philippine English, the exposure to the languages used in social media, television and films (Deterding & Salbrina, 2013, p. 34), and spelling pronunciation (Deterding & Nur Raihan, 2016). Changes in the pronunciation of Brunei English particularly in the widespread occurrence of rhoticity and the use of the TRAP vowel in the first syllable of *after* and *afternoon* (Deterding & Salbrina, 2013) could be evidence for the Americanisation of Brunei English pronunciation. However, it is unclear whether this shift towards the American variety of English is evident in Brunei English speakers' vocabulary.

As aforementioned, Brunei used British English as the standard variety; even in its education system. In secondary and post-secondary education, students are required to sit for the Brunei-Cambridge General Certificate of Education 'O' level and Brunei-Cambridge Advanced Level Certificate of Education examinations respectively. Edgar & Nicol (2010) remarked that the teaching materials and methodologies in Brunei education system have been influenced by communicative teaching practices, and vocabulary teaching is not foregrounded. In terms of lexis, McLellan and Noor Azam (2012, p. 81) claimed that there is a tendency for Brunei English speakers to insert Brunei Malay or Arabic lexical items in English contexts. This is also observed by Deterding and Salbrina (2013, pp. 90-91) as the authors reported on instances of borrowed Malay words in English texts in newspapers. Code-switching is a prominent feature of Brunei English. McLellan (2010) found approximately 47% of the posts in an online discussion forum had code-switching, and Faahirah (2016) observed that Brunei English speakers tend to code-switch more in Malay conversations than in English. However, there are no reports on the use of American and British lexical items in Brunei English. As speakers are more exposed to different varieties of English through the media and the Internet, perhaps

the vocabulary of Brunei English speakers has also changed over the years. Therefore, this paper serves to fill in the research gap by investigating the use of lexical items among Brunei English speakers.

This study is designed to answer the following research questions: (1) Which lexical variety (American or British) are used more among the in-service teachers, university undergraduates, and secondary school students; (2) what are the possible reasons for the differences in their use of lexical items; and (3) are there differences between the female and male data?

RESEARCH METHOD
Participants

60 ethnically-Malay participants were recorded for this investigation.

The participants are divided equally into three age groups: teachers (T; average age: 31.4 years old), undergraduates (U; average age: 21.4 years old), and secondary students (S; average age: 13.8 years old). Each group has 20 participants (10 females and 10 males). The participants are henceforth referred to using the initials of their gender; age group; and a participant number between 1 to 10. For example, MT7 refers to the seventh male teacher. The analysis will look into the lexical items used by different age groups and between female and male participants. However, only Malay participants were included to remove ethnicity as a variable. The study also acknowledges that the different educational backgrounds of the participants may affect the findings of the investigation. The language use of the participants described in this section are gathered from the questionnaires given to them prior to the recording.

The oldest group consists of 20 in-service teachers, who were pursuing their Bachelor's Degree in the English Language and Linguistics Programme at Universiti Brunei Darussalam at the time of the recording. 18 out of 20 teacher participants claimed that they are most proficient in Malay while FT1 and FT10 stated Dusun and English respectively. In terms of usage, 15 out of 20 teacher participants claimed to use English with their family; and there is a general trend among the teachers to use both Malay and English with their friends and at work.

The second group comprises of 20 university undergraduates who were also enrolled in the English Language and Linguistics programme in Universiti Brunei Darussalam. 16 out of 20 undergraduates claimed that they are more proficient in Malay than in English, while the remaining four placed English first. Overall, the undergraduates tend to use Malay and English with their family and friends.

The third and final group are the secondary students from a public school. Similar to the undergraduates, this group used both Malay and English at home and with their friends.

From the responses given, it can be seen that there is an increase in the number of participants in the age groups who placed English first when asked for the languages they are proficient in; from one teacher (FT10), to four undergraduates (FU5, FU7, MU4, and MU8) and finally, seven secondary students (FS2, FS3, MS1, MS5, MS7, MS8, and MS10). This shift suggests that younger speakers use more English than their older counterparts as they claim to be more proficient in English than in Malay. It is important to note that there is a difference in proficiency between the three age groups, which may affect the overall results of the analysis.

Recording procedure

The individual recording sessions with the in-service teachers and undergraduates were held in an empty room at the university, and the researcher recorded the secondary students in a quiet room in their school. A voice recorder was placed a few centimetres away from the participants. Prior to the recording, the participants were asked to name seven pictures which were shown to them on power point presentation slides on a laptop to test their use of British or American vocabulary. Table 1 shows the equivalent lexical items used by British and American English speakers (Crystal, 2003, p. 307). The recordings were saved as wave files (.wav) and analysed and transcribed using Praat (Boersma & Weenink, 2010). The responses of the participants in this analysis are referred to as tokens and will be italicised.

Table 1. The power point slides and the equivalent lexical items in American and British English

Slide	American lexis	British lexis
1	Airplane	Aeroplane
2	Elevator	Lift
3	Candy	Sweets
4	Pants	Trousers
5	Ladybug	Ladybird
6	Truck	Lorry
7	Trunk	Boot

The participants also consented to be recorded for an additional individual interview with the researcher. The duration for each interview was about five minutes. The rationale to interview the participants again was to compare data in careful and casual speech (Labov, 1972). The first recording might be considered as careful speech as the participants were required to name the items shown, while the second interview involved casual speech as it was a short discussion about the participants' hobbies, daily routine, and last vacation.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The results from the first interview are shown in Table 2. The total number of tokens are different for each group because some of the participants used a different lexical item than what the researcher expected and some did not know the name of the items shown. For example, some answered *bug* and *beetle* for slide 5; and *bonnet* for slide 7. The word *bonnet* or *bunit* (the Malay version of *bonnet*, according to Kamus Bahasa Melayu Brunei, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2007, p. 68) may have shifted its meaning in Brunei as the locals generally use it to refer to the back of the car; but in British English, *bonnet* is used for the front of the car.

Table 2. Incidence of American (Am) and British (Br) tokens

	Teachers		Undergraduates		Secondary students	
	Am	Br	Am	Br	Am	Br
Female	37 (58%)	27 (42%)	44 (75%)	15 (25%)	49 (78%)	14 (22%)
Male	37 (58%)	27 (42%)	46 (78%)	13 (22%)	52 (88%)	7 (12%)
Total	74 (58%)	54 (42%)	90 (76%)	28 (24%)	101 (83%)	21 (17%)

The results in Table 2 show that there are more instances of American lexical items than British between the three age groups and between the female and male data. There is also an increasing frequency of American lexical items as the teachers had an overall total of 58%, the undergraduates had 76% and the secondary students with the highest percentage of 83%, which could provide further evidence for the Americanisation of Brunei English. Only the differences between the teachers and the undergraduates ($p<0.001$), and between the teachers and the secondary students ($p<0.01$) were found to be highly significant, and the difference between the undergraduates and the secondary students is not significant ($p=0.21$).

However, the difference in the use of American and British lexical items between the female and male data is not significant ($p=0.36$). A reason why there are fewer instances of British lexical items than American may be due to the increasing exposure of American English through American television programmes and movies (Deterding & Salbrina, 2013, p. 34), and on the Internet. Trudgill (1986) explained that language change occurs through linguistic accommodation, which is a process when speakers alter their speech as a response to the speech patterns of their interlocutors. Even though speakers do not have face-to-face interactions with whom they are watching on televisions, it can be argued that this is an indirect process of accommodation as televisions "may act a source of lexis and idioms, or as a model for speakers of a dialect to acquire the core phonology and syntax of the standard variety of a language" (Smith, 2007, p. 140). However, Smith (2007, p. 143) reports that the effects of television on language is an underdeveloped area in sociolinguistic research and the few studies that have investigated the correlation of factors relating to television and linguistic features have shown contradictory results and so it is unclear whether television has an effect on a person's speech, particularly in terms of lexical choice. Nonetheless, this paper argues that the influence of American television programmes and movies may play a contributory role in the changes occurring in Brunei English.

Table 3 shows the variation of incidence of American (Am) tokens among the participants.

Table 3. Variation of incidence of American (Am) tokens

No. of tokens with Am lexis	Teachers		Undergraduates		Secondary students		Total
	F	M	F	M	F	M	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	1	1	0	1	0	0	3
2	1	1	1	0	0	0	3
3	1	1	1	0	3	0	6
4	4	4	3	2	1	2	16
5	3	3	3	6	2	5	22
6	0	0	2	1	2	2	7
7	0	0	0	0	2	1	3

As shown above, participants from the older groups have at least one instance of American vocabulary, but none named all seven objects using American lexis. In contrast, the youngest group have at least three instances of American vocabulary, and three secondary students responded with only American lexis.

The teachers have the lowest average number of tokens (3.70), compared to the undergraduates (4.50) and secondary students (5.05). This result also shows a rise in the use of American lexical items among the younger participants. In the perspectives of the female and male data, there is no significant difference (p=0.65) between the averages of the female participants (4.33) and the male participants (4.50).

Table 4 shows variations within the individual tokens and lists the American and British lexical equivalents of each item.

Table 4. Incidence of American (Am) and British (Br) tokens in each slide

Lexical equivalents Am-Br	Teachers		Undergraduates		Secondary students	
	Am	Br	Am	Br	Am	Br
airplane-aeroplane	4	16	12	8	14	5
elevator-lift	9	11	15	4	18	2
candy-sweets	7	13	12	8	15	5
pants-trousers	10	10	13	7	13	7
ladybug-ladybird	13	1	16	0	17	1
truck-lorry	19	1	18	1	19	1
trunk-boot	12	2	4	0	5	0
Total	74	54	90	28	101	21
	(58%)	(42%)	(76%)	(24%)	(83%)	(17%)

The teachers' results had the most variation as they use British vocabulary in the first three tokens, American vocabulary in the last three tokens, and there was an equal number of American and British tokens for *pants-trousers*. In contrast, there were more American tokens than British for all seven items among the younger

groups. The greatest incidence of American tokens is in the use of *truck* over *lorry* for all groups. Moreover, the highest occurrence of British lexis is in the use of *aeroplane* for the teachers (16), both *aeroplane* (8) and *sweets* (8) for the undergraduates, and *trousers* for the secondary students (7).

Overall, there is a change towards the use of American vocabulary among the undergraduates and secondary students. In addition to the influence of American television programmes and films; another possible factor for the increasing use of American lexical items is the influence from friends or colleagues who also use more American vocabulary than British. The study acknowledges the different educational background and linguistic environment of the participants, which may be why there is a clear difference in usage between the oldest group and the youngest. In addition to the widespread use of [r] in tokens such as *near* and *heard* among younger Brunei English speakers, the difference in use of lexical items between the in-service and secondary students may provide further support to the notion that Brunei English is changing. There are various known studies on the linguistic differences between younger and older speakers such as the tendency to pronounce the [r] sound in *fourth* and *floor* among younger speakers in New York compared to older speakers who tend to omit it (Labov, 1972), the shift in the pronunciation of *suit* between older speakers [sjuːt] and younger speakers [suːt] (Wells, 2008, p.790) and the use of abbreviations and slang among young Japanese speakers that are not used by older speakers (Coulmas, 2013, p. 70). These variations may be due to the constantly changing communication needs of speakers in different generations to befit their experiences as a response to modernisation and perhaps to create a sense of identity that differs from their predecessors.

Furthermore, the in-service teachers' linguistic development may have heavily relied on the language of their peers and teachers and English language textbooks which are predominantly based on British English. On the other hand, the undergraduates and secondary students' linguistic repertoire are influenced by other varieties of English on social media as they have easy access to and are frequent users of the Internet. In fact, approximately 99% of the population in Brunei are active social media users (Statista, 2021), and globally, the country is ranked second highest for Instagram users and fourteenth highest for Facebook users above the age of 13 (Othman, 2021). The exposure to other varieties of English on social media could influence the language use of Brunei English speakers, particularly among the younger generation in terms of their pronunciation and lexical choice. Thus, also providing further evidence that Brunei English is changing due to modernity.

Supplementary data
This section describes the participants' use of American and British lexical items in their casual speech. The occurrences of American and British vocabulary by the female and male teachers are shown in Table 5. The number of occurrences of the token are indicated by the numbers in the brackets. Also, the asterisk (*) indicates that the token is used in both American and British English.

Table 5. American (Am) and British (Br) tokens in the teachers' interviews

	Female Teachers		Male Teachers	
	Am	Br	Am	Br
	elevator (1) *baggage* (1) *stroller* (1)	*holiday* (1) *taxi** (3)	*apartment* (2)	*holiday* (1) *taxi** (1) *pubs* (2) *shop** (1) *football** (2)
Total	3 (43%)	4 (57%)	2 (22%)	7 (78%)

The results from both the female and male teachers' interviews reveal that there is a higher frequency of British lexical items than American. From the interviews with the female teachers, there is one occurrence of *elevator*, *baggage*, and *stroller* and from the male data, the only American token found is *apartment*. In contrast, the highest frequency for British vocabulary is the use of *taxi* in the female teachers' data (3), and the male teachers' use of *pubs* (2) and *football* (2). The total number of tokens for both data sets is too small to test for significance (Mackey & Gass, 2005, p. 279).

According to Crystal (2003), the tokens *taxi*, *shop*, and *football* are considered as British English words as the respective American equivalents are *cab*, *store*, and *soccer*. However, American English speakers also use these British tokens in their speech. The researcher will analyse the frequency of these tokens in the British National Corpus (BNC) (Davies, 2004) and in the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) (Davies, 2008). Table 6 presents the normalized frequencies of the tokens.

Table 6. The frequency of 'taxi-cab', 'shop-store', and 'football-soccer' in the BNC and the COCA

Token	BNC (per million)	COCA (per million)	Token	BNC (per million)	COCA (per million)
taxi	17.70	11.96	*cab*	14.08	16.80
shop	103.10	60.47	*store*	12.68	24.01
football	65.36	79.95	*soccer*	12.68	27.74

From the comparative analysis, there are higher frequencies of *taxi* and *shop* in the BNC than in the COCA. However, as Americans also use *football,* its frequency is higher in the COCA than in the British corpus. Moreover, the tokens *store* and *soccer* are more frequently used among American English speakers than British English speakers, and *cab* is used less frequently in Britain than in America.

The undergraduates' use of American and British lexical items during the interviews are shown in Table 7.

Table 7. American (Am) and British (Br) tokens in the undergraduates' interviews

	Female Undergraduates		Male Teachers	
	Am	Br	Am	Br
	movies (2)	*holiday* (1)	*pants* (1)	*holidays* (1)
	stores (6)	*taxi** (2)		*football** (2)
	apartment (1)	*tube* (1)		
		trainers (1)		
		shops* (1)		
Total	9 (60%)	6 (40%)	1 (25%)	3 (75%)

In the female undergraduates' data, there is a higher frequency of American tokens (9) than British (6); whereas the male undergraduates had more British tokens (3) than American (1). However, the few tokens found in the male data is too small for comparison and to test for significance. The highest occurrence of American tokens is the use of *stores* (6) by the female undergraduates, and there was only one use of *pants* from the male data. Furthermore, similar to the teachers' data in Table 7, the British words with the highest frequency among the female and male undergraduates are *taxi* (2) and *football* (2) respectively.

Table 8 shows the instances of American and British tokens in the secondary students' data.

Table 8. American (Am) and British (Br) tokens in the secondary students' interviews

	Female Secondary Students		Male Secondary Students	
	Am	Br	Am	Br
	stores (2)	*holiday* (2)	*store* (1)	*football** (1)
	apartment (3)	*shop** (3)	*pants* (2)	*shop* (4)
		sweets (1)	*apartment* (5)	*trousers* (1)
		queue (1)		
Total	5 (42%)	7 (58%)	8 (57%)	6 (43%)

From the interviews, there are more British tokens (7) than American (5) in the female secondary students' data and there is a higher frequency of American tokens (8) than British (6) in their counterparts' data. In terms of American lexis, the female students had slightly less American tokens than the male students, but there is no significant difference (p=0.43). In both female and male secondary students' data sets, the token with the highest frequency of American lexis is *apartment*, whereas the highest frequency of British lexis is *shop*.

Similar to the main data, there are also variations among individual speakers in their use of American (Am) and British (Br) tokens. For example, MU5 uses both *vacation* (Am) and *holidays* (Br) in his response to the researcher's question about a last vacation. Algeo (2006, pp. 76-77) claims that the plural form of *holiday* is a common pattern of and the preferred form in British English, but the use of the singular form is a general tendency of American English speakers. Also, it is likely that MU5's use of *vacation* (Am) in his utterance might be influenced by the author's

use of the same word in her question at the start of the interview. Thus, all use of *vacation* is omitted in the analyses of the supplementary data. Another example is in the use of both *pants* (Am) and *trousers* (Br) in MS4's response to when the researcher asked him about his shopping items.

The participants' interchangeable use of *vacation* (Am) – *holidays* (Br) and *pants* (Am) – *trousers* (Br) in the same utterance could imply that they do not realise the difference between American and British varieties, which might also suggest that Brunei English does not distinguish between American and British vocabulary.

Overall, it can be seen from the supplementary interview data that all three groups have a higher frequency of American lexis than British lexis. As there were too few instances between the two varieties of lexis in the teachers and undergraduates' interviews, the data cannot be used for significant tests. Nonetheless, the variance between the use of American and British lexis found in the secondary students' interviews is not significant. The supplementary recordings also show variations between individual participants in their use of both lexical varieties, similar to the main data. This is observed in the interchangeable use of the tokens *vacation* and *holidays*, and *trousers* and *pants*, particularly among the younger speakers. One explanation for this is that the younger groups might not distinguish between the two varieties and furthermore, Brunei English speakers in general might not realise the distinction between them.

CONCLUSION

The study investigated the use of American and British lexical items among female and male teachers, undergraduates, and secondary students via two methods: naming objects with lexical equivalents in American and British English; and a short interview with the researcher regarding the participants' daily activities and vacation.

The main analysis revealed that there was a higher frequency to use American lexical items than British in all three age groups. Statistically, there is a significant difference between the participants' use of American lexical items, especially between the oldest and the youngest group (p=0.004). Another finding was that there were slightly more instances of American tokens among the male undergraduates and male secondary students than their female counterparts.

The supplementary analysis compared the participants' use of American and British vocabulary in casual speech. In a nutshell, the study found that the interview data supported the findings from the main data as there was a higher frequency of American lexical items than British, but there were too few tokens to test for significance in the difference between the usage. In the interviews, the researcher also observed that there are participants who use both American and British tokens in their utterances. A possible reason for this may be because the differences between the two lexical varieties may not be distinguished in Brunei English. However, there is not enough evidence from the data to confirm this.

Overall, the younger participants use more American tokens than the older participants, which could further support the notion that Brunei English is changing, and one of the reasons for this is the influence of American English. Perhaps Brunei English is moving away from its historical link to British English and moving towards developing its own norms. Following Schneider's Dynamic Model (2007), it

can be argued that Brunei English is in the third phase (Nativization) as it is transforming to produce a new identity both culturally and linguistically (p. 40), but also moving towards phase four (Endonormative Stabilization) as this local variety of English becomes increasingly distinguished with its own emerging norms (pp. 48-51).

A limitation to this study is that it is unclear whether the participants realise which variety of lexical items they were using, and it is not known from the analyses or from the questionnaires where or how the participants acquired these tokens. However, it can be assumed that the participants are not aware that they are using different English varieties in their lexical repertoire. Another limitation is that the researcher did not inquire about the participants' favourite television shows or movies in the questionnaire as this could confirm the influence American media has on the participants' lexical choice. In addition, the researcher could have also included questions regarding the participants' attitudes towards American English. Also, the linguistic background and language environment of the participants were not included in the questionnaire to determine if there are differences in the lexical choices of speakers from urban and rural areas. This can be used as a prospective research area as well as conducting a longitudinal study on the effects of media on speakers' lexical choices.

The increasing frequency of the use of American tokens may be due to several factors or a combination of these factors, such as: the participants' experience and contact with other speakers who use American lexis; exposure to American English television programmes, movies, and books; the lack of distinction between the two varieties in the education system.

REFERENCES

Algeo, J. (2006). *British or American English? A handbook of word and grammar patterns*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Boersma, P., & Weenink, D. (2010). Praat: Doing phonetics by computer [Computer software]

Clynes, A. (2014). Brunei Malay: An overview. In P. Sercombe, M. Boutin, & A. Clynes (Eds.), *Advances in research on linguistic and cultural practices in Borneo* (pp. 153-200). Philips, MEL Borneo Research Council

Coulmas, F. (2018). *Sociolinguistics: The study of speakers' choices* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Crystal, D. (2003). *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of the English language* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Davies, M. (2004-) *BYU-BNC*. (Based on the British National Corpus from Oxford University Press). Available online at https://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/

Davies, M. (2008-) *The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA): 520 million words, 1990-present*. Available online at https://corpus.byu.edu/coca/

Deterding, D., & Nur Raihan, M. (2016). Spelling pronunciation in English. *ELT Journal*, 17, 87–91. doi: 10.1093/elt/ccw073

Deterding, D., & Salbrina, S. (2013). *Brunei English: A new variety of multilingual society*. Dordrecht: Springer

Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka (2007). *Kamus Bahasa Melayu Brunei*. Bandar Seri Begawan: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Brunei

Edgar, A., & Nicol, M. (2010). The Effects of 25 Years of Bilingual Education on Vocabulary Knowledge. *South East Asia: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, *10*, 79-87

Faahirah, Siti. (2016). Code-switching in Brunei: Evidence from a map task. *Southeast Asia: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 16, 65-81

Hussainmiya, B. A. (1995). *Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin III and Britain: The making of Brunei Darussalam*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press

Jones, G. M. (1997). The changing role of English in Brunei Darussalam. In A. Brown (Ed.), *English in Southeast Asia* (pp. 13-34). Singapore: Nanyang Technological University Press

Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic patterns*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press

Mackey, A., & Gass, S. M. (2005). *Second language research: Methodology and design*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates

McLellan, J. (2010). Mixed codes or varieties of English. In A. Kirkpatrick (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of World Englishes* (pp.425-441). London: Routledge

McLellan, J., & Noor Azam Haji-Othman. (2012). Features of the Brunei Darussalam variety of English. In E. L. Low & Azirah Hashim (Eds.), *English in South East Asia: Features, policy and language in use* (pp. 75-90). Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company

Mossop, J. (1996). Some phonological features of Brunei English. In P. W. Martin, C. Ozóg, & G. Poedjosoedarmo (Eds.), *Language use & language change in Brunei Darussalam* (pp. 189-208). Athens, OH: Ohio University Center for International Studies

Othman, A. (2021, January 30). Brunei world number two in Instagram usage. *Borneo Bulletin*. Accessed from https://borneobulletin.com.bn/brunei-world-number-two-in-instagram-usage/

Ozóg, A. C. (1996). The unplanned use of English: The case of Brunei Darussalam. In P. W. Martin, C. Ozóg, & G. Poedjosoedarmo (Eds.), *Language use & language change in Brunei Darussalam* (pp. 156-171). Athens, OH: Ohio University Center for International Studies

Nur Raihan, M. (2017). Rhoticity in Brunei English: A diachronic approach. *South East Asia: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 17, 1–7

Nur Raihan, M. (2016). The status of Brunei English based on the phonology of local teachers and undergraduates. *South East Asia: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 16, 8–15

Nur Raihan, M. & Deterding, D. (2016). The pronunciation of Brunei English. *World Englishes*, 35, 519–528

Salbrina, S. (2010). The sounds of Brunei English - 14 years on. *South East Asia: A Multidisciplinary Journal,* 10, 39-55

Salbrina S. & Afi Hasnan. (2018). Re-evaluating Rhoticity in Brunei English: The case of the Kedayan. *South East Asia: A Multidisciplinary Journal*, 18, 22-37

Salbrina, S., & Noor Hasharina, H. (2021). The Malays of Brunei: An investigation of their family language policies. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development,* 1-22. https://sci-hub.se/https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2021.1931245

Smith, J. (2007). The influence of the media. In C. Llamas, L. Mullany, & P. Stockwell (Eds.), *The Routledge companion to sociolinguistics* (pp. 140-148). Oxon: Routledge

Statista. (2021). Active social media users as a percentage of the total population of Brunei in 2016 to 2021 (Accessed from https://www.statista.com/statistics/883777/brunei-social-media-penetration/)

Schneider, E. W. (2007). *Postcolonial English: Varieties around the world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Trudgill, P. (1986). *Dialects in contact*. Oxford: Blackwell

Wells, J. C. (2008). *Longman pronunciation dictionary* (3rd ed.). Edinburgh: Pearson Education Limited