

Two Brunei Malay Texts: A Story of the Maiden Stem and Two Episodes in the History of Weston and Bukau

SHIOHARA, Asako

ILCAA, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

Mohd Izzuddin Fitri

Independent Writer

This article gives two texts of Brunei Malay (ISO 639-3: kxd) collected in the town of Weston in Sabah State of Malaysia. The texts exhibit linguistic features that are similar to those of Brunei Malay spoken in Brunei Darussalam; it has a vowel inventory of only three vowels /a, i, u/, use of the pronoun *kitani* for the first person plural inclusive and the use of the base-stem transitive form in patientive voice clauses. One of the texts tells a folk story about a tree called *Batang Dayang* (Maiden Stem) growing along the Bukau River, which has a mysterious power, and the other text includes two episodes: Javanese runaways arriving in Weston and the origin of the name Bukau, a town near Weston.

Keywords: Malay, Brunei Malay, folk stories, Weston, Bukau

1. Introduction
2. Text 1: The story of the Maiden Stem
3. Text 2: Two episodes about the history of Weston and Bukau

1. Introduction*

1.1. Brunei Malay¹

Brunei Malay (hereafter BM, ISO 639-3: kxd) is one of the regional varieties of Malay, spoken in Brunei Darussalam and the adjacent regions in Malaysia, such as the coastal area of the Sabah and Sarawak State and the Federal Territory of Labuhan, in Malaysia.

It is considered a vernacular Malay variety (Adelaar 2018: 571–573), that is, one of the Malay varieties spoken in traditionally Malayic speech communities, and appears to be regularly descended from Proto-Malayic.

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¹ BM does not have an official orthography, and BM transcription employed in this article follows that of Standard Malaysian Malay; *j* indicates to [d͡ʒ], *ny* indicates [ɲ], *ng* indicates [ŋ], and *y* indicates [j], of IPA, respectively.



Regional Malay varieties in Malaysia are known to exhibit a wide variety of morpho-syntactic features. However, most of them are understudied. BM is not an exception, as suggested by Clynes (2001), who provides an overview of BM. The description of BM grammar in Clynes (2001) is mainly based on publications edited or authored by researchers in Brunei Darussalam, such as Abdul and Palaniappan (1998), Awang (1992a and b) and Jaludin (1992, 1994 and 1997). Research on BM spoken by ethnic Brunei in Malaysia, however, is scarce, and the texts included in this article may be among the first.

In the remaining part of this section, some major grammatical features of BM distinct from Standard Malay (SM, hereafter) will be shown mainly based on Clynes (2001), with a comparison with the features observed in our texts.

One major difference from SM in BM phonology is its vowel inventory;² BM exhibits a three-vowel system of /a/, /i/, /u/, while SM has a six-vowel system /a/, /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/ and /ə/. Thus, the reflexes of SM /e/, /o/, and /ə/ are realised as /i/, /u/, and /a/ in BM, respectively.³ This feature is observed in the text below. Table 1 shows examples of each vowel.

Table1 Pairs of SM and BM words

| SM | BM | meaning |
|-----------------|---------------|-------------------|
| <i>memang</i> | <i>mimang</i> | really, of course |
| <i>orang</i> | <i>urang</i> | person |
| <i>c̣əṛita</i> | <i>carita</i> | story |

Another major difference is observed in the pronouns. BM exhibits an opposition of long and short forms of the free pronouns: the long forms, in principle, are formed with *kadi* and the corresponding short forms (e.g. *kadi-aku* (long form) and *aku* (short form) for the first person singular, *kadi-kau* (long form) and *kau* (short form) for the second person singular), which SM lacks. Some of the short forms in BM are different from SM (e.g. *kitani* for the first person plural).⁴ In the text below, the long forms above are not observed, but the short form of the first person plural *kitani* is observed.

In addition, BM exhibits a distinct morpho-syntactic feature in undergoer/passive voice; in BM, unmarked bare stem verbs can be used in the semantic and/or syntactic environment in which marked passive verbs are used in SM clauses. Sentence (i), given in Clynes (2001: 27) exemplifies an undergoer voice clause with the third person enclitic. In SM, the verb marked with the passive prefix *di-* is used in this environment.⁵

² A detailed survey of BM phonology is given in Deterding et al. (2016).

³ Adelaar (2005: 206) suggests that the three-vowel system of BM is a result of reduction from the original Proto-Malayo-Polynesian four-vowel system to *a*, *i*, and *u* by merging **a* and **ə* as *a*; in SM, as in most Malayic languages, the original high vowels have split into high and mid-vowels and thus now have six-vowel systems.

⁴ Clynes (2001: 22), in his discussion of the difference between short forms and long forms, observes that the long forms do not express transitive agents, while the short forms do not express transitive patients; both short forms and long forms are used for the single argument of the intransitive construction and in other non-core position, such as after prepositions or left-detached topic position.

⁵ The SM sentence corresponding to sentence (i) would be '*Ini di-sumbangkan=nya pula ke arah orang miskin uang ini.*'

- (i) *ani sadakahkan=nya pulang k-arah urang miskin... usin ani*
 this donate=3 too to-direction person poor money this
 ‘This too was donated by him to the poor, this money.’ (Clynes 2001: 27, cited from Jaludin 1992)

A similar type of construction is observed in the texts below, as in (ii), which is cited from Text 2.

- (ii) *pikir=nya antu*
 think=3 ghost
 ‘They thought (them) to be ghosts.’ (Sentence (6) in Text 2)

1.2. The collection of the texts

The texts included in the article were collected in the second author’s fieldwork, conducted in the town of Weston of the Sabah State in August 2017. Weston is a small-town on the West coast of the Sabah State in Malaysia, located on the mouth of the Bukau River. The population of the town was 2590 people in 2012, 97% of whom belong to Brunei ethnic group, and almost all of whom earned a living by fishing.⁶

BM played the role of a regional lingua franca among Malayic and non-Malayic people, ‘reflecting the fact that large parts of present-day Sarawak and Sabah were once controlled by Brunei and settled by Bruneians’ (Clynes 2001: 11). In the present day, however, SM has come to play the role of lingua franca, and it is only elder inhabitants who speak ‘traditional’ BM in most of the areas where BM was once dominant. In the town of Weston, where we collected the texts, however, many people, including the younger generation, still speak a variety retaining heavy BM features, presumably because the location is remote from urban areas.

The speaker is Junaidi Omarali (1966–2018). In the first text, he talks about ‘the Maiden Stem’ (*Batang Dayang*); the Maiden Stem is a tree that grows along the Bukau River, which once was an object of worship because of its mysterious power. In the second text, he talks about two episodes from the time the British occupied the region that he heard from his late mother.

Each text and its translation is presented in three sub-sections. The first sub-section shows the original BM text, the second provides an English translation, and the third shows the glossed texts with English translation. This structure is adopted for the convenience for readers who wish to read texts of each language without obstacles.

2. Story of the Maiden Stem

2.1. Original BM text

- (1) *Jadi dibaritakanlah ada satu carita mistik di Wistin ani.*
 (2) *Daulu-daulunya ada sabatang kayu saingga ari ani, masi lagi.*

⁶ This information is based on the census published by the website of the public health centre: http://pkkbeaufort.moh.gov.my/modules/informasi/item.php?itemid=81&fbclid=IwAR39edEiXKcPHOSGJCGEMQTuF9VG074ejgMqmwXNUop93d_De7G7UUMENE

- (3) *Carita ani dinamakan carita Batang Dayang.*
- (4) *Urang tatua yang masih lagi idup sini ani mimang tau.*
- (5) *Dan anak-anak baru yang ka laut mimang tau carita Batang Dayang ani.*
- (6) *Batang Dayang ani, ada bah di sungai Bukau ani, sungai kitani ani.*
- (7) *Ani mimang ujud.*
- (8) *Kisahny Batang Dayang ani nda dikataui, ia tumbuh di siring sungai.*
- (9) *Cuma tuhan punya kuasa, mau malihatkan kabasarannya atu.*
- (10) *Di bawah pohon-kayu Batang Dayang atu, jaranih aingnya.*
- (11) *Sakalilingnya atu kabut.*
- (12) *Jadi, ada stangah pandapat macam ada lubang ka anu atu daripada batang.*
- (13) *Dan dalam tanah ani kitani nda tau, ada sungaikah ada apakah kitani nda tau.*
- (14) *Cuma yang mambari hirannya, Batang Dayang atu, di bawah pohon kayu atu, jaranih.*
- (15) *Ada cubaan dulu, manarik dangan kapal kayu balak, sampai dua buah.*
- (16) *Masih idup lagi urang atu, bacarita, nda mau ditariknya Batang Dayang atu, akarnya atu nda mau.*
- (17) *Jadi, dikisahkanlah, urang lagi daulu, bilanya tau kan carita Batang Dayang atu, kalau di skalilingnya atu rumput-rumputnya atu, hijau, biru subur samua, di darat padi nda mau tumbuh.*
- (18) *Padi di lingkungan atu subalah-subalah darat atu nda kan tumbuh, akan matilah.*
- (19) *Tapi, sbaliknya anu apa Batang Dayang atu kaliling-kalilingnya atu rumput-rumput atu mati, di darat padi akan tumbuh padi huma, padi bukit atu, tumbuh.*
- (20) *Ada lagi yang bulih bacarita yang masih idup yang bulih manyaksikan.*
- (21) *Apa tu carita atu mimang nalayan-nalayan di sini tau Batang Dayang atu paling digaruni.*
- (22) *Tapi, nda jua pernah mangacau urang. Cuma, ia carita mistik yang masih ada sampai ari ani bulih dilawat.*
- (23) *Bawah Batang Dayang atu yang manghairankan.*
- (24) *Jaranih aing atu. Macam air laut, masin, dirasai pun masin.*
- (25) *Saulah-ulah di bawah Batang Dayang, dalam sungai, dalam sungai mana bulih air masin. Samua air tawar bah.*
- (26) *Jadi, didapati carita Batang Dayang atu masih ada macam ada mistiklah.*
- (27) *Macam ada unsur-unsur anulah, atulah di sana atu yang balum lagi kana buat kajian.*
- (28) *Atu antaranyalah carita rayat, Carita Batang Dayang.*

- (29) *Kalau lagi daulu diantattah, dipujatah.*
- (30) *Nda tautah apa urang tua-tua daulu ani, macam-macam saja asal tajumpa barang-barang macam-macam atu-atu.*
- (31) *Ah jadi atutah caritanya, sekian terimakasih.*

2.2. English text

- (1) 'Now, a mysterious story is told in Weston'.
- (2) 'In the past, there was a tree, and it still exists until now'.
- (3) 'This story is named "the story of the Maiden Stem"'.
(4) 'Very old people who are still living of course know (the story)'.
- (5) 'And young children who are going to the sea of course know the story of the Maiden Stem'.
- (6) 'The Maiden Stem is along the Bukau River, our river'.
- (7) 'It really exists'.
- (8) 'The story of the Maiden Stem is not (widely) known. It grows on the river side'.
- (9) 'It's just God's power, and (He) wanted to show the greatness (of His power)'.
- (10) 'The water is clear under the Maiden Stem'.
- (11) 'The water nearby are muddy'.
- (12) 'Then, half the people think like there is a hole to the... what's it called, from the stem'.
- (13) 'And we don't know if there is a river or what (something else) in the ground, we don't know'.
- (14) 'Only, what surprises them is that under the Maiden Stem, (the water) is clear'.
- (15) 'There was an attempt to pull (the tree) out with a dugout, (he used) as many as two (dugouts)'.
- (16) 'The person (who made the attempt) is still alive. (He) told that it was not possible that (the ships could) pull the Maiden Stem, the root could not (be pulled by the ships)'.
- (17) 'Then, people long time ago told that — at that time (they) knew the story of the Maiden Stem, didn't they? — in the surroundings (of the river) the grasses were green and all flourishing, and upland rice plants did not grow'.
- (18) 'Rice plants in the surroundings, in the land alongside (the river), (normally) would not grow, but die out, wouldn't they'?
- (19) 'But the situation was opposite there, as in the area around the Maiden Stem, grasses died out, but the rice plants in the land above the river, they would grow. The upland rice, (which also called) the hill rice, grew'.

- (20) ‘There is something else that can be told, still alive, which can be testified’.
- (21) ‘The story, the fishermen here know the Maiden Stem, it is really frightening’.
- (22) ‘But the tree has never harmed people. It is just a mysterious story that can be testified until today’.
- (23) ‘It is [what is] below the Maiden Stem that is astonishing’.
- (24) ‘The water is clear like the sea water, it is salty, salty when tasted’.
- (25) ‘It seems that the bottom of the Maiden Stem is in the river; how can the saltwater come? All the water should be fresh’.
- (26) ‘Then we can see that the story of the “Maiden Stem” still retains something mysterious’.
- (27) ‘It seems that there are things (lit. elements) that have not yet been researched there’.
- (28) ‘That, among [our] folk stories, is the story of the Maiden Stem’.
- (29) ‘In the past, it was given offerings and worshipped’.
- (30) ‘I do not know, as old people before did just all sorts of things, if (they) encountered things like that’.
- (31) ‘Ah then, so much as the story is, thank you’.

2.3. Glossed text

- (1) *Jadi dibaritakanlah ada satu carita mistik di Wistin ani.*

jadi di-baritakan=lah ada satu carita mistik di Wistin ani.
 then PASS-tell=PTC exist one story mysterious in Weston this

‘Now, a mysterious story is told in Weston’.

- (2) *Daulu-daulunya ada sabatang kayu saingga ari ani, masi lagi.*

daulu-daulu=nya ada sa-batang kayu saingga ari ani, masi lagi.
 before.RDP=ADV exist one-CLF tree until day this still still

‘In the past, there was a tree, and it still exists until now’.

- (3) *Carita ani dinamakan carita Batang Dayang.*

carita ani di-namakan carita Batang Dayang.
 story this PASS-name story stem maiden

‘This story is named “the story of the Maiden Stem”’.

- (4) *Urang tatua yang masih lagi idup sini ani mimang tau.*

urang ta-tua yang masih lagi idup sini ani mimang tau.
 people most-old REL still yet live here this of.course know

‘Very old people who are still living of course know (the story)’.

- (5) *Dan anak-anak baru yang ka laut mimang tau carita Batang Dayang ani.*

dan anak-anak baru yang ka laut mimang tau carita Batang Dayang ani.
 and child.RDP new REL to sea of.course know story stem maiden this

‘And young children who are going to the sea of course know the story of the Maiden Stem’.

- (6) *Batang Dayang ani, ada bah di sungai Bukau ani, sungai kitani ani.*

batang Dayang ani ada bah di sungai Bukau ani, sungai kitani ani.
 stem maiden this exist PTC in river Bukau this river 1PL.INCL this

‘The Maiden Stem is along the Bukau River, our river’.

- (7) *Ani mimang ujud.*

ani mimang ujud.
 this really exist

‘It really exists’.

- (8) *Kisahnyanya Batang Dayang ani nda dikataui, ia tumbuh di siring sungai.*

kisah=nya Batang Dayang ani nda di-kataui, ia tumbuh di siring sungai.
 story=3 stem maiden this NEG PASS-know 3 grow in side river

‘The story of the Maiden Stem is not (widely) known. It grows on the river side’.

- (9) *Cuma tuhan punya kuasa, mau malihatkan kabasarannya atu.*

cuma tuhan punya kuasa, mau ma-lihat-kan kabasaran=nya atu
 only god POSS power want AV-show-APPL greatness=3 that

‘It’s just God’s power, and (He) wanted to show the greatness (of His power)’.

- (10) *Di bawah puhun-kayu Batang Dayang atu, jaranih aingnya.*

di bawah puhun-kayu Batang Dayang atu, jaranih aing=nya.
 at below tree stem maiden that clear water=3

‘The water is clear under the Maiden Stem’.

- (11) *Sakalilingnya atu kabut.*

sakaliling=nya atu kabut.
surroundings=3 that not.clear

'The water nearby are muddy'.

- (12) *Jadi, ada stengah pandapat macam ada lubang ka anu atu daripada batang.*

jadi, ada stengah pandapat macam ada lubang ka anu atu daripada
then exist half opinion like exist hole to what's.its.name that from

batang.
stem

'Then, half the people think like there is a hole to the... what's it called, from the stem'.

- (13) *Dan dalam tanah ani kitani nda tau, ada sungaikah ada apakah kitani nda tau.*

Dan dalam tanah ani kitani nda tau, ada sungai=kah ada apa=kah kitani
and inside ground this 1PL.INCL NEG KNOW exist river=ITR exist what=ITR 1PL.INCL

nda tau.
NEG know

'And we don't know if there is a river or what (something else) in the ground, we don't know'.

- (14) *Cuma yang mambari hirannya, Batang Dayang atu, di bawah pohon kayu atu, jaranih.*

cuma yang mam-bari hiran=nya Batang Dayang atu, di bawah pohon-kayu atu
only REL AV-give surprise=3 stem maiden that in below tree that

jaranih.
clear

'Only, what surprises them is that under the Maiden Stem, (the water) is clear'.

- (15) *Ada cubaan dulu, manarik dangan kapal kayu balak, sampai dua buah.*

Ada cubaan dulu, manarik dangan kapal kayu balak, sampai dua buah.
exist attempt before AV.pull with ship tree log as.far.as two CLF

'There was an attempt to pull (the tree) out with a dugout, (he used) as many as two (dugouts)'.

- (16) *Masih idup lagi urang atu, bacarita, nda mau ditariknya Batang Dayang atu, akarnya atu nda mau.*

masih idup lagi urang atu, bacarita, nda mau di-tarik=nya Batang Dayang atu,
 still alive yet person that tell NEG possible PASS-pull=3 stem maiden that
akar=nya atu nda mau.
 root=3 that NEG possible

‘The person (who made the attempt) is still alive. (He) told that it was not possible that (the ships could) pull the Maiden Stem, the root could not (be pulled by the ships)’.

- (17) *Jadi, dikisahkanlah, urang lagi daulu, bilanya tau kan carita Batang Dayang atu, kalau di skalilingnya atu rumput-rumputnya atu, hijau, biru subur samua, di darat padi nda mau tumbuh.*

Jadi di-kisahkan=lah, urang lagi daulu, bilanya tau kan carita Batang Dayang
 then PASS-tell=PTC person still before when know isn't.it story stem maiden
atu, kalau di skaliling=nya atu rumput-rumput=nya atu, hijau, biru subur samua,
 that if in surroundings=3 that glass.RDP=3 that green blue flourish all
di darat padi nda mau tumbuh.
 in land rice.plant NEG possible grow

‘Then, people long time ago told that — at that time (they) knew the story of the Maiden Stem, didn’t they? — in the surroundings (of the river) the glasses were green and all flourishing, and upland rice plants did not grow’.

- (18) *Padi di lingkungan atu subalah-subalah darat atu nda kan tumbuh, akan matilah.*

padi di lingkungan atu subalah-subalah darat atu nda kan tumbuh, akan
 rice.plant in surroundings that side.RDP land that NEG isn't.it grow FUT
mati=lah.
 die=PTC

‘Rice plants in the surroundings, in the land alongside (the river), (normally) would not grow, but die out, wouldn’t they?’

- (19) *Tapi, sbaliknya anu apa Batang Dayang atu kaliling-kalilingnya atu rumput-rumput atu mati, di darat padi akan tumbuh padi huma, padi bukit atu, tumbuh.*

tapi, sbaliknya anu apa Batang Dayang atu kaliling-kaliling=nya atu
 but contrarily what's.its.name what stem maiden that surroundings.RDP=3 that
rumput-rumput atu mati, di darat padi akan tumbuh padi huma,
 grass that die in land rice.plant FUT grow rice.plant upland.rice
padi bukit atu, tumbuh.
 rice.plant hill that grow

‘But the situation was opposite there, as in the area around the Maiden Stem, grasses died out, but the rice plants in the land above the river, they would grow.

The upland rice, (which also called) the hill rice, grew’.

- (20) *Ada lagi yang bulih bacarita yang masih idup yang bulih manyaksikan.*

ada lagi yang bulih bacarita yang masih idup yang bulih manyaksikan.
 exist still REL can tell REL still live REL can AV.testify

‘There is something else that can be told, still alive, which can be testified’.

- (21) *Apa tu carita atu mimang nalayan-nalayan di sini tau Batang Dayang atu paling digaruni.*

apa tu carita atu mimang nalayan-nalayan di sini tau Batang Dayang atu
 what that story that really fisherman.RDP in here know stem maiden that
paling di-garuni.
 most PASS-frighten

‘The story, the fishermen here know the Maiden Stem, it is really frightening’.

- (22) *Tapi, nda jua pernah mangacau urang. Cuma, ia carita mistik yang masih ada sampai ari ani bulih dilawat.*

tapi, nda jua pernah mangacau urang. Cuma, ia carita mistik yang masih ada
 but NEG also ever AV.bother person only 3 story mysterious REL still exist
sampai ari ani bulih di-lawat.
 until day this can PASS-visit

‘But the tree has never harmed people. It is just a mysterious story that can be testified until today’.

- (23) *Bawah Batang Dayang atu yang manghairankan.*

bawah Batang Dayang atu yang mang-hairankan.
 below stem maiden that REL AV-astonish

‘It is [what is] below the Maiden Stem that is astonishing’.

- (24) *Jararih aing atu. Macam air laut, masin, dirasai pun masin.*

Jararih aing atu. Macam air laut, masin, di-rasai pun masin.
 clear water that like water sea salty PASS-taste PTC salty

‘The water is clear like the sea water, it is salty, salty when tasted’.

- (25) *Saulah-ulah di bawah Batang Dayang, dalam sungai, dalam sungai mana bulih air masin. Samua air tawar bah.*

*Saulah-ulah di bawah Batang Dayang, dalam sungai, dalam sungai mana bulih air
 as.if in below stem maiden inside river inside river how can water
 masin. Samua air tawar bah.
 salty all water fresh PTC*

‘It seems that the bottom of the Maiden Stem is in the river; how can the saltwater come? All the water should be fresh’.

- (26) *Jadi, didapati carita Batang Dayang atu masih ada macam ada mistiklah.*

*Jadi di-dapat-i Carita Batang Dayang atu masih ada macam ada
 then PASS-find-APPL story stem maiden that still exist a.kind.of exist
 mistik=lah.
 mysterious=PTC*

‘Then we can see that the story of the “Maiden Stem” still retains something mysterious’.

- (27) *Macam ada unsur-unsur anulah, atulah di sana atu yang balum lagi kana buat kajian.*

*macam ada unsur-unsur anu=lah, atu=lah di sana atu yang balum
 a.kind.of exist element.RDP what’s.its.name=PTC that=PTC in there that REL not.yet
 lagi kana buat kajian.
 yet have.to make research*

‘It seems that there are things (lit. elements) that have not yet been researched there’.

- (28) *Atu antaryalah carita rayat, Carita Batang Dayang.*

*atu antara=nya=lah carita rayat, Carita Batang Dayang.
 that among=3=PTC story people story stem maiden*

‘That, among [our] folk stories, is the story of the Maiden Stem’.

- (29) *Kalau lagi daulu diantattah, dipujatah.*

*Kalau lagi daulu di-antat=tah, di-puja=tah.
 if still before PASS-give.offerings=PTC PASS-worship=PTC*

‘In the past, it was given offerings and worshipped’.

- (30) *Nda tautah apa urang tua-tua daulu ani, macam-macam saja asal tajumpa barang-barang macam-macam atu-atu.*

nda tau=tah apa urang tua-tua daulu ani, macam-macam saja asal
 NEG know=PTC what people old.RDP before this various only if

ta-jumpa barang-barang macam atu-atu.
 PASS-encounter things like that.RDP

'I do not know, as old people before did just all sorts of things, if (they) encountered things like that'.

- (31) *Ah jadi atutah caritanya, sekian terimakasih.*

ah jadi atu=tah carita=nya sekian terima-kasi
 ITJ then that=PTC story=3 as.much.as thank.you

'Ah then, so much as the story is, thank you'.

3. Text 2: Two episodes in the history of Weston and Bukau

3.1. Text in Brunei Malay

- (1) *Jadinya kan daulunya,*
- (2) *Rupa-rupanya,*
- (3) *Ada sabuah tungkang balabuh di palabuhan Wistin ani. Ani carita banar.*
- (4) *Sakali mangurabat, batarajunan turun. Tengah malam pukul dua lebih, lebih kurang. Lakat lagi mairap bulan ani baratus urang batarajun tungkang, rupa-rupanya anu, mintamapku urang jawa diudarnya ka mari.*
- (5) *Balusiran barang bawah rumah. Antaki aing angkat, carita mulah mama ani, antaki aing ngangat, siram, nya.*
- (6) *Pikirnya antu, rupa-rupanya anu urang-urang palarian Jawa ani kalaparan di kapal. Atutah sudah nya mulah mama.*
- (7) *Mangantak aing ngangat mau mau anu mambuat sagu, buyat.*
- (8) *Dibuatkan mbuyat, kalaparan. Sagala-gala tulang di bawah rumah ani di anunya di anunya rupanya anu buruh paksa yang dibawa ulih urang-urang, urang-urang Baritiskah. Untuk ka mari.*
- (9) *Atutah, sajak-sajak atutah, banyak yang lari ka istit-istit urang-urang jawa ani ia datang daripada Wistin ani batarajunan tengah malam.*
- (10) *Anu ucap apa antukah, rupanya manusia yang anu apa tu kalaparan. Masing-masing mau anu. Sanantan nda cukup dua nantan nda cukup.*
- (11) *Sampai-sampai anunya sakarung dianung, diuarkan ambuyat ani. Makantah sidia makan baraum au ambulung dibari makan ambulung.*
- (12) *mambari kasiannya ada yang batilanjang ada yang anu nda babaju. Atutah caritanya. Sampaitah ari ani.*

- (13) *Banyak yang bakaraja di istit-istit, di anu di di ah.*
- (14) *Jadi dikisahkintah ah samasa A.J. West mambina landasan keretapi ani sampai ka Bukau. Sudah sampai ka sana.*
- (15) *Saurang tukang rantis babangsa Cina.*
- (16) *Jadi, rantis rantis, rantis sampai ka Maraba. Sampai sudah ah. Sampai ka Bukau.*
- (17) *manariaktah anu ani urang Jawa ani, 'Hoi, ah Siong ah, sudah sampaikah', nya 'Sudah sampaikah?', nya.*
- (18) *Ani mau, mau anu ka stisin mambuat stisin anu stisin Bukau.*
- (19) *'Bukau! Bukau!' nya, artinya dalam Bahasa Cina balum sampai, bahasa Cinanya.*
- (20) *Iatah kisahny nama Bukau atu dibari nama, Bukau sabab balum sampai sisin karita api atu.*
- (21) *Yang kiranya stisin kadua karita api atu sampai ka Bukau atu.*
- (22) *Atutah kisahny yang ia dibari nama Kampung Bukau sampai ari ani, ah atutah caritanya, ah, dalam ia punya ipisod.*
- (23) *Kau kana ingat atu sajarah kamu atu. Ia barasal dari parkataan Cina, Bukau.*
- (24) *Bukaunya balum sampai. Ia marantis jalantu. Sampai balum sampai. Bukaunya ia mau basa rantis untuk mambuat landasan karitapi, Bukau, ah, haha. Dalam bahasa Cina.*

3.2. English translation

- (1) 'Then, in the past',
- (2) 'It seems',
- (3) 'There was a ship that arrived in the port of Weston. This is a true story'.
- (4) 'Once, in the middle of the night, around 2 o'clock, when the moon was still shining, hundreds of people jumped off (from the ship) in a disordered way, pardon me, (they are) Javanese people who were sent here'.
- (5) '(They) ran away below the houses; (people at Weston) heated water, according to my late mother, they heated water, and showered (them with the hot water), she said'.
- (6) 'They thought that (they were) ghosts; it seemed that the runaway Javanese people were hungry in the ship, that was what my late mother said',
- (7) 'Heat the water to cook ambuyat (from) the sago palm'.
- (8) '(They) cooked ambuyat (for them), who were hungry. (They were) all skin and bones, it seems that (they were) forced labourers that British people brought here'.
- (9) 'They, from there, many (people) who ran into the estate, the Javanese people, they moved from Weston, [those] who came jumping off (from the ship) in the middle of the night'.

- (10) 'Well, they looked like ghosts, (but) they were (just) hungry people. Each person wanted (to eat). One large bowl of (sagu powder) was not enough, two bowls were still not enough'.
- (11) 'They mixed as much as one sack of sagu powder (with hot water) (for) ambuyat. They grabbed and ate ambuyat as soon as it was served. They even ate half-cooked ambuyat, (because they could not wait)'.
- (12) '(People here) pitied them. Some were naked, some were not clothed. That was the story passed down until today'.
- (13) 'Many of them worked at the estate, in what's it called'.
- (14) 'Then, we can tell that... In the time when A.J. West was constructing the railways to the town of Bukau, which has reached there'.
- (15) 'There was a craftsman who was building (the railway), of Chinese nationality'.
- (16) 'Then they worked cleaning the land to build the railway until Maraba, and then to Bukau'.
- (17) 'The Javanese asked, "Hey, has (the railway) already reached it"??'
- (18) 'They wanted to go to the station, they were making the Bukau Station',
- (19) '(They said,) "Bukau! Bukau!", the meaning in Chinese is "not yet"... in Chinese'.
- (20) 'That is a story about how the name of Bukau was given. (It is named) Bukau because (the railway) had not reached to the station yet'.
- (21) 'I think it is the second station of the train, which reached to (the railway), Bukau'.
- (22) 'That is the story; the town has had the name of Kampung Bukau until today. That is the story, its (the town's) episode is inside (of the story)'.
- (23) 'You need to keep in mind that's your region's history. It originated from the Chinese word, Bukau'.
- (24) 'Bukau means "not yet". He was clearing the land for the road. (He was asked if the road was) "already reached?", (and answered) "not yet". (By the expression) Bukau, he talked about (the process) of clearing the land for building railway of the trains. (He said) "Bukau (not yet)" in Chinese'.

3.3. Glossed text

- (1) *Jadinya kan daulunya,*

Jadinya kan daulunya.
then isn't.it? before

'Then, in the past',

- (2) *Rupa-rupanya,*

rupa-rupanya,
it.seems

‘It seems’,

- (3) *Ada sabuah tungkang balabuh di palabuhan Wistin ani. Ani carita banar.*

ada sabuah tungkang balabuh di palabuhan Wistin ani. Ani carita banar.
exist one ship arrive.in.a.port in port Weston this this story real

‘There was a ship that arrived in the port of Weston. This is a true story’.

- (4) *Sakali mangurabat, batarajunan turun. Tengah malam pukul dua lebih, lebih kurang. Lakat lagi mairap bulan ani baratus urang batarajun tungkang, rupa-rupanya anu, mintamapku urang jawa diudarnya ka mari.*

Sakali mangurabat, batarajunan turun. Tengah malam pukul dua lebih,
once crowded jump.down.disorderly go.down middle night o'clock two more

lebih kurang. Lakat lagi mairap bulan ani baratus urang batarajun tungkang,
more less still yet shine moon this hundreds people jump.down ship

rupa-rupanya anu, mintamap=ku urang jawa di-udarnya ka mari.
it.seems what's.its.name forgive=1SG people Javanese PASS-order=3 to here

‘Once, in the middle of the night, around 2 o’clock, when the moon was still shining, hundreds of people jumped off (from the ship) in a disordered way, pardon me, (they are) Javanese people who were sent here’.

- (5) *Balusiran barang bawah rumah. Antaki aing angkat, carita mulah mama ani, antaki aing ngangat, siram, nya.*

balusiran barang bawah rumah. Antaki aing angkat, carita mulah mama ani, antaki
run.away until below house heat water warm story late mother this heat

aing ngangat, siram, nya.
water warm pour.over words

‘(They) ran away below the houses; (people at Weston) heated water, according to my late mother, they heated water, and showered (them with the hot water), she said’.

- (6) *Pikirnya antu, rupa-rupanya anu urang-urang palarian Jawa ani kalaparan di kapal. Atutah sudah nya mulah mama.*

pikir=nya antu, ruparupanya anu urang-urang palarian Jawa ani
think=3 ghost it.seems what's.its.name people.RDP run Javanese this

kalaparan di kapal. Atutah sudah nya mulah mama.
hungry in ship that=PTC already words late mother

'They thought that (they were) ghosts; it seemed that the runaway Javanese people were hungry in the ship, that was what my late mother said'.

- (7) *Mangantak aing ngangat mau mau anu mambuat sagu, buyat.*

mang-antak aing ngangat mau mau anu mambuat sagu,
 AV-heat water heat want want what's.its.name make sago.palm.food
buyat.
 ambuyat

'Heat the water to cook ambuyat (from) the sago palm'.

- (8) *Dibuatkan mbuyat, kalaparan. Sagala-gala tulang di bawah rumah ani di anunya di anunya rupanya anu buruh paksa yang dibawa ulih urang-urang, urang-urang Baritiskah. Untuk ka mari.*

Di-buat-kan mbuyat, kalaparan. Sagala-gala tulang di bawah rumah ani di
 PASS-make-APPL ambuyat hungry all.of.them bone in below house this in
anu=nya di anu=nya rupanya anu buruh paksa
 what's.its.name=3 in what's.its.name=3 it.seems what's.its.name labourers forced
yang di-bawa ulih urang-urang, urang-urang Baritis=kah. Untuk ka mari.
 REL PASS-bring by person.RDP person.RDP British=ITR for to here

'(They) cooked ambuyat (for them), who were hungry. (They were) all skin and bones, it seems that (they were) forced labourers that British people brought here'.

- (9) *Atutah, sajak-sajak atutah, banyak yang lari ka istit-istit urang-urang jawa ani ia datang daripada Wistin ani batarajunan tengah malam.*

Atu=tah, sajak-sajak atu=tah, banyak yang lari ka istit-istit urang-urang jawa
 that=PTC from.RDP that=PTC many REL run to estate person.RDP Javanese
ani ia datang daripada Wistin ani batarajunan tengah malam.
 this 3 come from Weston this jump.down middle night

'They, from there, many (people) who ran into the estate, the Javanese people, they moved from Weston, [those] who came jumping off (from the ship) in the middle of the night'.

- (10) *Anu ucap apa antukah, rupanya manusia yang anu apa tu kalaparan. Masing-masing mau anu. Sanantan nda cukup dua nantan nda cukup.*

anu ucap apa antu=kah rupanya manusia yang anu apa tu
 what's.its.name tell what ghost=ITR it.seems human REL what's.its.name what that
kalaparan. Masing-masing mau anu. Sa-nantan nda cukup dua
 hungry each want what's.its.name one-large.bowl NEG enough two

nantan nda cukup.
large.bowl NEG enough

‘Well, they looked like ghosts, (but) they were (just) hungry people. Each person wanted (to eat). One large bowl of (sagu powder) was not enough, two bowls were still not enough’.

- (11) *Sampai-sampai anunya sakarung dianung, diuarkan ambuyat ani. Makantah sidia makan baraum au ambulung dibari makan ambulung.*

sampai-sampai anu=nya sa-karung di-anung di-uar-kan
until what's.its.name=3 one-sack PASS-what's.its.name PASS-campur-APPL
ambuyat ani. makan=tah sidia makan baraum au ambulung di-bari makan
ambuyat this eat=PTC prepared eat hold filler uncooked PASS-give eat
ambulung.
uncooked

‘They mixed as much as one sack of sagu powder (with hot water) (for) ambuyat. They grabbed and ate ambuyat as soon as it was served. They even ate half-cooked ambuyat, (because they could not wait)’.

- (12) *mambari kasiannya ada yang batilanjang ada yang anu nda babaju. Atutah caritanya. Sampaitah ari ani.*

mam-bari kasian=nya ada yang batilanjang ada yang anu nda babaju.
AV-give pity=3 exist REL naked exist REL what's.its.name NEG clothed
atu=tah carita=nya. sampai=tah ari ani.
that=PTC story=3 until=PTC day this

‘(People here) pitied them. Some were naked, some were not clothed. That was the story passed down until today’.

- (13) *Banyak yang bakaraja di istit-istit, di anu di di ah.*

banyak yang bakaraja di istit-istit, di anu di di ah.
many REL work in estate.RDP in what's.its.name in in ITJ

‘Many of them worked at the estate, in what’s it called’.

- (14) *Jadi dikisahkantah ah samasa A.J. West mambina landasan keretapi ani sampai ka Bukau. Sudah sampai ka sana.*

Jadi di-kisahkan=tah ah samasa A.J.West mam-bina landasan keretapi ani sampai ka
then PASS-tell=PTC ITJ time A.J.West AV-make railway train this until to
Bukau. Sudah sampai ka sana.
Bukau already until to over.there

‘Then, we can tell that... In the time when A.J. West was constructing the railways to the town of Bukau, which has reached there’,

- (15) *Saurang tukang rantis babangsa Cina.*

sa-urang tukang rantis babangsa Cina.
one-person craftsman clear.the.land with.the.nationality.of China

‘There was a craftsman who was building (the railway), of Chinese nationality’.

- (16) *Jadi, rantis rantis, rantis sampai ka Maraba. Sampai sudah ah. Sampai ka Bukau.*

jadi, rantis rantis, rantis sampai ka Maraba. Sampai sudah ah.
then clear.the.land clear.the.land clear.the.land until to Maraba until already ITJ

Sampai ka Bukau
until to Bukau

‘Then they worked cleaning the land to build the railway until Maraba, and then to Bukau’.

- (17) *manariaktah anu ani urang Jawa ani, ‘Hoi, ah Siong ah, sudah sampaikah’, nya ‘Sudah sampaikah?’, nya.*

manariak=tah anu ani urang Jawa ani, ‘Hoi, ah siong ah, sudah
shout=PTC what’s.its.name this person Jawa this ITJ ITJ ITJ ITJ already

sampai=kah’, nya ‘Sudah sampaikah’, nya?
arrive=ITR words already arrive=ITR words

‘The Javanese asked, “Hey, has (the railway) already reached it”’?

- (18) *Ani mau, mau anu ka stisin mambuat stisin anu stisin Bukau.*

Ani mau, mau anu ka stisin mam-buat stisin anu stisin
this want want what’s.its.name to station AV-make station what’s.its.name station

Bukau.
Bukau

‘They wanted to go to the station, they were making the Bukau Station’.

- (19) *‘Bukau! Bukau!’ nya, artinya dalam Bahasa Cina balum sampai, bahasa Cinanya.*

‘Bukau! Bukau!’ nya, arti=nya dalam Bahasa Cina balum sampai, bahasa
Bukau Bukau words meaning=3 inside language China not.yet arrive language

Cina=nya.
China=3

‘(They said,) “Bukau! Bukau!”’, the meaning in Chinese is “not yet”... in Chinese’.

- (20) *Iatah kisahnyanya nama Bukau itu dibari nama, Bukau sabab balum sampai stisin karita api itu.*

Ia=tah kisah=nyanya nama Bukau itu di-bari nama, Bukau sabab balum sampai
 3=PTC story=3 name Bukau that PASS-give name Bukau because not.yet to
stisin karita api itu.
 station train fire that

‘That is a story about how the name of Bukau was given. (It is named) Bukau because (the railway) had not reached to the station yet’.

- (21) *Yang kiranya stisin kadua karita api itu sampai ka Bukau itu.*

Yang kira=nyanya stisin kadua karita api itu sampai ka Bukau itu
 REL thought=3 station second train fire that until to Bukau that

‘I think it is the second station of the train, which reached to (the railway), Bukau’.

- (22) *Atutah kisahnyanya yang ia dibari nama Kampung Bukau sampai ari ani, ah atutah caritanya, ah, dalam ia punya ipisod.*

atu=tah kisah=nyanya yang ia di-bari nama Kampung Bukau sampai ari ani, ah
 that=PTC story=3 REL 3 PASS-give name village Bukau until day this ITJ
atu=tah carita=nyanya, ah, dalam ia punya ipisod.
 that=PTC story=3 ITJ inside 3 poss episode

‘That is the story; the town has had the name of Kampung Bukau until today. That is the story, its (the town’s) episode is inside (of the story)’.

- (23) *Kau kana ingat atu sajarah kamu itu. Ia barasal dari parkataan Cina, Bukau.*

Kau kana ingat atu sajarah kamu itu. Ia barasal dari parkataan Cina,
 2sg have.to remember that history 2sg that 3 originate from word China
Bukau.
 Bukau

‘You need to keep in mind that’s your region’s history. It originated from the Chinese word, Bukau’.

- (24) *Bukaunya balum sampai. Ia marantis jalantu. Sampai balum sampai. Bukaunya ia mau basa rantis untuk mambuat landasan karitapi, Bukau, ah, haha. Dalam bahasa Cina.*

Bukau=nya balum sampai. Ia ma-rantis jalan=tu. Sampai balum sampai.
 bukau=3 not.yet arrive 3 AV-clear.the.land road=that reach not.yet reach

Bukau=nya ia mau basa rantis untuk mam-buat landasan karitapi,
 Bukau=3 3 want language clear.the.land for AV-make railway train

Bukau, ah, haha. Dalam bahasa Cina.
 Bukau ITJ (laugh) inside language China

‘Bukau means “not yet”. He was clearing the land for the road. (He was asked if the road was) “already reached?”, (and answered) “not yet”. (By the expression) Bukau, he talked about (the process) of clearing the land for building railway of the trains. (He said) “Bukau (not yet)” in Chinese’.

Abbreviation

| | | | |
|---------|-----------------------------|------|---------------|
| 1, 2, 3 | first, second, third person | NEG | negator |
| ADV | adverbializer | PASS | passive |
| AV | active | POSS | possessive |
| APPL | applicative | PL | plural |
| CLF | classifier | PTC | particle |
| FUT | future | RDP | reduplication |
| INCL | inclusive | REL | relativiser |
| ITJ | interjection | SG | singular |
| ITR | interrogative | | |

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