

# Ethnologue: Languages of Brunei

## Twenty-sixth edition data

David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig, Editors

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## List of Abbreviations

|                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| A                 | Agent in constituent word order   |
| <i>alt.</i>       | alternate name for  |
| <i>alt. dial.</i> | alternate dialect name for  |
| AOV               | Agent-Object-Verb   |
| C                 | Consonant in canonical syllable patterns                                    |
| CDE               | Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960)                       |
| <i>Class</i>      | Language classification   |
| CSICH             | Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003)      |
| <i>dial.</i>      | primary dialect name for  |
| km                | kilometer(s)  |
| L1 / L2           | first language / second (or other additional) language                      |
| <i>Lg Dev</i>     | Language development  |
| <i>Lg Use</i>     | Language use  |
| m                 | meter(s)  |
| P                 | Patient in constituent word order   |
| PARADISEC         | Pacific And Regional Archive for Digital Sources In Endangered Cultures     |
| <i>pej.</i>       | pejorative  |
| pl.               | plural  |
| S                 | Subject in constituent word order   |
| sg.               | singular  |
| SIL               | SIL International   |
| SVO               | Subject-Verb-Object   |
| <i>Type</i>       | Typological information   |
| UNCRPD            | United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006) |
| UNDRIP            | United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007)       |
| UNESCO            | United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization           |
| V                 | Vowel in canonical syllable patterns  |
| VSO               | Verb-Subject-Object   |

## How to Use This Digest

This *Ethnologue* country digest provides an extract of the information about the language situation in Brunei that is published in the 26th edition of *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* (see <http://www.ethnologue.com>), including some ways of presenting the information that are not available in the online version. The digest begins with a “Country Overview” (page 6) and “Statistical Summaries” (page 8) of languages and number of speakers by language size, by language status, and by language family.

The “Alphabetical Listing of Languages” (page 11) provides detailed information on the 20 languages listed in the *Ethnologue* for the country of Brunei. This includes languages that are indigenous to the country, languages that have developed well-established multigenerational speaker communities after immigrating in the past, and languages that have a significant presence in the country but are not established (that is, not being transmitted to the next generation within the country). A complete language entry has the following form and content:

**Primary language name** [ISO 639-3 code] (Alternate names). Autonym. *Users*: Country user population. Population stability comment. Population remarks. Monolingual population. Ethnic population. *Location*: Location. *Status*: EGIDS level. Special cases. Language function in country. *Class*: Linguistic classification. Macrolanguage membership. *Dialects*: Dialect names. Intelligibility and dialect relations. Lexical similarity. *Type*: Linguistic typology information. *Lg Use*: Remarks on use of the language. Domains of use. User age range. Language attitudes. Bilingualism remarks. Use as second language. *Lg Dev*: Literacy rates. Literacy remarks. Use in education. Publications and use in media. Revitalization efforts. Language development agencies. *DLS*: Digital support. *Writing*: Scripts used. *Other*: Non-indigenous. General remarks. Religion. *Worldwide*: Total population in all countries. Other countries where used.

See <http://www.ethnologue.com/methodology/#languagePages> for a full description of these information elements. If the autonym contains the “?” character, this indicates a complex non-Roman character that the PDF-creating software we are using is not able to render. We regret the inconvenience.

Many ways of finding languages are provided. “Languages by Population” (page 17) lists the languages in order of their first-language speaker populations. “Languages by Status” (page 19) lists the languages by their level of development or endangerment as measured on EGIDS, the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Lewis and Simons 2010). “Languages by District” (page 22) lists the top-level administrative subdivisions of Brunei and the languages located within each. “Languages by Family” (page 23) lists the languages by their linguistic classifications. “Language Code Index” (page 25) gives an alphabetical listing of all the three-letter codes from ISO 639-3 that are used in this digest to uniquely identify languages. “Language Name Index” (page 26) lists every name that appears in the language listings as a primary or alternate name of a language or dialect. A total of 74 unique names are associated with the 20

languages described in this digest.

Finally, a listing of all the published sources cited within this digest is found in “Bibliography” (page 29). The published sources are cited using standard in-text citations enclosed in parentheses, consisting of the author’s or editor’s surname followed by the year of publication. Unpublished sources including personal communications and unpublished reports are also acknowledged when specific statements or facts are attributed to them. They are identified using in-text citations enclosed in parentheses in which the year of the communication is given first, followed by the source’s first initial and surname. In such a case, there is no corresponding entry in the bibliography.

This digest is designed for use in both digital and print formats. The cross-references are thus rendered as page numbers that are hyperlinks. When using the document in printed form, simply turn to the referenced page by number. When using it in digital form, click on the blue text to jump to the cross-referenced location.

If you believe any of the information about a language in this digest is in error or if you are able to supply missing information, please send your proposed change to the editor using one of the means given below. Provide as much information as possible about the source of your information. Full bibliographic details of published sources are especially helpful.

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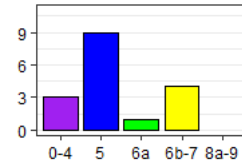
Editor, Ethnologue  
SIL International  
7500 West Camp Wisdom Road  
Dallas, TX 75236, U.S.A.

## Country Overview

|                           |   |
|---------------------------|---|
| Name of country           | Brunei  |
| Other names               | State of Brunei Darussalam  |
| Population                | 437,000 (2020 World Bank)   |
| Principal languages       | Brunei, English, Standard Malay                                     |
| Literacy rate             | 97% (2018 UNESCO)   |
| International conventions | CDE (1985), CSICH (2011), UNCRPD (2016), UNDRIP (2007)              |
| General references        | Martin 1995, Martin et al 1996, Purnama 1991, Wurm and Hattori 1981 |

### Language counts

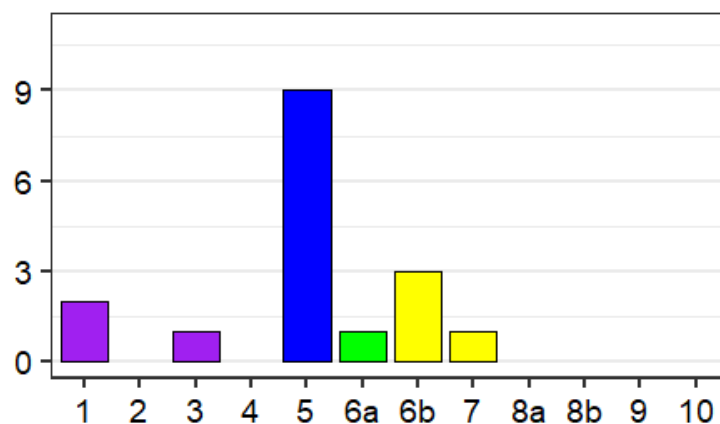
The number of established languages listed for Brunei is 17. All are living languages. Of these, 7 are indigenous and 10 are non-indigenous. Furthermore, 3 are institutional, 9 are developing, 1 is vigorous, and 4 are in trouble. Also listed are 3 unestablished languages.



See the next page for an explanation of the summary categories for language vitality used in the above counts and graph.

## Language Status Profile

The following histogram gives a graphic profile of the established languages in Brunei with respect to their status of language development versus language endangerment. This includes all of the languages appearing in the “Alphabetical Listing of Languages” (page 11) that report an EGIDS level after *Status*; macrolanguages and unestablished languages are not included in the profile. The horizontal axis plots the estimated level of development or endangerment as measured on the EGIDS scale (Lewis and Simons 2010). The height of each bar indicates the number of languages that are estimated to be at the given level. Consult “Languages by Status” (page 19) in order to see the specific languages for each level.



The color coding of the bars in the histogram above matches the color scheme used in the summary profile graph on the preceding page. In this scheme, the EGIDS levels are grouped as follows:

- Purple = Institutional (EGIDS 0–4) — The language has been developed to the point that it is used and sustained by institutions beyond the home and community.
- Blue = Developing (EGIDS 5) — The language is in vigorous use, with literature in a standardized form being used by some though this is not yet widespread or sustainable.
- Green = Vigorous (EGIDS 6a) — The language is in vigorous use among all generations and remains unstandardized.
- Yellow = In trouble (EGIDS 6b–7) — Intergenerational transmission is in the process of being broken, but the child-bearing generation can still use the language so it is possible that revitalization efforts could restore transmission of the language in the home.
- Red = Dying (EGIDS 8a–9) — The only fluent users (if any) are older than child-bearing age, so it is too late to restore natural intergenerational transmission through the home; a mechanism outside the home would need to be developed.
- Black = Extinct (EGIDS 10) — The language is no longer used and no one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language.

## Statistical Summaries

The “Alphabetical Listing of Languages” (page 11) provides a detailed listing of all the languages of Brunei. This section steps back from the detail to offer a summary view of the language situation in the country. Specifically, it offers three numerical tabulations of the living established languages of Brunei and their users: by language size, by language status, and by language family.

### Summary by language size

Table 1 summarizes the distribution of living established languages in Brunei by number of L1 speakers. The *Population range* column categorizes the sizes of the languages by order of magnitude (in terms of the number of digits in the population of first-language speakers). Consult “Languages by Population” (page 17) for a listing of the specific languages in each range category.

The *Count* column gives the number of living established languages within the specified population range. The *Percent* column gives the share of the count for that population range as a percentage of the total number of languages given at the bottom of the Count column. The *Cumulative* column gives the cumulative sum of the percentage of languages going from top to bottom in the column.

The *Total* column gives the total L1 population of all the languages in the given range category. The second *Percent* column gives the percentage of the total country population as estimated at the bottom of the Total column. Note that if the table has a row for Unknown, representing languages for which the *Ethnologue* does not have a population estimate, the calculation of population percentage is not able to take those languages into account. The final *Cumulative* column gives the cumulative sums of the population percentages going from top to bottom in the column.

**Table 1:** Distribution of languages by number of first-language speakers

| Population range   | Living languages |         |            | Number of speakers |           |            |
|--------------------|------------------|---------|------------|--------------------|-----------|------------|
|                    | Count            | Percent | Cumulative | Total              | Percent   | Cumulative |
| 100,000 to 999,999 | 1                | 5.9     | 5.9%       | 252,000            | 64.02683  | 64.02683%  |
| 10,000 to 99,999   | 7                | 41.2    | 47.1%      | 121,400            | 30.84467  | 94.87150%  |
| 1,000 to 9,999     | 5                | 29.4    | 76.5%      | 19,350             | 4.91635   | 99.78785%  |
| 100 to 999         | 2                | 11.8    | 88.2%      | 780                | 0.19818   | 99.98603%  |
| 10 to 99           | 1                | 5.9     | 94.1%      | 55                 | 0.01397   | 100.00000% |
| Unknown            | 1                | 5.9     | 100.0%     |                    |           |            |
| <i>Totals</i>      | 17               | 100.0   |            | 393,585            | 100.00000 |            |

## Summary by language status

Table 2 summarizes the distribution of living established languages in Brunei by their status in terms of language development or language endangerment. The *EGIDS* column categorizes the languages by their level on the EGIDS scale. Consult “Languages by Status” (page 19) for a listing of the specific languages that have been assigned to each level. Note that the EGIDS level reported here is for the status of the language in Brunei. Languages that are also used in other countries may be assigned to a different EGIDS level in those countries.

The next six columns are as in Table 1. In addition, the *Mean* column gives the average L1 population of all the languages with the given EGIDS level and the *Median* column gives the median L1 population for the languages at that level, that is, half of the languages at that level have a higher population and half have a lower population. If there are any languages with an unknown population, these are ignored in the calculation of the mean and the median.

**Table 2:** Distribution of languages by vitality status

| EGIDS         | Living languages |         |            | Number of speakers |          |            | Mean    | Median  |
|---------------|------------------|---------|------------|--------------------|----------|------------|---------|---------|
|               | Count            | Percent | Cumulative | Total              | Percent  | Cumulative |         |         |
| 1             | 2                | 11.8    | 11.8%      | 5,130              | 1.3034   | 1.3034%    | 2,565   | 5,130   |
| 3             | 1                | 5.9     | 17.6%      | 252,000            | 64.0268  | 65.3302%   | 252,000 | 252,000 |
| 5             | 9                | 52.9    | 70.6%      | 108,390            | 27.5392  | 92.8694%   | 12,043  | 11,300  |
| 6a            | 1                | 5.9     | 76.5%      | 280                | 0.0711   | 92.9405%   | 280     | 280     |
| 6b            | 3                | 17.6    | 94.1%      | 26,655             | 6.7724   | 99.7129%   | 8,885   | 10,000  |
| 7             | 1                | 5.9     | 100.0%     | 1,130              | 0.2871   | 100.0000%  | 1,130   | 1,130   |
| <i>Totals</i> | 17               | 100.0   |            | 393,585            | 100.0000 |            |         |         |

## Summary by language family

The genealogical classifications given in the language entries of the “Alphabetical Listing of Languages” (page 11) name 3 different top-level groups. Table 3 summarizes the distribution of living established languages and their L1 populations within these families. The columns are as for table 2, with the exception that *Cumulative* is excluded since there is no inherent ordering of the families.

**Table 3:** Distribution of languages by language family

| Language family | Living languages |         | Number of speakers |         |        |        |
|-----------------|------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|--------|--------|
|                 | Count            | Percent | Total              | Percent | Mean   | Median |
| Austronesian    | 11               | 64.7    | 352,665            | 89.6    | 32,060 | 12,400 |

| Language family | Living languages |                | Number of speakers |                |             |               |
|-----------------|------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|-------------|---------------|
|                 | <i>Count</i>     | <i>Percent</i> | <i>Total</i>       | <i>Percent</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Median</i> |
| Indo-European   | 1                | 5.9            | 5,130              | 1.3            | 5,130       | 5,130         |
| Sino-Tibetan    | 5                | 29.4           | 35,790             | 9.1            | 7,158       | 5,390         |
| <i>Totals</i>   | 17               | 100.0          | 393,585            | 100.0          |             |               |

## Alphabetical Listing of Languages

**Bajau, West Coast** [bdr]. Autonym: Sama. *Users*: 10,000 in Brunei (2021). *Location*: Scattered. *Status*: 6b\* (Threatened). *Class*: Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Greater Barito, Sama-Bajaw, Sulu-Borneo, Borneo Coast Bajaw. *Type*: SVO and VSO word orders; 3 voice system (actor voice, undergoer voice, ‘true passive’). *Lg Dev*: Radio. Videos. Dictionary. Grammar. *Writing*: Latin script, developed in about 1998. *Other*: Non-indigenous. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 100,000. Indigenous in: Malaysia.

**Belait** [beg] (Balait Jati, Lemeting, Metting, Tau’ kitah). *Users*: 1,130 (2019). *Location*: Belait district: scattered; Tutong district: Kampung Kiudang. *Status*: 7 (Shifting). *Class*: Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, North Borneo, North Sarawakan, Berawan-Lower Baram, Lower Baram, Central, A. *Dialects*: None known. Lexical similarity: 54% with Tutong [ttg]. *Type*: SVO, VSO; prepositions; noun head initial; classifiers (human, non-human); dual number; actor and undergoer voice; aspect-mood markers; causative prefix; 19 consonants and 5 vowels; inclusive/exclusive pronouns. *Lg Use*: Adults only. Shifting to Brunei [kxd] (Clynes 2005). *Lg Dev*: Grammar. *DLS*: Still. *Writing*: Unwritten. *Other*: Recognized indigenous group. Muslim Belait are Malay in orientation. Non-Muslims retain their Belait identity more. Heavy intermarriage with Bisaya and Chinese. Muslim. *Map*: 16:63.

**Bisaya, Brunei** [bsb] (Basaya, Bekiau, Besaya, Bisaia, Bisaya, Bisaya Bukit, Bisayah, Dusun, Jilama Bawang, Jilama Sungai, Lorang Bukit, Southern Bisaya, Tutong, Visayak). *Users*: 37,600 in Brunei (2007 SIL). *Location*: Belait and Tutong districts: central and interior areas south of Tutong [ttg] language area; Seria town and villages near Sarawak border (Brunei dialect). *Status*: 5\* (Developing). De facto language of national identity. *Class*: Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, North Borneo, Sabahan, Dusunic, Bisaya-Lotud, Southern. *Dialects*: Brunei Bisaya, Sarawak Bisaya, Tutong 1. Lexical similarity: 78% with dialects spoken in Brunei and Sarawak, lower with other Dusunic languages. *Lg Use*: Also use Brunei [kxd]. *Lg Dev*: Radio. Bible portions: 1938. *DLS*: Still. *Writing*: Latin script. *Other*: Different from Tutong [ttg]. *Map*: 16:65. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 57,600. Also indigenous in: Malaysia.

**Brunei** [kxd] (Brunei-Kadayan, “Orang Bukit” *pej.*). *Users*: 252,000 in Brunei (2021), increasing. *Location*: Widespread. *Status*: 3 (Wider communication). De facto national working language. Originated and used as trade language in the archipelago of the Brunei sultanate centuries before British protectorate (1888–1984). Used as lingua franca between ethnic groups, widely used by young people. *Class*: Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Malayo-Chamic, Malayic, Malay. A member of macrolanguage Malay [msa] (Malaysia). *Dialects*: Brunei Malay, Kadayan (Kadaian, Kadian, Kadien, Kadyan, Karayan, Kedayan, Kadien, Kedian, Kerayan), Kampong Ayer. Lexical similarity: 94%–95% between Brunei and the Kampong Ayer dialects, 80%–82% with Standard Malay [zsm]. *Lg Use*: Vigorous. Used in Bandar Seri Begawan and surrounding areas, and by young people and educated older people from different language or dialect backgrounds. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Also use Standard Malay [zsm]. Used as

L2 by Belait [beg], Brunei Bisaya [bsb], Central Melanau [mel]. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Periodicals. Radio. Videos. Dictionary. *DLS*: Emerging (0.04). *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script. *Other*: Brunei and Kadayan are recognized indigenous groups. Muslim. *Map*: 16:62. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 303,000. Also established in: Malaysia.

**Chinese, Hakka** [hak]. *Users*: 2,570 in Brunei (2021). *Location*: Major cities. *Status*: 5\* (Dispersed). *Class*: Sino-Tibetan, Chinese. *Type*: SVO; tonal. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Newspapers. Periodicals. Radio. TV. Videos. Dictionary. Grammar. Bible: 1916–2012. *Writing*: Han script, Simplified variant. Han script, Traditional variant. Latin script, used since early 19th century. *Other*: Non-indigenous. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 44,271,630 (as L1: 44,020,430; as L2: 251,200). Global EGIDS level: 4 (Educational). Indigenous in: China, China–Hong Kong. Also established in 11 other countries and unestablished in 9 more.

**Chinese, Mandarin** [cmn]. *Users*: 11,300 in Brunei (2021). *Location*: Major cities. *Status*: 5\* (Dispersed). *Class*: Sino-Tibetan, Chinese. *Type*: SVO; prepositions; noun head final; 6 full (concrete meaning) word classes; no articles; passives; 24 consonants, 8 vowels, 6 diphthongs; tonal (4 phonemic tones). *Lg Dev*: Fully developed. Bible: 1874–1983. *Writing*: Bopomofo script, used since 1913, revised in 1920 and 1932, mainly used in Taiwan. Braille script. Han script, Simplified variant, used since 1956, official in Mainland China (1956) and Singapore (1969), also used elsewhere. Han script, Traditional variant, used since mid-19th century, official in Taiwan, also used elsewhere. Latin script. *Other*: Non-indigenous. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 1,138,222,350 (as L1: 939,237,350; as L2: 198,985,000). Global EGIDS level: 0 (International). Indigenous in: China. Also established in 16 other countries and unestablished in 61 more.

**Chinese, Min Dong** [cdo]. *Users*: 5,130 in Brunei (2021). *Location*: Major cities. *Status*: 5\* (Developing). *Class*: Sino-Tibetan, Chinese. *Dialect*: Foochow. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Dictionary. Grammar. Bible: 1884–1905. *Writing*: Han script, Simplified variant, used since 1987. Han script, Traditional variant. Latin script, developed and revised to final form during late 19th century. *Other*: Non-indigenous. Buddhist, Christian, Daoist. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 10,919,420 (as L1: 10,918,950; as L2: 470). Indigenous in: China. Also established in: Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand. Unestablished in: Canada, United States.

**Chinese, Min Nan** [nan] (Banlamgi, Min Nan, Minnan). *Users*: 11,400 in Brunei (2021). *Location*: Major cities. *Status*: 5\* (Dispersed). *Class*: Sino-Tibetan, Chinese. *Dialects*: Hainan, Teochew (Chaochow, Tiuchiu), Hokkien (Fujian). *Type*: SVO; tone sandhi, tonal. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Dictionary. Grammar. Bible: 1933. *Writing*: Bopomofo script, used since 1998, used in Taiwan. Han script, Simplified variant. Katakana script, used between 1895–1945, once used in Taiwan. Latin script, used since 1850. *Other*: Non-indigenous. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 50,312,390 (as L1: 49,909,390; as L2: 403,000). Global EGIDS level: 3 (Wider communication). Indigenous in: China, China–Taiwan. Also established in: Cambodia, China–Hong Kong, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand. Unestablished in: Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, United States.

**Chinese, Yue** [yue] (Cantonese). *Users*: 5,390 in Brunei (2021). *Location*: Major cities. *Status*: 5\* (Dispersed). *Class*: Sino-Tibetan, Chinese. *Type*: SVO; prepositions; genitives, relatives, adjectives, numerals before noun heads; noun classifiers; no articles; 18 consonants, 7 vowels; tonal (6 tones: 3 level, 3 contour). *Lg Dev*: Fully developed. *Bible*: 1894–1981. *Writing*: Braille script, used in Hong Kong. Han script, Simplified variant. Han script, Traditional variant, official usage in Hong Kong and Macau, also used elsewhere. Latin script, used since mid-19th century. *Other*: Non-indigenous. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 86,633,370 (as L1: 86,116,370; as L2: 517,000). Global EGIDS level: 2 (Provincial). Indigenous in: China, China–Hong Kong, China–Macao. Also established in 11 other countries and unestablished in 19 more.

**English** [eng]. Autonym: English. *Users*: 139,130 in Brunei, all users. L1 users: 5,130 in Brunei (2021). L2 users: 134,000 (Crystal 2003a). *Status*: 1 (National). Statutory national working language (1984, Constitution, Article 82(2)). *Class*: Indo-European, Germanic, West, English. *Type*: SVO; prepositions; genitives after noun heads; articles, adjectives, numerals before noun heads; question word initial; word order distinguishes subject, object, indirect objects, given and new information, topic and comment; active and passive; causative; comparative; consonant and vowel clusters; 24 consonants, 13 vowels, 8 diphthongs; non-tonal; free stress; phrasal verbs. *Lg Use*: Government, education, and by the educated as L1 or L2. *Lg Dev*: Taught in all primary and secondary schools from grade 3, used as the language of instruction for the sciences, mathematics, geography, history, and the English language. Taught as subject in all primary schools in grades 1 and 2. Taught in tertiary schools. Fully developed. *Bible*: 1382–2002. *Writing*: Braille script. Deseret Alphabet, developed in 1854 with limited usage until 1877. Duployan shorthand. Latin script, primary usage. Shavian (Shaw) script, no longer in use. *Other*: Non-indigenous. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 1,456,448,320 (as L1: 379,682,200; as L2: 1076,766,120). Global EGIDS level: 0 (International). Indigenous in: Ireland, United Kingdom. Also established in 167 other countries and unestablished in 16 more.

**Hindi** [hin]. *Users*: 3,650 in Brunei (2021). *Status*: Unestablished. *Class*: Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Western Hindi, Hindustani. *Type*: SOV; postpositions; noun head final; content q-word in situ; gender (masculine/feminine); no articles; clause constituents partially indicated by case-marking (direct, oblique), postpositions, and word order; verbal affixation marks person, number, gender, and honorificity of subject; split ergativity; both tense and aspect; passives and voice; causatives; non-tonal; 30 consonants, 10 vowels, 2 diphthongs; stress linked to syllable weight. *Lg Dev*: Fully developed. *Bible*: 1835–2000. *Writing*: Braille script. Devanagari script, primary usage. Latin script, recent informal usage, especially online on social media. Mahajani script, no longer in use, historic usage. Newa script, no longer in use, historic usage. *Other*: Non-indigenous. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 609,454,770 (as L1: 344,650,870; as L2: 264,803,900). Global EGIDS level: 1 (National). Indigenous in: India. Also established in: Kuwait, Nepal, Singapore, South Africa. Unestablished in: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Belize, Cambodia, Canada, Cyprus, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Eswatini, Finland, Germany, Indonesia, Ireland,

Kenya, Lesotho, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Mauritius, Myanmar, New Zealand, Oman, Panama, Philippines, Portugal, Puerto Rico, Russian Federation, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Sint Maarten, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Thailand, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United States, Yemen.

**Iban** [iba] (Sea Dayak). Autonym: Jaku Iban. *Users*: 14,800 in Brunei (2021). *Location*: Belait and Tutong districts: rural areas; Temburong district. *Status*: 5\* (Dispersed). *Class*: Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Malayo-Chamic, Malayic, Ibanic. *Dialects*: Batang Lupar, Bugau. *Type*: SVO. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Radio. Dictionary. Grammar. Bible: 1988–2011. *Writing*: Latin script. *Map*: 16:41. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 1,481,800 (as L1: 781,800; as L2: 700,000). Global EGIDS level: 3 (Wider communication). Also indigenous in: Indonesia, Malaysia.

**Kadazan Dusun** [dtp]. Autonym: Kadazan Dusun. *Users*: 19,700 in Brunei (2021). *Status*: 5\* (Developing). *Class*: Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, North Borneo, Sabahan, Dusunic, Dusun, Central. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Newspapers. Periodicals. Radio. TV. Videos. Dictionary. Texts. Bible: 2000. *Writing*: Latin script. *Other*: Non-indigenous. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 283,700. Indigenous in: Malaysia.

**Korean** [kor]. *Users*: 31,600 in Brunei (2021). *Status*: Unestablished. *Class*: Koreanic. *Lg Dev*: Fully developed. Bible: 1911–1993. *Writing*: Braille script. Hangul and Han scripts, primary usage. Latin script, used for maps and signs. *Other*: Non-indigenous. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 81,740,540 (as L1: 81,721,540; as L2: 19,000). Global EGIDS level: 1 (National). Indigenous in: North Korea, South Korea. Also established in: China, Japan, Russian Federation, United States, Uzbekistan. Unestablished in: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahrain, Belarus, Brazil, Cambodia, Canada, China–Taiwan, Denmark, France, Germany, Guam, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Libya, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mexico, Mongolia, Mozambique, Netherlands, New Zealand, Northern Mariana Islands, Norway, Paraguay, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Tajikistan, Thailand, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, Vietnam.

**Lundayeh** [Ind] (Brunei Murut, Buri tau, Buri' Lun Bawang, Buri' Lun Dayeh, Lun Bawang, Lun Daya, Lun Dayah, Lun Daye, Lun Dayeh, Lun Dayoh, Lundaya, Murut, Southern Murut). Autonym: Buri' Lun Bawang, Buri' Lun Dayeh. *Users*: 500 in Brunei (2006 SIL). *Location*: Temburong district: Brunei Bay to Padas, then to Baram river headwaters. 7 villages. *Status*: 5\* (Developing). *Class*: Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, North Borneo, North Sarawakan, Dayic, Kelabitic. *Dialects*: Trusan, Long Iluk, Lun Ba. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Radio. Videos. Dictionary. Grammar. Bible: 1982. *Writing*: Latin script. *Other*: Not Murutic, although sometimes called Southern Murut. Murut is a recognized indigenous group. Christian, traditional religion. *Map*: 16:73. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 47,500. Also indigenous in: Indonesia, Malaysia.

**Malay, Standard** [zsm] (Bahasa Malaysia, Formal Malay, Malay, Malayu, Melayu, Melayu Baku). *Status*: 1 (National). Statutory national language (1984, Constitution, Article 82(1)). *Class*: Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Malayo-Chamic, Malayic, Malay. *Type*: SVO. *Lg*

*Use:* Formal domains, religion, government. *Lg Dev:* Taught in all primary and secondary schools, used as the only language of instruction in grades 1 and 2, then, with English, used for teaching Malay, religion (Islamic studies), physical education, the arts and trades. Taught in tertiary schools. Fully developed. *Bible:* 1733–2016. *Writing:* Arabic script, Naskh variant. Braille script. Latin script. *Other:* Non-indigenous. L2 only. *Worldwide:* Indigenous in: Malaysia. Also established in: Singapore.

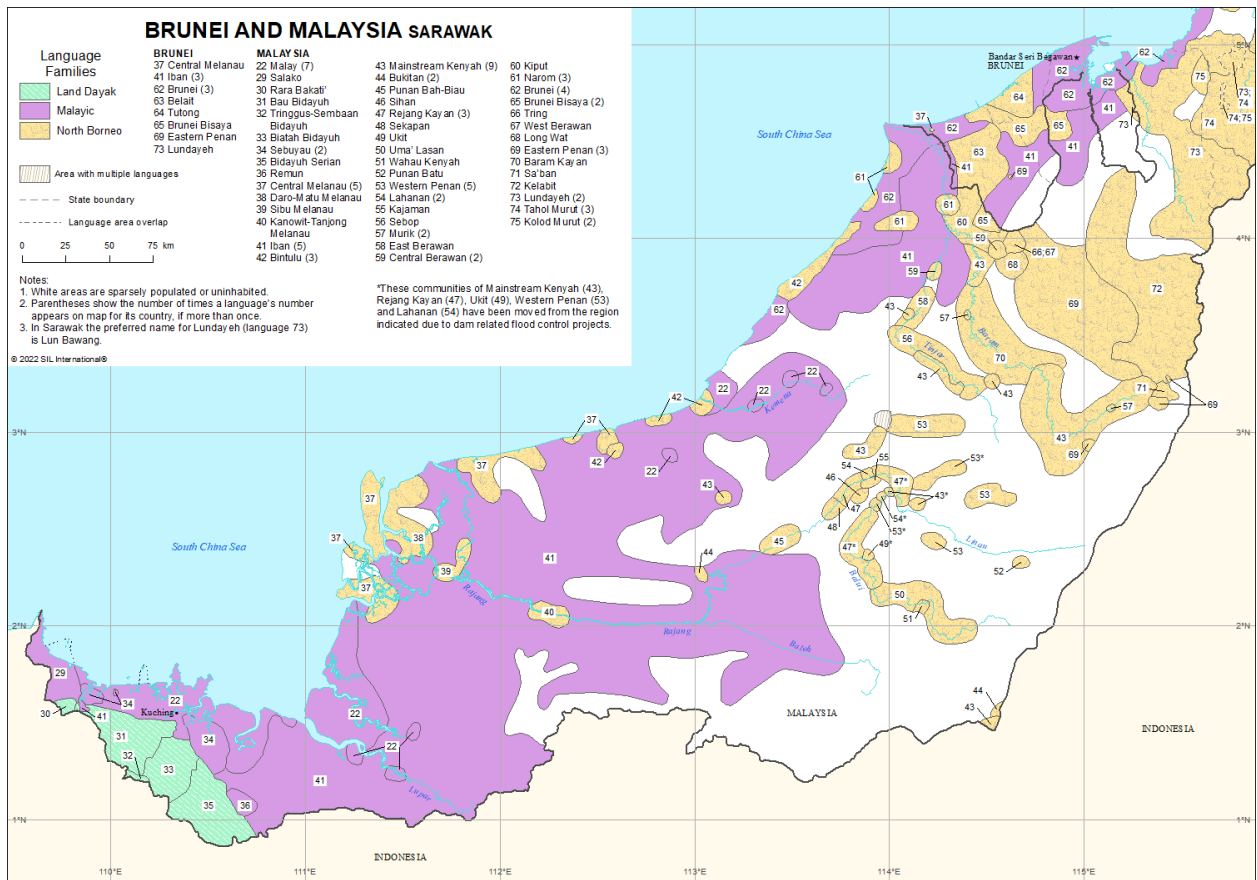
**Melanau, Central** [mel] (Belana'u, Melanau, Milanau, Milano). *Users:* 280 in Brunei (2006 SIL). *Location:* Kuala Belait town area. *Status:* 6a\* (Vigorous). *Class:* Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, North Borneo, Melanau-Kajang, Melanau. *Dialect:* Mukah-Oya (Muka, Mukah, Oga, Oya, Oya'). *Lg Use:* Also use Brunei [kxd]. *Lg Dev:* Grammar. *Writing:* Latin script, limited usage. *Other:* Non-indigenous. Mukah dialect is spoken in Brunei. Muslim. *Map:* 16:37. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 113,280. Indigenous in: Malaysia.

**Nepali** [npi]. *Users:* 2,000 in Brunei (2021). *Location:* Seria district: capital city. *Status:* Unestablished. *Class:* Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Intermediate Divisions, Eastern, Eastern Pahari. *Type:* SOV; postpositions; noun head final; 11 noun classes or genders; no articles; content q-word in situ; 1 prefix, up to 5 suffixes; clause constituents indicated by case-marking (4 cases); verbal affixation marks person, number and gender of subject; split ergativity; both tense and aspect; passives and voice; causatives; non-tonal; 29 consonant and 11 vowel phonemes. *Lg Dev:* Fully developed. *Bible:* 1914–2004. *Writing:* Braille script. Devanagari script, primary usage. *Other:* Non-indigenous. Nepalis serving with the Brunei and British armies stationed in Brunei. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 25,587,570 (as L1: 16,903,270; as L2: 8,684,300). Global EGIDS level: 1 (National). Indigenous in: Bhutan, India, Nepal. Unestablished in: Australia, Bahrain, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Japan, Kuwait, Malaysia, Myanmar, New Zealand, Norway, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, South Korea, Spain, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, United States.

**Penan, Eastern** [pez]. *Users:* 55 in Brunei (2003 P. Sercombe). *Location:* Belait district: west of Baram river. *Status:* 6b (Threatened). *Class:* Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, North Borneo, North Sarawakan, Kayan-Kenyah, Penan. *Dialects:* Nibong (Nibon, Penan Nibong), Bok Penan (Bok), Penan Silat, Penan Gang (Gang), Penan Lusong (Lusong), Sipeng (Speng), Penan Lanying, Jelalong Penan. *Lg Use:* Some young people, all adults. *Lg Dev:* NT: 1978–2009. *Writing:* Latin script. *Map:* 16:69. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 10,055. Also indigenous in: Malaysia.

**Tutung** [ttg] (Tutung). *Users:* 16,600 (2006 SIL). *Location:* Belait district; Tutong district: Tutong town coastal area. *Status:* 6b (Threatened). *Class:* Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, North Borneo, North Sarawakan, Berawan-Lower Baram, Lower Baram, Central, B. *Dialects:* None known. Lexical similarity: 54% with Belait [beg] in Malaysia. *Lg Use:* Used with other ethnic groups. Some young people, all adults. Parents in mixed marriages tend to use Brunei Malay [kxd] with their children. Positive attitudes. *Lg Dev:* Grammar. *DLS:* Emerging (0.01). *Other:* Different from Brunei Bisaya [bsb] in Dusunic, Bisaya Group. Recognized indigenous group. Muslim. *Map:* 16:64.

# Language Map



## Languages by Population

In this section the languages of Brunei are listed in order of their population of first-language speakers within the country, from highest to lowest. The entries report just the population and status elements.

### 100,000 to 999,999

**Brunei** [[kxd](#)] *Users*: 252,000 in Brunei (2021), increasing. *Status*: 3 (Wider communication). De facto national working language. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 303,000.

### 10,000 to 99,999

**Bisaya, Brunei** [[bsb](#)] *Users*: 37,600 in Brunei (2007 SIL). *Status*: 5\* (Developing). De facto language of national identity. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 57,600.

**Korean** [[kor](#)] *Users*: 31,600 in Brunei (2021). *Status*: Unestablished. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 81,740,540 (as L1: 81,721,540; as L2: 19,000).

**Kadazan Dusun** [[dtp](#)] *Users*: 19,700 in Brunei (2021). *Status*: 5\* (Developing). *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 283,700.

**Tutong** [[ttg](#)] *Users*: 16,600 (2006 SIL). *Status*: 6b (Threatened).

**Iban** [[iba](#)] *Users*: 14,800 in Brunei (2021). *Status*: 5\* (Dispersed). *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 1,481,800 (as L1: 781,800; as L2: 700,000).

**Chinese, Min Nan** [[nan](#)] *Users*: 11,400 in Brunei (2021). *Status*: 5\* (Dispersed). *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 50,312,390 (as L1: 49,909,390; as L2: 403,000).

**Chinese, Mandarin** [[cmn](#)] *Users*: 11,300 in Brunei (2021). *Status*: 5\* (Dispersed). *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 1,138,222,350 (as L1: 939,237,350; as L2: 198,985,000).

**Bajau, West Coast** [[bdr](#)] *Users*: 10,000 in Brunei (2021). *Status*: 6b\* (Threatened). *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 100,000.

### 1,000 to 9,999

**Chinese, Yue** [[yue](#)] *Users*: 5,390 in Brunei (2021). *Status*: 5\* (Dispersed). *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 86,633,370 (as L1: 86,116,370; as L2: 517,000).

**Chinese, Min Dong** [[cdo](#)] *Users*: 5,130 in Brunei (2021). *Status*: 5\* (Developing). *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 10,919,420 (as L1: 10,918,950; as L2: 470).

**English** [[eng](#)] *Users*: 5,130 in Brunei (2021). 139,130 in Brunei, all users. L2 users: 134,000 (Crystal 2003a). *Status*: 1 (National). Statutory national working language (1984, Constitution, Article 82(2)). *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 1,456,448,320 (as L1: 379,682,200; as

L2: 1076,766,120).

**Hindi** [[hin](#)] *Users*: 3,650 in Brunei (2021). *Status*: Unestablished. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 609,454,770 (as L1: 344,650,870; as L2: 264,803,900).

**Chinese, Hakka** [[hak](#)] *Users*: 2,570 in Brunei (2021). *Status*: 5\* (Dispersed). *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 44,271,630 (as L1: 44,020,430; as L2: 251,200).

**Nepali** [[npi](#)] *Users*: 2,000 in Brunei (2021). *Status*: Unestablished. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 25,587,570 (as L1: 16,903,270; as L2: 8,684,300).

**Belait** [[beg](#)] *Users*: 1,130 (2019). *Status*: 7 (Shifting).

## 100 to 999

**Lundayeh** [[lnd](#)] *Users*: 500 in Brunei (2006 SIL). *Status*: 5\* (Developing). *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 47,500.

**Melanau, Central** [[mel](#)] *Users*: 280 in Brunei (2006 SIL). *Status*: 6a\* (Vigorous). *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 113,280.

## 10 to 99

**Penan, Eastern** [[pez](#)] *Users*: 55 in Brunei (2003 P. Sercombe). *Status*: 6b (Threatened). *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 10,055.

## Unknown

**Malay, Standard** [[zsm](#)] *Status*: 1 (National). Statutory national language (1984, Constitution, Article 82(1)).

## Languages by Status

In this section the languages of Brunei are listed in order of their status within the country as represented by their level on the EGIDs scale (Lewis and Simons 2010). The language entries are reduced to just the information elements that are relevant to assessing the EGIDS level: population, status, language use, language development, and writing.

### 1 (National)

**English** [eng] *Users:* 139,130 in Brunei, all users. L1 users: 5,130 in Brunei (2021). L2 users: 134,000 (Crystal 2003a). *Status:* Statutory national working language (1984, Constitution, Article 82(2)). *Lg Use:* Government, education, and by the educated as L1 or L2. *Writing:* Braille script. Deseret Alphabet, developed in 1854 with limited usage until 1877. Duployan shorthand. Latin script, primary usage. Shavian (Shaw) script, no longer in use. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 1,456,448,320 (as L1: 379,682,200; as L2: 1076,766,120).

**Malay, Standard** [zsm] *Status:* Statutory national language (1984, Constitution, Article 82(1)). *Lg Use:* Formal domains, religion, government. *Writing:* Arabic script, Naskh variant. Braille script. Latin script.

### 3 (Wider communication)

**Brunei** [kxd] *Users:* 252,000 in Brunei (2021), increasing. *Status:* De facto national working language. Originated and used as trade language in the archipelago of the Brunei sultanate centuries before British protectorate (1888–1984). Used as lingua franca between ethnic groups, widely used by young people. *Lg Use:* Vigorous. Used in Bandar Seri Begawan and surrounding areas, and by young people and educated older people from different language or dialect backgrounds. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Also use Standard Malay [zsm]. Used as L2 by Belait [beg], Brunei Bisaya [bsb], Central Melanau [mel]. *Lg Dev:* Literature. Periodicals. Radio. Videos. Dictionary. *Writing:* Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 303,000.

### 5 (Developing)

**Bisaya, Brunei** [bsb] *Users:* 37,600 in Brunei (2007 SIL). *Status:* De facto language of national identity. *Lg Use:* Also use Brunei [kxd]. *Lg Dev:* Radio. Bible portions: 1938. *Writing:* Latin script. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 57,600.

**Chinese, Min Dong** [cdo] *Users:* 5,130 in Brunei (2021). *Writing:* Han script, Simplified variant, used since 1987. Han script, Traditional variant. Latin script, developed and revised to final form during late 19th century. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 10,919,420 (as L1: 10,918,950; as L2: 470).

**Kadazan Dusun** [dtp] *Users:* 19,700 in Brunei (2021). *Writing:* Latin script. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 283,700.

**Lundayeh** [lnd] *Users:* 500 in Brunei (2006 SIL). *Writing:* Latin script. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 47,500.

## 5 (Dispersed)

**Chinese, Hakka** [hak] *Users:* 2,570 in Brunei (2021). *Writing:* Han script, Simplified variant. Han script, Traditional variant. Latin script, used since early 19th century. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 44,271,630 (as L1: 44,020,430; as L2: 251,200).

**Chinese, Mandarin** [cmn] *Users:* 11,300 in Brunei (2021). *Writing:* Bopomofo script, used since 1913, revised in 1920 and 1932, mainly used in Taiwan. Braille script. Han script, Simplified variant, used since 1956, official in Mainland China (1956) and Singapore (1969), also used elsewhere. Han script, Traditional variant, used since mid-19th century, official in Taiwan, also used elsewhere. Latin script. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 1,138,222,350 (as L1: 939,237,350; as L2: 198,985,000).

**Chinese, Min Nan** [nan] *Users:* 11,400 in Brunei (2021). *Writing:* Bopomofo script, used since 1998, used in Taiwan. Han script, Simplified variant. Katakana script, used between 1895–1945, once used in Taiwan. Latin script, used since 1850. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 50,312,390 (as L1: 49,909,390; as L2: 403,000).

**Chinese, Yue** [yue] *Users:* 5,390 in Brunei (2021). *Writing:* Braille script, used in Hong Kong. Han script, Simplified variant. Han script, Traditional variant, official usage in Hong Kong and Macau, also used elsewhere. Latin script, used since mid-19th century. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 86,633,370 (as L1: 86,116,370; as L2: 517,000).

**Iban** [iba] *Users:* 14,800 in Brunei (2021). *Writing:* Latin script. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 1,481,800 (as L1: 781,800; as L2: 700,000).

## 6a (Vigorous)

**Melanau, Central** [mel] *Users:* 280 in Brunei (2006 SIL). *Lg Use:* Also use Brunei [kxd]. *Writing:* Latin script, limited usage. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 113,280.

## 6b (Threatened)

**Bajau, West Coast** [bdr] *Users:* 10,000 in Brunei (2021). *Writing:* Latin script, developed in about 1998. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 100,000.

**Penan, Eastern** [pez] *Users:* 55 in Brunei (2003 P. Sercombe). *Lg Use:* Some young people, all adults. *Writing:* Latin script. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 10,055.

**Tutong** [ttg] *Users:* 16,600 (2006 SIL). *Lg Use:* Used with other ethnic groups. Some young people, all adults. Parents in mixed marriages tend to use Brunei Malay [kxd] with their

children. Positive attitudes. *Lg Dev*: Grammar.

## 7 (Shifting)

**Belait** [beg] *Users*: 1,130 (2019). *Lg Use*: Adults only. Shifting to Brunei [kxd] (Clynes 2005). *Lg Dev*: Grammar. *Writing*: Unwritten.

## Unestablished

**Hindi** [hin] *Users*: 3,650 in Brunei (2021). *Writing*: Braille script. Devanagari script, primary usage. Latin script, recent informal usage, especially online on social media. Mahajani script, no longer in use, historic usage. Newa script, no longer in use, historic usage. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 609,454,770 (as L1: 344,650,870; as L2: 264,803,900).

**Korean** [kor] *Users*: 31,600 in Brunei (2021). *Writing*: Braille script. Hangul and Han scripts, primary usage. Latin script, used for maps and signs. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 81,740,540 (as L1: 81,721,540; as L2: 19,000).

**Nepali** [npi] *Users*: 2,000 in Brunei (2021). *Writing*: Braille script. Devanagari script, primary usage. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 25,587,570 (as L1: 16,903,270; as L2: 8,684,300).

## Languages by District

This index gives an alphabetical listing of the top-level administrative subdivisions within Brunei. Under the name of each district is a list of the language communities that are located within its area.

### **Belait**

Belait [beg], [11](#)  
Bisaya, Brunei [bsb], [11](#)  
Iban [iba], [14](#)  
Melanau, Central [mel], [15](#)  
Penan, Eastern [pez], [15](#)  
Tutong [ttg], [15](#)

### **Temburong**

Iban [iba], [14](#)  
Lundayeh [lnd], [14](#)

### **Tutong**

Bisaya, Brunei [bsb], [11](#)  
Iban [iba], [14](#)  
Tutong [ttg], [15](#)

## Languages by Family

This index gives an alphabetical listing of the linguistic classifications used for the established languages of Brunei. The entries in this index represent the full path in the linguistic family tree from the highest level grouping down to the lowest. All the languages listed in the same entry are members of the same lowest-level subgroup. The referenced page contains the main entry that describes the language.

### **Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Greater Barito, Sama-Bajaw, Sulu-Borneo, Borneo Coast Bajaw**

Bajau, West Coast [bdr], [11](#)

### **Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Malayo-Chamic, Malayic, Ibanic**

Iban [iba], [14](#)

### **Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Malayo-Chamic, Malayic, Malay**

Brunei [kxd], [11](#)

Malay, Standard [zsm], [14](#)

### **Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, North Borneo, Melanau-Kajang, Melanau**

Melanau, Central [mel], [15](#)

### **Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, North Borneo, North Sarawakan, Berawan-Lower Baram, Lower Baram, Central, A**

Belait [beg], [11](#)

### **Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, North Borneo, North Sarawakan, Berawan-Lower Baram, Lower Baram, Central, B**

Tutong [ttg], [15](#)

### **Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, North Borneo, North Sarawakan, Dayic, Kelabitic**

Lundayeh [lnd], [14](#)

### **Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, North Borneo, North Sarawakan, Kayan-Kenyah, Penan**

Penan, Eastern [pez], [15](#)

### **Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, North Borneo, Sabahan, Dusunic, Bisaya-Lotud, Southern**

Bisaya, Brunei [bsb], [11](#)

### **Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, North Borneo, Sabahan, Dusunic, Dusun, Central**

Kadazan Dusun [dtp], [14](#)

### **Indo-European, Germanic, West, English**

English [eng], [13](#)

### **Sino-Tibetan, Chinese**

Chinese, Hakka [hak], [12](#)

Chinese, Mandarin [cmn], [12](#)

Chinese, Min Dong [cdo], [12](#)

Chinese, Min Nan [nan], [12](#)

Chinese, Yue [yue], [13](#)

## Language Code Index

This index gives an alphabetical listing of all 20 three-letter codes that are used in this work to uniquely identify languages. The referenced page contains the main entry that describes the language. All codes listed are part of the ISO 639-3 standard; see <http://www.sil.org/iso639-3/>.

|            |                                       |            |                                      |
|------------|---------------------------------------|------------|--------------------------------------|
| <b>bdr</b> | Bajau, West Coast, <a href="#">11</a> | <b>kor</b> | Korean, <a href="#">14</a>           |
| <b>beg</b> | Belait, <a href="#">11</a>            | <b>kxd</b> | Brunei, <a href="#">11</a>           |
| <b>bsb</b> | Bisaya, Brunei, <a href="#">11</a>    | <b>lnd</b> | Lundayeh, <a href="#">14</a>         |
| <b>cdo</b> | Chinese, Min Dong, <a href="#">12</a> | <b>mel</b> | Melanau, Central, <a href="#">15</a> |
| <b>cmn</b> | Chinese, Mandarin, <a href="#">12</a> | <b>nan</b> | Chinese, Min Nan, <a href="#">12</a> |
| <b>dtp</b> | Kadazan Dusun, <a href="#">14</a>     | <b>npi</b> | Nepali, <a href="#">15</a>           |
| <b>eng</b> | English, <a href="#">13</a>           | <b>pez</b> | Penan, Eastern, <a href="#">15</a>   |
| <b>hak</b> | Chinese, Hakka, <a href="#">12</a>    | <b>ttg</b> | Tutong, <a href="#">15</a>           |
| <b>hin</b> | Hindi, <a href="#">13</a>             | <b>yue</b> | Chinese, Yue, <a href="#">13</a>     |
| <b>iba</b> | Iban, <a href="#">14</a>              | <b>zsm</b> | Malay, Standard, <a href="#">14</a>  |

## Language Name Index

This index lists every name that appears in the language listings as a primary or alternate name of a language or dialect. The following abbreviations are used in the index entries: *alt.* ‘alternate name for’; *alt. dial.* ‘alternate name for a dialect of’; *dial.* ‘primary name for a dialect of’; *pej. alt.* ‘pejorative alternate name for’; and *pej. alt. dial.* ‘pejorative alternate name for a dialect of’. Each index entry resolves to the primary name for the language with which the indexed name is associated, followed by square brackets containing the unique three-letter language code from ISO 639-3. The referenced page contains the main entry that describes the language. If the language appears on a map, the entry for the primary name also lists page numbers for the maps on which the language occurs.

- Bahasa Malaysia**, *alt.* Malay, Standard [zsm], 14
- Bajau, West Coast** [bdr], 11  
*see* Bajau, West Coast [bdr], 11
- Balait Jati**, *alt.* Belait [beg], 11
- Banlamgi**, *alt.* Chinese, Min Nan [nan], 12
- Basaya**, *alt.* Bisaya, Brunei [bsb], 11
- Batang Lupar**, *dial.* Iban [iba], 14
- Bekiau**, *alt.* Bisaya, Brunei [bsb], 11
- Belait** [beg], 11, 16
- Belana’u**, *alt.* Melanau, Central [mel], 15
- Besaya**, *alt.* Bisaya, Brunei [bsb], 11
- Bisaia**, *alt.* Bisaya, Brunei [bsb], 11
- Bisaya**, *alt.* Bisaya, Brunei [bsb], 11
- Bisaya Bukit**, *alt.* Bisaya, Brunei [bsb], 11
- Bisaya, Brunei** [bsb], 11, 16  
*see* Bisaya, Brunei [bsb], 11
- Bisayah**, *alt.* Bisaya, Brunei [bsb], 11
- Bok**, *alt. dial.* Penan, Eastern [pez], 15
- Bok Penan**, *dial.* Penan, Eastern [pez], 15
- Brunei** [kxd], 11, 16
- Brunei Bisaya**, *dial.* Bisaya, Brunei [bsb], 11
- Brunei Malay**, *dial.* Brunei [kxd], 11
- Brunei Murut**, *alt.* Lundayeh [lnd], 14
- Brunei-Kadayan**, *alt.* Brunei [kxd], 11
- Bugau**, *dial.* Iban [iba], 14
- Buri’ Lun Bawang**, *alt.* Lundayeh [lnd], 14
- Buri’ Lun Dayeh**, *alt.* Lundayeh [lnd], 14
- Buri tau**, *alt.* Lundayeh [lnd], 14
- Cantonese**, *alt.* Chinese, Yue [yue], 13
- Chaochow**, *alt. dial.* Chinese, Min Nan [nan], 12
- Chinese, Hakka** [hak], 12  
*see* Chinese, Hakka [hak], 12
- Chinese, Mandarin** [cmn], 12  
*see* Chinese, Mandarin [cmn], 12
- Chinese, Min Dong** [cdo], 12  
*see* Chinese, Min Dong [cdo], 12
- Chinese, Min Nan** [nan], 12  
*see* Chinese, Min Nan [nan], 12
- Chinese, Yue** [yue], 13  
*see* Chinese, Yue [yue], 13
- Dusun**, *alt.* Bisaya, Brunei [bsb], 11
- English** [eng], 13
- Foochow**, *dial.* Chinese, Min Dong [cdo], 12
- Formal Malay**, *alt.* Malay, Standard [zsm], 14
- Fujian**, *alt. dial.* Chinese, Min Nan [nan], 12
- Gang**, *alt. dial.* Penan, Eastern [pez], 15
- Hainan**, *dial.* Chinese, Min Nan [nan], 12
- Hokkien**, *dial.* Chinese, Min Nan [nan], 12
- Iban** [iba], 14, 16
- Jelalong Penan**, *dial.* Penan, Eastern [pez], 15

- Jilama Bawang**, *alt.* Bisaya, Brunei [bsb], 11
- Jilama Sungai**, *alt.* Bisaya, Brunei [bsb], 11
- Kadaian**, *alt. dial.* Brunei [kxd], 11
- Kadayan**, *dial.* Brunei [kxd], 11
- Kadazan Dusun** [dtp], 14
- Kadian**, *alt. dial.* Brunei [kxd], 11
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- Kampong Ayer**, *dial.* Brunei [kxd], 11
- Karayan**, *alt. dial.* Brunei [kxd], 11
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- Kedyan**, *alt. dial.* Brunei [kxd], 11
- Kerayan**, *alt. dial.* Brunei [kxd], 11
- Lemeting**, *alt.* Belait [beg], 11
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- Lorang Bukit**, *alt.* Bisaya, Brunei [bsb], 11
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- Malay, Standard** [zsm], 14  
*see* Malay, Standard [zsm], 14
- Malayu**, *alt.* Malay, Standard [zsm], 14
- Melanau**, *alt.* Melanau, Central [mel], 15
- Melanau, Central** [mel], 15, 16  
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- Melayu**, *alt.* Malay, Standard [zsm], 14
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- Melayu Brunei**, *alt.* Brunei [kxd], 11
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- Mukah**, *alt. dial.* Melanau, Central [mel], 15
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- Murut**, *alt.* Lundayeh [Ind], 14
- Nibon**, *alt. dial.* Penan, Eastern [pez], 15
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