

Representing Power Shifts in BR-UK Political Discourse 1847-1984

PhD in English Language and Applied Linguistics

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Declaration of Original Authorship

I confirm that this is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

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Abstract

Intrigued by the intricacy of power relations within Brunei and Britain within its Protector-protected settings and how it internalizes into institutionalized discourses such as Treaties or Agreements, this dissertation is set out to map 1/ how shifts or dynamics of BR-UK power relations are represented in eight BR-UK agreements produced between 1847 to 1984; 2/ using discursive indicators such as verbs and nouns, particularly in maintaining, negotiating and resisting powers exercised by each other. It is also anticipated that the culmination of these representations will pave way for the 3/ formulation of a protectorate discourse in Southeast Asia.

At its core, this dissertation is maximizing the merits of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to understand the intricacies and dynamics of BR-UK power relations within a selected timeframe. It is looking at eight agreements, signed between Brunei Darussalam (BR) and Great Britain (UK) during Brunei's protectorate period, i.e. 1847-1984. Selection of these documents is based on each document's significance in contributing to the major political shifts or political turns in BR-UK political relations, Brunei's internal and external governance, state defense and national security, as well as its sovereignty as an Islamic monarchical institution in Southeast Asia.

As it is contextually woven into the tapestry of Brunei-British History and Southeast Asian Politics, this dissertation is framed within the domain of Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) which triangulates the context, discursive elements, and means of realizations to yield a better understanding on the dynamics of BR-UK power relations at the macro, meso, and micro level of analysis. Insights from the findings reinforces that power and its representations are not static entities, and that they are multidimensional. They are dialectically related and has a bearing force towards each other in and across discourses.

As explored by DHA and SAA particularly at the meso and micro level, the interchangeable representations of social actions resulting from the interaction between agencies and semantic categories reflects political shifts or changes in BR-UK power relations during the selected period. This symbiotic interaction also manifests how BR-UK power balance is maintained and negotiated over time, reflecting the multidimensional nature of power relations from a linguistic perspective, as well as the role of agencies in shaping discourses and power balance that anchor these discourses. In addition, use of triangulation has also gives valuable insight on how analysis at the three different levels can be simultaneously conducted to yield holistic results. Such usage is not only beneficial in formulating BR-UK political discourse in Brunei's

protectorate era but is also providing an alternative interpretation to Brunei History and politics of Southeast Asia in the 1900s.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

“Brunei is a protected state, a colony. The anomalous political status provides an insulation from international criticism. Whatever happens in Brunei usually falls within the rubrics of domestic jurisdiction and is thus outside the purview of international attention and confined only to the corridors of the United Nations”

(Ahmad, 1980).

1.1. Contextual Background

This thesis begins with the statement dedicating to the ambiguous political status of Brunei Darussalam in relation to its association to Great Britain as its protector. Extensively covered and labelled as either protected or a de facto colony, Brunei makes a unique case when it comes to its political status in the context of colonial Britain in the 1900s. To a greater extent, the sovereignty of the petrostate was compromised with the overriding power of the British Residency System that, despite stating that its protection would not interfere with the internal administration of Brunei, it also introduced provisions that limit the executive authority of the reigning monarchs and from time to time, maintain its authority and control over the state’s governance.

The incongruity between what was drafted and implemented in practice makes Brunei’s protectorate status an ambivalent one and has since become an object of fascination to historians and researchers alike. At the same time, discrepancies in perspectives among public and scholars, on whether Britain was an alliance or a colonizer, have also contributed to the selection of this topic. As its status is indeterminate and fluctuating from one writing to the other, this thesis finds it intriguing to offer an alternative interpretation towards this conundrum, objectively by using linguistics tools. In periphery, there is an existing gap for the study and application of linguistic oriented research on documents that has significant impact towards the sociopolitical climate in Brunei, especially as most research on Southeast Asia exploited contemporary political documents as their main source.

With long presence of British engagement with Brunei’s governments which spans for more

than a decade, it paves way for the different accumulation of political realities within a bigger

context. In this case, Brunei and Britain relations are encapsulated and best understood within three phases, i.e. where they are established as political dyads and that one is more dominant than the other, where Brunei is leveraging its political position in its own administration by regaining autonomy for its internal affairs via a drafting of a written constitution, and where Brunei slowly detaches itself from UK as its protector by regaining more authority and control over its defense matters, external affairs, and ultimately full responsibility for its sovereignty. In the context of power relations, the evolving power relations create a spectrum of dominant-subservient entity, where it is very context sensitive and dynamic from time to time.

Due to its multidisciplinary and versatile nature, Critical Discourse Analysis is chosen as a framing mechanism that governs the insights, formulation of research design, and critical interpretation that underlies this phenomenon. Taking into consideration other inputs such as from theories of power, triangulation, discourse historical approach, and social actions approach, this thesis is hoped to give a fresh insight to the existing understanding on a certain political reality that baffles many.

1.2. Research Objectives

Informed by the assumption that 'there are presence of power shifts in the BR-UK political discourse 1847-1984, and it is possible to represent them systematically using linguistics tool,' the formulation of research questions are geared towards understanding the phenomenon of this shifts in the selected settings and aims to reveal;

- a. How power shifts are represented in the selected discourse that reflect BR-UK political relations between 1847 to 1984?
- b. How are the discursive indicators utilized in the selected discourse, particularly in establishing, maintaining, and negotiating powers exercised by each other?
- c. To what extent do these discursive indicators support the formulation of a protectorate/protected state within the context of Southeast Asia?

1.3. Significant of Thesis

As most present critical discourse studies looked into the exploitation of power in both media and political discourse of South East Asia, there is a gap for the same application in the massive collection of its historical documents. In other words, this study has only been done to a little extent especially in the region and almost non-existent on Malay historical documents. Thus, it is hoped that this research will be a breakthrough not only in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis or CDA but also Linguistics and South East Asian particularly Malay Studies as a whole. Additionally, this research will also enable further studies to be undertaken across disciplines (such as on History, Social Studies, Linguistics, Corpus Studies and CDA itself); apart from providing alternative insights to the documentation of the existing BR-UK relationship.

1.4. Thesis Structure

With its focus on understanding how power shifts are represented in the selected political discourse of Brunei and Britain between 1847 to 1984, this thesis is organized into seven chapters, where five constitute the mechanism for answering this research puzzle. Guided by Discourse Historical Approach as the methodological framework for the organization of this thesis, each chapter addresses the research puzzle within its own rights, but should be read discursively with other chapters and understood in its entirety.

Accordingly, Chapter 2 provides a political and historical background to this research. It is organized into three core sections that explicate the multifaceted nature of power, the baffling case of Brunei and Britain political relations between 1847 to 1984, and the role of Critical Discourse Analysis in underpinning the research convention in this investigation. Drawing on the notion that power is not a static entity, it has the ability to evolve and develop over time. It is also susceptible to changes, which in turn, is affecting the mode or intensity of changes. In the context of power relations, power is construed within a spectrum and is heavily dependent on the resources on which it rest and social agencies that exercise them- creating a phenomenon of power shifts which eventually leads to the reconfiguration of power constellations between agencies.

In understanding how power shifts are internalized and materialized in the real world, the second section of this chapter focuses on BR-UK political discourse between 1847 to 1984, within its protector-protected settings. This section which details the three major political turns

or phases in the history of Brunei and Britain in the selected era, is preceded by a skeletal background on Southeast Asian political climate in the 1900s and a brief overview on Brunei Darussalam. In sum, the culmination of these narratives helps to contextualize this research from the historical perspective and timeframe.

Ultimately, the third part of this chapter's tripartite is dedicated to Critical Discourse Analysis and its related studies on power in political discourses. In this context, it situates this study within the domain of Applied Linguistics and Qualitative Research interpretivist paradigm that governs the interpretation and understanding of the phenomenon in investigation. At the same time, it also frames methodological choices for this research. This chapter then provides a set of research questions that will be used to discuss the phenomenon of power shifts in BR-UK political discourse within the time period of 1847 to 1984.

In close association to the third section of the previous chapter, Chapter 3 explicates the methodology that informs the research design of this study. In this regard, CDA's Discourse Historical Approach is chosen due to the orientation of data, i.e. historically significant, and the research questions itself, which is honing on the changes in power relations over time. In other words, the provision of a bigger timeframe necessitates a more reflective manifestation of changes over time. To show further how power shifts percolates to the smallest layer in discourse, analysis of the data is conducted at three different layers and triangulated at the discussion chapter for a more comprehensive discussion.

To follow, Chapter 4 presents the synergetic interaction of discursive elements at the meso level of analysis. This chapter acts as a bridge chapter that links the Chapter 2 and Chapter 5 within the triangulated tiers of analysis. It explores the role of the data, i.e. eight institutionalized key texts signed by Brunei and Britain (except for the *Declaration of Independence*) and text production, as a site for the discursive interaction to take place; and utilizes insights from intertextuality to assign genres, establishes connection between key texts, and eventually reformulate the discourse as a whole as protectorate discourse. Due to the recursive nature of this research, findings from the micro analysis as outlined in Chapter 5 is utilized as necessary.

Accordingly, Chapter 5 details the dissection of verbs as the prevalent discursive indicator at the micro level of analysis. Flowing from the research design outlined in the Methodology Chapter, this chapter is equipped with a comprehensive set of procedural operationalization that covers the rationale for the selection of verb (consisting of content verbs, phrasal verbs, nominalized verbs, and modal verbs) as a discursive marker and their categorization into semantic categories, the insertion of raw charts as a visualization aid to portray fluctuations and changes, as well as the integration of Social Actions Approach (SAA) to manifest the intricate correlation not only between language usage and its representations, but also its symbiotic interaction with the interchangeable role of BR and UK as agencies, in manifesting power shifts.

Chapter 6 discusses the findings that address the research questions, in tandem with results triangulated from the analysis at all levels. Each level is dissected accordingly, with a focus on demonstrating how power shifts over time not only within selected settings, but also along the power spectrum of dominant and subservient. Chapter 7 presents the conclusion of the thesis. It summarizes and reiterates the objectives of the research, then offers insights on the theoretical implications and recommendations for further research.

Chapter 2. Illuminating the Trinity in Unity: Power Relations, BR-UK Political Discourse of 1847-1984, and Critical Discourse Analysis

“The fundamental concept in social science is Power, in the same sense in which Energy is the fundamental concept in physics.”

Bertrand Russell

2.1. Introduction

This chapter aims at providing a backdrop for the representation of shifts in the political relations between Brunei and Britain in the years spanning 1847 to 1984. It will cover the three major dimensions that contribute to the investigation of this phenomenon, i.e. the power which anchored the political reality between two sovereign states, the historical context that framed the settings of this phenomenon as a discourse, and critical discourse analysis as an analytical instrument that enables the formulation of a set of linguistically informed tools needed to dissect and understand the complexity of the phenomenon of shifts. Accordingly, the following sections outline the different dimensions of power which circumscribe resources, access and control, impacts, motivations, costs and benefits, and dependencies, on the basis that power, as a broad subject matter, is dynamic and multidimensional in nature.

This is followed by a chronological sketch of the political history of Brunei and Britain during the former’s protectorate period with the latter. Within this period, shifts are signposted by three major political turns that shaped the power relations between the two states and the production of discourse. Finally, an account of Critical Discourse Analysis with a particular focus on political discourses will be outlined to situate this thesis within the tapestry of existing

literature and its related methodologies. At the end of this chapter, a set of research questions will be formulated based on insights and gaps derived from the symbiotic integration of the rudiments of the three mentioned core aspects.

2.2. Power and its Dimensions: An Overview

Power is a concept that embodies a plethora of definitions depending on the domain where it is used and the functions that it serves in any particular domain. Although these definitions may differ in their contextualizations, discussions on either the nature or role of power are often perspectivized along the nuanced axes of resources, control, authority, force, compliance, coercion, and deterrence, among others (Baldwin, 2016). For instance, Russell (2004) in one of his profound observations on power, defined power as the ‘production of intended effects’ where power is viewed as a process or an activity that may have intended impacts on those whom power is exercised on.

In this vein, power is perceived as a mechanism that involves sources of power, motivations that fuel the production of power, and human agencies that outfit and determine how this power will be exercised according to any given context. The different dimensions captured within this definition have paved way for more systematic approaches to be undertaken with respect to how power can be understood and applied across domains. This reinforces the concept of power as a broad, complex, dynamic and multifaceted matter that remains one of the most challenging, troublesome, and controversial problems in not only in political sciences but also international relations (**Morgenthau, 1964**; Gilpin, 1981).

One of the long-standing perceptions on the dimensions of power circumnavigates the traditional notion of resources which is usually regarded as a conceptual embarkation point for why and how power disperses or centralizes in a particular society. In this perception, differences in the possession of resources ensures that not only there is an unequal distribution of power between agencies but instigates the creation of different forms of domination. This domination is often discussed in terms of control and freedom, or access to privileges. Regarding the latter, van Dijk (1993) associates domination with one’s capability to access or control the privilege others have in terms of economic resources, knowledge or social status. Access, control, or exercise of influence over these resources can be exercised via military,

economic, or diplomatic means, among others (Baldwin, 2016) either through 'physical coercion or imposing of threats', 'persuasion or manipulation', or 'inducement of threatened deprivation,' (Beetham, 1991: 44).

Regardless of the means, as will be observed in the case of Brunei and Britain where access and control were exercised diplomatically via representations and negotiations (Baldwin, 2016), the exertion of domination inevitably delimits the freedom of those being controlled, or the subservient entity. This delimitation may come in the form of prohibitions that restrict the subservient entity from exercising its autonomy in decision making, implementation of policies, or making engagement with other states. Although this restriction may be pre-negotiated and confined to specific scopes of governance such as economy, state protection or foreign relations, there is often a spill-over effect onto other domains such as domestic policy especially when the dominant agencies are highly influential (for example Britain as one of the prominent colonial powers in Southeast Asia in the 1800-1900s) and there is no resistance from the subservient party.

In this regard, Weber (1947) introduces the notion of probability to explicate the dynamic and fluid nature of power in a society. Tying it to the potential ability to constrain the freedom of others, he defines power as the 'probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability exists' (Weber, 1947: 152). This probability comprises usage of power in the present and also its potential usage in the future (Rush, 1992). Here, power is perceived as something which is relative, which changes and develops over time in relation to circumstances or distribution of resources on which it rests.

Additionally, it also takes into account the different motivations that drive the actualization of power within this spatial and temporal continuum be it in the form of acquisition of resources, coercing change or maintaining the status quo for social or personal gain. As will be elaborated upon, in the case of BR-UK political relations, the motivation for Brunei to be a protectorate/protected state of Great Britain evolved from having a mutual interest in combating piracy and the slave trade as inked in the 1847 Treaty, to desiring to be protected from foreign powers that would dismember the Sultanate into fragments as noted in the subsequent 1888 Agreement, and so on. These motivations were not always materially or

economically oriented but also sociological and in the interest of political stability. In fact, it is usually the latter (in addition to economic interests) that motivates states to be engaged in global interdependencies.

In the same trajectory, it is also crucial to discuss the notion of impact of power on the subservient entity including the society it represents. This focuses attention not only on the intensity of the impact on the terrestrial aspect of the state but also on its sociopolitical climate and the different demographic facets attached to it. In a broader perspective, the site where tensions occur due to the major ideological, political or economic domination by those in power inevitably cause repercussions that can compromise national security and social stability, among others. The magnitude of these impacts, however, differ from one political site to another depending on the mode and context in which these contestations occur. For instance, the impact on a colony in a colonial state where coercion or physical threats are more salient especially in the process of gaining independence is more severe than that of a protectorate or protected state where negotiations are pivotal in steering and shaping the relationship between the protected and protector.

In accordance with this, Rush (1992) attaches the notion of cost and benefit to those exercising and subjected to power. In the case of protectorates, where bargaining of power and control takes place on the basis of diplomacy, the protected barter their resources in exchange for protection from the protector. On the negotiating table where dialectical interaction takes place, both agencies strategize to maximize their benefits and minimize their opportunity cost, creating a nexus of agencies that barter trade (one that gives and receives) and agency/agencies that actually benefit from this transaction. Taking the protector-protected power mold as an example, there is more cost incurred by a protected state than the protector as the protected state has to trade in a few aspects of its governance for state protection such as control over its state defense, external affairs, and national budget, to name a few. In short, the loss that the subservient entity has to bear is heavily reliant on the aspects they lack or are less competent in.

In this vein, Beetham (1991) puts forward the idea of dependencies to reflect how power shifts from a dependent to a provider in the form of compliance and acknowledgement of foreign authority. It is where the powerless seek protection or expertise from an entity that possesses

'greater' capabilities. Subsequently, acknowledgement of their inferior military strength, technological prowess or financial means can itself be sufficient for the dependent to be submissive to the superior even in the absence of physical coercion or threats. In the field of politics, the establishment of such dependency often becomes the basis of a continuous power relationship between the dependent and the provider. Beetham (1991) suggests that this form of dependency is not necessarily pursued at the expense of the dependent or the subordinate as long as it is temporary and essential in realizing a greater aim such as survival of the dependent nation and its people. In reality, however, there will always be certain aspects of either the state or the society that have to be yielded in in order to achieve this purpose.

2.3. Political Climate in 1900s Southeast Asia

In the course of the 19th century, three European powers, namely Britain, France and the Netherlands (in addition to Portugal, Spain, and the United States) charted their dominance over Southeast Asian states and inevitably changed the political climate in the region. This intrusion, stimulated by the competitive pursuit for political standing, raw materials, trading posts, and maritime networks, was catalysed by the three European powers' technological prowess and knowledge across the domains of politics, the military, trade, diplomacy, and administration (Christie, 1997). In this regard, establishing an empire was an extension of national supremacy and a means of safeguarding personal interest. For instance, the intrusion of British into the region was to control the silk route and secure their growing empire in India and expanding trade with China (Tarling, 1998).

At the same time, it was also tactfully used as a preventive measure that would deter other states from gaining excessive control in the region. Maritime boundaries and the imperial division of states and statelets in the region were negotiated between these empires and agreed on a basis of consensus. Hence, the Dutch was influential in Indonesia, the French dominated what was known as French Indochina (consisting of present-day Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam). Britain established its political grip over the Malayan peninsula and Borneo through a dual imperial structure, which enabled it to regard the Straits Settlements of Singapore, Malacca and Penang as colonies; and administrate Brunei and Singapore as protected states. In the protected states, the existing internal system government remained

intact, and the Sultan deferred to a British adviser or Resident on matters of policy (Christie, 1997).

This structure juxtaposed two different types of political beings, i.e. the colonial state and protectorates/protected state. Throughout the thesis, the terms “protected states” and “protectorates” are treated as similar and used interchangeably as their demarcation point in the context of Brunei is obscure. As Baty (1921-1922) puts it:

“Protection was little or nothing more than a form of guarantee. It did not necessarily affect in any degree the sovereignty of the protected Power. The relations between the protecting and protected States sounded in contract only: all that was involved in the relationship was a promise of protection in return for a quid pro quo -notably, a certain accommodation to the wishes of the protector in matters of policy.”

To keep the dominant-subservient power balance intact, both sides employed strategies to leverage the amount of authority and control that they had over the state including by means of negotiation and physical coercion. In this regard, colonies are often historically associated with resistance, rebellion, or military involvement against the colonial powers in the drive towards achieving their independence, such as in the case of Kenya and Algeria in the 1950s (Williams & Chrisman, 1993), or Indonesia and Malaysia in 1945 and 1957 respectively. In contrast, protectorates were commonly ‘granted’ independence after proving that the country was capable of practicing full authority in both its internal and external affairs. This “granting” was a result of a series of diplomatic talks and negotiations, and stemmed from the perception that foreign intervention particularly from a dominant power was fundamental to maintain order and stability in the state. To take Brunei as a protected state/protectorate of Britain as an example: Brunei was gradually granted self-government for its internal affairs in 1959, assisted defence matters in 1971, assisted external affairs in 1979, and eventually resumed independence in 1984.

Despite the distinction in political labelling, the differences in terms of territory and area of jurisdiction between a colony and a protectorate/protected state were marginal. In both cases, any implementation of policies that concerned the state or establishment of communication

with other foreign parties had to be endorsed by the commissioner or representatives of the protector. In addition, this exercise of jurisdiction further extended to control over access to physical territories, the charting of geographical boundaries, internal administration and socioeconomic activities. In the case of protectorates or protected states, however, exceptions were made for the exercise of local religion and culture. In the political experience of Brunei and Britain, for instance, the Supplementary Agreement that bound Brunei and Britain into a protector-protected relationship in the 1905/06 purported that;

“The Resident will be the Agent and Representative of His Britannic Majesty’s Government under the high Commissioner for the British Protectorate in Borneo, and his advice must be taken and acted upon on all questions in Brunei, other than those affecting the Mohammedan religion, in order that a similar system may be established to that existing in other Malay States now under British Protection.”

In practice, however, the stated exercise of jurisdiction from a dominant power often extended to other domains of the governance. Emerson’s (XX in Milner, 1987) early documentation on subservient states in Southeast Asia, expressed that even in the case of protected states, the British were still the principal actors and initiators of the action who “possesses the actual substance of power.” In fact, he further noted that “whatever the formal status of the Malay rulers might be, the Malay states were in real terms as much colonies as was Singapore itself” (Emerson, in Milner 1987). As such, the fine line between what constituted a colony and a protectorate de facto was often blurry, causing dissatisfaction among people on the subservient end.

In fact, despite regarding the British as a protector, alliance and a friend on paper, the public domain widely marks British official representatives as colonizers or imperial oppressors, equating them to the Dutch in Indonesia, the Spanish in the Philippines, and their own counterparts in Malaya. In the context of Brunei, this predicament was made more complex by the lengthy duration of presence of British power in the country. Over a period covering three reigns and more than a century (1847-1984), the relationship between the two governments underwent phases or political shifts as a result of the developmental changes in the political situation, economic prosperity and also the nationalist sentiments of the people. It was also

within these shifts that their power relations developed, strained, and evolved into two independent states of equivalent authority and legitimacy.

2.4. Brunei Darussalam

Negara Brunei Darussalam (henceforth, Brunei or BR) is a small sultanate of 5 765 sq km in area, located on the north eastern part of Borneo. It consists of two enclaves, separated by the Malaysian state of Sarawak, Limbang, which surrounds and adjoins Brunei on its terrestrial borders. Despite the extensive suzerain authority of the Sultanate that reached beyond Northern Borneo to the Philippines, its power contracted significantly following its involvement in maritime Southeast Asia, internal rebellion, alongside territorial cession and acquisition by British and American colonialists (Leifer, 1978).

Today it has a relatively small population of less than half a million people, with a diverse demographic tapestry, with the Malays being the dominant group, followed by the Chinese and other nationals as well as ethnic groups. Brunei possesses a bilingual policy, in which Bahasa Melayu (Malay language) is the official language as stipulated in the Written Constitution of Brunei and English is the second language which is instrumental especially in the fields of education, law and the economy. Since its establishment as a sultanate in the fourteenth century (Hussainmiya & Tarling, 2011), Brunei has remained a country that practices Islam not only as a way of living but also as basis for its governance.

Brunei achieved full independence from Great Britain in 1984 after living 96 years as a British protected state. During these years, it underwent phases of development from a traditional polity to a modern state in tandem with Britain's existence as a protector and an associate in governance and the state building process. At the same time, Brunei has also been able to retain a monarchical institution that legitimizes His Majesty the Sultan as the Head of State, Prime Minister, Minister of Defence, Minister of Finance, and Head of Religion, as well as Head of Malay Customs and Traditions. In other words, the power that a Sultan has is absolute and his official role is interchangeable and overlapping according to the official context he is in. Scholars often attribute Brunei's survival as a nation to the role of *Melayu Islam Beraja* or Malay Islamic Monarchy as the political ideology or national philosophy that characterizes the country's national identity (Hashim, 1999; 2003). Malay refers to the legitimate group that

practices Malay culture and tradition including speaking the Malay language, Islam as the official religion which underpins the way of life and governance, and Monarchy as the source of ultimate ruling power in the sultanate.

Although this philosophy was only made official in the Proclamation of Independence in 1984, it is deeply rooted in the country's traditional system of governance. This system dialectically influences the social stratification system which generally consists of Malay Muslim nobility, aristocrats and commoners of various race and ethnicities (Brown, 1969; Hashim, 2003). In terms of governance, Hashim (2003) further outlined the evolution of Brunei's administration system into four phases, i.e. pre-1905, the British Residency Period (1905-1959), the pre-Independence Period (1959-1983) and the present (1984 onwards). Although this division utilizes a socio-cultural perspective in determining the political phases before 1984, it has provided this research with useful insights especially in supporting the classification of shifts that this thesis is proposing.

Additionally, Hashim's designation of phases also took into account four major influences that contribute to Brunei Darussalam's identity now as a state, namely Modernization, Westernization, Religion and Others. The first two are closely associated with the main interests of this research as they allude to the longstanding presence of British administration in Brunei as its official Protector. During Britain's involvement, new facilities such as hospitals, schools, airports, police stations and department offices were built, the collection of revenue was centralized, land policies were introduced, and most importantly, the monarchical institution was preserved to this day (Hashim, 1999; Hussainmiya & Tarling, 2011; Jones, 1996). Additionally, diplomatic and commissionaire assistance was also provided to catalyse Brunei's process towards resumption of its responsibility for its external affairs. This allowed the Sultanate to reintegrate into various international systems of network as an active player and secure its status as a sovereign state in 1984.

2.5. Brunei-British (BR-UK) political relations

Although Brunei was historically known as an empire during the 16th century, it had lost most of its territories to a British explorer-turned-politician James Brookes a century later. Inspired by the acquisition of Singapore earlier by a British colleague (Sir Stamford Raffles) in 1819,

Brookes had the ambition to establish a British empire in Southeast Asia after helping Brunei to restore order in one of its territories. After his appointment as *Raja* (king) or *Rajah of Sarawak*, he expanded his authority by taking over the control of rivers and lands by agreement with the Sultan and his government in return for additional sums of cession or lease money (Tarling, 1971; Hussainmiya & Tarling, 2011). During this time, danger from the expanding British North Borneo Chartered Company in the northeastern part of Borneo was also lurking as these two unofficial imperial enterprises relentlessly carved out a large part of Brunei's dominions while seeking support from London (Horton, 1986). Over the years, this process advanced and more land was ceded to either the Brookes (James Brookes' legacy was taken over by his heir, Charles Brookes) or the North Borneo Chartered Company.

To secure Brunei's survival and prevent further encroachment from these imperialists, Brunei sought protection from Great Britain and entered an agreement in 1888 which placed it under the Crown's protection (Leifer, 1978), despite signing an earlier Treaty of Friendship and Commerce in 1847. In line with the direction of this thesis, BR-UK political relations is thus best described in three main phases which subsequently locates and dialectically frames the production of eight key texts that constitute the dataset of this research. With the exception of the 1984 Proclamation of Independence, the key texts are regarded as institutional, political, and bilaterally diplomatic texts that not only bound the two sovereign states into a protector-protected affiliation, but also marked the political shifts or political turns that set the backdrop for evolving BR-UK political relations and Brunei's political scene as a whole.

1.1.1. Phase One: The ambiguous nature of BR-UK relations

As extensively documented, the first Anglo-Brunei treaty was inked in 1847 with the aim of suppressing piratical and slavery activities that threatened maritime security and trade in the Southeast Asian region. Although this treaty was not aimed at seeking protection for Brunei per se, it formally marks the embryonic stage of political relations between the two states. In 1888, Brunei officially reached out to the British Crown in the hope that it would be protected from further colonial aggrandizement notably by the Brookes and North Borneo Chartered Company (Hussainmiya & Tarling, 2011). During this phase, another two major treaties were signed namely *The (Protectorate) Agreement between the Sultan of Brunei with Her Majesty's Government* in 1888 and *The Supplementary Agreement Between Great Britain And Brunei*

Respecting British Protection Over the State of Brunei in 1905/06. The former placed Brunei under the protection of Great Britain along with Sarawak and the North Borneo Chartered Company in Sabah, and stipulated that state defence and political endeavors with foreign states should only be conducted by Her Britannic Majesty's Government (Davis, 1948; Mohamad Jamil Al-Sufri, 1998); while the latter sanctioned the establishment of the British Resident System that enabled the presence of an official British representative on the ground and strengthened the Crown's colonial status in the region.

With this establishment, a new system of governance was introduced to override the existing governing and sociocultural practices, including the introduction of a Judiciary System based on the Common Law to complement the *Hukum Kanun Brunei* or Brunei Code of Law, and a Bilingual Education System which skewed towards the importance of the English language. In the field of administration, offices were manned by British expatriates with little involvement of the locals due to their lack of knowledge and expertise in the newly implemented system of governance, as well as the language barrier in the workplace. In short, this was the phase where the monarchical institution was weakened due to the overwhelming power that the Residents possessed.

2.5.1. Phase Two: Regaining power via the Constitution

To overcome and balance the authority that the British Residents had, a written constitution was proposed to the British State Office in London in the early 1950s by the late Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddien III. This proposal was initiated as a reaction to Britain's intention of merging Brunei, Sarawak and Sabah into British Crown Colonies post World War II. Brunei refused the merger as it would affect its protectorate status, the administration and Brunei's economic wealth, and the status of the Monarch (Nani Suryani, 2008). Subsequently, the signing of the Written Constitution of Brunei (henceforth, WCSB) between representatives of the two governments marked a significant turn in Brunei's political scene. Additionally, this period noted the tremendous effort of Brunei's government to regain access to its internal administration especially in terms of provisions for local workforce, the implementation of policies and most importantly, containing the authority of the British Resident who, according to the new constitution, would be replaced by a new post titled Chief Minister or *Menteri Besar* which was responsible for giving only advice to the government wherever necessary. Britain,

however, persevered in maintaining its stronghold in the state's governance and status as a superpower in the region. During this phase, the documentation of the WCSB was provided by a preceding treaty named *The Agreement between the United Kingdom and Brunei on Defence and External Affairs*, signed in Brunei on September 29th, 1959. Among other clauses, this treaty centralized on three significant core matters, i.e. the termination of the Residential System as stipulated in the 1905/06 Agreement, the resumption of Brunei's responsibility towards its internal administration, and the maintenance of British authority over Brunei's state defence and external affairs.

2.5.2. Phase Three: Efforts towards achieving independence

Following the signing of the WCSB in 1959, Brunei steadily empowered itself for independence. This included gradually regaining autonomy in its state defense and external affairs with British's assistance until it resumed its independence in 1984. It also reached a number of milestones in terms of infrastructure, tertiary training, education and the welfare of its people. To mark this development, the 1971 Treaty was drafted to amend its 1959 predecessor by asserting the importance and role of the Standing Advisory Council as an institutional committee to oversee matters concerning Brunei's national security and defence. This Council consisted of official representatives from Brunei and Britain who worked cohesively as an integrated entity, gradually diluting the power differences and redistributing authority and control between the two states. Brunei's progressive development signaled a phase in which it slowly detached itself from its protector by repossessing jurisdiction over first, its defence matters, followed by its foreign relations.

The signing of the 1979 *Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation* sanctioned this latter endeavor by shifting Britain's authority over Brunei's external affairs to a role of rendering assistance and support in diplomatic and commissionaire activities that would reintegrate Brunei into the global community as a sovereign state. This treaty included a provision that paved the way for the declaration of independence five years later, in 1984, and was further supplemented by the termination of previous treaties concerning the designation of Brunei's political status and the division of domains of jurisdiction between the two states that had existed since 1888. With the shifting prerogatives from Britain to Brunei across the domains of defence and foreign affairs, in addition to the reconstruction of Brunei as a sovereign state, this era observed the

diminishing power of Britain on the local ground and the resurfacing of Brunei as a sovereign state in 1984.

2.6. Critical Discourse Analysis

In understanding the phenomenon of power relations within the political context of Brunei and Britain, linguistic insights from Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth, CDA) are valuable in dissecting how power operates within a social site. On the basis of regarding language as a social practice that dialectically reflects and is reflective of context (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Janks, 1997; Fairclough, 2005), CDA utilizes the consolidation of micro-sociological theories, as well as theories on society and power (van Dijk, 1993; 1997; 2015) to dissect how language as a tool is simultaneously reflective and constitutive of power. In this regard, the dynamics of power relations between Brunei and Britain within the 1847 to 1984 time period serves as a social reality or phenomenon that makes up the historical and political context of the investigation; whereas language as a tool, encapsulates this reality by looking at how it is used to establish, maintain, and negotiate power within the selected settings such as discourse. Discourse here refers to the dataset which is comprised of eight key texts signed between Brunei and Britain between 1847 and 1984. Discourse is also regarded as a platform or social site where the symbiotic relationship and interaction between language and power occurs and is manifested.

Taking the elements of power, language, and discourse as a social site into account, it is appropriate to adopt and situate this thesis within the realm of CDA as not only does it address the issue of power in its close association to language use and context, but it also attends to the many dimensions and the interlinkages between these constituents, such as the role of agencies and the types of actions that they perform, or how they are represented in a particular setting. At the same time, its multidisciplinary and data-oriented perspective enables this thesis to optimize the role of the historical and political context that sets not only the backdrop of this research but also determines how the key texts are produced and linguistically represented over time. As will be elaborated in the methodology chapter, it is the triangulation of these three facets that constitute the formulation of the political reality of BR-UK political relations in the context of a protected-protector/protectorate settings.

In terms of nomenclature, CDA is often regarded as an extension of Discourse Analysis and is used interchangeably with Critical Linguistics or Critical Linguistic Analysis, as it focuses on the linguistics aspect of a discourse (Fowler & Hodge, 1979; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). In other words, CDA scrutinizes the underlying linguistic and semantic-pragmatic elements of how, why and by/to whom a certain discourse is produced, in relation to other theoretical influences from various fields such as communication, sociology or cultural studies. Janks (1997) proposed that CDA is a form of social practice that utilizes critical theories to analyze complicated relationships, and van Dijk (2001) seconded that this study draws its influence from grand theories such as Foucault or Weber on power, and Gramsci on hegemony. The multidisciplinary nature that utilizes various concepts, approaches and perspectives from other domains is an essential element in CDA to portray the dialectic relationship between language and society (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

In this regard, power is one of the dimensions of this relationship that acts as a driving force to stimulate the mechanism of these relations. In CDA, power is analyzed in terms of how and in what form it is used by social actors within a society, and what impact it has on the social system as a whole. In other words, to understand how power works in a certain discourse is to understand how a society works, is reflected or constructed (Bloor & Bloor, 2007). In this respect, CDA aims to offer a different mode or perspective of theorizing and analysis in order to understand how various manifestations of social powers are embedded, enacted, represented or manipulated in various discourses. Van Dijk (2003; 2009) added power abuse, dominance and equality to this description, regarding them as manifestations present in the social and political scenes. To a larger extent, these manifestations are incorporated into the discursive practices which are dialectically related to the specific fields of action (situations, institutional frames and social structures) in which they are embedded (Wodak & Meyer 2009). Subsequently, this incorporation fuels the synergetic interaction between various discursive elements such as human agencies or social actors, or linguistic realizations such as lexicons, syntactical structures, figurative language and their representations.

2.6.1. Research domains and Approaches

In CDA, observations on power, ideology, hegemony and resistance embedded in a particular discourse are very central in looking at how the unequal distribution of power is exercised,

negotiated, challenged, and maintained. Hence, notions such as gender or racial inequalities, ethnocentricities, otherness, are often researched in this domain of study as they share a common denominator, i.e. power. It is also due to its multidisciplinary nature that CDA researchers utilise various (and often a mixture of) analyses and methods (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). In this vein, researchers integrate linguistic categories into their analyses to different extents, focus and intensity. CDA research inspired by Fairclough (1992), van Dijk (1995) and Wodak (1989) for instance, have to date covered an extensive domain of fields such as media discourse (Ramanathan & Hoon, 2015; Koller, 2012), political discourse including parliamentary debates and speeches (Cillia, Reisigl & Wodak, 1999; Alameda Hernández, 2008; Park, 2008; Cheregi, 2015; Ezeifeka & Osakwe, 2013), institutional discourses including educational reports (Thomas, 2005; Mulderrig, 2011), and recently it has extended to economic discourse and web-based corpora (Mautner, 2009; Mulderrig, 2011).

2.6.2. Power Relations in Political Discourses

With the selection of BR-UK political discourse as the site for discursive interaction, it is rational to elaborate on how power relations are discussed in previous literature particularly in political discourse. In this regard, power relations are generally understood as an association between agencies where one's state or action produces an effect on the other. The production of effect here can either be sculpted with reference to the Machiavellian (1961, in Karlberg, 2005) domination or 'power-over/ power-to' mould, Giddens's (1984) 'transformative capacity' perspective, or a continuum that bridges the two.

In the study of political discourse, the respective dimensions of states, actions, production of effects, and effects itself are central in understanding how power is formulated within the domain of 'sociopolitics. Power often emanates from a central, symbolic place or position in a society and is forged through a form of social contract between those in power and individual/groups whom power is exercised over (Newman, 2004). Although power is embodied in the form of a sovereign or a political institution, the notion of power in political discourse is extended to those that are exercised on/over who support institutions such as the media or policy makers, in support of the ideology perpetuated by the political leaders or political will. Therefore, it is common to find overlapping discussions of media or institutional

discourses within political ones- as it is inevitable that these discourses would employ certain ideological frameworks as guidelines in their ethics or decision-making policies.

To reiterate, scholarly works that focus primarily on the interaction of power and language in political discourses utilize concepts and instruments from Communication Studies, Pragmatics, DA and CDA. Despite the different perspectives that each field offers, it is the latter that interests and furthers the aim and objectives of this research as explicated at the beginning of subsection 3.4. In terms of domains of research, there are a number of topics that are often associated with political discourses in CDA, namely nationalism and national identity (Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 2009) state-building and peacebuilding (Heathershaw, 2008; Bliesemann de Guevara, 2010), racism (van Dijk, 2003; (Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 2009), gender (Caldas-Coulthard, 1993; Wodak, 1997; Lazar, 2005) as well as refugees and immigrants (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999; (Gale, 2004; KhosraviNik, 2010).

In terms of perspectivization and approaches, some researchers utilize van Dijk's (2009) socio-cognitive approach to study how ideology is purported and represented in mediated discourses, while others draw on Fairclough's (2009) dialectical-relational approach to analyze the intricate relationship between agents and genres in reflecting power struggles and hegemony, or Wodak's (2009) discourse-historical approach (henceforth, DHA) to look at how the historical dimension of political discourse informs conditions or changes in the present.

With regard to the latter, 'The Discursive Construction of National Identity' by Wodak et. al (2009) provides a good primer for informing how CDA is undertaken within a historical and political context. At its core, this literature presents extensive research on how the national identity of Austria was discursively constructed across different genres in mediated political discourse across the private, semi-public and private domains. It also emphasizes the importance of intertextuality, where links are established between texts available in the selected discourse, and interdiscursivity which refers to how discourses are related to each other via topics or sub-topics. Accordingly, these intertextual and interdiscursive relationships are vital in dissecting the connection between 'utterances, texts, genres and discourses, as well as extra-linguistic social/sociological variables, the history of an organization or institution, and situational frames' (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009:90) and the communicative functions of this

connection (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002) to manifest how discourses, genres and texts evolve and adapt to sociopolitical change.

Methodologically, this literature also capitalizes on the interweaving usage of contents, strategies as well as means and forms of realizations as an analytical trident conventional to CDA and DHA in particular. Although this thesis eliminates analysis of discursive strategies due to its nature as a mutually negotiated and jointly produced institutional discourse, it still benefits from the assignation and triangulation of these elements at the macro-meso-micro level. In other words, it informs the research design of this thesis and tailors it according to the orientation and features of the data. At the same time, similar insights are also gathered from DHA's procedural operationalization that benefits from the principles of Bernstein's sociolinguistic perspective (Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 2009) as well as Critical Theory (Wodak & Meyer, 2009) in understanding the role of the historical and political context of the discourse, and how the manifested discourse dialectically reflects this context via linguistic realizations. A similar orientation to this approach is also applicable to this research when looking at how the phenomenon of shifts in BR-UK power relations is linguistically manifested in a discourse that marks major political turns in the history of Brunei as a protected state/protectorate of Britain within the 1847-1984 timeframe.

The only shortcoming that this literature has with respect to this research is its focused scope that is heavily tailored to Austria and its evolution within the European context. This delimits the applicability and replicability of this research to other forms of political orientations such as traditional monarchical rulings or parliamentary democracy, as the social and political experience that governs the ideology of social actors and production of discourse will be different and possibly unique to specific countries. At the same time, this research omits institutionalized documents such as proclamations and constitutions in the selection of genres, and has confined itself to speeches, focus groups and interviews gathered in 1995 alone- paving the way for more DHA-oriented research not only within the scope of these genres but also in terms of timeframe.

In the bigger picture, this thesis is largely situated within the domain of language and power, where the lexicon, grammatical, and even phonological aspects of linguistics are scrutinized to reflect the power play in institutional settings including political, educational, and economic

settings. Stemming from the traditional perspective of rhetoric and stylistics, language is regarded as an instrument of persuasion and deception which embeds power. 'Language, Power and Ideology: Studies in Political Discourse' (Wodak, 1989) has been found to be one of the most notable analysis of the various dimensions of the three-pronged entity of language, power and ideology, using insights from discourse analysis, critical linguistics, and communication as well as semantics and pragmatics. Generally framed within different political settings, this compilation addresses broad aspects of language and power interaction in various political settings such as political speeches (Schjerve, 1989; Holly, 1989), parliamentary debates (Moosmüller, 1989), media (Brekke, 1989; van Dijk, 1989; Menz, 1989;), and distribution of ideology via policies (Sauer, 1989).

In the compilation, power is used covertly by dominants for them to attain their objectives. Although most case studies were based on European political experiences particularly in Germany, Austria and the Netherlands, the compilation provides an overview of how power can be analyzed from different perspectives ranging from the fields and modes of discourse that govern the conventions and purpose of the selected communication act, representations of social actors particularly politicians and the institutions that they represent, and discursive strategies that social actors use in order to propagate their political ideology, attain support from audiences or within their struggles to dominate geographical spaces. Here, approaches were drawn from critical approaches where language behaviour is regarded as a form of social practice that constitutes 'power, values, ideologies and opinions' (Wodak, 1989: xiv).

For instance, the second section of the book is dedicated to the language of politics/or politicians, where various strategies employed by social actors were analyzed using semantic, phonetic and rhetorical elements. Sornig's (1989) remarks on the linguistic strategies of persuasion, for example, highlighted common usages of coercive strategy in mutual talks, semantic shifts, neologisms and arguments in persuasive talks as a means to provoke or manipulate opponents, instill fear among audiences, establish intimacy or exhibit neutrality to gain support from the public or individuals. Although a few examples were drawn from direct instances of political discourses such as debates or speeches, Sornig's (1989) findings paved the way for more research oriented towards discursive strategies used by social actors involved in a discourse.

Studies on representation of power in discourses have flourished especially in the field of sociolinguistics, pragmatics, discourse analysis and CDA. CDA is regarded as one of the major contributors in portraying the relationship between language, power and discourses in a holistic manner. In other words, where other domains of linguistics display representations and interaction of power in various discourses, CDA is able to penetrate the related issues with more depth, as it not only provides similar linguistic capabilities as a tool but also uses various concepts, tools and inputs derived from different domains of social theories, gender studies, anthropologies and communication studies.

Thornborrow (2002:7) proposed the term 'discursive power' to reflect how power is embedded, reflected, addressed and represented in between words, lines and sentences. Following in the footsteps of earlier CDA scholars such as Fairclough (1992), van Dijk (1993) and Wodak (1989) who viewed discourses as a site of power interplay whether it is for the purpose of constructing, maintaining or destroying power relations, Thornborrow (2002) concurred that power itself is already accrued to the social actors involved but shaped and motivated by the context surrounding them. He suggested that discursive power can (either) be represented per se via representations of social actors, usage of lexicon or syntactic structures; or yielded as a result of interaction between discursive elements such as through turn takings, use of tag questions, manipulation of sequences or orderliness, or impact from the interactional context that governs the discourse such as the role of institutions that control the social actors or even the production of the discourse itself.

Although Thornborrow's (2002) study detailed how power and its interplay with discursive elements were attained and reflected in media interviews, classroom talk and radio phone-ins, his focus of analysis was strictly contained to the selection of linguistic choices made by social actors, strategies produced during turn taking events and consequences of asymmetrical relations between social actors in the selected discourse. In a nutshell, the research triangulated the micro, meso and macro level of linguistic analysis to demonstrate how discursive power works in different institutional settings. In addition, his viewpoint on asymmetrical relations which is commonly instigated by differences in gender, social status or ideological belief gave this thesis an indication of the importance and different types of power relations between social actors in discourses.

2.6.3. CDA at work in Southeast Asian Political Discourses

In the realm of Southeast Asia and particularly Brunei, Gunn's (1997) 'Language, Power and Ideology in Brunei Darussalam' serves as one of the dominant works in comprehending the political nature of the region and the Sultanate. Although there have been separate in-depth discussions on bilingualism in Brunei especially since the implementation of bilingual policy in 1985 (Jones, 1996; O'Hara-Davies, 2010), and power and ideology which have mainly been incorporated in the fields of cultural studies, law and history (Hussainmiya, 2006; Hussainmiya & Tarling, 2011; Maxwell, 2001; Fanselow, 2014; Talib & Fitzgerald, 2016; Black, 2011), very few studies have been able to weave an amalgamation of these facets of language, power and ideology together in relation to the country's political development process towards achieving its independence in 1984, as extensively as in this collection. In general, this book provides an insight on how power and ideology dialectically affected the evolution of education and literacy in Brunei Darussalam, as well as its sociocultural practices as a whole.

As one of the comprehensive sources on the subject matter, this book provides a means for the contextualization and exploration of gaps within the studies of power and language in the context of Brunei.

At the outset, it elaborates how Brunei is represented in the pre-independence era in the domains of cartography, contemporary press and public records including monographs. Additionally, it also discusses some of the symbolic manifestations of power and ideology in practice such as mediated commemorative events, political speeches as well as established institutions that act as gatekeepers to maintain and disseminate the status quo via apparatuses such as the Brunei History Centre, Ceremonial Customs Department, and the Language and Literature Bureau, among others. Although it focuses more on the cascading effect that British intervention has had on Brunei's political climate, administration, and social practices, it does not directly deal with the institutional or political documents that reflected and shaped these effects.

The book is organized into eight chapters, with each chapter discussing the fundamentals of power in Brunei, literacy traditions and how these were carried out during, pre- and post-Japanese Occupation in the country. It covers the establishment of the Brunei media and its

impact on the country's literacy development, and the final few chapters cover the evolution of the role of ideology as well as culture in the nation and state building process. Unlike Hashim (1999; 2003) who conducted similar discussions in relation to social stratification and the administration system before, during and after the period of British Residency, Gunn (1997) puts great emphasis on the country's administrative development during World War II and the following era up to the civil rebellion in 1962, across what was termed as the colonial and post-colonial periods. In terms of comprehensiveness, Gunn's (1997) study, albeit descriptive, has provided a skeletal background for this research especially in terms of manifestations of BR-UK relations across different domains. Although it is also written from both the latitudinal and longitudinal perspectives, it focuses mainly on the impacts of these relations rather than the evolution and the transformation of the relationship itself across the protectorate period (1888-1984).

In a related study on the neighbouring state of Malaysia, Abdullah (2004) proposed a CDA oriented model to portray the complex post-colonial political relations of Malaysia especially within the framework of a multicultural society. By utilizing DHA to frame the notion of nation and national identity within the selected discourse, i.e. the political speeches of president Mahathir Mohamad as the key figure in the (re)construction and maintenance of the national identity for Malaysia, Abdullah (2004) emphasises the role of social actors, the use of figurative and persuasive language in speeches and constitutions, to portray how language is utilized and manifested in a politically contested situation. In this vein, although Brunei and Malaysia have different political orientations, both countries were historically and politically under British rule, as a protectorate/protected and colonial state, respectively. Socio-anthropologically, both countries (as well as Indonesia and Singapore) also make up the core of the *Nusantara* or the Malay World, which denotes that they share similar cultures, social values and norms as well as regional history. In this regard, Abdullah's study gives this thesis valuable insights in terms of how power relations are modelled along the corridors of CDA and political discourses in the same region.

At the same time, the studies show the research gap within the tapestry of political discourse in Southeast Asia and the under-use of CDA as an instrument to model the symbiotic interaction of power and language to inform the social reality in the region. To present, most literature on the same subject is anchored within the domain of gender and media studies (Lazar, 2005),

framings (Prakoso, 1999), Gadavani (2002) of Thai's parliamentary debates, as well as (David & Dumanig, 2011) with regard to political speeches in Malaysia.

2.7. Formulation of Research Questions

It is now time to elaborate on the key components that make up the production of this thesis, which have led to the formulation of research questions which are geared towards understanding the phenomenon of power shifts in BR-UK political discourse within the time period of 1847 to 1984. The existing literature has revealed the research gap that lies within the fabric of the research puzzle, context, dataset, and research design. This research serves as a platform for an analytical documentation of power shifts particularly in the context of protector-protected political dyads. In light of this, this thesis asks”

- d. How are power shifts represented in the selected discourse that reflects BR-UK political relations between 1847 to 1984?
- e. How are the discursive indicators utilized in the selected discourse, particularly in establishing, maintaining, and negotiating powers exercised by each other?
- f. To what extent do these discursive indicators support the formulation of a protectorate/protected state within the context of Southeast Asia?

2.8. Summary

To conclude, this chapter embarks on the exfoliation of power as a broad, complex, dynamic and multifaceted matter that anchors and frames the discussion of power shifts within the political setting of Brunei as a protectorate/protected state of Britain between 1847 and 1984. The resources, means or processes, role of human agencies as social actors, and the dynamic nature of power itself make up the different dimensions of power which need to be dissected to understand how changes or shifts are represented in this particular political reality.

This chapter is followed by the presentation of historical and political contexts that does not only encapsulate the phenomenon of shifts but also translates them into institutional, political discourse. In the latter, the manifestation of this phenomenon is portrayed using linguistic tools within the sphere of language and power, particularly CDA. This is supplemented with a

deliberation on existing literature that constitutes the skeletal part of this thesis and reveals the research voids that exist across academic domains and terrestrial regions. Taking these core elements into consideration, i.e. the phenomenon of shifts, the BR-UK political discourse, and CDA, the following chapter will present the instrumental aspect of this thesis to address the research puzzle.

Chapter 3. From DHA to Triangulation: A Kaleidoscope of Methodological Framework

“Design is not just what it looks like and feels like. Design is how it works.”

Steve Jobs

3.1. Introduction

The previous chapter established the three major components that make up the construction of this thesis, i.e. power shifts as the phenomenon in investigation, BR-UK political discourse as a site for discursive interaction throughout eight key texts documenting/reviewing/marking major BR-UK political turns between 1847 to 1984, and CDA as an apparatus that allows this thesis to linguistically analyse power shifts the selected settings. Following the focus on CDA in the previous chapter, this chapter details the related methodological concepts and procedures that subsequently reinforce the selected research design to address, i/ how power shifts are represented within BR-UK political discourse produced between 1847 to 1984, ii/ how the discursive indicators are used to establish, maintain, and negotiate power exercised by each other, and, iii/ how these discursive indicators support the formulation of a protectorate/protector-protected state discourse within the context of colonial Southeast Asia.

The following sections details how this thesis is situated within the framework of CDA, Applied Linguistics (henceforth, AL) and qualitative research at the outset; and how it utilizes insights from Discourse Historical Approach’s (henceforth, DHA) to conduct analysis at the macro, meso, and micro levels. The integration of the different mechanisms in this chapter will pave way for the extraction, categorization, profiling, comparison, management and interpretation of the dataset of selected discourse of BR-UK. This chapter also elaborates on and justifies the

selection of data and their management so as to address the issues of validity, trustworthiness and objectivity in qualitative research.

3.2. Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) in brief

To reiterate, this thesis is positioned within the domain of DHA due to the aptness of the approach in, i/ managing research that is temporally longitudinal or chronological in nature, i.e. data, analysis and context are discussed within a selected timeframe, ii/ dealing with political and institutional documents, especially those that have social and historical significance, iii/ providing the researcher with a set of methodological procedures that act as an embarking point for a more robust groundwork, and iv/ its analytical tools which are flexible enough to be individually designed to suit the research process and objectives. At the micro level of analysis, for instance, DHA's labels of for Agencies (AGN), Object (OBJ), Processes/ Action (PRO/ACT), Event/Phenomenon (EVE/PHE) are utilized and integrated as markers to support the assignment and operationalization of van Leeuwen's (van Leeuwen, 1995; 2008; 2009) Social Actions over verbs. In this regard, changes in usage and representation of verbs reflect the dynamics of the context of BR-UK relations within their political and historical settings, as encapsulated by the key texts as a site of social practice and synergetic interaction between discursive indicators.

DHA is not only widely used to establish connection between a social phenomenon and language as a social practice, but also offers alternative interpretations to existing social realities. The latter application of DHA is profoundly true in discourses that have established themselves as reputable narratives in the society, such as historical accounts or conventionally mediated documents including legal proceedings or institutional agreements. CDA-oriented investigative operations, in general, allow for a multidimensional and cross-sectional analysis to be undertaken across different domains of discourses using methodological sets of tools that are specifically designed to address the research questions not just comprehensively but also efficiently. However, DHA has the advantage of adding the temporal aspect to this operation. This function not only enables a research to be conducted within a wider set of timeframe, which inevitably paves way for the incorporation of a bigger context, and dataset, but it also complements, if not challenges, the present knowledge of a particular social reality as shaped by existing narratives. It is in this domain that this paradigm flourishes and addresses the

multifaceted dimensions of social, historical or political issues such as nationalism and national identity as purported by the Vienna and Lancaster schools.

At its essence, DHA aims to demystify the 'hegemony of specific discourses by deciphering the ideologies that establish, perpetuate or fight dominance' (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). This demystification process is accomplished using investigative tools and strategies unique to the aims of a research be it at contents or macro level, discursive strategies or meso level, means of realizations at the micro level, or a mixture of these three. Additionally, acumen from grand theories are also embedded into the conceptual or methodological sphere of the research to justify and substantiate the procedures and settings. Therefore, DHA-driven research is more prominent in discussions that centralize around the notion of national identity (Iedema & Caldas-Coulthard, 2008; (Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 2009 ; Bloor & Bloor, 2007), refugees and immigrants (van Dijk, 1999; 2015; KhosraviNik, 2010) gender inequalities (Wodak, 1997; Lazar, 2005), as well as educational and social policies (Egle, 2003; Thomas, 2005), among others. In extension, similar insights are also used in politolinguistics where language in political rhetoric and other forms of political realities are investigated (Reisigl, 2008). In this thesis, DHA is tactically selected to unfold the power dynamics between Brunei and Britain as represented in the selected discourse across the three micro, meso and macro levels of analysis.

3.2.1. Situating DHA: Some Theoretical Underpinnings

At its core, DHA is situated in the domain of CDA that critically examines a social phenomenon such as power relations via linguistic means. These power relations are derived from the multidimensional interactions between agents of discourse production, discursive components of a discourse and context that frame these settings. In exploring how these relations are produced, reproduced, contested and transformed in everyday conduct (Anderson, 1989), they are tied to nuances of a stratified society where there is a different structural access to material and symbolic resources, power, opportunity, mobility and education. Additionally, power relations prevails in domains that are not just culturally or 'socio-historically situated' (Talmy, 2015) but are also susceptible to contestations. Since late 1980s, CDA has flourished as an eclectic paradigm that utilizes various theoretical background and orientation towards its data and methodologies, often with the integration of linguistic categories such as nominalizations and modalities (Wodak, 1997; Wodak & Meyer, 2009) to meet its research objectives. In this

regard, its multidimensional, versatile, comprehensive, problem-centric, and data-driven merits can cater to data from a broad range of discourse spectrum be it of textual or verbal (Fairclough, 1995; 1995; van Dijk, 1993), symbolic or multimodal entities (Koller, 2017).

In terms of practice, CDA's approaches such as DHA share general methodological traits from Applied Linguistics (henceforth, AL), which not only focuses on the acquisition and usage of language but also accommodates diverse theoretical approaches and interdisciplinarity (Dörnyei, 2007:3). At the same time, AL is exercised as a systematic process of inquiry consisting of a question (problem or hypothesis), data, and analysis or interpretation of data (Nunan, 2005) that leverages on the diversity of methods and domains, interdisciplinarity, and criticality that CDA provides. These approaches therefore benefit and inform the conduct of this thesis especially with the amalgamation of an 'authentic data' (Reisigl, 2017), triangulation within DHA's eight-step procedure, and integration of the Social Actions Approach into DHA at the micro level of analysis. The integration of these procedures are expected to enable an examination of the challenges surrounding CDA including on theoretical and methodological ambiguity; tendency to undertheorize context; and problematic lack of reflexivity (Slembrouck, 2001; Verschueren, 2001; Pennycook, 2001; Blommaert, 2005).

Additionally, procedures utilized in DHA are predominantly tied to qualitative research as they are geared towards understanding the interactive role of social agents, real-world context and language use in a particular setting (Phakiti & Paltridge, 2015), which in this case is a political discourse. Furthermore, DHA allows researchers to formulate meanings and interpretations comprehensively and in a holistic manner. Following Holliday (2015), each component in itself is a single instance of behaviour – gradually creates an emerging picture that ultimately embeds depth and complexities at various levels. Moreover, gradual focusing and refinement are constantly needed either at data selection and analytical level in reinforcing this picture. In the selection of data, for instance, choice of texts is judiciously made based on their appropriateness and relevance to this research's enquiries. Similarly, refinement at the analytical level benefits insights from the quantitative research such as use of raw charts to visualize changes in the distribution of verb tokens over time.

More broadly, this research is ontologically situated within the interpretivist paradigm where interpretation towards social reality is highly subjective. This reality which comprises of values,

norms, culture, institutions or objects is perspectivized as being multiple and crucially dependent on agencies involved as well as the context in which the phenomenon occurs (Paltridge & Pakiti, 2015; Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2000). At the same time, it is this research paradigm that directs researchers to collect data or evidences which are valid, legitimate or trustworthy (Paltridge & Pakiti, 2015). In other words, the adoption of this paradigm underlies the conceptual thoughts in this research and devises the strategy taken in addressing the objectives.

In extension, DHA also paves way for both deconstruction and reconstruction of the perceived social reality based on the information available including concepts, data and methods. In extracting the best yield out of these components, Cohen's (2001) outlook on hermeneutic phenomenology is found to be useful in informing how each component is utilized efficiently and extensively. Adhering to the notion of multiple realities that further lead to 'the many possible perspectives on a phenomenon,' he further asserts that a rich and deep account of a phenomenon can be acquired when focus is equally given to uncovering the truth and avoidance of prior knowledge rather than solely on accuracy. In maneuvering the methodological processes, a hermeneutic perspective is regarded as valuable especially in avoiding bias in the interpretation of meaning while at the same time generating a holistic understanding of the phenomenon in investigation.

3.3. Research Design: Insights from DHA's Modus Operandi

In its methodological operationalization, DHA proposes an eight-step procedure that can be implemented recursively, namely consultation of preceding theoretical knowledge, systematic collection of data, gradual focusing on data, formulation of assumption or hypothesis, pilot analysis, detailed case studies, designation of critique and application of detailed analytical results, as well as results or knowledge transfer to the public (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). Within its procedural operationalization in this thesis, each step will be elaborated and supplemented with additional steps accordingly.

3.3.1. Consultation of preceding theoretical knowledge

Like other research designs, the first procedure begins with the consultation of preceding theoretical knowledge, which includes literature on power constellations in political settings, Brunei and Britain's political relations in the context of protected-protector, and construction of institutional *qua* political discourses. Provision of relevant literature is fundamental to contextualize the research within the selected settings, determines how the research is undertaken in calibration to research questions, and acts as a source of evidence for the findings.

3.3.2. Systematic collection of data followed by the gradual focusing on data

The establishment of the first step procedure sets the research in motion and leads to the systematic collection of data followed by the gradual focusing on data. Here, the data collection process started out ambitiously with the intended eight documents as primary data, plus a plethora of supporting documents, such as personal letters and constitution, interviews, as well as multimodal representations such as commemorative objects (including infrastructures) and cartographic materials. Mindful of the immediate relevance to the research questions, access, as well as temporal and spatial limitations, it is ultimately narrowed down to eight key texts that mark the political turns in BR-UK political relations between 1847 to 1984. In other words, these are the significant texts that initiate and shape the dynamics of the political relations between BR and UK, as well as the nature of Brunei's internal governance, foreign affairs, defence, sovereignty and national identity.

The key texts here are systematically chosen to ensure they are not just valid, authentic, reliable, trustworthy, and accessible, but also vital as a site for discursive interaction particularly in manifesting the establishment, maintenance, and negotiation of power between the two states. Addressing the issues of validity and trustworthiness is crucial as it does not only measure to what extent the research can be flagged as knowledge but also informs how subjectivity is managed by the researcher (Pakiti & Paltridge, 2015; Holliday, 2015). These key documents are also selected due to their virtues in encapsulating the evolving context, and functioning as a platform for connection between the previous and subsequent texts. In terms of structure, gradual focusing allows for the segregation of analysis into macro, meso, and micro levels, and triangulation of their results generates more comprehensive and holistic findings which are more reflective of the phenomenon in investigation.

Accordingly, the key texts that constitute the dataset are the BR-UK Agreements signed in 1847, 1888, 1905/06, 1959, 1971, 1979, a Notes Exchanger inked in 1979, and the 1984's Declaration of Independence (Table 1). At the outset, these key texts are of institutional genre as they are state or government documents, i.e. produced, validated, and distributed by governments. They are regarded as political discourse as they are associated with the states, particularly in the realm of bilateral relations within diplomatic settings.

Title	Signing Date	Sources	Tokens
Treaty of Friendship and Commerce between Her Majesty and the Sultan of Borneo (Brunei), and for the Suppression of the Slave Trade, between Great Britain and Borneo	28 May 1847	Treaties and Engagements Affecting the Malay States and Borneo, 1924 p.143-146	1490
Agreement between the Sultan of Brunei with Her Majesty's Government	17 Sept 1888	Brunei Annual Report 1946, p.80-81	767
Supplementary Agreement Between Great Britain And Brunei Respecting British Protection Over the State Of Brunei	3 Dec 1905 2 Jan 1906	Brunei Annual Report 1946, p.82	269
Agreement between the United Kingdom and Brunei on Defence and External Affairs.	29 Sept 1959	1959 Brunei Constitutional Documents	1284
Agreement Between Her Majesty The Queen Of The United Kingdom Of Great Britain And North Ireland And His Highness The Sultan Of Brunei (September 1959- Amendment 1971)	23 Nov 1971	Cmnd. 4932, Miscellaneous No.12 (1972), Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1972	1638
Exchange Of Notes Between The Government Of The United Kingdom Of Great Britain And Northern Ireland	7 Jan 1979 (The Agreement	United Nations Treaty Series p. 249	552

And His Highness Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan And Yang Di-Pertuan Of Brunei Terminating The Special Treaty Relations Between The United Kingdom And The State Of Brunei	entered into force on 31 December 1983)		
Treaty Of Friendship And Co-Operation Between Her Majesty The Queen Of The United Kingdom Of Great Britain And Northern Ireland And His Highness Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan And Yang Di-Pertuan Of Brunei	7 Jan 1979 Registered by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on 6 August 1985	Cmnd. 9193, Treaty Series No.25 (1984) Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1984 United Nations Treaty Series p. 233	1380
Proclamation of Independence Brunei Darussalam	1 Jan 1984		572

Figure 1 An overview of the dataset

3.3.3. Formulation of assumption or hypothesis

Accordingly, engagement with the selected data would give an early insight that subsequently leads to the formulation of assumption or hypothesis. This assumption can be generated in the form of reinforcement or contestation to a concept or a methodological framework, and constitutes part of the thesis's research puzzle. With regard to the latter, this thesis assumes that 'there are presence of power shifts in the BR-UK political discourse 1847-1984, and it is possible to represent them systematically using linguistics tool.'

3.3.4. Formulation of methodology

To have an early insight on this assumption, a pilot analysis should be conducted followed by detailed case studies. Conventionally, however, conduct of both analyses (pilot and detailed) will not be possible without selection or formulation of a methodology. In other words,

insertion of this step is necessary particularly in strategizing the operational research plan needed to conduct the research systematically. At the same time, it also enables calibration between concepts and practice, as provided in literature review and analysis chapters, respectively. In this regard, perspectives from triangulation, intertextuality, lexical semantics, theories on power and politics, and Social Action Approach (henceforth, SAA) are incorporated to form a system of methodological framework to address the different dimensions of power shifts and their representation in the discourse at different levels of analysis- endorsing the hermeneutical paradigm that anchors the research design.

3.3.5. Conducting pilot analysis

With the designated methodology, a series of pilot analysis and detailed case studies were conducted to address the phenomenon of power shifts in the selected discourse. the pilot analysis was conducted at the meso level where discourse topics from each key text were compared across the dataset, and at the micro level of analysis where verbs as a discursive indicator from three documents were extracted, compared and generally analyzed to test out the assumption and narrow down the focus of analysis. The pilot analysis then led to the refinement of concept and methodology – reinforcing the recursive nature of DHA procedures.

3.3.6. Executing detailed case studies; designation of critique and application of detailed analytical results

To follow suit, detailed analysis is undertaken according to the informed literature, research design, and accompaniment of critique which is based on ethical principles and rational argumentation at all levels (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009) in producing a comprehensive set of analytical results. In this thesis, results attained from the chapter on analysis will mould and inform the discussion chapter. With the same application of critique, discussion is streamlined into answering each research questions in order to unravel the complexity that BR-UK political discourse has in embedding the spectacle of power shifts.

3.3.7. Results or knowledge transfer to the public

The final procedure involves the results or knowledge transfer to the public, where recontextualization in the form of theory, methodology and general results are considered so that such practice can be replicated into other genres and communicative practices. Although this procedure is intended to capture a systematic way of processing and managing the project, it should be kept in mind that throughout the process, the research moves recursively not only between theory and empirical data, but also within procedures, as indicated by the analysis undertaken at the micro-meso-macro levels of analysis.

3.4. From Deconstruction to Reconstruction: Exploring the Role of Triangulation

Another important aspect of the methodology that contributes to the development of the research design is the deconstruction of analysis into three segregated levels, i.e. macro, meso, and micro, and their reconstruction at the end of the analytical process into one unitary entity that captures the bigger picture holistically. In this regard, triangulation is regarded as a vital tool that enables the discursive elements to be cross-examined separately before being synthesized and reintegrated into a cohesive political construct. In addition, triangulation is used comprehensively to assure validity, reliability and quality of the research (Seale, 1999; Tracy, 2010). Put forward as an alternative to Campbell and Fiske's (1959) single operationalism, triangulation examines research enquiries from multiple dimensions such as theoretical concepts, frameworks or data sources not only in circumventing intrinsic bias stemmed from single-method or single-theory studies (Denzin, 1978: 307) but also in attaining a deeper understanding of a matter especially through discovery and verification.

Correspondingly, analysis at the macro level focuses on the role of context as a source of background and evidence to the historical and political development of BR-UK bilateral relations framing the production of discourse, role of agencies/social actors, and use of discursive indicators that signpost the phenomenon of power shifts. Examination at the meso level, meanwhile, emphasizes the synergetic interaction between the key texts and its discursive elements. Dissection at the micro level focuses on the basic linguistics components such as nouns, verbs, or adjectives, among others. In line with Denzin's (1978) categorization of triangulation, i.e. investigator, data, methodological, theory or perspective, this research is positioned within the sphere of theory or perspective triangulation where multiple theoretical perspectives are utilized to examine contents, discursive interaction, and means of realization

at the macro, meso, and micro levels, respectively, in gaining a deeper understanding on the research enquiry.

3.4.1. Provision of context at the macro Level

The macro level refers to the broadest level of analysis which not only provides social facts (Coleman, 1986; Hedström & Swedberg, 1998) but also social processes. In the lacuna of social sciences where this thesis is oriented, this level provides context and framing of the background that oversee the interaction between discursive elements at a larger scale, such as theoretical concepts on the dynamics of power relations, use of language and power in political discourses, as well as historical insight on the nature of BR-UK political relations. Here, embeddedness of these elements is crucial in governing and substantiating the standpoint of this research, as a discourse is discursively shaping and shaped by the environment in which it is situated (van Dijk, 1999; Reisigl & Wodak, 2009).

Accordingly, these discursive elements are expounded in the literature review chapter and serve as a background to the production and distribution of discourse, as well as language usage and its representations in the selected discourse. Ultimately, it is the role of context that shape the power shifts in BR-UK political relations, and their discursive and linguistic manifestations in the selected discourse. For instance, the production of the Supplementary Agreement in the 1905/06 was not only intended to revise the terms found in the previous Treaty of Friendship and Commerce of 1888, especially on matters concerning territorial survival and security, but it also acted as a catalyst for the introduction of formal British influence on the local ground. In other words, it was a document that endorsed the establishment of the British Resident, the British Office and their intervention in governance and foreign affairs of Brunei.

3.4.2. Discursive interaction at the meso level

Serves as a bridge between the macro and micro levels of the analysis, the meso tier connects elements across these levels, i.e. the context and means of realizations. At this level, linguistic elements drawn from the micro tier are linked cohesively to characterize each text as an institutional discourse of political nature, and to establish a concrete connection between the

key texts in support of the context provided at the macro level. In the former, emphasis is given on the salient linguistics features of the texts such as terminologies or neologisms used, function words or syntactic structures, themes, topics, genres as well as the style that comprises of tenor, mode and rhetoric (Halliday, 1978) to explicate how these texts are produced, connected and interpreted either as separate entities or a collective set of data. Consequently, the connection established between these texts informs how genres and discourses are drawn upon and combined to reflect the social context (Fairclough, 1992). Here, genre is referred to as 'a socially ratified way of using language with a particular type of social activity' (Fairclough, 1995: 14).

Similarly, the devising and linking of discourses allows for the formulation of BR-UK 1847-1984 as a unique political discourse, i.e. as a protectorate/protected state discourse. This is further supported by diachronic changes along the selected timeline, changes in modes of text production including the agencies' role in the course of this production, and recontextualization of events, processes, and agencies from one document to the other.

3.4.3. Extraction of details at the micro Level

At the micro level, linguistic details comprising of verbs, nouns, adverbs and adjectives are extracted to to be further categorized into semantic categories, objects of privileges, processes and events, as well as social actors or agencies. These elements will then be processed to mark changes per se via comparative methods (longitudinal and latitudinal) and how they are represented chronologically. In this realm, insights from semantics, pragmatics and lexicography are found to be useful, especially in guiding the selection, extraction and categorization process. As the data is of political and institutional genres, usage of registers, words and phrases that connote precision and assertiveness is dominant especially in reflecting firmness, stability and authority of the institutions involved.

This would include use of technical terminologies especially those that are of legal and cultural nature. Where these terms may be less comprehensible to non-specialist readers or outsiders, their usage is common in this type of discourse not only to arouse attention (Sornig, 1989) but also to create privileges, prestige and inclusiveness among practitioners and those within the judiciary and administrative practice. In extension, identification of sentence types is also rudimentary to this level especially when they are marked as long and passivized. Although

there are references written at the beginning and end of each document, texts such as constitutions and agreements are often absent from first and second pronouns to project anonymity and appear less personal. However, third pronouns would be widely used such as in proper names or honorific forms, mainly for emphasis and precision, especially in highlighting the scale of authority and legitimacy that these powers have over the discourses produced.

1.1.1.1. Integration of Social Actors Approach (SAA)

Another important aspect of the methodological approach used in this research is the integration of van Leeuwen's Social Actors Approach (henceforth, SAA) into the DHA schema. This approach is important as it provides a focus on agencies or social actors that are a direct link to the actions or strategies used in the discourse itself. Thus this approach is particularly beneficial in understanding 1/ the multifarious roles of social actors (agencies) in text production and to what extent these roles affect the process, 2/ the evolving stance of these social actors in the power interplay conundrum, and 3/ how these social actors are represented in the discourse in relation to their traits and discursive strategies that they adopt to manifest their domain of power.

As a key component in CDA, social actors are crucial in dialectically shaping production of discourses while also being shaped by them. Their roles can come in the form of protagonists or antagonists to the group promoting or opposing certain ideologies or objectives respectively (Fairclough, 2005). In contrast to Levinson's (1983) elaboration on personal deictic expressions which focuses on how agencies (interlocutors) are referred to in relation to their deictic centre, van Leeuwen (2009) utilizes socio-semiotic analysis to look at the various representations of interlocutors or social actors in a discourse. By socio-semiotic he proposed that linguistic knowledge alone is insufficient in explaining the nature and roles of social actors in conveying ideas and information in the discourse per se. Instead, it should be pragmatically and critically tied to the cultural context and other multimodal elements or meanings that come with it, such as images, sound and other forms of symbolic meanings.

In portraying the various roles represented by the social actors, van Leeuwen (2009) proposed three types of social roles in a discourse, namely agents (actors or doers of the roles), patients (participants to whom actions are done) or beneficiaries (participants who benefit from an

action whether positively or negatively). These social roles occur interchangeably in canonical situations where more than one social actor is involved, such as in the case of dialogues or forums. Social actors can also be represented as active forces or agentless patients, as intended by the producers of the discourse. Additionally, it is also worth mentioning that the term activation and passivation in CDA is used beyond its traditional grammatical usage, but utilized as a merging product of linguistic, rhetoric and socio-semantic (van Leeuwen's, 2009; Tranchese & Zollo, 2013).

In this vein, van Leeuwen (1993; 2008; 2009) proposes an inventory of categories or tools that can be utilized to represent social actors in a discourse. Usage of these categories are generally context dependent and is socially constituted. In other words, social actors are portrayed and shaped in the mould of the culture, ideology and society that construct it, in relation to the ideology of the producer of the discourse. In this thesis, SAA will be used specifically to handle the human aspect of the discourse especially in capturing how the dominant actors and their representatives? (BR and UK) were represented across time. Hypothetically, it is anticipated that the various means of representations will inform how these two forces perceive each other's authority and domains of power; and strategize their agenda diplomatically, i.e. without causing too much conflict and damaging their reputation and political relationship. In short, exploitation of this process would inform not only the dialectical relationship between selection and representation of social actors and the production of discourse, but also reflect how recontextualization from all aspects is always necessary in negotiating, maintaining and defending power to minimize loss.

3.4.3.1. Procedural operationalization and data management

Within DHA's pilot analysis and detailed case studies strands, the methodological procedure at this level utilizes NVivo 11 (NVivo Qualitative Data Analysis Software Version 11, 2014) for data management, organization, and annotation of data. Selection of this tool is made based on its simplicity of interface and features needed to extract and break down the data into relevant nodes. Similarly, the query section will also enable the charting, description and comparison of tables, frequencies and word tree through its text search, word frequency and matrix coding features. In addition, this tool also manages the related research materials of various formats including pictures, audios, videos, memos and datasets and facilitate for the systematic

management of bibliographies and references using its *Source Classifications and Annotations*, apart from the existing usage of EndNote.

In terms of data presentation, AntConc 3.4.4 (Anthony, 2018) and Word Excel 2010 are used for complementary infographic purposes, i.e. to equip the analysis with a list of examples of a word as they appear in the context in which they occur in the text. Where concordance is traditionally defined as 'an alphabetical list of the principal words used in a book, or body of work, with their immediate text surrounding them,' it is widely used not only to identify, classify and verifying examples in a corpus but also as a platform for further examination (Wynne, 2008).

In terms of procedures, the analysis at this level begins with conversion of documents from Word format to Notepad, before being inserted as Internal Source in NVivo 11. This designates the documents as the focal source for references, and a working platform for the extraction, labelling and analysis of selected linguistic components. Accordingly, extraction of main parts of speech such as verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs are conducted, followed by their assignation into nodes. In its further classification, node verbs (V) is divided into content verbs, modalities and auxiliaries; whereas node nouns (N) is allotted into Social Actors (SA), Objects (OBJ), as well as Events/Phenomenon (EVE), Processes/Actions (PRO). The purpose of this extraction is to draw out the basic lexical elements that constitute larger syntactic constituents such as phrases (in cases of collocations or metaphors, for instance) and sentences of passive or active structures. In short, these elements would be used as an embarking point for exploration of data, analysis and relevant discussion.

This is followed by the narrowing down the focus of this group of constituents according to their prevalence in the dataset, and immediate relevance to the research questions. In this respect, verbs are regarded as a dominant constituent as they directly manifest action meaning that captures the evolving context and dynamics of power relations, and have immediate relationship with agencies/actors, objects, processes, or event/phenomenon. For a better understanding on how analysis at the micro level is undertaken, detailed procedural operationalization particularly on verbs is provided at the beginning of the following chapter, i.e. Analysis Chapter. This integration is essential in maintaining an overall coherence of the

analysis especially with regard to use of other analytical tools such as semantic categories, raw charts, and concordances, as well as to prevent overlapping in discussions.

3.5. Summary

This chapter has detailed the many facets of the selected research design that situates it within the qualitative scope of DHA and AL, at the ontological and epistemological core of which are multiple dimensions of reality that substantially necessitate to the construe of not just an array of but also alternative interpretations. This stance informs the choice of methodological tool essential to dissect the different discursive elements at three different but cohesive triangulated levels of macro, meso, and micro analysis. At the same time, it also gives a walkthrough through the operational procedures that will be utilized in the following chapter to address and demonstrate the phenomenon of power shifts in BR-UK political discourse 1847-1984, particularly at the micro level of analysis.

Chapter 4. Exploring the Key Texts as an Institutional-Political Discourse: Between Rigidity of Conventions and Fluidity of Change

“The rigidity of a bottle’s form does not affect the fluidity of the liquid it contains.”

Leon Krier

4.1. Overview

As depicted in the introduction chapter of this thesis, this chapter acts as a bridging chapter that provides not only analysis at the macro level as encapsulated by the literature review in Chapter 2, but also the analysis at the micro level as demonstrated by the analysis in Chapter 5. Analysis at the meso level is undertaken within the triangulated perspective, which aims at characterizing the key texts as institutional qua political discourse endorsed by Government of Brunei and Britain, as well as establishing connections via intertextuality encompassed by the different aspects of text production, and the role of agencies. Accordingly, changes that occur along these aspects inform shifts in the selected discourse. Adhering to the nature of the research design that enables information from both the macro and micro level to be referred to recursively, this chapter utilizes insights and findings from Chapter 2 and Chapter 5 to achieve its purpose.

4.2. Revisiting the Dataset: Six Treaties/Agreements, an Exchanger of Notes, and a Proclamation

To reiterate, the dataset is comprised of eight institutionalized texts produced between 1847 to 1984. The texts formally involve two government institutions in organizing a series of interstate relations via negotiations of state treaties which occasionally involved political control, law-making procedures or political administration (Reisigl, 2008). In its further subdivision, there are three different text-types involved, i.e. treaties or agreements, Notes of Exchange, and a Declaration or Proclamation. The United Nations defined these four legal terms as separate entities, particularly marked by subtle differences in usage over time and purposes. In general, the UN Treaty Collection defined a treaty as a binding instrument where contracting parties intend to create rights and legal duties. A treaty has to be concluded by states or international organizations with treaty-making power, it has to be governed by international law, and it comes in the form of writing where signatures are usually sealed and normally require ratification (United Nations, n.d.).

Agreements are usually less formal and deal with a narrower range of subject matter than treaties. Although there is a general tendency to reserve agreements for bilateral or

multilateral negotiations, they are commonly used as instruments for technical or administrative purposes, especially in the economic domain. They are signed by representatives of government departments, but are not subject to ratification. Similarly, Exchange of Notes is a record of a routine agreement, which consists of the exchange of two documents, with each of the parties being in the possession of the one signed by the representative of the other. This form is frequently utilized due to its speedy nature and to avoid the process of legislative approval (United Nations, n.d.). On the other hand, a declaration or proclamation at its core is not intended to create binding obligations but merely declare certain aspirations. However, their provisions may reflect customary international law or will gain binding properties as a customary law at a later stage to achieve these purposes.

In the bigger picture, these key texts are situated within the sphere of political discourse, where they can be simply characterized by the (political) domain that contextualizes the activities, practices, strategies or positioning of the agencies, actors or participants involved in the production of this discourse. Where Kenzhekanova (2015) asserts that “a political discourse is a collection of all speech acts, as well as public law, tradition and experience, which is determined and expressed in the form of verbal formations, content, subject and the addressee of which belongs to the sphere of politics,” van Dijk (1997), on the other hand, outlines five principal dimensions that can be generally used to define a political discourse, i.e. actors or authors, addressees or recipients, nature of activities or practices which are typically functional or having implications, as well as context.

Van Dijk (1997) further situates this particular discourse within the axis of political structures and processes such as domains, systems, institutions, values and ideologies, organizations, political actors, political relations, political process, political action and political cognitions to demonstrate that “a political discourse is not merely based on discursive properties per se, but also needs a systematic contextual definition in terms of relevant systems, organizations, actors, settings and cognitions, among others” (19). In this thesis, the contextual definition is provided in the literature review chapter (where historical and political settings of Brunei and Britain’s relations and their evolution over time are put under scrutiny), informs the research design of this thesis and navigates the perspective needed to construe an alternative political reality. Another insight that can be drawn here is the important notion of discursive properties that internally characterizes discourse as a communicative entity such as topics,

superstructures or textual schemata, local semantics, lexicon, syntax, rhetoric, expression structures, as well as speech acts and interaction, as these are the elements that dialectically manifest and influence political context structures. In this chapter, this internalization is manifested in terms of use of lexicon, discourse topics, agencies involved in the text production, as well as temporal and spatial allocation.

By extension, political discourse is also institutional at its core as it is primarily influenced by agencies that represent social institutions (Karasik, 2000). In this realm, communication is conducted and relayed in accordance to the agency's role and social relations, creating a system of text production that emphasizes formality in its structure and convention. Here, communication is expedited within the status and role relations which can be political, diplomatic, administrative, legal, military, pedagogical, religious, mystical, medical, business, advertising, sports, scientific, scenic and mass-informational (Karasik, 2000). At the same time, it is also important to note that this is not meant to be an exhaustive list, but rather infinitive as institutions arise, merge and dissolve over time. Additionally, each of these discourses are non-homogenous but segregated by differences in features that characterizes each as a unique discursual entity. This political-institutional discourse can also be perspectivized in terms of the communicative intentions of the agencies which are political, diplomatic, and legal in nature; the relationship between these agencies whether they are between state leaders, official leaders or governments themselves); the context, circumstances and ideology surrounding its production; the genre and stylistic features of the message and communicative situation; as well as the associations with the previous context within a similar domain (Karasik, 2002).

4.2.1. Lexicon as the core of linguistic features in political discourse

In the most logical manner, a political discourse would capitalize on politics as the focal point of discussion or the essence of the content. This may refer to or involve political events, political processes, political actors, political systems, ideologies or institutions. One of the main traits of political discourse is the compilation of lexicon that does not only construct the discourse structures but also reflects the word choice of agents in manifesting the discursive strategies employed and the context surrounding it. Accordingly, this pool of words may present in the form of verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs or in the form of expressions such as metaphors. As politics is conventionally defined from the perspectives of (struggle for) power and cooperation

(Chilton, 2004), the selection of lexicon in this discourse is anticipated to reflect this nature. Within the framework of power, use of **Vs of Giving/Acquisition** such as *permitted* and *prohibited*, or **Vs of Taking** such as *grant* and *acquire*, for instance, informs the reader that there is a presence of power constellation between two agencies, and that there is a movement of resources which is central to the allocation of power. In addition, there are also other words that directly magnify this discourse as a focal point of power parlay between agencies such as *power, dominions, territories, control, rights* or expressions such as *sits upon the throne*.

Similarly, words that reflect cooperation incorporate the reciprocity of power between agencies involved such as *friendship, cooperation, discussions*; the nature of togetherness or solidarity such as *close, diplomatic*; or a mutually generated effort such as *consult, cooperate, assist* or the phrase *common interest*. As observed in the dataset, these sets of lexica are embedded in semantic categories of **Vs of Consent** such as *agree*, and *consent*, and **Vs of Motion** such as *long standing*, and *subsist*. On the other hand, it is also important to note the legal aspects of this discourse as they are produced and formalized in such a manner. In this vein, **Actions reflecting Validation** such as *sealed, confirm, or ratified*, or nouns including *signature, seal, witnesses, ratifications* are used to mark validation and endorsement. Accordingly, **Vs of Declaratives** such as *declared, cited, styled*, **Vs of Embedded Inclusion** such as *constitute, contain, include, and consist*, as well as modalities including *shall* and *must* are dominant across the data to denote its legal conventionalism.

Despite its subtle usage as compared to its lexical counterpart, syntactic construction in political discourse is commonly manifested in the foregrounding or backgrounding of pronouns, use of active and passive constructions, nominalizations, manipulation of word order, clause embedding and sentence complexity (van Dijk, 1997). In this relation, the first two indicators operate on the principle of binary or polarization of inclusion *I/we/us* and exclusion *they/them* especially in the context of self-representation, where its usage is often tied to euphemized lexicon. Additionally, syntactic construction can also be used to shift the focus on the agencies involved by projecting the objects and making the sentence either/both agentless or/and implicit. Whereas in the play of word order, syntactic topicalization or fronting a word may psychologically affect audiences/ readers to draw attention to a particular word. In this thesis, this information gives insight on the use of the foregrounding and backgrounding of agencies,

in combination with their activation and deactivation within a clause or provisions. For instance, activated and foregrounded agencies might suggest the active and dynamic nature of the agencies in conducting certain social actions, be it taking, giving, permitting, or producing something.

4.2.2. Agencies

Across the data, there are three main agencies involved or mentioned in the signing occasions or to a certain extent discussed in each document. As a general rule, these agencies can be divided into the dominant or active players namely Brunei (BR) and Britain (UK); and Others which ranges from individuals or groups of interest such as British Protected Persons in the 1847 and 1888 treaties, Armed Forces or citizens of state as depicted in the 1971 and 1979 agreements, or foreign states such as Sarawak and North Borneo Chartered Company (present Sabah). In all treaties, BR was consistently represented by His Majesty the Sultan on all signing occasions. As the supreme authority and source of ruling power in the country, the Sultan is the ultimate decision-maker, negotiator and endorser of the investigated documents. In this relation, the pool of power that the monarch possesses is customary to the Bruneian monarchical context where the Sultan is legitimized as the Head of State, Prime Minister, Minister of Defense, Minister of Finance, and Head of Religion, as well as Head of Malay Customs and Traditions (Hashim, 1999; 2003). It is also crucial to note that as the research timeline spans over a century, it involves four reigns across the period, i.e. the 26th to the present 29th Sultan. On a number of documents where witnesses were present, His Majesty the Sultan was accompanied by local officials or state dignitaries to co-endorse the agreements.

In the same capacity as the elite sovereign but slightly different milieu, Her Majesty the Queen as the head of state via the government of United Kingdom and Northern Ireland gave her appointed officials the mandate to represent the institution in negotiations and for endorsement purposes. In this respect, the bureaucratic procedure between the final decision-making process and negotiation table involved several tiers such as the British Colonial Office (later the Foreign Office) in London, the British High Commission for Southeast Asia, and the British Office on site. Similarly, the communication line between these two ends respectively encompassed the British Secretary of State, the British High Commissioner, the British Resident and British individuals in the position of British Representative. On occasions where witnesses

were involved, advising officials from either the Foreign and Commonwealth Office or other government departments were selected to carry out the responsibility accordingly (Guidance: UK Treaties, 2013). Table 2 below summarizes the various agencies involved in the communication line between Brunei and Britain.

	1847	1888	1905/06	1959	1971	1979	1984
Brunei	Sultan/ Lawful ruler of Brunei						
	British Person	British Resident in Perak	British Resident in Brunei	British High Commissioner in Brunei			
	British High Commissioner in Southeast Asia					-	
	Secretary of State for the British Colonial Office / British Foreign Office in London					Secretary of State for the British Foreign Office in London	
Britain	Her Majesty the Queen						

Figure 2 Agencies involved in BR-UK communication line

Aside from Brunei and Britain as dominant actors in the power parlays, third parties or agencies are also mentioned in the documents. Despite their role in the text production processes, these groups were referred to in relation to their assignation of roles and responsibilities as in the case of British Resident and British High Commissioner, allocation of protection and privileges as depicted in events involving both Brunei and British subjects, or acquisition of professional assistance particularly in cases involving Brunei government officials in the realm of defense and foreign affairs. Another subcategory that belongs to this group is the third states which are mentioned, particularly in provisions where a prohibition against Brunei engaging with other foreign states without the consent of Her Majesty's Government is applicable and documented as a sign of allegiance.

4.2.3. Text Production, Legitimation and Distribution

Similarly to the production of institutional documents, the texts used in the dataset are mainly those which were produced jointly between the government of Brunei and Great Britain. Each production was preceded by a series of discussions between representatives of the High

Contracting Parties which took place mainly in either Bandar Seri Begawan or London, indicating that they were discursively connected and exist within a continuum of context, time, and space. Before 1959, these documents would be brokered by British representatives in both Brunei and Southeast Asia (British Commissioner), before being proceeded to the British Colonial Office in London under the scrutiny of the Secretary of State and eventually Her Majesty the Queen. Post 1959, the production line slightly shifted due to the replacement of the British Resident with the British High Commissioner in Brunei (the previous production line was chaired by the Governor of Sarawak), as well as the modification of the British Colonial Office into the British Foreign Office in 1969.

All documents were written in both the Malay and English language to cater for both officials and public, with the English version being the main source of references should there be any discrepancies. It is important to note, however, that it is only in the 1979ii document that both texts are regarded as parallel and authoritative despite the promulgation of the Malay language as the official language in the 1959 Written Constitution. At present these documents are available via the National Archives of both Brunei and Great Britain, and most are accessible via online repositories including government websites, digital libraries and secondary sources published by scholars and officials alike. As for the script, all texts utilize the Roman alphabet except for the Proclamation of 1984 where the *Jawi* script (a transliterated Arabic script) is used in the Malay version of the document to reflect eccentricity particularly in the form of *Malayness* and Islam. In terms of validation, the first seven documents were agreed on and signed by both BR and UK representatives in Brunei; whereas the other three incorporated signatures of witnesses from both parties. On the other, the Proclamation was only endorsed (via signature and seal) by His Majesty Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah, the 29th Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan of Brunei Darussalam.

Post 1950s, the UK's Foreign and Commonwealth Office (henceforth, FCO) played an important role in the production, ratification, and distribution process of the documents drafted between Great Britain and other countries including Brunei. Under the aegis of the Secretary of State for FCO, the Office oversaw the Foreign and Commonwealth policy aspects and International Law of the negotiated treaties before being checked by its legal advisers (Guidance: UK Treaties, 2013). From here, authentic signature copies would have been produced by the Treaty Procedures staff within the FCO and other related departments in accordance with the

standard format and conventions such as the embedment of Full Powers and instruments of ratification. This staff consisted of members of delegation authorized to take part in the negotiation and where applicable, the authorization to sign the final act of the process (Schenker, 2015).

Once agreement and signing ceremony has taken place between negotiating parties, these documents are produced by the Treaty Section on special treaty paper before being bound and sealed into a binder, and consequently printed to be laid before the parliament (Guidance: UK Treaties, 2013). There are two settings applicable to the dissemination of the treaties to the public;

- a. They will be published in the form of Command Paper in the Treaty Series once they have become legally-binding in international law and entered into force for the UK.
- b. They will be laid for the first and only time in the Treaty Series should the treaties have entered into force on signature alone.

At the same time, it is also important to note that under Article 102 of the UN Charter, treaties to which a member state of the UN becomes a signing party must be registered with the UN, in all their languages and with all their ancillary documents. Subsequently, these documents will then be published by the UN, both on the internet and on paper, in the United Nations Treaty Series.

4.3. The dataset in brief

The dataset is comprised of eight documents that mark crucial developments in the BR-UK political dynamics within the period of 1847-1984. Within this timeframe, the investigated power relations went through phases of developments that influenced Brunei's status as a sovereignty, its internal and external governance, and defense and national security. In brief, the following subsections can be summarized along the following lines of nuances.

Dataset	Significance
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1847	Establishment of British influence on ground via commerce, protection from piratical activities, and curbing of slavery trade in the region.
1888	Brunei placed under British Protection, where external affairs became the responsibility of Britain, and Brunei retained its internal administration.
1905/06	Establishment of British's Residential System in Brunei where the state's administration had to abide by the Resident's advice and decisions.
1959	Pretext to the establishment of the Written Constitution of the State of Brunei (WCSB) where the Residential System was abolished (the post of Resident was replaced by British High Commissioner), and internal administration was re-exercised by the State's government.
1971	Re-establishment of the State's defense system and national security with UK's assistance.
1979i	Termination of previous agreements.
1979ii	Reinstatement of the State's external affairs by Brunei government with UK's aid.
1984	Resumption of Independence- where Brunei recommenced its responsibility in its external (and internal) affairs including defence

Figure 3 Significance of the dataset in a glance

4.3.1. Treaty of Friendship and Commerce between Her Majesty and the Sultan of Borneo (Brunei), and for the Suppression of the Slave Trade, between Great Britain and Borneo (1847)

This treaty was signed on May 28th, 1847 in Brunei between His Highness Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddien II, the 23rd Sultan of Borneo, and L.S. James Brooke, Esquire, the White Rajah of Sarawak. At 1 490 words, this document consists of twelve articles and an additional article that specifically addresses judiciary and legal matters (Maxwell & Gibson, 1924). It was produced and signed in both the Malay and English languages and endorsed by signatures and the seal of the Sultan. At the outset, this document was intended to establish commerce between subjects of Borneo and Britain as well as to address the piratical activities that hampered trade and maritime security in the South China Sea and its neighbouring counterparts. As one of the best ports in West Borneo, Brunei (then Borneo) was situated at the heart of the commercial

network that provided nautical links between the South China Sea, Persian Gulf and the Red Sea (de Vienne, 2015), making it not only attractive to traders, explorers and missionaries alike, but also pirates and slave dealers.

Having these mutual interests as the core of the negotiation, the first six articles were dedicated to the establishment and securing of privileges in trade particularly in the dominions of Borneo (for British subjects) and all parts of Her Britannic Majesty's dominions in Europe and Asia (for Brunei subjects). Where having the physical access to these areas for residential and commercial purposes were applicable to both parties, other items such as legal acquisition of tangible resources for exports and exemption of duties, secured protection and assistance to these properties, vessels (including ships of war) and subjects involved whenever needed, were exclusively reserved for British subjects. Subsequently, the next four remaining articles deliberated on the issues of piratical suppression and slave trade that included prohibition against Brunei rendering any form of support to the offenders and anyone engaged in these activities (physical access, trade or provision of shelter), confirmation of the cession of Labuan in 1846, and exclusive reservation of jurisdiction for British subjects or British Protected Persons in legal proceedings.

The signing of this treaty did not only mark direct British intervention in the affairs of Brunei, but also defined their commercial and political interest in Borneo, i.e. to prevent other powers from gaining influence in Brunei (as the Americans had also shown interest in the island of Borneo). Despite several treaties flowing from this agreement, none mentioned the issue of state protection. In fact, most Brunei territories were annexed to either the neighbouring state of Sarawak or British North Borneo Chartered Company (Muhammad, 2010). Such flaws brought about the 1888 Agreement which placed Brunei under the protection of Great Britain.

4.3.2. Agreement with the Sultan of Brunei with Her Majesty's Government (1888)

This agreement was signed on September 17th, 1888 between Sultan Hashim Jalilul Alam Akamadin, the 26th Sultan of Brunei, and Sir Hugh Low, the British Resident of Perak. This document consists of 767 words and is comprised of eight articles. It was produced and signed in both Malay and English and endorsed by signatures and seal of the Sultan. In a slight difference from the previous 1847 text, this document incorporates signatures of witnesses

from both governments as means of validation. Generally, contents of the articles are articulated in favour of the intention mentioned in the preamble i.e. to support the desire of Brunei to be placed under the protection of Great Britain (Maxwell & Gibson, 1924). As observed in the following articles, this requested protection comes with conditions that encompass governance for both internal and external affairs, state allegiance, establishment of a British representative on site, commercial privileges as well as exclusive jurisdiction towards British subjects and British Protected Persons.

As an overview, the first two articles underscore the preservation of Brunei's sovereignty and authority over its internal administration including on matters relating to right of succession. This scenario, however, is contrastive for external affairs where foreign relations between Brunei and other states would fall under the jurisdiction of the British Government- making it equivalent to other British colonial states of North Borneo and Sarawak (Maxwell & Gibson, 1924). Furthermore, cession of land to other states is prohibited without the consent of British Government except for private individuals. Subsequently, the remaining articles amplify British's establishment as a significant power in the state through the establishment of its Consular Officers, hoisting of Union Jack over their premises, reservation of rights and privileges to British subjects and their properties similar to those received by Brunei subjects. In continuation to the previous agreement that secures protection towards British subjects and British Protected Persons as a whole, jurisdiction in both civil and criminal cases is exclusively reserved to British representatives.

In addressing the main objective of this document, it was found that it still could not protect Brunei from further loss of its territories (Limbang¹ as an important territory of Brunei was annexed by Charles Brooke in 1890). Under the advice of Frank Swettenham, a British Civil Servant from Malaya and a report presented by McArthur, the British Resident in 1904, a supplementary agreement was suggested.

4.3.3. Supplementary Agreement Between Great Britain And Brunei Respecting British Protection Over the State of Brunei (1905/06)

¹ This annexation was clearly in breach of the previous and existing treaty as his action did not represent nor was at the direction of HM Govt. It was, however, approved in return for compensation to be paid to the Sultan.

Within the dataset, the supplementary agreement signed between His Highness Sultan Hashim Jalilul Alam Ahamaldin, the 27th Sultan of Brunei, and John Anderson. It is the shortest, at 269 words, yet is significant document in the shaping of BR-UK political relations within the investigated period. Introduced as a solution to protect Brunei from further foreign encroachment resulting in loss of territory, it was signed on December 31st, 1905 and January 2nd, 1906 to formalize the beginning of the Residential System in Brunei. Similar to its previous counterparts, this agreement was also produced and signed in both the Malay and English languages, and endorsed by signatures and the seal of the Sultan. As a whole, it only consists of three paragraphs including a preamble that indicates the insufficient protection that the 1888 document provided to Brunei, and two key clauses that highlight the role of the appointed British Resident in the state, and validation of this agreement, respectively.

With the underlying premise that the Resident would be the agent and representative of the British Government under the High Commissioner of the Malay States and whose “advice must be taken and acted upon all questions in Brunei other than those affecting the Muslim religion” (Brunei Annual Report, 1946), the British domain of authority in the state of Brunei had gradually supplanted Brunei’s traditional administrative system. Although it was projected that a form of government should be set up under the Sultan in Council and the British Resident, in reality, British Resident exercised real power in the State of Brunei (Hadi, 2010: 4-5; Keat, 2004: 154) especially during the reign of the 26th and the 27th Sultan.

On the administrative side, for instance, most of the positions were filled with expatriates as most Bruneians at that time were illiterate and inexperienced. This predicament was accounted in Brunei Annual Report by the Resident (1906) who stated that *‘their general ignorance and inexperience made it impossible to entrust any very important administrative duties to them.’* Additionally, the existing Council that was comprised of old Bruneian leading nobles were also “incapable of forming any opinion for themselves the discussion of which might land to the benefit of the country” (Brunei Annual Report, 1906). In fact, there were a significant number of times when the Sultan himself did not attend a Council meeting and appointed the Resident to attend and sign memorandums on his behalf (Hadi, 2006:31). In the following years and decades, the Resident’s powers encompassed virtually every branch of the government, executive, judicial and legislative (Hussainmiya & Tarling, 2011:17).

4.3.4. Agreement between the United Kingdom and Brunei on Defence and External Affairs (1959)

This agreement was signed on September 29th, 1959 between His Highness Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin Sa'adul Khairi Waddin ibni Almarhum Sultan Mohamed Jamalul Alam, Sultan of the State of Brunei, and His Excellency Sir Robert Heatlie Scott, Commissioner General for the United Kingdom in South East Asia for and on behalf of Her Majesty. This document has 1 284 words and was drafted in both the Malay and English languages. However, it was also provisioned in Article 10 that in any case of disputes, regard shall only be had to the English version. In terms of endorsement, the generic signatures and seals were used as means of validation. At the outset, this agreement precedes the promulgation of the Written Constitution of the State of Brunei 1959 which provides the Sultan with powers to govern via three councils², and Britain to retain jurisdiction over the state's external affairs and defence.

In retrospect, the establishment of this constitution was driven by the protracted tug-of-war for political control between the British administration and the Sultan- on one side the Sultan persistently asserted the state's independence while continuously challenging the decision-making capability of the British officers (Hussainimya & Tarling, 2011), and on the other, the High Commissioner at that time wanted to limit the autocratic powers of the Sultan either through a treaty, or, more importantly, through constitutional safeguards based on British democratic ideals. At the same time, this jurisdiction is counterbalanced by BR's authority via the introduction of a Standing Advisory Council that was comprised of representatives from both governments, establishment of direct communication between BR and UK via Secretary of State, prior consultation with BR regarding appointment of High Commissioner, and legitimation of the Written Constitution that flowed from this agreement. Also fundamental in this document is the termination of the provisions in the 1905/06 document regarding the Residential System in Brunei, and encouragement of civil service training in the government sector as the first step towards the construction of a modern state.

² The Legislative Council which would be presided over by the *Menteri Besar* and would meet to pass laws, exercise financial control and criticize actions of the government, the Executive Council which would be presided by the Sultan and was to deal with policies and pass the annual budget estimates and any supplementary estimates for presentation to the Legislature, and the Privy Council (an advisory body to advise the Sultan in the exercise of prerogative of mercy, amendments of the constitution, appointments to Malay ranks, dignitaries etc.

4.3.5. Agreement Between Her Majesty the Queen Of The United Kingdom Of Great Britain And North Ireland And His Highness The Sultan Of Brunei (1971)

This agreement was signed on November 23rd, 1971 between His Highness Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin Sa'adul Khairi Waddin ibni Almarhum Sultan Mohamed Jamalul Alam, Sultan of the State of Brunei, and His Excellency Sir Robert Heatlie Scott, Commissioner General for the United Kingdom in South East Asia for and on behalf of Her Majesty, as an amendment to the previous treaty of 1959. It has 1 638 words and was drafted in both Malay and English language. Akin to its original version, it is provisioned in Article 10 that in any case of disputes, regard shall only be had to the English version. In terms of endorsement, the generic signatures and seals were used as means of validation. In terms of contents, this document still retains much of the provisions stipulated in the 1959 treaty especially in matters concerning Brunei's external affairs, legitimation of the Written Constitution, appointment of High Commissioner, medium of expression, and termination of terms in the 1905/06 documents. As a matter of fact, it is also postulated in Article VI of this text that both 1959 and 1971 Agreements should be read as one document.

Subsequently, there are two ways that revisions are reflected throughout this amended document. First is via complete deletion marked by the word *deleted* in items 5-8 of the 1971 text. Second is via the introduction of new items in replacement of the old ones as depicted in Article III, VI, VII and VIII of the document. In its essence, these forms of adjustments are dedicated to the issues of both internal and external defense, establishment of Brunei Defence Council, and provisions for the substantiation of the document itself. Within the domain of internal and external defense, the responsibility for maintaining the state's defense and security is shared between the two governments which includes provision of human resources, facilities and jurisdiction on matters pertaining to the state's Armed Forces by BR; and rendering of assistance from UK in terms of recruitment, expertise and advice whenever needed. At the same time, while UK still has the mandate to safeguard BR from external threats if needed, it still needs to be done via the Brunei Defence Council which is comprised of representatives from both countries. Similarly, this cooperation also serves as an embarkation point for BR to establish its own capacity building particularly in the realm of defense and public security.

4.3.6. Exchange of Notes Between The Government Of The United Kingdom Of Great Britain And Northern Ireland And His Highness Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan And Yang Di-Pertuan Of Brunei Terminating The Special Treaty Relations Between The United Kingdom And The State Of Brunei (1979)

In comparison to other documents used in this dataset, this text uses the legal term Exchange of Notes to carry the similar function of a treaty or agreement, which in this case is regarding the termination of previous special treaties. It is also important to note that this nomenclature difference does not affect its status and nature as a legal text. Consisting of 650 words, this document was signed on January 7th, 1979 and made available in both the English and Malay languages. Unlike its counterparts, this document consists of two parts, namely, (No.1) a correspondence put forward by The Right Honourable the Lord Goronwy-Roberts of Caernarvon and of Ogwen, Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, on behalf of Her Majesty, to His Highness Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan Sir Hassanal Bolkiah; and, (No.2) a reply from His Highness Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan to the Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs. Each part of this document was produced separately, i.e. at the British High Commission, and Istana Darul Hana respectively; but endorsed in a treaty-signing event that took place in Bandar Seri Begawan.

In Note (No.1) of the Exchanges, four core elements were reiterated as a continuation from the discussion that had taken place prior to the exchange. Significantly, this arrangement was deliberated on the basis that Brunei would resume its independence five years after the signing of these documents, i.e. 31 December 1983. In its entirety, stipulations in this text revolve around the state's upcoming resumption of independence; termination of the previous agreements specifically of the 1847, 1888, 1959 and 1971 documents along with a number of selected pre-1888 treaties concerning territorial cessions, as well as all the other agreements, engagements, undertakings and arrangements between the United Kingdom and the State of Brunei flowing from the special treaty relations between the two states with the exception of matters involving cession money, the Public Officer's Agreement of 1973 and issues on the disputed Labuan; emphasis on the nature of BR-UK political relations as a friendly and cooperative entity; and the provisional period that enable the terms in this document to take place. In return as stated in Note (No.2) of the Exchanges, the Sultan agreed to all the provisos proposed in the former Note.

4.3.7. Treaty of Friendship and Co-Operation Between Her Majesty The Queen Of The United Kingdom Of Great Britain And Northern Ireland And His Highness Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan And Yang Di-Pertuan Of Brunei (1979)

This document was signed on January 7th, 1979 in Bandar Seri Begawan in tandem with the endorsement of the previous Exchange of Notes between The Right Honourable the Lord Goronwy-Roberts of Caernarvon and of Ogwen, Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, on behalf of Her Majesty, to His Highness Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan Sir Muda Hassanah Bolkiah. It is made available in both English and Malay languages with both texts being equally authoritative. It was signed and sealed by both parties, in the presence of eight witnesses (one being from the UK government and the rest from Brunei's). This document consists of 1 380 words and is sectioned into six articles. In a similar framework to the previous text (D6), this treaty is articulated in a manner that underlines the premise that Brunei would be resuming its international responsibility as a sovereign and independent State in 1984. As such, it focuses dominantly on matters pertaining to Brunei's external affairs- the final portion of the State's governance that was previously administered by the UK government via its representatives in Brunei.

Succeeding the preamble, Article 1 of this treaty stipulates that in navigating BR and UK mutual interest in maintaining peace and stability in the region, both High Contracting Parties will consult together and settle all disputes by peaceful means. In the following paragraph, these are the overarching principles that guide the drafting of the provisos. These provisos can be generally categorized into UK's consideration in providing BR assistance and support in terms of its admission to international organizations; facilitation of recruitment and training of personnel and protection; encouragement of cooperation and mutual understandings between the two countries particularly in the form of exchanges of contacts and cultivation of joint-efforts in various domains; and advancement of existing collaboration in commerce and trade. To emphasize, this treaty also reiterates the provisional period for this treaty to take effect, i.e. five years from December 31st, 1978.

4.3.8. Proclamation of Independence Brunei Darussalam (1984)

In the dataset, the 1984 Proclamation marks the pinnacle of the BR-UK power dynamics in the timeframe of investigation (1847-1984). At the same time, it is also the document that separates Brunei's status from a British dependent to a sovereign and an independent state. To reiterate, the date for Brunei's resumption of independence was secured five years in advance by the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed between BR and UK in 1979. In generating this proclamation, it is important to note that the consideration in its production reflects the nature of Brunei's process towards independence itself which is *autochthonous* or home-grown (Pengiran Haji Bahrin, 2012). In other words, the production of sovereignty or legitimacy of Brunei was not imposed or conferred by an external foreign power or source such as the Act of British Parliament. Additionally, the system that underscored the process of resumption of independence was that of a Government, which rested on the 1959 Written Constitution of Brunei, and the State's philosophy of *Malay Islamic Monarchy*. In the proclamation itself, the latter is used as an ideological expression to reflect the legitimacy of Brunei as an old established monarchy. Consisting of 572 words, this proclamation is divided into six different parts: the Invocation, the Introduction, the Preamble, the Body, the Conclusion, and Closing Invocation (Pengiran Haji Bahrin, 2012). It is produced in both the Malay and English languages, and the Malay version is handwritten in both Arabic script (called *Jawi*) and the Roman alphabet.

It was drafted by Pengiran Haji Bahrin bin Pengiran Haji Abbas, the then Attorney General of Brunei, based on the Proclamation of Independence of Singapore, shared by the courtesy of the then Attorney General of Singapore, The Honourable Mr. Tan Boon Teik (Pengiran Haji Bahrin, 2012). Within the proclamation, both invocations used in the beginning and ending of the text utilize religious praises to reflect the significance of Islam as the national religion in the state. Where the introduction states the reason for conscripting the proclamation, the preamble is deliberated in paragraphs 5, 6 and 7 to give the background that led to the resumption of independence, such as the nature of BR-UK relations along the nuances of a special treaty relationship instead of colony-colonial power, termination of previous treaties that were inconsistent with Brunei's sovereignty and prerogative as an independent nation, and the reversion of responsibility for its own external relations from UK's jurisdiction. This is followed by the declaration itself that highlights all the values that underpin Brunei as a sovereign, democratic, and independent country, based upon the teachings of Islam and the principles of liberty, trust and justice.

4.4. Summary

Thus far chapter has given insight on the different dimensions of text production that contribute to understanding the nature of the key texts selected for the dataset. In sum, it is deduced that these dimensions are formulaic in terms of language usage, validating agencies, text production, and functions. As a representation of a collective voice such as a state, these texts which act on behalf of an authoritative power are constructed in such a manner that they do not reflect opinions, beliefs, or attitudes, due to their standardized format and legal or institutional conventions.

At the same time, the connection established from similarities in the abovementioned properties or formula, as well their existence along the continuum of time (1847-1984), space or site of interaction (institutionalized-political documents), evolving political and historical context (protector-protectorate/protected settings), formulation of discourse topics, as well as similarities in communication line of text production, contributes to the interlinkages and intertextuality between the key texts.

To encapsulate and situate it along the nuances of power shifts as investigated in this research, it can be summarized that the hardwired formula used to characterize institutional-political discourse can be regarded as a constraint that can deter the detection of power changes at this level. An exception to this, however, is when it is dialectically related to the evolving context, such as through shifts in discourse topics, communication lines (over a longer period of time), and to a certain extent, language use. Accordingly, it is the latter that the next chapter will try to address and explicate in unravelling the phenomenon of power shifts in BR-UK selected political discourse.

Chapter 5. Verb Analysis

“There are no beautiful surfaces without a terrible depth.”

Friedrich Nietzsche

5.1. Overview

The aim of this paper is to detail the changes in the distribution of content or lexical verbs across the documents and how these changes are represented over time. This process anticipates that stagnation or fluctuations in the distribution would manifest changes in verb usage and its representations as social actions in the discourse, the interchangeable role of BR and UK as dominant agencies, the dynamic nature of BR-UK power relations, as well as the evolving socio-political context that surrounds the discourse. Within this framework, verbs are regarded as discursive indicator that holds the essence of action meaning, provides immediate association to participants or agencies involved as compared to other core components such as nouns or adjectives (Foucault, 1969; Pecheux, 1975), and paves way for the decapsulation of other information such as processes or phenomenon. In its syntagmatic environment, for instance, verbs act as the focal point of an expression and determine the role of other surrounding features such as adverbs or adjectives.

As verb meaning can be interpreted from its semantic, pragmatic or functional perspective, its usage and interpretation is heavily reliant on who is using them and in what capabilities and context these verbs are being selected (Haroche et. al, 1971). Therefore, the symbiotic integration of these perspectives is insightful in manifesting the role of verbs and how they interact with other discursive elements to generate better interpretation of the investigated phenomenon. At the same time, depicting how they are represented within a given context is also crucial in understanding the dialectic relationship between the dynamic nature of the actions per se and its derivations into various social realities.

In this relation, verbs in this chapter are interpreted as social actions where “their meaning is subjected to the behaviour of others and is oriented in its course” (Weber, 1978). They utilize van Leeuwen’s Representation of Social Actions (1995; 1997) to explicate the interplay

between actions, agencies and how they are represented in a technically confined environment such as bilateral diplomatic documents. Accordingly, it is anticipated that the amalgamation of these elements will capture the process of establishing, maintaining, and negotiating power between participating political agencies. It is also important to note that the analysis on representations here will be restricted to actions and excludes reactions due to reasons of research practicality.

Hence, the dissection of verbs in this chapter is seen to be multifaceted. On one hand, the extraction, examination and emerging pattern of verbs in each and across texts along the semantic and syntactic functions will contribute to the characterization of discourse process in terms of genre, themes and topics. In other words, it will assist to define the discourse not only as a political but also an integration of institutional, legal and diplomatic one. On the other, the depiction of changes in the usage and representation of these verbs across the data will give an insight on how verb usage, agencies role, and their representations are curated over time in reflecting the evolving context of Brunei as a state, i.e. as a protectorate/protected state of Great Britain, and the dynamic nature of BR-UK political relations within the selected time frame (1847-1984).

In the latter, BR-UK political relations is discussed along Chilton's spectrum of Dominant-Subservient (henceforth, D-S) and Cooperation. Within this framework, contested political dyads are perspectivized as either separate entities where one's power is exercised over the other through exclusive access to and control of resources or privileges; or as integrated entities where power balance is wrought and regulated by a shared or having similar access to these privileges. In this trajectory, the notion of separate political entities is referring to BR and UK as individual sovereignties that exercise a consolidated control over its resources and autonomous in decision making processes. On the other, integrated political entities is a notion that bind BR and UK as one cooperating institution that shares similar interests and working towards the development of BR as an autonomous state.

In this chapter, the activation of these agencies embeds significance in their roles as active and dynamic forces in an activity (van Leeuwen, 1996) that has the capacity to take charge and make things happen, impose effect or control others, and so forth (Fairclough, 2003). In depicting power relations, separated active agencies are perceived to possess the D-S binary

form, where the dominant ones will have the capability to exercise *power over* others; whereas the activation of two powers as an integrated political entity reflect cooperation or *power with* each other.

In extension, it is also crucial to understand that the focal point that governs the power balance between the two dominions along the D-S and Cooperation axis here is access or control to privileges, i.e. state resources which can be in the form of tangible entities or assets including commodities, territories and persons, or intangible ones which are more abstract in nature such as protection, assistance, knowledge or expertise, among others. Following DHA's assignation, this chapter will regard these privileges or state resources as Objects (OBJ), discursive participants as Agencies (henceforth, AGN), Actions or Processes (henceforth, ACT/PRO) that dictates how this access is operationalized, and Events or Phenomena (henceforth, EVE/PHE) that captures the spatial and temporal information of the whole process.

Taking it together, power shifts in BR-UK power relations are interpreted along 1/ changes in verbs usage, 2/ changes in role of agencies via its activation and deactivation process, and, 3/ changes in the representation of social actions. To achieve these objectives, a set of groundwork analysis is conducted involving verbs with similar or almost-similar properties bundled together into semantic categories. The assignation of meaning to these verbs are further supplemented by its pragmatic and functional meaning in grammatical and contextual environment in producing interpretation that is more comprehensive and reflective of the phenomenon in investigation. Followingly, these categories will include phrasal verbs, nominalized verbs, and negated verbs. As will be elaborated in the next section, each category will be individually defined and cross-checked with Levin's (1997) categorization of English Verbs and plotted into bar charts according to their number of verb tokens per document to visually portray the fluctuations and changes in verb usage over time. Insights from this process is then used as an entry-point for the assignation of social actions and role of agencies. Accordingly, the amalgamation of these inputs will be critically utilized to reflect the shifts in BR-UK power relations and characterize the discourse as an exclusive one.

To reiterate, the data consists of 7 178 tokens where 455 of them are Content Verbs (CVs) or Main Verbs; 162 are Modal Verbs (MVs) which include *shall*, *may*, *must*, and, *will*; 184 are

Primary Auxiliary Verbs (Aux) which consists of *be, do, have*; 32 are Phrasal Verbs (PVs), and 12 are Nominalized Verbs (NMs). Figure 1 below shows the distribution of these verbs across the selected data. It is important to note that negated verbs are not included in this Figure due its overlapping nature with Content verbs, i.e. negations *no* and *not* are attached to this category. Similarly, PVs are fully exempted from the analysis as its role is more syntactically functional and lies beyond the scope of this dissertation. Taking this information forward, the following section will discuss the Content Verbs and its detailed categorization along with Phrasal Verbs, Nominalized Verbs and Negated Verbs accordingly.

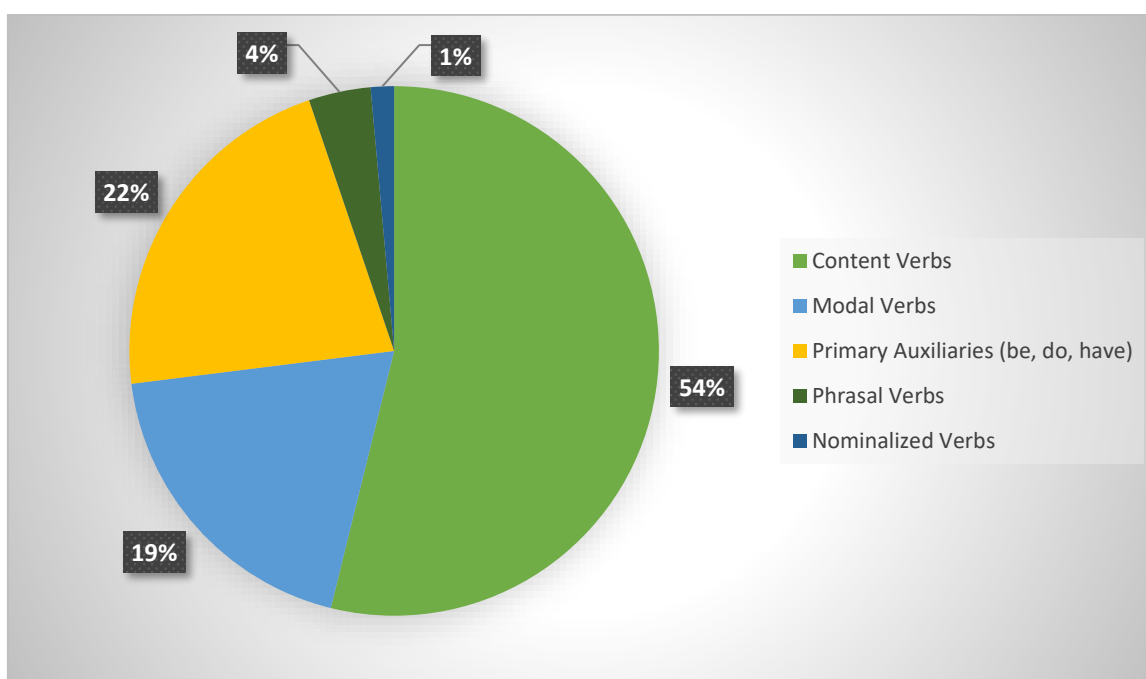


Figure 4 Distribution of verbs across data according to types

5.2. Semantic Categories: Formation and Procedural Operations

In continuum, this section aims at providing a set of detailed procedures on how verbs in the data are generated into different semantic categories. It will begin with a brief outline for different verb groups used to form these semantic categories, i.e. phrasal verbs, nominalized verbs, negated verbs, and content verbs. Despite the prominence of content verbs across the data (Figure 1), other verb groups are also regarded as equally important in the contribution of meaning. Subsequently, a set of methodological procedures on how the analysis will be conducted will be detailed followed by the individual analysis of each semantic category within

the spectrum of changes in its usage, role of agencies, and the assignation of their representations.

5.2.1. Verbs and its distribution

In definition, Content Verbs (CVs), Lexical Verbs or Main Verbs are verbs related to actions, events and states (Cambridge online dictionary, 2018). Syntactically, they are standalone linguistic elements in the main clause and head of a verb phrase. In the dataset, there are 455 tokens derived from 173 content verbs. Figure 5 records the distribution of these tokens in each and across the selected documents.

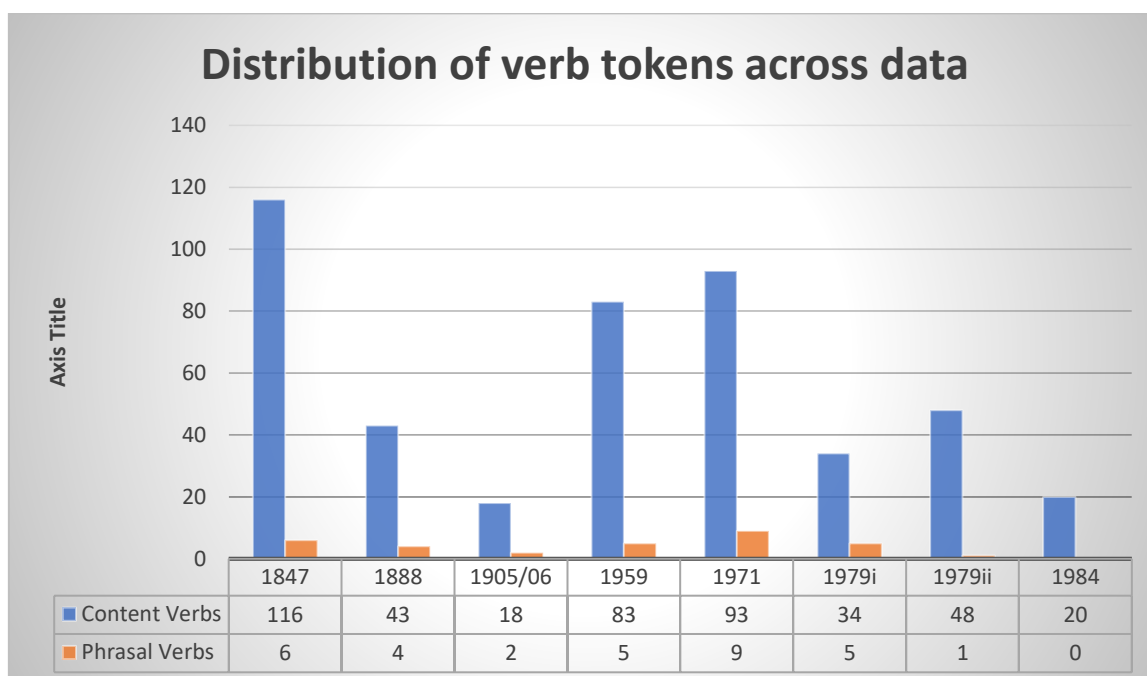


Figure 5 Distribution of verb tokens across data

In the same Figure, 32 Phrasal Verbs namely *enter into (entered into)*, *in force*, *carried on (carrying on)*, *carrying out*, *death with*, *abide by*, *take place (taken place)*, *take part*, *acted upon*, *providing for*, and *deal in* are detected across seven documents. In definition, phrasal verbs are phrases that contain a verb followed by a preposition or adverb or both (Cambridge online dictionary, 2018). They derive their new meaning or semantic unit after the combination of these grammatical categories, in which is different from the meaning of the words considered separately. Albeit small in tokens, PVs are included in the categorization process as

they indicate actions. Akin to content verbs, PVs can also be transitive and intransitive, as well as agentialized and deagentialized.

Despite the extensive usage of negation to manifest actions of restriction, there are, however, exceptions to this stance, such as shown in (a) where negation *no* is applied to verb *prohibited* which contrastively entails permission, and (b) where negation *not* is used to display BR's discontentment or dissatisfaction towards the previous treaty.

- a. **No article whatever shall be prohibited** from being imported into or exported from the territories of His Highness the Sultan of Borneo (1847: Art. IV)
- b. whereas His Highness trust that the Sultanate of Brunei, now therefore His Highness has represented to His Majesty's Government that the Treaty made on the 17th September 1888, does **not give him sufficient protection** (1905/06: Preamble)

5.2.1.1. Procedural Operations

In this section, the following operations are undertaken to conduct the analysis; First, content verbs, phrasal verbs, and nominalized verbs are extracted from the data and individually assessed for their semantic and pragmatic properties. Here, verbs that belong to the same semantic domains are grouped into Semantic Categories to avoid redundancy as they share similar semantic and pragmatic features. Subsequently, these categories would represent the general meaning of these verbs and convey the essence of the meaning of actions used. In defining each verb, Cambridge Online Dictionary (henceforth, CD) and Oxford Dictionary (henceforth, OD) are used as primary references. Where content verbs are included in Levin's (1991) general categorization, *English Verb Classes and Alternations* are also referred to cross-check for their content and functional meanings. It is also important to note that despite its extensive analytical coverage on verbs in English, Levin's (1991) general classifications is inadequate to meet the purpose of this research as most words in the data are absent from his categorization. For instance, **Vs of Motion** consisting of *subsist, continue, maintain, resume, revert, flowing, and running*, has the general meaning of;

- being in existence without stopping,
- moving in the same direction, or

- remaining in a particular condition for a period of time

Secondly, each verb is tallied for frequency in each and across the documents. In other words, they are regarded as word tokens. The purpose of this step is to narrow down the data for an in-depth analysis and rule out less prevalent categories especially ones that have unique occurrences (categorized as **Unclassified**). Here, salient verbs are regarded as early indicators for marking the agreements or treaties, or instance, as institutional and legal ones as reflected by verbs *signed* (31 tokens), *agreed* (30 tokens), and modal verbs *shall* (111 tokens). As depicted in Figure 6, this process also documents other information, such as *make* (*made*, *making*) as the only verb that appears in all the eight documents, and marks the dynamics actions of production by participating agencies. In periphery, verb *engage* which is unique to the 1847 is conventionally used as a legal marker for commercial treaties or contracts.

Figure 6 Most frequent verbs in the data

Following the first two processes, 455 content verbs, 14 phrasal verbs, and 12 nominalized verbs are extracted and grouped into 21 semantic categories (Annex A). A further narrowing down is then translated to Figure 7 where categories with less than 10 tokens including verbs in the **Unclassified** category, are exempted. As shown, Figure 3 also includes the total tokens derived from the summation of verbs frequency in each semantic category. The purpose of this summation is to enable the charting of semantic profile per category that visualizes the distribution and changes of verbs usage across data.

	Types of Actions (ToA)	Semantic categories	Verbs	Phrasal Verbs	Nominalized Verbs	Total tokens
5.3.1	Actions Reflecting Transfer of Possessions	Vs of Giving	<i>Give, given, grant, grants, granted, send, investing, deliver, offer, provide, concedes, afford, exported, borne, bears, assist,</i>	<i>providing for, providing that</i>	<i>the loan, cession, alienation</i>	54

			<i>extend, supported, empowered, encourage, propose, proposed, suggest, advise, confer, conferred</i>			
		Vs of Acquisition	<i>Receive, accept, acquire, acquired, take, taking, taken, imported, seize, capture, captured, recover, occupy, purchase, rent</i>			32
		Vs of Possession	<i>enjoy, enjoyed, enjoying, entitled, reserve, reserved, possessed, secured, saved and deposit</i>			18
		Vs of Request	<i>demands, required, request, apply</i>			4
5.3.2	Actions Reflecting Permission & Restriction	Vs of Permission	<i>allow, allowed, countenancing, permit, permitted, authorized, authorised, pass, enter, entering</i>			14
		Vs of Restriction /Prohibition	<i>exempt, prohibit</i> Negated verbs			17
5.3.3	Actions Reflecting Consent	Vs of Consent	<i>agree, agrees, agreed, consents</i>	<i>abide by</i>		32

5.3.4	Actions Reflecting Continuum	Vs of Motion	<i>subsist, subsisting, continue, maintain, maintained, flowing, running, keep, carrying on, and carried on.</i>			27
		Vs of Initiation	<i>establish, established, introduced, commenced</i>			6
		Vs of Obstruction	<i>intersects, affect, interfere, regulated and obstructed</i>			8
		Vs of Resumption	<i>resume, revert</i>			3
		Vs of Termination	<i>terminate, terminated, terminating, revoked, suppress, discharging, meet, reached, arrived</i>			12
5.3.5	Actions Reflecting Production		<i>Make, made, making, published, raise, implementing, claims</i>		<i>the promotion, the encouragement</i>	35

5.3.6	Actions Reflecting Operation		<i>adopted, exercise, exercised, act, use, operate, practised, organized, equip, exchanged, ensure, address, employ, conducted, in conduct of, record, promote, informed</i>	<i>carried out, carried on, carrying out, acted upon, in force, enter into force</i>	<i>the carrying on, in conduct of</i>	35
5.3.7	Actions Reflecting Decision-making		<i>decide, examine, determine, determined, adjudged, considering, tried, hear, found, consult, consulted</i>			11
5.3.8	Actions Reflecting Referential		<i>refer, referred, consult, consulted, correspond, corresponding, mentioned, above-mentioned, fore-mentioned, regarded, regarding, cited, represents</i>		<i>In regard</i>	28
5.3.9	Actions Reflecting Validation/ Approval/ Endorsement		<i>sealed, signed, confirm, confirms, ratified</i>	<i>deal in, death with</i>		42

5.3.10	Actions Reflecting Inclusion		<i>Cooperate, participate, join, Constitute, constituted, constituting, consist, consisting, contain, containing, include, includes, including, attached, connected</i>	<i>engage in, take part, enter into, entered into</i>		44
5.3.11	Actions Reflecting Declaratives		<i>Declare, declared, proclaim, proclaimed, expressed, informed, read, wish, wishes, called, appoint, appointed, represent, represented, propose, suggest, designated, styled, represented</i>			36

Figure 7 List of Semantic Categories

To summarize the semantic categories and its tokens in the dataset, Figure 8 is further generated to briefly show the tabulation of its tokens for each category across the data, such as **Vs of Giving, Vs of Inclusion, Vs of Validation, Vs of Declaratives, Vs of Production, and Vs of Operation**; and inform its association to the following procedure, i.e. charting of these verb tokens into frequencies.

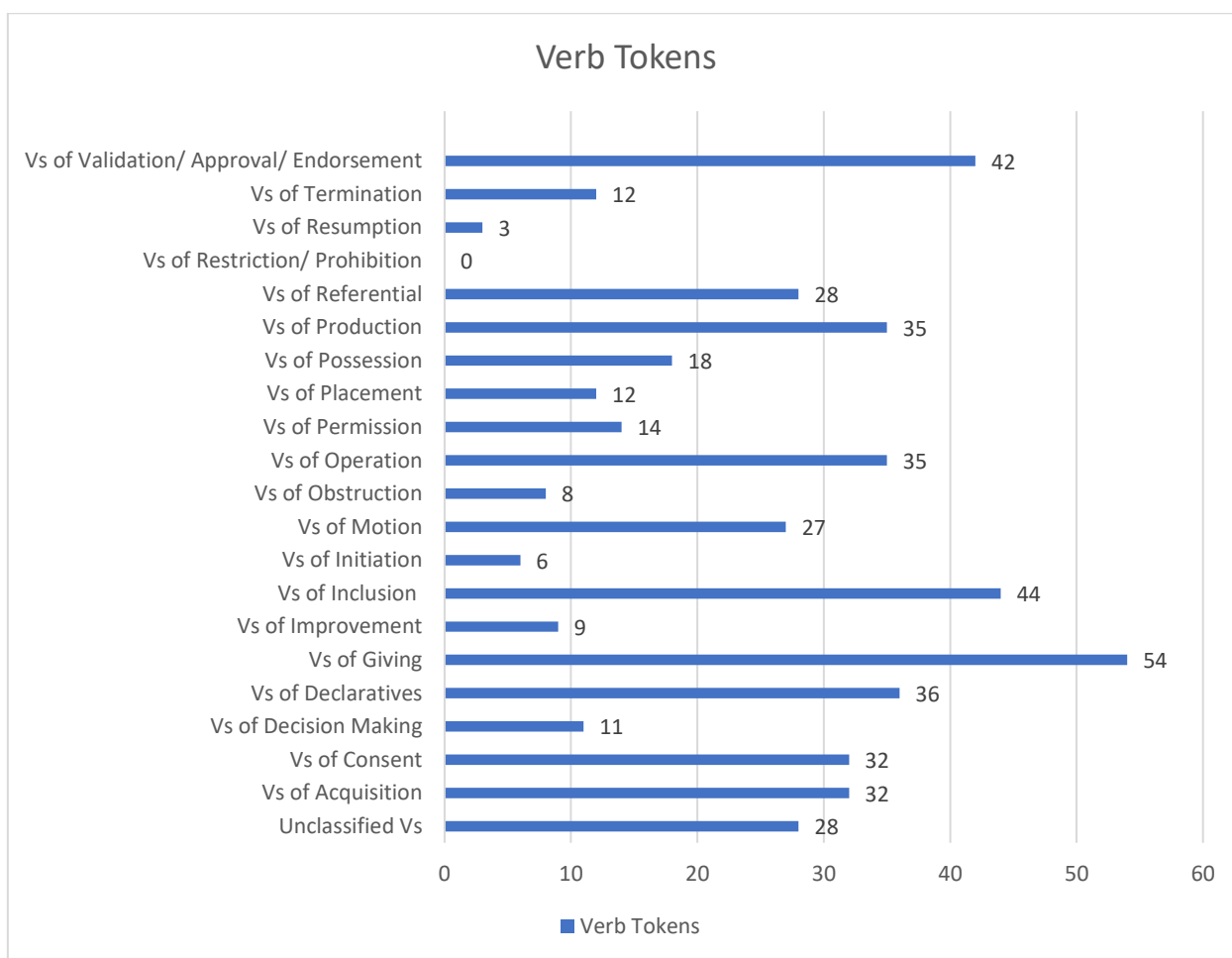


Figure 8 Tabulation of content verb tokens according to Semantic Categories

Accordingly, the charting of verbs tokens according to their frequencies reflect how they are used in each and comparatively to other documents, and how their occurrences fluctuate across the data to manifest changes. This also addresses the issue of convenience in profiling and managing the distribution of verbs across the data as well as to provide a better picture in depicting the changes in trend of verb usage. Using **Vs of Motion** as an example, the total figure at the bottom-right of Figure 9 shows the total number of occurrences of these verbs (verb tokens) in the data.

Following the categorization and tallying process, each semantic category generates a semantic profile that embeds the distribution of verbs unique to one document. In other words, each profile manifest what kind of verbs or actions are used in each document and in what context they are used, in addition to in which document they are more dominant or least used. Subsequently, it also enables longitudinal or chronological comparison to be made between documents in the data, particularly in reflecting changes in verbs usage, interchangeable role of

agencies (through their active or passive involvement, and via the derived representations of these two. Taking **Vs of Motion** in Figure 9, for instance, use of *continue* recurs in five documents, where it is highest in 1971 document and lowest in 1905/06. At the same time, it also portrays how verbs in this category are used in each text or discourse, and whether it maintains its usage, or evolves over time according to the contextualized usage. For example, use of *subsist* is used in context of (EVE/PHE) BR-UK nature of relations in the 1847 treaty, but refers to (OBJ) the agreement itself in the 1959, and 1979 documents.

		1847	1888	1905/06	1959	1971	1979i	1979ii	1984	
Vs of Motion	subsist	1			2	2				5
	continue		1		2	4	2	3		12
	maintain		1	1		1		1		4
	resume							1	1	2
	revert								1	1
	flowing						1			1
	running	1								1
	carrying (<i>carried</i>) on	1	1							2
Total Tokens	3	3	1	4	7	3	5	2	28	

Figure 9 Semantic profile for tokens representing **Vs of Motion**

In the fifth stage where individual analysis is conducted, each semantic profile is plotted into raw charts to portray fluctuations or changes of verb occurrences across the documents, as shown in Figure 10.

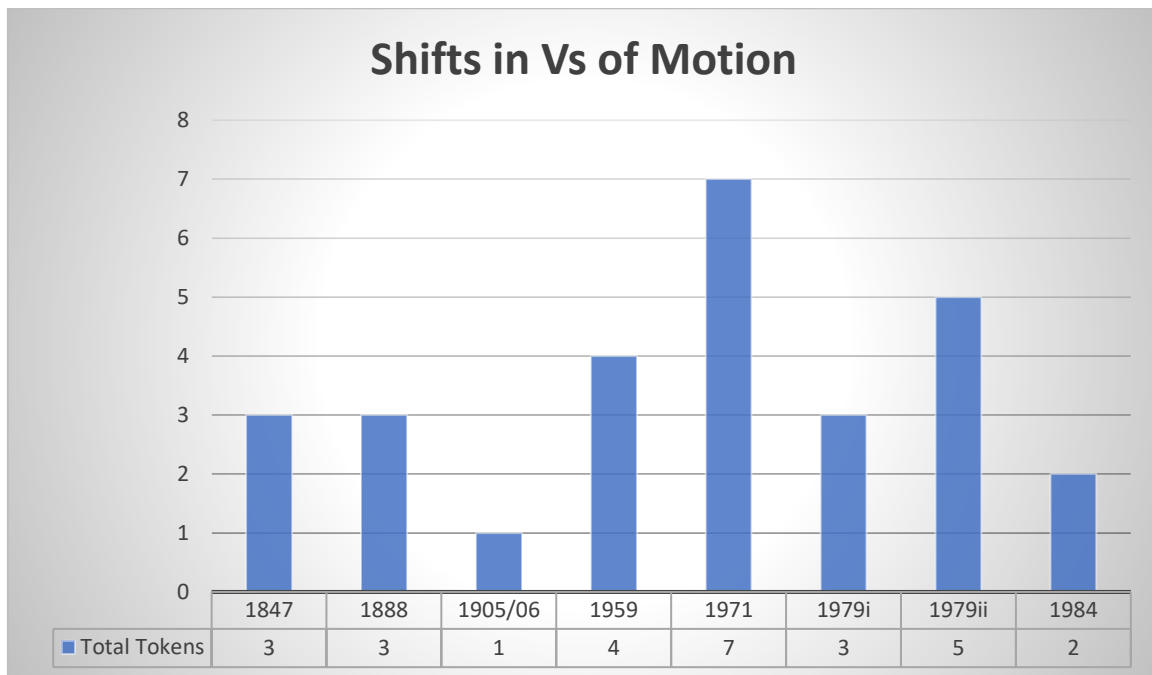


Figure 10 Shifts in Vs of Motion

Consecutively, stage six of this operation demonstrates how shifts or changes in Figure 10 are discussed along the nuances of transitivity (Halliday, 1978; Matthiessen & Halliday, 2009; van Leeuwen, 1995) in reflecting how the evolving phenomenon of BR-UK political relations is construed in the selected discourse. Following Halliday's (1978) *process types*, transitivity reveals who plays an important role in a particular clause (agent/participant) and who receives the consequences of that action (affected/patient). It capitalizes on the notion of causal relations between the agencies, as will be portrayed by **Vs of Permission** and **Vs of Restriction**; and benefaction derived from the movement of resources and power from one agency to the other, as in the case of **Vs of Giving**, **Vs of Acquisition**, and **Vs of Possession**.

To complement, the activation and deactivation of agencies are also taken into consideration. The integration of this perspective will give insight on their role and level of involvement in the situation. For instance, the activation of an agency's role as a giver either suggests its importance as the proprietor of the resources or privileges; or as an agency that submits or complies to another participating agency. In the context of an Agreement where negotiation is a key feature, the different types of representations reflect the different strategies that each agency use to bargain control and authority over resources to their advantage.

In extension, the activation or deactivation of agencies also substantiates that the social actions are *agentialized* i.e. brought about by human agency (Van Leeuwen, 1995), and that they can be foregrounded as active/dynamic agencies; or backgrounded as passive agencies. In some cases, these agencies are further pushed behind the scene as reflected by *objectivization* and *descriptivization* of social actions. It is also important to note that the social actions found in the data are predominantly *actions*. It is absent of *reactions* that encapsulate 'emotions and attitudes that belong to these actions' (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

Where the semantic categories are more neutral and less reflective of *power over* or *power with* phenomena, they are being interpreted as standalone categories that do not directly manifest power relations but used as features that typifies the discourse as 1/ mutual and diplomatic, as portrayed by **Vs of Consent, Vs of Inclusivity**; and both, 2/ institutional and legal, as exemplified by verbs that describe conventions involved in text production or intrinsically exclusive to the text itself such as verbs categorized into **Vs of Production, Vs of Operation, Vs of Improvement, Vs of Inclusivity, Vs of Validation, Vs of Decision-making, Vs of Referential, and Vs of Declaratives**.

On the periphery, verbs in the last four categories are can also reflect what Baldwin refer to as the *empowerment* where power is interpreted as an element that is organically embedded within the agency without being subjected or measured to the other agency has. In this relation, **Vs of Declaratives**, for instance, such as *declare (declared), proclaim (proclaimed), expressed, informed, read, wish (wishes), called, appoint (appointed), represent (represented), propose, suggest, designated, and styled* embeds performative actions and authority exclusive to the doer/sayer.

To further exemplify the changes and usage of these verbs, concordances and excerpts will be used. Figure 11 demonstrates how **Vs of Motion** *continue* are tabulated across the data. Respectively, the following section dissects each semantic category according to the stated procedures in reflecting changes in BR-UK power relations including how they are dynamically represented over time. It is also important to note that, interaction between these elements is marked with DHA's Agencies (AGN) whether it is predominantly BR and UK as separated entities or BR-UK as an integrated unit, Objects (OBJ) to refer to both tangible and intangible

resources, Processes/Actions (PRO), and Events/ Phenomenon (EVE) surrounding the negotiation activities (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009).

Concordance Hits 12		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	and co-operation between the United Kingdom and the State of Brunei shall	continue henceforth;Desiring to give expression to this intention in the form of
2	the amendments made by the present agreement, the 1959 Agreement shall	continue in force and as amended by this agreement, the two shall be read
3	the 1959 Agreement of 19 September 1973(8) shall not be terminated but shall	continue in force; (c) Any arrangements between the State of Brunei and the S
4	subsisting immediately before the commencement of this Agreement shall	continue in force save in so far as they are inconsistent with this Agreement
5	subsisting immediately before the commencement of this agreement shall	continue in force save in so far as they are inconsistent with this Agreement
6	Her Majesty's forces present in the State. b. Her Majesty shall	continue to assist His Highness within the capability of the United Kingdom, by
7	request of the Government of the State of Brunei and within its capability,	continue to assist in the recruitment of persons, for service in civil posts in
8	hereby agreed and declared as follows: Article I The State of Brunei shall	continue to be governed and administrated by the said Sultan Hashim Jalilul A
9	3. The relations between the United Kingdom and the State of Brunei shall	continue to be governed by a spirit of close friendship and co-operation, and
10	Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the State of Brunei shall	continue to be governed by a spirit of close friendship. In recognition of this,
11	State. (3) Subject as aforesaid, His Highness agrees that Her Majesty shall	continue to enjoy jurisdiction to make for the State laws relating to defence and
12	the State shall be taken within the State and that Her Majesty shall	continue to enjoy jurisdiction to make for the State laws relating to external aff

Figure 11 Distribution of *continue* across the dataset

5.3. Data Analysis: Dissecting the Semantic Categories

In line with the trajectory of this chapter, this section aims at providing a detailed analysis of each semantic category based on the procedural operationalization provided in Section 5.1. To reiterate, each sub-section will begin with a brief definition of each semantic category, followed by a depiction of raw chart that visualizes the changes of verbs usage across data and its description in line with the nature of its transitivity usage as well as the activation and deactivation of agencies. To complement, assignation of social actions and its changes over time will also be provided to substantiate the symbiotic relationship between actions, agencies and how they are represented in the selected discourse; and further how these changes capture a socio-political reality in an already widely defined context such as history. Taken together, a summary at the end of this section will be provided to outline these changes in an integrated manner to portray shifts in BR-UK power relations in the selected 1847-1984 political discourse.

5.3.1. Actions Reflecting Transfer of Possessions

Actions reflecting Transfer of Possessions refer to actions or processes that manifests transfer of resources or privileges between agencies involved. Accordingly, movement of this transfer can either be unilateral where the final possession of the resources or privileges ends at the hands of the receiver; or bilateral where the giver also receives other form of resources or

privileges in return. In this relation, the notion of beneficiary is also introduced to supplement which agency benefits from the transfer. In other words, agency that eventually benefits (or relatively benefits more) from the transaction is interpreted as being superior or dominant than the other, regardless whether it gives or takes. Similarly, understanding how these resources or privileges are transferred is also crucial in depicting the degree of force applied to these agencies and to what extent do they comply accordingly. Taking these dimensions into consideration, this section incorporates four semantic categories to demonstrate this transfer, namely **Vs of Giving, Vs of Taking/Acquisition, Vs of Request** and **Vs of Possession**.

5.3.1.1. Vs of Giving

Vs of Giving is generally defined as an act of providing someone with something, or an act of transfer (of possession) from one agency to the other (Cambridge online dictionary, 2018). In this section, this transfer is framed in terms of whether it is conducted between BR and UK exclusively, or between BR-UK as a cooperative political entity and BR as a state. Accordingly, possessions incorporates both tangible and intangible resources such as territories, facilities, protection, or assistance. In extension, verbs in this category are also used to depict the extent of one's capabilities and control over the privileges and other agencies. Respectively, there are three scenarios where;

- one has excessive resources to spare or share with the other and not losing anything.
- in the form of zero-sum game where one gain becomes the other's loss, i.e. creating deficit in one's resources, or,
- creation of a win-win situation where both benefits from the transfer and that there is no loss involved.

Within these three scenarios, the first two are more reflective of the D-S dichotomy where one with excessive resources is usually the dominant power whereas the one with deficit being the subservient one. At the same time, it is also understood in terms of who benefits in the end and how important these resources are to the agencies. On the other, the third scenario omits this dichotomy from the equation, empowers the subservient entity and brings equilibrium to the power balance.

Accordingly, Figure 12 shows the semantic profile of 54 verbs in this category to visualize the changes of usage over time. It is marked by CVs *give (given), grant (grants, granted), send, investing, deliver, offer, provide, concedes, afford, exported, borne, bears, assist, extend, supported, empowered, encourage, propose (proposed), suggest, advise, confer (conferred)*; PVs *providing for, providing that*; and NVs *providing the loan (of personnel), cession, and alienation*. The same Figure also depicts shifts in verbs usage across the data, with highest tokens recorded in the 1847, 1959, and 1971 treaties (with an equivalent coverage of 1%)- reflecting more actions of giving are conducted and sanctioned by these agreements.

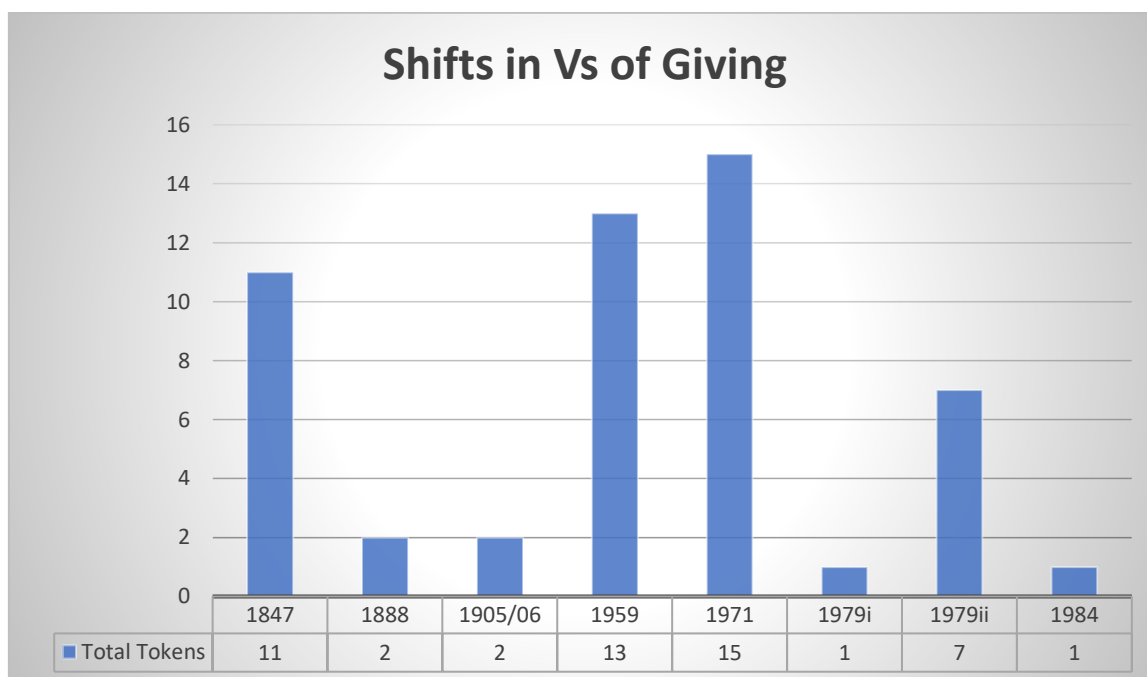


Figure 12 Shifts in Vs of Giving

In this respect, the 1847 treaty records 11 tokens of content, phrasal and nominalized verbs to execute the action of *giving*. Respectively, AGN BR is foregrounded and activated as a dynamic agency that performs instrumental and transactive material actions *deliver* (Figure 13:4), *concedes* (Figure 13:9), *extend* (Figure 13:10), and *give* (Figure 13:5). In this respect, the recipient of the *assistance*, i.e. AGN UK, is also the beneficiary that comprises of British traders, officers and individuals. In this relation, the second scenario of zero-sum game is more applicable as the result from this transfer is loss on BR side and gain on UK side.

On the other, AGN UK *HER Majesty the Queen the United Kingdom Great Britain and Ireland* is foregrounded and activated as the agency that perform instrumental and non-transactive

semiotic action *encourage* (Figure 13:2) to portray their active involvement in promotion of commerce and suppression of piracy in the region. Here, this representation is paired with intentional process (Matthiessen & Halliday, 2009) *desirous* to manifest UK's degree of willingness in support of the provision, which subsequently would benefit both countries particularly in the domain of commercial activities (a).

- a. *HER Majesty the Queen the United Kingdom Great Britain and Ireland, being desirous to encourage commerce between Her Majesty's subjects and the subjects of the independent Princes of the Eastern Seas (A1: Preamble)*

In addition, this treaty also documents the deagentialization of *empowered* (Figure 13: 6) and *provide* (Figure 13: 7), where the agencies are backgrounded, while OBJ *vessels* and *ships* are foregrounded and emphasized. In this relation, use of passives *empowered* (b) and reflexives *provide themselves* (c) substantiates the deagentializing process particularly through eventuation where the actions are represented as “something that just happens” (Matthiessen & Halliday, 2009: 96). It is interesting to note that despite the direct beneficiary of these actions is UK, its representation is concealed behind its resources; especially when considered that another beneficiary here is Brunei, i.e. the purpose of providing these military capabilities is to protect the state and its related commercial activities from piracy.

- b. *And Her Britannic Majesty claims, and His Highness the Sultan of Borneo concedes to Her Majesty the right of investing her officers, and other duly constituted authorities, with the power of entering at all times, with her vessels of war, or other vessels duly empowered, the ports, rivers, and creeks within the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Borneo.. (A2: Article X)*
- c. *His Highness the Sultan of Borneo engages to permit the ships of war of Her Britannic Majesty, and those of the East India Company, freely to enter into the ports, rivers, and creeks, situated within his dominions, and allow such ships to provide themselves at a fair and moderate price with such supplies, stores, and provisions, as they may from time to time stand in need of. (A2: Article VI)*

In the same trajectory, similar representation also applies to *granted* (Figure 13: 8; 11) where OBJ *privileges and advantages* are highlighted as the subject of the provision, while the generic phrase *subjects or citizens of the most favoured nation* is overtly presented as beneficiaries (d). In periphery, the deagentialization of this provision also equalizes all participating agencies including BR and UK as any privileges or advantages within the state and its dominions were granted to subjects of both countries (although British trade would benefit more due to their established commercial portfolio in the region). To sum, the deagentialization of social actions in this treaty suggests the construction of a win-win situation between the agencies, i.e. the equal distribution of power between BR and UK.

- d. and they shall enjoy therein the *privileges and advantages* with respect to commerce, or otherwise, which are now which may hereafter be granted to the *subjects or citizens of the most favoured nation*

Also situated along the nuances of backgrounded but activated agencies is the representation of nominalized verb *cession* (Figure 13:1) to accentuate the importance of the matter and represent it as a “necessary existence” (Billig, 2008). This coincides Fowler et al (2018) assertion that nominalization is common in official discourse to highlight the objectivity and rigid state of a matter. Despite its backgrounding in the discussed provision, AGN BR as the ceding agency is equally activated via passives *made by him-* (Figure 13:1) substantiating the presence of a dynamic agency who is BR *the Sultan* but only second in importance to the process of cession itself (e).

- e. His Highness the Sultan hereby confirms the *cession* already spontaneously *made by him* in 1845, of the island of Labuan.

Concordance Hits 11		File
Hit	KWIC	
1	de with the dominions of Borneo, His Highness the Sultan hereby confirms the <i>cession</i> already spontaneously made by him in 1845, of the island of Labuan	1847
2	the Queen the United Kingdom Great Britain and Ireland, being desirous to encourage commerce between Her Majesty's subjects and the subjects of the inc	1847
3	His Highness the Sultan of Borneo concedes to Her Majesty the right of investing her officers, and other duly constituted authorities, with the power of e	1847
4	Highness engages to give the assistance his power to recover for, and to deliver over to, the owners thereof, all the property which can be saved search	1847
5	dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Borneo, His Highness engages to give the assistance his power to recover for, and to deliver over to, the	1847
6	entering at all times, with her vessels of war, or other vessels duly empowered, the ports, rivers, and creeks within the dominions of His Highness t	1847
7	s, rivers, and creeks, situated within his dominions, and allow such ships to provide themselves at a fair and moderate price with such supplies, stores, and p	1847
8	pect to commerce, or otherwise, which are now or which may hereafter be granted therein to the subjects or citizens of the most favoured nation. III.	1847
9	e. And Her Britannic Majesty claims, and His Highness the Sultan of Borneo concedes to Her Majesty the right of investing her officers, and other duly consti	1847
10	all the property which can be saved search his Highness further engages to extend to the officers and crew, and to all other persons on board such	1847
11	respect to commerce, or otherwise, which are now which may hereafter be granted to the subjects or citizens of the most favoured nation; and the subjects	1847

Figure 13 Distribution of Vs of Giving in the 1847 treaty

Subsequently, the 1888 Treaty retains UK as the recipient of the transfer of resources but now limited to UK officials representing Her Majesty's government. This is marked by use of passive *granted* (Figure 14:2) that deletes AGN BR as the granting agency and foregrounds AGN UK as the sole beneficiary (and recipient) of the resources through use of third pronoun *they* and proper noun *Consular Officers* (f). Despite its passive form, *granted* is represented as an instrumental, transactive material action which sanctions the transfer of *whatever privileges* to the recipient. Here, use of generic form further accentuates the degree of control that UK has over BR's resources, in return for its state protection. In other words, in spite of the constellation of a win-win situation between both countries, its representation suggests that one is more prominent than the other, i.e. more importance is placed towards UK as the recipient compared to BR as the giver and proprietor of the resources.

- f. *They* shall enjoy whatever privileges are usually *granted* to Consular Officers, and they shall be entitled to hoist the British Flag over their residences and public offices.

Respectively, this treaty also records use of passive *provided* (Figure 14:1) to refer to the terms and provisions framed in the agreement. Common to legal and institutional documents that conceals agencies and their roles, *provided* here is deagentialized via eventuation.

Concordance Hits 2		File
H#	KWIC	
1	interfere with the internal administration of that State further than is herein provided. Article II In case any question should hereafter arise respecting the	1888
2	of the Sultan of Brunei. They shall enjoy whatever privileges are usually granted to Consular Officers, and they shall be entitled to hoist the British	1888

Figure 14 Distribution of Vs of Giving in the 1888 Treaty

To follow, the 1905/06 Supplementary Agreement records two **Vs of Giving** namely *provide* and *give*. In the former, *provide* is represented as a material action that instrumentally activates AGN UK as the recipient- reiterating its importance as agency that benefits from the transaction (g). At the same time, AGN BR *His Highness* is activated and foregrounded as the dynamic agency that provides the British Resident with a *suitable residence* (Figure 15:1). In other words, both agencies are highlighted as both giver and recipient, substantiating the win-win situation construe between BR and UK. In this relation, there is a shift in how BR-UK political

relations is represented, i.e. similar construe was represented as deagentialized in the previous document of 1888.

- g. *His Highness* will receive a British Office, to be styled Resident, and will *provide* a suitable residence for him.

Contrastively, negated form *does not give* (Figure 15:2) is equally represented as a material action that instrumentally activates AGN BR as the recipient but backgrounds UK as the agency that provides state protection to Brunei (h). In this relation, OBJ *treaty made on the 17th September 1888* is highlighted as a flawed document that masks the incompetency of AGN UK in protecting BR from foreign encroachment (Hussainimya & Tarling, 2011). In other words, it backgrounds the agency in a situation where it affects its capability as one that holds power and provides protection. Additionally, the concealment of UK's ineptitude in its euphemized representation suggests its importance as a dominant entity in the BR-UK power conundrum especially when it is regarded as one of the colonial powers in the region. In extension, such usage also reflects the diplomatic and bilateral nature of the discourse.

- h. ... now therefore His Highness has represented to His Majesty's Government *that the Treaty made on the 17th September, 1888, does not give* him sufficient protection... (A4: Art. 1)

Concordance Hits 2		File
Hit	KWIC	
1	will receive a British Office, to be styled Resident, and will provide a suitable residence for him. The Resident will be the Agent	1905
2	Government that the Treaty made on the 17th September, 1888, does not give him sufficient protection , and the Sultan and His Majesty\xD5s	1905

Figure 15 Distribution of *Vs of Giving* in the 1905/06 Treaty

The 1959 Agreement accounts for 13 verb tokens consist of *provide, send, given, borne, send, advise, conferred, encourage, proposed, bears*, and PV *provide for (providing for)*. At the outset, there is a relatively diverse representation of agencies and actions in this document. For instance, the transactive instrumental material actions *provide* (Figure 16:1) foregrounds and activates AGN BR as the active source and giver of the resources to recipient AGN UK *High Commissioner* (i). Accordingly, similar representation also applies to the transactive instrumental material action *advise* (Figure 16:8) that activates and highlights AGN UK as the

source of knowledge particularly in matters concerning state governance. Although both provisions share similar representations with regard to the activation of agencies, each agency is emphasised for different capabilities, where BR is highlighted as one that has tangible possessions, and UK as one that possesses knowledge and expertise. In this regard, the juxtaposition of these representations suggest a leveraging effort by both agencies to maintain their importance and authority in their respective domains.

- i. *His Highness* agrees to receive, and *provide* a suitable residence for, a *High Commissioner* to *advise* on all matters connected with the government of the State other than matters relating to the Muslim religion and the Custom of the Malays as practised in the State, and agrees to accept the advice of the High Commissioner. (A5: Art 4.1)

To further substantiate, transactive, instrumental material actions *encourage* (Figure 16:10) and *provide for* (Figure 16:6) are also used to foreground and activate BR-UK as a cooperative entity particularly in equipping *local inhabitants* with financial and knowledge support. As evidenced in (i), this co-operative entity is marked by phrase *His Highness desires and Her Majesty agrees*. Despite its heavily embedded structure, it is this provision also marks the first occurrence of activated and foregrounded BR-UK as an integrated political entity, conducting material actions.

- j. *His Highness desires and Her Majesty agrees* that it shall be a particular charge upon the Government of the State *to provide for* and *to encourage* the education and training of the local inhabitants of the State so as to fit them to take a full share in the economic progress, social welfare and government of the State (A5: Art.8)

Accordingly, the representation of *bears* (Figure 16:13) can be regarded as both transactive, instrumental material and semiotic action (k). Although it foregrounds AGN UK *Her Majesty/ She* as the dynamic agency that extends this *friendship* towards an activated AGN BR *His Highness*, its representation also states and reinforces the existing relations between both countries and regarded as a marker for the presence of diplomatic ties and peaceful coexistence between the two dominions.

- k. AND WHEREAS Her Majesty, in token of the *friendship* which She *bears* towards His Highness and the inhabitants of the State of Brunei, has at the request of His Highness agreed that as from the first appointed day fresh arrangements shall have effect for the protection and defence of the State of Brunei (A5: Preamble)

On the other, *borne* (Figure 16:4), *given* (Figure 16:3), and *providing for* (Figure 16:7) foregrounds OBJ *cost*, PRO *actions*, and OBJ *proclamation* as subject of the provisions. Although the first two structures are passives in nature, *borne* activates AGN BR as the source of the transfer but only prominent second to the object of resources (I); whereas *given* as shown in (I) is deagentialized via eventuation where it deactivates both giver and recipient of the transfer (*of right of access to the state*).

- l. The *cost* of the High Commissioner and his establishment as from time to time agreed between His Highness and the Secretary of State shall be *borne* by the State and shall be a charge on the revenues of the State. (A5: Art.5)
- m. Her Majesty agrees that no measures *in exercise of the right of access to the State given* by paragraph (2) of this Article shall be taken for the purposes of such defence without prior consultation with the Standing Advisory Council except when there exists a state of emergency... (A5: Art.3.5)

Similarly, PV *providing for* is also deagentialized via eventuation in a way that it organically unfolds itself within the process (n). It animates and places great importance to OBJ *proclamation* as an entity that sanctions the production of the Written Constitution of Brunei 1959. Additionally, it is also used as a marker for legal discourse as it validates for something to be stated or done officially. In the same trajectory, *send* (Figure 16:2) and *proposed* (Figure 16:12) are represented as being deagentialized via existentialization, where the action is portrayed as a process that just emerges into existence (van Leeuwen, 1995) and totally denies the presence of agencies. In addition, involved agencies in all deagentIALIZATION cases can only be inferred from previous clauses. In this relation, the concealment of agencies here reflects the complexity and covertness that underlie BR-UK power relations. It is also suggestive of

using deagentialization as a strategic tool to negotiate and maintain power in diplomatic settings.

- n. And whereas the aforesaid *Proclamation providing for* the constitutional development of the State of Brunei will commence to operate on a day to be appointed by His Highness, herein-after referred to as "the first appointed day" (A5: Preamble)

Accordingly, *conferred* (Figure 16:9) and *proposed* (Figure 16:11) highlights PRO *functions* and PRO *action* as subject in each provision, and deagentializes its granting agencies via eventuation as evidenced in (o) and (p). Both provisions, however, activate AGN UK (via *on him* and *by her*, respectively) as the recipient of the mandate and mask the agencies that benefit from this transfer. In other words, although the establishment of these provisions are meant to benefit the state's external affairs and defence, the animated generic presence of PRO *any law in force in the State* (Figure 16:9) in replacement of human agency gives the recipient a substantial amount of legality and control in the respective domains.

- o. The High Commissioner shall have such *other functions* (if any) as may be *conferred on* him by any law in force in the State. (A5: Art.4.3)
- p. Her Majesty agrees that She will keep His Highness informed of any action taken or proposed to be taken by Her in pursuance of this Article. (A5: Art.3.4)

Concordance Hits 13		File
Hit	KWIC	
1	ease or tranquility of the State. 4. (1) His Highness agrees to receive, and provide a suitable residence for, a High Commissioner to advise on all matters	1959
2	Highness shall be consulted before any person whom it is proposed to send as High Commissioner is appointed. 7. All persons of whatever race in the	1959
3	no measures in exercise of the right of access to the State given by paragraph (2) of this Article shall be taken for the purposes of	1959
4	time agreed between His Highness and the Secretary of State shall be borne by the State and shall be a charge on the revenues of	1959
5	into any engagement, deal in or correspond on political matters with, or send envoys to, any other State. His Highness further agrees that he will	1959
6	shall be a particular charge upon the Government of the State to provide for and to encourage the education and training of the local inhabitants	1959
7	various matters connected therewith: And whereas the aforesaid Proclamation providing for the constitutional development of the State of Brunei will commen	1959
8	to receive, and provide a suitable residence for, a High Commissioner to advise on all matters connected with the government of the State other than	1959
9	High Commissioner shall have such other functions (if any) as may be conferred on him by any law in force in the State. 5. The cost	1959
10	charge upon the Government of the State to provide for and to encourage the education and training of the local inhabitants of the State so	1959
11	that She will keep His Highness informed of any action taken or proposed to be taken by Her in pursuance of this Article. (5) (a) For	1959
12	State. 6. His Highness shall be consulted before any person whom it is proposed to send as High Commissioner is appointed. 7. All persons of whatever	1959
13	affairs: And whereas Her Majesty, in token of the friendship which She bears towards His Highness, the subjects of His Highness and the inhabitants of	1959

Figure 16 Distribution of Vs of Giving in the 1959 Treaty

In its 1971 Amendment, 15 tokens of **Vs of Giving** are recorded consisting of *send, bears, providing for, proposed, propose, providing, provide, supported, and assist*. As a revised version

of the previous 1959 document, it retains four provisions comprising of material/semiotic actions *bears*, and deagentialized actions *send*, *proposed*, *bears* and *providing for*. In the remaining terms, *providing* (Figure 17:1; 2; 3; 5; 6), *assist* (Figure 17:10) and *propose* (Figure 17:13) are represented as transactive, instrumental material actions which are dynamically conducted by the activated and foregrounded AGN UK. Accordingly, the first two representations signify the transition in Brunei's nature of state defence from being fully dependent towards UK's protection to having gradual autonomy in its own military capabilities and security as reflected in Article III of the agreement (q). In this relation, AGN BR as the recipient of these intangible resources are also activated and foregrounded. Accordingly, *propose* is used in tandem with modality *will* to reflect AGN UK's commitment to transfer the knowledge (in the name of their selected High Commissioner) to AGN BR (r).

- q. *Her Majesty* shall continue to *assist* His Highness within the capability of the United Kingdom, by ...
 - i. The *loan of personnel* to assist in the staffing, administration and training of the Armed Forces of His Highness;
 - ii. *Providing expert advice* on the organization of those Forces;
 - iii. *Providing advice and assistance* in connection with maintenance of the equipment of those Forces;
 - iv. *Providing assistance* for training those Forces;
 - v. *Providing assistance* in recruitment of persons for service in police and military posts in the State;
 - vi. *Providing expert advice and training* for the Police Force of the State;

- r. *Her Majesty's Government* will *propose* to *His Highness* the name of the British High Commissioner whose appointment shall be subject to His Highness's agreement.

Also present to supplement the representation of UK's assistance to BR is the occurrence of NV *loan of personnel* (Figure 17:12) to convey the same purpose (q). Here, the nominalization of these action reifies it as agents of processes that have "real and necessary existence" (Billig, 2008). In reciprocity, *provide* (Figure 17:7) is also represented as a non-transactive, instrumental material action, highlighting AGN BR as the agency that accommodates UK's assistance, particularly in terms of provision of infrastructure and on-ground facilities (s). It is

also important to note that despite the interchanging use between AGN BR and AGN UK, the ultimate beneficiary to this process of this transfer is BR as all efforts are materialized to develop its national security and defence. In fact, use of passive *supported* (Figure 17:9) with regard to PRO *threats* is deagentialized to alienate third parties and retain exclusiveness between BR and UK as equivalent sovereignties (t).

- s. His Highness shall ...
 - ii. Provide facilities necessary for any of Her Majesty’s forces stationed in the state or training or exercising in the State with the agreement of His Highness (A6: Art. 3.2)

- t. In a situation which does not clearly fall under sub-paragraphs (a) or (b) of this paragraph there shall be consultation between the two Governments to determine to what extent the threat is externally organized or supported. (A6: Art. 5.5)

Concordance Hits 15		File
Hit	KWIC	
1	Highness; ii. Providing expert advice on the organization of those Forces; iii. Providing advice and assistance in connection with maintenance of the equipm	1971
2	upment of those Forces; iv. Providing assistance for training those Forces; v. Providing assistance in recruitment of persons for service in police and military	1971
3	assistance in connection with maintenance of the equipment of those Forces; iv. Providing assistance for training those Forces; v. Providing assistance in recruit	1971
4	enter into any engagement, deal in or correspond on political matters with, or send envoys to, any other State. His Highness further agrees that he will ensure	1971
5	of persons for service in police and military posts in the State; vi. Providing expert advice and training for the Police Force of the State; (3) For th	1971
6	staffing, administration and training of the Armed Forces of His Highness; ii. Providing expert advice on the organization of those Forces; iii. Providing advic	1971
7	internal public order and to be the first line of external defence; ii. Provide facilities necessary for any of Her Majesty’s forces stationed in the	1971
8	rious matters connected therewith: AND WHEREAS the aforesaid Proclamation providing for the constitutional development of the State of Brunei will comm	1971
9	Governments to determine to what extent the threat is externally organized or supported. (6) Her Majesty and His Highness shall take legislative and executiv	1971
10	’s forces present in the State. b. Her Majesty shall continue to assist His Highness within the capability of the United Kingdom, by i. The loan	1971
11	the capability of the United Kingdom, by i. The loan of personnel to assist in the staffing, administration and training of the Armed Forces of His Hig	1971
12	assist His Highness within the capability of the United Kingdom, by i. The loan of personnel to assist in the staffing, administration and training of the Arr	1971
13	y designated as British High Commissioner. Her Majesty’s Government will propose to His Highness the name of the British High Commissioner whose app	1971
14	agrees that She will keep His Highness informed of any action taken or proposed to be taken by Her in pursuance of this Article. (2) To meet the	1971
15	ternal affairs: AND WHEREAS Her Majesty, in token of the friendship which She bears towards His Highness and the inhabitants of the State of Brunei, has at	1971

Figure 17 Distribution of Vs of Giving in the 1971 Treaty

In the subsequent 1979*i* Exchange of Notes, *suggest* (Figure 18:8) is represented as a non-transactive, instrumental material action to pave way for the activation and foregrounding of AGN UK / as agency that puts forward the suggestion to AGN BR. In this context, the suggestion puts together the discussed Note and BR’s response to this note as constituting an agreement that invalidates all previous BR-UK agreements. Accordingly, PV *provided that* (Figure 18:9) is used as a legal norm that indicates that “something must happen if particular conditions exist” (Cambridge online dictionary, 2018). In this case, it refers to the conditional terms that need to be met in order for the termination of the previous Anglo-Brunei documents to be valid.

Befitting its purpose as a legal discourse indicator which deletes presence of agencies, this action is represented as being deagentialized via eventuation.

- u. If the foregoing correctly represents the conclusions reached between Your Highness and Her Majesty's Government I have the honour to *suggest* that the present Note and your Highness's reply to that effect shall be regarded as constituting an Agreement between the two Governments in this matter which shall enter into force five years from 31 December 1978(9) (A7:Art.4)
- v. The Treaties signed on 18 December 1846(1) and 27 May 1847(2), the Agreement signed on 26 November 1856(3), The Declaration made by His Highness Sultan Abdul Mumin on 17 August 1878(4), the Agreement signed on 17 September 1888(5), the Agreement signed on 29 September 1959(6) as amended by the Agreement signed on 23 November 1971(7), and all the other agreements, engagements, undertakings and arrangements between the United Kingdom and the State of Brunei flowing from the special treaty relations between the two states shall terminate with effect from the same date, *provided that ...* (A7:Art.2)

Concordance Hits 10		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	with the establishment and training of the Brunei Diplomatic Service; (e) Offer advice on the printing and supply of new Brunei passports. Article 3.	1979ii
2	apply of new Brunei passports. Article 3. The High Contracting Parties shall encourage educational, scientific and cultural cooperation between the two States	1979ii
3	Kingdom and the State of Brunei shall continue henceforth;Desiring to give expression to this intention in the form of a Treaty of	1979ii
4	Prophet Muhammad (on Whom be the benedictional and peace of Allah) grant his blessing to Brunei Darussalam, for ever and ever. Amen! O	1984 F
5	of the State of Brunei and within its capability, continue to assist in the recruitment of persons, for service in civil posts in	1979ii
6	to any international organisation which it may wish to join; (c) Afford protection to a citizen of the State of Brunei through their	1979ii
7	the State of Brunei for the external relations of the State, give sympathetic consideration to any specific request by the Government of the	1979ii
8	and Her Majesty's Government I have the honour to suggest that the present Note and your Highness's reply to	1979i
9	the two states shall terminate with effect from the same date, provided that: (a) The termination of the said agreements of 18 December 1846 a	1979i
10	in a foreign country where there is no Brunei representative; (d) Assist with the establishment and training of the Brunei Diplomatic Service; (e)	1979ii

Figure 18 Distribution of Vs of Giving in the 1979i, 1979ii and 1984 Documents

With a shift in discourse topics from state defence to diplomatic and consular support, the 1979ii Treaty retains AGN BR as the direct recipient and beneficiary of the transfer, particularly in the form of knowledge and expertise assistance. It represents *encourage* (Figure 18:2), *offer* (Figure 18: 1), *assist* (Figure 18:5; 10), *afford* (Figure 18:6), and *give* (Figure 18:3; 7) as non-transactive, instrumental material actions that foregrounds and activates AGN UK as not only one who extends this support to AGN BR but also entails its superiority as one that has the upper hand in intellectual prowess. In the case of *encourage*, this document records the

activation of AGN BR-UK as a cooperative entity that *encourages educational, scientific and cultural cooperation between two States* (Figure 14:2). Here, BR and UK are activated both as separate and integrated entities (glossed as *High Contracting Parties*). In this relation, the activation and foregrounding of both agencies as an equivalent political entity suggests two things, i/ the shifting power balance from D-S to Cooperation, and ii/ BR's effort in gaining the upper hand in its own governance.

Similarly, *give* is also amplified with presence of indefinite determiner *any specific request* (Figure 18:7) to emphasize the extant resources that UK possesses and its willingness to share with BR as shown in (w).

- w. Her Majesty's Government shall, until the Government of the State of Brunei can make alternative arrangements, and in such manner as shall in no way affect the sole responsibility of the Government of the State of Brunei for the external relations of the State, *give* sympathetic consideration to *any specific request* by the Government of the State of Brunei for diplomatic or consular assistance in the conduct of those relations and in particular Her Majesty's Government shall, in appropriate cases, if the Government of the State of Brunei so request (A8: Art.2)

In the 1984 Proclamation, **Vs of Giving** *grant* (Figure 18:4) is represented as a transactive, instrumental semiotic action that accentuates AGN *Allah* as a dynamic agent that provides *his blessings* to Brunei Darussalam. Here, this representation acts as an invocation marker that characterizes this document as a Proclamation of Independence for Brunei Darussalam.

- x. *May Allah*, to whom be praise and whose name be exalted and may the Prophet Muhammad (on Whom be the benedictional and peace of Allah) *grant* his blessing to Brunei Darussalam, for ever and ever. Amen! O Lord of the Universe! (A9: Para 8)

5.3.1.2. *Vs of Taking/Acquisition*

Initially, this category comprises of verbs *acquire, imported, seize, capture, recover, occupy, purchase, receive, and take* to reflect the action or process of taking, acquiring, obtaining or getting (Cambridge online dictionary, 2018) privileges or resources. However, this acquisition process is not adequate without taking into consideration the manner or how it is done over time. For instance, the degree of force or enforcement used in *seize, capture* or *occupy* is

different to that of **Vs of Request** such as *request, required, and demands*. For the benefit of this section, these two categories will be treated as one. Similarly, where *rent* refers to instances where resources are temporarily acquired, **Vs of Possession** such as *purchase, secured, saved, carry, bears, keep, deposit* and *reserved* denote resources that are already or will be in possession permanently. The latter category is discussed separately in the following section in the framework of transfer of possession as it focuses more on the final part of acquisition rather than the process itself.

In extension, Levin (1998) categorizes *capture, recover, seize* and *take* into Verbs of Possessional Deprivation under the subcategory of *Steal* verbs to describe “the removal of something from someone’s possession” (1998: 128); *accept, acquire, purchase, receive, recover* and *seize* into the subcategory of *Obtain* verbs; whereas *give* and *rent* into Verbs of Change of Possession. On the cross-listing nature of these verbs, he further suggested that it “probably arises because in many situations in which someone obtains something someone else loses possession of that thing.” In this trajectory, Levin’s (1998) proposition coincides the zero-sum game scenario outlined in **Vs of Giving** (5.2.1.1) as it is arguable whether a replaced loss will still be considered a loss as in the case of a win-win situation scenario, or whether there is an actual diminishing effect if something is taken from an excessive portion of something. However, as this discussion is pivoted on the binary form of *transfer of possession* in reflecting power relations, it is beyond the scope of this section to discuss these differences in detail.

As shown in its semantic profile (Figure 19), **Vs of Taking** consists of 23 tokens distributed across six documents, i.e. 1847, 1888, 1905/06, 1959, 1971, and 1979ii. It is highest in the 1847 Agreements with 12 tokens. The following discussion will elaborate the changes in its usage and its representation along the line of who acquires from whom, and who benefits from the transaction. In periphery, this will give insight on the constellation of power between BR and UK and how these dynamics are represented across the data.

Figure 19 Shifts in Vs of Taking (including Vs of Request) across the data

In the dataset, the 1847 Treaty records 12 tokens of **Vs of Taking/Acquisition** namely *acquire (acquired), taking, imported, seize, capture (captured), recover, occupy, purchase, and rent*. As shown in Figure 16, *acquire* (Figure 20:1), *capture* (Figure 20:2), *acquired* (Figure 20:3), *seize* (Figure 20:4), *occupy* (Figure 20:10), *rent* (Figure 20:11), and *purchase* (Figure 20:12) foregrounds and activates AGN UK *British subjects* as agency that dynamically attains (all kinds

of) property within the state, including vessels engaged in piratical activities. Here, these verbs are represented as instrumental, non-transactive material actions to showcase AGN UK's freedom of access and at the same time, military strength in curbing piratical activities from inflicting the trade route and maritime security in the region. A few examples from these verbs' usage are shown in (a) below;

- a. *British subjects* shall be permitted to *purchase, rent, or occupy*, or in any other legal way to acquire, all kinds of property within the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Borneo; and His Highness engages that such British subjects shall, as far as lies in his power, within his dominions, enjoy full and complete protection and security for themselves and for any property which they may so *acquire* in future, or which they may have acquired already, before the date of the present Convention. (A2: Art.3)

On the other, AGN BR *His Highness* is only foregrounded and activated as an engaging agency that *recover* (Figure 20:7) UK vessels and properties if needed, and one that supports this effort by consenting to prohibit *all persons residing within his dominions, or subject to him* from *taking any share* in piratical activities and slavery trade (Figure 20:5). As shown in (b) and (c), these provisions are further substantiated with the presence of words like *engages* and *in compliance with* to reflect BR's commitment in supporting the cause. In the same document, passive *-by captured* (Figure 20:6) and *imported* (Figure 20:9) are objectivated and permits the backgrounding of agency. In the former, although AGN *pirates* is activated but it is backgrounded to diminish its importance in the provision (d). Similarly, the latter deagentializes its agency in conveying similar connotation (e). Although both BR and UK are activated to portray their commitment in meeting their shared objectives, UK is represented as more dominant and has excessive resources in terms of military might. BR, on the other, is represented as a subordinate to UK as it extends assistance in achieving the agreed purpose.

- b. *His Highness* engages to give the assistance his power to *recover for*, and to deliver over to, the owners thereof, all the property which can be saved search (A2: Art.8)
- c. ... *His Highness the Sultan of Borneo*, in compliance with Her Majesty's wish, engages to suppress all such traffic on the part of his subjects, and to prohibit *all persons residing*

within his dominions, or subject to him, from countenancing or *taking any share* in such trade (A2: Art.11)

- d. and His Highness the Sultan of Borneo engages not to grant asylum or protection to any persons or vessels engaged in political pursuits; and in no case will he permit ships, slaves, or merchandized *captured by pirates*, to be introduced into his dominions, or to be exposed therein for sale. (A2: Art.9)
- e. No *article* whatever shall be prohibited from being *imported into* or exported from the territories of His Highness the Sultan of Borneo (A2: Art.4)

Concordance Hits 12		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	permitted to purchase, rent, or occupy, or in any other legal way to acquire, all kinds of property within the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of	1847
2	within the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Borneo, in order to capture all vessels engaged in piracy or slave-dealing, and to seize and to	1847
3	property which they may so acquire in future, or which they may have acquired already, before the date of the present Convention. IV. No article whate	1847
4	order to capture all vessels engaged in piracy or slave-dealing, and to seize and to reserve for the judgement of the proper authorities all persons offenc	1847
5	sons residing within his dominions, or subject to him, from countenancing or taking any share in such trade; and His Highness further consents that all subjects	1847
6	olitical pursuits; and in no case will he permit ships, slaves, or merchandized captured by pirates, to be introduced into his dominions, or to be exposed therein	1847
7	Sultan of Borneo, His Highness engages to give the assistance his power to recover for, and to deliver over to, the owners thereof, all the property which	1847
8	tection and security for themselves and for any property which they may so acquire in future, or which they may have acquired already, before the date of	1847
9	present Convention. IV. No article whatever shall be prohibited from being imported into or exported from the territories of His Highness the Sultan of Borne	1847
10	voured nation. III. British subjects shall be permitted to purchase, rent, or occupy, or in any other legal way to acquire, all kinds of property within	1847
11	e most favoured nation. III. British subjects shall be permitted to purchase, rent, or occupy, or in any other legal way to acquire, all kinds of	1847
12	zens of the most favoured nation. III. British subjects shall be permitted to purchase, rent, or occupy, or in any other legal way to acquire, all kinds	1847

Figure 20 Distribution of Vs of Taking/Acquisition in the 1847 Treaty

The 1888 and 1905 Agreement note only one and two tokens of **Vs of Taking/Acquisition**, respectively. In the former, *receive* (Figure 21:3) is represented as a transactive, instrumental material action that activates and foregrounds AGN UK via *British Consular Officers* as the recipient of the *exequatur*s provided by AGN BR in the name of the *Sultan of Brunei* (f). Here, this action is accentuated with the presence of modality *shall* to further emphasize the necessity of the transfer process (of resources). On the scale of power, BR in this regard is experiencing a zero-sum effect due to the state's dire economic situation in this era (Brown, 1968; Hughes-Hallet, 1940; Horton, 1984).

- f. Her Majesty's Government shall have the right to establish British Consular Officers in any part to the State of Brunei, who shall *receive* *exequatur*s in the name of the *Sultan of Brunei*. (A3: Art.4)

In continuum, the 1905/06 also traces usage of *receive* (Figure 21:1) and *taken* (Figure 21:2) to establish the presence of British Resident in the state and highlight its standing within the new administration (as demonstrated by presence of modalities *will* and *must*). As shown in (g), both are represented as non-transactive and instrumental, material actions verb *receive* activates AGN BR *His Highness* as the receiving end of the transfer and regards *British Office* as the object of resources (Figure 21:1); whereas *taken* activates but backgrounds AGN UK into possessive OBJ *his advice* (Figure 21:2). Here, the emphasis and animation of agency's possession reflects its supremacy in exercising control over all aspects of BR's administration except on matters pertaining to succession and religion. By establishing this supremacy in the state, UK gets to retain its policy in the region, i.e. to deter other Western powers (such as the United States and Germany) from dominating the north-west coast of Borneo, which serves access point to the maritime route that connected India and China, without being directly involved (Hussainmiya, 2006).

- g. *His Highness will receive* a British Office, to be styled Resident, and will provide a suitable residence for him. The Resident will be the Agent and Representative of His Britannic Majesty's Government under the high Commissioner for the British Protectorate in Borneo, and his advice must be *taken* and acted upon on all questions in Brunei, other than those affecting the Mohammedan religion, in order that a similar system may be established to that existing in other Malay States now under British Protection. (A4: Art.1)

Concordance Hits 3		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	ingly entered into the following supplementary Agreement: I. His Highness will receive a British Office, to be styled Resident, and will provide a suitable	1905
2	Commissioner for the British Protectorate in Borneo, and his advice must be taken and acted upon on all questions in Brunei, other than those affecting	1905
3	Consular Officers in any part to the State of Brunei, who shall receive exequaturs in the name of the Sultan of Brunei. They shall enjoy	1888

Figure 21 Distribution of Vs of Taking/Acquisition in the 1888 and 1905/06 Treaty

As shown in Figure 18, the 1959 Agreement documents four tokens of verbs in this category. In this regard, *take*, *receive*, and *accept* are represented as instrumental, transactive material action that activates and foregrounds AGN BR as the receiving end of the resource transfer. In the case of *take* (Figure 22:1), BR *them* receives and benefits from the education and training provided by BR and UK as exemplified by collaborative phrase *His Highness desires and Her*

Majesty agrees. Similarly, the providing agency in *receive* (Figure 22:2) and *accept* (Figure 22:4) is discursively implied as these resources are provided by AGN UK *High Commissioner* (i).

- h. *His Highness desires and Her Majesty agrees* that it shall be a particular charge upon the Government of the State to provide for and to encourage the education and training of the local inhabitants of the State so as to fit them to *take* a full share in the economic progress, social welfare and government of the State.

(A5: Art.8)

- i. His Highness agrees to *receive*, and provide a suitable residence for, a High Commissioner to advise on all matters connected with the government of the State other than matters relating to the Muslim religion and the Custom of the Malays as practised in the State, and agrees to *accept* the advice of the High Commissioner.

(A5: Art.5)

On the other, passive *taken* (Figure 22:3) is deagentialized via eventuation where it deletes both receiving and providing agencies (j). Omission of both agencies in this provision suggests equalization of status and importance with regard to their exercise of authority and maintenance of control in the discussed matter. It also acts as a legal and institutional marker for this discourse as it omits presence of agencies to necessitate the importance of the OBJs or PROs in the provision.

- j. Her Majesty agrees that no measures in exercise of the right of access to the State given by paragraph (2) of this Article shall be taken for the purposes of such defence without prior consultation with the Standing Advisory Council except when there exists a state of emergency of such a nature as to make such prior consultation clearly impracticable ...

... (A5: Art 3.5)

Concordance Hits 4		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	the local inhabitants of the State so as to fit them to take a full share in the economic progress, social welfare and government of	1959
2	to the peace or tranquillity of the State. 4. (1) His Highness agrees to receive, and provide a suitable residence for, a High Commissioner to advise on	1959
3	access to the State given by paragraph (2) of this Article shall be taken for the purposes of such defence without prior consultation with the Standing	1959
4	Custom of the Malays as practised in the State, and agrees to accept the advice of the High Commissioner. (2) Nothing in this Article shall in	1959

Figure 22 Distribution of *Vs of Taking/Acquisition* in the 1959 Treaty

Although (h) and (i) represents AGN BR as an active receiving agency, the deagentialization of agencies via eventuation in (j) suggests that AGN BR and AGN UK are both beneficiaries of these provisions. Here, BR attains the support and assistance that it needs from the UK; while UK retains its authority and control over Brunei’s defence and external affairs. Figure 23 highlights the shifting role of AGN UK from *British Resident* to *British High Commissioner*, indicating a change in their magnitude of control towards BR and its administration. Additionally, absence of *will* and *must* in the 1959 Agreement as a marker of necessity and compliance further suggests AGN UK’s gradual diminishing power on ground.

1905/6 Agreement: Art.1	1959 Agreement: Art.4 (1)
His Highness <i>will</i> receive a British Office, to be styled Resident, and <i>will</i> provide a suitable residence for him	His Highness agrees to receive, and provide a suitable residence for, a High Commissioner
his advice <i>must</i> be taken and acted upon on all questions in Brunei	(BR) agrees to accept the advice of the High Commissioner

Figure 23 Comparison of provisions regarding appointment of UK representative on ground and the degree of compliance imposed towards BR (my emphasis)

In continuum, the 1971 Amendment is geared towards UK’s retaining of control in the state’s external affairs via presence of British High Commissioner, and assisted involvement of BR in the development of its national defence system as means to regain power in the state. In this document, use and representation of *receive* (Figure 24:2) is reiterated (Figure 22:2) to convey the same message but further amplified with modality *shall* to mark emphasis. Despite the replication of activated AGN BR as the receiving agency, this activation is accompanied and preceded by phrase *Her Majesty shall appoint* that highlights AGN UK as one that grants the appointment. In contrast to the suggestive phenomenon in the 1959 that reflects UK’s diminishing power and control over state governance, this representation advocates UK’s attempt to resuscitate its importance and supremacy within BR-UK power equilibrium through exercising control over state’s external affairs. Accordingly, the 1971 Amendment also documents presence of deagentialized *demands* (Figure 24:3) and *required* (Figure 24:4) that features PRO *occasion* (k) and PRO *changes* (l) as subject of the provision. Here the

deagentialization is realized via eventuation, where the social actions are represented as something that unfolds organically without human intervention.

- k. There shall be established a joint standing consultative body, to be called the Brunei Defence Council, which shall meet quarterly, or more frequently if *occasion demands*. (A6: Art.3.4)
- l. Twelve months from the entry into force of this Agreement the Governments of Her Majesty and of His Highness shall examine the working of the Brunei Defence Council in order to determine what *changes*, if any, are *required* to improve its effectiveness. (A6: Art.3.4)

Concordance Hits 4		File
Hit	KWIC	
1	shall, in appropriate cases, if the Government of the State of Brunei so request: (a) Act as the channel for communications between the Government of t	1979ii
2	of this Article. ARTICLE IV Her Majesty shall appoint and His Highness shall receive a representative of Her Majesty designated as British High Commissioner.	1971 A
3	Defence Council, which shall meet quarterly, or more frequently if occasion demands. This council shall consist of representatives of both Her Majesty and His	1971 A
4	the Brunei Defence Council in order to determine what changes, if any, are required to improve its effectiveness. (5) a. Situations which are essentially of an	1971 A

Figure 24 Distribution of Vs of Taking/Acquisition in the 1971 Treaty

Ultimately, *request* (Figure 24:1) is detected in the 1979ii Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation that underscores the degree of assistance needed from the UK and the reconstruction of the state's national development towards its five years provisional independence particularly in its foreign affairs (m). Compared to other verbs in the request (and taking/acquisition) category, *request* embeds less enforcement as its manner of acquisition is more lax compared to Levin's (1993) 'stolen' verbs which engross more force in nature. In this document, however, it is represented as an overlapping of transactive, instrumental semiotic and material action. It is regarded as having both material goal and being performative at the same time, reflecting its significance and weightage in the provision. Respectively, the juxtaposition between the semantic meaning and its representation here manifests the diplomatic nature of the discourse where there is a balance usage of assertion, leniency and tactfulness in the negotiated provisions.

- m. Her Majesty's Government shall, until the Government of the State of Brunei can make alternative arrangements, and in such manner as shall in no way affect the sole responsibility of the Government of the State of Brunei for the external relations of the

State, give sympathetic consideration to any specific request by the Government of the State of Brunei for diplomatic or consular assistance in the conduct of those relations and in particular Her Majesty's Government shall, in appropriate cases, if the Government of the State of Brunei so *request* (A8: Art.2)

5.3.1.3. Vs of Possession

In this category, **Vs of Possession** refer to actions that mirror the final condition or state of acquisition process. Compared to **Vs of Giving** and **Vs of Acquisition/Taking** that reflect on the process of resource transfer between agencies, verbs in this category focus on the shifts in possession or ownership from one party to the other. Followingly, full possession entails exclusivity in ownership whether it is shared for mutual benefits or confined to one party only, as well as empowerment as it denotes full control over resources possessed. This category consists of 18 verbs, i.e. *enjoy, enjoyed, enjoying, entitled, reserve, reserved, possessed, secured, saved and deposit*. As shown in Figure 25, these verbs appear in four documents, where 1888 and 1847 being the prevalent ones with 9 and 7 tokens, respectively.

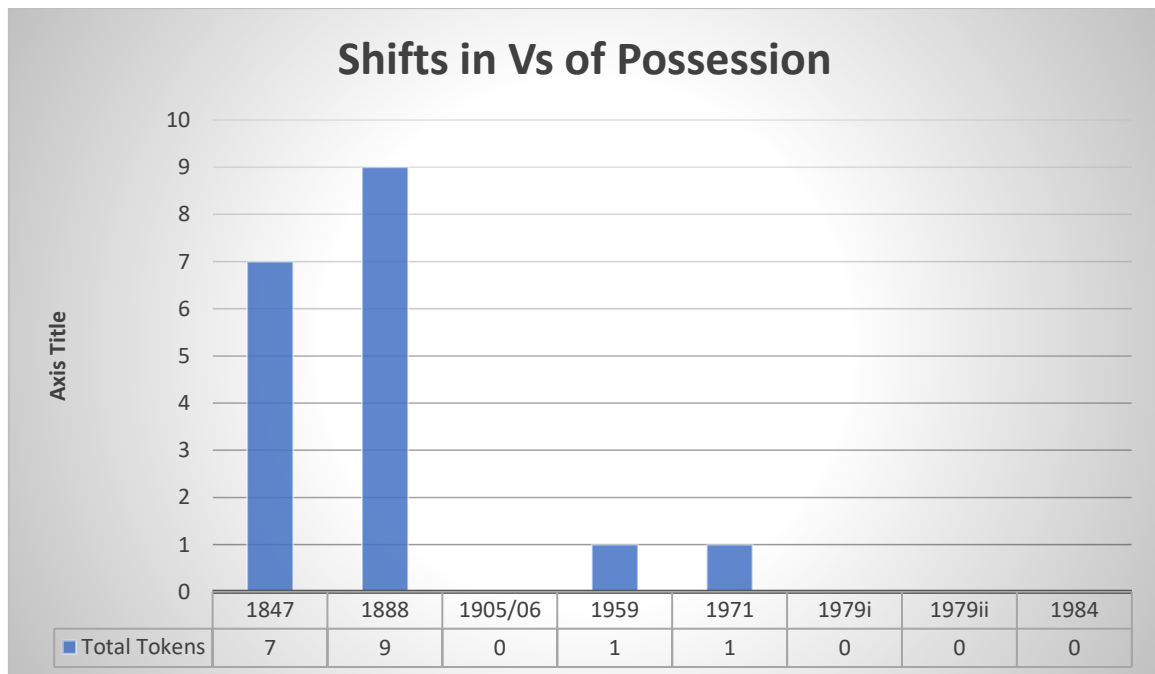


Figure 25 Shifts in Vs of Possession across the data

Accordingly, the 1847 Treaty documents seven incidences of actions reflecting state of possession by BR and UK, both as separated and integrated political entities. It also highlights

the perpetual possession of the state of Labuan by AGN UK as represented by passive -by *possessed* (Figure 26:3) that emphasizes OBJ *Labuan* as the subject of the provision, and backgrounds AGN UK as the activated agency that now owns the ceded island *in perpetuity* (a). In Figure 26:1, non-transactive, instrumental semiotic action *reserve* activates and foregrounds BR-UK as 2 *Contracting Parties* that have an equal magnitude of authority in exercising state jurisdiction on slavery and piratical activities (b).

- a. His Highness the Sultan hereby confirms the cession already spontaneously made by him in 1845, of *the island of Labuan*, situated on the north-west coast of Borneo, together with the adjacent islets of Kuraman, Little Rusakan, Great Rusakan, Da-at, and Malankasan, and all the straits, islets, and seas, situated half way between the fore-mentioned islets and the main land of Borneo. Likewise the distance of 10 geographical miles from the island of Labuan to the westward and northward, and from the nearest point half way between the Islet of Malankasan and the mainland of Borneo, in a line running north till it intersects a line extended from west to east from a point 10 miles to the northward of the northern extremity of the Island of Labuan, to be possessed *in perpetuity* and in full sovereignty *by Her Brittanic Majesty and her successors*
- b. His Highness the Sultan of Borneo concedes to Her Majesty the right of investing her officers, and other duly constituted authorities, with the power of entering at all times, with her vessels of war, or other vessels duly empowered, the ports, rivers, and creeks within the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Borneo, in order to capture all vessels engaged in piracy or slave-dealing, and to seize and to *reserve* for the judgement of the proper authorities all persons offending against the 2 *Contracting Powers* in these respects.

As reflected in Article (c), *enjoy* is also represented as non-transactive, instrumental semiotic action that foregrounds both AGN BR *the subjects of His Highness the Sultan of Borneo* and AGN UK *he subjects of Her Britannic Majesty* as agencies that possess and benefit from all *privileges with respect to commerce or otherwise* (Figure 26:7; 26:2). This representation shows the equal distribution of rights and privileges to both states, indicating presence of equality between sovereignties.

- c. *The subjects of Her Britannic Majesty shall have full liberty to enter into, reside in, trade with, and pass with their merchandize through all parts of the dominions of His Highness the Sultan Borneo, and they shall enjoy therein the privileges and advantages with respect to commerce, or otherwise, which are now which may hereafter be granted to the subjects or citizens of the most favoured nation; and the subjects of His Highness the Sultan of Borneo shall in like manner be at liberty to enter into, reside in, trade with, and pass with their merchandize through all parts of Her Britannic Majesty's dominions in Europe and Asia, as freely as the subjects of the most favoured nation, and they shall enjoy in those dominions all the privileges and advantages with respect to commerce, or otherwise, which are now or which may hereafter be granted therein the to the subjects or citizens of the most favoured nation. (A2: Art.2)*

With regard to AGN UK *British subjects'* merchandize and properties, use of non-transactive, instrumental material action *deposit* (Figure 26:5) further amplifies their freedom of access to exercise their commercial activities in the dominion (d). In the same trajectory, *saved* (Figure 26:4) is deagentialized via eventuation, i.e. as an action that logically ties to the action of *recovery* and *delivery* in the same provision. In sum, most representations in this document manifests UK as the proprietor of the resources, reflecting its accumulation of power encompassing general privileges and advantages, protection, exclusive jurisdiction and state territory.

- d. it being desirable that *British subjects* should have some port where they may careen and refit their vessels, and where they may *deposit* such stores and merchandize as shall be necessary for the carrying on of their trade with the dominions of Borneo ... (A2: Art.10)
- e. His Highness engages to give the assistance his power *to recover for*, and *to deliver over* to, the owners thereof, all the property which can be *saved search* (A2: Art.8)

Concordance Hits 7		
Hr	KWIC	File
1	all vessels engaged in piracy or slave-dealing, and to seize and to reserve for the judgement of the proper authorities all persons offending against the 2	1847
2	British subjects shall, as far as lies in his power, within his dominions, enjoy full and complete protection and security for themselves and for any property w	1847
3	the northward of the northern extremity of the Island of Labuan, to be possessed in perpetuity and in full sovereignty by Her Brittanic Majesty and her success	1847
4	to deliver over to, the owners thereof, all the property which can be saved search his Highness further engages to extend to the officers and crew, and	1847
5	port where they may careen and refit their vessels, and where they may deposit such stores and merchandize as shall be necessary for the carrying on of	1847
6	arts of the dominions of His Highness the Sultan Borneo, and they shall enjoy therein the privileges and advantages with respect to commerce, or otherwise, w	1847
7	, as freely as the subjects of the most favoured nation, and they shall enjoy those dominions all the privileges and advantages with respect to commerce, or	1847

In the following treaty of 1888, similar pattern where UK dominantly benefits and tips the BR-UK power equilibrium is maintained and strengthened particularly in the domain of trade, exclusive jurisdiction, and extended privileges to British subjects and those under British Protection. In fact, AGN UK *they/ British subject, commerce, and shipping* is activated throughout the representations through its foregrounding as the dynamic subject of the provision, as in the case of non-transactive, instrumental semiotic actions *entitled* (Figure 27:6; 7) and *enjoy* (Figure 27:9). Here, these acts of possession are regarded as exclusive privileges that manifests the UK's special status and importance in Brunei especially in association to its formal establishment on ground (f), equalization of status and rights (g), and jurisdiction (f).

- f. *They shall enjoy whatever privileges are usually granted to Consular Officers, and they shall be entitled to hoist the British Flag over their residences and public offices.*
(A3:Art.4)

- g. *British subject, commerce, and shipping shall, in addition to the rights, privileges, and advantages now secured to them by treaty, be entitled to participate in any other rights, privileges and advantages, which may be enjoyed by the subjects, commerce and shipping of the State of Brunei* (A3:Art.5)

In the same document, AGN UK is activated and backgrounded in passive *-by* structures. Involving **Vs of Possession** *reserved* (Figure 27:4; 5) and *secured* (Figure 27:8). Here, both verbs are represented as non-transactive, instrumental material actions that highlights OBJ *privileges and advantages*, or PRO *exclusive jurisdiction* as emphasis of the related provisions but validates AGN UK *Her Britannic Majesty/ Her Majesty* as the ultimate owner or recipient from the resource transfer (h).

- h. It is agreed that full *exclusive jurisdiction*, civil and criminal, over British subjects and their property in the State of Brunei, is *reserved* to Her Britannic Majesty, to be exercised by such Consular or other officers as Her Majesty's shall appoint for the purpose. The same jurisdiction is likewise *reserved* to *Her Majesty* in the State of Brunei over foreign subjects enjoying British protection; and the said jurisdiction may likewise

be exercised in cases between British or British-protected subjects and the subjects of a third power, with the consent of their respective Governments.

In periphery, use of non-transactive, instrumental semiotic action *enjoying* (Figure 27:1) reflects the authority and scope of power that AGN UK *Her Majesty* has over foreign subjects in the region, i.e. as a dominating and supreme Western power (i). The same article also notes the activated and foregrounded AGN OTH *officer appointed by the Government of the plaintiff's nationality* (Figure 27:3) through use of non-transactive, instrumental semiotic action *entitled*. Although this provision equalizes subjects from all countries including BR and UK, their decision-making ability is restricted via phrase *shall have no voice in the decision*- amplifying UK's magnitude of supremacy over these subjects.

- i. The same jurisdiction is likewise reserved to *Her Majesty* in the State of Brunei over foreign subjects *enjoying* British protection and the said jurisdiction may likewise be exercised in cases between British or British-protected subjects and the subjects of a third power, with the consent of their respective Governments. In mixed civil cases arising between British and British protected subjects and the subjects of the Sultan, the trial shall take place in the court of the defendant's nationality; but an officer appointed by the Government of the plaintiff's nationality shall be entitled to be present at and to take part in, the proceedings, but shall have no voice in the decision. (A3: Art.7)

Concordance Hits 9		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	reserved to Her Majesty in the State of Brunei over foreign subjects enjoying British protection ; and the said jurisdiction may likewise be exercised in ca	1888
2	to participate in any other rights, privileges and advantages, which may be enjoyed by the subjects , commerce and shipping of the State of Brunei Article	1888
3	appointed by the Government of the plaintiff's nationality shall be entitled to be present at and to take part in, the proceedings, but	1888
4	, over British subjects and their property in the State of Brunei, is reserved to Her Britannic Majesty , to be exercised by such Consular or other	1888
5	shall appoint for the purpose. The same jurisdiction is likewise reserved to Her Majesty in the State of Brunei over foreign subjects enjoying	1888
6	whatever privileges are usually granted to Consular Officers, and they shall be entitled to hoist the British Flag over their residences and public offices. Article	1888
7	the rights, privileges, and advantages now secured to them by treaty, be entitled to participate in any other rights, privileges and advantages, which may be	1888
8	and shipping shall, in addition to the rights, privileges, and advantages now secured to them by treaty , be entitled to participate in any other rights,	1888
9	receive exequaturs in the name of the Sultan of Brunei. They shall enjoy whatever privileges are usually granted to Consular Officers, and they shall b	1888

Figure 27 Distribution of *Vs of Possession* in the 1888 Treaty

Despite its absence in the 1905/06 Supplementary Agreement, **Vs of Possession** such as *enjoy* (Figure 28:1; 2) resurfaces in the 1959 and 1971 treaties in the form of non-transactive, instrumental semiotic actions. In both cases, this state activates AGN UK as agency that maintains its power and control of state jurisdiction as manifested by the phrase *shall continue*. To note, its usage is also reflective of the context that frames the provision, which contains this

authority to solely *defence and external affairs* as termed in the 1959 Agreement (j), and further reduced to *external affairs* only as included in its 1971 Amendment (k). Here, both context and representation in text indicates three things, i.e. AGN UK's effort to preserve its power on the ground of Brunei, BR's effort to tip the BR-UK power balance over time via taking over some control over its state governance gradually, and at the same time reconstructing itself as an autonomous and sovereign state.

- j. Subject as aforesaid, His Highness agrees that *Her Majesty* shall continue to *enjoy* jurisdiction to make for the State laws relating to defence and external affairs. (A5: Art.3.3)

- k. ... and that *Her Majesty* shall continue to *enjoy* jurisdiction to make for the State laws relating to external affairs. (A6: Art.)

Concordance Hits 2		File
Hit	KWIC	
1) Subject as aforesaid, His Highness agrees that Her Majesty shall continue to enjoy jurisdiction to make for the State laws relating to defence and external	1959
2	be taken within the State and that Her Majesty shall continue to enjoy jurisdiction to make for the State laws relating to external affairs. Her	1971

Figure 28 Distribution of *Vs of Possession* in the 1959 Treaty and its 1971 Amendment

Within the DHA framework, it can be deduced that the 1847 document displays more possessions of objects (properties including territories) and actions or processes such as privileges and advantages in the form of protection and reservation of jurisdiction. As UK gains a firmer ground in BR (both officially and physically), these possessions are more focused towards actions/processes especially in the realm of jurisdiction, materialization of UK institutions on ground, and maintenance of control over existing privileges secured to them in the previous treaty as reflected by verbs *entitled*, *reserved* and *secured* – exhibiting the increased amount of UK control over resources in BR.

Similarly, this phenomenon is also portrayed by verb *enjoy* (including derivatives *enjoyed* and *enjoying*) as the most used verbs in this category with eight tokens throughout the dataset. Defined as a transitive psych-verb with emphasis on the experience of the subject (Levin, 1993), *enjoy* is semantically captured in terms of possessing the direct objects and benefitting from them (Cambridge online dictionary, 2018). Across the data, this verb is discussed in relation to

exclusive jurisdiction and general privileges acquired or reserved for both parties in negotiation. Although it is mainly used to describe UK's possession, two provisions in the 1847 and 1888 texts were prescribed to BR to demonstrate equal distribution of privileges between the two powers, either by applying the same and exact provision towards UK and by overgeneralizing it respectively. In fact, both conditions are also exemplified by verb *entitled* when used in context of judiciary proceedings.

5.3.2. Actions Reflecting Permissions and Restrictions

In understanding the dynamics of power relations, it is crucial to reiteratively acknowledge that it is not just sufficient to reflect on the different components of power but also to understand how these components are engineered to construct it as a bona fide entity. In the previous section, power relations are measured in terms of the movement or transfer of resources from one agency to the other, who benefits, and who has the final ownership at the end of the transfer process. The activation and deactivation of agencies as a giver, recipient or beneficiary, too, provides insight on how BR-UK power dynamics is construed and represented in the discourse, i.e. as means to reflect their superiority over the other, as a bargaining tool for maintaining or seeking more authority and control, or as an instrument for self-autonomy and state empowerment.

In the same continuum, this section aims to bring a different angle on how verbs as a fundamental discursive indicator reflect similar phenomenon on the basis of permission and restriction. According to Dahl (1957), one of the most effective ways to understand power is by recognizing the ability of A to make B do something that otherwise would not do or refraining B from doing something that otherwise would or might do. In this relation, agencies that possess this ability is said to have the upper hand in the power relations as they can exercise their authority and control over the other. Therefore, where agency A has the ability to make agency B allow A to do something in A's favours, A is regarded to possess more power than B. Akin to the previous section where the notion of beneficiary is pivotal, allocation of power within these settings again rest on who eventually benefits from the provisions. It is anticipated that throughout the discussed period, agencies with this capability will be fluidly shifting across context and time, hence mirroring how it is represented in the discourse.

In line with this, **Vs of Permission** and **Vs of Restriction** are discussed in terms of how the activation or deactivation of agencies reflect their ability to make the other comply to their terms and conditions on the basis of permission and restriction. Accordingly, the dynamic interaction between actions, interchangeable role of agencies, and how these as discursive elements interweavably represented not only reflect the attainment, maintenance, and negotiation of power between the two dominions but also the evolving political reality that surrounds it.

5.3.2.1. *Vs of Permission*

At the outset, **Vs of Permission** are defined as the act of allowing something to happen or permitting someone to do things that s/he wanted to do. Accordingly, this definition embeds two manifestations, where;

- i. it capitalizes on the notion of ownership, i.e. agency A as the source of power and control over its resources, and,
- ii. it entails compliance, where B can make A to allow B to do or attain what it wants. Here, power lies in B, as A has to conform to its request and terms.

Within BR-UK power constellations, the first manifestation necessitates the second, as all provisions are pre-negotiated on the axis of individual and mutual interests. For instance, BR has to provide physical access to UK's vessels and facilitate whatever is needed or requested by UK, in return for its state protection. In the data, these actions are embodied by 14 tokens of verbs *permit (permitted)*, *pass*, *authorized (authorised)*, *allow (allowed)*, and *enter (entering)* to portray the different scenarios of permission conducted by BR and UK as dominant players of the power parlay. They are perspectivized in terms of who is granting permission, who is being permitted, and who benefits from the whole process. Figure 29 documents presence of these verbs in documents 1847, 1959, and 1971, with 12, 2 and 2 tokens, respectively.

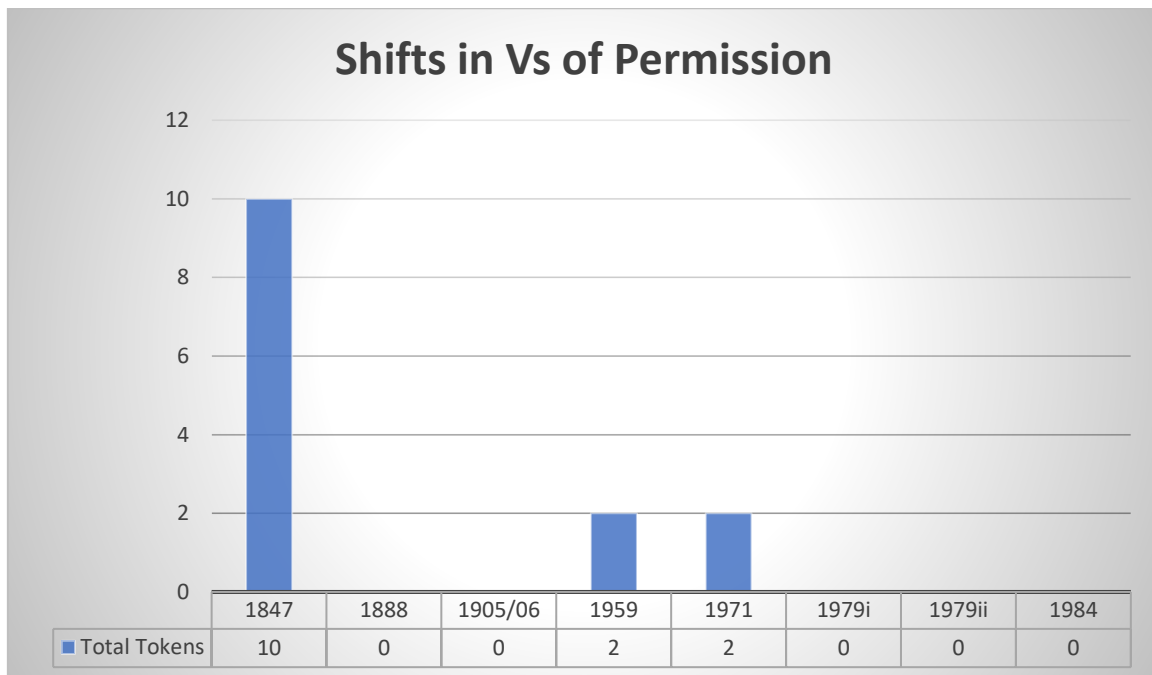


Figure 29 Shifts in Vs of Permission across the data

As shown in Figure 30, the 1847 Treaty records ten tokens of verbs *enter* (*entering*), *pass*, *permit* (*permitted*), and *allow*. In the document, *enter* (Figure 30:2; 3; 4), *entering* (Figure 30:6) and *pass* (Figure 30:9; 10) are represented as non-transactive, instrumental semiotic actions that activate and foreground AGN UK *the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty* (a) and AGN BR *the subjects of His Highness the Sultan of Borneo* (b) as agencies that have equal access to all parts of both dominions for trade purposes, OBJ *ships of war of Her Britannic Majesty, and those of the East India Company* to freely *enter* the state for defence purposes (c), and OBJ *British vessels entering the ports of His Highness* (d). In (e), nominalized form *power of entering* is semiotically used to instrumentally exhibit and emphasize the action as an existential state that is not changeable.

- a. *The subjects of Her Britannic Majesty shall have full liberty to enter into, reside in, trade with, and pass with their merchandize through all parts of the dominions of His Highness the Sultan Borneo, and they shall enjoy therein the privileges and advantages with respect to commerce, or otherwise, which are now which may hereafter be granted to the subjects or citizens of the most favoured nation (A2: Art.2)*

- b. ... *the subjects of His Highness the Sultan of Borneo* shall in like manner be at liberty to *enter into*, reside in, trade with, and *pass* with their merchandize through all parts of Her Britannic Majesty's dominions in Europe and Asia, as freely as the subjects of the most favoured nation, and they shall enjoy in those dominions all the privileges and advantages with respect to commerce, or otherwise, which are now or which may hereafter be granted therein the to the subjects or citizens of the most favoured nation. (A2: Art.2)
- c. His Highness the Sultan of Borneo engages to permit *the ships of war of Her Britannic Majesty, and those of the East India Company*, freely to *enter* into the ports, rivers, and creeks, situated within his dominions, and allow such ships to provide themselves at a fair and moderate price with such supplies, stores, and provisions, as they may from time to time stand in need of. (A2: Art.7)
- d. No duty exceeding 1 dollar per registered ton shall be levied on *British vessels entering* the ports of His Highness the Sultan of Borneo (A2: Art.5)
- e. and His Highness the Sultan of Borneo concedes to Her Majesty the right of investing her officers, and other duly constituted authorities, with *the power of entering* at all times, with her vessels of war, or other vessels duly empowered, the ports, rivers, and creeks within the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Borneo, in order to capture all vessels engaged in piracy or slave-dealing, and to seize and to reserve for the judgement of the proper authorities all persons offending against the 2 Contracting Powers in these respects. (A2: Art.9)

In the same trajectory, transactive, instrumental material actions *allow* (Figure 30:5) and *permit* (Figure 30:7) are used to activate AGN BR *His Highness the Sultan of Borneo* as agency that grants permission to UK's *ships of war* access to the state and to accordingly provides themselves with state resources as needed. Here, both agencies were portrayed as equally dominant political entities as their actions are more attributed to material (Teo, 2000), i.e. AGN BR as possessor of the access, and AGN UK as owners of the war ships. Use of non-transactive instrumental semiotic action *enter* that follows this representation, however, suggests that more emphasis is given towards the beneficiary of access who happens to act behind the object

that it possesses, i.e. OBJ *ships of war of Her Britannic Majesty, and those of the East India Company*. To further substantiate, UK's early establishment of dominance here is also traced with use of non-transactive, instrumental material action *permitted* (Figure 30:8) that activates and foregrounds AGN UK *British subjects* as the permitted agency and deagentializes AGN BR as agency that grants this access and owns the *ports, rivers, and creeks* as well as *all kinds of property within his dominions* (g).

- f. *His Highness the Sultan of Borneo engages to permit the ships of war of Her Britannic Majesty, and those of the East India Company, freely to enter into the ports, rivers, and creeks, situated within his dominions, and allow such ships to provide themselves at a fair and moderate price with such supplies, stores, and provisions, as they may from time to time stand in need of. (A2: Art.7)*

- g. *British subjects shall be permitted to purchase, rent, or occupy, or in any other legal way to acquire, all kinds of property within the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Borneo (A2: Art.3)*

Concordance Hits 10		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	esting her officers, and other duly constituted authorities, with the power of entering at all times, with her vessels of war, or other vessels duly empowered,	1847
2	ubjects. II. The subjects of Her Britannic Majesty shall have full liberty to enter into, reside in, trade with, and pass with their merchandize through all par	1847
3	Highness the Sultan of Borneo shall in like manner be at liberty to enter into, reside in, trade with, and pass with their merchandize through all par	1847
4	of Her Britannic Majesty, and those of the East India Company, freely to enter into the ports, rivers, and creeks, situated within his dominions, and allow	1847
5	to enter into the ports, rivers, and creeks, situated within his dominions, and allow such ships to provide themselves at a fair and moderate price with such	1847
6	duty exceeding 1 dollar per registered ton shall be levied on British vessels entering the ports of His Highness the Sultan of Borneo, and this fixed duty	1847
7	ture of those dominions. VII. His Highness the Sultan of Borneo engages to permit the ships of war of Her Britannic Majesty, and those of the East	1847
8	jects or citizens of the most favoured nation. III. British subjects shall be permitted to purchase, rent, or occupy, or in any other legal way to acquire,	1847
9	Majesty shall have full liberty to enter into, reside in, trade with, and pass with their merchandize through all parts of the dominions of His Highness	1847
10	like manner be at liberty to enter into, reside in, trade with, and pass with their merchandize through all parts of Her Britannic Majesty's domini	1847

Figure 30 Distribution of Vs of Permission in the 1847 Treaty

The 1959 and its 1971 Amendment document use of non-transactive and instrumental, semiotic action *authorised/ authorized* and material action *allowed* to validate AGN UK's *Her Majesty's Forces and persons* access to state for defence purposes. In the former, UK's authority is activated and foregrounded through use of phrase *on behalf of Her Majesty* (Figure 31:1; 2) to mark the legitimacy of the personnel as official representatives of UK government as well as Her Majesty's statutory rights over them (h). In the same provision, the amplitude of this authority is further reflected with the use of *allowed* (Figure 31:3; 4) that backgrounds and deletes AGN BR as the state gatekeeper of the state or provider of access (i).

- h. His Highness further agrees that for the aforesaid purposes *Her Majesty's Forces and persons authorised* on behalf of Her Majesty shall be at all times *allowed* to have free access to the State. (A5: Art.3.2)
- i. For the purposes of the defence of the State, *Her Majesty's Forces and persons authorized* on behalf of Her Majesty shall at all times be *allowed* to have free access to the State. (A6: Art.3.3)

Concordance Hits 4		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	agrees that for the aforesaid purposes Her Majesty's Forces and persons authorised on behalf of Her Majesty shall be at all times allowed to	1959
2	the defence of the State, Her Majesty's Forces and persons authorized on behalf of Her Majesty shall at all times be allowed to	1971
3	persons authorised on behalf of Her Majesty shall be at all times allowed to have free access to the State. (3) Subject as aforesaid, His Highness	1959
4	persons authorized on behalf of Her Majesty shall at all times be allowed to have free access to the State. (4) There shall be established a	1971

Figure 31 Distribution of **Vs of Permission** in the 1847 Treaty

5.3.2.2. Vs of Prohibition or Restriction

Contrastive to **Vs of Permission**, **Vs of Prohibition** are actions of prohibiting or refraining A to do something in favour of B as one that imposes this restriction. In diplomatic relations, the purpose of restriction can either be of mutual benefits to both negotiating parties or biasedly fashioned to the advantage of one. Along the BR-UK power relations axis, agency that complies to this restriction is subservient to the one that benefits from this restriction. In this section, this category is exemplified by CVs *prohibit* and *exempt*, negated **Vs of Permission** (*not permit*), **Vs of Giving** (*not grant*), **Vs of Production** (*not make*), **Vs of Obstruction** (*not affect, not be affected, no way affect*), and **Vs of Termination** (*not be terminated*), and negated NVs *cession, alienation, right, voice* and *measures*. Accordingly, Figure 32 is generated to visualize the distribution of 17 tokens of **Vs of Restriction**, and their changes in usage over time. It is prevalent in the 1847 Treaty and is present in 1847, 1888, 1959, 1971, 1979i, and 1979ii documents.

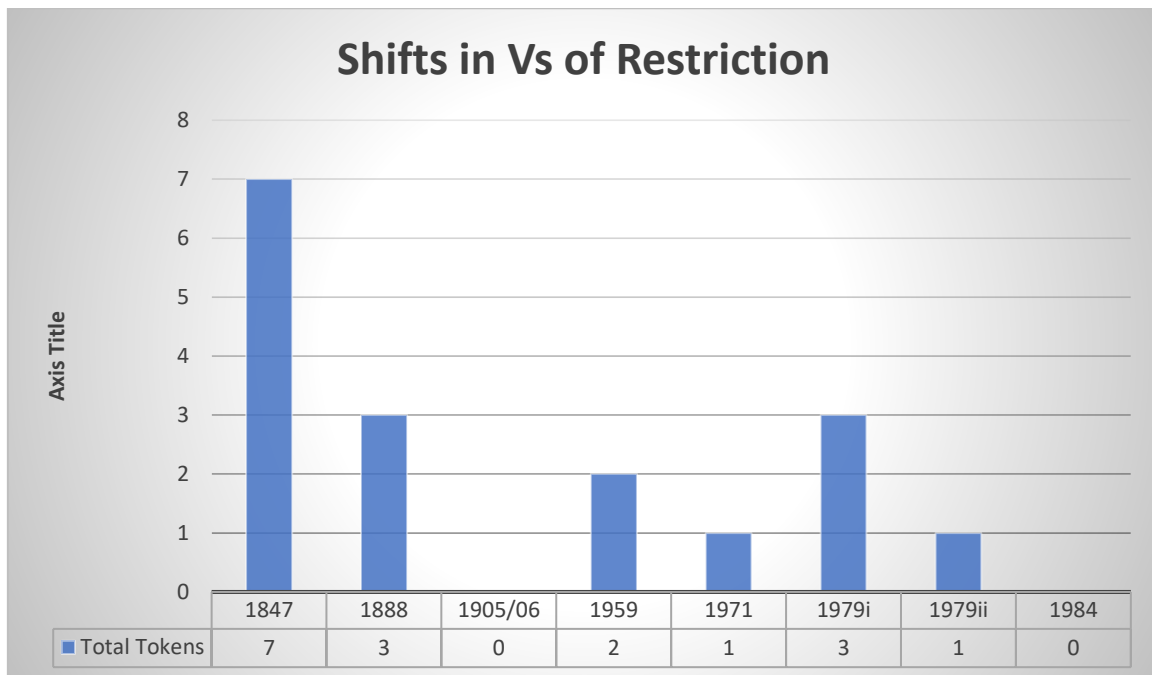


Figure 32 Shifts in Vs of Permission in the 1847 Treaty

In the 1847 Treaty, verbs in this category are marked by *prohibit*, *exempt*, *no case*, *no duty*, *not to grant*, and *not to make*. Here, *prohibit* (Figure 33:1) is represented as transactive, interactive material action in restricting AGN BR *all persons residing within his dominions, or subject to him* is activated as agency prohibited from *countenancing or taking share from slavery and piratical trade* (a). Similarly, *not to grant* (Figure 33:6), and *not to make* (Figure 33:7) are represented as non-transactive, instrumental material actions to reflect the restriction against provision of refuge to asylum seekers (b) and cession of state (c). On the other, *no case* (Figure 33:2), and *no duty* (Figure 33:3; 4) are represented as non-transactive, instrumental semiotic actions. They also deagentializes these prohibitions via eventuation and focuses on the UK's trade in BR's dominions. In provision (e) and (f), for instance, this trade is marked by OBJ *British trade and British goods*, and *exportation from His Highness's dominions of any article, the growth, produce, manufacture of those dominions*, respectively.

- a. *His Highness the Sultan of Borneo*, in compliance with Her Majesty's wish, engages to suppress all such traffic on the part of his subjects, and to *prohibit* all persons residing within his dominions, or subject to him, from countenancing or taking any share in such trade (A2: Art.11)

- b. and *His Highness the Sultan of Borneo* engages *not to grant* asylum or protection to any persons or vessels engaged in political pursuits; and in no case will he permit ships, slaves, or merchandized captured by pirates, to be introduced into his dominions, or to be exposed therein for sale (A2: Art.9)
- c. *His Highness the Sultan* engages *not to make* any similar cession, either of an island, or of any settlement on the mainland, in any part of his dominions, to any other nation, or to the subjects or citizens thereof, without the consent of Her Britannic Majesty. (A2: Art.10)
- d. and in *no case* will he permit ships, slaves, or merchandized captured by pirates, to be introduced into his dominions, or to be exposed therein for sale. (A2: Art.9)
- e. His Highness the Sultan Borneo agrees that *no duty* whatever shall be levied on the *exportation from His Highness's dominions of any article, the growth, produce, manufacture of those dominions.* (A2: Art.6)
- f. His Highness moreover engages that *British trade and British goods* shall be *exempt* from any internal duties, and also from any injurious regulations which may hereafter, from whatever causes, be adopted in the dominions of the Sultan of Borneo (A2: Art.5)

It is also interesting to note that AGN BR in provisions (a)-(d) above is also portrayed as agency that either engages or agrees with the provision, indicating that it is previously proposed, negotiated and consented beforehand. In provision (a), this is accentuated with the activation of AGN BR *His Highness* as agency that complies *with Her Majesty's wish*. Here, consents and compliance towards a prohibition proposed by the opposing party suggests early establishment of dominant-subservient power spectrum.

Concordance Hits 7		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	to suppress all such traffic on the part of his subjects, and to prohibit all persons residing within his dominions, or subject to him, from counten	1847
2	protection to any persons or vessels engaged in political pursuits; and in no case will he permit ships, slaves, or merchandized captured by pirates, to be	1847
3	duties which may hereafter be in force in regard to such trade. V. No duty exceeding 1 dollar per registered ton shall be levied on British vessels ent	1847
4	of the Sultan of Borneo. VI. His Highness the Sultan Borneo agrees that no duty whatever shall be levied on the exportation from His Highness's dominion	1847
5	Highness moreover engages that British trade and British goods shall be exempt from any internal duties, and also from any injurious regulations which m	1847
6	tive control or influence; and His Highness the Sultan of Borneo engages not to grant asylum or protection to any persons or vessels engaged in political	1847
7	difference which might otherwise arise, His Highness the Sultan engages not to make any similar cession, either of an island, or of any settlement	1847

Figure 33 Distribution of Vs of Prohibition in the 1847 Treaty

The 1888 Treaty reaffirms the establishment of the D-S spectrum with actions of prohibitions now extended to domains of BR's internal affairs, its foreign relations, and exclusivity in state legal proceedings. It records four actions manifesting Prohibition/Restriction, i.e. *no cession*, *(no) alienation*, *no right*, and *no voice*. As portrayed in (g), the first two are represented as instrumental semiotic actions that urged AGN BR *the Sultan* to comply to these restrictions. Although it backgrounds and deactivates AGN UK as agency that poses this restriction, this provision also embeds clause *without the consent of Her Majesty's Government* to reflect UK's legitimizing strategy in asserting its control over the state governance.

- g. No cession or other alienation of any part of the territory of the State of Brunei shall be made by the Sultan to any foreign state, on the subject or citizens thereof, without the consent of Her Majesty's Government, but this restriction shall not apply to ordinary grants or leases of land or houses to private individuals for purposes of residence, agriculture, commerce of other business. (A3: Art.5)

To challenge this assertion, instrumental semiotic action *no right* (Figure 34:3) is used against AGN UK *Her Majesty's Government* to deter its interference towards state internal administration and preserve its authority over some aspects of its governance (h). Here, AGN BR as the agency that prohibits is also deactivated and backgrounded into PRO *protection*, reflecting the similar strategy that UK utilizes in the same provision. This suggests a competing effort between BR and UK to establish and maintain each other's supremacy, if not negotiate or tip this power balance. To supplement, use of *no voice* (Figure 34:4) that applies to officers of BR and UK in legal proceedings equalizes subjects and representatives from both BR and UK, while at the same time placing both countries at par in authority and control particularly in the domain of state jurisdiction and legal proceedings (i).

- h. The State of Brunei shall continue to be governed and administrated by the said Sultan Hashim Jalilul Alam Akamaddin and his successors as an independent State, under the protection of Great Britain; but such *protection* shall confer *no right* on *Her Majesty's Government* to interfere with the internal administration of that State further than is herein provided. (A3: Art.1)

- i. In mixed civil cases arising between British and British protected subjects and the subjects of the Sultan, the trial shall take place in the court of the defendant's nationality; but an officer appointed by the Government of the plaintiff's nationality shall be entitled to be present at and to take part in, the proceedings, but shall have *no voice* in the decision. (A3: Art.7)

Concordance Hits 4			
Hit	KWIC		File
1	the subjects, commerce and shipping of the State of Brunei	Article VI No cession or other alienation of any part of the territory of the	1888 ,
2	shipping of the State of Brunei	Article VI No cession or other alienation of any part of the territory of the State of Brunei shall	1888 ,
3	State, under the protection of Great Britain; but such protection shall confer	no right on Her Majesty's Government to interfere with the internal	1888 ,
4	present at and to take part in, the proceedings, but shall have	no voice in the decision. Article VIII All the provisions of existing Treaties,	1888 ,

Figure 34 Distribution of *Vs of Prohibition* in the 1847 Treaty

In the 1959 and 1971 Treaty, *Vs of Prohibition/Restriction not make* (Figure 35:1; 2) is represented as non-transactive, instrumental semiotic action that prohibits AGN BR *he* from making any affiliation or political engagement with other states without UK's consent. It is regarded as material, i.e. behavioural, as BR has to comply and refrain itself from making such engagement. Here, the prohibiting agency is backgrounded and has to be implied from AGN UK that sanctions and controls this restriction. This form of representation where prohibiting agency is backgrounded is a retention from the previous agreement. However, this agency is now activated in the form of noun phrase knowledge and consent of *Her Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom*, and a topic statement indicating that AGN UK *Her Majesty shall have complete control of the external affairs of the State*- suggesting the preservation and strengthening of authority and control over state's external affairs (j).

- j. Her Majesty shall have complete control of the external affairs of the State; and His Highness agrees that without the knowledge and consent of *Her Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom* he will *not make* any Treaty, enter into any engagement, deal in or correspond on political matters with, or send envoys to, any other State. (A5: Art. 3.1; A6: Art. 3.1)

In juxtaposition, non-transactive, instrumental semiotic action *no measures* (Figure 35:3) reflects restriction towards UK from taking measures regarding access into the state for

defence purposes (k). Here, AGN UK as the prohibited agency is activated, whereas AGN BR as agency that prohibits is backgrounded and acts behind the authority of the Standing Advisory Council for defence (a joint constitutional entity comprised of integrated BR and UK).

Continuing the pattern of maintaining and negotiating control, this representation manifests the persisting yet diplomatic effort by both countries to refrain each other from taking control the different aspects of administration while at the same time maintaining the existing power that they have over these aspects. At the same time, this representation also reflects the evolving political context of the discourse, and the dynamics of BR-UK power relations.

- k. Her Majesty agrees that *no measures* in exercise of the right of access to the State given by paragraph (2) of this Article shall be taken for the purposes of such defence without prior consultation with the Standing Advisory Council except when there exists a state of emergency of such a nature as to make such prior consultation clearly impracticable, in which case, the Standing Advisory Council shall be consulted as soon as possible after the measures have been taken. (A5: Art. 3.5)

Concordance Hits 3		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	nt of Her Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom he will not make any Treaty, enter into any engagement, deal in or correspond on political matters	1959
2	f Her Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom he will not make any Treaty, enter into any engagement, deal in or correspond on political matters	1971
3	ry on matters regarding such defence. Her Majesty agrees that no measures in exercise of the right of access to the State given by paragraph (2) of this	1959

Figure 35 *Actions or Vs of Prohibitions/ Restrictions in the 1959 and 1971 Agreement*

In continuum, the 1979i Notes Exchange documents prohibitions imposed towards BR, ranging from termination of terms relating to the ceded territory of Labuan, fiscal arrangements made to Sabah and Sarawak, and the Public Officers' Agreement signed in 1973. These prohibitions such as *not affect* (Figure 36:1), *not be affected* (Figure 36:2), and *not be terminated* (Figure 36:3) are represented as instrumental semiotic action, and are mainly deagentialized to give emphasis towards the exempted *agreement* and *arrangement* (l)-(n). Although use of these prohibitions suggest BR's compliance towards the provision, it is indeterminate to what extent do these provisions benefit either BR or UK as they are geared towards Malaysia's interest, i.e. securing Labuan as one of the present Malaysian states, and privileges to the aristocrats residing in Malaysia.

- l. Any arrangements between the State of Brunei and the States of Sarawak and of Sabah and their successors in title for the payment of cession money shall *not be affected* (A7: Art.2)
- m. The Public Officers' Agreement of 19 September 1973(8) shall *not be terminated* but shall continue in force (A7: Art.2)
- n. The termination of the said agreements of 18 December 1846 and 27 May 1847 shall *not affect* the status of Labuan and its dependencies in any way (A7: Art.2)

Hit	KWIC	File
1	(a) The termination of the said agreements of 18 December 1846 and 27 may 1847 shall not affect the status of Labuan and its dependencies in any way; (1979i
2	of Sabah and their successors in title for the payment of cession money shall not be affected. 3. The relations between the United Kingdom and	1979i
3	encies in any way; (b) The Public Officers\xD5 Agreement of 19 September 1973(8) shall not be terminated but shall continue in force; (c) Any arrangemen	1979i

Figure 36 Actions or Vs of Prohibitions/ Restrictions in the 1979i Agreement

5.3.3. Actions Reflecting Consent

As the name denotes, **Vs of Consent** are verbs that exhibits the act of consent given by agencies towards any negotiated provisions in the agreements. They are interpreted along its semantic definitions where one is “to accept a suggestion or idea (approval),” or “to do something which has been suggested by another person (compliance)” (Cambridge online dictionary, 2018). In the case of *agree*, however, these definitions are further demarcated along the nuance of compliance, where, 1/ *agree to* implies the commitment that the speaker (who agrees) is willing to take according to what was suggested or demanded by another person as a form of compliance; and, 2/ *agree that* manifests approval to what was suggested. This form portrays a lesser degree of compliance compared to the first as it does not necessarily entail that the speaker has to perform what was being suggested or required or demanded by the other speaker. In this respect, Levin (1993: 200) assembles *agree* with *cooperate*, *correspond*, *differ*, and *negotiate*, among others, to reflect Verbs of Social Interaction or “activities that inherent involve more than one participant.” Levin (1993), however, does not elaborate further on the dynamics and the various dimensions of interaction between these participants in his categorization.

Within the structure of BR-UK power relations, power is allocated on the consenting party, i.e. whether consent is individually or mutually produced; and the receiving end of the consented provision, i.e. whether it is generated for the benefit of either one or both parties. In extension, the former would reflect the fluidity between a dominant-subservient relationship and a cooperative one; whereas the latter would give insight on who has the final ownership of resources, i.e. benefits. As exemplified in Figure 37, **Vs of Consent** that consists of *agree* (*agrees, agreed*), *consents*, and *abide by* are found in documents 1847, 1888, 1959, 1971, 1979ii and 1984. From the total of 32 tokens, 15 are recorded in the 1959 Agreement. Accordingly, *agree* is prominently used across the documents and appear in four variants;

- i. *agree + to* infinitive,
- ii. *agree + that* to inform the embedded clause that follows,
- iii. simple *agreed* form, and,
- iv. in the format of collocation *agreed and declared*

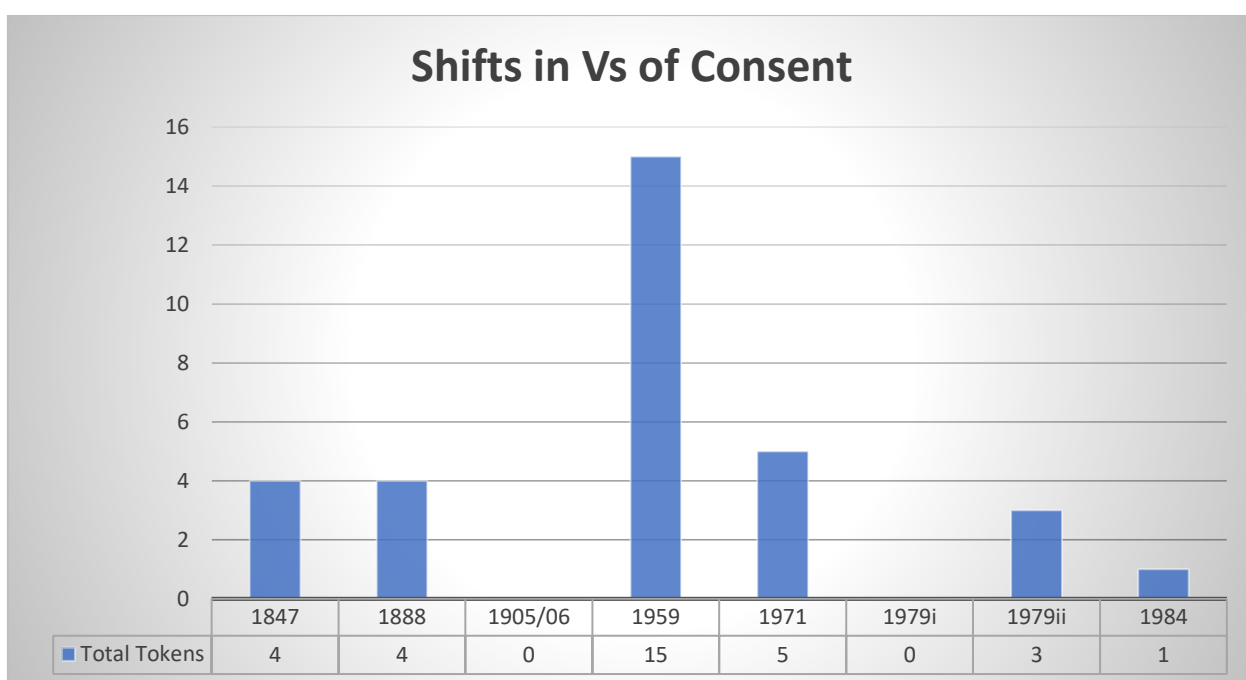


Figure 37 Shifts in Vs of Consent across the data

In the 1847 Treaty, **Vs of Consent** *consents, agrees* and *agreed* are represented as non-transactive instrumental semiotic actions. In Figure 38, *consents* (Figure 38:1) and *agrees* (Figure 38:2; 3) activate and foreground AGN BR *His Highness* as the complying agency that

consented to UK's proposals regarding commercial tax exemption and reservation of exclusive jurisdiction for both UK (Figure 38:2) and BR subjects (Figure 38:1) in cases involving slavery and piracy (a)-(c). These provisions also include use of generic and collective articles *all* and *whatever*, suggesting the extensive amount of freedom and control that UK wanted and BR consented. Accordingly, the representation of *agreed* (Figure 38:4) that semiotically activates BR-UK *Her said Britannic Majesty and the Sultan Borneo* as a cooperative political entity does not only portray their mutual commitment in materializing the terms in the Agreement, but also emphasizing their importance and role as an equivalent sovereignty that shares diplomatic relations and interests (d).

- a. *His Highness* further *consents* that *all* subjects of His Highness who may be found to be engaged in the Slave Trade, may, together with their vessels, be death with by the cruisers of Her Britannic Majesty, as if such persons and their vessels had been engaged in piratical undertaking. (A2: Art.11)
- b. *His Highness the Sultan Borneo agrees* that no duty *whatever* shall be levied on the exportation from His Highness's dominions of any article, the growth, produce, manufacture of those dominions. (A2: Art.6)
- c. *His Highness the Sultan of Borneo agrees* that in *all* cases when a British subject shall be accused of any crime committed in any part of His Highness's dominions, the person so accused shall be exclusively tried and adjudged by the English Consul-General, or other officer duly appointed for that purpose by Her Britannic Majesty (A2: Additional Article)
- d. *Her said Britannic Majesty and the Sultan Borneo have agreed* to record their determination in these respects by a Convention containing the following Articles (A2: Preamble)

Concordance Hits 4			
Hit	KWIC		File
1	om countenancing or taking any share in such trade; and His Highness further consents that all subjects of His Highness who may be found to be engaged		1847
2	xD0xD0xD0xD0 ADDITIONAL ARTICLE His Highness the Sultan of Borneo agrees that in all cases when a British subject shall be accused of any		1847
3	the dominions of the Sultan of Borneo. VI. His Highness the Sultan Borneo agrees that no duty whatever shall be levied on the exportation from His Hig		1847
4	ve-mentioned objects; Her said Britannic Majesty and the Sultan Borneo have agreed to record their determination in these respects by a Convention conta		1847

Figure 38 Distribution of Vs of Consent in the 1847 Treaty

The 1888 Treaty also documented four tokens of **Vs of Consent** in two different settings. Although all verbs in this category is represented as instrumental and semiotic, use of expletive *it* deagentializes *agreed* (Figure 39:1; 3) via existentialization (e)-(f). As a common political discourse marker, the deactivation of agencies here suggests two things, i.e. the suppression of BR's submission as a sovereignty under another supremacy; and UK's gradual attainment of power on ground via establishment of British representatives that handles state defence and foreign relations, equal legal jurisdiction towards both BR and UK subjects, and reservation of privileges to UK subjects without BR's interference. Here, both cases support for the concealment of power status between BR and UK within the framework of D-S.

- e. Whereas, Sultan Hashim Jalilul Alam Akamaddin, Sultan and lawful Ruler of the state of Brunei, in the Island of Borneo, has represented to Her Britannic Majesty's Government the desire of that state to be place under the protection of Her Majesty the Queen, under the conditions hereinafter mentioned: *it* is hereby *agreed* and declared as follows (A3: Preamble)

- f. *It is agreed* that full exclusive jurisdiction, civil and criminal, over British subjects and their property in the State of Brunei, is reserved to Her Britannic Majesty, to be exercised by such Consular or other officers as Her Majesty's shall appoint for the purpose. (A3: Art.7)

On the other, use of *agrees* (Figure 39:3) and *abide by* (Figure 39:2) in the same provision activates and foregrounds AGN BR *the Sultan of Brunei* as the dynamic agency that consents to comply and acts to UK's decision regarding the state's external affairs (g). The associated use of *agrees to abide by* embeds a higher degree of consent and compliance not only towards the provision geared towards the authority and control of UK as the agency that gives protection, but also towards the sovereign itself, i.e. as a supreme colonial power in the region.

- g. and if any difference should arise between the Sultan of Brunei and the Government of any other State, *the Sultan of Brunei agrees to abide by* the decision of Her Majesty's Government, and to take all necessary measures to give effect thereto (A3: Art.3)

Concordance Hits 4		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	Her Majesty the Queen, under the conditions hereinafter mentioned: it is hereby agreed and declared as follows: Article I The State of Brunei shall continue	1888-
2	the Government of any other State, the Sultan of Brunei agrees to abide by the decision of Her Majesty's Government, and to take	1888-
3	poses of residence, agriculture, commerce of other business. Article VII It is agreed that full exclusive jurisdiction, civil and criminal, over British subject	1888-
4	Brunei and the Government of any other State, the Sultan of Brunei agrees to abide by the decision of Her Majesty's Government, and	1888-

Figure 39 Distribution of Vs of Consent in the 1888 Treaty

To follow, there are 15 tokens of *agree (agrees, agreed)* recorded in the 1959 Treaty. In all cases, they are represented as non-transactive, instrumental semiotic actions which are also behaviouralized, i.e. performatives in nature. As documented in Figure 40, use of expletives *it* in collocation with *agreed and declared* (Figure 40:1) deagentializes the agency that gives consent to the terms in the provision via existentialization. As a marker for legal and political discourse, the deactivation of agencies sanctions the weightage of importance that each provision in the agreement carries, while at the same time backgrounds the power status and power balance between the participating agencies (h). On the same axis, passive *agreed* (40:3) is used with the activated agencies *His Highness and Secretary of State* to highlight the OBJ *cost of High Commissioner*. Although the agencies are presented as dynamic and mutual forces that conduct the act of consenting here, fronting of OBJ *cost* suggests more emphasis is given to the material object rather than the agencies (i).

- h. Now, therefore, it is agreed and declared as follows (A5: Preamble)
- i. The cost of the High Commissioner and his establishment as from time to time agreed between His Highness and the Secretary of State shall be borne by the State and shall be a charge on the revenues of the State. (A5: Art.5)

Reflective of the context and production of this document, this treaty also highlights the uninterrupted protection rendered by UK to BR as its protected state, as shown in provisions activating BR-UK *Her Majesty and His Highness* as an integrated political entity that *agree* (Figure 36:14) to the provision regarding the constitution of a Standing Advisory Council for defence (j). The synergetic roles and engagement of both agencies in supporting this provision is further fortified with the activation of AGN UK as the dynamic agency that *agrees that no measures in exercise of the right of access to the State given by paragraph (2) of this Article*

shall be taken for the purposes of such defence without prior consultation with the Standing Advisory Council (Figure 40:10).

- j. *Her Majesty and His Highness agree to constitute a Standing Advisory Council, consisting of representatives of Her Majesty and of the Government of the State, which shall consult as necessary on matters regarding such defence. (A5: Art.3.5)*

At the same time, the inclusivity of AGN BR within this integrated institutional entity reflects its gradual detachment from UK's holistic protection policy that anchors and dominates the power scale of BR-UK power relations, its active reinvolvement in the state's governance, and empowerment towards self-autonomy. In this regard, the last two is further substantiated by Article 8 of the Treaty that underscores AGN BR's desires, along with the consent of AGN UK who *agrees* (Figure 40:9) that *it shall be a particular charge upon the Government of the State to provide for and to encourage the education and training of the local inhabitants of the State so as to fit them to take a full share in the economic progress, social welfare and government of the State.*

As shown in (k)-(l), the activation and foregrounding of AGN UK *Her Majesty* also applies to clauses that scaffolds the production of this document, where AGN UK *His Highness agreed* (Figure 40:4) to the renewed arrangements *for the protection and defence of the State of Brunei; and agrees at all times to protect the State* (Figure 40:2). At the same time, this effort is reciprocated with the activation of AGN BR *His Highness* as the consenting party that *agrees* for UK to establish laws regarding defence in the state (Figure 40:5) and have access to the dominion to meet this purpose (Figure 40:8), as portrayed in (m)-(n), respectively. Furthermore, AGN BR *His Highness* is also activated as an obliging agency that *agrees* to ensure that related legislative and executive actions by UK will be taken within the state (Figure 40:6), as shown in (o). The juxtaposition of AGN UK as agency that provides national security due to its tactical prowess and military supremacy, and AGN BR as agency that is being protected reiterates presence of protector-protected binary, or D-S relations.

- k. *And whereas Her Majesty, in token of the friendship which She bears towards His Highness, the subjects of His Highness and the inhabitants of the State of Brunei, has at the request of His Highness agreed that as from the first appointed day fresh*

arrangements shall have effect for the protection and defence of the State of Brunei
(A5: Preamble)

- l. *Her Majesty* shall have complete control of the defence of the State, and *agrees* at all times to protect the State and the Government thereof and to the utmost of her power to take whatever measures may be necessary for the defence of the State (A5: Art.3.2)
- m. *His Highness* further *agrees* that for the aforesaid purposes Her Majesty's Forces and persons authorised on behalf of Her Majesty shall be at all times allowed to have free access to the State. (A5: Art.3.2)
- n. Subject as aforesaid, *His Highness agrees* that Her Majesty shall continue to enjoy jurisdiction to make for the State laws relating to defence and external affairs. (A5: Art.3.3)
- o. ... *His Highness agrees* that for these purposes he will ensure that such legislative and executive action as in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government shall be necessary for the purposes of the defence of the State and the Government thereof (which expression in this Article includes defence against any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of the State) shall be taken within the State; (A5: Art.3.2)

Respectively, similar representation also applies to provisions on Brunei's external affairs, where AGN BR *His Highness* is foregrounded as the active agency that *agrees* to ensure that related legislative and executive actions by UK, particularly on matters pertaining to state's foreign affairs will be taken (Figure 40:7), and *agrees* (Figure 40:12) to restrict itself from making political engagements with other states without UK's acknowledgement and consent (p). On ground, the execution of these actions are relayed and overseen by a British High Commissioner (in replacement of the traditional British Resident), whom AGN BR *His Highness* actively *agrees* to receive, provide residence for and accept advice regarding all *matters connected with the government of the State other than matters relating to the Muslim religion and the Custom of the Malays as practised in the State* (Figure 40:15; 13), as shown in (q). In exchange, AGN UK would also actively *agrees* to *keep His Highness informed of any action taken or proposed to be taken by Her* (Figure 40:11). In this regard, although the former

demonstrates AGN BR's compliance towards AGN UK, the latter, on the other, records AGN BR's negotiation for authority and control over the state governance (r).

- p. Her Majesty shall have complete control of the external affairs of the State; and *His Highness agrees* that without the knowledge and consent of Her Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom he will not make any Treaty, enter into any engagement, deal in or correspond on political matters with, or send envoys to, any other State. His Highness further *agrees* that he will ensure that such legislative and executive action as in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government shall be necessary for the purpose of Her Majesty's exercise of Her control of the external affairs of the State shall be taken within the State and that Her Majesty shall continue to enjoy jurisdiction to make for the State laws relating to external affairs. (A5: Art.3.1)

- q. *His Highness agrees* to receive, and provide a suitable residence for, a High Commissioner to advise on all matters connected with the government of the State other than matters relating to the Muslim religion and the Custom of the Malays as practised in the State, and *agrees* to accept the advice of the High Commissioner. (A5: Art.4.1)

- r. *Her Majesty agrees* that She will keep His Highness informed of any action taken or proposed to be taken by Her in pursuance of this Article. (A5: Art.3.4)

Concordance Hits	15	File
Hit	KWIC	
1	protection and defence of the State of Brunei: Now, therefore, it is agreed and declared as follows: 1. This Agreement may be cited as the Brunei	1959
2	Majesty shall have complete control of the defence of the State, and agrees at all times to protect the State and the Government thereof and	1959
3	of the High Commissioner and his establishment as from time to time agreed between His Highness and the Secretary of State shall be borne by	1959
4	of the State of Brunei, has at the request of His Highness agreed that as from the first appointed day fresh arrangements shall have effect	1959
5	the State) shall be taken within the State; and His Highness further agrees that for the aforesaid purposes Her Majesty's Forces and persons authori:	1959
6	may be necessary for the defence of the State ; and His Highness agrees that for these purposes he will ensure that such legislative and executive	1959
7	matters with, or send envoys to, any other State. His Highness further agrees that he will ensure that such legislative and executive action as in	1959
8	to have free access to the State. (3) Subject as aforesaid, His Highness agrees that Her Majesty shall continue to enjoy jurisdiction to make for the	1959
9	ployment, be treated impartially. 8. His Highness desires and Her Majesty agrees that it shall be a particular charge upon the Government of the	1959
10	shall consult as necessary on matters regarding such defence. Her Majesty agrees that no measures in exercise of the right of access to the	1959
11	for the State laws relating to defence and external affairs. (4) Her Majesty agrees that She will keep His Highness informed of any action taken or	1959
12	complete control of the external affairs of the State; and His Highness agrees that without the knowledge and consent of Her Majesty's Government of	1959
13	and the Custom of the Malays as practised in the State, and agrees to accept the advice of the High Commissioner. (2) Nothing in this Article	1959
14	the peace or tranquillity of the State, Her Majesty and His Highness agree to constitute a Standing Advisory Council, consisting of representatives of	1959
15	ternal menace to the peace or tranquillity of the State. 4. (1) His Highness agrees to receive, and provide a suitable residence for, a High Commissioner to	1959

Figure 40 Distribution of Vs of Consent in the 1959 Treaty

In its 1971 Amendment, only five provisions are retained from its 1959 predecessor concerning authority and control over state's foreign affairs. Here, the deletion and replacement of the remaining clauses reflects the context where BR is gradually disembarking from UK's holistic protection and progressively developing its own capabilities with UK's assistance; while maintaining UK's jurisdiction over BR's diplomatic relations with foreign states. As such, the five tokens of non-transactive, instrumental semiotic actions *agrees* (*agreed*) are remnants from its 1959's predecessor, where use of *agreed* is deagentialized via existentialization (Figure 41:1); use of *agreed* (Figure 41:2) and *agrees* (Figure 41:3; 5) that activate AGN BR as a complying agency towards UK's policy on Brunei's foreign engagements; and use of *agrees* that activates AGN UK as a complying agency towards BR's terms on bilateral communication between BR and UK.

Hit	KWIC	File
1	the protection and defence of the State of Brunei: Now, therefore, IT IS AGREED AND DECLARED as follows: This Agreement may be cited as the Brunei	1971 .
2	inhabitants of the State of Brunei, has at the request of His Highness agreed that as from the first appointed day fresh arrangements shall have effect	1971 .
3	tical matters with, or send envoys to, any other State. His Highness further agrees that he will ensure that such legislative and executive action as in the	1971 .
4	isdiction to make for the State laws relating to external affairs. Her Majesty agrees that She will keep His Highness informed of any action taken or proposed	1971 .
5	have complete control of the external affairs of the state; and His Highness agrees that without the knowledge and consent of Her Majesty's Governme	1971 .

Figure 41 Distribution of Vs of Consent in the 1971 Treaty

The 1979ii Treaty recorded three tokens of **Vs of Consent** *agreed* as both transactive, and non-transactive instrumental, semiotic actions. The former is noted at the beginning of treaty that activates both AGN BR and AGN UK as dynamic, supreme political forces that shares *long standing and traditional relations of close friendship and co-operation* (1979ii: Preamble) and *agreed* (Figure 38:1) to materialize the provisions outlined in the treaty. Similar representation (s) is also used in tandem with the backgrounding of these agencies despite their activation at the beginning of the provision as an integrated AGN BR-UK *High Contracting Parties* (Figure 42:2).

- s. The High Contracting Parties shall encourage educational, scientific and cultural cooperation between the two States in accordance with arrangements to be agreed. (A8: Art.3)

Aligned to the context of this Agreement that underscores BR-UK joint efforts and provision of UK assistance in state's foreign relations as needed or *requested* (1979ii: Article 2) is the

resurfacing of AGN BR *State of Brunei* as an active agency that *has agreed to resume full international responsibility as a sovereign and independent State* (Figure 42:4), as depicted in (t). Here, *agreed* is represented as non-transactive instrumental semiotic form in activation of AGN BR as a dynamic authority. Its behaviouralized nature also underscores its performative nature particularly in emphasizing the magnitude of action that its consented to, i.e. the resumption of its full responsibility as a sovereign and independent state.

- t. Considering that the *State of Brunei* has agreed to resume full international responsibility as a sovereign and independent State (A8: Preamble)

Hit	KWIC	File
1	to this intention in the form of a Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation; Have agreed as follows: Article 1. The relations between the United Kingdom of Gre	1979ii
2	al cooperation between the two States in accordance with arrangements to be agreed. Such arrangements shall include: (a) The promotion of mutual understa	1979ii
3	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland whereby in 1888 it was agreed that external relations were the responsibility of the Government of Her	1984 F
4	Darul Salam, and All Its Dependencies;Considering that the State of Brunei has agreed to resume full international responsibility as a sovereign and independe	1979ii

Figure 42 Distribution of Vs of Consent in the 1979ii Treaty

Ultimately, the 1984 Proclamation detects only one token of *agreed* (Figure 42:3) to reflect the nature of BR-UK political relations. In this regard, presence of expletive *it* deagentializes instrumental semiotic action *agreed* via existentialization to indicate the deactivation of agencies that consented to the transfer of authority over Brunei's external affairs in the 1888 document. In extension, the total deletion of agencies suggests the concealment of uneven BR-UK power balance over time which inevitably entails dominance of one sovereignty over the other; or as a negation or diversion towards the collective perception that Brunei was a colony of Great Britain since the drafting of the agreement, as emphasized below (u);

- u. AND WHEREAS Brunei Darussalam *has never been a colony but had since 1847 a special treaty relationship with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland* whereby in 1888 it was agreed that external relations were the responsibility of the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (my emphasis)

5.3.4. Actions Reflecting Continuum

Verbs of Continuum refers to both the motion and state of the different access points of a spectrum. While motion reflects the directional movement in a persistent manner and progressiveness, state is perspectivized from the viewpoint of interference imposed at the different stages of this spectrum. Across the data, there are 56 verbs that manifest these phenomena via semantic categories **Vs of Motion**, **Vs of Initiation**, **Vs of Obstruction**, **Vs of Resumption**, and **Vs of Termination**. Accordingly, the last four categories are interpreted in line with the direction of the continuum and the following access points;

- i. At the initiation point of the continuum that marks the beginning of a process, i.e. from zero point;
- ii. At any arbitrary point of the continuum where interference is temporary with chances for resumption of process;
- iii. At any arbitrary point of the continuum where the process recommences after a stoppage;
- iv. At the termination level that entails ultimatum or permanent end to the whole process.

Prior to understanding how these verbs manifest changes in BR-UK relations, it is pertinent to examine these access points or semantic categories in isolation to get the grip on their general meanings and how these verbs are used throughout the data. On **Vs of Motion**, 27 tokens are detected throughout the data via verbs *subsist (subsisting)*, *continue*, *maintain (maintained)*, *flowing*, *running*, *keep*, and *carrying on (carried on)*. In this grouping, *carrying on (carried on)* is phrasal verb while *flowing* and *running* are used figuratively to refer to the intertextuality of the documents, and to cite geographical phenomenon, respectively. In Levin's (1993) categorization, these verbs are grouped into Aspectual Verbs under the subset of *Begin Verbs* to describe the initiation, termination, or continuation of an activity" (1993: 274), *Vs with Predicative Complements* under the subset of *Conjecture Verbs* to "characterize or describe properties or entities" (1993:182), *Vs of Existence* under the subset *Vs of Entity- Specific Modes of Being* and subset *Meander* verbs to describe the appearance of an entity on the scene and take locative phrases including *from* (1993:250;256), and *Vs of Motion* under the subset *Run Verbs* to describe the movement of inanimate entities, although with no implication of specific direction of motion unless explicitly mentioned (1993:265-267).

Similarly, **Vs of Initiation** consists of six tokens of verbs *established*, *introduced* and *commence (commenced)*. Existing in the first five documents, verbs in this category are categorized as a

subset of Levin's (1993) aspectual verbs that are intransitive in nature and describe the initiation, termination, or continuation of an activity. In the dataset, these verbs mainly reflect the instigation of a process or a joint professional body between Brunei and Britain.

To follow, Vs of **Obstruction** consists of eight tokens manifested by verbs *intersects*, *affect*, *interfere*, *regulated* and *obstructed*. This category reflects one of the access points in a continuum where obstruction or interference cause a change of state or a process. In some cases, this obstruction is temporary and followed by resumption. Here, Levin define *intersects*, *affect* and *regularize* as verbs that alternate states including of physical or psychological or emotional in nature. In addition, they are also perspectivized on a basis of spatial relations and symmetric relationship between "two entities that are contiguous in space" (1993:257).

Accordingly, **Vs of Resumption** consists of three tokens and are represented by *resume* and *revert*. They are used to reflect reinstatement or resumption of a process or a state after facing a temporary halt. These verbs only appear towards the end of the continuum, i.e. where the main point of references was specifically dedicated towards the resumption of Brunei's full international responsibility for its external affairs and as an independent State as stated in the 1984 Declaration.

Meanwhile, **Vs of Termination** such as *terminate*, *revoked*, *suppress*, *discharging*, *meet*, *reached*, and *arrived* occur when a motion reaches its ultimatum or final stage. In other words, these verbs capture the different ways to reach or express closure itself. With twelve tokens, these verbs are spotted sparsely across five documents. These verbs are salient in the 1979i document where it reflects the terminating process of previous provisions and agreements between BR and UK. In the same trajectory, Levin (1993) associates *terminate*, *discharge*, *reach*, and *arrive* with intransitive uses, removal of entity from a location, and inclusive of a specification of the direction of motion. In the data, verbs in this category are also noted in contexts discussing efforts in suppressing piracy (*suppress*), voidance of previous treaties (*revoked*), announcement for dismissing a post (*discharging*), arriving at a conclusion (*reached*, *arrived*), reflecting the circumstances surrounding the production and use of these verbs. In this regard, Figure 43 is generated to depict the distribution of **Vs of Motion, Initiation, Obstruction, Resumption, and Termination** across the data. Here **Vs of Motion** is predominant in seven documents with 27 tokens, reflecting progression that underscores the political relations between the two states and agreements that bound them.

	Vs of Motion	Vs of Initiation	Vs of Obstruction	Vs of Resumption	Vs of Termination
1847	3	1	2	0	1
1888	3	1	1	0	0
1905/06	1	1	1	0	0
1959	5	1	0	0	2
1971	7	2	0	0	2
1979i	3	0	0	0	5
1979ii	4	0	1	1	0
1984	0	0	1	1	2

Figure 43 Distribution of *Actions reflecting Continuum*

As depicted in Figure 43, the 1847 Treaty documented seven tokens of actions of continuum marked by verbs *subsist*, *running*, *suppress*, *intersects*, *obstructed*, *introduced*, and *carrying on*. From this cluster, *intersects* (Figure 44:2), *running* (Figure 44:5) and *carrying on* (Figure 44:2) are represented as deagentialized, instrumental semiotic actions, via eventuation, i.e. as an event that just happens without the involvement of human agency. Accordingly, the complete deletion of agencies here is appropriate as they place a greater emphasis on the subjects of the clause, i.e. the vital importance of the geographical boundary markers (a), and the procedural norms in trade (b). Along the same axis, *subsist* (Figure 44:6) is also represented as instrumental semiotic actions with specific reference to EVE/PHE *peace, friendship and good understanding*. Contrastive to its counterparts, however, its usage is agentialized but backgrounded as second in importance via use of *between Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and His Highness Omar Ali Saifadeen, Sultan of Borneo, and between their respective heirs and successors, and subjects* succeeding the verb (44:6), as shown in (c).

- a. Likewise the distance of 10 geographical miles from the island of Labuan to the westward and northward, and from the nearest point half way between the Islet of Malankasan and the mainland of Borneo, in a *line running* north till it intersects a line

extended from west to east from a point 10 miles to the northward of the northern extremity of the Island of Labuan (A2: Art.5)

- b. it being desirable that British subjects should have some port where they may careen and refit their vessels, and where they may deposit such stores and merchandize as shall be necessary for the *carrying on* of their *trade* with the dominions of Borneo ... (A2: Art.5)
- c. *Peace, friendship, and good understanding* shall from henceforward and forever *subsist* between Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and His Highness Omar Ali Saifadeen, Sultan of Borneo, and between their respective heirs and successors, and subjects. (A2: Art.1)

On the other, *suppress, obstructed* and *introduced* are represented as agentialized instrumental material action in this treaty. In the first, *suppress* (Figure 44:7), foregrounds and activates AGN BR *His Highness the Sultan of Borneo* as agency that *engages to* conduct this action in fulfilling its role as a cooperative agency that vows to end piratical activities in the region, in compliance with AGN UK's desire (d). Respectively, agencies that *obstructed* (Figure 44:7) trade and *introduced* (Figure 44:3) their possessions in the state are backgrounded and dissolved into foregrounded EVE/PHE piracies (e), and OBJ *ships, slaves, or merchandized captured by pirates* related to piracy, respectively. In periphery, the deactivation of these agencies reflects their diminished role in the treaty as compared to the state powers who are commonly portrayed as being the legislator and executor of laws related to maritime security.

- d. Her Britannic Majesty being greatly desirous of effecting the total abolition of the Trade in Slaves, *His Highness the Sultan of Borneo*, in compliance with Her Majesty's wish, engages to *suppress* all such traffic on the part of his subjects (A2: Art.6)
- e. HER Majesty the Queen the United Kingdom Great Britain and Ireland, being desirous to encourage commerce between Her Majesty's subjects and the subjects of the independent Princes of the Eastern Seas, and to put an end to *piracies* which have hitherto *obstructed* that commerce (A2: Preamble)

Concordance Hits 7		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	/ may deposit such stores and merchandize as shall be necessary for the carrying on of their trade with the dominions of Borneo, His Highness the Sultan	1847
2	Malankasan and the mainland of Borneo, in a line running north till it intersects a line extended from west to east from a point 10 miles to the	1847
3	e will he permit ships, slaves, or merchandized captured by pirates, to be introduced into his dominions, or to be exposed therein for sale. And Her Britannic	1847
4	the Eastern Seas, and to put an end to piracies which have hitherto obstructed that commerce; and His Highness Omar Ali Saifadeen, who sits upon th	1847
5	between the Islet of Malankasan and the mainland of Borneo, in a line running north till it intersects a line extended from west to east from a	1847
6	endship, and good understanding shall from henceforward and for ever subsist between Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and His Highn	1847
7	sultan of Borneo, in compliance with Her Majesty\xD5s wish, engages to suppress all such traffic on the part of his subjects, and to prohibit all	1847

Figure 44 Distribution of **Actions reflecting Continuum** in the 1847 Treaty

To follow, the 1888 Treaty recorded five tokens of *continue*, *carried on*, and *maintained*, *interfere*, and *establish* in its provisions. Within this distribution, non-transactive instrumental semiotic action *continue* (Figure 45:2) is used in activation of AGN BR *Sultan Hashim Jalilul Alam Akamaddin and his successors* to depict the uninterrupted exercise of BR's monarchical authority over its state (f). In other words, this activation asserts the conservation of BR's ruling supremacy and legitimacy as one that holds the ultimate controlling power in the country. On the other, instrumental semiotic actions *carried on* (Figure 45:1) and *maintained* (Figure 45:5) are deagentialized via eventuation to conceal the role of agencies. In this relation, the focal point is diverted towards PRO *all communications* (g) and OBJ *All the provisions of existing Treaties, Conventions, and Declarations between Her Majesty the Queen and the Sultan of Brunei* (h) to highlight the preservation of UK's control over the state's communication with foreign countries, and maintenance of terms as stipulated in the agreed provisions.

- f. *The State of Brunei* shall *continue* to be governed and administrated by the said Sultan Hashim Jalilul Alam Akamaddin and his successors as an independent State, under the protection of Great Britain (A3: Art.1)
- g. The relations between the State of Brunei and all foreign states, including the States of Sarawak and North Borneo shall be conducted by Her Majesty's Government, and *all communications* shall be *carried on* exclusively through Her Majesty's Government, or in accordance with its directions (A3: Art.3)
- h. *All the provisions of existing Treaties, Conventions, and Declarations between Her Majesty the Queen and the Sultan of Brunei* are hereby confirmed and *maintained*

except in so far as any of them may conflict with the present Agreement. (A3: Art.8)

Accordingly, material actions *establish* (Figure 45:3) and *interfere* (Figure 45:4) are used in activation of AGN UK *Her Majesty's Government* to emphasize its vital role in the provisions. Different in nature, (i) is regarded as interactive as it engages another agency, i.e. *British Consular Officers*, while (j) instrumentally places AGN UK *Her Majesty's Government* as the prohibited agency from obstructing the state's internal administration further than stated. Here, use of instrumentally materialized actions often characterizes a bureaucratized text as it accentuates the authority that the agency possess (van Leeuwen, 1995). It reflects the ability of the agencies to translate any intangible concepts or ideas into tangible entities.

- i. *Her Majesty's Government* shall have the right to *establish* British Consular Officers in any part to the State of Brunei. (A3: Art.4)
- j. ... but such protection shall confer no right on *Her Majesty's Government* to *interfere* with the internal administration of that State further than is herein provided. (A3: Art.1)

Hit	KWIC	File
1	acted by Her Majesty's Government, and all communications shall be carried on exclusively through Her Majesty's Government, or in accordance w	1888-
2	agreed and declared as follows: Article I The State of Brunei shall continue to be governed and administrated by the said Sultan Hashim Jalilul Alam	1888-
3	Article IV Her Majesty's Government shall have the right to establish British Consular Officers in any part to the State of Brunei, who	1888-
4	protection shall confer no right on Her Majesty's Government to interfere with the internal administration of that State further than is herein provic	1888-
5	Majesty the Queen and the Sultan of Brunei are hereby confirmed and maintained except in so far as any of them may conflict with the	1888-

Figure 45 Distribution of **Actions reflecting Continuum** in the 1888 Treaty

Consecutively, only two tokens of **Vs of Initiation** *established* (Figure 46:1) and **Vs of Motion** *maintained* are noted in the 1905/06 Supplementary Agreement. In the latter, *maintained* (Figure 46:2) shares similar representation and explanation to that of Figure 46:5 to reiterate the stability and preservation of provisions that binds BR-UK political relations (k). Accordingly, the passive form *established* (Figure 46:1) foregrounds the OBJ *similar system* as the core of the provision and permanently deletes the agency that initiates this system (l). In extension, this representation suggests the equalization in status between Brunei and other protectorates/protected states in Southeast Asia, and to an extent the gradual decentralization of ruling power from full autonomy to shared power. To further substantiate, the contextual background that records the segregation of Brunei's governance into two separate domains of jurisdiction

aligns and supports for the creation of uneven power distribution between BR and UK within the frame of D-S power nexus.

- k. *All existing Agreements made between the British Government and the Government of Brunei* are hereby confirmed and *maintained* except in so far as any of them may conflict with the present Agreement. (A4: Art.2)
- l. ... in order that *a similar system* may be *established* to that existing in other Malay States now under British Protection. (A4: Art.1)

Concordance Hits 2		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	the Mohammedan religion, in order that a similar system may be established to that existing in other Malay States now under British Protection.	1905
2	h Government and the Government of Brunei are hereby confirmed and maintained except in so far as any of them may conflict with	1905

Figure 46 Distribution of **Actions reflecting Continuum** in the 1905/06 Treaty

In the following Agreement of 1959, eight tokens manifesting actions of continuum are detected. Each representation is semioticized, indicating that they are descriptions of state of being rather than ‘doing’ actions (van Leeuwen, 1995). As shown in Figure 47, *continue* (Figure 47:2) and *keep* (Figure 47:5) activates and foregrounds AGN UK *She (Her Majesty)* as the dynamic agency that maintains its authority over the state’s defence and external affairs (m), and to actively engage AGN BR *His Highness* in its related undertakings. In this relation, the former is regarded as non-transactive and instrumental, while the latter is transactive and interactive in nature as both AGN UK and AGN BR are activated as agencies that commit to inform and receive the information incessantly. In BR-UK power balance, this arrangement manifests UK’s compliance towards BR’s request, hence marking BR’s regaining of control in the power parlay. On the other, *discharging* (Figure 47:4) is used generically to refer to the temporary disruption of duties of British High Commissioner and any appointed AGN UK personnel that fills in this post temporarily (n).

- m. Subject as aforesaid, His Highness agrees that *Her Majesty* shall *continue* to enjoy jurisdiction to make for the State laws relating to defence and external affairs. (A5: Art.3.3)

- n. "High Commissioner" means Her Majesty's High Commissioner in the State of Brunei, and references to the High Commissioner include any person for the time being *discharging* the functions of High Commissioner (A5: Art.2)

Accordingly, **Vs of Motion** *continue* (Figure 47:3), *subsist* (Figure 47:7), *subsisting* (Figure 47:8), **Vs of Termination** *revoked* (Figure 47:6), and **Vs of Initiation** *commence* (Figure 47:1) are deagentialized via eventuation to underscores the importance of OBJ *agreements* (q) and PRO *proclamation providing for the constitutional development of the State of Brunei* (r). In this relation, use of actions of continuum in these provisions marks the interlinkage and relationship between the agreements enclosed or flowing from this treaty, i.e. as markers for intertextuality between texts within the same discourse (o)-(p).

- o. *All other Treaties and Agreements subsisting* immediately before the commencement of this Agreement shall *continue* in force save in so far as they are inconsistent with this Agreement or in so far as they contain provisions relating to the succession to the Sultanate of Brunei. (A5: Art.9.2)
- p. And whereas *the aforesaid Proclamation providing for the constitutional development of the State of Brunei* will *commence* to operate on a day to be appointed by His Highness, herein-after referred to as "the first appointed day" (A5: Preamble)

Concordance Hits 8		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	ation providing for the constitutional development of the State of Brunei will commence to operate on a day to be appointed by His Highness, herein-	1959
2	e State. (3) Subject as aforesaid, His Highness agrees that Her Majesty shall continue to enjoy jurisdiction to make for the State laws relating to defence	1959
3	ts subsisting immediately before the commencement of this Agreement shall continue in force save in so far as they are inconsistent with this	1959
4	references to the High Commissioner include any person for the time being discharging the functions of High Commissioner; "His Highness" includes His	1959
5	elating to defence and external affairs. (4) Her Majesty agrees that She will keep His Highness informed of any action taken or proposed to be taken	1959
6	the State of Brunei for Himself, His Heirs and Successors, is hereby revoked . (2) All other Treaties and Agreements subsisting immediately before	1959
7	ce and External Affairs.--Brunei, 29th September, 1959 Whereas Agreements subsist between Her Majesty and His Highness: And whereas His Highness h	1959
8	irs and Successors, is hereby revoked. (2) All other Treaties and Agreements subsisting immediately before the commencement of this Agreement shall co	1959

Figure 47 Distribution of Actions reflecting Continuum in the 1959 Treaty

Followingly, the 1971 Amendment retains five semiotic representations from its previous 1959 predecessor, namely *commence* (Figure 48:1), *discharging* (Figure 48:4), *revoked* (Figure 48:6), *subsist* (Figure 48:7), and *subsisting* (Figure 48:8), in addition to another seven tokens of instrumental semiotic actions *continue*, *established* and *maintain*. Within these remnants, *continue in force* (Figure 48:4; 5) are deagentialized via eventuation to highlight the OBJ

agreements as the focal point of the provisions (q). Accordingly, *continue* (Figure 48:2) and *keep* (Figure 48:8) used with the activation and foregrounding of AGN UK depicts the uninterrupted exercise of jurisdiction over the state's external relations and its unremitting commitment to involve AGN BR by informing *His Highness of any action taken or proposed to be taken by Her in pursuance of this Article* (r). It is also important to note that in this context, this jurisdiction has been diminished from two domains to one, i.e. from both defence and foreign affairs to solely the latter.

- q. Subject to the amendments made by the present agreement, the *1959 Agreement* shall *continue in force* and as amended by this agreement, the two shall be read together as one document. (A6: Art.6)
- r. Her Majesty agrees that *She* will *keep* His Highness informed of any action taken or proposed to be taken by Her in pursuance of this Article. (A6: Art.3.1)

In the same trajectory, AGN UK *Her Majesty* is also represented as an agency that *continue* (Figure 48:3) to assist AGN BR *His Highness* within its capability particularly in the realm of national security and defence (s). Here, use of *continue* is more interactive and transactive as it involves two activated agencies within the context of giving and receiving. Within this depiction, the activation of agencies with regard to the representation of these social actions reflects the retention of power by AGN UK as the dominant agency in terms of possession and provider of knowledge and expertise.

- s. *Her Majesty* shall *continue* to assist *His Highness* within the capability of the United Kingdom ... (A6: Art.3.2)

On the other, similar representation also portrays BR's effort in balancing the power conundrum between the two states particularly by having a fair share in its external affairs as well as gradually developing autonomy in its own defence matters. In the latter, this is shown by use of non-transactive, instrumental behaviouralized semiotic action *maintain* (Figure 48:9) which promotes AGN BR as a crucial figure that develops its own Forces with UK's assistance (t); and use of deagentialized *established* (Figure 48:7) via existentialization expletive *there* with regard to the formation of a joint standing consultative body *Brunei Defence Council* between

the two states (u). In this regard, the concealment of agencies is suggestive equality in power status, legitimacy and authority between the two countries and masking of the contested power balance that frame their political relations.

- t. Raise, equip and *maintain* forces sufficient for the preservation of internal public order and to be the first line of external defence (A6: Art.3.2)
- u. There shall be *established* a joint standing consultative body, to be called the Brunei Defence Council, which shall meet quarterly, or more frequently if occasion demands. (A6: Art.3.4)

Concordance Hits 12		File
Hit	KWIC	
1	ation providing for the constitutional development of the State of Brunei will commence to operate on a day to be appointed by His Highness, hereinafter r	1971
2	the State shall be taken within the State and that Her Majesty shall continue to enjoy jurisdiction to make for the State laws relating to external af	1971
3	Her Majesty's forces present in the State. b. Her Majesty shall continue to assist His Highness within the capability of the United Kingdom, b	1971
4	the amendments made by the present agreement, the 1959 Agreement shall continue in force and as amended by this agreement, the two shall be read	1971
5	ts subsisting immediately before the commencement of this agreement shall continue in force save in so far as they are inconsistent with this Agreement	1971
6	ences to the British High Commissioner include any person for the time being discharging the functions of British High Commissioner; His Highness's	1971
7	times be allowed to have free access to the State. (4) There shall be established a joint standing consultative body, to be called the Brunei Defence	1971
8	the State laws relating to external affairs. Her Majesty agrees that She will keep His Highness informed of any action taken or proposed to be taken by	1971
9	the defence of the State: a. His Highness shall i. Raise, equip and maintain forces sufficient for the preservation of internal public order and to t	1971
10	of the State of Brunei for Himself, His Heirs and Successors, is hereby revoked. All other treaties and Agreements subsisting immediately before the	1971
11	His Successors and after consultation with His Council: WHEREAS Agreements subsist between Her Majesty and His Highness: And whereas His Highness ha	1971
12	is Heirs and Successors, is hereby revoked. All other treaties and Agreements subsisting immediately before the commencement of this agreement shall coi	1971

Figure 48 Distribution of Actions reflecting Continuum in the 1971 Treaty

Accordingly, eight tokens of **Actions reflecting Continuum** are detected in the 1979i Treaty under the verb categories of **Vs of Motion** *continue* (Figure 49:3; 6) and *flowing* (Figure 49:2), as well as **Vs of Termination** *terminate* (Figure 49:7; 8), *terminating* (Figure 49:5), and *reached* (Figure 49:1; 4). In all occasions, these actions are represented as instrumental semiotic actions which are being deagentialized via eventuation. In other words, with the foregrounding and placement of emphasis towards OBJ *agreement* (Figure 49:3), OBJ *special treaty* (Figure 49:7; 8), PRO *conclusions* (Figure 49:1; 4), PRO *all the other agreements, engagements, undertakings and arrangements between the United Kingdom and the State of Brunei* (Figure 49:2), and EVE/PHE *Exchange Of Notes Between The Government Of The United Kingdom Of Great Britain And Northern Ireland And His Highness Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan And Yang Di-Pertuan Of Brunei* (Figure 49:5), EVE/PHE *the relations between the United Kingdom and the State of Brunei* (Figure 49:6) in their respective provisions, both role AGN BR and AGN UK as participating agencies are masked behind the natural sequence of events such as negotiations

that precede the drafting of this document. Despite the deletion of these agencies, these social actions do not only retain its instrumental and performative function beyond the existing dimension as they exert a causal effect towards the upcoming arrangements and discourse, but also serves as an intertextual link between this treaty and other agreements in this data.

Concordance Hits 8		File
Hit	KWIC	
1	be signed this day. 4. If the foregoing correctly represents the conclusions reached between Your Highness and Her Majesty's Government I have	1979i
2	and arrangements between the United Kingdom and the State of Brunei flowing from the special treaty relations between the two states shall terminate	1979i
3	rs\5 Agreement of 19 September 1973(8) shall not be terminated but shall continue in force; (c) Any arrangements between the State of Brunei and	1979i
4	ibility as a sovereign and independent State. The following conclusions were reached in the course of these discussions: 1. The existing special treaty relations	1979i
5	NESS PADUKA SERI BAGINDA SULTAN AND YANG DI-PERTUAN OF BRUNEI TERMINATING THE SPECIAL TREATY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM	1979i
6	relations between the United Kingdom and the State of Brunei shall continue to be governed by a spirit of close friendship and co-	1979i
7	h full international responsibility as a sovereign and independent State, shall terminate with effect from five years from 31 December 1978. 2. The Treaty	1979i
8	flowing from the special treaty relations between the two states shall terminate with effect from the same date, provided that: (a) The termination	1979i

Figure 49 Distribution of Actions reflecting Continuum in the 1979i Treaty

Consecutively, the 1979ii Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation records five tokens of **Actions reflecting Continuum** that are instrumentally semiotized and in the case of **Vs of Resumption resume** (Figure 50:1), behaviouralized and agentialized. In the latter (v), it foregrounds AGN BR *the State of Brunei* as the active subject of the provision that has a vital role in resuming the process of state independence. Approaching this process, AGN UK *Her Majesty's Government* is represented as equally important and activated as agency that *shall, at the request of the Government of the State of Brunei and within its capability, continue to assist in the recruitment of persons, for service in civil posts in Brunei and in the training of Brunei officials* (Figure 50:4). Here, despite its dimming importance within BR-UK power constellation, AGN UK is still portrayed as a supreme entity in terms of possession of knowledge and technical expertise. This portrayal, however, is solely tailored to one domain and necessitated by AGN BR's request-depicting the diminishing power that UK possesses over the state and BR's gradual empowerment in its own governance.

- v. Considering that *the State of Brunei* has agreed to *resume* full international responsibility as a sovereign and independent State (A7: Preamble)

In the same treaty, **Vs of Motion** *continue* (Figure 50:2; 5) and *maintain* (Figure 50:3) are used in close association with political *relations between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the State of Brunei* (1979ii: Article 1). In the former, however, BR and UK as the participating agencies are backgrounded to accentuate their dynamic and steady

relations over time instead as reflected by phrase *the long standing and traditional relations of close friendship and co-operation* in (w). The latter activates and foregrounds these agencies in the form of an integrated political entity, i.e. *High Contracting Parties* to highlight and reinforce their solid commitment particularly in trade and commerce (x).

- w. Determined that *the long standing and traditional relations of close friendship and co-operation between the United Kingdom and the State of Brunei* shall *continue* henceforth (A8: Preamble)
- x. The *High Contracting Parties* shall *maintain* the close relations already existing between them in the field of trade and commerce. (A8: Art.4)

Concordance Hits 5		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	, and All Its Dependencies; Considering that the State of Brunei has agreed to resume full international responsibility as a sovereign and independent State;	1979ii
2	and co-operation between the United Kingdom and the State of Brunei shall continue henceforth ; Desiring to give expression to this intention in the form of	1979ii
3	entific and cultural exchanges. Article 4. The High Contracting Parties shall maintain the close relations already existing between them in the field of trade	1979ii
4	request of the Government of the State of Brunei and within its capability, continue to assist in the recruitment of persons, for service in civil posts in	1979ii
5	Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the State of Brunei shall continue to be governed by a spirit of close friendship. In recognition of this,	1979ii

Figure 50 Distribution of *Actions reflecting Continuum* in the 1979ii Treaty

Ultimately, the final document of 1984 Proclamation of Independence depicts four tokens of instrumental semiotic actions reflecting continuum. Reflective to the themes of this treaty that centralize on the resumption of independence and resurfacing of Brunei as a sovereign state and autonomous in its governance, **Vs of Resumption** *resume, revert*, **Vs of Termination** *terminate* and *arrived* are prominently used. Accordingly, non-transactive *resume* is represented in activation of AGN BR to underscore its fundamental and dynamic role in recommencing its responsibility as a sovereign state. On the contrary, AGN BR in (y) is backgrounded and embedded into the possessive form OBJ *our prerogatives* in use of *revert* (Figure 51:3). Despite the convention where in the context of a monarchical institution that the reversion of power and prerogatives would occur automatically should independence is achieved, *revert* here exclusively refers to state of power reinstation to the Sultan as the absolute sole power holder.

- y. ... upon such termination *all the rights and powers of Our Prerogatives including the responsibility for external relations* shall *revert* to Us as the The Sultan and Yang Di-

Pertuan of Brunei Darussalam on the First day of January, Nineteen Hundred and Eighty-Four (A9)

On the other, the remaining social actions **Vs of Termination** *arrived* (Figure 51:4) and *terminate* (Figure 51:2) are deagentialized via eventuation. As depicted in (z), *arrived* is used to metaphorically express the appropriate temporal space for the independence to be resumed, whereas the latter is utilized to validate the termination of all the agreements preceding this proclamation.

- z. WHEREAS *the time* has new *arrived* when Brunei Darussalam will resume full international responsibility as a sovereign and independent Nation among the international community of nations (A9)

Hit	KWIC	File
1	WHEREAS the time has new arrived when Brunei Darussalam will resume full international responsibility as a sovereign and independent Nation among	1984
2	ernational responsibility as a sovereign and independent nation shall terminate on 31 December 1983 and upon such termination all the rights and powers	1984
3	Prerogatives including the responsibility for external relations shall revert to Us as the The Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan of Brunei	1984
4	nd upon all his Relation and Friends. WHEREAS the time has new arrived when Brunei Darussalam will resume full international responsibility as a sover	1984

Figure 51 Distribution of **Actions reflecting Continuum** in the 1984 Proclamation

In sum, changes in the depiction and interaction between verbs usage, interchangeable roles of agencies, and representation of social actions as outlined above (in accordance to their chronological occurrences and within the framework of **Actions reflecting Continuum**) can be further perspectivized into four major domains, i.e. the Agreements itself, BR-UK political relations, and role of agencies.

5.3.4.1. *Actions reflecting the nature of the Agreement*

As noted in the previous depiction of verbs or actions reflecting continuum across the data, a substantive number of tokens are dedicated towards describing the chief documents and subsidiary or secondary accords flowing from them. Here, these documents are discussed in terms of how they are initiated and sustained as a form of binding written entities between BR and UK, and how they are also susceptible to temporary and permanent obstructions over time. At the meso level of analysis, the connection established between these texts via a series

of continuum points captures the dynamism in the dataset itself as an entity that rigorously evolves, progresses and liable to external forces. At the same time, the synergetic interaction between the initiation, maintenance, resumption, and interference (both momentary and permanent) will provide an insight to the validity period of related provisions inked in each document and how they are dialectically reflective to the evolving sociohistorical and political reality in discussion.

As extracted from the data, verbs that reflect the different access points of this continuum in relation to treaties and agreements are *maintained*, *affecting*, *subsist*, *subsisting*, *continue*, *commence*, *revoked*, *commence*, *flowing*, *affect*, *affected*, *reached* and *terminate*. Accordingly, these verbs occur in the 1888, 1905, 1959, 1971, 1979i and 1984 documents.

In the 1888 treaty, *maintained* in collocation with *confirmed* is used to demonstrate the legitimacy and sustainability of the provisions drafted in the documents regarding BR's state protection and its allegiance towards the UK, UK's intervention in the state's governance, as well as security of privileges towards UK subjects in economic activities and exclusive jurisdiction.

In the subsequent document of 1905, these existing provisions are preserved using the verb *maintained* but now is conditioned with the phrase "*affecting* the Mohammedan religion." In this realm, despite the preservation of continuity for provisions in the agreement, its momentum is disrupted with the presence of an obstruction in the form of exception.

Subsequently, verb *subsist* is used in the 1959 document to acknowledge the state of existence of an agreement between BR and UK. This depiction is evidenced with the presence of *whereas* as a convention for legal preamble. On the other hand, use of *subsisting* in similar document refers to the previous treaties and agreements- indicating not only that there is a continuity between this text and its predecessors but also a change in the use of terminology yet retaining the same meaning (of stability and continuity). In fact, the same pattern is also depicted in the 1971 Amendment to carry the same function and meaning.

Also appearing in the 1959, 1979 and 1979ii documents is the use of verb *continue* (*in force*) to refer to all treaties and agreements preceding these documents with the condition that they are not contradicting to the provisions stipulated in the present texts and matters pertaining to monarchical successions. In fact, the adjusting nature in the 1971 Amendment does not disrupt

this continuity in entirety but enable both documents to be read as one. In this realm, it is also worth mentioning that use of phrase *continue in force* is customary in legal conventions to convey the meaning of a prolonged activity or events arranged in succession. In the subsequent document of 1979i, similar manifestation of continuity is also reflected by the term *flowing* to refer to the predecessors associated to this text.

Accordingly, process of initiation marked by verb *commence* is traced twice in two consecutive documents of 1959 and 1971. This verb indicates not only the commencement of the state's constitution with the proviso of a proclamation beforehand, but also the starting period for the validity of this constitution. Of note, the same constitution was sanctioned as the magna carta for Brunei until it was revised in 2004. At the end of the spectrum, verbs of termination are used to display the endgame or ultimatum of the duration and validity of the provisions in negotiation such as those that are stipulated in the 1905/06 within the framework of establishment of British Residential in Brunei (*revoked* in the 1959 document) and all previous treaties "which were inconsistent with full international responsibility as a sovereign and independent nation" (marked by *terminate* in the 1984 proclamation). At the same time, *reached* is also used to reflect the concluded provisions consented by the High Contracting Parties as displayed in the 1979i text.

Analogously, actions of obstruction are also detected twice in the 1979 Exchange on the Termination of Notes between Brunei and UK Terminating BR-UK Special Treaty Relations in the form of negation. In this realm, the accompaniment of negation *shall not* to verb *affect* reflects the prohibition of political or legal interference on the stipulations discussed particularly on the issue of Labuan as a ceded territory and arrangements of cession money to titled individuals.

5.3.4.2. Actions manifesting BR-UK relations

In the dataset, BR-UK relations is described in the manner that they are steady, progressive and in continuity as portrayed by verbs *subsist*, *established*, *maintain* and *continue*. The nature of this relationship is first stated in the 1847 Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation where "peace, friendship and good understanding" become the foundation of this bilateral relations. Despite the ongoing bilateral engagements in various aspects over time, similar projection is only

reiterated in the 1979ii Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation where BR-UK relationship is guided by a “long standing and traditional relations of close friendship and co-operation.”

5.3.4.3. *Actions reflecting BR's involvement*

Within the investigated period, continuity in BR's involvement in the dynamics of BR-UK relations is represented in the manner that its prerogatives and exercise of power over the state evolves over time. In the data, the manifestation of this scenario is initially detected in the 1888 document where verb *continue* reflects the anticipated retention of UK's power over BR's governance in both its internal and external affairs over time, despite its backgrounded presence in this passive construction.

In the 1971 text, the manifestation of continuity is now shifted to the projected amount of sustained commitment and control that BR has over its defence system- an evolvement from its previous state where the country's defence was put under the jurisdiction of UK. This circumstance is captured by the verb *maintain* to refer to the establishment of forces needed “for the preservation of internal public order and to be the first line of external defence” for Brunei.

With the termination of previous agreements in 1979, BR shifted its focus towards the preparation of independence and resumption of its “full international responsibility as a sovereign and independent state.” In this vein, aspect of continuity is manifested by the verb *resume* to reflect BR's recommencement of control over its external affairs after it being subjected to UK's jurisdiction since 1847. Accordingly, similar manifestation of continuity via verbs *resume* and *revert* is declared in the 1984 proclamation where not only this process encompasses BR's fully regain its prerogatives as an independent nation but also legitimizes the reversion of power to the monarchical institution, i.e. the Sultan.

5.3.4.4. *Actions reflecting UK's involvement*

In reflecting the phenomena of continuum in BR-UK dynamics via direct involvement of UK, verbs *carrying on*, *keep* and *continue* are used. This manifestation is first depicted in the 1847 text via phrasal verb *carrying on*, in relation to the provisions needed to secure the continuity

and survival of UK's trade in the dominions of Borneo. As the emphasis towards attainment of privileges in commerce diminishes over time and shifted towards the retaining of control and power in the state's governance, the representation of this continuity is also directed towards jurisdiction in both external affairs and defense in the 1959 document, and external affairs alone in its 1971 Amendment. This amount of control, however, is leveraged by BR in the sense that UK will also be bound to *keep* BR "informed of any action taken or proposed to be taken by Her in pursuance of this Article," and that UK control should come in the form of assistance, i.e. as required by BR. In fact, this pattern of rendering incessant yet as required assistance in the form of human expertise is also traced in the 1979 Termination of Agreement to accommodate the development of human capacity and facilities in the country.

5.3.5. Actions Reflecting Production

Vs of Production refer to the acts of initiating, making or causing something, often from non-existent. Different from actions expressing continuum, this section focuses more on the amount of capacity and domain of control that one power has in establishing or producing something. In extension, possession of this capacity or control also entails ownership towards the resources or privileges, as well as the processes surrounding it. In other words, the more capable the agency is in producing or creating something autonomously, the stronger it implies that it is has either more power over the other or more autonomy to stand on its own.

The depiction of changes in use of these verbs will reflect not only the shifts in how objects, processes and events/phenomena, and agencies are represented over time, but also how the changes in the production or control over the resources or actions by either BR or UK or BR-UK as a cooperative entity manifest how the power dynamics of BR and UK evolves over time. In the data, actions in this category are represented by verbs *make (made, making)*, *published*, *raise*, *implementing* and *claim*. It comprises of 30 tokens in total with verbs *make (made, making)* being the most frequently used in all documents, especially in the 1959 Agreement, followed by *published* as a marker of formality in the discourse.

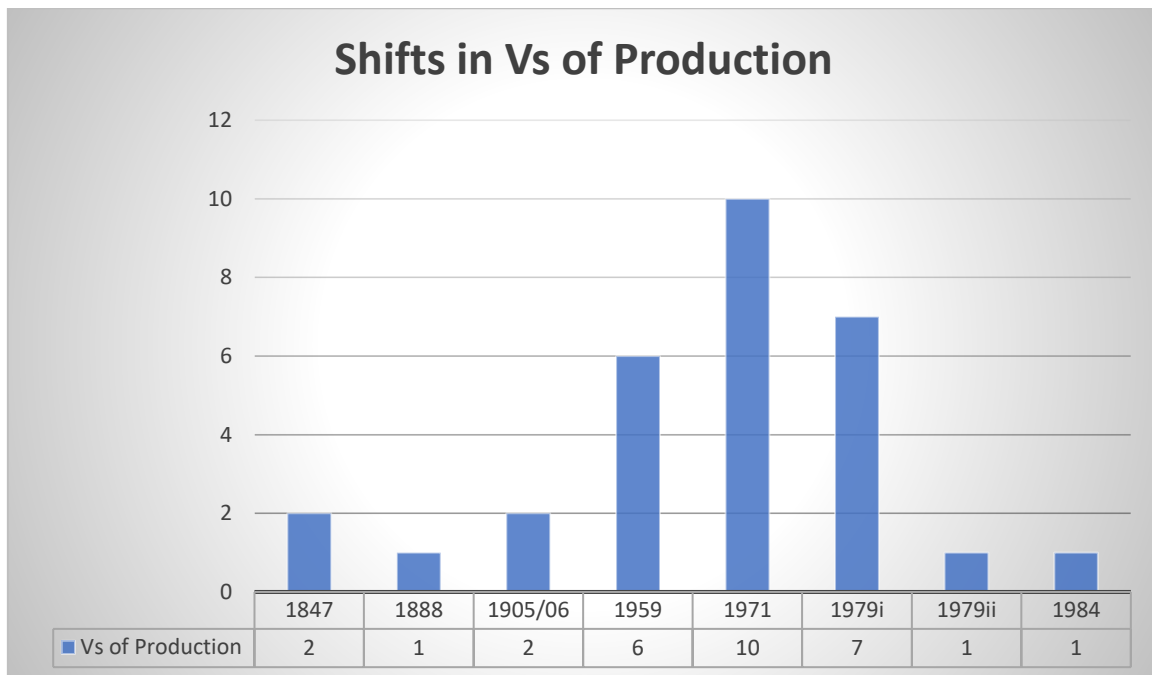


Figure 52 Shifts in Vs of Production

At the beginning of the interaction, the 1847 documented two representations of agentialized *made* to state BR's cession of territory to UK in 1847 (Figure 53:1); and negated *make* to exhibit BR's compliance to UK's prohibition regarding cession of its dominions to other states without UK's permission (Figure 53:5). Both are represented as non-transactive, instrumental semiotic and material actions as they convey the very action of 'doing,' deactivates the only agency AGN BR *His Highness the Sultan* in (a) and activates it in (b). Also in (a), *made* is objectivated via eventuation and used with passive *by* form to highlight the nominalized PRO *cession* as the subject of the structure.

- a. *His Highness the Sultan* hereby confirms the cession already spontaneously made by him in 1845, of the island of Labuan (A2: Art.10)
- b. *His Highness the Sultan* engages not to *make* any similar cession, either of an island, or of any settlement on the main land, in any part of his dominions, to any other nation, or to the subjects or citizens thereof, without the consent of Her Britannic Majesty (A2: Art.10)

To follow, the 1888 document retains use of passive *by* to highlight the prohibition imposed towards AGN BR *the State of Brunei* (c). By objectivating phrase *no cession or other alienation* via process of eventuation, **Vs of Production** *made* (Figure 53:2) is represented as an instrumental, non-transactive, material action, to reflect not only BR's compliance towards UK's prohibition, but also the D-S nature that governs BR-UK political relations as a protector-protected binary.

- c. No cession or other alienation of any part of the territory of *the State of Brunei* shall be *made* by the Sultan to any foreign state, on the subject or citizens thereof, without the consent of Her Majesty's Government, but this restriction shall not apply to ordinary grants or leases of land or houses to private individuals for purposes of residence, agriculture, commerce of other business. (A3: Art.6)

The 1905/06 Supplementary Agreement recorded two representations of *made* in two marginally different settings. In the provision where it refers to the failing previous treaty of 1888, *made* (Figure 53:4) is represented as semiotic, instrumental, and objectivated where OBJ *Treaty* is underscored as the core of the discussion (d). On the other, *made* (Figure 53:4) is also represented as instrumentally semiotic but in form of material action as it activates and foregrounds both AGN BR *the Government of Brunei* and AGN UK *the British Government* as dominant agencies involved in the drafting of the agreement.

- d. ... whereas His Highness trust that the Sultanate of Brunei, now therefore His Highness has represented to His Majesty's Government that *the Treaty made on the 17th September, 1888*, does not give him sufficient protection (A4: Preamble)
- e. *All existing Agreements made between the British Government and the Government of Brunei* are hereby confirmed and maintained except in so far as any of them may conflict with the present Agreement (A4: Art.2)

Concordance Hits 5		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	o, His Highness the Sultan hereby confirms the cession already spontaneously made by him in 1845, of the island of Labuan, situated on the north-west	1847
2	of any part of the territory of the State of Brunei shall be made by the Sultan to any foreign state, on the subject or citizens thereof,	1888
3	His Highness has represented to His Majesty's Government that the Treaty made on the 17th September, 1888, does not give him sufficient protection,	1905
4	n other Malay States now under British Protection. II. All existing Agreements made between the British Government and the Government of Brunei are he	1905
5	fference which might otherwise arise, His Highness the Sultan engages not to make any similar cession, either of an island, or of any settlement on the	1847

Meanwhile, Figure 54 shows six representations of **Vs of Production** in the form of semiotic and material actions. Although they are all instrumental in nature, semiotic actions *implementing* (Figure 54:1), *made* (Figure 54:2), and *make* (Figure 54:6) are deagentialized and objectivated to highlight the OBJ agreement, OBJ its provisions, and PRO *consultation*. In this regard, *implementing* is nominalized and backgrounds the agency (f). Similarly, *make* (Figure 54:6) is objectivated via naturalization, where the agency is represented as a potential condition that might arise in cases of conflict (g). As shown in (i), transactive material actions *make* (Figure 54:3; 4; 5) activates and foregrounds AGN UK *Her Majesty* as agency that controls BR's state defence and its external affairs; and AGN BR as the complying agency towards this prohibition - indicating a continuum of D-S relations between the two powers.

- f. For the purpose of *implementing the provisions* of this Article relating to defence against any grave internal menace to the peace or tranquillity of the State (A5: Art.3.5)
- g. *This Agreement is made* and expressed in both the English and the Malay languages; but, for the purposes of interpretation, regard shall be had only to the English version (A5: Art.10)
- h. Her Majesty agrees that no measures in exercise of the right of access to the State given by paragraph (2) of this Article shall be taken for the purposes of such defence without prior consultation with the Standing Advisory Council except when there exists a state of emergency of such a nature as *to make* such prior *consultation* clearly impracticable, in which case, the Standing Advisory Council shall be consulted as soon as possible after the measures have been taken (A5: Art.3.5)
- i. AND WHEREAS *Her Majesty* has heretofore had jurisdiction to make for the State of Brunei laws relating to defence and external affairs (A5: Preamble)

Concordance Hits 6		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	by Her in pursuance of this Article. (5) (a) For the purpose of implementing the provisions of this Article relating to defence against any grave internal	1959
2	the succession to the Sultanate of Brunei. 10. This Agreement is made and expressed in both the English and the Malay languages; but, for	1959
3	(1): And whereas Her Majesty has heretofore had jurisdiction to make for the State of Brunei laws relating to defence and external affairs:	1959
4	of Her Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom he will not make any Treaty, enter into any engagement, deal in or correspond on political	1959
5	ess agrees that Her Majesty shall continue to enjoy jurisdiction to make for the State laws relating to defence and external affairs. (4) Her Majesty	1959
6	there exists a state of emergency of such a nature as to make such prior consultation clearly impracticable, in which case, the Standing Advi	1959

Figure 54 Distribution of *Vs of Production* in the 1959 Treaty

Accordingly, the 1971 Amendment retains four provisions regarding the preferred use of English over Malay as the working language of the agreement (g), AGN BR's activated compliance towards AGN UK's prohibition regarding its engagement with foreign countries, and jurisdiction over BR's governance (i). Reflective of the context, however, it is also important to note that UK's jurisdiction as documented in this agreement, is reduced to external affairs. This manifests the diminishing UK authority and control over the state's affairs and BR's national reconstruction process as a full-fledged autonomous state.

As shown in Figure 54, three variations of **Vs of Production** *make* and *raise* are detected. In this regard, passive *made* (Figure 54:1; 2; 3; 4) is represented as an instrumental, objectivated, semiotic action to explicate the significance of the 1959 Agreement and its 1971 Amendment (j)-(l). Respectively, *make* is represented as material action that instrumentally reflects the dynamic collaborative effort by AGN BR-UK *the representatives of Her Majesty and of His Highness* (Figure 54:8) with respect to BR's state defence and security. Meanwhile, material action *making* (Figure 54:9), as shown in (n), is deagentialized and objectivated via nominalization to necessitate its vital existence (Billig, 2008) which is objective and unchangeable in nature (Fowler 1979). To follow, *raise* (Figure 54:10) is represented as a material action which is non-transactive and instrumental, discursively mirroring the social context and practice that honed on BR's gradual disassociation from UK's state protection, as well as its vigorous reconstruction of its own defence system and military capabilities (o).

- j. *AGREEMENT made* on the 29th day of September, 1959 (A6: Preamble)
- k. Subject to the *amendments made* by the present agreement, the 1959 Agreement shall continue in force and as amended by this agreement, the two shall be read together as one document (A6: Art.7)

- l. *This agreement is made* and expressed in both the English and Malay languages; but, for the purpose of interpretation, regard shall be had only to the English text (A6: Art.9)
- m. *The representatives of Her Majesty and of His Highness shall make* recommendations as to the defence and security of the State to their respective governments (A6: Art.3.4)
- n. At the request of either High Contracting Party, and after the expiry of one year from *the making of the request*, this Agreement shall be reviewed by the High Contracting Parties (A6: Art.8)
- o. *Raise*, equip and maintain *forces* sufficient for the preservation of internal public order and to be the first line of external defence (A6: Art.3.2)

Concordance Hits 10		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	TAN OF BRUNEI (SEPTEMBER 1959- AMENDMENT 1971) AGREEMENT made on the 29th day of September, 1959, BETWEEN Robert Heatlie Scott, Knight C	1971
2	Deleted. 7. Deleted. 8. Deleted. ARTICLE VI Subject to the amendments made by the present agreement, the 1959 Agreement shall continue in force and as	1971
3	reviewed by the High Contracting Parties. ARTICLE IX This agreement is made and expressed in both the English and Malay languages; but, for the purpose	1971
4	relating to the succession to the Sultanate of Brunei. This Agreement is made and expressed in both the English and the Malay languages; but for the	1971
5	day\xD3: AND WHEREAS Her Majesty has heretofore had jurisdiction to make for the State of Brunei laws relating to defence and external affairs: AND	1971
6	of Her Majesty\xD5s Government of the United Kingdom he will not make any Treaty, enter into any engagement, deal in or correspond on political mat	1971
7	hin the State and that Her Majesty shall continue to enjoy jurisdiction to make for the State laws relating to external affairs. Her Majesty agrees that She	1971
8	discretion. The representatives of Her Majesty and of His Highness shall make recommendations as to the defence and security of the State to their respecti	1971
9	either High Contracting Party, and after the expiry of one year from the making of the request, this Agreement shall be reviewed by the High Contracting P	1971
10	ssential requirements of the defence of the State: a. His Highness shall i. Raise , equip and maintain forces sufficient for the preservation of internal public o	1971

Figure 55 Distribution of Vs of Production in the 1971 Treaty

In the following Figure 56, nine representations of **Vs of Production** are drawn from the 1979i, 1979ii, and 1984 Agreements. In the first document, *made* (Figure 56:1) *published* (Figure 56:4-9) are represented as semiotic action (p). *Made* is also interpreted as material action as it backgrounds the agency behind OBJ *declaration* but still activates it using passive *by*. Both are also regarded as non-transactive, objectivated and instrumental, amplifying its legal and institutionalized feature as an exclusive discourse (q). Similarly, the following 1979ii document recorded the representation of material action *make* (Figure 55:3) to reflect BR's willingness, necessity and potential ability in conducting its own external affairs autonomously (r). As with its previous usage, *make* is also recorded as instrumental and non-transactive.

- p. *The Declaration made by His Highness Sultan Abdul Mumin on 17 August 1878*(4) (A7: Art.2)

- q. Published in State Papers, Vol. 35, p. 14 (A7: Remarks)
- r. Her Majesty's Government shall, until the Government of the State of Brunei can make alternative arrangements, and in such manner as shall in no way affect the sole responsibility of the Government of the State of Brunei for the external relations of the State (A8: Art.2)

Finally, use of *made* (Figure 56:2) is equivalently traced in the 1984 Proclamation to refer to the 1979ii document that provides for the Declaration of Independence to take place, and the 1979i Exchange of Notes that sanctions the termination of *all previous treaties, agreements and arrangements between Brunei Darussalam and the United Kingdom which were inconsistent with full international responsibility as a sovereign and independent nation* (Proclamation of Independence Brunei Darussalam, 1984). It is non-transactive, instrumental semiotic and material action, as it activates the AGN BR *Brunei Darussalam* and AGN UK *the United Kingdom*, and objectivizes the two treaties drafted in 1979.

Concordance Hits 9		File
Hir	KWIC	
1	1847(2), the Agreement signed on 26 November 1856(3), The Declaration made by His Highness Sultan Abdul Mumin on 17 August 1878(4), the Agree	1979i
2	eof. AND WHEREAS by the treaty of Friendship and Co-operation, 1979 made between Us and Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom	1984 F
3	Government shall, until the Government of the State of Brunei can make alternative arrangements, and in such manner as shall in no way	1979ii
4	sideration. GORONWY-ROBERTS OF CAERNARVON AND OGWEN (1) Not published (2) Published in State Papers, Vol. 35, p. 14 (3) Published in State Pa	1979i
5	ORONWY-ROBERTS OF CAERNARVON AND OGWEN (1) Not published (2) Published in State Papers, Vol. 35, p. 14 (3) Published in State Papers, Vol. 65, p	1979i
6	D OGWEN (1) Not published (2) Published in State Papers, Vol. 35, p. 14 (3) Published in State Papers, Vol. 65, p. 1170 (4) Published in State Papers, Vol. 6	1979i
7	tate Papers, Vol. 35, p. 14 (3) Published in State Papers, Vol. 65, p. 1170 (4) Published in State Papers, Vol. 69, p. 18 (5) Published in State Papers, Vol. 79, p	1979i
8	tate Papers, Vol. 65, p. 1170 (4) Published in State Papers, Vol. 69, p. 18 (5) Published in State Papers, Vol. 79, p. 240 (6) Published in State Papers, Vol. 16	1979i
9	State Papers, Vol. 69, p. 18 (5) Published in State Papers, Vol. 79, p. 240 (6) Published in State Papers, Vol. 164, p. 38 (7) Miscellaneous No. 12 (1972), Cmr	1979i

Figure 56 Distribution of *Vs of Production* in the 1979i, 1979ii Treaty and 1984 Proclamation

5.3.6. Actions Reflecting Operation

Verbs in this category reflect how processes are conducted or events are orchestrated over time across different themes and domains in the selected discourse. As compared to **Actions of Production** which focuses on the ability to kick-start a process or create an event/phenomenon from scratch, verbs in this category are best understood in terms of the performance ability of the institutions in managing as well as shaping the content and direction of these processes and events from time to time. In this relation, the ability exercised by either BR, UK or both BR-UK as an integrated entity will indicate not only the amount of control that one has over a specific

domain of topics but also reflects the increasing autonomy level of the subordinate power as it regains its power over prime resources and domains and ultimately implies the weakening power of the opposite dominion.

At the same time, verbs in this category are also insightful in indicating the discourse as institutional as they are describing the standard procedures and details needed to run an event and processes in an organization. As shown in Figure 57, there are 26 tokens recorded across the data. These tokens are absent from the 1984 Proclamation and highest in the 1959 Agreement. Accordingly, this category is represented by verbs *adopted*, *exercise (exercised)*, *act (acted)*, *use*, *operate*, *practised*, *organized*, *carried out*, *equip*, *ensure*, *address*, *conducted (in the conduct of)*, *record*, and *promote*.

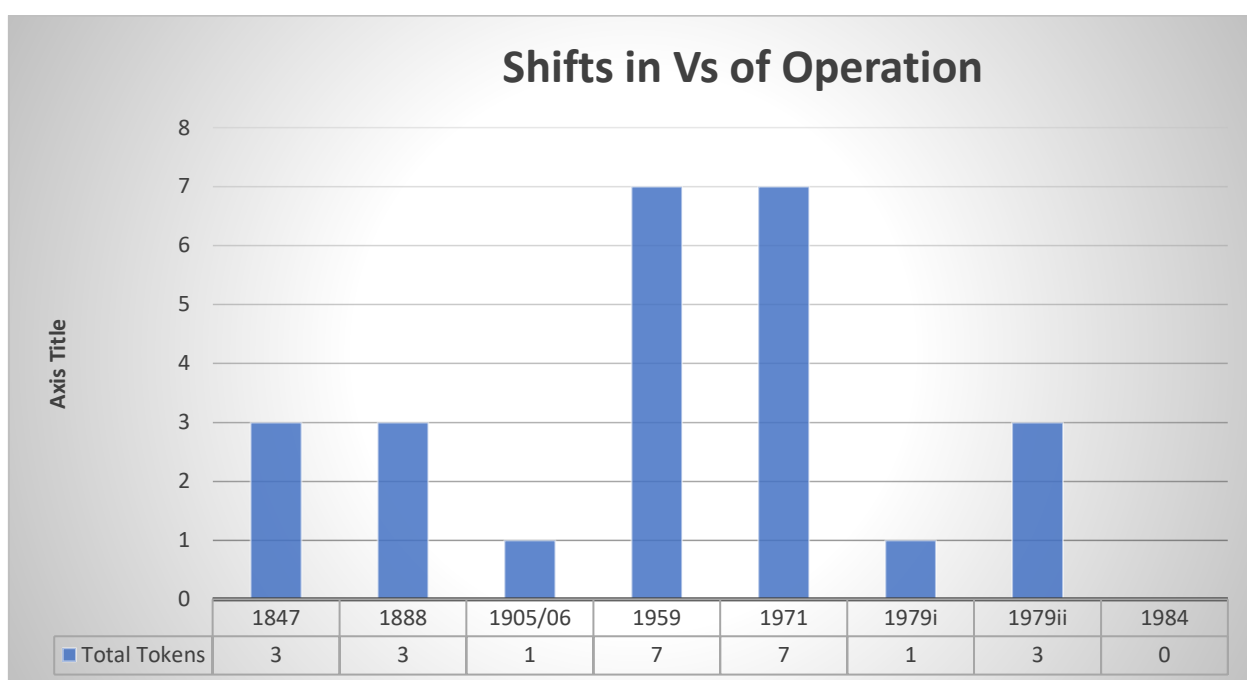


Figure 57 Distribution of Vs of Operation across the data

In Figure 57, the 1847 Treaty recorded three representations of **Vs of Operation** that serve as the embarkation point for BR-UK relations. In this regard, *record* (Figure 58:6) and *use* (Figure 58:7) are represented as non-transactive, instrumental semiotic and material action respectively, reflecting AGN BR *the Sultan Borneo* and AGN UK *Her said Britannic Majesty's* mutual commitment in combating piracy in the Eastern Seas and to encourage commerce in the archipelago as two equivalent sovereignties (a). On the other, *adopted* (Figure 58:2) is deagentialized and objectivated through eventuation, i.e. as a potential consequence to an

event preceding this action *from whatever causes* (c). The utilization of this representation also reflects the instrumental purpose of this provision and emphasis given to the OBJ *any injurious regulations* that act as an access tool to the commercial privileges in the state, particularly to the UK traders and subjects.

- a. *Her said Britannic Majesty and the Sultan Borneo* have agreed to record their determination in these respects by a Convention containing the following Articles (A2: Preamble)
- b. *Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Sultan of Borneo*, hereby engage to *use every means* in their power for the suppression of piracy within the seas, straits, and rivers subject to respective control or influence
- c. His Highness moreover engages that British trade and British goods shall be exempt from any internal duties, and also from *any injurious regulations* which may hereafter, from whatever causes, be *adopted* in the dominions of the Sultan of Borneo (A2: Art.5)

In the 1888 Agreement, passive *-by Vs of Operation conducted* (Figure 58:3) and *exercised* (Figure 58:3; 4) are represented as non-transactive, instrumental behaviouralized semiotic action (d)-(e). Here, emphasis is given to OBJ *relations* and PRO *jurisdiction* as compared to AGN UK *Her Majesty and such Consular*, to subtly conceal UK as the agency that conduct the actions of operation. To further substantiate, instrumental semiotic action *exercise* (Figure 58:5) is deagentialized via eventuation to suppress the involvement of human agency (van Leeuwen, 1995:15). Additionally, despite the presence of provisions on trade in the succeeding document of 1888, manifestation of joint operation in this domain is not traced but replaced with emphasis on UK's exclusive rights of jurisdiction towards its subjects in Brunei and towards the policy regarding the state's foreign affairs. This emphasis is further amplified with use of passives with agencies (*by Consular or other appointed officers or Her Majesty's Government*) and modalities *may* and *shall*.

- d. The relations between the State of Brunei and all foreign states, including the States of Sarawak and North Borneo shall be *conducted* by Her Majesty's Government (A3: Art.3)

- e. It is agreed that full exclusive jurisdiction, civil and criminal, over British subjects and their property in the State of Brunei, is reserved to Her Britannic Majesty, to be *exercised* by such Consular or other officers as Her Majesty's shall appoint for the purpose. The same jurisdiction is likewise reserved to Her Majesty in the State of Brunei over foreign subjects enjoying British protection; and the said jurisdiction may likewise be *exercised* in cases between British or British-protected subjects and the subjects of a third power, with the consent of their respective Governments (A3: Art.7)

To follow, the 1905 Supplementary Agreement documents a token of instrumental material action **Vs of Operation** *acted upon* (Figure 58:1). Here, use of passives backgrounds the agency that enforces this provision behind his OBJ *advice* (f). Taken together, use of possessives, modalities *must* and phrase *upon all questions in Brunei* succeeding *acted upon* mark UK's increasing sphere of influence in both Brunei's internal and external affairs; and weakening of Brunei's grip in its own governance. In this respect, accumulation of control by UK from the domain of trade to the state's external affairs and further into its internal affairs signals its increasing power over Brunei as a sovereignty and its resources. On the contrary, BR as the agency whom this action is extended, is backgrounded and deleted- manifesting its submissive nature as a subservient entity. To sum, the juxtaposition of these representations create the power imbalance between BR and UK where the one with less control over the state's resources is dependent or subservient to the dominant one.

- f. ... *his* advice must be taken and *acted upon* on all questions in Brunei, other than those affecting the Mohammedan religion (A4: Art.2)

Concordance Hits 7		
Hr	KWIC	File
1	for the British Protectorate in Borneo, and his advice must be taken and acted upon on all questions in Brunei, other than those affecting the Mohammeda	1905
2	any injurious regulations which may hereafter, from whatever causes, be adopted in the dominions of the Sultan of Borneo. VI. His Highness the Sultan	1847
3	foreign states, including the States of Sarawak and North Borneo shall be conducted by Her Majesty's Government, and all communications shall be car	1888
4	in the State of Brunei, is reserved to Her Britannic Majesty, to be exercised by such Consular or other officers as Her Majesty's shall appoint	1888
5	jects enjoying British protection; and the said jurisdiction may likewise be exercised in cases between British or British-protected subjects and the subjects of	1888
6	objects; Her said Britannic Majesty and the Sultan Borneo have agreed to record their determination in these respects by a Convention containing the follow	1847
7	of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Sultan of Borneo, hereby engage to use every means in their power for the suppression of piracy within the seas,	1847

Figure 58 Distribution of **Vs of Operation** in the 1847, 1888, and 1905/06 Treaty

Subsequently, the 1959 Agreement that revolves around the reinstatement of BR's autonomy for its own internal administration notes seven tokens that exemplifies **Vs of Operation** *address*,

ensure, operate, practised, and nominalized form *exercise*. From this cluster, *address* (Figure 59:1) is regarded as transactive and interactive semiotic action as it actively involves AGN BR *His Highness* and AGN UK *Her Majesty* as participating agencies (g). Contrastive to the former communication route that had to go through the British Resident and British Commissioner, this provision allows BR to use its prerogative to communicate directly to Her Majesty the Queen via her Secretary of State should His Majesty the Sultan desires. In short, this reflects BR's effort in trying to have the upper hand and control over the communication route between state leaders.

- g. Nothing in this Article shall in any way prejudice the right of His Highness to *address* Her Majesty through a Secretary of State if His Highness so desires (A5: Art.4.2)

By the same token, the same document records *ensure* (Figure 59:2; 3) as non-transactive, instrumental semiotic action in activation and foregrounding of AGN BR as an active agency that will comply and facilitate UK's jurisdiction over Brunei's state defence and external affairs. In this provision, *ensure* is accompanied by modality *will* to indicate the necessity of BR's commitment to the matter (h). Along the same axis, UK's persistent grip over this jurisdiction is also portrayed through use of nominalized, instrumental semiotic action *exercise of Her control* (Figure 59:4) and *exercise of the right of access to the state* (Figure 59:5). Marginally different in terms of its representation, the former backgrounds the activated AGN UK through use of possessive marker *her*; while the latter deagentializes the same agency via eventuation (i)-(j). Here, emphasis is given to the conduct of action rather than the exclusive role of UK as the doer or bearer of this privilege, as inference on the agency in concealment can only be traced anaphorically from the previous provisions. In this regard, difference in this representation suggests both maintenance and marginalization of AGN UK as the protector or dominant state within the BR-UK power conundrum. In other words, despite diverting the emphasis away from the agency, UK's control and authority is still retained in use of possessive pronouns, and provisional arrangement involving mutual consent from both BR and UK as a joint consultative, commanding authority in tandem with its deagentialization.

- h. His Highness further agrees that *he* will *ensure* that such legislative and executive action as in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government shall be necessary for the purpose of Her

Majesty's exercise of Her control of the external affairs of the State shall be taken within the State (A5: Art.3.1)

- i. His Highness further agrees that he will ensure that such legislative and executive action as in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government shall be necessary for the purpose of Her Majesty's *exercise* of Her control of the external affairs of the State shall be taken within the State (A5: Art.3.1)
- j. Her Majesty agrees that no measures in *exercise* of the right of access to the State given by paragraph (2) of this Article shall be taken for the purposes of such defence without prior consultation with the Standing Advisory Council ... (A5: Art.5)

Accordingly, instrumental semiotic actions *operate* (Figure 59:6) and *practised* (Figure 59:7) are also deagentialized via eventuation, i.e. in the form of conventions or human social practice (Sontag, 1979:7 in van Leeuwen, 1995). In both occurrences, *the constitutional development of the State of Brunei* (k) and *matters relating to Muslim religion and the Custom of the Malays* (l) replaced the role of agencies conducting the **Vs of Operation** while at the same time act as the core or subject of the discussion.

- k. And whereas the aforesaid Proclamation providing for *the constitutional development of the State of Brunei* will commence to *operate* on a day to be appointed by His Highness, herein-after referred to as "the first appointed day"(1) (A5: Preamble)
- l. His Highness agrees to receive, and provide a suitable residence for, a High Commissioner to advise on *all matters connected with the government of the State other than matters relating to the Muslim religion and the Custom of the Malays as practised in the State*, and agrees to accept the advice of the High Commissioner (A5: Art.4.1)

Concordance Hits 7		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	Article shall in any way prejudice the right of His Highness to address Her Majesty through a Secretary of State if His Highness so desires. (1959
2	envoys to, any other State. His Highness further agrees that he will ensure that such legislative and executive action as in the opinion of Her	1959
3	the State ; and His Highness agrees that for these purposes he will ensure that such legislative and executive action as in the opinion of Her	1959
4	's Government shall be necessary for the purpose of Her Majesty's exercise of Her control of the external affairs of the State shall be	1959
5	on matters regarding such defence. Her Majesty agrees that no measures in exercise of the right of access to the State given by paragraph (2) of	1959
6	for the constitutional development of the State of Brunei will commence to operate on a day to be appointed by His Highness, herein- after referred	1959
7	relating to the Muslim religion and the Custom of the Malays as practised in the State, and agrees to accept the advice of the High	1959

Figure 59 Distribution of Vs of Operation in the 1959 Agreement

Followingly, the 1971 Amendment retains provisions regarding BR-UK communication route (Figure 60:1), BR's compliance towards UK's jurisdiction in the state's external affairs (Figure 60:3; 5), and the legitimation of a Written Constitution for Brunei (Figure 60:6). It also activates and foregrounds AGN BR-UK *Her Majesty and His Highness* as a joint cooperative entity that has significant role in *carrying out* (Figure 60:2) their respective responsibilities (m). Here, modality *shall* is attached to this non-transactive, instrumental semiotic action to further emphasize its role and necessity. At the same time, Brunei's vital and dynamic involvement in the development of its own state defence is further reflected in use of non-transactive, instrumental, material action *equip* (Figure 60:4) to reinforce the same purpose (n). The same document also notes use of deagentialized use of instrumental semiotic action *operate* (Figure 60:6) and *organized* (Figure 60:7) via eventuation to indicate the necessary procedure that succeeds the completion of pre-requisites *legislative and executive action* by AGN BR-UK *the two Governments*, and also as a reference to any form of external threats from Others (o).

- m. *Her Majesty and His Highness* shall take legislative and executive action necessary for *carrying out* their tasks under the provisions of paragraphs (2), (3), (4) and (5) (A6: Art.3.6)
- n. Raise, *equip* and maintain forces sufficient for the preservation of internal public order and to be the first line of external defence (A6: Art.3.2)
- o. In a situation which does not clearly fall under sub-paragraphs (a) or (b) of this paragraph there shall be consultation between *the two Governments* to determine to what extent the threat is externally *organized* or supported (A6: Art.3.5)

Concordance Hits 7		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	to His Highness's agreement. His Highness shall have the right to address Her Majesty through Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign	1971
2	and His Highness shall take legislative and executive action necessary for carrying out their tasks under the provisions of paragraphs (2), (3), (4) and (5) of this	1971
3	and envoys to, any other State. His Highness further agrees that he will ensure that such legislative and executive action as in the opinion of Her Majesty's	1971
4	requirements of the defence of the State: a. His Highness shall i. Raise, equip and maintain forces sufficient for the preservation of internal public order and	1971
5	Government shall be necessary for the purpose of Her Majesty's exercise of Her control of the external affairs of the State shall be taken	1971
6	the constitutional development of the State of Brunei will commence to operate on a day to be appointed by His Highness, hereinafter referred to as \	1971
7	the two Governments to determine to what extent the threat is externally organized or supported. (6) Her Majesty and His Highness shall take legislative and	1971

Figure 60 Distribution of Vs of Operation in the 1971 Treaty

As shown in Figure 61, the 1979i Treaty only depicts non-transactive, instrumental semiotic action *exercise* (Figure 62:2) as a token from this category to reflect AGN BR *the State of Brunei* active engagement towards its provisional resumption of independence. Additionally, the attachment of modality *should* further reflects BR's higher degree of certainty and commitment in realizing this intention into reality (p).

- p. I have the honour to refer to the discussions which have taken place between your Highness and Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom concerning the termination of the special treaty relations between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and *the State of Brunei* should *exercise* its full international responsibility as a sovereign and independent State.

In a similar manner, the 1979ii Agreement captures BR's increasing confidence and autonomy in its own governing affairs, as well as reduction of UK's involvement. It documents use of *act* (Figure 63:1), and *promote* (Figure 63:4) is regarded as non-transactive, instrumental semiotic actions to foreground UK's assisting yet active role in Brunei's progress particularly in the realm of external affairs and diplomatic assistance (q)-(r). Respectively, the same document also notes use of non-transactive, instrumental semiotic action *in the conduct of* (Figure 63:3) which is not only deagentialized via eventuation but also nominalized to manifest its objectivity and stability as a marker for institutional discourse (s).

- q. Act as the channel for communications between the Government of the State of Brunei and the governments of states with which the State of Brunei is not in direct diplomatic communication, or between the Government of the State of Brunei and international organisations (A8: Art.2)

- r. Employ their good offices, as appropriate, to promote the admission of the State of Brunei to any international organisation which it may wish to join (A8: Art.2)
- s. Her Majesty's Government shall, until the Government of the State of Brunei can make alternative arrangements, and in such manner as shall in no way affect the sole responsibility of the Government of the State of Brunei for the external relations of the State, give sympathetic consideration to any specific request by the Government of the State of Brunei for diplomatic or consular assistance *in the conduct of* those relations and in particular Her Majesty's Government shall, in appropriate cases, if the Government of the State of Brunei so request (A8: Art.2)

Concordance Hits 4		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	, if the Government of the State of Brunei so request: (a) Act as the channel for communications between the Government of the State	1979ii
2	Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the State of Brunei should exercise its full international responsibility as a sovereign and independent State.	1979i
3	Government of the State of Brunei for diplomatic or consular assistance in the conduct of those relations and in particular Her Majesty's	1979ii
4	national organisations; (b) Employ their good offices, as appropriate, to promote the admission of the State of Brunei to any international organisation	1979ii

Figure 61 Distribution of Vs of Operation in the 1979i and 1979ii documents

5.3.7. Actions reflecting Decision-Making

Represented by verbs *decide, examine, determine, adjudged, considering, tried, hear, and found*, actions in this category manifest decision-making processes by either BR or UK, or both BR-UK as a cooperative entity. In governance, decision-making is rudimentary and closely related to leadership as it reflects not only the formal access to positions of authority but also the amount of control that an institution has over the state's resources. In short, decision-making is a manifestation of power that encompasses "access, capabilities and actions" that accordingly mould how agencies exercise their influences over the polity and towards each other (O'Neil & Domingo; 2015: 1). In the dataset, **Vs of Decision-Making** occur in three documents, i.e. 1847, 1971 and 1979ii documents with 11 tokens altogether as displayed in Figure 62.

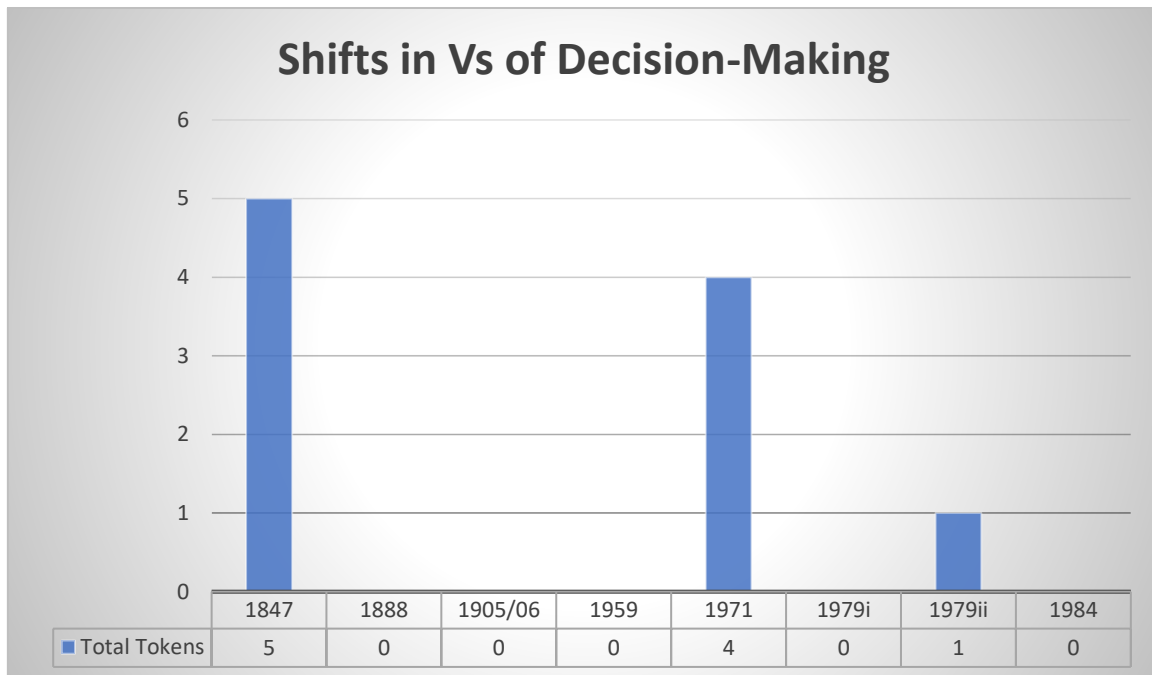


Figure 62 Shifts in Vs of Decision-Making

As shown in Figure 63, the 1847 records five tokens of **Vs of Decision-Making** regarding UK's exclusive jurisdiction in state's legal proceedings over both BR and UK subjects. Here, *adjudged* (Figure 63:1) and *tried* (Figure 63:5) are transactive interactive semiotic actions that background AGN UK *the English Consul-General, or other officer duly appointed for that purpose by Her Britannic Majesty* as the active decision maker and has jurisdiction over general subjects inclusive of both BR's and UK's (a). On the other, *decide* (Figure 63:2), *hear* (Figure 63:4), and *found* (Figure 63:3) are non-transactive, instrumental, semiotic actions used in activation of AGN UK *the Consul-General, or other duly appointed officer* as agency that *hear and decide* (a); and *the cruizers of Her Brittanic Majesty* that deal with *subjects who may be found to be engaged in Slave Trade* (b). Accordingly, these verbs are supplemented by modality *shall* and *will* to amplify the necessity and importance of the provisions. Reflective of the socio-political context at the time of production of this text, use of these verbs in this Treaty reflects UK's extensive exercise of power in the state albeit confined to domain of jurisdiction regarding piratical and slavery activities in the region. Additionally, it also serves as an access point for UK to intervene with the state's administration with permission from BR.

- a. His Highness the Sultan of Borneo agrees that in all cases when a British subject shall be accused of any crime committed in any part of His Highness's dominions, the person so

accused shall be exclusively *tried* and *adjudged* by the English Consul-General, or other officer duly appointed for that purpose by Her Britannic Majesty, shall have power to *hear* and *decide* the same, without any interference, molestation or hindrance, on the part of any authority of Borneo, either before, during, or after the litigation.

(A2: Additional Article)

- b. Highness further consents that all subjects of His Highness who may be *found* to be engaged in the Slave Trade, may, together with their vessels, be death with by the cruisers of Her Britannic Majesty, as if such persons and their vessels had been engaged in piratical (A2: Art.6)

Concordance Hits 5		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	ighness\xD5s dominions, the person so accused shall be exclusively tried and adjudged by the English Consul-General, or other officer duly appointed for t	1847
2	Consul-General, or other duly appointed officer, shall have power to hear and decide the same, without any interference, molestation or hindrance, on the p	1847
3	His Highness further consents that all subjects of His Highness who may be found to be engaged in the Slave Trade, may, together with their vessels, be	1847
4	\xD5s Consul-General, or other duly appointed officer, shall have power to hear and decide the same, without any interference, molestation or hindrance	1847
5	of His Highness\xD5s dominions, the person so accused shall be exclusively tried and adjudged by the English Consul-General, or other officer duly appoi	1847

Figure 63 Distribution of Vs of Decision-Making in the 1847 Treaty

Accordingly, the 1971 Amendment recorded **Vs of Decision-Making** *determine* and *examine* to reflect BR-UK shared commitment in developing Brunei's state defence. Here, although *determine* (Figure 64:2; 3; 4) and *examine* (Figure 64:5) are both non-transactive and instrumental, the former is semiotized while the latter is materialized (c)-(d). In this relation, the activation of BR and UK as an integrated political entity portrays the shift in decision-making responsibility from solitary to shared reflects. Accordingly, this amalgamation also tilts the BR-UK power balance as BR's gradual attainment of autonomy over its defence and external affairs increases its authority as a protected state or subservient entity, and diminishes UK's control as a protector or dominant state. As shown in (e), the 1979ii Treaty records one token of instrumental, semiotic action *considering* (Figure 64:1). Here, it is also represented as deagentialized via eventuation, where this usage is portrayed as a result of events that take place preceding the drafting of this document, and in extension, as a marker for intertextuality between texts in discussion.

- c. Twelve months from the entry into force of this Agreement the Governments of Her Majesty and of His Highness shall *examine* the working of the Brunei Defence Council in

order to *determine* what changes, if any, are required to improve its effectiveness (A6: Art.3.4)

- d. Her Majesty's Government and His Highness's Government shall consult together to *determine* what measures should, separately or jointly, be taken in relation to an external attack, or threat of such attack, on the State (A6: Art.3.5)
- e. Considering that the State of Brunei has agreed to resume full international responsibility as a sovereign and independent State (A8: Preamble)

Hit	KWIC	File
1	of the State and Territory of Brunei Darul Salam, and All Its Dependencies; Considering that the State of Brunei has agreed to resume full international	1979ii
2	Highness shall examine the working of the Brunei Defence Council in order to determine what changes, if any, are required to improve its effectiveness. (1971 A
3	5s Government and His Highness's Government shall consult together to determine what measures should, separately or jointly, be taken in relation	1971 A
4	of this paragraph there shall be consultation between the two Governments to determine to what extent the threat is externally organized or supported. (6	1971 A
5	of this Agreement the Governments of Her Majesty and of His Highness shall examine the working of the Brunei Defence Council in order to determine w	1971 A

Figure 64 Distribution of Vs of Decision-Making in the 1971 and 1979ii Treaty

5.4. Summary

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This chapter was set out to detail the changes in the occurrences or fluctuations of verbs usage, interchangeable role of agencies, and their representation in the selected discourse over time, in order to demonstrate how power shifts over time even at the semantic level of discourse. By employing triangulation, results from this chapter are further woven into the bigger picture of BR-UK power relations in eight key texts and interpreted in an integrated manner along with results from the macro and meso level of analysis. It uses verbs as the main discursive indicator at this level, due to its semantic properties that provide direct link to meaning itself, agencies, and context. It was anticipated that changes in verbs usage, taken together with social actors or agencies, along with their representation, would create a continuum of power shifts within the selected timeframe.

Chapter 6. Findings and Discussion

“I pass with relief from the tossing sea of Cause and Theory
to the firm ground of Result and Fact.”

Winston Churchill

6.1. Overview

In line with DHA’s procedural steps where detailed analytical results should be applied along with the designation of critique (refer to 3.3.6 for a brief overview), this chapter deliberates the analytical findings in association to the research questions posed at the beginning of this thesis. Although these findings are regarded as an accumulation of results from the macro, meso, and micro level of analysis, results from Chapter 5 is regarded as crucial as it anchors the characterization of discourse at the meso level of analysis (Chapter 4), and reflects the contextual background provided at Chapter 2. Therefore, it is deemed appropriate to start this chapter with the key findings derived from the previous chapter, i.e. as a form of continuity, and base for the discussion. In summary,

- i. There are 12 major semantic categories that constitutes BR-UK political discourse within the scope of this thesis. In this chapter, only categories that directly reflect power shifts were discussed such as verbs that reflect **Actions of Transfer of Possession, Actions of Permission and Restriction, Actions of Consent, Actions of Continuum, Actions of Production, Actions of Operation, and Actions of Decision-Making.**
- ii. The prevalence occurrence of **Vs of Giving** and **Vs of Taking** as actions that manifest **Transfer of Possession** reflect presence of power transfer between BR and UK. The fluid distribution of resources between these entities, from time to time, in the form of physical territories, knowledge administrative expertise, military prowess, and human resources reflects the dynamics of power relations between the two states.
- iii. In line with allocation of power along the Dominant-Subservient power spectrum, BR-UK relations reinforces the movement from D-S dyads to cooperative entity over time, reflecting the context from being a protector-protected entity to two sovereign entities.

- iv. At the same time, presence of categories that do not directly reflect power shifts but beneficial in characterizing the discourse as a protectorate/protector-protected discourse substantiates the premise that a discourse is not solely a tool to gain objectives but also a site of interaction that reflects and is reflective of a social phenomenon. In the analysis of power, critical examination on a particular discourse enable researchers to understand how power construe is reflected rather than constructed. Examples of these categories are verbs that reflect **Actions of Referential, Actions of Validation, Actions of Inclusion, and Actions of Declaratives**.
- v. These categories are represented as social actions, which can be both agentialized and deagentialized, confirming presence (and absence, or concealment) of agencies or social actors. To follow, these actions can be transactive or non-transactional, as well as instrumental and interactive. Among these representations, the following combination is prevalent across the analysis;
 - Transactional, instrumental semiotic action
 - Transactional, instrumental material action
 - Transactional, instrumental semiotic and material action
 - Non-transactional, instrumental semiotic action
 - Non-transactional, instrumental material action
- vi. In cases of agentialized social actions, they are dominantly semioticized, although material actions are also present in a number of occasions. These actions are used interchangeably, depending on the context and placement of emphasis or bearing force that each has over the other.
- vii. These social actions are also found to be deagentialized either via eventuation or existentialization- suggesting concealment of either social practice, constellation of power relations, or placement of emphasis over a certain phenomenon or events (PHE/EVE), objects (OBJ), or processes (PRO).
- viii. The role of agencies is interchangeable, indicating their shifting role along the power spectrum. At the same time, they can be activated and deactivated, as well as

foregrounded or backgrounded. These representations are present in the form of;

- The activation and foregrounding of agencies which entail that they are active and dynamic,
 - The activation but backgrounding of agencies which indicates that they are important but only second to other elements such as objects (OBJ), processes (PRO), or phenomenon/events (PHE/EVE). These forms are accompanied by presence of passive marker -by, and,
 - The complete deactivation and backgrounding of agencies that suggest their permanent deletion
- ix. Verbs in the same category but with different representations support the presence of many realities that consequently enable multiple interpretations and dimensions of reality. It also reinforces the notion of words with many meanings.
- x. Consistency between verbs in the same category and its representation (1:1 ratio) indicates standard formulation that applies to technical documents.

Benefitting from these findings and triangulation that governs the methodological perspective, the following reconstructs and synthesizes results from all the three levels of macro, meso, and micro analysis to form a comprehensive portrayal of the phenomenon of power shifts in the political discourse of BR-UK within the selected timeframe of 1847 to 1984. In other words, it will detail how verbs as a rudimentary conveyor of meaning and its synergetic interaction with other discursive components such as agencies are used to multidimensionally capture the complex phenomenon of power shifts in an institutionally situated political discourse such as bilateral agreements, Notes Exchanger, and a Proclamation of Independence. At the outset, this task is informed by three research questions;

1. How are the power shifts in Brunei and Britain (BR-UK) power relations represented in the selected political discourse produced between 1847 to 1984?
2. How is verb as the main discursive indicator utilized in establishing, maintaining, and negotiating power in the selected discourse over time?
3. To what extent do these indicators support for the formulation of a distinctive protectorate discourse in Southeast Asia?

6.2. RQ1: How are the shifts in Brunei and Britain (BR-UK) power relations represented in the selected political discourse produced between 1847 to 1984?

As informed by the research strategy outlined in the Methodology chapter, the analytical dimension of this thesis was designed in a manner that it enables a three-pronged approach to dissect power shifts within the selected discourse. This approach does not only necessitate the analysis of power shifts to be conducted exclusively within the designated tier, but also in integrality across the macro, meso, and micro tiers. Aligned with the structure of this thesis, these tiers are manifested by Chapters 2, 4, and 5, respectively. In other words, the examination of context provided by literature review constitutes the analysis at the macro level, whereas the characterization and the interrelatedness of key texts coincides analysis at the meso level. Similarly, an in-depth analysis on verbs as one of the prominent discursive indicators makes up analysis at the micro level. Retrospectively, the selection of this viewpoint was guided by an underlying assumption that not only power shifts can be reflected even at its minutiae, but also has a bearing effect towards other discursive elements at different levels of analysis.

6.2.1. Insights from the Macro Level of Analysis

At the outset, the macro level of analysis was set out to frame the historical and political context that governs the phenomenon of shifts in BR-UK power relations, as represented in eight key texts that mark Brunei's political turns between 1847-1984. At the same time, the series of events capsuled within this time period also act as historical traces or evidences that substantiate the findings and discussion of this thesis. At this level, shifts are portrayed in the form of political turns or political shifts that determine the formulation of power equation between the two countries through the designation of political status and allocation of power. In this respect, this form of shifts is informed by the evolving context that governs the contents, assignation and role of agencies, as well as the many nuances of text production. In other words, the historical and political context of Brunei and Britain between 1847 to 1984 not only sets the backdrop for the development of their power relations over time, but also acts as a source for reference or evidences needed to carry out the investigation.

As elaborated in the dedicated chapter, shifts in BR-UK power relations are embedded within three different phases that exist in a temporal continuum, i.e. between 1847 to 1959 where the nature of BR-UK political relations is ambiguous and rapidly evolving, within the year 1959 where BR leverages its position by proposing a written constitution, and between 1959 to 1984 where this political relations are renewed and maintained along the nuances of protection and assistance. These phases are further marked with the drafting of eight institutional documents that dialectically reinforce the nature of BR-UK political relations. They are regarded as tangible manifestations that encapsulate not only the context and dynamics of power relations, but also serves as an interface for this dynamism to occur. Taking all these elements into considerations, the following deduces the three scenarios that reflect power shifts in BR-UK political relations

6.2.1.1. Phase 1 (1847-1959): Establishment of Domination-Subservient (D-S) dyads

In this phase, the inking of the 1847's *Treaty of Friendship and Commerce, and for the Suppression of the Slave Trade, between Great Britain and Borneo*, marks the beginning of political ties between the two states with a mutual interest to foster foreign relations and suppress slavery and piratical undertakings that hamper commercial and maritime activities in the region. At this stage, both states were represented as allies or cooperative political entities where not only they have similar objective for the commercial prosperity and growth in the region, but also grant equivalent access to their territories to their respective subjects. However, the same document also embeds a pre-emptive notion that UK as a colonial power is more dominant within the bilateral power spectrum, especially with the provision and engagement of naval capabilities in battling piratical and slavery activities. At the same time, Article X in the same document also deter BR from making territorial concessions to other states without the consent of UK- reinforcing the Crown's political and commercial foothold in the region so as to restrict other contending Western powers from attaining similar advantages. On the other, BR here is portrayed as a provider or facilitator to achieve these means whether in terms of personnel assistance, exclusive access to all dominions, and provision of materials whenever needed by UK. In other words, the designation of D-S dyads is already covertly engrained at the beginning of this relations.

In light of negative political developments surrounding Brunei in late 1840s particularly with the annexation of its territories to the imperialist machinations of Rajah Brooke in Sarawak and

British North Borneo Company in Sabah, BR and UK signed the (*Protectorate*) *Agreement between the Sultan of Brunei with Her Majesty's Government* in 1888 that placed Brunei as a protectorate of UK, along with British North Borneo and Sarawak. This agreement, among other things, is not just instrumental in documenting the transfer of BR's prerogatives for its foreign policies to the hands of UK, but also intensified the political limitations imposed on BR as any engagements with foreign states including any conflict resolutions should only be handled by UK government. With this agreement in place, UK's authority over BR's governance on top of BR's compliance towards UK's restrictions substantiates the presence of a D-S entity, where BR is a subservient political entity to UK.

In the same trajectory, the failure of this agreement in deterring BR's territories from foreign encroachment have prompted for the signing of the *Supplementary Agreement Between Great Britain And Brunei Respecting British Protection Over the State of Brunei* in 1905/06. As this agreement sanctions UK's prerogatives over BR's governance in a manner that the Resident's *advice must be taken and acted upon on all questions in Brunei, other than those affecting the Mohammedan religion* (1905, Article I), the installation of this agreement further amplifies the materialization of the D-S entity especially with the official presence of UK's administration on BR's soil via the implementation of British Residential System. By reinforcing BR's political status as a protected state of UK, the signing of this agreement further widens the D-S gap and necessitates the expansion of UK's authority over BR's many aspects of its governance including legal and lawmaking decisions, education, and even local customs (Nani Suryani, 2008).

To sum, the culmination of series of events within this phase have demonstrated the close association between context and constellation of power in BR-UK political relations over time. Informed and contextualized within the political and historical settings, this constellation is manifested in terms of D-S dyads, where UK as the legitimate protector of BR is the dominant entity, and BR as a subservient one. Accordingly, changes in context have a bearing effect towards the nature of this constellation, and vice versa. In line with the evolving context that sanctions UK's increased jurisdiction over BR's and BR's compliance towards UK's restrictions have shown that with increase in authority and control, the gap between the D-S dyads would be wider from time to time, giving more room for the dominant entity to exercise more power through control, across domains.

6.2.1.2. Phase 2 (1959): A Quest for an equilibrium in power

Preceded by the signing of *The Agreement between the United Kingdom and Brunei on Defence and External Affairs*, signed in 1959, this phase marks another major shift in BR-UK power constellations as contextualized by the historical and political settings of BR as a protected state of UK. With the abolition of British Residential System as purported by the 1905/06 Agreement, BR now regained its authority and control over its internal affairs and retained UK's jurisdiction for its defence and external affairs. The revoking of the System also entails that the post of Resident was abolished, and all the powers vested in this post was transferred to a local post, the Chief Minister (*Menteri Besar*), who oversees BR's administration from the Sultan's office, with the aid of a local State Secretary that acts as the spokesperson for the government (Nani Suryani, 2008). At the same time, the power of the High Commissioner was also transferred to the Sultan-in-Council except with regard to his role as an adviser to the Council (Hussainmiya, 1995). Respectively, this phase reflects BR's effort in leveraging its standing within the spectrum of BR-UK political relations and refined its political status as a protected state of Britain that is internally governed. Accordingly, the setting out of this event reformulates the existing power equation, where the repossession of jurisdiction in its internal affairs reduced UK's dominance, and increased BR's authority and control over its own state, bridging the power divide between UK as the dominant entity and BR as its subservient.

6.2.1.3. Phase 3 (1971 to 1984): From D-S to Cooperation

As contextualized in the literature review chapter, this phase observes the gradual detachment of BR as a protected state, from UK as its protector. Retaining the progress resulting from the drafting of the Written Constitution of the State of Brunei in the 1959 that granted BR autonomy in its internal administration, this phase captures shifts in the reallocation of power between the two states within the D-S spectrum, and eventually the dilution of this spectrum and demarcation line of power into cooperation. Accordingly, this phase initiated with the signing of the 1971 Amendment, where BR regains its jurisdiction over its state defence by establishing a joint Council that consists of official representatives from both countries. Along the trajectory of power relations, the establishment of this Council implies three things. Firstly, the emergence of an institutionalized entity that combines the protector and its protectorate into one, marks the dissolving of power divisions between the two states. Second, it also

indicates the gradual empowerment of the subservient entity to be at par with the dominant power. To follow, this establishment also reconfigure the constellation of power relations between BR and UK.

Followingly, the signing of two agreements in 1979 reinforces the shifts in the constellation of BR-UK power relations as it necessitates the transfer of jurisdiction for the state's external affairs from UK to BR. With this transfer, the D-S power gap is made closer, the subservient entity becomes more empowered, and the dominant's control over BR's governance weakens. In extension, the termination of the previous agreements and the drafted provision for independence five years after the inking of the agreement, further enhanced this shift. In other words, it paves way for the disembarkation of BR as a protected state from UK as its protector and converts the existence of D-S dyads into cooperative entities. Along this continuum, the 1984's *Declaration of Independence* that reinstates BR's political status as a sovereign state equalizes its political standing to UK and diffuses the D-S power spectrum completely. At the same time, it also legitimizes BR's as an independent political entity that has full authority and control over its own resources, as well as able to exercise its free will without being subjected to any political constraints or restrictions from other parties.

6.2.2. Insights from the Meso Level of Analysis

In this thesis, the meso level of analysis was curated to bridge the contextual background that frame and account for the changes in BR-UK power conundrum across the selected period, and its means of linguistics realizations as manifested in the documents. As a connecting tier, its contribution to trace shifts in power relations was minimal as compared to insights from the macro and micro level of analysis. This level, however, informs the research in a way that it further frames the political phenomenon in investigation into a specific genre, and utilizes verbs analysis at the micro level to characterize the discourse as a distinctive discursual entity. In this regard, discourse is perspectivized as a space or site where the symbiotic interaction between various discursive components takes place, and patterns derived from this interaction makes up for the intertextuality between texts.

Accordingly, findings at this tier have shown that institutional-political discourses are hardwired in a way that their discursive components are fixed, formulaic, and less susceptible of changes. This is due to the conventional and legal settings that govern the different aspects of texts production, validation, distribution of the documents and to a greater extent, the topology and stylistics aspect of the discourse. This restriction is accompanied by institutionalized procedures that accompanies the production of political discourses. This includes the insertion of legal aspects from the government of Brunei and Britain, validation and authentication proper that these texts have to go through right from the negotiating table to the Foreign Office in London, and dissemination of information in the form of archives and printed media.

Despite this rigidity, analysis at this level have also shown that there are some dimensions that are able to facilitate changes, especially if they are in direct links to contexts and within a longer temporal continuum, such as discourse topics and its significance (as will be exemplified by use of **Vs of Referential** below), the communication flow between the Sultan of Brunei and Her Majesty the Queen (Figure 2), and the validating agencies such as the four Sultans of Brunei and numerous British representatives that were involved in the negotiations and discussions (Figure 66). These features inevitably provide linkage between one key texts to the other through recontextualization of events and intertextuality via similarity in discursive properties, in addition to their establishment along a continuum of time, and the discourse itself as a site of interaction.

	1847	1888	1905/06	1959	1971	1979	1984
Brunei	Sultan/ Lawful ruler of Brunei						
	British Person	British Resident at Perak	British Resident in Brunei	British High Commissioner in Brunei			
	British High Commissioner in Southeast Asia					-	
	Secretary of State at British Colonial Office / British Foreign Office in London					Secretary of State at British Foreign Office in London	
Britain	Her Majesty the Queen						

Figure 65 Agencies involved in BR-UK communication line

(p.64 of this thesis)

Texts	Highest Authority (BR)	Highest Authority (UK) on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
1847	His Highness Omar Ali Saifadeen	(L.S.) James Brooke
1888	Sultan Hashim Jalilul Alam Akamaddin	Sir Hugh Low, K. C. M. G.,
1905/06	His Highness Sultan Hashim Jalilul Alam Ahamaldin	John Anderson
1959	His Highness Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin Sa'adul Khairi Waddin	His Excellency Sir Robert Heatlie Scott
1971	His Highness Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin Sa'adul Khairi Waddin	His Excellency Sir Robert Heatlie Scott
1979i	His Highness Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan of Brunei	Goronwy-Roberts Of Caernarvon And Ogwen
1979ii	His Highness Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan Sir Muda Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah	The Right Honourable The Lord Goronwy-Roberts Of Caernarvon And Of Ogwen
1984	His Highness Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan Sir Muda Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah	-

Figure 66 Shifts in Validating Agencies between Brunei and Britain

In terms of its association to linguistics realization at the micro level, these aspects are manifested by a constellation of semantic categories. These categories, such as **Vs of Validation**, **Vs of Referential**, **Vs of Production**, **Vs of Consent** and **Vs of Inclusion**, to an extent, inform the nature and function of the texts as institutional, political, legal, bilateral, and

diplomatic. Their usage across the data was also formulaic, consistent and very few is susceptible to changes. Taking **Vs of Validation** as an example, verbs such as *sealed*, *signed*, *confirm* (*confirms*) and *ratified* validates, approves, or endorses provisions in the documents, and manifests reciprocity and consent from mutually agreeing sides. In fact, *signed*, as the most common verb in the data, is a standard feature in agreements that reflects consensus from the agencies involved in the negotiation and related procedures surrounding it. Across the data, it is represented in activation of either BR, UK, or BR-UK as an integrated entity to highlight the importance of these agencies as authority that validates and sanctions the terms in the documents. Accordingly, it is also used to embed extra information such as place (a) and time (b) of signing, and to signpost the spatial placement (___) for the agencies' initials including official witnesses that act as supporting agencies to mark their endorsements, support and closure to the agreement, as well as a marker of legitimacy that generally accompanies royal or government seals (c).

- a. Supplementary Agreement Between Great Britain and Brunei Respecting British Protection over The State of Brunei *signed at* Brunei on 3rd. December 1905 and 2nd January 1906 (Agreement 1905)
- b. The Treaties *signed on* 18 December 1846(1) ... (Agreement 1979i: Art.2)
- c. *Signed and sealed by*: The Right Honourable the Lord Goronwy-Roberts of Caernarvon and of Ogwen, Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, for and on behalf of Her Majesty (Agreement 1979ii)

On the other, **Vs of Referential** which includes *abovementioned*, *fore-mentioned*, *mentioned*, *cited*, *referred*, *regarded*, *in regard to*, *correspond* and *corresponding*, is another semantic category that makes the genre institutional and legal. This category encapsulates the act of referring to an object, agencies, processes or events mentioned or discussed either before or after the stated provisions, either in the same or different documents, i.e. in the form of anaphoric or cataphoric references. They are also interpreted as a response or reaction that connects these discursive indicators to the topics in discussion, and consistently represented as instrumental semiotic actions. Its prominent use of deagentialization via eventuation indicates its intertextual properties, i.e. as a marker that establishes connection between texts inclusive

of the marginal differences in representation of social actions and role of agencies. Despite its consistent usage across the data, it also reflects shifts in focal points of discussion, i.e. emphasis of the provisions is dialectically reflective of the evolving context of text production and is reflected whether in the form of AGN, OBJ, or EVE/PHE, as shown in Figure 67 below;

Texts	Vs of Referential	Emphasis or Subject of the clause	Focal Point of Discussion
1847	<i>Corresponding above- mentioned, in regard to fore-mentioned</i>	OBJ <i>dispositions</i> OBJ <i>objects</i> OBJ <i>trade</i> OBJ <i>islets</i>	Solidification of Trade & Suppression of piracy Reconfirmation of Annexation
1888	<i>Mentioned referred</i>	OBJ <i>conditions</i> OBJ <i>questions</i>	State Protection/ Defence
1959	<i>Cited Correspond referred</i>	OBJ <i>agreement</i> OBJ <i>political matters</i> EVE/PHE the first appointed day	Proclamation providing for the State's Constitution Textual convention
1971	<i>Cited Correspond referred</i>	OBJ <i>agreement</i> OBJ <i>political matters</i> EVE/PHE the first appointed day	Proclamation providing for the State's Constitution Textual convention
1979i	<i>Regarded refer</i>	OBJ <i>BR reply</i> EVE/PHE <i>the discussions</i>	BR's reply Discussions between BR and UK
1979ii	<i>referred to</i>	AGN UK <i>Her Majesty the Queen of United Kingdom</i>	Textual convention
1984	<i>corresponding</i>	OBJ <i>Hijri date</i>	Textual convention

Figure 67 Shifts in use of *Vs of Referential* and Discourse Topics

6.2.3. Insights from the Micro Level of Analysis

Regarded as the analytical core of the thesis, this tier provides the means of realizations in the form of the basic component of speech, i.e. verbs, to exemplify the phenomenon of power shifts in the selected discourse. Following a series of selection and narrowing down of data, verbs are selected as the focal point of investigation at this level, in association to agencies. Informed by its prevalent occurrences in the data, its nature as the direct conveyor of meaning, and its role as an element that provides immediate connection to agencies/social actors, verbs across all documents (including content verbs, phrasal verbs, nominalized verbs, and negated verbs) are grouped into semantic categories that reflect an action. These verbs are interpreted as social actions and dissected in alignment with the interchangeable role of BR and UK, presentation of processes or actions (PRO/ACT), events or phenomenon (EVE/PHE), and insertion of objects (OBJ) in the form of tangible or intangible resources.

At this level, shifts in BR-UK power relations are manifested by depicting changes in verbs usage, changes in the interchangeable role of agencies, and changes in how they are represented over time. Taking **Vs of Giving** and **Vs of Taking**, as an example, shifts in occurrences over time indicate that there are movement of resources from one agency to the other, whether it is in the form of material or non-material resources. This transfer of resources indicate movement in source of power which also governs the power constellation between two contesting states. This coincides Weber's assertion that allocation of power depends on at which resources it rests on. Another example is the shifting use of **Vs of Possession** over time not only to indicate who eventually has the final acquisition of the resources, but also what the different kinds of resources are in negotiation. For instance, the 1847 document displays more possessions of objects (properties including territories) and actions or processes such as privileges and advantages by both AGN BR and AGN UK in the form of protection and reservation of jurisdiction (d), actions/processes especially in the realm of jurisdiction, as well as materialization of UK institutions on ground, and maintenance of control over existing privileges secured to them in the previous treaty as reflected in the 1905/06 Supplementary Agreement (e).

- d. *The subjects of Her Britannic Majesty* shall have full liberty to enter into, reside in, trade with, and pass with their merchandize through all parts of the dominions of His Highness the Sultan Borneo, and they shall *enjoy* therein the privileges and advantages with respect to commerce, or otherwise, which are now which may hereafter be granted to the subjects or citizens of the most favoured nation; and *the subjects of His Highness the Sultan of Borneo* shall in like manner be at liberty to enter into, reside in, trade with, and pass with their merchandize through all parts of Her Britannic Majesty's dominions in Europe and Asia, as freely as the subjects of the most favoured nation, and they shall *enjoy* in those dominions all the privileges and advantages with respect to commerce, or otherwise, which are now or which may hereafter be granted therein the to the subjects or citizens of the most favoured nation. (1847: Art.2)
- e. Subject as aforesaid, His Highness agrees that *Her Majesty* shall continue to *enjoy* jurisdiction to make for the State laws relating to defence and external affairs. (1905/06: Art.3.3)

Additionally, this movement also entails that there should be direction from where this transfer originates and leads to. In other words, transfer of resources requires agencies or social actors to indicate who are participating or involved in the power circle, what role do they have in terms of giver or being given, in what context does this transfer takes place, i.e. what is the prominent domain that contextualize this transfer. At the same time, there is another dimension to giving and taking that is crucial to determining the epicenter of power, i.e. the role of beneficiary or agencies that eventually benefits from the transaction, as manifested by **Vs of Possession**. In this regard, although power dialectically shifts between the giver and receiver of resources over time, the main determiner that rules the power spectrum between a dominant and a subservient is the beneficiary.

Another important aspect to the manifestation of power shifts here is how the representation also changes as context and agencies change over time. Findings from the analysis have shown that these representations are interchangeable between one agency to the other, depending on the types of resources, and their intentions at a certain time. Therefore, an action can be transactive or non-transactive depending on the semantic nature of the verbs and presence of agencies; and can be semiotic, material or an overlapping of the two depending on how this

action is used. Accordingly, the prevalence of non-transactive/transactive, instrumental semiotic actions across the data indicates the intended extension of a particular provision towards other aspects of the state's governance beyond what was termed in the documents. Use of instrumental actions in most provisions also indicate the intricacy of the terms negotiated, i.e. it replaces the opposing political entity with non-human patients (OBJ, PRO, EVE) to convey similar meaning.

At the same time, the interchangeable role of agencies determine how they are represented over time, whether they are activated and foregrounded as dominant or subservient entity to emphasize their role either as a protector or protectorate/ protected state; or deactivated to conceal these roles within a certain context. Taking **Vs of Giving** as an example, in 1847 and 1888 treaties, both AGN BR and AGN UK were activated and foregrounded as dynamic entities that perform both transactive and non-transactive, semiotic and material actions- indicating their equivalence in terms of supremacy, possession of resources and involvement in promotion of commerce and suppression of piracy in the region, as exemplified in (d).

- f. *HER Majesty the Queen the United Kingdom Great Britain and Ireland, being desirous to encourage commerce between Her Majesty's subjects and the subjects of the independent Princes of the Eastern Seas (A1: Preamble)*

In the 1905/06 Agreement, however, this representation shifted due to the failure of the 1888 Treaty in protecting BR from further annexation. In this provision, *does not give* was represented as transactive, instrumental material action that activates AGN BR as the (supposedly) receiving end of the transaction and deactivates the role of AGN UK as the official protector to the state. Instead, OBJ *treaty made on the 17th September 1888* was highlighted as a flawed document that masks the incompetency of AGN UK in protecting BR from foreign encroachment (Hussainimya & Tarling, 2011). The euphemized form of this representation, additionally, reflects the nature of this discourse as political, institutional, and diplomatic.

- g. ... now therefore His Highness has represented to His Majesty's Government *that the Treaty made on the 17th September, 1888, does not give him sufficient protection...* (A4: Art. 1)

In some instances, these roles undergo complete deletion where they are both deactivated and backgrounded, highlighting either their lack of importance as compared to the other, or their emphasis towards the objects, processes, or events that take place. This representation is often accompanied by the deagentialization of agencies via eventuation that aims at suppressing the involvement of human agency (van Leeuwen, 1995:15) and highlights the instrumental purpose and emphasis of the provision. In (f) for instance, *adopted* is deagentialized and objectivated through eventuation, i.e. as a potential consequence to an event preceding this action *from OBJ any injurious regulations* (f).

- h. His Highness moreover engages that British trade and British goods shall be exempt from any internal duties, and also from *any injurious regulations* which may hereafter, from whatever causes, be *adopted* in the dominions of the Sultan of Borneo (1847: Art.5)

Adding to this representation is the use of social actions to represent the verbs or actions in relation to these agencies or social actors. In this regard, the agentialization and deagentialization of these actions coincide with the how these agencies are represented as activated and deactivated (as discussed in the previous para). Accordingly, agentialization further informs whether they are transactive or non-transactive, and whether they are instrumental or interactive, as these representations are directly related to agencies. On the other, deagentialization is mainly conducted via eventuation where the role of human agencies is embedded within the events that precedes the actions in a sentence; or via existentialization where they are dissolved into the phenomenon of existence, i.e. by just being there. In both cases, actions are presented in a manner that it is “impermeable to human agencies.”

In sum, changes in these elements, i.e. verbs usage and its representation as social actions, along with the activation and deactivation of agencies over time, reflect the redistribution of power between BR and UK over time. Taking it further, the different combination of these representations also helps to characterize the genre of the discourse in terms of provision of lexicon. For example, the prevalent tokens of **Vs of Validation** and **Vs of Consent** across the data characterizes the key texts not just institutional, legitimate, and legal, but also diplomatic and mutual, as it establishes the right to be conformed to (Chilton, 2004) and is sanctioned by consenting parties. Similarly, **Vs of Referential** marks the intertextual nature of the key texts as

documents that are linked along the continuum of spatial (site of interaction), temporal, and contents particularly discourse topics. Accordingly, these aspects of results informed and complement analysis at the meso tier where discursive connectivity anchors the analysis at this level.

6.3. RQ2: How is verb as the main discursive indicator utilized in establishing, maintaining, and negotiating power in the selected discourse over time?

In answering the second research question that hones on the utility of discursive indicators in establishing, maintaining, and negotiating power between agencies, it is worth revisiting how these processes (establishing, maintaining, and negotiating) operate in the selected settings. Rationale for doing this is twofold, i.e. to understand how they operate and represented within the selected temporal and spatial continuum, as well as to synthesize and triangulate all the different aspects of discourse discussed at the three levels of analysis. To serve this purpose, **Vs of Giving** is used to demonstrate the processes in investigation.

As a prevalent category across the data, **Vs of Giving** are initially used in activation and foregrounding of AGN UK as a supreme and dominant agency in terms of possession of military capabilities and naval prowess, whereas AGN BR is represented as a giver or provider that materializes any necessities needed to facilitate the exercise of these capabilities in the region particularly in terms of tangible resources and access to the state. Although the scenario was depicted as a win-win situation where AGN BR gives the facilities in return for AGN UK's protection, the zero-sum scenario, at the same time, also applies to AGN BR as it was giving more than what is given. This is particularly true as contextually BR still lost a number of territories after this treaty to the Brookes of Sarawak and the North Borneo Company. In addition, in provisions where it benefits both, the action of giving is deagentialized, masking the win-win situation, which entails an equal distribution of power. In other words, where equal sovereignty should be represented accordingly, it is instead concealed and oscillated towards representation of AGN UK as being the dominant one, while AGN BR being the subservient one- establishing the construe of a D-S spectrum.

While the concealment of win-win situation continues in the 1888 Agreement, there is also consistency in the activation of AGN UK as the recipient and beneficiary of the resources- again

emphasizing its supremacy or dominance within the spectrum. Despite the constraints posed towards AGN UK which delimit the resources only to AGN officials (instead of UK officials, traders, and British Protected Persons alike), it also deactivates and backgrounds AGN BR as the provider of the resources- reinforcing the constellation of AGN BR as a subservient entity to AGN UK despite using constraints as a leverage, i.e. negotiating tool for more power share in the provisions. Interestingly enough, the following 1905 Treaty reiterates similar pattern of a win-win situation, where AGN UK is activated as the beneficiary, but this time activates AGN BR as the giver or provider of the resources in tandem with use of instrumental material actions- emphasizes the subservient nature of BR as a protectorate/protected state of UK. To further substantiate, where UK's incapability was discussed with respect to its incompetency in protecting BR from foreign intrusion, AGN UK is backgrounded by highlighting the previous treaty instead and deagentialized via eventuation. In this relation, both contexts magnify UK's supremacy as a protector, override BR's authority, and widen the gap between the D-S power spectrum.

In the 1959 Treaty, where the drafting of the treaty is contextualized on the basis of attaining autonomy for BR's internal governance, and UK attempts to retain as much authority as it can to maintain an upper hand in the D-S power dyads, both agencies are represented as dynamic and active agencies in different capabilities, as internalized by instrumental material actions *provide* in activation of AGN BR as means to highlight its supremacy as bearer of the resources and provider of tangible resources to AGN UK; and *advise*, to reflect AGN UK's dexterity in governance and expertise. In this regard, the juxtaposition between these representations does not only encapsulate the scenario where two contending states are negotiating and competing for more authority in the protector-protected conundrum, but also how dominant agencies such as UK attempts to maintain their existing prerogatives and stability in the power spectrum, while the other, i.e. BR, tries to challenge the existing power constellation in regaining their own legitimacy and authority. Accordingly, UK further reinforces its positive association to BR, i.e. as an ally and friend, by one that extends friendship and cooperation to BR, to maintain its scope of power within the existing D-S power installation, as reproduced below (a);

- a. And whereas Her Majesty, in token of the friendship which she bears towards His Highness, the subjects of His Highness and the inhabitants... (Figure 14:13)

On the other, the emergence of BR-UK as an integrated, cooperative, and unified entity, further substantiates the redistribution of power between the dyads, and constricts the existing power gap between the two. In this regard, the establishment of cooperation into protector-protected scenario alters the D-S power installation between the two states as not only it reduces the dominant's domain of jurisdiction, and reinstall similar jurisdiction for the subservient, but also paves way for more maintenance and negotiations of power to take place. In the perspective of relational power, where the increase of power for one agency may negatively affect the amount of power that the other has- contributing to the premise that power itself is fluctuating, fluid and non-static (Baldwin, XX). In line with the latter, where cooperation catalyzes for power negotiations, or maintenance to take place especially when it is challenged by the opposing agency, deagentialized social actions tend to be used to mask the complex interaction along the existing protector-protected power constellation. In fact, it is also suggestive that deagentialization is utilized as a strategic tool to negotiate power and maintain power installations in diplomatic settings.

In line with the evolving context of BR en route to its resumption of independence, and UK's unremitting effort to maintain its authority and control over its remaining scope of power within BR's governance, as well as retaining a firm grip over the D-S power constellation as a dominant power, the 1971 Amendment materializes UK's dominance through its representation as an active agency that *provides, assists, and proposes*, intangible resources to BR, including *advice, assistance, facilities, etc.* As the ultimate beneficiary of this transfer is BR (as reflected by its activation and foregrounding), such representation reflects the demarcation of AGN BR from AGN UK as its protector. Despite the essential role of AGN UK as the source of expertise and military assistance to AGN BR's national defence system, it is intriguing that this phenomenon is not captured in this agreement. In this regard, the effects from Suez Canal crisis, British decolonization policies in Southeast Asia, and pressure from international community have weakens UK's imperial particularly military presence in BR (Hussainmiya, 1995; Nani Suryani, 2008).

This is further substantiated with the presence of Gurkha's Battalion whose maintenance costs are borne fully by the Sultanate and is provided for in an unpublished exchange of letters, instead of direct involvement from Her Majesty's own Forces (Leifer, 1978) as anticipated from the provision on joint standing consultative Brunei Defence Council between the two states. It

is also important to note that, despite the projection of UK as a weakening colonial power, it does not nullify its prerogative towards BR as a protector. This is due to the fact that even with the elimination of provision of defence protection to the state, UK still has a firm grip on BR's external affairs, which still allows it to exercise its remaining power over BR's governance. In periphery, similar pointers from **Vs of Taking**, and **Vs of Permission** are also supportive of this where its usage on discussion on defence is either deagentialized or completely absent.

In line with the context that focuses on BR's national reconstruction towards resumption of independence, it maintains its political posture as a budding political entity by regaining gradual authority over different parts of its governance. In this respect, AGN UK retained its political status as a dominant entity by extending support and assistance over AGN BR, as reflected by *suggest* in 1979i document, or *assist*, and *encourage* in the following 1979ii treaty. In other words, while AGN UK exhibits maintenance of power by possessing resources, i.e. knowledge and expertise in administration, AGN BR progressively challenges this power by increasing its visibility in its representation. In other words, the activation and use of instrumental semiotic actions here slowly dissolves the gap between D-S continuum and transforms it into cooperation, which indicates a redistribution of power balance and AGN BR regaining an upper hand within the D-S power spectrum. In extension, the complete absence of similar representation in the 1984 coincides its attaining of sovereignty and exits the subservient status, which in this case, its protected status.

6.4. RQ3: To what extent do these discursive indicators support the formulation of a protectorate/protected state discourse within the context of Southeast Asia?

By far, findings and discussions from this chapter have led to the formulation of a discourse which is distinctive in terms of characterization, production, allocation of agencies or social actors, and most importantly, power shifts as the underlying factor that gears the mechanism of the protector-protected state/ protectorate phenomenon. At the outset, this formulation is governed by the historical and political context that dialectically shapes and shaped by the discourse. In this regard, the suitability of political context should be relevant to the research, i.e. within the political settings of state dependency, bilateral and diplomacy. At the same time, it is applicable to institutionalized documents that despite presence of constraints that contributes to its rigidity as technical documents, it also provides allowances for flexibility in

selected areas such as participating agencies, discourse topics, and some aspects of text production including communication line between agencies. In this respect, constraints itself contributes to the formulation of the protectorate discourse as it sets procedures that mould and standardize the contents, genres, formatting and style of the discourse. In the same trajectory, similar constraints are also applicable to provide guidelines for the validation, documentation, and dissemination of these documents to public.

In terms of contribution to its intrinsic features, a protectorate/protected state discourse is equipped with a set of lexicons that reflect the nature of the discourse which is mutually produced (**Vs of Consent, Vs of Production, Vs of Operation**), validated and institutionalized (**Vs of Validation, Vs of Referential, Vs of Embedded Inclusion, Vs of Declaratives, Vs of Decision Making**), and situated along a certain temporal and spatial continuum (**Vs of Continuum**). At the same time, it also embeds adherence or negotiations towards a clause or provisions, as exemplified by **Vs of Permission and Vs of Restriction**; and movement of resources be it tangible or intangible including knowledge, support, assistance etc., as demonstrated by **Vs of Giving, Vs of Taking, and Vs of Possession**. In terms of presentation style, it can utilize the different combinations of agentialized or deagentialized structures, or usage of material or semiotic representations, depending on the context in focus.

With all the standard discursive features in place, the exclusive feature that makes it a protectorate/protected discourse is the fluidity of power relations between the protector and protected state. Anchored by the notion that power is fixated on which resources it rests on, and that power is non-static, fluid and multidimensional, this thesis have also shown that there are two main ways that determine the constellation of power between the two contesting agencies, i.e. through possession and transfer of resources, as exemplified by **Vs of Giving, Vs of Taking, and Vs of Possession**; and through compliance, as reflected by **Vs of Permission and Vs of Restriction**. In these scenarios, the first might necessitate the other, if the objective is to control the agencies or social actors, along with the non-persons resources that come with these agencies.

In this respect, establishment of power relations started when initial contact was made between agencies. In BR-UK political relations case, it was initiated through the strand of trade and suppression of piracy. This power relations would evolve over time, depending on the

political shifts that they encounter, i.e. an event or phenomenon which changes their political status and affects the power constellation between them. At the same time, these shifts also redistributes power along the dominant-subservient spectrum, which, in the case of protectorate/protected discourse, is canonically moving between a protector state and its protectorate/protected state.

Accordingly, this movement also determines the gap between the D-S dyads. In other words, the allocation of power here is relational and is dependant on where the final bearer of the resources lies or who has the final control of things. However, with the passage of time, this gap will constricts and dissolves into an integrated political entity, achieved through cohesive and joint cooperation, and subsequently detachment from the dominant agency. In periphery, this dissolution also marks the subservient state's progress and empowerment towards its resumption of independence.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

“Out beyond ideas of wrongdoing and rightdoing, there is a field.
I’ll meet you there.”

Rumi

7.1. Introduction

At the outset, this thesis was set out to unravel the phenomenon of power shifts in BR-UK political relations within a selected discourse that consists of eight key texts, produced between 1847 to 1984. Adhering to the basis that there are many dimensions of a reality that constitute a bigger political reality, this thesis offers an alternative interpretation to an intricate, historical phenomenon involving protector-protected political relations using insights from Critical Discourse Analysis and triangulation of perspectives. Its research design exfoliates the three research questions that hones on how power shifts are manifested and represented in the selected discourse, how are the discursive indicators utilized in establishing, maintaining, and negotiating powers in the selected discourse, and to what extent do these indicators support the formulation of a protectorate/protected state discourse in Southeast Asia.

Through its findings, it is demonstrated that power shifts can be encapsulated at many levels by different discursive indicators including the simplest form of speech component such as verbs. Although these shifts are less reflective at the meso level where the site of interaction, i.e. the discourse, is heavily standardized and institutionalized, there are certain aspects of text production that reflect these changes. This includes the role of validating agencies, discourse topics, or communication line between the negotiating agencies. The triangulation of results at the end of the analysis also reinforces the notion that there is a direct relationship between contexts, discursive interaction, and micro linguistics components. Respectively, they can be deconstructed and analyzed exclusively at every tier, reconstructed and interpreted holistically.

In the same token, this thesis has also shown that there are different ways on how power shifts can be represented over time especially in relation to the interchangeable role of agencies, and the evolving context over time. Representation of these shifts reflects the fluidity of power and changes in its allocation or distribution over time, between participating agencies. Within the

dominant and subservient or D-S spectrum, the protector's power over the protected entity diminishes as the latter regained autonomy and authority over its resources over time. This redistribution captures not only the non-static nature of power but also the evolving nature of BR-UK political relations. At the same time, the shifting allocation of power also reflects BR's increasing level of empowerment and inclusion within the international community.

7.2. Theoretical Implications

One of the theoretical implications of this thesis is the optimum usage of triangulation to understand the dialectic relationship between various discursive indicators at each and across the three levels of analysis. By deconstructing the analytical perspectives into these levels and triangulating the results to reconstruct the BR-UK political reality, the phenomenon of shifts can be reflected at the macro level which encapsulates the evolving BR-UK political relations, the meso level which focuses on the different dimensions of the documents that makes up its genre as a political as well as institutional and legal, and the micro level which contains the various linguistics realizations. The exploitation of this research design within the boundaries of CDA has enabled for a more all-rounder approach especially as it hones on the depth of the texts, involves a longer timeframe, and requires an amalgamation of theories and perspectives for critical insights and justifications.

Similarly, utilization of verbs as the micro discursive indicator in this thesis is proven to be fruitful especially in capturing the dynamics and many dimensions of BR-UK power constellations. At both micro and meso levels, verbs encapsulate action meaning that embodies how power is established, maintained, challenged, and evolved over time between two supremacies within diplomatic settings. They also provide immediate association to agencies (AGN), objects (OBJ), processes (PRO), and phenomenon or event (EVE) in a way that they capture the symbiotic interaction between these components to reflect changes in power relations and characterize the discourse as distinct one. Despite this versatility, however, verbs are less useful in demonstrating changes in forms of addressing, designation of official posts and offices (as in the case of *Colonial Office* to *Foreign Office* in London), or use of honorifics and titles that accompany agencies' names. In retrospective, nouns and adjectives are regarded as more suitable for this type of task as they directly deal with nomenclatures and attributes of the agencies. Similarly, stylistic changes which include syntactic structures and metaphors could

have also been incorporated to reflect the evolution of genre and conventions in institutionalized documents. Although these changes are not directly linked to BR-UK power relations, but it is insightful in characterizing the discourse as a distinctive category.

Another theoretical implication derived from this thesis is the use of under-represented institutional documents such as bilateral treaties, notes exchanged, and proclamation of independence within a particular type of politically contested settings, in the era and region where colonial discourses are more prominent. In this regard, comparative approach between the discourse in investigation and the existing general works on colonial discourses would have given useful insights particularly at the macro and meso level of analysis to further highlight the unique traits of protectorate discourses. Additionally, incorporating more information about the pre- and post- negotiation processes would also be useful in amplifying the significance of the documents especially in tracking down the impacts from the implementation of the negotiated terms to the state and its society.

7.3. Future Research Avenues

Taking this forward, this research model, with refinement, can be applied to data of similar political orientation such as protectorates/ protected states in the Middle East, Sub-Saharan Africa, and the Oceania. As this research hones on interdisciplinarity, its duplicability can also be extended to data that reflect power construe and contestations, identity construction, as well as policy implementations across the domains of international relations, public policy, socio-economy, healthcare, climate change and new media. Refined analysis on verbs categories such as **Vs of Inclusion**, for instance, can provide insights on states' foreign policies, involvements and stance towards a global issue.

Beyond treaties and proclamations, this research model can also be used to analyze state constitutions, memorandum, white papers, archival and public records such as memoirs and personal letters, or any genre that are not only interdisciplinary in nature but also bears national and historical significance. In extension, the versatile nature of the research design also allows for an in-depth analysis to be conducted on non-textual data such as cartographic materials (changes in territorial boundaries over time reflect redistribution of power between states, for instance), monuments and memorial buildings such as the *House of Twelve Roofs* in Brunei- a century old official British residence during their residency period, as well as other

forms of exhibitions that mark diplomatic relations between states including official photographs and state gifts.

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Appendix 1

Semantic Categories	Verbs	Occurrences/ Tokens								Total Tokens
		D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7	D8	
<p style="text-align: center;">Vs of Giving</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To hand in something • To produce or cause something • To stretch • To aid/ assist 	give, given	1	1	1	1			2		
	grant, grants, granted	3	1						1	
	send				2	1				
	investing	1								
	deliver	1								
	offer							1		
	provide	1	1	1	4	8	1			
	concedes	1								
	afford							1		
	exported	1								
	borne, bears				2	1				
	assist					2		2		
	extend	1								
	supported					1				
	empowered	1								
encourage	1			1			1			
		12	3	2	10	13	1	7	1	49
<p style="text-align: center;">Vs of Taking, Acquisition</p> <p>D2: take place, take part</p> <p>D7: taken place</p>	receive		1	1	1	1				
	accept				1					
	acquired, acquire	3								
	take, taking, taken	1	1	1	8	5				
	imported	1								
	seize	1								
	capture, captured	2								

	recover	1									
	occupy	1									
	purchase	1									
	rent	1									
		12	2	2	10	6	0	0	0	0	32
Vs of Request	demands					1					
	required					1					
	request							1			
	apply		1								
		0	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	4
Vs of Possession/ Allocation/ Reservation	enjoy, enjoyed, enjoying	3	3		1	1					
	entitled		3								
	reserve, reserved	1	2								
	possessed	1									
	secured		1								
	saved	1									
	deposit	1									
		7	9	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	18
Vs of Permission	allow, allowed	1			1	1					
	countenancing	1									
	permit, permitted	3									
	authorized, authorised				1	1					
	pass	2									
	enter, entering	5			1	2	2	1			
		12	0	0	3	4	2	1	0	0	22
Vs of Restriction	exempt	1									
	prohibit	2									
		3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3

<p>Vs of Continuity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To keep existing without stopping To move in the same direction To remain in particular condition for a period of time 	subsist, subsisting	1			2	2				
	continue		1		2	4	2	3		
	maintain, maintained		1	1		1		1		
	flowing						1			
	running	1								
	keep				1	1				
	Carrying on, carried on	1	1							
		3	3	1	5	8	3	4	0	27
<p>Vs of Initiation</p>	establish, established		1	1		1				
	introduced	1								
	commenced				1	1				
		1	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	6
<p>Vs of Obstruction</p>	intersects	1								
	affect			1			2	1		
	interfere		1							
	regulated								1	
	obstructed	1								
		2	1	1	0	0	2	1	1	8
<p>Vs of Resumption</p>	resume							1	1	
	revert								1	
		0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3
<p>Vs of Termination</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To stop, to end, to reach the final part To reach a particular level, usually higher on 	terminate, terminated, terminating						3		1	
	revoked				1	1				
	suppress	1								
	discharging				1	1				
	reached						2			
	arrived								1	

		1	0	0	2	2	5	0	2	12
Vs of Consent <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To agree in sentiment/ harmony/ unison To give permission for something Share opinion To allow something or someone <i>Either mutual or for the benefit for the other**</i> 	agree, agrees, agreed	3	3		15	5		3	1	
	consents	1								
	abide by		1							
		5	4	0	15	5	0	3	1	32
Vs of Production <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To make or cause something To make something from scratch Usually performatives 	make, made, making	2	1	2	5	9	1	1	1	
	published						6			
	conducted, in the conduct of		1					1		
	record	1								
	Raise (develop)					1				
	promote							1		
	implementing				1					
	claims	1								
		3	2	2	6	10	7	3	1	34
Vs of Operation	adopted	1								
	exercise, exercised		2		2	1	1			
	act, acted			1				1		
	use	1								
	operate				1	1				
	practised				1					
	organized					1				
	carried out					1				
	equip					1				
	exchanged	1								
	ensure				2	1				
	Address-communication				1	1				
		3	2	1	7	7	1	1	0	22

<p>Vs of Declaratives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Performatives in nature 	declare, declared		1		1	1			1	
	proclaim, proclaimed								2	
	expressed				1	2				
	informed				1	1				
	read					1				
	wish, wishes			1					1	
	called					1				
		0	1	1	3	6	0	1	3	15
<p>Vs of Decision-making</p>	decide	1								
	examine					1				
	determine					3		1		
	adjudged	1								
	considering							1		
	tried	1								
	hear	1								
	found	1								
		5	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	11
<p>Vs of Appointment (of a post)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To choose somebody for a position of responsibility • To arrange or decide on a time or place for doing something 	appoint, appointed	2	2		5	6				
	represent, represented		1	1			1	1		
	propose				2	2				
	suggest						1			
	designated					1				
	styled			1					1	
	employ							1		
		2	3	2	7	9	2	2	1	28
<p>Vs of Improvement</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To make something better • Denote giving attention to something 	improve					1				
	amended					1	1			
	renew						1			
	reviewed					1				

	refit	1										
	fit				1							
	treated				1							
	careen	1										
		2	0	0	2	3	2	0	0	9		
<p style="text-align: center;">Vs of Referential</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Could imply that one has more credentials/ power than the other 	consult, consulted				3	1		1				
	refer, referred		1		1	1	1	1				
	correspond, corresponding	1			1	1				1		
	mentioned, above-mentioned, fore-mentioned	2	1									
	regarded, regarding, in regard	1			1		1					
	confer, conferred		1		1							
	concerning						2					
	cited				1	1						
	advise				1							
		4	3	0	9	4	4	2	1	27		
<p style="text-align: center;">Vs of Validation/Approval/Endorsement</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Convention 	sealed					2		2				
	deal in, death	1			1	1						
	signed	1	3	2	1	6	6	12				
	confirm, confirms	1	1	1								
	ratified	1										
		4	4	3	2	9	6	14	0	42		
<p style="text-align: center;">Vs of Inclusivity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To take part or get involved in something • To have something inside • To be part of something/ inclusion 	cooperate	1										
	engage	13										
	participate		1									
	join							1				

	constitute, constituted, constituting	1			1		1			
	consist, consisting				1	1				
	contain, containing	1			1	1				
	include, includes, including		1		3	2		1	1	
	attached		1							
	connected				2	1				
		16	3	0	8	5	1	2	1	36
Vs of Placements <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To take part or get involved in something 	situated	3								
	stationed					2				
	reside, residing	3								
	sits	1								
	settle							1		
	based								1	
	lies	1								
		8	0	0	0	2	0	1	1	12
	protect, protected			1	1					
	committed	1								
	accused	2								
	seeking								1	
	hoist		1							
	exceeding	1								
	avail						1			
	arise, arising	2	3							
	exalted							2	3	
	wrecked	2								
	trust			1						
	exposed	1								

		avoid	1								
		levied	3								
		offending	1								

Appendix 2

TREATY Friendship and Commerce, and for the Suppression of the Slave Trade, between Great Britain and Borneo. May 27, 1847.

[Signed the English and Malay languages.]

HER Majesty the Queen the United Kingdom Great Britain and Ireland, being desirous to encourage commerce between Her Majesty's subjects and the subjects of the independent Princes of the Eastern Seas, and to put an end to piracies which have hitherto obstructed that commerce; and His Highness Omar Ali Saifadeen, who sits upon the throne and rules the territories of Borneo, being animated corresponding dispositions, and being desirous cooperate in any measures which may necessary for the attainment of the above-mentioned objects; Her

said Britannic Majesty and the Sultan Borneo have agreed to record their determination in these respects by a Convention containing the following Articles:

ART I.

Peace, friendship, and good understanding shall from henceforward and forever subsist between Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland and His Highness Omar Ali Saifadeen, Sultan of Borneo, and between their respective heirs and successors, and subjects.

II.

The subjects of Her Britannic Majesty shall have full liberty to enter into, reside in, trade with, and pass with their merchandize through all parts of the dominions of His Highness the Sultan Borneo, and they shall enjoy therein the privileges and advantages with respect to commerce, or otherwise, which are now which may hereafter be granted to the subjects or citizens of the most favoured nation; and the subjects of His Highness the Sultan of Borneo shall in like manner be at liberty to enter into, reside in, trade with, and pass with their merchandize through all parts of Her Britannic Majesty's dominions in Europe and Asia, as freely as the subjects of the most favoured nation, and they shall enjoy those dominions all the privileges and advantages with respect to commerce, or otherwise, which are now or which may hereafter be granted therein the to the subjects or citizens of the most favoured nation.

III.

British subjects shall be permitted to purchase, rent, or occupy, or in any other legal way to acquire, all kinds of property within the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Borneo; and His Highness engages that such British subjects shall, as far as lies in his power, within his dominions, enjoy full and complete protection and security for themselves and for any property which they may so acquire in future, or which they may have acquired already, before the date of the present Convention.

IV.

No article whatever shall be prohibited from being imported into or exported from the territories of His Highness the Sultan of Borneo; but the trade between the dominions of her Brittanic Majesty shall be perfectly free, and shall subject only to the custom duties which may hereafter be in force in regard to such trade.

V.

No duty exceeding 1 dollar per registered ton shall be levied on British vessels entering the ports of His Highness the Sultan of Borneo, and this fixed duty of 1 dollar per ton levied on all British vessels, shall be in lieu of all other charges or duties whatsoever. His Highness moreover engages that British trade and British goods shall be exempt from any internal duties, and also from any injurious regulations which may hereafter, from whatever causes, be adopted in the dominions of the Sultan of Borneo.

VI. His Highness the Sultan Borneo agrees that no duty whatever shall be levied on the exportation from His Highness's dominions of any article, the growth, produce, manufacture of those dominions.

VII.

His Highness the Sultan of Borneo engages to permit the ships of war of Her Britannic Majesty, and those of the East India Company, freely to enter into the ports, rivers, and creeks, situated within his dominions, and allow such ships to provide themselves at a fair and moderate price with such supplies, stores, and provisions, as they may from time to time stand in need of.

VIII.

If any vessel under the British flag should be wrecked on the coast of the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Borneo, His Highness engages to give the assistance his power to recover for, and to deliver over to, the owners thereof, all the property which can be saved search his Highness further engages to extend to the officers and crew, and to all other persons on board such wrecked vessel full protection both as to their persons and as to property.

IX.

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Sultan of Borneo, hereby engage to use every means in their power for the suppression of piracy within the seas, straits, and rivers subject to respective control or influence; and His Highness the Sultan of Borneo engages not to grant asylum or protection to any persons or vessels engaged in political pursuits; and in no case will he permit ships, slaves, or merchandized captured by pirates, to be introduced into his dominions, or to be exposed therein for sale. And Her

Britannic Majesty claims, and His Highness the Sultan of Borneo concedes to Her Majesty the right of investing her officers, and other duly constituted authorities, with the power of entering at all times, with her vessels of war, or other vessels duly empowered, the ports, rivers, and creeks within the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Borneo, in order to capture all vessels engaged in piracy or slave-dealing, and to seize and to reserve for the judgement of the proper authorities all persons offending against the 2 Contracting Powers in these respects.

X.

it being desirable that British subjects should have some port where they may careen and refit their vessels, and where they may deposit such stores and merchandize as shall be necessary for the carrying on of their trade with the dominions of Borneo, His Highness the Sultan hereby confirms the cession already spontaneously made by him in 1845, of the island of Labuan, situated on the north-west coast of Borneo, together with the adjacent islets of Kuraman, Little Rusakan, Great Rusakan, Da-at, and Malankasan, and all the straits, islets, and seas, situated half way between the fore-mentioned islets and the main land of Borneo. Likewise the distance of 10 geographical miles from the island of Labuan to the westward and northward, and from the nearest point half way between the Islet of Malankasan and the mainland of Borneo, in a line running north till it intersects a line extended from west to east from a point 10 miles to the northward of the northern extremity of the Island of Labuan, to be possessed in perpetuity and in full sovereignty by Her Britannic Majesty and her successors; and in order to avoid occasions of difference which might otherwise arise, His Highness the Sultan engages not to make any similar cession, either of an island, or of any settlement on the main land, in any part of his dominions, to any other nation, or to the subjects or citizens thereof, without the consent of Her Britannic Majesty.

XI.

Her Britannic Majesty being greatly desirous of effecting the total abolition of the Trade in Slaves, His Highness the Sultan of Borneo, in compliance with Her Majesty's wish, engages to suppress all such traffic on the part of his subjects, and to prohibit all persons residing within his dominions, or subject to him, from countenancing or taking any share in such trade; and His Highness further consents that all subjects of His Highness who may be found to be engaged in the Slave Trade, may, together with their vessels, be death with by the cruisers of Her Britannic

Appendix 3

AGREEMENT THE SULTAN OF BRUNEI WITH HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT SIGNED AT BRUNEI
ON 17 SEPTEMBER 1888

Whereas, Sultan Hashim Jalilul Alam Akamaddin, Sultan and lawful Ruler of the state of Brunei, in the Island of Borneo, has represented to Her Britannic Majesty's Government the desire of that state to be placed under the protection of Her Majesty the Queen, under the conditions hereinafter mentioned: it is hereby agreed and declared as follows:

Article I

The State of Brunei shall continue to be governed and administered by the said Sultan Hashim Jalilul Alam Akamaddin and his successors as an independent State, under the protection of Great Britain; but such protection shall confer no right on Her Majesty's Government to

interfere with the internal administration of that State further than is herein provided.

Article II

In case any question should hereafter arise respecting the right of succession to the present or any future Ruler of Brunei, such question shall be referred to Her Majesty's Government for decision.

Article III

The relations between the State of Brunei and all foreign states, including the States of Sarawak and North Borneo shall be conducted by Her Majesty's Government, and all communications shall be carried on exclusively through Her Majesty's Government, or in accordance with its directions; and if any difference should arise between the Sultan of Brunei and the Government of any other State, the Sultan of Brunei agrees to abide by the decision of Her Majesty's Government, and to take all necessary measures to give effect thereto

Article IV

Her Majesty's Government shall have the right to establish British Consular Officers in any part to the State of Brunei, who shall receive exequaturs in the name of the Sultan of Brunei. They shall enjoy whatever privileges are usually granted to Consular Officers, and they shall be entitled to hoist the British Flag over their residences and public offices.

Article V

British subject, commerce, and shipping shall, in addition to the rights, privileges, and advantages now secured to them by treaty, be entitled to participate in any other rights, privileges and advantages, which may be enjoyed by the subjects, commerce and shipping of the State of Brunei

Article VI

No cession or other alienation of any part of the territory of the State of Brunei shall be made by the Sultan to any foreign state, on the subject or citizens thereof, without the consent of Her Majesty's Government, but this restriction shall not apply to ordinary grants or leases of land or houses to private individuals for purposes of residence, agriculture, commerce or other business.

Article VII

It is agreed that full exclusive jurisdiction, civil and criminal, over British subjects and their property in the State of Brunei, is reserved to Her Britannic Majesty, to be exercised by such Consular or other officers as Her Majesty's shall appoint for the purpose. The same jurisdiction is likewise reserved to Her Majesty in the State of Brunei over foreign subjects enjoying British protection; and the said jurisdiction may likewise be exercised in cases between British or British-protected subjects and the subjects of a third power, with the consent of their respective Governments. In mixed civil cases arising between British and British protected subjects and the subjects of the Sultan, the trial shall take place in the court of the defendant's nationality; but an officer appointed by the Government of the plaintiff's nationality shall be entitled to be present at and to take part in, the proceedings, but shall have no voice in the decision.

Article VIII

All the provisions of existing Treaties, Conventions, and Declarations between Her Majesty the Queen and the Sultan of Brunei are hereby confirmed and maintained except in so far as any of them may conflict with the present Agreement.

It witness whereof, His Highness the said Sultan of Brunei that hereunto attached his seal at the Palace, in the city of Brunei, on the 17th day of September, in the year of Our Lord 1888, being the 11th day of the month of moharram, in the year 1306 of the mohammedan era; and Sir Hugh Low, K. C. M. G., British Resident at Perak, in charge of a special mission to His Highness the Sultan, hath, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, signed this Agreement in the presence of witnesses.

(Seal of His Highness the Sultan of Brunei)

Hugh Low

Witness to the seal of His Highness the Sultan of Brunei (Signed in Chinese by the Datoh Tamanggung Kim Swee).

Witness to the signature of Sir Hugh Low, K. C. M. G.,

L. H. Wise,

17 September 1888

Appendix 4

SUPPLEMENTARY AGREEMENT BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND BRUNEI RESPECTING BRITISH PROTECTION OVER THE STATE OF BRUNEI SIGNED AT BRUNEI ON 3RD. DECEMBER 1905 AND 2ND JANUARY 1906

Whereas His Highness Sultan Hashim Jalilul Alam Ahamaldin son of His Highness Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddien Saiful-al-din, Ruler of the State of Brunei and all its dependencies, is desirous of being fully protected by the British Government and wishes for the assistance of that Government in the better administration of the internal affairs of his country,

and whereas His Highness trust that the Sultanate of Brunei, now therefore His Highness has represented to His Majesty's Government that the Treaty made on the 17th September, 1888, does not give him sufficient protection, and the Sultan and His Majesty's Government have

accordingly entered into the following supplementary Agreement:

I. His Highness will receive a British Office, to be styled Resident, and will provide a suitable residence for him.

The Resident will be the Agent and Representative of His Britannic Majesty's Government under the high Commissioner for the British Protectorate in Borneo,

and his advice must be taken and acted upon on all questions in Brunei, other than those affecting the Mohammedan religion,

in order that a similar system may be established to that existing in other Malay States now under British Protection.

II. All existing Agreements made between the British Government and the Government of Brunei are hereby confirmed and maintained except in so far as any of them may conflict with the present Agreement.

(Signed) John Anderson

Signatures and seals of

High Highness the Sultan of Brunei,

The Pengiran Bendahara and The Pengiran Pemancha.

Appendix 5

AGREEMENT between the United Kingdom and Brunei on Defence and External Affairs.--Brunei,
29th September, 1959

Whereas Agreements subsist between Her Majesty and His Highness:

And whereas His Highness has with the advice and consent of His traditional advisers and the State Council provided by Proclamation for the constitutional development of the State of Brunei, the succession to the Sultanate and for various matters connected therewith:

And whereas the aforesaid Proclamation providing for the constitutional development of the State of Brunei will commence to operate on a day to be appointed by His Highness, hereinafter referred to as "the first appointed day"(1):

And whereas Her Majesty has heretofore had jurisdiction to make for the State of Brunei laws relating to defence and external affairs:

And whereas Her Majesty, in token of the friendship which She bears towards His Highness, the subjects of His Highness and the inhabitants of the State of Brunei, has at the request of His Highness agreed that as from the first appointed day fresh arrangements shall have effect for the protection and defence of the State of Brunei:

Now, therefore, it is agreed and declared as follows:

1. This Agreement may be cited as the Brunei Agreement, 1959, and shall come into operation on the first appointed day.

2. In this Agreement-

"High Commissioner" means Her Majesty's High Commissioner in the State of Brunei, and references to the High Commissioner include any person for the time being discharging the functions of High Commissioner;

"His Highness" includes His Highness's Successors;

"Secretary of State" means one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State; and

"the State " means the State of Brunei, Darul-Salam.

3.

(1) Her Majesty shall have complete control of the external affairs of the State; and His Highness agrees that without the knowledge and consent of Her Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom he will not make any Treaty, enter into any engagement, deal in or correspond on political matters with, or send envoys to, any other State. His Highness further agrees that he will ensure that such legislative and executive action as in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government shall be necessary for the purpose of Her Majesty's exercise of Her control of the external affairs of the State shall be taken within the State.

(2)

Her Majesty shall have complete control of the defence of the State, and agrees at all times to

protect the State and the Government thereof and to the utmost of her power to take whatever measures may be necessary for the defence of the State ; and His Highness agrees that for these purposes he will ensure that such legislative and executive action as in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government shall be necessary for the purposes of the defence of the State and the Government thereof (which expression in this Article includes defence against any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of the State) shall be taken within the State; and His Highness further agrees that for the aforesaid purposes Her Majesty's Forces and persons authorised on behalf of Her Majesty shall be at all times allowed to have free access to the State.

(3)

Subject as aforesaid, His Highness agrees that Her Majesty shall continue to enjoy jurisdiction to make for the State laws relating to defence and external affairs.

(4)

Her Majesty agrees that She will keep His Highness informed of any action taken or proposed to be taken by Her in pursuance of this Article.

(5)

(a) For the purpose of implementing the provisions of this Article relating to defence against any grave internal menace to the peace or tranquillity of the State, Her Majesty and His Highness agree to constitute a Standing Advisory Council, consisting of representatives of Her Majesty and of the Government of the State, which shall consult as necessary on matters regarding such defence. Her Majesty agrees that no measures in exercise of the right of access to the State given by paragraph (2) of this Article shall be taken for the purposes of such defence without prior consultation with the Standing Advisory Council except when there exists a state of emergency of such a nature as to make such prior consultation clearly impracticable, in which case, the Standing Advisory Council shall be consulted as soon as possible after the measures have been taken.

(b) For the purposes of this paragraph, the expression "state of emergency" means a situation in which there is compelling evidence of a grave internal menace to the peace or tranquillity of the State.

4.

(1) His Highness agrees to receive, and provide a suitable residence for, a High Commissioner to advise on all matters connected with the government of the State other than matters relating to the Muslim religion and the Custom of the Malays as practised in the State, and agrees to accept the advice of the High Commissioner.

(2) Nothing in this Article shall in any way prejudice the right of His Highness to address Her Majesty through a Secretary of State if His Highness so desires.

(3) The High Commissioner shall have such other functions (if any) as may be conferred on him by any law in force in the State.

5.

The cost of the High Commissioner and his establishment as from time to time agreed between His Highness and the Secretary of State shall be borne by the State and shall be a charge on the revenues of the State.

6.

His Highness shall be consulted before any person whom it is proposed to send as High Commissioner is appointed.

7.

All persons of whatever race in the same grade in the service of the State shall, subject to the terms and conditions of their employment, be treated impartially.

8.

His Highness desires and Her Majesty agrees that it shall be a particular charge upon the Government of the State to provide for and to encourage the education and training of the local inhabitants of the State so as to fit them to take a full share in the economic progress, social welfare and government of the State.

9.

(1) The Agreement signed in Brunei on the 3rd day of December, 1905, and the 2nd day of January, 1906, between His Majesty's Government within the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and His Highness Sultan Hashim Jalilul Alam Akamuddin ibni Almarhum Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin, the Sultan of the State of Brunei for Himself, His Heirs and Successors, is hereby revoked.

(2) All other Treaties and Agreements subsisting immediately before the commencement of this Agreement shall continue in force save in so far as they are inconsistent with this Agreement or in so far as they contain provisions relating to the succession to the Sultanate of Brunei.

10.

This Agreement is made and expressed in both the English and the Malay languages; but, for the purposes of interpretation, regard shall be had only to the English version.

In witness whereof His Excellency Sir Robert Heatlie Scott, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire, Commissioner General for the United Kingdom in South East Asia, has hereunder set his hand and seal for and on behalf of Her Majesty and His Highness Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin Sa'Adul Khairi Waddin, Sovereign and Head of the Most Esteemed Family Order, the Most Honour- able Order of the Crown of Brunei, Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, ibni Almarhum Sultan Mohamed Jamalul Alam, Sultan of the State of Brunei, has hereunto set His hand and seal.

[Here follow the signatures and seals.]

Appendix 6

AGREEMENT BETWEEN HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTH IRELAND AND HIS HIGHNESS THE SULTAN OF BRUNEI (SEPTEMBER 1959-AMENDMENT 1971)

AGREEMENT made on the 29th day of September, 1959,
BETWEEN Robert Heatlie Scott, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire, Commissioner General for the United Kingdom in South East Asia on behalf of Her MAJESTY THE QUEEN of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of Her other Realms and Territories, Head of the Commonwealth,
and HIS HIGHNESS SIR OMAR ALI SAIFUDDIN SAŌADUL KHAIRI WADDIN, Sovereign and Head of

the Most Esteemed Family Order, the Most Honourable Order of the Crown of Brunei, Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, ibni ALMARHUM SULTAN MOHAMED JAMALUL ALAM, Sultan of the State of Brunei, for Himself and His Successors and after consultation with His Council:

WHEREAS Agreements subsist between Her Majesty and His Highness:

And whereas His Highness has with the advice and consent of His traditional advisers and the State Council provided by Proclamation for the constitutional development of the State of Brunei, the succession to the Sultanate and for various matters connected therewith:

AND WHEREAS the aforesaid Proclamation providing for the constitutional development of the State of Brunei will commence to operate on a day to be appointed by His Highness, hereinafter referred to as "the first appointed day":

AND WHEREAS Her Majesty has heretofore had jurisdiction to make for the State of Brunei laws relating to defence and external affairs:

AND WHEREAS Her Majesty, in token of the friendship which She bears towards His Highness and the inhabitants of the State of Brunei, has at the request of His Highness agreed that as from the first appointed day fresh arrangements shall have effect for the protection and defence of the State of Brunei:

Now, therefore, IT IS AGREED AND DECLARED as follows:

This Agreement may be cited as the Brunei Agreement, 1959, and shall come into operation on the first appointed day.*

ARTICLE II

In this Agreement "£

"British High Commissioner" means the High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in the State of Brunei and references to the British High Commissioner include any person for the time being discharging the functions of British High Commissioner;

"His Highness" includes His Highness's Successors;

"Secretary of State" means one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State; and

"The State" means the State of Brunei Darul-Salam.

ARTICLE III

3.

(1) Her Majesty shall have complete control of the external affairs of the state; and His

Highness agrees that without the knowledge and consent of Her Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom he will not make any Treaty, enter into any engagement, deal in or correspond on political matters with, or send envoys to, any other State.

His Highness further agrees that he will ensure that such legislative and executive action as in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government shall be necessary for the purpose of Her Majesty's exercise of Her control of the external affairs of the State shall be taken within the State and that Her Majesty shall continue to enjoy jurisdiction to make for the State laws relating to external affairs. Her Majesty agrees that She will keep His Highness informed of any action taken or proposed to be taken by Her in pursuance of this Article.

(2) To meet the essential requirements of the defence of the State:

a. His Highness shall

- i. Raise, equip and maintain forces sufficient for the preservation of internal public order and to be the first line of external defence;
- ii. Provide facilities necessary for any of Her Majesty's forces stationed in the state or training or exercising in the State with the agreement of His Highness;
- iii. Enter into agreements with Her Majesty's Government in relation to the status and jurisdiction of Her Majesty's forces present in the State.

b. Her Majesty shall continue to assist His Highness within the capability of the United Kingdom, by

- i. The loan of personnel to assist in the staffing, administration and training of the Armed Forces of His Highness;
- ii. Providing expert advice on the organization of those Forces;
- iii. Providing advice and assistance in connection with maintenance of the equipment of those Forces;
- iv. Providing assistance for training those Forces;
- v. Providing assistance in recruitment of persons for service in police and military posts in the State;
- vi. Providing expert advice and training for the Police Force of the State;

(3) For the purposes of the defence of the State, Her Majesty's Forces and persons authorized on behalf of Her Majesty shall at all times be allowed to have free access to the State.

(4) There shall be established a joint standing consultative body, to be called the Brunei Defence Council, which shall meet quarterly, or more frequently if occasion demands. This council shall consist of representatives of both Her Majesty and His Highness. Her Majesty's representatives will be the British High Commissioner and, as his adviser, a British officer who will normally be the senior officer of such Her Majesty's Forces as are stationed in the State. His Highness's representatives will be appointed at His Highness's discretion. The representatives of Her Majesty and of His Highness shall make recommendations as to the defence and security of the State to their respective governments. Twelve months from the entry into force of this Agreement the Governments of Her Majesty and of His Highness shall examine the working of the Brunei Defence Council in order to determine what changes, if any, are required to improve its effectiveness.

(5)

a. Situations which are essentially of an internal public order nature are a matter of concern only to the public security forces of His Highness.

b. Her Majesty's Government and His Highness's Government shall consult together to determine what measures should, separately or jointly, be taken in relation to an external attack, or threat of such attack, on the State.

In a situation which does not clearly fall under sub-paragraphs (a) or (b) of this paragraph there shall be consultation between the two Governments to determine to what extent the threat is externally organized or supported.

(6)

Her Majesty and His Highness shall take legislative and executive action necessary for carrying out their tasks under the provisions of paragraphs (2), (3), (4) and (5) of this Article.

ARTICLE IV

Her Majesty shall appoint and His Highness shall receive a representative of Her Majesty designated as British High Commissioner. Her Majesty's Government will propose to His Highness the name of the British High Commissioner whose appointment shall be subject to His Highness's agreement.

His Highness shall have the right to address Her Majesty through Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs if His Highness so desires.

5.

Deleted.

6.

Deleted.

7.

Deleted.

8.

Deleted.

ARTICLE VI

Subject to the amendments made by the present agreement, the 1959 Agreement shall continue in force and as amended by this agreement, the two shall be read together as one document.

ARTICLE VII

This Agreement shall enter into force on the date of signature.

(23rd November 1971)

ARTICLE VIII

At the request of either High Contracting Party, and after the expiry of one year from the making of the request, this Agreement shall be reviewed by the High Contracting Parties.

ARTICLE IX

This agreement is made and expressed in both the English and Malay languages; but, for the purpose of interpretation, regard shall be had only to the English text.

The Agreement signed in Brunei on the 3rd day of December, 1905, and the 2nd day of January, 1906, between His Majesty's Government within the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and his Highness Sultan Hashim Jalilul Alam Akamaddin ibn Almarhum Sultan Omar Ali

Saifuddin, the Sultan of the State of Brunei for Himself, His Heirs and Successors, is hereby revoked.

All other treaties and Agreements subsisting immediately before the commencement of this agreement shall continue in force save in so far as they are inconsistent with this Agreement or in so far as they contain provisions relating to the succession to the Sultanate of Brunei.

This Agreement is made and expressed in both the English and the Malay languages; but for the purposes of interpretation, regard shall be had only to the English Version.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF HIS EXCELLENCY SIR ROBERT HEATLIE SCOTT, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire, Commissioner General for the United Kingdom in Southeast Asia, has hereunder set His hand and seal for and on behalf Of HER MAJESTY AND HIS HIGHNESS SIR OMAR ALI SAIFUDDIN SAŌADUL KHAIRI WADDIN, Sovereign and Head of the Most Esteemed Family Order, the Most Honourable Order of the Crown Of Brunei, Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order Of Saint Michael and Saint George, ibni AL-MARHUM SULTAN MOHAMED JAMALUL ALAM, Sultan of the state of Brunei, has hereunto set His hand and seal. Signed and Sealed by SIR ROBERT HEATLIE SCOTT, C.G.M.G., C.B.E., Commissioner General for the United Kingdom in Southeast Asia for and on behalf Of HER MAJESTY in the presence of:

(Signed) A.D. PRITCHARD, Major 2/7th Gurkha Rifles Aide de Camp To The Commissioner General

Signed and Sealed by HIS HIGHNESS SIR OMAR ALI SAIFDDIN SAŌADUL KHAIRI WADDIN, D.K., S.P.M.B., K.C.M.G., IBNI AL-MARHUM SULTAN MOHAMED JAMALUL ALAM, SULTAN OF THE STATE OF BRUNEI, IN THE PRESENCE OF:

(Signed) P.M. HASHIM (Duli Pengiran Bendahara, DatoŌ Paduka Muda Hashim ibni Pengiran Anak Abdul Rahman, D.P.M.B., P.O.A.S)

(Signed) P. HAJI MOHAMMED ALAM (Duli Pengiran Pemancha, DatoŌ Paduka Haji Mohammed Alam ibni Pengiran Anak Abdul Rahman, D.K., D.P.M.B., P.O.A.S., O.B.E.)

Appendix 7

EXCHANGE OF NOTES BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND AND HIS HIGHNESS PADUKA SERI BAGINDA SULTAN AND YANG DI-PERTUAN OF BRUNEI TERMINATING THE SPECIAL TREATY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE STATE OF BRUNEI 7 JANUARY 1979 (The Agreement entered into force on 31 December 1983)

No. 1

The Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs to His Highness Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan of Brunei

British High Commission

Bandar Seri Begawan

Brunei

7 January 1979

Your Highness,

I have the honour to refer to the discussions which have taken place between your Highness and Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom concerning the termination of the special treaty relations between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

and the State of Brunei should exercise its full international responsibility as a sovereign and independent State.

The following conclusions were reached in the course of these discussions:

1. The existing special treaty relations between the United Kingdom and the State of Brunei, which are inconsistent with full international responsibility as a sovereign and independent State, shall terminate with effect from five years from 31 December 1978.

2. The Treaties signed on 18 December 1846(1) and 27 May 1847(2), the Agreement signed on 26 November 1856(3), The Declaration made by His Highness Sultan Abdul Mumin on 17 August 1878(4), the Agreement signed on 17 September 1888(5), the Agreement signed on 29 September 1959(6) as amended by the Agreement signed on 23 November 1971(7), and all the other agreements, engagements, undertakings and arrangements between the United Kingdom and the State of Brunei flowing from the special treaty relations between the two states shall terminate with effect from the same date, provided that:

(a) The termination of the said agreements of 18 December 1846 and 27 May 1847 shall not affect the status of Labuan and its dependencies in any way;

(b) The Public Officers' Agreement of 19 September 1973(8) shall not be terminated but shall continue in force;

(c) Any arrangements between the State of Brunei and the States of Sarawak and of Sabah and

their successors in title for the payment of cession money shall not be affected.

3. The relations between the United Kingdom and the State of Brunei shall continue to be governed by a spirit of close friendship and co-operation, and to this end a Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation concerning the future relations between the two States shall be signed this day.

4. If the foregoing correctly represents the conclusions reached between Your Highness and Her Majesty's Government I have the honour to suggest that the present Note and your Highness's reply to that effect shall be regarded as constituting an Agreement between the two Governments in this matter which shall enter into force five years from 31 December 1978(9).

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to your Highness the assurance of my highest consideration.

GORONWY-ROBERTS OF CAERNARVON AND OGWEN

(1) Not published

(2) Published in State Papers, Vol. 35, p. 14

(3) Published in State Papers, Vol. 65, p. 1170

(4) Published in State Papers, Vol. 69, p. 18

(5) Published in State Papers, Vol. 79, p. 240

(6) Published in State Papers, Vol. 164, p. 38

(7) Miscellaneous No. 12 (1972), Cmnd. 4932

S6 (1979 Exchange of Notes)

Appendix 8

TREATY' OF FRIENDSHIP AND CO-OPERATION BETWEEN HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND AND HIS HIGHNESS PADUKA SERI BAGINDA SULTAN AND YANG DI-PERTUAN OF BRUNEI

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of Her other Realms and Territories, Head of the Commonwealth (here- inafter referred to as "Her Majesty") represented by the Right Honourable the Lord Goronwy-Roberts of Caernarvon and of Ogwen, Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and His Highness Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan Sir Muda Hassanah Bolkihah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah, Sovereign and Chief of the Most Esteemed Family Order, Sovereign and Chief of the Most

Eminent Order of Islam of Brunei, Sovereign and Chief of the Most Illustrious Order of Laila Jasa Keberanian Gemilang, Sovereign and Chief of the Most Exalted Order of Keberanian Laila Terbilang, Sovereign and Chief of the Most Gallant Order of Pahlawan Negara Brunei, Sovereign and Chief of the Most Blessed Order of Paduka Setia Negara Brunei, Sovereign and Chief of the Most Distinguished Order of Paduka Seri Laila Jasa, Sovereign and Chief of the Most Honourable Order of the Crown of Brunei, Sovereign and Chief of the Most Faithful Order of Perwira Agong Negara Brunei, Honorary Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, the Most Esteemed Family Order (Kelantan), the Most Esteemed Family Order (Johore), Ibni Sir Muda 'Omar 'Ali Saifuddin Sa'adul Khairi Waddin, Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan of the State and Territory of Brunei Darul Salam, and All Its Dependencies; Considering that the State of Brunei has agreed to resume full international responsibility as a sovereign and independent State; Determined that the long standing and traditional relations of close friendship and co-operation between the United Kingdom and the State of Brunei shall continue henceforth; Desiring to give expression to this intention in the form of a Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation; Have agreed as follows:

Article 1.

The relations between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the State of Brunei shall continue to be governed by a spirit of close friendship. In recognition of this, the High Contracting Parties, conscious of their common interest in the peace and stability of the region, shall:

- (a) Consult together on matters of mutual concern;
- (b) Settle all their disputes by peaceful means.

Article 2.

Her Majesty's Government shall, until the Government of the State of Brunei can make alternative arrangements, and in such manner as shall in no way affect the sole responsibility of the Government of the State of Brunei for the external relations of the State, give sympathetic consideration to any specific request by the Government of the State of Brunei for diplomatic or consular assistance in the conduct of those relations and in particular Her Majesty's Government shall, in appropriate cases, if the Government of the State of Brunei so request:

- (a) Act as the channel for communications between the Government of the State of Brunei and the governments of states with which the State of Brunei is not in direct diplomatic communication, or between the Government of the State of Brunei and international organisations;
- (b) Employ their good offices, as appropriate, to promote the admission of the State of Brunei to any international organisation which it may wish to join;
- (c) Afford protection to a citizen of the State of Brunei through their diplomatic and consular representatives in a foreign country where there is no Brunei representative;
- (d) Assist with the establishment and training of the Brunei Diplomatic Service;
- (e) Offer advice on the printing and supply of new Brunei passports.

Article 3.

The High Contracting Parties shall encourage educational, scientific and cultural cooperation between the two States in accordance with arrangements to be agreed. Such arrangements shall include:

- (a) The promotion of mutual understanding of their respective cultures, civilisations and languages;
- (b) The promotion of contacts among professional bodies, and cultural institutions in their countries;
- (c) The encouragement of educational, scientific and cultural exchanges.

Article 4.

The High Contracting Parties shall maintain the close relations already existing between them in the field of trade and commerce.

Article 5.

Her Majesty's Government shall, at the request of the Government of the State of Brunei and within its capability, continue to assist in the recruitment of persons, for service in civil posts in

Brunei and in the training of Brunei officials.

Article 6.

This Treaty shall enter into force five years from 31st December 1978.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the Right Honourable the Lord Goronwy-Roberts of Caernarvon and of Ogwen, Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, has hereto set his hand and seal for and on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of Her other Realms and Territories, Head of the Commonwealth and His Highness Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan Sir Muda Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah, Sovereign and Chief of the Most Esteemed Family Order, Sovereign and Chief of the Most Eminent Order of Islam of Brunei, Sovereign and Chief of the Most Illustrious Order of Laila Jasa Keberanian Gemilang, Sovereign and Chief of the Most Exalted Order of Keberanian Laila Terbilang, Sovereign and Chief of the Most Gallant Order of Pahlawan Negara Brunei, Sovereign and Chief of the Most Blessed Order of Paduka Setia Negara Brunei, Sovereign and Chief of the Most Distinguished Order of Paduka Seri Laila Jasa, Sovereign and Chief of the Most Honourable Order of the Crown of Brunei, Sovereign and Chief of the Most Faithful Order of Perwira Agong Negara Brunei, Honorary Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, the Most Esteemed Family Order (Kelantan), the Most Esteemed Family Order (Johore), Ibni Sir Muda 'Omar 'Ali Saifuddin Sa'adul Khairi Waddin, Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan of the State and Territory of Brunei Darul Salam, and All Its Dependencies has hereto set his hand and seal this 7th day of January 1979.

DONE in duplicate at Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei, on the 7th day of January 1979 in the English and Malay languages, both texts being equally authoritative.

Signed and sealed by:

The Right Honourable the Lord Goronwy-Roberts of Caernarvon and of Ogwen, Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, for and on behalf of Her Majesty:

[Signed]

In the presence of:

Mr. A. C. Watson, C.M.G., High Commissioner for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and

Northern Ireland:

[Signed]

Signed and sealed by:

His Highness Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan Sir Muda Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah Ibni Duli Yang Teramat Mulia Paduka Seri Begawan Sultan Sir Muda 'Omar 'Ali Saifuddin Sa'adul Khairi Waddin, D.K., P.S.S.U.B., D.P.K.G., D.P.K.T., P.S.P.N.B., P.S.N.B., P.S.L.J., S.P.M.B., P.A.N.B., G.C.M.G., D.K. (Kelantan), D.K. (Johore), Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan Negeri Brunei Darul Salam:

[Signed]

In the presence of:

Duli Yang Teramat Mulia Paduka Seri Begawan Sultan Sir Muda 'Omar 'Ali Saifuddin Sa'adul Khairi Waddin Ibni Al-Marhum Sultan Muhammad Jamalul 'Alam, D.K., G.C.V.O., K.C.M.G., P.S.S.U.B., P.H.B.S.

[Signed]

Yang Teramat Mulia Paduka Seri Duli Pengiran Perdana Wazir Sahibol Himmah Wal-Waqar Pengiran Muda Mohamed Bolkiah Ibni Duli Yang Teramat Mulia Paduka Seri Begawan Sultan Sir Muda 'Omar 'Ali Saifuddin Sa'adul Khairi Waddin, D.K., S.P.M.J. (Johore), C.V.O., P.H.B.S., P.J.K.

[Signed]

Yang Teramat Berhormat Pehin Orang Kaya Laila Setia Bakti Di-Raja Dato Laila Utama Awang Isa bin Pehin Datu Perdana Menteri Dato Laila Utama Awang Haji Ibrahim, D.K., S.P.M.B., D.S.N.B., C.V.O., O.B.E., P.H.B.S., P.J.K., General Adviser to His Highness Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan

[Signed]

Yang Amat Mulia Pengiran Dipa Negara Laila Di-Raja Pengiran Abdul Momin bin Pengiran Haji Ismail, D.K., D.S.N.B., D.P.M.B., M.V.O., P.H.B.S., P.O.A.S., P.J.K., Menteri Besar

[Signed]

Yang Teramat Mulia Seri Paduka Pengiran Pemancha Sahibol Rae' Walmashuarah Pengiran

Muda Haji Mohamed 'Alam Ibni Al-Marhum Pengiran Bendahara Pengiran Anak Abdul Rahman,
D.K., S.P.M.B., D.S.N.B., O.B.E., P.O.A.S.,
P.H.B.S., P.J.K.

[Signed]

Yang Amat Mulia Pengiran Perdana Cheteria Laila Di-Raja Sahibon Nabalah Pengiran Haji Damit
bin Pengiran Metussin, D.K., D.S.N.B., D.P.M.B., S.L.J., P.J.B., P.H.B.S., P.J.K.

[Signed]

Yang Amat Mulia Pengiran Lela Cheteria Sahibun Najabah Pengiran Anak Haji Abdul Aziz bin
Pengiran Jaya Negara Pengiran Haji Abu Bakar, D.K., P.H.B.S.

[Signed]

Appendix 9

PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE BRUNEI DARUSSALAM 1 JANUARY 1984

In the Name of Allah, the compassionate, the Merciful

PRAISE be to Allah, the Lord of the universe and may the benediction and peace of Allah be
upon Our Leader Prophet Muhammad and upon all his Relation and Friends.

WHEREAS the time has now arrived when Brunei Darussalam will resume full international
responsibility as a sovereign and independent Nation among the international community of

nations;

AND WHEREAS Brunei Darussalam has never been a colony but had since 1847 a special treaty relationship with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland whereby in 1888 it was agreed that external relations were the responsibility of the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland;

AND WHEREAS a Constitution styled the Constitution of the State of Brunei, 1959 was proclaimed by Our Predecessor Maulana Sultan Sir Muda Omar 'Ali Saifuddien Sa'adul Khairi Waddien ibni Al-Marhum Sultan Muhammad Jamalul Alam, the twenty-eighth Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan of Brunei Darussalam in accordance with which the Government of this Nation is regulated and is the supreme law thereof.

AND WHEREAS by the treaty of Friendship and Co-operation, 1979 made between Us and Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and by the Exchanger of Notes between Us and Her Britannic Majesty's Government may have in respect of Brunei Darussalam under all previous treaties, agreements and arrangements between Brunei Darussalam and the United Kingdom which were inconsistent with full international responsibility as a sovereign and independent nation shall terminate on 31 December 1983 and upon such termination all the rights and powers of Our Prerogatives including the responsibility for external relations shall revert to Us as the The Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan of Brunei Darussalam on the First day of January, Nineteen Hundred and Eighty-Four;

NOW THEREFORE in the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful, We, Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzadin Waddaulah, The Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan of Brunei Darussalam and Her Territory and all Her Dependencies, do HEREBY PROCLAIM AND DECLARE in our name and on Our behalf and for and on behalf of Our Successors and for and on behalf of the people of Brunei Darussalam that as from the First day of January, Nineteen Hundred and Eighty-Four of the Christian era, corresponding to the Twenty-Seventh day of Rabiulawal, the Hijrah of Prophet Muhammad (on Whom be the benediction and peace of Allah) Fourteen Hundred and Four being the Seventeenth Year of Our Reign, Brunei Darussalam is and with the blessing of Allah (to Whom be praise and Whose name be exalted) shall be forever a sovereign, democratic and independent Malay Muslim Monarchy upon the teachings of Islam according to Ahlis

Sunnah Waljamaah and based upon the principle of liberty, trust and justice and ever seeking with the guidance and blessing of Allah (to Whom be praise and Whose name be exalted) the peace and security, welfare and happiness of Our people and the maintenance of friendly relations among nations on the principle of mutual respect for the independence, sovereignty, equality and territorial integrity of all nations free from external interference.

May Allah, to whom be praise and whose name be exalted and may the Prophet Muhammad (on Whom be the benediction and peace of Allah) grant his blessing to Brunei Darussalam, for ever and ever. Amen! O Lord of the Universe!