



The Malay Diplomatic Register in Correspondence: The Case Study of Bilateral Relations between Indonesia and Brunei

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Receive: 12/02/2026	Accepted: 02/02/2026	Published: 01/03/2026
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Abstrak

Penelitian ini mengkaji keberadaan register diplomatik Melayu dalam korespondensi resmi antara Indonesia dan Brunei Darussalam. Dengan menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dan analisis dokumen terhadap 27 set Nota Orang Pertama (1996-2008), penelitian ini mengidentifikasi karakteristik leksikal, pronominal, dan sintaktis yang membedakan register diplomatik dari variasi Melayu umum. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa register diplomatik Melayu dicirikan oleh penggunaan strategis *Bahasa Dalam*—register kerajaan Brunei—yang mencakup sistem honorifik hierarkis dan pilihan pronomina personal yang dikalibrasi sesuai status penerima. Namun, terdapat kesalahan aplikasi istilah eksklusif kerajaan seperti *berkenan* kepada pejabat non-kerajaan, yang berpotensi menimbulkan kesan negatif dan mengurangi efektivitas komunikasi. Penelitian ini mengkonfirmasi bahwa kompetensi register memerlukan pemahaman pragmatis yang mendalam, bukan sekadar penguasaan kosakata. Implikasi praktis mencakup pengembangan modul pelatihan diplomatik yang menekankan sosialisasi register dan kontribusi terhadap standarisasi terminologi bagi Dewan Bahasa Brunei-Indonesia-Malaysia. Penelitian ini memberikan landasan empiris untuk memperkuat hubungan bilateral melalui komunikasi linguistik yang tepat dan budaya yang saling menghormati.

Kata Kunci: register diplomatik, *Bahasa Dalam*, hubungan bilateral

Abstract

This study examines the existence of Malay diplomatic register in official correspondence between Indonesia and Brunei Darussalam. Employing a qualitative approach and documentary analysis of 27 sets of First-Person Notes (1996-2008), this research identifies lexical, pronominal, and syntactic characteristics that distinguish diplomatic register from general Malay varieties. Findings reveal that Malay diplomatic register is characterized by strategic deployment of Bahasa Dalam—the Brunei royal register—encompassing hierarchical honorific systems and personal pronoun choices calibrated to recipient status. However, misapplications of royal-exclusive terms such as berkenan to non-royal officials were documented, potentially generating negative impressions and reducing communicative effectiveness. This study confirms that register competence requires deep pragmatic understanding rather than mere lexical proficiency. Practical implications include development of diplomatic training modules emphasizing register socialization and contribution to terminology standardization for the Brunei-Indonesia-Malaysia Language Council. This research provides empirical grounding for strengthening bilateral relations through accurate linguistic communication and mutual cultural respect.

Keywords: diplomatic register, *Bahasa Dalam*, bilateral relations

Introduction

Diplomacy constitutes the legitimate means through which states conduct foreign

policy, encompassing negotiation, representation, and the collection and conveyance of information to other nations

(Daniati, 2021). As the primary mechanism for representing the sending state in the receiving state, diplomatic missions perform three core functions: representation, negotiation, and reporting on political, economic, social, and security conditions in the host country (Hamyda, 2021; Livia, 2020; Makarim, 2015). These functions are protected under international law, specifically the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961), which establishes diplomatic immunity and privileges to ensure the effective performance of diplomatic duties without interference from the host state's jurisdiction (Daniati, 2021; Nurhartanto, 2021). However, such immunity is not absolute; the receiving state retains the right to take action against diplomats who violate national or international law, and mechanisms such as *persona non grata* declarations serve to enforce accountability (Daniati, 2021; Mangku, 2020; Nurhartanto, 2021).

The diplomatic relationship between Indonesia and Brunei Darussalam was formally established on January 1, 1984, following Brunei's independence, marking the beginning of sustained bilateral engagement within the broader framework of ASEAN regionalism (Lopes & Hasnan, 2021; Rosland, 2020). As small but active members of ASEAN, both countries have developed cooperative frameworks spanning trade, cultural exchange, and regional security, with Brunei's unique position as a micro-state informing its diplomatic approach to larger neighbors such as Indonesia (Rosland, 2020). The regional context of "new regionalism" has further shaped bilateral dynamics, emphasizing non-traditional security cooperation, cultural diplomacy, and educational exchange as complementary dimensions to formal diplomatic relations (Lopes & Hasnan, 2021). This regional embedding provides the structural foundation for understanding how bilateral cooperation operates across multiple domains, from maritime security to Islamic cultural connectivity (Lopes & Hasnan, 2021; Rosland, 2020).

The linguistic dimension of Indonesia-Brunei diplomatic relations merits particular scholarly attention, given that both nations employ Malay—whether in its Indonesian or Brunei variant—as the medium of official correspondence and interpersonal communication among diplomatic personnel. Malay has historically functioned as a *lingua*

franca and principal bridging language in multilingual communities across Southeast Asia, facilitating communication among diverse ethnic groups in contexts of trade, administration, and daily interaction (McLellan, 2022; Nuraini et al., 2023; Suraiya, 2020). In Malaysia and Brunei, Malay serves not only as an interethnic medium but also as the official administrative language and a marker of national identity following the institutionalization of national language policies (Albury, 2021; McLellan, 2022). The shared linguistic heritage between Indonesia and Brunei, rooted in the broader Malay world, creates conditions for mutual intelligibility while simultaneously generating nuanced variations that reflect distinct sociopolitical histories and ideological frameworks (Adli & Guy, 2022; Albury, 2021; McLellan, 2022).

Despite this shared linguistic foundation, the practice of diplomatic communication between Indonesia and Brunei reveals significant register variation that has not been systematically examined in existing scholarship. Register, defined as language patterning regularly employed in specific situational contexts, encompasses lexical, grammatical, and pragmatic features that distinguish professional domains such as law, academia, and diplomacy. The Malay diplomatic register, particularly as manifested in First-Person Notes (*Nota Orang Pertama*), exhibits specialized terminology, formal syntactic structures, and honorific systems derived from *Bahasa Dalam*—the royal register traditionally used in Brunei's monarchical context. This register functions as a practical tool for diplomatic personnel in strengthening cooperative relations, yet its improper application risks generating misunderstandings that may undermine diplomatic objectives (Butt, 2024).

The sociolinguistic significance of this register is heightened by Brunei's adherence to the *Malay Islamic Monarchy* (MIB) ideology, which institutionalizes elaborate systems of address, title, and linguistic deference toward the Sultan and royal family (Sharbawi & Mabud, 2021). While Indonesian diplomatic officials have demonstrated cultural sensitivity through the adoption of honorifics such as "*Kebawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan*," research indicates instances of inappropriate register usage—such as applying the term *berkenan* (reserved exclusively for royal assent) to non-royal officials—which may create negative impressions and compromise

communicative efficacy. The distinction between Brunei's absolute monarchy and Indonesia's republican system generates asymmetries in register competence, as Indonesian Malay lacks the hierarchical linguistic features necessitated by Brunei's court traditions (Croissant, 2022).

This study addresses a critical gap in sociolinguistic research by examining the Malay diplomatic register as operationalized in First-Person Notes exchanged between the Indonesian Embassy in Bandar Seri Begawan and Bruneian government officials from 1996 to 2008. Employing a qualitative methodology grounded in Ure & Ellis (1977) framework of register analysis, this research investigates external aspects (format and delivery protocols), situational aspects (modes of communication and social relationships), and linguistic aspects (lexical and grammatical features) of diplomatic correspondence. Primary data comprise 27 sets of First-Person Notes classified as "limited" and "ordinary" security levels, supplemented by interviews with diplomatic personnel and analysis of standard reference works including the *Kamus Bahasa Melayu Nusantara* (2003) and *Istilah Diplomasi dan Hubungan Antarabangsa* (1998). This multi-source approach enables triangulation of documentary evidence with practitioner perspectives, yielding insights into both prescriptive norms and actual communicative practice.

The findings of this research hold substantial implications for diplomatic praxis, language planning, and regional cooperation. Theoretically, the study contributes to the descriptive linguistics of Malay register variation, extending Halliday's (1964) functional theory to a specialized domain hitherto underrepresented in scholarly literature. Practically, the identification of specific lexical items, syntactic patterns, and honorific conventions provides evidence-based guidance for Indonesian diplomatic personnel in crafting First-Person Notes that achieve optimal clarity, politeness, and cultural appropriateness. Furthermore, the documentation of Malay diplomatic terminology offers reference material for the Brunei-Indonesia-Malaysia Language Council (MABBIM) in standardizing diplomatic and international relations vocabulary across the region. Ultimately, this study underscores that effective diplomatic communication requires not merely linguistic competence but register-specific proficiency calibrated to the

sociopolitical traditions of interlocutors, thereby supporting the broader project of ASEAN community-building through shared linguistic heritage.

Method

This study employs a qualitative research design with document analysis as its primary method, grounded in the theoretical framework of register analysis proposed by Ure & Ellis (1977) and Halliday (1964) functional theory of language variation. The primary data consist of 27 sets of First-Person Notes (*Nota Orang Pertama*) exchanged between the Indonesian Embassy in Bandar Seri Begawan and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brunei Darussalam, spanning the period from November 22, 1996, to April 8, 2008. These diplomatic documents, classified as "limited" and "ordinary" security classifications according to the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs guidelines (Kemlu, 1994), were obtained through formal permission from the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia, ensuring ethical access to sensitive diplomatic materials while maintaining confidentiality protocols for higher-classified documents ("top confidential" and "confidential") that remain restricted from academic analysis.

Data collection was conducted through a multi-source triangulation approach combining documentary analysis with supplementary interviews. The First-Person Notes were systematically examined for their external aspects (format structure, delivery protocols, and institutional affiliations), situational aspects (modes of communication, social relationships between senders and recipients, subject matter, and formality levels), and linguistic aspects (lexical choices, morphological variations, and syntactic patterns) following Ure & Ellis (1977) three-dimensional analytical framework. Secondary data were gathered through semi-structured interviews with key informants, including diplomatic personnel and the personal secretary to the Indonesian Ambassador in Bandar Seri Begawan (conducted March 14, 2009), alongside comprehensive literature review of standard reference works including the *Kamus Bahasa Melayu Nusantara* (Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka Brunei, 2003), *Istilah Diplomasi dan Hubungan Antarabangsa* (Ghazzali, 1998), and

Panduan Korespondensi Diplomati (Dirjen Protkons, 2006).

The analytical procedure involved three sequential stages: first, identification and categorization of specialized vocabulary and terminology appearing in the diplomatic notes; second, comparative analysis against *Bahasa Dalam* (the royal register of Brunei Malay) to determine appropriateness and cultural sensitivity in honorific usage; and third, examination of personal pronoun systems and syntactic structures to assess formality levels and social distance markers. The collected lexical items were cross-referenced with authoritative dictionaries and diplomatic terminology guides to establish register-specific characteristics distinct from general Malay or Indonesian usage.

This methodological approach ensures comprehensive documentation of the Malay diplomatic register while providing empirical evidence for practical recommendations in diplomatic communication training and language planning initiatives within the Brunei-Indonesia-Malaysia Language Council (MABBIM) framework.

Result and Discussion

Result

External Aspects: Structure and Format of First-Person Notes

The analysis of 27 First-Person Notes reveals a standardized six-part structure governed by diplomatic protocol (Dirjen Protkons, 2006). Table 1 presents the structural components identified in the corpus:

Table 1. Structural Components of First-Person Notes

No.	Component	Description	Frequency
1	Appel	Title/designation of recipient	27/27 (100%)
2	Traitements	Courtesy titles in body	27/27 (100%)
3	Courisie	Complimentary closing	27/27 (100%)
4	Souscription	Sender's signature and rank	27/27 (100%)
5	Reclame	Addressee name at bottom left	24/27 (89%)
6	Suscription	Complete addressee address	27/27 (100%)

The following diagram illustrates the hierarchical flow of First-Person Note preparation and delivery:

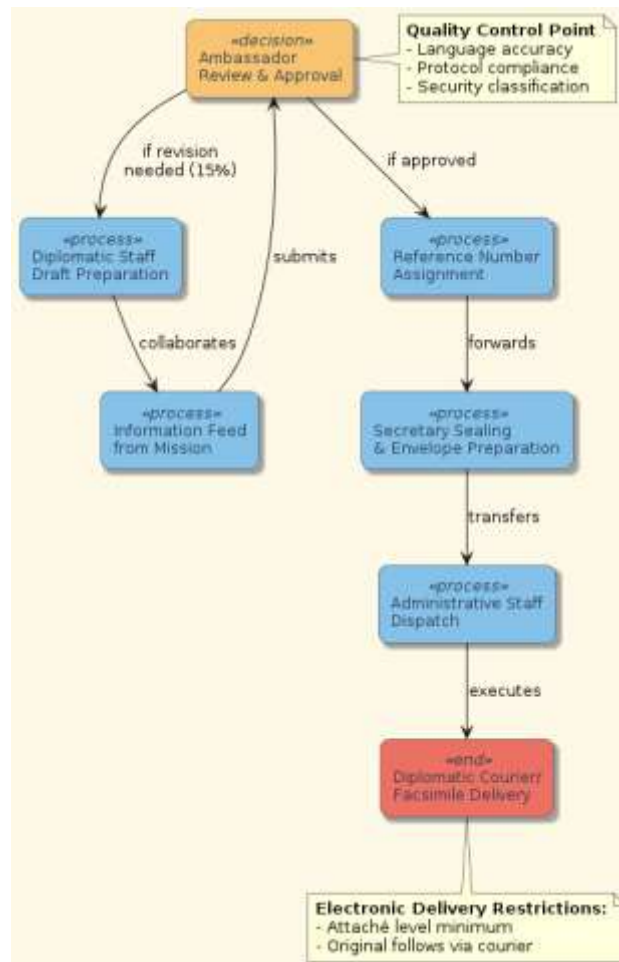


Figure 1. First-Person Note Preparation & Delivery Protocol

Lexical Characteristics: Loanwords and Diplomatic Terminology

The corpus demonstrates limited English loanword usage, with most adapted to Malay

phonology and orthography. Table 2 categorizes the identified loanwords:

Table 2. Loanwords in First-Person Notes (N=7)

Lexicon	Source Language	Adaptation Type	Reference
<i>Delegasi</i>	English: delegation	Phonological	DBPKL (1998: 27)
<i>Agenda</i>	English: agenda	Orthographic	DBPKL (1998: 9)
<i>Trilateral</i>	English: trilateral	Morphological	DBPKL (1998: 73)
<i>Integrasi ASEAN</i>	English: ASEAN integration	Compound	DBPKL (1998: 105)

Lexicon	Source Language	Adaptation Type	Reference
<i>Minister</i> <i>Counsellor Politik</i>	English: political	Syntactic	DBPKL (1998: 110)
<i>Parlemen</i>	English: parliament	Phonological	DBPKL (1998: 105)
<i>Politik</i>	English: politics	Orthographic	DBPKL (1998: 110)

The low frequency of loanwords (7 types across 27 documents) reflects the non-technical nature of bilateral correspondence, which prioritizes relationship maintenance over specialized negotiations.

The most significant finding concerns the Indonesian Embassy's strategic deployment of *Bahasa Dalam* (royal register) to honor Brunei's monarchical traditions. Table 3 presents the distribution of *Bahasa Dalam* lexemes:

Analysis of "*Bahasa Dalam*" Usage

Table 3. "*Bahasa Dalam*" Lexemes in First-Person Notes

Category	Lexeme/Phrase	Document Reference	Context of Use
Royal Titles	<i>KDYMM Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan</i>	NOP-06/27.06.2005	Addressing Head of State
	<i>Kebawah Duli</i>	NOP-16/21.07.2007	Referring to royal person
Noble Titles	<i>Yang Amat Mulia Pengiran</i>	NOP-10/24.08.2006	Crown Prince reference
	<i>Yang Mulia Dato</i>	NOP-16/21.07.2007	Minister-level official
	<i>Pehin</i>	NOP-10/24.10.2006	Traditional minister
Ceremonial	<i>adat istiadat</i>	NOP-21/24.10.2007	Royal customs
	<i>Pengantin Diraja</i>	NOP-21/24.10.2007	Royal wedding
Gift Terminology	<i>kurnia / pengurniaan</i>	NOP-16/21.07.2007	Royal bestowal

The following diagram visualizes the hierarchical application of *Bahasa Dalam* terms based on recipient status:

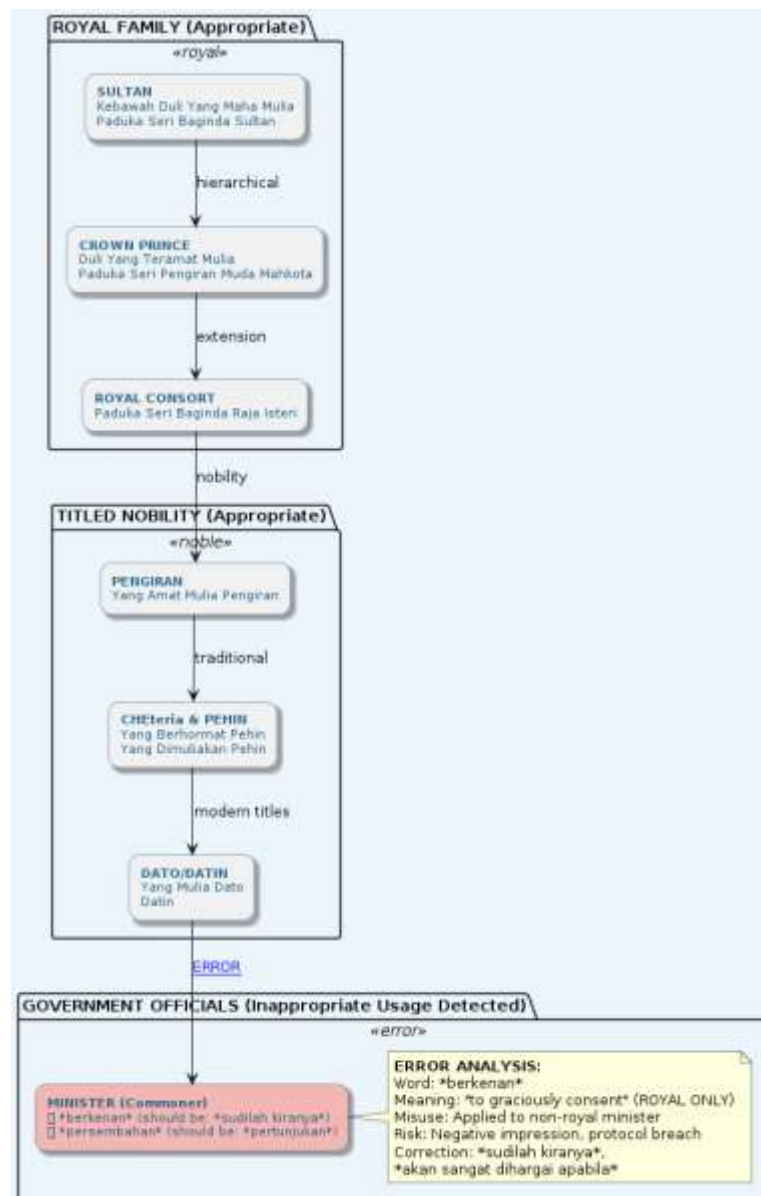


Figure 2. Hierarchy of "Bahasa Dalam" Usage in Diplomatic Correspondence

Critical Error Analysis: Misapplication of Royal Privileges

Two significant misapplications were identified in the corpus. First, the term *berkenan* (root: *kenan*, "to be pleased/graciously consent") was incorrectly applied to non-royal officials. In Brunei protocol, *berkenan* is absolutely restricted to the Sultan, Queen, and immediate royal family members. Comparative evidence from *Media Permata* (2009) confirms: "*Kebawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan... berkenan berangkat ke majlis*" (Royal attendance) vs. "*Menteri Perhubungan, Pehin Dato... menghadiri majlis*" (Commoner attendance—no *berkenan*).

The Indonesian Embassy's usage in NOP-17/25.07.2007 ("*Yang Berhormat Pehin dan Datin berkenan untuk menghadirinya*") represents a category error that potentially undermines diplomatic objectives by overextending royal register to commoner officials.

Second, *persembahan* (from root *sembah*, "to pay homage") was used for cultural performances directed at non-royal audiences. This term properly denotes respect acts exclusive to the Sultan and royal family. The recommended replacement is *pertunjukan* ("performance") or *pagelaran* ("cultural exhibition").

Personal Pronoun System and Social Distance Marking

relationships between communicants. Table 4 presents the distribution:

The analysis reveals a sophisticated pronominal hierarchy reflecting social

Table 4. First-Person Pronouns by Sender-Recipient Relationship

Pronoun/Phrase	Sender Status	Recipient Status	Inclusivity	Example Document
<i>saya</i> (I)	President of Indonesia	Sultan of Brunei	Exclusive singular	NOP-01/22.11.1996
<i>kita</i> (we, inclusive)	President of Indonesia	ASEAN Heads of State	Inclusive (includes recipient)	NOP-01/22.11.1996
<i>kami</i> (we, exclusive)	Ambassador	Brunei Senior Officials	Exclusive (excludes recipient)	NOP-03/16.07.2003
<i>saya dan isteri</i>	Ambassador + spouse	Royal/Noble host	Descriptive dyadic	NOP-10/24.08.2006
<i>saya beserta seluruh staf</i>	Ambassador + embassy staff	Military officials	Institutional collective	NOP-19/20.08.2007
<i>kami dan seluruh masyarakat Indonesia</i>	Ambassador + diaspora	Government ministers	National representation	NOP-17/25.07.2007

The following sequence diagram illustrates pronoun selection logic:

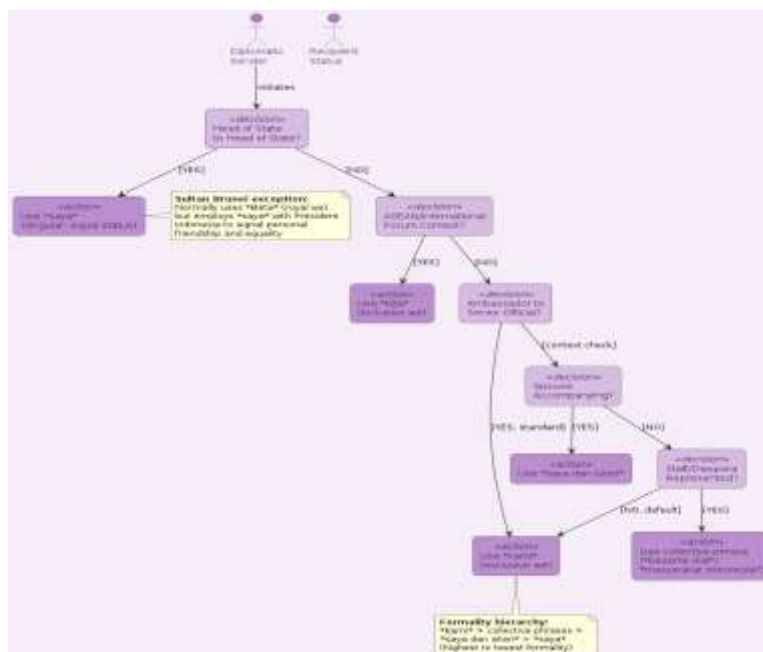


Figure 3. Decision Logic for First-Person Pronoun Selection

Syntactic Characteristics of Diplomatic Register

Beyond lexicon and pronominals, the First-Person Notes exhibit distinctive syntactic patterns:

1. Extended nominal phrases: Honorific sequences averaging 12-15 words (e.g., *"Kebawah Duli Yang Maha Mulia Paduka Seri Baginda Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah Ibni Al-marhum Sultan Haji Omar Ali Saifuddien Sa'adul*

Khairi Waddien, Sultan dan Yang Di-Pertuan Negara Brunei Darussalam").

2. Passive constructions with honorific agents: Preference for *"dengan hormat kami sampaikan"* over active *"kami menyampaikan"* to soften illocutionary force.
3. Formulaic closing prayers: Invariant structure *"Demikian disampaikan dan kami berharap agar Allah Subhanahu Wataala memberikan..."* (NOP-23/22.11.2007).

The following mind map synthesizes the complete register profile:

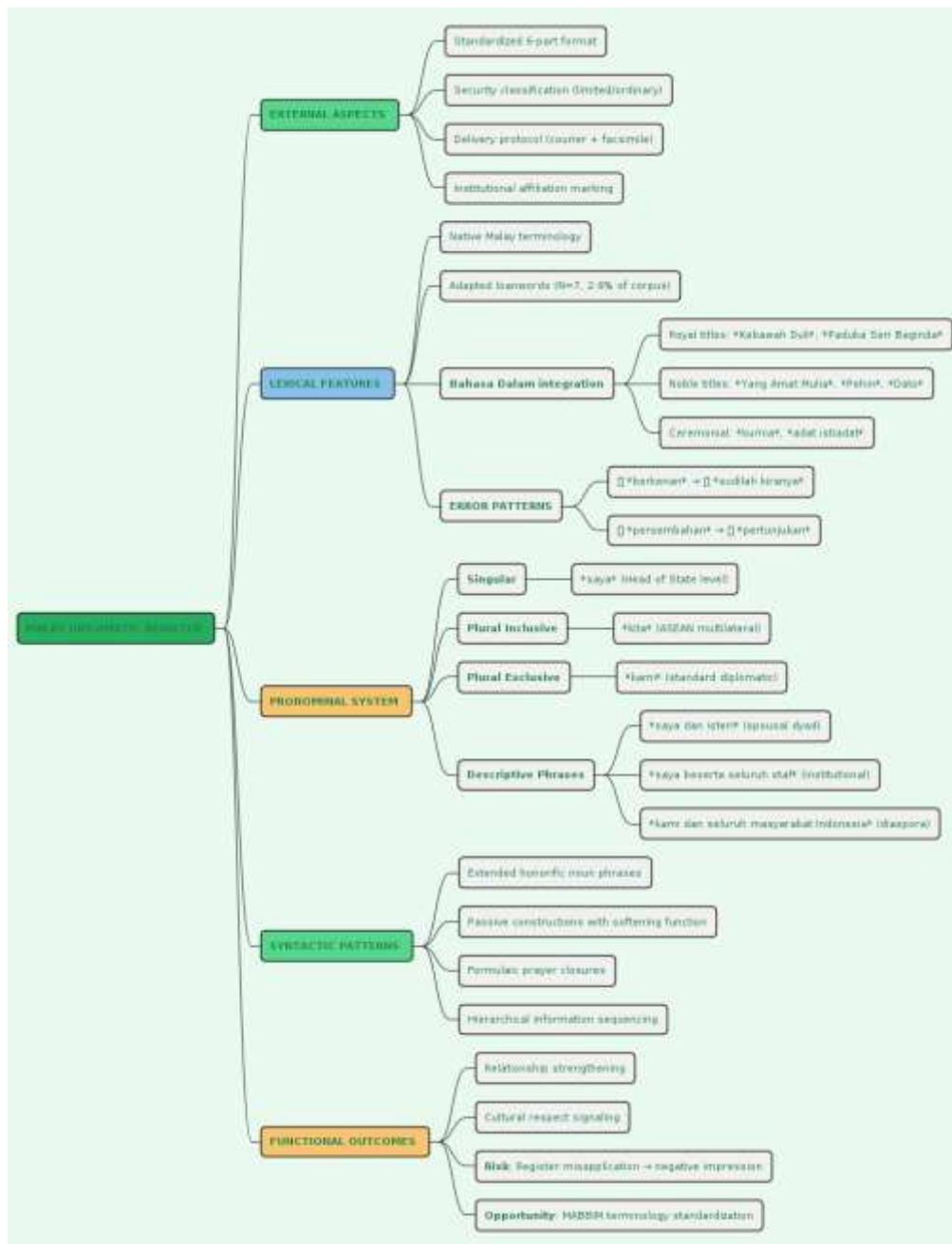


Figure 4. Malay Diplomatic Register: Comprehensive Feature Profile

Discussion

The findings of this study regarding the strategic deployment of *Bahasa Dalam* in Indonesian diplomatic correspondence align with recent scholarship on accommodative pragmatics in intercultural diplomacy. Kerswell & Bakshi (2025) demonstrate that communicative accommodation theory remains highly relevant in asymmetric diplomatic contexts, where linguistic convergence signals relational investment and respect for hierarchical traditions. However, McLellan (2022) cautions that excessive accommodation in Malay lingua franca contexts may be perceived as ingratiating rather than respect, suggesting that Indonesian diplomats must calibrate their use of royal register to avoid indexical overreach. The documented misapplication of *berkenan* to non-royal officials supports Qin & Uccelli (2020), Shahri & Minakova (2021), and Zitha & Lambani (2024) argument that register competence involves not merely lexical knowledge but nuanced understanding of indexical boundaries that separate appropriate from inappropriate usage.

The hierarchical pronominal system identified in First-Person Notes resonates with contemporary politeness research emphasizing scalable identity construction through grammatical choices. Wright et al (2022) argue that modern politeness theory must account for institutional contexts where power asymmetries are interactionally negotiated rather than statically imposed, which explains the reciprocal convergence observed when the Sultan of Brunei adopts *saya* rather than royal *Beta* in communication with the Indonesian President. Conversely, Roth (2025) maintains that elaborate honorific systems function primarily as ritualized deference rather than strategic rapport management, suggesting that Indonesian diplomats' pronominal variations may be interpreted as procedural compliance rather than personal warmth. This tension between ritual and strategic interpretations underscores the complexity of diplomatic register usage in sustained bilateral relationships.

The limited incorporation of English loanwords in the corpus (7 types, 2.6%) contradicts trends documented in recent studies of diplomatic Englishization. Khan et al (2024) observe increasing lexical borrowing in international institutional registers, while Pradita & Arimi (2025) note that bilateral diplomatic correspondence between non-Anglophone states

increasingly hybridizes local and global linguistic resources. The conservatism of Indonesia-Brunei Malay correspondence may reflect what McLellan (2022) terms "regional register loyalty," wherein shared Malay heritage functions as a deliberate counterbalance to global English dominance. Alternatively, this phenomenon supports Michael-Luna & Canagarajah (2015) argument that post-colonial diplomatic communities strategically deploy indigenous lingua francas to assert cultural sovereignty and resist linguistic imperialism.

The syntactic characteristics of extended nominal phrases and passive constructions with honorific agents find partial support in recent corpus-based register studies. Pescuma et al (2023) demonstrate that formal written registers across languages exhibit similar structural elaboration for informational density and interpersonal distancing. However, their cross-linguistic analysis suggests that Malay diplomatic syntax may be more heavily nominalized than functionally equivalent registers in European languages, a feature they attribute to the "syntactic sedimentation" of classical Malay literary traditions. This observation connects to Albury's (2021) documentation of how Brunei's *Malay Islamic Monarchy* ideology preserves archaic syntactic patterns as markers of national authenticity, which Indonesian diplomats must acquire to achieve register appropriateness.

The documented error patterns in *Bahasa Dalam* application challenge optimistic assessments of diplomatic training effectiveness. Pramastiwi (2024) argue that intercultural language education must move beyond "cultural awareness" toward "interactional competence," including precise indexical calibration of honorific resources. Their framework explains why Indonesian diplomats correctly acquire lexical forms (*kurnia*, *Kebawah Duli*) yet misapply pragmatic constraints (*berkenan* overextension). Socio-cognitive pragmatics model suggests that such errors emerge from "prior context" interference, where Indonesian republican linguistic habits intrude upon Bruneian monarchical interactional norms. These theoretical perspectives converge on the recommendation that diplomatic training incorporate immersive "register socialization" rather than surface-level vocabulary instruction.

The study's findings regarding Malay diplomatic register as a distinct linguistic variety

contribute to emerging debates on regional language standardization. Katelouzou & Sergakis (2021) caution that supranational standardization initiatives often erase valuable national-specific variation, while McLellan (2022) advocates for "register-based pluricentricity" that accommodates functional specialization across Malay-speaking polities. The Indonesia-Brunei case supports an intermediate position: MABBIM terminology standardization should distinguish internationally-shared diplomatic vocabulary (loanwords, procedural terms) from nationally-anchored honorific systems requiring localized competence. This approach aligns with Canagarajah's (2020) "translingual practice" model, which recognizes that effective diplomatic communication operates across overlapping but non-identical linguistic repertoires rather than through unified standard codes.

The temporal stability of register patterns documented across 1996-2008, combined with practitioner reports of continued usage, invites comparison with digital diplomacy transformations. Adler-Nissen & Eggeling (2022) observe that social media diplomacy increasingly compresses traditional register hierarchies, yet their case studies suggest that bilateral relationships with strong ceremonial traditions resist such compression. The Indonesia-Brunei correspondence may thus represent what they term "register resilience," wherein analog-era formalities persist as markers of relationship distinctiveness in an otherwise informalizing diplomatic landscape. Future research should examine whether COVID-19-induced digitalization of diplomatic channels (Bergman & Ghazalian, 2025) has accelerated register simplification or reinforced traditional formalities as compensatory stability mechanisms in uncertain times.

Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that Malay diplomatic register constitutes a distinct linguistic variety characterized by specialized lexical features, hierarchical pronominal systems, and formal syntactic patterns that differentiate it from general Malay and Indonesian usage. The analysis of 27 First-Person Notes exchanged between Indonesia and Brunei Darussalam from 1996 to 2008 reveals that effective diplomatic communication requires not merely linguistic competence in Malay but precise calibration of

register features—particularly royal honorifics and pronominal choices—to recipient status and relational context. The documented misapplications of royal-exclusive terms to non-royal officials underscore the critical importance of indexical boundary awareness in asymmetric diplomatic relationships, where register violations risk undermining communicative intentions despite technically correct lexical selection. These findings validate and extend established register theory by documenting its operation in a post-colonial, monarchical-republican contact situation, while contributing to sociolinguistic understanding of how lingua franca communities negotiate formal register standards across national varieties.

The practical implications of this research extend to diplomatic training, language policy, and regional cooperation frameworks. Indonesian diplomatic personnel would benefit from immersive register socialization that prioritizes pragmatic conditioning over surface lexical acquisition, particularly regarding the distinction between royal-exclusive and noble-appropriate honorifics in Brunei's monarchical context. Furthermore, the identification of internationally-shared diplomatic terminology versus nationally-specific honorific systems offers a pathway for regional language council standardization efforts that respect functional specialization without erasing valuable national variation. Future research should examine register evolution in digital diplomatic channels, assess reception perspectives from Brunei officials, and extend comparative analysis to other Malay-speaking bilateral relationships, thereby consolidating a comprehensive typology of Malay diplomatic registers that serves both scholarly and practitioner communities in Southeast Asia.

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