Contact-Induced Change in Enggano

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Introduction

- This paper presents examples of contact-induced change in **Enggano**, an Austronesian language spoken off the south coast of Sumatra in the province of Bengkulu, Indonesia.

- It compares the **lexicon**, **phonology** and **morphosyntax** of Enggano in a corpus collected by Hans Kähler in the 1930s ("Old Enggano") with contemporary materials collected as part of an ongoing documentation project since 2018 ("Contemporary Enggano").

- I demonstrate that the Contemporary Enggano lexicon has a greater degree of **lexical borrowing**, and that the grammar has undergone several phonological and morphosyntactic **changes**.

Introduction

- Following Nothofer (1992), I argue that many of these changes can be thought to result from **language contact** in a modern, multilingual Indonesia.

- Indonesia is hugely **linguistically diverse** with over 700 languages from the Austronesian and Papuan language families.

- Since Independence, Bahasa Indonesia has played an important role as the **national language** of Indonesia. Regional **lingua francas** and other **languages of local importance**, like Bengkulu Malay and Minangkabau, are also part of Enggano speaker's repertoires.

Introduction

- Like many minority languages of Indonesia, Enggano can be considered **endangered** (see Ethnologue 2022, Arka et al 2022, Anderbeck, Wong & Natasha 2022).

- Although vitality varies across the island, even speakers in the central villages where the language is most vital are increasingly **shifting to Indonesian** at home or when talking with other Enggano speakers (see Arka et al 2022).

- This type of **intensive contact situation** is normally thought to lead to **contact-induced change** (see e.g. Matras 2009, Matras & Adamou 2021).

Introduction

- The aims of the paper are:
  - ➢ To illustrate contact-induced changes in Contemporary Enggano
  - ➢ To think about what role contact plays in structural change

- It is often difficult to untangle contact from language-internal factors but potentially contact actually plays a role in reinforcing reanalysis.

Roadmap

- Background on Enggano

- Comparing the Lexicon

- Phonological and Morphosyntactic Change

- Conclusions

Background on Enggano

Background on Enggano
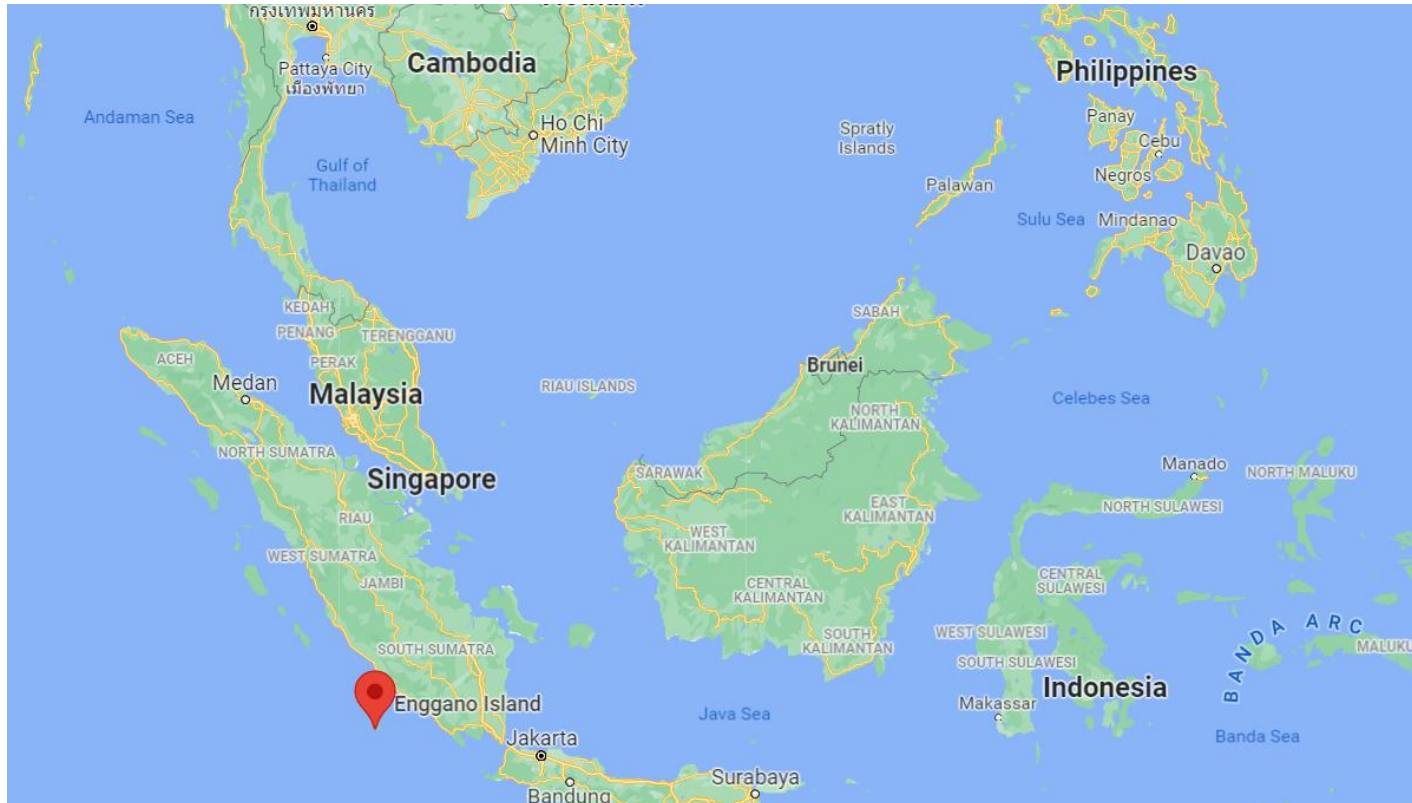
- Enggano is spoken by approx. 1,500 speakers on Enggano Island, Sumatra, Indonesia

- There is some debate around classification but most people now agree that Enggano is Austronesian (Dyen 1965, Nothofer 1986, Edwards 2015, Smith 2017, 2020, Billings & McDonnell 2022)

Background on Enggano
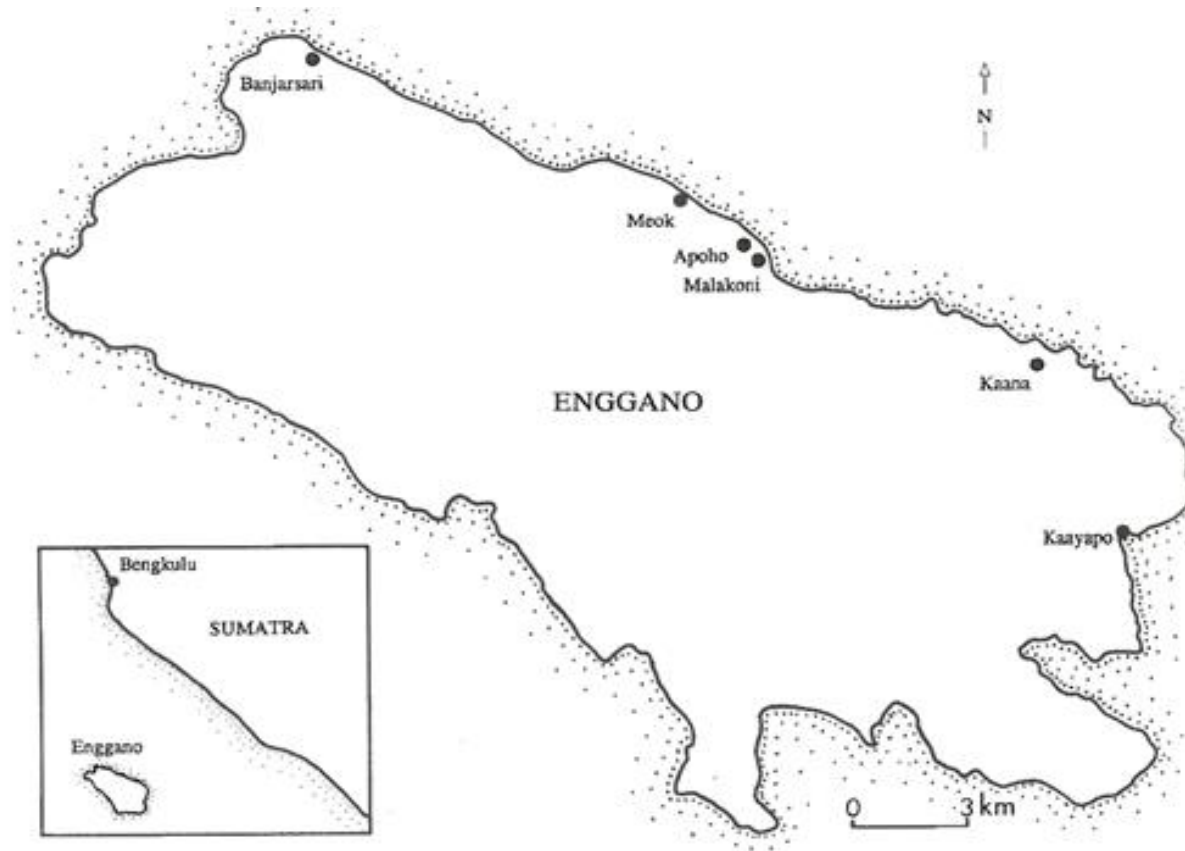
map from ter Keurs (2006: 134)

- Today, Enggano is spoken in six main villages across the island.

- There are also **non-Enggano populations** who migrated to the island.

- These include people who speak e.g. Javanese, Sundanese, Buginese, Minangkabau, Malay varieties, Batak languages and Barrier Island languages.

- Inter-ethnic communication is in **Indonesian**.

Background on Enggano
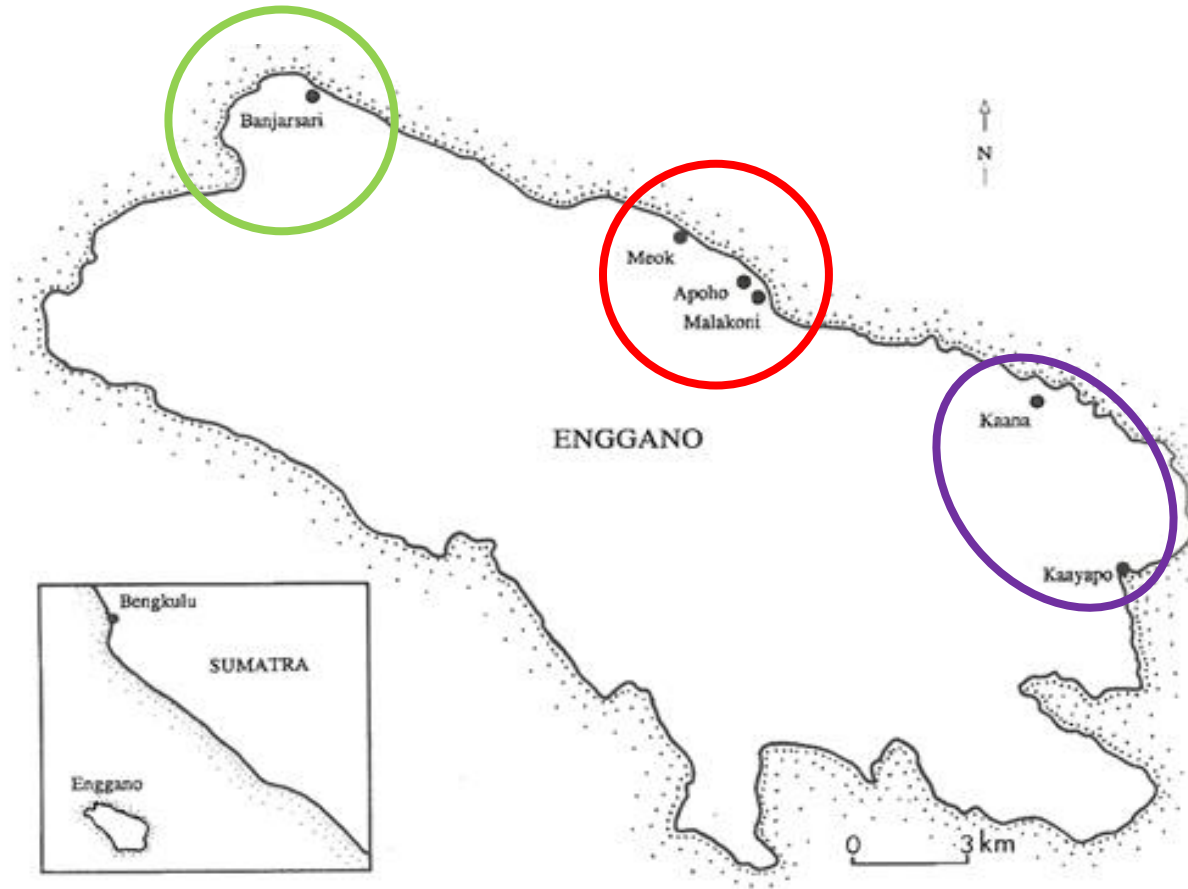
map from ter Keurs (2006: 134)

- Enggano is considered endangered as speakers increasingly shift to Indonesian (see Arka et al. 2022).

- The language is most vital in the **central villages**

- In **northern** and **southern** villages, non-Enggano populations are higher, accelerating language shift (see Arka et al 2022).

Background on Enggano

1850-1900	Early Wordlists	Von Rosenberg 1855, Van der Straaten & Severijn 1855, Walland 1864, Oudemans 1879 Helfrich & Pieters 1891, Helfrich 1893, 1916
1930s	Hans Kähler	Grammar Sketch (Kähler 1940) Text Collection (Kähler 1955, 1957, 1958, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1964, 1975) Dictionary (Kähler 1987, published posthumously)
1980s-2020s	Recent Work	Nothofer (1986, 1992), Nikelas et al (1994), Yoder (2011) Wijaya (2018), Riswari et al (2021)
2018-present	AHRC-funded documentation project	Corpus of audio and video recordings (Meok) Swadesh lists from across the villages Grammar, FLEX database of glossed texts and lexicon

Comparing the Lexicon

Old Enggano Lexicon

- We know that **language contact** is not a new phenomenon.

- Kähler (1940: 81) writes that the language of younger speakers was heavily influenced by Malay and Helfrich (1916) expresses concern over the potential loss of the Enggano language.

- In the Kähler corpus, we see evidence of contact in lexical borrowing (Kähler 1987):

dupia	< rupiah	money
bidi'i	< bilik	room
bawãã	< bawang	onion
bayuu	< baju	shirt
kadu'u	< tanduk	horn

- As discussed in Nothofer (1992), these are most likely borrowings from Bengkulu Malay/ Minangkabau since they reflect changes like *a > o

mũõõ	< bungo	flower

Loanword Adaptation

- Loanwords underwent adaptation to Enggano Phonology (cf Nothofer 1992)

dupia	< rupiah	money
bidi'i	< bilik	room
bawãã	< bawang	onion
bayuu	< baju	shirt
kadu'u	< tanduk	horn
mũõõ	< bungo	flower

1. sounds replaced with nearest equivalent

2. vowel copying after glottal stop to maintain CV structure

3. consonant cluster reduction

4. nasal spreading and loss of nasals (ŋ)

Text Frequency

- Borrowings are not that frequent – they are **mostly nouns** and all lexical items!

- In the 3,500 headwords listed in the Kähler's dictionary, only 70 are listed as borrowings (64 from Malay)

- Moreover, such words are **not frequently attested** in the corpus: only 7 of these actually occur in the texts/grammar, a total of 96 tokens in a 38,592 word corpus.

- It is not uncommon for texts to be recorded without any loanwords at all (e.g. Kähler 1955)

- This fits with the view that speakers were **Enggano dominant**, and mainly borrowed lexical items relating to objects that were newly introduced and not part of traditional Enggano culture (cf. Myers-Scotton 1993)

Summary

	Old Enggano
% of borrowings in lexicon?	low
Borrowings adapted?	yes
Borrowings used frequently?	no

Contemporary Enggano Lexicon

- The rate of borrowings has increased!

- Some loans are inherited from Old Enggano and (like all other Enggano words) undergo regular changes such as the loss of the final vowel

hẽkũ	*hẽk* 'sit'		
dupia	*dupi*	< rupiah	money
bidi'i	*bidi'*	< bilik	room
bawãã	*bawã*	< bawang	onion
bayuu	*bayu*	< baju	shirt
kadu'u	*kadu'*	< tanduk	horn

Contemporary Enggano Lexicon

- There are also a great many loans not attested in Kähler's corpus.

- Some undergo loanword adaptation (as described in Nothofer 1992) and can be used with Enggano morphology…

teke	< ce**ng**keh	cloves
note	< lo**nce**ng	bell
mita'	< m**in**ta	ask
biku	< mi**ngg**u	week
napu	< la**mp**u	light

➢ mita'
➢ kimita' (ki- + root)
➢ mamita' (ba- + root)
➢ yahmita' (i- + ah- + root)

Contemporary Enggano Lexicon

- However, many others are used **without adaptation** – including morphologically complex words:

memang	'indeed'
tujuan	'goal'
jadi	'so'
zaman	'era'
sering	'rarely'

tu'/untuk	for
dengan	with
tentang	about

kak tuo	< orang tua	parents

- There are calques from Indonesian and even **functional items** are borrowed, which is often taken as indicating higher intensity of contact (Thomason & Kaufman 1988).

Contemporary Enggano Lexicon

- It is possible that loans without phonological adaptation could represent **newer loans** into Enggano

- Or that there is a difference between how loans from **Bengkulu Malay** (e.g. *dape'* 'get' (cf. dapat), or *cerito* 'story' (cf. cerita)) and from **Indonesian** are adopted.

- Or maybe they represent one-word **code-switching** which can be difficult to distinguish from borrowing (see Matras 2009, Poplack & Dion 2012).

- After all, bilingual repetition and the use of multi-word phrases in Indonesian are also common in discourse.

Contemporary Enggano Lexicon

(1)   *a=dὑhὑr*   *u*   *kur*   *ean*   ***lagi,***   *u-b-ah*   *b-ah-er*   ***jengkol***
SUBORD=finish   1SG   from   DEM   again   1-BU-go   BA-AH-climb   tree.sp
'after doing that I went to climb the jengkol tree' […]

    laju   *u-b-a-riė'-a*   ***lagi***
    so   1-BU-AH-weed-PL   again
    'then we cleared again' […]

    Ke'   *u-ahpėa'*   *dop*   *ho=m-a'-pẽpẽ.*
    NEG   1.EXCL-notice   day   PERF=BU-VBLZ-dark
    'We didn't realise it was already dark.'

    dak   **tau-nya**   *dop*   *ho-bu-karko'aih*
    NEG   know-3SG   earth   PERF-BU-night
    '(We) didn't know it was already night.' (Kegiatan Harian, text)

Text Frequency

- 449 of 1377 headwords in the Contemporary Enggano lexicon are borrowings!

- Moreover, in a small text corpus of 6 naturalistic texts, 102 of 279 clauses contained one or more loans, suggesting they are **relatively discourse-frequent**.

- In a contemporary retelling of Kähler 1955, there were 17 tokens of Indonesian Loan words.

- These patterns of borrowing are indicative of an intensive contact situation with more **balanced bilingualism** (Matras 2009: 111-112).

Summary

	Old Enggano	Contemporary Enggano
% of borrowings in lexicon?	low	high
Borrowings adapted?	yes	yes & no
Borrowings used frequently?	no	yes

Phonological and Morphosyntactic Change

Contact-Induced Change

- Lexical borrowing is not the only outcome of contact – it can also lead to **contact-induced change**.

- Thomason (2001: 62) defines this as: 'any linguistic change that would have been less likely to occur outside a particular contact situation'

- Here we will discuss three potential contact-induced changes:
  - ➢ Phonological: addition of /t/ as phoneme rather than an allophone
  - ➢ Morphological: a new system for possession marking
  - ➢ Syntactic: change in word-order from verb-initial to SVO

Phonological Change

- In Old Enggano, Kähler (1940) treats [t] as an allophone of /d/ that occurs before [i]:

e-dopo	*i-topo*
DIR-earth	LOC-earth
'the ground'	'above'

e-'i**t**o 'banana', kai**t**ara 'play'

variants with [d]
e-'i**d**o 'banana', kai**d**ara 'play'

- Historically, PMP *t and *s merged as Enggano *k* (Edwards 2015: 63, Nothofer 1986)

*taqi	e-kai 'excrement'
*si-ia	kia 'he/she'

kĩmũnĩ	< timun	cucumber
kadu'u	< tanduk	horn
kikuhi	< tikus	mouse

- Old Borrowings adapt [t] to [k]:

Phonological Change

- All this supports analysing [t] as an allophone of /d/ rather than a separate phoneme.

- The only examples where we find [t] without an /i/ before it are in borrowings with [s]:

taku	< sago	sago
tawaha	< sawah	field

kapii	< sapi	cow
karawae	< serawai	trousers

Phonological Change

- In Contemporary Enggano, /t/ can be considered a phoneme since we find minimal pairs:

[dop] 'earth'	[top] 'above'

- Many words begin with /t/ - some result from the nominalisation prefix *ta-* (OE *ita-*) but many are **borrowings**:

tahur 'heat'	taih 'bag' (< tas)	tanding 'game'
tapuh 'illness'	tãpũ 'flour' (< tepung)	tanggal 'date'

- [t] is borrowed without adaptation and [s] is adapted with [t] rather than [k]

tekora	< sekolah	school
tutah	< susah	trouble
teter	< senter	flashlight

Morphosyntactic Change

- In Old Enggano, prononimal **possession** was marked via pronominal suffixes and nominal possessors with the oblique case maker *-u* (Kähler 1940)

1SG	-'(V)u	euba**'au**
2SG	-bu	euba**bu**
3SG	=dia	euba**dia**
1PL.INCL	-ka	euba**ka**
1PL.EXCL	=dai	euba**dai**
2PL	=du	euba**du**
3PL	-da	euba**da**

suffixation triggers stress shift (e-ubá-bu) but encliticization does not!

e-uba   u-ko'e'e

DIR-house   OBL-devil

'the devil's house' (Kähler 1975)

Morphosyntactic Change

- Contemporary Enggano preserves pronominal possessive suffixes – however the connection between the root and the suffixed form is less transparent

ROOT		euba	ROOT		yub	yur 'head'
1SG	-'(V)u	euba'**au**	1SG	-'	yub**a'**	yur**u'**
2SG	-bu	euba**bu**	2SG	-b	yuba**b**	etc
3SG	=dia	euba**dia**	3SG	=de	yub**de**	
1PL.INCL	-ka	euba**ka**	1PL.INCL	-k	yub**ak**	
1PL.EXCL	=dai	euba**dai**	1PL.EXCL	=da	yub**da**	
2PL	=du	euba**du**	2PL	=du	yub**du**	
3PL	-da	euba**da**	3PL	-r	yub**ar**	

Morphosyntactic Change

- There is also an alternative strategy for marking possession which is to use a free pronoun after the possessed noun

- This is simpler (as speakers do not need to learn the final vowel that resurfaces):

yuba-'	yub u	rumah saya
house-1SG	house 1SG	house 1SG
'my house'	'my house'	'my house'

←

- The contact-induced analysis is supported by the fact that this newer strategy is particularly associated with **younger speakers** and **dialects in the South** where there is a greater degree of language shift.

Syntactic Change

- In Old Enggano, main clause verbs can occur in one of three forms:

ki-	SVO (cleft constructions?)
bu-	verb-initial, occur with set 1 agreement markers
bare	verb-initial, occur with set 2 agreement markers

bu- → **most frequent**

(6) **ka-bu-pėa-ha**   e-ko'E'E   e-hũã   u-kanĩxõõ
3-BU-see-emph   DIR-devil   DIR-fruit   OBL-tree.sp
'(When) the devil saw the fruits of the ekanîxôô-tree' (Kähler 1955)

(7) Kamõhõ   e-paE   e'ana   **kabia**   i-dita
then   NM-child   DEM   3-BU-exist   LOC-there
'but the child remained there' (Kähler 1955)

Syntactic Change

(8)   ke'anaha   e-'aupaka-**ra**,   **d**-aha:e   i-uba,
       then   DIR-departure-3PL   3PL-go   LOC-house
       [discourse topic = the parents]

       ka-mõhõ   **e-pae**   e'ana   **ka**-b-ia   i-dita
       3-different   DIR-child   DEM   3-BU-exist   LOC-there
       [discourse topic = the child]
       'And then their exit happened, they went home, and the child remained there.' (Kähler 1955)

- Hence, maybe structures like (8) are really topicalisations!

Syntactic Change

- In the contemporary retelling of Kähler (1955), *bu-* clauses often have SVO order:

	SV	VS
Old Enggano	6 (13%)	39 (87%)
Contemporary Enggano	29 (56%)	23 (44%)

(9) e-ko'oe' ean ka-b-abe'

   NM-devil   DEM 3-BU-stand

   'The devil stood up' (Kähler 1955 retelling)

triggered by contact with SVO Malay/Indonesian?

Summary

	Contemporary Enggano
Phonology	Addition of phoneme /t/
Morphology	New strategy for possession marking
Syntax	Word order change in *bu-* clauses to SVO

Conclusions

Conclusion

- Comparing Old Enggano with Contemporary Enggano, we can see an increase in **lexical borrowing** (code-switching), as well as examples of **contact-induced change** in Enggano phonology and morphosyntax.

- This can be taken as evidence of higher **intensity of contact** with Indonesian which is in keeping with the context of multilingualism ("balanced bilingualism") as well as the shift towards the more prestigious national language among Enggano speakers.

- It is not always easy to state with certainty the **role of contact over language internal changes**. Nonetheless, Indonesian appears to provide a model reinforcing many of the ongoing changes that we see.

With thanks to…

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