

## Evidence of contact with Malay/Indonesian in the Enggano language

This paper presents evidence of contact with Malay/Indonesian in the Enggano language, spoken by c. 1,500 speakers on Enggano Island, Sumatra. Through analysis of the lexicon, phonology and morphosyntax, we demonstrate that increased contact with Indonesian in the period after Independence has led to a greater degree of lexical borrowings as well as triggering language change. This can be shown by comparing a corpus collected by Hans Kähler in the 1930s with contemporary materials collected as part of ongoing documentation since 2018.

In the Kähler materials, there is already evidence of contact with Malay in the form of lexical borrowings, e.g. *dupia* ‘money’ < rupiah, *bawãã* ‘onion’ < bawang, *bidi’i* ‘room’ < bilik (Kähler 1987). These undergo assimilation: final codas are lost, nasalisation spreads from a nasal consonant before deletion, non-phonemes are replaced with the nearest equivalent. However, these loans are not regularly used in the text collection (e.g. Kähler 1955). In comparison, lexical borrowings are common in contemporary Enggano: 243 out of 1065 words in the lexical database are loans from Malay/Indonesian, and only 15 of these were attested in the Kähler dictionary. Moreover, 102 of 279 clauses in a small text corpus contained one or more loans, suggesting they are relatively discourse-frequent.

Many borrowings are thought to come from Bengkulu Malay or Minangkabau, since they reflect the change \*-a > -o that distinguishes these varieties (Nothofer 1992: 23), e.g. *apo* ‘what’, *tuo* ‘old’. Like older loans, new borrowings often show assimilation, e.g. through simplification of consonant clusters (e.g. *biku* ‘week’ < minggu, *kuti* ‘key’ < kunci), loss of velar nasals (e.g. *iãkõ* ‘corn’ < jagung, *tãkũ* ‘bear’ < tanggung), replacement of non-phonemes (e.g. *tekora* ‘school’ < sekolah, *kuru* ‘teacher’ < guru), word-level nasality (e.g. *nanau* ‘lake’ < danau) and use with Enggano morphology (e.g. *ka’kariè* ‘work’ (ki-a’-kariè ‘FOC-VBLZ-work’ < kerja). However, there are also instances of Indonesian forms that appear in the texts in unassimilated form, including discourse markers like *jadi* ‘so’, and larger phrases like *dak tau nya* ‘before we knew it’. These may represent code-switching with Indonesian rather than borrowing and are perhaps reflective of a change from Enggano-dominance to Indonesian-dominance among the speech community. This in turn suggests a change in contact situation from a typical borrowing context to shift-induced interference (see Haspelmath 2008).

As well as an increase in lexical borrowing, contact with Malay/Indonesian has also resulted in language change. In the Kähler materials, loans beginning with [s] and [t] are systematically borrowed with initial [k], e.g. *e-kapii* ‘cow’ < sapi, *e-kumu* ‘well’ < sumur, reflecting the fact that [t] only exists as an allophone of /d/, whilst PMP \*t and \*s merged as Enggano *k* (Edwards 2015). As seen above, many contemporary borrowings replace [s] with [t], suggesting that *t* may now be viewed as a phoneme of Enggano. On a morpho-syntactic level, contemporary Enggano appears to have undergone several changes. For example, main clauses in the Kähler texts have predicates in *bu*-form, typically with verb-initial order. In contemporary Enggano texts, over half of *bu*-verbs occur in subject-initial. This may reflect contact with predominantly SVO Indonesian.

Consequently, comparing the Kähler corpus with the contemporary Enggano corpus provides ample evidence of increased contact with Malay/Indonesian through an increase in lexical borrowing/code-switching, as well as contact-induced change. The aim of the paper is to illustrate these changes and reflect on the implications for our understanding of language contact in minority/endangered language contexts, where the relative status of the donor and recipient language has changed.

**References:**

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