

Evidence of contact with Malay/Indonesian in the Enggano language

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Introduction

- This paper presents evidence of contact with Malay/Indonesian in the **Enggano** language, spoken on Enggano Island, Sumatra.
- Following Nothofer (1992), we argue that increased contact with Indonesian in the period after Independence has led to a greater degree of lexical borrowings as well as triggering contact-induced change.
- We demonstrate by comparing the lexicon, phonology and morphosyntax of Enggano in a corpus collected by Hans Kähler in the 1930s with contemporary materials collected as part of an ongoing documentation project since 2018

Introduction

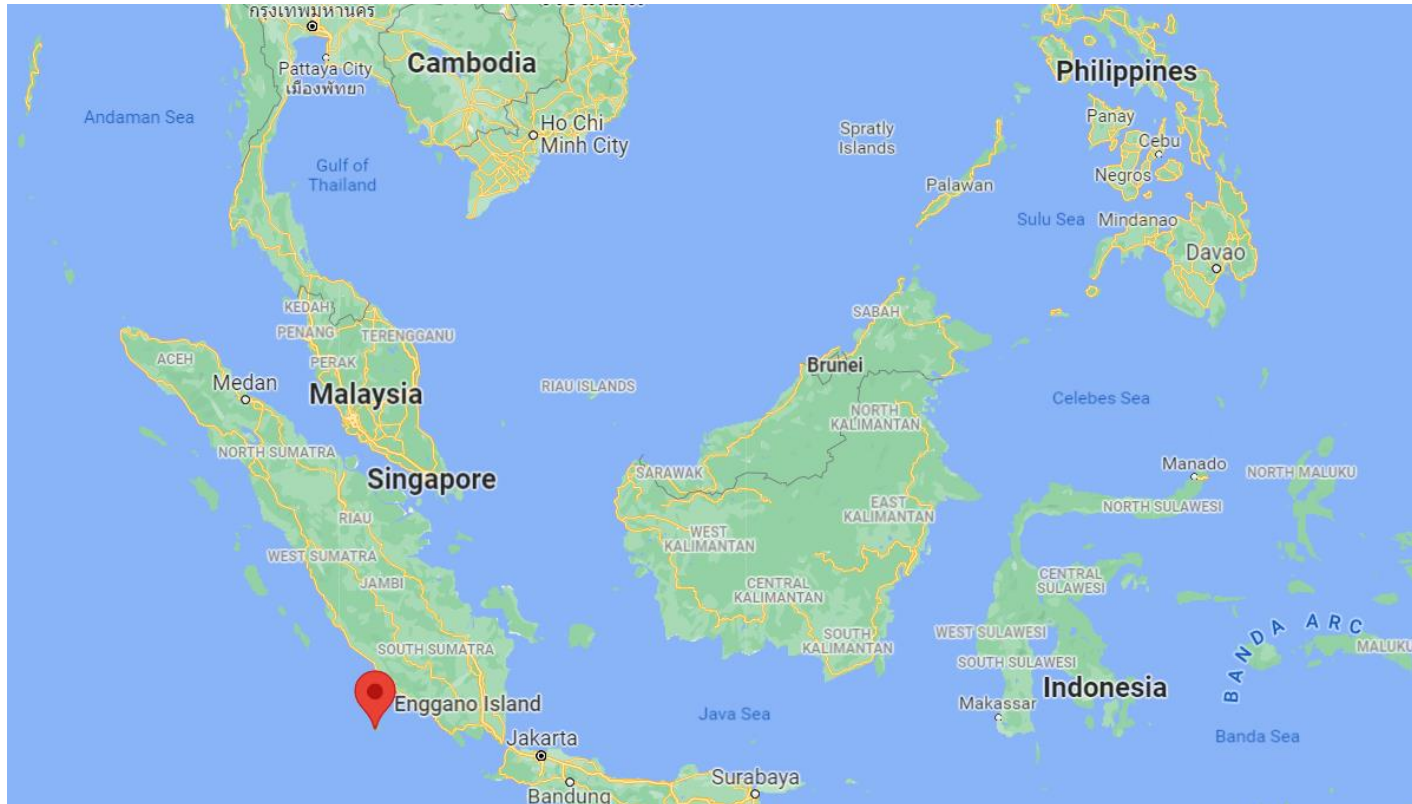
- The aims of the paper are:
 - To illustrate contact-induced changes in contemporary Enggano
 - To reflect on the implications for our understanding of language contact in minority/endangered language contexts
- In particular, we view increased borrowing as the result of a change from Enggano-dominance to Indonesian-dominance among speakers.
- This is tied into the low ethnolinguistic vitality of the language (see Arka et al 2022)

Roadmap

- Background on Enggano
- Comparing the Lexicon
- Phonological and Morphosyntactic Change
- Conclusions

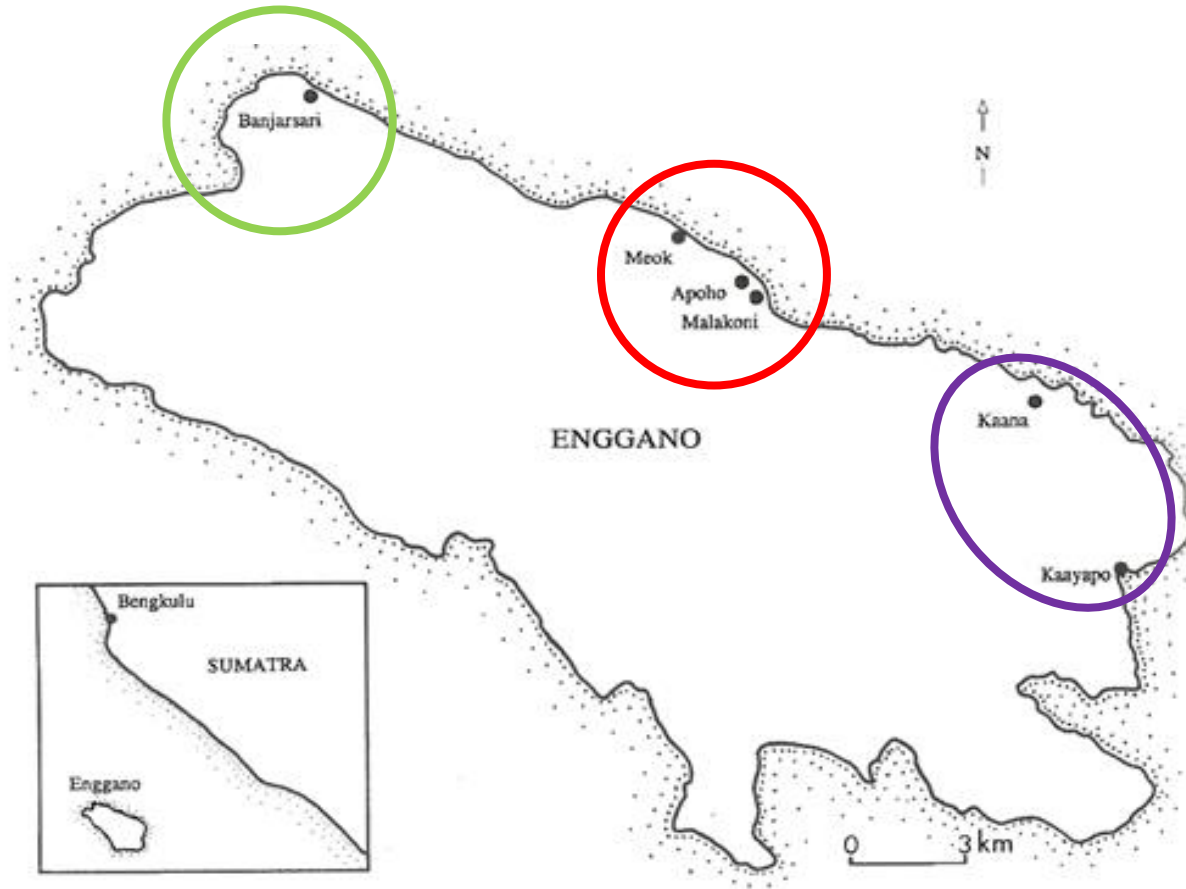
Background on Enggano

Background on Enggano



- Enggano is spoken by approx. 1,500 speakers on Enggano Island, Sumatra, Indonesia
- There is some debate around sub-grouping but most people now agree that Enggano is **Austronesian** (Dyen 1965, Nothofer 1986, Edwards 2015, Smith 2017, 2020, McDonnell & Billings 2022)

Background on Enggano



map from ter Keurs (2006: 134)

- Enggano is considered **endangered** as speakers increasingly shift to Indonesian (see Arka et al. 2022).
- However, the language is most vital in the **central villages**
- In **northern** and **southern** villages, non-Enggano populations are higher, accelerating language shift

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

- Even early accounts express concern over the potential loss of the Enggano language (see e.g. Helfrich 1916)
- In the Kähler corpus, we see evidence of contact in lexical borrowing (e.g. in Kähler 1987):

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

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

<i>mũõõ</i>	< bungo	flower
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Loanword Adaptation

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

<i>dupia</i>	< rupiah	money
<i>bidi'i</i>	< bilik	room
<i>bawãã</i>	< bawang	onion
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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!
- 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)

Summary



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	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 but (like all other Enggano words) undergo regular changes

final vowel deletion

OE hěkũ 'sit'

CE hěk 'sit'

<i>dupia</i>	<i>dupi</i>	< rupiah	money
<i>bidi'i</i>	<i>bidi'</i>	< bilik	room
<i>bawãã</i>	<i>bawã</i>	< bawang	onion
<i>bayuu</i>	<i>baiu</i>	< baju	shirt
<i>kadu'u</i>	<i>kadu'</i>	< 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...

<i>teke</i>	< cengkeh	cloves
<i>note</i>	< lonceng	bell
<i>mita'</i>	< minta	ask
<i>biku</i>	< minggu	week
<i>napu</i>	< lampu	light



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

Contemporary Enggano Lexicon

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

<i>memang</i>	'indeed'
<i>tujuan</i>	'goal'
<i>jadi</i>	'so'
<i>zaman</i>	'era'
<i>sering</i>	'rarely'

- There are calques and even functional items are borrowed:

<i>kak tuo</i>	< orang tua	parents
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tu'/untuk	for
dengan	with
tentang	about

Contemporary Enggano Lexicon

(1) *a=dühür* *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-rië'-a* *lagi*
 so 1-BU-AH-weed-PL again
 ‘then we cleared again’ [...]



Code-switching or
translanguaging?

dak *tau-nya* *dop* *ho-bu-karko'aih*
 NEG know-3SG earth PERF-BU-night
 ‘before we knew it, it was getting dark’ (kegiatan harian, text)



Text Frequency

- 266 of the 1104 words in the 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
- Since this was collected via translation (from German > English > Indonesian > Enggano) these predominantly occurred (1) where there was no one-to-one equivalent or (2) where a older term may have been forgotten.

- In at least one case, doublets now exist:

<i>am</i>	<i>pa'</i>	<i>father</i>
<i>na</i>	<i>ma'</i>	<i>mother</i>

No exact translation in Old Enggano

(2) e-pa ean **tena** bah-de
 NM-childDEM happy feeling-3SG
 ‘the child was content’

KabaEpèha ekitai upAe e’ana
 satisfied intestines child DEM
 ‘the child’s intestines were satisfied’

(3) ke’ i-**sadar**
 NEG 3.SUBJ-conscious
 ‘unconscious’

kEoba’a i-pèhai m-ã:ĩnõnõ e-dopo
 NEG 3-able BU-feel NM-earth
 ‘He couldn’t feel the earth/lit. was unconcious’

Older terms fallen out of use

(4) ki-hiěk i heo ea *pakis*
KI-sit loc in foot fern
'sitting on the inside of the foot of the fern'

ekěpũũc

(5) a=dühür-de ka-pa-üdi he ke'ep *jalak*
subord=finish-3sg 3-caus-question with bird starling
'Thereafter he asked a bird called "starling"'

ehiau

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 allophone
 - **Morphological**: 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

DIR-earth

'the ground'

i-topo

LOC-earth

'above'

variants for 'here':

idita = itita = icita = ilita = idida = ijida

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

*taqi

e-kai 'excrement'

*si-ia

kia 'he/she'

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

kīmũñĩ

< timun

cucumber

kadu'u

< tanduk

horn

kikuhi

< tikus

mouse

Phonological Change

- However, the status is unclear. As Edwards (2015) discusses, /t/ occurs in a number of words not marked as dialect variants
- Moreover, [s] was sometimes borrowed as [k] and sometimes as [t]:

<i>kapii</i>	< sapi	cow
<i>karawae</i>	< serawai	trousers
<i>taku</i>	< sago	sago
<i>tawaha</i>	< sawah	field

Phonological Change

- In contemporary Enggano, 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'

- [s] is now adapted with [t] rather than [k] in Contemporary Enggano

<i>tekora</i>	< sekolah	school
<i>tutah</i>	< susah	trouble
<i>teter</i>	< senter	flashlight
<i>tepeda</i>	< sepeda	bike
<i>tẽ</i>	< seng	metal roof

/t/ is now a phoneme of contemporary Enggano

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

Morphosyntactic Change

- In Old Enggano, possession was marked via pronominal suffixes – see e.g. with *e-uba* ‘house’ (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

Morphosyntactic Change

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

ROOT		euba	ROOT		iub	iur
1SG	-(V)u	euba'au	1SG	-'	iuba'	iuru'
2SG	-bu	eubabu	2SG	-m	iubam	etc
3SG	=dia	eubadia	3SG	=de	iubde	
1PL.INCL	-ka	eubaka	1PL.INCL	-k	iubak	
1PL.EXCL	=dai	eubadai	1PL.EXCL	=da	iubda	
2PL	=du	eubadu	2PL	=du	iubdu	
3PL	-da	eubada	3PL	-r	iubar	

Morphosyntactic Change

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

iuba-'
house-1SG
'my house'

iub u
house 1SG
'my house'



rumah saya
house 1SG
'my house'

- Using the free pronoun strategy is simpler (as speakers do not need to learn the final vowel that resurfaces) and is particularly associated with **younger speakers** and **dialects in the South** where there is a greater degree of language shift
- Hence, this too appears to be a contact-induced change

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	→ most frequent
bare	irrealis contexts, occur with set 2 agreement markers	

(6) **ka-bu-pèa-ha** e-ko'E'E e-hũã u-kanĩxõõ
 3-B u-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-B U -exist LOC-there
 'but the child remained there' (Kähler 1955)

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%)

(8) e-ko'oe' ean ka-b-abe'
 NM-devilDEM 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 <i>bu-</i> 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 provides ample evidence of increased contact with Malay/ Indonesian and is in keeping with the context of **language endangerment** and **increased (imbalanced) bilingualism**/the shift from **predominantly L1 dominant to predominantly L2 dominant** speakers that this entails.
- Future research includes further data collection on contemporary Enggano across different Enggano villages to investigate the dynamics of varying intensity of language contact, language change and endangerment in modern multilingual Enggano/Indonesia.



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Audience at ISMIL25!