Evidence of contact with Malay/Indonesian in the Enggano Language

Charlotte HEMMINGS and I Wayan ARKA

University of Oxford
Australian National University/Udayana University

This paper presents evidence of contact with Malay/Indonesian in the Enggano language by comparing a corpus collected by Hans Kähler in 1930s with a contemporary corpus collected as part of an ongoing documentation project since 2018. We demonstrate that Contemporary Enggano has a much higher rate of lexical borrowings and code-switching, and has undergone contact-induced change at the level of phonology, morphology and syntax. We interpret this as evidence of increased contact, reflecting changes in the status and usage of Malay/Indonesian in daily life on Enggano, in keeping with the context of language endangerment.

1. Introduction

This paper presents evidence of contact with Malay/Indonesian in the Enggano language, spoken on Enggano Island, off the southwest coast of Sumatra, Indonesia. 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 this 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. In so doing, we aim to illustrate contact-induced change in Contemporary Enggano, as well as reflecting on the implications for our understanding of language contact in minority/endangered language contexts. That is, we view increased borrowing as symptomatic of the shift towards Indonesian among young speakers of Enggano, particularly under the age of 20, and in domestic settings, which is tied into the low ethno-linguistic vitality of the language (Arka 2019, Arka et al. 2022, Anderbeck, Wong & Natasha 2022).

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 provides some background on the Enggano language, including discussion of the two language corpora analysed. Section 3 provides a comparison of the lexicon with a focus on lexical borrowing, phonological adaptation, frequency of use and patterns of code-switching. Section 4 discusses three examples of contact-induced change at the levels of phonology, morphology and syntax. Finally, section 5 concludes.

2. Background on Enggano

The Enggano language is spoken by approximately 1,500 people on Enggano island, the southernmost of the Barrier Islands, which are situated along the southwest coast of Sumatra. Administratively, Enggano falls within the Bengkulu province of Indonesia. There has been long-standing debate around the genetic affiliation of Enggano on account of the relatively low cognate percentage with other Austronesian languages (Nothofer

HEMMIINGS, Charlotte and I Wayan ARKA, 2023. 'Evidence of Contact with Malay/Indonesian in the Enggano Language'. In Hiroki NOMOTO and Asako SHIOHARA, eds. *Language contact between Malay and indigenous languages*. NUSA 75: 19–51. URL: http://hdl.handle.net/10108/0002000126 doi: 10.15026/ 0002000126

2021).[1] This had led some to claim that Enggano was not an Austronesian language at all, but simply borrowed heavily from surrounding languages (Blench 2014, Capell 1982). Most people now agree that Enggano is an Austronesian language and instead debate whether it forms a sub-group with the other Barrier-Island languages and Batak languages of Sumatra (Billings & McDonnell 2022, Nothofer 1986, Smith 2017) or a primary branch of Malayo-Polynesian (Edwards 2015).

Historically, there were settlements across the island (see Walland 1864, Jaspan 1964) but today there are six main villages that all fall on the northern coastline, where they are better protected from the Indian Ocean, as shown in Figure 1. There are speakers of Enggano in each of these villages, but also non-Enggano populations who migrated to the island. As discussed in Yoder (2011:5), this includes people who speak Bengkulu Malay, Serawai Malay, Minangkabau, Javanese, Sundanese, Buginese, Barrier Island languages like Nias and Mentawai, and Batak languages. Inter-ethnic communication typically takes place in Indonesian, and most people are familiar with Bengkulu Malay as an important lingua franca in Bengkulu, mainland Sumatra. Hence, all speakers of Enggano are multilingual.

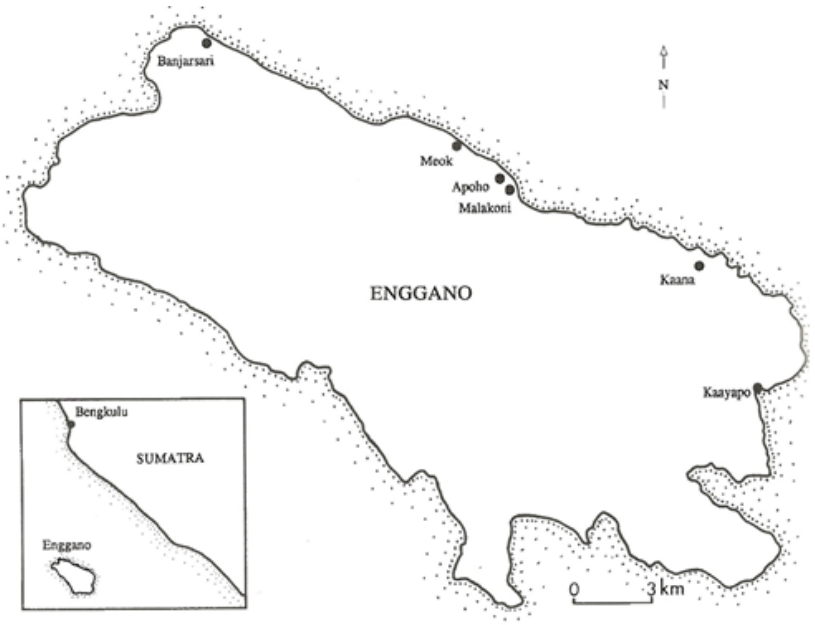

Figure 1. Map of Enggano Island (from Ter Keurs 2006:134)

The language can be considered endangered as speakers are increasingly shifting to Indonesian, not only in formal domains but also in home contexts (see Arka et al. 2022). Eberhard, Simons and Fennig (2022) lists the language as 6b (Threatened) on the EGIDS scale but the level of vitality varies across the island. The central villages of Meok, Apoho and Malakoni have the highest percentage of Enggano-speaking populations. In these areas, where most of our contemporary corpus was collected, attitudes to Enggano are positive and Enggano is widely used in many domains, except in education, administration and religion where Indonesian predominates. Intermarriage, which often

[1] Dyen (1965) estimated the highest rate of cognates with any other Austronesian language to be only 11% with the Murut language of Northern Borneo.

contributes to language shift in other minority language contexts (Coluzzi 2017, Diedrich 2018), is not reported to affect language choice in villages like Meok, with non-Enggano partners and children said to learn the local language.[2] However, even in the central villages it is not uncommon for people to use Indonesian in the home with children and grandchildren, given the high status of Indonesian as the national language and language of education and religion (Arka 2019). Consequently, even in Meok, Apoho and Malakoni, Indonesian is an important part of speaker's linguistic repertoires.

In the northern village of Banjarsari, where the only airport on Enggano is based and almost 25% of the total population live, the non-Enggano population outnumbers the local Enggano community. The same is true for the southern villages of Kaana and Kahyapu, which may have attracted migrant populations as they benefit from greater development, additional seaports and better roads. Given this, it is not surprising that Arka et al. (2022) identified accelerated language shift towards Indonesian in these regions. The level of vitality of Enggano not only varies according to the geographic area, but also the age of the speaker since younger speakers are more likely to report low fluency in Enggano and higher use of Indonesian even with other Enggano-speaking friends (see Arka et al. 2022). Indeed, 60% of the teens and young adults who responded to our survey reported using Indonesian at home, compared with only 9% of senior adults (Arka 2019).

The language has a long history of documentation, with the earliest records collected by government officials and civil servants (Boewang 1854, von Rosenberg 1855, Van der Straaten & Severijn 1855, Walland 1864, Oudemans 1879, 1889, Helfrich & Pieters 1891, Helfrich 1893, 1916, the Holle list, collected in 1895 and published in van de Noord 1987). More recently, a number of studies have provided additional documentation and description of the language, including an unpublished wordlist used in Nothofer's (1986) historical linguistic analysis, grammar sketches, word-lists and dictionaries collected by governmental organizations in Indonesia (Kasim et al. 1987, Nikelas, Rasyad & Semi 1994, Riswari et al. 2021) and three academic theses (Yoder 2011, Wijaya 2018, Butters 2021). The most important data sets for this paper, however, are the materials collected by Hans Kähler in the 1930s, which we will henceforth refer to as *Old Enggano*, and the documentary corpus collected as part of an ongoing documentation project, which we will henceforth refer to as *Contemporary Enggano*.

Hans Kähler spent seven months on Enggano island in the mid-1930s. On the basis of this trip, he produced a sketch grammar (Kähler 1940) and published a collection of texts which includes folk stories and descriptions of cultural practices (Kähler 1955, 1957, 1958, 1960a, 1960b, 1961, 1962, 1964, 1975). The grammar examples and text collection combined approach 40,000 words. After his death, his former student, Hans Schmidt, published an Enggano-German dictionary based on Kähler's notes with approximately 3,500 headwords and information about PAN cognates and lexical borrowings (Kähler 1987). This includes additional headwords that are not attested in the text corpus. Unfortunately, we do not have access to the original manuscripts on which the published texts, grammar sketch and dictionary were presumably based. Therefore, it is impossible to know to what extent the materials were edited (see e.g., Dobrin 2021 for discussion). Nonetheless, with this caveat in mind, the Kähler corpus provides us with an opportunity to analyse language change between Old Enggano and Contemporary Enggano, which

[2] As discussed below, the situation in other villages is different.

isn't always possible in the context of endangered oral languages (see e.g., Feist & Palancar 2021).

The contemporary corpus is a collection of transcribed audio and video recordings, collected between 2018–2020 as part of an ongoing documentation project.[3] To date, the project team has completed a detailed analysis for a subset of the corpus, including folk stories, descriptions of cultural practices and elicited example sentences that are comparable in terms of topic to the Kähler materials. In fact, the corpus also includes contemporary retellings of Old Enggano texts that were collected via translation from Indonesian (see Section 4.3). The recordings were largely collected by Engga Zakaria, a young native-speaker of Enggano and member of the Enggano documentation project team. Engga initially transcribed and translated the recordings into Indonesian. Subsequently, the authors worked with Engga to better understand the recordings and produce interlinear glossing using the SIL FieldWorks Language Explorer software, which stores a text database and lexicon. The texts currently analysed comprise approximately 16,700 words, and the lexicon has approximately 1,400 headwords. Despite similarities in terms of the topics discussed, the overall recording situation is different, since the contemporary materials are oral texts, whereas the Kähler texts are written. They may therefore be considered to differ in how 'planned' they are, which is known to affect the types of structures that are found (see Ochs 1979, Seifart 2008). This may also impact the level of borrowings observed and hence should be kept in mind as we compare Old Enggano and Contemporary Enggano in the rest of the paper.

Based on the analysis in Kähler (1940, 1987), Yoder (2011) and our own research on Contemporary Enggano, we assume the phoneme inventory of Enggano to be as follows. Sounds which have an unclear status, and most likely reflect allophones or dialect variants are given in brackets.

Table 1. Enggano consonant inventory

	Bilabial	**Alveolar**	**Palatal**	**Dorso-velar**	**glottal**
Voiceless Plosives	p	(t)		k	ʔ
Voice Plosives	b	d			
Affricates			tʃ (dʒ)		
Nasals	m	n	(ɲ)		
Fricatives	(f)		(ç)		h
Liquids		(l)			
Trills		(r)			
Approximants	(w)		(j)		

[3] The project is funded by the Arts & Humanities Research Council, UK (Grant AH/S011064/1) and runs from 2019–2024. It builds upon earlier research supported by grants from the Endangered Language Fund and the University of Oxford's John Fell Fund.

Table 2. Enggano vowel inventory

	Front		Central		Back	
High	i	ĩ	ɨ	ɨ̃	u	ũ
Mid	e	ẽ	(ə)	(ə̃)	o	õ
Low			a	ã		

In Old Enggano, [f] had a marginal status as a dialect variant of /p/. It is not attested in Contemporary Enggano. Kähler treats [r], [l] and [t] as allophones of /d/. In Contemporary Enggano, [l] has a very marginal status, though [r] appears very frequently in cognates of words that were variously realised with [d] or [r] in Old Enggano. The status of [t] is discussed further in Section 4.1. The sound [ç] is written with an <x> in Kähler and represents an allophone of /h/ that occurs following high front vowels. In our transcriptions, we have generally unified both x and h with the grapheme <h>. The sound /tʃ/ is written <c> and is usually preceded by a high-front vowel. In Old Enggano, [t] and [dʒ], written as <j>, can also appear as variants of /c/. In Contemporary Enggano, /c/ is variously realized as [s], [t], [ç] or [tʃ] depending on the speaker. Finally, in Old Enggano the palatal nasal is written as <ñ>, and the glides [j] and [w] as <y> and <w> respectively. In Contemporary Enggano, the glides [i̯] and [e̯] often surface as word-initial variants of the front vowels /i/ and /e/ before other vowels, or as [j] and [w] between two vowels word-medially, particularly in borrowings. [i̯] and [j] are written as <y>, [e̯] as <ye> and [w] as <w>. The palatal nasal is sometimes produced as a variant of [j] intervocalically in nasal words, but never written. In both Old Enggano and Contemporary Enggano, words adhere to a process of nasal harmony (Smith 2020) and as such the nasal stops /m/ and /n/ only occur in words that contain nasal elements, whilst the oral stops /b/ and /d/ only occur in words that contain oral elements. It is therefore possible to think of [b] and [m], and [d] and [n], as allophones of /b/ and /d/ respectively. Nonetheless, we write the sounds using the symbols <b>, <m>, <d> and <n> for now. The glottal stop is represented with the symbol <’>.

In Old Enggano, Kähler does not distinguish between the two central vowels [ɨ] and [ə]. Instead he describes one centralised vowel, which is written with <u̲> in the grammar, but <ə> in the texts and dictionary. In Contemporary Enggano, there are several minimal pairs to support analysing /ɨ/ and /ə/ as separate phonemes and hence we write them with <ù> and <è> respectively. It appears that schwa developed as the result of a split in /o/ which survives as [o] in some contemporary words, e.g., *dop* ‘land’ (< *dopo*) but becomes [ə] in others, e.g., *bè* ‘water’ (< *boo*). According to older sources, e.g., Helfrich (1916), Helfrich & Pieters (1891), [ə] was a dialect variant of /o/ and hence it is possible that the differences observed between Old Enggano and Contemporary Enggano simply reflect dialect variation. We have chosen to reflect the central vowel in Kähler’s materials using the symbol <è> but it is worth bearing in mind that this likely corresponds to Contemporary Enggano /ù/ in many instances, e.g., *pùi* ‘see’ (< *pèa*). In the Kähler (1940) grammar, he further distinguishes [e] and [ɛ], and [o] and [ɔ]. This distinction is not made in the dictionary and hence we unify these realizations as <e> and <o> respectively. The Kähler dictionary uses the symbols <ō>, <ā>, <ē> etc. to represent long vowels. We have rendered this with double vowels, e.g., <oo>, <aa>, <ee>. In Old Enggano, the nasal vowels are written with a tilde wherever they occur. Since nasalization is predictable when roots contain a nasal consonant, we do not use tildes in Contemporary Enggano in these contexts. Tildes do mark nasal vowels in words containing voiceless oral stops, where nasal and non-nasal vowel phonemes can be distinguished (see Hemmings et al.

2023 for discussion). Finally, there are several diphthongs in Enggano. Though Kähler sometimes makes an orthographic distinction between diphthongs and vowel sequences, it is not entirely clear if this is systematic. In this paper, we do not distinguish diphthongs and vowel sequences orthographically. A low high sequence, e.g., 'ai' or 'oi', can be read as a diphthong (see Yoder 2011).

Old Enggano has strict CV syllable structure and no coda consonants or consonant clusters are attested.[4] Contemporary Enggano has undergone a process of final-vowel deletion, discussed in Section 3.2 (see Smith 2020:349). This results in many words with CVC structure and coda consonants, e.g., *dop* 'land' (< *dopo*), *kak* 'person' (< *kaka*). There are also consonant clusters word-medially, particularly with /ʔ/, /h/ and /r/, that result from the process of haplology or vowel-reduction in non-stressed syllables, e.g., *kãhpĩh* 'desire' (< *kãhãpĩxĩ*), *do'ra* 'sand' (< *do'orao*), *kirpadi'* 'was made' (< *kidipadi'o*).

Like Indonesian, and many other Austronesian languages, Enggano is agglutinative with words being formed from a root combined with affixes. As discussed further in Section 4.3, verb roots in both Old Enggano and Contemporary Enggano typically occur in one of three main forms: *ki-*, *bu-* and bare. Like other languages in Sumatra and Sulawesi, but unlike Indonesian, Enggano verbs in *bu-* and bare form take subject agreement markers in main clause contexts that may derive from erstwhile pronoun sets (Zobel 2024). In addition to *ki-* and *bu-,* verbs may also take derivational affixes like *pa-* causative/reciprocal, *aH-* antipassive, *di-* passive, *aba-* associated motion, *-a* future, and *-i, -a'a* applicatives (Kähler 1940, Zobel 2021). Many of these are similar in function to Indonesian formatives. For example, the *aH-* antipassive marker appears to be cognate with Indonesian *meN-* and appears to be interpreted as comparable in function by speakers. The *di-* passive only occurs with *ki-* or nominal morphology, but most other formatives are possible in *bu-* and bare form as well. In Contemporary Enggano, the same verbal morphology is used though there may be some changes in the function (see e.g., Hemmings, Zobel & Dalrymple 2022). However, the phonological changes of final-vowel deletion and vowel reduction mean that the connection between suffixed and root forms is no longer so transparent.[5] In Old Enggano, nouns were marked with case markers: *e-* 'direct', *u-* 'oblique' and *i-* 'locative' (Kähler 1940). In Contemporary Enggano, the *e-* case marker is optionally used but the oblique *u-* only survives in fossilised compounds (e.g., *ka**u**daoh* 'cloud' (< *ekai udahauhu* lit. 'dirt of the sky', also realised as *ka daoh*). The locative case marker is treated as a preposition and written as a separate word, *i,* on analogy with Indonesian *di* 'at'. Both Old Enggano and Contemporary Enggano also use reduplication in word formation. With this background into the data sources, and structure of Enggano, let us now compare the lexicons.

3. Comparing the lexicon

When languages come into contact, the most obvious locus for change is the lexicon (Weinrich 1953, Haugen 1950, Matras & Adamou 2021). In this section, we will show that Enggano is no different. Though there was already contact with Malay, and other languages of regional importance such as Minangkabau, before Independence, we will

[4] Though note that words containing long vowels, diphthongs and vowel sequences following consonants are attested.

[5] For example, the form *kãhpĩh* 'desire' is transparently derived from root + *-i* applicative in Old Enggano: *kãhãpĩxĩ* = *ki-* + *ãhãpĩ* 'like' + *-(x)ĩ*. But the base form for 'like' in Contemporary Enggano is *kãhãp (*< *kãhãpĩ* plus vowel deletion).

argue following Nothofer (1992:30) that the rate of borrowing has drastically increased in Contemporary Enggano, as well as the use of Malay/Indonesian-based words without phonological adaptation, and the practice of code-switching. This implies that the contact situation has changed from one where the majority of speakers were Enggano dominant, and used Enggano in most domains, to a situation of balanced bilingualism, or even a situation where speakers are increasingly Indonesian-dominant and tend to use Enggano only in restricted domains, in keeping with the context of language endangerment.[6] To illustrate, let us compare the lexicon in Old Enggano with the lexicon in Contemporary Enggano.

3.1 Old Enggano

In the Kähler dictionary (1987), the following items are listed as borrowings, of which 64 lexemes are considered likely or possible borrowings from Malay:

Table 3. Borrowings in Old Enggano

Borrowing	Meaning	Original	Source Language[7]	Page Ref
añãmũ	chicken	ayam	Malay	17
badatia	jasmine	melati	Javanese	24
badiu	hoe	beliung	Malay	24
bawaa	onion	bawang	Malay	26
bayuu	shirt	baju	Malay	26
bebee	duck	bebek	Malay	26
bedu'u	boat	biduk	Malay	26
betii	iron	besi	Malay	27
bidibidii	beriberi disease	beriberi	Malay	28
bici	calf	betis	Malay	28
bidi'i	room	bilik	Malay	28
bita	section/area	bidang	Malay	28
bubuu	porridge	bubur	Malay	30
bubu'o	fish trip	bubu	Malay	30
buohoo	weasel	musang	Malay	32
buru-buruu	bird	burung	Malay	32
dadoo	chilli pepper	lado/lada	Mingangkabau/Malay	34
dapi'i	woven map	dapit	Malay	38

[6] We understand bilingualism to include spoken colloquial Indonesian, as well as Bengkulu Malay and not just standard Indonesian, in contrast to Simanjuntak (2014).

[7] Source languages are taken directly from the Kähler (1987) dictionary. As discussed in Nothofer (1992), it is often difficult to decide whether an Enggano loanword comes from Bengkulu Malay or Minangkabau. It seems likely that more of these borrowings may have come from Minangkabau than represented in the dictionary. For example, Nothofer (1992:27) argues that *bubuu* 'porridge' must come from Minangkabau *bubuᵊ* rather than Malay *bubur*. This may explain the vowel length and absence of final /r/.

dayada	sail	layar	Malay	39
dayoo	head of batak clan	rajo	Mingangkabau	39
dedaa	window	loda	Bare'e	40
dupia	money	rupiah	Malay	49
guruu	teacher	guru	Malay	63
itora	heartwood	teras	Malay	101
iyu'uaua	spirit/soul	jiwa	Malay	102
jalinda	window	jendela	Malay	102
kabiere	plant	gambier/gambir	Minangkabau/Malay	107
kabudi	steering wheel	kemudi	Malay	108
kacaa	peanut/bean	kacang	Malay	108
kadu'u	horn	tanduk	Malay	110
kaeni	cloth/fabric	kain	Malay	110
kakocii	sailboat	sekoci	Malay	118
kamãkũ	tobacco	tembakau	Malay	119
kamii	goat	kambing	Malay	119
kanamu	salt	garam	Malay	120
kaparapi	ship	kapal api	Malay	123
kapayo	papaya	papaya	Malay	124
kapii	cow	sapi	Malay	124
karawae	trousers	serawai	Malay	125
katoro	resthouse	kantoor	Dutch	127
kẽkõõ	instrument	genggang	Malay	131
kikuhi	mouse	tikus	Malay	146
kimuni	cucumber	timun	Malay	146
kita'aua	book	kitab	Malay	151
kiyai	Chinese	?	?	154
kuani	lord	tuan	Malay	175
kudo	horse	kudo	Minangkabau	176
kuni'i	turmeric	kunyit	Malay	185
mahi	gold	emas	Malay	189
miñã'ã	oil	minja'/minyak	Minangkabau/Malay	192
mõnĩ	sweet	manih/manis	Minangkabau/Malay	193
mũkõ'õ	smoke	merokok	Malay	195
mũõõ	flower	bunga	Malay	195

musaa	weasel	musang	Malay	195
nasi	cooked rice	nasi	Malay	200
nẽkã'ã	headband/headscarf	destar	Malay	200
nũkõ'õ	cigarette	rokok	Malay	209
ñãkõõ	corn/maize	jagung	Malay	210
padii	rice	padi	Malay	231
peda'a	silver	perak/pira'	Malay/Minangkabau	243
pedodo	bullet	peluru/piluru	Malay/Minangkabau	243
penaa	pen	pena	Dutch (via Malay)	244
peri'u'u	cooking pot	periuk	Malay	245
pidii	plate	piring	Malay	249
pudau	island	pulau	Malay	261
taku	sago	sagu	Malay/Minangkabau	276
takui	barley	sekoi	Malay	276
tawaha	wet field	sawah	Malay	276
tirii	betel	sirih	Malay	276
uko	fine	hukum	Malay	284
yadoo	fishing net	jalo/jala	Minangkabau/Malay	291

As discussed in Nothofer (1992), these are most likely borrowings from local Malay isolects, like Bengkulu Malay, or Minangkabau since they reflect changes like *a > o that are characteristic of these varieties. Though it is difficult to pin down the exact source language, the borrowed lexeme *mũõõ* 'flower' is presumably adapted from *bungo,* as realized in local Malay varieties like Bengkulu Malay, rather than Standard Indonesian *bunga*.[8]

With the exception of *nasi* 'rice', all of the forms in Table 3 undergo phonological adaptation, as is expected when a word is borrowed into a new language (see Matras & Adamou 2021). Firstly, sounds that have phonemic status in Malay but do not occur in Enggano, or only occur as allophones, tend to be replaced with the nearest equivalent:

[8] Similarly, there are a handful of borrowings like *periu'u* (< periuk) 'cooking pot' and *bidi'i* (< bilik) where /k/ in Standard Malay corresponds to a glottal stop. This further points to Bengkulu Malay or Minangkabau as the source of such loans, since *-*uk* and *-*ik* are regularly reflected as -*u'* and -*i'* in both varieties (see Nothofer 1992:22). Alternatively, this may reflect the historical change from PMP *k → ʔ (Edwards 2015:63, Nothofer 1986). There are a few borrowings of words ending in /t/ in Malay that are borrowed into Enggano with a glottal stop, e.g. *dapi'i* (< dapit) 'woven mat'. Following Nothofer (1992:22), this may suggest that they are actually borrowings from Minangkabau where -*i'* is a regular reflex of *-*it*.

Table 4 Phonological adaptation in Old Enggano

r → d	***d**upia* (< rupiah) 'money', ***d**ayoo* (< rajo) 'clan leader', *pi**d**ii* (< piring) 'plate'
l → d	***d**adoo* (< lado) 'chilli pepper', ***d**ayada* (< layar) 'sail', *bi**d**i'i* (< bilik) 'room'
j → y	*da**y**oo* (< rajo) 'clan leader', ***y**adoo* (< jalo) 'fishing net', *ba**y**uu* (< baju) 'shirt'
s → t [9]	***t**awaha* (< sawah) 'rice field', ***t**aku* (< sagu) 'sago', *be**t**ii* (< besi) 'iron'
s → k	***k**apii* (< sapi) 'cow', ***k**akocii* (< sekoci) 'sailboat', ***k**arawae* (< sarawai) 'trousers'
t → k	***k**adu'u* (< tanduk) 'horn', ***k**ikuhi* (< tikus) 'mouse', ***k**imuni* (< timun) 'cucumber'
g → k	***k**anamu* (< garam) 'salt', *ta**k**u* (< sagu) 'sago'

As illustrated in Table 1, the sounds /g/ and /s/ do not occur in Enggano, whilst [r] and [l] are found as dialect variants of the phoneme /d/, and [j] ([dʒ]) as a variant of /c/ (see Kähler 1940). The sound /t/ has an unclear status in Old Enggano, as discussed further in Section 4.1. Kähler (1940) treats [t] as an allophone of /d/ that is apparently triggered by a preceding high front vowel, as in forms like *itopo* 'above', *itita* 'there', *'ito* 'banana', *'itahauda* 'warmth'. However, as Edwards (2015) discusses, /t/ also occurs in adaptations of borrowings from Malay that originally began with /s/, such as those in Table 4. Historically, PMP **t* and **s* merged as Enggano *k*, as evidenced by cognates such as **taqi* → *ekai* 'excrement' and **si-ia* → *kia* '3SG' (Edwards 2015:63, Nothofer 1986). Consequently, those words beginning with /t/ and /s/ that are adapted with *k* may represent an older layer of borrowing or demonstrate that speakers perceive a connection between /t/ and /s/ and the voiceless velar stop. This is unsurprising given that alveolar and velar stops belong to the natural class of laryngeals (Hall 2007) and further supported by the fact that speakers replace /k/ with /n/ under nasal assimilation (see Kähler 1940:205).

In addition to the changes in Table 4, borrowings tend to undergo a series of phonological processes in order to adhere to Enggano phonology. Firstly, in order to maintain CV structure, final consonants are deleted, as shown in borrowings like *bebee* (< bebek) 'duck', *tirii* (< sirih) 'betel', *mõnĩ* (< manih/manis) 'sweet', *bubuu* (< bubur) 'rice porridge'.[10] The vowel is typically lengthened, which also happens when vowel-final words are borrowed, e.g., *penaa* (< pena) 'pen', *padii* (< padi) 'paddy'. When the final consonant is a glottal consonant, [h] or [ʔ], the vowel preceding the consonant may also be copied after the consonant, as in *tawaha* (< sawah) 'rice field', *nũkõ'õ* (< rokok) 'cigarette', *bidi'i* (< bilik) 'room' and *kadu'u* (< tanduk) 'horn'.[11] The process of vowel copying or 'vowel leak' is common in Old Enggano lexemes. As described in Edwards

[9] /s/ also appears as /h/ in a few borrowings, e.g., *mahi* (< emas) 'gold', *kikuhi* (< tikus) 'mouse'. This may point to Minangkabau as the source language since Malay /s/ can correspond to Minangkabau /h/, e.g., *manis* vs *manih* 'sweet' (see Nothofer 1992).

[10] Though see also Nothofer (1992) and footnote 3 for discussion of the fact that these instances may actually reflect changes in the donor language, e.g. Minangkabau or Bengkulu Malay.

[11] Words ending in /m/ or /n/ may be made to fit Enggano's CV syllable structure by the addition of a predictable final vowel. Following labial /m/ the labial vowel /u/ is added, e.g., *añãmũ* (< ayam) 'chicken', *kanãmũ* (< garam) 'salt', and following non-labial [n] the non-labial vowel /i/, e.g., *kimũnĩ* (< timun) 'cucumber', *kuani* (< tuan) 'lord'.

(2015:59), it is sometimes obligatory, as in *bahau* 'heart', and sometimes optional, as in *e-ãhĩ* vs *e-ãhãĩ* 'younger brother'. Secondly, when words containing clusters of nasal and non-nasal consonants are borrowed into Enggano, the consonant clusters are reduced and the nasal consonant deleted, as in *kadu'u* (< ta**nd**uk) 'horn', *kãmĩĩ* (< ka**mb**ing) 'goat', and *kẽkõõ* (< ge**ngg**ang) 'type of instrument'. Finally, the velar nasal, which is not a phoneme of Enggano, is regularly deleted but allows nasalisation to spread throughout the word, e.g., *ñãkõõ* (< jagu**ng**) 'corn', *mũõõ* (< bu**ng**a/bungo) 'flower'), *kẽkõõ* (< gengga**ng**) 'type of instrument', *kãmĩĩ* (< kambi**ng**) 'goat',[12] replacing vowels with nasal vowels, the glide /j/ with the palatal nasal /ɲ/, and oral consonants like /b/ with the closest nasal phoneme. This process of adaptation lends some support to Smith's (2020) hypothesis that nasalisation in Enggano arose via nasal coda deletion, since the same process is observed in lexical borrowings. Consequently, borrowings in Old Enggano tend to undergo these phonological adaptations.

As for the function and use of borrowings, they are mostly nouns, and certainly all lexical items, and do not occur frequently in the text corpus. Out of c. 3,500 headwords, only 71 are listed as borrowings in the Kähler (1987) dictionary, and only 7 of these are actually attested in the texts and grammar sketch, making up a total of 96 tokens in a 38,592 word corpus. Texts, such as Kähler (1955), contain no obvious borrowings from Malay/Indonesian at all. Of course, as mentioned in Section 2, we do not know to what extent the original texts were edited to remove borrowings as part of the publication process. Similarly, we do not know how Kähler made the decision of what to include in the dictionary and what not to include. It is certainly possible that Malay borrowings were used more frequently in everyday communication in the 1930s but simply not recorded by Kähler. Indeed, Kähler (1940:81) himself writes that the Enggano speakers he worked with used the Enggano language when speaking among themselves but that the language of the younger generation was heavily influenced by Malay in both the lexicon and the syntax, on account of attending Malay-medium education. Even Helfrich (1916) had already expressed concern over the future of the Enggano language. Nonetheless, the fact that there are some borrowings recorded in the dictionary that don't seem to occur in the texts, such as *bebee* (< bebek) 'duck', suggest that Kähler was taking note of borrowed vocabulary and including this in his documentation. Consequently, we conclude that, at least for older speakers, Malay borrowings make up a relatively low percentage of the lexicon of Old Enggano, were used infrequently, and tended to undergo phonological adaptation, in keeping 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 on cultural borrowings).

3.2 Contemporary Enggano

The situation in Contemporary Enggano is very different. Our current lexicon is comprised of: (a) vocabulary from word-list elicitation using the word-list in Yoder's (2011) thesis as a starting point, (b) vocabulary drawn from example sentences elicited for morphosyntactic analysis via translation from Indonesian, and (c) vocabulary taken from 25 recordings of folk stories and oral narratives describing cultural practices in

[12] The process of nasal spreading appears to be blocked by the presence of an alveolar consonant word-medially, e.g., *bita* (< bidang) 'section', *pirii* (< piring) 'plate', *badiu* (< beliung) 'hoe'. Alternatively, it may be the case that nasal spreading was optional or dialectal. For example, the dictionary lists *kacaa* (< kacang) 'peanut' but Contemporary Enggano has *kãtã* with nasalisation suggesting either that the word has been reborrowed, or that nasalisation was also possible in Old Enggano for this word.

Enggano. It contains 1377 headwords, which represent stems and affixes.[13] Of these, 449 can be established as loans, though it is not always clear whether they come from Indonesian, Bengkulu Malay, Minangkabau or other local varieties. That is approximately 32% or almost a third of the lexicon.[14] Some of these lexical items are inherited from Old Enggano. We assume a borrowing to be inherited when a word borrowed from the same source is attested in the Kähler (1987) dictionary and the word has undergone regular sound changes in Contemporary Enggano. The most obvious changes between Old Enggano and Contemporary Enggano are the loss of final vowels and the change from /o/ to /ə/ (written as ė) in certain contexts (see Smith 2020:349, and discussion in Section 2). These are illustrated in Table 5. The same processes apply to inherited borrowings, as shown in Table 6:

Table 5. Sound changes in Contemporary Enggano

Old Enggano	Contemporary Enggano	Meaning
hẽku	hẽk	sit
nu'u	nu'	deep
pia	pi	garden
dohoi	dėhė	hear
pee	pe	give

Table 6. Sound changes in Contemporary Enggano Loanwords

Old Enggano	Contemporary Enggano	Meaning
kudo	kud	horse
bidi'i	bidi'	room
dupia	dupi	money
dadoo	dadė	chilli
pidii	piri	plate

Our current corpus includes 24 such inherited borrowings, though there is reason to think that more of the borrowings attested in Kähler (1987) may still be in use today. For example, the following loanwords were documented in Nothofer (1992), based on research conducted in 1986, having undergone similar processes of historical change to those discussed in Table 5:[15]

[13] Co-author Hemmings analysed the word forms that were elicited in the data based on discussion with Engga Zakaria, our current understanding of Contemporary Enggano grammar and comparison with Old Enggano. Consequently, forms like *di'iu*, *ki'iu*, *bu'u*, *ka'u*, *ku'uah* are not stored separately but rather divided into the root *'u* 'speak' (with stem allomorphs '*iu* and '*ua*) and various affixes (*di-*, *ki-*, *bu-*, *ka-* and *-h*). Where an etymology can be identified in Old Enggano (e.g., 'ua), we can be confident in our analysis. Where variants of loanwords occur that are variously integrated into Enggano, e.g., *taud*, *taun*, *tahun*, these are listed as allomorphs of the same stem.

[14] 688 (or 50%) lexical items are demonstrably derived from attested forms in Kähler's Old Enggano corpus. The remaining 240 lexical items include proper names, forms where the stem has yet to be identified and words when the origin is unclear. There may well be more loans among these items.

[15] Nothofer (1992:30) also lists *ukum* as a borrowing from Malay *hukum*. The Kähler (1987) dictionary listed the form *uko*. Perhaps this represents a re-borrowing.

Table 7. Borrowings in Nothofer (1992)

Kähler Loanword	Nothofer Loanword	Meaning	Page Ref
kamii	kami	goat	1992: 22
kabudi	kabud	tax	1992: 25
bedu'u	bedu'	sailboat	1992: 25
badiu	bari	hoe	1992: 26
tirii	tiri	betelnut	1992: 27
dayoo	dayo	ruler/leader	1992: 27
dayada	dayar	sail	1992: 27
bubuu	bubu	porridge	1992: 27
kabiere	kabier	uncaria gambir (plant)	1992: 28
pudau	purau	island	1992: 28
yadoo	yaro	fishing net	1992: 29
bubu'o	bubu'	fishtrap	1992: 30
bebee	bebe:	duck	1992: 30

Many of these newer borrowings also undergo phonological adaptation. The processes of adaptation are similar to those discussed in Section 3.1:

- Sounds that do not exist are replaced with their nearest equivalent
  - ***n**apu* 'light' (< **l**ampu)
  - ***d**ebi* 'more' (< **l**ebih)
  - ***t**eke* 'cloves' (< **c**engkeh)
  - ***k**ore'* 'fry' (< **g**oreng)
  - *be**y**a* 'table' (< me**j**a)
- Consonant clusters are reduced
  - *bi**k**u* 'week' (< mi**ngg**u)
  - *na**p**u* 'light' (< la**mp**u)
  - *to**m**o* 'arrogant' (< so**mb**ong)
  - *mi**t**a'* 'ask' (< mi**nt**a)
  - *ku**t**i* 'key' (< ku**nc**i)
- Final nasals are lost, but nasalisation spreads
  - *note* 'bell' (< lonce**ng**)
  - *kuni* 'yellow' (< kuni**ng**)
  - *tãkũ* 'bear' (< tanggu**ng**)
  - *pãyũ* 'umbrella' (< payu**ng**).

Similarly, borrowings also undergo morphological integration since borrowed stems can be used with Enggano morphology. For nouns, such as *napu* 'light', this means optionally taking the nominal marker *e-*, as in (1). For verbs, such as *mita'* 'ask', this means taking a range of morphological forms, such as those as shown in (2), (3) and (4):[16]

[16] As discussed in Section 2, *ki-* and *bu-* are verbal prefixes in Enggano that mark verbs in different syntactic constructions. Many borrowed verbs also occur with the verbalizing prefix *a'-* in Contemporary Enggano,

(1) ***e-napu*** *ke'* *boleh* *ki-di-pa-ur*
NM-light NEG able KI-PASS-CAUS-live

'The light could not be turned on.' (Manusia Menjadi Tikus)

(2) *kahinu* *a=b-ahai* *ik* ***ma-mita'*** *year*
in.PAST if=BU-go 1PL.INCL MOT-ask child

ka-'nė-k *pa-kawer*
HUM-friend-1PL.INCL.POSS RECIP-marry

'In the past if we went and asked for the hand of our friend's child in marriage (to our child).' (Adat Perkawinan)

(3) *a=duhur* *ik* ***y-ah-mita'***
if=finish 1PL.INCL NM-ANTIP-ask

'After our proposal...' (Adat Perkawinan)

(4) *araė'* *ẽ'* ***ki-mi-mita'***
foreigner DEM KI-REDUP-ask

'This person is asking...' (Perkawinan)

Phonological and morphological adaptation may suggest that they have been in the lexicon for some time (Haugen 1950:216) and attestation for many of these items in Nothofer (1992) supports this.

However, as Nothofer (1992) also discusses, many words are borrowed without phonological adaptation, including morphologically complex words:

(5) a. *memang* 'really'
b. *jadi* 'so'
c. *tujuan* 'goal'
d. *lakukan* 'do'
e. *zaman* 'era'

(6) *ean* *ho=b-a'-par* ***tujuan***
DEM PERF=BU-VBLZ-become destination/goal

'That has become a tourist destination.' (Bakblau)

These include lexical items that were most likely borrowed from Standard Indonesian, the national language and an important language of education among Enggano speakers,

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e.g., *ka'blau* (*ki-* + *a'-* + *blau*) 'blue', *ka'noke* (*ki-* + *a'-* + *noke* (< joget/nyoget)) 'dance', *ka'karie* (*ki-* + *a'-* + *karie* (< kerja) 'work'. As a reviewer points out, morphological integration may serve as a way of distinguishing borrowings from code-switching. However, given that the *e-* marker in contemporary Enggano is optional it is hard to draw conclusions from the corpus. There are only five naturally occurring examples of a borrowed noun with the *e-* case marker, compared with 663 borrowed nouns without the marker. In total, there are 504 instances of nouns with the *e-* case marker, and 4635 without, so even Enggano nouns are only used with *e-* roughly 10% of the time. As for verbs, there are 257 tokens of borrowed verbs, of which 148 occur in naturalistic texts. 76 (58 in naturalistic texts) occur with no additional morphology but a number of these are in contexts (e.g., imperatives) where we would not expect any morphology in Enggano either. Some of these do look like code-switching or bilingual repetition where an Indonesian form follows an Enggano equivalent. Nonetheless, 69% of the tokens of borrowed verbs occur in morphologically integrated structures.

such as those terms listed in (5). They also include terms more likely to have been borrowed from Bengkulu Malay, which remains an important language of inter-ethnic communication on Enggano island (Yoder 2011). Following Nothofer (1992), we assume that any items reflecting the change *a > o and other non-standard features, come from Bengkulu Malay or Minangkabau rather than Standard Indonesian, e.g., *dape'* 'get' (cf. *dapat)*, *tuo* 'old' (cf. *tua*), *cerito* 'story' (cf. *cerita*), etc. In both cases, loans without phonological adaptation could represent newer loans into Enggano, or be a signal of balanced bilingualism, where speakers are aware of the source of borrowed lexical items and approximate the source language pronunciation (see e.g., Matras 2009:107–109 for discussion of factors motivating loan word integration). In fact, there is variation, perhaps inter-speaker, or perhaps reflecting stylistic choice (see Matras 2009:108), as to whether borrowings are adapted or not: forms like *debi vs lebih* 'more' (< lebih), *kadih vs gadis* 'girl' (< gadis) and *yaman* vs *zaman* 'era' (< zaman) are attested in both integrated and non-integrated form.[17]

There are also calques from Indonesian, e.g., *kak tuo* 'parents' [lit. people old] (< orang tua), *bak pelajaran* 'subject' [lit. eye lesson] (< mata pelajaran), and functional items such as prepositions (e.g., *tu'/untuk* 'for', *dengan* 'with' and *tentang* 'about') are borrowed in addition to lexical items. This is typically taken to reflect a higher degree of intensity in the contact situation (Thomason & Kaufman 1988).[18] Finally, the lexicon now contains many doublets from Enggano and Indonesian, e.g., *malam* vs *dako'aih* 'night', *orang* vs *kak* 'person', and bilingual repetition, as illustrated in (7)–(10), is a common discourse strategy:

(7) *bu-bėr* *da-dape'* *waktu=de* *man* *ean*
BU-long.time 3PL-get time=3SG.POSS man DEM

k-ah *i'ean,* *da-b-**gerbak*** *da-b-**kai***
KI-go there 3PL-BU-raid 3PL-BU-grab

'After a while, they caught him going there and ambushed him, grabbed him.' (Manusia Menjadi Tikus)

(8) *nakuan* *hapu'* *ka-b-ah* ***p-a-raėah***
when day 1PL.INCL-BU-go RECIP-ANTIP-engage

p-a-raėah, ***bertunangan*** *ean*
RECIP-ANTIP-engage engagement DEM

'When is the day of the engagement, that is engagement.' (Adat Perkawinan)

[17] It is difficult to be certain what the source language for borrowings is when they do not end in o since Bengkulu Malay is itself undocumented and hence the most salient features of the dialect remain unknown. Of the nouns that are not inherited from Old Enggano, there are 18 with final [o], e.g., *ruso* 'deer' (cf. BI *rusa*). This is compared against 27 with final [a], e.g., *tiga* 'three' (BI *tiga*), *suara* 'voice' (BI *suara*). There are 118 instances of loan words, at least for some speakers, are different from the equivalent Indonesian form, however, and some of these may also come from Bengkulu Malay.

[18] Though see e.g., Matras & Adamou (2021) for discussion of some challenges to borrowability scales. Of the 449 borrowings listed in the lexicon, 240 are nouns, 92 are verbs, 50 are adverbs and adjectives, and the remainder are prepositions, connectives, classifiers, demonstratives, auxiliaries, pronouns and other functional items.

(9) *cuma* ***e-yic=de*** *ẽ'* *ne'e,* ***<u>suara=de</u>***
only NM-sound=3SG.POSS DEM before voice=3SG.POSS

ki-ki *kan*
KI-exist PT
'There is only his sound, his voice.' (Burung Hantu)

(10) *terus* ***<u>e-batu=de</u>*** *ẽ',* ***e-'e=de*** *ean* *ki-kẽ'*
then NM-stone=3SG DEM NM-stone=3SG DEM KI-chopped
'Then this stone was chopped into pieces.' (Asal mula Burung Hantu di Enggano)

The examples in (7)–(10) are characteristic of the contemporary corpus. They each contain a word or phrase in Enggano (**bold**) which is repeated using Indonesian (**<u>bold, underlined</u>**). The repetition may serve to clarify or specify an intended meaning.[19] However, as discussed in the World Englishes literature, the practice of bilingual repetition is common in contact varieties that emerge under intense contact, and often functions more as a means of structuring discourse than as an aid for communication (Anderson-Finch 2011). Hence, whatever the precise function, it can be seen as a marker of the bilingual mode and reflective of an intensive contact situation.

Similarly, multi-word phrases from Indonesian are used in everyday communication, as in examples like (11):

(11) *a=duhur* *u* *kur* *ean* ***<u>lagi</u>*** *u-b-ah* *b-ah-er*
if=finish 1SG from DEM again 1SG-BU-go MOT-ANTIP-climb

jengkol […]
tree.species

'After doing that, I went to climb the jengkol tree.'

<u>laju</u> *u-b-a-riė'-a* ***<u>lagi</u>*** [...]
then 1.EXCL-BU-ANTIP-clear-PL again

'Then we cleared it again.'

Ke' *u-ahpėa'* *dop* *ho=m-a'-pẽ̃pẽ̃.*
NEG 1.EXCL-notice day PERF=BU-VBLZ-dark

'We didn't realise it was already dark.'

<u>Dak tau-nya</u> *dop* *ho=bu-karko'aih*
NEG know-3SG day PERF-BU-night

'(We) didn't know it was already night.' (Kegiatan Harian)

This is not only another instance of bilingual repetition, in that the borrowed phrase *dak taunya* 'don't know' has a very similar meaning to the Enggano *ke' uahpėa'* 'we didn't know', but also constitutes an example of a multi-word phrase being used in naturalistic speech. Multi-word phrases are generally considered closer to code-switching than

[19] As discussed in Section 2, most of the recordings were collected by Engga Zakaria rather than outside researchers. Nonetheless, it is normal for older speakers to use Indonesian with younger speakers and clarification may be particularly important in the context of describing traditional cultural practices.

borrowing, another indicator of an intensive contact situation with more balanced bilingualism (Matras 2009:111–112).[20]

Finally, whilst borrowings were reasonably rare in Old Enggano, they are extremely frequent in Contemporary Enggano. In a sub-corpus, comprising of 6 naturalistic texts, 102 of the 279 clauses contained one or more borrowing from Malay/Indonesian in examples like (12)–(13):

(12) ***memang*** *Bakblau* *ean,* *ke'* *i* *mė'* *yãhõ=de*
really PN DEM NEG exist REL custom=3SG

karena *Bakblau* *ean* *k-a-**yadi*** *bė=de*
how PN DEM KI-VBLZ-become water=3SG

ean *k-a'-**blau***
DEM KI-VBLZ-blue

'Indeed Bakblau, no-one knows how the water became blue.' (Bakblau)

(13) ***sebenar**=de* ***karbo*** *ean* *kur* ***asal**=de* *kun* *e-'i-k*
actually=3SG buffalo DEM from origin=3SG true NM-pet-1PL.INCL

'The truth is that the buffalo were in fact originally our cattle.' (Kerbau)

We also collected contemporary retellings of the folk stories that Kähler collected during the 1930s. Whilst Kähler (1955) contained no obvious borrowings from Malay, the contemporary retelling had 17 tokens of loan words:

(14) *e-pa* *ean* ***tena*** *bah=de*
NM-child DEM happy feeling=3SG
'The child was content.' (< senang)

(15) *di-'iėb* *ke'* *y-ainėn* *dop,* *ke'* *i-**sadar***
PASS-do NEG 3-feel earth NEG 3-conscious
'For it cannot feel the earth, is unconscious.' (< sadar)

(16) *ki-hiẽk* *i* *heo* *yea* ***pakis***
KI-sit LOC in foot fern
'Sitting on the inside of the foot of the fern.' (< pakis)

(17) *ka-b-ahar* ***pa'**=de* *he* ***ma'**=de*
3-BU-get.up father=3SG and mother=3SG
'Then its father and its mother rose.' (Kähler 1955 retelling)

Since the Old Enggano texts are not accessible to speakers, and the story was not still known, the contemporary retelling was collected by translating the original German translation to English, the English to Indonesian and the Indonesian back into Contemporary Enggano. Hence, it is difficult to rule out translation effects. Similarly, it is unclear to what extent borrowings were edited out of the original Kähler text. Nonetheless, the exercise does give a general sense of where borrowings were used:

[20] It is subject to debate in the literature whether code-switching and borrowing should be viewed as distinct phenomena (Poplack & Dion 2012) or as different points on a continuum (Myers-Scotton 1993, Matras 2009). Either way, code-switching presupposes community bilingualism.

- Where there is no translation equivalent in Enggano
- For plants/animals/things where older vocabulary may no longer be in use, or superordinate terms are unknown
- Where doublets are unambiguously part of the language and allow for stylistic variation among speakers (cf. Matras 2009).

The first case is illustrated in (14) and (15). In Old Enggano there were no direct verbal expressions of emotion, instead the nouns *bahau* 'heart' or *kitai* 'belly' were used: *kabadua ekitai* [lit. sad belly] 'sad', *ki'oaha ekitai* [lit. bad belly] 'wicked', *kapėakaha ekitai* [lit. satisfied belly] 'glad', *ka'ėdėhėha ekitai* [lit. startled belly] 'startled', *kamimixixa ebahau* [lit. hate heart] 'hate'. The original sentence in Kähler (1955) was (18):

(18) *Ka-b-aEpėha* *e-kitai* *u-paE* *e'ana*
3-BU-satisfied NM-belly OBL-child DEM
'The child was content.' (Kähler 1955)

Since there is no exact translation for 'happy', the translator instead borrows *tena* (< senang) and uses it in a similar construction to (18): *tena bah=de* (< bahau) 'happy'. In place of (15), the original text had the sentence in (19):

(19) *kEoba'a* *i-pėhai* *m-ã:ĩnõnõ* *e-dopo*
NEG 3-able BU-feel NM-earth
'He couldn't feel the earth.' (Kähler 1955)

Kähler (1955) translated this literally, with the free translation ('unconscious') in brackets and hence the contemporary version, which is based on the translation, gives both a translation of the original idiom and uses a borrowing for a more direct translation of the Indonesian *sadar* 'conscious'. In (16), the borrowing *pakis* 'fern' may be used because the original word *kẽpũũ* is no longer used or known by the younger speaker, or because this has a narrower meaning, referring to a specific type of fern in contrast to the more general Indonesian term. Finally, *pa'* and *ma'* in (17) exist as doublets in contemporary Enggano alongside *am* 'father' and *na* 'mother'. These can be used in different contexts, and by different speakers, to fulfil their communicative needs in a given context.

Consequently, borrowings make up a larger percentage of the lexicon in contemporary Enggano than Old Enggano, include not only nouns but also verbs and functional items, and are used much more frequently in contemporary discourse. Some loanwords are adapted both phonologically and morphologically, but many terms from Indonesian and Bengkulu Malay are used without adaptation. Lastly, common discourse strategies in Contemporary Enggano include bilingual repetition and code-switching. All of these facts are indicative of stable bilingualism and increased contact in the period after Independence. We will now turn to consider another outcome of increased contact, namely contact-induced change.

4. Contact-Induced change

The increase in lexical borrowing and changing linguistic behaviour of Contemporary Enggano speakers is perhaps the most obvious outcome of language contact. However, another common outcome is contact-induced change. Thomason (2001:62) defines contact-induced change as 'any linguistic change that would have been less likely to occur outside a particular contact situation'. Of course, it is not always easy to distinguish contact-induced change from language-internal changes. Nonetheless, in this section we will sketch three case-studies of phonological, morphological and syntactic change that

we argue can be interpreted as contact-induced, and hence provide additional support for the claim that there has been increased contact with Malay/Indonesian in recent times.

4.1 Phonological change

The first case-study concerns the phonological status of [t]. Specifically, we will argue that the status of [t] changes as a result of contact from an allophone of /d/ in Old Enggano to a distinct phoneme /t/ in Contemporary Enggano. As discussed in Section 3.1, Kähler (1940) treats [t] as an allophone of /d/ that occurs after the high front vowel /i/. This analysis is supported by the fact that (a) almost all instances of [t] are following [i]; (b) variant forms exist with either [t] or [d] and (c) many Malay borrowings containing [t] are borrowed with [k] instead. Supporting data is provided in (20)–(22):

(20) **Words containing [t]**
e-kitai 'belly/intestines'
e-'ito 'banana'
k-ahito 'spit'
ki-kitaha'a 'stab'
e-itoho 'drink' [lit. that to be drunk]
i-tebe 'above'
i-topo 'below'
e-it-apuho 'illness'
a'i-todo 'grasp'
i-tėhėda 'finish'
ki-tohoi 'hear'
e-kitai-ta 'their intestines'
e-'odi-ta 'their headbands'

(21) **Variant forms with [t] and [d]**
e'ito vs *e'ido* 'banana'
kaitara vs *kaidara* 'play'
kitera vs *kidera* 'all'
idita vs *itita* vs *idida* 'here'
kidoo vs *kitoo* 'like'
kitohoi vs *kidohoi* 'hear'
eitapuho vs *eidapuho* 'illness'

(22) **Borrowings adapted with [k]**
kadu'u 'horn' (< tanduk)
kikuhi 'mouse' (< tikus)
kĩmũnĩ 'cucumber' (< timun)

As illustrated in (20), [t] occurs in a relatively large number of lexical items in Old Enggano. This includes stems containing [i], such as the nominal stems *kitai* 'intestines' and *'ito* 'banana' shown with the nominal marker *e-*, and verbal stems *ahito* 'spit' and *kitaha'a* stab shown with the verbal prefix *ki-*. It also includes derived words, such as the noun *itoho* 'drink', which is derived from the verbal root *itė* via the addition of the *-(C)o* patient nominalisation suffix. Many location nouns following the locative prefix *i-* begin with [t], as in *itebe* 'above' and *itopo* 'below'. The latter may be a lexicalisation from the nominal root *dopo* 'earth/ground' when it occurs together with the locative prefix. There is also a prefix *it-/ita-* which derives property nominalisations, such as *itapuho* 'illness' from the verbal stem *apuho* 'ill'. There is a variant *in-* that attaches to nasal roots, such as *inãhãpĩ* 'desire' from *ãhãpĩ* 'want'. Since nasal spreading in Enggano typically applies

to oral consonants only, this provides additional support that [t] may be an allophone of /d/.

In addition to cases such as these, where [t] is the expected form, [t] may also occur in places where stems and affixes have /d/ underlyingly but [t] surfaces due to the presence of [i]. For example, stems beginning with /d/ such as *dodo* 'grasp', *dėhėda* 'finish' and *dohoi* 'hear' can be realised as *todo*, *tėhėda* and *tohoi*, respectively, following prefixes like antipassives *a'i-*, 3SG subject agreement *i-* and the verbal marker *ki-* that end with [i] (see e.g., Kähler 1960b, 1961). Similarly, suffixes that contain /d/ underlyingly, such as the 3PL possessive suffix *-da*, can be realised with [t] when they attach to a stem that ends in [i], as in *ekitaita* 'their intestines' and *e'odita* 'their headbands' (see e.g., Kähler 1962, 1975). Note, however, that variants containing underlying [d] also exist in these contexts, e.g., *a'idodo* 'grasp' and *kitaida* 'their intestines/belly'.

As a result of this variation, in many cases words with either [t] or [d] occur, such as those listed in (21). These may reflect dialect variation, or simply the free variation of /d/ as [t] or [d]. Variants exist in all contexts that we find [t]. There are variant stems, such as *e'ido* which is listed as a dialect variant of *e'ito* 'banana', *kaidara* which is listed as a dialect variant of *kaitara* 'play' (Kähler 1987:100) and *kidera* which is listed as a Pulau Dua dialect variant of *kitera* 'all'. There are also variants following prefixes that contain [i], such as *itita* vs *idita vs idida* (and other variants) 'there' following the locative prefix *i-*, and *kitoo* vs *kidoo* 'like' and *kitohoi* vs *kidohoi* 'hear' following the verbal marker *ki-*. Whilst *itita* and *idita* are in free-variation (with *dit* being the standard form that is used in Contemporary Enggano today), *idida* is described as a southern dialect form (Kähler 1987:100). *Kitoo* exists as one of many variants of *kidoo* 'like' (Kähler 1987:44) and *kitohoi* as a variant of *kidohoi* 'hear' (Kähler 1987:46). Finally, there is also variation in the *it-* prefix, which is sometimes realised with a [d] as in *eidapuho* 'illness' (Kähler 1975). In fact, apart from *e-taka* 'person' to be discussed below, there is only one instance of [t] occurring after a vowel that isn't [i] in the corpus and that is *u-tohėao* 'OBL-boat.outrigger' in Kähler (1960b).[21] The form *tohėao* is a variant of the more frequently attested *dohėao* (Kähler 1987:277). Consequently, the variation between [t] and [d] combined with the conditioning context of the high front vowel support analysing [t] as an allophone of /d/ rather than an independent phoneme.

This is further supported by the fact that many apparent borrowings from Malay/Minangkabau that contain /t/ are adapted in Old Enggano with [k]. This includes examples like *kĩmũnĩ* 'cucumber' (< timun) and *kadu'u* 'horn' (< tanduk) in (22). Historically, PMP *t and *s merged as /k/ in Old Enggano (Edwards 2015, Nothofer 1986) and this may explain the pattern of adaptation. It may also explain the dialect variant *taka* which is attested in the Kähler corpus in place of *kaka* 'person'. For all these reasons, it seems justifiable to analyse [t] as an allophone of /d/ in Old Enggano.

Note, however, that other loanwords beginning with [s] are adapted in Old Enggano with [t], e.g., *betii* 'iron' (< besi), *taku* 'sago' (< sagu), *takui* 'barley' (< sakoi), *tawaha* 'rice field' (< sawah) and *tirii* 'betel' (< sirih). This might suggest that [t] is beginning to acquire a phonemic status even in Old Enggano. Specifically, this adaptation would be expected if /t/ were part of the phonological system since it is closer to [s] than [d] as a voiceless consonant. Hence, [voice] may have already become a contrastive feature in

[21] The dictionary lists *e-topo* as a variant of *dopo* 'earth/ground' and *e-to'e'e* as a variant of *e-ko'e'e* 'devil' (Kähler 1987:277) but these are not attested in the texts. Similarly, the verb *kipahatoa'a* 'call' is only found in the dictionary (Kähler 1987:276).

alveolar consonants (perhaps on analogy with bilabial consonants). Either way, this development is driven by contact since the only examples of [t] without the context of a preceding high front vowel are in loan words.

By Contemporary Enggano, there is no doubt that /t/ can be considered a phoneme. This follows from the fact that (a) minimal pairs can be established with /t/ and /d/; (b) /t/ occurs word-initially in a high number of lexemes; and (c) most borrowings with /t/ and /s/ are now adapted in Contemporary Enggano with [t]. Supporting data is given in (23)–(25):

(23) **Minimal pairs**
dop [dop] 'earth/ground' vs *top* [top] 'underneath'

(24) **[t]-initial stems**
tėha' 'write'
tapuh 'illness'
tahur 'heat'
tėh 'drink'
taih 'bag' (< tas)
tẽpũ 'flour' (< tepung)
tanding 'game' (< tanding)
tanggal 'date' (< tanggal)

(25) **Borrowings adapted with [t]**
tekora 'school' (< sekolah)
tutah 'problem' (< susah)
teter 'flashlight' (< senter)
tepeda 'bicycle' (< sepeda)
tẽ 'metal roof' (< seng)

As discussed in Section 2, in Contemporary Enggano it is no longer the case that all nominal forms are marked with a case marker *e-*, *u-* or i- as in Old Enggano (Kähler 1940). Consequently, the word *dop* 'earth/ground' and *top* 'underneath' now count as minimal pairs, whereas previously they occurred with the direct and oblique marker (*e-dopo*, *u-dopo*) and locative marker (*i-topo*) respectively.

There are also a great number of words in Contemporary Enggano that begin with a /t/ and hence do not provide the triggering context of a high front vowel that conditioned the allophone in Old Enggano. As shown in (24), this includes verb roots like *tėha'* 'write' which can be used in bare form in imperative contexts. It also includes the contemporary form of words formed with *it-* in Old Enggano, such as *tapuh* 'illness' (< eitapuho) and *tahur* 'heat' (< e'itaha:uda), which now take *t-/ta-*. Finally, it includes words like *tėh* 'drink' which derives from *e-itoho*. As already described in section 3.2, the final vowel of the nominalisation is lost in Contemporary Enggano, but the initial high front vowel of the root *it* 'drink' is also lost, resulting in a native word that begins with /t/.[22]

The vast majority of forms beginning with /t/, however, are lexical borrowings from Malay/Indonesian. This includes forms like *tẽpũ* 'flour' which have been adapted to Enggano phonology, as well as forms like *tanggal* 'date' which haven't and retain consonant clusters and sounds like [g] that are not found in Enggano (see Table 1). It also

[22] Note that [i] remains part of the root in verbal constructions, e.g., *it pe bė ean*! 'drink that water!'

includes words beginning with /s/ which are regularly adapted with [t] as shown in (25).[23] All of this supports analysing /t/ as a phoneme of Contemporary Enggano, as opposed to an allophone of underlying /d/. Although language-internal changes, such as the loss of obligatory case-marking on nouns, play a role, we consider this is a contact-induced change since it is driven by the high-proportion of borrowings from Malay/Indonesian that begin with /s/ and /t/ and are borrowed into Enggano with initial [t].

4.2 Morphological change

The next case study concerns the marking of possession. Specifically, we will argue that the development of a novel strategy for marking possession using post-nominal free pronouns represents a calque from Indonesian/Malay and hence results from contact, in response to language-internal factors. In Old Enggano, possession was marked with a series of possessive suffixes/enclitics, as illustrated in Table 8 for the noun *e-uba* 'house' (Kähler 1940:96):

Table 8. Possessive marking in Old Enggano

1SG	-'(V)u	euba**'au** 'my house'
2SG	-bu	euba**bu** 'your house'
3SG	=dia	euba**dia** 'his/her house'
1PL.INCL	-ka	euba**ka** 'our house'[24]
1PL.EXCL	=dai	euba**dai** 'my house'
2PL	=du	euba**du** 'your house'
3PL	-da	euba**da** 'their house'

In Table 8, it is easy to distinguish the stem from the affix. In most cases, the process of suffixation triggers stress shift, so that the stress is on the penultimate syllable. However, the enclitics *=dia*, *=dai* and *=du* do not trigger this same process, with stress remaining on the [u] vowel (Kähler 1940:96).[25]

In Contemporary Enggano a number of changes have occurred that make the connection between roots and affixed forms less transparent. Firstly, as discussed previously, the final vowel of Old Enggano words is regularly lost. Hence, *e-uba* 'house' became *yub*. Under suffixation, the final vowel of Old Enggano roots resurfaces and only the final vowel of the suffix is lost. This occurs in all the cases where Old Enggano suffixes triggered stress shift. However, the 3SG, 1PL and 2PL suffixes that did not trigger stress

[23] The only examples of words borrowed into Enggano that adapt [s] → [k] are *kumu* 'well' (< sumur) and *kanimu'* 'blanket' (< selimut). These may represent older borrowings since they are also attested in Nothofer (1992). Note that Nothofer (1992) lists some lexical items with [k] initially that we have in our lexicon with [t], e.g., *kelur* vs *terur* 'egg' (< telur), *komo* vs *tomo/tomon* 'arrogant' (< sombong), *kiri* vs *tiri* 'betelnut' (< sirih). This may reflect dialect variation.

[24] Kähler (1940) describes a contrast between 1DU.INCL and 1PL.INCL, marked with *-ka* and *-ka'a* respectively. However, he notes that the distinction between dual and plural was already fading at the time when he was there, with speakers using *-ka* for dual and plural interchangeably. No distinction has been recorded in Contemporary Enggano yet.

[25] We assume this is to do with the relative weight of these suffixes/enclitics. Note that Zobel (2021) argues that *=du* should derive from *=diu* on the basis of comparison with the oblique pronominal form *i'iõõnĩũ* since in all other cells of the paradigm oblique pronouns are regularly formed from the combination of the generic preposition *i'iõõ* plus the nasal form of the possessive enclitic.

shift in Old Enggano behave like clitics in Contemporary Enggano and do not trigger the resurfacing of final vowels:

Table 9. Possession marking in Contemporary Enggano

	Old Enggano	**Example**	**Contemporary Enggano**	**Example**
1SG	-'(V)u	euba**'au**	-'	yuba**'**
2SG	-bu	euba**bu**	-b	yuba**b**
3SG	=dia	euba**dia**	=de	yub**de**
1PL.INCL	-ka	euba**ka**	-k	yuba**k**
1PL.EXCL	=dai	euba**dai**	=da	yub**da**
2PL	=du	euba**du**	=du	yub**du**
3PL	-da	euba**da**	-r	yuba**r**

The final vowel that resurfaces is different for every root, since it depends on the Old Enggano form:

(26) a. *yub* → *yuba'* 'my house' (< e-uba)
b. *an* → *anė'* 'my friend' (< 'ano)
c. *dop* → *dopok* 'our land' (< e-dopo)
d. *meh* → *mehek* 'our food' (< e-mehe)
e. *yur* → *yuru'* 'my head' (< e-udu)
f. *yic* → *yitik* 'our language' (< e-ici)

For Indonesian borrowings, at least those ending in a glottal stop, the vowel of the root is copied after the glottal, e.g., *pa'* → *pa'a'* 'my father' (< pak), *dope'* → *dope'e'* 'my wallet' (< dompet).

An additional complication is that there is now variation between older and younger speakers as to how /b/ and /d/ are pronounced in word-final position. Older speakers tend to pronounce [b] and [d], whilst younger speakers tend to use the lenited variants [m] and [r] respectively. Consequently, older speakers may also use *-b* for 2SG, e.g., *yubab* 'your house' and *-d* for 3PL, e.g., *yubad* 'their house'. Conversely, younger speakers may pronounce *yub* as *yum*. Whilst /d/ can be realised as [r] in almost all positions, [m] is only possible as a realisation of /b/ word-finally. Hence, for younger speakers *yum* 'house' is expected but never *yuma*' 'my house', *yumam* 'your house' etc. This further disguises the connection between the root and the suffixed form.

Finally, there are some paradigms, such as that for *eap* 'hand', which are simply irregular:

Table 10. Irregular paradigm for *eap* 'hand'

1SG	apė'
2SG	apėm
3SG	eapde
1PL.INCL	apėk
1PL.EXCL	apda
2PL	eapdu

3PL	apėr

The root *eap* ‘hand’ in Contemporary Enggano is derived from the Old Enggano form ‘*apo*. Roots that began with a glottal consonant in Old Enggano regularly inserted a copy vowel after the glottal stop [ʔeap], presumably linked to the nominal marker *e-*. However, the copy vowel is omitted in some of the paradigm cells, but not others. All of this suggests that speakers of contemporary Enggano now simply have to learn possessive forms of nouns and cannot produce them online in the same way as in Old Enggano.

However, an alternative strategy for marking possession is also found in Contemporary Enggano, that is not used in Old Enggano, namely to use a free pronoun after the possessed noun, as illustrated in (27c):

(27) a. *yub*
house
‘house’

b. *yuba-’*
house-1SG.poss
‘my house’

c. *yub* *u*
house 1SG
‘my house’

The free pronoun strategy is much easier for speakers, since they do not have the learn the final vowel that will resurface in suffixed forms, and can treat all cells in the paradigm equally:

Table 11. Comparing possessive strategies

	Possessive suffixes	**Example**	**Personal pronouns**	**Example**
1SG	-’	yuba’	u	yub u
2SG	-b	yubab	ė’	yub ė’
3SG	=de	yubde	ki	yub ki
1PL.INCL	-k	yubak	ik	yub ik
1PL.EXCL	=da	yubda	a	yub a
2PL	=du	yubdu	ari	yub ari
3PL	-r	yubar	hamė’	yub hamė’

Often speakers will use different strategies for different parts of the paradigm. In particular, the use of free pronouns is common with plural possessors, whilst the use of suffixation is common with 1SG, 1PL.INCL, 2SG and 3SG.

The new strategy also parallels the marking of possession for nominal possessors. In Old Enggano, a nominal possessor followed the possessed noun in oblique case, as shown in (28a). However, in Contemporary Enggano the oblique case marker has been lost and hence the possessor simply follows the noun, as in (28b):

(28) a. *e-uba* *u-ko’e’e*
DIR-house OBL-devil

'the house of the devil' (Kähler 1975)

b. *yub* *anė-n*
house friend-3PL
'their friend's house' (Pidah Rumah)

Although the need for a new strategy is affected by the language internal changes described above, the rise of the alternative strategy could be considered a contact-induced change since it is a direct calque from Indonesian, which also allows for possession marking via both enclitics, (29b), and free pronouns, (29c):

(29) a. *rumah*
house
'house'

b. *rumah-ku*
house-1SG.POSS
'my house'

c. *rumah* *aku/saya*
house 1SG
'my house'

The contact-induced analysis is further supported by the fact that the new strategy is particularly associated with younger speakers and with dialects in the south, where there is a greater degree of language shift (cf. Arka et al. 2022).

4.3 Syntactic change

The final case study concerns word order. Specifically, we will argue that *bu-* clauses change from verb-initial in Old Enggano to verb-medial in Contemporary Enggano as a result of contact with predominantly SVO Indonesian/Malay varieties. As discussed in Section 2, in Old Enggano, main clause verbs could appear in one of three forms: *ki-*, *bu-* and bare. *Ki-* verbs are most often used in relative clauses when the argument relativized on is either the most-agentive argument of a transitive verb, or the single argument of an intransitive verb (an S=A pivot). This is illustrated in (30) where the relative clause [*hẽmõ'õ ku'ueh*] 'who slept' relativises on the S argument of the relative clause, *e-pae* 'child', is headed by the relativiser *hẽmõ'õ* and contains a *ki-* marked form of the verb *'uoho* 'sleep'. Less frequently, *ki-* verbs also occur in SVO transitive clauses, as in (31).

(30) ***ki-* form**

ka'ėdėhėa=ha	*e-pae*	*hẽmõ'õ*	***ku-'uoho***
3-startle=EMPH	DIR-child	REL	KI-sleep

'The sleeping child was startled.' (Kähler 1955)

(31) *ki* ***k-aha:e*** *i-pia=da*
3PL KI-go LOC-garden=3PL
'They started towards their plantation.' (Kähler 1955)

Since relative clauses are often used in cleft constructions in Austronesian languages, it is possible to reanalyse examples like (31) as cleft constructions rather than SVO clauses, or to consider this a pathway for possible reanalysis as a main clause structure.

The most common verbal marker in the texts is *bu-*,[26] which we assume is derived from PAN *-*um-* (see also Edwards 2015). *bu-* verbs are obligatory in certain contexts, such as following the auxiliaries/aspectual clitics *hoo=* 'perfective' and *hii=* 'repeated action', as in (32) and (33). The *bu-* form is also found on verbs embedded following other verbs, such as *pėhai* 'be.able.to' (34) and *ãhãpĩ* 'want' (35).[27] The *bu-* form is used to mark the imperative together with second person agreement (36) and mark intransitive verbs in embedded 'if/when' clauses starting with the clitic *a=* (37). However, the main use of *bu-* is in main clauses where the *bu-* marked verb also takes a subject agreement marker from the set 1 agreement prefixes (38):

(32) ***bu-* form**

ke'anaha	*ka-hii*	***b-a'ioi=ha***	*kia*	*e-ko'e'e*	*nẽ'ẽnĩ*
then	3-REPEAT	BU-follow=EMPH	3SG	DIR-devil	earlier

'Then the devil from before chased him again.' (Kähler 1955)

(33)

ke	*adoo*	*ika*	*hoo*	***mũ-nã'ã***	*e-kiho*	*kitera*
and	how	1PL.INCL	PERF	BU-take	DIR-ant	all

'How is it we have taken all the ants.' (Kähler 1955)

(34)

keaba'a	*i-pėhai*	***m-ã:ĩnõnõ***
NEG	3-able	BU-feel

'He cannot feel.' (Kähler 1955)

(35)

he	*kia*	*k-ãhãpĩ*	***mũ-nõõ***	*'ua*
well	3SG	KI-want	BU-eat	1SG

'Well, he wants to eat me!' (Kähler 1955)

(36)

o-b-ai	*i-te'e*
2SG-BU-come	LOC-here

'Come here/you should come here!' (Kähler 1955)

(37)

a=b-ahado	*kia*
if=BU-get.up	3SG

'When he gets up.' (Kähler 1955)

(38)

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)

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[26] There is a class of verbs that does not take *bu-* (or optionally takes *bu-*) in the contexts outlined here where we expect it. These include certain predicates, e.g., *kõkõnã* 'come.out', *puaka* 'set.out' and *dėhėda* 'finish', as well as forms containing *pa-*. We nonetheless treat them as equivalent to *bu-* verbs in that they can occur in these contexts and take set 1 agreement markers.

[27] When not followed by *bu-* verbs, these verbs may also be followed by nominalised forms as in example (i). These are marked as nominal rather than verbal by the fact that they take the direct nominal case marker *e-*.

(i)

Keaba'a	u-pėhai	e-aha:-ede
NEG	1SG-able	DIR-ANTIP-climb

'I cannot climb up.' (Kähler 1955)

Finally, bare verbs are verb stems that are used without *ki-* or *bu-*. They are used in imperative constructions, as shown in (39), following negation, as in (40), following the question word *mẽõ* 'why' in (41), marking transitive verbs in 'if/when' *a=* subordinate clauses (42) and in clause chains as in (43) where they often combine with the associated motion marker *aba-*. Except in imperatives, where the bare verb stem is either used alone or in combination with the plural imperative addressee marker *-a'a*, bare verbs typically combine with a second set of agreement markers that differ at least in the second and third person from those that combine with *bu-* verbs (shown in the comparison between (40) and (38), and (41) and (36), for example):

(39) **bare verbs**
ipu *e-kuo*
chop DIR-tree
'Fell a tree!' (Kähler 1955)

(40) *be* *keaba'a* ***i-kėda'a*** *i'iõõnĩã*
because NEG 3-tell OBL.3SG
'Because it didn't tell him.' (Kähler 1955)

(41) *mẽõ* ***u-pu-pua?***
why 2-REDUP-run
'Why are you running?' (Kähler 1955)

(42) *a=b-ai* *kia* *nã'ãnĩ,* ***a=i=nõõ*** *kia* *e-koyo* *e'ana*
if=BU-come 3SG later if=3=eat 3SG DIR-pig DEM
'If he comes later, the pigs will eat him.' (Kähler 1955)

(43) *ka-b-aha:e=ha* *ãmã=nã* ***y-aba-kė'a*** *i-tita*
3-BU-go=EMPH father=3PL 3-MOT-arrive LOC-there
'His father started on his way and arrived there.' (Kähler 1955)

As illustrated in (38), the vast majority of main clauses with *bu-* verbs are verb-initial. The same goes for bare verbs. This is common in the more conservative Austronesian languages (Donohue 2007). To provide some quantitative evidence for this, we analysed the *bu-* clauses in the Kähler (1955) folk story. There are a total of 153 tokens of *bu-* verbs and 42 of these contain either a pronoun or noun phrase as an overt subject. This includes 31 main clauses with set one agreement prefixes on the verb, and 11 clauses where the *bu-* verb follows an initial *hoo=* or *hii=* which may or may not itself take agreement. Of these, 38 (90.5%) are verb-initial and only 4 (9.5%) have the subject (in brackets) before the verb (**bold**). Each of the examples with a preverbal subject begins with *kamõhõ* 'different':

(44) *ka-mõhõ-mãhã* *[dadu-dia]* ***ka-b-ahae***
3-different-also husband-3SG 3-BU-go
'Her husband started on his way.' (Kähler 1955)

(45) *ka-mõhõ* *[e-pae* *e'ana]* ***ka-b-ia*** *i-dita*
3-different DIR-child DEM 3-BU-exist LOC-there
'The child stayed there.' (Kähler 1955)

(46) *ka-mõhõ* *[e-pae* *e'ana]* ***ka-bu-'ua*** *nõ'õ:ĩ'ĩẽ*
3-different DIR-child DEM 3-BU-say like.this
i'iõõ *u-ko'e'e*
to OBL-devil
'Then the child spoke to the devil as follows.' (Kähler 1955)

(47) *ka-mõhõ=hã* *[e-pae* *e'ana]* ***ka-bu-pua***
3-different=EMPH DIR-child DEM 3-BU-run
'And the child fled.' (Kähler 1955)

In each of these examples, we could interpret *kamõhõ* as an adverb meaning something like 'conversely'/'in contrast'. In this case, we would have subject-verb word order in the main clause. However, it is also possible to analyse these examples as bi-clausal, with *kamõhõ* as the main predicate taking an overt post-verbal subject and the subsequent verb marking a separate clause. This distinction is represented below:

[kamõhõ [dadudia kabaha:e]] [kamõhõ dadudia] [kabaha:e]
S V V S

Functionally, *kamõhõ* seems to mark a contrast between the behaviour of the clause's subject and the subject of a previous clause, as elaborated in (48):

(48) *ke'anaha* *e-'aupaka-ra,* *d-aha:e* *i-uba,*
then DIR-departure-3PL 3PL-go LOC-house
ka-mõhõ *e-pae* *e'ana* *ka-b-ia* *i-dita*
3-different DIR-child DEM 3-BU-exist LOC-there
'And then their exit happened, they went home, and the child remained there.' (Kähler 1955)

Hence, *kãmõhõ* functions like a contrastive topic marker and we might assume that examples (44)–(47) are really topicalisation constructions. Nonetheless, topicalization constructions are known to be a source of reanalysis in word order change, and many verb-initial Austronesian languages allow an SVO-like order in pragmatically marked contexts (see e.g., Kaufman 2005 on Tagalog).

If we compare with the contemporary Kähler (1955) retelling, then we see some evidence that a reanalysis has indeed taken place. The contemporary version has 153 tokens of *bu-* verbs and 52 clauses with an overt subject. Of these, 22 (42%) are verb-initial and 30 (58%) have SV order. This includes clauses with nothing in the pre-subject position:

(49) [*e-ko'oe'* *ean*] ***ka-b-abe'***
NM-devil DEM 3-BU-stand
'The devil stood up.' (Kähler 1955 retelling)

(50) [*e-hiur* *ean*] ***ka-bu-'u*** *o* *dar-de*
NM-woman DEM 3-BU-say OBL husband-3SG
'The woman spoke to her husband.' (Kähler 1955 retelling)

To prove that this isn't just a translation effect (as discussed in Section 3.2), we demonstrate below that SVO order with *bu-* clauses is also found in other Contemporary Enggano texts that were not collected via translation from Indonesian. Although it is

common for *bu-* clauses to express the subject via the agreement prefix only, there are examples of subject-verb order in other texts in the contemporary corpus:

(51) [*tuku kahai' ẽ'*] ***ka-b-ai***
clan one DEM 3-BU-come
'Along came a clan.' (Asal mula tarian perang)

(52) *tio' dako'aih* [*e-man ean*] ***ka-b-a*** *ba-lewat*
every night NM-man DEM 3-BU-come MOT-pass
i ka'udar ean
LOC village DEM
'Every night that man wandered in the village.' (Manusia Menjadi Tikus)

Consequently, we can see that Contemporary Enggano is also undergoing a change in word order. As with the previous two cases, there are language internal factors at play, such as the potential reanalysis of a topicalisation construction as subject-verb order. Moreover, the change from verb-initial word order to SVO is common among Austronesian languages of the region (Donohue 2007). However, we would argue that contact with predominantly SVO Malay/Indonesian has certainly contributed to this process of word order change, since as in the previous case studies, it provides the model of SVO word order that may help facilitate the reanalysis.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we provided ample evidence of increased contact with Malay/Indonesian by comparing the Old Enggano and Contemporary Enggano corpora and demonstrating that there has been an increase in lexical borrowing and discourse practices associated with bilingualism, such as code-switching, as well as a number of contact-induced changes across the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language. We interpret this as evidence of a changing contact situation, where the community is shifting from predominantly Enggano-dominant, to predominantly Indonesian-dominant, which is in keeping with the context of language endangerment.

The next step in the project is to collect further data from across the Enggano villages, and across a systematic sample of different speakers, to investigate the dynamics of varying intensity of contact, language change and language endangerment in the context of Enggano Island as part of a modern, multilingual Indonesia.

Abbreviations

1	first person	2	second person
3	third person	ANTIP	antipassive
BU	*bu-* verbal marker	CAUS	causative
DEM	demonstrative	DIR	direct
EMPH	emphatic	EXCL	exclusive
HUM	human noun/collective	INCL	inclusive
KI	*ki-* verbal marker	LOC	locative
MOT	motion	NEG	negator

NM	noun marker	OBL	oblique
PASS	passive	PERF	perfective
PL	plural	PN	proper noun
POSS	possessive	PT	particle
RECIP	reciprocal	REDUP	reduplication
REPEAT	repeated action	SG	singular
VBLZ	verbalizer		

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