



Contact-Induced Change in Betawi Free and Enclitic Pronouns

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Linguistic Society of America Annual Meeting 2025 | 09-12 January 2025 | Philadelphia, PA



Betawi Language Ecology

- Threatened creole spoken in Jakarta, Tangerang, and Bekasi
- No standardized orthography (data presented here adheres to source spelling practices)
- Interethnic community resulting from the slave trade in Dutch East Indies, immigration from China, abandonment of biracial children by European fathers, and intra-archipelago emigration
- Source languages: Malay (Indonesian), Chinese (Hokkien), Balinese, Sundanese, Javanese, Arabic, Dutch, Portuguese
- Continued contact with Jakarta Indonesian, Standard Indonesian, Javanese, Buginese, Chinese (Hokkien), Sundanese

Key Dates

- Originated in the 17th century under Dutch colonialism, became the lingua franca for Betawi community by the 18th century
- 1928: Indonesian language is created; regional variety of Malay spoken in the archipelago chosen to avoid ethnic conflict
- 1945-1948: Indonesian Revolution; Dutch control expelled from the country
- 1990s: Indonesian becomes mandatory in education system; urbanization sparks establishment of interethnic neighborhoods and increase in interethnic marriages

-nya's Enclitic 3rd-Person Function in Betawi & Indonesian

Genitive: Attested in **both** Betawi and Indonesian

baju-ñe Betawi: clothes-3SG.GEN

baju-nya **Indonesian:**

'his/her/their clothes'

clothes-3SG.GEN 'his/her/their clothes'

Direct Object Replacement: Attested primarily in Indonesian (few occurrences in Wallace 1976)

Indonesian:

Mem-bawa-nya ACT.TR-bring-3SG.ACC

'Bring it'

Indirect Object Replacement: Attested only in Indonesian

Indonesian:

Narti men-unggu-nya Narti ACT.TR-wait-3SG.DAT

'Nartiwaits for him/her' (Sneddon 1996: 165)

Subject Replacement: Attested primarily in Indonesian (singular

occurrence in Wallace 1976)

Indonesian: di-bawa-nya

PAS-bring-3SG.NOM

'He/she brought the cat'

Research Questions

Has Jakarta Indonesian influenced Betawi pronouns? If so, are free pronouns more likely than bound/enclitic forms to be borrowed in contact situations? (Borrowing Scale presented in Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 74-76)

Methodology

- Diachronic analysis of dialogues from sources of three separate and distinct time periods
- > 1909-1949: Transcribed Betawi dialogues from early-20th century sources (pre-Indonesian Revolution); included in appendix of C.J. Grijns 1991 doctoral dissertation
- > 1976: Transcribed dialogues collected during fieldwork by Stephen Wallace for doctoral dissertation
- 2020: YouTube Betawi-language sitcom produced by members of contemporary Betawi speakers (Agus Fazriansyah, LenSkit)
- Dialogues picked based on following criteria: all interlocutors speak Betawi, social/age status difference between speakers (to account for honorifics licensing)
- Free and enclitic pronoun tokens coded
 - For enclitic pronouns, the function of the pronoun was classified as "e.gen" [enclitic 3rd-person genitive], "e.acc" [enclitic 3rdperson accusative], "e.dat" [enclitic 3rd-person dative], or "e.nom" [enclitic 3rd-person nominative]
- Limitations: Uneven number of tokens due to accessibility of sources, small number of tokens overall due to accessibility of sources (2024) BewWikipedia and 2023 dictionary released after data collection)

Results

Free Pronouns

- Infiltration of Indonesian register rules
- More age-grading in 2020 vs. 1976 data
- No attested instances of 'kalian' or 'Anda' (more recent Indonesian **pronouns**) (Sneddon 2010: 165-166)

Diachronic Distribution

- Increased use of 'ana/ane,' 'gua/gue'
- Decreased use of 'dia/die'
- No attested use of 'kami;' no change in Betawi conflation of INCL. vs. EXCL. 2PL

Results (Continued)

Enclitic Pronouns

- Extremely scarce instances of expanded (Indonesian-like) –nya functions; limited to 1976 data (possible product of code-switching
- Predicted that younger speakers in 2020 data would be more likely to expand functions due to contemporary widespread bilingualism but **not found** in data.

Discussion

- Little evidence of enclitic pronoun function expanding as a result of increased contact with Indonesian.
- Suggests that free pronouns are more likely to be borrowed at this current stage in contact (see Thomason & Kaufman 1988 Borrowing Scale).
- Presence of age-grading in the 2020 data suggests that pronoun borrowing in Betawi-Indonesian contact is a sociolinguistic phenomenon
- Future work should probe whether this is because of indexicality and identity-marking (similar to concepts discussed in Abtahian, Cohn, Djenar, & Vogel 2021)
- Possibly explained by language attitude differences amongst age groups and perceived association with low socio-economic class (Wouk 1989: 8; Nur, Lukman, Kaharuddin, & Dafirah 2021: 108)
- Remaining question of how relationship between form and function in language contact relates to previous studies that establish agebased language shift (Wallace 1976; Kurniawan 2018; Sneddon 2006)

Implications & Significance

- Creoles with non-European lexifiers remain understudied
- > Malay-based contact languages (e.g. comparative studies of Francophone or Lusophone pidgins and creoles)
- Little previous existing literature on Betawi language
- Language endangerment and climate change (flooding of Jakarta and move of the capital city)
- Pronoun borrowing
- Speaker agency and identity
- Contact morphology
- Ongoing misconceptions about creole and contact languages
- Second Language Acquisition



 Takarta: Badan Penyelenggara Seri NUSA Universitas Atma Jakarta: Badan Penyelenggara Seri NUSA Universitas Atma Jakarta: Badan Penyelenggara Seri NUSA Universitas Atma Jakarta: Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi DKI Jakarta: Badan Penyelenggara Seri NUSA Universitas Atma Jaya. Imelda & Halimatusa'diah. 2021. Minority language revitalization: Retawi grammar. Jakarta: Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi DKI Jakarta: Dinas Kebudayaan DKI Jakarta: Dina esia, vol. 9, 41-73. New York: Berghahn Books, Incorporated. Muhadjir. 1981. Morphology of Jakarta dialect, affixation and reduplication. (Ed.) Amran Halim, Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo, I. Suharno & John W.M. Verhaar. (Trans.) Kay Ikranagara. Vol. 11. Jakarta: Badan Penyelenggara Seri NUSA Universitas Atma Jaya. http://sealang.net/archives/nusa/pdf/nusa-v11.pdf. Pepinsky, Thomas, Maya Ravindranath Abtahian & Abigail Cohn. 2022. Urbanization, Ethnic Diversity, and Language Shift in Indonesia. Journal of Multilingual and https://doi.org/10.1075/aplv.00015.int. Thomason, Sarah & Terrence Kaufman. 1988. Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics. Berkeley: University of California Press. https://hdl-handle-net.proxy.lib.umich.edu/2027/heb08465.0001.00