

Migrant Varieties of Malay/Indonesian

An important but understudied class of Malay/Indonesian varieties is that spoken by migrant communities who have relocated from one part of the Malay/Indonesian-speaking world to another. While in some cases, migrants' speech may be indistinguishable from that of the surrounding indigenous population, in many other cases, migrant communities may speak Malay/Indonesian varieties that differ from those of the surrounding communities in ways that appear to be consistent, conventionalized, and across all linguistic domains, thereby warranting their characterization as distinct migrant varieties of Malay/Indonesian. Some examples of migrant varieties of Malay/Indonesian might include Tansi (Syafril et al 2010, Fikri and Jufrizal 2019) in the city of Sawahlunto in West Sumatra province, Loloan Malay (Djendra 1982, Bagus et al 1985, Sumarsono 1983) in Bali, and Gorap (Taha et al 2014, Taha and Febriningsih 2022) spoken in a handful of villages on the island of Halmahera.

This paper presents a case study of one such migrant variety that has fallen under the radar of researchers (but see Fields 2010), referred to here as *Papuan Migrant Indonesian*. Due to massive recent migration, the current population of Tanah Papua, the western half of New Guinea that is part of Indonesia, consists of roughly equal numbers of indigenous Papuans and migrants from all over Indonesia, of a variety of ethnicities including Batak, Javanese, Makassarese, Butonese, Ambonese and many others. While in some instances, migrants preserve their own regional languages, in many more cases, they make use of a common variety of Malay/Indonesian shared to variable degrees by the entirety of the migrant population, namely Papuan Migrant Indonesian. In terms of its overall profile, Papuan Migrant Indonesian is quite distinct from Papuan Malay, as spoken by the indigenous Papuan population. In general, Papuan Migrant Indonesian tends to exhibit more features associated with western koiné varieties than does Papuan Malay; however, these features cannot be related to any one specific western koiné variety to the exclusion of others. In particular, Papua Migrant Indonesian is also distinct from Jakarta Indonesian, the transregional koiné that is also gaining a foothold among some segments of the population of Tanah Papua.

In the domain of phonology, Papuan Migrant Indonesian tends, for at least some speakers, to have final word stress, contrasting with that of Papuan Malay, which, as typical of eastern varieties of Malay, is mostly penultimate. In terms of morphosyntax, Papuan Migrant Indonesian shares with members of the south-western subgroup of koinés the use of the patient-oriented prefix *di-*, but with varieties of the north-western subgroup of koinés the use of the causative/applicative suffix *-kan* — in both cases contrasting with Papuan Malay, in which patient-orientation and causative/applicative markers are absent. This mixture of features from different parts of Indonesia suggests that Papuan Migrant Indonesian has undergone conventionalization as a newly emergent language variety. For example, given that the Makassarese language, like Papuan Malay, has mostly penultimate word stress, the presence of final word stress in the Papuan Migrant Indonesian of some ethnic Makassarese speakers suggests that they are not just speaking Papuan Malay with a Makassarese accent but rather following a conventionalized norm associated with Papuan Migrant Indonesian. A salient characteristic of such conventionalization is that in some cases it may involve features that are absent both from western koiné varieties and from Papuan Malay, and which therefore may be considered as potentially distinctive features of Papuan Migrant Indonesian; a possible example of such a feature is provided by the use of clause-final *atau* 'or' to form polar questions.

This paper concludes by sketching the outlines of a sociolinguistically-based typology of migrant varieties of Malay/Indonesian making reference to the variegated settings in which they are typically used. Within the framework of this typology, it is suggested that Papuan Migrant Indonesian may bear a resemblance to other varieties of migrant Indonesian in eastern Indonesia spoken alongside other more well-known Eastern Malay varieties.

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