Paper Prepared for Presentation to
The Borneo Research Council Third Biennial International Conference
10-14 July 1994
Pontianak, West Kalimantan, Indonesia

The sociohistorical context of English borrowings in Bonggi[1]

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Abstract

Contact between languages inevitably leads to borrowing, and no indigenous language of Sabah is entirely free of words which have been borrowed from English. The routes and reasons leading to borrowing vary from language to language, and the sociohistorical context affects this process. In some cases, the route for borrowing is direct from the donor language to the borrowing language. In other cases, the route is indirect via some intermediate language. The present study investigates the sociohistorical context for English borrowings in the Bonggi language of Sabah.

1. INTRODUCTION

All indigenous languages of Sabah contain words of English origin. The extent to which these languages have borrowed English words is normally assumed to correlate with the degree of contact speakers of these languages have had with English speakers. In some cases, this contact has been minimal, yet, there are a surprising number of English borrowings. There is no simple or short answer as to how English borrowings occur in languages which have had little or no contact with English speakers. This paper examines the sociohistorical context in which English borrowings have occurred in Bonggi, an indigenous language of Sabah.

Bonggi is spoken on Banggi and Balambangan islands north of the island of Borneo (see Map 1).[2] Although the Bonggi people do not speak English, they have borrowed a number of English words which reflect the sociohistorical context in which the borrowings took place. The contact between English and Bonggi speakers began around the year 1773 and has continued sporadically to this day.

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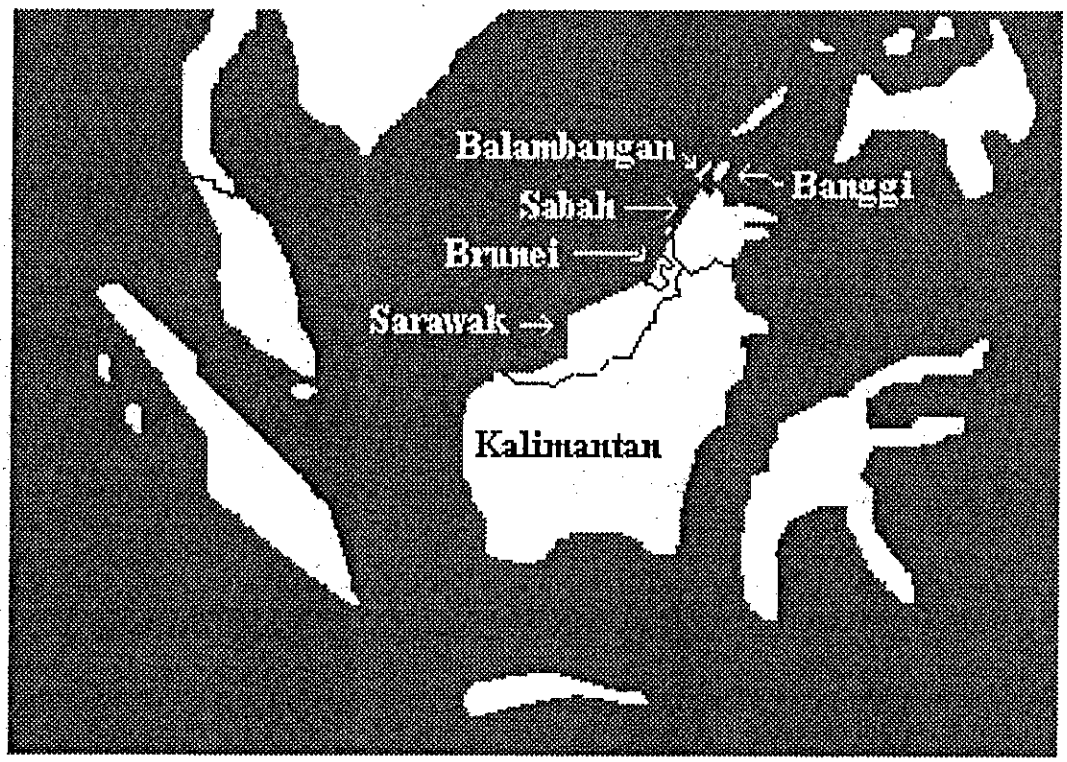
[1]I appreciate the help of my wife, Alanna, who assisted me with the sociohistorical research on Malaysia and Sabah (§2.1) and checked the Bonggi data. I also appreciate the comments of Dr. Rosnani Hashim from the Islamic University of Malaysia and the University of Florida. She graciously checked both the Malay data and the accuracy of my historical overview in a previous version of this paper. Thanks also to Julie King, Paul Kroeger, David Moody, and David Pharies for their suggestions. I am responsibile for any errors that may occur.

[2]The term 'Banggi' is an exonym used by outsiders to refer to the island and the people. However, they refer to themselves as 'Bonggi'. I use the autonym 'Bonggi' throughout this paper when referring to them and their language, and the exonym 'Banggi' when referring to the island as that is the term used on recent maps. The word **banggi** is actually an indigenous word in the Bonggi language meaning 'corpse'; it may also be used as a curse word as in the phrase, **Banggi nu!**, which is comparable to English 'drop dead!' Old maps and literature used the following spellings: 'Bangay' (Marryat 1848:205), 'Banguey' (The British North Borneo Herald 1884-1938), 'Bangue' (Moor 1837:60 appendix), and 'Bangui' (Legends I 1923). The spelling 'Banggi' has been in use since 1939 (The British North Borneo Herald).

§2 describes the sociohistorical contexts in which English borrowings have taken place. §3 links the sociohistorical contexts to actual English borrowings in Bonggi, and §4 summarizes the significance of this study. As pointed out by Bailey and Görlach (1982:5), "The study of language in its social and historical context is by no means confined merely to the collection of facts."



Map 1

2. SOCIOHISTORICAL CONTEXT

The history of contact between Bonggi and English speakers is tied to the history of English in the wider context of both Borneo and Malaysia, in general, and the state of Sabah, in particular. Thus, I begin with a brief overview of the history of English in its wider context (§2.1), before proceeding to the history of contact between Bonggi and English speakers (§2.2). My assumption is that the current language situation in Borneo cannot be fully understood without reference to its historical roots.

2.1. The wider context: Borneo, Malaysia, and Sabah

Before 1500 Brunei was an important center of power on the island of Borneo. With the fall of Malacca to the Portuguese in 1511, the prestige and wealth of the sultan of Brunei increased.[3]

[3]The rise in prestige of the Sultan of Brunei is linked to the Muslim merchants' preference for dealing with him rather than the Portuguese.

Northern Borneo was affected more by the Spanish than by the Portuguese.[4] In 1521 Ferdinand Magellan's expedition reached Brunei, which was in its golden age embracing Sarawak, North Borneo, and the islands of Balabac, Banggi, and Balambangan.[5] The Spanish managed to influence Brunei politics in 1578 which enabled the sultanate of Sulu to assert its independence from Brunei. This led to both the Brunei sultanate and the Sulu sultanate making territorial claims over North Borneo (Sabah). The power of the Brunei sultanate was reduced in the nineteenth-century following British colonization.

British involvement in Borneo began in January 1761 when Alexander Dalrymple of the British East India company negotiated a treaty with the Sultan of Sulu. The British role in the Malay Peninsula began when the British East India Company established a port on the island of Penang in 1786. The port at Penang soon overshadowed the Dutch port at Malacca, and in turn, Penang was soon overshadowed by Singapore which was founded in 1819 after the British withdrew from Balambangan (§2.2).

Although Malay (called *Bahasa Malaysia* or *Bahasa Melayu* in Malaysia) was the *lingua franca* in Malaysia, Brunei, Indonesia, and Singapore long before the arrival of Europeans, it was only in 1955, just two years before independence, that Malay was proposed as the national and official language of Malaysia. Even though Malay became the national language when independence was gained, it was not until September 16, 1973, the tenth anniversary of Sabah being part of Malaysia, that Sabah proclaimed Malay as its official language.[6] The development of the Malay language in Malaysia came rather late due to the educational policy of the British colonial government (Alisjahbana 1976:43). The British policy toward education was: (1) to provide English education for Europeans and a small group of elite Malays (Birch 1983:352-53); (2) to provide primary education in Malay for the non-elite Malays; and (3) to leave the responsibility of education of the Indians and Chinese to their own ethnic communities (Emerson 1937:517; Maxwell 1983:402-09; Bunge 1984:119-22; and Andaya & Andaya 1982:222-40).

During the colonial period English was the language of the elite, being used in both administration and the legal system. It was also the language needed for advancement in government jobs and many places of employment (Platt 1982:384). Because English was the prestige language, there was great motivation to acquire English fluency. English-language schools, both primary and secondary, were spread throughout the peninsula (Bunge 1984:109), but were principally located in urban areas in both the peninsula and North Borneo. After independence the central issue in the Malaysian educational dilemma was the future of English-language schools which were designed to help the urban middle class. Beginning in 1970, the

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[4]Pidginized varieties of Portuguese appear to have had no direct influence on Bonggi, and there is no evidence that Bonggi ever had contact with sailors speaking a variety of pidgin. The Bonggi did not and do not have a spirit of adventure like that exemplified by the Iban of Sarawak in their *bejalai* 'traveling' custom (Kedit 1989:12). In fact, to this day, Bonggi prefer to marry within their village or village cluster (Boutin 1990:106-08). This cultural difference between the Iban and the Bonggi, along with the difference in population size (the Iban being the largest ethnic group in Sarawak with a population of several hundred thousand; in contrast, the Bonggi being one of the smallest groups in Sabah with a population of 1,500) suggests that Iban were very likely to have been in contact with sailors speaking a variety of pidgin.

[5]The region to the north and east of Brunei was known as North Borneo after 1878; its name changed to Sabah in 1963 when it became a state in the Federation of Malaysia.

[6]Peninsular Malaysia attained independence from the British and became the Federation of Malaya in 1957. The Bornean States - Sabah and Sarawak - joined the Federation to form Malaysia in 1963.

English-language schools were converted to Malay-medium, one grade per year (Bunge 1984:120).

Before the British colonial period there was little formal education in Malaysia (Bunge 1984:119); the education that did exist in the Malay communities was of a religious character (Alisjahbana 1976:43). Today, the educational system in Malaysia is based on the British system with a six-year primary level (Standard 1-6), a five-year secondary level (lower secondary Form 1-3; and middle secondary Form 4-5), and a two-year preuniversity preparatory course (Form 6). Malay is the medium of instruction in most primary schools although there are some Chinese and Tamil primary schools. Malay is the main medium of instruction in all secondary schools up to Form 6. English is retained as a compulsory second language in all schools. Malay is also the main medium of instruction in Malaysian universities.

The current emphasis on Malay has not happened overnight. There has been a gradual shift from English to Malay over the last thirty years. "Perhaps the most important influence on developing the national language has been the substitution of Malay for English as the main medium of instruction in all lower and mid-level secondary schools" (Bunge 1984:109). In 1963, the year Sabah became part of Malaysia, the medium of instruction in Sabah primary schools was English, Malay, or Chinese while the medium of instruction in secondary schools was primarily English with a small number of Chinese-medium schools. At that time children from rural areas whose primary education had not been in English entered secondary schools through bridge classes, and the Sabah Board of Education was planning to extend the teaching of English in keeping with the wishes of the indigenous peoples (Sabah Annual Report, 1963 1965:74-76; 85).

National language policy has been one of the central political debates in Malaysia in the postindependence era. The dispute has basically been over the exclusive use of Malay in official settings. The National Language Act of 1967 declared that Malay must be used for all official purposes (Bunge 1984:109).

2.2. The narrower context: Banggi and Balambangan islands and the Bonggi people

Banggi Island, Malaysia's largest island and northernmost point, is separated from the Sabah mainland by the South Banggi Channel. Banggi is approximately 44 kilometres north of mainland Borneo.[7]

Currently there are six ethnic groups on Banggi and Balambangan islands with each group speaking their own language. These groups include: Bonggi, Bajau, Molbog, Kagayan, Suluk, and Ubian.[8] Almost every speech community on the two islands and other nearby smaller islands is associated with one of these languages. One exception is the district center, Karakit, which has a mixed community of primarily Suluk, Ubian, and Kagayan. The other two exceptional communities are a temporary lumber camp which has a high percentage of Indonesian and Filipino workers and an army camp which has a number of non-Sabahans. Even though every village primarily has a single ethnic group, usually there are people who have married in from other ethnic groups. Furthermore, although a few speakers of other Sabah languages (e.g. Rungus) live on the island, they do not form a separate community (cf. Asmah 1983:191).

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[7]For a description of Banggi Island see Wilson (1961). For a description of Balambangan see Dalrymple (1769:20-35), Barton (1769), Harrisson (1966:102-03), and Wells (1981a).

[8]Cf. Boutin & Boutin (1985) for the distribution of languages and speech communities. The Suluk are referred to as Tausug or Sulu in the Philippines.

Although Malay is the language of the schools and the government offices in Karakit, it is not the primary language of communication among members of the six ethnic groups. Members of the same ethnic group normally use their mother tongue when speaking with each other, while members of different ethnic groups usually resort to a language other than Malay whenever feasible. This is possible because many adults are to some extent trilingual speaking: 1) their mother tongue; 2) Malay; and 3) another language of the islands.

Of the six primary ethnic groups on Banggi and Balambangan islands, the Bonggi have been there the longest and are the only group whose population center is located there.[9] The primary population center for the other five groups is located elsewhere. Only the Bajau have their population center in Sabah, whereas the Suluk, Kagayan, Ubian, and Molbog are more recent immigrants from the southern Philippines.

Although present the longest, the Bonggi are the least prestigous group. Very few speakers of the other five languages learn to speak more than a word or two of Bonggi. It is usually the Bonggi who learn the other languages and speak them when in contact with members of other ethnic groups.

The only published history of Banggi Island is a brief report by Piper (1981). Boutin (1994) discusses history from the Bonggi point of view and provides an extensive list of resources. The majority of the written history on Banggi and Balambangan deals with the British obtaining and settling on Balambangan; e.g. Barton (1769), Belcher (1848:288-93, vol. 1), British Empire Series 1 (1906:464ff.), Dalrymple (1774), Guillemard (1886:109-110), Keppell (1847:168, 177-78, vol. 2), Keppell (1852:44), Leong (1982:9, 36), Low (1848:4-5), Moor (1837:33-35, Appendix), Piper (1981:24-27), Tarling (1978), Warren (1977), Wells (1978), Wells (1981b), Whelan (1970:82-84), Willi (1922) and Wright (1970:36-39).

The history of Sabah and Banggi in the pre-Western period is largely the history of the Brunei sultanate (Ongkili 1972:1). The Sultan of Brunei occasionally exacted tribute from people on the west coast of Borneo, but he had no control over the interior (op. cit. 1972:16). Around 1704, he made a cession of the northern parts of Borneo from Kimanis northward including the islands of Palawan, Banggi and Balambangan to the Sulu sultanate (Dalrymple 1769:31-32; Dalrymple 1774:31-32).

In 1759, Alexander Dalrymple was dispatched by the governor of the British East India Company's factory at Madras to open trade at Sulu. In January 1761, he and Sultan Bantilan of Sulu signed a treaty of alliance and commerce (Dalrymple 1774:32; Tarling 1978:13). At that time the "Sooloo Dominion" included the islands between Palawan and North Borneo (Dalrymple 1774:12-13).[10] Then on September 12, 1762, Sultan Bantilan held a council of the chief people at Sulu in which Balambangan was granted to the English (Dalrymple 1769:32). In that same year, Dalrymple considered setting up a factory on Banggi to process spice plants obtained from the Bugis working in the Moluccas, but the factory never materialized (Tarling 1978:14).

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[9]There is yet no conclusive evidence as to the origin of the Bonggi people. They claim to have lived there from time eternal. Early settlers to Banggi and Balambangan probably settled along the coast at estuaries, initiating a pattern which has persisted to this day. Later, with the arrival of further immigrants, the Bonggi, being the weaker community, were displaced into the interior. Another factor contributing to their move inland was the fear of piracy and resulting slavery. Although slavery is no longer a problem, piracy is still a threat, e.g. Daily Express 1990.

[10]The islands between Palawan and Borneo include Banggi and Balambangan.

The first possible direct contact between English and Bonggi speakers occurred on January 23, 1763, when Dalrymple took possession of Balambangan for the East India Company and hoisted the British flag (Dalrymple 1769:32; Dalrymple 1774:32). Dalrymple might possibly have seen a Bonggi on Balambangan Island, but it is extremely unlikely that a Bonggi would have approached any of the British during the day or two that the British were there to hoist their flag. It took five years before the East India Company approved a settlement on Balambangan Island (Warren 1977:74), and ten years before they actually established a settlement there.

Dalrymple returned to Sulu in 1764 to re-negotiate the agreement. The Sultan of Sulu wrote out a new cession on July 2, 1764, which gave the East India Company the rights to both Banggi and Balambangan (Tarling 1978:20). However, it was not until 1773 that a settlement was established on Balambangan. John Herbert, the Chief Resident, arrived in Balambangan in 1773. He was accompanied by Captain Thomas Forrest (Forrest 1779:I). Dalrymple and the Company had a falling out by this time (Tarling 1978:29). Dalrymple's exorbitant demands were not agreed to by the Company's Court of Directors, so he was dismissed and Herbert was appointed leader of the expedition (Rutter 1930:57). Herbert cheated the East India Company out of large sums of money and quarrelled with the local Sulu chiefs (Piper 1981:27). Apparently the Sulu regretted the cession (Tarling 1978:29), and after Herbert had one of the Sulu chiefs placed in stocks, the Sulu gathered a force of about three hundred men on Banggi Island and attacked the British garrision on Balambangan. Thus, the British East India Company settlement, which was established on the island of Balambangan in 1773, was destroyed by pirates in March 1775. The British survivors fled to Brunei and gained cession of the island of Labuan from the Sultan of Brunei. They established a settlement on Labuan which was abandoned the following year.

The Bonggi would not have collaborated with the Sulu to attack the British. The Sulu slave traders, not the British, were a threat to the Bonggi at the time. There is evidence of minimal contact between British settlers and the Bonggi living on Balambangan during the two years the British were there (1773-1775). Forrest (1779:392-93) states that Idaan on Balambangan brought hog and fruit to trade with the British.[11] One must conclude that these 'Idaan' were Bonggi because only non-Muslims would have transported pork, and the Bonggi were the only non-Muslims other than the British. There is also linguistic evidence that there were Bonggi living on Balambangan at the time.[12] Evidence for mininal contact between the Bonggi and the British is found in the dearth of Bonggi oral history which might otherwise support more intimate contact (cf. Boutin 1994). Had the British known the Bonggi, they would have realized that the Bonggi never refer to themselves as *Idaadn*, which is a Bonggi term used to refer to the Rungus in the Kudat district.

On July 6, 1775, an English ship arrived in Balambangan to reclaim it and pick up what was left behind by the Sulu. The ship remained there for only five days, so there was minimal contact, if any, between the British and the Bonggi.

The description of the contact between the Bonggi and the British settlement on Balambangan illustrates an absence of personal interaction between Bonggi and English speakers. It is quite possible that *Biritis* 'British' is the only English word that was borrowed and has been retained in the Bonggi language as a result of the 1773-1775 British settlement on Balambangan. The

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[11]The term 'Idaan' was used by the British in the eighteenth and nineteeth centuries as a generic term (Dunn 1983:32); for example, Dalrymple (1769:65) states that Banggi Island was inhabited by about seventy Bajau and two-hundred families (households) of Idaan.

[12]Linguistic evidence comes from a Balambangan dialect of the Bonggi language, as opposed to the Banggi Island dialect (Schneeberger 1937; Boutin & Boutin n.d.).

absence of personal contact between Bonggi and English speakers spilled over into the 19th and 20th centuries, as seen in the following accounts.

In 1803 Robert Farquhar was instructed to resettle Balambangan. This he did on the site of the old settlement (Tarling 1978:33). He launched a large expedition from Malacca and brought many settlers with him (Wells 1981b:29). However, in November 1805 the British withdrew from Balambangan due to war and the inability to defend the post there (Tarling 1978:35).[13] There is no account of any contact between the British and Bonggi during this time.

In 1823 and, again, in the 1840s the British considered a settlement at Balambangan or Banggi; but, in 1846 it was decided that a colony should be established at Labuan instead (Tarling 1978:65-69). There is no reference of contact with the Bonggi during this period in any literature, either oral or written.

Other possibilities for contact between Bonggi and English speakers occurred in the later part of the nineteeth century, but never materialized. These included the American navy's consideration of using Banggi Island as a naval depot (Tregonning 1965:9), and Italy's attempt to acquire Banggi Island from the Sultan of Brunei in 1870 in order to establish a penal settlement (Tarling 1978:116-17). In 1865 the American Trading Company of Borneo leased North Borneo from the Sultan of Brunei. The company's attempt at development failed and a British merchant named Alfred Dent took over the lease. However, at that time the local chiefs recognized the authority of the Sultan of Sulu and not the Sultan of Brunei, so Dent had to renegotiate with the Sultan of Sulu. In 1881 the British government granted a Royal Charter to Dent's company, British North Borneo Company, which governed North Borneo until the Japanese occupation in 1941. The Chartered Company's flag was raised on Balambangan in 1882, but no settlement was established there. Once again there is no documentation of contact between Bonggi and English speakers.

In the 1880s the international tobacco market was strong and Banggi Island experienced a short period of economic promise. The Germans started a tobacco estate on Banggi Island at Limbuak Darat in 1884 (Notes 1884:6; Medhurst 1983:99). The first bale of tobacco from the German Borneo Tobacco Company's estate was pressed in 1886 (Banguey notes 1886a:93), and the company was doing well in 1887 (Davies 1887:196). In fact, a new tobacco estate was opened on Banggi by the Rotterdam Borneo Maatschappy Company in 1888 (Planting notes 1888:441), and the Australian Borneo Company also acquired land on Banggi Island for the purpose of planting tobacco (Banguey Island 1884:7). Bonggi in Limbuak Darat have stories of the tobacco estate, but there are no borrowed English or German words associated with tobacco. They recall stories of Bonggi working on the tobacco estate, but no one seems to be aware that the estate was run by Germans.[14]

In 1885 the British surveyed the proposed town of Mitford on Banggi Island (Robertson 1886:47-8); in 1886 a census was taken of both Mitford (Banguey notes 1886a:93) and Banggi Island (Banguey notes 1886b:137). Mitford was the British name for Karakit, which has always been known as *Kerahid* by the Bonggi. In fact, I have never met a Bonggi who is familar with the term Mitford, which again suggests the little impact that English has had on the Bonggi language.

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[13]Piper (1981:27) and Wells (1981b:296) claim that the settlement had to be abandoned in 1805 because of near starvation.

[14]German and British colonial administrations appear to have had radically different language policies. For example, the British choose English as the primary medium of instruction (e.g. Malaysia and Nigeria), whereas in 1885 the Germans in Tanzania adopted Swahili as the language for colonial administration.

Banggi Island was administered by the British from the town of Kudat on the mainland. The only British government office was a police quarters established at Mitford in 1887 (Davies 1887:196).

The first government vernacular school in North Borneo was established in 1915 at Jesselton (Kota Kinabalu) (Andaya and Andaya 1982:236). The first school on Banggi Island was probably established in the early 1950s, as the first school building and teachers' quarters on Balak-Balak Island just east of Banggi was built in 1953 (Colony of North Borneo Annual Report, 1953 1954:72). The earliest schooling that Bonggi had access to was at Limbuak Laut in the late 1960s. The school at Limbuak was the first school within two miles of a Bonggi village. The only schools on Banggi Island have been government schools with Malay as the medium of instruction. Currently English is taught as a foreign language, but the majority of the teachers assigned to Banggi Island cannot speak English. The only lower-secondary school on the island began in 1987 in the town of Karakit. Students who pass lower-secondary school must attend upper-secondary school on the mainland, as there is none on the island.

In terms of British economic ventures, they, too, have been few and short lived; for example, timber rights were granted on Banggi Island in 1903 (Kudat notes 1903:285), but little timber was harvested then. Chromite was discovered in the black sands of Banggi Island in 1909, but never extracted (Tregonning 1965:99). Mangrove bark (Malay **bakau**) was cut sporadically during the 1920s and 1930s on Banggi Island (Cutting and collection of mangrove bark on Banggi Island 1929-39). A Japanese fish canning factory was set up in Karakit in 1937 (Kudat notes 1938:175), but shut down after the onset of World War II. The Japanese occupied Banggi Island during the war, and the Bonggi had no contact with English speakers during World War II. In the 1960s and 1970s American peace corp workers taught in Sabah; however, none of them worked on Banggi Island so only minimal contact was possible between them and the Bonggi.

Development on Banggi Island has always been slow. Although a coconut scheme started at Limbuak Darat in 1968 is still in operation, another scheme started at Loktohok in 1973 has gone bankrupt, as has a cattle farm which was also started in 1973. The cattle farm was converted to a coconut scheme, which later shut down between 1985 and 1987. Sporadic logging has taken place on the island in the last ten years. The various business ventures on Banggi Island since Sabah became part of Malaysia in 1963 have primarily been managed by Malaysians with Malay being the language of communication. However, the first manager of the Cattle Farm was a New Zealander who did not speak Malay. Thus, for a couple of years in the 1970s a few Bonggi who worked on the *Katal Pam* 'Cattle Farm' had access to an English model in the form of the manager, his wife, and a cowboy from New Zealand. Currently, the Bonggi are much more likely to learn to speak a little English from Filipino immigrants whose first language is not English than from foreigners whose mother tongue is English.

Radio and television have been two important sources of recent English borrowings. When Sabah became part of Malaysia in 1963, the largest percentage of radio programs was in English (Sabah Annual Report,1963 1965:179). However, there was a shift in emphasis from English to Malay just as occurred in education (§2.1). Recently, there has been a call by some quarters to close down English-language radio and TV channels (Political 'shadow boxing' 1992:41).

In summary, although the British had political control over Bonggi from 1761-1963 (about two hundred years excluding the Japanese occupation), they never really extended their influence

there. Thus, the Bonggi have lacked exposure to a model of English, which has made acquisition of English virtually impossible.[15]

3. ENGLISH BORROWINGS IN BONGGI

This section provides an overview of English borrowings in Bonggi. I assume there is a non-arbitrary relationship between the type of borrowing that occurred and the sociohistorical contexts discussed in §2. Thomason and Kaufmann (1988) describe this relationship in terms of a borrowing scale, whereby casual contact such as that described for Bonggi and English in §2 results only in **lexical borrowing**. This is exactly what we find in the case of English borrowings in Bonggi.[16]

The following general statements can be made regarding English borrowings in Bonggi. First, the great majority of English borrowings are nouns. Second, English borrowings in Bonggi are always non-basic vocabulary. I checked twelve wordlists which I recorded in twelve different Bonggi villages. Each wordlist contains 331 basic vocabulary items, and there is not a single English borrowing on any of the wordlists. This absence of English borrowings corresponds to Thomason and Kaufmann's prediction, "With a minimum of cultural pressure we expect only lexical borrowing, and then only in nonbasic vocabulary" (1988:77). Third, English borrowings in Bonggi are associated with the concept of modernization.[17] Finally, English borrowings in Bonggi have been spontaneous and not planned.[18]

English borrowings were collected from Bonggi texts which my wife and I have recorded, and from a working dictionary of Bonggi which we have compiled. Whereas I expected to find around forty English borrowings, I found over 150 instead. Semantic aspects of lexical borrowing are described in §3.1 and non-semantic aspects in §3.2.

This study does not distinguish between direct and indirect English loans (i.e. English loans that filter through Malay or another language). Furthermore, there is also no attempt to distinguish loans as either British or American English. Thus, this is **not** an etymological description of word origins. I could perhaps add loose bits of etymological information, but they would need to be qualified by 'probably' as I do not provide evidence of borrowing paths.

3.1. Semantic aspects of lexical borrowing

Modernization is oriented toward and gives rise to: science and technology, standardization of measurement, new products and tools, and modern systems of transportation, communication, and economics. Modernization is peripheral to Bonggi social and cultural structure. Thus, English borrowings do not permeate the Bonggi world-view. **World-view** is defined as a

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[15]I have yet to meet a Bonggi who is bilingual in English. A former village chief in Kalangkaman who died in 1986 has a reputation among the Bonggi as having been a good English speaker. I spent a week in Kalangkaman in 1985, and although he knew a number of English words, he was unable to hold a simple English conversation.

[16]Thomason and Kaufman's scale follows from a general assumption about lexical borrowing, i.e. lexical borrowings result from the proximity and interaction of adjacent speech communities (cf. Weinreich 1953:56-61; Greenberg 1957).

[17]This follows from another general assumption about lexical borrowing, i.e. loanwords are adopted to name new concepts; consequently, they should sort out by semantic domain (cf. Weinreich 1953:56-61; Greenberg 1957).

[18]Compare English borrowings in Malay which have been both planned and spontaneous.

culture's picture of the way things are in reality, their concept of nature, of self and society (Geertz 1968). In every language there are words which are essential for the configuration of the world-view of the society and culture. Other words are at the periphery, and are more or less irrelevant to the social and cultural structure (cf. Alisjahbana 1976:25).

The simplest means of categorizing lexical borrowings is in terms of formal properties such as lexical category (e.g. noun) or morphosyntactic marking (e.g. plural). However, in the absence of formal properties, subcategorization of the 150+ English borrowings was done on semantic grounds. Lexical borrowings occur within semantic domains which are associated with the sociohistorical contexts in which borrowing takes place. One problem with semantic domains is that they are not discrete categories. Often a single term can occur in more than one category, resulting in somewhat arbitrary categories in some cases.[19] The category labels which were chosen are general and reflect aspects of modernization. During the process of modernization, the Bonggi have had to learn new terms for: 1) other people (§3.1.1), 2) other places (§3.1.2), 3) new products (§3.1.3), 4) a different set of measurements (§3.1.4), 5) new systems of transportation (§3.1.5), and 6) some new abstract concepts (§3.1.6).

3.1.1. New types of people

Modernization has resulted in new political institutions and businesses. With the onset of modernization, the Bonggi have been exposed to new classes of people, including occupational names and ethnic group names as shown in the following:[20]

Bonggi	English	BM	Remarks
diu[21]	'D.O.' ('district officer')	pegawai daerah	The use of initials is very common in Malaysian English. Cf. recent borrowing of initials 'ST' from Eng abbreviation for saint, i.e. *ST Jeimus* 'St. James' (Anglican Church in Kudat).
puliis	'police'	anggota polis	
neitip sip	'native chief'	ketua anak negeri	Variant: *nitip sip*.[22]
giribar	'driver'	pemandu, dreber	Probably introduced during the 'Cattle Farm' days.
mekeinik	'mechanic'	mekanik	Term probably became popular during the 'Cattle Farm' days.
pomin[23]	'foreman'	mandur; formen	
sip mekeinik	'chief mechanic'	tukang mekanik	Term probably became popular during the 'Cattle Farm' days.
sip	'chief'	ketua	A shortened form of *sip mekeinik*.
dirisa	'dresser'	dreser	A medical assistant.
padir	'father' ('priest')	paderi	Variant: *pederi*.
Biritis	'British'	orang Inggeris	
Daya'	'Dayak'		Generic term used by the British for indigenous people of Sarawak. Probably borrowed during the colonial period.

[19]Frake (1971) found that Philippine forms in Philippine Creole Spanish do not sort by semantic domain. He distinguished borrowings in terms of cooccurrence restrictions with classifiers. Unlike Frake, I found nothing particular revealing when I tried this.

[20]BM is an abbreviation for *Bahasa Malaysia*. Other abbreviations used include: Eng - English and Bg - Bonggi. The 'Remarks' column includes occasional comments relating the borrowed term to a historical context. It should be noted that the comments relating borrowed terms to historical contexts are tentative, as there is no written evidence. See §2.2 for historical contexts.

[21]All of the lexical items shown conform to the Bonggi phonological system. There are twenty-two phonemes in Bonggi: seventeen consonants /t k ʔ b d g ɸ s ʤ m n ɳ ŋ l r w y/ and five vowels /i u e o a/. The following orthographic conventions are used: /ɸ/ = p, /ʤ/ = j, /ɳ/ = ny, /ŋ/ = ng, /ʔ/ = '.

3.1.2. New locations

In the process of modernization the Bonggi have learned some new names for different locations, including buildings and place names. New location names have been learned through government and commercial ventures. World War II also left a remembrance of certain place names, as shown in the following:

Bonggi	English	BM	Remarks
sumil	'sawmill'	kilang papan	
gil	'jail'	penjara; jel	
kustubm	'customs office'	pejabat kastam	Variant: *kaštabm*.
upis	'office'	pejabat	
peleiman	'parliament'	parlimen	
Gipudn	'Japan'	Jepun	Probably borrowed during the Japanese occupation even though there was a Japanese fish canning factory in Karakit just before the war.
Merihadn	'American'	Amerika Syarikat	Variant: *Mirihadn*.

3.1.3. New products

New products have become available through schools, government, medical clinics, and stores. They include: household goods, clothes, food, school items, and tools, as shown in the following:

Bonggi	English	BM	Remarks
pusleit	'flashlight'	lampu suluh	
mantal	'mantle'	sumbu	Some Bg use the borrowed BM term which is *sumbu'* in Bg.
ginereita	'generator'	janakuasa	Less than 5% of Bonggi households have a generator.
paip	'pipe'	paip	Bonggi houses do not have pipes.
mustuhidn	'stockings'	sarung kaki; stokin	Variant: *stuhidn*.
nitai	'necktie'	tali leher	
modis	'sanitary napkin'	tuala wanita	Brand name "Modess."
bir	'beer'	bir	
kupi'	'coffee'	kopi	
bitamin	'vitamin'	vitamin	
eis	'ice'	ais	
eis buk	'ice box '	peti ais	
epal	'apple'	epal	
gelas	'drinking glass'	gelas	
ginimoto	'monosodium glutamate'		Borrowed from brand name "Ajinomoto."
masis	'matches'	mancis	Variant: *macis*.
sup	'soup'	sup	
buk	'book'	buku	
pinsil	'pencil'	pensel	Variant: *pensil*; meaning extended to include 'pen'.
suk	'chalk'	kapor	
pelistik	'plastic bag'	plastik	
eisi	'I.C.' ('identity card')	kad pengenalan	Cf. *diu* 'D.O.' for 'district officer'.
buur	'bore; brace'	bor	

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[22]Unless otherwise specified, **variant** refers to a phonological variation in pronunciation.

[23]As stated above, Bonggi 'p' is phonemically /ɸ/ and not /p/. /ɸ/ is realized as [pˀ] word-finally, e.g. *sip* /siɸ/ [sɪpˀ] 'chief'; as [p] in homorganic consonant clusters, e.g. *lampu* /lamɸu/ ['lampu] 'lamp'; and as [ɸ] elsewhere, e.g. *pomin* /ɸomin/ ['ɸomɪn].

perayar	'pliers'	playar	
sukuru	'screw'	skru	
sukuru daibar	'screwdriver'	pemutar skru	
sepana	'spanner'	sepana	American Eng 'wrench'.
sukup	'scoop; shovel'	pencedok	
ridiu	'radio'	radio	
kaset	'cassette tape'	kaset	
taip	'typewriter'	mesin taip	Older indigenous term *selahadn*.
teip	'tape recorder'	perakampita	
tibi	'tv'	televisyen	
lastik	'elastic' ('slingshot')	lastik	
istibm	'stamp'	setem	
turumpit	'trumpet' ('whistle')	wisel	Semantic shift; Bg *turumpit* means 'a whistle'.

3.1.4. New system of measurements

The British introduced a system of measurements in their colonies. Currently, the Bonggi use both British terms and pre-colonial terms which include hand spans and arm spans. Borrowed terms are shown in the following:

Bonggi	English	BM	Remarks
ihar	'acre'	ekar	
belouk	'block'	blok	1 block = 100 acres. Term was probably borrowed in the late 1960s or early 1970s with the introduction of coconut schemes.[24]
kahi'	'foot'	kaki	Semantic borrowing with concept path being Eng → BM → Bg. Concept of 'foot' as a measurement introduced by the British. Lexical borrowing path: BM → Bg.
kati'	'catty' (1 1/3 lb.)	kati	Borrowed from Indian Subcontinent English.
miliudn	'million'	juta	Not known by everyone.
minit	'minute'	minit	
poudn	'pound'	paun	
sais	'size'	saiz	
mital	'metal'	tin	Term refers to a metal biscuit container.
rumbur	'number'	nombor	

3.1.5. New system of transportation

The Bonggi have indigenous terms for boats. However, transportation to the mainland has changed immensely since World War II, resulting in new terminology associated with sea transportation. Land transportation is mainly by foot on Banggi Island as there are no paved roads; the 'roads' which do exist are not maintained and are often impassable other than by foot. Borrowed transportation terms are shown in the following:

[24]The 'Cattle Farm' had five of seven blocks planted in January 1984 (personal field notes).

Bonggi	English	BM	Remarks
deisil	'diesel'	diesel	
mobil	'motor oil'	minyak enjin	Brand name; cf. *modis* from 'modess' and *ginimoto* from 'ajinomoto'.
bisikal	'bicycle'	basikal	
giip	'jeep'	jip	
giruba	'Land Rover'	Land Rover	
mutusikal	'motorcycle'	motosikal	
ruri	'lorry'	lori	Borrowed from British Eng: 'lorry'. Variant: *lori*.
terak	'truck'	trak	Borrowed from American Eng: 'truck'.
bas	'bus'	bas	
inggidn	'engine'	enjin	
tayar	'tire'	tayar	
kumpas	'compass'	kompas	

3.1.6. New abstract concepts

This section includes words of a more abstract nature which have been borrowed in Bonggi, arising from various contacts including: government, medicine, commercial ventures, and entertainment.

Bonggi	English	BM	Remarks
girimin	'agreement'	perjanjian	Refers to a legal contract, e.g. *girimin tana'* 'land title'.
kumpani	'company'	syarikat	Commercial firm.
insuardn	'insurance'	insurans	
kemsidn	'commission'	komisen	Extra income earned on a commercial fishing boat.
nutis	'notice'	notis	Legal notice.
poris	'forestry department'	perhutanan	Main office serving Banggi Island is in Kudat.
meraria	'malaria'	malaria	
tibi	'tuberculosis'	tuberculosis; T.B.	
derama	'drama'	drama Source: tv.	
serenda	'surrender'	serah	Used to refer to Japanese surrender at end of WWII.

3.2. Non-semantic aspects of borrowing

Both semantic and non-semantic aspects of English borrowings can be described in terms of the extent to which the borrowed words are integrated into the Bonggi language. As stated in §3.1, English borrowings result from modernization and do not permeate the Bonggi world-view. §3.2.1 examines the extent to which borrowed words conform to the Bonggi phonological system, and §3.2.2 discusses the extent to which English borrowings are integrated into Bonggi morphosyntax.

3.2.1. Phonology and borrowing

On one hand, borrowed words, as a general rule, are completely adjusted to Bonggi phonology. On the other hand, they enrich the pool of phonological exceptions. Bonggi is the only language in Sabah with a rule of nasal preplosion. Although I have found only five exceptions to the preplosion rule among indigenous words, there are many exceptions in words borrowed from either Malay or English. The application of nasal preplosion depends upon the nasality of the preceding vowel. Final nasal consonants /m n ŋ/ are simple when preceded by a nasalized vowel (e.g. *pomin* 'foreman' in §3.1.1), but preploded when preceded by a non-nasalized

vowel (e.g. *kustubm* 'customs office'; *Gipudn* 'Japan'; and *Merihadn* 'American' in §3.1.2).[25] The nasal preplosion rule is preceded by a rule of nasal spread whereby nasality persists from a nasal consonant into adjacent vowels throughout the word until checked by a non-nasal consonant. Thus, the 'i' in *pomin* 'foreman' (phonemically /ɸomin/; phonetically ['ɸomɪn]) is nasalized, whereas the 'u' in *Gipudn* 'Japan' (phonemically /giɸun/; phonetically ['giɸudn]) is not nasalized. The presence of nasalization in ['ɸomɪn] accounts for the absence of preplosion. The following borrowed English words contain word-final nasals which are not preploded.[26]

Bonggi	English	BM	Remarks
eis kirim	'ice-cream'	ais kirim	
sin	'cent'	sen	
gilin	'gallon'	gelen	Semanti shift; refers to a large (3-6 gallons usually plastic) container for carrying liquids.
deram	'drum'	dram	
meringgan	'machine gun'	mesin gan	
iksidan	'accident'	kemalangan	
stiring	'steering'	kemudi; stereng	Variant: *istiring*.
kewiin	'queen'	raja permaisuri	
Dusun	'Dusun'	orang Dusun	Generic term used by the British for non-Muslim indigenous people of Sabah.
kim	'camp'	khemah	
Katal Pam	'cattle farm'	ladang lembu	A place on Bg Island.
neilun	'nylon'	nilon	
marin	'marine'	kapal meriam	Variant: *merin*; term refers to a marine/coast guard patrol boat.
bing	'bank'	bank	
Iban	'Iban'		Called Sea Dayak by the British due to their skill on water. Iban had a reputation as fierce fighters and headhunters.
peigan	'pagan'	pagan; kafir	
sampin	'champion'	johan; pemenang; juara	
sing	'zinc'	zink	
pen	'pen'	pen	
oren	'orange'	oren	
Indien	'Indian'		Cf. *Kalikng* 'Indian' which is not a pejorative term in Bg.
koling-koling	'calling-calling' (telephone')	telefon	Cf. telipoudn; semantic shift resulting from observing people using a short-wave radio.
binggin	'benzine' ('gasoline')	minyak	
pelan	'plan' ('map')	peta	

Another result of borrowing is the introduction of new environments for existing phonemes; i.e. there is a change in the distribution of phonemes. The following borrowed words include consonant clusters which do not normally occur in Bonggi:

[25]The preplosion is voiced before bilabial and alveolar nasals, but voiceless before velar nasals. The contrast in the voicing of the stop portion of preploded nasals in Bonggi is explained in terms of the universal correlation between voicing and place of articulation (cf. Boutin & Howery 1991).

[26]There are no exceptions to the nasal preplosion rule in the words found in §3.1.

Bonggi	English	BM	Remarks
biknik	'picnic'	perkelahan; piknik	An activity that a Bonggi might engage in with a foreigner.
teksi	'taxi'	teksi	
waksup	'workshop'	woksyop	
iksidan	'accident'	kemalangan	Does not undergo nasal preplosion rule.
biskut	'biscuit'	biskut	American Eng 'cookie'.
iskul	'school'	sekolah	
istur	'store' ('shed')	stor	Source: 'store'; semantic shift has occurred. Bg word for store is *kadai*. *Istur* is rarely used; there is no known referent on Banggi Island.
istiring	'steering'	stereng	Does not undergo nasal preplosion rule.
stout	'stout' ('beer')	bir	
duptur	'doctor'	doktor	
nersa	'nurse'	jururawat	

The following borrowed words include vowel patterns which do not normally occur in Bonggi:

Bonggi	English	BM
otel	'hotel'	hotel
loyar	'lawyer'	loyar; peguam
oba taim	'over time'[27]	lebih masa
oba	'over'	

3.2.2. Morphosyntax and borrowing

The majority of English borrowings are nouns. Only a few English verbs have been borrowed, and members of other lexical categories have not been borrowed at all. The small number of borrowed verbs reflects the absence of interaction between Bonggi and English speakers. Of the nouns that have been borrowed, there are NO abstract nouns, although a few abstract concepts have been borrowed (cf. §3.1.6). In fact, there are very few abstract nouns in Bonggi. In comparison, Malay/Indonesian has experienced a proliferation of abstract nouns since World War II, in many cases resulting from language engineering (cf. Alisjahbana 1976:73).

One of the difficult grammatical problems faced in borrowing foreign words is the question of the grammatical form in which the foreign words should be accepted. For example, is the form which is carried over a plural or a singular; a verb or a noun, etc. There are no overt morphosyntactic markers distinguishing borrowed forms in Bonggi;[28] English borrowings are treated as stems and take the usual affixes for the appropriate stem class.[29] Thus, a number of nominal roots have been borrowed from which verbs can then be derived, as illustrated in the following:

Bonggi	English	Verb	English	BM Noun
seripar	'slippers'	*nseripar*	'to wear a slipper'	selipar
burus	'brush'	*murus*	'to brush'	berus
meikap	'makeup'	*meġmeikap*	'to always wear makeup'	dendan

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[27]See Mühlhäusler (1983:57) for compounds in Samoan Plantation Pidgin containing *taim* 'time' as the second element.

[28]An example of overt morphosyntactic markers could be the presence or absence of certain classifiers or qualifiers.

[29]The discussion of verb stem classes is beyond the scope of this paper (cf. Boutin 1991).

seimpu	'shampoo'	*neimpu*	'to shampoo'	syampu
iskul	'school'	*ngiskul*	'to go to school'	sekolah
		piskul	'to cause to go to school'[30]	
kemplain	'complain'	*ngemplain*	'to complain'	
pelan	'plan'	*melan*	'to make a map'	peta
miting	'meeting'	*megmiting*	'to have a meeting'	mesyuarat
pam	'pump'	*ngepam*	'to spray'	sembur
		ingepam	'sprayed'	
		inepam	'to be sprayed'	
pous	'post box'	*mous*	'to mail a letter'	peti surat
pulutik	'politics'	*mulutik*	'to politic'	politik
rangkap	'handcuff'	*ngerangkap*	'to handcuff'	rantai
ruput	'report'	*nguruput*	'to report'	melapor
		inguruput	'reported'	
		megruput	'to always report'	
kilinik	'clinic'	*ngilinik*	'to take to clinic'	klinik
dook	'dock'	*ngedook*	'to dock'	limbungan; dok
telipoudn	'telephone'	*nelipoudn*	'to telephone'	telefon
sinsu	'chainsaw'	*ninsu*	'to cut with chainsaw'	
paking	'parking'	*making*	'to park'	letak kereta
simin	'cement'	*nimin*	'to cement'	simen
las	'last'	*ngelas*	'to make last'	terakhir
hoon	'horn'	*ngehoon*	'to honk'	hon

Some borrowed English verbs only occur as verbs including: *estup* 'stop', *injoy* 'enjoy', and *terebaling* 'traveling'. Interesting idiosyncrasies associated with a couple of borrowed words include: 1) English 'hello' (*helou* in Bonggi) occurs as a greeting in telephone usage; 2) word boundaries are ignored in the borrowing of 'shake hands' which becomes *sikan* in Bonggi (cf. *sekan* 'shake hands' in Tok Pisin (Mühlhäusler 1986:167)); and 3) the English title 'Mrs.' is treated as a personal name (*si Misis*) referring to the wife of the former Cattle Farm manager.[31]

One indicator of indirect borrowing occurs when borrowed concepts are expressed as compound nouns, but only one element of the compound noun is borrowed from English. This is illustrated in the following where the borrowed English words are underlined:

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[30]Different derivational and inflectional affixes can occur with the same stem. I have not tried to list all the possibilities here; instead, I provide a sample of some of the possibilities with a couple of the roots, e.g. *iskul* 'school', *pam* 'sprayer', and *ruput* 'report'.

[31]The form *misis* 'Mrs.' also occurs in Tok Pisin (Todd 1984:172), and is a polite form of 'wife' in Singapore and Malaysian English (Platt 1982:396-97).

Bonggi	English	BM	Remarks
ikan tin	'tin can'	tin	*Ikan* is BM for 'fish'. 'Tin' is British Eng (cf. 'can' in American Eng). Semantic shift from 'canned fish' to 'canned food'.
lampu pam	'pressure lamp' ('pump')	lampu pam	Kerosene lamp.
bab lampu	'flashlight bulb'	mentol lampu suluh	
lana gaas	'kerosene' ('gas')	minyak tanah	
lana inggidn	'engine oil'	minyak pelincir	
bintang pilm	'film star'	bintang filem	*Bintang* 'star' does not undergo nasal preplosion rule, and is borrowed from Malay.
tunggat waridn	'police club' ('warrant')	belantan; cota	

4. CONCLUSION

With respect to the route leading to borrowing, it is traditionally assumed that all borrowing by one language from another is based on bilingual mastery of the two languages (cf. Haugen 1950:210). According to Haugen (1950:216), a small group of bilinguals can spread loans among a monolingual majority.[32] This view requires at least some degree of bilingualism, and assumes a direct borrowing route from the source language to the borrowing language. Such a view cannot be held in the case of English borrowings in Bonggi. The assumption that borrowing is dependent upon bilinguals who have mastered both the source (English) and the borrowing language (Bonggi) is false. My main claim is that English borrowings cannot be due to bilingual speakers of Bonggi and English, and only a few borrowings are the result of direct contact between speakers of these two languages.

First, with respect to bilingualism, no Bonggi has ever been bilingual in English. The best opportunity for bilingualism came when the Cattle Farm had a manager from New Zealand. However, the Bonggi who had the most contact with the manager and his wife would not consider themselves bilingual in English, nor would I. Perhaps someone might argue that a few Bonggi were bilingual at one point, but subsequently lost their English ability. However, there is no evidence for such an argument.

Second, with respect to language contact, both the social contexts and the contacts between English and Bonggi speakers have been extremely limited (cf. §2). In fact, the contacts were so limited that probably more English borrowings in Bonggi result from indirect loans filtered through another language than from contact with native speakers of English (i.e. direct loans). In the absence of etymologies, three reasons for indirect loans are: 1) historical evidence for relative isolation of the Bonggi from English speakers (cf. §2); 2) the types of English words which have been borrowed (primarily nouns dealing with modernization, cf. §3); and 3) the sociolinguistic patterns of language use between the Bonggi and speakers of other languages, whereby Bonggi learn and speak the language of the other group (cf. §2.2).

§2.2 pointed out that of the six ethnic groups living on Banggi Island, the Bonggi have the least social status. This social structure is carried over to the market town of Kudat on the mainland. In face-to-face interaction with people from other ethnic groups, the Bonggi accomodate to the other group's language. This means that in general, the Bonggi are excellent language learners. In Kudat the Bonggi normally sleep on the boat, which often belongs to someone from another ethnic group. This provides opportunities to speak and listen to other

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[32]Thomason & Kaufman (1988:37) also point out that lexical borrowing frequently takes place without **widespread** bilingualism.

languages. Modernization always effects Kudat before Banggi and Balambangan islands. I suspect that many English borrowings were originally learned in Kudat, then other Bonggi picked up the borrowings from those who visited Kudat. Some borrowed items have never existed on Banggi or Balambangan, e.g. *sumil* 'sawmill', *kustubm* 'customs office', and *peleiman* 'parliament'.

With respect to the reasons leading to English borrowing, there are three. The first and main reason for borrowing was the need for new labels arising from increased modernization. These labels were primarily for nouns as shown in §3. The semantic domains of primary significance to the Bonggi were not affected by these borrowings.

Second, despite the relative isolation of the Bonggi historically, some Bonggi had limited contact with English speakers. This limited contact gave rise to a need to communicate to a certain extent, which, in turn, resulted in lexical borrowing in Bonggi. The need to communicate with English speakers was primarily restricted to the place of work. Direct borrowing did not arise from trading with the English speakers, but from working for them. However, most Bonggi did not need to know any English. If one Bonggi could understand enough English to find out what the others were suppose to do, that was sufficient for the group. Thus, any prestabilized pidgin variety that may have been used would have only been used by a very limited number of Bonggi speakers due to the limited contact between the Bonggi and English speakers. The coconut schemes, tobacco plantation, and cattle farm where the Bonggi have worked for English speakers are unlike the plantations described by Sankoff (1979:24). The Bonggi were not cut off from their native language; they were wage earners, not a displaced people group. In fact, they usually worked together on a scheme/plantation or at the cattle farm during the daytime, and walked home at night with fellow Bonggi. Thus, some of Sankoff's generalizations regarding "Pacific" plantations do not fit the Banggi Island case.

The third reason for borrowing was that the use of English loans conferred prestige upon the speaker. To this day, one of the primary reasons for wanting to learn a few English phrases is *nggien ngedanga* 'something to show off' (cf. Mühlhäusler 1986:63).[33]

Finally, one very general explanation for the presence of English loanwords is found in the growth of English as a world language. It is well-recognized that in linguistic history, no language has touched the lives of so many people, in so many cultures and places, as has the English language since the 1930s (Kachru 1990:5). Regional varieties of English (e.g. Malaysian, Brunei, and Singapore English) may also provide a broad sociological explanation for borrowing English words in the indigenous languages of Borneo. Although English has had an impact on Bonggi, it has neither permeated the Bonggi language, nor is it threatening its existence.

This paper has emphasized the importance of history to borrowing by examining the sociohistorical context in which English borrowings in Bonggi have taken place. The study of history is necessary in order to understand borrowings which are an important aspect of language use in Borneo. Both past and present patterns of language use in Borneo cannot be studied thoroughly without reference to the social context in which they are embedded.

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[33]Cf. Thomason & Kaufman (1988:43-45) for a critique of prestige as a social factor in borrowing.

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