

A diachronic view of Enggano voice alternations

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1. Introduction

- ❖ This paper presents a case study of the development of voice alternations in Enggano, an Austronesian language spoken on Enggano Island, Sumatra, by c. 1,500 speakers.
- ❖ We provide evidence that an erstwhile antipassive construction has been reanalysed as an active/transitive clause type.
- ❖ The development from antipassive to active is well-attested cross-linguistically (Creissels 2018, Zúñiga 2018) as well as in other Austronesian languages (Aldridge 2012b, Hemmings 2021).
- ❖ What makes Enggano particularly interesting is that we can plot this change in a single language across a few generations since we have access to a substantial documentary corpus from the 1930s (Kähler 1940, 1955, 1957, 1958, 1960a, b, 1961, 1962, 1964, 1975, 1987) as well as contemporary materials collected as part of an ongoing documentation project (2018-present).
- ❖ Moreover, unlike other Austronesian languages, the *aH-* morpheme that marks the antipassive in Old Enggano is not directly tied into a symmetrical voice system, since the typical functions of Austronesian actor voice (AV) are divided in Enggano between different prefixes (*aH-*, *bu-* and *ki-*).
- ❖ This, we argue, may explain why the *aH-* construction in Enggano undergoes similar changes to Austronesian AV, without becoming the basic (=most frequent) transitive clause type.

- ❖ **Roadmap:**
 - Introduction to Enggano
 - The *aH-* construction in Old Enggano
 - The *aH-* construction in contemporary Enggano
 - Implications for Austronesian Voice
 - Conclusions

2. The Enggano Language

- ❖ Enggano is spoken on Enggano island, the southernmost of the Barrier Islands, which are situated along the southwest coast of Sumatra and also include Simeuluë, Nias and the Mentawai islands.
- ❖ Most scholars classify Enggano as Austronesian (Dyen 1965, Edwards 2015, Nothofer 1986, Smith 2017, 2020)¹ but disagree on whether Enggano forms a subgroup with the Barrier Island and Batak languages of Sumatra (McDonnell & Billings 2022, Nothofer 1986, Smith 2017) or a primary branch of Malayo-Polynesian (Edwards 2015).

¹ See Capell (1982) and Blench (2014) for earlier claims that Enggano was a non-Austronesian or mixed language that had borrowed vocabulary via contact with Austronesian.

- ❖ Enggano is spoken in several villages across the island, as shown in Figure 1:

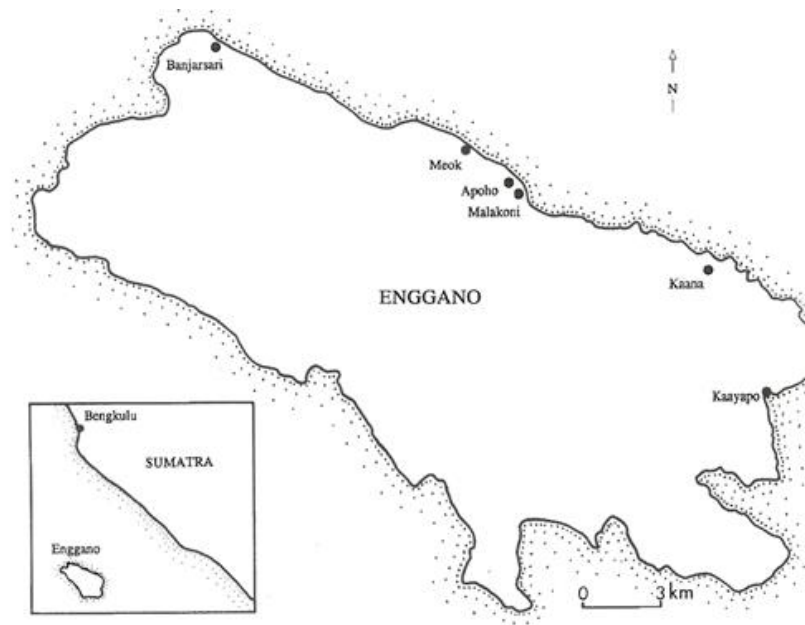


Figure 1. Map of Enggano Island (from Ter Keurs 2006: 134)

- ❖ It is considered endangered, as younger speakers are increasingly switching to the national language, Indonesian, and learn Enggano from their grandparents rather than their parents (see Arka et al. 2022).
- ❖ The degree of endangerment differs between villages. Enggano is most vital in the central villages, such as Meok, Apoho and Malakoni. In northern villages, such as Banjarsari, and southern villages, such as Kaana and Kayapo, non-Enggano populations are higher, leading to greater degrees of language shift.
- ❖ Enggano has a long history of documentation:
 - Early wordlists were collected by government officials and civil servants (e.g. Boewang 1854, Helfrich 1893, 1916, Helfrich & Pieters 1891, Oudemans 1879, 1889, Van der Straaten & Severijn 1855, von Rosenberg 1855, Walland 1864)
 - Based on a seven month stay between 1937-1938, Hans Kähler produced a sketch grammar (Kähler 1940), a text collection (Kähler 1955, 1957, 1958, 1960a, b, 1961, 1962, 1964, 1975) and a dictionary published posthumously (Kähler 1987).
 - More recent works, including those collected by government agencies in Indonesia, demonstrate important changes (Nikelas, Rasyad & Semi 1994, Riswari et al. 2021, Wijaya 2018, Yoder 2011)
 - Finally, the authors of the paper are involved in an ongoing documentation project (2019-2023) funded by the AHRC, UK (Grant AH/S011064/1) and building upon pilot work in 2018, funded by the Endangered Language Fund and the University of Oxford's John Fell fund.
 - We have collected a corpus of audio and video materials predominantly from Meok village, as well as Swadesh word lists from across Enggano Island and

are in the process of producing a grammar, a FLEx database of glossed texts and a lexicon.²

- ❖ Henceforth, we will refer to the variety documented by Kähler as Old Enggano, and that documented in our own corpus, as well as other materials collected in the last 30 years, as Contemporary Enggano.
- ❖ Several important morpho-phonological changes occurred between Old Enggano and Contemporary Enggano:

Process	Old Enggano	Contemporary Enggano
final-vowel deletion	<i>hēku</i> <i>pia</i> <i>koyo</i>	<i>hēk</i> ‘sit’ <i>pi</i> ‘garden’ <i>koi</i> ‘pig’
/o/ → /ə/	<i>dohoi</i> <i>no’oni</i> <i>’obu</i>	<i>dēhē</i> ‘hear’ <i>nē’èn</i> ‘now’ <i>’èb</i> ‘do’
glide insertion for vowel initial roots	<i>e-uba</i> <i>e-ici</i> <i>e-hũã</i>	<i>iub</i> ‘house’ <i>iic</i> ‘sound/word’ <i>hũũ</i> ‘fruit’
/d/ → /r/	<i>huda</i> <i>dēhēda</i>	<i>hiur</i> ‘woman’ <i>dühur</i> ‘finish’
/b/ → /m/	<i>’obu</i> <i>pakoba</i> <i>’adiba</i>	<i>’èm</i> ‘do’ <i>pakom</i> ‘meet’ <i>arim</i> ‘five’
loss of /h/ in roots containing another /h/	<i>kāhāhō</i> <i>daha:uhu</i>	<i>kāāh</i> ‘afraid’ <i>dauoh</i> ‘thunder’
vowel elision	<i>do’orao</i> <i>pakahade</i> <i>k-āhāpī-hi</i> (cf. <i>k-āhāpī</i>)	<i>do’ra</i> ‘sand’ <i>pakahre</i> ‘kill’ <i>k-āhpī-h</i> ‘like (tr)’ (cf. <i>k-āhāp</i>)

- ❖ In this paper, however, we focus on morphosyntactic change, namely the reanalysis of the *aH-* morpheme.
- ❖ Old Enggano examples are drawn from the (1940) grammar and the text collection. Our examples are taken from the contemporary corpus: they are given a recording title and indication of text genre (e.g. text vs elicitation)

3. The *aH-* morpheme in Old Enggano

- ❖ To illustrate the function of *aH-*, it is necessary to understand a little bit about Old Enggano morphosyntax.

- ❖ In Old Enggano, there is a clear distinction between nouns and verbs:

² A selection of recordings are already available on the project website: <https://enggano.ling-phil.ox.ac.uk/static/recordings.html> and the full corpus/database will be accessible by the end of the project.

- Nouns are marked with a case marker:
 - *e-* for subjects/objects (DIRECT)³;
 - *u-* for obliques including possessors (OBLIQUE)
 - *i-* for locatives (LOCATIVE)
- Verbs occur in one of three main forms:
 - *ki-* marked verbs typically occur in relative clauses (FOCUS);
 - *bu-* marked verbs occur in realis main clauses and are (generally) verb-initial;
 - bare verbs occur in irrealis contexts, e.g. negative clauses, imperatives, and optatives/hortatives.⁴
- When used as main clause verbs, *bu-* verbs co-occur with set 1 subject agreement markers, whilst bare verbs co-occur with set 2:

	Set 1	Set 2
1SG	' <i>u-</i>	' <i>u-</i>
2SG	' <i>o-</i>	<i>u-</i>
3SG	<i>ka-</i>	<i>i-</i>
1PL.INCL ⁵	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>
1PL.EXCL	' <i>u-</i> - ' <i>ai</i>	' <i>u-</i> - ' <i>ai</i>
2PL	' <i>o-</i> - <i>a'a</i>	<i>u-</i> - <i>a'a</i>
3PL	<i>da-/di-/ki-</i>	<i>da-</i>

- *ki-* verbs never co-occur with agreement markers of any sort.
- Given the formal alternation between *bu-* (cognate with the PAN **-um-* actor voice marker) and bare verbs, as well as the change in the form of subject markers, we view the choice of *bu-* vs bare in Enggano as similar to actor voice/undergoer voice alternations in other Austronesian languages, where arguments take different case forms depending on their function within the voice system (see e.g. Himmelmann 2005, Riesberg 2014)
- However, there are derivational affixes that can occur with both nominal (*e-*, *u-* and *i-*) and verbal (*ki-*, *bu-*, subject agreement) makers:
 - *pa-* causative/reciprocal,
 - *-i* and *-a'a* applicatives
 - *di-* passive⁶
 - *aba-* associated motion
 - *aH-*

³ A subclass of human nouns takes *e-* for singular and *ka-* for plural direct case. Another subset, largely restricted to kin terms, takes \emptyset - in singular and *kaho-* in plural.

⁴ Both *bu-* and bare verbs also occur in embedded clauses/serial verb constructions: verbal predicates that follow auxiliaries are typically in *bu-* form. Bare verbs (often combined with *aba-*) can have a resultative function. There is a class of verbs for which *bu-* is not marked (many of these verbs begin with *pa-*, which can have a causative/reciprocal function but also functions simply as a stem formative for other verbs). For these verbs, *bu-* form and bare form are indistinguishable except for the subject agreement markers.

⁵ Kähler (1940) describes a difference between 1DU.INCL (*ka-*) and 1PL.INCL (*ka-* - *a'a*) but said that the dual form is often used to mark plural and that the erstwhile distinction was already more or less lost in 1930s.

⁶ Though this only co-occurs with *ki-* in verbal constructions.

3.1 Antipassive Function

- ❖ The *aH-* prefix appears to be cognate with the homorganic *N-* that replaced **-um-* as a marker of actor voice in many Western Austronesian languages outside Taiwan and the Philippines (cf. Edwards 2015 on the correspondence between Enggano /h/ and *ŋ)
- ❖ Like the nasal prefix in other Austronesian languages (Blust 2013), *aH-* triggers changes to the initial consonant of the root that it attaches to:
 - /p/ → [b] / _ oral vowels/voiced stops
 - /p/ → [m] / _ nasal vowel/nasal stops
 - /k/ → [d] / _ oral vowels/voiced stops
 - /k/ → [n] / _ nasal vowels/nasal stops
- ❖ This can be understood as a process of nasal substitution for voiceless stops, combined with nasal harmony (Smith 2020): an innovative feature of Enggano phonology that requires words to be either nasal or oral at the word level and would revert the nasal substitute back to [b] and [d] in words that contained only oral vowels and consonants
- ❖ Hence, the morpheme *aH-* has the following allomorphs (Kähler 1940: 205-206):

Form of <i>aH-</i>	Examples
<i>ab-</i>	pudu → abudu ‘kill’
<i>am-</i>	pãũ → amãũ ‘mash’
<i>ad-</i>	kodo → adodo ‘swallow’ ⁷
<i>an-</i>	kīpā → anīpā ‘strike’
<i>ahan-</i>	hēka → ahanēka ‘cut’
<i>aha-</i>	mīnũ’ũi → ahamīnũ’ũi ‘smell’ bubu’ui → ahabubu’ui ‘splash’ nēnēāhā:ĩ → ahanēāhā:ĩ ‘bait’ duduki → ahaduduki ‘roast’ ‘obu → aha’obu ‘do’ ⁸ odi → aha:odi ‘buy’
<i>ah-</i>	ede → ahede ‘climb’

- ❖ When the stem is formed with *pa-*, there is variation:

Form of <i>aH-</i>	Examples
<i>paha-</i>	pakūkūā’ā → pahakūkūā’ā ‘agree’ pabēha → pahabēha ‘cook’ pa’uoho → paha’uoho ‘lay down’
<i>pahan-</i>	pahapue → pahanapue ‘bring together’ pahēkū → pahanēkū ‘put down/seat’
<i>am-</i>	paka’ā:ũā’ā → amakā’ā:ũā’ā ‘know’ ⁹ pakūnā’ā → amakūnā’ā ‘teach’
<i>ab-</i>	paici → abaici ‘call’ ¹⁰
<i>ahab-</i>	padi’o → ahabadi’o ‘make’ pa:EkE → ahaba:EkE ‘bathe’

⁷ Sometimes *aha-* and *ad-* exist as variants: e.g. korE → kadorE/kahakorE (Kähler 1975)

⁸ There is also a variant pronunciation of this with vowel assimilation: *aho’obu* (Kähler 1964)

⁹ Only attested in nominalisations

¹⁰ Also a variant *kahabaici* (Kähler 1958)

- ❖ Finally, the same function as *aH-* can also be fulfilled by *pa-* and *a'i-* with certain verb roots:

Alternative to <i>aH-</i>	Examples
<i>pa-</i>	pee → papee ‘give’ pèa → papèa ‘see’ (?) dohoi → padohoi ‘hear’ korei → pakorei ‘answer’ kuhai → pakuhai ‘help’ ōmō → paōmō ‘watch over’
<i>a'i-</i>	nā’ā → ā’īnā’ā ‘take’ dodo → a’idodo ‘grasp/hold’

- ❖ Kähler (1940: 205) describes the *aH-* prefix as marking the “intensive” form of verbs.
- ❖ However, it has the canonical properties of an antipassive when attached to a transitive verb (see e.g. Cooreman 1994, Polinsky 2005, 2017).¹¹
- ❖ Syntactically, P is demoted to an oblique:

- (1) a. **Transitive (*ki-* form)**
 ’o’o ki-pudu e-koyo e’ana
 2SG FOC-kill DIR-pig DEM
 ‘You killed the pig’ (Kähler 1940: 205)
- b. **Antipassive**
 ’o’o k-a-budu (i’ioo) u-koyo e’ana
 2SG FOC-ANTIP-kill (to) OBL-pig DEM
 ‘You killed the pig’ (Kähler 1940: 205)
- (2) a. **Transitive (*bu-* form)**
 da-k<ub>ode=ha e=mehe-na
 3PL.SET1-<BU>carry_on_shoulder=EMPH DIR=food-3PL.GEN
 ‘They carried their food on their shoulders.’ (Kähler 1975: 49, §6)
- b. **Antipassive**
 da-b-a-dode=ha u=dohoao
 3PL.SET.1-BU-ANTIP-carry_on_shoulder=EMPH OBL=boat
 ‘They carried the boats on their shoulders.’ (Kähler 1975: 49, §9)

- ❖ We know it is syntactically intransitive, since only intransitive predicates occur with *bu-* in subordinate clauses:

- (3) a. a=m-ahan-əka ki i’ioo u-da’a:-ə-da e-koyo
 SUBORD=BU-ANTIP-cut 3PL to OBL-catch-PAT.NOM-3PL DIR-pig
 ‘when they cut up the pigs they have caught’ (Kähler 1975: 112, §28)

¹¹ Note that whilst antipassives are very common in languages with syntactic ergativity, they are not restricted to any particular alignment type (Janic 2013, Mithun 2021). Hence, we do not assume that Old Enggano was ergative.

- ❖ Many naturally-occurring instances of *aH-* occur in nominalisations (i.e. with nominal case markers like direct *e-*), where it marks an action nominalisation:¹⁴

- (8)
- pudu ‘kill’ → eabudu ‘killing’
 - itè ‘drink’ → eahitè ‘drinking’
 - ĩhã ‘divide’ → eahã:ĩhã ‘division’
 - ami’i ‘tie together/punish’ → eahami’i ‘punishment’
 - kèda’a ‘tell’ → adèda’a ‘story/telling’
 - ko’o ‘plant’ → eado’o ‘planting’
 - kixo ‘burn’ → eadixo ‘burning’
 - kõpõ ‘bury’ → eanõpõ ‘burial’
 - pākã’ã:ũã’ã ‘know’ → eamākã’ã:ũã’ã ‘knowledge’
 - hèka ‘cut’ → eahanèka ‘cutting’

- ❖ This shares semantic characteristics with the verbal antipassives, since they also highlight action over effect.
- ❖ It is possible that *aH-* also had a (historical?) derivational function, forming certain intransitive verbs, e.g. *ahado* ‘get up’ (from *aH-* + *ado* ‘feel’), *ahito* ‘spit’ (from *aH-* + *ito* ‘spit’). This would make sense since it is common for *N-* to derive unergative intransitive verbs as well as marking AV in Austronesian languages (Aldridge 2012a, Hemmings 2016).

4. The *aH-* morpheme in Contemporary Enggano

- ❖ Building on Yoder (2011) and Wijaya (2018), we find that the morphosyntax of contemporary Enggano is generally similar, except:
 - Nouns are no longer obligatorily marked with case-markers:
 - *e-* is optional and generally omitted;
 - *u-* is only attested in fossilised compounds (e.g. *na ua* ‘big toe’ < *enai uaE* ‘mother of the foot’);
 - and *i-* appears to behave like a preposition (*i pi* ‘in the garden’).
 - Hence, the difference between nouns and verbs is now encoded by the fact that verbs tend to occur in *ki-*, *bu-* and bare form with subject agreement, whilst nouns are unmarked.

	Set 1	Set 2
1SG	<i>u-</i>	<i>u-</i>
2SG	<i>é-</i>	<i>u-</i>
3SG	<i>ka-</i>	<i>i-</i>
1PL.INCL ¹⁵	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>u- -a</i>	<i>u- -a</i>
2PL	<i>é- -a</i>	<i>u- -a</i>
3PL	<i>da-, di-, ki-</i>	<i>i-</i>

¹⁴ This applies to transitive verbs, many intransitive verbs take *aba-* in their action nominalisation forms: *eaba’ao* ‘death’ (from *a’ao* ‘die’), *eabaké’a* ‘arrival’ (from *aké’a* ‘arrive’), *eabapèa* ‘seeing’.

¹⁵ Kähler (1940) describes a difference between 1DU.INCL (*ka-*) and 1PL.INCL (*ka- -a’u*) but said that the dual form is often used to mark plural and that the erstwhile distinction was already more or less lost in 1930s.

4.1 Antipassive to Active?

- ❖ The *aH-* morpheme still triggers changes to the initial consonant of the root.
 - /k/ → /r/ before oral vowels/voiced stops
 - Consonant changes are combined with an epenthetic *h-*:

Form of <i>aH-</i>	Examples
<i>ab-/ahb-</i>	pai' → ahbai' 'throw' pari' → abari'/ahbari' 'make'
<i>am-/ahm-</i>	pīh → ahmīh 'squeeze'
<i>ar-/ahr-</i>	kè' → arè' 'plant' kor → ahror 'lift' keke' → ahreke' 'pound' ku'ia' → aru'ia' 'push'
<i>an-/ahn-</i>	ki'kon → ani'kon 'peel' kama → anama 'sharpen' kum → ahnum 'pinch'
<i>ahan-/ahn</i>	hük → ahanük 'cut' hē → ahnē 'wipe' hüan → ahnüan 'sweep'
<i>ah-</i>	mita' → ahmita' 'ask' nene → ahnene 'flirt' bato → ahbato 'read' dih → ahdih 'clear a field' 'une' → a'une'/ahune' 'cut/sheer' er → aher 'climb' inèn → ahinèn 'look for' èr → ahèr 'buy' it → ahit 'drink' ùar → ahùar 'search' anok → kahnok 'wash' ino → kahino 'dig'
<i>pah-</i>	paku' → pahku' 'throw away' paküa' → pahküa' 'break'
<i>pahn-</i>	pahapue → pahanapue 'bring together' pahēkū → pahanēkū 'put down/seat'
<i>am-</i>	pakō'ōā' → iamakō'ōā' 'know'
<i>ahb-</i>	paek → ahbaek 'bathe'

Alternative to <i>aH-</i>	Examples
<i>pa-/pah-</i>	pe → pahpe 'give' pü → papü 'see' kuha → paruha 'help' èm → pahèm 'wait/watch over'
<i>a'-</i>	na' → a'na' 'take' dèr → a'dèr 'grasp/hold'

- ❖ The *aH-* form often combines with *pa-* even when *pa-* is not found in the stem, e.g. *parüda* 'tell' (from *küda*'), *pahbé* 'hit' (from *abé*), *parai* 'catch' (from *kai*).

- ❖ Syntactically, this is not a demoting construction anymore and hence we can talk about a change from antipassive to active:

- (9) a. **Ki- form with verb root**
 u k-it bè
 1SG KI-drink water
 ‘I drink water’ (Basic Structures, elicitation)
- b. **Ki- form with aH-**
 u k-ah-it bir
 1SG KI-ANTIP-drink beer
 ‘I drink beer’ (Basic Structures, elicitation)
- c. **Ki- form with aH-**
 mè’ k-a-nama (e-)kupar
 REL FOC-ANTIP-sharpen (DIR-)fence
 ‘who was sharpening fence posts’ (Kähler 1955 retelling, translation)

- ❖ We know that the object is core rather than oblique since it is not marked with a preposition (unlike regular obliques) and can optionally take the *e-* direct noun marker.

- (10) a. **Contemporary Enggano Obliques**
 u k-ããh o be
 1SG KI-scared OBL dog
 ‘I am scared of the dog/dogs’ (basic structures, extra elicitation)¹⁶
- b. *u k-ããh be
 1SG KI-scared dog
 For: ‘I am scared of the dog/dogs’ (basic structures, extra elicitation)
- c. u ki-pe buku o Selus
 1SG KI-give book OBL Selus
 ‘I give a book to Selus’ (basic structures, extra elicitation)
- (11) a. **Contemporary Enggano aH-**
 *u k-ah-it o bè
 1SG KI-ANTIP-drink OBL water
 For: ‘I drink water’ (fieldnotes, elicitation)
- b. u k-ah-it e-bè
 1SG KI-ANTIP-drink NM-water
 ‘I drink water’ (fieldnotes, elicitation)

¹⁶ This refers to elicitation with our main consultant, Engga Zakaria, using the original recording as a prompt.

- ❖ However, there are some semantic properties associated with antipassives retained in *aH*- constructions in contemporary Enggano:

- Imperfective aspectual reading:

- (12) a. ki k-ër e-'iai
3SG KI-buy NM-fish
'She buys fish (habitually)' (basic structures, extra elicitation)
- b. ki k-ah-ër e-'iai
3SG KI-ANTIP-buy NM-fish
'She is buying fish' (basic structures, extra elicitation)
(translated with Indonesian *sedang*)
- a. ki k-ùdia' e-'iai
3SG KI-sell NM-fish
'She sells fish' (habitually) (Basic Structures, extra elicitation)
- b. ki k-ah-ùdia' e-'iai
3SG KI-ANTIP-sell NM-fish
'She is selling fish' (right now) (Basic Structures, extra elicitation)

- indefinite/generic/zero P

- (13) a. **Generic P**
untuk i-ah ba-kèkè m-ah-inùn no-h
for 3-go AM-walk BU-ANTIP-search eat-PAT.NOM
'to go and look for food' (Adat Perkawinan, text)
- b. **Zero P**
laju u-b-a-riè'-a lagi
then 1.EXCL-BU-ANTIP-clean-PL again
'Then we weeded again' (Kegiatan Harian, text)

- Though unlike antipassives, P can be a direct pronouns in *aH*- constructions

- (14) a. **Pronominal P**
u-p-ah-èm è'
1.EXCL-PA-ANTIP-wait 2SG
'I wait for you' (voice, elicitation)

- ❖ On a discourse level, the verbal construction is (slightly) more frequent in contemporary Enggano:
 - If we compare the folk story in Kähler (1955) with a contemporary retelling collected during the current documentation project we see the following:

	total clauses	verbal clauses	<i>aH</i> - verbal clauses	% of verbal clauses
Old Enggano	350	274	2*	<1
Contemporary Enggano	345	298	13**	4

*11 instances altogether but the other 9 occur in nominalisations

**18 instances altogether but the other 5 occur in nominalisations¹⁷

- *aH*- forms are regularly elicited as translations of *meN*- verbs in Indonesian. This is shown in Wijaya (2018) where the *aH*- prefix occurs in at least 164 of the 227 examples.
- ❖ However, this is arguably not the level of change expected if *aH*- verbs were reanalysed as the basic transitive clause type (see Janic & Hemmings 2021).
- ❖ Consequently, comparing Old Enggano and Contemporary Enggano demonstrates a reanalysis from object demotion construction to non-demoting construction but without significant changes in discourse frequency.

5. Implications

- ❖ The comparison of Old Enggano and Contemporary Enggano has shown that *aH*- is no longer associated with object demotion
- ❖ Hence, Enggano can be seen as another example of an Austronesian language where a morpheme cognate with PMP actor voice morphology is reanalysed from antipassive to active (Hemmings 2021).
- ❖ What is interesting in Enggano is that *aH*- is only associated with the object demotion/ antipassive-like function of actor voice
- ❖ In conservative Austronesian languages actor voice has several other functions:
 - It marks the actor as pivot for extraction

(15) Tagalog Actor Pivot

- a. matalino ang lalaki[=ng bumasa ng diyaryo]
 intelligent NOM man=LNK AV.read GEN newspaper
 ‘The man who read a newspaper is intelligent’
- b. *interesante ng diyaryo[=ng bumasa ang lalaki]
 interesting GEN newspaper=LNK AV.read NOM man
 For: ‘The newspaper that the man read is interesting’
 (Schachter 1976: 500)

¹⁷ *aH*- can also be used for action nominalisations in contemporary Enggano, e.g. *iahmita* ‘asking’ (from *mita* ‘ask’ < Indonesian *mintā*), *iahit* ‘drinking’ (from *it* ‘drink’), *ia’na* ‘taking’ (from *na* ‘take’). It also survives in derived forms, such as *ahar* ‘get up’ and *ahit* ‘spit’.

- It represents a (lower transitivity) option for expressing transitive predicates as part of a symmetrical voice system

(16) **Tagalog Voice Alternations**

- a. K<um>ain ako ng=isda
<AV.PFV>eat 1SG.NOM GEN=fish
'I ate (a) fish/fishes'.
- b. K<in>ain ko ang=isda
<UV.PFV>eat 1SG.GEN NOM=fish
'I ate the fish/the fishes'. (Latrouite 2011: 190)

- ❖ In cases where AV morphology has been reanalysed from antipassive-like to active-like, this is often accompanied by changes in the discourse frequency and functional markedness of AV clauses, which can be understood as equivalent to alignment shift (Janic & Hemmings 2021)¹⁸
- ❖ In Enggano, however, *bu-* clauses are the most frequent, unmarked clause type in Old Enggano and remain so in contemporary Enggano. Hence, there is no evidence of “alignment shift” as such.
- ❖ This, we argue, stems from the fact that the functions of AV have been divided between different constructions:
 - *ki-* verbs are used for “focus” constructions such as relative clauses:

(17) **Enggano Relative Clauses**

- a. e-ko'E'E hēmō'ō k-ayo'oi e-paE e'ana
dir-devil rel ki-follow dir-child dem.med
'The devil who followed the child' (Kähler 1955: 90, §13)

- The choice of *bu-* versus bare seemx to derive from voice alternations but now reflects a realis/irrealis mood distinction:

(18) **Enggano *bu-* vs bare alternation**

- a. ka-bu-pəa=da'a e-dahao-dia e-ka'ai'io
3.SET1-BU-see=PRED DIR-niece-3SG.GEN DIR-spear
'His niece saw the spear' (Kähler 1975: 62, §29)
- b. ka-bu-pudu kia
3.SET1-BU-kill 3SG
'They fought against him' (Kähler 1975: 61, §25)
- c. kea-ba'a i-pudu e-koyo e'ana
NEG-INTENSIVE 3.SET2-kill DIR-pig DEM.MED
'He didn't kill the pig' (Kähler 1940: 101)

¹⁸ Note that alignment is notoriously difficult to establish in symmetrical voice languages (see e.g. Kroeger 1993 for discussion, 2004). However, we argue that a symmetrical voice language is accusative if AV is functionally unmarked (=discourse frequent, semantically prototypical), whilst it is ergative if UV is functionally unmarked (Janic & Hemmings 2021).

➤ *aH-* can co-occur with *ki-*, *bu-* and bare verbs!

- (19) a. **Transitive (bare form)**
 kea-ba'a i-pudu e-koyo e'ana
 NEG-INTENSIVE 3.SET2-kill DIR-pig DEM.MED
 'He didn't kill the pig' (Kähler 1940: 101)
- b. **Antipassive**
 kea-ba'a u-a-budu (i'ioo) u-koyo e'ana
 NEG-INTENS 2.SET2-ANTIP-kill (to) OBL-pig DEM
 'you don't kill that pig' (Kähler 1940: 104)

❖ This may explain why *aH-* undergoes a change from antipassive to transitive without increasing in discourse frequency as might be expected, since it functions as a derivational prefix separate from voice alternations in Enggano.

6. Conclusion

- ❖ In this paper, we have shown that Enggano *aH-* verbal constructions have been reanalysed from antipassives in Old Enggano, to non-demoting in Contemporary Enggano
- ❖ However, unlike other Austronesian languages in which a similar change has been documented, this happens without changes in discourse frequency/functional markedness that could support an analysis of alignment shift.
- ❖ We argued that this is a consequence of unique developments in the prehistory of Enggano that led to the functions of Austronesian actor voice being divided between different constructions, with symmetrical voice morphology reanalysed as encoding TAM distinctions.
- ❖ Consequently, the Enggano data provides further support to the idea that antipassives are particularly amenable to historical reanalysis (see e.g. Aldridge 2012b), independently of alignment, and their role in voice/transitivity alternations.

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