

A diachronic view of Enggano voice alternations

Charlotte Hemmings, Erik Zobel, Mary Dalrymple

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Introduction

- This paper presents a case study of the development of voice alternations in **Enggano**, an Austronesian language spoken on Enggano Island, Sumatra.
- We provide evidence that an **antipassive construction** has been reanalysed as an **active/transitive clause type**.
- This development is well-attested cross-linguistically (Creissels 2018, Zúñiga 2018) as well as in other Austronesian languages (Aldridge 2012b, Hemmings 2021).

Introduction

- What makes Enggano particularly interesting is that we can plot this change in a **single language**, whereas other studies of Austronesian have compared conservative and innovative varieties.
- Moreover, unlike other Austronesian languages, the *aH-* morpheme that marks the antipassive in Old Enggano is not directly tied into a **symmetrical voice system**
- The typical functions of Austronesian **actor voice** (AV) are divided in Enggano between different prefixes (*aH-*, *bu-* and *ki-*).

Introduction

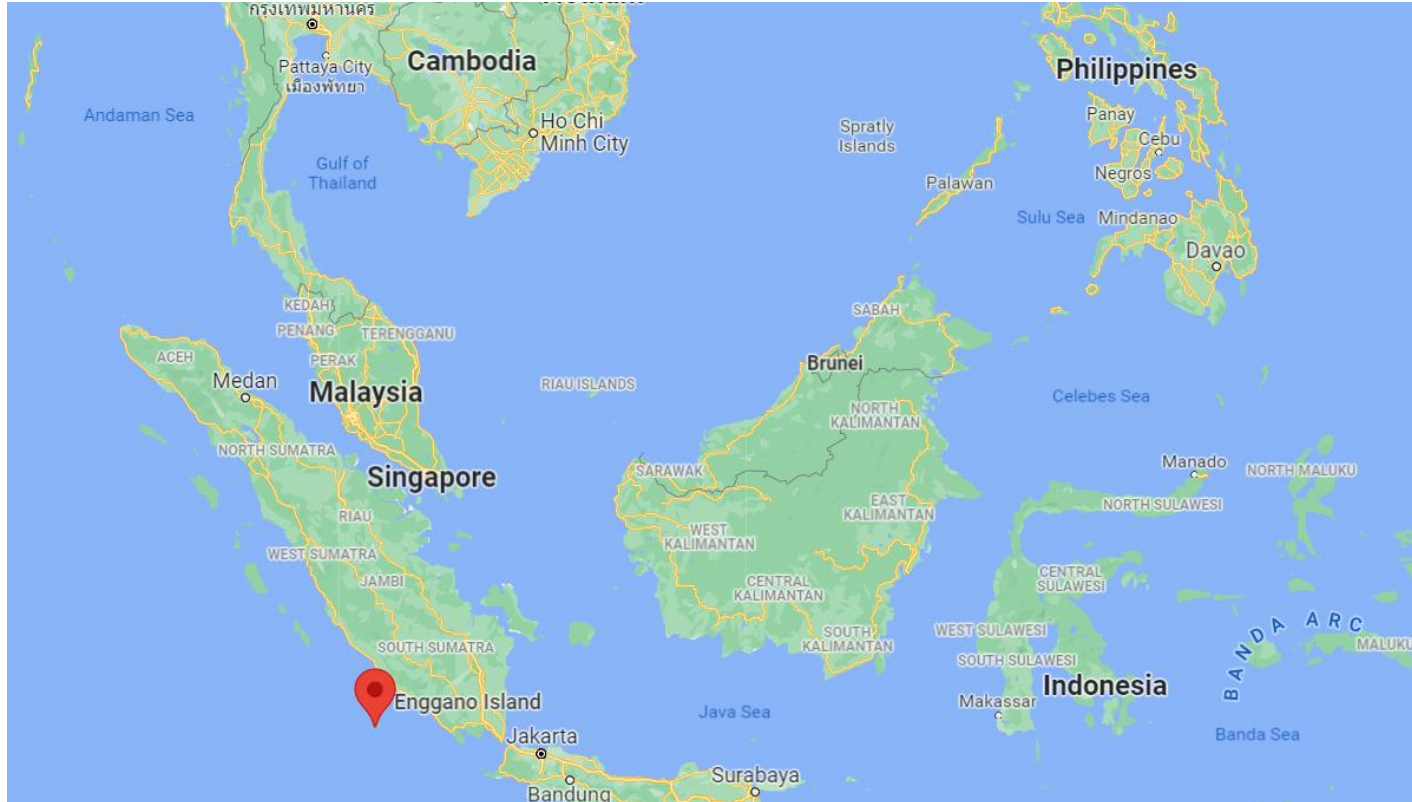
- As a result of this unusual development, the *aH*- construction in Enggano undergoes similar changes to Austronesian AV without becoming **the basic transitive clause type**.
- Consequently, we claim that the antipassive is reanalysed in Enggano without **alignment shift**.

Roadmap

- Background on Enggano
- The *aH*- construction in Old Enggano
- The *aH*- construction in contemporary Enggano
- Implications for Austronesian Voice
- Conclusions

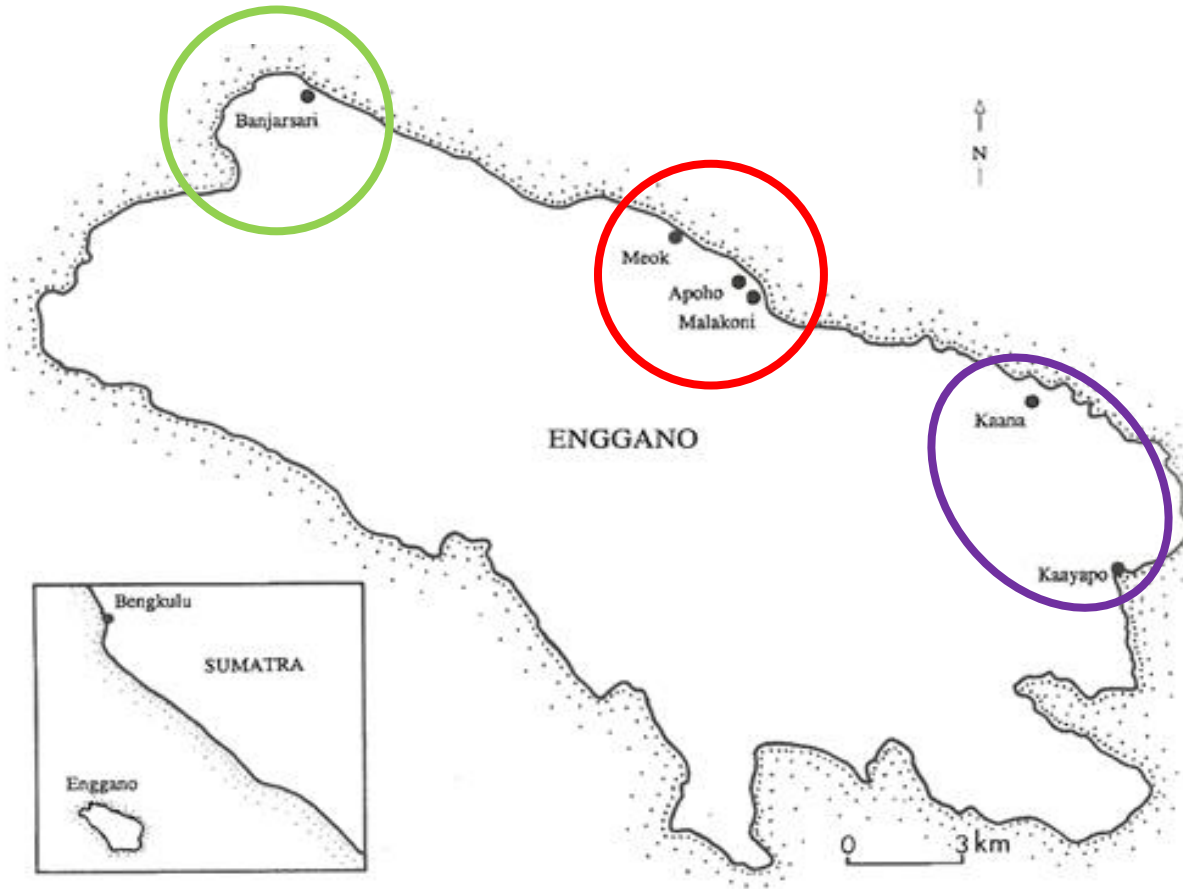
Background on Enggano

Background on Enggano



- Enggano is spoken by approx. 1,500 speakers on Enggano Island, Sumatra, Indonesia
- There is some debate around sub-grouping but most people now agree that Enggano is **Austronesian** (Dyen 1965, Nothofer 1986, Edwards 2015, Smith 2017, 2020, McDonnell & Billings 2022)

Background on Enggano



map from ter Keurs (2006: 134)

- Enggano is considered **endangered** as speakers increasingly shift to Indonesian (see Arka et al. 2022).
- However, the language is most vital in the **central villages**
- In **northern** and **southern** villages, non-Enggano populations are higher, accelerating language shift

Background on Enggano

1850-1900	Early Wordlists	Von Rosenberg 1855, Van der Straaten & Severijn 1855, Walland 1864, Oudemans 1879 Helfrich & Pieters 1891, Helfrich 1893, 1916
1930s	Hans Kähler	Grammar Sketch (Kähler 1940) Text Collection (Kähler 1955, 1957, 1958, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1964, 1975) Dictionary (Kähler 1987, published posthumously)
1980s-2020s	Recent Work	Nothofer (1986), Nikelas et al (1994), Yoder (2011) Wijaya (2018), Riswari et al (2021)
2018-present	AHRC-funded documentation project	Corpus of audio and video recordings (Meok) Swadesh lists from across the villages Grammar, FLEX database of glossed texts and lexicon

The *aH*- construction in Old Enggano

Old Enggano Morphosyntax

Nominal Marker	Function
e-	subjects/objects
u-	obliques/possessors
i-	locatives

Verbal Marker	Function
ki-	relative clauses (SVO main clauses)
bu-	realis main clauses (verb-initial)
bare	irrealis clauses (negation, imperative)

Derivational Affix	Function
pa-	causative/reciprocal
-i, -a'a	applicatives
di-	passive
aba-	associated motion
aH-	?

	Set 1 (bu-)	Set 2 (bare)
1SG	'u-	'u-
2SG	'o-	u-
3SG	ka-	i-
1PL.INCL	ka-	ka-
1PL.EXCL	'u- -'ai	'u- -'ai
2PL	'o- -a'a	u- -a'a
3PL	da-/di-/ki-	da-

aH- Form

- 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
- *aH-* triggers changes to the initial consonant of the root it attaches to (Blust 2013)

/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** combined with **nasal harmony** (Smith 2020): a requirement for words to be either nasal or oral at the word level

aH- Form

Form of aH-	Examples
ab-	pudu → abudu 'kill'
am-	pãũ → amãũ 'mash'
ad-	kodo → adodo 'swallow'
an-	kĩpã → anĩpã 'strike'
ahan-	hèka → ahanèka 'cut'
aha-/ah-	mĩnũ'ũĩ → ahamĩnũ'ũĩ 'smell' bubu'ui → ahabubu'ui 'splash' nẽnẽnãhã:ĩ → ahanẽnẽnãhã:ĩ 'bait' duduki → ahaduduki 'roast' 'obu → aha'obu 'do' odi → aha:odi 'buy' ede → ahede 'climb'

Alternatives	Examples
pa-	pee → papee 'give' dohoi → padohoi 'hear' kuhai → pakuhai 'help' õmõ → paõmõ 'watch over'
a'i-	nã'ã → ã'ĩnã'ã 'take' dodo → a'idodo 'grasp/hold'

aH- Morphosyntax

- Syntactically, *aH-* constructions are like **antipassives** since P is demoted (Cooreman 1994, Polinsky 2017)

(1a) Transitive (*ki-* form)

'o'o ki-pudu e-koyo e'ana
2SG FOC-kill DIR-pig DEM

'You kill that wild boar' (Kähler 1940: 205)

P = core

(1b) Antipassive (*ki-* form)

'o'o k-a-budu (i'ioo) u-koyo e'ana
2SG FOC-ANTIP-kill (to) OBL-pig DEM

'You are a killer of that wild boar' (Kähler 1940: 205)

P = oblique

aH- Morphosyntax

- We know that *aH-* constructions are syntactically intransitive because they occur with *bu-* in subordinate clauses, whereas transitive verbs in subordinate clauses are normally in bare form:

(2a) a=m-**ahan**-éka ki i'ioo u-da'a:-é-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)

(2b) a=**y**-a'ioi-xa 'ika!
 SUBORD=**3.SET.2**-follow-EMPH 1PL.INCL
 '(then) it will follow us' (Kähler 1955:89)

aH- Semantics

- The construction is associated with lower semantic transitivity (Hopper & Thompson 1980), e.g. indefinite/generic/zero or plural P and imperfective aspect

(3a) Generic P

e-kudE-a u-huda e'ana mō'ō k-a'i-nã'ã u-ũ'ã
 DIR-originate-LOC.NOM OBL-woman DEM REL FOC-ANTIP-take OBL-food

‘The origin of the woman who brought food’ (Kähler 1957: 153, §5)

(3b) Specific P

di-mũ-nã'ã e-ũ'ã kitera
 3PL.SET.1-BU-take DIR-food all

‘They take all the items of food’ (Kähler 1960b: 41, §2)

aH- Discourse

- In keeping with the discourse profile of antipassives (Givón 2017), *aH-* verbal constructions are relatively infrequent in naturalistic discourse
- In the Kähler (1955) folk story there are only 2 instances of verbal antipassives.
- In our 38,598 word FLEX database, which includes the text collection and examples from the (1940) grammar, there are 507 instances of *aH-*, 54 instances of *a'i-* and 169 instances of antipassive *pa-*
- However, approx. half of these are in action nominalisations: e.g. *eabudu* 'killing', *eahitè* 'drinking', *eanõpõ* 'burial', *eahanéka* 'cutting'

Summary

	Old Enggano
Form	cognate with actor voice <i>N-</i>
Morphosyntax	P is demoted to oblique
Semantics	P is indefinite/generic/zero/plural highlights action over accomplishments
Discourse	relatively infrequent in verbal constructions

The *aH*- construction in Contemporary Enggano

Contemporary Enggano Morphosyntax

Nominal Marker	Function
e-	optional
u-	fossilised forms
i	preposition

Verbal Marker	Function
ki-	relative clauses (SVO main clauses)
bu-	realis main clauses (verb-initial)
bare	irrealis clauses (negation, imperative)

Derivational Affix	Function
pa-	causative/reciprocal
-(C), -a'	applicatives
di-	passive
aba-	associated motion
aH-	?

	Set 1 (bu-)	Set 2 (bare)
1SG	u-	u-
2SG	è-	u-
3SG	ka-	i-
1PL.INCL	ka-	ka-
1PL.EXCL	u- -a	u- -a
2PL	è- -a	u- -a
3PL	da-/di-/ki-	i-

aH- Form

Form of aH-	Examples
ab-/ahb-	pari' → abari' 'make'
am-/ahm-	pĩh → ahmĩh 'squeeze'
ar-/ahr-	kè' → arè' 'plant'
an-/ahn-	kum → ahnum 'pinch'
ahan-/ahn-	hük → ahanük 'cut'
ah-	mita' → ahmita' 'ask' nene → ahnene 'flirt' bato → ahbato 'read' dih → ahdih 'clear a field' 'une' → a'une'/ahune' 'cut/shear' èr → ahèr 'buy' it → ahit 'drink'

Alternatives	Examples
pa-/pah-	pe → pahpe 'give' pù → papù 'see' kuha → paruha 'help' èm → pahèm 'wait/watch over'
a'-	na' → a'na' 'take' dèr → a'dèr 'grasp/hold'

aH- Morphosyntax

- Syntactically, the construction is no-longer P demoting:

(4a) Ki- form with verb root

u k-it **bè**
1SG KI-drink water

‘I drink water’ (Basic Structures, elicitation)

P = core

(4b) Ki- form with aH-

u k-ah-it **bir**
1SG KI-ANTIP-drink beer

‘I drink beer’ (Basic Structures, elicitation)

P = core

aH- Morphosyntax

- We know this is core (despite loss of case-marking) since obliques in contemporary Enggano are marked with the preposition o:

(5a) u k-ããh o be
 1SG KI-scared OBL dog

‘I am scared of the dog/dogs’ (basic structures, extra elicitation)

(5b) *u k-ããh be
 1SG KI-scared dog

For: ‘I am scared of the dog/dogs’ (basic structures, extra elicitation)

aH- Morphosyntax

- The aH- P cannot appear with the preposition o but can (optionally) take e-

(6a) *u k-ah-it o bè
 1SG KI-ANTIP-drink OBL water
 For: 'I drink water' (fieldnotes, elicitation)

(6b) u k-ah-it e-bè
 1SG KI-ANTIP-drink NM-water
 'I drink water' (fieldnotes, elicitation)

Hence, the
 construction is no
 longer a demoting
 antipassive!

aH- Semantics

- It retains some antipassive-like semantic tendencies such as imperfective aspect...

(7a) ki k-ah-èr e-'iai
 3SG KI-ANTIP-buy NM-fish
 'She is buying fish' (right now) (basic structures, extra elicitation)
 (translated with Indonesian *sedang*)

(7b) 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)

aH- Semantics

- However, unlike Old Enggano, it is possible to find *aH*- verbal constructions with pronominal P

(8) u k-ah-num è'
 1SG KI-ANTIP-pinch 2SG
 'I pinch you' (fieldnotes, elicitation)

aH- Discourse

- The verbal construction is (slightly) more frequent in contemporary Enggano
- In a modern retelling of the Kähler 1955 story, there were 13 instances of aH-constructions (roughly 4% of verbal clauses)
- In Wijaya (2018), *aH*- constructions are used in 164 of 227 example sentences given as translations for Indonesian *meN*- verbs.
- BUT this is not the level of change we might expect if *aH*- verbs are being reanalysed as the basic transitive clause type (see Janic & Hemmings 2021).

Summary

	Contemporary Enggano
Form	cognate with actor voice <i>N-</i>
Morphosyntax	P remains a core argument
Semantics	antipassive-like semantic tendencies (but note that P can be a pronoun)
Discourse	Slight frequency increase but <i>bu-</i> clauses (typically without aH-) remain the most frequent transitive clause

Implications for Austronesian Voice

Actor Voice

- Enggano is interesting because even in Old Enggano *aH-* is only associated with the **object-demotion function** of actor voice
- In conservative Austronesian languages actor voice has several other functions:
 - It is part of a symmetrical voice system (that affects the case marking of arguments)
 - It marks the actor as pivot for extraction

Actor Voice

- Symmetrical voice alternations affect the mapping of arguments to functions, e.g. in **Tagalog**:

(8a) K<um>ain ako ng=isda
<AV.PFV>eat 1SG.NOM GEN=fish
'I ate (a) fish/fishes'.

Actor Voice

(8b) K<in>ain ko ang=isda
<UV.PFV>eat 1SG.GEN NOM=fish
'I ate the fish/the fishes'. (Latrouite 2011: 190)

Undergoer Voice

Actor Voice

- In actor voice, only the actor pivot can be extracted:

(9a) matalino **ang** **lalaki**[=ng **bumasa** ng diyaryo]
 intelligent NOM man=LNK AV.read GEN newspaper
 ‘The man who read a newspaper is intelligent’

(9b) *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)

Actor Voice & Alignment

- Assessing alignment in Austronesian is complicated by the existence of multiple transitive clause types
- Following Janic & Hemmings (2021), we argue that alignment can be identified using a functional markedness approach
 - If UV is functionally unmarked then alignment = ergative
 - If AV is functionally unmarked then alignment = accusative
- In more conservative languages, such as Tagalog, AV is associated with antipassive-like semantics and is therefore functionally marked
- Hence, the reanalysis of AV as transitive (less functionally marked) is also associated with alignment change.

Enggano

- In Enggano, voice alternations seem to have developed into a choice between *bu-* (cognate with **-um-*) and bare verbs:

(10a) *ka-bu-pudu* *kia*
 3.SET1-BU-kill 3SG
 ‘They fought against him’ (Kähler 1975: 61, §25)

realis

(10b) *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)

irrealis

Enggano

- There is no “extraction restriction” in Enggano: but *ki-* verbs are used in relative clauses:

(11a) e-ko'E'E hēmõ'õ k-ayo'oi e-paE e'ana
DIR-devil REL KI-follow DIR-child DEM

‘The devil who followed the child’ (Kähler 1955: 90, §13)

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

Enggano Alignment

- In both Old Enggano and Contemporary Enggano, *bu-* forms are the most frequent transitive clause type.
- If we think of *bu-* as equivalent to AV, then alignment is accusative in both varieties.
- In other words, *aH-* constructions undergo a change from antipassive to transitive but **without alignment shift**
- This is most likely due to the fact that the functions of actor voice are divided between different constructions, and *aH-* is independent from voice alternations in Enggano.

Conclusions

Conclusion

- Enggano *aH*- verbal constructions have been reanalysed from **antipassives** in Old Enggano to **non-demoting constructions** in Contemporary Enggano
- However, unlike other Austronesian languages, the Enggano reanalysis happens without significant changes in discourse frequency/functional markedness
- This suggests that no **alignment shift** has taken place.

Conclusion

- We argued that this is a consequence of unique developments in Enggano which led to the functions of Austronesian **actor voice** being divided between different constructions and 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 change** (see e.g. Aldridge 2012b)
- However, this is independent from alignment shift, and unusually for Western Austronesian languages, independent from symmetrical voice.



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Audience at ICHL25!