

Grammaticalization of *kidè* as a similitive marker in contemporary Enggano

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Introduction

- This paper presents a case study of similatives in **Enggano**, an Austronesian language spoken on Enggano Island off the south coast of Sumatra, Indonesia.
- It compares and contrasts the **expression of similarity** in Old Enggano and Contemporary Enggano using legacy materials collected in 1930s by **Hans Kähler**, and comparing with a modern corpus collected since 2018 as part of an ongoing **language documentation project**.
- We demonstrate that there are **changes** in the use of *kidè* in contemporary Enggano that may reflect both **language contact** with Indonesian, as well as recognised **grammaticalization** pathways (Treis & Vanhove 2017)

Roadmap

- Background on Enggano
- Similatives in Old Enggano
- Similatives in Contemporary Enggano
- Conclusions

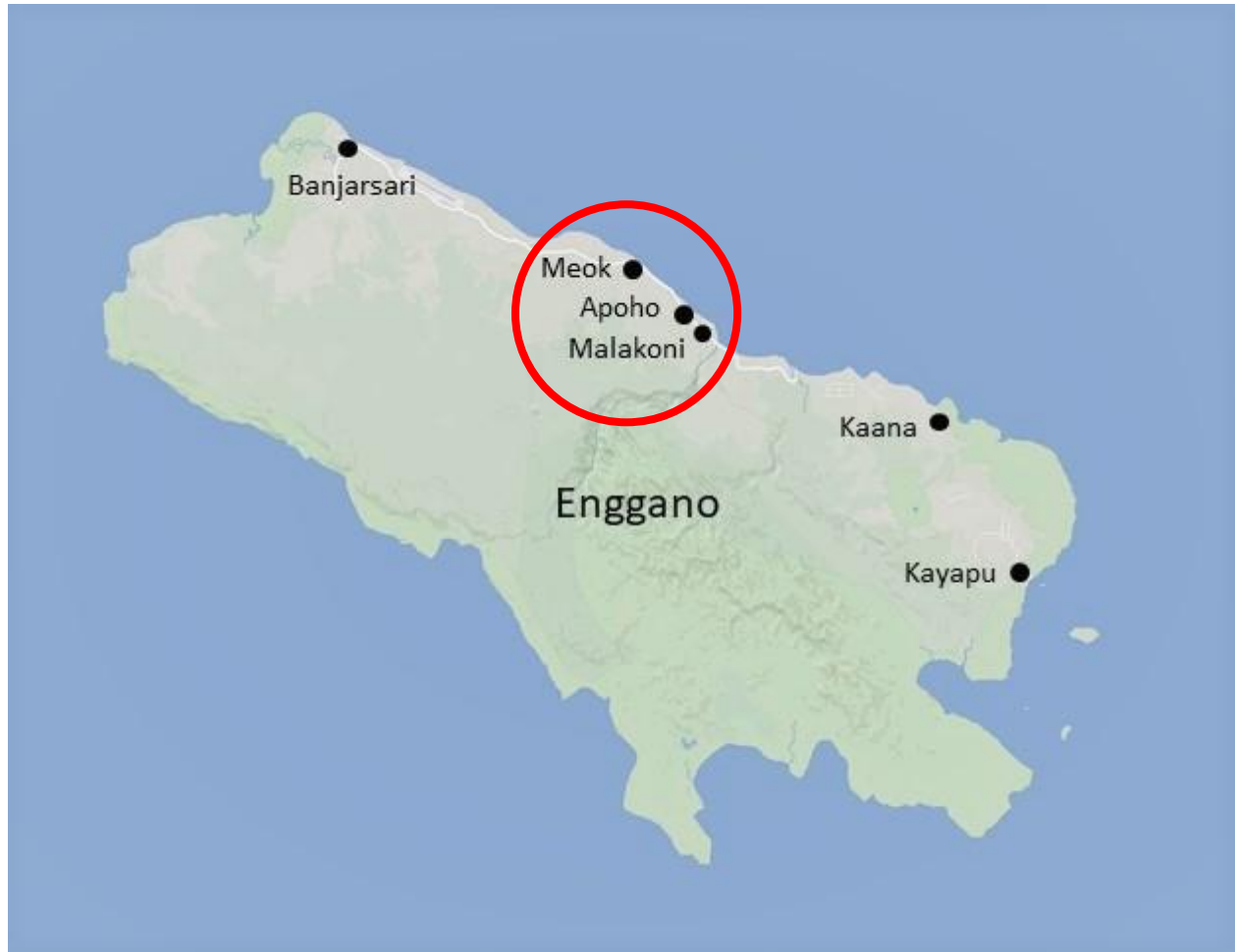
Background on Enggano

Background on Enggano



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

Background on Enggano



- Today, Enggano island has six major settlements.
- In each village, there are both Enggano and **non-Enggano populations** who migrated to the island.
- Enggano is considered **endangered** as speakers increasingly shift to Indonesian (see Arka et al. 2022).
- The language is **most vital** in the central villages of Meok, Apoho and Malakoni

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, 1992), Nikelas et al (1994), Yoder (2011) Wijaya (2018), Butters (2021) Riswari et al (2021)
2018-present	AHRC-funded documentation project	Corpus of audio and video recordings with glossing in FLEX Lexical data from across the villages Grammar

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-	consecutive action
aH-	antipassive

	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-

Contemporary Enggano Morphosyntax

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

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

Derivational Affix	Function
pa-	causative/reciprocal
-(C), -a'	applicatives
di-	passive
aba-	consecutive action
aH-	antipassive

	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-	da-

Major Sound Changes

- Old Enggano had CV(V) syllable structure – in Contemporary Enggano final vowels (and non-stressed medial vowels) are regularly deleted:

	Old Enggano	Contemporary Enggano
sit	hěkũ	hěk
garden	pia	pi
want (tr.)	kãhãpĩĩ	kãhpĩh

- The sound written as <o> in Kähler sometimes corresponds to to <è> /ə/ in contemporary Enggano (see Smith 2020)

	Old Enggano	Contemporary Enggano
hear	dohoi	dèhè
water	boo	bè

Summary

- Enggano is an Austronesian language spoken in Indonesia
- All speakers of Contemporary Enggano are bilingual with Indonesian
- Between Old Enggano and Contemporary Enggano the most obvious sound changes are the loss of final vowels and the shift from /o/ to /ə/
- Verbs typically occur in one of three main constructions: ki-, bu- + agreement, and bare verbs + agreement

Similatives in Old Enggano

Similatives in Old Enggano

- In Old Enggano, similatives of both quality and manner are expressed using a verb *ki-doo* 'be.similar':

(1) 'o'o k-Edo **ki-doo** e-iya ka-paE e-Edo-bu
 2SG KI-cry KI-similar DIR-exist OBL.PL-child DIR-cry-2SG.POSS
 'you cry like a child' (lit. you cry, your crying is like the nature of children')
 (Kähler 1940, grammar)

(2) kia k-a-nĩxã **ki-doo** e-iya u-kE'Epa
 3SG KI-VBLZ-fast KI-similar DIR-exist OBL-bird
 'you are fast like a bird' (Kähler 1940, grammar)

Similatives in Old Enggano

(3) **Ki-too** e-iyā u-huda e-pūa-ha=diā i'ioo'o:u
 KI-similar DIR-exist OBL-woman DIR-see-LOC.NOM=3SG.POSS 1SG.OBL
 'She looks like a woman to me' (Kähler 1957, story)

(4) e-ko'E'E k-a-nĩẽ e-ka'ododo ki-pūhai m-ã-hã:õnã e-kaka
 dir-devil ki-vblz-name dir-pn ki-able bu-vblz-wife dir-person

i-too=da'a e-p-a-ha:ona u-kaka kuinã=nã'ã
 3-similar=pred dir-nmlz-vblz-wife obl-person true=pred
 'a devil called eka'ododo ("demon") can marry a person; it is like the marriage
 of proper people' (Kähler 1961, text)

Similatives in Old Enggano

(5) **ka-doo** e-iyā u-boo e-ai-ñā-nā
 3-similar DIR-exist OBL-rain DIR-come-LOC.NOM=3PL.POSS
 ‘They came like the rain’ (Kähler 1961, text)

(6) be **k-aba-doo** e-’ua-ha pa-mehena e-iji=dia
 because 3-ABA-similar DIR-speak-PAT.NOM CAUS-joke DIR-word=3SG.POSS
 ‘For he speaks like someone-who-is-joking’ (Kähler 1975, text)

Similatives in Old Enggano

- The combination of *kidoo* 'be.similar' and *eiya* 'nature' is so common (over 75% of examples) that the compound form *kidooiya* 'be.like' is also used:

(7) ka e'anaha ka-b-ai-xa **ki-doiya** u-kiu
 then 3-BU-come-EMPH FOC-similar OBL-wind

'and then he came like the wind' (Kähler 1961, text)

(8) bE **ki-doiya** k-a'ao kia u-'uoho=dia.
 because KI-similar KI-die 3SG OBL-sleep=3SG.POSS

'because he slept like a dead person' (Kähler 1955, text)

Similatives in Old Enggano

- The root *doo* has secondary functions familiar from the typological literature, e.g. expressing **hypothetical similarity** (Treis & Vanhove 2017)

(9) meo u-aba-'a'o e-baka-'a:u **doo** 'ua ki-pari'o e-'o'o u-'ue
 why 2-ABA-point DIR-face-1sg like 1SG FOC-make DIR-strength OBL-sea
 'why do you point at my face as if I had (made=) caused the unruliness of the sea'
 (Kähler 1975, text)

(10) yada'a e-ké'a u-kuo **nõõ** e'ana e-a-kalEa u-'ito e-'ubo-ho-ka
 NEG.IMP DIR-support OBL-tree like DEM DIR-GER-festival OBL-banana DIR-do-PAT.NOM-
 1PL.INCL.POSS
 'but no tree supports as if we were having a banana harvest festival' (Kähler 1960b, text)

Similatives in Old Enggano

- It seems that *doo* (and variant *nõõ*) may be linked to the manner deictic terms/demonstratives *no'o:i'ie* 'like this' and *no'oaha* 'like that':

(11) **ka-nõ'õãhã** e-ici u-paE ei'iE
 3 like.that DIR-word OBL-child DEM.PROX
 'Thus were the words of this child' (Kähler 1955, text)

(12) ka-bu-'ua **nõ'õ:ĩĩẽ** e-huda e'ana
 3-BU-speak like.this DIR-woman DEM.MED
 'The woman spoke like this:' (Kähler 1958, text)

Summary

	Old Enggano
similative marker	kidoo (eiya) kidooiya doo
function	similatives of manner & quality (like x) hypothetical similarity (as if x)

Similatives in Contemporary Enggano

Similatives in Contemporary Enggano

- Following regular sound changes, the similative in contemporary Enggano becomes *kidè* (<*kidoo*):

(13) ki ku-'ueh **ki-dè** kak k-a'a
 3SG FOC-sleep KI-like person KI-dead
 'It [the baby] slept like a dead person' (Kahler 1955 retelling, written)

(14) kep i yum [...] mè' **ki-dè** yum-yum nè'èn
 not.yet exist house REL KI-like house-REDUP now
 'There weren't yet houses like today' (pidah rumah, text)

Similatives in Contemporary Enggano

(15) ka-bu-'u kak mè' k-a ě' **ka-dè** ko'mai
 3-B U -say person REL KI-come DEM 3-similar migrants
 'The people who come like migrants say...' (Enggano Tahun 60, text)

(16) kè'è-h mè' ka-na'puaha-k kahinu **dè** kopi ean kan
 plant-PAT.NOM REL PL-ancestor-1PL.INCL past like coffee DEM PT
 'the plants of our ancestors, like coffee' (Burung Hantu, text)

Unlike Old Enggano, kidè is not normally followed by 'eiya'

Instead of being the main predicate in a clause (as in Old Enggano) often the similative simply has a nominal object

Similatives in Contemporary Enggano

- Normally, we expect the bare form of the verb + agreement following negation:

(17) Jadi ke' i-pakõ'õã'
so neg 3-know
'But he didn't know...' (Burung Beo, text)

kidè is not a canonical
verb anymore!

- With similatives we can find kidè after negation:

(18) Susan ke' kidè a'i kin Bill
Susan NEG ki-like long height Bill
'Susan is not as tall as Bill' (similatives, elicitation)

Similatives in Contemporary Enggano

- Beyond structural/distributional changes, there are new functions for *kidè* and *dè* in Contemporary Enggano that were not found in the Old Enggano corpus:

1. Illocutionary Clauses (“as we used to say”)

(19) **ki-dè** u ku-'u ě'
 KI-like 1SG KI-say DEM
 ‘As I said...’ (Perkawinan, text)

(20) **dè** di-'iu Engga
 like pass-say Engga
 ‘As Engga said...’ (similatives, elicitation)

This is the position of other conjunctions like *a*= ‘if/when’ and *be* ‘because’

Similatives in Contemporary Enggano

2. Nominal Listing (“such as”)

(21) ka-b-a lagi **dè** puru ke', ka-b-a kō'kō'
 3-BU-come again like leaf tree.sp 3-BU-come sago.palm
 'There was also ke' leaves and sago palm [used for the roof]'
 (bahan bangunan, text)

(22) yũ' mè' minata-minata k-ür **kè-dè** kĩĩãp maha e'iah-e'iah
 food rel animal-redup ki-live ki-like grasshopper or whatever
 'There food is live animals, e.g. grasshoppers or whatever' (burung hantu, text)

Similatives in Contemporary Enggano

- These additional functions are **common extensions** of similatives (see Pierrard 2008, Güldemann 2007, Treis & Vanhove 2017)
- They are also associated with the **Indonesian** similative marker *seperti*.

(23) *saya tidak dapat memperistri gadis [seperti dia]* ‘I cannot marry a girl like her’
(Sneddon et al 2012: 100)

(24) *ide-idenya diperkenalkan di kota-kota besar, [seperti Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya dan Yogyakarta]*
‘His ideas were introduced in the large cities, such as Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya and Yogyakarta’ (Sneddon et al 2012: 159)

Summary

	Old Enggano	Contemporary Enggano
similative marker	kidoo (eiya) kidooiya doo	kidè dè
function	similatives of manner & quality hypothetical similarity (as if x)	similatives of manner & quality illocutionary clauses nominal listing

Language contact vs grammaticalisation?

Similatives in Contemporary Enggano

- The form *kidè/kadè* can be used to mark **equatives**. However there are also other equative markers including *para'iko* 'same':

(25) Engga **ka-dè** a'i kin Pak Dendi
 Engga 3-similar long height Pak Dendi
 'Engga is as tall as Pak Dendi' (similatives, elicitation)

(26) Engga **para'iko** kin=de he Pak Milson
 Engga same height=3sg.poss with Pak Milson
 'Engga is the same height as Pak Milson' (similatives, elicitation)



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Similatives in Contemporary Enggano

- *kidapùah* 'resemble' can also be used to express hypothetical similarity:

(27) **ki-dapùah** di-kakarai=de è' ko'e'
KI-seem PASS-chase=3SG 2SG devil

'As though the devil is chasing you' (similatives, elicitation)

Conclusions

Conclusion

- In this paper, we have compared and contrasted the **expression of similarity** in Old Enggano and Contemporary Enggano, drawing on corpora of naturalistic texts as well as elicited data.
- We have seen that there are **several differences** between how *kidoo* is used in Old Enggano, and *kidè* in contemporary Enggano.
- We argue that these differences reflect both **language contact** with Indonesian, where *seperti* can be used with similar semantic extensions (Sneddon et al. 2012), as well as recognised **grammaticalization pathways** (Treis & Vanhove 2017).



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