

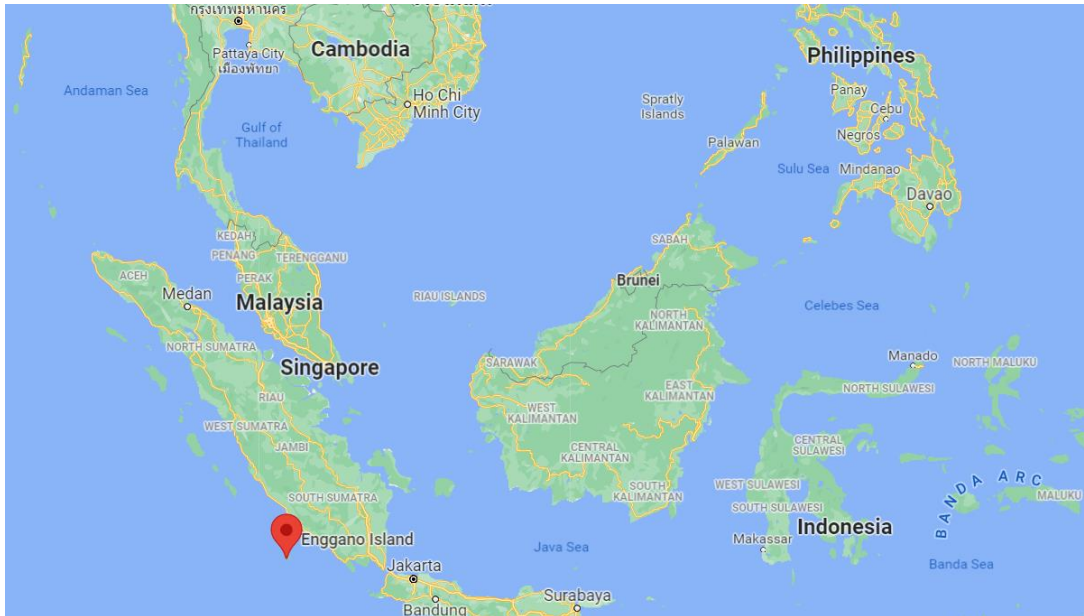
Historical Development of Relative Clauses in Enggano

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Introduction

- This talk sketches the historical development of relative clauses in **Enggano**, an Austronesian language spoken off the south coast of Sumatra, Indonesia.



- We will outline two important findings based on comparison of three corpora:
 - (1) materials collected in 19th century (Helfrich 1916)
 - (2) materials collected in 1930s (Kähler 1940, 1975, 1987)
 - (3) materials collected as part of ongoing documentation since 2018

Introduction

- Firstly, all three corpora demonstrate that Enggano does not have the **subject-only extraction restriction** that is wide-spread in Western Austronesian (Keenan & Comrie 1979)
- Instead, S, A and P can all be relativized on using a **verbal construction** where the relative clause verb is marked with *ki-* (see Kähler 1940, Hemmings & Dalrymple 2023).
- This is an innovative marker that is not cognate with **voice morphology** in other Austronesian languages, but is cognate with the marker *si=* that marks relative clauses in Nias (Brown 2001)

Introduction

- Secondly, comparison of the corpora at different time periods show that Enggano relative clauses have **undergone changes**.
- In the older materials (Helfrich 1916, Kähler 1955-64), relative clauses may occur **with or without a relativiser** (*mõ'õ*). They may include either a verbal or a non-verbal predicate but when the predicate is a verb it is **always marked with *ki-***. In contrast, main clause verbs may occur in one of three major verbal constructions (*ki-*, *bu-* and bare).
- In Contemporary Enggano, however, **relative clauses may contain *bu-* verbs** as well as *ki-* verbs. The relativiser (*mé'*) occurs in the majority of relative clauses.

Introduction

- We believe these findings relate to the historical development of *ki-* which we argue was innovated as a **relative clause marker** (much like Nias *si=*) and subsequently **extended to main clause contexts via reanalysis**.
- That there is no subject-only extraction restriction may be tied to the fact that **Enggano does not have a symmetrical voice system**.
- The reanalysis of *ki-* is interesting, since the reanalysis of relative clauses is thought to play a role in the development of **symmetrical voice** morphology too (see Kaufman 2018)
- Hence, Austronesian languages may be particularly prone to **insubordination** or the reanalysis of subordinating structures as main clause structures.

Roadmap

- Background on Enggano
- Subject-only Extraction Restriction
- Changes in Relative Clauses between Old Enggano and Contemporary Enggano
- Conclusions

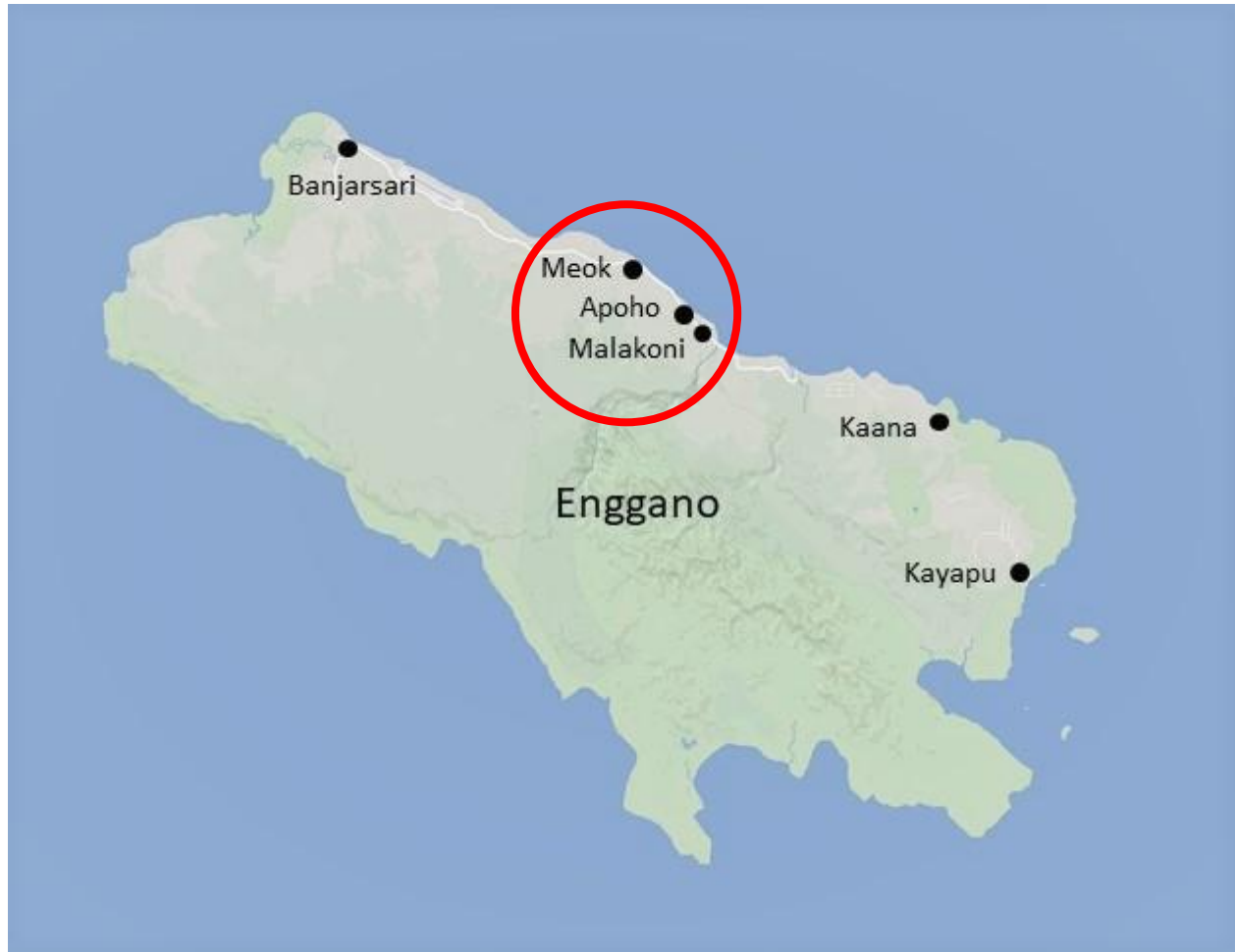
Background on Enggano

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

Relative Clause Database

Helfrich	8 texts, phrases & riddles	52 relative clauses
Kähler	8 texts	521 relative clauses + elicited examples in Kähler (1940) grammar
Contemporary	27 recordings	432 relative clauses + elicitation

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

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-

Verbal Constructions in Enggano

- Old Enggano verbs occur in one of three forms:

- (1a) **ka-bu-pudu-ha** epaE e'ana bu-form
 3.NOM -**bu**-kill-EMPH child DEM.MED
 'and he killed the child' (Kähler 1955:90)
- (1b) kea-ba'a **i-pudu** e-koyo e'ana bare form
 NEG-INTENSIVE 3.ERG-kill DIR-pig DEM.MED
 'He didn't kill the pig' (Kähler 1940:101)
- (1c) e-kaka e'ana **ki-pudu** e-koyo ki-form
 DIR-person DEM ki-kill DIR-pig
 'That person killed a pig.' (Kähler 1940:108)

Verbal Constructions in Enggano

- It is still the case the verbs occur in *bu-*, bare and *ki-* forms in Contemporary Enggano:

(2a) adühür ean ka-b-dèhè
CONJ=finish DEM 3-B U -hear
'afterwards he heard'

(2b) ki ke' i-dèhè
3SG NEG 3-hear
'he didn't hear'

(2c) ki ki-dèhè
3SG KI-hear
'he heard'

PAN morphology?

- The *bu-* form is almost certainly **cognate with PAN *-um-** and hence develops from actor voice morphology (see Edwards 2015)
- The bare construction and the set 2 agreement markers may derive from a **dependent undergoer voice form** and the genitive actor pronouns (see Zobel forthcoming).
- However, the voice system in Enggano is **asymmetrical** (with passives and antipassives that are morphologically marked).
- Other voice morphology survives only in **nominalisations** (e.g. *-o* ‘patient nominaliser’ (< *-en) and *-a* ‘locative nominaliser’ (< *-an)) or in **formatives** like *aH-* ‘antipassive/object demoting’ (< *N-) and *di-* ‘passive’ (< *-in-) that occur both in verbal structures and nominalisations.

Summary

- **Enggano** is an Austronesian language spoken on Enggano island off the south coast of Sumatra
- We have analysed relative clauses in **text corpora** collected across three time periods that can be broadly grouped into **Old Enggano** (Helfrich & Kähler) and **Contemporary Enggano** on the basis of sound and morphosyntactic change
- In Enggano there is a clear distinction between nouns (which take case markers in Old Enggano) and verbs (which occur in one of three major constructions)
- There is **no symmetrical voice system** and PAN morphology has been reanalysed or survives only in nominalisations

Subject-only Extraction Restriction

Symmetrical Voice

- Western Austronesian languages are famed for their **symmetrical voice** systems, e.g. Kelabit *tekul* 'spoon.up':

(3a) **Actor Voice**
La'ih sineh ne-nekul *nuba' nedih* ngen seduk
 man DEM PFV-AV.spoon rice 3SG.POSS with spoon
 'That man spooned up his rice with a spoon'

(3b) **Undergoer Voice**
nuba' nedih **sikul** *lai'h sineh* ngen seduk
 rice 3SG.POSS <UV.PFV>spoonman DEM with spoon
 'That man ate his rice with a spoon'

(3c) **Instrumental Voice**
seduk **penekul** *la'ih sineh nuba' nedih*
 spoon IV-spoon man DEM rice 3SG.POSS
 'That man used a spoon to spoon up his rice'

Subject-Only Restriction (Kelabit)

- In relativization there is a “subject-only” extraction restriction:

(4a) Seni'er kuh **la'ih** [suk **ne-nekul** nuba' ngen seduk]
 UV.PFV.see 1SG man REL PFV-AV.spoon rice with spoon
 'I saw the man who spooned up rice with a spoon'

(4b) Seni'er kuh **nuba'** [suk **sikul** la'ih sineh ngen seduk]
 UV.PFV.see 1SG rice REL UV.PFV.spoon man DEM with spoon
 'I saw the rice that the man spooned up with a spoon'

(4c) Seni'er kuh **seduk** [suk **pe-nekul** la'ih sineh nuba' nedih]
 UV.PFV.see 1SG spoon REL IV-spoon man DEM rice 3SG.POSS
 'I saw the spoon that the man used to spoon up his rice' (Hemmings 2015)

Subject-Only Restriction (Kelabit)

- It is not possible to relativize on a non-subject:

(5a) *Seni'er kuh *nuba'* [suk **neku** la'ih sineh]
 UV.PFV.see 1SG rice REL AV.spoon man DEM
 For: 'I saw the rice that the man spooned up'

(5b) *Seni'er kuh *la'ih* [suk **sikul** nuba']
 UV.PFV.see 1SG man REL UV.PFV.spoon rice
 For: 'I saw the man who spooned up rice'

Subject-Only Restriction (Kelabit)

- Clefts are marked in the same way and subject to the same restriction:

(6a) **La'ih sineh** suk **nekuman** *nuba'*
 man DEM REL AV.PFV.eat rice
 'It was the man who ate rice.'

(6b) **Nuba'** suk **kinan** *la'ih sineh*
 rice REL UV.PFV.eat man DEM
 'It was rice that the man ate.' (Hemmings 2021)

Subject-Only Restriction (Bikol)

The same extraction restriction applies to relativization/clefting in the most conservative Philippine-type languages:

- (7a) **su babayi** su **nag-kaon** ning/sa keso
 NOM woman NOM AV-eat GEN/DAT cheese
 'It's the woman that ate (the) cheese.'
- (7b) **su keso** su **k<in>aon** kaso babayi
 NOM cheese NOM <UV>eat GEN woman
 'It's the cheese that the woman ate.'
- (7c) **Su tindahan** su **pig-bakal-an** kaso babayi ning/sa keso
 NOM store NOM LV-buy-LV GEN woman GEN/DAT cheese
 'It's at the store that the woman bought (the) cheese.' (Erlewine & Lim 2022)

Subject-Only Restriction (Bikol)

- It is not possible to cleft a non-subject:

(8a) **Su/ning/sa keso* su **nag-kaon** su **babayi**
 NOM/GEN/DAT cheese NOM AV-eat NOM woman

For: 'It's (the) cheese that the woman ate.'

(8b) **Su/kaso babayi* su **k<in>aon** su **keso**
 NOM/GEN woman NOM <UV>eat NOM cheese

For: 'It's the woman that ate the cheese.' (Erlewine & Lim 2022)

Nominalisation > Verbal Morphology

- The connection between the extraction restriction and symmetrical voice morphology is often explained by the hypothesis that **voice morphology = reanalysed nominalisations** (see e.g. Starosta et al 1982, Kaufman 2009)

Proto-Austronesian Morphology (Kaufman 2018: 221)

*-*en* patient nominalizer > patient voice

*-*an* locative nominalizer > locative voice

**Si-* instrumental nominalizer > instrumental voice

*<*um*> agent voice/nominalizer

- The idea is that nominalisation may have been used as a **relative clause** strategy, that markers were then reanalysed in this context, and subsequently introduced into main clauses via **insubordination** (Cheng 2022)

Nominalisation > Verbal Morphology

- This idea is supported by data from **Puyuma**, a Formosan language, where **<in>*, **-en*, **-an* and **Si-* are only used in nominalisations (often in relative clauses), whereas main clauses use another set of verbal morphology (see Ross 2009, Teng 2008)
- The idea that reanalysis of nominalisations may have first taken place in relative clauses, and then been introduced into main clauses via insubordination, is supported by **Kanakanavu**, another Formosan language, where both innovative and conservative morphology is attested in main clauses, but only the innovative forms occur in relative clauses (Cheng 2022).

Mid-summary

- Many Austronesian languages have a subject-only extraction restriction on relativization/clefting
- These languages also have a symmetrical voice system
- The symmetrical voice system may derive from the reanalysis of nominalising morphology, starting in relative clauses

Relative Clauses in Enggano

- In Old Enggano, relative clause verbs occur in *ki-* form. This often, but not always, co-occurs with an overt relativiser *mõ'õ*:

Helfrich Corpus

(9a) ke ano=nia [hemo'o k-a'ahko] i-ab-ako i-kaudara kahai
 and friend=3SG.POSS REL KI-swim 3-ABA-arrive LOC-village one
 'And her friend who swam arrived in a village.' (Helfrich 1916, Rat 39)

(9b) ... e-kaka [ki-la e-ayo eana]
 DIR-person KI-bring DIR-fish DEM
 'the people who brought the fish' (Helfrich 1916, Earthquake 16)

Relative Clauses in Enggano

Kähler Corpus

(10a) Ka-'édèha=ha
3-startle=EMPH

e-paE
DIR-child

[hēmō'ō
REL.SG

ku-'uoho]
KI-sleep

'The child, who was sleeping, was startled' (Kähler 1955, 6.2)

(10b) Ka-bu-kèda'a=ha
3-BU-tell=EMPH

e-ĩnãha 'a'a=da
DIR-place OBL.older.sibling=3PL

[ku-'uoho i-õkõ-ã]
KI-sleep LOC-roast-LOC.NOM

'And he named the location of (their=) his older brother, who slept on the hearth' (Kähler 1955, 17.5)

Relative Clauses in Nias

- The marker *ki-* does not derive from PAN voice morphology but appears to be cognate with Nias *si=* which marks relative clauses that relativize on S/A (Brown 2001):

(11a) i-be khö-gu **mbaru** [si=bohau]
 3.RLS-give DAT-1SG.POSS MUT.dress REL=NEW
 'She gave me a new dress' (lit. dress that was new) (Brown 2001: 413)

(11b) Andrehe'e **nasu** [si=usu] ya'o]
 DIST MUT.dog REL=bite 1SG
 'That's the dog that bit me' (Brown 2001: 413)

- This is a plausible cognate since Enggano /k/ corresponds to PAN *s/*t and *si=* and *ki-* also behave alike in not triggering **agreement**.

Relative Clauses in Nias

- In Nias, when P is relativized on, an alternative strategy is used: the verb is marked with the passive prefix *ni-* and A is marked with a mutated form or a possessive suffix:

(12) u-fake zekhula [ni-rökhi-nia]
1S.RLS-use MUT.coconut PASS-grate-3SG.POSS
'I used the coconut which she grated' (Brown 2001: 420)

Relative Clauses in Enggano

- In Enggano, *ki-* marked verbs can be used to relativize on S, A, P and Possessors across the three corpora. Hence, there is no subject-only extraction restriction:

Helfrich 1916 Corpus

(13a) **ano=nia** [mo'o k-a'ite'e kia ne'eni]
 friend=3SG.POSS REL KI-thwart 3SG earlier
 'the friend who thwarted him' (Helfrich 1916, origins 17/18)

(13b) hi **e-a'ao=dia** [kia ki-dodo]
 with DIR-knife=3SG.POSS 3SG KI-grasp
 'with the knife he was holding' (Helfrich 1916, Munia 18)

Relative Clauses in Enggano

Kähler Corpus

- (14a) e=apama **u=kaka** [mo'o ki-'ope kia] e'ana
 DIR=number OBL=person REL FOC-ambush 3SG that
 'the number of the people who lay in ambush for him' (Kähler 1975:61)
- (14b) i'iaha e-kude-a **u-měhě-nũ** [mõ'õ aruu **ki-nõ-nõõ**?]
 where DIR-originate-LOC.NOM OBL-food-2PL.POSS REL 2PL KI-REDUP-eat
 'Where does the food that you eat come from?' (Kähler 1957: 153)
- (14c) Na-pa-nee i-uba **'ano=ka** [k-a'ao e-pamoa] e'ana
 3PL-CAUS-near LOC-house OBL.friend=1PL.INCL KI-die DIR-newborn DEM
 'and approach the house of our friend whose newborn child died' (Kähler 1975: Dam 13.1)

Relative Clauses in Enggano

Contemporary Corpus

(15a) ě' pa [mè' ki-pu]
 DEM child REL KI-run
 'This is the child that runs'

(15b) ě' pa [mè' ki-pù=(de) u]
 DEM child REL KI-see=(3SG.POSS) 1SG
 'This is the child that saw me'

(15c) ě' pa [mè' u ki-pù]
 DEM child REL 1SG KI-see
 'This is the child that I saw' (elicitation)

Relative Clauses in Enggano

	Relativizing on A	Relativizing on P	Relativizing on S	Relativizing on Adj
Helfrich	10/47 (21%)	2/47 (4%)	31/47 (66%)	4/47 (9%)
Kähler	45/363 (12%)	28/363 (8%)	288/363 (79%)	2/363 (1%)
Contemporary	15/189 (8%)	32/189 (16.5%)	139/189 (73.5%)	3/189 (2%)

Relative Clauses in Enggano

- However, relative clauses can also contain non-verbal predicates:

Kähler Corpus

(16a) e-'uaha u-kaka i'ioo 'ano=nia [hemo'o **e-ko'E'E**]
 DIR-speak OBL-person PREP OBL.friend-3SG.POSS REL DIR-demon

'...were the words of the person to her friend, who was a demon' (Kähler, 1964, 16.5)

Contemporary Enggano

(16b) nenek ean [mè' **ka'hùè**]
 grandmother DEM REL old.woman

'the old woman' (Asal Mula Burung Hantu di Enggano)

Relative Clauses in Enggano

- And **nominalisation** exists as an alternative strategy to relativize on P (and is the only attested strategy when A = NP)

Kähler Corpus

(17a) e-huda e'ana [mo'o e-di-pèa ama-nai]
 DIR-woman DEM REL DIR-PASS-see OBL.father-1PL.EXCL.POSS
 'The woman who was seen by you ('our father')' (Kähler 1957: 153)

(17b) e-koyo [mõ'õ e-di-pudu-bu] e'ana 'amũhõ
 DIR-pig REL DIR-PASS-kill-2SG.POSS DEM big
 'the wild boar that you killed is big' (Kähler 1940)

(17c) u-huda nẽ'ẽnĩ [mõ'õ ki-di-kEi]
 OBL-woman earlier REL KI-PASS-catch
 'Of the woman who was captured' (Kähler 1958)

Relative Clauses

Contemporary Corpus

(18a) ẽ' it [mẽ' pa ki-no]
 DEM banana REL child KI-eat
 'This is the banana that the child ate'

(18b) ẽ' it [mẽ' ni-no pa]
 DEM banana REL PASS-eat child
 'This is the banana that was eaten by the child'

(18c) yakare [mẽ' ki-r-pa-pa'a' nè'en ẽ']
 dance REL KI-PASS-REDUP-show today DEM
 'The war dance that is often performed today' (Asal Mula Tarian Perang)

Summary

- Unlike other Western Austronesian languages, Enggano does not have a **subject-only extraction restriction**
- Relative clause **verbs marked with *ki-*** can occur in relative clauses that relativise on S, A, P and possessors
- Other strategies for relativization also exist: relative clauses can include non-verbal predicates including **nominalisations**
- In particular, **passive nominalisations with *di-*** are used to relativize on P when A is an NP

Historical Changes

Relative Clauses over time

- In comparing the three corpora there are **two main changes** that become apparent:
 - (1) The percentage of relative clauses **with an overt relativizer** increases
 - (2) In Old Enggano, only *ki-* verbs are found in relative clauses, whilst in Contemporary Enggano **other verbal constructions occur** after the relativizer

1. Overt Relativizers

	Clauses with overt relativizer	Total Relative Clauses
Helfrich	24 (46%)	52
Kähler	370 (71%)	521
Contemporary	372 (86%)	432

1. Overt Relativizers

- Many of the examples in Contemporary Enggano that **do not contain a relativizer** consist of only one verb or occur in structures that are ambiguous:

(19a) ke ku-'ueh ki-dè **kak** [k-a'a]
 because KI-sleep KI-like person KI-dead
 'because he slept like a dead person' (Kähler 1955 retelling)

(19b) a=b-i **hã** [buh pinah yub]
 if=B U -exist someone VOL move house
 'If someone wants to move a house' (Pidah Rumah)

2. Constructions in Relative Clauses

- In Old Enggano, all verbal structures that contain a main verb as their predicate are marked with *ki-*
- The only exception is when the relative clause is headed by an auxiliary that requires the dependent *bu-* form:

(20) nãẽ=nã [hẽmõ'õ **hoo** **b-apadi** e-kanẽã:ĩ e'ana]
 mother=3SG.POSS REL PFV BU-become DIR-moon DEM
 'The mother who became the moon' (Kähler 1958)

2. Constructions in Relative Clauses

- In Contemporary Enggano, it is not only *ki-* verbs that we find in relative clauses, but also *bu-* (and maybe bare) verbs (without auxiliaries!):

(21a) ean [mè' da-bu-'u burung hantu]
 DEM REL 3PL-BU-say bird ghost
 'that's what they call burung hantu (owl)' (Burung Hantu)

(21b) [mè' u-pakõ'õã' ě']
 REL 1SG-know DEM
 'What I know is...' (Malakoni)

- There are **42 examples** out of 233 relative clauses with verbal predicates (18%)

Constructions in Rel Clauses

- There is also no **extraction restriction** when *bu-* verbs are used. The majority of attestations relativize on P (28/42) but we also find examples:

(22a) **kak** [mè' ka-b-ah idit]
people REL 3-BU-go there
'people who go there' (cerita rakyat)

(22b) **a-hã** [b-a'ida' koi]
if-who bu-hunt pig
'If someone hunts wild boar' (Ekonomi)

Historical Change

- So how can we interpret these findings?
- We think this is consistent with the story that *ki-* starts off as a **relative clause marker** (much like Nias *si=*). Unlike Nias, Enggano also innovates a relativiser (*mõ'õ*) and this may facilitate the reanalysis of *ki-* as simply a **verbal marker** that contrasts with nominal markers (like *e-* and *u-*) and is extended to main clauses.
- This is the position that the earliest records of Old Enggano find themselves in since *ki-* can be used in **both main clauses and relative clauses**.
- Over time, as *ki-* is reanalysed as a verbal marker, the relativiser becomes the main indicator of relative clauses and is **increasingly used**.

Historical Change

- Finally, once the relativiser is established as the main marker of relative clauses, and *ki-* fully reinterpreted as a **verbal marker** that alternates with *bu-* and bare constructions in main clauses, these begin to alternate in relative clauses too.
- *“It seems then that the reanalysis of relative clauses as main clause predicates [...] had the effect of erasing any significant differences between relative clauses and main clauses”* (Kaufman 2018: 221)

Summary

- Relative Clauses have undergone **historical changes** as evidenced in the three corpora studied.
- Firstly, the percentage of clauses with an **overt relativizer is increasing**
- Secondly, the range of **verbal constructions** that can be found in relative clauses are changing.
- We argue that these changes are linked to the **historical development of *ki-*** which we propose was innovated as a relative clause marker and subsequently extended to main clauses

Conclusions

Conclusion

- In this talk, we presented the historical development of **relative clauses** in the Austronesian language Enggano by comparing relative clauses in three corpora collected during different time periods.
- We showed that **Enggano relative clauses do not share the common subject-only extraction restriction** familiar from symmetrical voice languages, since relative clause verbs are marked with *ki-* and this strategy can be used to relativize on S, A and P.

Conclusion

- We also showed that Enggano relative clauses have changed in two interesting ways across the three corpora.
- Firstly, the number of clauses with an **overt relativizer** have increased. Secondly, whilst verbal predicates in Old Enggano clauses were always marked with *ki-*, in Contemporary Enggano relative clause verbs may also be marked with *bu-* and other verbal constructions.
- We proposed that these changes are linked to the **specific historical development** of the marker *ki-*, which we claim has been **reanalysed from subordinate (relative clause) marker to main clause (verbal) marker**, thereby blurring the distinction between clause types.

Conclusion

- This is interesting as it suggests that Enggano *ki-* may have undergone the same sort of **reanalysis** process that is often suggested to explain Austronesian pre-history and the development of symmetrical voice.
- Perhaps Austronesian languages are prone to developing subordinating structures and reanalysing these as main clause verbal structures?
- Either way, relative clauses in Enggano provide further support for the idea that the **Austronesian extraction restriction** may be directly tied to diachronic development of **symmetrical voice morphology** and is therefore not expected to apply in languages where other morphological strategies are used in relativization.

With thanks to...

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The John Fell Fund, University of Oxford

The Endangered Language Fund

Audience at LSA Annual Meeting