

Enggano middle voice: evidence of Enggano as an Austronesian language

The genealogical status of Enggano (ISO 639-3 Code eno) within the Austronesian family has long been a controversy (Capell 1982: 2; Blench 2014, Edwards 2015). Several lines of recent evidence, however, suggest that Enggano is an Austronesian language (see Hemmings et al. for discussion). This paper offers further unreported evidence that Enggano is an Austronesian language by investigating its middle voice system. In particular, we argue that the Enggano middle marker *pa-*, which occurs in both oppositional and non-oppositional contexts, is likely related to cognates with similar functions inherited from Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) **paR-/*maR-* (which becomes **paRi-* in Proto-Oceanic [POC]).

In Inglese & Verstraete's (2023) terms, Enggano *pa-* can function as a middle marker with both oppositional verbs (that also occur in other voice constructions, such as the active (examples (1) and (4)) and passive (2)) and non-oppositional verbs that always take *pa-*. When *pa-* attaches to oppositional transitive verbs, it typically has a valency reducing function, such as reciprocal (3) or antipassive (5), which is common with middles (cf. Inglese 2022: 494):

- (1) Cara Bertani (line 59-60) (Active Voice)
- | | | | | | | | |
|----------|-------|----------|--------|-----|----------------|-----|-----------|
| ik | nè'èn | ẽ' | ki-pù | mè' | kè'è-h | me' | kahaimèh |
| 1PL.INCL | now | DEM.PROX | KI-see | REL | plant-PAT.NMLZ | REL | different |
- '(...) we now see different plants (...)'
- (2) Basic Structure (line 379) (Passive Voice)
- | | | | | | | |
|----------|---------|---------|-------------|--|------|------|
| kèh | ean | pùha' | ki-r-pù | | kur | ite' |
| mountain | DEM.MED | able.to | KI-PASS-see | | from | here |
- 'That mountain is visible (lit. can be seen) from here.'
- (3) Verbal Morphology (line 31) (Middle Voice, reciprocal)
- | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|---------|--|--|--|--|
| ki | ki-pa-pù-pù | iẽn | | | | |
| 3PL | KI-RECIP-REDUP-see | 3PL.OBL | | | | |
- 'They looked at each other.'
- (4) Pidah Rumah (line 59) (Active Voice)
- | | | | | | | |
|-------------|----|----------|-----|-----|----------------|---------|
| Da-m-èm | pe | y-amuh | iu | u | p-ah-èm | iẽm |
| 3PL-BU-wait | PT | NMZL-big | sea | 1SG | MID-ANTIP-wait | 2SG.OBL |
- 'They waited for the high tide'
- (5) Voice (line 25) (Middle Voice, antipassive)
- | | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|-----|----------------|---------|
| | | | | u | p-ah-èm | iẽm |
| | | | | 1SG | MID-ANTIP-wait | 2SG.OBL |
- 'I wait for you'

When it attaches to intransitive verbs, it may also have a collective action function, e.g. *pahèk* 'all sit' < *hèk* 'sit'. The marker *pa-* also attaches to non-oppositional verbs that only ever occur with the marker *pa-* and encode a number of functions related to the "middle domain" (Kemmer 1993: 15). These include: inherently reciprocal/collective events (e.g. *ki-pa-kob* 'KI-RECIP-meet', *ki-p-ah-amik* 'KI-RECIP-ANTIP-quarrel'); verbs of speech action (e.g. *ka-pa-'ua'* '3-MID-cry.out', *ki-pa-na-na* 'KI-MID-REDUP-speak'); (non-)translational motion (e.g. *ki-pa-ema* 'KI-MID-dance', *ki-pa-ko-koeh* 'KI-MID-REDUP-squat'), verbs of emotion/cognition (e.g. *ki-pa-kõ'õã* 'KI-MID-know', *ki-pa-kuder* 'KI-MID-believe'), and spontaneous events (e.g., *pa-'i-ĩẽk* 'MID-REDUP-dry, *pa-wap* 'MID-yawn'). These share the property of being lower in transitivity than basic transitive verbs since they do not take a direct object. Examples are given below:

- (6) Basic Structure (line 701) (Reciprocal *pa-*, non-oppositional)
- | | | | | |
|-------|----------------------|------|-----|-----------------|
| Selus | ki-p-ah-amik | yic | o | an-de |
| NAME | KI-RECIP-ANTIP-fight | word | OBL | friend-3SG.POSS |
- 'Selus quarrels (lit. word-fight) with his friend.'
- (7) Cerita Enggano (line 112) (Collective Action *pa-*, non-oppositional)
- | | | | |
|-------------------|-------------|------------------------|---------------|
| a-p-ah-èm | a-b-i | ka-'nè-k | ki-pa-ruru |
| if-MID-ANTIP-wait | if-BU-exist | 3-friend-1PL.INCL.POSS | KI-MID-gather |
- 'waiting for our friends to gather (lit. waiting if there are our friends to gather)'

Quantitative analysis of the productivity of *pa-* (i.e., its type frequency) reveals the predominance of the reciprocal and collective action sub-domains compared to the other middle sub-domains. Nonetheless, we have shown *pa-* to be a polyfunctional marker. This is a typical trait of the reflexes of **paR-/*maR-* in Malayo-Polynesian and of **paRi-* in Oceanic, showing not only reciprocal but also wider middle functions (Bril 2005; Karaj & Sansò 2023).

Consequently, given the salience of *pa-* in the reciprocal and collective sub-domains, as well as high polyfunctionality, we hypothesise that *pa-* is most likely cognate with widely attested prefixes encoding similar functions (reciprocal/collective action) in Oceanic languages as reflexes of the POC reciprocal prefix **paRi-* (Pawley 1973: 150–153; Blust 2013: 380; Bril 2005; Bril 2019). Like **paRi-*, we argue that Enggano *pa-* is a reflex of the reconstructed PMP **paR-/*maR-* (Pawley 1973: 152–153; Pawley & Reid 1979: 11; Bril 2005: 29–30; Bril 2019; Karaj & Sansò 2023: 227), an actor-oriented prefix with durativity and pluractionality aspects (Karaj & Sansò 2023: 227) that can express middle function (Adelaar 1984). The plurality relation, extended to collectivity/reciprocity, is conveyed by the **-aR-* infix (Blust 2013: 389), which was then fused with the actor voice infix **-um-* (Bril 2019). This study, therefore, provides further morphosyntactic evidence for the status of Enggano as an Austronesian language, that has undergone similar developments in its middle voice marker *pa-* to other Austronesian languages.

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