Reanalysis in the History of Enggano Relative Clauses
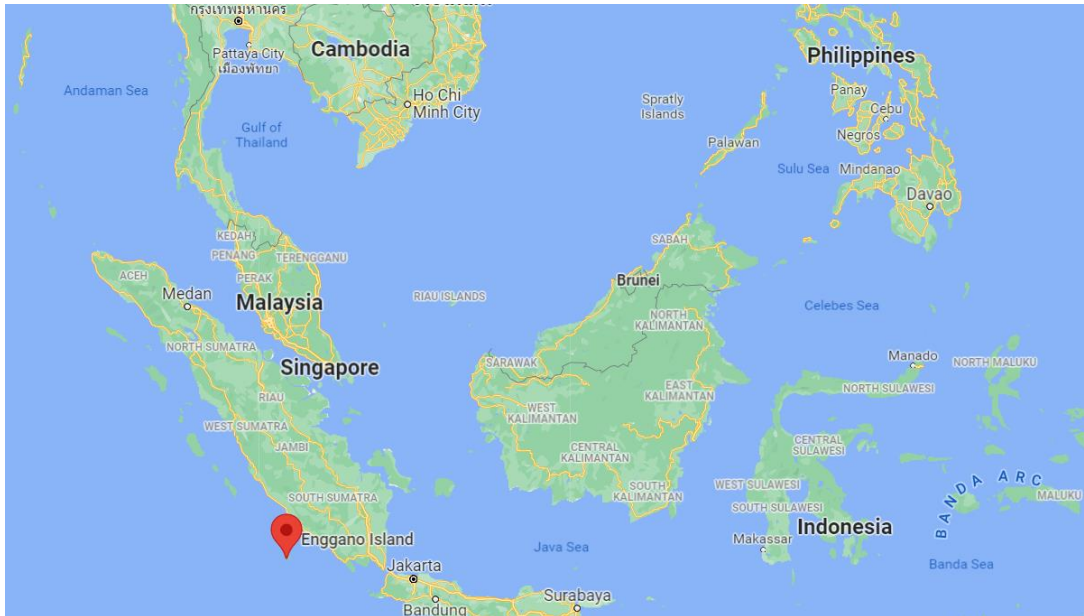
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(Joint work with Mary Dalrymple & The Enggano Project)

Introduction

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

- Unusually for Western Austronesian, Enggano does not have a **subject-only extraction restriction**

- 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).

Introduction

- The marker *ki-* does not appear to be reconstructable to Proto-Austronesian and is **not cognate** with the verbal morphology that marks **symmetrical voice** in other Western Austronesian languages.

- I therefore propose that the unusual lack of a subject-only extraction restriction is the result of the particular historical developments in Enggano that lead to the reanalysis of an innovative marker, *ki-,* from a relative clause marker to **a main clause marker**.

- In this talk, I will sketch out this proposal by comparing **Old Enggano** (as documented in Helfrich (1916) and Kähler (1940, 1955-75, 1987)) with **Contemporary Enggano** (as documented during an ongoing documentation project that began in 2018).

Introduction

- In older texts, *ki- is the only verbal marker* that occurs with relative clause verbs, whilst main clause predicates can be marked with *ki-, bu-* or occur in bare form. Main clause usages of *ki-* often reflect out of the blue contexts where a cleft structure might be expected.

- In contemporary texts, however, other verbal structures (particularly *bu-* verbs) occur in relative clauses too. Hence, **the distinction between main clauses and subordinate clauses has been blurred.**

- We can compare Old Enggano with another Barrier Island language, **Nias**, where *si=* is used as a dedicated **relativize clause marker** when relativizing on S and A and **does not occur in main clauses** (Brown 2001).

Introduction

- We take this as evidence of a process of **reanalysis**, where *ki-* is originally innovated as a relative clause marker (much like Nias *si=*) and subsequently extended to main clause contexts via reanalysis of cleft constructions.

- This may be facilitated by the fact that Enggano also has a dedicated **relativiser** (mõ'õ/mẻ') unlike Nias.

- This is interesting since the reanalysis of relative clauses is thought to play a role in the development of Western Austronesian **symmetrical voice** morphology (and hence the extraction restriction too) (see Kaufman 2018).

- Hence, Austronesian languages may be particularly prone to insubordination or the reanalysis of subordinating structures as main clause structures.

Roadmap

- Relativization in Austronesian

- Relative Clauses in Old Enggano

- Relative Clauses in Contemporary Enggano

- Relative Clauses in Nias

- Conclusions

Relativization in Austronesian

Austronesian

- Approx. 1,200 languages

- Many have fewer than 1,000 speakers.

- Many are undocumented

- Major typological distinction between Oceanic & Western Austronesian

Symmetrical Voice

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

(1a)   **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'

(1b)   **Undergoer Voice**
nuba'   nedih   **sikul**   *lai'h   sineh*   ngen   seduk
rice   3SG.POSS   <UV.PFV>spoon   man   DEM   with   spoon
'That man ate his rice with a spoon'

(1c)   **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:

(2a)   Seni'er   kuh   **la'ih**   [suk   **ne-nekul**   *nuba'*   <u>ngen seduk</u>]
            UV.PFV.see   1SG   man   REL   PFV-AV.spoon   rice   with spoon
            'I saw the man who spooned up rice with a spoon'

(2b)   Seni'er   kuh   **nuba'**   [suk   **sikul**   *la'ih sineh*   <u>ngen seduk</u>]
            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'

(2c)   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 relativiser on a non-subject:

(3a)   *Seni'er   kuh   *nuba'*   [suk   **nekul**   **la'ih**   **sineh**]

UV.PFV.see   1SG   rice   REL   AV.spoon   man   DEM

For: 'I saw the rice that the man spooned up'

(3b)   *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:

(4a) **La'ih   sineh**   suk   nekuman   *nuba'*
     man   DEM   REL   AV.PFV.eat   rice

'It was the man who ate rice.'

(4b) **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:

(5a) **su** **babayi** [NOM] su **nag-kaon** *ning/sa* *keso*
 NOM woman AV-eat GEN/DAT cheese
'It's the woman that ate (the) cheese.'

(5b) **su** **keso** [su NOM] **k\<in>aon** *kaso* *babayi*
 NOM cheese \<UV>eat GEN woman
'It's the cheese that the woman ate.'

(5c) **Su** **tindahan** [su NOM] **pig-bakal-an** *kaso* *babayi* *ning/sa keso*
 NOM store 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:

(6a) *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.'

(6b) *Su/kaso   babayi   su   **k\<in\>aon**   **su**   **keso**

NOM/GEN   woman   NOM   \<U V\>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 is that the reanalysis of nominalisations may have first taken place in relative clauses, and was then introduced into main clauses via insubordination, which is supported by **Kanakanavu**, another Formosan language, where both innovative and conservative morphology is attested in main clauses, but only the innovative forms in (3) occur in relative clauses (Cheng 2022).

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

- Austronesian languages vary in terms of whether they have overt relativizers or not…

Relative Clauses in Old Enggano

Old Enggano

- The data in this section is taken from the texts published in Helfrich (1916) and the grammar, text collection and dictionary published by Hans Kähler (1940, 1955, 1957, 1958, 1960a, 1960b, 1961, 1964, 1975, 1987)

- There is a clear distinction between **nouns** (*e-, u-, i-*) and **verbs** (*bu-*, bare or *ki-*).

- *Bu-* verbs and bare verbs can be used for both **transitive** and **intransitive** verbs, and co-occur with different sets of person markers.

- Though *bu-* is most likely a reflex of PAN *-um-, the choice of verb form does not reflect a symmetrical voice alternation since agreement is always with S/A.

- Other PAN morphology is only found in **nominalisations**: -o < *-en, -a < *-an, di- < *-in-)

Old Enggano

(7a) **ka-bu-pudu-ha**   e-paE   e'ana   *bu*- form   **118 (50%)**
3.NOM-**bu**-kill-EMPH DIR-child   DEM.MED
'and he killed the child' (Kähler 1955:90)

(7b) kea-ba'a   **i-pudu**   e-koyo e'ana   bare form   **70 (30%)**
NEG-INTENSIVE   3.ERG-kill   DIR-pig DEM.MED
'He didn't kill the pig' (Kähler 1940:101)

(7c) e-kaka   e'ana **ki-pudu**   e-koyo   *ki*- form   **48 (20%)**
DIR-person   DEM   **KI**-kill   DIR-pig
'That person killed a pig.' (Kähler 1940:108)

Relative Clauses

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

(8a) Ka-'ėdėha=ha   e-paE   [hẽmõ'õ   ku-'uoho]

3-startle=EMPH   DIR-child   REL.SG   KI-sleep

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

(8b) Ka-bu-kėda'a=ha   e-ĩnãha 'a'a=da   [ku-'uoho i-õkõ-ã]

3-BU-tell=EMPH   DIR-place OBL.older.sibling=3PL   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 Old Enggano, relative clause verbs occur in *ki-* form. This often, but not always, co-occurs with an overt relativiser *mõ'õ:*

(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

- No extraction restriction: *ki-* can be used to relativize on S, A, P and Possessors:

(10a)   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)

(10b)   i'iaha   e-kude-a   u-mẽhẽ-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)

(10c)   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'

Relative Clauses

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

(11)   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'(Kahler, 1964, 16.5)

Relative Clauses

- And nominalisation also exists as an alternative strategy to relativise on non-subject arguments (particularly when A = NP)

(12a) e-huda e'ana [mo'o **e-di-pėa** 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)

(12b) 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)

Main Clauses

- *ki-* can also be used in **main clause contexts** but differs from other verbal main clauses in that word order is SVO and there is no agreement.

(13)　ki　　k-aha:E　　i-pia=da

　　　3PL　　KI-go　　　LOC-garden=3PL.POSS

　　　'They set off for their plantation' (Kahler 1955)

Main Clauses

- It is plausible that these represent a **reanalysis** of relative clauses/clefts in constructions without the overt relativiser:

(14a)   kE'anaha   [ka-b-ia=ha   [kaha:i'i   e-ko'E'E]   [ki-tohoi

        and   3-BU-exist=emph   one   DIR-demon   KI-hear

        e-pa-nau   u-kaka   arua   ne'eni]

        DIR-RECIP-speak   OBL-person   two   aforementioned

'And then a demon heard the conversation of the two aforementioned people.' [1964 7.05]

Main Clauses

(14b)   hoo   kuinã=**nã'ã**   [kia=**da'a**   [ki-nã-nã'ã   y-ai   e-ũ'ã   e'ana]

PFV   true=FOC   3SG=FOC   KI-REDUP-bring   3-come DIR-food DEM

'It was true, that she brought the food' (Kähler 1957, 9.3)

Main Clauses

- The process of reanalysis may be facilitated by the fact that Enggano has an **overt relativiser** as a marker of relative clauses!

	Clauses with overt relativizer	Total Relative Clauses
Helfrich	24 (46%)	52
Kähler	370 (71%)	521
Contemporary	363 (81%)	447

Summary

- Relativization in Old Enggano is different from other Austronesian languages since there is no extraction restriction and no symmetrical voice

- *ki-* functions as a relative clause marker, to the exclusion of other verbal markers, often in combination with the overt relativizer *mõ'õ*

- *ki-* is also used in main clauses and was plausibly extended into these contexts via reanalysis [cf. Kanakanavu]

- This may be facilitated by the increasing grammaticalization of the relativiser *mõ'õ*

Relative Clauses in Contemporary Enggano

Contemporary Enggano

- The data in this section is drawn from an ongoing documentation project since 2018 and comprises elicited examples as well as naturalistic data.

- Much of the morphology survives (often with similar functions to Old Enggano). However, there is quite drastic morpho-phonological changes since (among other processes) final vowels are regularly deleted, and o > ə [ė].

- An example of this is the relativizer which is now *mė'* (< *mõ'õ*)

- Otherwise, the patterns of relativization are similar --> there is no extraction restriction.

Relative Clauses

(18a) ẽ'   pa   [mė'   **ki-pu**]

DEM   child   REL   KI-run

'This is the child that runs'

(18b) ẽ'   pa   [mė'   **ki-pủ-(de)**   u]

DEM   child   REL   KI-see-(3SG.POSS)   1SG

'This is the child that saw me'

(18c) ẽ'   pa   [mė'   u   **ki-pủ**]

DEM   child   REL   1SG   KI-see

'This is the child that I saw' (elicitation)

Relative Clauses

- Moreover, "nominalisation" still exists as an alternative for relativizing on P:

(19a) ẽ'   it   [mė'   pa   ki-no]
        DEM   banana   REL   child   KI-eat
        'This is the banana that the child ate'

(19b) ẽ'   it   [mė'   ni-no   pa]
        DEM   banana   REL   PASS-eat   child
        'This is the banana that was eaten by the child'

Historical Change

- In Contemporary Enggano, it is not only *ki-* verbs that we find in relative clauses, but also *bu-* (and maybe bare) verbs:

(20a)   ean   [mė'   **da-bu-**'u   burung   hantu]

         DEM   REL   3PL-BU-say   bird   ghost

         'that's what they call burung hantu (owl)' (Burung Hantu)

(20b)   [mė'   **u-**pakõ'õã'   ẽ']

         REL   1SG-know   DEM

         'What I know is…' (Malakoni)

Historical Change

- There is also no **extraction restriction** when *bu-* verbs are used:

(21a) kak mė' ka-b-ah idit

people REL 3-B U -go there

'people who go there' (cerita rakyat)

(21b) a-hã b-a'ida' koi

if-who bu-hunt pig

'If someone hunts wild boar' (Ekonomi)

- These account for **58/242** relative clauses with verbal predicates = 21%

Summary

- Contemporary Enggano also uses *ki-* as a verbal marker in relative clauses

- However, other verbal constructions are also attested in relative clauses

- Moreover, a high percentage of relative clauses also contain the overt relativizer

- This fits with the idea of *ki-* developing as a relative clause strategy, and being subsequently extended into main clause contexts, at which point the distinction is blurred and other verbal structures can be used in relative clauses too [like symmetrical voice languages].

Summary

"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)

Relative Clauses in Nias

Relative Clauses in Nias

- Nias is another Barrier Island language spoken off the south coast of Sumatra.

- Like Enggano, Nias does not have symmetrical voice.

- Instead, intransitive clauses are marked with a reflex of *-um-* (like Enggano *bu-* verbs). Transitive clauses take agreement for A (like Enggano bare verbs). S/O arguments appear in mutated form.

- Since S/O are marked the same (mutation/no agreement) and A is marked different (no mutation/agreement) this suggests that Nias has **ergative alignment** and is **more conservative** than Enggano (see Zobel & Hemmings forthcoming).

Relative Clauses in Nias

- When S/A is relativized on, the special verbal marker *si=* appears on the verb:

(15a) i-be khö-gu mbaru [**si=bohou**]
       3.RLS-give DAT-1SG.POSS MUT.dress REL=NEW
       'She gave me a new dress' (lit. dress that was new) (Brown 2001: 413)

(15b) Andrehe'e nasu [**si=usu** ya'o]
       DIST MUT.dog REL=bite 1SG
       'That's the dog that bit me' (Brown 2001: 413)

- It is likely that Nias *si=* is cognate with Enggano *ki-* given that Enggano /k/ corresponds to PAN *s/*t

- *Si=* and *ki-* also behave alike in not triggering agreement.

Relative Clauses in Nias

- However, 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 (cf. Enggano *e-di-* nominalisation):

(16)   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 Nias

- More importantly, *si=* does not occur in **main clauses**, except where headless relative clauses occur as arguments:

(17)   ha   warao   **zi=tataro**

         only   few   MUT.REL=sit

         'only a few of them sit' (lit. the sitting ones are few) (Brown 2001: 298)

- This supports the hypothesis that *ki-* starts as a dedicated relative clause strategy and is later extended to main clauses via reanalysis in Enggano.

Summary

- In Nias, *si=* is used as a dedicated relative clause marker

- It is not used as a strategy to relativise on O

- It is not used in main clauses [cf. Puyuma]

- This supports the hypothesis that *ki-* starts as a dedicated relative clause strategy (like Nias *si=*) and is later extended to main clauses via reanalysis.

Conclusions

Conclusion

- In this talk, I sought to explain why Enggano does not have the expected **Austronesian extraction restriction** – or even the same pattern of relativization as in Nias.

- The story that I proposed was linked to the **specific historical development** of an innovative relative clause marker *ki-*, which we claim has been **reanalysed from subordinate marker to main clause marker**, thereby blurring the distinction between clause types.

- This story is supported by comparison with Nias, as well as the historical changes that we see occurring between Old Enggano and Contemporary Enggano

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.

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