

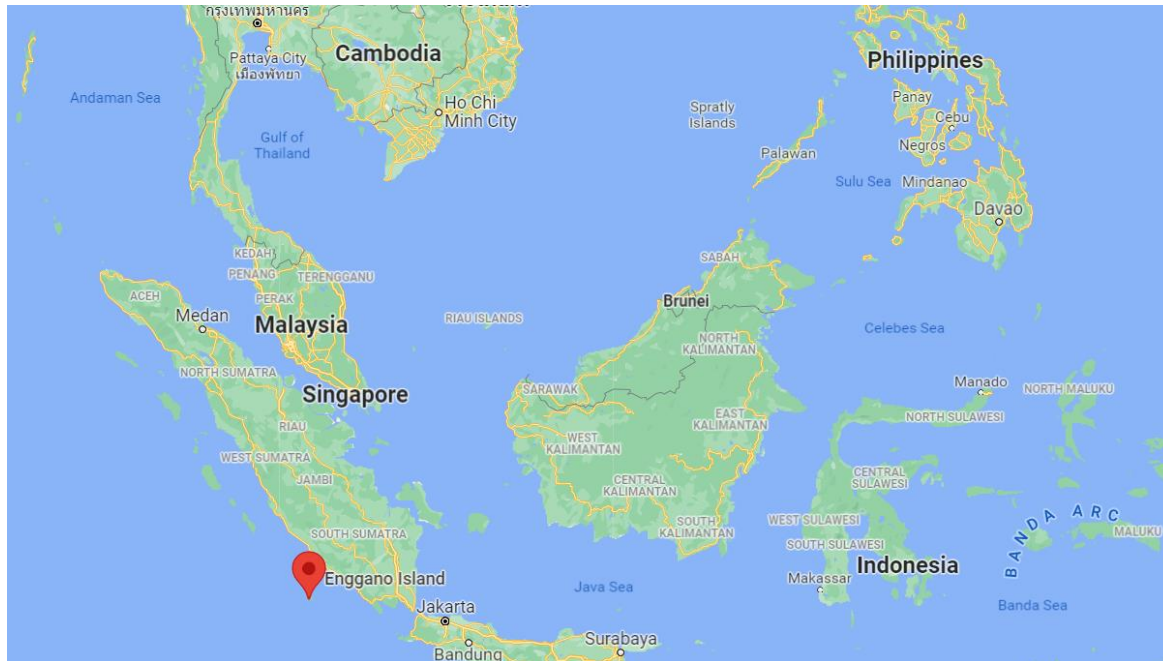
Relative Clauses in Enggano

Charlotte Hemmings & Mary Dalrymple

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Introduction

- This paper presents a case study of relative clauses in **Enggano**, an Austronesian language spoken on Enggano Island, Sumatra, Indonesia.



- We compare relative clauses in **Contemporary Enggano**, using a corpus collected as part of an ongoing documentation project with **Old Enggano**, using an older corpus collected by Hans Kähler in 1930s.

Introduction

- We highlight two findings:
 - (1) Enggano does not have the **subject-only restriction** on relativization that is wide-spread in Austronesian (Keenan & Comrie 1979);
 - (2) There are **changes** between Old Enggano and Contemporary Enggano that are consistent with *ki-* being innovated as a dedicated relative clause marker but subsequently being extended to main clause functions as well.
- We argue that Enggano may therefore present another example of **insubordination** in the history of Austronesian morphosyntax and reaffirms the connection between the subject-only restriction and symmetrical voice morphology.

Roadmap

- Relativization in Austronesian
- Relative Clauses in Old Enggano
- Relative Clauses in Contemporary Enggano
- Conclusions



Relativization in Austronesian

Subject-Only Restriction (Kelabit)

- Austronesian languages are famed for the subject-only extraction restriction:

(1a) 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'

(1b) 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'

(1c) 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 (Bikol)

- (2a) **su** **babayi** su **nag-kaon** *ning/sa* *keso*
 NOM woman NOM AV-eat GEN/DAT cheese
 'It's the woman that ate (the) cheese.'
- (2b) *su* *keso* su **k<in>aon** *kasu* *babayi*
 NOM cheese NOM <UV>eat GEN woman
 'It's the cheese that the woman ate.'
- (2c) **Su** **tindahan** su **pig-bakal-an** *kasu* *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)

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)

Relative Clauses in Nias

- In **Nias**, a Barrier island language also spoken off the south coast of Sumatra, there is no symmetrical voice morphology. Instead, intransitive clauses are marked with a reflex of **-um-*, and transitive clauses take agreement for A. S/O arguments appear in mutated form.
- When S/A is relativized on, the special verbal marker *si=* appears on the verb:

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

(3b) Andrehe’e A [si=usu ya’o]
 DIST REL=bite 1SG
 ‘That’s the dog that bit me’ (Brown 2001: 413)

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:

(4) u-fake P [ni-rökhi-nia]
 1S.RLS-use PASS-grate-3SG.POSS

‘I used the coconut which she grated’ (Brown 2001: 420)

- Thus, Nias uses a gapping strategy, combined with the dedicated markers *si=* and *ni-* that do not occur with realis main clause verbs, and do not co-occur with agreement.

Summary

- Many Austronesian languages have a subject-only extraction restriction
- These languages also have a symmetrical voice system
- The symmetrical voice system may derive from the reanalysis of nominalisers, particularly in relative clauses
- Languages without symmetrical voice may have other strategies that distinguish relative clauses from main clauses

Relative Clauses in Old Enggano

Old Enggano

- The data in this section is taken from a 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 **-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-*)

Relative Clauses

- Enggano also has a special marker for relative clauses: *ki-* (cognate with Nias *si=*). This often, but not always, co-occurs with an overt relativiser *mõ'õ*:

- (5a) ka-'édèha=ha S [hěmõ'õ **ku-'uoho**]
 3-startle=EMPH REL.SG KI-sleep
 'The child, who was sleeping, was startled' (Kahler 1955)
- (5b) a-bu-kèda'a=ha e-ĩnãha S [**ku-'uoho** i-õkõ-ã]
 3-BU-tell=EMPH DIR-place KI-sleep LOC-roast-LOC.NOM
 'And he named the location of (their=) his older brother, who slept on the hearth' (Kähler 1955)

No subject-only extraction restriction!

- This strategy can be used to relativize on anything:

(6a) e=apama A [mo'ō ki-'ope kia] e'ana
 DIR=number REL FOC-ambush 3SG that
 'the number of the people who lay in ambush for him' (Kähler 1975:61)

(6b) i'iaha e-kude-a P [mõ'õ aruu ki-nõ-nõõ]?
 where DIR-originate-LOC.NOM REL 2PL KI-REDUP-eat
 'Where does the food that you eat come from?' (Kähler 1957: 153)

(6c) Na-pa-nee i-uba Poss [k-a'ao e-pamoa] e'ana
 3PL-CAUS-near LOC-house KI-die DIR-newborn DEM
 'and approach the house of our friend whose newborn child died'

Relative Clauses

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

(7a) P [mo'ó **e-di-pèa** **ama-nai**]
 REL DIR-PASS-see OBL.father-1PL.EXCL.POSS
 'The woman who was seen by you ('our father')' (Kähler 1957: 153)

(7b) P [mõ'õ **e-di-pudu-bu** e'ana 'amũhõ]
 REL DIR-PASS-kill-2SG.POSS DEM big
 'the wild boar that you killed is big' (Kähler 1940)

(7c) Loc [hemõ'õ **e-'uoho-a** **u-paE** **e'ana**]
 REL DIR-sleep-LOC.NOM OBL-child DEM
 'the house where the child slept' (Kähler 1955)

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.

(8) *ki* *k-aha:E* *i-pia=da*
 3PL KI-go LOC-garden=3PL.POSS
 ‘They set off for their plantation’ (Kahler 1955)

- This could be the result of a process of **insubordination**, much like the one posited in the history of Austronesian
- Reanalysis may be facilitated by the fact that Enggano has an **overt relativizer** (in contrast to Nias), so *ki-* is no longer needed as the main marker of subordination.

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, often in combination with the overt relativizer *mõ'õ*
- Nominalisation exists as an alternative strategy for relativizing on P
- *ki-* is also used in main clauses and was plausibly extended into these contexts via insubordination

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 $o > \text{ə}$ [è].
- An example of this is the relativizer which is now *mé'* (< *mõ'õ*)
- Otherwise, the patterns of relativization are similar --> there is no extraction restriction.

No subject-only extraction restriction!

(9a) ě' S [mè' **ki-pu**]
DEM REL KI-run
'This is the child that runs'

(9b) ě' A [mè' **ki-pù-(de)** u]
DEM REL KI-see-(3SG.POSS) 1SG
'This is the child that saw me'

(9c) ě' P [mè' u **ki-pù**]
DEM REL 1SG KI-see
'This is the child that I saw' (elicitation)

Relative Clauses

- Moreover, “nominalisation” exists as an alternative for relativizing on P

(10a) ẽ' [mè' pa ki-no]
 DEM [P] REL child KI-eat
 'This is the banana that the child ate'

(10b) ẽ' [mè' ni-no pa]
 DEM [P] REL PASS-eat child
 'This is the banana that was eaten by the child'

Historical Change

- The percentage of relative clauses containing the overt relativizer is higher:

	Total Relative Clauses	Relative Clauses with Relativizer	Percentage
Kähler corpus (pre-1975 texts)	491	339	69%
Contemporary corpus (20 naturalistic recordings)	243	225	93%

Historical Change

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

(11a) ean [mè' da-bu-'u burung hantu]
 DEM REL 3PL-BU-say bird ghost
 'that's what they call burung hantu (owl)' (Burung Hantu)

(11b) [mè' u-pakõ'õã' ě']
 REL 1SG-know DEM
 'What I know is...' (Malakoni)

Summary

- Contemporary Enggano also has *ki-* as a marker of relative clauses
- However, almost all clauses also contain the overt relativizer (whilst in Old Enggano this was optional)
- Moreover, other verbal constructions are also attested in relative clauses
- This potentially fits with the idea of *ki-* developing as a relative clause strategy, and being subsequently extended into main clause contexts, at which point other main clause structures can be used in relative clauses.

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)

Conclusions

Conclusion

- In this paper, we have seen two important facts about relative clauses in Enggano
 - Firstly, there is no subject-only extraction restriction
 - Secondly, whilst relative clauses all contain either *ki-* or a nominalisation in Old Enggano, Contemporary Enggano is starting to allow other constructions (*bu-*) in relative clauses.
- These facts make sense given that Enggano does not have a **symmetrical voice** system, since *bu-* and bare verbs are simply used in different contexts, and other voice morphology is restricted to nominalisations.

Conclusion

- It also makes sense given the potential historical analysis of *ki-* we have proposed:
 - *ki-* starts off as a relative clause marker, much like the cognate form *si=* in Nias
 - At some point an overt relativiser *mõ'õ* is grammaticalized!
 - *ki-* is then extended to main clause contexts (perhaps via the reanalysis of clefts/constructions without the overt relativiser)
 - the overt relativizer (increasingly) becomes the main marker of relative clauses
 - since *ki-* alternates with *bu-* and bare forms in main clauses, it can also do so in relative clauses

Conclusion

- This suggests that *ki-* may have undergone the same sort of **insubordination** process often suggested to explain Austronesian pre-history.
- 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 common **Austronesian extraction restriction** may be directly tied to diachronic development of **symmetrical voice morphology**.

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