The value of historical resources in Language Documentation and Description

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Case studies from the Enggano Project

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SOAS Linguistics Seminar

Introduction

- This seminar discusses the value and limitations of historical resources in the context of **Language Documentation and Description** using case studies from the Enggano Project

- Enggano has a rich history of documentation: there are wordlists and texts going back to the C19th as well as Hans Kähler's systematic documentation from 1930s.

- I will present examples of how these materials contributed to (1) the description of **contemporary Enggano grammar** and to (2) analysis of **diachronic change -** consequently, I will argue that historical materials can be of **great value** to language documentation and hence to linguistic theory and typology as well.
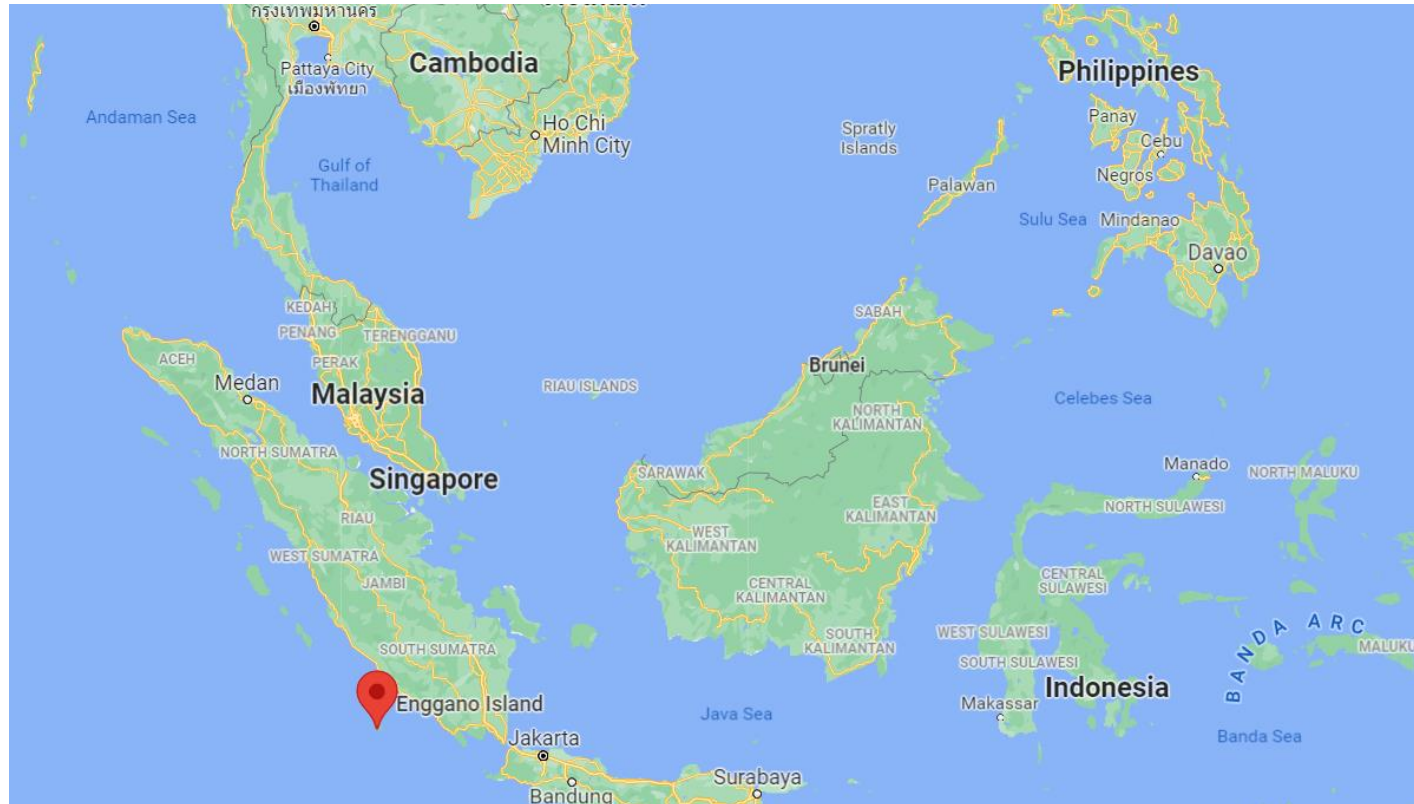
Roadmap

- Background on Enggano

- Contemporary Enggano Morphosyntax
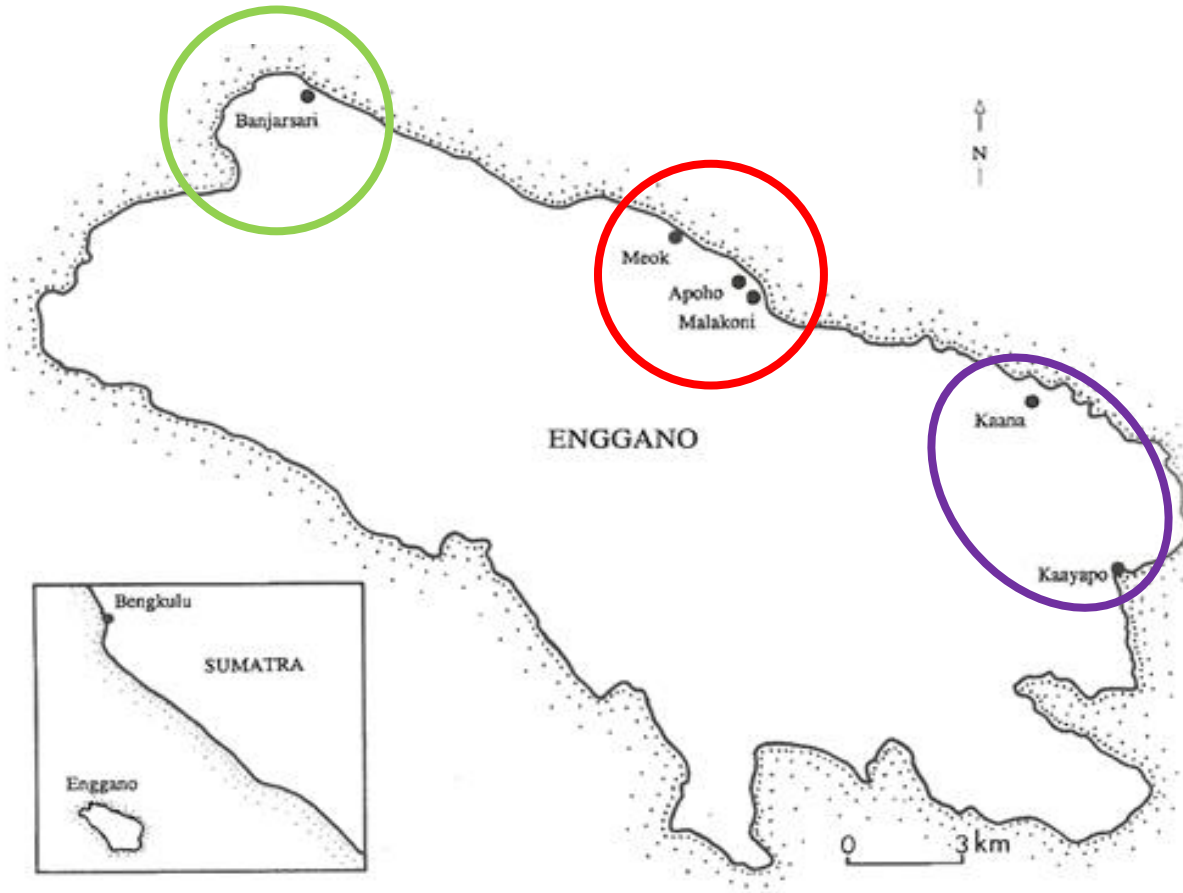
- Historical Change

- Conclusions

Background on Enggano

Background on Enggano

- Enggano is spoken by approx 1,500 speakers on Enggano Island, Sumatra, Indonesia

- Historically debated, but most people now argue that Enggano is Austronesian (Dyen 1965, Nothofer 1986, Edwards 2015, Smith 2017, 2020, McDonnell & Billings 2022)

Background on Enggano

map from ter Keurs (2006: 134)

- Today, Enggano is considered endangered as speakers are increasingly shifting to Indonesian (see Arka et al. 2022).

- The language is most vital in the **central villages**

- In **northern** and **southern** villages, non-Enggano populations are higher, accelerating language shift

Previous Documentation

- There are a number of wordlists from the C19th:

Author	Year of publication	Stay in Enggano	Number of words
Djoeragan Boewang	1854	one year	21
H. von Rosenberg	1855	10-24 September, 1852	154
J. van der Straaten and P. Severijn	1855	10 June-2 July 1854	201
J. Walland	1864	10 June-2 July 1854	250
Oscar Louis Helfrich and J.A.J.C. Pieters	1891	10 Nov-3 Dec 1885, 13 December 1891, inter alia	1012
Oscar Louis Helfrich	1916		1100

Previous Documentation

Hooge taal.

De zon.	bakka–kaha.
„ maan.	kanoeah.
„ sterren.	peloa.
„ zee.	oeweh.
„ aarde.	loppoh.
Water.	é–boh.
Steenen.	ééah.
Vuur.	apoeah.
Rivier.	baka–oeweh.
Berg.	koh.
Bosch.	howdah.
Wit.	kha–oedaija.
Zwart.	khah–khoh.
Rood.	kanoeaij.
Groen.	ka–akiema.

ان ada. — zijn, wezen, be-staan, leven, ge-beuren, er is. — kikia.

ادر oedara. — de lucht. — kaèlaho.

ادغ adang. — het op weg af-wachten van ie-mand; het op weg afwachten van ie-mand om hem te dooden. — omokie; ofè.

ادق adik. — jongere broeder of zuster. — èhèie.

ارت arta — goederen, rijkdom, schatten. — èloboe (èdo[...]

ارت erti. — zin, beteekenis, meening. — hokipakawa[...] fèhai.

اغ arang. — doove kool. — èkohok èjobi[...]

ارس aroes. — stroom. — kahakakkie.

ارڠ arga. — waarde, prijs. — èodie (èorie[...]

اسف asap. — rook, damp. — èifè (èifo B[...] noa.

اسغ asing. — afzonderlijk, eigen, vreemd. — èomĕhĕ.

A. WOORDENLIJST.

a

aäāoe; oudere broeder of zuster.

aäpoe(w)a(q) [aäfoe(w)a(q)]; neersmijten, neersmakken.

aba; in, te, op.

abaiekahaïeq [abaiekahaèq]; negen.

abakoe(w)a(q) [abako(w)a; abako(w)ĕ]; geleiden, begeleiden.

abaoe(w)aie(j)onie(j)a; last van iemand die heengaat.

abapoe(w)apaoe(w)a; onderzoek, navraag.

abèha [wabèha]; bamboeriet.

abèo; braken.

aboeaqä; aandoen, aanhebben, gebruiken, zooals kleederen.

aböha; afgedaan, klaar, reeds, voltooid, gereed, ten einde, in orde gekomen uit een verwarden toestand, gedaan hebben met iets, tot rust gekomen.

adèq [arèq]; herwaarts, hierheen.

adie [arie]; antwoord, antwoorden, antwoord geven.

adieba [arieba; aliebĕ]; vijf; adieba hie adoe(w)a [arieba hie adoe(w)a; aliebĕ hie adoe(w)ĕ], zeven.

ado; kwaad doen, kwaad stichten.

adoe(w)a [aroe(w)a; adoe(w)ĕ]; twee.

ahadie; roepen, bij den naam roepen, noemen.

ahado; zich oprichten, opstaan, overeind zetten.

ahapieorie; met de hand drukkend over een lichaamsdeel

Previous Documentation

- Helfrich (1916) also includes texts:

Challenges

❖ Accessibility – translation into Dutch, orthography follows C19th Dutch conventions

❖ Comparability – to what extent do these represent different dialects? Transcription system is not alike! No original manuscripts

D. VERHALEN (Ekoedaäjo).

I. Ekoedaäjo ekoanoe kipahóna hi ekaka.
Tjeritera tikoes kawin sama orang.

E. Kikia hale ilopo eana aroea epoinamo moö,
M. Adalah doeloe dinegrie itoe doea gadis jang
E. káoea epoeahhadia, kamoephi ipahona hi epo-
M. amat elok roepanja tiada maoe kawin dengan boe-
E. nanami kidara ilopo eana, ke kikia pe ilopo
M. djang semoea di negrie itoe tetapi adalah di negrie
E. eana kahai ekaka, moö kioha ikarara epoeahhadia,
M. itoe satoe orang jang boeroek sekali roepanja
E. kia kamoephi boekokoi dakioho, iarakoea
M. dia tiada maoe berdjalan siang soepaja djangan
E. kiepöa kia ekaka, be mania kia, ke kaoea
M. di lihat dia orang djangan maloe dia tetapi bagoes
E. ikarara eohoradia, kia kaha dakóahia ioeba
M. sekali njanjiannja dia berdjalan malam diroemah
E. kapoinamo aroea nèèni, ke keaba iahapi kia boekoi
M. gadis gadis doea tahadi tetapi tiada maoe dia boeka
E. eoeba jonia, kaeanaha diboehohora ekaka kioha
M. roema sama dia djadi menjanjilah orang boeroek

Previous Documentation

- Hans Kähler spent 7 months on Enggano and produced:
  - a **sketch grammar** (Kähler 1940);
  - a **text collection** (Kähler 1955, 1957, 1958, 1960a, 1960b, 1960c, 1961, 1962, 1964, 1975)
  - a **dictionary** (Kähler 1987)

§ 2. Numerusbildung beim Substantivum.

a) 1. *ekẹ'epa e'ana ka'aọ* jener Vogel stirbt = jene Vögel sterben.
   2. *e'ana euba'au* jenes ist mein Haus = jene sind meine Häuser.
   3a. *ehuda kia* sie ist eine Frau.
    b. *kahauda ki* sie sind Frauen.
   4a. *kia kipudu epụnänämı e'ana* er tötet jenen Jüngling.
    b. *kia kipudu kapụnanami e'ana* er tötet jene Jünglinge.

Wie bereits in § 1 erwähnt ist, macht das Enggano bei Substantiven einen scharfen Unterschied zwischen solchen, die eine «Gattung» und solchen, die ein «Einzelwesen» bezeichnen. Unter den Begriff

Previous Documentation

EIN TEXT VON DER INSEL ENGGANO (WESTKÜSTE VON SUMATRA).

Aufgenommen und bearbeitet von Hans Kähler.

I. ekāda'ayɔ ukaka[1]) halɛɛ[2]) 'akɔrupada[3]).

1. ki kahaɛ ipiada[4]), kahaɛa ba'apia[5]). kabia e'ana ea'ahãyãmãhã[6]) ukuɔ[7]) hɛ̃mɔ̃'ɔ kaniã[8]) epãkã[9]) hɛ̃mɔ̃'ɔ ediʃɔɔ ba'ubuɔda'a[10]) ukaka kaɔhãa[11]). — kɛ'anaha dibahaɛha ipia e'ana ki 'akɔrupara. yaba'apia nãɛ̃nã[12]) upiada hɔɔ 'apãkã[13]). kamɔ̃hɔ̃mãhã[14]) dadudia[15]) kabahaɛ iyapahalipa[16]) 'ɔupãkã[17]) e'ana. kabuda'aɔha[18]) kahai'i e'ũmãɔ̃[19]), kamũnã'ã yai ipia hɛ̃mɔ̃'ɔ eiñãhã[20]) honãnĩã[21]) hii earara[22]). kɛ earara e'ana ku'uɔhɔ[23]), bɛ epanũkɔ̃[24]) i'iɔɔnĩã, kia kipiaka[25]) ekarahadia[26]).

2. kabahaɛha amãnã yabakã'a[27]) itita. e'uahaɔdia i'iɔɔ honãnĩã: "pabãha[28]) enɔ̃hɔ̃kã[29]) ei'iɛ e'ũmãɔ̃ kahai'il", "'ɔɔl", e'uahaɔ honãnĩã badi[30]) ei'i dadudia[31]). kɛ'anaha kapabãhaha[32]) e'ũmãɔ̃ e'ana. "'ɔɔ, hɔɔ bãhal" kɛ e'anaha kabu'uaha nɔ̃'ɔi'iɛ̃[33]) ehuda e'ana 'ɔdadudia: "kanɔ̃ɔ̃pũã[34])l he pa'ipa'a[35]) earaka, kamũnɔ̃ɔ̃hãl"

legen. Zu der Zeit trug der **epãkã** genannte Baum Früchte, den die Leute zu benutzen gewohnt waren. — Deshalb gingen sie zu dritt mit ihrem Kinde nach der Pflanzung. Die Mutter arbeitete in der Pflanzung, die bereits überwuchert war. Auch ihr Mann machte sich auf den Weg, er fing mit der Schlinge (Vögel) bei jenem **epãkã**-Baum. Er fing eine Wildtaube, die er mit nach der Pflanzung nahm, die der Aufenthaltsort seiner Frau mit ihrem Kinde war. Aber ihr Kind schlief, denn Müdigkeit hatte es überfallen, und sein Körper war matt.

2. Sein Vater machte sich auf den Weg und kam dort an. (Da) sprach er zu seiner Frau: "Brate eine Wildtaube als Nahrung für uns hier!" "Ja!", erwiderte seine Frau als Antwort auf die Frage ihres Mannes. Alsdann briet sie die Wildtaube. "Nun, sie ist gar!" Darauf sprach die Frau folgendermassen zu ihrem Manne: "Lass uns nur essen! Los, wecke unser Kind, lass uns essen!"

Dorfleben.

1. (Heno') kikia eeheku uiya halee ua'aka'udara ukaka e'ana kino'oi-'ie euku'ania e'ana : kikia kahai'i ekara kaniã Ka'arubi ika'udara kahabauba e'ana. kabia kahai'i emani 'oukaka ka'eropo e'ana, kamahapi kia kahãadia kia ea'ahaona. kabahaeha ika'udara ukaka kaniã Ka'ahãao yamahaona ehuda it'ita Ka'ahãao e'ana, ina'aãnã itopodia umahau aika'udaradia.

Dorfleben.

1. Folgendermassen verhielt es sich mit der früheren Regelung des Dorf-Gründens der Leute : In jenem Dorfverband gab es einen Menschen (d.h. eine Frau)(namens, d.h. hier:) von der Sippe Ka'arubi[1]). Und es gab einen Mann von den Ka'aropo-Leuten (d.h. von der Sippe Ka'aropo), der eine Heirat plante. Er geht ins Dorf der Ka'ahãao genannten Leute, damit er dort eine Frau (aus) der Ka'ahãao (-Sippe) heiratet; er bringt sie in sein Land oder in sein Dorf.

Previous Documentation

- Kähler (1987) was published posthumously by former students. It includes root words, inflected forms and information on cognates/sources of borrowings

Challenges

❖ Accessibility – translation into German, no glossing

❖ Comparability – each of the resources uses a different transcription system, no original manuscripts

eānŭmãẽ   = eʔanĬmãẽ   Pandanusart

°añãmŭ   (' ML ayam) eañãmŭ ehuda   Huhn
          eañãmŭ emãnĬ   Hahn

ʔao   kaʔao   sterben, tot/verstorben sein, (Pflanzen usw)
       absterben, eingehen, (Feuer) erlöschen
       hō baʔao   bereits gestorben
       kabaʔao   starb
       kaʔaoa   wird sterben
       kaʔaəa (lo8z34)   am Sterben sein
       hō baʔaoa   im Begriff sein zu sterben
       eaʔao = e[ʔ]abaʔáo   Tod, Todesfall, das Sterben,
       Erlöschen (von einem Feuer)

Previous Documentation

- Consequently, we have tried to develop (as far as possible) a **unified transcription system**, we have had the materials translated from Dutch/German into English and Indonesian and are using FLEx to provide interlinear gloss

Previous Documentation

- Consequently, we have tried to develop (as far as possible) a **unified transcription system**, we have had the materials translated from Dutch/German into English and Indonesian and are using FLEx to provide interlinear gloss

1.2	Word	ekéda'ayo			ukaka		halEE	'akorupada	
	Morphemes	e-	kéda'a	-yo	u-	kaka	halEE	'akodu	-pada
	Lex. Entries	e-₁	kéda'a	-o	u-₂	kaka	halEE	'akodu	-pada
	Lex. Gloss	DIR	tell	NOM.patient	OBL	person	in.earlier.times	three	together
	Lex. Gram. Info.	v:VNomArt	v1 (Class1)	v:(NOMsuff)	n:Art/OblArt	subs	adv	num	num>adv

Free Eng I. Tale of People in the old Days who were together (three) with their Child

Ind I. Kisah Orang pada Zaman dahulu (berjumlah tiga) bersama dengan Anak mereka

Ger I. Erzählung von Leuten in alter Zeit, die zu dritt mit ihrem Kinde waren

The Enggano Project

- From Nothofer (1986, 1992) and Yoder (2011) it is clear that contemporary Enggano has undergone quite dramatic changes from the variety documented by Helfrich and Kähler:

Helfrich Form	Kähler Form	Contemporary Form	Meaning
lopo	dopo	dop	land
moö	mõ'õ	mė'	relativiser
kie-pöa	ki-pəa	ki-pú	see
e-poea-hha-dia	e-pəa-ha-dia	pủa-h-de	his face

- These changes, together with the sociolinguistic context, provided the motivation for our ongoing AHRC-funded documentation project ("The Enggano Project").

The Enggano Project

The Enggano Project

- The aims of the Enggano project:

  ❖ Collect an archivable **documentary corpus** of contemporary Enggano

  ❖ Produce a **grammar** based on a **FLEX database** of glossed texts and lexicon

  ❖ Produce **teaching materials** for use in the community

  ❖ Assess the position of Enggano in the Austronesian family – both in terms of **subgrouping** and **typology**.

The Enggano Project
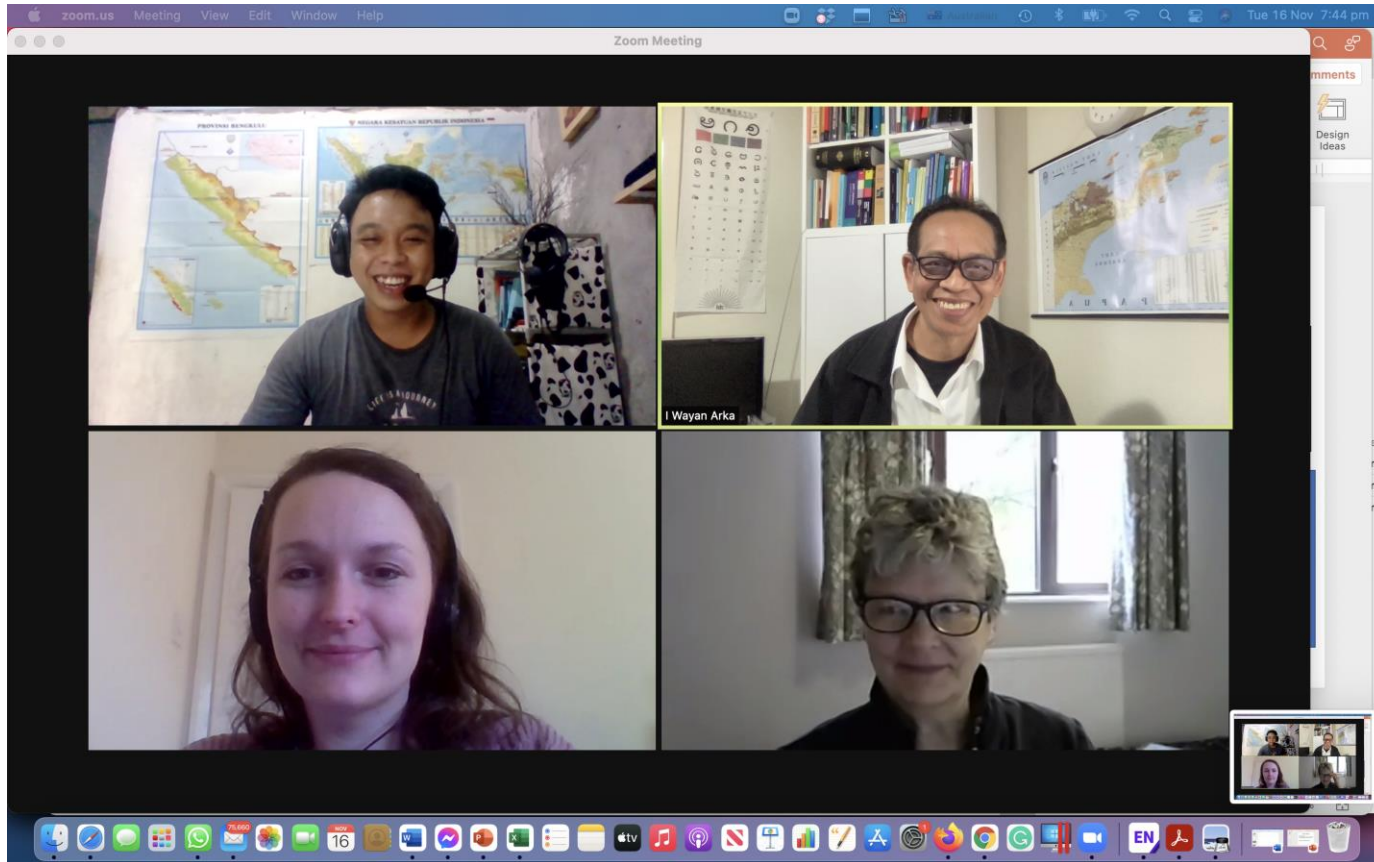
- The data collection for the project had already begun before the pandemic.

- After the pandemic, we moved to having regular meetings on Zoom

- We use these sessions to go through the corpus and check analyses

The Enggano Project

- We are building a corpus of glossed texts in FLEX that is broadly comparable to the historical materials

1	Word	né'én	u	kibúh		búkúda'ai			ekak		mé'	ka'pan			tikus
	Morphemes	né'én	u	ki-	búh	bú-	kúda'a	-i	e-	kak	mé'	k-	a'-	pan	tikus
	Lex. Gloss	now	1SG	KI	want	BU	tell	FUT	NM	person	REL	KI	VBLZ	become	mouse
	Word Gloss Eng	now	I		want		tell			person	which		become		mouse
	Word Gloss Ind	sekarang	saya		mau		beritahu			orang	yang		menjadi		tikus
	Word Cat.	adv	pro		aux		v			n	rel		v		n

Free Eng Now I will tell you a story about man who turned into a mouse
  Ind Sekarang aku mau kasih tau orang yang menjadi tikus

Summary

- We have an ongoing **documentation project** to document contemporary Enggano and consider how it relates to the wider Austronesian family

- The Enggano language has a long history of documentation including 19th century materials collected by the Dutch administrators and the documentation of Hans Kähler

- In what follows I will illustrate how the older materials contributed to the documentation project and use this as a vehicle for exploring the value of historical/legacy materials more generally.

Analysing Contemporary Enggano Morphosyntax

Some puzzling data…

bak 'eye'	**ium** 'house'	**iur** 'head'	**iap** 'hand'
bak u 'my eye'	**ium u** 'my house'	**iur u** 'my head'	**iap u** 'my head'
baka' 'my eye'	**iuba'** 'my house'	**iuru'** 'my head'	**apė'** 'my hand'
bakam 'your eye'	**iubam** 'your house'	**iurum** 'your head'	**apėm** 'your hand'
bakde 'his eye'	**iubde** 'his house'	**iurde** 'his head'	**iapde** 'his hand'

Using historical materials

- According to Kähler (1940: 96), possession used to be marked via pronominal suffixes – see *e-uba* 'house':

1SG	-'(V)u	euba**'au**
2SG	-bu	euba**bu**
3SG	=dia	euba**dia**
1PL.INCL	-ka	euba**ka**
1PL.EXCL	=dai	euba**dai**
2PL	=du	euba**du**
3PL	-da	euba**da**

Suffixation triggers stress shift (e-ubá-bu)

Encliticization with =*dia*, =*dai*, =*du* does not!

Using historical materials

- Contemporary Enggano preserves pronominal possessive suffixes – but the connection between the root and the suffixed form is less transparent

ROOT		euba		iub	iur
1SG	-'(V)u	euba'**au**	-'	iub**a'**	iur**u'**
2SG	-bu	euba**bu**	-m	iub**am**	iur**um**
3SG	=dia	euba**dia**	=de	iub**de**	iurde
1PL.INCL	-ka	euba**ka**	-k	iub**ak**	iur**uk**
1PL.EXCL	=dai	euba**dai**	=da	iub**da**	iur**da**
2PL	=du	euba**du**	=du	iub**du**	iur**du**
3PL	-da	euba**da**	-r	iub**ar**	iur**ur**

Using historical materials

- The historical materials give us an explanation for these patterns.

bak	e-baka	eye
ium	e-uba	house
iur	e-udu	head
iap	e-apo	hand

1. The final vowel is regularly lost
2. /b/ and /d/ often lenited as /m/ and /r/
3. /o/ splits and is often realised as /ė/
4. Palatalization of vowel-initial roots

Using historical materials

- Contemporary Enggano preserves pronominal possessive suffixes – but the connection between the root and the suffixed form is less transparent

ROOT		euba		iub	iur	iap
1SG	-'(V)u	euba'**au**	-'	iub**a'**	iur**u'**	ap**ė'**
2SG	-bu	euba**bu**	-m	iub**am**	iur**um**	ap**ėm**
3SG	=dia	euba**dia**	=de	iub**de**	iur**de**	iap**de**
1PL.INCL	-ka	euba**ka**	-k	iub**ak**	iur**uk**	ap**ėk**
1PL.EXCL	=dai	euba**dai**	=da	iub**da**	iur**da**	ap**da**
2PL	=du	euba**du**	=du	iub**du**	iur**du**	iap**du**
3PL	-da	euba**da**	-r	iub**ar**	iur**ur**	ap**ėr**

Using historical materials

- From our initial data set it was clear that possessive suffixes are not the only strategy for marking possession:

iuba-'	iub	u	rumah	aku/saya
house-1SG	house	1SG	house	1SG
'my house'	'my house'		'my house'	

- This strategy could be considered a contact-induced change since it represents a calque from **Indonesian**.

- This strategy may have developed in response to the phonological changes that affected the regularity of the possessive paradigm in Old Enggano.

Using historical materials

- In fact, the processes of final-vowel deletion, "resurfacing" under suffixation, and loss of non-stressed vowels in penultimate syllables are general processes that effect contemporary Enggano

kãhãp 'like'   ➡   kãhpĩh 'like (tr)'

ki- ➕ ãhãpĩ   ki- ➕ ãhãpĩ ➕ -hĩ

hẽk 'sit'   ➡   hẽkũ 'chair'

hẽkũ   hẽkũ ➕ -ã

Some more puzzling data

- Nominal morphology in Enggano is relatively simple – verbal morphology is fairly complex!

ki-	bu-	bare form
ki kipu 'he ran'	**kabupu** 'he ran'	**ke' ipu** 'he didn't run'
u kipu 'I ran'	**ubupu** 'he ran'	**ke' upu** 'I didn't run' **u ke' ipu**
u kipuak 'I left'	**upuak** 'I left'	**ke' upuak** 'I didn't leave'

Some more puzzling data

- Moreover, there are several **derivational affixes** that begin with an *a-* (e.g. aH-, aba-) that make distinguishing *ki-* and *ka-* complex
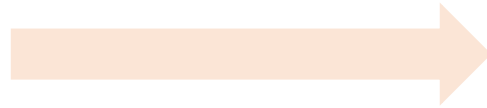
kabari' 'make' ⟶ ki- ➕ aH- ➕ pari'

- And some vowel-initial verb roots that take an epenthetic /b/ when combined with affixation or reduplication:
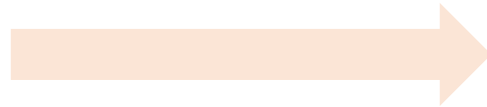
kababa 'come' ⟶ ki- ➕ aba- ➕ a

redup-

Using historical materials

- Kähler (1940) and our close analysis of the text materials tells us that Old Enggano verbs were either in *ki-, bu-* or bare form.

- ki- verbs mainly occur in relative clauses and seem to be an innovative structure (also found in Nias)

- *bu-* verbs occur with a set of subject agreement markers (NOM 1) whilst bare verbs occur with another set (NOM 2)

ki-	bu-	bare form
*ekaka e'ana **ki**pudu ekoyo* 'The man killed the pig' (Kähler 1940)	***kabu**pudu kia* 'They killed him' (Kähler 1975: Krieg)	*keaba'a **i**pudu ekoyo e'ana* 'He didn't kill the pig' (Kähler 1940)

Using historical materials

	NOM 1	NOM 2
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-

bu- verbs occur:
a) in main clauses (typically verb-initial) with subject agreement markers
b) in embedded clauses following *hoo, hii, pėhai* and NEG.imperative *yara'a* without agreement markers

bare verbs occur:
a) Following negation with subject agreement markers
b) In imperatives
c) In clause chains, often with *-aba-*

Using historical materials

	NOM 1	NOM 2	NOM 2 (younger speakers)
1SG	u-	u-	i-
2SG	ė-	u-	i-
3SG	ka-	i-	i-
1PL.INCL	ka-	ka-	i-
1PL.EXCL	u- -a	u- -a	i-
2PL	ė- -a	u- -a	i-
3PL	da-/di-/ki-	i-	i-

Using historical materials

681	Word	a	kabari'			anggur	kur	o	po
	Morphemes	a	k-	a-	bari	anggur	kur	o	po
	Lex. Gloss	1PL.EXCL	KI	ANTIP	make	wine	from	OBL	coconut
	Word Gloss Eng	we	make			wine	from	with	coconut
	Word Gloss Ind	kami	buat			anggur	dari	dengan	kelapa
	Word Cat.	pro	v			n	prep	prep	n

Free Eng we made wine from coconuts
Ind kami membuat anggur dari kelapa

ki- verb

Using historical materials

43	Word	kabah			kabakėkė			kaminun				ik	noh	
	Morphemes	ka-	b-	ah	k-	aba-	kėkė	ka-		m-	inun	ik	no	-h
	Lex. Gloss	1PL.INCL	BU	go	KI	ABA	walk	1PL.INCL		BU	look for	1PL.INCL	eat	PAT.NMLZ
	Word Gloss Eng	go			walk			look for				we	food	
	Word Gloss Ind	pergi			jalan			mencari				kita	makanan	
	Word Cat.	v			v			v				pro	n	

Free Eng we gather ingredients for side dishes (fish and meat)
  Ind kita pergi mencari lauk kita

44	Word	kabari'			ke	hēkū	
	Morphemes	k-	a-	bari'	ke	hēkū	-Ø
	Lex. Gloss	1PL.INCL	ANTIP	make	3SG	sit	LOC.NMLZ
	Word Gloss Eng	make			his	chairs	
	Word Gloss Ind	buat			dia	tempat duduk	
	Word Cat.	v			pro	n	

Free Eng we set up chairs (for the guests)
  Ind kita buat kursi untuk pesta itu

ka- subject agreement

Summary

- Looking at the historical materials can give us:

A guide for elicitation: possessive paradigm, subject agreement markers

An explanation for patterns: the "resurfacing" of vowels under suffixation

A method to help in our analysis of contemporary texts: identifying suffixes/ prefixs

- It is difficult to imagine how we would analyse the contemporary corpus without recourse to these materials!

Analysing Morphosyntactic Change

Morphosyntactic change

- In the Enggano Project we have also used the parallel text corpora to analyse diachronic change

- We have been able to quantify the increase in **lexical borrowing** and phenomena associated with bilingualism/language contact

- We have also explored (potentially) **contact-induced change**, such as the development of new possession marking strategies and the word order shift from verb-initial *bu-* clauses to SVO in Contemporary Enggano.

- Today, I will focus on changes to the ***aH- construction*** as an illustration of how analysing diachronic change can have important implications for theory/typology.

Symmetrical Voice

- Western Austronesian languages are known for their **symmetrical alternations** affect the mapping of arguments to functions:

Tagalog

(1a) K<um>ain   ako   ng=isda

        <AV.PFV>eat   1SG.NOM   GEN=fish

        'I ate (a) fish/fishes'.

Actor Voice

(1b) K<in>ain   ko   ang=isda

        <UV.PFV>eat   1SG.GEN   NOM=fish

        'I ate the fish/the fishes'. (Latrouite 2011: 190)

Undergoer Voice

Subject-only Restrictions

- In actor voice, only the actor pivot can be extracted:

Tagalog

(2a) matalino ang lalaki[=ng bumasa ng diyaryo]

      intelligent NOM man=LNK AV.read GEN newspaper

      'The man who read a newspaper is intelligent'

(2b) *interesante ng diyaryo[=ng bumasa ang lalaki]

      interesting GEN newspaper=LNK AV.read NOM man

      For: 'The newspaper that the man read is interesting'

      (Schachter 1976: 500)

Antipassive-like semantics

- In more conservative varieties, actor voice has semantic properties associated with **antipassives**, e.g. indefinite, non-specific and less affected undergoers:

Tagalog

(3a) S<um>untok   si=Pedro   kay=Jose   Actor Voice

      <AV>hit   NOM=Pedro   OBL=Jose

      'Pedro hit *at* Jose.' (translation adapted)

(3b) S<in>untok   *ni=Pedro*   si=Jose   Undergoer Voice

      <UV>hit   GEN=Pedro   NOM=Jose

      'Pedro hit Jose.'

Alignment & Alignment Shift

- Assessing **alignment** in Austronesian is complicated by the symmetrical voice alternations since there is more than one transitive clause type.

- In Janic & Hemmings (2021), I argue that alignment can be identified using a functional markedness approach
  - ➢If UV is functionally unmarked then alignment = ergative
  - ➢If AV is functionally unmarked then alignment = accusative

- Using this sort of approach, we can argue that more innovative WAn languages (where actor voice is marked by *N-* rather than *-um-*) have undergone **alignment shift** via the reanalysis of AV from functionally marked to functionally unmarked (see Hemmings 2021, Janic & Hemmings 2021).

Enggano *aH-* construction

- The *aH-* prefix appears to be cognate with the homorganic *N-* that replaced *-um-* as a marker of **actor voice** in many Western Austronesian languages outside Taiwan and the Philippines

- There is a correspondence between Enggano /h/ and *ŋ (Edwards 2015) and (like *N-*) a*H-* triggers changes to the initial consonant of the root it attaches to (Blust 2004, 2013)

/p/ → [b] / _ oral vowels/voiced stops
/p/ → [m] / _ nasal vowel/nasal stops
/k/ → [d] / _ oral vowels/voiced stops
/k/ → [n] / _ nasal vowels/nasal stops

- This can be understood as a process of nasal substitution combined with nasal harmony

aH- in Old Enggano

- *aH-* constructions behave like **antipassives** since P is demoted (Cooreman 1994, Polinsky 2017

(4a) **Transitive (*ki*- form)**

'o'o   ki-pudu   e-koyo e'ana

2SG   KI-kill   DIR-pig   DEM

'You kill that wild boar' (Kähler 1940: 205)

P = core

(4b) **Antipassive (*ki*- form)**

'o'o   k-a-budu   (i'ioo)   u-koyo e'ana

2SG   KI-ANTIP-kill   (to)   OBL-pig   DEM

'You are a killer of that wild boar' (Kähler 1940: 205)

P = oblique

aH- Morphosyntax

- We know that *aH-* constructions are **syntactically intransitive** because they occur with *bu-* in subordinate clauses, whereas transitive verbs in subordinate clauses are normally in bare form:

(5a)   a=**m**-ahan-ėka   ki   i'ioo u-da'a:-ė-da   e-koyo

SUBORD=**BU**-ANTIP-cut 3PL   to   OBL-catch-PAT.NOM-3PL   DIR-pig

'when they cut up the pigs they have caught' (Kähler 1975: 112, §28)

(5b)   a=**y**-a'ioi-xa   'ika!

SUBORD=**3.SET.2**-follow-EMPH   1PL.INCL

'(then) it will follow us' (Kähler 1955:89)

aH- Semantics

- The construction is associated with lower semantic transitivity (Hopper & Thompson 1980), e.g. indefinite/generic/zero or plural P and imperfective aspect

(6a)   **Generic P**

e-kudE-a   u-huda   e'ana   mõ'õ   k-a'i-nã'ã   u-ũ'ã

DIR-originate-LOC.NOM   OBL-woman   DEM   REL   FOC-ANTIP-take   OBL-food

'The origin of the woman who brought food' (Kähler 1957: 153, §5)

(6b)   **Specific P**

di-mũ-nã'ã   e-ũ'ã   kitera

3PL.SET.1-BU-take   DIR-food   all

'They take all the items of food' (Kähler 1960b: 41, §2)

aH- Discourse

- In keeping with the discourse profile of antipassives (Givón 2017), *aH-* verbal constructions are relatively infrequent in naturalistic discourse

- In the Kähler (1955) folk story there are only 2 instances of verbal antipassives.

- In our almost 40,000 word FLEX database, which includes the text collection and examples from the (1940) grammar, there are 507 instances of *aH-*, 54 instances of *a'i-* and 169 instances of antipassive *pa-*

- However, approx. half of these are in action nominalisations: e.g. *eabudu* 'killing', *eahitė* 'drinking', *eanõpõ* 'burial', *eahanėka* 'cutting'

aH- in Contemporary Enggano

- Syntactically, the construction is no-longer P demoting:

(7a)   **Ki- form with verb root**

u	k-it	bė
1SG	KI-drink	water

'I drink water' (Basic Structures, elicitation)

P = core

(7b)   **Ki- form with *aH-***

u	k-ah-it	bir
1SG	KI-ANTIP-drink	beer

'I drink beer' (Basic Structures, elicitation)

P = core

aH- Morphosyntax

- We know P is core in the *aH-* construction (despite loss of case-marking) since obliques in contemporary Enggano are marked with the preposition o:

(8a) u   k-ãã̃h   o   be

      1SG   KI-scared   OBL   dog

      'I am scared of the dog/dogs' (basic structures, extra elicitation)

(8b) *u   k-ãã̃h   be

      1SG   KI-scared   dog

      For: 'I am scared of the dog/dogs' (basic structures, extra elicitation)

aH- Morphosyntax

- The *aH-* P cannot appear with the preposition o *and* can (optionally) take *e-*

(9a)   *u   k-ah-it   o   bė

           1SG   KI-ANTIP-drink   OBL   water

           For: 'I drink water' (fieldnotes, elicitation)

(9b)   u   k-ah-it   e-bė

           1SG   KI-ANTIP-drink   NM-water

           'I drink water' (fieldnotes, elicitation)

aH- Semantics

- It retains some antipassive-like semantic tendencies such as an association with imperfective aspect…

(10a) ki   k-ah-ėr   e-'iai

3SG   KI-ANTIP-buy   NM-fish

'She is buying fish' (right now) (basic structures, extra elicitation)

(translated with Indonesian *sedang*)

(10b) untuk i-ah   ba-kėkė   m-ah-inůn   no-h

for   3-go   AM-walk   BU-ANTIP-search   eat-PAT.NOM

'to go and look for food' (Adat Perkawinan, text)

aH- Semantics

- However, unlike Old Enggano, it is possible to find *aH-* verbal constructions with pronominal P

(11)   u   k-ah-num   ė'

         1SG   KI-ANTIP-pinch   2SG

         'I pinch you' (fieldnotes, elicitation)

aH- Discourse

- The verbal construction is (slightly) more frequent in contemporary Enggano

- In a modern retelling of the Kähler 1955 story, there were 13 instances of aH-constructions (roughly 4% of verbal clauses)

- In Wijaya (2018), *aH-* constructions are used in 164 of 227 example sentences given as translations for Indonesian *meN-* verbs.

- The next step would be to analyse the construction across the contemporary corpus and to compare with the construction in the Helfrich texts.

Mid Summary

- A number of Western Austronesian languages have been claimed to undergo alignment shift in the sense that the **actor voice construction is reanalysed** from functionally marked to functionally unmarked

- In Enggano, we have seen a similar process of reanalysis in the cognate *aH-* construction which had the function of an antipassive in Old Enggano texts but behaves more like a transitive construction in contemporary Enggano

- But what about alignment?

Enggano Alignment

- Neither Old Enggano, nor contemporary Enggano, has a symmetrical voice system.

- Instead PMP morphology has developed into the choice between *bu-* (cognate with *-um-*) and bare forms, which appears to mark a TAM distinction.

bu- = realis	bare = irrealis
ka-bu-pudu kia 3-BU-kill 3SG 'They killed him' (Kähler 1975: Krieg)	*keaba'a **i**-pudu e-koyo e'ana* NEG 3-kill DIR-pig DEM 'He didn't kill the pig' (Kähler 1940)

Enggano Alignment

- There is also no extraction restriction – instead *ki-* is seemingly innovated in relative clauses:

(12)   e-ko'E'E   hẽmõ'õ   k-ayo'oi   e-paE   e'ana

DIR-devil   REL   KI-follow   DIR-child   DEM

'The devil who followed the child' (Kähler 1955: 90, §13)

Enggano Alignment

- In fact, there are lots of morphosyntactic phenomena pointing towards accusative alignment, including the fact that the **verb indexes S and A** with both sets of agreement markers:

(13a)   **Transitive**
ka-bu-pəa=da'a   *e=dahao-dia*   *e-ka'a:i'io*
3_I-BU-see=EMPH   DIR=niece-3sg.GEN   DIR=spear
'His niece saw the spear' (Kähler 1975:62)

(13b)   **Intransitive**
ka-bu-puaka=ha   *ka=kakina'ama*
3_I-BU-depart=PRED   PL=elder
'So the elders went off' (Kähler 1975:56)

Enggano Alignment

- And the fact that when S and A are relativized on, a *ki-* verb is used, whilst nominalisation constructions are typically used to relativized on P:

(14a) **Transitive (relativizing A)**

e=apama   *u=kaka*   *mo'o*   ***ki-'ope***   *kia*   *e'ana*

DIR=number   OBL=person   REL   KI-ambush   3SG   that

'the number of the people who lay in ambush for him' (Kähler 1975:61)

(14b) **Intransitive (relativizing S)**

e=kapu   *mo'o*   ***k-ai***   *ne'eni*   *e'ana*

DIR= clan leader   REL   KI-come earlier   that

'the clan leader who had come earlier' (Kähler 1975:60)

Enggano Alignment

(14c)   **Transitive (relativizing O)**
e-huda   *e'ana*   *mo'o*   **e**-*di-pėa*   *ama-nai*
DIR-woman   DEM   REL   DIR-PASS-see   father-1PL.EXCL.POSS
'The woman who was seen by you ('our father')' (Kähler 1957: 153)

Enggano Alignment

- Consequently, Enggano appears to be accusatively aligned in both Old and Contemporary Enggano.

- This suggests that the *aH-* construction undergoes reanalysis from antipassive to transitive *without* an accompanying alignment shift.

- This is most likely the result of the particular developments in the prehistory of Enggano that led to the various functions of actor voice being divided between different constructions (*bu-, ki-* and *aH-*)

Enggano Alignment

- Analysis of changes in the *aH- construction* therefore reveals another set of possible developments in Austronesian voice morphology

- It provides further support for the idea that **antipassives are particularly amenable to historical change** (see e.g. Aldridge 2012b)

- BUT it shows that these changes are independent of alignment shift and, unusually for a Western Austronesian language, independent of symmetrical voice.

Summary

- Consequently, the historical materials not only help in the documentation and description of contemporary Enggano, but also enable analysis of paths of historical change, which isn't always possible with underdocumented languages (see e.g. Feist & Palancar 2021)

- These can have important implications for our wider understanding of linguistic theory and typology

- Hence, they are an important part of achieving the secondary goal of the project to assess the place of Enggano within the larger Austronesian family.

Conclusions

Conclusion

- Enggano has a rich history of documentation, and is in the relatively fortunate position of having parallel text corpora from C19, C20 and C21.

- The historical resources present a challenge in terms of their accessibility and comparability – especially since we do not really know what the data collection and publication process involved (see also Dobrin 2021).

- However, they give us an important window into a morphologically complex language – providing an explanation for puzzling synchronic patterns and a method for analysing new texts as we build up the corpus

Conclusion

- Moreover, they allow us to analyse diachronic change with important implications for linguistic theory and typology

- Consequently, I would argue that historical materials can be very useful in Language Documentation and Description

- And making these materials accessible and comparable for future research can and should be an important aim of producing 'transparent records of a language' (Woodbury 2003, 2011).

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