

Enggano middle voice and valence over time

Gede Primahadi W. Rajeg ^{1,3}, Charlotte Hemmings ¹, I Wayan Arka ^{2,3}, Engga Zakaria Sangian ⁴

¹ University of Oxford

² Australian National University

³ Centre for Interdisciplinary Research on the Humanities and Social Sciences (CIRHSS), Udayana University, Bali

⁴ University of Dehasen, Bengkulu

Workshop on “Valency and valency alternations within and across language boundaries”

Highlights

- Cross-linguistically, middle markers can be **oppositional** (signalling a voice alternation) or **non-oppositional** (attaching to inherently middle verbs) (see Inglese & Verstraete 2023)
- Comparison of Old Enggano (OE) and Contemporary Enggano (CE) shows stability in the use of the middle marker *pa-*, which predominantly attaches to inherently middle verbs.

Highlights

- However, PMP **paR-* which is cognate with Enggano *pa-* (see Rajeg et al 2024) is often analysed as a reciprocal marker.
- This suggests that Enggano may have undergone a common development in middle voice systems from oppositional to non-oppositional marker (cf. Inglese & Verstraete 2023)

- Rajeg, Gede Primahadi Wijaya, Charlotte Hemmings & I Wayan Arka. 2024. Enggano middle voice: Evidence of Enggano as an Austronesian language. Presented at the 16th International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics (16-ICAL), De La Salle University, Manila. <https://doi.org/10.25446/oxford.26073907>.
- Inglese, Guglielmo & Jean-Christophe Verstraete. 2023. Evidence against unidirectionality in the emergence of middle voice systems: Case studies from Anatolian and Paman. *STUF - Language Typology and Universals*. De Gruyter (A) 76(2). 235–265. <https://doi.org/10.1515/stuf-2023-2010>.

A brief note on the reconstruction of **paR*

- PMP **paR-*/**maR-* (Pawley 1973: 152–153; Pawley & Reid 1979: 11; Brill 2005: 29–30; Kaufman 2009; Karaj & Sansò 2023: 227)
 - **maR-* < actor foc. *-um-* + **paR-*
 - express middle functions in MP (Adelaar 1984)
 - Tagalog, Indonesian, Malay, Balinese, Sasak (cf. Karaj & Sansò 2023)

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- PEMP (Proto-Eastern-Malayo-Polynesian) (ACD)

The Austronesian Comparative Dictionary

Home Cognatesets Roots Loans Near Cognates Chance Resemblances Languages Sources

*paRi- prefix of reciprocal or collective action



Reconstructions

PEMP paRi- prefix of reciprocal or...

Note

Also *Kelabit pere-* 'reflexive prefix'. Although this affix is commonly glossed 'reciprocal prefix', such a description clearly oversimplifies the facts. [Dempwolff \(1920\)](#) posited *PAn *baRi-* 'Sozialprafix'. His supporting evidence from non-Oceanic languages consisted of the Malay prefix *ber-* and putative fossilized affixes in *Toba Batak (bor-)*, *Sundanese (bar-)*, *Ngaju Dayak (/bar-)*, and *Makassarese (/ba-)*. Malay *ber-*, however, evidently derives from **maR-* ([Teeuw 1965](#)), and the reality of the "fossilized affixes" in the other languages is open to question. Despite these problems a number of Oceanic languages clearly reflect **paRi-*, and *Buli fa-, fai-* evidently is cognate with these forms, thus indicating Proto-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian **paRi-*.

The following additional observations are noteworthy:

Oceanic languages of New Caledonia (Bril 2005)

- Retaining reflexes of POC **paRi-* (reconst. by Pawley 1973)
- POC **paRi-* has the following meanings (Bril 2005: 26)
 - collective/associative
 - reciprocal
 - iterative marker
- POC **paRi-* < PAN & PMP **paR-* (Bril 2005: 26)

Oceanic languages of New Caledonia (Bril 2005)

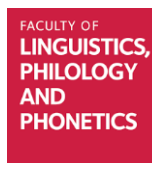
- In New Caledonian languages, the reflexes of POC **paRi-* capture:
 - reciprocal and symmetrical relations
 - plural or collective actions or relations
 - lower transitivity
 - lack of initiator/or endpoint
 - non-distinct initiator/endpoint > self-directed

(summarised in Bril 2005: 32–33)

Oceanic languages of New Caledonia (Bril 2005)

Alignment system	Location	Language	Morpheme		
Ergative	Far North	Nêlêmwa	<i>pe-...(-i)</i>		
		Nixumwak	<i>pe-...(-i)</i>		
		Nyélayu	<i>pe-...</i>		
Split ergative	North	Yuanga	<i>pe-</i>		
		Caac	<i>pe- ~ phe-</i>		
		Jawe	<i>pe-</i>		
		Nemi	<i>pe-</i>		
		Fwâi	<i>pe-</i>		
		Pije	<i>pe-, ve-</i>		
		Pwapwâ	<i>pe-</i>		
		Pwaamei	<i>pe-</i>		
		Accusative	Centre-North	Cèmuhî	<i>pi-</i>
				Paicî	<i>pi-</i>
Hmwaveke	<i>ve-</i>				
Hmwaeke	<i>ve-</i>				
Haeke	<i>ve-</i>				
Bwattoo	<i>ve-</i>				
Accusative	Centre-South and South	Ajië	<i>vi-</i>		
		Xârâcùù	<i>ù-</i>		
Accusative	Far South	Numèè	<i>vi-</i>		
		Kwenyi	<i>vi-</i>		
Ergative or accusative	Loyalty Islands	Iaai	<i>ü- ~ i...kôu</i>		
		Drehu	<i>i...keu; i- (restricted recip.)</i>		
		Nengone	<i>e- ~ i...jeu</i>		

(verbatim from Bril 2005: 72, Appendix 2)



Overview of Enggano

Enggano

- Southern most island in the chain of the Barrier Islands, off the western coast of Sumatra, Indonesia





c. **1,500** speakers

Threatened
(increasingly shifting
towards Indonesian
[cf. Arka et al. 2022])



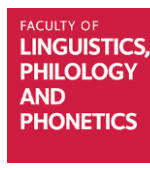
Previous & current works on Enggano

1850-1900	Early Wordlists	von Rosenberg 1855 & 1878, 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), Edwards (2015), Smith (2017), Wijaya (2018), Butters (2021), Riswari et al (2021), Billings & McDonnell (2022)
2018-present	AHRC-funded documentation project	Corpus of audio and video recordings with glossing in FLEX Lexical data from across the villages Grammar

Roadmap

- Debate on the genealogical status of Enggano
- Middle voice and its development
- Enggano basic voice alternations
- Enggano middle voice
 - oppositional and non-oppositional
 - type frequency comparison of OE and CE
- Review of comparative data
- Conclusion and outlook

15th International Conference of the Association for Linguistic Typology
(NTU, Singapore, 4-6 Dec. 2024)



Genealogical debates about Enggano

Genealogical debate about Enggano

- Non-Austronesian
(Capell 1982; Blench 2014)

- Austronesian
 - Dyen (1962; 1965)
 - Nothofer (1986) (tentatively Barrier-Islands-Batak langs.)
 - Edwards (2015) (Malayo-Polynesian's primary branch)
 - Billings & McDonnell (2024) (Sumatran sub-group)
 - Krauß (forthcoming)

Enggano as Austronesian

Malayo–Polynesian (MP) sub–group, based on
lexical data, phonology, and **morphology**

(Edwards 2015)

The aberrant nature of Enggano:

- (i) contact effects with non–AN langs. prior to MP
- (ii) geographical isolation of the island

(Edwards 2015)

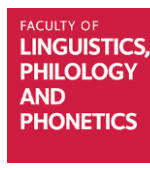
Morphological features of Enggano as MP (Edwards 2015)

- Pronominal affixes
 - free
 - genitive suffixes
 - verbal agreement affixes
- Nominal morphology
- Verbal morphology
 - passive, **causative *pa-***, resultative, aspectual, accidental, instrumental, ...

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 - passive, *causative pa-*, resultative, aspectual, accidental, instrumental, ...

**Middle
morphology with
pa- is not yet
discussed.**



Middle voice and its development

Middle Voice

- Middle Voice System (MVS) (Inglese 2022)
 - Has middle marker (MM)
 - MM occurs with bivalent (or more) verbs
 - As a valency changing operations encoding *anticausative*, *reflexive*, *reciprocal*, *antipassive*, and *passive*
 - MM occurs obligatorily with at least some (monovalent) verbs

Middle Voice and its development

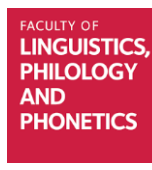
- Historically unidirectional (wide view)
 - From **OPPOSITIONAL** (typ. reflexive) > **NON-OPPOSITIONAL** (lexicalised to some verb classes)
 - Widening functions

Middle Voice and its development

- Historically unidirectional (wide view)
 - From OPPOSITIONAL (typ. reflexive) > NON-OPPOSITIONAL (lexicalised to some verb classes)
 - Widening functions
- A new claim for NON-OPPOSITIONAL > OPPOSITIONAL (cf. Inglese and Verstraete 2023) (based on an Anatolian language and a Paman language [of Australia])

Our aim for this workshop

- A follow-up on Inglese & Verstaete's (2023) paper to investigate whether there are changes in the use of middle marker, given we have gathered the Old Enggano (OE) (19/early 20th c. texts) and the Contemporary Enggano (CE) corpora
 - What is the distribution of oppositional and non-oppositional middles in OE and CE?
 - How does this relate to the recent quantitative study of the typology of MVS (Inglese 2022)



Enggano basic voice alternations

Active – Antipassive – Passive

(1) a. Active KI- form (Verbal Morphology 01)

Engga ki-pari' paic e'
name KI-make machete DEM
'Engga made this machete'

b. Antipassive (KI + aH- form) (Verbal Morphology 01)

Engga k-ah-bari' paic
name KI-ANTIP-make machete
'Engga makes machetes'

Active – Antipassive – Passive

(2)

a. Active

E'iah è' ki-pari'?

what 2sg KI-make

'What are you making?'

**Demoted PATIENT in
Antipassive**

**Hence, infelicitous to be
extracted (e.g, in
interrogative) (see 2b)**

b. Antipassive (KI + **aH-**) (Verbal Morphology 01)

*E'iah è' k-**ah-**bari'?

What 2sg KI-ANTIP-make

'*What are you making?'

Active – Antipassive – Passive

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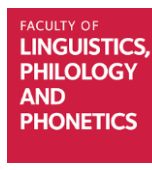
c. Passive (KI + di- form) (Verbal Morphology 01)

Paic e' ki-r-pari' (o Engga)
machete DEM KI-PASS-make OBL name
'This machete is made (by Engga)'

Active – Antipassive – Passive

- (1) a. **Active KI- form (Verbal Morphology 01)**
Engga ki-pari' paic e'
name KI-make machete DEM
'Engga made this machete'
- d. **Passive (di- form) (Verbal Morphology 01)**
Paic e' di-pari' Engga
machete DEM PASS-make name
'This machete is made by Engga'

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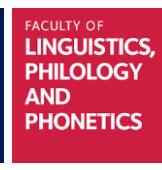
Enggano middle voice

Methodological remarks

- Contemporary (Hemmings et al. 2024) and Old Enggano (Dalrymple et al. 2024) Corpora -- analysed in FLEx
- Filtering word-forms containing *pa* string (+ manual filtering and classification)
 - Determining **oppositinality** (Inglese & Verstraete 2023)
 - **Is the root attested without *pa*-?**
 - Quantifying the type frequency of oppositional and non-oppositional word-form across the two corpora

pa- as a middle marker: highlights

- Attested in **oppositional verbs** (Inglese & Verstraete 2023)
 - as valency-reducing device to the base transitive verb
- Attested in **non-oppositional verbs** (Inglese & Verstraete 2023)
 - verb obligatorily always occurring with *pa-*
 - encoding middle semantics (Kemmer 1993)



Oppositional *pa-*

pa- as a middle marker: **oppositional (1)**

- (3) ik nĕ'ĕn ě' ki-**pŭ** mĕ' kĕ'ĕ-h mĕ' kahaimĕh
 1PL.INCL now DEM.PROX KI-**see** REL plant-PAT.NML REL different
 '(...) we now **see** different plants (...)' (ACTIVE VOICE [AV]; CE; Cara Bertani In. 59-60)
- (4) kĕh ean pŭha' ki-**r-pŭ** kur ite'
 mountain DEM.MED be.able.to KI-**PASS-see** from here
 'That mountain can **be seen** (i.e., visible) from here' (PASS[IVE]; CE; Basic Structure In. 379)
- (5) ki ki-**pa**-pŭ-pŭ iĕn
 3PL KI-**MID**-REDUP-**see** 3PL.OBL
 'They look at each other.' (MID[DLE]; CE; Verbal Morphology In. 59)

pa- as a middle marker: **oppositional (1)**

(3) ik né'én ě' ki-**pù** mè' kè'è-h mè' kahaimèh
 1PL.INCL now DEM.PROX KI-**see** REL plant-PAT.NML REL different
 '(...) we now **see** different plants (...)' (ACTIVE VOICE [AV]; CE; Cara Bertani In. 59-60)

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(5) ki ki-**pa**-pù-pù iěň
 3PL KI-**MID**-REDUP-**see** 3PL.OBL

- *pù* 'see' appears in intransitive syntax (unlike (3) and (4))
 - valence reduced; **reciprocal** reading
 - oblique argument corresponding to the plural subject

'They look at each other.' (MID[DLE]; CE; Verbal Morphology In. 59)

pa- as a middle marker: **oppositional (2)**

- (6) Da-m-**ém** pe y-amuh iu
3PL-BU-**wait** first NMLZ-big sea
'They first **waited** (for) the high tide' (AV; CE; Pindah Rumah In. 5)
- (7) U **p-ah-ém** iěm
1SG **MID**-ANTIP-**wait** 2SG.OBL
'I **wait** for you' (MID; CE; Voice In. 25)

pa- as a middle marker: **oppositional (2)**

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In (6), *ém* ‘wait’ appears in transitive syntax (no prep. marker for the direct object *yamuh iu* ‘big sea (i.e., high tide)’)

In (7), *ém* ‘wait’ appears in intransitive syntax (oblique WAITEE role) with the verb occurring with *pa-* and antipassive affix *aH-*

pa- as a middle marker: **oppositional (3)**

- (8) a. (...) ekaka mo'o kai **pa-kuhuai** u-ah-oro u-dohoao
 person REL come **MID-help** OBL-ANTIP-pull/seize OBL-boat.outrigger
 '(...) they who come to **help with** dragging of the mentioned boat' (OE; 1975 Boo 6.2)

- b. ekaka kahanã:ĩĩã e-di-kabo=da ki-kuhai-ya ki
 people village DIR-PASS-invite=3PL.POSS FOC-**help**-FUT 3PL.PRO
 u-nõ-nõõ u-ũ'ã
 OBL-PROG-eat OBL-food

'The people of a village-community, who were invited by them, will **help them** with the eating of the food-stuffs' (AV; OE; 1960b 29.6)

pa- as a middle marker: **oppositional (3)**

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ANTIP. use of "kuhuai" 'help' with *pa-*

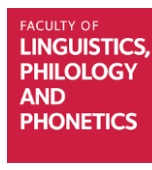
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pa- as a middle marker: **oppositional (5)**

- (10) a. ka-**kěnoã** epiara
 3SUBJ-**praise** garden.3PL.POSS
 ‘he praises their garden (i.e., plantation products)’ (OE; 1960b 6.1)
- b. hemo’o edadobu ukaka i-**pa-kěnoa**=ha l’ioona
 for.that be.used people 3SUBJ-**MID-praise**=EMPH PREP.3PL.OBJ
 ‘For that, which is used by people (i.e. with which they decorate themselves), who think highly of themselves (i.e., who **praise at themselves**)’
 (OE; 1975 Rec 4.3)

REFLEXIVE (?) use of *pa-* with ‘praise’ in its metaphorical sense
 ANTIPASSIVE (?) given the pronoun OBJ is marked with oblique



Non-oppositional *pa-*

pa- as a middle marker: non-oppositional (1)

- (11) a. Selus ki-**p**-ah-**amik** yic o an-de
 NAME KI-**MID**-ANTIP-**fight** word OBL friend-3SG.POSS
 ‘Selus **quarrels** (lit. fight-word) with his friend’ (**RECIP**; CE; Basic Structure In. 701)
- b. a-kinèn hapù ě’ ka-pùha’ **pa-kom**
 if-how day DEM.PROX 3-be.able.to **MID-meet**
 ‘(in the future) as in today, (we) can **meet**’ (**RECIP**; CE; Cerita Enggano In. 63)
- (12) a-p-ah-èm a-b-i ka-’nè-k ki-**pa**-ru-ru
 if-MID-ANTIP-wait if-BU-exist 3-friend-1PL.INCL.POSS KI-**MID**-REDUP-gather
 ‘waiting if there are our friends to **gather**’ (**Collective action**; CE; Cerita Enggano In. 112)

pa- as a middle marker: non-oppositional (2)

- (13) a. U ki-**pa**-na-na ani
1SG KI-**MID**-REDUP-speak 3.OBL
'I **speak** to h(im/er) (**Speech action**; CE; Basic Structure In. 571)
- b. e-pa ean ka-**pa**-‘oa’
NM-child DEM.MED 3-**MID**-cry.out
'(Then) the child **cried out**' (**Speech action**; CE; Kähler retelling In. 51)

pa- as a middle marker: non-oppositional (3)

- (14) a. U ki-**pa**-ema
 1SG KI-**MID**-dance
 ‘I dance’ ([non-]translational motion; CE; Basic Structure In. 27)
- b. U ki-pakta karaha-’ **pa**-ko-koeh
 1SG KI-force body-1SG.POSS **MID**-REDUP-squat
 ‘I force myself squat’ ([non-]translational motion; CE; Voice In. 299)

pa- as a middle marker: non-oppositional (4)

- (15) Peh be ka-nap ě' ki-**pa**-ku-kudèr u ah
 origin because HUM-clan.leader DEM.PROX KI-**MID**-REDUP-**believe** 1SG PT
 'Originally, because this clan leader **believe** in me' (**cognition**; CE; Cerita Enggano In. 6)

- (16) sampe am-a'-nu' e'iah mè' **pa**-'i-ĩĕk
 until CONSEC.-NML-depth what REL **MID**-REDUP-**dry**
 'until what drags on **subsides**' (**spontaneous events**; CE; Cerita Enggano In. 30)

pa- as a middle marker: non-oppositional (5)

Few other examples from Old Enggano

(17) ki-**pa**-**ha:ua**

FOC-MID-**angry/warm**

‘angry [at each other/about sth./at sth.]’ (Emotion-related root)

(18) ki-**pa**-**a-’ãno**

FOC-MID-**typical.of-friend**

‘be friend with sb.’ (Denominal verb-based reciprocal event)

(19) ka-**pa**-**do’oa=ha**

3SUBJ-MID-**flare.up=EMPH**

‘[it] flares up/burns’ (Spontaneous events)

pa- as a middle marker: non-oppositional (6)

Few other examples from Old Enggano

(20) ki-**pa**-**rudu**

FOC-MID-**gather**

‘gather/assemble’ (Collective action? Naturally reciprocal?)

(21) **pa**-**koba**

MID-**meet**

‘meet’ (Naturally reciprocal)

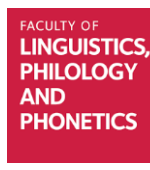
(22) ya-**pa**-nẽẽ=hã

3SUBJ-MID-**close/near**=EMPH

‘to come close(er)’ (Motion)

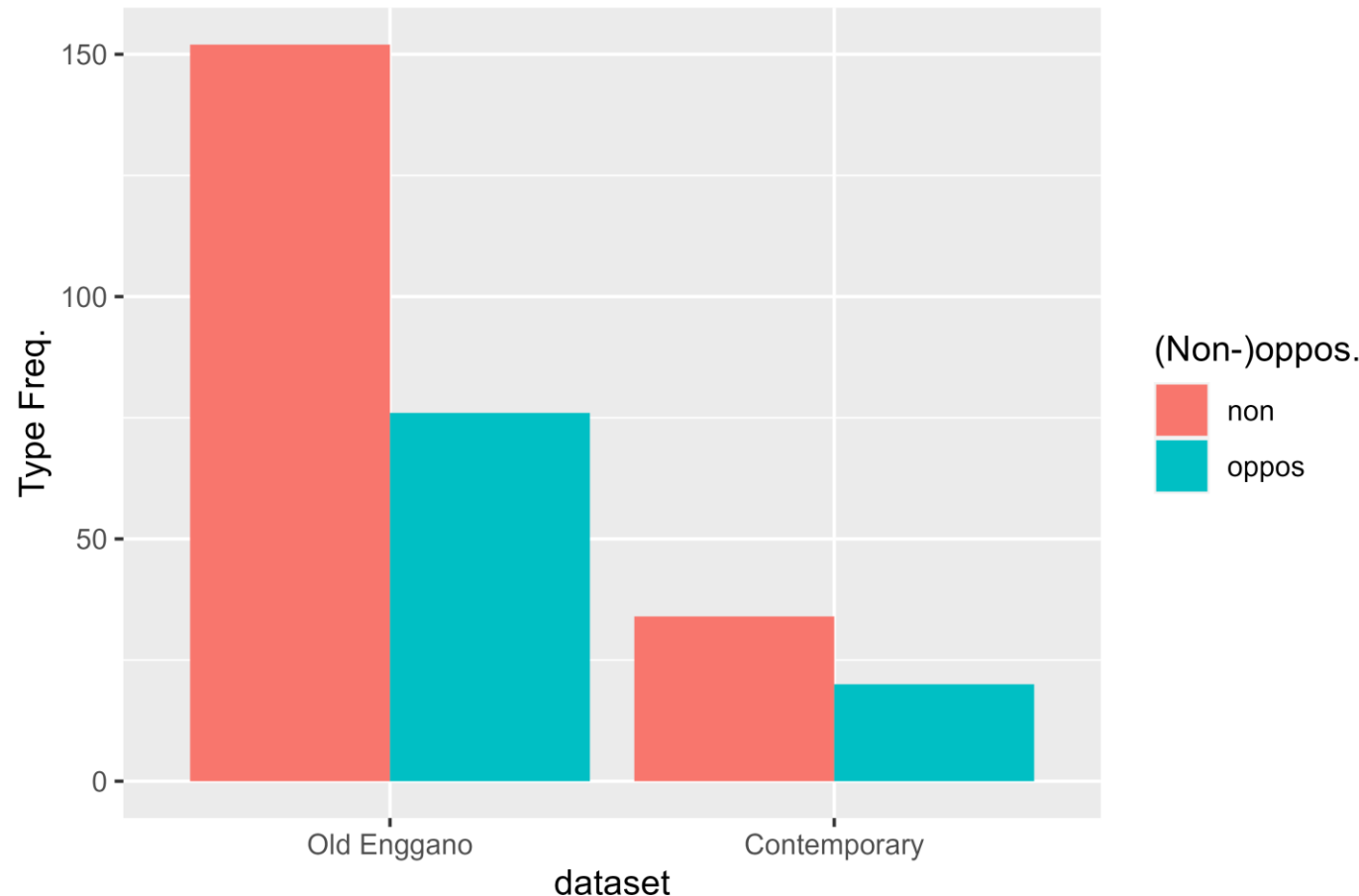
Interim summary

- *pa-* is polyfunctional within the domain of Middle
 - reciprocal
 - collective actions
 - antipassive
 - some other middle semantics (as in Kemmer 1993)



Distribution of Oppos. Vs. Non-oppos. MM

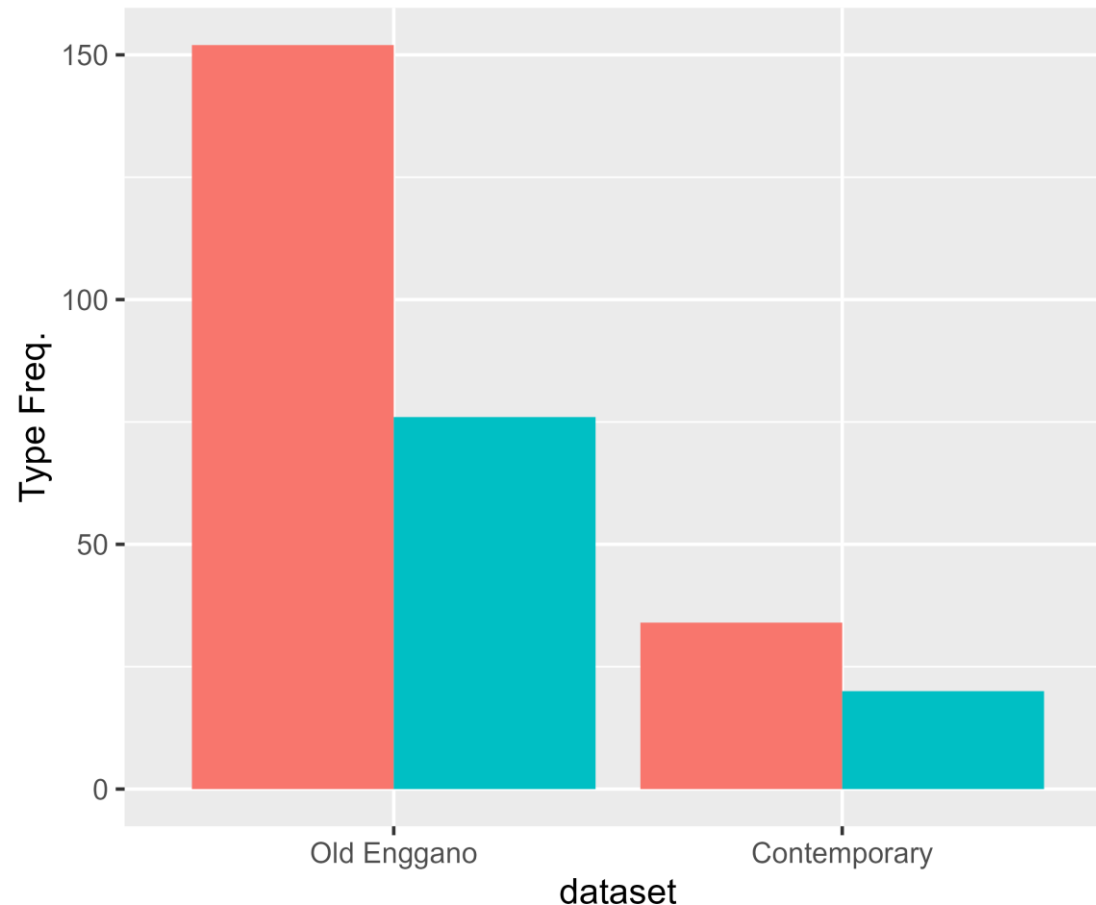
Predominance of Non-Oppositional type



No significant difference in the distribution of the non-oppositional middles across the two corpora ($\chi^2=0.26$, $df=1$, $p=0.6$)

No changes from OE to CE, except the overall decline of middle tokens in the CE corpus

Predominance of Non-Oppositional type



(Non-)oppos.

non
oppos

Originally

reciprocal/collective action

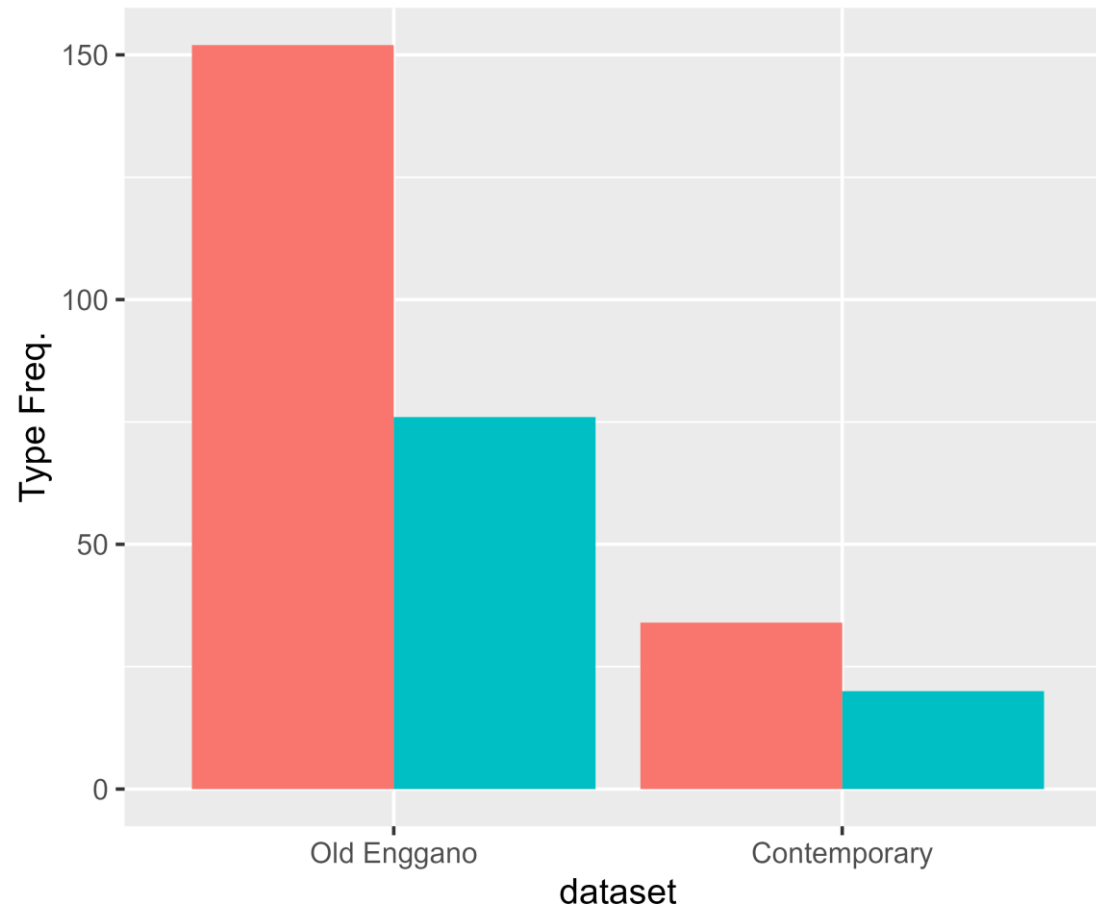
prefix (a valency-changing
process, and oppositional)

becoming more

predominantly used in non-
oppositional pattern

OPPOS. > NON-OPPOS
development

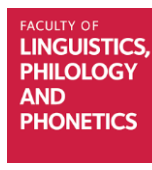
Predominance of Non-Oppositional type



(Non-)oppos.
non
oppos

Further evidence **against** Klaiman's (1991: 105) proposal (cf. Inglese 2022, §4.3.1) that in lang. with MM, oppositional will outnumber the non-oppositional

Cross-linguistic distribution of OPPOS vs. NON-OPPOS middle forms a continuum (Inglese 2022)



Conclusion & outlook

Conclusion

- Enggano shows voice oppositions
 - active, anti-passive, passive, middle

Conclusion

- Historical comparison with Old(er) Enggano (from text corpus) to investigate the development of Enggano middles (cf. Englesia 2023)
 - Non-oppositional function predominates in terms of type freq.
 - Following widely attested development from oppositional (here reciprocal/collective action) to non-oppositional

Outlook

- Systematic comparison with middles of the neighbouring Barrier-Islands & Sumatran Languages
 - to further determine the sub-grouping of Enggano within the Austronesian family
 - to compare their development of middles

mèk èm nah; terima kasih; thank you



Enggano middle voice and valence over time

Gede Primahadi W. Rajeg ^{1,3}, Charlotte Hemmings ¹, I Wayan Arka ^{2,3}, Engga Zakaria Sangian ⁴

¹ University of Oxford

² Australian National University

³ Centre for Interdisciplinary Research on the Humanities and Social Sciences (CIRHSS), Udayana University, Bali

⁴ University of Dehasen, Bengkulu

Workshop on “Valency and valency alternations within and across language boundaries”