

The rise of differential marking in Contemporary Enggano

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Introduction

- This paper presents a **differential marking/indexing construction** (henceforth =*de* construction) in Enggano, an Austronesian language of Sumatra, Indonesia.
- The construction involves the marking of transitive verbs with the =*de* 3rd person enclitic combined with a change in word order.
- In the following, I will sketch how the construction is used using data from elicitation and a Contemporary Enggano corpus collected as part of a **language documentation** project (see Arka et al forthcoming).

Introduction

- I will also sketch the **historical development** by analysing an older corpus of **historical materials** collected by the linguist Hans Kähler in the 1930s (Kähler 1940, 1955-64, 1975, 1987)
- I will show that the *=de* construction represents an **innovation** in Contemporary Enggano driven by the need to mark the relative **prominence of arguments**.
- This has interesting implications for the study of **differential marking systems and their diachronic development** (see e.g. Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011, Witzlack-Makarevich and Seržant 2018).

Roadmap

- Background on Enggano
- The =*de* construction in Contemporary Enggano
- Historical development of =*de* construction
- Conclusions

Background on Enggano

Background on Enggano



- Enggano is spoken by approx. 1,500 speakers on Enggano Island, Sumatra, Indonesia
- It can be considered **endangered** as speakers increasingly shift to Indonesian (see Arka et al 2022)
- There is some debate but most people now agree that Enggano is **Austronesian** (Nothofer 1986, Edwards 2015, Smith 2017, 2020, Billings & McDonnell 2024)

Background on Enggano

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

Old Enggano Morphosyntax

Nominal Marker	Function
e-	subjects/objects
u-	obliques/possessors
i-	locatives

Verbal Marker	Function
ki-	relative clauses (SVO main clauses)
bu-	realis main clauses (verb-initial)
bare	irrealis clauses (negation, imperative)

Derivational Affix	Function
pa-	causative/reciprocal
-i, -a'a	applicatives
di-	passive
aba-	consecutive action
aH-	antipassive

	Set 1 (bu-)	Set 2 (bare)
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-

Contemporary Enggano Morphosyntax

Nominal Marker	Function
e-	optional
u-	fossilised forms
i	preposition

Verbal Marker	Function
ki-	main clauses and relative clauses
bu-	realis main clauses
bare	irrealis clauses (negation, imperative)

Derivational Affix	Function
pa-	causative/reciprocal
-(C), -a'	applicatives
di-	passive
aba-	consecutive action
aH-	antipassive

	Set 1 (bu-)	Set 2 (bare)
1SG	u-	u-
2SG	è-	u-
3SG	ka-	i-
1PL.INCL	ka-	ka-
1PL.EXCL	u- -a	u- -a
2PL	è- -a	u- -a
3PL	da-	da-

Verbal Constructions in Old Enggano

- (1a) ka e'anaha **ka**-bu-pua=ha e-kaka kaha:i'i e-huda **bu-form**
 then 3-**bu**-see-EMPH DIR-person one DIR-woman
 'then he saw a woman' (Kähler 1957, 5.9)
- (1b) e-kaka e'ana kea-ba'a **i**-pua 'ua **bare form**
 DIR-person DEM NEG-INTENSIVE 3-see 1SG
 'As for that person, he didn't see me' (Kähler 1940, 17.6)
- (1c) kia **ki**-pua 'ano=nia **ki-form**
 3SG KI-see friend=3SG.POSS
 'He sees his friend.' (Kähler 1940, 53.6)

Verbal Constructions in Contemporary Enggano

(2a) **ka**-bu-pü y-a'u dop ean
 3-BU-see nmlz-good land dem
 'We can see how beautiful the land is' (Bakblau, 22.1)

(2b) Selus ke' **i**-pü Maria
 Selus NEG 3-see Maria
 'Selus didn't see Maria' (Basic Structures, 745.1)

(2c) Selus **ki**-pü Maria
 3SG KI-see Maria
 'Selus saw Maria' (Basic Structures, 746.1)

Major Changes:

- Loss of final vowels
- Loss of case marking

Passive Nominalisations in Enggano

- In addition to verbal constructions, Old Enggano also had a **passive nominalisation construction** with the derivational prefix *di-* that was particularly used in relative clauses as a strategy for relativizing on P:

(3a) e-küda'a-yo u-dohüao [mõ'õ e-di-'üdüha-'a u-kaka] e'ana
 DIR-tell-PAT.NOM OBL-boat REL DIR-PASS-startle-APPL OBL-person DEM
 'the story of a boat that was startled by people' (Kähler 1960a, 11.2)

(3b) e-koyo [mõ'õ e-di-pudu-bu] e'ana 'amühõ
 DIR-pig REL DIR-PASS-kill-2SG.POSS DEM big
 'the wild boar that you killed is big' (Kähler 1940)

- This is clearly **nominal** since it is marked with the direct case prefix *e-*, and the passive agent is encoded in the same way as possessors

Passive Nominalisations in Enggano

- It was distinguished from a **verbal passive**, where the derivational prefix *di-* combined with the verbal prefix *ki-* and no passive agent could be expressed:

(4) e-ũ'ã [hěmõ'õ **ki-di-kü'a**] e'ana
 DIR-food REL KI-PASS-support DEM
 'the food which is supported (with stakes)' (Kähler 1960b, 34.1)

Passive Nominalisations in Enggano

- The same structures exist in Contemporary Enggano in the contrast between *di-* passives and *kir-* passives:

(5a) Paic ě' *di-pari'* Engga
 machete DEM PASS-make Engga

'This machete was made by Engga.' (Verbal Morphology 01, 291)

(5b) Paic ě' *ki-r-pari'*
 machete DEM KI-PASS-make

'This machete was made' (Verbal Morphology 01, 316)

Passive Nominalisations in Enggano

- However, it is no longer clear that *di-* passives in Contemporary Enggano are nominal. This follows from the fact that **passive-agents** can be expressed as **obliques** rather than possessors:

(6) e-pa mɛ' di-no he ko'oe'
 DIR-child REL DI-eat OBL devil
 'The child who was devoured by the devil' (Kähler 1955 Retelling, 149)

- Perhaps this is triggered by contact with Indonesian where passives can have a similar structure:

(7) Ikan di-beli (oleh) Hasan
 fish PASS-buy OBL Hasan
 'Fish was bought by Hasan' (Adapted from Musgrave 2002)

Summary

- Enggano is an Austronesian language spoken in Sumatra, Indonesia
- There are important phonological and morphosyntactic changes between Old Enggano and Contemporary Enggano
- Active transitive verbs typically occur in one of three main constructions: *bu-* + SET 1 agreement, bare verbs + SET 2 agreement and *ki-* verbs
- There are also two passive constructions that differ in terms of whether the agent is overtly expressed or not

The *=de* construction in Contemporary Enggano

The =de construction in Cont. Enggano

- =*de* is the 3SG possessive enclitic that most commonly marks nominal possession:

(8a) yub=**de**
house=3SG.POSS
'his/her/their house'

(8b) year=**de**
child=3SG.POSS
'his/her/their child'

- Much like Indonesian =*nya* (see Grangé 2015) it can also have extended functions e.g. with adverbials

The =de construction in Cont. Enggano

- =*de* can mark a third person agent with *di-* passives (but note that first or second person agents cannot be expressed with the possessive suffixes)

(9a) E'iah mè' di-pari'=de?
what REL PASS-make=DE
'what did he make?'

PVA

(9b) E'iah mè' è' ki-pari'?
what REL 2SG KI-make
'What did you make? (elicited examples)'

The =de construction in Cont. Enggano

- However, the =*de* construction that we are interested in, it is possible to have the verb marked with =*de* and followed by the patient

(10) **di-hia=de** **ki** be
PASS-bite=DE 3SG dog
'He was bitten by the dog' (Erik Elicitation 03, 4)



VPA

The =de construction in Cont. Enggano

- This order is not possible without =*de*...

(11a) **di-hia* *ki* be
 PASS-bite 3SG dog
 FOR: ‘He was bitten by the dog’ (Erik Elicitation 03, 8)

... and seems to be associated with the **topicality** of the patient:

(11b)	Me	<i>pa</i>	<i>ẽ'</i>	y-aba-ũẽ?	Be	<i>ki</i>	<i>di-hia=de</i>	<i>ki</i>	be
	why	child	DEM	3-CNS-cry	CONJ	3SG	PASS-bite=DE	3SG	dog
	‘why is that child crying?’				‘because he was bitten by a dog’				

The =de construction in Cont. Enggano

- In the naturalistic text corpus it very often turns up in this almost formulaic construction:

(18) Jadi nè'ah mè' di-'ièb=**de** ki
so like.that REL PASS-do=DE 3SG
'So that's it!' (Asal Mula Tarian Perang, 65)



The =de construction in Cont. Enggano

- =de can also be followed by a lexical patient – in this case it reflects the **topicality of the agent**:

(12a) Engga, di-kakarai=**de** be
Engga PASS-chase=DE dog

‘Engga chased the dog’ [lit. Engga, he chased the dog]

NOT: ‘Engga was chased by the dog’ (Relative Clauses & Similatives, 132)

(12b) Engga, di-kakarai=**de** ki be
Engga PASS-chase=DE 3SG dog

‘Engga was chased by the dog’ (Relative Clauses & Similatives, 128)

The =de construction in Cont. Enggano

- This construction is not only found with passives but with the three active verb constructions as well:

- (13a) Na'an **ka**-b-atih=**de** u Engga *bu-verb*
 later 3-BU-invite=DE 1SG Engga
 'Later Engga will invite me' (elicited examples)
- (13b) A=**y**-atih=**de** u Engga, u-b-a. *bare verb*
 if-3-invite=DE 1SG Engga 1-BU-come
 'If Engga invites me, I will come.'



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The =de construction in Cont. Enggano

- (13c) U k-a, be Engga **k-atih=de** u **ki-verb**
1SG KI-come because Engga KI-intive=DE 1SG
'I came because Engga invited me'

The =de construction in Cont. Enggano

- With *bu-* and bare verbs, pronominal objects trigger the =*de* construction:

Context: Take care or...

(14a) Na'an ka-b-hua=**de** è' be
 later 3-BU-bite=DE dog 2SG
 'the dog will bite you' (Erik Elicitation, 32)



(14b) Na'an ka-b-hua be yeara-b
 later 3-BU-bite dog child-2SG.POSS
 'the dog will bite your child' (Erik Elicitation, 33)



The =de construction in Cont. Enggano

- Both =*de* and the change in word order are required:

Context: Take care or...

- (15a) *Na'an **ka-b-huau** **è'** be **VOS**
 later 3-BU-bite 2SG dog
 FOR: 'the dog will bite you' (Erik Elicitation, 54)
- (15b) *Na'an **ka-b-hua** be **è'** **VSO**
 later 3-BU-bite dog 2SG
 FOR: 'the dog will bite you' (Erik Elicitation, 73)

The =de construction in Cont. Enggano

- Much as with *di-* passives, the =*de* construction may be used in contexts where the patient is particularly topical:

(16) Ka-m-i'mé=**de** ki kak kan

3-BU-lurk=DE 3SG people PT

'the people lay in wait for him' (Manusia Menjadi Tikus, 29)



The =de construction in Cont. Enggano

- However, again like *di-* passives, =*de* can also attach to *bu-* verbs when the agent is especially topical:

(17b) **Ka-bu-pĩh=de** **hanu' ke'ep ean**
 3-bu-squeeze=DE throat bird DEM
 'He also grasped this bird's throat' (Kähler 1955 Retelling, 136)

... but only if there is no overt subject following:

(17b) *Na'an **ka-b-huau=de** **kak** be
 later 3-BU-bite=DE people dog
 FOR: 'the dog will bite someone' (Erik Elicitation, 66)

The =de construction in Cont. Enggano

- It does seem like “double agreement” because =*de* cannot attach to *bu-* verbs with non-third person subjects:

(18a) Na'an u-b-hua (è')
later 1-BU-bite 2SG
'I will bite you' (Erik Elicitation, 39)

(18b) *Na'an u-b-hua=**de** è'
later 1-BU-bite=**de** 2SG
FOR: 'I will bite you' (Erik Elicitation, 41)

The =de construction in Cont. Enggano

(19c) Hã **k-atih=de** u?
who KI-invite=DE 1SG
'who invited me?'

(19d) Hã mɛ' **k-atih** u?
who REL KI-invite 1SG
'who invited me?' (elicited example)

The =de construction in Cont. Enggano

- It seems =*de* may be possible even with 1SG and 2SG subjects following *ki*-constructions (and doesn't occur with lexical objects):

(20a) U **k-ayo'o=de** **ki** **man-man**
 1SG KI-follow=DE 3SG male-REDUP
 'I follow him' (Basic Structures, 538)

(20b) *Engga **k-atih=de** **ka-'an=de**
 Engga KI-invite=DE PL-friend=3SG.POSS
 FOR: 'Engga invited his friends' (elicited example)

Summary

- The *=de* construction involves marking the verb with *=de* and changes in word order
- It can occur with the three major active transitive verb structures (*bu-* verb, bare verb and *ki-* verb) and *di-* passives.
- When followed by a pronominal object + lexical subject it seems to indicate the topicality of the object/undergoer
- When followed by a lexical object, it seems to indicate the topicality of the subject/actor

Historical Development

Historical Development of =de

- In the Old Enggano materials collected by Hans Kähler we never find the 3SG.POSS enclitic =*dia* attached to active verbs. With *bu-* and bare verbs, pronominal objects trigger change in **word order**:

(21a) **Ka-bu-púa=ha** e-ko'E'E e-hũã u-kanĩxõõ **VSO**
 3-BU-see=EMPH DIR-devil DIR-fruit OBL-tree.species
 '(When) the devil saw the fruits of the ekanîxôô tree.' (Kähler 1955, 8.1)

(21b) **Ka-bu-hau** **kia** e-ki'ao **VOS**
 3-BU-bite 3SG DIR-mosquito
 '(When) a mosquito bit him.' (Kähler 1960a, 16.3)

Historical Development of =de

- However, in the passive nominalisation construction, =*dia* (equivalent to =*de*) can be used to express a 3SG passive agent:

(22a) ka-nõ'õãhã e-di-'ua=**dia** bu-koroi e-koyo
 3-like.that DIR-PASS-say=3SG.POSS BU-appease DIR-pig
 'Thus he spoke to appease the pigs.'

(22b) 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)

Historical Development of =de

- There are a handful of instances where =*dia* is followed by a pronominal argument:

(23) ki-nõ'õ:ĩĩẽ e-di-'obu-da ki e-kaka
 KI-like.this DIR-PASS-do-DA 3PL DIR-person

'As follows is done by the people' (Kähler 1960b, 36.5)

- The possessive suffix *-da* represents the agent but an appositional noun phrase is added in the right periphery.
- We know this is appositional because it takes the *e-* direct nominal case marker, rather than the *u-* oblique marker typically used for passive agents.

Historical Development of =de

(24a) kEaba'a da-dohoi e-di-'obu=**dia** **kia**
 NEG 3PL-hear DIR-PASS-do=DIA 3SG
 '(but) they had (also) not heard, what had happened to him.' (Kahler 1961 1.10)

(24b) Ki-nõ'õãhã e-di-'obu=**dia** **kia** e-kèda'ayo u-ko'E'E ei'iE
 KI-like.that DIR-PASS-do=DIA 3SG DIR-story OBL-devil DEM
 'So was said by that devil' (Kahler 1961 18.2)

(24c) keaba'a i-xii bu-kèda'a akinono e-di-'obu=**dia** **kia** e-itapuho-dia
 NEG 3-REPEAT BU-tell how DIR-PASS-do=DIA 3SG DIR-illness-3SG.POSS
 'He does not tell how his illness progressed' (Kahler 1975 Dam, 3.12)

Historical Development of =de

- It can be linked to the **topicality** of the undergoer:

Context: And **the woman's** thoughts were actually normal (healthy=) again, and **her** nature was as before. And then, after **she** had long been in her house (again), **her** thoughts came, and **she** remembered her basket, which **she** had once crafted in the place where **the devil** captured **her** back then. **She** spoke to all her fellows as follows: "Tomorrow you shall guide **me**! Let us go to the place, where you found **me** back then!" Thus were **her** words to all her fellows. Thus her friends were concerned...

(25) bE ki k-ahã:ĩkũ e-hii-a b-oro=**dia** kia eko'E'E.
because 3PL KI-believe DIR-REPEAT-FUT BU-capture=**DIA** 3SG DIR-devil

'For they believed, that the devil would capture her again.' (Kähler 1958, 10.1)

Historical Development of =de

- We believe this is the source of the Contemporary Enggano =*de* construction since when we get =*dia* + a lexical actor, the enclitic can be reanalysed as **agreement**.
- As this structure is often associated with the **topicality** of the undergoer, it comes to index prominence and is extended to other transitive verbal structures (cf. Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011, lemmolo 2010 on topicality cross-linguistically)
- This may be linked to the reanalysis of the passive nominalisation as a **verbal structure**.
- This supports an indexing view of differential marking, since the construction develops as a way of **indexing the relative prominence** of subject and object (see Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011, Witzlack-Makarevich and Seržant 2018)

Summary

- The *=de* construction was not found in the Old Enggano corpus
- Topical undergoers have a different word order in *bu-* and bare verb constructions (VOS rather than VSO) and *=dia* '3SG.POSS' only ever modifies nouns/nominalisations
- This does mean that *=dia* shows up as a means of expressing 3SG actors in passive nominalisations, sometimes together with an appositional noun phrase
- This is most likely the source of the Contemporary Enggano *=de* construction.

Conclusions

Conclusion

- In this paper, we have outlined the **=*de* construction** in Contemporary Enggano which involves marking transitive verbs (in any of the three active constructions and the *di-* passive) with *=de* and changes in word order.
- We have shown that this can be used in **two main contexts**: a) when a third singular actor is topical and b) when a pronominal undergoer is more topical than the third singular actor
- We furthermore showed that this represents an **important innovation** by comparing with the Old Enggano corpus where the construction is not found and unexpectedly topical undergoers are instead reflected through changes in word order alone.

Conclusion

- We presented a possible source construction in the Old Enggano **passive nominalisation** that occurs a handful of times in the Old Enggano corpus with =*dia* + pronoun + appositional noun phrase.
- We consequently argued that the development of the =*de* construction and the use of differential marking with either topical actors or topical undergoers to the reanalysis of the *di*- passive as verbal, and extension to other verbal structures.
- This has important implications for our understanding of the diachrony of differential marking systems as it supports an **indexing view** of differential marking, that can develop in order to index the relative prominence of arguments via processes of **reanalysis and extension**.

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