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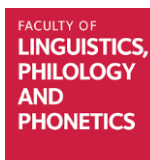
16-ICAL (Manila, 20-24 June 2024)



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Enggano Middle Voice

Evidence of Enggano as an Austronesian language

Gede Primahadi Wijaya Rajeg ^{1,3}, Charlotte Hemmings ¹, I Wayan Arka ^{2,3}

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Udayana University



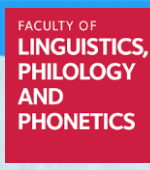
Highlights



- Enggano middle prefix *pa-* is likely to be cognate with prefixes conveying middle functions in Oceanic languages (Bril 2005, 2019; Alfarano & Boerger 2022) and Proto-Eastern-Malayo-Polynesian (Blust, Trussel & Smith)
 - inherited from the reconstructed Proto-Malayo-Polynesian [PMP] **paR-/*maR-* that becomes **paRi-* in Proto-Oceanic [POC]



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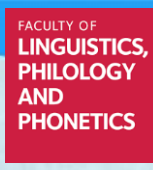
Enggano

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





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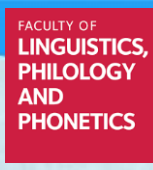


c. **1,500** speakers

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



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Previous & current works

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

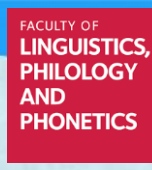


Roadmap

- Debate on the genealogical status of Enggano
- Enggano basic voice alternations
- Enggano middle voice
 - oppositional and non-oppositional
 - productivity of middle semantics (type frequency)
- Review of comparative data
- Conclusion and outlook



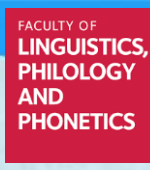
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Genealogical debates



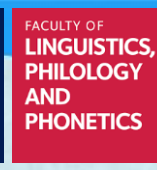
Genealogical debate about Enggano

- 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)



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Enggano as Austronesian

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

(Edwards 2015)

The aberrant nature of Enggano:

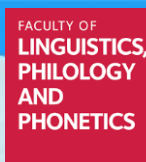
- (i) contact effects with non-AN langs. prior to MP
- (ii) geographical isolation of the island

(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, ...



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, ...

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



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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

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

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

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'



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'



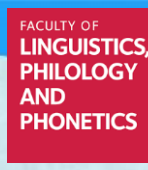
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NATURAM PRIMUM COGNOSCERE VERUM

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Enggano middle voice



Methodological remarks

- Contemporary Enggano Corpus (naturalistic + elicitation)
 - Interlinearised and analysed in FLEx
- Filtering forms containing PA- morph-gloss
- Determining the middle semantics (Kemmer 1993)
 - Qualitative analysis
- Quantifying the type frequency per middle semantics
 - Quantitative analysis



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 and always occurring with *pa-*
 - encoding middle semantics (Kemmer 1993)



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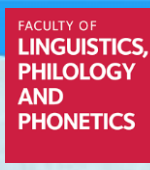
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Oppositional *pa-*



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

(3) ik nè'èn 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; Cara Bertani In. 59-60)

(4) kèh ean pùha' ki-**r-pù** kur ite'
mountain DEM.MED be.able.to KI-**PASS-see** from here
'That mountain can **be seen** (i.e., visible) from here' (PASSIVE; Basic Structure In. 379)

(5) ki ki-**pa**-pù-pù iěń
3PL KI-**MID**-REDUP-**see** 3PL.OBL
'They look at each other.' (MIDDLE; Verbal Morphology In. 59)



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

(3) ik nè'èn 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; Cara Bertani In. 59-60)

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mountain DEM.MED be.able.to KI-**PASS-see** from here
'That mountain can **be seen** (i.e., visible) from here'
(PASSIVE; Basic Structure In. 379)

(5) ki ki-**pa**-pù-pù iěň
3PL KI-**MID**-REDUP-**see** 3PL.OBL
'They look at each other.'
(MIDDLE; Verbal Morphology In. 59)

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



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' (ACTIVE; Pindah Rumah In. 5)

(7) U **p-ah-ém** iěm
1SG **MID-ANTIP-wait** 2SG.OBL

'I **wait** for you' (MIDDLE; Voice In. 25)



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

(6) Da-m-**ém** pe y-amuh iu
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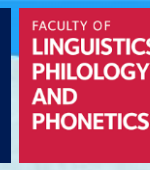
(7) U **p-ah-ém** iẽm
1SG **MID-ANTIP-wait** 2SG.OBL
'I **wait** for you' (MIDDLE; Voice In. 25)

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-*



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Non-oppositional *pa-*



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

(8) 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' (**Reciprocal**; Basic Structure In. 701)

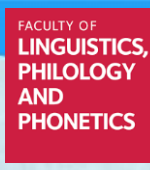
b. a-kinèn hapù ě' ka-pùha' **pa-kom**
if-how day DEM.PROX 3-be.able.to **MID-meet**
'(in the future) as in today, (we) can **meet**' (**Reciprocal**; Cerita Enggano In. 63)

(9) 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**; Cerita Enggano In. 112)



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

- (10) a. U ki-**pa**-na-na ani
1SG KI-**MID**-REDUP-**speak** 3.OBL
'I **speak** to h(im/er) (**Speech action**; 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**; Kähler retelling In. 51)



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

- (11) a. U ki-**pa**-ema
 1SG KI-**MID**-dance
 ‘I dance’ ([non-]translational motion; 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; Voice In. 299)



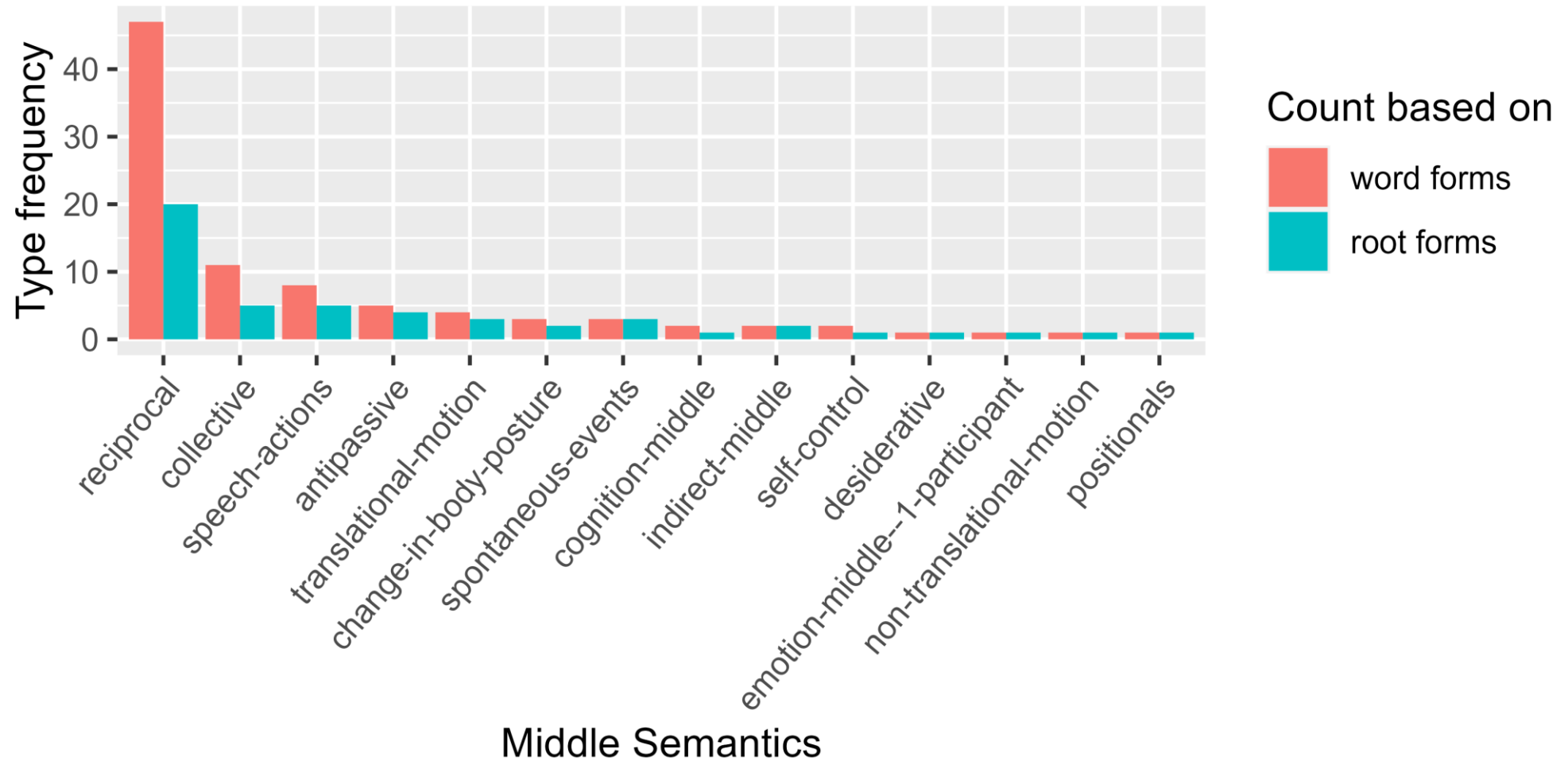
pa- as a middle marker: non-oppositional (4)

- (12) 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**; Cerita Enggano In. 6)

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



Type frequency of middle semantics with *pa-*





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Interim summary

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



Interim summary

- *pa-* is polyfunctional within the domain of Middle
 - reciprocal
 - collective actions
 - antipassive
 - some other middle semantics (as in Kemmer 1993)
- Typical trait of cognate prefixes reflecting PAN & PMP
**paR-/*maR-* and POC **paRi-* (Bril 2005, 2019; Karaj & Sansò 2023)



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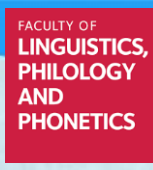
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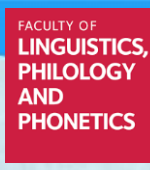


Brief review of comparative data



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>
Split ergative	North	Nyélayu	<i>pe-...</i>
		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
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)



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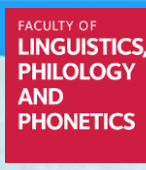
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Comparison to Contemporary Enggano data

- The primacy of reciprocal and collective actions/events reported by Brill (2005) is mirrored in Enggano *pa-*, both from counting the (i) unique complex word forms, or (ii) just the root form types (that combine with *pa-*)



Non-Oceanic Austronesian languages

- Formosan also has cognates with similar functions (Bril 2005: 29)
- PMP **paR-*/**maR-* (Pawley 1973: 152-153; Pawley & Reid 1979: 11; Bril 2005: 29-30; Karaj & Sansò 2023: 227)
 - **maR-* < actor foc. – *um-* + **paR-*
 - express middle functions in MP (Adelaar 1984)
 - Tagalog, Indonesian, Malay, Balinese (cf. **Sumitri & Arka's talk**)



Non-Oceanic Austronesian languages

- Formosan also has cognates with similar functions (Bril 2005: 29)
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 - **maR-* < actor foc. – *um-* + **paR-*
 - express middle functions in MP (Adelaar 1984)
 - Tagalog, Indonesian, Malay, Balinese (cf. Sumitri & Arka's talk)
- **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:



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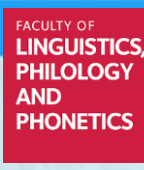
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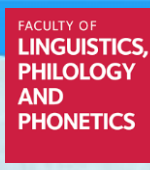


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Combination of middle prefix and reduplication

- Esp. in MP languages (e.g., Tagalog, Malay, Indonesian) and several Oceanic languages (Bril 2005)
 - plural relationship
 - frequentative meaning
 - intensive meaning



Combination of middle prefix and reduplication

- Esp. in MP languages (e.g., Tagalog, Malay, Indonesian) and several Oceanic languages (Bril 2005)
 - plural relationship
 - frequentative meaning
 - intensive meaning
- We find this pattern in Enggano as well



Combination of middle prefix and reduplication: Enggano data

- (12) 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**; Cerita Enggano In. 6)

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'I **speak** to h(im/er) (**Speech action**; Basic Structure In. 571)



Combination of middle prefix and reduplication: Enggano data

(5) ki
3PL

ki-**pa**-pù-pù
KI-**MID**-REDUP-see

iě̃n
3PL.OBL

'They look at each other.' (MIDDLE; Verbal Morphology In. 59)



Combination of middle prefix and reduplication: Enggano data

(9) a-p-ah-èm a-b-i ka-'nè-k
if-MID-ANTIP-wait if-BU-exist 3-friend-1PL.INCL.POSS

ki-**pa**-ru-ru
KI-**MID**-REDUP-gather

'waiting if there are our friends to **gather**' (**Collective action**; Cerita Enggano In. 112)



Combination of middle prefix and reduplication: Enggano data

(9) 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**; Cerita Enggano In. 112)

(14) ik ě' buh pa-ru-' ik dèm
1PL.INCL DEM.PROX will CAUS-gather-APPL 1PL.INCL goods
'We will gather goods' (Perkawinan In. 40)



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1PL.INCL DEM.PROX will CAUS-gather-APPL 1PL.INCL goods
'We will gather goods' (Perkawinan In. 40)

From 8 tokens of 'gather' with *(ru)ru*, only once it is found not reduplicated as in (14)



Combination of middle prefix and reduplication: Enggano data

(11)

- b. U ki-pakta karaha-’ **pa-ko-koeh**
 1SG KI-force body-1SG.POSS **MID-REDUP-squat**
 ‘I force myself **squat**’ ([non-]translational motion; Voice In. 299)
- c. U ki-’ièb è pa ean ka-bu-koeh
 1SG KI-do OBL child DEM.MED 3-BU-squat
 ‘I make the child squat’

From 16 tokens of ‘squat’ with *(ko)koeh*, only twice it is found not reduplicated (as in 11c); the rest are reduplicated and appear with *pa-* only



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Conclusion & outlook



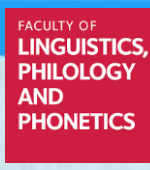
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Conclusion

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



Conclusion

- Enggano shows voice oppositions
 - active, anti-passive, passive, middle
- Enggano *pa-* is likely cognate with prefixes in Oceanic languages and MPs, reflecting PMP and PAN **paR-/*maR-*
 - Lost of the original pluractionality relation **-(a)R-* (Blust 2013: 389) (as in Balinese *ma-*) but Enggano *pa-* is still connected to Middle func.
 - Similarly polyfunctional, but predominantly reciprocal and collective
 - Similar features of Middle Pref. + Root reduplication



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Outlook

- Historical comparison with Old(er) Enggano (from text corpus and diachronic lexical database) to investigate the development of Enggano middles (cf. Englesia 2023)



Example comparison with *EnoLEX* database (Krausse et al., Rajeg et al., *in progress*; AsiaLEX 2024 talk)

- Retrieving word forms meaning ‘sit cross-legged’, ‘squat’ and ‘gather’

A tibble: 4 × 6

Year	`Given as` <fct>	`IPA phonemic transcription` <chr>	English <chr>	`Original English gloss in source` <chr>	`Cognate ID` <int>
1 1895	pakomakja	pakɔmakja	sit cross-legged	""	<u>1982</u>
2 1891	fakowèhkowéh	fakowɛhkoweh	squat	""	<u>2103</u>
3 1891	fakowèhkowéh	fakowɛhkoweh	squat	""	<u>2103</u>
4 1895	pakowèh	pakɔwɛh	squat	""	<u>2103</u>

A tibble: 5 × 6

Year	`Given as` <fct>	`IPA phonemic transcription` <chr>	English <chr>	`Original English gloss in source` <chr>	`Cognate ID` <int>
1 1979	paruru	paruru	gather	"mutual help"	912
2 1987	padudu ; parudu ; paruru:	padudu ; parudu ; paruru:	gather	""	912
3 2011	parur	parur	gather	"celebration"	912
4 2019	parur	parur	gather	"celebration"	912
5 2023	parur	parur	gather	"celebration"	912



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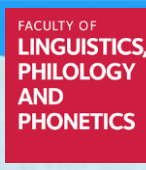
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Outlook

- Historical comparison with Old(er) Enggano (from text corpus and diachronic lexical database) to investigate the development of Enggano middles (cf. Englesia 2023)
- Systematic comparison with middles of the neighbouring Barrier-Islands & Sumatran Languages to further determine the sub-grouping of Enggano within the Austronesian family



Mentawai (Khatib et al. 1998)

- *paruruk* 'tatap (IDN); look at/stare at each other' (p. 95)
- *paicok* 'bertatapan (IDN); look at each other' (cf. *masiicok* 'menatap (IDN); to see/look at something') (p. 95)
- *paruruk* 'kumpul (IDN); gather' (p. 50) (cf. *rurukakek* 'kumpulkan (IDN); gather sth.)
- *pagulut* 'bertengkar (IDN); fight' (cf. *gulut* 'tengkar (IDN); fight') (p. 97)
- *pa'aili* 'bertemu (IDN); to meet' (cf. *masiailiakek* 'menemui (IDN); to see/meet sb.' (p. 97)



Nias (Brown 2001)

- Nias (another Barrier-Islands language)
- Prefix *fa-* can encode middle functions (mainly discussed is ‘reciprocal’ [Brown 2001: 562])
- *fa-* can also encode causative (like Enggano causative *pa-* ?)
- Brown (2001: 216) labels the non-causative function of *fa-* as a derivation device for “‘dynamic’ intransitive verbs”
 - transitive verb roots (de-transitivising as in Middle function ?)
 - noun roots
 - bound roots



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mèk èm nah; terima kasih; thank you





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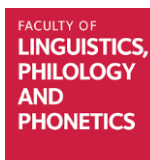
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Enggano Middle Voice

Evidence of Enggano as an Austronesian language

Gede Primahadi Wijaya Rajeg^{1,3}, Charlotte Hemmings¹, I Wayan Arka^{2,3}

¹ University of Oxford

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



Verbal Morphosyntax in Contemporary Enggano

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

	set 1 (w/ BU-)	set 2 (w/ bare)
1SG	u-	u-
2SG	é-	u-
3SG	ka-	i-
1PL.INCL	ka-	ka-
1PL.EXCL	u- -a	u- -a
2PL.	é- -a	u- -a
3PL.	da-	da-

Derivational affixes	Function
pa-	causative; middle
-(C), -a'	applicatives
di-	passive
aba-	consecutive action
aH-	antipassive



Verbal Morphosyntax in Contemporary Enggano

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

(14) be apiah ki dit ne'e keab e'iah nèn u **ki-dèhè**
 because how.many 3SG there recently NEG what how 1SG **KI-dengar**
 'because however many were here earlier, I did not hear (a thing).

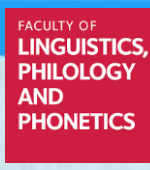


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 'because however many were here earlier, I did not hear (a thing).'

(15) kamu kan kep **bu-dèhè** (...)
 2SG INTERJ not.yet BU-hear
 'you haven't heard (...).'



Verbal Morphosyntax in Contemporary Enggano

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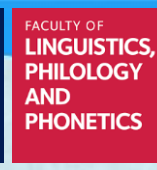
(14) be apiah ki dit ne'e keab e'iah nèn u **ki-dèhè**
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(15) kamu kan kep **bu-dèhè** (...)
 2SG INTERJ not.yet BU-hear
 'you haven't heard (...).'

(16) ki ke' **i-dèhè**
 3SG NEG 3-hear
 'he didn't hear'



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Enggano as non-Austronesian

In terms of vocabularies and grammar, Enggano is “*sui generis*”

(Capell 1982: 5; cf. Blench 2014)

Remnant of pre-Austronesian languages with Austronesian borrowings

(Capell 1982: 6)



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Enggano as Austronesian

Based on lexicostatistical classification, one of the two subgroups of AN languages in Western Indonesia, but labelled as “ungrouped”

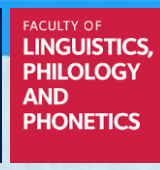
(cf. Dyen 1962: 44, 1965: 28)

Barrier Islands–Batak subgroup, based on shared phonological and lexical innovations

(Nothofer 1986)



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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)



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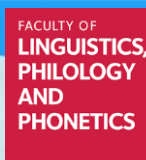
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Enggano as Austronesian

Sumatran sub-group

(Billings & McDonnell 2024)

Together with Barrier-Island Batak sub-group langs., Gayo
(Northern Sumatra), Nasal (Southwestern Sumatra)