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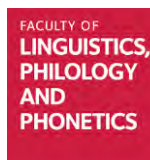
**16-ICAL** (Manila, 20-24 June 2024)



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CIRHSS

# Enggano Middle Voice

Evidence of Enggano as an Austronesian language

Gede Primahadi Wijaya Rajeg<sup>1,3</sup>, Charlotte Hemmings<sup>1</sup>, I Wayan Arka<sup>2,3</sup>

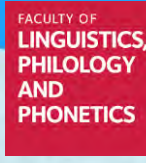
<sup>1</sup> University of Oxford

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<sup>3</sup> Centre for Interdisciplinary Research on the Humanities and Social Sciences (CIRHSS),  
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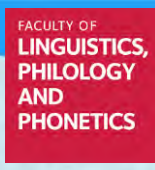
# Highlights



- 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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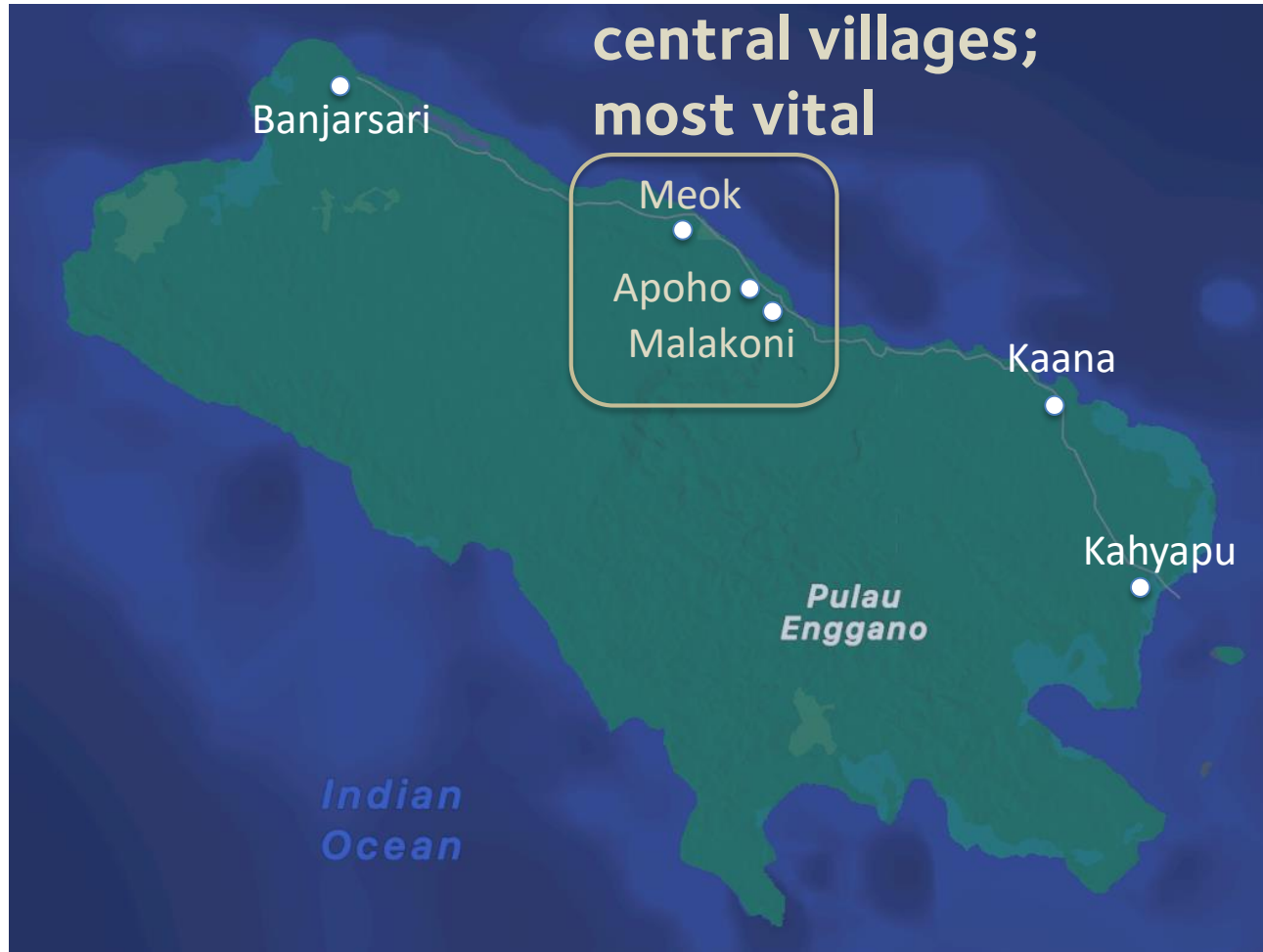


c. **1,500** speakers

**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



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# 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



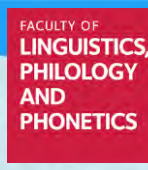
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# Genealogical debates





# 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
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- 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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# 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)



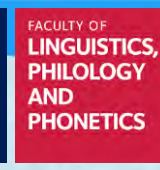
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Oppositional *pa-*



# *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            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; 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**            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.'  
(MIDDLE; 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' (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)**

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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-püha'            **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)



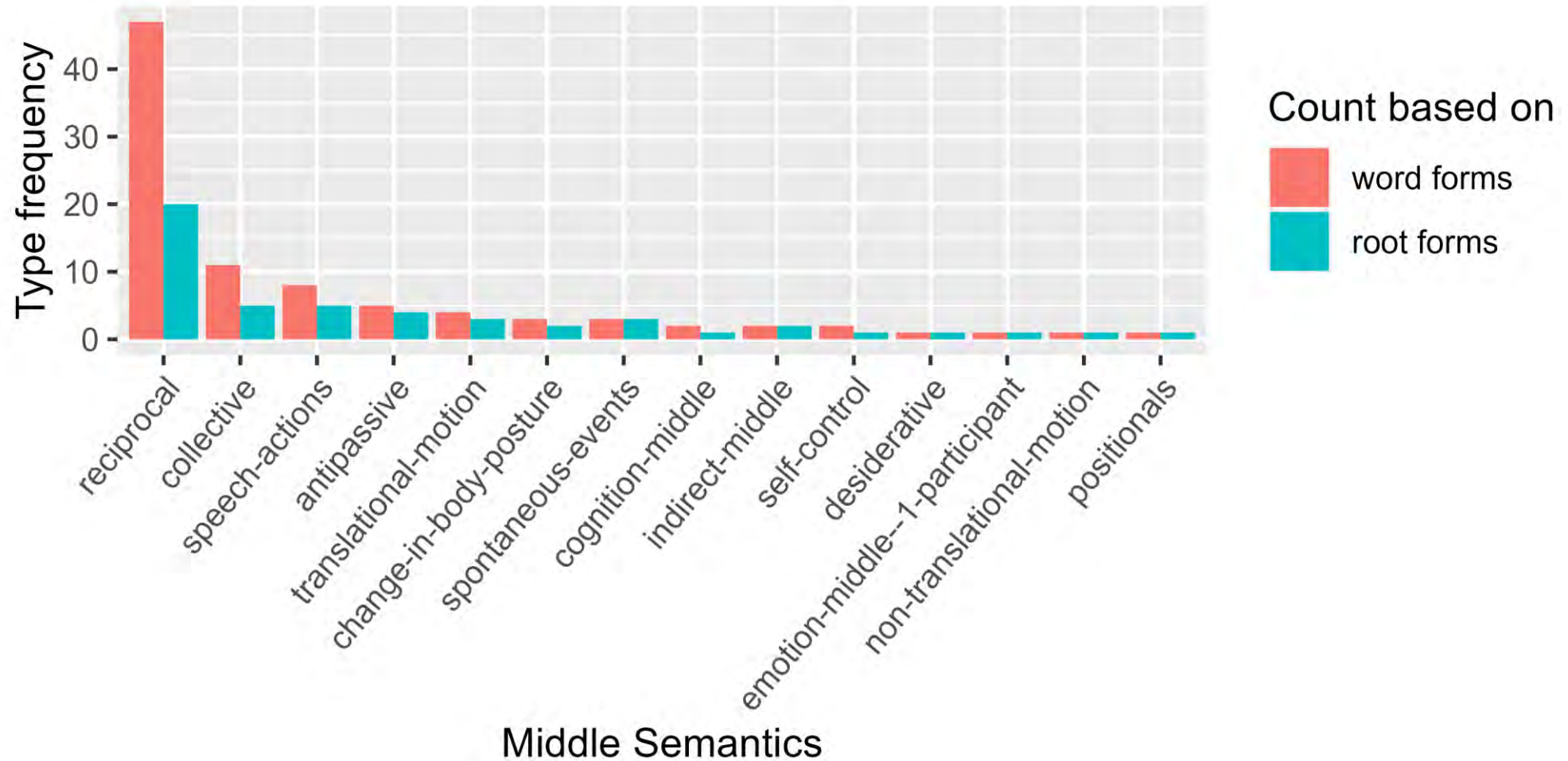
## *pa-* as a middle marker: non-oppositional (4)

- (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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# 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	Nêlémwa	<i>pe-...(-i)</i>
		Nixumwak	<i>pe-...(-i)</i>
Split ergative	North	Nyêlayu	<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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# 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)
- 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)
- **PEMP (Proto-Eastern-Malayo-Polynesian) (ACD)**

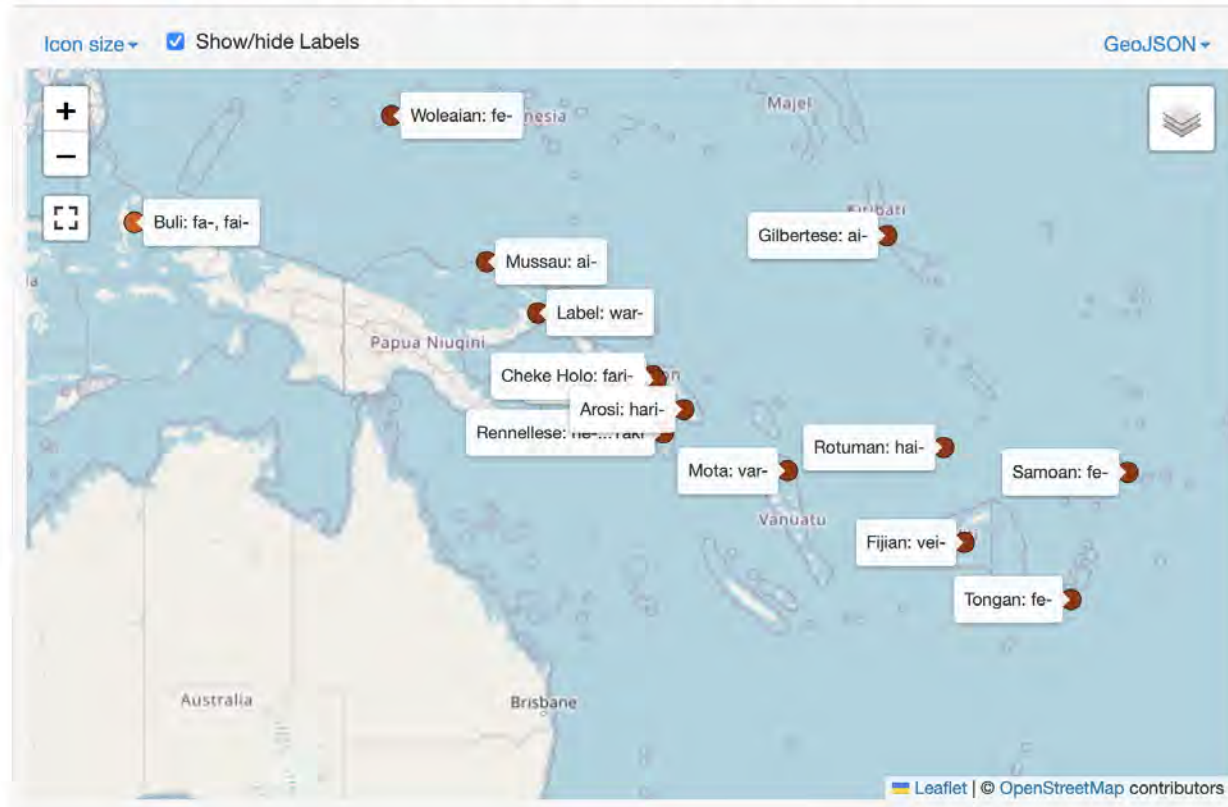




## The Austronesian Comparative Dictionary

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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# 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)

- (13) sampe am-a'-nu' e'iah mè' **pa**-i-ĩk  
until CONSEC.-NML-depth what REL **MID**-REDUP-dry  
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- (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)



## 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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'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)



## 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



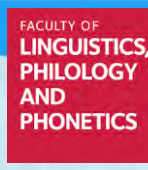
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# Conclusion & outlook



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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> <chr>	`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	pakɔweh	squat	""	<u>2103</u>

# A tibble: 5 × 6

	Year	`Given as` <fct> <chr>	`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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# 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



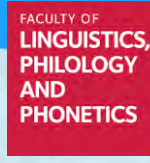
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mèk èm nah; terima kasih; thank you





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# Enggano Middle Voice

Evidence of Enggano as an Austronesian language

Gede Primahadi Wijaya Rajeg <sup>1,3</sup>, Charlotte Hemmings <sup>1</sup>, I Wayan Arka <sup>2,3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> University of Oxford

<sup>2</sup> Australian National University

<sup>3</sup> 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
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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 (...)'





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 '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”

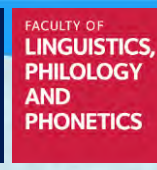
(cf. Dyen 1962: 44, 1965: 28)

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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# Enggano as Austronesian

## Sumatran sub-group

(Billings & McDonnell 2024)

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