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Morphological Conservatism in Enggano Subordinate Clauses

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In this paper, we argue that Enggano subordinate clauses beginning with the conjunctions *a=* and *be* are morphologically conservative in retaining ergative alignment, when other clause types are accusatively-aligned. Although this fits with the reported trend for subordinate clauses to be more conservative than main clauses, we ultimately argue that the pattern of split-ergativity in Enggano is the result of specific historical developments, affecting different types of subordinate clause in different ways, rather than a general difference between main and subordinate clauses. This is evidenced by the fact that other types of subordinate clause, particularly consecutive/purposive clauses, appear to lead the change to accusative alignment, not only in Enggano but also in other Austronesian languages with split-ergativity. Consequently, we argue that the Enggano split-alignment pattern is further evidence that synchronic patterns may be better explained by construction-specific historical developments, than by broad typological tendencies.

KEYWORDS: subordinate clauses, Enggano, Austronesian, alignment.

1. Introduction

This paper presents a case study of verbal morphology in Enggano, an Austronesian language of Indonesia. We show that there is a subordinate clause type in Enggano that retains a pattern of ergative alignment in person marking that is not found elsewhere in the grammar, but reflects a more conservative alignment type. Consequently, it is possible to view Enggano split-ergativity as supporting the claim that subordinate clauses are cross-linguistically more conservative than main clauses (see e.g. Bybee *et al.* 1994, Bybee 2002, Givón 1977, 1979, Hock 2021, Hyman 1975, Crowley & Bowern 2010). However, we demonstrate through comparison with other Austronesian languages (section 4) and a proposal regarding the series of developments that led to the pattern of split-ergativity in Enggano (section 5), that this is an oversimplification. Instead, what emerges is that other types of subordinate clause, particularly consecutive/purposive clauses, are leading the shift to accusatively-aligned person marking in the Austronesian languages of Sumatra and Sulawesi (section 4.3). As a result, we argue that Enggano split-ergativity provides further support for the idea that synchronic patterns arise as the result of particular historical processes that may affect different types of subordinate clause in different ways (cf. Dixon 1994).

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 provides an overview of Enggano grammar, including the verbal constructions that take person marking. Section 3 presents Enggano alignment and demonstrates that there is a split according to clause-type. Section 4 compares the split-alignment of person marking in Enggano with systems of person marking in other languages of the region in order to show that the alignment pattern in Enggano subordinate clauses is more conservative. Section 5 sketches a series of developments that may have resulted in the Enggano pattern, and section 6 concludes.

2. The Enggano language

Enggano is an Austronesian language spoken on Enggano Island, Sumatra, Indonesia. It is the southernmost island in the Barrier Islands chain, which also includes Nias and Mentawai, as indicated in Figure 1. Though there is controversy over the genetic affiliation of Enggano (see Hemmings *et al.* 2023a for discussion), it has been proposed that Enggano may form a subgroup with the Barrier Island and Batak languages of Sumatra (see Nothofer 1986).

Figure 1. Map of Indonesia (© OpenStreetMap, Mapbox and Mapcarta).

Enggano has a relatively long history of documentation (see Edwards 2015, Hemmings *et al.* 2023a for discussion). The data in this paper is drawn from the corpus collected by Hans Kähler in the 1930s, which includes a grammar (Kähler 1940), a text collection (Kähler 1955, 1957, 1958, 1960a, 1960b, 1961, 1962, 1964, 1975) and a dictionary (Kähler

1987). As part of an ongoing documentation project, the Kähler corpus has been glossed and translated in English and Indonesian using SIL's FieldWorks (FLEX) software (Dalrymple et al). Since Kähler's research, the language has undergone several changes as documented in Yoder (2011), Wijaya (2018), Butters (2022) and Hemmings *et al.* (2023b). However, this is beyond the scope of the current paper and henceforth Enggano refers to the language as spoken in the 1930s. Examples are cited from the FLEX database. The citation includes the title of the source text, which corresponds to the original publication, plus a segment number.

Unlike other Austronesian languages, Enggano makes a clear distinction between nouns and verbs. Nouns take case markers: *e-* for direct arguments (i.e. subject and object); *u-* for obliques, including possessors, and *i-* for locatives (Kähler 1940). Additionally, human nouns take a plural marker, *ka-*, which is used in both direct and oblique contexts. Verbs occur in one of three basic forms: *ki-* form, *bu-* form and bare form. This is true for both transitive verbs, as illustrated in (1), and intransitive verbs, as illustrated in (2). (Note that we use deitalicised script for emphasis in the examples.)

(1) Enggano
a. *ki-* form
e-kaka *e'ana* ki-pudu *e-koyo*
DIR-person DEM KI-kill DIR-pig
'That person killed a pig.' (Kähler 1940 Grammar, 17.1)
b. *bu-* form
Ka-bu-pudu *kia*
3-BU-kill 3SG
'They fought against him' (Kähler 1975 Krieg, 25.5)
c. bare form
kEa-ba'a i-pudu *e-koyo* *e'ana*
NEG-EMPH 3-kill DIR-pig DEM
'He didn't kill the pig' (Kähler 1940 Grammar, 35.15)

(2) Enggano
a. *ki-* form
'o'o k-Edo
2SG KI-cry
'You cry' (Kähler 1940 Grammar, 36.6)
b. *bu-* form
pahumãnã ka-b-Edo,
morning 3SG-BU-cry
'In the morning, it cries' (Kähler 1958, 21.2)
c. bare form
kEo-ba'a y-Edo
NEG-EMPH 3-cry
'He is not crying' (Kähler 1940 Grammar, 15.48)

The *ki-* form occurs in SV and SVO clauses, including main clauses like (1a) and (2a), and subordinate clauses, as discussed in section 3.1 and 3.2. The verb never takes person marking, and arguments are generally expressed as full NPs or pronouns. *ki-* verbs are the only verbal structure to appear in relative clauses (see section 3.1). It is likely that *ki-* is cognate with the marker *si=* in Nias, which only occurs in relative clauses and is used as a strategy to relativise on S/A (Brown 2001). For this reason, Hemmings & Dalrymple (*in prep.*) argue that the use of *ki-* in SVO main clauses results from the reanalysis of its original function as a relativizer, and the extension of a relative clause strategy to a main clause strategy. Consequently, *ki-* forms can be considered the most innovative clause type in Enggano.

The *bu-* form occurs in verb-initial main clauses together with a set of obligatory person markers (SET 1 in Table 1) that agree with the person/number features of S/A. When S/A are continuing discourse topics, as in (1b) and (2b), the person markers may express S/A without any overt NP. Alternatively, they may co-occur with overt nominals, as illustrated in section 3.1.[1] The *bu-* form is also used in embedded contexts, following auxiliaries like *hoo* 'perfective' and *hii* 'repeated action', where it occurs without person marking. Overall, *bu-* constructions are the most frequent of the three major constructions in (1) and (2) and could be referred to as the basic realis clause type (see Hemmings *et al.* 2023b for quantitative analysis). The marker *bu-* is thought to be cognate with PAN **-um-*, which marked actor voice in more conservative Austronesian languages (see Edwards 2015). Consequently, we can think of *bu-* forms as more conservative than *ki-* forms, but should note that they have undergone interesting developments compared with cognate forms in other languages (see sections 4 and 5).

Finally, the bare form occurs in verb-initial clauses together with a different set of obligatory person markers (SET 2 in Table 1) that agree with the person/number features of S/A. As with *bu-* verbs, the person markers may form the only expression of S/A. Alternatively, they may co-occur with overt NPs (see section 3.1). These forms occur in negated clauses, like (1c) and (2c), but also occur in consecutive/purposive clauses that form part of a chain of events (see section 3.1). It is possible that the construction derives from a dependent undergoer voice form, and that the SET 2 person markers derive from the genitive actor pronouns used in undergoer voice (see Zobel 2002, section 5). Importantly, however, Enggano itself does not have a symmetrical voice system (see Himmelmann 2005, Rieseberg 2014). This is clear from the fact that the verbal markers can occur with both transitive and intransitive verbs in almost all clause types, and agreement is with S/A regardless of which set of person markers is

used (see section 3.1). The only exception is in subordinate clauses headed by *a=* 'if/when' and *be* 'because', where transitive and intransitive verbs behave differently (see section 3.2). In these subordinate clause-types, intransitive verbs occur in *bu*-form without person marking, whilst transitive verbs occur in bare form with SET 2 person markers. This leads to a pattern of split-ergativity which we will outline below.

	FREE PRONOUN	SET 1 (WITH *BU-* VERBS)	SET 2 (WITH BARE VERBS)
1SG	'ua	'u-	'u-
2SG	'o'o	'o-	u-
3SG	kia	ka-	i-
1DU.INCL	'ika	ka-	ka-
1PL.INCL	'ika'a	ka- -a'a	ka -a'a
1PL.EXCL	'ai	'u- 'ai	'u- -ai
2PL	adiu/aduu/aruu	'o- -a'a	u- -a'a
3PL	ki	da-, di-, ki-	da-

Table 1. Enggano pronouns and person markers (Kähler 1940: 106).[2]

3. Alignment in Enggano

Typically, alignment is identified by comparing S, A and O (see e.g. Dixon 1994). The alignment of case-marking in Enggano is neutral since the core arguments all take the direct marker *e-*. This is illustrated in (3) with a *ki-* construction, but applies across all verbal constructions as shown in (4) and (5) below:

(3) Enggano
a. e-huda *k-aha:E* *i-pia*
DIR-woman KI-go LOC-garden
'The woman went to the plantation' (Kähler 1958, 1.4)
b. *e'ana* e-ko'e'e *ki-noo* e-kiaki u-kaka
DEM DIR-devil KI-eat DIR-blood OBL-person
'This demon sucks the blood of people' (Kähler 1975 Dämonen-Vorstellungen, 1.4)

However, alignment is visible in the person marking on verbs and in the syntactic pivot of clauses. Here, a split-ergative pattern emerges: in almost all contexts, there is accusative alignment in the sense that S/A are treated the same, whilst O is treated differently (section 3.1).

However, subordinate clauses marked with *a=* and *be* display an ergative pattern, since only A is expressed via person marking, whilst S/O must be expressed as full NPs or pronouns (section 3.2).

3.1. Accusative alignment

As seen in section 2, both *bu-* and bare verbs take person marking. The Person marking is accusatively aligned in both constructions, since agreement is with S/A, but not O:

(4) Enggano
a. Transitive
ka-*bu-pùa=da'a* *e-dahao=dia* *e-ka'a:i'io*
3_i-BU-see=EMPH DIR-niece=3SG.POSS$_i$ DIR-spear
'His niece saw the spear' (Kähler 1975: Krieg, 29.18)
b. Intransitive
ka-*bu-puaka=ha* *ka-kina'ama*
3_i-BU-depart=PRED DIR.PL-elder$_i$
'So the elders went off' (Kähler 1975 Krieg, 10.5)

(5) Enggano
a. Transitive
kaupE *i-paka'ã:ũã'ã* *ka-po'inãmõ* *e-pùaha* *u-kaka* *e'ana*
not.yet 3_i-know DIR.PL-maiden$_i$ DIR-look OBL-person DEM
'The maidens didn't know yet the appearance of the person.' (Kähler 1940 Grammar, 24.15)
b. Intransitive
ka *keaba'a* y-*a'u'ua* *e-kidei-da* *e'ana*
and NEG 3_i-good DIR-belly-3SG.POSS$_i$ DEM
'They did not agree' (lit. 'their belly was not good') (Kähler 1975 Krieg, 1.7)

In (4a), the person marker *ka-* is co-referential with the A argument, *edahaudia* 'her niece', whilst in (4b) the person marker agrees with S, *kakina'ama* 'the elders'. There is no person marking for O and hence person marking on *bu-* verbs is accusatively aligned.

The same applies for bare verbs: in (5a) the person marker *i-* is co-referential with A, *kapo'inamo* 'the maidens', and in (5b) the person marker agrees with S, *ekideida e'ana* 'their belly'. However, there is no agreement with O in (5a). Hence, both *bu-* and bare verbs appear to be accusatively-aligned in terms of person-marking. In section 4, we will refer to the pattern of accusatively-aligned person marking with bare verbs as NOM1, and accusatively-aligned person marking with *bu-* verbs are NOM2. For now, it is worth re-iterating that the NOM2 pattern (accusative alignment with *bu-* verbs) is found with basic realis clauses, whilst the NOM1 pattern (accusative alignment with bare verbs) is found in marked clause types, e.g. following negation. As we will see in section

4, this contrasts with the typical pattern of alignment found in Western Austronesian person marking systems.

Cross-clausal S/A pivots also reflect accusative alignment in Enggano. For example, consider the construction in (6), where the embedded verb is marked with *ba-* when it directly follows a motion verb. In this consecutive/purposive construction, there is argument sharing between the main clause and a gapped argument in the embedded clause:

(6) Enggano
a. Transitive
ki *k-aha* [*bE-ipu* __ *e-hobu* *e'ana*]
3PL KI-go BA-fell DIR-breadfruit DEM
'They went to fell the breadfruit tree' (Kähler 1958, 32.7)
b. Intransitive
ka-hii *b-ahaːE=ha* *e-huda* *e'ana* *hii* *ka-paE*
3-REP BU-go=EMPH DIR-woman DEM and PL-child
k-ahaːE-a [*ba-EkE* _]
KI-go-FUT BA-wash
'Then that woman again went away with the children, in order to bathe' (Kähler 1958, 13.5)

In (6a), the gapped argument is coreferential with *ki* 'they'. In (6b), the gapped argument is co-referential with *ehuda e'ana hii kapaE* 'the woman and children'. Importantly, the gapped argument can have either the function of A in the embedded clause, as in (6a), or S, as in (6b), but no clauses are attested in which the shared argument has the function of O. Hence, *ba-* embedded clauses adhere to an S/A pivot.

Purposive/consecutive clauses can also be expressed using the bare verb with the derivational marker *aba-* and SET 2 person markers:

(7) Enggano
a. Transitive
ka-b-ai=xa *ama* *ka-paE* *e'ana* [*y-aba-pùa* *ki*]
3-BU-come=EMPH father OBL.PL-child DEM 3-ABA-see 3PL
'The father of the children came, in order to see them' (Kähler 1957, 9.1)
b. Intransitive
ka-b-ahaːE=ha [*y-aba-kiu=ha* *i-tita*]
3-BU-go=EMPH 3-ABA-hide=EMPH LOC-there
'It went there and sought shelter there' (Kähler 1955, 12.16)

In (7), the shared argument is overtly expressed by the SET 2 person marking on the verb, but again is understood as co-referential with a main clause argument, e.g. *ama kapaE e'ana* 'the father of the children' in (7a) or the discourse topic in (7b) encoded via the SET 1 person marker *ka-*. Again, the SET 2 person marker can refer to either A, as in (7a), or S, as in (7b), in the (semantically) subordinate clause. Hence,

consecutive/purposive clauses illustrate a NOM1 pattern, as is common in Western Austronesian languages with split alignment (section 4.2).

Another example of an S/A pivot involves relativisation. In Enggano, when S/A are relativised on, a *ki-* verb is used without further modification to the stem.

(8) Enggano
a. *ka-'ùdùha = ha* *e-paE* [*hẽmõ'õ* _ *ku-'uoho*]
3-startle = EMPH DIR-child REL.SG KI-sleep
'The child, who was sleeping, was startled' (Kahler 1955, 6.2)
b. *nãẽ = nã* [*mõ'õ* _ *ki-nã'ã* *e-mẽhẽ* *y-ab-ai*]
DIR.mother = 3PL.POSS REL KI-take DIR-food 3-ABA-come
'It was their mother who brought the food' (Kähler 1957, 4.1)

When O is relativised on, a *ki-* verb strategy may be used if A is pronominal, as in (9a). However, when A is nominal, a passive nominalisation is used as the relative clause predicate, as in (9b). We know this is a nominalisation because the derivational passive marker *di-* combines with the direct case marker *e-* that only occurs on nouns (see section 2).

(9) Enggano
a. *nã'ãnĩ ka-b-apu'ua = ha* *e-kuo* *e'ana* [*hẽmõ'õ* *'o'o* ki-*koa'a* _]
later 3-BU-fall = EMPH DIR-tree DEM REL.SG 2SG KI-strike
'and later the tree will fall, which you have notched' (Kahler 1955, 5.12)
b. *ki-mũ-nã'ã = hã* *e-mẽhẽ-nã* *e'ana*
3PL-BU-take = EMPH DIR-food-3PL.POSS DEM
[*mõ'õ* e-nĩ-*nã'ã* *y-ai* *nãẽ-nã* *e'ana*]
REL DIR-PASS-take 3-come OBL.mother-3PL.POSS DEM
'They took the food that was brought (there) by their mother' (Kähler 1957, 2.1)

The passive marker *di-* may also occur in a verbal structure together with the verbal marker *ki-*. However, this results in an agentless intransitive structure and hence is only used to relativise on a semantic patient when A is not expressed at all. Consequently, since the same strategy is used for S/A and a different strategy exists for O, this could be seen as another way in which Enggano reflects an S/A pivot.

Finally, S/A also behave alike in terms of word-order. With *ki-* verbs, S/A appear before the verb, and O appears after the verb. This is true regardless of whether the arguments are nominal, as illustrated in (3), or pronominal as illustrated in (10):

(10) Enggano
a. Transitive
'ua *ki-pùa* 'a'o *ki-xẽ-hẽkũ* *i-xoo* *u-kãĩ* *u-kẽpũũ!*
1SG KI-see 2SG KI-REDUP-sit LOC-inside OBL-base OBL-fern
'I see you sitting inside the foot of the fern' (Kähler 1955, 11.3)

b. Intransitive
ki *k-aha:E* *i-pia = da*
3PL KI-go LOC-garden = 3PL.POSS
'They started towards their plantation' (Kähler 1955, 1.3)

Consequently, although *ki-* verbs do not have person-marking, we can still think of them as being accusatively-aligned since S/A behave alike in terms of their pre-verbal position, whilst O behaves differently.

As for *bu-* and bare verbs, word order is typically VS for intransitive clauses with overt subjects, and VSO for transitive clauses with overt subjects and objects, as illustrated in (4) and (5) respectively. However, there is a degree of word-order flexibility since VOS order is required when O is pronominal:

(11) Enggano
a. Transitive *bu-* form (VOS order)
ka-bu-hau kia *e-ki'ao*
3-BU-bite 3SG DIR-mosquito
'(When) a mosquito bit him' (Kähler 1960a, 16.3)
b. Transitive bare form (VOS order)
a = b-ai *kia* *nā'ãnĩ,* *a = i = nõõ* kia *e-koyo* *e'ana*
CONJ = BU-come 3SG later CONJ = 3 = eat 3SG DIR-pig DEM
'If he comes later, the pigs will eat him' (Kähler 1955, 13.7)

Consequently, accusative alignment is mainly visible in terms of person-marking with *bu-* and bare verbs, and less in terms of word-order.

3.2. Ergative alignment

In section 3.1, we demonstrated that Enggano has accusative alignment in terms of person marking and an S/A pivot across a number of clause-types. There is, however, one clause-type which seems to display ergative alignment: subordinate clauses marked with *a =* 'if/when' and *be* 'because'. These markers introduce adjunct clauses with background information and can be said to have ergative alignment because transitive and intransitive verbs are treated differently (unlike all the other contexts discussed in section 3.1 above). Specifically, transitive verbs occur in bare form, with SET 2 person markers for A, while intransitive verbs occur in *bu-* form with no agreement for S.

(12) Enggano
a. Transitive
a = iy-*a'ekoi* e-dohoao e'ana e-a-hau *u-puruhui = dia* *e'ana*
CONJ = 3-follow DIR-boat DEM DIR-GER-light OBL-streamer = 3SG.POSS DEM
'that the boat copies the lightness of the streamers' (Kähler 1975 Bootsrennen, 7.5)

b. Intransitive
a = *b-E-ici* e-daha:uhu
CONJ = BU-VBLZ-sound DIR-thunder
'when the thunder sounds' (Kahler 1960, 10.6)

(13) Enggano
a. Transitive
bE i-*xoo* *b-oki* e-'uE e-mẽnõ = nĩã.
because 3-PFV BU-uproot DIR-sea DIR-palm.wine = 3SG.POSS
'because the sea had uprooted his palm-wine' (Kähler 1960a, 2.4)
b. Intransitive
be *b-a'ao* = *baha* e-baha:u-'u
because BU-die = also DIR-thought-1SG.POSS
i'ioo *ki-pa-rahaėaha:i* *hii* *da'adaha-'a:u*
OBL KI-RECIP-engaged and deceased.child-1SG.POSS
'because I also mourn (lit. my thoughts are also dead) for the engaged girl and my deceased child' (Kähler 1975 Kinderverlöbnis, 13.1)

From the examples in (12) and (13), we can see that A is marked differently from S/O, since A triggers agreement on the verb, and S/O do not. Consequently, these constructions have ergative alignment in their person-marking system. Note, importantly, that there is neutral alignment in terms of case-marking, since nominal S, A and O are all marked with the direct case marker *e-*, and the typical word order patterns outlined in section 3.1 also apply.

The same pattern of ergatively-aligned agreement is found regardless of whether arguments are expressed as full NPs, as in (12) and (13), or as pronouns/zero in (14) and (15):

(14) Enggano
a. Transitive (zero A, pronominal P)
a = *y-a'ioi* = *xa* 'ika*!*
CONJ = 3-follow = EMPH 1PL.INCL
'(then) he will follow us' (Kähler 1955, 5.10)
b. Intransitive (pronominal S)
a = *b-ai* kia *nã'ãnĩ*
CONJ = BU-come 3SG later
'when he comes later' (Kähler 1960a, 13.8)

(15) Enggano
a. Transitive (zero A, pronominal P)
be *i-pa-ka'a:ua'a:ė-a* kia *na'ani*
because 3-MID-know-FUT 3SG later
'because one would otherwise recognise him' (Kahler 1975 Rechtsprechung, 17.7)
c. Intransitive (pronominal S)
bE *bu-pua* kia *i'ioo'o:u*
because BU-run 3SG from.1SG
'because it has fled from me' (Kähler 1955, 10.6)

As discussed above, it is common for arguments to be encoded solely via person marking when they represent continuing discourse topics. In subordinate clauses marked with *a=* and *be*, this is the typical expression of A, as in (14a) and (15a). In contrast, when *a=* and *be* clauses contain S and O arguments that represent continuing topics, they are generally expressed using pronouns, as illustrated in (14a-b) and (15a-b). Consequently, the ergative alignment of person marking applies regardless of the expression of arguments.

It should be noted that both *a=* and *be* subordinate clauses may also contain *ki-* verbs. In the FLEX database, this is relatively common with *be* in examples like (17), and less frequent with *a=*, where (16) represents some of the handful of examples attested:

(16) Enggano
  a. Transitive
     a=’adiu=ha *ki-’ùdùha-’a* *’ua*
     CONJ=2PL=EMPH KI-startle-APPL 1SG
     ‘But if you startle me…’ (Kahler 1961, 3.17)
  b. Intransitive
     kia *k-Edo* *a=pE-apE* *a=kia* *k-aphuo*
     3SG KI-cry CONJ=PT-REDUP CONJ=3SG KI-ill
     ‘He cries as if he was sick’ (Kähler 1940 Grammar, 31.12)

(17) Enggano
  a. Transitive
     bE *kia* *k-a’Ekoi* *e-ici* *u-paE* *i’iõõ=nīã*
     because 3SG KI-follow DIR-word OBL-child OBL=3SG.POSS
     ‘Because he followed the child’s words to him…’ (Kähler 1955, 10.2)
  b. Intransitive
     bE *ki* *k-ahaːE-a* *m-ã’ãõã*
     because 3PL KI-go-FUT BA-catch.with.net
     ‘because they wanted to go hunting (with nets)’ (Kähler 1958, 4.5)

Much like main clauses, these subordinate structures are accusatively-aligned, at least in terms of word-order, since S/A occur in a preverbal position, whilst O occurs post-verbally. This is expected given that *ki-* clauses derive from the reanalysis of relative clauses and can therefore be assumed to be more innovative structures in these contexts (see section 2). The important point is that when a verbal structure is chosen in *a=* and *be* clauses that is not marked with *ki-* there is a very strict rule that transitive verbs occur in the bare form, with person marking for A, and intransitive verbs occur in *bu-* form without any person marking. This results in a pattern of ergative alignment.

3.3 Summary

The patterns of alignment in Enggano are summarised in Table 2. We interpret this as a pattern of split-ergativity according to clause-type. In section 4, we will now argue that the ergative pattern illustrated in section 3.2 represents a more conservative pattern by comparing with other Austronesian languages.

CLAUSE TYPE	PATTERN	EXAMPLE	ALIGNMENT
Main clauses (*bu-* verbs)	SET 1 agreement with S/A	(4)	Accusative (NOM2)
Negated clauses (bare verbs)	SET 2 agreement with S/A	(5)	Accusative (NOM1)
Purposive clauses (*ba-* verbs)	S/A pivot	(6)	Accusative
Purposive clauses (bare verbs)	SET 2 agreement with S/A	(7)	Accusative (NOM1)
Relative clauses (*ki-* verbs)	S/A pivot	(8) and (9)	Accusative
Word order (*ki-* verbs)	S/A pivot	(10)	Accusative
adjunct clauses with *a=* and *be*	SET 2 agreement with A S/O unmarked	(12)-(15)	Ergative

Table 2. Alignment in Enggano.

4. Alignment in Western Austronesian

Analysing alignment in Western Austronesian languages is complicated by the existence of symmetrical voice systems (see Himmelmann 2005, Riesberg 2014). Variation in the verbal morphology and morphological encoding of arguments, as well as the syntactic, semantic and discourse properties associated with the different voice constructions, has led to a longstanding debate as to whether the languages are ergative or have a different system of alignment altogether (see e.g. Aldridge 2012, 2021, Kaufman 2017, Chen & McDonnell 2019, Janic & Hemmings 2021 for discussion). Leaving the debate surrounding symmetrical voice languages and alignment aside, what is incontrovertible is that a number of languages in Sumatra and Sulawesi have developed systems of person marking from the symmetrical voice system that is typically reconstructed for Proto-Malayo-Polynesian, their common ancestor. We argue that the ergative pattern of person marking found in Enggano subordinate clauses is the conservative pattern since many languages in this area have developed a comparable system of ergatively-

aligned person marking that applies across all or most clause types (section 4.1). Moreover, we show that other Austronesian languages with split-alignment in their person marking tend to have an ergative pattern in basic main clauses and background subordinate clauses and mostly have accusative alignment in consecutive clauses (section 4.2) or irrealis/future clauses (section 4.3). Consequently, the Enggano system of having accusatively-aligned person marking with *bu-* clauses (NOM2) in basic main clauses is most likely a later innovation specific to Enggano.

4.1. Ergative alignment in person marking

Several languages in Sumatra and Sulawesi have developed an ergatively-aligned system of person marking.[3] An example from Sumatra is Northern Nias, another Barrier Island language:

(18) Northern Nias (Sumatra)
a. Transitive
ba *i-'a* *ono* *gö-nia*
CONJ 3SG-eat child MUT:food-3SG.GEN
'and the child ate her [=the ghost's] food'
b. Intransitive
no *mofanö* *n=ina-gu*
PFV go.away MUT=mother-3SG.GEN
'my mother has gone away' (Sundermann 1892: 346)

In Northern Nias, the basic transitive verb is expressed using a bare verb stem with agreement for A, as in (18a) where the verb root *'a* 'eat' is prefixed with the 3SG person marker *i-*. Intransitive verbs, like *mofanö* 'go away' in (18b), are often marked with a prefix that is cognate with the AV marker **-um-* (and by extension Enggano *bu-*). They do not take any person markers for S, as shown in (18b). Moreover, S (*n-ina-gu* 'my mother') and O (*gö-nia* 'her food') both occur in mutated form, whilst A does not. Consequently S/O are marked the same (mutation, no agreement) and A is marked differently (agreement, no mutation) and this constitutes ergative alignment (see Sundermann 1913: 16; Brown 2001: 69).

This pattern is invariable in Northern Nias and applies not only in main clauses but also in subordinate clauses. For example, consider the subordinate clauses in (19) headed by the conjunction *me* 'because' (probably cognate with Enggano *be*):

(19) Northern Nias (Sumatra)
a. Transitive
me *i-bunu* *mbawi-nia* *ba* *haja*
CONJ 3SG-kill MUT:pig-3SG.GEN LOC cage
'because he butchered his pigs in the cage' (Sundermann 1892: 403)

b. Intransitive
me *ahölihöli* *dodo-ra*
CONJ be.confused MUT:heart-3PL.GEN
'because they (lit. their hearts) were confused' (Sundermann 1892: 348)

Much like in (18), when the subordinate clause verb is transitive, the verb stem takes agreement for A, as shown in the form *i-bunu* 'kill' in (19a). In contrast, there is no agreement for O and no agreement for S, as shown in (19b). Similarly, both S and O are mutated, and A is not. Consequently, both main and subordinate clauses are ergatively aligned in Northern Nias.

Similarly, negated clauses do not behave differently from main clauses and subordinate clauses. Unlike Enggano, where agreement following negation is with S/A, in Northern Nias there is only agreement with A:

(20) Northern Nias (Sumatra)
a. Transitive
lö *i-be'e* *ira alawe*[4]
NEG 3SG-give woman
'the woman did not give [it] to him' (Sundermann 1892: 344)
b. Intransitive
lö *omasi* *Wuti*
NEG be.pleased MUT:Futi
'Futi was not pleased' (Sundermann 1892: 348)

Consequently, the ergative alignment pattern is attested across different constructions in Northern Nias.

Another Austronesian language with ergatively-aligned person marking is Makassar, a language of South Sulawesi:

(21) Makassar (Sulawesi)
a. Transitive
na=kanre=i *i=Ali* *unti-ku*
3=eat=3 PN=Ali banana-1SG.GEN
'Ali eats my banana'
b. Intransitive
A'lampa=i *i=Ali*
go=3 PN=Ali
'Ali goes' (Jukes 2020: 233)

In Makassar, there are two types of person markers: proclitics and enclitics. The proclitics agree with A, whilst the enclitics agree with S/O. Thus, Makassar also has an ergative alignment system that treats A differently from S/O.

As with Northern Nias, this pattern of alignment is found in many different contexts, including subordinate clauses following the clitic *ka* 'because' in (22):

(22) Makassar
a. Transitive
ka *le'ba'* *na=ado-i=mo=i*
because already 3=agree-APPL=PFV=3
'because he already agreed (it)' (Jukes 2020: 355)
b. Intransitive
ka *bata-bata=a'*
because REDUP-uncertain=1
'because I am worried' (Jukes 2020: 401)

In (22), A is cross-referenced using a proclitic, whilst S and O are cross-referenced with an enclitic. Consequently, Makassar is another language where ergative patterning is found across main and subordinate clauses.[5]

4.2. Split-alignment in person marking (NOM1)

Though many of the languages in Sumatra and Sulawesi developed ergative alignment, there are also languages with split-alignment in their person marking. There are two main patterns of accusative alignment attested, which we will call NOM1 and NOM2 for convenience:

(23) Accusative Alignment Types in Austronesian Agreement
NOM1: Agreement with S/A and bare verb stem
NOM2: Agreement with S/A and reflex of *-um-* + verb stem

The most frequently attested split involves an ergative pattern in main clauses and a NOM1 pattern in consecutive clauses. This can be illustrated from Mamasa, a language of South Sulawesi. Like Makassar, Mamasa has an ergatively-aligned system of proclitic agreement with A, and enclitic agreement with S/O in main clauses, as shown in (24):

(24) Mamasa
a. Transitive
ku-ita=ko
1SG-see=2SG
'I see you' (Matti 1994: 73)
b. Intransitive
torro=na' *yao* *Tanete*
dwell=1SG LOC Tanete
'I live in Tanete' (Matti 1994: 69)

However, in consecutive/purposive clauses, like (25), a different agreement system is found: S/A are both indexed with proclitics, and enclitics are reserved for O:

(25) Mamasa
a. Transitive
umba=mo=ko *ampo* [*ang-ku-ande=i* *ate-mu*]
where=PFV=2SG grandchild CNS-1SG-eat=3 liver-2SG
'Where are you grandchild? So that I can eat your liver' (Matti 1994: 78)
b. Intransitive
mai=mo=ko [*an-ta-lao*]
come=PFV=2SG CNS-1PL.INCL-go
'Come here and we'll go' (Matti 1994: 78)
c. Intransitive
samai' [*ang-ku-lao*]
yesterday CNS-1SG-go
'Yesterday I went' (Matti 1994: 79)

In main clauses, the person marker for S behaves like O in that it is enclitic, e.g. *=na'* '1SG' in (24b). In consecutive clauses marked with *aN-*, however, the person marker for S behaves like A since it is proclitic, e.g. *ta-* '1PL.INCL' in (25b). The same consecutive marker is also required following temporal adverbials like *samai'* 'yesteday' in (25c) and this confirms that the form for S is the same as for A, since 1SG is marked with *ku-* in both (26a) and (26c). Thus, Mamasa represents a case of split alignment: there is ergative patterning in main clauses, but accusative patterning in subordinate clauses. The accusative pattern is NOM1 since the same markers that exclusively mark A in transitive clauses, are extended to S in embedded intransitive clauses.

This type of split is reasonably widely attested in languages like Pamona, Tolaki, and Chamorro (see e.g. Wolff 2002, Zobel 2024). Mentawai also appears to have this alignment pattern based on a preliminary analysis of texts collected by Loeb (1929).

4.3 Split-alignment in person marking (NOM2)

Less frequently attested is NOM2 accusative alignment, where agreement with S/A is extended to clauses that contain a verb marked with a reflex of AV **um-*. These clauses take a different set of person markers to bare verb stems and, in most attested cases except Enggano, are restricted to irrealis contexts. Two examples are Mori Bawah (Sulawesi) and Southern Nias (Sumatra).

Like Makassar and Mamasa, Mori Bawah has ergatively-aligned person marking in realis main clauses:

(26) Mori Bawah (Sulawesi)
a. Transitive
ku-tena *ira* *mia* *otolu*
1SG-order 3PL person three
'I sent out three people' (Esser & Mead 2011: 108)
b. Intransitive
mahaki *ira*
sick 3PL
'They are sick' (Esser & Mead 2011: 105)

This is an ergative pattern as A is expressed by a person-marking prefix, e.g. *ku-* '1SG' in (26a), whilst S/O are encoded by enclitic person markers or free pronouns, e.g. *ira* '3PL'. Since A is marked differently and S/O the same, this is another instance of ergative alignment. This is true in verb-initial clauses regardless of whether S/A are pronominal or nominal, as shown in (27):[6]

(27) Mori Bawah (Sulawesi)
a. Transitive
i-poboi-o-mo *i* *Bibiundi*
3SG-call-3SG-PFV PN Wild.Duck
'Wild Duck called him' (Esser & Mead 2011: 116)
b. Intransitive
molai-o-mo *i* *Bange*
flee-3SG-PFV PN monkey
'Monkey set off at a run' (Esser & Mead 2011: 116)

And the same pattern is preserved in at least some background subordinate clauses, including those headed by the conjunction *nde* 'because' in (28):

(28) Mori Bawah (Sulawesi)
a. Transitive
nde *do-tutuwi-ako-no* *mata-no*
because 3PL-close-APPL-3SG eye-3SG.POSS
'because they had her eyes closed…' (Esser & Mead 2011: 230)
b. Intransitive
nde *me-momee* *ira-mo*
because PL-afraid 3PL-PFV
'because they had become afraid' (Esser & Mead 2011: 130)

Since S/O are marked the same (through enclitics and post-verbal pronouns) and A is marked differently (through prefixes), Mori Bawah *nde* subordinate clauses can be said to have ergatively-aligned person marking.

However, like Mamasa, Mori Bawah has developed a NOM1 pattern in embedded consecutive clauses, (29), and like Enggano, Mori Bawah also has a NOM1 pattern of alignment following negation, (30):

(29) Mori Bawah (Sulawesi)
a. Transitive
ka *ku-po-wee-ko* *pakuli* *melere*
that 1SG-TRI-give-2SG medicine UM:have.garden
'so that I will give you the magic spells for the agriculture…'
(Esser & Mead 2011: 221)
a. Intransitive
ka *ku-'aiwa* *s[um]apoi* *komiu*
that 1SG-come <UM> make.war 2PL
'so that I should come make war on you all' (Esser & Mead 2011: 221)

(30) Mori Bawah (Sulawesi)
a. Transitive
nahi *ku-to'ori-o* *atuu*
NEG 1SG-know-3SG that
'I do not know that' (Esser & Mead 2011: 148)
a. Intransitive
nahi *ku-momee*
NEG 1SG-afraid
'I am not afraid' (Esser & Mead 2011: 202)

In (29) and (30), the person marker used for S is the same prefix used for A. This represents a NOM1 pattern since the verb is bare and the marking for A is extended to S.[8]

Furthermore, in addition to the NOM1 pattern in (30) and (31), Mori Bawah also has a NOM2 pattern where the verb is marked with a reflex of **-um-*, and a different set of person markers. The different pronoun sets in Mori Bawah are summarised in Table 3.

	FREE/CLITIC PRONOUNS (S/O IN MAIN CLAUSES)	SET 1 (S/A IN FUTURE CLAUSES)	SET 2 (A IN MAIN CLAUSES, S/A IN CONSECUTIVE CLAUSES)
1SG	=aku	aku=/ku-	ku-
2SG	-ko	iko=/ko-	u-
3SG	-o	ita=/ta-	i-
1PL.INCL	=kita	kita=	to-
1PL.EXCL	=kami	kami=	ki-
2PL	=komiu	(i)komiu=	i-
3PL	=ira	ira=	do-

Table 3. Mori Bawah pronouns and person markers (Esser & Mead 2011: 95).

As shown in (31), the NOM2 pattern occurs in main clauses but these always have a future interpretation:

(31) Mori Bawah (Sulawesi)

a. Transitive

aku = <*um*> *ala-o*	*ari*	*ongkue*	*i*	*Bonti-bonti*
1SG = <UM> take-3SG	first	1SG	PN	Little.Wild.Pig

'I will take Little Wild Pig' (Esser & Mead 2011: 119)

b. Intransitive

aku = *l* <*um*> *ako*	*i*	*ToBungku*
1SG = <UM> go	PN	Bungku

'I will go to Bungku' (Esser & Mead 2011: 423, fn 31)

In (31a), the verb takes a proclitic marker for A. In (31b), the verb takes a proclitic marker for S. Since S/A are marked alike (via proclitics), and O is marked differently (via enclitics), this represents accusative alignment. Consequently, Mori Bawah has split-alignment with ergative alignment in main and background subordinate clauses, NOM1 alignment in consecutive and negated clauses, and NOM2 alignment in future clauses.

As for Southern Nias, it is like Northern Nias in having ergatively-aligned person marking in realis main clauses: transitive verbs occur with a person marker for A (SET 2), whilst intransitive verbs do not take a person marker for S. Moreover, it also has the same pattern of mutation for S/O arguments but not for A (see Brown 2001). However, unlike Northern Nias, Southern Nias also has a clause-type that Brown (2001) describes as denoting irrealis mood where the verb takes an allomorph of *um-* (cognate with Enggano *bu-*) and a different set of person markers (SET 1). These person markers attach to both transitive and intransitive irrealis verbs and hence agreement is with S/A and alignment is NOM2 accusative. The two sets of person markers as well as mutated and unmutated free pronouns in Nias are summarised in Table 4:

	FREE PRONOUNS (UNMUTATED/ MUTATED)	SET 1 (S/A IN IRREALIS CLAUSES)	SET 2 (A IN REALIS CLAUSES)
1SG	ya'o/ndrao	gu-	u-
2SG	ya'ugö/ndraugö	gö-	ö-
3SG	ya'ia/ya	ya-	i-
1PL.INCL	ya'ita/ita	da-	ta-
1PL.EXCL	ya'aga/ndraga	ga-	ma-
2PL	ya'ami/mi	gi-	mi-
3PL	ya'ira/ira	ndra-	la-

Table 4. Southern Nias pronouns and person markers (Brown 2001: 123-124).

The ergative pattern is illustrated in (32) in Southern Nias realis main clauses:

(32) Southern Nias (Sumatra)
a. Transitive
Ma=i-cici-ni *mbatö* *asu.*
PFV=3-defecate-TR MUT:floor dog
'The dog has defecated on the floor' (Brown 2001: 250)
b. Intransitive
m-oloi *nasu* *na* *mo-huguhugu* *mbanua*
UM-run.away MUT:dog if INTR-thunder MUT:sky
'The dog runs away when it thunders' (Brown 2001: 206)

Much like Northern Nias, the transitive verb *cicini* 'defecate.APPL' in (32a) takes the SET 2 3SG marker *i-*. In contrast, there is no person marking for O. Similarly, there is no person marking for S in (32b) and the verb is marked with *-um-*. Finally, when *dog* is an S argument, as in (32b), it appears in mutated form (*nasu*) like the O argument of (32a), *mbatö* 'MUT:floor'. When *dog* is an A argument, as in (32a), however, it appears in unmutated form (*asu*). Consequently, following the same logic as for Northern Nias, we can say that realis main clauses are ergatively aligned.

Again, like Northern Nias, this pattern extends to subordinate clauses, such as 'if/when' clauses marked with *na*:

(33) Southern Nias (Sumatra)
a. Transitive
na *ö-huβu-ni* *ya*
if 2SG-associate.with-TR MUT:3SG
'If you associate with him' (Brown 2001: 287)
b. Intransitive
Na *moi* *ya* *lawa*
if go MUT:3SG high
'If he goes up high' (Brown 2001: 150)

In (33), A is the only argument cross-referenced by person marking and S/O both appear in mutated form. Consequently, Southern Nias has ergative alignment in both main and subordinate realis clauses.

In contrast, alignment in irrealis clauses follows the NOM2 pattern, as shown in (34):

(34) Southern Nias (Sumatra)
a. Transitive
ya-m-balö *gefe* *Ama Dali*
3SG-UM-borrow MUT:money Ama Dali
'Ama Dali wants to borrow money' (Brown 2001: 502)
b. Intransitive

ya-m-a-nana	*nono-nia*	*ba*	*va-a-lio*
3SG-UM-ANTIP-hand	MUT:child-3SG.POSS	LOC	MUT:NMLZ-ST-quick

'Her child will be crawling soon' (Brown 2001: 562)

This can be considered a NOM2 pattern since the verbs in (34) take a reflex of **-um-* and a set of person markers that differ from those used in ergative clauses. It represents an accusatively-aligned pattern since S/A are marked via an agreement prefix, *ya-* '3SG', whilst O is not. However, note that case-marking continues to be ergatively-aligned, since overt NPs marking S/O take mutation, whilst A does not.

Apart from Mori Bawah and Southern Nias, the NOM2 pattern is only attested in Mori Atas, Bungku and Padoe: all members of the Bungku-Tolaki branch of Celebic with Mori Bawah. In all of these languages basic main clauses (and background subordinate clauses) still have ergatively-aligned agreement so Enggano is unique in having extended the NOM2 pattern to realis main clauses.[9]

4.4 Summary

The patterns of alignment across the languages surveyed are summarised in Table 5, where a tick indicates that the pattern is attested, and grey shading indicates that the pattern is used for realis main clauses:

	ERG	NOM1	NOM2
Northern Nias	✓	x	x
Makassar	✓	x	x
Mamasa	✓	✓	x
Mori Bawah	✓	✓	✓
Southern Nias	✓	x	✓
Enggano	✓	✓	✓

Table 5. Alignment in person marking in Sumatra & Sulawesi.

As illustrated in Table 5, in all of the languages surveyed except Enggano, the ergative pattern is the one used in realis main clauses, and typically attested in background subordinate clauses too. Accusative patterns are confined either to purposive/consecutive clauses or following negation (NOM1), and/or main clauses in irrealis mood (NOM2). Given the prevalence of the ergative pattern in Sumatra and Sulawesi, we can think of the ergative pattern in Enggano subordinate clauses marked with *a=* and *be* as representing the original or more conservative alignment. This begs the question of how the particular pattern of splitalignment in Enggano arose. In section 5, we will try to sketch an answer to this.

5. Historical developments

It is generally assumed that Proto-Malayo-Polynesian had a symmetrical voice system. Hence, we assume that the first stage of development in the history of Enggano is the development of the ergative agreement pattern that Enggano shares with numerous languages of Indonesia, including those surveyed in this paper (see Wolff 1996, 2002, Himmelmann 1996, Ross 2002, Zobel 2002, 2024). Ergatively-aligned agreement is thought to have developed through a number of (potentially) independent changes from symmetrical voice systems:[10]

(35) Development of Ergative Pattern
1. AV **-um-* becomes a marker of intransitive main clauses (though is preserved in some embedded transitive clause types)
2. Auxiliary constructions with dependent UV forms (bare verb) become the basic means of expressing TAM information
3. UV morphology *(*-in-, *-en*) is restricted to nominalisations
4. An innovative transitive construction develops with proclitic person markers attached to a bare verb stem.

The development of proclitic person markers is widely thought to result from the reanalysis of fronted genitive enclitics in auxiliary constructions with dependent UV forms (which were equivalent to the bare verb stem) (see Zobel 2024, Wolff 1996, Sirk 1996, Ross 2002, 2006, Starosta *et al.* 1982). This is schematised in Figure 2 below:

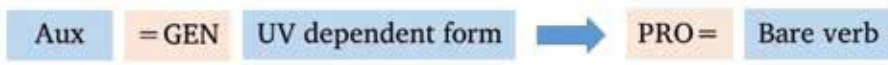

Figure 2. Development of Proclitic Agreement in Austronesian.

The proposed source of the proclitic forms would explain why agreement markers with A in ergative constructions, and with S in NOM1 constructions (including Enggano SET 2 markers) often appear cognate with the PMP genitive enclitic set.

The next stage is the development of the NOM1 pattern, which is less widespread than the ergative pattern but still reasonably widely attested (see Wolff 2002, Zobel 2024, and section 4.2). It involves the extension of proclitic person marking to intransitive clauses on analogy with transitive clauses, as schematised in Figure 3. This development results in two ways of marking intransitive clauses: using the inherited *-um-* marker without agreement; and using the innovative constructions with proclitic person marking. We argue that the inherited construction remains the main clause strategy, whilst the innovative construction

is restricted to subordinate consecutive/purposive clauses and perhaps negated clauses. Importantly, the innovative strategy is *not* used in adjunct subordinate clauses that provide background information (the *a=* and *be* clause-type) which are treated like main clauses. This analysis not only helps to explain split-alignment in Enggano but is supported by the existence of languages like Mamasa that have exactly this split (see section 4.2). That purposive clauses would be the locus of innovation makes sense since control often involves an S/A pivot, providing some motivation for extending the marking of A to intransitive clauses in this context (see Dixon 1994, Falk 2006).

Figure 3. Development of the NOM1 pattern.

The next stage is the development of the NOM2 pattern, where person marking of S/A is extended to clauses containing verbs marked with a reflex of **-um-*. Since this development is rare, Zobel (2024) argues that it is most-likely an independent development in the Barrier Islands (Southern Nias and Enggano) and Bungku-Tolaki languages (Mori Bawah, Mori Atas, Bungku, Padoe). In Mori Bawah, proclitic person markers in NOM2 constructions are virtually identical to the post-verbal subject pronouns in intransitive clauses. For this reason, Mead (1998: 340) argued that they derived from complex clauses with an intransitive matrix verb expressing intent (e.g. 'want', 'go') followed by an embedded complement clause containing an *-um-* marked verb. This is schematised in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Development of the NOM2 construction.

Eventually, the matrix verb was dropped, and the pronoun was captured to the predicate in much the same way as hypothesised for the development of ergative agreement in Figure 1. The formal match between the NOM2 proclitic person markers and free-standing pronouns is less perfect in Enggano (see Table 1), but it is quite plausible that the construction emerged in the same way. Later, levelling across the agreement paradigms could have followed from the fact that the functional difference between nominative and genitive pronouns in PMP has

been lost, since both SET 1 and SET 2 markers are accusatively-aligned (see section 3.1). The source of the NOM2 construction (in multi-clause structures expressing intent) would also explain the restriction to irrealis clauses in Mori Bawah and Southern Nias.[11]

The final stage of development is that the NOM2 construction becomes the default clause type in main clauses. We assume that it started out as a marked construction, like Mori Bawah and Southern Nias, but was then extended to realis clauses. For whatever reason, *a=* and *be* subordinate clauses were not affected by this change and retained the original alignment pattern that is still seen in both realis main clauses and *nde* subordinate clauses in Mori Bawah (see section 4.3). This morphological conservatism resulted in the unusual pattern of split-alignment in Enggano (see section 3.2). Why this happens in Enggano and not elsewhere in Sumatra/Sulawesi is a matter for future research.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, we have shown that Enggano subordinate clauses with *a=* 'if/when' and *be* 'because' have an ergative alignment pattern that is not found elsewhere in the grammar (section 3). We have argued that this represents the more conservative pattern on the basis of evidence from other Austronesian languages (section 4). We also presented a series of (ordered) historical developments that could account for the spread of alignment systems in Austronesian person marking, and the typologically unusual status of Enggano as a language with NOM2 alignment in realis main clauses and ERG alignment in subordinate clauses when the dominant pattern is to have ergative alignment in realis main clauses and accusative alignment elsewhere (section 5).

Returning to the question at the heart of this special issue, *a=* and *be* subordinate clauses in Enggano would seem to fit with the crosslinguistic trend for subordinate clauses to be more conservative than main clauses (e.g. Bybee *et al.* 1994, Bybee 2002, Givón 1977, 1979, Hock 2021, Hyman 1975, Crowley & Bowern 2010). However, equally, other types of subordinate clause in Enggano appear to be more innovative than main clauses. In particular, consecutive/purposive clauses seem to play a crucial role in the development of NOM1 accusative alignment (section 4.2), and relative clauses appear to be the source of innovation for the development of the SVO *ki-* construction (section 2). Consequently, our study provides further support for the idea that synchronic patterns arise as the result of historical processes that may affect different types of subordinate clause in different ways (cf. Dixon 1994).

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 = first, second, third person; ABA = Enggano verbal morphology marking consecutive action; APPL = applicative; AV = actor voice; BA = Enggano verbal morphology marking embedded purposive constructions; BU = Enggano verbal morphology, cognate with **-um-*; CONJ = conjunction; CNS = consecutive; DEM = demonstrative; DIR = direct case; DU = dual; EMPH = emphatic; KI = Enggano verbal morphology; EXCL = exclusive; FUT = future; GEN = genitive case; GER = gerund; INCL = inclusive; INTR = intransitive; LNK = linker; LOC = locative; MID = middle voice; MUT = mutation; NEG = negator; NMLZ = nominalizer; NOM = nominative case; NOM1 = accusative alignment on bare verb stems; NOM2 = accusative alignment on verb stems with *bu-/-um-*; OBL = oblique case; PASS = passive; PFV = perfective; PL = plural; PN = proper noun; POSS = possessive; PRED = predicate marker; PT = particle; RECIP = reciprocal; REDUP = reduplication; REL = relativizer; REP = repeated action; SG = singular; ST = stative; TR = transitive; TRI = transitive indefinite object; UM = Austronesian verbal morphology, reflex of AV **-um-* and cognate with Enggano *bu-*; UV = undergoer voice; VBLZ = verbalizer.

Notes

[1] Based on a search of the FLEX database, we conclude that A is rarely, if ever, expressed as a free pronoun with either *bu-* verbs or bare verbs. There are some examples in which A may be represented as a pronoun but these are always ambiguous. When topical and given, O is typically expressed as a pronoun though there are examples of zero anaphora for O too. Finally, S may be expressed using a free pronoun but also via zero anaphora and person markers, as with A.

[2] See Kähler (1940) and Hemmings (*in prep.*) for discussion of allomorphy in relation to the person markers in Table 1, and the verbal markers *ki-* and *bu-*.

[3] This is not to say that any of the languages are syntactically ergative. See e.g. Jukes (2020) for discussion of grammatical relations in Makassar.

[4] In the original story, *ira* and *alawe* are written as two words. From the dictionary, we understand *ira alawe* to be a lexicalisation meaning 'woman/women'. Brown (2001) describes *ira* as having a collective function for human nouns.

[5] Note that negation in Makassar triggers an interesting pattern of clitic-fronting, whereby S is always cross-referenced using a proclitic from the A set. However, this pattern is not exactly the same as the NOM1 pattern outlined for Enggano, and in section 4.2 below, since the same process optionally applies to O too (see Jukes 2020: 236-238 for discussion).

[6] Note, however, that it is also possible to have subject-initial word order in which case intransitive verbs do not need to bear an agreement marker with 3SG S at all (see Esser & Mead 2011: 115).

[7] In this section, glosses are unified to UM for ease of comparison.

[8] The same NOM1 pattern is used for 'if/when' clauses marked with the conjunction *ba* 'if'.

[9] Agreement-marking following NOM1 and NOM2-patterns is also found in Palauan and the MunaButon branch of Celebic. In these languages, however, earlier ergatively-aligned clause types have left no trace.

[10] It remains a matter of debate whether this innovation occurred once in a common intermediate parent language of all languages where it occurs (Zobel 2002,

2024; Ross 2002) or rather emerged independently in several places (Himmelmann 1996, Wolff 2002).

[11] Alternatively, it is possible that this goes back to the tendency for AV to be unmarked in irrealis contexts in more conservative languages, whilst UV is unmarked in realis contexts (see Katagiri 2005 on Tagalog).

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