

# Grammaticalization of *kidè* as a similative marker in Contemporary Enggano

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This paper presents a case study of similatives in Enggano, an Austronesian language spoken in Sumatra, Indonesia. It compares and contrasts the expression of similarity in Old Enggano versus Contemporary Enggano using legacy materials collected in 1930s, and a modern corpus collected since 2018 as part of an ongoing language documentation project. It demonstrates that the Old Enggano verb *doo* ‘be.similar’ has undergone a number of changes in Contemporary Enggano that are consistent with a process of grammaticalization and argues that this process is facilitated by contact with Indonesian, which provides a template for many of the semantic extensions through its comparison marker *seperti*. Ultimately, this supports the view that both language internal and language external factors may play a role in the development of similatives.

**Keywords:** similatives, Enggano, Austronesian, grammaticalization, language contact

## Introduction

This paper presents a case study of similatives in Enggano, an Austronesian language spoken on Enggano Island off the south coast of Sumatra, Indonesia. In the paper, we compare and contrast the expression of similarity in Old Enggano and Contemporary Enggano. We do this by comparing legacy materials collected in 1930s by Hans Kähler (1940, 1955–64, 1975) with a modern corpus collected since 2018 as part of an ongoing language documentation project (Sangian et al., 2024). We demonstrate that there are changes in the use of *kidè* in Contemporary Enggano that may reflect both language contact with Indonesian, as well as recognised grammaticalization pathways (Treis & Vanhove, 2017).

The paper is structured as follows. Section 1 provides some background on Enggano and presents the two data corpora used to analyse the expression of sim-

ilarity. Section 2 presents the expression of similarity in Old Enggano and argues that *doo* ‘be.similar’ is a verbal root that can take the full range of verbal markers. Section 3 presents the expression of similarity in Contemporary Enggano and argues that the contemporary cognate *dè/kidè* is grammaticalizing as a simulative on the basis of its distribution. The final section concludes the paper.

## 1. Background on Enggano

The Enggano language is spoken on Enggano Island, in Bengkulu province off the south coast of Sumatra, Indonesia, by approximately 1,600 people (see Arka et al., forthcoming). Although the genetic affiliation of the language has been a matter of some debate (see Blench, 2014; Capell, 1982), Enggano is now generally classified as an Austronesian language (Nothofer, 1986; Edwards, 2015; Smith, 2017; Billings & McDonnell, 2024; Krauß, forthcoming) and certainly has some common Austronesian features in its morphosyntax, as we will outline below, though it differs from the ‘Indonesian-type’ symmetrical voice languages that are otherwise prevalent in the area (see e.g. Arka & Ross, 2005).

There are six major settlements on Enggano Island (see Map 1), all situated along the north coast. As a result of increased migration since the 1960s, these villages have both Enggano and non-Enggano populations. All speakers of Enggano are multilingual, with at least the national language, Indonesian,<sup>1</sup> but also potentially Bengkulu Malay, an important lingua franca in Bengkulu Province, and other local languages such as Serawai Malay, Barrier Island languages and Batak languages (see e.g. Yoder, 2011; Hemmings & Arka, 2023). Inter-ethnic communication typically takes place in Indonesian. However, speakers are increasingly shifting to Indonesian even with other Enggano-speaking friends, or code-switching between Enggano and Indonesian, meaning that Indonesian is an important part of speakers’ linguistic repertoires (see Arka et al., 2022; Arka et al., forthcoming; Hemmings & Arka, 2023). As a result of this process of language shift, Contemporary Enggano can be classed as an endangered language (see Arka et al., forthcoming).

Enggano has a relatively long history of documentation,<sup>2</sup> starting with early word-lists and some texts collected in the mid-to-late 19th century (e.g. Boewang, 1854; von Rosenberg, 1855; Van der Straaten & Severijn, 1855; Walland, 1864;

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1. Understood as a cover term to include the formal variety, Standard Indonesian, as well as colloquial varieties that are used in daily life.

2. See Arka (2018, forthcoming) for further discussion of language documentation in a wider Indonesian context.



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

Oudemans, 1879; Helfrich & Pieters, 1891; Helfrich, 1893, 1916; the Holle list, collected in 1895 and published in Stokhof, 1987). However, the most important legacy materials that exist for Enggano were collected by the German scholar Hans Kähler during a seven-month stay on Enggano Island in the mid-1930s, before Indonesian Independence and before Standard Indonesian was developed and used as the national language of Indonesia. On the basis of data collected during this trip, Kähler published a sketch grammar (Kähler, 1940) and a series of naturalistic texts in combination with their German translation (Kähler, 1955, 1957, 1958, 1960a, 1960b, 1961, 1962, 1964, 1975). Finally, he collected detailed notes regarding the Enggano lexicon, which was posthumously published as an Enggano-German dictionary (Kähler, 1987).<sup>3</sup> In this paper, we will henceforth refer to these materials as *Old Enggano*. As part of our research, the Kähler grammar examples and text collection were translated into English and Indonesian, and subsequently analysed using the Fieldworks Explorer (FLEX) software to provide morphological glossing and enable concordance searching (Dalrymple et al., 2024). The corpus totals 38613 words and approximately 5000 sentences.

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3. Unfortunately, we do not have access to original fieldnotes and hence it is impossible to say how much the materials have been edited (see e.g. Dobrin, 2021). Nonetheless, they give us an opportunity to explore language change when compared against contemporary materials.

Work on Enggano conducted after the period of Kähler's research (e.g. Schmidt, 1988; Nothofer, 1986; Yoder, 2011; Wijaya, 2018 etc.) has revealed that the language has undergone large-scale changes in its morpho-phonology. In particular, the final vowel of every word is regularly deleted (see Smith, 2020: 349). We can assume that the final vowel was present at the time of Kähler's research on the basis that (a) it is also documented in earlier wordlists such as Helfrich (1916) and (b) it resurfaces under suffixation in Contemporary Enggano wordforms. These patterns are illustrated in Table 1:<sup>4</sup>

**Table 1.** Final vowel deletion in Contemporary Enggano

Helfrich form	Kähler form	Contemporary form	Meaning
<i>lopo</i>	<i>dopo</i>	<i>dop</i>	'land'
<i>n/a</i>	<i>e-dopo-ka</i>	<i>dopo-k</i>	'our land'
<i>kie-pöa</i>	<i>ki-pəa</i>	<i>ki-pü</i>	'see'
<i>e-poea-hha=dia</i>	<i>e-pəa-ha=dia</i>	<i>pua-h=de</i>	'his appearance'

As shown in Table 1, the Old Enggano root forms *dopo* 'land' and *pəa* 'see' regularly lose their final vowel to become *dop* and *pü* in Contemporary Enggano. However, these vowels resurface under suffixation with possessive suffixes (e.g. *dopok* 'our land/country') or with nominalisation suffixes (e.g. *püah* 'appearance' from the root *pü* 'see'). Other important phonological changes are documented in Hemmings & Tan (forthcoming) including the potential shift from /o/ to schwa, which affects *kidè*, the putative simulative marker in Contemporary Enggano (see Section 3). These changes, coupled with the changing sociolinguistic context, provided the motivation for our AHRC-funded documentation project into Contemporary Enggano.<sup>5</sup>

Following the standard methods of Language Documentation (see e.g. Himmelmann, 1998, 2006; Austin, 2010, 2016; Woodbury, 2003, 2011) the Contemporary Enggano documentation project sought to collect a corpus of audio

4. The spellings of items in legacy materials are taken from Helfrich (1916) and Kähler (1987). Although the spellings are quite different, we assume that the pronunciation is the same and that the orthographic differences simply reflect different conventions among Dutch speakers and German speakers at the time. For discussion of orthography in Contemporary Enggano, see Hemmings et al. (2023). It is worth noting that we believe the central vowel in the verb 'to see' is [i] at all three time periods, despite the different orthographic representations <ö>, <ə> and <ü>.

5. <https://enggano.ling-phil.ox.ac.uk/>. We gratefully acknowledge the support of the Enggano community, as well as the financial support of the Arts & Humanities Research Council, UK (grant AH/S011064/1).

and video recordings, spanning a range of genres from word-lists to structural elicitation to naturalistic texts. Some of the naturalistic texts collected are similar in terms of topic to the cultural descriptions and folk stories published in the Kähler text collection. The materials were initially transcribed and translated into Indonesian by Engga Zakaria Sanggjan, an Enggano speaker and member of the project team. These materials were subsequently translated into English by colleagues at Udayana University, Bali, and then processed using the FLEx software in order to provide morphological glossing and enable concordance searching (Hemmings et al., 2024). The glossed Contemporary Enggano corpus has a total of 32679 words and just over 8000 sentences.<sup>6</sup>

### 1.1 Old Enggano morphosyntax

Based on analysis of the Kähler materials, this section briefly outlines the key properties of Old Enggano morphosyntax in order to enable better understanding of similarity in Old Enggano (Section 2). In Old Enggano, a key distinction was made between nouns and verbs since nouns occur with one of three case markers (Table 2), whilst verbs occur in one of three basic constructions (Table 3) (see Kähler, 1940).

**Table 2.** Nominal case markers in Old Enggano

Marker	Case	Function
<i>e-</i>	direct	subject and objects
<i>u-</i>	oblique	obliques and possessors
<i>i-</i>	locative	locations

**Table 3.** Verbal constructions in Old Enggano

Verbal construction	Function
<i>ki-</i>	SVO main clauses and relative clauses
<i>bu-</i> + Set 1 agreement	VSO main clauses
<i>bare</i> + Set 2 agreement	negated clauses, consecutive clauses

6. The slightly higher number of sentence segments reflects the fact that we have typically segmented Contemporary Enggano recordings into clauses, whereas the Kähler materials were segmented according to how they were written in the original publications and consequently include a higher number of multi-clausal sentence structures.

This can be illustrated by looking at examples of the three main constructions in use in (1). Unless indicated otherwise, Old Enggano examples are cited from the Dalrymple et al. (2024) Flex corpus and follow the orthography used therein:

(1) Old Enggano

a. *ki-* construction

*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-* + Set 1 agreement construction

*Ka-bu-pua=da'a e-dahao=dia e-ka'a:i'io.*

3<sub>Set1</sub>-BU-see=EMPH DIR-niece=3SG.POSS DIR-spear

'His niece saw the spear'

(Kähler, 1975, *Krieg*, 29.18)

c. bare + Set 2 agreement construction

*KaupE i-paka'ā:ūā'ā ka-po'ināmō e-pūaha u-kaka e'ana.*

not,yet 3<sub>Set2</sub>-know DIR.PL-maiden DIR-look OBL-person DEM

'The maidens didn't know yet the appearance of the person'

(Kähler, 1940, *Grammar*, 24.15)

As shown in (1a–c), the core arguments of verbs take the direct case marker *e-*, regardless of the verbal construction. The oblique marker, among other functions, is used for the possessor, e.g. *u-kaka e'ana* 'of the person' in (1c). Verbs, both transitive and intransitive, can occur in one of three constructions. In the *ki-* verb construction, the word order is SV or SVO and the verb takes an allomorph of *ki-*, as shown in (1a). In the *bu-* verb construction in main clauses, the verb takes an allomorph of *bu-*<sup>7</sup> and occurs with a set of agreement markers for the features of S/A. The resulting construction is verb-initial and typically occurs in contexts where the subject is a continuing discourse topic. Consequently, the subject is very often expressed through the bound pronominal only, without an overt subject like in (1b). Finally, the bare verb construction is typically found following negation, e.g. *kaupe* 'not yet' and *keo/kea* 'not'. It involves the bare stem combining with a second set of agreement markers for S/A. As seen in the comparison of (1b) and (1c), in various parts of the paradigm, Set 1 and Set 2 forms are not the same. The full paradigm of agreement markers and pronouns is given in Table 4 (see also Zobel & Hemmings, 2024):

7. Enggano has a word-level pattern of nasal harmony (see Smith, 2020; Yoder, 2011) which results in *bu-* having a nasal allomorph *m(u)-* when attaching to roots/stems containing nasal vowels or consonants. In subordinate clauses, *bu-* can occur without agreement markers indicating a non-finite form.

**Table 4.** Pronouns and agreement in Old Enggano (Kähler, 1940: 106)

	Free pronoun	Set 1 (with <i>bu-</i> verbs)	Set 2 (with bare verbs)
1SG	' <i>ua</i>	' <i>u-</i>	' <i>u-</i>
2SG	' <i>ò</i>	' <i>o-</i>	<i>u-</i>
3SG	<i>kia</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>i-</i>
1DU.INCL	' <i>ika</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>
1PL.INCL	' <i>ika'a</i>	<i>ka- -a'a</i>	<i>ka -a'a</i>
1PL.EXCL	' <i>ai</i>	' <i>u- 'ai</i>	' <i>u- -ai</i>
2PL	<i>adiu/aduu/aruu</i>	' <i>o- -a'a</i>	<i>u- -a'a</i>
3PL	<i>ki</i>	<i>da-, di-, ki-</i>	<i>da-</i>

Finally, in addition to the basic forms, roots may occur with a number of derivational markers which are almost certainly cognate with Austronesian formatives. These include *pa-* 'causative/middle'; *di-* 'passive', *aH-* 'antipassive'<sup>8</sup> and *-i/-a'a* 'applicatives'. These may occur in both verbal structures, in which case the derived stem combines with *ki-*, *bu-* and agreement markers, or in nominalised structures, in which case the derived stem additionally takes one of the case markers in Table 2.

Note that there is a class of verbs (henceforth *class two*) which never takes an overt allomorph of *bu-*, but can co-occur with the Set 1 agreement markers. With these verbs, we understand the presence of Set 1 agreement markers by themselves to mark the *bu-* verb construction. Examples are given below:

(2) Old Enggano

a. *Ka-pu'uda=ha e-ko'E'E e'ana.*

3<sub>Set1</sub>-fall=EMPH DIR-devil DEM

'The devil fell'

(Kähler 1955, 10.2)

b. *Ke'anaha da-pari'o=ha e-ü'üdüa'a e-kixii*

then 3<sub>PL,Set1</sub>-make=EMPH DIR-barrier DIR-rattan

'Then they make a barrier of rattan'

(Kähler, 1975, *Damonen-Vorstellungen*, 25.1)

## 1.2 Contemporary Enggano morphosyntax

The morphosyntax of Contemporary Enggano is similar in many ways to that of Old Enggano. The major change is to nominal case-marking. As shown in Table 2,

8. Cognate with the homorganic nasal that marks actor voice in many languages (see e.g. Edwards, 2015).

all Old Enggano nouns took a case marker, which could be direct, oblique or locative depending on grammatical function. In Contemporary Enggano, the direct case marker *e-* has become optional for subjects and objects and seems to serve an emphatic function when used (see Hemmings (forthcoming a) for discussion). The locative case marker *i* survives but appears to behave more like a preposition, and the oblique marker *u-* is no longer used to mark possessors and other oblique functions, and is only found in some fossilized compounds. Consequently, the main distinction between nouns and verbs in Contemporary Enggano is that verbs are required to appear in one of the three main verbal constructions (i.e. marked with *ki-*, *bu-* and agreement markers), whilst nouns often take no marking at all. This is illustrated in (3). Again, unless indicated otherwise, examples are cited from the Hemmings et al. (2024) FLEx database of glossed texts:

(3) Contemporary Enggano

a. *ki-* construction

*Pa ean ki-kakarai be ean.*

child DEM KI-chase dog DEM

‘The child chases the dog’

(Voice, 218.1)

b. *bu-* verb + Set 1 agreement construction

*Na`an ka-b-hua be yeara-b.*

later 3<sub>Set1</sub>-BU-bite dog child-2SG.POSS

‘Or later a dog will bite your child’

(Erik Elicitation 03, 33.1)

c. bare verb + Set 2 agreement construction

*Ki ke' y-abè pa ean.*

3SG NEG 3<sub>Set2</sub>-hit child DEM

‘He didn’t hit the child’

(Voice – Extra Elicitation, 21.1)

Much like in Old Enggano (see Section 1.1), the *ki-* verb construction involves the root plus an allomorph of *ki-* and results in an SV/SVO structure. The *bu-* verb construction may be verb-initial, as in (2b), but may also be subject initial (see Hemmings, forthcoming b; Hemmings & Arka, 2023). It involves an allomorph of *bu-* (often shortened to *b-* as in (2b) via medial vowel deletion in the presence of agreement marking). It combines with the first set of agreement markers. These again differ from the second set of agreement markers that occur with bare verb stems following negation, as illustrated in (2c). In general, arguments are not marked with any case markers. Nominal possessors appear following the possessed noun but no longer occur in the oblique case (see Hemmings, forthcoming a). The full set of agreement markers is found in Table 5:

**Table 5.** Pronouns and agreement in Contemporary Enggano

	Free pronoun	Set 1 (with <i>bu-</i> verbs)	Set 2 (with bare verbs)
1SG	<i>u</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>u-</i>
2SG	<i>é'</i>	<i>é-</i>	<i>u-</i>
3SG	<i>ki</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>i-</i>
1DU.INCL	<i>ik</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>a</i>	<i>u- a</i>	<i>u- a</i>
2PL	<i>ari</i>	<i>é- a</i>	<i>u- a</i>
3PL	<i>ki</i>	<i>da-</i>	<i>da-</i>

Finally, there are also still a number of derivational formatives, including *pa-*, *di-*, *aH-* and the applicative suffixes (see Section 1.1). These may occur in verbal structures in combination with *ki-*, *bu-* and agreement markers. They may also occur on their own. However, since the nominal case markers are no longer used, it is unclear in Contemporary Enggano whether such forms are nominal or verbal (see Hemmings, forthcoming c for discussion). The differences between Old Enggano and Contemporary Enggano morphology are summarised in Table 6:

**Table 6.** Morphosyntactic differences between Old and Contemporary Enggano

	Old Enggano	Contemporary Enggano
Nominal Morphology	Obligatory case-markers on all nouns	No case-marking ( <i>e-</i> used for emphasis)
Verbal Morphology	Verbs occur in three major constructions	Verbs occur in three major constructions (some changes in word order possibilities)
Derivational Morphology	Derivational markers can occur in verbal structures and nominalisations	Derivational markers can occur with verbal markers and without (not clear if the latter are still treated as nominalization)

With this background in mind, let us now compare and contrast the expression of similarity in the two datasets.

## 2. Similarity in Old Enggano

In Old Enggano, similatives of both quality and manner are expressed using the verb *doo* 'be.similar', as shown in (4).

## (4) Old Enggano

- a. 'òò *k-Edo ki-doo e-iya ka-paE e-Edo-bu.*  
 2SG KI-cry KI-similar DIR-exist OBL.PL-child DIR-cry-2SG.POSS  
 'You cry like a child' (lit. 'you cry, your crying is like the nature of children')  
 (Kähler, 1940, *Grammar*, 31.2)
- b. *Kia k-a-nīxā ki-doo e-iya u-kE'Epa.*  
 3SG KI-VBLZ-fast KI-similar DIR-exist OBL-bird  
 'You are fast like a bird'  
 (Kähler, 1940, *Grammar*, 31.4)

We know that this is a verb because it can occur in the three main verbal constructions, as illustrated in (5a–c), and also occurs together with verbal formatives, such as *aba-* which indicates consecutive action in (5d):

## (5) Old Enggano

- a. *ki-* verb construction  
*Ki-too e-iya u-huda e-pua-ha=dia i'ioò'u.*  
 KI-similar DIR-exist OBL-woman DIR-see-LOC.NOM=3SG.POSS 1SG.OBL  
 'She looks like a woman to me'  
 (Kähler, 1957, 6.3)
- b. *bu-* verb + Set 1 agreement construction  
*Ka-doo e-iya u-boo e-ai-nā-nā.*  
 3<sub>Set1</sub>-similar DIR-exist OBL-rain DIR-come-LOC.NOM=3PL.POSS  
 'They came like the rain'  
 (Kähler, 1961, 21.4)
- c. bare verb + Set 2 agreement construction  
*E-ko'E'E k-a-niē e-ka'ododo ki-pūhai m-ā-hā:ōnā e-kaka.*  
 DIR-devil KI-VBLZ-name DIR-PN KI-able BU-VBLZ-wife DIR-person  
 'A devil called *eka'ododo* can marry a person'  
*i-too=da'a e-p-a-ha:ona u-kaka kuinā=nā'ā*  
 3<sub>Set2</sub>-similar=PRED DIR-NMLZ-VBLZ-wife OBL-person true=PRED  
 'It is like the marriage of proper people'  
 (Kähler, 1961, 18.1)
- d. With derivational formatives  
*Be k-aba-doo e-'ua-ha pa-mehana*  
 because 3<sub>Set1</sub>-ABA-similar DIR-speak-PAT.NOM CAUS-joke  
*e-iji=dia*  
 DIR-word=3SG.POSS  
 'For he speaks like someone-who-is-joking'  
 (Kähler, 1975, *Dorfleben*, 21.11)

Note that *doo* is a class two verb and hence it does not take an overt allomorph of *bu-* (see Section 1.1). Nonetheless, it can occur together with Set 1 markers, as shown in (5b), and hence we take this as evidence that it occurs in all of the major verbal constructions.

As shown in (4a–b) and (5a–b), the verb *doo* is often followed by the noun *e-iya* 'DIR-exist', a nominalisation from the root *ia* 'exist' that translates as 'nature/

character'. It is so common that the compound form *kidoiya* is also attested in the Old Enggano corpus:

## (6) Old Enggano

- a. *Ka e'anaha ka-b-ai=xa ki-doiya u-kiu.*  
and then 3<sub>Set1</sub>-BU-come=EMPH KI-similar OBL-wind  
'And then he came like the wind' (Kähler, 1961, 3.4)
- b. *bE ki-doiya k-a'ao kia u-'uoho=dia.*  
because KI-similar KI-die 3SG OBL-sleep=3SG.POSS  
'Because he slept like a dead person' (Kähler, 1955, 4.6)

This compound usage is attested 7 times and always occurs with verbal markers *ki-* or the Set 1 agreement prefix *ka-*. When followed by a noun, as in (6a), the noun takes oblique case, much like the possessors of *eiya* 'nature' when used as a verbal complement in (5).

However, as well as functioning as a verb that expresses similarity that takes a nominal argument, *doo* can also be used in Old Enggano without extra morphology. This occurs in 24 out of 63 total attestations of *doo* in any form and is associated with secondary functions of similatives that are familiar from the literature, such as expressing hypothetical similarity (see e.g. Treis & Vanhove, 2017):

## (7) Old Enggano

- a. *Meo u-aba-à'ò e-baka-à:u doo 'ua ki-pari'o e-ò'ò*  
why 2<sub>Set2</sub>-ABA-point DIR-face-1SG.POSS like 1SG KI-make DIR-strength  
*u-'ue?*  
OBL-sea  
'Why do you point at my face as if I had (made =) caused the unruliness of the sea?' (Kähler, 1975, *Ermordung*, 2.7)
- b. *'ika k-aha badi'è-a 'ikE-ki'akè'a yada'a*  
1PL.INCL KI-go BA.make-FUT 1PL.INCL.POSS-forked.branch NEG.IMP  
*e-kè'a u-kuo nōō éana e-a-kalEa u-'ito*  
DIR-support OBL-tree like DEM DIR-GER-festival OBL-banana  
*e-'ubo-ho-ka*  
DIR-do-PAT.NOM-1PL.INCL.POSS  
'We will go to make our forked-branches, but no tree-supports, as if we were having a banana-harvest-festival' (Kähler, 1960b, 23.8)
- c. *kEaba'a 'u-pakō'ōhā'ā 'ò'ò i-xoo u-pia-ka doo*  
NEG 1SG<sub>Set2</sub>-find 2SG LOC-inside OBL-garden-1PL.INCL.POSS like  
*ki-pa-ha:ua 'ika.*  
KI-MID-angry 1PL.INCL  
'I didn't come across you on the inside of the plantation as if we were angry with each other' (Kähler, 1940, *Grammar*, 31.10)

This loss of verbal marking, and shift in meaning, indicates the start of a grammaticalization process, which we will argue is further along in Contemporary Enggano (see e.g. Hopper & Traugott, 2003; Heine & Kuteva, 2007 on the principles of grammaticalization).

Finally, the form *doo* (and particularly the nasal variant *nōō* that is shown in (7b)) may also be found in the manner deictic terms *nōō:īīē* ‘like this’ and *nōōāhā* ‘like that’, in keeping with the cross-linguistic connection between similatives and manner deictics (see König, 2017):

(8) Old Enggano

- a. *Ka-nōōāhā e-ici u-paE ei’iE*  
 3<sub>Set1</sub>-like.that DIR-word OBL-child DEM.PROX  
 ‘Thus were the words of this child’ (Kähler, 1955, 11.11)
- b. *Mēō i-’obu=da nōōāhā i’iōmū?*  
 why 3<sub>Set2</sub>-do=PRED like.that OBL.2SG  
 ‘Why is he so proceeding with you?’ (Kähler, 1955, 12.9)
- c. *Ka-bu-’ua nōō:īīē e-huda e’ana.*  
 3<sub>Set1</sub>-BU-speak like.this DIR-woman DEM.MED  
 ‘The woman spoke like this’ (Kähler, 1958, 15.1)
- d. *Ki-nōō:īīē e-di-’ua=dia*  
 KI-like.this DIR-PASS-say=3SG.POSS  
 ‘So is what is said...’ (Kähler, 1940, *Grammar*, 35.32)

The manner deictics may also be related to the demonstratives, which include *ei’iE* for the proximal demonstrative, as seen in (8a), and *ea’a* for the distal demonstrative, which contrasts with the medial demonstrative *e’ana* in (8c). As shown in (8), manner deictics can occur by themselves as well as with verbal marking.

In sum, Old Enggano can express similarity using three markers: the verbal form *doo* which often takes *eiya* ‘nature’ as its argument; the compound form *kidoiya*; and the root *doo* which seems to be taking on additional grammatical functions from expressing similarity of manner and quality (“like x”), to expressing hypothetical similarity (“as if x”).

### 3. Similarity in Contemporary Enggano

In this section, we will now review how similarity is expressed in Contemporary Enggano, outlining some important changes that provide evidence for the further grammaticalization of similatives. Following regular sound changes, including the loss of final vowels and the shift of /o/ to [ə], *doo* regularly surfaces as *dé* in Contemporary Enggano. Much like in Old Enggano, the form can occur with verbal

markers, but is only attested with *ki-* and *ka-* (the Set 1 third person agreement form) so far in our corpus:

(9) Contemporary Enggano

- a. *Ki ku-'ueh ki-dè kak k-a'a.*  
 3SG KI-sleep KI-like person KI-dead  
 'It slept like a dead person' (Kähler, 1955, *Retelling*, 28.1)
- b. *Kep i yub [...] mè'ki-dè yub-yub mè'nèèn*  
 not.yet exist house rel ki-like house-redup rel now  
 'There weren't yet houses like today' (Pindah Rumah, 10.1)
- c. *Ka-bu-'u kak mè'k-a ē ka-dè ko'mai.*  
 3<sub>Set1</sub>-BU-say person REL KI-come DEM 3<sub>Set1</sub>-similar migrants  
 'The people who come, like migrants, say...' (Enggano Tahun 60, 11.1)
- d. *Nah panihmèhèa-m ki-dè di-kakarai=de è' ko'e'*  
 thus speed-2SG.POSS KI-like PASS-chase=3SG 2SG devil  
 'You are rushing around as though chased by a devil'

(Relative Clauses & Similitives, 126.1)

It also occurs by itself, without additional marking:

(10) Contemporary Enggano

- a. *Kè'è-h mè'ka-na'puaha-k kahinu dè kopi ean kan.*  
 plant-PAT.NOM REL PL-ancestor-1PL.INCL past like coffee DEM PT  
 'The plants of our ancestors, like coffee' (Burung Hantu, 81.1)
- b. *Dè di'iu Engga...*  
 like PASS-say Engga  
 'As Engga said...' (Relative Clauses & Similitives, 70.1)
- c. *Ke' dè nèèn ē*  
 NEG like now DEM  
 'not like now' (Cara Bertani, 64.1)

Unlike in Old Enggano, where the forms with verbal marking and without verbal marking had quite different functions – namely verbal marking correlated with the use of *doo* as a main verbal predicate, and the root form with the introduction of an adjunct clause expressing hypothetical similarity – there is no obvious difference between *kidè*, *kadè* and *dè* in Contemporary Enggano in terms of function. They now have the same set of functions and seem to have undergone changes in usage and distribution compared with Old Enggano that bear the hallmarks of grammaticalization (see e.g. Hopper, 1991; Hopper & Traugott, 2003; Heine & Kuteva, 2007).

Firstly, *dè* is never followed by the contemporary equivalent of *eiya* in any of its forms, whilst this was common in Old Enggano, as illustrated in Section 2. Secondly and relatedly, instead of *kidè* being the main predicate of the clause, as

shown in (4a) and (5b) for *kidoo* for example, it often seems to simply take a nominal complement, behaving like a preposition in this respect. This is illustrated for example in *dè kopi* ‘like coffee’ and *kadè ko’mai* ‘like migrants’ in (10a) and (9c) respectively. There are other properties that suggest *dè* is not a canonical verb anymore. For example, we do not get the expected patterns of agreement following the negator *ke’*. As illustrated in (3c) in Section 1.2, we expect to find Set 2 agreement markers following negation, but we can have *dè* without agreement, as shown above, and speakers accept *kidè* following negation in elicitation, as shown in (11):

- (11) Contemporary Enggano  
*Susan ke’ ki-dè a’i kin Bill.*  
 Susan NEG KI-like long height Bill  
 ‘Susan is not as tall as Bill’ (Elicitation)

This suggests that *kidè* may no longer be interpreted as multimorphemic, consisting of a root plus verbal affixes. Overall, these changes suggest that *dè/kidè* may be moving along the grammaticalization cline from more lexical word to more functional word (see Hopper & Traugott, 2003: 7).

In addition to changes in distribution and morphology, there are also additional functions of *kidè* and *dè* that were not seen in the Old Enggano corpus. Firstly, *dè/kidè* is also used in illocutionary clauses with the meaning ‘as I used to say...’:

- (12) Contemporary Enggano  
 a. *Ki-dè u ku-’u ē’..*  
 KI-like 1SG KI-say DEM  
 ‘As I said...’ (Perkawinan, 87.1)  
 b. *Dè di-’iu Engga...*  
 like PASS-say Engga  
 ‘As Engga said...’ (Relative Clauses & Similitives, 70.1)

This clause initial position is the position associated with other conjunctions in the Enggano language, such as *a=* ‘if/when’ or *be* ‘because’ (see Hemmings, forthcoming b):

- (13) Contemporary Enggano  
 a. *Be na=de k-a-rua’ ki*  
 because mother=3SG.POSS KI-ANTIP-ask 3SG  
 ‘Because his mother asked him’ (Basic Structures – Extra Elicitation, 350.1)

- b. *Be kanap ē' ki-pa-ku-kudèr u ah.*  
 because PL.clan.leader DEM KI-MID-REDUP-trust 1SG PT  
 'Because the clan leaders trust in me' (Cerita Orang Tua, 6.1)

Moreover, *dè* and *kidè* are commonly used in nominal listing ("such as"):

(14) Contemporary Enggano

- a. *Ka-b-a lagi dè puru ke', ka-b-a kō'kō'*  
 3<sub>Set1</sub>-BU-come again like leaf tree.sp 3<sub>Set1</sub>-BU-come sago.palm  
 'There was also *ke'* leaves and sago palm [used for the roof]'  
 (Bahan Bangunan, 26.1)
- b. *Yū' mē' minata-minata k-ūr kè-dè kī'īāp maha e'iah-e'iah*  
 food REL animal-REDUP KI-live KI-like grasshopper or whatever  
 'There food is live animals, such as grasshoppers or whatever'  
 (Burung Hantu, 50.1–52.1)

These extensions represent common semantic extensions associated with the grammaticalization of similatives (see Pierrard, 2008; Güldemann, 2007; Treis & Vanhove, 2017).

They also seem to reflect contact-induced change due to contact with Indonesian, the national language of Indonesia. As discussed in Hemmings & Arka (2023), contact with Indonesian has triggered a number of changes in Enggano grammar that may have been initially triggered via language internal changes (like the grammaticalization process already evident in the functional uses of *doo* in Old Enggano) but seem to be bolstered by an external template in Indonesian. Indonesian also provides a template for the grammaticalization of a similative marker in the form of the comparison marker *seperti* 'like'. As shown in the following examples from Sneddon et al.'s (2010) grammar, Standard Indonesian *seperti* has many similarities with Contemporary Enggano *kidè*. Firstly, it can be used to introduce a nominal complement, as shown in (15), and is described by Sneddon et al. (2010) as an apposition marker or preposition:

(15) Indonesian

- a. *Saya tidak dapat memperistri gadis [seperti dia]*  
 1SG NEG able marry girl like 3SG  
 'I cannot marry a girl like her' (Sneddon et al., 2010: 100)
- b. *Dia berjalan tergesa-gesa [seperti orang yang di-kejar hantu]*  
 3SG walk hurriedly-REDUP like person REL PASS-chase ghost  
 'He walked hurriedly like a person pursued by a ghost'  
 (Sneddon et al., 2010: 226)

Secondly, *seperti* can be used to introduce nominal listing:

## (16) Indonesian

- a. *Ide-ide=nya di-perkenalkan di kota-kota besar, [seperti Jakarta, idea-REDUP=3SG.POSS PASS-introduce in city-REDUP big like Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya dan Yogyakarta]*  
 Bandung, Surabaya and Yogyakarta  
 ‘His ideas were introduced in the large cities, such as Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya and Yogyakarta’ (Sneddon et al., 2010: 159)

Thirdly, although there are no examples specifically listed in Sneddon et al, (2010), a google search confirms that *seperti* can also be used in illocutionary clauses such as (17):

## (17) Indonesian

- Seperti saya bilang kemarin...*  
 like 1SG say before  
 ‘As I said before...’

Indeed, it is common for Indonesian words to function both as prepositions and as conjunctions (see Sneddon et al, 2010: 192–193).

Fourthly, like *kidè*, as shown in (11), it is also possible for *seperti* to be directly negated:

## (18) Indonesian

- Ini tidak seperti desa kita*  
 DEM NEG like village 1PL.INCL  
 ‘This is not like our village’ (Sneddon et al., 2010: 195)

Finally, *seperti* can also be used to express adverbs of manner and the forms *seperti ini* ‘like this’ and *seperti itu* ‘like that’ co-exist with the manner deictic terms *begini* and *begitu* in Standard Indonesian (Sneddon et al., 2010: 150). Note that a direct calque with *kidè* can also be used in Contemporary Enggano to express an adverb of manner in addition to the contemporary equivalent of the manner deictic terms that were used in Old Enggano for this purpose (illustrated in (8), see Section 2):

## (19) Contemporary Enggano

- a. *E-hiür ean ka-bu-’u o dar=de kide’ean.*  
 DIR-woman DEM 3<sub>Set1</sub>-BU-say OBL husband=3SG.POSS like DEM  
 ‘The woman spoke to her husband as follows...’  
 (Kähler, 1955, *Retelling*, 14.1)
- b. *Ki-nè’ah u ki-’iu ē’*  
 KI-like.that 1SG KI-say DEM  
 ‘So that’s what I say’ (Cerita Enggano, 102.1)

Consequently, *kidè* displays all the properties of a form that is grammaticalizing as a similitive marker – it is losing the range of morphology that it can occur with and gaining the distributional characteristics of a more functional than lexical category, like a preposition or a conjunction. Moreover, it has acquired additional functions associated with similatives cross-linguistically, including usage in illocutionary clauses and nominal listing. This is directly facilitated by contact with Indonesian that has a similitive marker, *seperti*, which provides a template for these additional uses, as summarised in Table 7.

**Table 7.** Functions of similatives in Old Enggano, Contemporary Enggano and Indonesian

	Old Enggano	Contemporary Enggano	Indonesian
Similarity of quality and manner	✓	✓	✓
Hypothetical similarity	✓	✓	✓
Main verb	✓	✓	X
Nominal complement	X	✓	✓
Illocutionary clauses	X	✓	✓
Nominal listing	X	✓	✓

Consequently, we can think of the changes in Enggano similatives as reflecting the known role that language contact plays in bringing about contact-induced change and grammaticalization (see Thomason, 2001; Heine & Kuteva, 2005; Matras, 2012).

## Conclusion

In this paper, we compared and contrasted the expression of similarity in Old Enggano and Contemporary Enggano, drawing on corpora of naturalistic texts as well as targeted elicitation. We highlighted several important differences between the use of *doo* in Old Enggano and *dè* in Contemporary Enggano that suggest a process of grammaticalization. Specifically, whilst Old Enggano *doo* could be used as a main verb, and take the full range of verbal markers, Contemporary Enggano *dè/kidè* does not take the same range of verbal markers and often appears to behave more like a preposition than a verb. In Old Enggano, there were very clear differences between the use of *doo* with verbal morphology and the bare root form, which typically introduced an adjunct clause expressing hypothetical similarity. However, in Contemporary Enggano, both *dè* and *kidè* appear to have

very similar functions and distributions. They have also acquired new functions, including the ability to occur in illocutionary clauses and to introduce nominal listing.

We argued that these differences reflect both language contact with Indonesian, where the comparison marker *seperti* can be used with similar semantic extensions (Sneddon et al, 2010), as well as recognised grammaticalization pathways in the development of similatives (Treis & Vanhove, 2017). This suggests that both language internal and language external factors can contribute to the formation of similatives as a grammatical category.

## Funding



Open Access publication of this article was funded through a Transformative Agreement with University of Oxford.

## The following abbreviations are used in this paper following the Leipzig Glossing Conventions

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABA	Enggano verbal morphology marking consecutive action
ANTIP	antipassive
BA	Enggano verbal morphology marking embedded purposive constructions
BU	Enggano verbal morphology, cognate with Proto-Austronesian *-um-
CAUS	causative
DEM	demonstrative
DIR	direct case
DU	dual
EMPH	emphatic
EXCL	exclusive
FUT	future
GER	gerund
IMP	imperative
INCL	inclusive
KI	Enggano verbal morphology
LOC	locative case
LOC.NOM	locative nominalization
MED	medial
MID	middle voice
NEG	negation
NMLZ	nominalizer
OBL	oblique

PASS	passive
PAT.NOM	patient nominalization
PL	plural
PN	proper noun
POSS	possessor
PRED	predicative
PROX	proximal
PT	particle
REDUP	reduplication
REL	relativizer
SG	singular
VBLZ	verbalizer

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## Publication history

Date received: 19 December 2024

Date accepted: 30 July 2025