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## Grammatical Sketch of Enggana

1. Introduction
2. The Language and Its Speakers
3. Phonology

Consonant Inventories According to Dialect

Vowels

Stress

Phonotactics

Nasalization

About

Suffixal -c-

Affixal V

## 4. The Noun Phrase

NP Structure

Pronominal Head NP

Demonstrative Head NP

Nominal Head NP

Articles

Reduplication

Prefix V-

Prefix pɔ(V)-

Prefix pɔ-/pɔ-

Suffix -cɔa

Nominalization with e-

Generic Nouns in Apposition

Relative Clauses

Dependent Nouns

Dependent Pronouns

Postclitic Pronouns

Preclitic Pronouns

Clitic Concord with Dependent Noun Postposed

Demonstratives

Numerals and classifiers

Ligature

## 5. The Verb Phrase

The Prefix kɪ-

The Implicative Marker bu-  
Subject Concord on the Verb  
Imperative  
Inflectional Prefixes  
Derivational Prefixes  
Verbal Suffixes  
Modals  
Reduplication

## 6. Syntax

Verbless Sentences  
Verbal Sentences  
Stative Verbs  
Active Verbs and Focused NP's  
Active Verbs and NP's not in Focus  
Focus on Action (?)  
Passivization  
Gerundial Clauses  
Causation  
Imperative Clauses  
Hortative Clauses  
Optative clauses  
Question Sentences  
Negation  
Coordination  
Subordination  
Relative Clauses

## Introduction

The first study of Enggano that has so far been consulted is a Malay-Dutch-Enggano word-list published by Helfrich and Pickers in Tydschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 34 (1892) pp. 539-604 as "Proeve van eene Maleisch-Nederlandsch-Engganeesch woordenlijst". This contains about 1000 lexical items, arranged alphabetically in Malay as written in the Jawi (Arabic) script. There is also a couple of pages of short sentences and notes on dialectal variation. This source is supplemented by "Aanvullingen en Verbeteringen op de Maleisch-Nederlandsch-Engganeesch woordenlijst" in Tydschrift... 35 (1893), pp. 228-33, containing corrections and additions by Helfrich. This source also refers to an earlier source, compiled by Walland. This has not yet been investigated, but the book containing this word-list is on request from the National Library.

The most detailed material on Enggano was published by Köhler. He gathered his data between July 1937 and January 1938, and published the result of his investigations as "Grammatischer Abriß des Enggano" in Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen 30 (1937-40), pp. 81-117, 182-210 and 296-320. This is a grammatical sketch of the Enggano, written in German, with a length of about 120 pages. The arrangement of the grammar is rather odd however, and some questions are clearly left unanswered in the description.

However, Köhler has provided us with a very rich supply of textual material which can be used to check on and expand his grammatical sketch. These texts are given accurate translations into German with occasional notes on grammatical construction or particular lexical items. Some of the texts are quite short, others quite long. These texts have been published in various volumes of Afrika und Übersee: 39 (1955) pp. 89-94, 41 (1957) pp. 153-56, 42 (1958) pp. 179-89, 43 (1959) pp. 299-312, 44 (1960) pp. 41-71, 45 (1961) pp. 205-25, 46 (1962) pp. 127-45 and 47 (1963) pp. 46-57. Texts of Enggano have also been published in "Texte von der Insel Enggano (Berichte über eine untergegangene Kultur)" in Veröffentlichungen des Seminars für Indonesische und

### The Language and Its Speakers

The present situation concerning Enggano is rather unclear. The Enggano population in 1866 was estimated by P. van der Haeren at 6420, but this was before the explosion of Kratatau, which decimated the low-lying island with a tidal wave. In 1938, Köhler estimated the population at 200. At that time, he stated that although the whole population was using Enggano, the use of Malay was spreading due to the teaching of missionaries in the schools. In the early 1960's there was an influx of about 1000 transmigrant Javanese to the island, but the majority of these have since shifted to Lampung, leaving behind on Enggano only 300. The native Enggano population however seems to have risen considerably in the last thirty years, and has now reached 600. Although the population of the island has been consistently dropping for the last six years (at least), this may well be due to the departure of the Javanese rather than the loss of native Enggano population. Reports have it that the Enggano are very strong-willed and do not intend to sit by idly as they become extinct. However, the only way to find out the true situation on Enggano is to go there.

The name "Enggano" that is used for the people who speak the language and also their home island, is actually a Malay word for the people, derived from a common expression on the island ee kanõõ 'hey, let's eat'. There is no indication in the sources as to what the Enggano called themselves. (Note that "Enggano" is actually an impossible word in the language in that it contains the velar nasal g and the voiced velar stop g, neither of which are found even on the phonetic level.)

The language was evidently spoken not only on Enggano, but also on Pulau Satu, Pulau Dua, Pulau Bangkai and Pulau Merbau. Evidently each island had its own

dialectal variant, and Pulau Enggano, which was where the majority of the population lived, had several dialects. In all probability however, these dialects differed only in a small percentage of lexical items and in a number of aspects of the phonology, particularly with respect to the distribution of labial and apical consonants. Helfrich and Pieters give data from two dialects, and list the villages where each was spoken. The dialect which forms the basis for Kähler's study is probably one of these two, but Kähler suggests that on the main island there were at least three dialects (a southern, a western and another, occupying the remainder of the island) and since there are some minor differences between the dialect described by Kähler and the two Helfrich dialects, it is possible that Kähler was describing a third dialect.

## Phonology

The number of phonological distinctions made in Enggano cannot be decided on without first-hand data from the field. Although the data in Kähler is consistent, it is difficult to know to what degree it is overdifferentiated. Certainly we can improve on his analysis by resorting to underlying forms with rules to derive surface forms, and there also seems to be no evidence for regarding the palatal fricative which he writes as  $\xi$  as anything but a conditioned variant of  $h$ . Also, the Helrich and Pieters word-list, is, by comparison with Kähler, grossly underdifferentiated (i.e. nasal vowels are not distinguished from oral vowels, nor long distinguished from short or open mid-vowels consistently distinguished from close midvowels).

It would appear that we need to recognize slightly differing consonant inventories for at least three dialects for which we have data. Kähler, it would appear, was describing the northern dialect, the consonant inventory of which is:

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stop	p	t	c	k	ʔ
voiced stop	b	d			
nasal	m	n	ɲ		
Fricative /cont.		l	y		h

In this dialect, it would seem that there was free variation in intervocalic position between [d] and [r] as allophones of the voiced stop  $d$ . (I have analyzed this phoneme as a voiced stop rather than as  $r$  since it patterns with  $b$  in certain nasalization rules; see below.) There may have been some degree of environmental conditioning involved in the choice of allophones but this has not yet been fully investigated. Also, the Fricative  $h$  ~~was~~ is realized as [ç] when there is either a preceding or following  $i$ . When it is followed or preceded by any vowel but  $i$  the realization is [h].

In the southern dialect, the consonant inventory is:

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stop				k	ʔ
voiced stop	b	d	j		
nasal		n	ɲ		
fricative/cont.	f	l	y		h

This differs from the northern dialect in that:

northern		southern
p	↔	ɸ
c	↔	j
m	↔	b

This system could require reanalysis, since there is only one stop series. The voiced/voiceless features could be assigned by phonetic rules rather than constitute part of the set of underlying oppositions.

The consonant inventory for the western dialect appears to be:

	labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stop	p	t		k	ʔ
voiced stop	b	d	j		
nasal	m	n	ɲ		
fricative/cont.			y		h

This differs from the northern dialect in that:

northern		western
c	↔	j

and also in the realization of t. The northern dialect has only the realization [t] for this phoneme, whereas the western dialect apparently has [l] and [t] which appear in free variation.

(The description of the consonant inventory of none of these dialects is likely to remain unchanged when more detailed investigation is done into the sources available.)

The maximal pattern for vowel distinctions in Enggano for the northern dialect is:

i        ɥ        u  
 . e                o  
       ɛ        ɔ  
               a

(Whether this pattern also applies for the other dialects cannot be judged.) There is also a feature of nasality and vowels can occur doubled. (It is not certain if vocalic doubling is Kähler's way of expressing length.) The close mid-vowels e and o are of rather low functional load, and there is in fact a neutralization of the opposition between close and open mid-vowels when nasalized and when doubled, the open variants being those encountered phonetically as realizations of the archiphonemes.

Stress in Enggano is apparently penultimate, and when a word is suffixed there is backward shifting of stress to the surface penultimate syllable in the ~~first~~ word. However, Kähler says that when a suffix is one of a small group of particular possessive suffixes, irregular stress patterns are encountered. E.g.

stem:    ūba        'house'  
 suffixed forms:    eūbadia 'his house'  
                           eūbadai 'our house'  
                           eūbadu 'your pl. house'  
                           eūhákaʔa 'our house'

With these four irregular suffixes, we find that we have instead antepenultimate stress.

Phonotactically, Enggano is a very simple language. ~~Stated~~ Initially, we can have any vowel or consonant (however, most words in sentences, being nouns or verbs, begin with the typical nominal prefix e- or the typical verbal prefix ki-). No consonant clusters of any kind are allowed in any structural position, and no consonants are allowed word finally. Several vowels can occur in sequence, though word finally a sequence of two vowels is regarded as a single unit for the purposes of stress placement. Thus in eubadia and

euhadai above, the sequences -ia and -ai are treated as belonging to a single syllable for the placement of stress (which in these words is antepenultimate as explained above).

There are various phonological processes in Enggano which apply regardless of word class or particular morphemes and are therefore better considered to be part of the phonological system. These processes are discussed below.

### I. NASALIZATION

It was stated above that all of the Enggano dialects have a full set of nasal vowels contrasting with a set of oral vowels. However, this is not to say that all occurrences of nasal vowels can contrast with oral vowels, as the nasality of many occurrences of nasal vowels in Enggano is obligatorily determined by a nasalization rule. The generalization to be stated is: if a word contains any nasal vowel or nasal consonant, all following vowels in that word must be nasalized. There is a second part to the nasalization rule which applies to consonants: if a word contains any nasal vowel or consonant, ~~all~~ following there can be no following voiced stops. Thus, in our underlying forms for Enggano we need only mark the first nasal vowel or consonant. All following segments ~~must~~ will then automatically fulfill the conditions just described.

Let us illustrate these rules with a couple of examples. Take the item which is phonetically [honã] 'wife'. This would be, ~~and~~ in its underlying structure, hona, the nasal quality of the [ã] being conditioned by the preceding n. Now take [ĩmã̃] 'wild dove', which the first syllable contains the nasal vowel ĩ. Thus, the following [m] is a realization of the archiphoneme b/m in a nasal environment, while the nasal vowels [ã] and [ĩ] are predictably nasal also. Thus, our underlying representation could be ĩmãs or ĩbãs, depending on how we choose to represent the labial archiphoneme.

This system of "nasal harmony" applying within

an Eγγano word to the right of an underlying nasal segment, has important ramifications in the morphology of the language also, as all suffixes must contain at least one vowel. This vowel will of course be subject to the nasal harmony rules. For example, the first person singular possessive suffix is normally -Ivu, e.g.

e-uba-Iau 'my house'

e-pue-Ieu 'my penis'

but if the nasal harmony rule applies, the suffix is of course -Iũũ; e.g.

e-honã-Iũũ 'my wife'

e-Iũmãĩ-Iũũ 'my wild doves'

Also, if a suffix contains a voiced stop in its underlying form, as happens with -dia for example, in e-uba-dia 'his house' and e-pue-dia 'his penis', when this suffix is added to a stem containing a nasal, there is a violation of the stipulation that such a word may not contain a following voiced stop. To avoid this contradiction, the voiced stop automatically becomes the corresponding nasal consonant. Eg.

e-honã-nĩã 'his wife'

e-Iũmãĩ-nĩã 'his wild doves'

This change does not take place with other consonants however. Thus for example in the verbal suffix -pua 'now', the p does not undergo nasalization in kanõpua after the conditioning nasal n. The phonetic form for this word is [kanõõpũã]. But nasalization still goes through.

Another fact, clearly ~~clearly~~ <sup>close</sup> part of ~~related to~~ this phenomenon, is the nasalization of prefixes ~~that it is possible~~. Actually, the generalizations above concerning the nasality of words, are not quite accurate, since we should further specify that a voiced stop cannot occur anywhere in a word which contains a nasal segment. (It was stated above that voiced stops were prohibited only after a nasal, whereas we need to apply the prohibition to portions before a nasal also.) Thus, if

a prefix containing a voiced stop is added to a word containing a nasal, then the stop becomes nasalized. Also, since there is a nasal now occurring word initially, all following vowels must also be nasalized. For example, let us take the verbal stem pua 'run'. It has the prefix bu-, we get bupua. However, if we take the verbal stem ainona 'feel', which has the phonetic form [ainõnõ], and prefix it with bu- (which prevocally becomes h-), the phonetic realization is mãĩnõnõ, with nasalization applying right throughout the word.

## II. ABLAUT

Some prefixes in Enggano which end with the vowel a, but not all such prefixes, when added to a stem with an initial h, bring about ablaut in that the vowel following this stem initial h is other than a, then a is added between the h and this vowel. Two of the prefixes that bring about this kind of ablaut alternation are ka- 'pl. art.' (on nouns) and aʔa- 'comitative' (on verbs). These occur in: huda 'woman' → kaʔhuda and hũa ~~eat~~ 'fruit' → aʔahũa < ʔbua

## III. SUFFIXIAL -e-

It was stated above that Enggano is an entirely -V final language. Most suffixes begin with a consonant, thus allowing words to fall into a general structure of the type CVCV. However, vowel sequences are allowed and some suffixes do begin with vowels also. Thus, the Future tense/conditional suffix on verbs has the form -a, e.g. ʔet-haʔ-a 'will go/wants to go'. However, with some suffixes that begin with a vowel, there are some lexical items which require the insertion of a support consonant, either -h-, -y- or -d-, between the final vowel of the stem and the initial vowel of the suffix. The number of forms so far encountered is rather small, but it is hoped that investigation of the transitive suffixes -aʔa and -i on verbs will throw some light on the matter. A possible

hypothesis that has not been tested at this stage is that such an intrusive c represents an original stem final consonant that has been lost, except when it is followed by a suffix. The loss of final -c is attested in Enggano (e.g. \*qnak 'child' → ada), and the similarities ~~to the~~ <sup>great</sup> ~~number~~ <sup>extent</sup> between Enggano and Fijian are quite ~~great~~ on the syntactic level, so it is possible that there are also similarities on the morphophonemic level.

#### IV. AFFIXAL V

~~A small number~~ Although all affixes in Enggano must contain an underlying vowel (which in some prefixes is deleted, leaving only a consonant), there are some affixes which do not specify the quality of this vowel. Affixes such as these simply employ the symbol V, which then takes on the quality of the adjacent stem vowel. Thus, for example, the first person singular possessive suffix on nouns can be represented as -ɪVu, which appears differently according to the nature of the preceding stem-final vowel. E.g.

e-pas-ɪ <u>Vu</u>	'my child'
e-uhɔ-ɪ <u>Vu</u>	'my house'
dadu-ɪ <u>Vu</u>	'my husband'
e-ɪãmãɔ-ɪ <u>Vu</u>	'my wife'

Note that if the -v of the stem and the already specified affixal vowel are identical, as happens with dadu and -ɪVu, the symbol V is deleted rather than produce a sequence of uu. Thus, \*daduɪuu is not an attested form.

## The Noun Phrase

A noun phrase in Enggano can have one of the structures suggested below:

1. PRONOUN (+ DEMONSTRATIVE)
2. DEMONSTRATIVE
3. (GENERIC NOUN +) NOUN  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} (+ \text{REL. CL}) (+ \text{DEP. NOUN}) (+ \text{DEM}) \\ (+ \text{NUMBER} + \text{CLASSIFIER}) \end{array} \right\}$

The simplest of the noun phrase structures are the first two. A noun phrase consisting of a pronoun will contain one of the following independent pronominal forms:

	sg.	du.	pl.
1.	ʔuɣ	ind. ʔika	ʔikaʔa
		excl. ʔai	
2.	ʔoʔo		adiu
3.	kiɣ		ki

Of these, two have slightly different alternative forms:

ʔoʔo ~ ʔaʔo	'2 sg.'
adiu ~ aduu	'2 pl.'

Of the paradigm above, the form ʔikaʔa '1 pl. ind.' is seldom used. Usually, ʔika has both dual and plural reference. The third person singular form kiɣ can be used impersonally, e.g.

(1) eʔanāñzā kiɣ kipakumũ ehabadiʔs ukabuʔoʔs

Then the preparation of the pig net was begun

These independent pronominal forms are used in various kinds of environments in which NP's occur, including

(i) as topics in non-verbal sentences, e.g.

(2) kiɣ ekāpũ paʔaʔauɣ

He is chief Paʔaʔauɣ

(ii) as subjects in positive verbal sentences, e.g.

(3) kiɣ kiʔoʔo eʔapɔ uaradia

He is holding his child's hand

(iii) as objects in both positive and negative verbal sentences, e.g.

(4) ebeʔ eʔana kiham kiɣ

The dog bit him

(5) keɔbaʔa ipta ka

she didn't see him

(iv) optionally used post-nominally as a possessor when a noun is marked with a pronominal prefix (but not by a pronominal suffix):

(6) eɪɪɪ ʔuɛuba (ʔuɔ)

This is my house

(7) eɪɪɪ eubaɬau \*ʔuɔ

This is apparently a rather marked structure however.

A pronoun can optionally be followed by a demonstrative if the reference of the two are compatible.

The demonstratives in Enggano are:

eɪɪɪ 'that near the speaker'

eɪɔna 'that near the addressee'

eɪɛa 'that near neither the speaker nor the addressee'

E.g.

(8) ʔuɔ eɪɪɪ 'I'

(9) ʔɔʔ eɪɔna 'you'

(10) ki eɪɛa 'they'

A demonstrative can also function independently in a noun phrase, as in:

(11) eɪɔna eubaɬau

That is my house

The third NP structure given above is more complicated. The only obligatory constituent is the noun. Nouns in Enggano are divided into three groups on the basis of the behaviour of their prefixal markers: (i) human, (ii) proper and (iii) other. These prefixal markers have no semantic function except in the small group referring to human nouns, where there is a difference in the prefix for singular and plural forms. The function of these prefixes is in fact analogous to the function of Fijian na - it simply signals the presence of a noun. The use of the "article" (since it is thus called in Fijian) is obligatory in Enggano. No noun is ever found without its article (except that proper nouns have an article with Ø-realization;

see below). The articles that are found on head nouns in Enggano are:

	singular	plural
human I	e-	ka-
II	Ø-	kahs- (a small group)
proper	Ø	—
other	e-	e- (by far the largest group)

The II group of human nouns is similar to proper nouns in that it does not have the article e- in the singular. Most human nouns behave according to pattern I, but those which follow pattern II are known to include only kinship terms (but not all of these perhaps):

	singular	plural
'grandmother'	zūpu	kahs zūpu
'father'	ama	kahs ama
'mother'	nae	kahs nae
'husband'	dadu	kahs dadu
'wife'	hona	kahs hona
'elder brother/sister'	ʔaʔa	kahs ʔaʔa

Examples of regular nouns are:

	singular	plural
'sweet potato'	ehaba	ehaba
'tree'	ekus	ekus
'person'	ekaka	kakaka
'woman'	ehuda	kahuda
'name'	kiuū	—
'name'	paŋʔaua	—
'village name'	malakōne	—

There are also two known irregular nouns which, which having a regular group I singular have a slight stem variation in the plural:

	singular	plural
'child'	eara	karara
'bird'	ekāpu	kanapu

A noun will take the article prefix whether or not the noun carries any other affixes. If the noun has other

prefixes, the article always appears at the very beginning of the word. E.g.

- |      |           |                                       |
|------|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| (12) | e-uba-Zau | 'my house'                            |
| (13) | e-hẽku-a  | 'seat' (= place of sitting)           |
| (14) | e-pɔ-ɛɔ   | 'cry baby' (= one who cries too much) |
| (15) | e-pau-kui | 'needle' (= instrument for sewing)    |

The examples in (13-15) above show that a noun stem can be derived, as well as simple. The chief methods of nominal derivation, with their functions, that are known at this stage, are

#### (i) Reduplication

Nouns other than human nouns and proper nouns can (but rarely are) reduplicated in Enggano. Reduplication is normally full, including the article e-, though some stem changes of a (so far) rather unpredictable nature take place. The semantic effect of reduplication is to express plurality. Reduplication is not necessary for human nouns to express the plural, because the singular-plural distinction is marked in the article. Examples of reduplication are given:

- |        |            |   |               |
|--------|------------|---|---------------|
| ekɛɛpa | 'bird'     | → | ekɛɛpa-ekɛɛpa |
| ekɔɔ   | 'wild pig' | → | ekɔɔ-ekɔɔ     |
| euba   | 'house'    | → | euba-euba     |
| ekɔɛɛ  | 'devil'    | → | ekɔɛɛ-ekɔɛɛ   |

#### (ii) Prefix V-

By prefixing V- to a verb stem, we can create a noun with the meaning of "the incidental instrument for carrying out a particular action". E.g.

- |       |                 |        |          |
|-------|-----------------|--------|----------|
| pāu   | 'pound'         | eāpau  | 'pestle' |
| pɔk   | '(to) chisel'   | ɛpɔk   | 'chisel' |
| pudu  | 'kill'          | eupudu | 'weapon' |
| hɔadi | 'sweep'         | ɛhɔadi | 'broom'  |
| ipu   | 'fill (a tree)' | eipu   | 'axe'    |

Actually, these translations for the derived nouns are slightly misrepresentative; eāpau really means 'something used as a

pastle', epɔkɔ means 'something used as a chisel' etc.

(iii) Prefix pa(V)-

The prefix pa-, sometimes with a following V, added to a verbal base, creates an instrumental noun also, but in this case it means "the instrument habitually used in carrying out a general action" E.g.

kui 'sew'

epɔkui 'needle'

didili 'wrap'

epadiiki 'blanket'

(iv) Prefix pɔ-/pu-

In contrast to most other derivational affixes found on nouns, these prefixes (the conditioning factor between pɔ- and pu- being so far unknown) can be found on both verbal and nominal stems. The semantic effect on both is the same however. They create a noun meaning 'one who does/is characterized by the referent of the stem, to excess'. E.g.

ekɔkɔ 'breast'

epɔkɔkɔ 'big-breasted one'

eds 'cry'

epɔeds 'cry baby'

ʔɛʔɛhɛ 'cough'

epɔʔɛʔɛhɛ 'one who coughs'

kihɔɔ 'thirst'

epɔkihɔɔ 'one who is always thirsty'

(v) Suffix -(C)a

This suffix can be added to a verbal stem, creating a noun meaning "the place where the action of the verb (either habitually or incidentally) took place". E.g.

ʔuɔhɔ 'sleep'

ɛʔuɔhɔɔ 'bed/sleeping place'

hɛkɔ 'sit'

ɛhɛkɔɔ 'seat/sitting place'

iya 'stay'

ɛiyaɔ 'place of residence'

paɔɔdu 'gather'

ɛpaɔɔduɔ 'gathering place'

(vi) Nominalization with e-

We can take any verb stem in Enggaine and precede it with e-, the article found on all non-human and non-proper nouns, and create a gerund, i.e. a noun referring to the action. This gerund then patterns in all syntactic respects in the sentence as an ordinary noun. E.g.

edɔ 'cry'

eedɔ 'crying'

d-audu-aʔa 'be approached'

edaudu-aʔa 'being approached'

and in sentences for extra clarity:

(16) keɬaʔa ʔaʔuʔuʔ eedɔ upaɛ eʔana

The child's crying was not nice

Actually, if an intransitive verb forms a gerund, the noun ~~refers~~ refers simply to the name of the action, but if the verb is transitive, the gerund refers to the name of the object of the action. Thus:

(17) kiʔ edaudi-aʔa upaɛ eʔana

"He was the thing approached of the child"

(There will be more discussion of these various nominalizations, particularly the gerundive construction, in the section on syntax.)

A specific noun in Enggano can be preceded by one (sometimes even more) generic nouns to the left, beginning with the most generic term to the left, and increasing in specificity towards the right. Proper nouns can also be treated in this way, with the more generic term being the person's title or position. Examples of this kind of generic to specific gradation are given:

(12) eʔeʔeʔa eʔakʔmaʔa 'heron' (= bird heron)

(13) eʔkʔu paʔaʔaʔa 'paʔaʔaʔa' (= chief P.)

(14) kaʔaʔa kaʔaʔa 'boys' (= children men)

(15) eʔeʔeʔa eʔiʔmaʔa 'wild ~~beast~~ to eat' (= food wild dove)

(16) eʔeʔeʔa eʔaʔa eʔhuda eʔaʔiʔinaʔa 'unmarried girl'

(= person child woman unmarried)

In keeping with this tendency to increase in specificity the further one goes towards the right in the noun phrase, further constituents on the other side of the head noun make greater specification. So, the constituent that immediately follows a noun is the relative clause (if there is one present). Relative clauses will be discussed in more detail in the section on syntax if the data is available, but an outline will be presented here. The relative clause is introduced by hẽmaʔa 'singular head' or hõmaʔa 'plural head'

(or by moʔo, which does not specify number at all). E.g.

(22) ekaka eʔana kapae kamane hĩmoʔo kaitara

Those people are boys who are playing

(23) kĩa ekaka moʔo keʔbaʔa ya hācho

It is a person who is not worried

(24) kaʔuʔuadaza euba moʔo ʔamuh eʔie

This house, which is big, is beautiful

In the next paragraph, we will be discussing dependent noun structures. This optional constituent allows for recursion in the noun phrase, and, we can also have a relative clause modifying a dependent noun. E.g.

(25) kabia eʔana eʔahāuamaʔa ukw hĩmoʔo kanu  
epĩka

At that time there was a tree which was called pĩka

The constituent following the relative clause in Enggano is the "dependent" noun. If the dependent noun is non-pronominal, it is marked as being dependent by a different set of prefixed articles. These are:

	singular	plural
human I	u-	ka-
II	ø-	kaho-
proper	ø-	—
other	u-	u-

The two irregular forms discussed above, when in a dependent construction, are:

	singular	plural
'child'	uara	karara
'chief'	ukāpu	kanapu

The meaning of a head-dependent construction can be:

(i) Possession, either alienable or inalienable, with the dependent noun expressing the possessor, and the head noun the thing possessed. E.g.

(26) kĩa kidodo eʔapo uaradia

It is holding his child's hands

(27) eʔana ekaraha ukw

That is the trunk of a tree

(23) eiʔiɛ euba kiũɛ  
This is kiũɛ's house

(ii) "concerning", e.g.

(29) ekuɔaɔays ukaka haleɛ...

the story about the people a long time ago...

(30) abuha zika uʔanihaũs

we have finished (with) the work

(iii) What was originally the subject of a verb, which has been transformed into a gerund. E.g.

(31) ekuɔ eʔana eɔihẽkuhul upae

The tree is the thing occupied by the child

(iv) After iʔiɔɔ, which is a marker of "obliqueness" on nouns.

For more details, see the section on syntax; broadly, it marks any noun which is not the object of a transitive verb (except, of course, the subject). E.g.

(32) kia kihẽku iʔiɔɔ uɔaʔibia ukaka eʔana

He is sitting with that person's enemy

Note that iʔiɔɔ optionally reduces to the prefix ʔs- in Enggano. This prefix precedes the dependency marker which is prefixed to the verb, and is the only prefix in the language which ever precedes the article prefix, <sup>pronouns, see later</sup> except also for pre-clitic/

(33) kamimiha ebahan ukɔʔɛʔɛ eʔana ʔuʔiɔmas...

The devil became angry with the wild dove...

(v) After a noun marked with the locative prefix i-, which replaces the article e- for nouns other than human nouns and proper nouns (for more details, see the syntax section). The nouns which allow a dependency construction of this type are nouns that refer to a ~~place~~ "comparative" location (i.e. are not place names). Such nouns include:

ɔɔsiya 'place below'

hẽza 'top'

kahã 'place behind'

tebe 'place above'

and they occur in sentences such as (34-35) with a following dependent noun:

(34) *kia kai ikūda ukaka eZana*

She came behind that person

(35) *ekēZepa eZana kihēku etēbe ukus*

The bird is sitting on top of the tree

Pronouns can also function in dependency constructions, but we must formulate a set of cliticization rules, which shift these constituents from the independent noun position following the relative clause to the status of clitics to the head noun. These clitics expressing pronominal dependency can be either postclitic or preclitic. The postclitic forms are:

	sg.		pl.		pl.
1.	-iVu	ind.	-ka		-kaZa
		excl.			-dai
2.	-bu				-du
3.	-dia				-da

E.g.

(36) *eiZie eubāZan*

This is my house

(37) *eiZie eubabu*

This is your house

(38) *meS upua iZiS?Su*

Why are you running away from me?

The lexical items referring to kin in a senior position to ego can only take the plural clitic forms, never the singular, even if the reference is singular. This is presumably some kind of honorific device. E.g.

(39) *amañai* 'my father/our father'

(40) *nañia* 'his mother/their mother'

Dependent pronouns can also (very rarely) be expressed as preclitics, preceding the article marking the head noun, often causing it to become *ε*, and sometimes causing elision. The table below gives the forms of the preclitic dependent pronouns, together with the form of the article following it:

	sg.		du.		pl.
1.	ɪw-ε-√	ind.	ɪk-ε-√		ɪkaɪa-e-√
		ord.		ɪai-e-√	
2.	ɪɔɪ-ε-√			adiu-e-√	
3.	ki-ε-√			kii-φ-√	

E.g.

(41) eɪɪɪɪ ɪueɪba

This is my house

If there is any difference of meaning between preclitic and postclitic pronominal dependency constructions, we cannot gauge it from Kähler's description.

An alternative construction to the dependency construction outlined above for dependent nominals is one in which the noun<sup>or pronoun</sup> is left unmarked for its dependent role, but still occurs in post-head position. The dependency is marked by a pronominal copy on the noun as a preclitic<sup>or</sup> postclitic.

E.g. (42) eɪɪɪɪ ɪueɪba ɪua This is my house

(43) eɪɪɪɪɪ eɪuɪɪɪ eɪɪɪɪ eɪɪɪɪ

What is the name of these maggots

(44) mɔkɔnɔɪa epɔɔɪɪa ɪia

His coconut trees are numerous

Note that this construction, although infrequent, is used for both nominal and pronominal dependent nouns.

An optional final constituent, giving the ultimate degree of specificity (or lack of it), is the demonstrative, which occurs in the rightmost position of the noun phrase. There are three nominal demonstratives, the forms of which have already been given above, so will not be repeated here.

Instead of having a relative clause and other constituents, we can have a numeral quantifier in Enggano, which follows the noun. The exact position of this constituent is not yet known, as Kähler does not provide a great deal of data. The forms of the numerals are:

1	kəhɪɪɪ (ka-)	4	ɪaɔpa
2	ɪadua (aɔ-)	5	ɪadiba
3	ɪakɔdu	6	ɪakiakina

- 7 *ʔadiba hii ʔadua* (5+2)  
 8 *ʔaspa hii ʔaspa* (4+4)  
 9 *abai kahaiʔi* (1 is coming)  
 10 *kipāʔauʔu*  
 11 *kipāʔauʔu hii kahaiʔi* (10+1)  
 19 *kipāʔauʔu hii abai kahaiʔi* (10+1 is coming)  
 20 *kahaiʔi ekaka* (1 person)  
 21 *kahaiʔi ekaka hii kahaiʔi* (1 person + 1)  
 40 *ʔadua ekaka* (2 people)  
 60 *ʔakdu ekaka* (3 people)  
 400 *kahaiʔi ekudodaka* (1 body)

These numerals immediately follow the head noun; and then follows the obligatory classifiers, the forms of some of which are given below:

∅	humans, animals, money
abaka	fruit
akara	long, thin things
aʔaʔa, aʔoʔo	bundles of things
abakas	pig nets

When *kahaiʔi* 'one' and *ʔadua* 'two' appear before a non-zero classifier, they appear as prefixes to the classifier:

ka-	'one'
an-	'two'

E.g.

(45) *eʔito ʔakdu hapēa*

three bananas

(46) *epa kahapuʔiʔa*

a coconut

All classifiers apparently begin with an a, but in a construction of the form NUMBER + CLASSIFIER, there is an obligatory addition of initial h before the a. This h possibly arose out of an earlier ligature, in other languages. The regular reflex of PAN \*ŋ in Enggano is h (e.g. \*daŋa → da<sup>h</sup>a)

## The Verb Phrase

The structure of the verb phrase in Eiggano is so far known in much less detail than that of the noun phrase as less work has been done in this area, and Kähler himself was rather less detailed in his comments. The central constituent of the verb phrase is of course, the verb. The verb in the verb phrase must normally be marked as such by a prefix which has the canonical form ki-. This is functionally similar to the nominal article e- in that it has no meaning of its own except that it marks the verb as such. It was stated above that the basic form of this verb-marking prefix is ki-; this is the preconsonantal allomorph, before vowels it becomes simply k-. E.g.

stem	verb	
pudu	kipudu	'kill'
pu	kipu	'run'
ai	kai	'come'
aʔas	kaʔas	'die'

However, there are some irregularities occasionally encountered with certain kinds of initial segments. With ʔ- stems, instead of ki-, we can also get kʔ-. Thus:

stem	verb	
ʔuʔhʔ	kiʔuʔhʔ/kuʔuʔhʔ	'sleep'

and with stems in e-, ɔ-, u- and ɬ-, we can get either k- or ki-, e.g.

stem	verb	
ɛnami	k(i)ɛnami	'see'
ɔabi	k(i)ɔabi	'heat up'
uhaki	k(i)uhaki	'ruin'
ɬhɔaiɣ	k(i)ɬhɔaiɣ	'be jaunted'

When i and u come together in such situations, as in xiubaki 'min', the iu sequence can optionally reduce to become ɬ, thus: kɬubaki. There are in addition to the verbs set out above, also two irregular forms:

ʔamuhʔ	'be large'
hinyki	'be small'

which never take ki-, though syntactically and semantically one would expect them to. In all other respects, these two items behave as regular stative verbs.

This ki- is found on all verbs in Enggano (with the two examples just mentioned) without regard to transitivity:

(1) *ki kipudu edoɔ eɔaŋ*

He killed the wild pig

(2) *ki kipua*

He is running away

Although verbs ordinarily take the marker ki-, we do find very many cases of verbs that are marked instead by bu-. The allomorphy of this prefix is:

*bu- / -C*

*b- / -V*

and it is quite regular. E.g.

stem	verb	
<i>pudu</i>	<i>bupudu</i>	'kill'
<i>edo</i>	<i>bedo</i>	'cry'
<i>ai</i>	<i>bai</i>	'come'
<i>aɔapia</i>	<i>baɔapia</i>	'have a garden'

The conditions under which a verb is marked by bu- rather than ki- have not yet been fully established, but it would generally seem to be the case that a bu- verb is "implicated" by either a ki- verb which has already occurred in an utterance, or by a situation known to both the speaker and the hearer. E.g.

(3) *ki kahae baɔapia*

They went to ~~get~~ a garden

(4) *ki kidohsi eici karaɔibiada kabudohsi ...*

He heard the voices of their enemies and he listened...

There are examples where bu- is found rather than ki- to mark a verb, but where there is no semantic evidence for implication. We must simply state that even verbs such as:

*hii* 'be/do again'

*hɔ* 'be/do already'

mohs 'be/do also'

etc

require a following verb to exhibit an implicational relationship to it. E.g.

- (5) ... ekus ezana hēmōs edihis bipu amada neeni  
... the tree that was already cut down by his father  
just then.

(Note that the verb, in its passive form, dihis, is in (5) in the form of a gerund, but for the purposes of implication is treated as though it were still a verb.) Also:

- (6) kesba?a ipahai mainom

He couldn't feel anything

There are also environments in which the verb is marked by bu- rather than ki-, but where no "implicating" verb is to be found. Rather, the conditioning factor is the presence of a small set of items, which includes the perfective particle his (which can also be expressed as a verb, as shown above). The full details of this kind of conditioning are not yet known. E.g.

- (7) Iua his bupuhu kia

I have killed him

A final possibility instead of marking the verb by ki- is to mark it with a preclitic ~~subject~~ pronoun, which marks concord with the subject of the verb, be it either a pronoun or a noun. If the subject is a pronoun, this is then deleted and the person/number marking is then left entirely up to the preclitic element on the verb. These preclitic pronominal items replace ki-, but cooccur with bu-, preceding the latter. Once again, the details concerning the factors which condition the application of this subject concord rule are not yet fully known, but we can say that there is a set of environments which can be stated, which bring about this change. But first of all, the actual forms of the preclitic subject markers are:

## REPLACING ki-

sg.	ind.	pl.
1. $\text{ʔu-}\sqrt{\quad}$	$\text{kd-}\sqrt{\quad}$	$\text{ka-}\sqrt{\quad} - \text{aʔa}$
2. $\text{u-}\sqrt{\quad}$		$\text{ʔu-}\sqrt{\quad} - \text{ʔai}$
3. $\text{i-}\sqrt{\quad}$		$\text{u-}\sqrt{\quad} - \text{aʔa}$
		$\text{da-}\sqrt{\quad}$

We must observe the following allomorphic rules:

$$\text{CV} \rightarrow \text{C/} - \text{V}$$

$$\text{i} \rightarrow \text{y/} - \text{V}$$

$$\text{y} \rightarrow \text{p/} \dots \text{n} \dots$$

The latter rule is the only unusual rule, stating that a y for the third person singular form (which is derived from i- in precalic position), changes to p- if the stem contains an n. Thus, with the stem ainon 'feel', the derivation would be:

1.  $\text{i-ainon}$
2.  $\text{y-ainon}$
3.  $\text{p-ainon}$

## PRECEDING bu-

sg.	ind.	pl.
1. $\text{ʔu-}\sqrt{\quad}$	$\text{kd-}\sqrt{\quad}$	$\text{ka-}\sqrt{\quad} - \text{aʔa}$
2. $\text{ʔu-}\sqrt{\quad}$		$\text{ʔu-}\sqrt{\quad} - \text{ʔai}$
3. $\text{kd-}\sqrt{\quad}$		$\text{ʔu-}\sqrt{\quad} - \text{aʔa}$
		$\text{ki-/di-}\sqrt{\quad}$

The conditioning factors include:

(i) preceding negative particle, e.g.

(8)  $\text{kesbaʔa ipthai mainon}$

He couldn't feel anything

(ii) certain interrogative forms, e.g.

(9)  $\text{mes upua iʔissʔu}$

Why are you running away from me?

(iii) after certain conjunctions, e.g.

(10)  $\text{kanoʔʔiʔie elataidia be ipthaha kinsʔʔaha eptaha}$   
 $\text{iʔiss hongnia}$

His thoughts were thus, because he saw that the appearance of his wife was as it was

Finally, we find instances of verbs with g- marking, as in the imperative. E.g.

(11) hēku  
Sit down!

(12) pudu kiā  
Kill him!

(13) ai  
Come here!

Between the prefixes ki- and bu- or the preclitic subject concord markers and the verb root, we find in Erygano a series of prefixes that can occur. When these do occur together, they have set orders with respect to one another. Some of these prefixes are derivational, deriving a new verb from a nominal or verbal stem, while other prefixes mark the fact that particular syntactic processes have taken place. We will discuss first of all those prefixes which indicate that the clause has undergone syntactic shift.

(i) di-

This prefix has the allomorphs:

di- / -C

d- / -V

Some examples of verbs in this form exemplify this allomorphy:

stem	verb	
pudu	kidipudu	'kill'
doḁ	kididoḁ	'hold'
hēku	kidihēkuhūi	'occupy'

The presence of this prefix in the verbal constituent indicates that the sentence has undergone the passive transformation. E.g.

(14) eḁeḁ lididoḁ

A stone was being held

(15) epae eḁana kidedsi

The child was being cried over

(16) ekaka eḁana kidauduaḁa

That person was being approached.

(ii) a-

This prefix is invariably a-, whether the stem has an initial consonant or an initial vowel. E.g.

stem	verb	
puaka	kapuaka	'leave'

The presence of this prefix does not change the meaning of the verb, but it does mark the fact that a certain syntactic change has taken place, since it accompanies the shift whereby a verb, which is normally in second position in the sentence, is fronted to the first position. E.g.

(17) aauki ekihii

Pull the rattan

(18) kapapuaa eiaua ekahaka eiaua

The wild dove carried its nest (= made run)

(iii) pa-

This prefix has the forms:

pa- / -C

p- / -V (optionally also pa-)

as illustrated by:

stem	verb	
ada	kipada	'live'
ake	kipake	'bathe'

This prefix is found on various constituents - intransitive and transitive verbs, nouns and quantifiers. In all cases, the function of pa- is to indicate that a causative transformation has taken place. E.g.

(19) Iua kipaiaua eiaua uia eiaua

I doubted the taking of the fruit

(20) kia kipaake Iua

He bathed me

(21) Iua kipaiaua eua eiaua

He made the house beautiful

(22) kia kipaiaua eiaua eiaua

He married off his child

The syntactic aspects of the rule whose application is signalled by the presence of pa- is discussed separately in more detail in the syntax section.

Between these syntactic prefixes, and the verb root, we also have the various derivational prefixes. There are some details yet to be worked out on what these mean, from the texts, as Kähler is guilty of vagueness. It is also possible that some of these prefixes have some syntactic importance as well, but the data is at present too sketchy.

### (i) ba-

The allomorphy is, predictably:

ba- / -c

b- / -v (optionally also ba-)

as exemplified by:

stem	verb	
ai	kibai	'come'
puha	kibapuha	'be sick'
itara	kib(ə)itara	'play'

This prefix evidently expresses the progressive aspect. E.g.

(23) Iua kaba?as i?i?oniu

I am dying for you all

### (ii) a-

The syntactic implications of a- were discussed above. There is also a prefix a- in Enggano, which has a purely derivational function and must be regarded as being a different suffix. It is used only with nominal stems, and creates a verb expressing the action or state in some way 'typical' of the nominal stem. E.g.

stem		verb	
baka	'face/eye'	kabaka	'face someone'
pu	'back'	kapu	'turn one's back on s/d'
hūa	'fruit'	kshāua	'bear fruit'
ici	'word'	kaici	'speak'
pēa	'side'	kapēa	'turn sideways on to s/d'
pehe	'beginning'	kaphe	'begin s/t'

Some of these derived verbs are transitive, while others are

Intransitive, and there seems to be no way of predicting which stem will create a transitive or intransitive verb. E.g.

(24) ʔuʔ kabaka kiʔ

I am facing him

(25) kiʔ kaʔuʔ aʔiʔ

He turned his back on you all

(26) kiʔ kaʔiʔ

He spoke

(27) eʔʔ eʔaʔa kaʔaʔua

The coconut tree is bearing fruit

(iii) ka-

A verb or noun can take the prefix ka-, which seems to be invariant in form, to express the "spontaneous" aspect. We would expect this to be preceded by the verbal prefix ki-, but there is no evidence of it. Perhaps we will have to regard these verbs as being irregular in the same way as ʔamʔa 'be large' and hiʔuki 'be small', which also never have the ki- prefix. E.g.

(28) ʔikuʔ hiʔmʔʔ kaʔuʔ eʔʔka

of the tree that was called ʔʔka

(29) kaʔaʔaʔa eʔitaʔ kaʔaʔ eʔaʔa

The children were frightened

(iv) a-

Enggano has a prefix of the basic form a-, which differs from the prefix discussed under (ii) in that it is also accompanied by a series of rather ad hoc looking allomorphic changes. The allomorphy of this prefix is:

aha- / — {nasal } e.g. minʔʔiʔ → kaʔaminʔʔiʔ 'smell'  
                  {voiced stop }  
                  {vowel }

ʔaʔi → kaʔaʔaʔi 'buy'

aha- / — ʔ but ʔ → ʔa

ʔʔbu → kaʔaʔaʔbu 'build/do'

ahʔ- / — ʔ

ʔʔbu → kaʔaʔʔbu 'build/do'

a- / — elsewhere but

ʔ k → d o r n

kaʔdʔ → kaʔadʔdʔ

'swallow'

kiki → kaʔiki

'rake'

h → haʔ

hʔmʔ → kaʔaʔmʔ

'thread on'

ʔ → b

ʔʔiʔ → kaʔaʔiʔ

'crush'

ʔuʔ → kaʔuʔ

'kill'

Köhler glosses this as an "intensive" prefix, but it is not explained in any depth. This prefix is also rather odd syntactically in that the object of the derived verb is expressed as an oblique form, i.e. with or without iʔiʔs, followed by a dependent noun. This could indicate that while the translation is transitive, the construction might actually be an intransitive one, with the object being some kind of complement noun phrase. E.g.

(35) ʔua kamau (iʔiʔs) uʔiʔs

I am crushing bananas

(36) ʔʔʔ kabudu (iʔiʔs) ukʔʔʔ eʔana

You killed the wild pig

(v) aʔi-

This is a poorly attested prefix, and Köhler says it occurs only with stems in n-, a-, t- and k-. This seems to be a very unusual specification, and it seems likely that the gaps are to do with gaps in the data only. This prefix creates a verb which functions syntactically like the verbs in (iv). The meaning is not known. E.g.

(37) ʔua kaʔiʔaʔa uʔaʔʔʔ

I caught the fish

(38) kʔa kaʔiʔʔʔʔʔ ukʔʔʔ eʔana

He grabbed the net

This prefix is often found in the company of a- and ba-. The prefix a- creates a verb out of the noun, while ba- indicates progressive aspect. The role of aʔi- is of course not known.

Together, these prefixes create an intransitive verb meaning "to go out and look for the referent of the stem". E.g.

(39) ʔua kabaʔiʔkʔʔʔ

I am going out for wild pig.

(vi) aʔa-

This prefix varies allomorphically as indicated below:

aʔa- / -V but V → ʔ      uʔa → kaʔaʔaʔa      'house'

aʔa- / -ʔ but ʔ → ʔa      ʔāns → kaʔaʔāns      'friend'

aʔa- / - elsewhere      pʔuʔdui → kaʔapʔuʔdui      'hair'

hūa → kaʔahūa      'fruit'

This prefix has very different functions according to whether it is found on a noun stem or a verb stem. If the stem is nominal, it creates an intransitive comitative verb, meaning "to have or be characterized by the referent of the stem". E.g.

(35) ekaka kitera kaɔapuruɔui

All people have hair

(36) kia kaɔapis

He has a garden

(37) lua kaɔaɔāns hii kia

I am friends with him

(38) eɔeksa eɔana kaɔapɔh

The road is wide (= has width)

If the stem is verbal however, it indicates, sometimes with reduplication of the initial CV, that the action has been completely carried out, to the point of destruction. E.g.

(39) kaɔapupuɔa euba

The house fell right down.

(40) aɔakēnai ehūa eɔana

Look for all the fruit.

That covers the range of prefixes found on Enggano verbs. The language also has a set of suffixes found on verbs, though the number is rather less than the number of prefixes. There are two suffixes that mark on the verb a particular syntactic configuration of the clause. These are:

(i) -CC)aɔa

This suffix has the form -aɔa in most instances, though with certain verbs, we find the presence of a supporting consonant, either h, d or g. All -a verbs take the supporting consonant h. The syntax of this suffix is discussed separately; broadly, it is a verbal transitive suffix, requiring as its object a noun phrase in the <sup>goal</sup> ~~goal~~ or instrumental roles. E.g.

(41) kia lipuduaɔa ebɔhɛ ɔɔiss ukays

He killed the wild pig with a spear.

(ii) -(C)i

This suffix is usually simply -i, but in some cases there is a supporting consonant, either d or h (but not y). This

exclusion perhaps being phonologically determined). If the supporting consonant is h, then the suffix itself is of the form -Vi rather than just -i. E.g.

stem	verb	
edo	kedo	'cry'
eko	keke	'bathe'
hāsho	kihāshoni	'worry'
hēku	kihēkuhui	'sit'

Verbs carrying the suffix -Cōi are all transitive and must have an object that is in either the locative or source role. E.g.

(42) hēkuhui ekus e?ana

Sit in that tree!

The remaining suffixes to verbs occur after these syntactic suffixes. These are discussed below:

#### (i) -(C)a

The suffix -a, sometimes preceded by the supporting consonant h or y, after the derivational suffixes in Enggano, indicates futurity or volition. When this suffix is added after the instrumental/goal suffix -a?a, the future marker has the form -ua. E.g.

(43) Iua kipudua kia

I will kill him

(44) Iua hō bupudua kia

I will have killed him

(45) kia hō bawua?aua ekaka e?ana

He will have approached that person

#### (ii) -(C)ɔ

Instead of suffixing -a, we can also suffix -ɔ, with the same conditions governing the presence of supporting consonants. The meaning is that of obligation. E.g.

(46) e?ubɛ?e ekodoh

Medicine is to be swallowed

(47) ekaeni e?ana eanokiɔ

That cloth must be washed

(48) ekus e?ana eabaitarahah

That tree is for playing with

(iii) -aʔa.

Verbs which have either q- marking or which are prefixed with preclitic pronominal concord markers, when plural (in contrast to singular and dual), can take the suffix -aʔa. E.g.

(49) puduaʔa kia

You all kill him!

(50) kapuduaʔa kia

Let's kill him!

When the plural marker -aʔa follows the transitive suffix -(C)qʔa, the ~~former~~ <sup>latter former</sup> has either the form ~~-(C)qʔa~~ -uaʔa or simply -ʔa. E.g.

(51) puduaʔaʔa ebəhɛ ʔʔis ukəyɔ

Kill the wild pig with a spear

(52) puduaʔauaʔa ebəhɛ ʔʔis ukəyɔ

Kill the wild pig with a spear

(iv) -məha.

Attached to a verb, this suffix expresses "also". E.g.

(53) kabia eʔana eoʔahəuaməha ukəyɔ

At that time there was also fruit on the tree...

(v) -pua.

This suffix expresses the idea of "now". E.g.

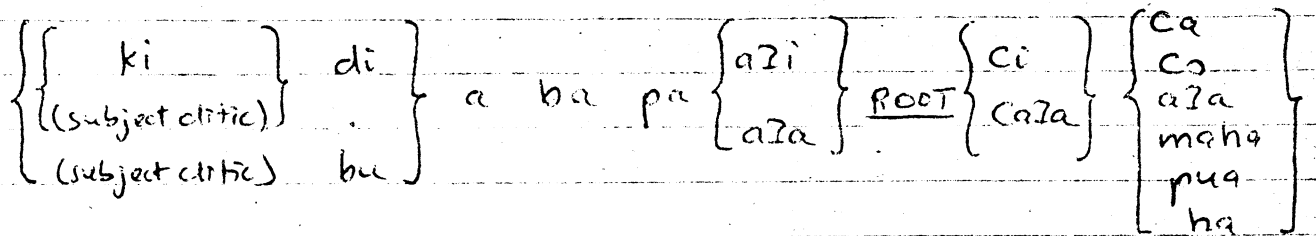
(54) kaməpua

Let's eat now!

(vi) -ha.

This is a frequently encountered suffix in the Enggano textual material, and Kähler at one point glosses it as simply an emphatic particle. This may be so, but one would suggest that if it expresses emphasis, one would expect it to occur somewhat less frequently than it does, unless we are to interpret "emphasis" as something less than it ought to be interpreted.

The following diagram is given to summarize the structure of the Enggano verbal constituent:



Some of the affixes presented above are not placed in this diagram as there is so far insufficient data on which we can base their placement. This table will certainly need to be redrawn as new data is examined in more detail.

Modality in Enggano can be expressed verbally. The "modal" verbs that are known from the corpus so far include:

kimho - indicating that an action is following

kihii - indicating that an action is repeated or takes place at its source

kihoo - indicating that an action is completed

kipthai - indicating that the subject has the ability to perform the action.

The main verb follows the modal, and is syntactically treated as though it were in an implicational relationship with the modal. E.g.

(57) kəbaza ipthai mainm

He couldn't feel anything

Of these modals, the forms hii and hoo are also used as particles, hii being used as the conjunction 'and' and hoo as an indicator of perfective aspect. E.g.

(58) kiq hoo bupudu ki

He has killed them

Verbs in Enggano can be reduplicated. There are two types of reduplication according to the type of verb. Stative verbs are reduplicated in full, to indicate a concentration of the quality. E.g.

nene → nene-nene 'very thin'

On the other hand non-stative verbs are reduplicated only in the first syllable <sup>(sometimes)</sup> (with the vowel doubled) and the semantic

effect is to express duration. E.g.

hēku → hēhēku 'be sitting'

zusho → zuzusho 'be sleeping'

horahēza → hōhōrahēza 'be singing'

parci → paparci 'be causing to speak'

pudu → pupudu 'be killing'

pta → ptppta 'be seeing'

## Outline Notes on Syntax

There are many problems involved in looking at the syntax of Enggano because of the nature of the source. Insufficient attention is paid by Kähler to giving exact meanings for sentences, especially with regard to sentences that are structurally minimally different. Presumably some of the problems that arise could be solved by referring to the texts that have been published in quantity by Kähler, but this must remain a more long-term aim. For the short term, the present guesses will have to suffice.

The whole presentation of this syntactic outline (and indeed this whole sketch) is quite different from that of Kähler. His presentation is rather individual, one might even say chaotic. It is hoped that these notes are more orderly and intelligible. It is also hoped that by expressing Kähler's grammar in similar terms to those used by Foley, comparison with other Austronesian languages (notably: Fijian, Tongan, Palauan, Tagalog) and also with proto-Austronesian, will be facilitated.

The central part of these notes on syntax is the treatment of the most basic sentence type - simple, affirmative statements. All other sentence types (e.g. subordinated, coordinated, relativized, negative, interrogative etc) are considered for the purposes of description to be "derived."

### 1. The Basic Sentence

#### 1.1 Verbless Sentences

Verbless sentences are characterized by the fact that in their surface forms, there is only a topic NP and a comment NP, in that order, with no verb. E.g.

(1) ehaba eũza

Sweet potatoes are food

(2) eZana eubaZau

That is my house

(3) epakamai eZana eakaki

That knife is a plane

(4) kia earabu

He is your child

This is however, a frequent alternative to this construction (Kähler suggests that this alternative is in fact preferred over the construction just described.). We can reverse the order of the topic and the comment, and optionally mark the new sentence initial comment with the suffix -daʔa. E.g.

(5) ekusdaʔa ekitee

A "kitee" is a tree

(6) eũʔanaʔa ebaba

Sweet potatoes are food

(7) ehuda kia

She is a woman

Kähler does not state the meaning difference between sentence pairs such as (5) and (6).

Although it was stated above that the surface forms of verbless sentences, exemplified in (1-7), contain no verb, there are instances where such sentences do contain a verb. This verb is a dummy verb however, and is inserted automatically by a regular syntactic rule in certain situations. There are environments in Enggano where we have obligatory concord between the subject of a sentence and the verb, in the form of a pronominal prefix attached to the verb. The environments in which this concord takes place were discussed in the section on verb morphology. When sentences (1-7) fulfill these conditions, we insert the dummy verb apadi (which also functions lexically, meaning 'become') in the normal verbal position, i.e. between the topic NP and the comment NP. One of the syntactic environments that requires pronominal concord is a negative sentence; in (8-11) negative "verbless" sentences are presented, illustrating the purely functional, non-semantic role of apadi.

(8) ekitee keabaʔa yapadi eʔee

A "kitee" is not a stone

(9) keabaʔa ʔuapadi ekãpu

I am not a chief

(10) keabaʔa kapadi kanãpu

We are not chiefs

(11) kəpəɛ eʔana kəbəʔa dəpədi kəhənda

Those children are not girls

Note also from (9) and (10) that where the subject of apadi is a pronoun rather than a noun, the subject pronoun is deleted and the person and number marking is found only in the form of the concord marker prefixed to the verb.

Kähler gives many examples of sentences of the form NP + NP in which the comment NP is a ground rather than a full noun. E.g.

(12) ekəʔs edipudu ukaka eʔana

The pig was killed by the man (lit: the pig is the killed thing of the man)

Although these kinds of sentences do fall into the class of verbless sentences, they are discussed in more detail in 1.6 below, because as grounds, the comment NP's also have some distinctly verbal characteristics (even to the extent of taking the full range of verbal prefixes and suffixes other than ki- and bu-).

### 1.2 Verbal Sentences

In contrast with sentences (1-12), most sentences in Enggano cio have surface verbs. As with nouns, which are regularly marked as such by the presence of the prefixal markers e- or ka-, Enggano verbs are regularly marked as such by prefixing either ki- or bu- or the pronominal concord prefixes in environments set out in outline in the previous section.

Enggano has two kinds of verbs, according to the nature of the NP in subject position. These are: stative verbs (with a patient NP as subject) and active verbs (with an actor/experiencer NP as subject).

The basic constituent order in stative sentences seems to be V-S, while in active sentences the normal order seems to be S-V-(O). There does seem to be a generalization which can predict the constituent order according to the clause type and this is: The verb should precede the patient NP if there is one in this role, otherwise the order is S-V-O. (A check needs to be made on the data in the

texts with regard to this ordering generalization; this has not yet been done).

### 1.2.1 Stative Verbs

Stative verbs express a state and are always one-place predicates with a subject in the patient role, which generally follows the verb. E.g.

(13) kididika eɾabɔ u?

Your child is quick

It was pointed out above that in unmarked syntactic environments, all verbs are marked with the prefix ki-. There is one small group of stative verbs which forms an exception to this generalization, i.e. all stative verbs expressing size or quantity. These have ɔ- marking rather than ki-. Examples of such irregular verbs are: Iɛmuɔ 'be large', hiɲuki 'be small' and ɲɔks 'be numerous'. E.g.

(14) Iɔɲmuɔ euba eIɔɲɔ

The house is big

Stative clause types are distinguished semantically from active clause types in the different nature of their subjects. There are also overt differences between the two types of clauses however. The formal differences lie in the following two facts:

(i) A stative verb can optionally be marked with -daɪɔ, when in sentence initial position. E.g.

(15) kaɪɪuɪuɔdaɪɔ eubaɪɔ

My house is nice

An active verb is never found with -daɪɔ however (at least in the corpus examined to date). In this respect, stative clauses are similar in behaviour to topic-comment clauses, which were described in 1.1. The stative verb therefore acts as a kind of comment. This is hardly surprising, since stative verbs in Enggano correspond to a subclass of nominals in many languages of the world (i.e. adjectives).

(ii) When the third person singular pronominal concord prefix is attached to a stative verb (as must happen in negative constructions, as in other syntactic environments), the prefix is

generalization, i.e. all stative verbs expressing size or quantity. These have ϕ- marking rather than li-. Examples of such irregular verbs are: ɪamũhõ 'be large', hinũkĩ 'be small', mĩkĩ 'be numerous'.  
E.g.

(14) ɪamũhõ e-uba eɪana  
<sub>be large</sub> <sub>art</sub> <sub>house</sub> <sub>that</sub>  
 The house is large

Stative clause types are distinguished semantically from active clause types ~~and~~ in the different nature of their subjects. There are also overt differences between the two types of sentences however. The formal differences lie in the following two facts:

(i) A stative verb can optionally be marked with -daɪa when in sentence initial position. E.g.

(15) k-a-ɪuɪua -daɪa e-uba-ɪau  
<sub>v</sub> <sub>v-3sg</sub> <sub>be nice</sub> <sub>comment</sub> <sub>art</sub> <sub>house</sub> <sub>1sg</sub>  
 My house is nice

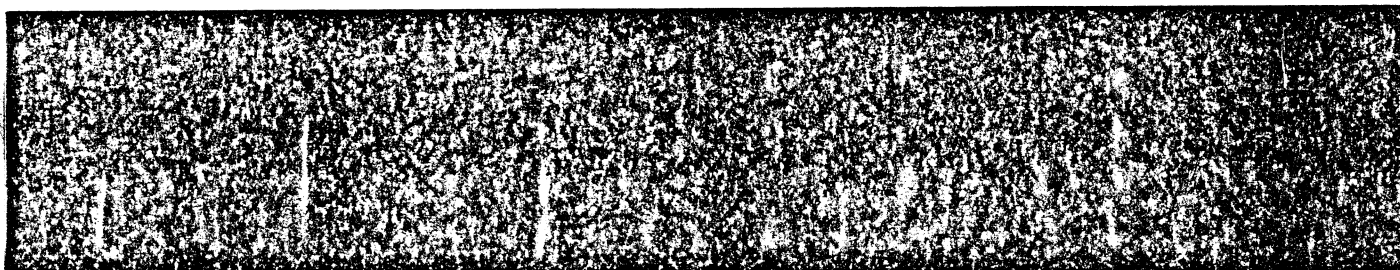
An active verb is never found with -daɪa in the corpus investigated to date. In this respect, stative clauses are similar in behaviour to topic-comment clauses, which were described in 1.1. The stative verb therefore acts as a kind of comment. This is hardly surprising, since stative verbs in many languages of the world are expressed as adjectives which can be considered a sub-class of nouns.

(ii) When the third person singular pronominal concord prefix is attached to a stative verb (as must happen in negative constructions, as well as other environments), the prefix is of the form ya- rather than i-, which is the form used with active ~~stative~~ verbs. Thus, (16) contrasts with (17):

(16) kɛqbaɪa ya-ɪɪnõ  
<sub>not</sub> <sub>3sg</sub> <sub>be weak</sub>  
 He is not weak

(17) kɛqbaɪa y-ɛɔ  
<sub>not</sub> <sub>3sg</sub> <sub>cry</sub>  
 He does not cry.

Note that the underlying form in yɛɔ is i-ɛɔ; the i-



of the form yə- rather than i-, which is the form used with active verbs. Thus, (16) contrasts with (17):

(16) keəbɔʔə yəʔʃnɔ

He is not weak

(17) keəbɔʔə yɛdɔ

He does not cry

Note that the underlying form of yɛdɔ is i-ɛdɔ, the i- is regularly realized as y- with a vowel initial stem.

Active clauses always have a subject, which is in actor role. Active clauses fall into two classes, transitive and intransitive. There is not always a formal marking on the verb of the difference between a transitive verb and an intransitive verb, but there is a very great syntactic difference in that transitive verbs are two-way predicates (with a subject and an object) and intransitive verbs are one-way predicates (with only a subject). Examples of active clause-types are:

(18) e- kɛʔɛpa eʔana ki-hãhãmõ  
 art bird that v fly  
 The bird is flying

(19) ki k-ai  
 3pl v come  
 They are coming

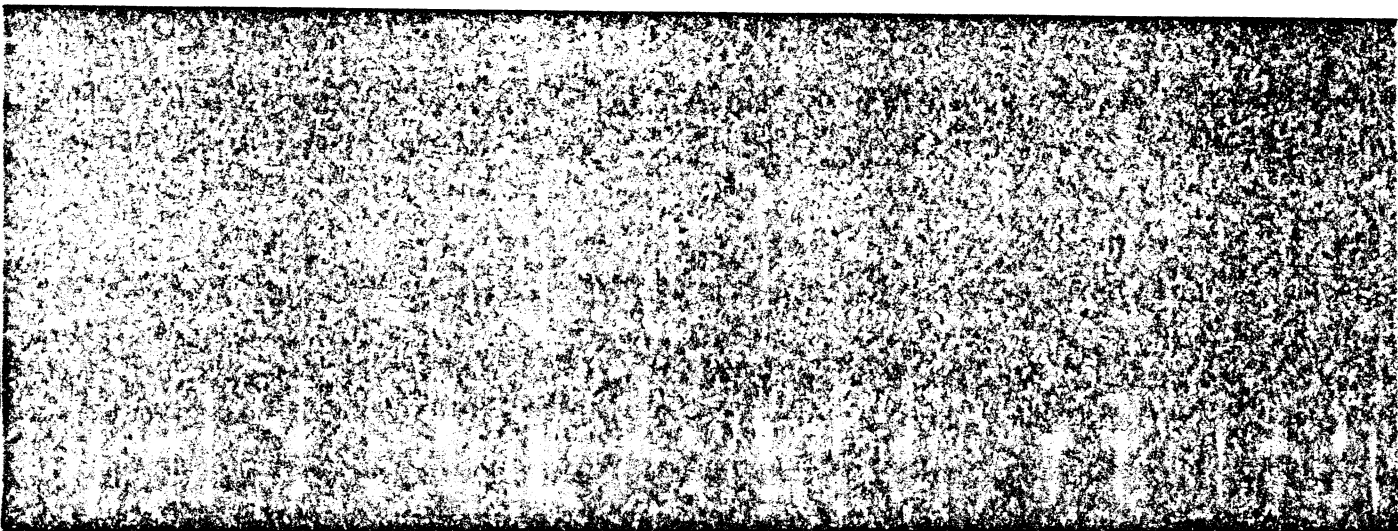
(20) kia ki-pudu e-kɔpɔ eʔana  
 3sg v kill art wild pig that  
 It killed the wild pig

(21) e-beʔ eʔana ki-hau ʔua  
 art dog that v bite 1sg  
 The dog bit me

An intransitive active verb occurs in sentence (18) and in (19). With only one NP, the actor-subject, this is naturally the NP that is in focus.

The basic type of transitive clause is illustrated by (20) and (21), where the subject is in actor role, ~~and~~ the object is ~~the~~ a patient and the verb is marked by -v. However, transitive verbs can be marked with suffixes other than -v, focussing on an NP other than the patient by placing it in object position. There are two such suffixes. The first is -C(i), which indicates that the object is a Focused NP in the locative or source role. E.g.

(22) kia ki-hẽkũ-hũũ e-kɔpɔ eʔana  
 3sg v sit LOC art tree that  
 It is sitting in the tree



(23) ʔɔʔɔ k - ɛdɔ - i e - pɔɛ ɛʔana  
 2sg cry source sit child that

You were crying because of the child

Transitive verbs can also carry the marking -ɛdɔɔʔa. In clauses with a verb marked in this way, the focused object is either in the role of instrument or goal. E.g.

(24) kia ki - pɔdu - ɔʔa e - bɔhɛ  
 3sg kill inst cut spear

He killed (something) with a spear

(25) ʔɔʔɔ k - ɔɔdu - ɔʔa e - kɔka ɛʔana  
 2sg go goal sit person that

You went to that person

### 1.2.3 Active Verbs and NP's Not in Focus

Section 1.2.2 above describes the behaviour of NP's in various roles when they are in focus. NP's can also be out of focus of course. The manner of expressing each role is discussed below:

#### (i) Locative.

An NP in the locative role, when not in focus, is marked by the prefix i- which ~~pre~~ replaces the normal nominal prefix e-. E.g.

(26) kia ki - hɛkũ i - dɔpɔ  
 3sg sit loc ground

He is sitting on the ground

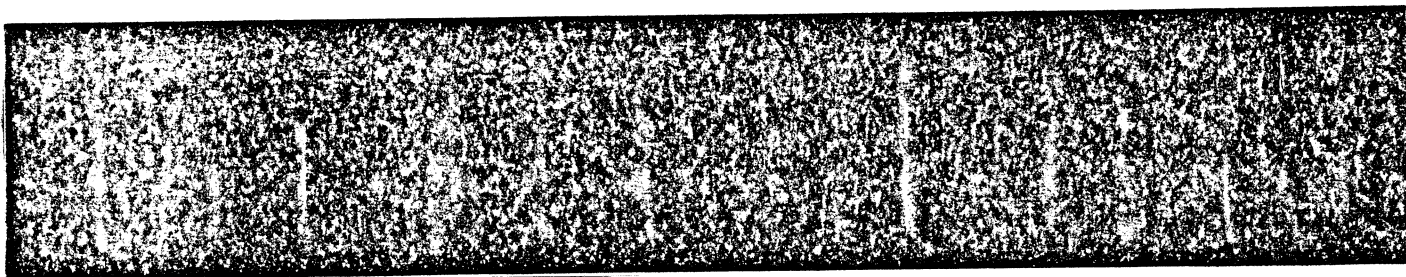
If the locative NP is human, instead of simply prefixing the NP with i-, we have iʔɔ:, which is followed by a noun marked as dependent by the prefix u-. Thus, it is as though we had a noun ʔɔ: in the locative form, behaving in the same way as locational nouns such as:

ɔdɔɔ	'place below'
hɛʔɔ	'top'
kahɔ	'place behind'
tɛbɛ	'place above'

which occur in sentences such as:

(27) kia k - ɔi i - kũkũ - ʔɔũ  
 3sg come loc behind 1sg

He came behind me



(28) e - keʔeʔa eʔana ki-hẽkũ i-tebe  
 a.i. bird sit that sit Loc above

The bird is sitting up there

with the pronoun in (27) in a dependency (i.e. "possession") construction. The nouns following iʔiʔ: are also in a dependency construction. E.g.

(29) kia ki-hẽkũ iʔiʔ: u-daʔibia u-kaka eʔana  
 3sg sit in relation dep sit enemy dep sit person that

It is sitting with that person's enemy

(30) kia ki-hẽkũ iʔiʔ: -nĩã  
 3sg sit in relation 3sg

It is sitting with him

## (ii) Goal.

When the goal NP is not in focus, it is expressed in the same way as the locative, in the case of human nouns. E.g.

(31) pẽpẽ e-hũã eiʔie iʔiʔ: u-kãpũ paraʔana  
 give fruit art fruit this in relation dep sit child name

Give this fruit to child Paraʔana

When the goal is non-human however, it is expressed in the same form as the locative but with the preceding goal particle yahae. E.g.

(32) e - kaka eʔana ki-nãʔã e-ũʔã yahae i-uba-ʔau  
 cit person that bring art food goal Loc house 3sg

That person brought the fruit to my house

(33) e - keʔeʔa eʔana ki-ʔeʔeʔa yahae i-taʔa  
 a.i. bird that fly goal Loc there

The bird flew over there

## (iii) Source

When expressing an NP which is in the role of source, if it has place reference, then we take the locative form in i- and place before it the source particle kude. E.g.

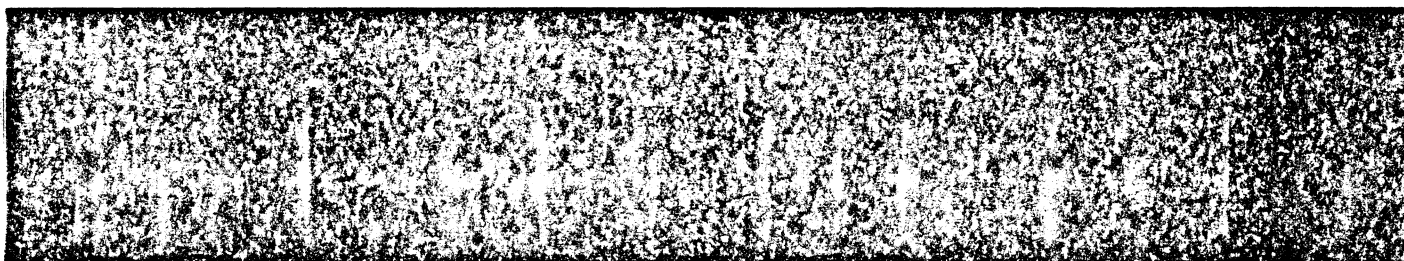
(34) e-hũã ki-nõnõnã kude i-hẽʔã u-pɔ: eʔana  
 art fruit fall source Loc top dep sit reference that

The fruit fell from the top of the coconut tree

(35) kia ki-pua kude i-malakõnĩ  
 3sg fall source Loc name

It ran from Malakõnĩ

However, if the source is other than a place noun, the NP in this role is expressed in the same way as the locative and



goal roles, i.e. with iʔiʔ: followed by a dependent noun. E.g.

(36) e-kəka eʔana k-a-ʔaʔ iʔiʔ: u-nānāʔāñnĩ  
 3sg person that v-foc die in relation depend small-pox

That person died from small-pox

#### (iv) Instrument and Patient

Any NP in either the role of instrument or patient, when it is not in focus, is also expressed by the iʔiʔ: + dependent NP construction. E.g.

(37) kĩa ki-pudu e-kəy iʔiʔ: u-bəhɛ  
 3sg v kill art-wildpig in relation depend spear

He killed the wild pig with a spear

(38) kĩa ki-pudu-aʔa e-bəhɛ iʔiʔ: u-kəy eʔana  
 3sg v kill inst art spear in relation depend pig that

He killed the wild pig with a spear

Unfortunately, Kähler's grammatical sketch provides no data on the coding of benefactive NPs, whether in focus or not in focus.

#### 1.3 Focus on Action(?)

It was stated above that the basic constituent ordering rules in Enggano are:

(i) (ACTOR +) VERB + PATIENT

(ii) S + V (+ O)

However, by prefixing the verb stem with a-, we can alter these ordering rules to simply: V + S + O. E.g.

(39) k-a-pukə e-kəka eʔana  
 v v-foc leave art person that

That person has left

(40) k-a-nĩkĩ e-ləka eʔana e-kĩhĩ  
 v v-foc pull art person that are rattan

That person pulled the rattan

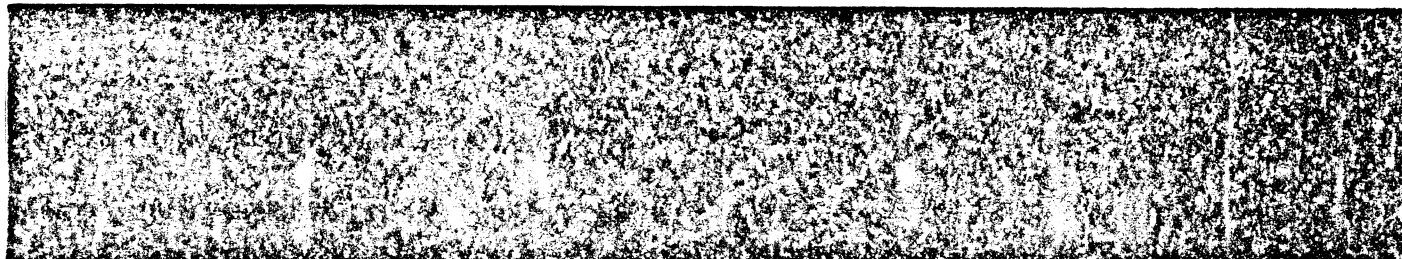
Note that if the subject is pronominal, the verb can still take the prefix a-, but the word order shift is blocked. E.g.

(41) kĩa k-a-nĩkĩ e-bəka-dĩg  
 3sg v v-foc wash art eye 3sg

It washed his face (=eyes)

Kähler does not discuss the difference between verbs with Ø- and standard word order and verbs with a- and switched word order. It could be suggested that a-

passive like  
 off (t) mē  
 a-nũkĩ e-kĩhĩ  
 (pull) the rattan



might focus attention on the action as well as the object NP if there is one. Certainly, by bringing the verb to the beginning of the sentence, it brings it into greater prominence.

#### 1.4 Passivization

Enggano is able to shift any NP from the object position to subject position by a passivization rule. In passive sentences, the verb takes the prefix di-. However, in di- clauses we are not able to express an agent NP; the sentences are in the form of intransitive clauses. There is no constraint on the kind of object that can be raised, as shown by:

(42) e-ʔeə ki-di-dɔɔɔ  
cit stone v pass hold

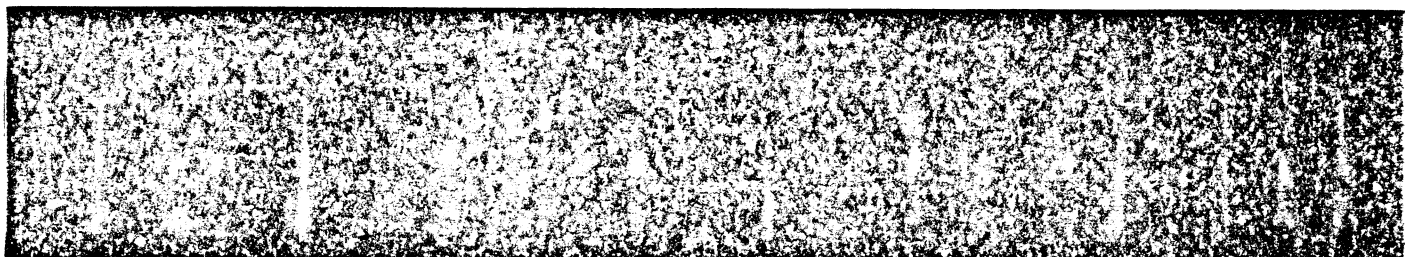
The stone is being held

(43) e-kʌ eʔana ki-di-hẽkũ-hũũ  
cit tree that v pass sit loc

Someone is sitting in that tree

(44) e-təka eʔana ki-d-audu-aʔa  
cit person that v pass go goal

Someone went to that person



## 1.5 Gerundial Clauses

Plentiful evidence from Kähler that Enggama makes productive use of gerundial constructions. Gerundial clauses have nominal character in that:

- (i) Verbal prefix ki- is replaced by nominal prefix e-, and
- (ii) Verbal construction SUBJECT + VERB becomes GERUND + DEP. NOUN. I.e. verbal subject becomes modifying dependent noun, with gerund as head noun. Eg.

(33)  $e\text{-}pa\dot{e}$   $k\text{-}eds$  →  $e\text{-}eds$   $u\text{-}pa\dot{e}$   
art child v cry art cry dep art child  
 the child cried the crying of the child

But gerundial constructions also verbal in that all prefixes and suffixes found only on verbs and never on nouns can also occur on gerunds. Eg.

(34)  $ki\text{-}kods\text{-}hs$   $e\text{-}Tub\dot{e}T\dot{e}$  →  $e\text{-}Tub\dot{e}T\dot{e}$   $e\text{-}kods\text{-}hs$   
v swallow must art medicine art medicine art swallow must  
 must swallow the medicine the medicine must be swallowed

Gerundial clauses can be formed from all kinds of verbs, stative and active, transitive and intransitive, including all kinds of transitive verbs. Eg.

(35)  $keab\dot{o}Ta$   $u\text{-}Tuzua$   $e\text{-}eds$   $u\text{-}pa\dot{e}$   $e\dot{z}ana$   
not 3sg nice art cry dep art child that  
 That child's crying is not nice

(36)  $e\dot{z}ana\text{-}n\dot{a}T\dot{a}$   $e\text{-}a\text{-}pu\dot{z}uda$   $u\text{-}dops$   
that comm art v-fall fall dep art earth  
 Then there was earth falling (from the sky)

(37)  $n\dot{s}i\dot{s}n\dot{e}$   $e\text{-}a\text{-}b\dot{e}\text{-}T\dot{a}$   $u\text{-}T\dot{o}bi$   
that art v-fall cont art dep art fire  
 The fire died down like that

(38)  $m\dot{o}k\dot{o}\text{-}n\dot{a}T\dot{a}$   $e\text{-}pa\text{-}pe\text{-}dia$   
much comm art poss give 3sg  
 His gift was large

(39)  $e\text{-}k\dot{a}p$   $e\dot{z}ana$   $e\text{-}di\text{-}h\dot{e}k\dot{u}\text{-}h\dot{u}$   $u\text{-}pa\dot{e}$   
art poss that art poss sit loc dep art child  
 The tree was occupied by the child

(40)  $e\text{-}k\dot{a}p$   $e\dot{z}ana$   $e\text{-}di\text{-}pu\dot{du}$   $u\text{-}k\dot{a}ka$   $e\dot{z}ana$   
art pig that art poss kill dep art person that  
 That man killed the pig

(41)  $kia$   $e\text{-}d\text{-}qu\dot{du}\text{-}a\dot{z}a$   $u\text{-}pa\dot{e}$   $e\dot{z}ana$   
3sg art poss go comm dep art child that  
 He was approached by the child

(42)  $ki\text{-}T\dot{o}gha$   $e\text{-}a\text{-}pu\dot{h}\text{-}dia$   
v be sick art v-fall be sick 3sg  
 His being sick is bad

By using gerundial constructions, can bring into focus object NP. But difference from passive discussed in 1.4 in that

passive does not allow expression of the actor NP, whereas in a genindial clause, the actor is expressed as a "possessor" of an action. Thus, contrast (32) and (43):

(32) ekaka eZana lidauduaZa

(43) ekaka eZana edauduaZa upae

In (32), the actor NP paε 'child' cannot be specified, whereas in (43) the agent can be expressed as the dependent noun phrase upae.

## 1.6 Causation

Causative sentences are essentially changing at subject position from actor/experiencer role to source role. This can be achieved in two ways:

(i) By marking the verb with -ccaa. This normally marks the object as being in the instrumental or goal function. But sometimes this construction allows an object in the patient or actor function, and a subject in source function. E.g.

( ) Zua ki-hau kia  
 1sg 1sg bite 3sg  
 I bit him

Zua is actor and kia is patient. But in:

( ) Zua ki-hau-aa e-kitahan i:ĩĩ-nĩĩ  
 1sg 1sg bite 3sg centipede 3sg 3sg  
 I made the centipede bite him

Zua is the source and kia has become patient with kitahan the actor. Also from:

( ) Zua k-soli e-hũã eZana  
 1sg 1sg buy 3sg fruit 3sg  
 I bought the fruit

we can relate

( ) Zua k-soli-aa e-hũã eZana  
 1sg 1sg buy 3sg fruit 3sg  
 I sold the fruit

The Zua in the first sentence is actor, in the second it is source. hũã 'fruit' ~~changes~~ does not change role.

(ii) By prefixing the verb with pa-. E.g.

( ) Zua ki-pa-ta e-pae eZana  
 1sg 1sg 3sg 3sg  
 I brought the child up

( ) e-pae ki-di-pa-ta  
 3sg 3sg 3sg  
 The child was brought up

( ) kia ki-pa-ke Zua  
 3sg 1sg 3sg  
 He bathed me

( ) Zua ki-pa-tuZua e-uba eZana  
 1sg 1sg 3sg 3sg  
 I made the house nice

This kind of causative can be formed from both stative and active clauses. In causative stative clauses, subject patient becomes object as in last example, while in ( ) the actor NP in active clause becomes patient also and subject is in source function.

## 2. Imperative Clauses

Any active verb can appear in imperative construction. In positive imperative, prefix ki- is deleted and optionally replaced by second person prefixed subject pronouns tu- or u- in singular and plural respectively. Plural always must be marked with -aʔa. E.g.

( ) pudu e-kʏp eʔana  
kill art pig that  
Kill the pig!

( ) pudu-aʔa ʔia  
kill pl it  
Kill it!

( ) hẽkũ-hũ e-kʏp eʔana  
sit loc art tree that  
Sit in the tree

( ) hẽkũ-hũ-aʔa e-kʏp eʔana  
sit loc pl art tree that  
Sit in the tree

Negative imperative expressed by prohibitive particle yaraʔa followed by verb in bu- form. E.g.

( ) yaraʔa bu-pua  
prohib v run  
Don't run!

( ) yaraʔa bu-pudu e-kʏp eʔana  
prohib v kill art pig that  
Don't kill the pig!

## 3. Hortative Clauses

Any active verb can appear in hortative construction by replacing prefix ki- with first person dual or plural inclusive pronoun forms. E.g.

( ) ka-pudu ʔia  
1st incl kill  
Let us kill him

( ) ka-pudu-aʔa ʔia  
1st incl kill pl  
Let us kill him

( ) ka-hẽkũ-hũ e-kʏp eʔana  
1st incl sit loc art tree that  
Let us sit in the tree

## 4. Optative Clauses

To express optative clauses, we replace prefix ki- with third person pronominal prefixes, as in:

→

( ) y-ai e-kaka i-tera  
<sub>3pl come art person all</sub>

May all the people come!

( ) nã-mã-hãẽkũ ki i-cita  
<sub>3pl cont sit 3pl loc there</sub>

May they sit there!

## 5 Question Sentences

Any sentence can be transformed into polar question by change of intonation alone without word order change.

Verbless sentences optionally take order comment + topic and mark comment with interrogative -pe. E.g.

( ) e-kiʔadɔbu e-keʔepa      Are chickens birds?  
         art chicken                      art bird

( ) e-ʔitɔ-pe e-hũã eʔana      Is that fruit bananas?  
         art banana                      art fruit                      that

Possible answers are:

ʔɔ:      "yes"

keɔ      "no"

Content questions can be expressed by interrogative pronouns placed sentence initially. Forms of these interrogative pronouns are:

## 6 Negation

Affirmative sentences can be made negative by placing appropriate negative particles before predicate. Verb is then marked by subject concord marker. If subject is pronominal, full pronoun is deleted and pronoun marking is entirely marked on verb. Negative particles are:

keɔ, keabaɔa	not
kaupe, kaupɛbaɔa	not yet
kaɔa	not want
yaɔa kuɔ	so that...not
yaɔa	do not!

E.g.

(1) keabaɔa ɪu-ɛɔ  
not 3sg cry  
 I do not cry.

(2) e-kaka eɔana keabaɔa i-puchɔ e-kyɔ ɛ  
art person that not 3sg kill art pig  
 That person killed the pig.

When negating a nominal predicate in a topic-comment sentence, we must first of all insert a dummy verb to carry the subject concord prefix. E.g.

(1) e-kite: keabaɔa y-aɔɔɔ e-ɛa  
art kite not 3sg dummy art stone  
 A "kite" is not a stone.

When negating a stative verb, the 3sg pronominal prefix *i-* is of the form *ya-*. E.g.

(1) keabaɔa ya-ɪɔɔɔ  
not 3sg be weak  
 It is not weak.

## Coordination

Coordinate constituents in Enggano are joined by the particle hii. E.g.

(1) eki ʔadobu hii ezaki maʔa ekeʔepa

Chickens and herons are birds

(2) paʔaʔau hii kiʔu kanapa

P. and K. are chiefs

(3) keʔ yaʔāmu hii keʔ yaʔinuki ehūa eiʔe

These fruits are not big and not small

Disjunction is expressed by ūmahau a- E.g.

(4) eiʔipe ūmahas aepape ehūa eʔana

Are these fruits bananas or coconuts?

While the adversative construction is expressed by ke E.g.

(5) ekaka eʔana ekudobu ke keʔ ikuhai ʔānōnia

That person is rich but he doesn't help his friends

## Subordination

"while" = locative or  
S + bu-V ...

"after" = finished + V

or kumho = and then

or aho = after

"before" = not yet

"because" = be

"so that" = itaʔaua

"if" = ape a-

"if only" = ʔo a-

"although" = iʔis uʔiʔha

## Relative Clauses

Marked by hēmōʔ / hīmōʔ

## 1.6 Syntactic Typology

In Enggano clauses, role structure is fully transparent, marked by suffixes to verbs. Language is therefore strongly role oriented, in similar way to Tagalog, Tongan or Fijian. But Enggano is also equally reference oriented in that it has marking of pragmatic salience within the clause, similar to English, i.e. has NP's which can choose position I or position II. Thus, more reference dominated than Tagalog, which requires only one NP to receive pragmatic salience within the clause. In a role dominated language such as Tagalog, there is no basic focus form, topic can be NP in any role. In language such as Bilean verbal semantics determines what kind of NP appears in unmarked focus form. But in dominationally neutral language such as Enggano there is basic unmarked choice - actor for position I. ~~That actor more natural in this position than by~~ ~~But that~~ and patient for position II. That this patient focus is basic is shown by fact of  $-a$  marking on verb, whereas non-patient NP in position II must be marked by  $-(c)c$  or  $-(c)a?a$ .

Enggano syntactic patterns very close to those reconstructed for proto-Austronesian, except in that:

- (i) does not have pronominal concord in VP with subject and object (except in some sentence types where subject is mapped concordantly as prefix to verb)
- (ii) does not allow specification of actor in passive forms.

## Time Words

Time words morphologically simple(?). Follow the verb. Forms are:

puhahadla	day before yesterday
kaʔilcahadla	yesterday
bahaebe	today
naʔũmãna	tomorrow
daʔikahadla	day after tomorrow
paʔũmãna	<del>the</del> in the morning
dakigʔh	noon
kũnũhũãʔã	noon
dakʔaiga	night-time,
ikoʔoigaʔhadla	night-time
nẽʔẽnũ	just then
nõʔõnũ	now
naʔõnũ	soon
naʔãã	soon

morphologically marked as being separate class in that they take no suffixes or prefixes?