Grammatical sketch of Enggano

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Contents

Preface

This is a transcription of a photocopy of a hand-written grammar by Terry Crowley (n.d.), made by Mary Dalrymple and Charlotte Hemmings. Sometimes the copy was hard to read, so there may be some inaccuracies.

Note that this grammar was apparently written mainly by reference to the 1940 Kähler grammar, which makes more orthographic distinctions than in Kähler's later work. See the Enggano dictionary, page IV for a chart of differences in Kähler's orthography in different stages of his work. Our transcriptions of the Kähler texts make fewer distinctions than this grammar does.

1 Introduction

The first study of Enggano that has so far been consulted is a Malay-Dutch-Enggano wordlist published by Helfrich and Pieters in *Tijdschrift 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 *Tijdschrift...* 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 Kähler. 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*, (1939/40) 30: 81-117, 182-210, 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, Kähler 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. 153-156, 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 untergehende Kultur)* in Veröffentlichungen des Seminars für Indonesische und Südseesprachen der Universität Hamburg, vol 9 (1975).

2 The language and its speakers

The present situation concerning Enggano is rather unclear. The Enggano population in 1866 was estimated by Prius van der Hoeven in 1866 at 6420, but this was before the explosion of Krakatoa, which decimated the low-lying island with a tidal wave. In 1938, Kähler 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 "ɛɛ kanɔ̃ɔ̃" '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 *ŋ* 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, Bulau 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.

3 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 *x́* as anything but a conditioned variant of *h*. Also, the Helfrich 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 mid-vowels).

3.1 Consonant inventories according to dialect

It would appear that we need to recognize slightly differing consonantal inventories for at least the 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* 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	↔	f
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.)

3.2 Vowels

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

i		ʉ		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.

3.3 Stress

Stress in Enggano is apparently penultimate, and when a word is suffixed there is a backward shifting of stress to the surface penultimate syllable in the 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:	úba	'house'
suffixed forms:	eúbadia	'his house'
	eúbadai	'our house'
	eúbadu	'your pl. house'
	eubákaʔa	'our house'

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

3.4 Phonotactics

Phonotactically, Enggano is a very simple language. Stem 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 *eubadai* 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.

3.5 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 any nasal consonant, all following vowels in that word must be nasalized. There is a second part to the new rule which applies to consonants: if a word contains any nasal vowel or consonant, 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 will then automatically fulfill the conditions just described.

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

This system of "nasal harmony" applying within an Enggano 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 *-ʔVu*, e.g.

e-uba-ʔau 'my house'
e-puɛ-ʔɛu 'my penis'

But if the nasal harmony rule applies, the suffix is of course *-ʔṼũ*; e.g.

e-honã-ʔãũ 'my wife'
e-ʔũmãɔ̃-ʔɔ̃ũ 'my wild dove'

Also, if a suffix contains a voiced stop in its underlying form, as happens with *-dia* for example, in *eu-uba-dia* 'his house' and *e-puɛ-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. E.g.

e-honã-nĩã 'his wife'
e-ʔũmãɔ̃-ñĩã 'his wild dove'

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 *kanɔɔpua* aafter the conditioning nasal *n*. The phonetic form for this word is [kanɔ̃ɔ̃pũã]. But nasalization still goes through.

Another fact, clearly part of this phenomenon, is the nasalization of prefixes. 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 positions 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'. If it has the prefix *bu-*, we get *bupua*. However, if we take the verbal stem *ainɔnɔ* 'feel', which has the phonetic form [ainɔ̃nɔ̃], and prefix it with *bu-* (which prevocalically becomes *b-*), the phonetic realization is *mainɔ̃nɔ̃*, with nasalization applying right throughout the word.

3.6 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 if 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' → *kahauda* and *hũã* 'fruit' → *aʔahãũã* / **bũãq*.

3.7 Suffixal -c-

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/volitional suffix on verbs has the form *-a*, e.g. *ki-haɛ-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. **anak* 'child' → *ada*), and the similarities between Enggano and Fijian are quite great on the syntactic level, so it is possible that there are also similarities on the morphophonemic level.

3.8 Affixal V

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 *-ʔVu*, which appears differently according to the nature of the preceding stem-final vowel, E.g.

e-paɛ-ʔɛu	'my child'
e-uba-ʔau	'my house'
dadu-ʔu	'my husband'
e-ʔũmãɔ̃-ʔɔ̃ũ	'my wild dove'

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

4 The noun phrase

4.1 NP structure

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

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

The simplest of the noun phrase structures are the first two.

4.2 Pronominal head NP

A noun phrase consisting of a pronoun will contain one of the following independent pronominal forms:

	sg		du	pl
1.	ʔua	incl.	ʔika	ʔikaʔa
		excl.	ʔai	
2.	ʔɔʔɔ		adiu	
3.	kia		ki	

Of these, two have slightly different alternative forms:

ʔɔʔɔ ∼ ʔaʔɔ ‘2SG’
adiu ∼ aduu ‘2PL’

Of the paradigm above, the form *ʔikaʔa* ‘1PL.INCL’ is seldom used. Usually, *ʔika* has both dual and plural reference. The third person singular form *kia* can be used impersonally, e.g.

(1) eʔanãnãʔã kia kipakumũ ehabadiʔɔ ukabuʔɔbɔ
Then the preparation of the pig net was begun.

These independent pronominal forms are used in various kinds of environments in which NPs occur, including

• as topics in non-vebal sentences, e.g.

(2) kia ekãpũ paraʔaua
He is chief Paraʔaua

• as subjects in positive verbal sentences. e.g.

(3) kia kidɔdɔ eʔapɔ uaradia
He is holding his child’s hand

• as objects in both positive and negative verbal sentences, e.g.

(4) ebɛɔ eʔana kihau kia
The dog bit him

(5) kɛɔbaʔa ipʉa kia
She didn’t see him

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

(6) eiʔiɛ ʔuɛuba (ʔua)
This is my house

(7) eiʔiɛ eubaʔau *ʔua

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:

eiʔiɛ ‘that near the speaker’
eʔana ‘that near the addressee’
eʔea ‘that near neither the speaker nor the addressee’

E.g.

(8) ʔua eiʔiɛ ‘I’

(9) ʔɔʔɔ eʔana ‘you’

(10) ki eʔea ‘they’

4.3 Demonstrative head NP

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

(11) eʔana eubaʔau
That is my house.

4.4 Nominal head NP

The third NP structure given above is more complicated. The only obligatory constituent is the noun.

4.4.1 Articles

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 ∅- realization; see below). The articles that are found on head nouns in Enggano are:

		singular	plural
human	I	e-	ka-
	II	∅-	kahɔ- (a small group)
proper		∅-	—
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’	ʔũpu	kahɔʔũpu
‘father’	ama	kahɔama
‘mother’	naɛ	kahɔnaɛ
‘husband’	dadu	kahɔdadu
‘wife’	hona	kahɔhona
‘older brother/sister’	ʔaʔa	kahɔʔaʔa

Examples of regular nouns are:

	singular	plural
'sweet potato'	ebaba	ebaba
'tree'	ekuɔ	ekuɔ
'person'	ekaka	kakaka
'woman'	ehuda	kahauda
'name'	kiuĩ̃	—
'name'	paraʔaua	—
'village name'	malakɔ̃na	

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
'chief'	ekãpu	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 appears at the very beginning of the word. E.g.

(12) e-uba-ʔau 'my house'

(13) e-hɛ̃ku-a 'seat' (= place of sitting)

(14) e-pɔ-ɛdɔ 'cry baby' (= one who cries too much)

(15) e-pau-kui 'needle' (= instrument for sewing)

The examples in (14)-(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:

4.4.2 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:

ekɛʔɛpa	'bird'	→	ekɛʔɛɛpa-ekɛʔɛpa
ekɔyɔ	'wild pig'	→	ekɔɔyɔ-ekɔɔyɔ
euba	'house'	→	euuba-euba
ekɔʔɛʔɛ	'devil'	→	ekɔʔɛɛ-ekɔʔɛʔɛ

4.4.3 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.

pãu	'pound'	eãpau	'pestle'
pɔkɔ	'(to) chisel'	eɔpɔkɔ	'chisel'
pudu	'kill'	eupudu	'weapon'
hʉadi	sweep	eʉhʉadi	'broom'
ipu	'fell (a tree)'	eiipu	'axe'

Actually, these translations for the derived nouns are slightly misrepresentative; *eãpau* really means 'something used as a pestle', *eɔpɔkɔ* means 'something used as a chisel', etc.

4.4.4 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'	epaukui	'needle'
didiki	'wrap'	epadidiki	blanket'

4.4.5 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'
ɛdɔ	'cry'	epɔɛdɔ	'cry baby'
ʔɛʔɛhɛ	'cough'	epɔʔɛ̃ʔɛhɛ	'one who coughs'
kihʉa	'thirst'	epɔkihʉa	'one who is always thirsty'

4.4.6 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'	eʔuɔhɔa	'bed/sleeping place'
hɛ̃ku	'sit'	ehɛ̃kua	'seat/sitting place'
iya	'stay'	eiyaha	'place of residence'
parudu	'gather'	eparudua	'gathering place'

4.4.7 Nominalization with e-

We can take any verb stem in Enggano 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.

ɛdɔ	'cry'	eɛdɔ	'crying'
d-audu-aʔa	'be approached'	edaudua ʔa	'being approached'

and in sentences for extra clarity.

(16) kɛabaʔa yaʔuʔua eɛdɔ upaɛ eʔana
The child's crying was not nice

Actually, if an intransitive verb forms a gerund, the noun 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) kia edauduaʔa upaɛ eʔana
'He was the thing approached of the child.'

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

4.5 Generic nouns in apposition

A specific noun in Enggano can be preceded by one (sometimes even more) generic nouns to the left, beginnng 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:

(18) ekɛʔɛpa eʔakɔ̃maʔa 'heron' (= bird heron)

(19) ekãpu paraʔaua 'paraʔaua' (= chief p.)

(20) kapaɛ kamani 'boys' (=children men)

(21) emɛhɛ eʔũmaɔ 'wild dove to eat' (= food wild.dove)

(22) ekaka epaɛ ehuda epɔʔinamɔ 'unmarried girl' (= person child woman unmarried)

4.6 Relative clauses

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 *hɛ̃mɔʔɔ* 'singular head' or *hɔ̃mɔʔɔ* 'plural head' (or by *mɔʔɔ*, which does not specify number at all). E.g.

(23) ekaka eʔana kapaɛ kamaru hɔ̃mɔʔɔ kaitora
These people are boys who are playing

(24) kia ekaka mɔʔɔ kɛabaʔa yahãɔhɔ
He is a person who is not worried

(25) kaʔuʔuadaʔa euba mɔʔɔ ʔamuhɔ eiʔiɛ
The house, which is big, is beautiful

In the next paragraph, we will be dicussing 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.

(26) kabia eʔana eaʔahãumaʔa ukuɔ hɛ̃mɔʔɔ kanʉ epʉ̃ka
At that time there was a tree which was called pʉ̃ka

4.7 Dependent nouns

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	∅-	kahɔ-
proper		∅-	—
other		u-	u-

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

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

The meaning of a head-dependent construction can be:
• Possession, either alienable or inalienable, with the dependent noun expressing the possessor, and the head noun the thing possessed. E.g.

(27) kia kidɔdɔ eʔapɔ uaradia
He is holding his child's hands

(28) eʔana ekaraha ukuɔ
That is the trunk of a tree

(29) eiʔiɛ euba kiuũ
This is Kiuũ's house

• "concerning", e.g.

(30) ekʉdaʔayɔ ukaka halɛɛ...
The story about the people a long time ago

(31) abʉha ʔika uʔanihaiyɔ
We have finished (with) the work

• what was originally the subject of a verb, which has been transformed into a gerund. E.g.

(32) ekuɔ eʔana edihɛ̃kuhui upaɛ
The tree is the thing occupied by the child.

• 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.

(33) kia kihɛ̃ku iʔiɔɔ udaʔibia ukaka eʔana
He is sitting with that person's enemy

Note that *iʔiɔɔ* optionally reduces to the prefix *ʔɔ-* 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, except also for pre-clitic pronouns, see below.

(34) kamimiha ebahau ukɔʔaʔɛ eʔana ʔɔuʔũmaɔ...
The devil became angry with the wild dove...

• 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 "comparative" location (i.e. are not place names). Such nouns include:

ɔdɔiya	'place below'
hɛ̃ʔa	'top'
kahãɔ	'place behind'
tɛbɛ	'place above'

and they occur in sentences such as (35)-(36) with a following dependent noun.

(35) kia kai ikũʔa ukaka eʔana
She came behind that person

(36) ekɛʔɛpa eʔana kihɛ̃ku itɛbɛ ukuɔ
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.

4.8 Postclitic pronouns

The postclitic forms are:

	sg		du		pl
1.	-ʔVu	incl.	-ka		-kaʔa
		excl.		-dai	
2.	-bu			-du	
3.	-dia			-da	

E.g.

(37) eiʔiɛ eubaʔau
This is my house

(38) eiʔiɛ eubabu
This is your house

(39) mɛɔ upua iʔiɔɔʔɔu
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.

(40) amanai 'my father/our father'

(41) naɛnia 'his mother/their mother'

4.9 Preclitic pronouns

Dependent pronouns can also (very rarely) be expressed as preclitics, preceding the article marking the head noun, often causing it to become *ɛ*, 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.	ʔu-ɛ-√	incl.	ʔik-ɛ-√		ʔikaʔa-e-√
		excl.		ʔai-e-√	
2.	ʔɔʔ-ɛ-√			adiu-e-√	
3.	ki-ɛ-√			kii-∅-√	

E.g.

(42) eiʔiɛ ʔuɛuba
This is my house

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

4.10 Clitic concord with dependent noun postposed

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

(43) eiʔiɛ ʔuɛuba ʔua
This is my house

(44) eʔiaha e-niɯnia eʔãpɔ eiʔiɛ
What is the name of those maggots

(45) mɔkɔnaʔa epɔɔdia kia
His coconut trees are numerous

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

4.11 Demonstratives

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.

4.12 Numerals and classifiers

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	kahaiʔi (ka-)
2	ʔadua (anɔ-)
3	ʔakɔdu
4	ʔaɔpa
5	ʔadiba
6	ʔakiakina
7	ʔadiba hii ʔadua (5 + 2)
8	ʔaɔpa hii ʔaɔpa (4 + 4)
9	abai kahaiʔi (1 is coming)
10	kipãʔauʔu
11	kipãʔauʔu hii kahaiʔi (10 + 1)
19	kipãʔauʔu 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	ʔakɔdu ekaka (3 people)
400	kahaiʔi ekudɔdɔka (1 body)

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

∅	human, animals, money
abaka	fruit
akara	long, thin things
aʔaɔa, aʔɔro	bundles of things
abakaɔ	pig nets

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

ka-	'one'
anɔ-	'two'

E.g.

(46) eʔitɔ ʔakɔdu hapɛ̃a
three bananas

(47) epɔɔ kahapuʔĩya
a coconut

4.13 Ligature

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 *ŋ*. The regular reflex of PAN **ŋ* in Enggano is *h* (e.g. *dəŋəɣ → dɔhɔ).

5 The verb phrase

The structure of the verb phrase in Enggano 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.

5.1 The prefix ki-

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'
pua	kipua	'run'
ai	kai	'come'
aʔaɔ	kaʔaɔ	'die'

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

stem	verb	
ʔuɔhɔ	kiʔuɔhɔ/kuʔuɔhɔ	'sleep'

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

stem	verb	
ɛnami	k(i)ɛnami	'see'
ɔabi	k(i)ɔabi	'heat up'
ubaki	k(i)ubaki	'ruin'
ʉhʉaiyɔ	k(i)ʉhʉaiyɔ	'be jaundiced'

When *i* and *u* come together in such situations, as in *kiubaki* 'ruin', the *iu* sequence can optionally reduce to become *ʉ*, thus: *kʉbaki*. There are in addition to the verbs set out above, also two irregular forms:

ʔamuhɔ	'be large'
hinuki	'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) kia kipudu ekɔyɔ eʔana
He killed the wild pig

(2) kia kipua
He is running away

5.2 The implicative marker bu-

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	
pudu	bupudu	'kill'
ɛdɔ	bɛdɔ	'cry'
ai	bai	'come'
aʔapia	baʔapia	'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 kahaɛ baʔapia
They went to get a garden

(4) kia kidɔhɔi eici karaʔibiada kabudɔhɔi
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'
hɔɔ	'be/do already'
mɔhɔ	'be/do also'
etc.	

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

(5) ekuɔ eʔana hɛ̃mɔʔɔ edihɔɔ bipu amada nɛɛni
The tree that was already cut down by his father just then.

(Note that the verb, in its passive form, *dihɔɔ*, 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) kɛɔbaʔa ipʉhai mainɔnɔ
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 *hɔɔ* (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) ʔua hɔɔ bupudu kia
I have killed him

5.3 Subject concord on the verb

A final possibility instead of marking the verb by *ki-* is to mark it with a preclitic 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:

5.3.1 Replacing *ki-*

	sg		du		pl
1.	ʔu-√	incl.	ka-√		ka-√-aʔa
		excl.		ʔu-√-ʔai	
2.	u-√			u-√-aʔa	
3.	i-√			da-√	

We must observe the following allomorphic rules:

CV → C / _ V
i → y / _ V
y → ɲ / ...n...

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

1. i-ainɔnɔ
2. y-ainɔnɔ
3. ɲ-ainɔnɔ

5.3.2 Preceding *bu-*

	sg		du		pl
1.	ʔu-√	incl.	ka-√		ka-√-aʔa
		excl.		ʔu-√-ʔai	
2.	ʔɔ-√			ʔɔ-√-aʔa	
3.	ka-√			ki-/di-√	

The conditioning factors include:

• preceding negative particles, e.g.

(8) kɛɔbaʔa ipʉhai mainɔnɔ
He couldn't feel anything

• certain interrogative forms, e.g.

(9) mɛɔ upua iʔiɔɔʔɔu
Why are you running away from me?

• after certain conjunctions, e.g.

(10) kanɔʔɔiʔiɛ ekitaidia bɛ ipʉaha kinɔʔɔaha epʉaha iʔiɔɔ honania
His thoughts were thus, because he saw that the appearance of his wife was as it was

5.4 Imperative

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

(11) hɛ̃ku
Sit down!

(12) pudu kia
Kill him!

(13) ai
Come here!

5.5 Inflectional prefixes

Between the prefixes *ki-* and *bu-* or the preclitic subject concord markers and the verb root, we find in Enggano a series of prefixes that can occur. When these do occur together, they have set orders with respect to one another. Some of the 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.

5.5.1 *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'
dɔdɔ	kididɔdɔ	'hold'
hɛ̃ku	kidihɛ̃kuhui	'occupy'

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

(14) eʔea kididɔdɔ
A stone was being held.

(15) epaɛ eʔana kidɛdɔi
The child was being cried over.

(16) ekaka eʔana kidauduaʔa
That person was being approached.

5.5.2 *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) anuki ekĩhii
Pull the rattan

(18) kapapuaha eʔũmaɔ ekahaba eʔana
The wild dove carried its nest (= made run)

5.5.3 *pa-*

This prefix has the forms:

pa- / _ C
p- / _ V (optionally also pa-)

as illustrated by:

stem	verb	
ʉda	kipaʉda	'live'
ɛkɛ	kipaɛkɛ	'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) ʔua kipaʔadua eaʔinaʔa uhũa eʔana
I doubled the taking of the fruit

(20) kia kipaɛkɛ ʔua
He bathed me

(21) ʔua kipaʔuʔua euba eʔana
He made the house beautiful

(22) kia kipahaonahaʔa earadia
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.

5.6 Derivational prefixes

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.

5.6.1 *ba-*

The allomorphy is predictably:

ba- / _ C
b- / _ V (optionally also ba-)

as exemplified by:

stem	verb	
ai	kibai	'come'
puhɔ	kibapuhɔ	'be sick'
itara	kib(a)itara	'play'

This prefix evidently expresses the progressive aspect E.g.

(23) ʔua kabaʔaɔ iʔiɔ̃ɔniu
I am dying for you all

5.6.2 *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 prefix. 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'
pɔu	'back'	kapɔu	'turn one's back on someone'
hũa	'fruit'	kahãua	'bear fruit'
ici	'word'	kaici	'speak'
pɛ̃a	side	kapɛ̃a	'turn sideways on to someone'
pɛhɛ	'beginning'	kapɛhɛ	'begin something'

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) ʔua kabaka kia
I am facing him

(25) kia kapɔu adiu
He turned his back on you all

(26) kia kaici
He spoke

(27) epɔɔ eʔana kahãua
The coconut tree is bearing fruit

5.6.3 *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 ʔamuhɔ 'be large' and hinuki 'be small', which also never have the *ki-* prefix. E.g.

(28) ukuɔ hɛ̃mɔʔɔ kaniʉ epʉ̃ka
of the tree that was called pʉ̃ka

(29) kaʔʉdʉha ekitai kapaɛ eʔana
The children were frightened

5.6.4 *ax-*

Enggano has a prefix of the basic form *a-*, which differs from the prefix discussed under 5.6.2 in that it is also accompanied by a series of rather ad hoc looking allomorphic changes. The allomorphy of this prefix is:

aha- / _ { nasal, voiced stop, vowel } e.g. minuʔui → kahaminuʔui 'smell'
ɔdi → kahaɔdi 'buy'
aha- / _ ʔ but ʔ → ʔa ʔɔbu → kahaʔaɔbu 'build/do'
ahV- / _ ʔ ʔɔbu → kahɔʔɔbu 'build/do'
a- / _ elsewhere but
k → d or n kɔdɔ → kadɔdɔ 'swallow'
kiki → kaniki 'rake'
h → han hɔ̃mɛ → kahanɔme 'thread on'
p → b pãu → kamau 'crush'
pudu → kabudu 'kill'

Kähler 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 *iʔiɔɔ*, 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.

(30) ʔua kamau (iʔiɔɔ) uʔitɔ
I am crushing bananas.

(31) ʔɔʔɔ kabudu (iʔiɔɔ) ukɔyɔ uʔana
You killed the wild pig

5.6.5 *aʔi-*

This is a poorly attested prefix, and Kähler says it occurs only with stems in *n-, d-, 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 5.6.4. The meaning is not known. E.g.

(32) ʔua kaʔitaʔa uʔaiyɔ
I caught the fish

(33) kia kaʔidɔdɔ ukabɔ 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.

(34) ʔua kabaʔikɔyɔ
I am going out for wild pig.

5.6.6 *aʔa-*

This prefix varies allomorphically as indicated below:

aʔa- / _ V but V → ʔ	uba → kaʔaʔauba 'house'
aʔa- / _ ʔ but ʔ → ʔa	ʔãnɔ → kaʔaʔãnɔ 'friend'
aʔa- / _ elsewhere	purudui → kaʔapurudui 'hair'
	hũa→ kaʔahãua '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 kaʔapurudui
All people have hair

(36) kia kaʔapia
He has a garden

(37) ʔua kaʔaʔãnɔ hii kia
I am friends with him

(38) eʔɛkɔa eʔana kaʔapɔhɔ
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) kaʔapupuʔa euba
The house fell right down.

(40) aʔakɛ̃nai ehũa eʔana
Look for all the fruit.

That covers the range of prefixes found on Enggano verbs.

5.7 Verbal suffixes (1)

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:

5.7.1 *-(C)aʔa*

This suffix has the form *-aʔa* in most instances, though with certain verbs, we find the presence of a supporting consonant, either *h, d* or *y*. 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 phrse in the goal or instrumental roles. E.g.

(41) kia kipudua ʔa ebɔhɛ iʔiɔɔ ukɔyɔ
He killed the wild pig with a spear

5.7.2 *-(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	
edɔ	kɛdɔi	'cry'
ɛkɛ	kɛkɛi	'bathe'
hãɔhɔ	kihãɔhɔni	'worry'
hɛ̃ku	kihɛ̃kuhui	'sit'

Verbs carrying the suffix *-(C)i* are all transitive and must have an object that is either the locative or source role. E.g.

(42) hɛ̃kuhui ekuɔ eʔana
Sit in that tree!

5.8 Verbal suffixes (2)

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

5.8.1 *-(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 *-aʔa*, the future marker has the form *-ua*. E.g.

(43) ʔua kipudua kia
I will kill him.

(44) ʔua hɔɔ bupudua kia
I will have killed him.

(45) kia hɔɔ baudua ʔaua ekaka aʔana
He will have approached that person.

5.8.2 *-(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) eʔubɛʔɛ ekɔdɔhɔ
Medicine is to be swallowed.

(47) ekaɛni eʔana eanɔkiyɔ
That cloth must be washed.

(48) ekuɔ eʔana eabaitaraha ʔahɔ
That tree is for playing with.

5.8.3 *-aʔa*

Verbs which have either ∅-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) pudua ʔa kia
You all kill him!

(50) kapudua ʔa kia
Let's kill him!

When the plural marker *-aʔa* follows the transitive suffix *-(C)aʔa*, the former has either the form *uaʔa* or simply *-ʔa*. E.g.

(51) pudua ʔaʔa ebɔhɛ iʔiɔɔ ukɔyɔ
Kill the wild pig with a spear

(52) pudua ʔaua ʔa ebɔhɛ iʔiɔɔ ukɔyɔ
Kill the wild pig with a spear

5.8.4 *-maha*

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

(53) kabia eʔana eaʔahãuamaha ukuɔ...
At that time there was also fruit on the tree...

5.8.5 *-pua*

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

(54) kanɔɔpua
Let's eat now!

5.8.6 *-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 could 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.

5.9 Summary: Verbal morphology

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

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{ki} \\ \text{(subject clitic)} \end{array} \right\} \\ \text{(subject clitic)} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{di} \\ \\ \text{bu} \end{array} \right\} \text{a} \quad \text{ba} \quad \text{pa} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{aʔi} \\ \text{aʔa} \end{array} \right\} \text{ROOT} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Ci} \\ \text{CaʔaC} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Ca} \\ \text{Cɔ} \\ \text{aʔa} \\ \text{maha} \\ \text{pua} \\ \text{ha} \end{array} \right\}$$

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.

5.10 Modals

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

a. kimɔhɔ: indicating that an action is following
b. kihii: indicating that an action is repeated or takes place at its source
c. kihɔɔ: indicating that an action is completed
d. kipʉhai: 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.

(55) kɛɔbaʔa ipʉhai mainɔnɔ
He couldn't feel anything

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

(56) kia hɔɔ bupudu ki
He has killed them

5.11 Reduplication

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.

nɛnɛ → nɛnɛ-nɛnɛ 'very thin'

On the other hand, non-stative verbs are reduplicated only in the first syllable (sometimes with the vowel doubled) and the semantic effect is to express duration. E.g.

hɛ̄ku → hēhɛku	'be sitting'
ʔuɔhɔ → ʔuʔuɔhɔ	'be sleeping'
hɔrahaʔa → hɔhɔrahaʔa	'be singing'
paici → papaici	'be causing to speak'
pudu → puupudu	'be killing'
pʉa → pʉʉpʉa	'be seeing'

6 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".

6.1 The basic sentence

6.1.1 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) ebaba eũʔa
Sweet potatoes are food.

(2) eʔana eubaʔau
That is my house

(3) epakamai eʔana 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 now sentence initial comment with the suffix *-daʔa*. E.g.

(5) ekuɔdaʔa ekitɛɛ
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 (1) 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. beteween 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) ekitɛɛ kɛabaʔa yapadi eʔea
A 'kitɛɛ' is not a stone

(9) kɛabaʔa ʔuapadi ekãpu
I am not a chief

(10) kɛabaʔa kapadi kanapu
We are not chiefs

(11) kapaɛ eʔana kɛabaʔa dapadi kahauda
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 subjct 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 gerund rather than a full noun. E.g.

(12) ekɔyɔ 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 6.14 below, because as gerunds, the comment NPs 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-*).

6.1.2 Verbal sentences

In contrast with sentences (1)-(12), most sentences in Enggano do 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 verns (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.)

6.1.3 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 earaba (Crowley note: 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 *∅-* marking, rather than *ki-*. Examples of such irregular verbs are: *ʔamuhɔ* 'be large', *hinuki* 'be small', *mɔkɔ* 'be numerous'. E.g.

(14) ʔamuhɔ euba eʔana
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:

• A stative verb can optionally be marked with *-daʔa*, when in sentence initial position. E.g.

(15) kaʔuʔuadaʔa eubaʔau
My house is nice

An active verb is never found with *-daʔa* 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 6.1.1. 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).

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

(16) kɛabaʔa yaʔɔ̃nɔ
He is not weak

(17) kɛabaʔa yedɔ
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.

6.1.4 Active verbs and focussed NPs

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-hãhãmɔ̃
The bird is flying

(19) ki k-ai
They are coming

(20) kia ki-pudu e-kɔyɔ eʔana
He killed the wild pig

(21) e-bɛɔ eʔana ki-hau ʔua
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, the object is a patient and the verb is marked by -∅. However, transitive verbs can be marked with suffixes other than -∅, 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 focussed NP in the locative or source role. E.g.

(22) kia ki-hɛ̃kũ-hũĩ e-kuɔ eʔana
He is sitting in the tree

(23) ʔɔʔɔ k-ɛdɔ-i e-paɛ eʔana
You were crying because of the child

Transitive verbs can also carry the marking *-(C)aʔa*. In clauses with a verb marked in this way, the focussed object is either in the role of instrument or goal. E.g.

(24) kia ki-pudu-aʔa e-bɔhɛ
He killed (something) with a spear

(25) ʔɔʔɔ k-audu-aʔa e-kaka eʔana
You went to that person

6.1.5 Active verbs and NPs not in focus

Section 6.1.4 above describes the behaviour of NPs in varions roles when they are in focus. NPs can also be out of focus of course. The manner of expressing each role is discussed below:

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

(26) kia ki-hɛ̃kũ i-dɔpɔ
He is sitting on the ground.

If the locative NP is human, instead of simply prefixing the NP with *i-*, we have *iʔiɔː*, which is followed by a noun marked as dependent by the prefix *u-*. Thus,

it is as though we had a noun *ʔiɔː* in the locative form, behaving in the same way as locational nouns such as:

ɔdɔiya ‘place below’
hɛ̃ʔã ‘top’
kahãɔ̃ ‘place behind’
tɛbɛ ‘place above’

which occur in sentences such as:

(27) kia k-ai i-kũkũ-ʔãũ
He came behind me

(28) e-kɛʔɛpa eʔana ki-hɛ̃kũ i-tɛbɛ
The bird is sitting up there

with the pronoun in (27) in a dependency (i.e. “possession”) construction. The nouns following *iʔiɔː* are also in a dependency construction. E.g.

(29) kia ki-hɛ̃kũ iʔiɔː u-daʔibia u-kaka eʔana
He is sitting with that person’s enemy

(30) kia ki-hɛ̃kũ iʔiɔ̃ː-nĩã
He is sitting with him

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) pɛpɛ e-hũã eiʔiɛ iʔiɔː u-kãpũ paraʔaua
Give this fruit to chief paraʔaua

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

(32) e-kaka eʔana ki-nãʔã e-ũʔã yahaɛ i-uba-ʔau
That person brought the fruit to my house

(33) e-kɛʔɛpa eʔana ki-ʔɛʔɛpa yahaɛ i-taʔa
The bird flew over there

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 *kudɛ*. E.g.

(34) e-hũã ki-nɔ̃nɔ̃nã kudɛ i-hɛ̃ʔã u-pɔː eʔana
The fruit fell from the top of the coconut tree

(35) kia ki-pua kudɛ i-malakɔ̃nĩ
He ran from Mllalakɔ̃nĩ

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 *iʔiɔː* followed by a dependent noun. E.g.

(36) e-kaka eʔana k-a-ʔaɔ iʔiɔː u-nãnãʔãũnĩ
That person died from smallpox

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

(37) kia ki-pudu e-kɔyɔ iʔiɔː u-bɔhɛ
He killed the wild pig with a spear

(38) kia ki-pudu-aʔa e-bɔhɛ iʔiɔː u-kɔyɔ eʔana
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.

6.2 Focus on Action (?)

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

- (ACTOR +) VERB + PATIENT
- 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-puaka e-kaka eʔana
That person has left

(40) k-a-nũkĩ e-kaka eʔana e-kihĩ
That person pulled the rattan

[MARGIN NOTE: "passive like option a-nũkĩ e-kĩhĩ 'pull 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) kia k-a-nɔ̃kĩ e-baka-dia
He washed his face (= eyes)

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

6.3 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-ʔea ki-di-dɔdɔ
The stone is being held

(43) e-kuɔ eʔana ki-di-hɛ̃kũ-hũĩ
Someone is sitting in that tree

(44) e-kaka eʔana ki-d-audu-aʔa
Someone went to that person

6.4 Gerundial clauses

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

1. Verbal prefix *ki-* is replaced by nominal prefix *e-*, and
2. Verbal construction SUBJECT + VERB becomes GERUND + DEP.NOUN, I.e. verbal subject becomes modifying dependent noun, with gerund as head noun. E.g.

(45)

e-paɛ k-ɛdɔ	→	e-ɛdɔ u-paɛ
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. E.g.

(46)

ki-kɔdɔ-hɔ e-ʔubɛʔɛ	→	e-ʔubɛʔɛ e-kɔdɔ-hɔ
...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. E.g.

(47) kɛabaʔa ya-ʔuʔua e-ɛdɔ u-paɛ eʔana
That child's crying is not nice

(48) eʔanã-nãʔã e-a-puʔuda u-dɔpɔ
Then there was earth falling (from the sky)

(49) nɔ̃ʔɔ̃nĩ e-a-ba-ʔaɔ u-ʔɔbi
The fire died down like that

(50) mɔ̃kɔ̃-nãʔã e-pa-pɛː-dia
His gift was large

(51) e-kuɔ eʔana e-di-hɛ̃kũ-hũĩ u-paɛ
The tree was occupied by the child

(52) e-kɔyɔ eʔana e-di-pudu u-kaka eʔana
That man killed the pig

(53) kia e-d-audu-aʔa u-paɛ eʔana
He was approached by the child

(54) ki-ʔɔaha e-a-puhɔ-dia
His being sick is bad

By using gerundial constructions, can bring into focus object NP. But difference from passive discussed in 6.3 in that passive does not allow expression of the actor NP, whereas in a gerundial clause, the actor is expressed as a "possessor" of an action. Thus, contrast (55) and (56):

(55) ekaka eʔana kidaudua ʔa

(56) ekaka eʔana edaudua ʔa upaɛ

In (55), the actor NP *paɛ* 'child' cannot be specified, whereas in (56) the agent can be expressed as the dependent noun phrase *upaɛ*.

6.5 Causation

Causative sentences are essentially changing of subject position from actor/experiencer role to source role. This can be achieved in two ways:
• By marking the verb with *-(C)aʔa*. 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.

(57) ʔua ki-hau kia
I bit him

ʔua is actor and *kia* is patient. But in:

(58) ʔua ki-hau-aʔa e-kitahau iʔiɔː-nĩã
I made the centipede bite him

ʔua is the source and *kia* has become patient with *kitahau* the actor. Also from:

(59) ʔua k-ɔdi e-hũã eʔana
I bought the fruit

we can relate

(60) ʔua k-ɔdi-aʔa e-hũã eʔana
I sold the fruit

The *ʔua* in the first sentence is actor, in the second it is source, *hũã* 'fruit' does not change role.
• By prefixing the verb with *pa-*. E.g.

(61) ʔua ki-pa-ʉda e-paɛ eʔana
I brought the child up

(62) e-paɛ ki-di-pa-ʉda
The child was brought up

(63) kia ki-pa-ɛkɛ ʔua
He bathed me

(64) ʔua ki-pa-ʔuʔua e-uba eʔana
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 [(63) and (64)?] the actor NP in active clause becomes patient also and subject is in source function.

6.6 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 *ʔu-* or *u-* in singular and plural respectively. Plural always must be marked with *-aʔa*. E.g.

(65) pudu e-kɔyɔ eʔana
Kill the pig!

(66) pudu-aʔa kia
Kill it!

(67) hɛ̃kũ-hũĩ e-kuɔ eʔana
Sit in the tree

(68) hɛ̃kũ-hũĩ-ãʔã e-kuɔ eʔana
Sit in the tree

[Note: Examples with suffix *-aʔa* have plural reference for the addressee]

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

(69) yaraʔa bu-pua
Don't run!

(70) yaraʔa bu-pudu e-kɔyɔ eʔana
Don't kill the pig!

6.7 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.

(71) ka-pudu kia
Let us kill him

(72) ka-pudu-aʔa kia
Let us kill him

(73) ka-hãɛ̃kũ-hũĩ e-kuɔ eʔana
Let us sit in the tree

6.8 Optative clauses

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

(74) y-ai e-kaka kitera
May all the people come!

(75) nã-mã-hãɛ̃kũ ki i-dita
May they sit there!

6.9 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 *-pɛ*. E.g.

(76) e-kiʔadɔbu e-kɛʔɛpa
Are chickens birds?

(77) e-ʔitɔ-pɛ e-hũã eʔana
Is that fruit bananas?

Possible answers are:

ʔɔ̃	'yes'
kɛɔ	'no'

Content questions can be expressed by interrogative pronouns placed sentence internally. Forms of these interrogative pronouns are:
[section ends]

6.10 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:

kɛɔ, kɛabaʔa	not
kaupɛ, kaupɛbaʔa	not yet
kaua	not want
yaraʔa kua	so that...not
yaraʔa	do not!

E.g.

(78) kɛabaʔa ʔu-ɛdɔ
I do not cry.

(79) e-kaka eʔana kɛabaʔa i-pudu e-kɔyɔ
That person did not kill 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 prefixes. E.g.

(80) e-kitɛː kɛabaʔa y-apadi e-ʔea
A 'kitɛː' is not a stone

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

(81) kɛabaʔa ya-ʔɔ̃nɔ̃
He is not weak

6.11 Coordination

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

(82) ekiʔadɔbu hii eʔakɔ̃maʔa ekɛʔɛpa
Chickens and herons are birds

(83) paraʔaua hii kiuũ kanapu
P. and K. are chiefs

(84) kɛɔ yaʔãmuhɔ hii kɛɔ yahinuki ehũa eiʔiɛ
These fruits are not big and not small

Disjunction is expressed by *ũmahau a-*. E.g.

(85) eʔitɔpɛ ũmahaɔ aepɔɔpɛ ehũa eʔana
Are these fruits bananas or coconuts?

[NOTE: should ũmahaɔ be ũmahau here?]
while the adversative construction is expressed by *kɛ*. E.g.

(86) ekaka eʔana ekudɔdɔ kɛ kɛɔ ikuhai ʔãnɔ̃nĩa
That person is rich but he doesn't help his friends

6.12 Subordination

'while'	locative or S + bu-V
'after'	finished + V or kamɔhɔ = and then or ahɔɔ = after
'before'	= not yet
'because'	bɛ
'so that'	itaʔaua
'if'	apɛ a-
'if only'	ʔɔɔ a-
'although'	iʔiɔɔ uʔiaha

6.13 Relative clauses

Marked by *hɛ̃mɔʔɔ/hɔ̃mɔʔɔ*

6.14 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 NPs 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 languages such as Bilaan 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 and patient for position II. That this patient focus is basic is shown by fact of -∅ marking on verb, whereas non-patient NP in position II must be marked by *-(C)i* or *-C)aʔa*.

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

1. does not have pronominal concord in VP with subject and object (except in some sentence types where subject is mapped concordially as prefix to verb)

2. does not allow specification of actor in passive forms

6.15 Time words

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

pʜhahadia	day before yesterday
kaʔikahadia	yesterday
bahaɛba	today
nãʔũmãnã	tomorrow
daʔikahadia	day after tomorrow
pahũmãnã	in the morning
dakixɔhɔ	noon
kũnũhʉ̃ãʔã	noon
dakɔʔaixa	night-time
ikɔʔɔixahadia	night-time
nɛ̃ʔɛ̃nĩ	just then
nɔ̃ʔɔ̃nĩ	now
nãʔõnĩ	soon
nãʔãɛ̃	soon

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