

Grammatical summary of Enggano*

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*This is a translation by Barnaby Burleigh and Mary Dalrymple of Hans Kähler's 1940 'Grammatischer Abriss des Enggano [Grammatical summary of Enggano]', *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen* 30: 81-117, 182-210, 296-320. Unattributed footnotes are as in the original, and translator's notes are indicated as such.

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1 Preface (81)

The following grammatical outline of Enggano is intended to give a brief overview of the structure of this language, without claiming to be exhaustive. However, I have tried, despite the small scope of this treatise, to present all the facts that make it possible to compare Enggano with other Austronesian languages.

The material for the work as well as extensive texts were collected by me from July 1937 to January 1938 on the island of Enggano, which was called by the Malays Pulau Telandjang, i.e. “Island of the naked”. This island is the southernmost member of the island chain off the west coast of Sumatra. Enggano is now native exclusively to the island of the same name and still serves as a first language for around 200 natives. In the past, when the islets Dua (i.e. island “[No.] two”), Bangkai (i.e. island “of the corpses”), Merbau (i.e. island “of the Merbau-Trees”) and Satu (i.e. island “[No.] one”) were still inhabited, Enggano was spoken there too, but, according to very old natives, in different dialects. Nowadays, after the concentration of the natives on the northeast coast of the island of Enggano, all these dialects have almost completely disappeared, and only one idiom is known, which is supposed to represent the dialect of the former village of Kioyo on the south coast of the island. Now the Malay language is used in dealings with the government offices of the Dutch colonial administration and with the traders. The natives use only their mother tongue among themselves, which, however, is already heavily influenced by the Malay in the grammatical structure and vocabulary of the young generation, since in the school built by the Rhenish Mission Society (with its headquarters in the Batak lands), the children at the same time learn Malay with the Latin script. With the rapid extinction of the Engganese, who according to an estimate made in 1866 by the Dutch Pruis van der Hoeven were said to have numbered 6420 souls,

this language, which is so very important for Austronesian language research, is doomed.

The inhabitants of Enggano do not have their own writing-symbols and have never had their own script. I attribute the name Enggano to a corruption of the phrase *'ee kanōō* “well, let’s eat”, which was previously used as a kind of greeting.

With regard to the representation of the material as well as the view concerning the grammatical structure of Indonesian languages, I have leaned heavily on the presentation, which has been given in the seminar for Indonesian and South Pacific languages at the Hanseatic University (Hamburg) by Prof. Dr. Dempwolff and Dr. Aichele for years. I would like to thank my esteemed teachers, especially Prof. Dr. Dempwolff, for the thorough and varied training I enjoyed. Finally, I do not want to omit the Hamburg Scientific Foundation, the foreign office, Berlin, as well as Dr. S. J. Esser, Bandoeng / Java, to whom I would like to express my sincere thanks for the support that made my study trip to the Dutch Indies possible.

At the request of Prof. Dr. Dempwolff, to whom I had sent the manuscript for review, I have made some small changes, among other things I have presented the section on morphology, which originally made up the first part, as the second part for the sake of better understanding.

Pagaralam/Sumatra, August 1938. Hans Kähler.

2 Abbreviations and Symbols (82)

Attr. = Attribute; Ro = Root; O = Object; P = Predicate; Pl. = Plural; Pnl. = Prenasalization; R = Governor; r = Governee; S = Subject; Sg. = Singular; PAN = Proto-Austronesian¹.

An * before a word indicates that it is constructed. The symbol > means “becomes”, < “originated from”. Material in quotation marks are translations or technical terms. Material in angled brackets are technical terms.²

3 The sound system of Enggano (83)

A phonetic spelling has been chosen for the following material, which closely matches the Standard-Alphabet set up by Lepsius.³ The following letters and groups of letters are used in Enggano, sorted according to their phonetic value:

¹For more on this, see O. Dempwolff, *Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzes*, Dietrich Reimer (Andrews & Steiner), Berlin, 1934–1938.

²Note by Barnaby Burleigh: The particular type of angled brackets (double brackets) which Kähler uses are a type of quotation mark. Hence ordinary quotation marks are used exclusively for translations, and angled brackets are used exclusively for technical terms. Material in parentheses are additions to be added when translating.

³Lepsius, C.R. *Standard-Alphabet*, London and Berlin, 1863.

m means the bilabial, **n** the alveolar nasal.

b means the bilabial, **d** the alveolar plosive.

p means the unvoiced and tense bilabial, **t** (occurring only dialectically) the unvoiced and tense alveolar, **k** the unvoiced and tense velar plosive.

r is alveolar and equivalent to **d**.

x' denotes the palatal fricative, which we also find in German in “ich”.

n', **d'**, **t'** denote palatal sounds in which the front tongue is mainly involved. (They correspond to nj, dj and tj in Malay.)

When the sounds are put together into words, individual vowels become carriers of the accent. In Enggano this generally lies on the vowel of the penultimate syllable. If a word is extended by suffixes, the accent is often placed on the vowel of the penultimate syllable, but sometimes remains on the original syllable. By assembling the words into sentences, they adopt certain tone sequences, the “sentence melody”.⁵ The basis of this sentence melody in a short sentence in the statement (S-P-O) is a simple arc, in which the voice starts low, rises a little and then slowly falls back to the initial voice position. In the case of a polar question,⁶ the voice also starts low, but remains in this voice position in order to then spontaneously rise at the last word of the question and abruptly stop at this height.

Part I

Syntax

4 First Section: Simple Sentences (84)

§1: Nouns as subjects and predicates

- (1) a. *ekitee ekuo* a merbau⁷ is a tree = merbaus are trees.
b. *ekuoda'a ekitee* a tree is the merbau = the merbau is a **tree**. = merbaus are **trees**.
- (2) a. *ebaba eũ'ã* the potato is a food = potatoes are food
b. *eũ'ãnã'ã ebaba* a food is the potato = the potato is a **food** = potatoes are **food**.
- (3) a. *ehuda ekaka* a woman is a human.

⁵Note by Barnaby Burleigh: Satzmelodie, here translated ‘sentence melody’, is simply the German term for the intonation pattern of a sentence. In Enggano, this primarily distinguishes polar questions from statements.

⁶Note by Barnaby Burleigh: I am not sure whether ‘Zweifelfragen’ means specifically polar questions, as opposed to all questions.

⁷merbau is a well-known tree: *Azelia palembanica*.

- b. *kahauda ekaka* women are humans.

The above words are nouns which summarize constant impressions of meaning as a group of things and name the individual classes as “tree, food, man” etc. The German language forces us to classify all nouns into grammatical genders, which we identify through our articles “der, die, das”. Enggano has two articles, namely *e-* and *ka-*. These do not classify the nouns into grammatical genders, but serve to denote class and individual. *e-* is the determiner for a class, of which one cannot form a plural, and for individuals in the singular. *ka-* is the determiner for the plural of individuals (see §2). An indication of number is only possible for individuals in Enggano. The sentences above are “statements”. In them a thought is broken down into a part that is assumed to be known, the “subject”, and a part that is said to be new, the “predicate”. If the S precedes the P, none of these parts of the sentence in Enggano need a special marker. With the word order P-S, which is the most common in Enggano, the P is preferentially marked by *da’a*, *-nã’ã*.

- (4) *ekiteeda’a ekuo e’ana* that tree is a **merbau** = those trees are **merbau**.

Sentences like 1-3, in which the S as well as the P designate a class, are rare in Enggano. Usually, a statement is made about particular things, which follow the definite article in German, but precede a demonstrative in Enggano (§8).

§2: Number in nouns

a)

- (1) *eke’epa e’ana ka’ao* that bird dies = those birds die.
 (2) *e’ana euba’au* that is my house = those are my houses.
 (3) a. *ehuda kia* she is a **woman**.
 b. *kahauda ki* they are **women**.
 (4) a. *kia kipudu epunãnmã e’ana* he kills that youth
 b. *kia kipudu kapunãnmã* he kills those youths

As already mentioned in §1, Enggano makes a sharp distinction in nouns between those which denote a “class” and those which denote an “individual”. The term “class” includes all dead objects, animals, body parts, plants and demons, and the term “individual” all terms for human society. The determiner for a class is *e-*, for individuals in the plural *ka-* (see §1).

Note: If there is a noun with *h-*, the *-a* from *ka-* penetrates the stem after the *h-* and - as far as possible - forms a diphthong with the vowel of the first syllable (sentence 3b). An initial *a-* of the word stem merges with the prefix *ka-*.

- (5) a. *kia eara’au* he is my child.
 b. *ki karara’au* they are my children.

Somewhat irregular is the plural *karara* from *eara* “the child” (comp. PAN *anak*),

which occurs instead of the expected **kara*, and *kanāpū* “clan leader” from singular *ekāpū*.

b)

- (6) a. *ehuda e'ana honānīā* that woman is his wife.
 b. *'ua kipua kahaonā* I see those wives.
- (7) a. *'ānō'ōu kia* he is **my friend**.
 b. *ka'ānō'ōu ki* they are **my friends**.

There are some nouns in Enggano that fall under the term “individuals” but do not have the determiner *e-* in the singular. In the plural, however, they are marked with *ka-*.

c)

- (8) a. *'ūpūnīā ekaka e'ana* that person is his grandmother.
 b. *kī kaho'ūpūnīā* they are his grandparents.
- (9) a. *'ua amānā* I am their father.
 b. *kia kipudu kahō'amā* he kills those fathers.

Some nouns in Enggano form a plural with the determiner *kahō-* instead of *ka-*. In addition to the above examples, *kahō-* also occurs with *nāē* “mother”, *'a'a* “older sibling” and others.

d)

- (10) a. *ekē'ēpa e'ana kix'āhāmō* that bird flies = those birds fly.
 b. *ekē'ēpa-ekē'ēpa kix'āhāmō* all birds fly.
- (11) a. *ekoyō e'ana ka'apurudui* that wild boar has bristles
 b. *ekoyō-ekoyō ka'apurudui* all wild boars have bristles
- (12) a. *ka'u'ua euba e'ana* that house is **beautiful**.
 b. *euuba-euba ka'u'ua* all houses are beautiful.
- (13) a. *kī'ōaha ekō'ē'ē* the devil is **malicious**.
 b. *kī'ōaha ekō'ē'ē-ekō'ē'ē* all devils are **malicious**.

One, albeit rarely used, possibility of designating an absolute plural for nouns that denote a class, i.e. cannot accept the plural determiner *ka-*, which includes everything belonging to the class without exception, is to reiterate the word stem together with the article *e-*. In addition, in the first part there is a clearly perceivable stretching of the vowel with the accent. This process is to be interpreted psychologically. The level of arousal appears here as a factor that can be explained very well by the liveliness of the Engganese.

§3: Negation of nominal predicates

- (1) *ekitee keaba'a yapadi e'ea* (as far as) a merbau (is concerned), it does not exist that it becomes a stone = a merbau is not a stone = merbau are not stones.
- (2) *emēnō keaba'a yapadi eū'ā* (as far as) palm wine (is concerned), it is not present that it becomes a food = palm wine is not a food.
- (3) *kapae e'ana keaba'a dapadi kahayuda* (as far as) those children (are concerned), it is not present that they become women = those children are not women.

A simple statement in which S and P are nouns is negated in Enggano in such a way that the S moves to the beginning of the sentence; then *keaba'a* “not present” follows with the modified forms (§15) of the root *apadi!* “become!”. The preceding S is then taken up again in *yapadi* in the *y-* (= *i-*), in *dapadi* in the *d-* (= *da-*). Here *yapadi* occurs when the S denotes a class or an individual in the singular, and *dapadi* when the S denotes a plural of an individual. At the end follows the P.

§4: Personal pronouns as subjects

a)

- (1) a. *ekaka e'ana ekāpū* that person is a clan leader
b. *'ua ekāpū* I am clan leader
- (2) *'o'o eka'ahuoi* you are clan leader
- (3) *kia ehuda* she is a woman
- (4) a. *'ika kanāpū* we (I and you) are clan leaders.
b. *'ika'a kahayuda* we (I and you (pl.)) are women.
- (5) *'ai kapunānāmī* we are youngsters.
- (6) *adiu = aduu (aruu) kapae* you are children.
- (7) *ki kamānī* they are men.

A noun as S can be replaced by a personal pronoun. The personal pronouns in Enggano distinguish three persons in the singular and the plural. For the 1st person plural “we” three forms exist in Enggano: *'ika* (<PAN *kita'*) includes the addressee, so it is a kind of dual form (“I and you”), *'ika'a* includes the addressees (i.e. two or more) and hence means “me and you (pl.)”. *'ai* (<PAN *kami*, Mentawai *kai*) excludes the person or persons addressed.

Note: The subtle difference between *'ika* and *'ika'a* has already largely faded in use. In today's idiom, mostly *'ika* is used.

b)

- (8) *keaba'a 'uapadi ekāpū* I am not a clan leader.

- (9) *keaba'a kapadi kanāpū* we are not clan leaders.

In Enggano, the negation of a simple statement with a personal pronoun as S and a noun as P occurs in such a way that the S, as a pronominal short form of the modified forms (§15), comes before *apadi* and then the P follows (see §3).

c)

- (10) *kabiahada'a 'ua kapuhō 'ua kitera* it is present that we are sick, we all
= we are all actually sick.

'*ua* is also used occasionally for the plural when the situation rules out a misunderstanding.

- (11) *e'anānā'ā kia kipakūmā ehabadi'o ukabu'obō* back then one started the
production of pig nets.

kia sometimes appears for our German *man*.⁸

§5: Adjectival predicates

a)

- (1) a. *'amūhō euba e'ana* that house is **large** = those houses are **large**.
b. *keaba'a ya'amūhō euba e'ana* it does not exist that that house is
large = that house is **not large** = those houses are **not large**.
(2) a. *hinūki ekohea'a ei'ie* this hut is **small** = these huts are **small**.
b. *keaba'a yahinūki ekohea'a ei'ie* it does not exist that this hut is small
= this hut is **not small** = these huts are **not small**.

A predicate of a statement can also be an adjective, a “qualitative”. Enggano has few actual adjectives (as in sentence 1/2). Mostly other parts of speech take their place. An adjective is negated with the help of *keaba'a* “not to exist” (see §§ 3-4).

b)

- (3) a. *kia kio'ōnō* he is a weak-being = he is weak.⁹
kia kio'ōnūā he will be weak.
kia hōō mūō'ōnō he was weak, he has been weak.¹⁰

⁸Note by Barnaby Burleigh: German ‘man’ roughly corresponds to English ‘one’. The construction is more widely used in German than it is in English, hence the English translation of (11) is unidiomatic. An alternative translation would be ‘back then the production of pig nets was started’.

⁹Note by Barnaby Burleigh: ‘Schwach-Seiender’ is here translated ‘weak-being’. ‘schwach’ is an adjective, ‘Seiender’ is a gerund based on ‘sein’, i.e. ‘to be’, and translates to something like ‘person who is’. Hence, an alternative translation would be ‘person-who-is-weak’. The same goes for the translations in (4) and (5).

¹⁰Note by Barnaby Burleigh: The English past tense and past perfect tense here translate German imperfect tense and perfect tense.

- b. *keaba'a ya'ōnō* it does not exist that he is weak = he is not weak.
- (4) *kipēhodo ekaka e'ana* that person is (a deaf-being =) **deaf**.
- (5) *ehũã e'ana kibaka* those fruits are (unripe-beings =) unripe.

Often the pseudonomen agentis (§35) has to represent an adjective.¹¹ The negation is done in the usual way with *keaba'a* (§§3–4).

c)

- (6) a. *'ua kapuhō* I am sick.
 b. *keaba'a 'uapuhō* it does not exist that I am sick = I am not sick.
- (7) a. *ekaenĩ e'ana kanēnē* that fabric is thin.
 b. *ekaenĩ e'ana kanēnēnēnē* that fabric is very thin.

Formations with *ka-* (§41) also sometimes represent an adjective. Sentence 7b shows that repetition of the word stem leads to an intensified meaning.

d)

- (8) a. *e'ekōa ei'ie epohō* this way is being-broad = broad.
 b. *e'ekōa ei'ie ka'apohō* this way is in the state of width = wide.
 c. *e'ekōa ei'ie keaba'a ya'apohō* (as for) this path, it does not exist that it is in the state of width = this path is not wide.

Nouns (sentence 8a) as well as stative predicates derived from them (sentence 8b; see §45) also represent adjectives.

§6: Polar questions about the Predicate

a)

- (1) a. *eki'adobu eke'epa?* are chickens birds?
 b. *eke'epada'a eki'adobu* chickens are **birds**.
- (2) a. *epakamãĩ e'ana ea'au?* is that knife iron?
 b. *'ōō* yes.
- (3) a. *epae ei'ie ehuda?* is this child (a woman =) a girl?
 b. *keō, kia emãĩ* no, it's a (man =) boy.
- (4) a. *adiu kanãpũ?* are you clan leaders?
 b. *keō kapadi kanãpũ* it does not exist that we become clan leaders = we are not clan leaders.
- (5) a. *kia kahãghō?* is he frightened?
 b. *keō* no.
- (6) a. *'ō'ō hōō bai?* were you already a coming one = did you come?

¹¹Note by Barnaby Burleigh: 'represent' translates 'vertreten', which can alternatively be read 'stand in for' or 'replace', i.e. these other constructions, e.g. pseudonomen agentis, fulfil the role that would be fulfilled by an adjective in German or English.

- b. 'õõ, 'ua hoo bai yes, I have come.

If there is a polar question which expects the answer “yes” or “no”, only the P is questioned in Enggano. The word order is then usually S-P. The polar question is clearly identified in Enggano by the sentence’s intonation pattern, see p. 84.

b)

- (7) e'itope ehūā e'ana? are those fruits **bananas**?

If the word order P-S is preferred for a polar question, the P usually takes the particle *-pe* as a suffix.

§7: wh-questions

- (1) a. ebaba eū'ā? are yams a food?
b. e'iaha ebaba? what are yams?
- (2) a. 'o'o ekāpū? are you a clan leader?
b. e'iaha 'o'o? what are you?
- (3) hāi kia? who is he ?
- (4) a. euba 'amūhō? is the house big?
b. kinōnō(pe) euba? how is the house?
- (5) a. 'o'o epitaiya? are you a poor(-person) = poor?
b. kinōnō(pe) 'o'o? how are you?
- (6) ke aduhape e'uboho'ou? but how (is my thing-to-be-done =) do I have to do?
- (7) a. 'o'o kahae? are you going away?
b. mēō 'o'o? what are you doing ?
c. mēō eiya uiyabu? what is the state of your being = what are you doing?

Wh-questions, which expect the stating of a fact for an answer, are formed with question words, “interrogative pronouns”. These appear as P at the beginning of the sentence. When choosing these interrogative pronouns, the part of speech asked for is decisive. *e'iaha* “what?” asks for a thing, a class, *hai* “who?” (see Sangir etc.)¹² asks for an individual, *kinōnō(pe)* “how?” asks for a property (even if it is denoted by a noun as in Sentence 5a). The interrogative pronoun *mēō*, which can also be replaced by *mēō eiya uiya-*, where the attribute *uiya-* takes the respective possessive suffixes (§11), asks about an event, hence also about a process. We can best describe it as “what to do?”. The intonation pattern of the wh-question does not differ from that of the simple statement.

¹²See Adriani, *Spraakunstige Schets Van De Taal Der Mentawai-Eilanden*, Bijdragen, Deel 84, pg. 89.

- (8) a. *nā'āpūā ka'iaha buodo eita'aya ukuha?* the ancestors of which clan were once the origin of sea turtles?
 b. *nā'āpūā ka'itora buodo eita'aya ukuha* the ancestors of the (clan) Ka'itora were once the origin of sea turtles.

An interrogative pronoun *ka'iaha*, which is made to follow appositionally, asks about clan affiliation.

5 Second Section: Expanded Sentences (91)

§8: Appositions to the subject

a)

- (1) a. *eke'epa 'amūhō* birds are big.
 b. *eke'epa e'akōmā'ā 'amūhō* birds, specifically herons are big = herons are big.
 (2) *mōkōnā'ā e'aiyo eoko'odo* the eoko'odo-fish are **numerous**.
 (3) *ka'u'uada'a ekaka kahauda* people, specifically women = women are **beautiful**.
 (4) *kapuhō ekāpū Para'aua* the clan-leader Para'aua is **sick**.
 (5) *are'ea'a kapae kamānī!* come here, (children, specifically men =) boys!
 (6) *kibopoda'a ekaka emānī* a (person, specifically a man =) boy is **ugly**.
 (7) *kapae kamānī keaba'a nāhōhō* (children, specifically men =) boys are not afraid.
 (8) *ebeo ehuda hinūkī* (a dog, specifically a woman =) a female dog is small.

Nominal subjects can be modified by another noun, which appears as an apposition without any determiners following it. Proper names of people (nomina propria) appear as appositions to a title (sentence 4). Many names of classes do not appear independently, but as an apposition to a noun that specifies a further class as a higher class¹³ (sentences 1b, 2, 3, 5-7). The nouns *ehuda* “the woman” and *emānī* “the man” also occur as appositions to other nouns as names for the natural gender.

- (9) *kikia kahai'i ekaka epae ehuda epo'ināmō* there is one person, specifically a child, specifically a woman, specifically a virgin.

Appositions can in turn accept appositional modifiers.

b)

- (10) *ki'oaha ekāpū ei'ie* this clan leader is **malicious**.

¹³Note by Barnaby Burleigh: i.e. the classes that appear as appositions are subclasses of the higher class in respect of which they appear as appositions.

- (11) *ka'u'uada'a kahauda e'ana* those women are **beautiful**.
- (12) a. *hãĩ ekãpũ ea'a?* who is that clan leader?
 b. *hãĩ kanãpũ ea'a?* who are those clan leaders?

Like a noun, the demonstrative pronoun is placed as an apposition after the substantival subject. In Enggano too – like in most Indonesian languages – there are three demonstrative pronouns, which are correlated to the three persons. They are as follows: *ei'ie* “this” correlates to the 1st person, *e'ana* “that” correlates to the 2nd person, *ea'a* “that” correlates to the 3rd person. It should also be noted that these demonstrative pronouns remain unchanged even if they appear as an apposition to a substantive S in the plural (sentences 11 and 12).

c)

- (13) *'amũhõ e'aiyo ekito e'ana* that shark is **big**.

If a substantive and a demonstrative apposition are required, the demonstrative pronoun comes at the end of the phrase.

d)

- (14) *'ua ei'ie epitaiya* (this me =) I am (a poor(-person) =) poor.
 (15) *mõkõnã'ã adiu e'ana* (those you =) you there are **numerous**.

The demonstrative pronouns can also appear appositionally after a personal pronoun that is the subject.

e)

- (16) a. *ekaka e'ana kapuhõ* that person is sick.
 b. *e'ana ekaka kapuhõ* **that** person is sick.¹⁴

Occasionally, a demonstrative pronoun is placed before the nominal subject for emphasis.

f)

- (17) *e'iaha ei'ie?* what's this ?
 (18) *e'ana euba* that is a house.
 (19) *dio kia?* which one is he?

Occasionally, the demonstrative pronouns also occur independently. In simple statements with independent demonstrative pronouns, a short pause is clearly audible between S and P (sentence 18). *dio* “which one?” asks after a demonstrative pronoun.

¹⁴Note by Barnaby Burleigh: The demonstrative is emphasized here.

g)

- (20) a. *ka'u'uada'a euba* a house is **beautiful**.
b. *ka'u'uada'a euba mō'ō* 'amūhō a big house is **beautiful**.
c. *ka'u'uada'a euba mō'ō* 'amūhō *ei'ie* this big house is **beautiful**.

An adjective (or its replacement) as a modifier of a nominal subject, which in German is attributively placed first, is appositionally placed after the nominal subject in Enggano and connected by the particle *mō'ō*. The S thus modified is followed by a demonstrative as an apposition (sentence 20c) to describe it as a determinate idea.

- (21) a. *ekaka hēmō'ō kiō'ōnō e'ana kapuhō* that weak person is sick.
b. *ekaka hōmō'ō kiō'ōnō e'ana kapuhō* those weak people are sick.

In the past, there were two apposition particles in Enggano: *hēmō'ō* for the singular (i.e. class and individual in the singular) and *hōmō'ō* for the plural of an individual. This differentiation eliminates misunderstandings about the number of the subject. In today's language, only *mō'ō* is used, which denotes both the singular and the plural.

h)

- (22) *Kiūiida'a (ekaka) mō'ō kai e'ana* Kiuūi is the (person) who comes there.

A process word, like an adjective, can be appositionally appended to a nominal subject with *mō'ō* (or *hēmō'ō* and *hōmō'ō*).

§9: apposition with nominal predicates

a)

- (1) a. *ekaka e'ana ekāpū* that person is a clan leader.
b. *ekaka e'ana ekāpū Para'aua* that person is the clan leader Para'aua.
(2) a. *ekāpū e'ana kapuhō* that clan leader is sick.
b. *ekāpū e'ana (ekaka) mō'ō kapuhō* that clan leader is a person who is sick = that clan leader is a sick person.
(3) *ekaka e'ana kapae kamānī (hō)mō'ō kaitara* those people are (children, specifically men =) boys who play.
(4) *ekabake ei'ie epae ehuda (hē)mō'ō ka'ao e'ana* this corpse is that deceased (child, specifically woman =) girl.

To a nominal predicate all parts of speech discussed so far can appear as apposition in the same way as to a nominal subject.

b)

- (5) *ekaka e'ana keaba'a yapadi ekāpũ Para'aua* that man is not the clan leader Para'aua.
- (6) a. *kia ekaka (hē)mō'ō keaba'a yahāghō* he is a person who is not fearful.
b. *(kia) keaba'a yapadi ekaka kahāghō* he is not a fearful person.

No new rules arise in the case of negation.

c)

- (7) a. *epae mō'ō kinōnō Kiuĩĩ?* what kind of child is Kiuĩĩ?
b. *epae kix'udea Kiuĩĩ* Kiuĩĩ is a brave child.

The question word *kinōnō*, which asks for an adjective (or its replacement) (§7), can also appear as an apposition.

§10: attributive compounds, fixed nominal attributes

a)

- (1) a. *e'ana ekaraha ukuo* that is (the trunk of a tree =) a treetrunk.
b. *e'ana ekaraha ukuo?* is that a treetrunk?
- (2) *ehũũ u'ito 'amũhō* fruits of the banana tree are large.
- (3) a. *kia kidodo e'apo uaradia* he grasps his child's hands.
b. *dodo e'apo upae e'ana!* grasp that child's hands!

In Enggano, the rule is that when a substantive is modified by an equally substantive attribute, the governee (r) follows the governor (R). The determiner of r, *e-*, is replaced by the attribute determiner *u-*. This occurs equally before consonant and vowel sounds as well as before the glottal stop. There are no new rules for questions, imperatives, etc.

- (4) *ki kipahanēkũ ukabu'obo* (= *ukabo u'obo*) *e'ana* they are (people-setting =) people-stretching those pig nets = they stretch those pig nets.¹⁵
- (5) *mōkōnā'ā epurukuo* (= *epuru ukuo*) the tree leaves are **numerous**.

Occasionally, vowel loss (sentence 4) or vowel fusion (sentence 5) occurs during rapid speech.

b)

- (6) *kia kidodo e'apo kararadia* he grasps the hands of his children.
- (7) *ki'oaha eitapuhō kahauda e'ana* the disease of those women is **malignant**.

¹⁵Note by Barnaby Burleigh: In German, verbs can be nominalized to indicate people doing the action the verbs denote.

If the R is attributively modified by an r in the plural, there is only a juxtaposition of these two parts, i.e. the attribute determiner *u-* is omitted before the plural determiner *ka-*.

- (8) *e'ana nãē honãñiã that* is his wife's mother.
 (9) *ei'ie epia dadudia this* is her husband's plantation.
 (10) *i'iaha euba Kiuũ?* where is the house of Kiuũ?

The determiner *u-* is also missing if a noun that does not bear the article *e-* (§2) or a proper name appears as an attribute.

c)

- (11) *kinõ'õahã ehaduhuda upadohoika ukuda'ayo uiya udi'obu Bahe'u'u* so is the end of our hearing of the narrative of the nature of the doing-thing of the Bahe'u'u.
 (12) *ekuda'ayo uadeho ukarix'a kapae kamãni ãmãhãũ akahauda* story of the piercing of the earlobes of the (children, specifically men =) boys or girls.
 (13) *kanõ'õãhã edi'ua kamãni 'adua nẽ'ẽni* that was the saying-thing of the two men earlier = so was said earlier by the two men.
 (14) *kabu'õaha ekitai hẽmõ'õ ehuda kahai'i eara ukõ'e'e* the (entrails =) thoughts (of her) who was a woman and specifically a child of the devil, were **malicious**.

An attribute can in turn be modified by further attributes and appositions.

d)

- (15) *kinõ'õãhã eiya kahai'i ekuda'ayo ei'ie* so is the nature of this one story.

Numbers (§33) with appositions can also appear as attributes; the determiner *u-* is then also missing.

e)

- (16) *'amũhõnã'ã eakaruba* (the closing instrument of the house =) the front door is **big**.

The above *eakaruba* is composed of *eakau* “closing instrument = door” and *euba* (<PAN *γumah*) “house”. Between the two stands *-r-* as an attribute determiner that goes back to PAN *ni-*, *n-*, as occurs in other Indonesian languages.¹⁶ However, since this is the only example of *-r-* as an attribute determiner that I came across, it must be a loan from another Austronesian language.

¹⁶A. Lafeber, *Vergelijkende Klankleer Van Het Niasisch, 1e Gedeelte, “Hadi Poentaka”* MDCDXII, pg. 25

Note: Different parts of speech must always be constructed with an attribute (see Morphology).

§11: fixed pronominal attributes

a)

- (1) a. *e'ana euba ukāpū* that is the house of a clan leader
 b. *e'ana euba'au* that is my house.

Like the nominal attribute, the pronominal attribute is placed after the noun. These formations are called “fixed pronominal attributes” and correspond to the possessive pronoun of the European languages. The following possessive enclitics appear in Enggano as attribute forms for the possessive pronouns: *-’u* my; *-bu*, *-mū* your (sg.); *-dia*, *-nĩã* his/her; *-ka* our (incl., “I and you”); *-ka’a* our (incl., “I and you (pl.)”); *-dai*, *-nĩã* our (excl.); *-du*, *-ru*, *-nũ* your (pl.); *-ta*, *-da*, *-ra*, *-nã* their. The enclitic for the 3rd person singular can also refer to a common noun.

Note: Phonetically it is remarkable that the respective final vowel of the noun inserts itself before *-’u*, as can be seen from the following examples: *euba* the house - *euba’au* my house; *epū’ã* the kitchen - *epū’ã’ũ* my kitchen; *ebohe* the spear - *ebohe’eu* my spear; *e’udi* the skin - *e’udi’iu* my skin; *ekaenĩ* the fabric - *ekaenĩ’ũ* my fabric; *edio* the tongue - *edio’ou* my tongue; *eũ’ũ* the neck - *eũ’ũ’ũ* my neck.¹⁷

The following example may serve as a schema for the application of these fixed pronoun attributes. Here, the accent is denoted by *’* if it rests on a vowel other than that of the penultimate syllable:

euba’au my house, *eubabu* your house, *eúbadia* his house, *eubaka* our (incl.) house, *eubáka’a* our (incl.) house, *eúbadai* our (excl.) house, *eúbadu* your house, *eubada* their house.

-mũ instead of *-bu*, *-nĩã* instead of *-dia*, *-nĩã* instead of *-dai*, *-nũ* instead of *-du* and *-nã* instead of *-da* occur especially when the word stem contains a nasal (*m*, *n*).

b)

- (2) *kabait’i amãnãĩ* our = my father **calls**.
 (3) *kabaix’a nãẽnũ* your (pl.) = your (sg.) mother **is coming**.

amã “father”, *nãẽ* “mother” and others are constructed only with the possessive suffixes of the plural, which represent the singular at the same time. This gives these kinship names a special courtesy value.

¹⁷Note by Barnaby Burleigh: It appears as though the vowel actually inserts itself after the glottal stop of *-’u*, rather than before the whole suffix.

c)

- (4) *euba'auada'a 'amũhõ* my house is **big**.

If *-da'a/-nã'ã* is added to a noun with a possessive enclitic, the following peculiarities occur:

eubá'auada'a my house, *eubábuda'a* your house, *eúbada'adia* his house, *eubákada'a* our (incl.) house, *eubáka'ada'a* our (incl.) house, *eúbada'adai* our (excl.) house, *eúbada'adu* your (pl.) house, *eubádada'a* their house.

It is striking that the possessive enclitics *-dia (-nĩã)*, *-dai (-nãĩ)* and *du (-nũ)* are less firmly connected to the R than the others. This separation of R and r by *-da'a (-nã'ã)* takes place where the accent remains on the vowel of the first syllable when the possessive suffixes are added.

§12: separated nominal attributes

a)

- (1) a. *ka'u'uada'a ehũã u'itõ e'ana* those banana fruits are **beautiful**.
b. *ka'u'uada'a ehũãnĩã e'itõ e'ana* the fruits of that banana tree are **beautiful**.
- (2) *e'iaha enĩũnĩã eãpõ ei'ie* what is the name of these corpse worms? (= what do these corpse worms mean?).
- (3) *enĩũnĩã ekohõi e'ana Nãnũ'ũã* the name of that mountain is Nãnũ'ũã.
- (4) *kibopoda'a epuahada kapae ei'ie* the appearance of these children is **ugly**.

A fixed nominal attribute (sentence 1a) can be modified appositionally by a demonstrative. This note then refers to the entire expression. If the note should refer to the attribute, the attribute must be detached. This is done by suffixing *-dia, -nã* to the R if it has a singular (class) with it as r; by suffixing *-da, -nã* if it has a plural (individual) with it as r. This construction is called “detached nominal attribute” here.¹⁸ It corresponds to our genitive with a definite article. Grammatically, the r forms an apposition to the possessive enclitic *-dia (-nĩã)* or *-da (nã)* in such constructions.

b)

- (5) a. *mõkõnã'ã epoo ukaka e'ana* the coconut palms of that person are **numerous**.
b. *mõkõnã'ã epoodia kia* his coconut palms from him are **numerous**.

Sentence 5b shows that the personal pronoun *kia* “he” can occur as an apposition to the possessive suffix *-dia (-nĩã)*. This form of expression is pleonastic, but is also common in other people’s speech.¹⁹

¹⁸As far as I know, this expression was first used by Prof. Dr. Dempwolff for Malay, Ngadju-Dajak a.o.

¹⁹Note by Barnaby Burleigh: It seems unclear why Kähler refers to ‘other people’s’ speech

§13: fronting of nominal attributes

- (1) a. *ka'u'uada'a ehũãñĩã e'ito e'ana* the fruits of that banana tree are **beautiful**.
 b. *e'ito e'ana ka'u'uada'a ehũãñĩã* the fruits **of that banana tree** are beautiful.
- (2) a. *ekaka e'ana kibopo(da'a) epuahadia* the appearance **of that person** is ugly.
 b. *ekaka ei'ie keaba'a ya'u'ua epuahadia* the appearance **of this person** is not beautiful.
- (3) *ekohoi e'ana e'iaha enĩũñĩã?* what is the name **of that mountain?**
- (4) *ekaka ea'a hãĩ enĩũñĩã?* (who =) what is the name **of that person?**
- (5) *kapae ei'ie kibopo(da'a) epuahada* the appearance **of these children** is ugly.

[Note by Barnaby Burleigh: Kähler prints some of the above genitives in a different font to indicate emphasis. It is not always clear what is emphasized and what is not. The above is my best guess.]

If you want to emphasize a genitive in German, you pronounce it with a strong accent. In Enggano you have to put the emotionally emphasized genitive in front. The usual word order is then: detached nominal attribute - P (often with *-da'a, -nã'ã*) - S. This construction is often found in simple statements (sentences 1b, 2a), in negated statements (sentence 2b), in wh-questions (sentence 3/4), etc.

§14: separated and fronted pronominal attributes

a)

- (1) a. *kiparaa ebahaudia* his heart is **tight** = he is great
 b. *kia kiparaa ebahau* he is great
 c. *kia kiparaa ebahaudia* he is great²⁰
- (2) a. *ka'akẽñẽ ebaka'au* my eyes are **blind**
 b. *'ua ka'akẽñẽ ebaka'au* **my** eyes are blind

Just as a nominal attribute can be detached and placed in front, so also can be done with a pronominal attribute. The personal pronoun then appears at the beginning of the sentence, followed by the P and finally the S of the sentence. This then usually no longer has a possessive suffix, since the possessive element is already included in the form of the personal pronoun. However, there are also cases in which the S keeps the possessive enclitic (sentence 1c). The following

here. Is he indicating that the grammar is based only on a few speech samples from his friends, hence requiring some assurance that other people speak in this way too?

²⁰Note by Barnaby Burleigh: 'great' translates 'toll', which in older German can also mean 'crazy' or 'insane'.

example serves as a schema of such constructions:

'ua ka'akēnē ebaka('au) **my** eyes are blind;
 'o'o ka'akēnē ebaka(bu) **your** (sg.) eyes are blind;
 kia ka'akēnē ebaka(dia) **his** eyes are blind;
 'ika ka'akēnē ebaka(ka) **our** (incl.) eyes are blind;
 'ika'a ka'akēnē ebaka(ka'a) **our** (incl.) eyes are blind;
 'ai ka'akēnē ebaka(dai) **our** (excl.) eyes are blind;
 adiu ka'akēnē ebaka(du) **your** (pl.) eyes are blind;
 ki ka'akēnē ebaka(da) **their** eyes are blind.

b)

- (3) a. ei'ie euba'au this is my house.
 b. ei'ie 'ueuba this is of me the house = this is my house.
 c. ei'ie 'ueuba 'ua this is my house of me = this is my house.²¹

It often occurs in Enggano that a fronted personal pronoun is used in place of a possessive pronoun. Here they partially merge with the determiner *e-*. It is a pleonastic form of expression if there is a personal pronoun after such formations (sentence 3c). Below is a paradigm of these constructions:

ka'u'uada'a 'ueuba my house is **beautiful** < 'ua euba.
 ka'u'uada'a 'o'euba your (sg.) house is **beautiful** < 'o'o euba.
 ka'u'uada'a kieuba his house is **beautiful** < kia euba.
 ka'u'uada'a 'ikeuba our (incl.) house is **beautiful** < 'ika euba.
 ka'u'uada'a 'ika'a euba our (incl.) house is **beautiful**.
 ka'u'uada'a 'ai euba our (excl.) house is **beautiful**.
 ka'u'uada'a adiu euba your (pl.) house is **beautiful**.
 ka'u'uada'a kiiuba their house is **beautiful** < ki euba.

c)

- (4) mōkōnā'ā karara'au my children are **numerous**.

It should be noted that these constructions are not applicable to the plural of individuals.

d)

- (5) ke'anāhā kabai'x'a kii'ināhāhōhō ukaka e'ana and then came their illness of those people.

Occasionally, such constructions with a fronted pronominal attribute also take a nominal attribute as a modifier.

²¹Note by Barnaby Burleigh: This is an attempt to translate the German literally, resulting in ungrammatical constructions in English. In German all the above iterations of the Enggano are grammatical, but the German transformations Kähler presents cannot be grammatically rendered in English.

§15: changed forms (this is the section on subject concord)

a)

- (1) a. *keoba'a* (= *keaba'a*, *kuaba'a*, *keeba'a*) *'ueũ'ã ehũã* my food, specifically fruits **are not available**
 b. *keaba'a 'uedo* it does not exist that I cry = I do not cry.
- (2) *keaba'a uapuhø* it does not exist that you are sick = you are not sick.
- (3) *keaba'a kaedøi kia* it does not exist that we weep for him = we do not weep for him.
- (4) *kaupe(ba'a)* (= *keepe[ba'a]*) *ipudu ekoyo e'ana* it does not yet exist that he kills that wild boar = he does not yet kill that wild boar.
- (5) *epoo e'ana kaupe ya'ahũũã* (as far as) that coconut palm (is concerned), it does not yet exist that it is in the state of fruit = that coconut palm has no fruit yet.
- (6) *kaupe(ba'a) 'uadodo (i'ioo) u'ube'e* it does not yet exist that I am a swallower of the medicine = I am not yet swallowing medicine.
- (7) *kaua 'ukokoi dakix'ohø* I don't want to walk around in the bright day.²²
- (8) *kia ki'øbu nõ'õãhã yara'a kua inõõ kia eko'e'e* he did so, so that it would not exist that he, specifically the devil, would eat him = he did so, so that the devil would not eat him.

The “modified forms” (Dutch: *vervoegde vormen*) are obligatory in Enggano after the above-mentioned negation particles *keaba'a* (with its various forms) “not to be present”, *kaupe(ba'a)* “not yet to be present”, *kaua* “not to want” and *yara'a kua* “so that it does not exist”.²³ These “modified forms” can be formed from simple as well as extended word stems of activity and process words, by using the pronominal short forms listed in the following paradigm before those word stems which are in use as deverbal nominals (§56) and as such appear with the determiner *e-*. For the explanation of these forms, see section 1 of this paragraph. Among these modified forms, the negation of a nominal predicate mentioned in §3 and the negation of the different types of gerunds mentioned in §§53-55 are also to be counted. The following example may serve as a paradigm for these modified forms:

keaba'a 'upudu ekoyo e'ana I don't kill that boar.
keaba'a upudu ekoyo e'ana you don't kill that boar.
keaba'a ipudu ekoyo e'ana he doesn't kill that boar.
keaba'a kapudu ekoyo e'ana we (incl., “I and you”) do not kill that boar.
keaba'a kapudua'a ekoyo e'ana we (incl., “I and you (pl.)”) don't kill that boar.
keaba'a 'upudu'ai ekoyo e'ana we (excl.) don't kill that boar.

²²Note by Barnaby Burleigh: A more idiomatic translation would be ‘in broad daylight’.

²³Note by Barnaby Burleigh: The above ‘to be present’ is often alternatively translated ‘to exist’.

keaba'a upudua'a = upudu adiu ekoyo e'ana you (pl.) don't kill that boar.

keaba'a dapudu ekoyo e'ana they don't kill that boar.

Note: *keaba'a 'ua kipa'io i'ioñũ* it does not exist that I spear after you = I do not spear after you.

keo puhai adiu eaba'ao ukoo it does not exist that you are people-being-able-to²⁴ die of hunger = you cannot die of hunger.

If, after *keaba'a* (and its various forms), a subject sentence (§21a) follows, the modified forms do not occur.

(9) *keaba'a yapuhō* it does not exist that he is sick = he is not sick.

(10) *keo n'ainōnō eitapuhō e'ana* it does not exist that he feels that illness = he does not feel that illness.

(11) *ekaenī ei'ie keaba'a n'ānēnē* (as far as) this cloth (is concerned), it does not exist that it is thin = this substance is not thin.

In the case of initial vowel sounds, an *y-* occurs instead of *i-*. In its place, people like to use the palatal *n'-* if the word stem contains an *n*.

b)

(12) *nō'ōnī 'ua ki'uaha i'ioñmũ*: “*uabakuda'a i'ioo i'ā'ũ epoo'ou kikia*” now I will say to you: “You tell my sister-wife that my coconut palms are present.”

(13) *kapudu, kapudua'a kia!* let, let's kill him!

The modified forms can be used in imperatives addressed to the second person singular and plural, but are mandatory in imperatives addressed to the first person plural.

c)

(14) *mēō upai'ioda i'ioo'ou?* why do you spear after me?

(15) *mēō upua i'ioo'ou?* why are you running from me?

(16) *mēō inō'ō'ōhā aruu ki'obu 'ouū'ākā ei'ie?* why is it so that you do with this our food = why do you do so with this our food?

These forms can also occur after *mēō* “why?”.

d)

(17) *ke adoo dakeora?* but why are they disappearing?

After *adoo* “how?” the modified forms also occur.

²⁴Note by Barnaby Burleigh: This is an attempt to translate a particular nominalization of the German verb ‘können’.

e)

- (18) *a'upu'uda 'ai iiya ipia* when we cooked (food) she (the old woman) stayed in the plantation.
- (19) *ape ainōō e'ou kitahāōhō ai'ua nō'ōi'īē*: “*mēō edi'obu ukaka dakakareit'a ekabake?*” when he ate a portion of *e'ou* (fruits), he spoke like this: “Why is the doing-thing of the people that they try to get the (poor =) fruits²⁵?”
- (20) *nā'ūmānā kamūpūkānā'ā ekauaba i'iooka be 'oo ipōpōhoi eokoiyaka* tomorrow we lift the (spider web =) prohibition from us, because (otherwise) it would confound the way we walked.
- (21) *kahae mūnīx'ā be 'oo yanūkū edopo i'iooka* let's go (as quick-being-people =) quickly, because (otherwise) the sun would be up!

The modified forms often also occur after *a-*, *ape a-* (§24, c) and *'oo* (§24, d).

f)

- (22) *keaba'a ya'u'ua ekitaidia be itohoi eit'idia e'ana* his (innards =) thoughts were not good because he heard those his words.
- (23) *kanō'ōi'īē ekitaidia be ipuaha kinō'ōāhā epuaha i'ioo honānā* and so were his thoughts because he saw the appearance of his wife was so.

After the conjunction *be* “reason; because” the modified forms also occur.

g)

- (24) *kinōnō uanānā'ā'āunā ehabadiaka?* how did you destroy our resting place?

After *kinōnō* “how?” the modified forms also occur occasionally.

h)

- (25) *ka'u'uada'a 'ukix'o ekitai'iu* it is good that I heat my body.

The modified forms can also occur instead of a subject-sentence.

i)

- (26) *dibahaeha, dabapuaha kahaua 'aruabaha, yapa'apapa ki* they went, they also saw two women so that there may be four of them

The optative forms (§51.1) are also to be counted here.

²⁵In the narrative from which this sentence is taken, previously mentioned fruits are referred to as *ekabake*.

j)

- (27) *ke'añahã dipuakaha dai iuba* and then they set out, they came home.
- (28) *dadudia kahæ i'ue yabaiyada'a i'ue* her husband went to the sea, he stayed by the sea.
- (29) *kahii bupeeha yai e'obi ix'ii apu'udada'a itopo e'ana* he repeated to be a fire giving-one, it repeated to be an onto the earth falling-one = he gave the fire back, it again fell onto the earth.
- (30) *kabudaha eaedia iiya nõ'õnĩ* he put his foot down, it is now (still) there.

Other than after the particles listed in Sect. a), the modified forms occur most frequently in current narrative, mostly after forms with *bu-*, *b-*, *mũ-*, *m-* and the pronominal short forms (§16), that are used to continue a speech. In contrast to these, in the modified forms the focus is on the end result of the activity or event. They bring the processes that have been strung together so far to a certain conclusion and combine them into a whole.²⁶

k)

- (31) *kinõnõ eiya honã'ũ i'obuda nõ'õhã?* what is the condition of my wife that she does so?
- (32) *ae'iaha kia ki'ua aidohoi, kã'ãnõnĩã kitera* when he said something one²⁷ heard it, specifically all his friends = when he said something all his friends heard it.
- (33) *ke i'ioo u'iaha mõkõ hinũã kia iuba e'ana kaupæ ipaka'ũã'ã kapo'inãmõ epuaha ukaka e'ana* but although he was in that house many times, it did not yet exist that (one, specifically maidens =) those maidens knew the appearance of that person.

While for the 1st and 2nd person of the modified forms the person is clearly expressed in the pronominal prefix, for the 3rd person singular (*i-*, *y-*) the person must be indicated if there is no complete clarity about it. The agent can then immediately follow the *i-*, *y-* form. This is necessary if the agent is a plural. It is noteworthy that in such cases the pronoun prefix is expressed by *i-* and not by *da-* (*nã-*), so it is not in concordance with the attached agent. This *i-* (*y-*) is probably to be understood more generally, so that it corresponds to our German *man* - for the personal pronoun of the 3rd person singular *kia* is also used for our German *man* (§4, c).²⁸

- (34) *ekaka e'ana keaba'a ix'ekũhũĩ edopo* (as far as) that man (is concerned), it does not exist that he occupies the earth = that man does not sit on

²⁶Compare also Adriani, *Spraakkunst Der Bare'e-Taal*, Verhandelingen Van Het Kon. Bat. Gen. Van Kunsten En Wetenschappen, Deel LXX, §272.

²⁷Note by Barnaby Burleigh: 'one' translates the German generic term 'man'

²⁸Note by Barnaby Burleigh: German 'man' corresponds to English 'one' as in 'one should always be true to oneself'.

the earth.

- (35) *epae e'ana keaba'a yabaitaraha'a ekuo* (as far as) that child (is concerned), it does not exist that it plays in relation to a tree = that child does not play with a tree.

It also happens that the agent is placed at the beginning of the sentence and then taken up again by the shortened personal pronoun in the modified forms. This is the case whenever a statement with a locative gerund (sentence 34; §54, b) or complex gerund (sentence 35, §55, b) is negated, because with such constructions the suffixes *-(i)* (§§36, 54) or *-a'a* (§§37, 55) always refer to the word following them.

- (36) *kia ki'obu nō'ōāhã yara'a kua inōō kia eko'e'e* he did so that it would not exist that he would eat him, specifically the devil = he did so that the devil would not eat him.

If a modified third person singular form following the negation particles (see Sect. A) is supplemented by a more detailed nominal agent specification in addition to a direct object, the pronominal object occurs between the modified form and this agent.

- (37) *eda'ibia e'ana, keaba'a upudu kia* (as far as) that enemy (is concerned), it does not exist that you kill him = you are not killing that enemy.

In a negated statement, the object can be emphasized by appearing at the beginning of the sentence and then being taken up again by the corresponding personal pronoun which appears as an object to the modified form.

1)

- (38) a. *keoba'a eedodia* his crying does not exist = he does not cry.
b. *keoba'a yedo* his crying does not exist = he is not crying.
- (39) a. *keaba'a eabudubu (i'ioo) ukoyo e'ana* your killing of that boar does not exist = you are not killing that boar.
b. *keaba'a uabudu (i'ioo) ukoyo e'ana* the killing of that wild boar does not exist from you = you do not kill that wild boar.
- (40) a. *keaba'a eahituka (i'ioo) u'ube'e* our drinking of the medicine does not exist = we do not drink any medicine.
b. *keaba'a kahitu (i'ioo) u'ube'e* drinking of the medicine from us does not exist = we do not drink any medicine

Very rarely, after *keaba'a* and its variants (see Section a), a deverbal noun with possessive suffixes occurs. In its place the modified forms almost always occur. This fact suggests that the modified forms of Enggano — just like those in

Bare'e²⁹ and Mori³⁰ — can be explained by rearranged nominal constructions that were formed with the help of the deverbal nouns. This explanation in Enggano is also supported by the fact that the pronominal prefixes precede those word stems that simultaneously appear - albeit with the determiner *e-* - as deverbal nouns (§56). Such nominal constructions with possessive suffixes were then replaced by the modified forms.³¹

Another decisive criterion for the probability that this was the development path of the modified forms in Enggano is that after *keaba'a* (and its variants) - apart from subject sentences - no other construction is possible, if the agent has to be overtly pronounced. (The *bu-*, *b-*, *mũ-*, *m-* forms [§38, b – d] emerging after *keaba'a* are the negation of a passive without an ablative.) A comparison of the personal pronouns with the possessive suffixes and pronominal prefixes also shows a certain agreement of the same.

	Pers. pron.	Poss. suff.	Pronom. prefix	Shortened pers. pron.
1Sg	'ua	-u	'u-	'u-
2Sg	'o'o	-bu, -mũ	u-	'o-
3Sg	kia	-dia, -nã	i-, y, n'-	ka-
1Du.Incl	'ika	-ka	ka-	ka-
1Pl.Incl	'ika'a	-ka'a	ka...a'a	ka...a'a
1Pl.Excl	'ai	-dai, -nã	'u...ai	u'...'ai
2Pl	adiu, aduu, aruu	-du, -nũ	u...adiu, u...a'a	u...adiu, u...a'a
3Pl	ki	-da, -nã	da-, nã-	di-, ki-, nã-

If we first compare the possessive suffixes with the pronominal prefixes, then the 1st person singular, the 1st person plural (incl.) and the 3rd person plural match. As extensions to the related singular forms by adding *'ai* and *adiu* (= *-a'a*), the pronominal prefixes of the 1st person plural (excl.) and that of the 2nd person plural can easily be recognized. If we assume that the possessive suffix of the 3rd person singular originated $-n\tilde{a} <^* n(i)-ia$, then *i-* (= *y-*) can be explained by the omission of the attribute determiner $n(i)$.³²

²⁹Adriani, N., *Sprakkunst der Bare'e-Taal*, Verhandelingen an Het Kon. Bat. Gen. Van Kunsten En Wetenschappen, Deel LXX, §§276. 284/5.

³⁰Esser, S.J., *Klank- En Vermenleer Van Het Morisch*, Verhandelingen an Het Kon. Bat. Gen. Van Kunsten En Wetenschappen, Deel LXVII, §§211/3.

³¹I received the suggestion to consider the modified forms in the Indonesian languages as original noun constructions from Dr. Aichele, who has been dealing with these forms in other Indonesian languages for a long time. Already when I was working on my dissertation ("Studies on the sound, word and sentence theory of Nias") Dr. Aichele took this view and already understood the modified forms in Nias in this way. I hereby correct the hypothesis that was made in the dissertation and agree with Dr. Aichele that the modified forms of Nias were also original substantive constructions, which is also suggested by the "Casus emphaticus" that comes with them. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank Dr. Aichele for the suggestion received and for the communication thereof to me.

³²However, it is also possible that the 3rd person singular of the modified forms is a formation independent of the other persons, as Lafeber assumes in his "Stelling No. XVIII" of the "Vergelijkende Klankleer Van Het Niasisch, le Gedeelte" for the corresponding *di...nja* of Malay. In Malay these forms are viewed as a local formation by Prof. Dr. Dempwolff and Dr. Aichele as far as I know, so that e.g. *dibunuhnja* means "in his killing = it is killed by him". [Note by Barnaby Burleigh: 'it' is a dummy subject here, as in 'it rains'.]

A comparison of the pronominal prefixes with the pronominal short forms before *bu-*, *b-*, *mū-*, *m-* (§16), which are shortened due to the accent shift from the personal pronouns, shows that the 1st person sg., the first person du. (incl.), the 1st person plural (excl.) and the 2nd person plural perfectly match. As the fronted personal pronouns (§14, b) show, a shift in accent can shorten them, sometimes connected with a vowel fusion (like *'ua*, *'o'o*, *kia*, *'ika*, and *ki*). Hence one may also suspect that the pronominal prefixes in the modified forms originated in the same way, namely, *'u-* < *'ua*, *i-* (*y-*) < **ia*, *ka-* < *'ika*. *u-* most likely originated from **mū-* with the nasal *m-* dropped due to weakening.

For Enggano one can then conclude that the modified forms for the 1st and 2nd person singular were the starting point for that of the 1st person plural (excl.) and that of the 2nd person plural. To distinguish these from the corresponding singular forms, one added *'ai* for the first person plural (excl.) and *adiu* (= *-a'a*) for the second person plural. I trace the personal prefix *da-*, *nā* back to formation by analogy with the 1st person dual (incl.) and the 1st person singular, since these perfectly match the relevant possessive suffixes.

§16: shortened personal pronouns before *bu-*, *b-*, *mū-*, *m-*

- (1) *kia kidohoi eit'i kara'ibiada, kabudohoi, kabu'o'oboi ki, kabupai'io, kaba'obo i'ioo ukaka kahai'i* he heard the voices of their enemies, he listened, he sneaked (around) them, he speared, he hit (in relation to) a person.
- (2) *pahūmānāhūmānā 'ubahado, ubahiudi ebeo, dabi ebeo 'adiba* I get up early in the morning, I whistle for the dogs, they come, specifically five dogs.

In an ongoing narrative, in order to further the plot, word forms are often used which consist of a simple or an extended word stem which takes the prefix *bu-*, *mū-* (before stems beginning with a consonant or glottal stop) or *b-*, *m-* (before vowel sounds). Pronominal short forms then appear in front of these so expanded word forms. In such constructions, the S contained in the added pronominal prefix is often repeated again by a noun, which occurs at the end.

- (3) *ebakabu ka ebaka'au dipapua ki 'adua* your eye and my eye, they see each other, they both.

It also happens occasionally that two subjects copulatively connected by *ka* “and” (§18) precede such forms and are then taken up again by a personal pronoun at the end. The personal prefixes used in these formations differ in the 2nd and 3rd person singular and in the 2nd and 3rd person plural from those of the modified forms (§15, a), as the following paradigm shows:

- 'ubudohoi* I hear
- 'obudohoi* you (sg.) hear
- kabudohoi* he hears
- kabudohoi* we (incl.) hear
- kabudohoia'a* we (incl.) hear
- 'ubudohoi 'ai* we (excl.) hear

obudohōia 'a you (pl.) hear
kibudohōi = *dibudohōi eit'idia* they hear his voice.

(4) *kabukou* = *kakubou eaedia* his foot **breaks**.

If *k-* is initial, usually *-ub-*, *-um-* is infix.

(5) *ke 'omōmōā'ā ahoo akoru poo 'obaia* 'a *uamāomō 'ua!* but you (pl.) wait,
 if three (nights =) days (have passed) you come because of the expecting
 of me!

Such formations also serve to circumscribe the imperative. Of the personal prefixes that appear in these forms, it can be said that those for the singular are presumably shortened from the corresponding personal pronouns by shifting the accent, namely *'u-* < *'ua*, *'o-* < *'o'o* and *ka-* (probably via **k'a*) < *kia*. The personal prefix of the 1st person plural (incl.) *ka-* I take to be a shortening of *'ika*, the 1st person plural (incl., “I and you (pl.)”) is formed by prefixing *ka-* and suffixing *-a'a*. The 1st person plural (excl.) and the 2nd person plural are derived from the corresponding singular forms by adding *'ai* or *-a'a*. The 3rd person plural is formed by prefixing *ki-*, which corresponds to the same-sounding personal pronoun, or by prefixing *di-*, *d-*.

§17: nominal and pronominal objects in statements

a)

- (1) *ekaka e'ana kipudu* (= *kabapudu*) *ekoyo* that person kills a wild boar.
- (2) *keaba'a 'ukuhai 'ānō'ōu* it does not exist that I support my friend = I do not (support my =) help my friend.
- (3) *Para'aua kipudu eda'ibia 'anōniā* Para'aua kills his friend's enemy.
- (4) *ebeo ki'oaha kix'au kapae e'ana* a malicious dog bites those children.

A verb is supplemented by an object, which is placed at the end in simple statements and in the negative. The O can be a noun, which can take attributes (sentence 2/3) and appositions (sentence 4) as modifiers without new rules appearing. As sentence 2 shows, no distinction is made in Enggano between near and distant object, between the accusative and the dative of our language.

b)

- (5) *ebeo e'ana kix'au kia* that dog bites him.
- (6) *ekaka e'ana keaba'a ipua 'ua* (as far as) that person (is concerned), it does not exist that he sees me = that person does not see me.

Just like a noun, a personal pronoun can appear as an object.

c)

(7) *kia kipudu kia* he kills himself.

(8) *kia kipaeho kia kude ika'udara ei'ie* he moves away from this village.³³

It also happens in Enggano that the object of an activity is the same as the subject. Such formations correspond to our «reflexive» verbs.

6 Third Section: Combined Sentences (109)

§18: Multiple subjects

- (1) a. *eki'adobu eke'epa* chickens are birds.
b. *e'akōmā'ā eke'epa* herons are birds.
c. *eki'adobu hii e'akōmā'ā eke'epa* chickens and herons are birds.
- (2) a. *Para'aua hii Kiuū kanāpū* Para'aua and Kiuū are clan leaders.
b. *Para'aua hii Kiuū kanāpū?* are Para'aua and Kiuū clan leaders?
- (3) *Para'aua hii Kiuū keaba'a nāhāōhō* Para'aua and Kiuū are not afraid.

Two sentences with the same P but with different subjects are usually combined in one sentence by “copulatively” connecting the two subjects with *hii* “and”. Here any part of speech can be P. In the event of a negative answer, question, etc., no new rules need to be observed.

- (4) *ebakabu ka ebaka'au dipapua ki 'adua* your eye and my eye, they see each other, both of them.

In chants *ka* occasionally appears instead of *hii* with the same function.

§19: multiple predicates

a)

- (1) a. *e'ito ehūā e'ana* those fruits are **bananas**.
b. *epoo ehūā e'ana* those fruits are **coconuts**.
c. *e'ito hii epoo ehūā e'ana* those fruits are **bananas and coconuts**.
- (2) *keo yapadi e'ito (hii) keo yapadi epoo ehūā e'ana* those fruits are **(not =) not bananas (and) (not =) not coconuts**.³⁴
- (3) *keo ya'amūhō (hii) keo yahinūki ehūā ei'ie* these fruits are **not big (and) not small**.

Two sentences with the same S, but with different predicates, are usually combined into one sentence. The two predicates are combined in the simple “copu-

³³Note by Barnaby Burleigh: reflexive in German

³⁴Note by Barnaby Burleigh: German can use both 'kein/e' and 'nicht' for negation. 'kein/e' negates quantities as in 'we have no bananas'. The bracketed 'not' translates 'nicht', the unbracketed 'not' translates 'kein/e'.

lative” statement by *hii* “and”. In the case of negation, each P, which denotes a class, must be negated with *keo yapadi*, and each P, which denotes a plural of individuals, must be negated with *keo dapadi*. If both predicates are qualitative (sentence 3), both must be negated by *keo* with the modified forms (§15). These two predicates, thus negated, can be connected by *hii*, which is, however, often omitted.

b)

- (4) a. *e'itope ehũã e'ana?* are those fruits **bananas**?
 b. *epoope ehũã e'ana?* are those fruits **coconuts**?
 c. *e'itope ãmãhãũ aeppoep ehũã e'ana?* are those fruits **bananas or coconuts**?
- (5) *'amũhõpẽ ãmãhãũ ahinũkĩpẽ euba ei'ie?* is this house **big or small**?
- (6) *ki'uohope ãmãhãũ aka'aope ekaka e'ana?* did that man **sleep or die**?

Two sentences with the same S but with different predicates can also be combined into one sentence by connecting the two predicates “disjunctively” with *ãmãhãũ a-* “or”.

c)

- (7) *ekaka e'ana ekãpũ ke keo yapadi epunãnãmi* that person is a clan leader, but not a youth.
- (8) *edohuao e'ana hinũkĩ ke kia kanĩx'ã* that boat is small, but it is fast.
- (9) *ekaka e'ana ekudodo ke keo ikuhai 'ãnõnã* that person is (a rich-person =) rich, but he does not help his friend.

Two predicates with the same S can also be connected “adversively” by *ke* “but”, whereby the S of the first part is repeated in the second part by a personal pronoun or, in the case of negation, by the personal prefix (sentences 7 and 9).

§20: multiple objects and attributes

a)

- (1) *epae ei'ie kit'i ebeo hii emẽãũ* this child beats dogs and cats.
- (2) *kia kodi e'ito ãmãhãũ aeppo?* does he buy bananas or coconuts?

Two objects of a verb are linked “copulatively” by *hii* “and” or “disjunctively” by *ãmãhãũ a-* “or”.

b)

- (3) a. *kididika earabu* your child is **hardworking**.
 b. *kididika earadia* his child is **hardworking**.

c. *kididika(da'a) earabu hii earadia* your child and his child are **hard-working**.

(4) *ka'u'ada'a euba'au hii eubabu* my house and your house are **beautiful**.

Two pronominal attributes referring to the same noun cannot be drawn together to form a single expression.

§21: Sentences in place of words (clausal subjects/objects)

a)

(1) *kapiɔda'a 'ua kapuho* it is wrong that I am sick.

(2) *ape abait'i 'ua ipuhā uuba ke kikia ekaka ka'aoa* if (I am a caller =) I call from the gable of the house, then it exists, that a person will die.

(3) *keaba'a 'ua kipaj'io i'ioōñũũ* it does not exist that I spear after you = I do not spear after you.

In Enggano it sometimes occurs that a whole sentence stands as subject instead of a word, without a special particle being used. We reproduce such «subject sentences» in German with our conjunction “daß”.³⁵

b)

(4) *edi'ua ukitaibu ekāpū e'ana kapuho* The saying-thing of your innards is that that clan leader is sick = (by your innards is said =) it is thought by you that that clan leader is sick.

(5) *edipua ukaka e'ana kara'ibiada hoō bai* seeing-thing of those people was that their enemies were already coming-people = it was seen by those people that their enemies were already coming.

Likewise, sentences can appear as predicate instead of a word. These are “predicate sentences”, which we also form with “daß”.

c)

(6) *kibupuaha earada hoō ba'ao* they saw that their child had already died (was a dying-one =).

(7) *nō'ōi'ie 'ua ki'uaha i'ioōmū: "ua kahāpī 'ika kait'ixia ka'ānōkā"* so I speak to you: “I want, that we will call our friends”.

(8) *ke nō'ōnī 'ika kinūnhūyā yahae i'ioo kara'ibiaka e'ana akinōnō edi'uada* but now we will ask (towards) those our enemies how (their saying-thing is =) is said by them.

³⁵Note by Barnaby Burleigh: This German conjunction roughly corresponds to English ‘that’.

- (9) *e'ana ekaka kipaka 'āūā'ā ai'iaha ein'āhā ukoyo* that person knew where the location of the wild boars was.

Sentences instead of a word as an object, that is «object sentences», have the following special features: Simple statements are treated like subject and predicate sentences. Object sentences that are rendered at the end as direct speech are treated in the same way. Object sentences that are rendered at the end as indirect speech are introduced with the particle *a-*.

d)

- (10) *kix'udeada'a ekaka mō'ō kipudu ekoyo e'ana* the person who killed that wild boar is **brave**.
 (11) *Kiuūpē mō'ō kipua edohuaō e'ana?* is Kiuū the one who saw that boat?

Just like process words (§8, h), verbs can also, with an object, form an apposition to a nominal subject. These are “apposition sentences” which correspond to the relative sentences of our German language, specifically with subject equality, in which our relative pronoun is in the nominative. There are no new rules for the polar question.

e)

- (12) *ekoyo mō'ō edipudubu e'ana 'amūhō* the wild boar that (was your killing-thing =) you killed is big.
 (13) *ekoyo mō'ō 'ua kipua e'ana 'amūhō* that wild boar that I saw was big.

If the S of the apposition clause is different from that of the main clause, i.e. if there is a difference of subject, then either the simplex, locative or complex gerund (§§53-55) or “apposition clauses” appear in Enggano.

§22: co-ordinating conjunctions

a)

- (1) *'o'o kahaēa hii 'ua kōmōā ite'e* you will go and I will wait here.

Just like two words, two sentences with different subjects can be connected by the conjunction *hii* “and”.

- (2) *ekaka e'ana kipudu ekoyo nāmūnōō ka'ānōnāā* that person killed a wild boar (and) they ate (from it), his friends = that person killed a wild boar, and his friends ate (from it).

Often there are no conjunctions in Enggano in such cases. In the co-ordinated sentence, the constructions with *bu-*, *b-*, *mū-*, *m-* and the pronominal short forms (§16) are used.

b)

- (3) *'o'o kīpudu ekoyo e'ana ūmāhāũ aka'ānōmũ kīparahai kia?* did you kill that wild boar or did your friends hunt it?
- (4) *ki kahadi ūmāhāũ aekaka mohō kait'i?* do they call or do other people speak?

Two sentences, usually polar questions, can also be connected disjunctively by *ūmāhāũ a-* “or”.

§23: time clauses (adjuncts)

a)

- (1) *'ua kabaiya i-Mēō'ō kamūnōō eapū'ũ e'ei'iu, eki'adobu* (I was =) while I was in Mēō'ō, it, a snake, ate my livestock, specifically chickens.
- (2) *'ua kabēbeke keaba'a 'upuhai eakōkōnā* I am bathing, it does not exist that I can do the going-out = I cannot go out while I am bathing.
- (3) *yadedehua ukarix'a upae kabedō kia* during the piercing of the child's earlobes, it cries = while the child's earlobes are pierced, it cries.
- (4) *yahaea'au i-Dakoaha 'ubupua eke'epa e'akōmā'ā mōkō* During my going to Dakoaha I saw many birds, specifically herons = while I went to Dakoaha I saw many herons.

Simultaneity of two situations, which we represent in German by our “während”³⁶, can be expressed in Enggano in two ways. In sentence 1/2 such sentences are put together without conjunction. The temporal subordinate clause, in which the progressive forms (§47) are very often used, stands at the beginning, followed by the main clause in the simple statement, whose P is formed by the *bu-*, *b-*, *mū-*, *m-* forms with the shortened personal pronouns (§16). A second way of expressing such situations is that our temporal subordinate clause is replaced in Enggano by a simple gerund (§58) with the locative prefix *i-*, *y-* (§26) to which the S of our temporal clause is added as a possessive suffix (sentence 4). The main clause is then attached without conjunction and usually contains *bu-*, *b-*, *mū-*, *m-* forms with shortened personal pronouns (§16).

b)

- (5) *kaduhudaha uōnōō dababe'euha* after they finished eating they got up.
- (6) *kaduhudaha eadeke'eida dimāmī'ōhā'āhā uū'ā e'ana* after their stamping was over (they were wrappers³⁷ of that food =) they wrapped that food.
- (7) *kiduhudaha ua'ita'ao u'aiyo itita dimāhānē'ēix'ā ukabora* after the getting of the fish there was ended (they were winders of their nets =) they wound

³⁶Note by Barnaby Burleigh: English ‘while’

³⁷Note by Barnaby Burleigh: i.e. people wrapping something

up their nets

- (8) *kaduhudaha e'ana kamōhō kara'ibadia dahii paku'a'a kakinā'āmā* after that was over, his enemies repeated to (to be instructors of =) instruct the fathers.

In Enggano, *kaduhudaha* or *kiduhudaha* is used to describe the **indirect chronological sequence**, which we express with “after”. *kiduhudaha* is usually constructed with an attribute, *kaduhudaha* with both a nominative and an attribute. The main clause, which can be attached with *kamōhō* (sentence 8), usually contains *bu-*, *b-*, *mū-*, *m-*forms with a shortened personal pronoun (§16).

- (9) a. *ahoo kia babudu (i'ioo) ukaka e'ana kabupua* (after he was already a killer of that person =) after he had killed that person, he ran away.
b. *kabupua ahoo kia babudu (i'ioo) ukaka e'ana* he ran away after he had killed that person.

Particle *a-* in connection with *hoo* “already” can be used to describe the indirect chronological sequence. The main clause can precede the subordinate clause here (sentence 9b).

c)

- (10) a. *kaupeba'a 'uabo'oki kamūnōō enā'āpūā epae e'ana* it did not yet exist that I shot (when) the crocodile ate that child = before I shot, the crocodile ate that child.
b. *enīnōō unā'āpūā epae e'ana kaupe(ba'a) 'uabo'oki* The crocodile's eating-thing was that child (when) it did not yet exist that I shot = that child was eaten by the crocodile before I shot.
- (11) a. *keepēba'a ikiu kaba'obo eka'ai'io i'ioōnīā* it did not yet exist that he protected himself, (when) the spear hit him = before he protected himself, the spear hit him.
b. *kaba'obo eka'ai'io i'ioōnīā keepēba'a ikiu* the spear struck him before he protected himself.

There is no special conjunction in Enggano to designate a **limited chronological sequence**, which we in German express with “bevor”³⁸. Our German “bevor” is expressed in Enggano in such a way that the preceding or following temporal subordinate clause with *kaupe(ba'a) = keepē(ba'a)* “not yet to exist” is introduced, followed by the predicate thereby negated (with the modified forms [§15,a]). There is no conjunction between subordinate clause and main clause or vice versa.

- (12) *hii too eiyadia kahinūā kakaupē, ipapix'o kia eko'e'e* (it was) again like her/their nature (from) earlier before he misled her/them, the devil.

³⁸Note by Barnaby Burleigh: English ‘before’.

Occasionally, even with such subordinate clauses, *kakaupē* (with the modified forms) occurs, which runs parallel with Malay *sebelum(nja)* “before”.

d)

- (13) *kabupua kara'ibiadia mōkō kabupua* (when) seeing that his enemies were numerous, he ran away.
- (14) *eamō'ōū parakua hii eboō epū'ā* my birth coincided with the (rain, specifically ash =) ash rain = when I was born was the ash rain.

There is no special conjunction in Enggano for **temporal coinciding** of two situations.

§24: logically subordinating conjunctions

a)

- (1) *ekaka e'ana kipudu ki be kara'ibiada* those people killed them (reason: their enemies =) because (they) were their enemies.
- (2) *eko'oho nō'ōnī hoo purika be eboō hoo bai* (the (things) to be planted =) the plants are now already sprouting-ones because the rain was already a coming-one = the plants are already sprouting because the rain already came.
- (3) *'ua kipua be bai ki* I run away (because they are coming-ones =) because they are coming.

The conjunction *be* “reason”, “because” introduces causative subordinate clauses that we either subordinate in German with *weil*³⁹ or coordinate with *denn*.⁴⁰ After *be* there can be a noun (sentence 1), an entire sentence (sentence 2) or a process word (sentence 3, §49).

b)

- (4) *'ua kahaea ikēpū 'arua ita'aua amāinā'āūā 'ua ikaparapi* I will go to Pulau Dua so that I (can) get on the ship
- (5) *ekāpū e'ana kaha parahau ita'aua abia kienōhō hii ka'ānōnīā* that clan leader goes hunting so that his food exists with his friends.
- (6) *'ua kidodō ekuo kahapu'u yara'a kua 'uke'oa* I grasp a piece of wood so that I don't drown.
- (7) *ōmō epae ei'ie yara'a kua ipu'uda!* guard this child so it doesn't fall!

The conjunction *ita'aua* “so that” introduces “final” subordinate clauses. *ita'aua* is usually followed by a words stem extended with *am-*, *ab-* (§47) . For negated final subordinate clauses *yara'a kua* occurs (with the modified forms).

³⁹Note by Barnaby Burleigh: English ‘because’

⁴⁰Note by Barnaby Burleigh: English ‘for’

c)

- (8) a. (*ape*) *akeo yahaba eboo kuaba'a kahae ix'oo ukue* if the rain doesn't stop, we don't go to the inside of the forest.
b. *kuaba'a kahae ix'oo ukue (ape) akeo yahaba eboo* we don't go to the inside of the forest unless the rain stops.
- (9) (*ape*) *akeo ukuhai ke epae ka'aoa* if you don't help, the child will die
- (10) *kabupuaha ape (= aupe) akia kipua 'ua* he runs away when he sees me

The conjunction *ape* (= *aupe*) *a-* “when, if” introduces “real conditional sentences”.⁴¹ The subordinate clause, but also the main clause, can be at the beginning without a conjunction between the two. Only occasionally, *ke* occurs between the two (sentence 9).

d)

- (11) *'oo aekoyo 'ua ('oo) keaba'a 'uahae i'oki* if I were a wild boar, I wouldn't go to the beach.
- (12) *'oo a'aua 'o'o ('oo) kuaba'a 'uahae itita* if I were you I would not go there
- (13) *'oo akapae keaba'a daitara ('oo) keaba'a da'u'ua* if children didn't play, they wouldn't be healthy.

Enggano clearly distinguishes «realis» (see Sect. C) from «irrealis» conditional sentences.⁴² In the latter, the conjunction *'oo a-* occurs instead of *ape* (= *aupe*) *a-*. The main clause can then be added with *'oo*.

e)

- (14) *ke i'ioo (= idoo) u'iaha mōkō hinūā kia iuba e'ana kaupē ipaka'āuā'ā kapo'ināmō epuaha ukaka e'ana* but although he was in that house many times, those girls (nonetheless) did not yet know the appearance of that person.
- (15) a. *i'ioo (= idoo) u'iaha kapuhō kia kabahaēba'a i'ioo Mēō'ō* although he is sick, he (nonetheless) goes to Mēō'ō
b. *kabahaēba'a i'ioo Mēō'ō i'ioo (= idoo) u'iaha kapuhō kia* he goes to Mēō'ō even though he is sick.

Concessive clauses, which we express in German with *obwohl*, *obschon*, are introduced in Enggano with *i'ioo u'iaha* or *idoo u'iaha*. The subordinate clauses thus formed can appear either before or after the main clause.

⁴¹Note by Barnaby Burleigh: This seems to refer to indicative conditionals as opposed to counterfactuals?

⁴²Note by Barnaby Burleigh: indicative vs. counterfactual conditionals?

§25: combined sentences without conjunctions

- (1) *kabudohoi eit'idia, kapaka'āuā'ā eit'idia, kapanix'anā'ā, kababe'eu, kamūnā'a*
eka'ai'iodia, kabupua yahae i'ioo ukaka e'ana, yapapudu hii kia he heard
his voice, he recognized his voice, he hurried, he got up, he took his spear,
he ran to that person, he argued with him.

Enggano often contains sentences that are strung together and only held together by the sentence melody, without the use of conjunctions, i.e. without expressing a temporal or logical order of thought.

(end of Article One)

7 Fourth Section: Expressions of place, time, situation and quantity (182)

§26: Expressing locations of things

a)

- (1) *kia kix'ēkū idopo* he sits on earth.
(2) *'o'o kahae ika'udara i-Dakoaha* you go to the village (in) Dakoaha
(3) *ekaka e'ana kinā'ā eū'ā yahae iuba'au* That person brings food to my house.
(4) *ehūā kinōnōnā kude ix'ē'ā upoo e'ana* Fruits fall from the top of that coconut tree.
(5) *kia kipua kude i-Malakōnī yahae i-Mēō'ō* it runs from Malakōni to Mēō'ō
(6) *uadida'a 'ānōmū, iubadia!* look for your friend in his house!

Both process words and activity words with an object can be modified by information about location. The nouns used for such references to location can in turn be modified by appositions (sentence 4) and by attributes (sentences 3–4, 6). If the noun providing the information about location names a thing, the following distinction is made in Enggano:

1. the preposition *i-* for the place of rest (in answer to the question “where?”).
2. after verbs of movement, the preposition *i-*, otherwise the expression *yahae i-* (literally “it goes after”) for the movement towards the thing (in answer to the question “where to?”).
3. The expression *kude i-* for the movement away from the thing (in answer to the question “from where?”).

Note: Article *e-* is dropped after *i-*.

b)

- (7) *kikia e'anōāē⁴³ iodōiya uba e'ana* there is a snake (on the underside of that house =) under that house.
- (8) *e'iaha 'o'o kabauadi ikahāō uubadia?* what are you looking for (on the back wall of his house =) behind his house?
- (9) *kia kai ikūkā'āu* he comes (at my back =) behind me.
- (10) *eke'epa e'ana kix'ēkū itebe, ki'e'epa yahae itebe, kipu'uda kude itebe* that bird sits on the upper-side = above, flies towards the upper-side = up, falls from the upper-side = from above.

“Auxiliary locatives” are used for the more precise description of a Location. They are grammatically derived from nouns with attributes. *i-*, *yahae i-* and *kude i-* appear before the auxiliary locatives, just like they do before simple nouns.

c)

- (11) *epoo e'ana ipia'au* those coconut palms (are =) stand in my garden.
- (12) *kude ipia hāi e'ekoa e'ana?* from whose garden (is =) does that path come?

Locations also appear as predicates for nominal (and pronominal) subjects.

d)

- (13) a. *ekāpū e'ana hoo ba'ao i-Malakōnī* that clan leader died in Malakōnī.
b. *ekāpū mō'ō i-Malakōnī e'ana hoo ba'ao* the clan leader who was in Malakōnī died.

Locations also appear as modifiers of nouns for which they form appositions standing at the end. The particle *mō* is omitted most of the time.

§27: reference and questions regarding locations

a)

- (1) *'ua kōmō i-Malakōnī, ite'e, itita, ita'a* I'm waiting in Malakōnī, here, there, there.
- (2) *'o'o kahae i-Mēō'ō, ite'e, itita, ita'a?* are you going to Mēō'ō, here, there, there?
- (3) *kia kinā'ā eū'ā yahae i-Dakoaha, yahae ite'e, yahae itita, yahae ita'a* he brings food to Dakoaha, here, there, there.
- (4) *amānā'ā ehūā kude ix'ē'ā ukuo, kude ite'e, kude itita, kude ita'a!* get fruit from the treetop, here, there, there!

⁴³Note by Mary: *e'anōāē* in original, with no underbar on final *ē*.

Instead of specifying a place, you can point it out. The local references are correlative, just like the demonstratives (§8,b). *ite'e* points to a place that relates to the speaker; *itita* points to a place that is related to the addressee; *ita'a* points to a place that is neither related to the speaker nor the addressee.

Note: *ide'e*, *idida* (= *id'ida*) and *ida'a* appear in the southern dialect, in the western dialect *it'ita* alongside *ilita*.

b)

- (5) *i'iaha 'ānōmū?* where is your friend ?
- (6) *kia kahae i'iaha?* he goes where? = where is he going?
- (7) *kia kamānā'ā eū'ā yahae i'iaha?* he takes the food where? = where does he take the food?
- (8) *'o'o kude i'iaha?* you are from where = where are you from?

To ask after a location *i'iaha* “where?” is used (and for verbs of movement also “where to?”), *yahae i'iaha* “where to?” and *kude i'iaha* “from where?”.

§28: locations of people

a)

- (1) *kia kix'ekū i'ioo amānā* he is sitting with his father.
- (2) *'ua kahae i'ioo ukaka e'ana* I go to that person.
- (3) *peepe ehūā ei'ie i'ioo ukāpū Para'aqa!* give these fruits to the clan-leader Para'aqa!
- (4) *'o'o kude i'ioo uda'ibia ukaka e'ana?* (are =) do you come from the enemy of that person?
- (5) *kia kix'ekū i'ioōnā* he sits with him.
- (6) *'o'o kude i'ioōnā?* (are =) do you come from him?

If the noun giving information about a location indicates not a thing but a person, then *i'ioo* must stand instead of *i-*, *yahae i'ioo* instead of *yahae i-*, and *kude i'ioo* instead of *kude i-*. It should be noted that *i'ioo* should always be constructed with a (nominal or pronominal) attribute. The nouns used for such location information can in turn be modified by appositions and by attributes.

b)

- (7) *i'ioo (= idoo) u'iaha kapuho kia kabahaeda'a i'ioo Mēō'ō* even though he is sick, he goes to Mēō'ō.

Sometimes these particles are also used for geographical proper names.

Note: This *i'ioo* also applies to the formation dealt with in §37a, with *-a'a*.

c)

- (8) *i'ioo hãĩpẽ ein'ãhã upae ei'ie?* with whom is the location of this child?
(9) *kude i'ioo hãĩ epitipiti 'ua kinã'ã e'ana?* Who is the money I received from?

Locative questions about a person have to be constructed with *i'ioo hãĩ*, *yahae i'ioo hãĩ* and *kude i'ioo hãĩ*.

§29: Expressing time

a)

- (1) a. *ki'oaha edopo i'ioo ukaha'o ei'ie* (the earth =) the weather is **bad** on this day.
b. *ekaha'o ei'ie ki'oaha edopo* this day the weather is bad.
(2) *'ua ka'a'aba ite'e kude i'ioo ukanũãĩ Juli I* (am in the state of house =) have been living here since July.

Some temporal information is treated in Enggano like location information, but only formed with the prepositions *i'ioo*, *yahae i'ioo* and *kude i'ioo*.

b)

- (3) a. *'ua kai puhahadia = ka'ikahadia, bahæba, i'ioo ukaha'o ei'ie* I came the day before yesterday, yesterday, on this/that day = today.
b. *'ua kaiya nã'ũmãñã, da'ikahadia* I will come tomorrow, the day after tomorrow.
(4) *'o'o kahæa pahũmãñã ei'ie, dakix'oho = kũnũhũã'ã, dako'aix'a = ik'o'ix'ahadia ei'ie* you will go this (= today) morning, noon, night = (at this his nighting =) tonight.
(5) a. *kia hoo bai nẽ'ẽñĩ* he came earlier.
b. *kia kai nõ'õñĩ* he is coming now.
c. *kia kaiya nã'ãñĩ = nã'ãẽ* he will come later.

Most temporal information is given in Enggano using special expressions. It should be noted that the simple verbal form is used for a current event, the particle *hoo* (§51) is usually used for the past and the suffix *-(/)a* (§51) is always used for the future.

- (6) *e'anãñã'ã capu'uda udopo* back then was (the falling of the earth =) the ash rain.

Occasionally, the demonstrative *e'ana* also gives temporal information.

c)

- (7) *kia ki'uo_ho kude pah_aiba yah_ae pah_ũmã_nã* he sleeps from early in the evening until late in the morning.

Our German temporal *von...bis* “from...to” is expressed in Enggano by *kude...yah_ae*.

d)

- (8) a. *kuan_õ eain'ã_mũ?* when was your coming? = when did you come?
b. *nãkũã_nõ 'obai?* when are you coming ? = when will you come?

There are two question words in Enggano for wh-questions about time: *kuan_õ* “when?” for the past and *nãkũã_nõ* “when?” for the future.

§30: Expressing situation

a)

- (1) *'ua kai hii ekaka e'ana* I come with that person.
(2) *kia kipudu ekoy_o i'io_o ubo_he* he kills wild boars with a spear.
(3) *ekaka e'ana ka'a_o i'io_o unã_nã'ã_ũni* that person died (by means of =) of smallpox.

Both process and activity words can be modified by giving “details of situation”. A large part of this “situational information” is conveyed by means of prepositions. The preposition *hii* has a “comitative” function, the preposition *i'io_o* (with the following attribute) an “instrumental” function.

- (4) *kaba'a_oha edi'obu u'inã_hã_õh_õ* he died, (which) was a doing-thing of fear = he died of fear.
(5) *dimã_mõ'õ_ũhã ukabu'obo kude i'io_o ukito_he* they were braiders of the pig nets (from the ekito_he-tree =) from ekito_he-raffia = they braided pig nets from ekito_he-raffia.
(6) *'ua ka'a_o upanũ_kõ* I am dying of tiredness.

Other possibilities for reproducing situational information can be found in the examples above.

b)

- (7) *yara'a eaka'abu i'io_o uhũã e'ana!* Refrain from forgetting pertaining to those fruits! = don't forget those fruits!
(8) *kaba'a_o kia i'io_o uitapuh_o* he died (in relation to =) of an illness.

The above examples show that *i'io_o* has another function besides the instrumental one. This *i'io_o* can represent all kinds of prepositions of German. The form in Enggano is also often used where we use an object in German (sentence

7). We can best circumscribe the function of this preposition with “in relation to”.

Note: Dialectically, an *'o* (with attribute) occurs instead of *i'ioo*.

c)

- (9) *epo'ināmō ei'ie ka'u'ua* (*kuinānā'ā, ikarara*) this maiden is (really, very) beautiful.
- (10) *epae e'ana kibopo* (*kuinānā'ā, ikarara*) that child is (really, very) ugly.
- (11) *epoo ei'ie ka'akinē kuinānā'ā* this coconut palm is really high (in the state of height =).

For other situational information, the particles are important, which follow adjectives (and their replacements), in order to reinforce them in the sense of our German ‘sehr’, ‘wirklich’.⁴⁴

§31: Comparison

a)

- (1) *epae ei'ie kipanāū kidoo epanāū ukāpū* this child speaks like a clan leader’s speech is.
- (2) *'o'o kedo kidoo eiya kapae eedobu* you cry, your crying is like the nature of children = you cry like the children.
- (3) *kia kix'ēkū kidoo e'ea eēhēkūnā = eiya u'ea eēhēkūnā* he sits, his sitting is like a stone = his sitting is like the nature of a stone = he sits like a stone.
- (4) *kia kanāx'ā kidoo eiya uke'epa* he is quick like (the nature of a bird =) a bird.

Among situational information, ‘comparisons’ must also be counted. For these, *kidoo* ‘be like’ is used in Enggano, which is derived from *doo* “way”. By adding the deverbal noun derived from the respective predicate, it is expressed that the comparison relates to the verbal predicate. Occasionally, *eiya*, “the nature/essence”, is used instead of such a deverbal noun.

b)

- (5) *kinōnō(pē) eit'i ukaka e'ana?* how are the words of that person?
- (6) a. *nō'ōi'ie edi'uadia* so (as follows) is his saying-thing = so is spoken by him.
 b. *kinō'ōi'ie edi'uadia* his saying-thing is a so-being-thing = so is spoken by him.
- (7) a. *nō'ōāhā ekūda'ayo e'ana* so (as was said) is that narrative.

⁴⁴Note by Barnaby Burleigh: English ‘very’, ‘really’.

- b. *ekaka e'ana kinō'ōāhā edi'uadia* that person's saying-thing is a so-being-thing = that person is said so.

Our German question word *wie?*, *welcher Art* “how, of what nature” is given in Enggano by *kinōnō(pē)*. From the noun *doo* = *nōō* “way” the following references are derived: **nōō ei'ie* “this nature/essence” > *nō'ōi'ie* “so” and **nōō e'aha* = **noō e'ana* “that Nature/essence” > *nō'ōāhā* “so”. The correlation of *ei'ie* and *e'ana* is strictly followed in *nō'ōi'ie* and *nō'ōāhā*. *nō'ōi'ie* refers to what only the speaker knows, hence “as follows”, *nō'ōāhā* to what is also known to the addressee, i.e. “as was said”.

c)

- (8) *keaba'a 'upakō'ōhā'ā 'o'oo ix'oo upiaka doo kipahua 'ika* I didn't come across you on the inside of the plantation as if we were angry with each other.
- (9) *mēō ukanāin'ā'āunānā'ā ekopi upoo doo kikia 'o'epoo ite'e?* why do you use up the coconut fragments as if your coconuts were here?
- (10) *kia kedo ape-ape akia kapuhō* he cries as if he was sick
- (11) *eiyadi ape-ape amōkō epitipitidu* your nature is as if your money is a lot.
- (12) *epae e'ana kedo ape-ape aipudu kia* that child cries as if one killed it.⁴⁵

With *doo* (sentences 8-9) and *ape-ape a-*, which is a variant of *ape a-* discussed in §24 c, comparative sentences are introduced, which we in German render with the conjunction “als ob” ‘as if’ (with the subjunctive).

§32: Rough expression of quantity

a)

- (1) a. *kara'ibia (mō'ō) kai e'ana mōkō* the enemies that come are numerous.
- b. *mōkōnā'ā kara'ibia (mō'ō) kai* the enemies that come are **numerous**.
- c. *mōkō kara'ibia kai* many (= numerous) enemies come.
- (2) *kix'imānā'ā enā'āpūā 'ua kipua ikēpū ei'ie* the crocodiles that I saw on this island are **few**.

The approximate quantities include *mōkō*, which is often used independently, and *kix'imānā'ā*, which is usually a predicate at the beginning of the sentence.

b)

- (3) a. *ekaka kitera ka'aoa* all people will die.

⁴⁵Note by Barnaby Burleigh: more idiomatically: ‘as if it was killed’

- b. *kitera ekaka ka'aoa* overall people will die.
- (4) *hãix'ãĩnã'ã = hãix'ãĩx'ĩnã'ã ekaka udopo ei'ie ka'a'au_{ba}* whoever is a person of this country has a house.
- (5) *ekaka e'ana ka'a'au_{ba} kahai'i-kahai'i* those people have houses individually.
- (6) *dabupuakaha, dahae i_ubada, ki kahai'i-kahai'i* they leave, they go to their houses, they individually.

The quantity “whole, all, total” is expressed by *kitera* (in the dialect of Pulau Dua: *kidera*), which can either appear initially or finally. This expression has “collective” meaning. For the “distributive” view of a whole, for German *jeder* “everyone” in Enggano *hãix'ãĩ(nã'ã)= hãix'ãĩx'ĩnã'ã* “whoever” which is an iteration of “who?” (§7) is used. In addition, Enggano has a special ‘double distributive’ expression, *kahai'i-kahai'i* “individually, each for himself”.

c)

- (7) *'apiaha ekaka ikẽpũ ei'ie?* how many people are on this island?
- (8) *'apiaha-'apiaha eara uki'adobu 'ua kodi* however many the (class child of chickens =) chicken eggs are, I buy (them).
- (9) *he 'a'anõda'a ki kahae i'ue he'anaha ki ka'ao* and as many as they were (who) went to the sea, (those =) they were so many (who) died.

'apiaha (<PAN *piɣa*) or *'anõ* (probably from the Western dialect) “how many?”, asks after a quantity.

Note: *'a'anõ* in sentence 9 is a reduplicated form of *'anõ*.

§33: Exact expression of quantity

a)

- (1) *'ua kodi kahai'i eimĩ'ĩ ekĩx'ũ* I buy a bunch of rotans.
- (2) a. *kia kinã'ã yai 'adua e'aiyo* he brings two fish here.
b. *kia kinã'ã yai e'aiyo 'arua* he brings fish, specifically two here.
- (3) *'akor_u edupia 'ua kipee i'ioo uara'au* I give three guilders to my child = I give my child **three guilders**.

Exact quantities are given by number words that appear as cardinal numbers before or after the noun. They must appear before the noun if it is modified by an apposition (sentence 1). The cardinal numbers of Enggano are:

kahai'i one,

'adua = 'arua (<PAN *ɖuva*‘) two,

'akodu = 'akor_u (<PAN *tɔlu*) three,

'aopa (<PAN *ə(m)pat*) four,

'adiba = yariba (<PAN *lima*‘) five,

'akiakina six,
 'adiba (= 'ariba) hii 'adua (= 'arua), five + two = seven,
 'aopa hii 'aopa four + four = eight,
 abai kahai'i "there (still) comes one" = nine,
 kipā'āu'ū (means putting the fingertips of the two hands against each other, so)
 ten.

In the past, *kahapuru* was also called "a tenner", which, however, was probably a borrowing from Malay or another language.

The cardinal numbers from 11-19 are formed by addition as e.g.:

kipā'āu'ū hii kahai'i ten + one = eleven,

kipā'āu'ū hii abai kahai'i ten + nine = nineteen.

For "twenty" one says *kahai'i ekaka* (dialectically: *etaka*) "one person" = twenty.

The higher cardinal numbers are again formed by addition, that is e.g.

kahai'i ekaka (= *etaka*) hii *kahai'i* "one person and one" twenty-one,

kahai'i ekaka (= *etaka*) hii *kipā'āu'ū* "a man and ten" = thirty.

All multiplicities of twenty ("one person") are expressed by *ekaka* (= *etaka*), i.e.

'adua *ekaka* "two people" forty,

'akodu (= 'akoru) *ekaka* (= *etaka*) "three people" = sixty,

'adiba (= 'ariba) *ekaka* (= *etaka*) (spoken: 'aribekaka, 'aribetaka) "five people" = one hundred,

kipā'āu'ū hii 'adiba *ekaka* ten + five people = three hundred.

For four hundred in Enggano one says *kahai'i ekudodoka* "our body". The following units are again formed by addition. Higher units divisible by four hundred are formed with *ekudodoka*.

In summary, the following should be noted about the cardinal numbers of Enggano: The number word for "one", *kahai'i*, probably means "individually, alone". The numerals from two to five are of Proto-Austronesian origin, but all have the determiner 'a- which can also be found in 'apiaha and 'anō "how many?". The number word for "six" is separate, the numbers seven and eight are formed by addition. *abai kahai'i* "one must (still) come (until ten are full)" for "nine" is also separate. For "tenners" now only *kipā'āu'ū* is used. The numbers from eleven to nineteen are formed by addition. The number word "twenty" is represented by *kahai'i ekaka* (= *etaka*) "a person". It denotes the number of fingers and toes of the human body. Up to the number 399, all cardinal numbers are formed by addition, but it should be noted that all units divisible by 20 are called *ekaka* (= *etaka*). For "four hundred" *kahai'i ekudodoka* "one, specifically our body" occurs, so each of our twenty fingers and toes represents a twenty. The following higher number units are again formed by addition, where all units divisible by four hundred are formed with *ekudodoka*. There is no special expression for "hundreds", "thousands" etc.

§34: numeral classifiers

- (1) *'ua kipari'o kahakara emēnāuhūā = emēnāuhūā kahakara* I make a (piece of) board.
- (2) *kia kipee i'ioo ukaka e'ana kahanākā edodedode, 'anōhānākā edodedode* he gives that person a strand, two strands of (glass) pearls.

In Enggano, as a rule, every thing - with the exception of individuals, names of animals, coins (which were only introduced in later times) and temporal periods - is counted with a “numeral classifier”, which we can often describe in German as *Stück* “piece”. These numeral classifiers can appear before and also appositionally after the noun. With all numeral classifiers, “one” is represented by a prefixed *ka-*, “two” by prefixed *'anō-*, *'arō-*. The remaining cardinal numbers appear in their full Form. The *ha* occurring between the cardinal number and the numeral classifier, should be traceable back to *ga* which occurs in other Indonesian languages in such cases. Such numeral classifiers also include the following:

kahakēdeha “one shrub”, *'arohakēdeha* “two shrubs”, *'akodu hakēdeha* “three shrubs” etc.

kahaku'a “one stem”, *'arohaku'a* “two stems”, *'akodu haku'a* “three stems” etc.

a) For fruits:

kahabaka “one grain”, *'arohabaka* “two grains”, *'akodu habaka* “three grains” etc.

kahāū'ū “one pair” (specially for coconuts), *'arohāū'ū* “two pairs”, *'akodu hāū'ū* “three pairs etc.

kahapu'iyā “one pair” (specially for coconuts), *'arohapu'iyā* “two pairs”, *'akodu hapu'iyā* “three pairs” etc.

kahapēa “one comb” (bananas), *'arohapēa* “two combs”, *'akodu hapēa* “three combs” etc.

kahēdadi “one comb” (bananas), *'arohēdadi* “two combs”, *'akodu hēdadi* “three combs” etc.

kahapāā “one comb” (bananas), *'arohapāā* “two combs”, *'akodu hapāā* “three combs” etc.

b) For objects:

kahabuō “one roll” (e.g. rope), *'arohabuō* “two rolls”, *'akodu habuō* “three rolls” etc.

kahakara “one piece” (for long, thin objects), *'arohakara* “two pieces”, *'akodu hakara* “three pieces” etc.

kahae “one wire, strand”, *'arohae* “two wires, strands”, *'akodu hae* “three wires, strands” etc.

kaha'aoa “one bundle”, *'aroha'aoa* “two bundles”, *'akodu ha'aoa* “three bun-

dles” etc.

kaha'aoro “one bundle”, *'aroha'aoro* “two bundles”, *'akodu ha'aoro* “three bundles” etc.

c) For dimensions:

kahanākā “one string” (specially for Buginese glass beads), *'arohanākā* “two strings”, *'akodu hanākā* “three strings” etc.

kahabakao “one pig net length” (= 12 fathoms), *'arohabakao* “two pig net lengths”, *'akodu habakao* “three pig net lengths” etc.

kahabita “one sector” (for plantations), *'arohabita* “two sectors”, *'akodu habita* “three sectors” etc.

kahabakua “one piece, one area” (for plantations etc.), *'arohabakua* “two pieces”, *'akodu habakua* “three pieces” etc.

kahahoku “one stack” (e.g. wood), *'arohahoku* “two stacks”, *'akodu hahoku* “three stacks” etc.

kaharau “one fathom”, *'aroharau* “two fathoms”, *'akodu harau* “three fathoms” etc.

Part II

Morphology

8 First Section: Verbal Morphology (192)

§35: “Pseudonomen Agentis” with *ki-*, *k-*

a)

(1) *kinōnō kia ki'obu upahakokoi (= epahakokoi)?* A how-doer of walking (Genitive) (= walking (Nominative/Accusative)) is she? = how does she do the walking? = how does she walk?

(2) *'o'o kubako wū'ā (= eū'ā)* you are a bringer-into-disorder of the food (Genitive) (= the food (Nominative/Accusative)) = you bring the food into disorder.

The pseudonomen agentis is formed by a prefix *ki-* before a consonant-initial stem and before a glottal stop (·) and *k-* before a vowel-initial stem. This part of speech has a nominal character insofar as it can assume nominal attributes to modify it.

b)

- (3) *kia kipudu ekoyo e'ana* he is someone-killing that wild boar = he kills that wild boar.
- (4) *'ua kienāmi kia* I am someone-looking for him = I look for him.

Most of the time, a direct object occurs instead of an attributive modifier. These formations have a verbal character in that they cannot take on possessive suffixes, but must be constructed with a direct object if the detailed modifier is a personal pronoun. They also lack the noun determiner *e-* (see §§1 and 2). Because of this partly nominal, partly verbal character, I choose the term «Pseudonomen agentis» for this part of speech.⁴⁶ In German we can best reproduce this part of speech by means of participial paraphrases such as “a maker”, “a killer” etc., but in good German we will treat them as activity words.⁴⁷

Note: All parts of speech mentioned in the following paragraphs which contain this prefix *ki-*, *k-* are considered pseudonomen for the above reasons.

c)

- (5) a. *pudu ekoyo e'ana* kill (singular) that wild boar!
 b. *pudua'a kia!* kill (plural) him!
 c. *kapudu kia!* let (singular) us kill him!
 d. *kapudua'a kia!* let (plural) us kill him!
- (6) a. *enāmi kia!* look (singular) out for him!
 b. *enāmiā'ā kia!* look (plural) out for him!
 c. *kaenāmi kia!* let (singular) us look out for him!
 d. *kaenāmiā'ā kia!* let (plural) us look out for him!

An imperative in the 2nd person singular consists of the pure word stem. If the imperative is aimed at the 2nd person plural, *-a'a* is added to the stem; if it is aimed at the 1st person plural inclusive (“I and you”), *ka-* is added before the stem; if it is aimed at the 1st person plural inclusive (“I and you (pl.)”), *ka-* and *-a'a* are added after the stem (see §15, b).

Note: Occasionally, *a'a* is added instead of *-a'a*.

d)

- (7) *keaba'a 'u'odea'a kia uai* it is not present that I occasion him to come⁴⁸=
 I do not occasion him to come.⁴⁹

⁴⁶See also from the same author: “Studies on the sound, word and sentence theory of Nias”, Z. f. Eg.-Spr. Vol. XXVII.

⁴⁷Note by Barnaby Burleigh: a more literal translation of the participle paraphrase would be ‘a killing-one’ or ‘a person-killing’. Using ‘a killer’ as a translation misses out the emphasis on the present. A killer need only kill once and thereafter can always be referred to as a killer. A ‘Tötender’ on the other hand is someone who is engaged in killing at the time he is referred to as a ‘Tötender’.

⁴⁸Note by Barnaby Burleigh: this is a gerund in German

⁴⁹Note by Barnaby Burleigh: see previous footnote

- (8) *keaba'a 'uenāmi kia* it is not present that I look out for him = I do not look out for him.
- (9) *keaba'a ipudu ekoyo e'ana* it is not present that he kills that wild boar = he does not kill that wild boar.

These pseudonimina agentis forms are negated with the help of the particles *keaba'a* (= *keoba'a*, *kuaba'a*, *keeba'a*), “not be present” and the modified forms (cf. §15, a).

e)

- (10) a. *'ua kipua* I am a person-running-away = I am running away.
 b. *pua, pua'a!* run (singular), run (plural) away!
 c. *kapua, kapua'a!* let (singular), let (plural) us run away!
 d. *keaba'a 'upua* it is not present, that I run away = I do not run away.
- (11) a. *kia kix'ēkū* he is a person-sitting-down = he is sitting down.
 b. *hēkū!* sit down!
- (12) a. *ki kai* they are people-coming = they are coming.
 b. *ai!* come!
- (13) *'ai ki'uoho = ku'uoho* we (excl.) are people-sleeping = we sleep

[Note by Barnaby Burleigh: Concerning the translation of the nominalized verb forms in the above and the following sentences, see my NOTE at the beginning of this section.]

The pseudonomen agentis can also be a “process word” that roughly corresponds to our “intransitive verb”. No new rules arise for imperatives or negation.

Note: After *i-*, *h-* becomes *x'* (sentence 11a). Occasionally before a glottal stop (ʔ-) there is also a “retroactive vowel assimilation” of the *-i* of the prefix *ki-* to the initial vowel of the root of the word (sentence 13).

f)

- (14) *'ua kienāmi kia* (from *enāmi*) I am a person-looking-out for him = I look out for him.
- (15) *kia kiqabi e'ea* (from *qabi*) she is a person-heating a stone = she is heating a stone.
- (16) *'o'o kiunāã* (from *unāã*) you are a person-trembling = you are trembling.
- (17) *ki kiubaki (= kubaki) eũ'ã* (from *ubaki*) they are the people-bringing-into-disorder the food = they bring the food into disorder.

In front of the vowels *e-*, *o-*, *u-* and *u-*, the prefix *ki-* often occurs instead of the expected *k-* (see subsection (a) of this section).

Note: The sound *u* has partly arisen secondarily from the meeting of *i* with *u* (sentence 17).

g)

- (18) *kia kiuhuaiyo* he is a person-being-jaundiced = he is jaundiced.
 (19) *kibopo epuahadia* a thing-being-ugly is his appearance = his appearance is **ugly**.

Finally, formations with *ki-*, *k-* also occur for our German adjective (see also §5, b).

h)

- (20) *kia kikupado epia* (from *ekupado* “fence”) he is a person-fencing the planting = he fences the planting.

Occasionally, a noun is also converted into a pseudonomen agentis.

i)

- (21) *kinō'ōi'īē edi'uadia* so (as follows) is his saying-thing = it is said so by him.
 (22) *kinō'ōāhā ekuda'ayo e'ana* so (as said) is that story = that story is so.

Pseudonomina agentis can also be derived from the indications *nō'ōi'īē* and *nō'ōāha* with *ki-* (§31, b).

§36: Locative Variation (the locative applicative)

a)

- (1) a. *kia kix'ēkū ikuo e'ana* he sits on that tree.
 b. *kia kix'ēkūhūi ekuo e'ana* he is an occupier of that tree = he occupies that tree.
 c. *hēkūhūi, hēkūhūi'ā ekuo e'ana!* occupy (singular), occupy (plural) that tree!
 d. *kahēkūhūi, kahēkūhūi'ā ekuo e'ana!* let (singular), let (plural) us occupy that tree!
 e. *keaba'a ix'ēkūhūi ekuo e'ana* it does not exist that he occupies that tree = he does not occupy that tree.
- (2) a. *'o'o kedo* you cry.
 b. *'o'o kedoi epae e'ana* you are a person-crying-about that child = you are crying about that child.
- (3) a. *'ua keke iboo* I bathe in the water.
 b. *'ua kekei eboo* I am a person-bathing-in the water = I bathe in the water.

Action words that can be modified by a location can take the “locative applicative” with the suffix *-i* (<PAN *-i*) and are thereby enabled to accept objects. The “locative relation” means that the object is related to the verb as a location-specification.⁵⁰ Such verb stems expanded with *-i* we can often translate with our prefix *be-* in German (e.g. *besetzen*, *bepflanzen*, etc.). Occasionally in Enggano, such event words are also used in the locative applicative construction that we can only construct in German with a location (sentence 3b). There are no new rules for imperatives or negation.

Support consonants often occur when suffixing *-i*. These are mainly *h* and *d* (= *n*).

Note: When using *h* as a support consonant, it should be noted that there are small phonetic changes that occur as follows:

-a + -hi > -ahai; *-ã + -hi > -ãhãi* *-e + -hi > -ehēi*; *-ê + -hi > -êhēi*
-i + -hi > -ix'i; *-ĩ + -hi > -ĩx'ĩ* *-o + -hi > -ohoi*; *-õ + -hi > -õhõi*
-u + -hi > -uhui; *-ũ + -hi > -ũhũi* *-u + -hi > -uhui*; *-ũ + -hi > -ũhũi*

b)

- (4) *kia kinũãnĩ paku'a e'udi u'itõ e'ana* he throws that banana peel a second time.

Occasionally, a number expression (in this case *'adua* “two”) can also appear as an argument with the locative applicative. In the above sentence, it is difficult to reproduce the locative reference in German.

c)

- (5) *mẽ'ãnã hẽmõ'õ kahãghõnĩ ekitai ukaka halee* for it was that (which) earlier frightened the (innards =) thoughts of men.

It also happens that a qualitative expression (*kahãghõ* “to be a person-being-fearful”) can appear as an applied locative.

d)

- (6) *'ua kikahabahĩ eke'epa e'ana* I catch that bird with a bird net.

Finally, nouns (*ekahaba* “bird net”) can also appear as applied locatives.

§37: Complex Variation (the instrumental applicative)

a)

- (1) a. *kia kipudu ekoyo e'ana i'ioo ubohe* he kills that wild boar with a spear.

⁵⁰This function of *-i* in Indonesian languages was, as far as I know, first recognized by Prof. Dr. Dempwolff for Malay and other idioms.

- b. *kia kipudua'a ebohe* he is a (in relation to a =) person-killing with a spear = he kills with a spear.
 - c. *kia kipudua'a ebohe i'ioo ukoyo e'ana* he is a (in relation to a =) person-killing with a spear with that wild boar = he kills that wild boar with a spear.
 - d. *pudua'a, pudua'a'a = pudua'aua'a ebohe i'ioo ukoyo e'ana!* kill (singular), kill (plural) that boar with a spear!
kapudua'a, kapudua'a'a = kapudua'aua'a ebohe i'ioo ukoyo e'ana! let (singular), let (plural) us kill that boar with a spear!
 - e. *keaba'a ipudua'a ebohe i'ioo ukoyo e'ana* it is not present that he kills that wild boar with a spear = he does not kill that wild boar with a spear.
- (2)
- a. *ebeo e'ana kix'au 'ua i'ioo uka'adia* that dog bites me (in terms of his =) with his teeth.
 - b. *ebeo e'ana kix'aua'a eka'adia i'ioo'ou* that dog is someone-biting after me (in relation to his =) with his teeth = that dog bites me with his teeth.

Activity words that are supplemented by an instrumental modifier with *i'ioo* (and a following attribute) can have a suffix *-a'a* (<PAN *-kən*). This enables the verb to take the instrumental modifier as an object. We translate such formations with our preposition “with”. However, we can also translate them with “to use for that which the root word denotes”. If there is a direct object (sentence 1c, 2b) in addition to the instrumental modifier for such verbs varied with *-a'a*, this is added as a locative modifier with the local particle *i'ioo* (§28). There are no new rules for imperatives or negation.

Note: For an imperative directed to the 1st and 2nd person plural, *-a'a* is added to the same suffix of the complex variation in order to indicate the person. Here either *-a'a + -a'a* merges to *-a'a'a* or the final *-a* of the verbal form becomes a diphthong *-'au*, to which the personal form *-a'a* is then added. This diphthong formation stems from the fact that in the past one used *-o* instead of *-a* dialectically, i.e. instead of *-a'a* an *-a'ao* (= *-a'o*). Very often *-o* becomes *-u-* when a vowel is added.

b)

- (3)
- a. *'o'o kaudu* you go ahead.
 - b. *'o'o kaudua'a ekaka e'ana* you go ahead (in relation to that (accusative) =) of that person (dative).
- (4)
- a. *kia kix'ohora* he sings.
 - b. *kia kix'ohoraha'a eohora* he sings (in relation to) a song.

Process words can also be provided with the suffix *-a'a* and thereby enabled to take objects. This way of relating an object to the verb as a circumstance is

called “complex relation”).⁵¹ Complex because we have to reproduce such circumstances in German with different prepositions. In some cases they are also used where in German the dative (sentence 3b) or no preposition is necessary or common (sentence 4b). The German description with “in Bezug auf” (“in relation to”) comes closest to the function of *-a’a*, which also includes the instrumental listed in Sect. a). In these formations, too, no new rules have to be observed for imperatives or negations.

Note: If a word stem ends in *-a*, then when *-a’a* is affixed, *h* appears as a support consonant.

c)

- (5) a. *kia kipu’aka* he is satisfied.
 b. *kia kipu’akahai ’ua* he satisfies me.
 c. *kia kipu’akahia’a epitipiti i’ioo ukaka e’ana* he satisfies in relation to money with/for that person = he uses money for the satisfying with/for/of that person = he satisfies that person with money.

Occasionally it also happens that the suffix *-a’a* is added to a word stem that already appears in a locative applicative construction. In the above case, we can indicate the functions of both forms in the German translation.

d)

- (6) a. *’ua kix’au kia* I bite him.
 b. *’ua kix’aua’a ekitahau i’ioññã* I let a centipede bite him.
 (7) a. *epũũ kikãpãĩ’iã ikabo* Leaves stick to the net.
 b. *edodi kikãpã’iã’ã epũũ ikabo* the current sticks (in relation to) leaves on the net.
 (8) a. *’ua kodi ehũã e’ana* I buy those fruits.
 b. *’ua kodia’a ehũã e’ana* I (let buy =) sell those fruits.

The complex variation can sometimes also have a causal function.

§38: the passive

a)

- (1) *e’ea kididodo* a stone is gripped.
 (2) *ekoyo e’ana kidipudu* that wild boar is killed.
 (3) *epitipiti ei’ie kininã’ã* this money is taken.
 (4) *ehũã u’ito kidodi* fruits of the banana tree are bought.

⁵¹This expression was, as far as I know, first applied by Prof. Dr. Dempwolff for the corresponding *-kan* in Malay.

The prefix *kidi-*, *kinĩ-* before consonant initial stems and the glottal stop, and *kid-*, *kin-* before vowel initial stems, serves to form the passive. It is composed of *ki-* (§35) and *-di-* or *-nĩ-* (see §§53-55). However, this construction may only be used in Enggano if the agent, which is expressed by our German ablative, is not specified, i.e. if we use a passive construction without an ablative in German. The passive can be formed by any pseudonomen agentis (§35), which is modified by an object. This O then becomes a grammatical subject in the passive construction.

Note: *kinĩ-*, *kin-* is mostly preferred to *kidi-*, *kid-* if the stem contains an *n* or *m*.

b)

- (5) *e'ea keaba'a budodo* (as far as) the stone (is concerned), no person-touching it is present = the stone is not touched.
- (6) *ekoyo e'ana keaba'a bupudu* (as far as) that wild boar (is concerned), there is no person-killing (it) present = that wild boar is not killed.
- (7) *epitipiti keaba'a münã'ã* (as far as) money (is concerned), there is no person-taking (it) = money is not taken.
- (8) *ehũã u'ito keaba'a bodi* (as far as) fruits of the banana plant (are concerned), there is no person-buying (them) present = fruits of the banana plant are not bought.

The passive is also negated with the help of *keaba'a* “not present”, which in such negations must always be constructed with the process word with *bu-*, *b-*, *mũ-*, *m-* (§49), i.e. it is active.

c)

- (9) a. *ekuo e'ana kidix'ekũhũĩ* that tree is occupied.
 b. *ekuo e'ana keaba'a mũhĩkũhũĩ* (as far as) that tree (is concerned), no person-occupying (it) is present = that tree is not occupied.
- (10) a. *epae e'ana kidedoi* that child is cried.
 b. *epae e'ana keaba'a bedoi* (as far as) that child is concerned, there is no person-weeping-for (it) = that child is not wept-for.
- (11) a. *eboo kidekehei* (= *kidiekehei*) water is bathed-in = one bathes in water.
 b. *eboo keaba'a bekehei* (as far as) the water (is concerned), no person-bathing-in (it) is present = the water is not bathed in.

Locatively applied verbs (§36) can also be converted into passive. No new rules occur for negation.

d)

- (12) a. *ekaka e'ana kidaudua'a* (in relation to that (accusative) =) that person (dative) is preceded.
b. *ekaka e'ana keaba'a baudua'a* (as far as) that person (is concerned), no (in relation to him (accusative) =) person-preceding him (dative) is present = that person (dative) is not preceded.
- (13) a. *ekix'udo upoo kidudukia'a i'ioo ukuo e'ana* leaf-veins of the coconut palm are used for the lighting of that wood.
b. *ekix'udo upoo keaba'a bududukia'a i'ioo ukuo e'ana* (As far as) leaf-veins of the coconut palm (are concerned), (in relation to them) no user for the lighting of that wood is present = leaf-veins of the coconut palm are not used for the lighting of that wood.

Sentences with complexly varied activity words (§37) can also be constructed passively. For these constructions, no new rules arise for negation.

§39: “Pseudonomen Causativum” with *kipa-*, *kip-* (causative)

a)

- (1) a. *'ua kuda* I live.
b. *'ua kipa_uda epae e'ana* I am a person-making-living that child = I raise that child.
c. *pa_uda, pa_uda'a'a epae e'ana!* raise (singular), raise (plural) that child!
ka_upa_uda, ka_upa_uda'a'a epae e'ana! let (singular), let (plural) us raise that child!
d. *epae e'ana kidipa_uda* that child is raised.
e. *epae e'ana keaba'a pa_uda* (as far as) that child (is concerned), no person-raising (it) is present = that child is not raised.
- (2) a. *kia keke* he bathes.
b. *kia kipa_eke 'ua* he is a person-making- me -bathe⁵² = he bathes me.

By the use of a prefix composed of *ki-* and *pa-*, *kipa-* before a consonant and glottal stop and sometimes also before a soft vowel, *kip-* before a vowel, process words (pseudonomen agentis, §35) are converted into pseudonomen causativa. I call these formations pseudonomen because they contain the prefix *ki-* (§35).

Note: In the case of initial vowel sounds, the final *-a* of *kipa-* sometimes merges with the vowel to form a diphthong. In the case of the process word (sentence le), *bu-* is dropped before the prefix *pa-* (see also §50, d).

b)

- (3) a. *kia kait'i* he speaks, talks. (root word *eiti* voice, language.)

⁵²Note by Barnaby Burleigh: I use this notation “word1- word2 -word3” to indicate that the words 1 and 3 form a single word in German, while word 2 is separate.

- b. *kia kipait'i ekamĩũ* he is a person-making- the conch -talk = he blows the conch.

Word stems extended with *a-* (§41) can also be converted into pseudonimina causativa. In this case, *kip-* is added.

c)

- (4) *kipakohodihoi eheda ukuha* a sweating-making-thing is the meat of the sea turtle = the meat of the sea turtle **makes (you) sweat**.
- (5) *'ua kipaekēa'a eboo i'ioo uara'au* I am a bathing-maker in relation to water with/for my child = I let water be used for the bathing of my child.
- (6) *kia kipakoiya'a ebeo* he is a person-letting-go in relation to the dogs = he lets the dogs go.

Locative (§36) and complex (§37) applicative pseudonimina can also take the prefix *kīpa-*, *kīp-*.

d)

- (7) a. *ka'u'ua euba e'ana* that house is beautiful = that house is **beautiful**.
 b. *'ua kīpa'u'ua euba e'ana* I am a person-making-beautiful that house= I beautify that house.
 c. *'ua kīpa'u'uaha'a epakamāĩ i'ioo wuba e'ana* I use a knife for the beautification of that house = I beautify that house with a knife.

Adjectives (§5) are converted into pseudonimina causativa like process words. These formations can also be varied in complex ways (sentence 7c).

e)

- (8) a. *epakamāĩ e'ana e'ōdō* that knife is a sharp-one = is sharp.
 b. *kī kīpa'odo epakamāĩ e'ana* he is a person-sharpening that knife = he sharpens that knife.
- (9) a. *mōkōnā'ā edobu e'ana* numerous are those goods = those goods are **numerous**.
 b. *'ua kīparobuki kia* I am a person-giving-presents to him = I give-presents-to him.
- (10) a. *ehuda e'ana honānĩ* that woman is his wife.
 b. *kia kīpahōnāhā'ā earadia* he is a person-making his child a wife = he marries his child.⁵³

⁵³Note by Barnaby Burleigh: to someone else

In Enggano it is also possible to transform nouns into pseudonomena causativa. These formations can also involve locative (sentence 9b) or complex (sentence 10b) applicatives.

f)

- (11) *'ua kipa'arua, kipa'akoru, kipa'aopa ea'inã'ã uhũã e'ana* I am a person-doubling, person-tripling, person-quadrupling the taking of those fruits = I double, triple, quadruple the taking of those fruits.

Finally, number expressions (§33) are also converted into pseudonomena causativa.

g)

- (12) *ebakabu ka ebaka'au dipapua ki 'adua* your eye and my eye, they see each other, they both.
- (13) *epãnũmũ ka epãnũ'u, dipamĩnũ'ũ ki 'adua* your nose and my nose, they smell each other, they both.

In addition to the causative function, the prefix *kipa-*, *kip-* also occasionally has a reciprocal function. (For *di-* see §16).

§40: “Pseudonomen Actoris” (also with *kipa-*)

a)

- (1) *'ua kipadohoi uit'i ukaka e'ana* I am a hearer of that man's words = I hear that man's words
- (2) *ki kipãõmõ i'ioo kapae e'ana* they are watchers over those children = they watch over those children.
- (3) *ki kipaedoi i'ioo ukabake ka'aõ e'ana* they are people-weeping for that deceased-person = they weep for that deceased-person

With a prefix *kipa-*, *kip-* before consonant and vowel sounds, a part of speech is formed which I call pseudonomen actoris here. Both the agent and the action are expressed in these formations. They represent derivations of the gerund with *epa-*, *ep-* and form a transitory stage between noun and verb. These pseudonomena are always constructed with a direct attribute or with an attribute attached with *i'ioo*, insofar as they represent a noun.

b)

- (4) a. *'ua kipa'uohõ eara'au* I make my child sleep.
 b. *'ua kipaha'uohõ (i'ioo) uara'au* I am a person-making-sleeping my child = I make my child sleep.
- (5) a. *kia kipa'e'epa eke'epa e'ana* he lets that bird fly.

- b. *kia kipahē'epa (i'ioo) uke'epa e'ana* he is a person-letting-fly that bird = he lets that bird fly.
- c. *pahē'epa, pahē'epa'a'a (i'ioo) uke'epa e'ana!* let (singular), let (plural) that bird fly!
kapahē'epa, kapahē'epa'a'a (i'ioo) uke'epa e'ana! let (singular, let (plural) us let that bird fly!
- (6) *'ua kipahakoiya'a ubeo e'ana* I'm a person-letting-go that dog = I let that dog go.

The pseudonomen actoris is formed by the pseudonomen causativum (§39) with the help of the prefix *kipaha-*, *kipah-*. These formations are also always constructed with a direct attribute, an attribute attached with *i'ioo*. No new rules are needed for imperatives.

Note: Occasionally, in the case of such word stems that start with the glottal stop, the *-a* of the prefix *kipaha-* is assimilated to the initial vowel of the word stem (sentence 5b).

- (7) *ki kipahanēkū ukabora* they are (people-making-put-out =) people-putting-out their nets = they put out their nets.

For stems that start with an *h-* (in this case *hēkū*), the pseudonomen actoris is formed in such a way that an infix *-an-* is inserted after the *h-*.

§41: verbs with *ka-* + stem

a)

- (1) a. *'ika kipuaka* we set out.
 b. *kapuaka ekaka e'ana* those people **set out**.
- (2) a. *eko'e'e kikōkōnā kude ix'oo ukue* the devil comes out of the inside of the forest.
 b. *kakōkōnāhā eko'e'e kude ix'oo ukue* the devil **comes out of** the inside of the forest.

Stems of words that form a pseudonomen agentis with the help of the prefix *ki-*, *k-* (§35) can instead take the prefix *ka-*, which — as the imperative shows (see section b) of this paragraph) — consists of *k-* (<*ki-*) and *-a-*. The activity words formed in this way like to stand as P at the beginning of the sentence. These formations with *ka-* have a more verbal character than those with *ki-*, *k-*. I call them activity words here, which include both those with and those without an object. The latter are those that are formally an activity word, but are treated grammatically like a process word.

b)

- (3) a. *kanūki ekaka e'ana ekix'ñ* those people pull a rattan(-rope).
 b. *anūki, anūkiā'ā ekix'ñ!* pull (singular), pull (plural) a rattan(-rope)!

kanũkĩ, kanũkĩã 'ã ekĩx'ĩ! let (singular), let (plural) us pull a rattan(-rope)!

- (4) a. *kia kanõkĩ ebakadia* he washes his face.
 b. *ebakadia kinãnõki* his face is washed.

A number of stems of Enggano have this *a-*, which is contained in *ka-*, as an integral part. The fact that these are already extended word stems is shown by the formations of the nomen instrumenti simplex in §61, e. There are no new rules for imperatives (sentence 3b) or the passive (sentence 4b).

c)

- (5) a. *kia ki'õaha* he is ugly.
 b. *kẽ'anaha ka'õaha ekĩtaidia* and thereupon his (innards =) thoughts were **ugly** = and thereupon he **was angry**.

Pseudonimina agentis that occur for our German adjectives can also take the prefix *ka-*.

d)

- (6) a. *kapapuaha e'ũmãõ ekahaba e'ana* the wild pigeon (makes running =) **carries away** that bird net.
 b. *apapua ekahaba!* carry the bird net away!
 (7) *kapapix'õaha kia ekõ'e'e* the devil **led** them/her **astray**.
 (8) *kapa'uõhõ ikũkãñã epũnũ e'ana* he put those leaves on his back.
 (9) *kapadadua'aha earadia* he marries (in relation to) his child.⁵⁴

Simple and complexly varied pseudonimina causativa (§39) can also take the prefix *ka-* instead of *ki-*, so that instead of *kĩpa-/kĩp-*, *kapa-/kap-* occurs.

e)

- (10) a. *'ua kabaka kia* (root *ebaka* “eye”) I look him in the eyes = I turn my face towards him.
 b. *abaka kia!* look him in the face!
 (11) *kia kapõu adiu* (root *epou* “back”) he turns his back on you.
 (12) *epõõ e'ana kahãũã* (root *ehũã* “fruit”) that coconut palm bears fruit.
 (13) *kia kait'i* (root *eit'i* “voice, language”) he speaks, talks.

Activity nouns can also be derived from nouns with *ka-*.

⁵⁴Note by Barnaby Burleigh: i.e. he marries his child to someone

f)

- (14) 'ua kapēānī kia (root epēa “side”) I side him = I turn my side to him.
(15) 'ika kapiāi eamāhānā (root epia “garden, plantation”) we clean their graves.
(16) ki kapehe eahāi'ū'ā itita (root epehe “beginning”) they start the harvesting there.

Activity words with *ka-* derived from nouns can also occur with applied locatives.

g)

- (17) 'ua ka'apia I'm working on a plantation.
(18) kia ka'adopho he is feverish.

The prefix *ka-* can also appear before deverbal nouns (§56, b), which are formed with the prefix 'a- (= a-).

Note: In such cases, confusion with the identical state-prefix *ka'a* (§45) can occur.

h)

- (19) a. ai ide'e (= ite'e)! come (singular) here!
b. are'e! come (singular) here!

A stand-alone case is that such an activity word is derived from the location reference *ide'e* (§27).

§42: the intensive form of verbs

a)

- (1) a. 'ua kipāū e'itō I mash bananas
b. 'ua kamāū (i'ioo) u'itō I am a masher of bananas.
c. amāū, amāū'ā (i'ioo) u'itō! be a masher, be mashers of bananas!
kamāū, kamāū'ā (i'ioo) u'itō! let (singular), let (plural) us be mashers of bananas!
(2) a. 'o'o kipudu ekoyo e'ana you kill that wild boar
b. 'o'o kabudu (i'ioo) ukoyo e'ana you are a killer of that wild boar.
(3) a. kia kikodo e'ube'e he swallows medicine.
b. kia kadodo (i'ioo) u'ube'e he is a swallower of the medicine.
(4) a. 'ua kikiki edopo I rake the earth.
b. 'ua kanikī (i'ioo) udopo I am a raker of the earth.
(5) a. 'ika kikakadi eoko we twist a rope.
b. 'ika kararadi (i'ioo) uoko we are twisters of a rope.
(6) a. ki kix'ōmē e'aiyo they line up fish (on a line).

- b. *ki kahanōme (i'ioo) u'aiyo e'ana* they are up-liners of those fish.

A prefix *ka-* before *p-* and *k-* forms the intensive form of the activity words. These formations are always to be constructed with a direct attribute or an attribute attached with *i'ioo* and therefore they are pseudonimina. After this *ka-*, there is a sound change: *ka- + p-* becomes *kab-*, *kam-* and *ka- + k-* becomes *kad-*, *kar-*, *kan-*. In the case of word stems beginning with *h-* (sentence 6a), the prefix *ka-* precedes *h-*, which is then followed by the infix *-an-*. There are no new rules for the imperative (sentence 1c).

The changed initial sounds for words that begin with *p-* and *k-* presumably represent reduced nasal connections. The nasal that may have caused these sound changes is documented as *-(a)n-* for words starting with *h-* (sentence 6b). Since it is clear by language comparison that Enggano *p-* corresponds to PAN *b-* (e.g. *pudu!* “Kill!” <PAN *bunuh*) and Enggano *k-* to PAN *t-* (e.g. *kodo!* “Swallow!” <PAN *tələn*) as well as PAN *t'-* (e.g. *ekoko* “female breast” <PAN *t'ut'u'*), I think the sound change from *p-* to *b-*, *m-* comes from PAN **nb-> mb-*, and the change from *k-* to *d-*, *r-*, *n-* from PAN **nt* or *nt'*. It is noteworthy that each initial *p-* or *k-* of a word stem in Enggano, whenever an intensive form of the activity words is formed with *ka-*, becomes *b-* (= *m-*) or *d-* (= *r-*, *n-*). This change in sound is referred to here as “prenasalization”.⁵⁵

Note: Reduplicated stems (sentence 5b) prenasalize both the repeated and the first syllable of the word stem.

b)

- (7) a. *'ua kakahabahai eke'epa e'ana* I catch that bird with a bird net.
 b. *'ua kadahabahai (= karahabahai) uke'epa e'ana* I'm a catcher with a bird net of that bird.

Locative applicative pseudonimina agentis (§36, d) can also be converted into intensive activity words.

c)

- (8) a. *'ua kimĩnũ'ũi epau e'ana* I smell the stench.
 b. *'ua kahamĩnũ'ũĩ (i'ioo) upau e'ana* I am a smeller of the stench.
 c. *ahaminũ'ũĩ, ahaminũ'ũĩã'ã (i'ioo) upau e'ana!* be a smeller, be smellers of the stench!
kahaminũ'ũĩ, kahaminũ'ũĩã'ã (i'ioo) upau e'ana! let (singular), let (plural) us be smellers of the stench!
- (9) a. *kia kibubu'ui eboo* he splashes water.
 b. *kia kahabubu'ui (i'ioo) uboo* he is a squirter of water.
- (10) a. *kia kinẽnẽãhãĩ e'aiyo e'ana* he baits that fish.
 b. *kia kahanẽãhãĩ (i'ioo) u'aiyo e'ana* he is a baiter of that fish.

⁵⁵See Dempwolff, Comparative Phonetic Theory of the Proto-Austronesian vocabulary, Vol. 1, §§21, 22, e.

- (11) a. *'ika kiduduki eheda e'ana* we roast that meat.
 b. *'ika kahaduduki (i'ioo) uheda e'ana* we are roasters of that meat.
- (12) a. *ki kid'id'i'a ekabo e'ana* they sew that net.
 b. *ki kahad'id'i'a (i'ioo) ukabo e'ana* they are the sewers of that net.
- (13) a. *'ai ki'obu euba* we (make =) build a house.
 b. *'ai kaha'obu (= kaho'obu) (i'ioo) uuba* we are (makers =) builders of a house.
- (14) a. *adiu ki'ua eit'i* you (pl.) speak words.
 b. *adiu kaha'ua (i'ioo) uit'i* you are speakers of words.
- (15) a. *ki kede ekuo* they climb a tree.
 b. *ki kahede (i'ioo) ukuo* they are climbers of trees
- (16) a. *'ua kodi edobu e'ana* I buy those goods.
 b. *'ua kahaodi (i'ioo) udobu e'ana* I am a buyer of those goods.

Stems that start with *m-*, *b-*, *n-*, *d-*, *d'*-, glottal stop (ʔ-), or or a soft vowel take the prefix *kaha-*. There are no changes to the stem-initial sound. These formations must also be constructed with a direct attribute or an attribute attached with *i'ioo*. The imperative (sentence 8c), in which no new rules have to be observed, shows that this prefix *kaha-* is also composite; it consists of *k-* (<*ki-*) and *-aha-*. This *-aha-* may have originated in **-aŋa-* as it occurs in *maŋa-* in other Indonesian languages before certain initial sounds.

Note: If *kaha-* occurs before the glottal stop, the final *-a* of this prefix is sometimes assimilated to the initial vowel of the stem, but mostly this *-a* penetrates the stem and then, if possible, forms a diphthong with the vowel (sentence 14b). Such diphthong formations also often occur when *kaha-* occurs before a stem with an initial soft vowel (sentence 16b). Sometimes, however, *-a* and the initial vowel also merge (sentence 15b).

§43: “Pseudonomen Agentis externum” with *ka'i-* + stem

- (1) a. *'ua kita'a (= kinã'ã) e'aiyo* I take fish.
 b. *'ua ka'ita'a (= ka'inã'ã) u'aiyo* I am a taker of fish.
 c. *a'ita'a, a'ita'a'a = a'ita'ua'a u'aiyo!* be a taker, be a taker of fish!
ka'ita'a, ka'ita'a'a = ka'ita'ua'a u'aiyo! let (singular), let (plural) us be takers of fish!
- (2) a. *kia kidodo ekabo e'ana* he grasps that net.
 b. *kia ka'idodo ukabo e'ana* he is a grasper of that net.
- (3) a. *ki kikabu emēnãuhũã* they grasp a plank.
 b. *ki ka'ikabu umēnãuhũã* they are graspers of a plank.

A prefix *ka'i-*, which consists of *k-* (<*ki-*) and *-a'i-* (see imperative, sentence 1c), seemingly appears only before word stems that begin with *n-*, *d-*, *t-* or *k-*. Such formations are found relatively rarely in everyday language and in the textual material. These formations are always followed by an attribute and are

called pseudonimina agentis externa to distinguish them from the pseudonimina agentis dealt with in §35.

- (4) *dimũnã'ãhã eũ'ãnã yahae, dapa'uohõ iko'odix'i, kanõ'õhãmãhã kamãñĩ dimã'inã'ãmãhã*⁵⁶ *uitohõda epõõ* they brought their food, they put (it) on mats-of-leaves, and so also the men, they were takers of their (to be drunk =) drink, specifically coconuts.

It is difficult to find a functional difference between the simple forms and these forms. (For *dimũnã'ã* and *dapa'uohõ* see §16).

§44: the prefix *kaba'i-*, *kamã'ĩ-* + nouns

a)

- (1) a. *'ua kaba'ikoyõ* (from *ekoyõ* “wild boar”) I go out after wild boar.
 b. *aba'ikoyõ, aba'ikoyõ'a!* go (singular), go (plural) out after wild boars!
kaba'ikoyõ, kaba'ikoyõ'a let (singular), let (plural) us go out after wild boar!
- (2) *kia kaba'i'aiyõ* (from *e'aiyõ* “fish”) he goes out after fish.
- (3) *ki kamã'ix'õãnĩ* (from *ehõãnĩ* “flying dog”) they go out after flying dogs.
- (4) *'ika kaba'ibaba* (from *ebaba* “yam”) we go out after yams.

A prefix *kaba'i-*, *kamã'ĩ-*, which presumably came from *ka'i* by the infixing of *-ab-*, *-am-*, is added before animal and plant names and then means “to go out after that which the root word denotes”. There are no changes to the root of the word. The imperative (sentence 1b) shows that this prefix is also composite, from *k-* (< *ki-*) and *aba'i-*, *-amai-*.

b)

- (5) *'ai kamã'ikõmã'ã* (from *eakõmã'ã* “heron”) we go out after herons.

If the stem of the word begins with *a-*, it merges with the *-i* of the prefix to *-i*.

§45: statives with *ka'a-*

a)

- (1) *ekaka kitera ka'apurudui* (from *epurudui* “hair”) all people are in the state of hair = all people have hair.
- (2) *kia ka'apia* (from *epia* “planting”) he is in the state of plantation = he has a plantation.

⁵⁶*mãhã* = *baha* means “also”.

- (3) *kamāhāhōhōhā ekaka hōmō'ō ka'aka'udara it'ita* (from *eka'udara* “village”) the people who were in the state of village there were afraid = the people who had a village there were afraid.

A prefix *ka'a-* marks a part of speech in Enggano which denotes states. In German, we can best render these constructions with the paraphrase “to be in the state of”. In this function it occurs exclusively before nouns. The deverbal noun of these stative predicates (§56, f) shows that this prefix is composed of *k-* (< *ki-*) and *-a'a-*.

Note: This prefix is the same as the construction dealt with in §41, g.

b)

- (4) *'ua ka'a'au_{ba}* (from *euba* “house”) I am in the state of house = I own a house.

If this prefix precedes nouns with an initial soft vowel (i.e. a vowel not preceded by a glottal stop), this vowel becomes a hard vowel (i.e. a vowel preceded by a glottal stop). Often, the *-a* of the prefix *ka'a-* also penetrates into the stem, which can result in diphthongs.

c)

- (5) *'ua ka'a'ānō hii kia* (from *'ānō* “friend”) I am in the state of friend with him = I am friends with him.

Such formations can be modified by information about circumstances.

d)

- (6) *ekoyo e'ana ka'apurudui ka'āu_i* that wild boar is in the state of black hair = that wild boar has black hair.

Modifiers (in this case an appositional qualitative) that are found with the original noun are retained in the transformation into stative predicates.

e)

- (7) *e'ekoa e'ana ka'apohō* (from *epohō* “breadth”) that path is in the state of width = that path is wide.

Occasionally, stative predicates also serve as a substitute for a property word, a “qualitative” (see §5, d).

§46: the prefix *ka'a-* before verbal stems

a)

- (1) a. *kapu'a euba* the house collapses.

- b. *ka'apupu'a euba* the house collapses completely = the houses collapse completely.
- (2) a. *'ua kakēnāi ehūā e'ana* I select those fruits.
 b. *'ua ka'akēnāi ehūā e'ana* I carefully select those fruits.
 c. *a'akēnāi, a'akēnāi'ā ehūā e'ana* select (singular), select (plural) those fruits carefully!
ka'akēnāi, ka'akēnāi'ā ehūā e'ana let (singular), let (plural) us choose those fruits carefully!

Sometimes the prefix *ka'a-* occurs instead of the prefix *ka-* (§41) before a process or activity word. This prefix has a reinforcing function. Reduplication also occurs occasionally after *ka'a* (sentence 1b). The imperative (sentence 2c) shows that this prefix consists of *k-* (< *ki-*) and *-a'a-*.

b)

- (3) *epehedīa nē'ēnī kapa'akēhōā'ā i'ioo upae e'ana* at the beginning of it they completely withheld (it) from that child.

Instead of *kapa-* (namely *kapakēhōā'ā*) sometimes *kapa'a* also appears in a reinforcing function.

(end of Article Two)

§47: the progressive forms of individual word classes

a)

- (1) a. *kabai'x'a ekaka kude ix'oo ukue* the people came from the inside of the forest.
 b. *abai, abaia'a!* come (singular), come (plural)!
kabai, kabaia'a! let (singular), let (plural) us come!
 c. *keaba'a dabai* it does not exist that they come = they do not come.
- (2) *'ua kaba'ao i'ioōnūū* I die for you.
- (3) a. *kia kabauadi ehūkū'ū* he searches for my lice.
 b. *ehūkū'ū kidabauadi* my lice are searched for.

Process and activity words with the prefix *ka-* (§41) instead of this prefix can take *kaba-*, *kab-*, *kamā-*, *kam-*, which originated by infixing of *-ab-*, *-am-* (or by suffixing of *ba-*, *mā-*). This form has a progressive function, i.e. it denotes a progressive action that is in flux. As a result, such formations occur a lot in ongoing narratives. They are then often put as P at the beginning of the sentence. No new rules have to be observed for imperatives. In the case of negation, the pronoun prefixes (§15) come before the word stem expanded with *-aba-*, *-ab-*, *-amā-*, *-am-* (sentence 1c).

b)

- (4) *kamohō nāēnā kamānūmāhā nāhā Kiuū* and his mother is also called “mother of *Kiuū*”.
- (5) *ke’anaha kamāhūāhā epiadia e’ito e’ana* and then his plantation, namely those banana plants, bore **fruit**.

Such derivations can also be formed from nouns (sentence 4 from *enū* “name”, sentence 5 from *ehū* “fruit”).

c)

- (6) *kabapuhō ebakadia* his eyes get **sick**.
- (7) *kamāhūōhōhā ekaka hōmō’ō ka’aka’udara itita* the people who live there (are in the state of village =) are **afraid**.

Process words that replace our qualitatives can also take the prefix *kaba-*, *kamā-*.

d)

- (8) a. *’ai kabaeđoi epae ka’ao e’ana* we cry for that deceased child.
b. *keaba’a ’uabaeđoi ’ai epae ka’ao e’ana* it does not exist that we cry for that deceased child = we are not crying for that deceased child.
c. *epae ka’ao e’ana kidabaeđoi* that deceased child is cried for.
d. *epae ka’ao e’ana keaba’a bedoi* (as far as) that deceased child (is concerned), there is no person-crying-for (it) = that deceased child is not cried for.
- (9) *kia kabaitaraha’a ekuo* he plays (in relation to =) with a tree.

Likewise, locatively (§36) and complex (§37) varied pseudonimina agentis can take the prefix *kaba-*, *kamā-*. There are no new rules for imperatives or negation or for the passive. The negated passive (sentence 8d) is formed with the help of the process word with *b-* (< *bu-*), which occurs before the pure word stem.

e)

- (10) a. *kia kabapaeđo ’ua* he makes me cry = he occasions me to cry.⁵⁷
b. *abapaeđo kia!* occasion him to cry!⁵⁸
c. *keaba’a yabapaeđo ’ua* it does not exist that he occasions me to cry⁵⁹ = he does not occasion me to cry⁶⁰.
- (11) *kabapa’e’epa kia eke’epa e’ana* he lets that bird fly.

⁵⁷Note by Barnaby Burleigh: a gerund in German

⁵⁸Note by Barnaby Burleigh: a gerund in German

⁵⁹Note by Barnaby Burleigh: a gerund in German

⁶⁰Note by Barnaby Burleigh: a gerund in German

Pseudonomina causativa (§39) can also take the prefix *kaba-*, *kamã-*. No new rules have to be observed for imperatives, negation or the passive.

f)

- (12) *'ua kababudu (i'ioo) ukoyo e'ana* I am a killer of that wild boar.
 (13) *kia kabadodo (i'ioo) u'ube'e* he is a swallower of medicine.
 (14) *'ua kabaha'aoi uboo* I am a scooper of water.

With a direct attribute or an attribute attached with *i'ioo*, *kaba-*, *kamã-* can occur with the intensive forms of the activity words (§42) instead of *ka-*. Here too, no new rules have to be observed for imperatives or negation.

g)

- (15) *kamã'inã'ã kia uũ'ãnãã* he is a taker of his food.

Formations with *ka'i-* (§43) can also take the infix *-ab-*, *-am-*, so that a prefix *kaba'i-*, *kamã'i-* arises.

Note: The construction with *kaba'i-*, *kamã'i-* + substantive (§44) must be kept separate from this.

h)

- (16) *kaba'adaha kia hii honãnãã e'ana* in the state of a child he is with that his wife = he has **a child** with that his wife.
 (17) *kamã'ãhãũã e'ito*, *kaba'akoi epiada* in the state of fruit are the banana plants, in the state of tubers are their plantations = the banana plants **bear fruit**, their plantations **carry tubers**.

Status words with *ka'a-* (§45) can also be varied progressively.

§48: spontaneous forms with ka-

a)

- (1) a. *ki'uduhua ekitai'iu* my innards get scared= I **get scared**.
 b. *ka'uduhua ekitai kapae e'ana* the innards of those children are spontaneously scared = those children **are suddenly scared**.⁶¹
 (2) a. *'ua kikaka'ãõ* I am horrified.
 b. *kakaka'ãõnã'ã ekaka e'ana* those people **are baffled**.
 (3) *kapa'a ebahau uki'opoho* the widow's heart is/was **spontaneously startled**.

⁶¹Note by Barnaby Burleigh: “erschrecken” roughly means to be startled/scared. A better translation may be “to start”, because it does not have a passive element. This is important to note, because Kähler says below that the spontaneous forms can indicate that a state occurs “on its own”. The passive element in “being startled”, however, indicates a cause.

A prefix *ka-* (< PAN *taɣ-*) forms a part of speech that denotes a state that occurs on its own or suddenly. These are “spontaneous” status words.

§49: Verbs with *bu-*, *b-*, *mũ-*, *m-*⁶²

a)

- (1) *bahopa'aha 'o'o i'ioo kararaka* you will be a carer for our children = you will **care** for our children.
- (2) *ekoyo e'ana keaba'a bupudu* (as far as) that wild boar (is concerned), there is not a killer (of it) present = that wild boar is not killed.
- (3) *epae e'ana keaba'a bedoi* (as far as) that child (is concerned), there is no person-weeping (for it) = that child is not wept for.
- (4) *ekaparapi⁶³ kaupē bupua* (as far as) the ship (is concerned), a seer (of it) is not yet present = the ship is not yet seen.

Process words are verbs which are parallel to the intransitive verbs of other languages, but which can sometimes be modified by nouns etc. like a transitive verb by an object. This process word occurs in simple and in negative statements. After *keaba'a* “not being present/existing” and *kaupē* “not yet being present/existing” the process word is used to negate a passive construction (§38). It is formed by prefixing *bu-*, *mũ-* before a consonant and glottal stop. If the word begins with a soft vowel,⁶⁴ *b-* or *m-* are prefixed.

b)

- (5) *keaba'a bukai (= kubai) kia* there is no grasper of her present = she is not grasped.

Word stems that start with *k-* are often infixed with *-ub-*, *-um-*.

c)

- (6) a. *yara'a bupudu!* refrain from being a killer! = don't kill!
 b. *yara'a bupudu ekoyo e'ana!* refrain from being a killer of that wild boar! = don't kill that wild boar!
- (7) *yara'a bupua!* refrain from being a runner! = don't run!

Process words can also appear after the negation particle for the imperative, *yara'a!* “omit!”.

⁶²The function of this prefix was, as far as I know, first recognized in other Indonesian languages by Dr. Aichele.

⁶³< Malay *kapal* or the like.

⁶⁴Note by Barnaby Burleigh: i.e. a vowel not preceded by a glottal stop - see the section on the sound system of Enggano

d)

- (8) *puape be bupudu kia!* run away because he is a killer! = run away, for he kills!

The process word also appears in causative subordinate clauses (§24, a), which are introduced with *be* “Reason; because”.

e)

- (9) *akeo yabai mūnīx’ā abupuaka ’ika* if it does not exist that he (as) a person-being-quick, then we are people-departing = if he does not come quickly, we leave.
- (10) *abu’uoho ki dakō’aix’a nāmā’ānīx’āā ekaka mōkō* when they are sleepers at night they dream, specifically/namely lots of people = when they sleep at night many people dream.

In the subordinate and, as sentence 9 shows, also in main clauses that begin with *a-* (§24, c), the process word also occurs. Sentence 9 also shows that a process word can sometimes represent our German adverbs.

f)

- (11) *’ubudohoi eit’idia* I hear his voice.

Via the prefix *bu-*, *mū-*, which takes the shortened personal pronouns before it, see §16. In addition, the process word is mandatory for the combinations of verbs dealt with in the following paragraph.

§50: Combining verbs

a)

- (1) a. *’ua kix’ii bupua ekaka e’ana* I repeat being a seer of that person = I see that person again.
b. *kix’ii ’ua bupua ekaka e’ana* likewise⁶⁵
c. *hii, hīia’a bupua kia!* repeat (sg), repeat (pl) to see him!
kahii, kahīia’a bupua kia! let (sg), let (pl) us repeat to see him!
d. *keaba’a ’uhii bupua kia* it is not present that I repeat to be a seer of him = I do not see him again.
e. *kidix’ii bupua ekaka e’ana* that person is seen again.
- (2) *ka e’anaha ehiita bai iparuduada it’ita* and thereafter it was their repetition to be people-coming to their place of assembly there = and then they came again to their place of assembly there.
- (3) *epae e’ana kix’ii bedo* that child repeats being a crying-one = that child cries again.

⁶⁵Note by Barnaby Burleigh: The German here reads “dto.”, which is the abbreviation for “dito”, which is Latin for “likewise”.

- (4) *kia kix'ii mūhēkūhūĩ edopo* he repeats being an occupier of the earth = he sits down on the earth again.
- (5) *epae e'ana kix'ii baitaraha'a ekuo* that child repeats being a playing-one with a tree = that child is playing with a tree again.

A process word *kix'ii* “repeat”, which is derived from a stem *hii* (sentence 1c), is put together with process words (§49) to express a repeated action. The fact that *kix'ii* is an independent word is shown in sentence 1b, in which the S occurs between the two verbs and the deverbal noun (sentence 2). There are no new rules for the imperative, negation or the passive.

b)

- (6) a. *kia kix'ii mǎnōkĩ ebakadia* he repeats being a washer of his face = he washes his face again.
 b. *kia kahii mǎnōkĩ ebakadia* likewise.

Instead of *ki-*, *ka-* (§41) can also occur before *hii*.

c)

- (7) *kia kix'ii babudu (i'ioo) ukoyo* he repeats being a killer of wild boar = he kills wild boars again.
- (8) *'ua kix'ii badodo (i'ioo) u'ube'e* I repeat being a swallower of medicine = I swallow medicine again.
- (9) *ke'anaha kahii baha'aua eka'uhoi e'ana i'ioñnĩã* and thereafter that (female) clan-leader repeated being a speaker to him = and thereafter that (female) clan-leader spoke to him again.

The intensive forms of activity words (§42) can also be combined with *kix'ii* or *kahii*.

d)

- (10) *ki kix'ii parudu* they repeat to be people-gathering = they gather again.
- (11) *ke'anaha kix'ii pahabuhaha uũã e'ana* and thereafter they repeated being cookers of that food = and thereafter they cooked that food again.

If word stems that start with *pa-* (§39) or *paha-* (§40. b) occur with *kix'ii*, the prefix *bu-*, *mũ-* is not used.

e)

- (12) *'ua kix'ii aba'uoho* I sleep again.
- (13) *ki kix'ii abaedoi ekabake ka'ao e'ana* they weep again for those who died.

(14) *kia kix'ii abaitaraha'a ekuo e'ana* he is playing with that tree again.

If word stems that represent progressive forms (§47) are combined with *kix'ii* or *kahii*, only the word stem extended with *aba-*, *ab-*, *amã-*, *am-* occurs.

f)

(15) *kia kix'ii apaedo 'ua* he makes me cry again.

(16) *'ua kix'ii apa'uoho eara'au* I put my child back to sleep.

Likewise, the prefix *bu-*, *mũ-* does not occur in combinations with verbal forms that represent causative activity words formed with *ka-* (§41, d).

g)

(17) *kia kahae it'ita* he goes there.

(18) a. *kia kahae bupudu ekoyo e'ana* he goes (as) a killer of that wild boar
= he goes to kill that wild boar.

b. *ahae bupudu ekoyo e'ana!* go to kill that boar!

c. *ekoyo e'ana kidaha bupudu* it is gone = one goes to kill that wild boar.

(19) *ki kai mūhēkūhūi edopo* they come (as) occupiers of the earth = they come to sit on the earth.

(20) *kia kai baitaraha'a ekuo e'ana* he comes (as) a person-playing with that tree = he comes to play with that tree.

(21) *'ua kipua babudu (i'ioo) ukoyo e'ana* I run (as) a killer of that wild boar
= I run to kill that wild boar.

After the verbs of movement, process words formed with *bu-*, *b-*, *mũ*, *m-* can also follow. They are treated in the same way as the combinations with *kix'ii*. In German we reproduce these formations with our final infinitive *um zu* (“(in order) to”).

h)

(22) *kia kix'ii baha bupudu ekoyo e'ana* he goes again to kill that wild boar.

(23) *'ua kix'ii baha bedoi ekabake ka'ao e'ana* I go again to cry over those who died.

kix'ii or *kahii* can also appear before these combinations with verbs of movement, to denote a repeated action.

i)

(24) a. *puaka'a eũ'ã yahae!* take the food away!

b. *puaka'a eũ'ã yai!* bring the food here!

(25) *pee eit'i yahae!* (give =) send the message away!

Among such combinations those can also be counted which are formed with the location indicators *yahae* and *yai* which are derived from the word stems *ahae* “go!” and *ai* “come!”.

§51: tenses in Enggano

a)

- (1) a. *'ua kipudu kia* I kill him.
 b. *'ua kipudua kia* I will kill him.
 c. *'ua hoo bupudu, hoo bupudua kia* I was already a killer of him, am already a person-who-will-kill/person-who-is-becoming-a-killer-of him = I've killed him, I'm ready/prepared to kill him.
 d. *kia kidipudua* he will be killed.
- (2) a. *'o'o kipuaha ekaparapi e'ana* you will see that ship.
 b. *'o'o hoo bupua, hoo bupuaha ekaparapi e'ana* you were already a seer, you are already a person-who-will-see/person-who-is-becoming-a-seer-of that ship = you have seen the ship, you are ready to see the ship.
 c. *ekaparapi e'ana kidipuaha* that ship will be seen.

One way of specifying tenses in Enggano is with the suffix *-a* (see Old Javanese *-a*⁶⁶) and the particle *hoo* “already”. *-a* denotes a future event. When this suffix is added, support consonants, especially *h* and *y*, very often occur. The particle *hoo* before the process word formed with *bu-*, *b-*, *mũ-*, *m-* (§49) denotes a completed event; *hoo* before the process word expanded with *-a* indicates the readiness to carry out a following action immediately.

b)

- (3) a. *kia kipuaha* he will run.
 b. *kia hoo bupua, hoo bupuaha* he was already a runner, is already a person-who-will-run/person-becoming-a-runner = he has run, is ready to run.
- (4) a. *'ua kedoiya kia* I will cry for him.
 b. *'ua hoo bedoi, hoo bedoiya kia* I was already a person-weeping for him, I am already a person-who-will-weep/person-who-is-becoming-a-weeper for him = I have wept for him, I am ready to weep for him.
- (5) a. *kia kaudua'aya ekaka e'ana* he will precede that person.
 b. *kia hoo baudua'a, hoo baudua'aya ekaka e'ana* he was already a person-preceding that person, is already a person-who-will-precede/person-becoming-a-person-preceding that person = he has preceded that

⁶⁶A. Lafeber, *Vergelijkende Klankleer Van Het Niasisch (I^e Gedeelte)*, “Hadi Poestaka”, MDCDXXII, pg. 29.

person, is ready to precede that person.

Simple, locatively and complexly varied Pseudonimina agentis can also take the suffix *-a* and be constructed with *hoo*.

c)

- (6) a. *kia kipait'ia ekamũ* he will blow the conch.
b. *kia hoo pait'i, hoo pait'ia ekamũ* he was already a blower, is already a person-who-will-blow/person-becoming-a-blower-of the conch = he has blown the conch, is ready to blow the conch.
- (7) a. *kia kipadohoi uit'idia* he is a hearer of his words = he hears his words.
b. *kia hoo padohoi, hoo padohoiya uit'idia* he was already a hearer, is already a person-who-will-hear/person-becoming-a-hearer-of his words = he has heard his words, is ready to hear his words.

Pseudonimina causativa (§39) and actoris (§40) can also take the suffix *-a* and be constructed with *hoo*. However, the prefix *bu-*, *mũ-* does not appear in these formations with *hoo* (see §50, d).

d)

- (8) a. *e'ea e'ana kididudua* that stone will be grasped.
b. *e'ea e'ana kidix'oo budodo* that stone was grasped.

The passive of the individual parts of speech (§38) can also assume such tenses.

e)

- (9) a. *'ika kaburua (i'ioo) ukoyo e'ana* we'll be killers of that wild boar.
b. *'ika hoo babudu, hoo baburua (i'ioo) ukoyo e'ana* we⁶⁷ were already killers, are already people-who-will-kill/people-becoming-killers-of that wild boar = we have killed that wild boar, are ready to kill that wild boar.

The intensive forms of the activity words (§42) also take *-a* or *hoo*.

f)

- (10) a. *ehuda e'ana ka'inã'ũũ (i'ioo) uũ'ã* that woman will be a taker of the food = will take food.
b. *ehuda e'ana hoo mã'inã'ã, hoo mã'inã'ũũ (i'ioo) uũ'ã* that woman was already a taker, is already a person-who-will-take/person-becoming-a-taker-of food = that woman has already taken food, is ready to take food.

⁶⁷Note by Barnaby Burleigh: the German here reads “wie” - “like”, instead of “wir” - “we”. I have taken this to be a typo, for else the sentence lacks a subject.

The pseudonomen agentis externum (§43) can also be modified in this way.

g)

- (11) a. *kia ka'adadua* she will be in the state of spouses = she will marry.
b. *kia hoo ba'adadu, hoo ba'adadua* she was already a person-marrying, is already a person-who-will-marry/person-becoming-married = she has already married, is ready to get married.

Status words with *ka'a-* (§45) are modified in the same way.

h)

- (12) a. *'ua kaba'aoa* I'm going to die.
b. *kia hoo aba'ao, hoo aba'aoa* he has died, is ready to die.

The progressive forms of the individual parts of speech (§47) are modified in the same way.

i)

- (13) *ekoyo e'ana keaba'a bupudua* (as far as) that wild boar (is concerned), there is no person-who-will-kill/person-becoming-a-killer-of (it) present = that wild boar will not be killed.
(14) *kia kix'ii m̃nōk̃iã ebakadia* he repeats being a person-who-will-wash/person-becoming-a-washer-of his face = he will wash his face again.

Finally, process words (§§49-50) are also modified in this way.

j)

- (15) *m̃k̃ōã ehũã ukuõ e'ana* those tree fruits will be numerous.

The indefinite quantification *m̃k̃ō* “be numerous” can also take the suffix *-a*.

k)

- (16) *'ika hoo ku'a* we have already arrived.

It also occurs that *hoo* appears with the pure word stem.

l)

- (17) *yai ekaka kitera* all people may come.
(18) *nãmãhẽkũ ki it'ita* they may sit down there.

Sometimes the personal prefix of the 3rd person singular *i-* (= *y-*) and that of the 3rd person plural *nã-* (= *da-*) have the function of hinting at a future event

that roughly corresponds to our optative. In such formations, the progressive forms of the individual parts of speech usually appear (sentence 18).

§52: Additions to 35-51⁶⁸

a)

- (1) a. *ehũã u'it̩o e'ana kibaka* those banana fruits are unripe.
 b. *ehũã u'it̩o e'ana kipabaka'ai* those banana fruits are as-a-whole, altogether immature.
- (2) a. *ekohe'a e'ana hinũ'ikĩ* that hut is small.
 b. *ekohe'a e'ana kipahinũ'ikĩĩ* those huts are altogether small.
- (3) a. *euba ei'ie kibopo* this house is ugly.
 b. *euba ei'ie kipapopo'oi* these houses are altogether ugly.

A prefix *kipa-*, which is added to a qualitative together with a suffix *-i*, denotes a plural or a totality. The final vowel of the root of the word comes before the *-i*, and the accent then rests on this penetrated vowel.

Note: I attribute the form *kipapopo'oi* instead of **kipabopo'oi* in sentence 3b to consonant assimilation.

b)

- (4) *'ika kipadudukia hii ekaka e'ana* (from *puđu!* kill, fight!) we will continually argue with those people.
- (5) *dipahinã'ũãhũix'a ix'ẽ'ã ukuo e'ana* (from *inã'ũã!* climb!) they all climbed into the top of that tree.
- (6) *ke'anaha kapãdoix'a* and thereafter they all cried (= repeatedly).

Occasionally in Enggano, the prefix *pa-* precedes and *-(i)* succeeds a verbal stem to indicate a reinforcement or a plural. In sentence 4, an infix *-ad-* is also inserted, which, however, is a frozen form in Enggano.

c)

- (7) a. *'ua kix'ẽkũ* I sit down.
 b. *'ua kix'ẽhẽkũ* I'm in the process of sitting down.
- (8) a. *kia ki'uoho* he's sleeping.
 b. *kia ki'u'uoho* He's in the process of sleeping.
- (9) *kia kix'ẽhẽkũhũi ekuo e'ana* he is in the process of (occupying that tree =) sitting on that tree.

⁶⁸Note from Charlotte: Nb. Kähler uses the terms Tätigkeitswort, Zustandswort and Vorgangswort to distinguish different verb classes. Roughly this corresponds to actions, states and processes.

- (10) *ki kix'ohoraha'a ephora* they are in the process of (in relation to) singing a song.
- (11) *ki kipapait'i ekamĩũ* they are in the process of blowing the conch.

Process and activity words in their various variations are given a durative meaning by reduplication of the word stem, which can be reproduced in German by “being in the process of doing something”. The pseudonimina causativa (§39) reduplicate the prefix *pa-* here (sentence 11).

- (12) *kia kipuupududa'a ekoyo* he continually kills wild boars.
- (13) *ki kipanããnãũnã'ã* they are continually talking.
- (14) *'ika kipuupuada'a kia* we continually see him.

Process and activity words can get iterative meaning in Enggano by repeating the first syllable of the word stem and elongating the vowel of this reduplicated syllable. So here the affect appears as a modifying factor as it does in Nias, albeit in a different way.⁶⁹

d)

- (15) a. *yara'a bupua kia!* refrain from being a seer of him = don't see him!
 b. *yara'a eabapua!* refrain from seeing = do not see!
- (16) *yara'a eu'uoho = eaba'uoho!* refrain from sleeping! = don't sleep!
- (17) *yara'a ea'ao = eaba'ao!* refrain from dying! = don't die!

The negated imperative is formed with the help of the particle *yara'a!* “omit!”. A process word (sentence 15a) or a deverbal noun (sentence 15b, 16/17) can follow.

9 Second Section: Nominal Morphology (306)

§53: “Nomen Actionis Simplex” (Gerunds formed from passive verbs)

a)

- (1) a. *epae e'ana kienãmĩ ekaka* that child looks for people.
 b. *ekaka enĩẽnãmĩ upae e'ana* People are the looking-for-thing of that child = by that child is looked for people.
- (2) a. *kamãñĩ e'ana kipudu ekoyo* those men kill wild boar.
 b. *ekoyo edipudu kamãñĩ e'ana* Wild boars are the killing-thing of those men = wild boars are killed by those men.
 c. *ekoyo edabapudu kamãñĩ e'ana* likewise⁷⁰ .

⁶⁹Kähler, “Studies on the sound, word and sentence theory of Nias” (pg. 39, Abs. 3).

⁷⁰Note by Barnaby Burleigh: The German here reads “dto.”, which is the abbreviation for “dito”, which is Latin for “likewise”.

- (3) a. *kia kipua 'ānōnĩā* he sees his friend.
 b. *'ānōnĩā edipuadia* his friend is his seeing-thing = his friend is seen by him.
 c. *'ānōnĩā edabapuadia* likewise⁷¹ .

The new formations appearing in these sentences contain the prefix *di-*, *nĩ-* before consonants and glottal stops (and in some cases also before vowels) [see §35, f)]. Before soft vowels, *d-*, *n-* usually occurs. Since these formations carry the determiner *e-* (§2) and must always be modified by attributes, they are pure nouns. The German rendition with *Ausschauen-Sache* “looking-thing”, *Tötens-Sache* “kill-thing” etc. sounds forced, but comes closest to the meaning of these formations. I chose the name Nomen actionis Simplex⁷² as opposed to Nomen loci (§54) and Nomen complex (§55). The passive of German gives a better rendering, for the nomina actionis simplicia can also be seen as quasi-passive. Then the ablative of our passive is treated as a nominal or pronominal attribute in Enggano. These formations can be derived from pure and extended word stems, insofar as they have an object with them. The basic condition for the use of the nomen actionis simplex in Enggano is that in German it must be a passive construction with an ablative, where a certain object of the situation (usually with a definite article, with a demonstrative and similar modifiers) becomes the grammatical subject.

b)

- (4) a. *ekaparapi edipua ukaka e'ana* a ship is the seeing-thing of those people = a ship is seen by those people.
 b. *ekaparapi e'ana keaba'a ipua ekaka* (as far as) that ship (is concerned), it is not present that he sees (it), the person⁷³ = that ship is not seen by people,
 (5) *adiu keaba'a 'ukuhai 'ai* (as far as) you (plural) (are concerned), it does not exist that we help you (plural) = we will not help you = we will not help you.

A statement with a nomen actionis simplex is negated by *keaba'a* with the “modified forms” (§15).

c)

- (6) *ehuda e'ana edipapix'o uko'e'e* that woman was misleading-thing of the devil = that woman was misled by the devil.

⁷¹Note by Barnaby Burleigh: The German here reads “dto.”, which is the abbreviation for “dito”, which is Latin for “likewise”.

⁷²This designation was, as far as I know, first applied by Prof. Dr. Dempwolff to such formations (with *in-*, *-in-*) in Tagalog.

⁷³Note by Barnaby Burleigh: “the person” in German, although grammatically singular, can stand for people in general, similar to English “man” as in “man is a rational animal”

- (7) *kamāhēmōix'ā ekaka edipa'uo_{ho} uko'e'e* he splashed on the person (who) was the devil's lying-thing = he splashed on the person who was laid down by the devil.

Pseudonominata causativa (§39) are also converted into nomina actionis simplicia.

d)

- (8) *ekoyo e'ana edipudua, edipudu_o ukaka* that wild boar will, must be killed by people.
- (9) *kia edikuhaiya'au, edikuhaiyo'ou* he will, must be helped by me.

The nomen actionis simplex can also take the suffix *-a* (§51) if the action is in the future. Instead of *-a,-o* occurs (§60), if the event is to be understood in a gerund-like way, which we express in German with our “müssen” (English “must”).

e)

- (10) a. *ekoyo e'ana edix'oo bupudu ukaka* that wild boar (was already killing-thing of the people) was already killed by people.
- b. *ekoyo e'ana edix'ooda bupudu* that wild boar (was already their killing-thing =) was already killed by them.

The nomen actionis simplex can also be derived from constructions with *hoo* (§51).

f)

- (11) a. *ekoyo e'ana edix'ii bupua ukaka* that wild boar is seen by humans again.
- b. *ekoyo e'ana edix'iidia bupua* that wild boar is seen by him again.

Nomina actionis simplicia are also derived from compilations with *hii* (§50).

§54: “Nomen Actionis Loci” (Gerunds formed from verbs with locative applicative)

a)

- (1) a. *epae kix'ēkūhūi ekuo e'ana* a child occupies that tree.
- b. *ekuo e'ana edix'ēkūhūi upae* that tree is a child's occupying-thing = that tree is occupied by a child.
- (2) a. *ekaka e'ana kedoi karadia* that person weeps for his children.
- b. *karara ededoi amānā* children are their father's weeping-thing = children are wept for by their father.

- c. *karara edabaedoi amānā* likewise⁷⁴.

The part of speech appearing in these sentences is formed by locatively varied pseudonoma agentis (§36) with the help of the prefix *di-*, *nī-* (see §53). These formations are also constructed with the noun determiner *e-* and must always be constructed with an attribute, so they are nouns. Since they are derived from the locatively varied pseudonomen agentis, I call them Nomina actionis loci. The German translation with *Besetzens-Sache*, *Beweinens-Sache* “Occupying-thing, weeping-thing” etc. comes closest to its function. The German passive with ablative is a better rendition. The basic condition for the use of the noun actionis loci in Enggano is that in German it has to be a passive construction with an ablative, in which a representation, which otherwise serves to locatively modify a pseudonomen agentis according to §36, represents the familiar and is therefore made the grammatical subject. This can be a common noun, a proper noun or a pronoun. These forms are derived from all of the simple and expanded word stems that can be varied locatively.

b)

- (3) *keaba'a 'uhēkūhūĩ ekuo e'ana* it does not exist that I occupy that tree = I do not occupy that tree.
 (4) *keaba'a yedoi kararadia* it does not exist that he weeps for his children = he does not weep for his children.

A statement with a nomen actionis loci is negated by *keaba'a* with the modified forms (§15).

c)

- (5) *ekuo e'ana edix'ēkūhūĩyā, edix'ēkūhūĩyō upae* that tree will, must be occupied by a child.
 (6) *eboo edekeheiyadia, edekeheiyodia* water will, must be bathed in by him = he will, must bathe in water.

The nomen actionis loci, like the nomen actionis simplex (§53), can take the suffixes *-a* or *-o*.

d)

- (7) a. *ekuo e'ana edix'oō mūhēkūhūĩ upae* that tree (is already occupying-thing of a child =) has already been occupied by a child.
 b. *ekuo e'ana edix'oodia mūhēkūhūĩ* that tree (is already its occupying-thing =) has already been occupied by it⁷⁵.

⁷⁴Note by Barnaby Burleigh: The German here reads “dito”, which is the abbreviation for “dito”, which is Latin for “likewise”.

⁷⁵Note by Barnaby Burleigh: the neuter pronoun stands for the child, whose gender is not given in the sentence.

- (8) a. *ekuo e'ana edix'ii mūhēkūhūi upae* that tree is occupied by a child again.
 b. *ekuo e'ana edix'iidia mūhēkūhūi* that tree is occupied by it again.

The nomen actionis loci can also be derived from constructions with *hoo* and *hii* (see §53, e–f).

§55: “Nomen Actionis Complex” (Gerunds formed from verbs with instrumental applicative)

a)

- (1) a. *epae e'ana kaudua'a kia* that child precedes him.
 b. *kia edaudua'a upae e'ana* it is the preceding-relationship of that child = he is preceded by that child.
 c. *kia edabaudua'a upae e'ana* likewise⁷⁶ .
- (2) a. *ebeo e'ana kix'aua'a eka'adia i'iōōnāi* that dog bites after him with its teeth.
 b. *eka'adia edix'aua'a ubeo i'iōōnāi* its teeth are the biting-relationship of the dog after him = with its teeth is bitten after him by a dog.
- (3) a. *kia kix'ohoraha'a eohora* he sings a song.
 b. *eohora e'ana edix'ohoraha'adia* a song is his singing-relationship = a song is sung by him.

The part of speech appearing in the above sentences is formed by complexly varied Pseudonoma agentis (§37) with the help of the prefix *di-*, *nī-* (see §§53–54). These formations are also characterized as nominal by the determiner *e-*, and they must always be constructed with an attribute. Since they are derived from complexly varied pseudonoma agentis, I call them complex nomina actionis. The German, forced-sounding reproduction with *Vorangehens-Beziehung*, *Beißens-Beziehung* “preceding-relationship, biting-relationship” etc. comes closest to its function. A better rendering is the passive with ablative in German. The basic grammatical condition for the use of the nomen actionis complex in Enggano is that in German it has to be a passive construction with an ablative, in which a representation that otherwise serves as a complex modifier of a pseudonomen agentis represents the familiar and is therefore made the grammatical subject. This can be a common noun, a proper noun or a pronoun. These forms are derived from both simple and extended word stems.

b)

- (4) *epae e'ana keaba'a yaudua'a ekāpū* (as far as) that child (is concerned), it does not exist that it precedes in relation to a clan leader = that child does not precede a clan leader.

⁷⁶Note by Barnaby Burleigh: The German here reads “dto.”, which is the abbreviation for “dito”, which is Latin for “likewise”.

- (5) *keaba'a 'uhaua'a eka'a'au i'iōōnĩã* It does not exist that in relation to my teeth I bite at him = I don't bite him with my teeth.

A statement with a nomen actionis complex is negated by *keaba'a* with the modified forms (§15).

c)

- (6) *ekāpũ e'ana edaudua'aua, edaudua'aho upae* that clan leader will, must be preceded by a child.
 (7) *eka'adia edix'aua'aua, edix'aua'aho ubeo i'iōōnĩã* its teeth will, must be used by the dog for biting after him.

The nomen actionis complex, like the nomen actionis simplex (§53) and loci (§54), can take the suffixes *-a* or *-o*.

d)

- (8) a. *ekāpũ e'ana edix'ōō baudua'a upae* that clan-leader is already preceding-relationship of a child = that clan-leader is already preceded by a child.
 b. *ekāpũ e'ana edix'ōōdia baudua'a* that clan-leader is already its preceding-relationship = that clan-leader is already preceded by it.
 (9) a. *ekāpũ e'ana edix'ii baudua'a upae* that clan-leader is again preceded by a child.
 b. *ekāpũ e'ana edix'iidia baudua'a* that clan-leader is again preceded by it.

Likewise, the nomen actionis complex can be derived from constructions with *hoo* and *hii* (see §53, e-f, §54, d).

§56: “Nomen Deverbale” of different parts of speech (Gerunds formed from verbs with ki- and ka-)

a)

- (1) *kabudohoix'a kakōhōpīōnĩã e'ēhēnĩã* (from *'ē'ēhē* cough!) her grandchildren heard her cough.
 (2) *kinō'ōi'ĩē eahae ukuda'ayo ei'ie* (from *ahae!* go!) so is the procedure of the story. (this is how the story goes)
 (3) *keaba'a ya'u'ua eedo upae e'ana* (from *edo!* cry!) that child's crying is **not beautiful**.
 (4) *ka'u'uada'a epanāũnĩã* (from *panāũ!* speak!) his speech is beautiful = his speech is **beautiful**.

The deverbale noun of the simple pseudonimina agentis with *ki-*, *k-* (§35) is

formed in such a way that the noun determiner *-e* comes before the pure word stem. Such formations can take attributes as modifiers (sentences 2-4).

b)

- (5) *ki'oaha eapuhodia* (from *kapuhō* to be sick) his being-sick is **bad**.
- (6) *e'anānā'ā eapu'uda udopo* (from *pu'uda!* fall!) back then there was (the falling of the earth =) the ash rain.
- (7) *kanō'oāhā ehaduhuda ukuda'ayo e'ana* (from *kaduhuda* to be over) so is the end of that story.
- (8) *ke'anaha e'apo'a ukaka e'ana* (from *po'a!* move!) and because of that was the moving of those people.
- (9) *kanix'anā'ā eupua ukaka e'ana* (from *pua!* run) the running of that person is **fast**.
- (10) *mōkōnā'ā eōnōō upae ei'ie* (from *nōō!* eat!) the eating of this child is **much**.
- (11) *kanō'oāhā ekeho ukarix'a* (from *keho!* pierce!) so was the piercing of the earlobes.

Deverbal nouns are most often derived from stems extended by *ka-* (§41). The deverbal noun is formed in such a way that the determiner *e-* comes before the word stem expanded with *a-* (sentences 5-6). It often happens in these formations that this *a-* is adapted to the respective first vowel of the root word by “retrospective vowel assimilation” (sentences 9-11). Deverbal nouns of this kind can be derived from all word stems expanded with *ka-*. Dialectically, one occasionally hears *eha-* (sentence 7) or *e'a-* (sentence 8) instead of *ea-*. Particularly worthy of mention are *eamōkō* “being many, quantity” (from *mōkō* “being numerous”) and *e'akahai'i* “being one” (from *kahai'i* “one”).

c)

- (12) *ke'anaha eadya'adia i'ioo ka'ānōnā* and then was his telling to his friends.
- (13) *kinō'oāhā kidi'obu eaburu i'ioo ukabake e'ana* so the killing of that wrongdoer was done.
- (14) *ki kipahakūkū'ā uahaitu i'ioo u'ue* they were agreeers of the drinking/draining of the sea = they agreed (upon) the drinking/draining of the sea.

The deverbal noun of the intensive forms of activity words (§42) is formed in such a way that *e-* comes before the root words expanded with *a-* + Pnl or *aha-* + word stem.

d)

- (15) *nō'ōni eaba'ao u'obi* now is the (dying =) extinguishing of the fire.
- (16) *e'ana ehamāhaohō ukaka uademāhā'ā uapāmā ukaka* that is the fear of the people of the counting of the number of the people = therefore the people fear the counting of the number of the people.
- (17) *keaba'a yahāpī uabadodo (i'ioo) u'ube'e* he is not willing of the swallowing of the medicine = he does not want to swallow medicine.
- (18) *kuinānā'ā eabapakokodihoi uheda ukuha* the making-sweating of the sea-turtle-meat is **true**.

From the progressive forms of the individual parts of speech (§47), nomina deverbalia can also be formed by prefixing the noun determiner *e-* to the word stems expanded with *aba-*, *ama-*.

e)

- (19) *ka'u'uada'a eabahohorahai ekaka e'ana* the singing for that person is **beautiful**.
- (20) *epae e'ana keaba'a yahāpī uabaitaraha'a ekuo e'ana* that child is not willing to play⁷⁷ with that tree = that child does not want to play with that tree.

When converting locative (sentence 19) and complex (sentence 20) verbs into deverbals, the modifiers (objects) are kept.

f)

- (21) *kinō'ōhā ea'anūū wū'ā e'ana* so was (the being in the state of name =) the naming/name of that food.
- (22) *kabia e'ana ea'ahūāmāhā ukuo* back then (the being in the state of fruit =) the fruit-bearing of the trees was also present.

The deverbals of the state words with *ka'a-* (§45) is formed in such a way that the determiner *e-* comes before the word stem expanded with *a'a-*.

g)

- (23) *keaba'a dapuhai ea'ita'ao (- ea'ita'a) ukoyo* they didn't understand the obtaining of wild boars.

The deverbals are formed from the pseudonomen agentis externum formed with *ka'i-* (§43) in such a way that the determiner *e-* comes before the word stem expanded with *a'i-*.

⁷⁷Note by Barnaby Burleigh: this is a noun in German

h)

- (24) *ke'anaha ehiida bai iparuduada it'ita* and thereafter it was their repetition to be comers to their place of assembly there = and thereafter they came back to their place of assembly.
- (25) *keaba'a yahāpī uhii abadodo (i'ioo) u'ube'e* he is not willing to repeat⁷⁸ being a swallower of medicine = he does not want to swallow medicine again.

Nomina deverbalia can also be derived from all compiled verbs (§50).

§57: “Nomen Actionis” (Gerunds formed from causative stems)

- (1) *keaba'a ya'u'ua epainōnōnā* his feeling = feeling is **not beautiful**.
- (2) *mōkōnā'ā epapeedia* his giving = his gift is **much**.
- (3) *kanō'ōāhā epa'adohoi ukaka e'ana* so was the answering of that person.
- (4) *dabu'uaha nō'ōi'īē epaedoi* they so spoke the weeping.

Activity words and process words are converted into thing-words, which denote an act, by prefixing *epa-*, *ep-* before the pure (sentence 1-2) or the locatively varied word stem (sentence 3-4).

§58: simple “Nomen Actionis” (Gerunds with the suffix -a)

a)

- (1) a. *ite'e ekodua ukaka e'ube'e* here the people's swallowing is the medicine = here the medicine-swallowing of the people occurs.
b. *ite'e eadudua (i'ioo) u'ube'e* this is where the swallowing of the medicine occurs.
- (2) *ki'oaha epuahadia* its/his appearance is **ugly**.
- (3) *ke mōhō edohoiya uit'i'iu abiaha eaba'ao* but the hearing of my voice is **different** when dying is a thing-being-present = when a death occurs.

Activity and process words can be converted into thing-words by adding a suffix *-a* after the pure (sentence 1 a, 2-3) or extended (sentence 1 b) word stem. They denote an act (incident) and are therefore called nomina actionis here, and simple by contrast with those dealt with in §57.

Note: Support consonants also appear before *-a*, especially *h* and *y*.

b)

- (4) *i'iaha ekudeabu!* where is your origin? = where are you from?

⁷⁸Note by Barnaby Burleigh: this is a noun in German

A simple nomen actionis is also derived from the locative *kude* “from ... forth” (§26).

§59: “Nomen Actionis Perfecti” (Gerunds with eita- and einā-)

a)

- (1) a. *kia kapuhō* he is sick.
 b. *keaba'a ya'u'ua eitapuhōdia* (his completed sickness =) his illness is **not beautiful**.
- (2) a. *ki'ōaha epuahadia* its/his appearance is **ugly**.
 b. *kia kipua eita'ōaha ukaka e'ana* he sees that person's ugliness.

Qualitatives, which are pseudonimina agentis in form, are converted into substantives by adding the prefix *eita-*, *einā-* before the pure word stem. In contrast to the formations with *ea-* (§56, b), which denote the course of an action, this prefix brings out the function of the “closedness/completion of an action” and the result. The number of these formations is limited in Enggano. In addition to the above, the following also occur: *eitabopo* “the ugliness” (from *kibopo* “to be ugly”), *eita'āua* “the beauty” (from *ka'u'ua* “to be beautiful”).

Note: Dialectical differences remain to be noted with this prefix. In the western dialect we find *e'ita-*, *e'inā-*, in the southern dialect, *eida-*.

b)

- (3) *'amūhō eināhōhō ukaka e'ana* that person's fear is **great**.
 (4) *ehūā e'ana kipapee wināhāpī* those fruits are (givers =) initiators (of the will =) of desire.

Process words (*kahōhō* “to be anxious” and *ahāpī!* “want!”) can also be transformed into Nomina actionis perfecti. Such derivatives also occur only occasionally. This subheading also includes: *einānī'ā* “the shame” (from *kanī'ā* “to be ashamed”), *eitarua (ukitai)* “the concern (of the innards =) thoughts” and *eināmīx'i ubahau* “the hatred of the heart”.

§60: “Nomen Gerundii” (Gerunds with suffix -o)

a)

- (1) *e'ube'e ekōdohō* Medicine is (something) to be swallowed.
 (2) *e'orae e'ana ekoreō* those baskets are things-to-be-shouldered.
 (3) *kinō'ōāhā eiya ukuda'ayo e'ana* that is the nature (of that thing-to-be-told) of that narrative.

A suffix *-o* (<PAN *-ən*) is used in Enggano to form the nomen gerundii. In the examples above it is added to the pure word stem. Supporting consonants, especially *h* and *y*, often occur when affixing *-o*.

b)

- (4) *epae e'ana eedoiyo* that child is a thing-to-be-wept-for.
(5) *ekuø ei'ie eaitaraha'aho* this tree is that with which is to be played.

The nomen gerundii can also be formed from activity words that are locatively and complexly varied.

c)

- (6) *ekaenĩ e'ana eanõkĩyõ* that fabric is one to-be-washed.
(7) *ekabake ka'ao ei'ie eabaedoiyo ukaka e'ana* this deceased-person is the thing-to-be-wept-for of those people.
(8) *ekuø e'ana eabaitaraha'aho* that tree is that, with which is to be played.

The gerund can also be derived from stems formed with *a-* + root (§41) or *aba-*, *amã-* + root (§47). (Such formations are not possible from the intensive forms of the activity word [§42]).

d)

- (9) *ehuda ei'ie eparadua'aho* this woman is one to be married (off).

The gerund can also be derived from stems which are expanded by *pa-* (§39).

Note: *e'aiyo* “the fish” is probably also a gerund, which can be derived from PAN *kavil-ən* “the thing-to-be-caught”⁷⁹ “.

§61: Simple Instrumental Nouns

a)

- (1) *epait'i eoko'oui upia* (from *ko'oui!* clean!) a slasher is a cleaning-tool of the planting.
(2) *epakamãĩ e'ana eakaki* (from *kaki!* plane!) that knife is a planing-instrument.

In the sentences above, a new part of speech appears, the «Nomen Instrumenti simplex» (in contrast to the Nomen instrumenti habituale in §62). This part of speech is formed by putting the vowel of the first syllable of the word stem at the beginning of the word. Or, seen from a language comparison point of view, an instrumental prefix ə- (in Philippine languages and in Bare'e⁸⁰) is matched to the first vowel of the word stem by “retrospective vowel assimilation”. These formations designate a tool or instrument with which the action that the root word names is occasionally performed. Below are a few examples of such

⁷⁹Note by Barnaby Burleigh: the German verb “angeln” specifically means “to catch with a rod”

⁸⁰Siebe Adriani, *Spraakunst Der Bare'e-Taai*, *Verhandelingen Van Het Bat. Gen.*, Deel LXX, pg. 256/7.

derivations, all of which are formed from pure word stems that are not expanded by any formants:

b) Before a consonant sound:

<i>eāpāũ</i> pounding instrument = pestle	(from <i>pāũ!</i> pound!)
<i>eikix'o</i> kindling instrument	(from <i>kix'o!</i> light up!)
<i>eopokō</i> chisel instrument = chisel	(from <i>pokō!</i> chisel!)
<i>eupudu</i> killing instrument	(from <i>pudu!</i> kill!)
<i>ehuadi</i> sweeping instrument = broom	(from <i>huadi!</i> sweep!)

c) Before glottal stop:

<i>ei'itoka'a</i> wounding instrument	(from <i>'itoka'a</i> wound!)
<i>eo'oboi</i> catching-instrument = throwing net	(from <i>'o'oboi!</i> catch!)
<i>eu'udohoi</i> detergent	(from <i>'udohoi!</i> wash!)

d) Before vowels:

<i>eiipu</i> felling instrument	(from <i>ipu!</i> fell!)
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Occasionally, vowel contraction occurs before a vowel sound:

<i>eo'oit'i</i> rowing instrument = oar, paddle	(from <i>o'oit'i!</i> row, paddle!)
<i>eit'i'a</i> net-sewing-instrument	(from <i>it'i'a!</i> sew (a net)!)

e) Before stems extended with a-:

<i>eipĩnĩ</i> clamping instrument = pig trap	(from <i>apĩnĩ!</i> clamp tight!)
<i>eix'iu</i> flute-instrument = flute	(from <i>ahiu!</i> play the flute ⁸¹)
<i>eõnõkĩ</i> detergent (such as soap, water)	(from <i>anõkĩ!</i> wash!)
<i>eũnũkĩ</i> pulling-instrument (like a rope etc.)	(from <i>anũkĩ!</i> pull!)

In these, the noun instrumental simplex is formed from the pure word stem, which, however, is no longer alive in the language (cf. §41, b).

§62: Habitual Instrumental Nouns

a)

- (1) *ka'u'uada'a epakamãĩ e'ana* that sharpening-instrument = knife is **beautiful**.
- (2) *epa'itoka'a ukaka e'ana eka'ai'io* the wounding-instrument of those people is the spear.
- (3) *eke'epa kix'ãhãmũã'ã epa'epanĩã* the bird flies (in relation to its =) with its (flight-tools =) wings,

I call the instrumental formations in the above examples «Nomina instrumenti habitualia» because they indicate the habitual, permanently used instrument

or tool with which the action or activity named in the root word is carried out. This part of speech is formed with the help of the prefix *pa-* (<PAN *pa-*), which comes before the word stem.

Other examples of such derivations are:

b) Before a consonant sound:

<i>epãõnõkã</i> chisel instrument = chisel	(from <i>nõkã!</i> chisel!)
<i>epadidiki</i> wrapping agent	(from <i>didiki!</i> wrap!)
<i>epaukui</i> sewing instrument = needle	(from <i>kui!</i> sew!)
<i>epauhadi</i> sweeping instrument = broom	(from <i>hadi!</i> sweep!)

Concerning phonetics in these formations, it is to be noted that the vowel of the word stem usually penetrates between *pa-* and the word-initial sound.

c) Before glottal stop:

<i>epao'oki</i> sawing instrument = saw	(from <i>'o'oki!</i> saw!)
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d) Before a vowel:

<i>epait'i'a</i> net needle	(from <i>it'i'a!</i> sew (a net)!)
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e) Before stems extended with a-:

<i>epãõnõkã</i> detergent	(from <i>anõkã!</i> wash!)
<i>epaix'iu</i> flute instrument = flute	(from <i>ahiu!</i> play the flute ⁸² !)

f) Before a noun:

<i>epa'ao_o</i> sharpening instrument	(from <i>e'odo</i> sharpness)
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§63: Locative Nouns

a)

- (1) *kia ki'uoho i'uohoa* he sleeps on the sleeping place = on the sleeping place⁸³
- (2) *epae e'ana kix'ëkũhũĩ ehëkũãnĩã* that child occupies its seat.
- (3) *parudua'a iparuduadu!* gather (plural) at your meeting place!
- (4) *ite'e eiahadia = ein'ãhãnĩã* here is his place of residence/place of remaining.

A suffix *-a* (<PAN *-an*) is used in Enggano to form a locative noun. As the examples above show, these nouns can be derived from pure word stems and then

⁸³Note by Barnaby Burleigh: “sleeping place” translates “Schlafensort” and “Schlafstelle” respectively

appear as locative modifiers (sentences 1 and 3). They can also take attributes (sentences 2–4).

b)

- (5) *ite'e eaba'aoa ukoyo e'ana* here was the place of death of that wild boar.
 (6) *itita eabakix'oa u'obi* there is the place of ignition of the fire.

Locative nouns can also be derived from the progressive forms (§47) in such a way that the suffix *-a* is added to the word stem extended with *aba-*, *amã-*. Supporting consonants, especially *h* and *y*, sometimes appear when affixing *-a*.

§64: Additions to 53-63

a)

- (1) a. *kia kipudu ekaka e'ana* he kills that person.
 b. *kia pudu*o* i'ioo ukaka* he is afflicted with the killing of people = he is a people-murderer.

A relic of the suffix *-o*, which goes in parallel with Nias *-õ*, Javanese *-ěn* and Toba-Batak *-on*⁸⁴, is found in Enggano in the above example, which appears to be isolated. We can best describe the function of this suffix in German as “afflicted with”⁸⁵.

b)

- (2) a. *'ua kahaitu (i'ioo) umēnō* I am a drinker of palm wine = I drink palm wine.
 b. *kia pohoitu uboo* he is a water-drinker.
 (3) a. *'ika kinōō eheda ukoyo* we eat pork.
 b. *'ika po'inōō uheda ukoyo* we are pork-eaters.
 c. *kikepūnã eudu po'inōō uhũã ukanĩx'ōō* the eater of the ekanĩx'ōō fruits is **long-haired**.
 (4) a. *kia ka'adoho* he is feverish⁸⁶.
 b. *kia pu'adoho* he is a person-suffering-from-fever.

In Enggano, with the help of *po-*, *pu-*, a part of speech is derived from process and activity words which describes a permanent, sometimes pathologically exaggerated act or pathological conditions. Below are a few more examples of this type, but they are rarely used:

⁸⁴The function of this suffix in other Indonesian languages was, as far as I know, first described by Dr. Aichele.

⁸⁵Note by Barnaby Burleigh: “afflicted with” is not an ideal translation of “behafet sein”. To be “behafet” with something literally means that that thing sticks to you.

⁸⁶Note by Barnaby Burleigh: a verb in German

c) I. From process words:

- (5) *epae e'ana poedo* that child is a screamer (from *edo!* scream!)
- (6) *'ua po'ē'ēhē* I am a cougher (from *'ē'ēhē!* cough!)

d) II. From nouns:

- (7) *ehuda e'ana pokoko* that woman has very large breasts (from *ekoko* chest)
- (8) *kia pohopa ubaka* he has incredibly⁸⁷ large eye sockets (from *ehopa* hole, cave)
- (9) *kia pokix'ua* he is always thirsty (from *ekix'ua* thirst).

Since these formations can be modified by attributes (sentences 2b, 3b and c), but lack the noun determiner *e-*, they are to be regarded as pseudonominial.

⁸⁷Note by Barnaby Burleigh: literally: exaggeratedly