

# *A closer examination of the lexical material of Enggano since the 19th century*

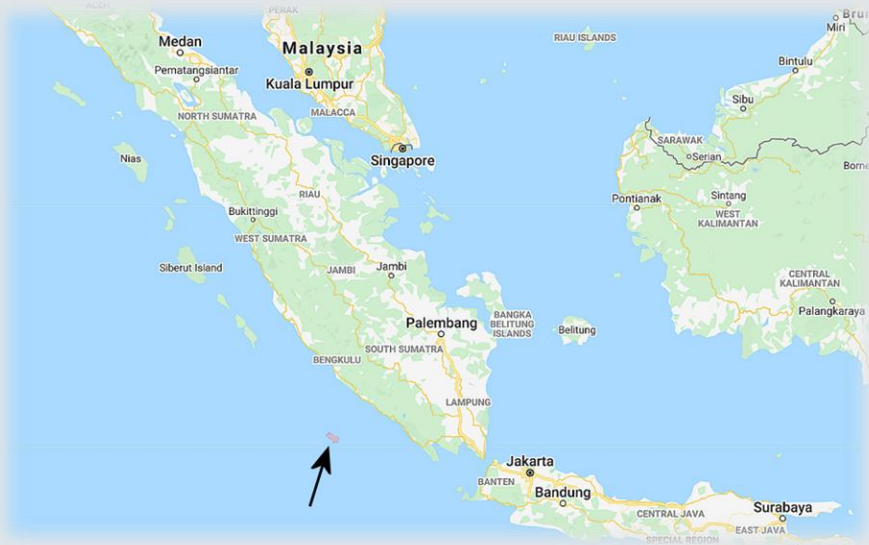
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# *Enggano: State of the art*



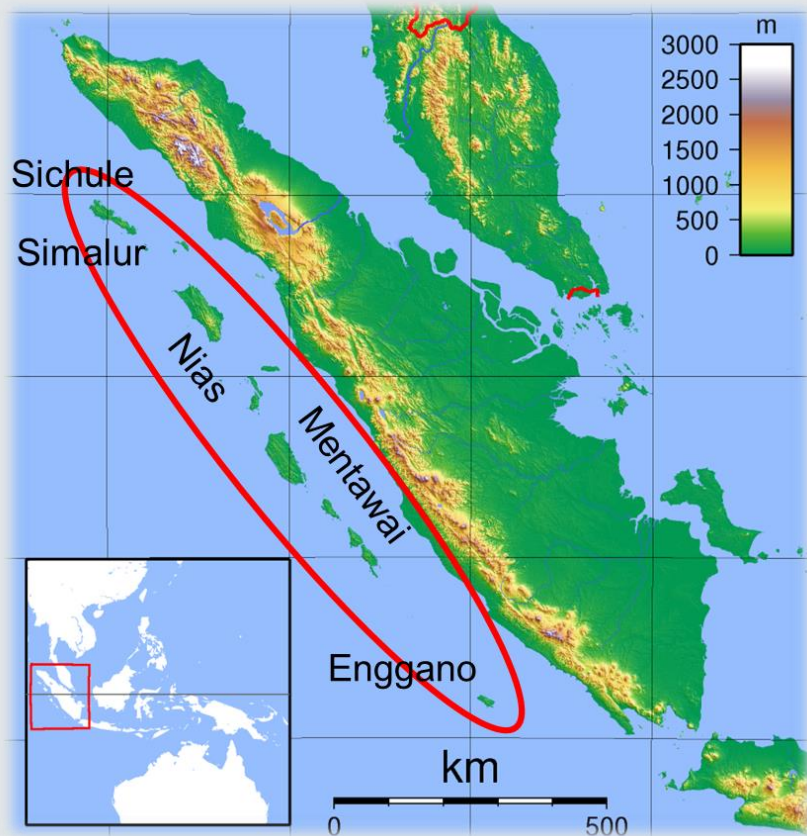
- Enggano is an endangered language spoken on Enggano Island, Indonesia
- It has for a long time gained a reputation as an “aberrant” language in the western Indonesian area and in the Austronesian context:
  - Much of its vocabulary cannot be traced back to Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP)
  - displays quite unusual sound changes
  - e.g. PMP *\*anak* > OEngg. *e-ara* > MEngg. *iar* ‘child’
  - e.g. PMP *\*taliŋa* > OEngg. *e-kadiha* > MEngg. *karih* ‘ear’
  - e.g. PMP *\*lima* > OEngg. *ʔadiba~ʔalima* > MEngg. *arib* ‘five’

# Classification of Enggano

Consonanten zijn *b*; *d = r*; *f = p*; *h*; *k*; *l*; *m*; *ng*; *n*; *t*; *w*; *s* (in enkele woorden); *dj* (als een variant van *d*).  
Oorspronkelijke M.-P. *ai* als sluiterschijscht *é* geworden te zijn: *kabake*, dood (uit *ta-matai*). *Pěpět* wordt *o*; *é-odi* prijs (M.-P. *běli*, *ěli*); *kodo* slikken (Java *těln*, Maleisch *tělan*, Nias *těld*); *noki* een weinig (Sunda *leutik*); *dohoi* hooren (Maleisch *děngar*, Java *rungu*, Nias *rongo*), welke *o* soms schijnt af te wisselen met *é*: *dohoi* nevens *děhoi*; *é-fuké* navel (Jav. *pusěr*, Nias *fusđ*, Toba *pusok*, Mentaway *puson*).  
*Ng* wordt soms *h*: *dohoi*, *děhoi* hooren, *kariha* oor (M.-P. *talinga*).  
*K* is verdwenen of *h* geworden: het eerste in *é-aa* oudere broer; *é-ai* voet; *é-odi* (Maleisch *kulit*) huid; — *u* mijn (M.-P. *-ku*); *ika* wij (M.-P. *kita*); *io* pantat (Maleisch *ekur*, staart); het tweede in *é-ěh* hoest (Toba *engkel* lachen, verwant met *ongkol* hoesten); *é-uhu* uil (Nias *la-muhu*, *meu*, *mou*); *é-huku* luis (Maleisch *kutu*, Nias *g.utu*); *é-hamo* vlucht (Nias *hombo*); *kahoh* vrees (M.-P. *takut*).

- The history of the classification of Enggano has taken as many turns as its phonological history (cf. Krauße 2021)
- In the first detailed collection of Enggano vocabulary and texts, Helfrich (1916) did not comment on the genetic affiliation of Enggano
- Lafeber (1922) identified several regular sound correspondences in words and affixes in Enggano and other Malayo-Polynesian (MP) languages, concluding that Enggano is an MP language.
- For Kähler (1942/45), who collected a large amount of Enggano field data in the late 1930s, the MP classification was an established fact, but he considered Enggano “mixed” from Philippine-Sulawesi and Simalur (all MP)
- Kähler’s dictionary (1987) contains PMP reconstructions for some Enggano lexemes

# Classification of Enggano



- Doubts about the AN status of Enggano were raised by Capell (1982:6), based on typology and lexicon:
  - Enggano is a “remnant of these pre-Indonesian languages, which does indeed have Indonesian loanwords, but which remains non-Austronesian.”
- Nothofer (1986) presented a number of sound correspondences between Enggano and other Barrier Islands languages
- Crowley (n.d., p. 57) provides a sketch grammar of Enggano and states that “Enggano syntactic patterns very close to those reconstructed for proto-Austronesian”
- Capell’s (1982) doubts were echoed by Blench (2014) without sound arguments
- In spite of the fact that Capell’s and Blench’s evaluation was based on many flawed assessments about cognacy (or lack thereof), it has been - and as of now still is - accepted by the editors of *Ethnologue* (but not in Glottolog)



# *Classification of Enggano*

- Recent research has put these doubts to a final rest (Edwards 2015, Smith 2017; 2020, Nothofer 2021; Billings & McDonnell 2022)
- Currently 179 established PMP reconstructions for Enggano (work in progress)
- While the possibility of a non-Austronesian lexical stratum from an unknown source remains, the lexical and morphological core of Enggano is firmly Austronesian
- But how can we explain that Enggano has been viewed as so “aberrant”?
- We take a look at the lexical material since the 19<sup>th</sup> century.
- Reasons:
  - Obvious mistakes in the wordlists
  - Reinterpretation of the spoken word
  - Taboo vocabulary or semantic shift
- Other reasons not covered by our presentation:
  - Many dialects in the past
  - Substratum of pre-Austronesian?

# *Evidence for Austronesian*

- **Phonological evidence:**

PMP \***m** > MEngg. **b**

PMP \***t** > MEngg. **k~ʔ**

PMP \***-V(C)#** > > OEngg. **-V#** > MEngg. **-∅**

PMP \***l** > OEngg./MEngg. **d/r**

PMP \***d** > OEngg./MEngg. **d/r**

PMP \***ŋ** > OEngg./MEngg. **h**

PMP \***ə** > OEngg. **o** > MEngg. **é /ə/**

PMP \***R** > OEngg./MEngg. **∅**

PMP \***mata** 'eye' > OEngg. e-**baka** > MEngg. (e-)**bak**\_

PMP \***Rumaq** 'house' > OEngg. e-**uba** > MEngg. **iub**\_

PMP \***talina** 'ear' > OEngg. e-**kadiha** > MEngg. e-**karih**\_

PMP \***dəŋəR** > OEngg. ka-**doho**\_**-i** > MEngg. ki-**dèhè**\_

[based on Lafeber (1922:21-24), Nothofer (1986:99-102, 20), and Edwards (2015:63-69)]

# *Evidence for Austronesian*

- **Morphological evidence**

	<b>PMP</b>	<b>Enggano</b>	<b>Nias</b>	<b>Malay</b>
actor voice (simple)	*<um>	<b>bu-/&lt;ub&gt;</b>	<i>mu-/&lt;um&gt;</i>	-
actor voice (extended)	*maN	<b>baN-</b>	<i>maN-</i>	<i>məN-</i>
patient voice (past)	*<in>	<b>di-</b>	<i>ni-</i>	-
patient voice (general)	*-ən	<b>-o</b>	-ö	<i>-an</i>
locative voice (general)	*-an	<b>-a</b>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-an</i>
locative voice (dependent)	*-i	<b>-i</b>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-i</i>
causative	*pa-	<b>pa-</b>	<i>fa-</i>	-
genitive case marker	*nu	<b>u-</b>	<i>N-</i>	-

- Enggano and Nias have retained many PMP functional morphemes, while Malay lacks many of these
- This shows that the label “aberrant” is only partially justified for Enggano

# *Wordlists for Enggano*

<b>Author and year</b>	<b>No. of words</b>
Boewang 1854	21
van Rosenberg 1855	154
van der Straaten & Severijn 1855	201
Walland 1864	250
Francis 1870	91
Oudemans 1879	150
Helfrich & Pieters 1891	1012
Modigliani 1894	537
Helfrich 1916	1100
Stokhof 1987 (by van der Noord 1895)	1436
Capell 1982	61
Kähler 1987	~3500
Nothofer ms. [1986]	~1400
Kasim et al. 1987	211
Yoder 2011	837
Pak Aron elicitation 2019	747

(based on Schmidt 1988:10)



# Analysis of the old wordlists

- Boewang 1854: written in Dutch, mostly numerals and village names
- several numerals seem to be wrong

In hunne taal tellen de Engano eilanders als volgt:

1 kahai,  
2 adoea,  
3 akoloe,  
4 ampapa,  
5 aliema,  
6 akie akiena,  
7 aliema adoea,  
8 apa joepa,  
10 apa apa adoea,  
100 adoea taka tapoeloe,  
200 aliema taka,  
300 aliema adoea,  
400 tapoeloe taka,  
500 tapoeloe taka adoea taka tapoeloe,  
600 tapoeloe apat taka tapoeloe,  
1000 kahia kadoea doeka adoea taka tapoeloe; daaruit blijkt dus, dat zij geen goed stelsel van telwoorden bezitten (1).

- *ampapa* 'four' contains an unetymological *m*, which is not attested anywhere else (cf. PAN \*Səpat > PMP \*əpat)
- *akie akiena* 'six' is difficult to explain but attested until today, probably 3+3
- *aliema adoea* 'seven' = 5+2 (but also 300?)
- *apa joepa* 'eight' = 4 and 4 (< *apa ijo apa*)
- *apa apa adoea* 'ten' = 4+4+2
- *adoea taka tapoeloe* 'hundred' must be wrong: 2 persons (=40) + 10
- *tapoeloe* is probably a loan from Malay *sepuluh* 'ten' (Edwards 2015:79)

# Analysis of the old wordlists

- van Rosenberg 1855: collected in 1852, written in Dutch, includes many verbs, nouns and numerals
- striking: several reduplicated nouns

	<i>Woordenlijst.</i>
Staan	Jaramatrego.
Gaan	Edie-édie.
Loopen	Jarapoerpoera.
Zitten	Matrego.
Komen	Tawaweij.
Blijven	Panoekoe.
Geven	Pahè.
Schenken	Pemanabo.
Koopen	Pàgehlie.
Willen	Popo-ej.
Zien	Pepinej.
Maken	Peparè-e-tjé.
Spreken	Paganan.
Eten	Faginono.
Drinken	Faginono léwo lèwo.
Koken	Poeroe howi-howi.
Snijden	Poeroe.
Dooden	Patoedje-è.

Water	Léwo léwo.
Vuur	Howi howi.
Meer	Parowa.
Eiland	<del>Kepoc.</del>
Steen	Bakoe bakoe.
Zand	Hawo hawo.
Landschap	Kimakima.
Dorp	Okioki.
Huis	Joewa.
Dak	Oba oba.
Schietgeweer	Aboe.
Sabel	<del>Focroetakka.</del>
Lans	Poké poké.
Ik	O, oéa.
Gij	Barèé.
Hij	Bohej.
Morgen	Mamaniho.
Hemel	Talakoko ilopo.

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Zien	Pepinej.
Maken	Peparè-e-ljé.
Spreken	Paganan.
Eten	Faginono.
Drinken	Faginono léwo lèwo.
Koken	Poeroe howi-howi.
Snijden	Poeroe.
Dooden	Patoedje-è.

- *jaramatrego* 'stand' and *matrego* 'sit' seem to have the same **root**
- *jaramatrego* 'stand' and *jarapoerpoera* 'walk, run' seem to have the same **prefix**
- Kähler (1987) gives *kamã-hěkũ* 'sit' (MEngg. *hěk*)
- leaves the prefix unexplained, possibly *yára'a-* for NEG.IMP, yielding 'don't stand' for 'sit'

# Analysis of the old wordlists

Water	Léwo léwo.
Vuur	Howi howi.
Meer	Parowa.
Eiland	Kepoe.
Steen	Bakoe bakoe.
Zand	Hawo hawo.
Landschap	Kimakima.
Dorp	Okioki.
Huis	Joewa.
Dak	Oba oba.
Schietgeweer	Aboe.
Sabel	Focroetakka.
Lans	Poké poké.
Ik	O, oeá.
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- van Rosenberg 1855: collected in 1852, written in Dutch, includes many verbs, nouns and numerals
- striking: several reduplicated nouns
  - *bakoe bakoe* 'stone' appears to be AN (cf. PMP \**batu*), but later wordlists only show forms of *?ea*
  - could *?ea* be a lexical replacement of *pākū*?
  - Kähler (1987) has *pākū~eāpākū* 'anchor' and explains that stones were used as anchors by the Enggano people → semantic shift or taboo?
  - The etymology of *?ea* is not known but Modigliani (1894) gives *eèa* for 'coral reef' (cf. Malay *batu karang*)

# *Analysis of the old wordlists*

- van der Straten & Severijn 1855: collected in 1854, written in Dutch, longest list so far, includes nouns, verbs, numerals, and names
- striking: some reduplicated nouns but different transcription from van Rosenberg

<b>Haar</b>	<b>Oedoe.</b>
<b>Voorhoofd</b>	<b>Koe-oe.</b>
<b>Oogen</b>	<b>Baka.</b>
<b>Mond</b>	<b>Ko-a.</b>
<b>Tand</b>	<b>Nienie.</b>
<b>Neus</b>	<b>Pano.</b>
<b>Tong</b>	<b>Dio.</b>
<b>Hals</b>	<b>Tioeano.</b>
<b>Borst</b>	<b>Berakidoija.</b>
<b>Buik</b>	<b>Toeka.</b>
<b>Arm</b>	<b>Poeafa.</b>
<b>Voet</b>	<b>Edjaauw.</b>
<b>Teen</b>	<b>Akinoijai.</b>
<b>Laus</b>	<b>Poké poké.</b>

<b>Water</b>
<b>Vuur</b>
<b>Rivier</b>
<b>Berg</b>
<b>Eiland</b>
<b>Steen</b>
<b>Zeestrand</b>
<b>Zand</b>
<b>Zee</b>
<b>IJzer</b>
<b>Koper</b>
<b>Boom</b>
<b>Klapper</b>
<b>Nibong</b>

<b>Lebo lebo.</b>
<b>Abie abie.</b>
<b>Beloa.</b>
<b>Kakko.</b>
<b>Kefo.</b>
<b>Pakoe pakoe.</b>
<b>Peroba.</b>
<b>Lafu beroba.</b>
<b>Kiema.</b>
<b>E-aauw.</b>
<b>Kelelia.</b>
<b>Koe pidjoe.</b>
<b>Eufu.</b>
<b>Eifa.</b>

# Analysis of the old wordlists

- Comparison of van Rosenberg 1855 & van der Straten & Severijn 1855, based on the words for 'night' (and 'day') and 'earth'

<b>Bliksem</b>	<b>Akanoe.</b>
<b>Donder</b>	<b>Foerocmoena.</b>
<b>Dag</b>	<b>Ilopo.</b>
<b>Nacht</b>	<b>Tikodo ilopo.</b>
<b>Zon</b>	<b>Kahaä.</b>
<b>Maan</b>	<b>Moena.</b>
<b>Aarde</b>	<b>Tehopo.</b>

<b>Dag</b>	<b>Tio.</b>
<b>Nacht</b>	<b>Kolilopo.</b>
<b>Zon</b>	<b>Kahao.</b>
<b>Maan</b>	<b>Mona.</b>
<b>Sterren</b>	<b>Apeloea.</b>
<b>Regen</b>	<b>Eiwo.</b>
<b>Wind</b>	<b>Kioe.</b>
<b>Donder</b>	<b>Lahoe.</b>
<b>Bliksem</b>	<b>Kalikoko.</b>
<b>Aarde</b>	<b>Lopo.</b>

- General root of these expressions is *lopo*, meaning 'earth, soil, environment, country, land, weather'
- 'Night' was probably translated as 'the earth is dark', which would be *ka-pōpō e-lopo* according to Kähler (1987)
- The first part is missing in the transcription, perhaps only the second part was clearly audible
- *tikodo ilopo* for 'night' can be interpreted as *ki-kodo e-lopo* 'the earth swallows'



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<b>Aarde</b>	<b>Fehopo.</b>

<b>Dag</b>	<b>Tio.</b>
<b>Nacht</b>	<b>Kolilopo.</b>
<b>Zon</b>	<b>Kahao.</b>
<b>Maan</b>	<b>Mona.</b>
<b>Sterren</b>	<b>Apeloea.</b>
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<b>Donder</b>	<b>Lahoe.</b>
<b>Bliksem</b>	<b>Kalikoko.</b>
<b>Aarde</b>	<b>Lopo.</b>

- The words *moena* and *mona* for 'moon' appear to be AN (cf. PMP *\*bulan*)
- Only attested in these two sources, any later publication has /e-kanoa/ (Kähler 1987: *ẽ-kãñãĩĩ* 'moon, month') → semantic shift or taboo?
- Walland (1864) has both: *kanoeah* for the "high language" and *moena* for the "low language"

# Analysis of the old wordlists

- Walland 1864: collected in 1854, written in Dutch, longest list at that time, includes nouns, verbs, numerals, and even sentences
- striking: the only author who makes a difference between “high language” and “low language”

Hoe is uw naam?	ha-nia-moc?
Van waar komt gij?	koeloe-ia-oh?
Kom hier.	adeh-waij dje-éh.
Blijf daar.	kaiama djidjah (ohbea djidjah).
Gaat spoedig.	ma-akoe kehedic.
Verwijder u.	kahi-ah.
Ik heb honger.	oewah hiko.
Ik wil eten.	ika manoh.
Ik wil slapen.	ika bahoea.
Ik wil mij baden.	ika baikeh.
Het is warm.	mokhoh kehad.
„ „ koud.	mokhoh hioh.
Geef mij pisang.	ano-kiaij-ajoh.
Gaat daar zitten.	hèhoe djidjah.
Zijt niet bang.	iada niekie niekie.

	<i>Hooge taal.</i>	<i>Lage taal.</i>
De zon.	bakka-kaha.	bakka-moenai.
„ maan.	kanoeah.	moena.
„ sterren.	peloa.	kenoeaij-noekie (kleine maan).
„ zee.	oeweh.	praboh.
„ aarde.	loppoh.	
Water.	é-boh.	lebo-leboh.
Steenen.	éeah.	pakoe-pakoe.
Vuur.	apoeah.	obie.
Rivier.	baka-oeweh.	beloea.
Berg.	koh.	pawah.
Bosch.	howdah.	koë-koë.
Wit.	kha-oedaija.	
Zwart.	khah-khoh.	kahèlo-èloh.
Rood.	kanoeaij.	kai-koh-koh.
Groen.	ka-akiema.	

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- There has never been a register system in Enggano or any other Sumatra language, but it is worth investigating this list
- *bakka-kaha* ‘sun (HL)’ literally means ‘eye of the day’, while *bakka-moenai* ‘sun (LL)’ is unclear, perhaps ‘eye of the moon’?
- opposition of *ééah* ‘stone (HL)’ and *pakoe-pakoe* ‘stone (LL)’ as discussed before exists here
- seems to be dialectal variation rather than a register difference, e.g. *apoeah* ‘fire (HL)’ and *obie* ‘fire (LL)’ are both from PMP \**hapuy*

	<i>Hooge taal.</i>	<i>Lage taal.</i>
De zon.	bakka-kaha.	bakka-moenai.
„ maan.	kanoeah.	moena.
„ sterren.	pelo.	kenoeaij-noekie (kleine maan).
„ zee.	oeweh.	praboh.
„ aarde.	loppoh.	
Water.	é-boh.	lebo-leboh.
Steenen.	ééah.	pakoe-pakoe.
Vuur.	apoeah.	obie.
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Zwart.	khah-khoh.	kahèlo-èloh.
Rood.	kanoeaij.	kai-koh-koh.
Groen.	ka-akiema.	

# Analysis of the old wordlists

- Most HL words are still in use today, while LL are not:

"high"	MEngg	
<i>kanoeah</i>	<i>kanuà</i>	'moon'
<i>ééah</i>	<i>ie</i>	'stone'
<i>koh</i>	<i>kèh</i>	'mountain'

- Walland 1864: collected in 1854, written in Dutch, longest list at that time, includes nouns, verbs, numerals, and even sentences
- striking: the only author who makes a difference between "high language" and "low language"

	<i>Hooge taal.</i>	<i>Lage taal.</i>
De zon.	bakka-kaha.	bakka-moenai.
„ maan.	kanoeah.	moena.
„ sterren.	peloa.	kenoeaij-noekie (kleine maan).
„ zee.	oeweh.	praboh.
„ aarde.	loppoh.	
Water.	é-boh.	lebo-leboh.
Steenen.	ééah.	pakoe-pakoe.
Vuur.	apoeah.	obie.
Rivier.	baka-oeweh.	beloea.
Berg.	koh.	pawah.
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- Most HL words are still in use today, while LL are not:

“high”	MEngg	
<i>kanoeah</i>	<i>kanuà</i>	‘moon’
<i>ééah</i>	<i>ie</i>	‘stone’
<i>koh</i>	<i>kèh</i>	‘mountain’

“Low” forms:

*moena, pawah* - not preserved  
*pakoe-pakoe* - potentially with shift of meaning

	<i>Hooge taal.</i>	<i>Lage taal.</i>
De zon.	bakka-kaha.	bakka-moenai.
„ maan.	kanoeah.	moena.
„ sterren.	peloa.	kenoeaij-noekie (kleine maan).
„ zee.	oeweh.	praboh.
„ aarde.	loppoh.	
Water.	é-boh.	lebo-leboh.
Steenen.	ééah.	pakoe-pakoe.
Vuur.	apoeah.	obie.
Rivier.	baka-oeweh.	beloea.
Berg.	koh.	pawah.
Bosch.	howdah.	koë-koë.
Wit.	kha-oedaija.	
Zwart.	khah-khoh.	kahèlo-èloh.
Rood.	kanoeaij.	kai-koh-koh.
Groen.	ka-akiema.	

# Analysis of the old wordlists

- Oudemans 1879: written in Dutch, comparative list including nouns, verbs, numerals and adjectives in Enggano, Nias and Mentawai

	ENGGANO.	MENTAWEL.	NIAS.
Hoofd	é oeloe	oté	heugeu
Oor	kaliha	talinga	talinga
Neus	éfano	asak	idong
Mond	ékā	bibo	baba
Oog	ébāka	mata	mata
Kin	ékie	bakēla	bembè
Hoofdhaar	foedoedoe-oeloe	alai	boe-oe
Baard	fororoife	boeloe	gambi
Hals	hoenoe	lolokat	bāgi
Borst	émāha	karoe kat	baloedjoesoe
Buik	kiedāi	bācha	daloe
Arm	é afo	para	paio
Hand	rechter- linker- mieno afo	takip { kétjoe toëk	tangan { gambolo gambéra
Vinger	mieno	siñgoñgai	toeroe
Nagel	ekaso-afo	soelet	tèsāa
Duim	nai-afo	sikeboe	toeroe siaā
Wijsvinger	ejara-afo	benang seoe	
Midd. vinger	éoe-afo	katenga	" wadāloe

		kajâman	
Zuid		matatjoedoe	
Oost		meladjè	alófó daloe
Hongerig	éaba	mètèng	aboesoe "
Verzadigd	hobelélé	akoe, mangaû	jaôdô
Ik	oewa	ekéo	eû, jaôgô
Gij	oh	ekéo léo	ja îja
Hij	kieja	akoe sengabilinga	ja-itanda
Wij	ieka	ekéo "	? iaôgô
Gij	oh	ekéo léo "	? ia-ija
Zij	kieja	sara	sara
1	kahaie	doewa	doewa
2	adoewa	tèloe	teuloe
3	akoloe	epat	ôfa
4	afa	lima	lima
5	ālieba	ènèm	eôneû
6	kaikiene		



# Analysis of the old wordlists

- Modigliani 1894: collected in 1891, written in and sorted by Italian, comparative list including hundreds of words and expressions in Malay, Nias, Toba Batak, and Enggano; spelling based on Italian

ITALIANO	MALESE	NIAS	TOBA-BATACCO	ENGANESE
Abbassare	Turún	Manada	Munduc *	Paúho tópo
Abbastanza	Sampé	Irugi	Siccop *	Ho abacó
Abbastanza (Non)	Tida sampé	Loo irugi	Sowada siccop *	Chèfe iabacó
Abitazione grande	Rúma besár	Banúa sebúa	Bagas na balga	Èuba
Accanto	Decát	Bangái	Giala	Panéna
Accesso, piaga	Bárah	Fao sa	Cugang	Baro
Accettare	Trimá	Tema halo	Mandgialo *	Menaá
Accomodare	Membaíchi	Gama <sup>2</sup>	Mangundgiam *	Parie ecáua
Acqua	Aier	Idáno	Aec	Ebò
A. mare	Aier laót	. . . . .	Aec ni tao * (vera- mente acqua di	Lebo. <sup>2</sup> Eué

# Analysis of the old wordlists

- Capell 1982: "collected on other occasions", written in German with a German orthography
- several entries of the list are wrong because the German meanings are displaced (WW = Wurm & Wilson 1975)

15. *ama* 'Vater'; WW: 'ajah; bapa'; hayaq; mama
16. *fufuri* 'Feuer'; WW: 'apuj; ka'iγ; apuzu
17. *hela* 'Fliege'; WW: lanav; laleg; -banaw
18. *hũã* 'geben'; WW: bəγaj; samut; halad; kasi; tui; ruke
19. *bupe, pe* 'gut'; WW: baik; pia; aya(d); beet
20. *kauwə* 'Haar'; WW: bulu; bu'uk; z/ae/(m)but
21. *qapo* 'Haupt'; WW: 'ulu'; vuŋu; ŋpatu
22. *udu, ulu* 'hören'; WW: dəŋəγ̃; liŋa; t/um/a-timaNa
23. *(ki)dehoi* 'heiβ'; WW: ga(l)an; hanət; ləγav; panas; dandan;  
La(cs)uq
24. *kaidəhaudə* 'Haus'; WW: γumah; balaj; (d̥d̥)anav; diŋdin;  
kama:li(R)
25. *ʔua* 'sich'; WW: 'aku'; (l)au

e.g.:

*bupe, pe* 'give'

*kauwə* 'good'

*qapo* 'hair'

*udu, ulu* 'head'

*(ki)dehoi* 'listen'

*kaidəhaudə* 'hot'

→ lexeme for 'house' missing

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- Lexical and structural influence from Malay
- Word taboo  
e.g. *Moko-eit'i* ('Many-words'), *eit'i* 'word' → *epanau* 'speech'



# *Conclusion*

- We are in the fortunate situation of having quite a few and relatively old wordlists for Enggano, which is clearly Austronesian.
- However, it seems that the language has changed drastically not only from the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Old Enggano) to today (Modern Enggano) but also from PAN to Old Enggano.
- While the morphology has a high retention rate, the retention of AN vocabulary is quite low (Edwards 2015:75-76 calculates 21%).
- While some words in the old wordlists can be identified as being short phrases, many others seem to not have survived.
- We hypothesize that the low retention rate results from an existing taboo in the past when an important person died (cf. Kähler 1975:v).
- In such cases, new words or perhaps words from other dialects were used for old concepts. This is reflected in Walland's list with "high language" (used when a taboo was in place → word survived) vs. "low language" (old word before the taboo → word became obsolete)

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Mèk em neah!