

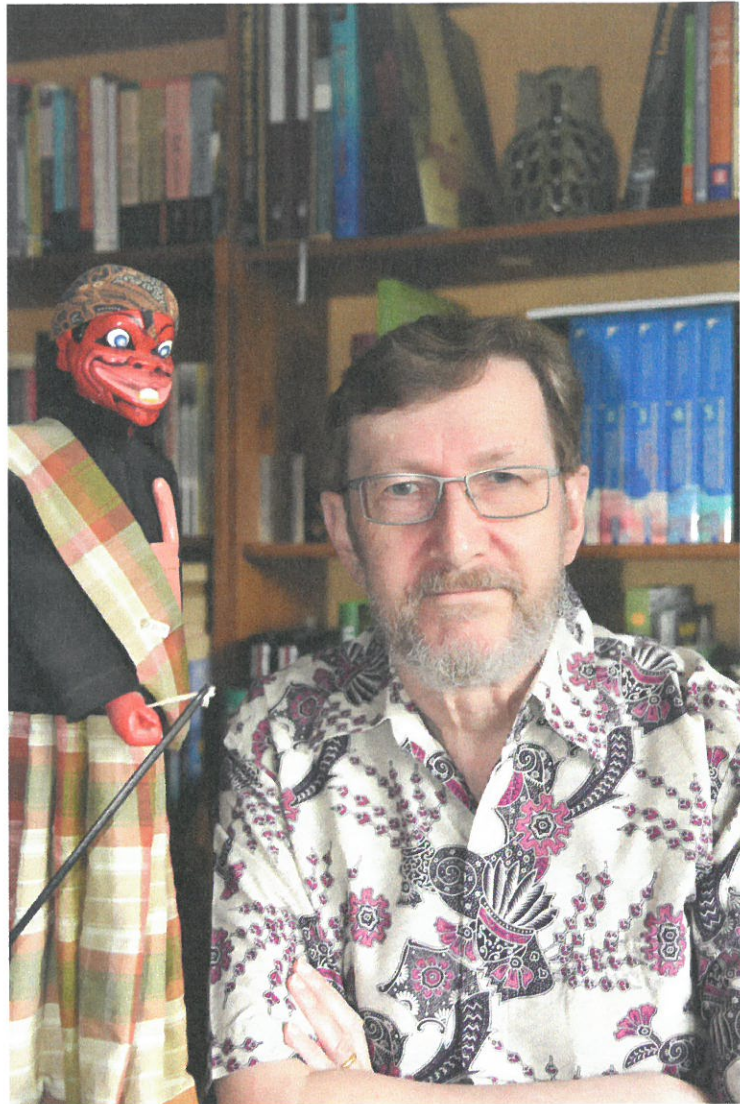
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Edited by
Noorhaidi Hasan, Irene Schneider
and Fritz Schulze

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Knowledge, Science, and Local Tradition

Multiple Perspectives on the Middle East
and Southeast Asia
in Honor of Fritz Schulze

Edited by
Irene Schneider and Holger Warnk

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From Lower Saxony to Upper West Sumatra – some biographical notes on Fritz Schulze

Irene Schneider and Holger Warnk

The contributions by friends and colleagues put together here in this modest volume honor a well-known personality in Southeast Asian and Islamic Studies who has made substantial contributions to this field, comprising a broad spectrum of academic interests. Professor Fritz Schulze is an outstanding expert on Indonesia and many other parts of the Islamic World who has covered a wide range of research as varied as Malay historiography, Indonesian colonial history, the history of natural sciences in the Malay World (in particular of botany and ornithology), antisemitism and political Islam in Indonesia or modern Indonesian literature.

Fritz Schulze was born on 7 November 1953 and grew up in Hildesheim in Lower Saxony. He finished his secondary-school exams in 1973 and after a year of basic military service in 1974 enrolled in Spanish and History at the University of Aachen. In winter term 1977/78 he changed his subject and studied Oriental and Islamic Studies at the University of Cologne. Finally, he matriculated in Malay Studies (*'Malaiologie'*) in Cologne where Irene Hilgers-Hesse then was professor. During his times of study in Cologne he learned Malay (including the Arabic-derived *Jawi* script) and Arabic.

He completed his PhD thesis on the Malay chronicles of the sultanates of Sambas and Mempawah in West Kalimantan in May 1990 (published as Schulze 1991). From winter term 1990/91 to winter term 1996/97 he was teaching regularly in Cologne in Malay Studies.

From October 1996 to April 1998 he was employed as research fellow in Indonesian Studies at the University of Jena. In spring 1997 Fritz Schulze was involved with the exhibition *Indonesia – Encounter with a Foreign World* from which resulted a cooperation with the Thuringian State Museum Heidecksburg in Rudolstadt. Connected with this exhibition he conducted fieldwork in the highlands of West Sumatra on Lake Maninjau in the village of the family of his wife Erlina. One cannot but wonder what his inlaw family and the inhabitants thought about this ornithological and ectoparasitological research for which the team captured plenty of birds just to let them free after they had taken off all the parasites from them. However, in terms of results the research was a great success as they were able to collect plenty of specimen including hitherto undescribed species. In this respect it should not come as a surprise that Fritz Schulze is a member of the Senckenberg

Enggano revisited: the word for ‘window’

Bernd Nothofer

The Enggano language is spoken on the same-named island which is located in the Indian Ocean off the southwest coast of Sumatra (the southernmost of the so-called ‘Barrier Islands’). The first scholar to intensively study the language was Hans Kähler who compiled a grammatical sketch of the language (1940) besides collecting a large variety of texts (1955, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1964 and 1975). Kähler’s dictionary was published posthumously by Hans Schmidt in 1987.



Figure 1: Enggano Island in Southeast Asia¹

The author of this article began to work on Enggano by collecting lexical material in interviews with a native speaker in Padang in early 1986. What struck him was the recording of the word *bakub* for ‘window’. The diachronic analysis of this word serves as prototype for demonstrating the complexity of the phonological,

¹ https://www.google.com/search?q=enggano+map&client=firefox-b-d&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwi0n_aM18_pAhVnRhUIHfBaAvQQ_AUoA3oECAwQBQ&biw=1920&bih=910#imgrc=mhs3BIQ52LrwnM (accessed 25.05.2020)

lexical and semantic history of Enggano data. I will discuss this history later on in this short article.

However, this contribution begins with a short review of attempts at clarifying the genetic affiliation of Enggano. It has not been long that Enggano has been classified as a language belonging to the Austronesian language family. One of the first scholars to arrive at this conclusion was Dyen (1965) who proposed to treat it as Austronesian despite the fact that the evidence was not very convincing, due to the fact that his conclusions were solely based on lexicostatistical figures. The highest lexical percentage shared by Enggano with any other Austronesian languages is not higher than about 12 %, a percentage so low that it is normally not thought to be indicative of a closer affiliation with members of any language family. Nothofer (1986) and Schmidt (1988) used qualitative evidence in order to determine the genetic relationship of Enggano by searching for regular sound changes between PAN² and Enggano phonemes. The evidence shows that Enggano is an Austronesian language, but is rather aberrant from other Austronesian languages due to numerous unusual sound changes (see below). These observations by the latter two scholars have been confirmed by a recent, more extensive study of the position of Enggano in the Austronesian language family by Owen Edwards (2015).

Enggano, being an endangered language, has become the object of an international research project which began in 2019 and is entitled “Enggano in the Austronesian family: Historical and typological perspectives”. The team’s principal investigators are Dalrymple (University of Oxford), Wayan Arka (Australian National University) and Nothofer (Goethe-Universität Frankfurt). Its aims are manifold and encompass the compilation of a new dictionary and grammar as well as studies on the reasons for Enggano’s aberrance (migration history [Nothofer 1994], taboo configuration, substratum hypotheses).

In this study I will use just one lexical example in order to demonstrate the complexity of the historical development of this language, namely Enggano *e-bakub* ‘window’.

It is well known that houses in the western Austronesian cultural sphere did not have rectangular windows, but – if at all – rather wide, often round-shaped openings in the house walls and an entrance. The picture of a traditional Enggano house (see illustration below) shows that they had nothing but a roundish door-like opening. Rectangular windows must have been introduced by westerners who taught the indigenous people the installation of a number of such openings for better ventilation in more western-style housing, often with brick walls. It follows that words for ‘rectangular window’ must have been borrowed from languages such as Portuguese.

Thus, in many western Austronesian languages, the word for ‘(rectangular) window’ is a Portuguese loan: Portuguese *janela* appears as Malay *jendéla*, Javanese *jendhéla*, Sundanese *jandéla*, Lampung *jendilah*. The spread of this loan

also reached the Barrier Islands: Nias *zandrela*, Enggano *jalinda/dedā*. The former morpheme appears to be a more recent loan, since *j* is not an inherited phoneme and appears in a very limited number of Enggano words. In *dedā*, the initial syllable is lost and former intervocalic *l* is replaced by *d*, *l* not being an Enggano phoneme and PAN **l* becoming Enggano *d* (PAN **lima* ‘5’ > Enggano *ʔadiba* ‘id.’).

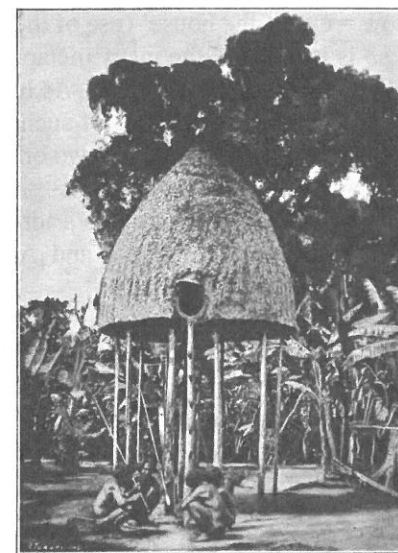


Figure 2: Beehive house on Enggano
(Modigliani 1894: 113)

Let us now return to Enggano *bakub* ‘window’. A morphological analysis of this word reveals that it is a genitive phrase consisting of two morphemes, namely *bak* ‘eye’ and *ub* ‘house’. Thus, the genitive phrase stands for a metaphor with the meaning ‘eye of the house’.

The phonological history of *bak* and *ub* is a complex one displaying several unusual sound changes. Studies by Nothofer (1986) and Schmidt (1988) as well as by Edwards (2015) have shown that Enggano consonants display several sound changes which are cross-linguistically quite rare, i.e. **t* > *k*, **s* > *k*, **m*/**n* > *b/d*, and **ŋ* > *h*.

Applying these phonetic laws, PMP (Proto-Malayo-Polynesian) **mata* regularly became Enggano *bak*, since **m* > *b* (with an unusual fortition of the nasal), **a* > *a* (the much less complex vowel changes are not discussed here except for vowels occurring in word-final position), **t* > *k*. Since Kähler’s works one major change has affected vowels in disyllabic morphemes: word-final vowels have been lost. Thus, Kähler’s dictionary based on data most of which go back to the 1950s and

2 PAN = Proto-Austronesian / PMP = Proto-Malayo-Polynesian / POC = Proto-Oceanic.

1960s lists as entry for ‘eye’ the form *e-baka* (*e-* ‘definite article’), while Nothofer (1986) records *bak* ‘id.’.

As for Enggano *ub* ‘house’ the PMP reconstruction is *Rumaq ‘id.’. The following sound changes occur: PMP *R > Ø, *u > u, *m > b, *q > Ø, *a > a which becomes final after the loss of -*q and is subsequently lost, as just described. Thus, Kähler (1987) lists *e-uba* ‘house’, while Nothofer (1986) has *y-ub* (*e-* becoming the glide *y-*) or simply *ub*. The sequence of the two forms results in the genitive construction *bakub* ‘window = eye of the house’ (use of the form without article).

The complex form *bakub* is just one of the many metaphorical genitive phrases found in Enggano whose first morpheme is *bak* ‘eye’. As has been shown by Blust (2009; 2011), there is ample evidence for the use of such phrases containing the morpheme meaning ‘eye’ in languages belonging to two or more language families which – although Blust is cautious in his conclusions³ – might suggest that this phenomenon stands for a language universal, despite a ‘dramatic concentration of transparent cases in the Austroasiatic, Tai-Kadai and Austronesian languages’ (Blust 2011: 531).

At first, let us look at Enggano metaphors containing *bak* and the wide spectrum of their meanings. As a second step we will compare these to the meaning of metaphors containing the morpheme ‘eye’ as listed in Blust (2009; 2011).

The Enggano data are taken from Kähler (1987) and have final vowels. The metaphor is not limited to genitive constructions, since *baka* itself can be used metaphorically:⁴

1) *baka* itself as metaphor:

ʔarohabaka (*ʔaroha* + *baka*) ‘two grains, two shoots’

pabaka (*pa-* + *baka*) ‘in front’

2) metaphorical compounds with *baka* as first element:⁵

ebaka uakaruba (= *e-baka* ‘eye’ + *u-* ‘attribute marker (= AM)’ *akar* ‘?’ + *uba* ‘house’) ‘the handle of the house door’

ebaka ubō (‘eye’ + *u-* ‘AM’ *bō* ‘water’) ‘spring, well’

ebaka ukabo (‘eye’ + *u-* ‘AM’ *kabo* ‘net’) ‘mesh of net’

ebaka ukahaʔo (‘eye’ + *u-* ‘AM’ + *kahaʔo* ‘day, weather’) ‘sun’

3 But notice Blust’s public lecture ‘The eye as center: A semantic universal’ (1984), mentioned in Blust (2011: 526).

4 The analyses of the entries are mine. Word-final diphthongs are transcribed as sequence of two vowels.

5 For ‘window’ Kähler (1987) does not list a compound with *baka*.

ebaka ukanəai (‘eye’ + *u-* ‘AM’ + *kanəai* ‘month, moon’) ‘center of the moon’

ebaka ukitai (‘eye’ + *u-* ‘AM’ + *kitai* ‘intestines, belly, stomach’) ‘pit of the stomach’

ebaka ukoko (‘eye’ + *u-* ‘AM’ + *koko* ‘breast’) ‘nipple’

ebaka umēhē (‘eye’ + *u-* ‘AM’ + *mēhē* ‘food, meal’) ‘staple food’

ebaka uʔobi (‘eye’ + *u-* ‘AM’ + *ʔobi* ‘fire’) ‘flame’

ebaka uipikoʔoi (‘eye’ + *u-* ‘AM’ + *ipikoʔoi* ‘?’) ‘arrowhead’

ebaka uʔudopo (‘eye’ + *u-* ‘AM’ + *ʔudopo* ‘taro’) ‘taro (kind of tuber) shoots’

ebaka uʔue (‘eye’ + *u-* ‘AM’ + *ʔue* ‘sea’) ‘fairway’

ebaka ukeʔo (‘eye’ + *u-* ‘AM’ + *keʔo* ‘rattan’) ‘rattan thorn’

It should be noted that Nothofer’s data only have *bakub* as an example of a metaphorical complex form. However, it is just this form which does not appear in Kähler’s (1987) dictionary. In accordance with the list above its shape must have been ***ebaka uʔuba* at the time Kähler recorded his data, since morpheme-final vowels had not been lost yet. Enggano *bakub* then shows loss of final vowels and, furthermore, the contraction of *uʔu* to *u*.

Returning to the discussion of metaphors, we observe that Blust (2009) demonstrates convincingly that there is a universal tendency to use the morpheme for ‘eye’ in the abstract sense of ‘center, focal point’ in genitive phrases. In his publication of 2011 he collected more data allowing him to extend this morpheme’s meaning to ‘center, nucleus, most important thing or part’ (for the latter meaning, note Enggano *ebaka umēhē* ‘staple food’). This wider range of meanings is confirmed by data which demonstrate the occurrence of ‘eye’ as the first element in metaphors across distinct language families which never could have been the result of semantic convergence, but speak in favor of independent inventions, thus suggesting that there exist universals of metaphor.

Blust’s list below (2011: 526) contains sets of genitive constructions with the morpheme ‘eye’ in more than one language family some of which can be compared to Enggano data. The comparison shows that in a number of instances (bold print) Enggano metaphors match Blust’s listings (displaying the number of language families in which they occur in parentheses), although Kähler’s (1987) dictionary is far from being comprehensive.

eye of foot/leg: ‘ankle’ (4)

eye of buttocks: ‘anus’ (3)

eye of tuber/plant: 'budding part' (10), Enggano *ebaka u'udopo* 'taro shoots'

eye of fish/chicken: 'callus, corn on foot' (10)

eye of boil: 'center of sore' (5)

eye of needle: 'hole for threading' (8)

eye of storm: 'center of storm' (4)

eye of fat/grease 'fat globule in soup' (2)

eye of fire/ashes: 'hearth, burner on stove' (3), Enggano *ebaka u'obi* 'flame'

eye of knife: 'blade, point' (2)

eye of wood: knot in wood' (9)

eye of village: 'leader' (2)

eye of net: 'mesh of net' (8), Enggano *ebaka ukabo* 'id.'**eye of breast: 'nipple' (3), Enggano *ebaka ukoko* 'id.'****eye of navel: 'navel' (2), Enggano *ebaka ukitai* 'pit of the stomach'****eye of water: 'spring, well' (10), Enggano *ebaka ubō* 'id.'****eye of day: 'sun' (8), Enggano *ebaka ukaha'o* 'id.'**

eye of wind: 'wind direction' (3)

eye of house: 'window' (2), Enggano *bakub* 'id.'

eye of sugarcane 'section of sugarcane' (2)

It is interesting that there are a few Austronesian languages, including other Barrier Island languages, which show metaphorical compounds with 'eye' for 'window'. The following data are taken from Blust and Trussel (Ongoing):

Mentawai: *mata lalap* (*lalap* 'house') 'eye of the house'Nehan: *mata nar um* (*um* < *Rumaq 'house') 'eye of the house'Tongan: *mata pā* 'eye of enclosure, wall'

Other metaphorical complex constructions with *mata which occur in Enggano and other Austronesian languages, but do not appear in Blust's (2011) list are the following:

a) eye of channel, sea

Enggano *ebaka u'ue* 'fairway', POC *mata ni cawa (cawa 'channel') 'channel between islands, islets', Kapingamarangi *mada-awa* (awa 'channel') 'small channel'

b) eye of arrow

Enggano *ebaka uipiko'oi* ('eye' + *u-* 'AM' + *ipiko'oi* '?') 'arrowhead', PMP *mata nu panaq (*panaq 'arrow') 'point of an arrow', Muna *mata-no pana* 'arrow point'

The study of the history of Enggano *bakub* 'window' allows us insights into the history of metaphorical constructions consisting of 'eye' as their first morpheme not only in Austronesian languages, but also in non-Austronesian languages. The data compiled by Blust (2011) suggest that the use of 'eye' as the first morpheme in metaphorical constructions represents a semantic language universal. One of the aspects of the project in progress and outlined above will focus on the study of Enggano metaphorical complex forms by compiling a more exhaustive corpus of lexical material on this endangered language in the Indian Ocean.

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