THE ENGGANO LANGUAGE: NOTHOFER'S CONTRIBUTION TO SOLVING A LINGUISTIC PUZZLE

Daniel Krauße

On a personal level, this article is one way of thanking Professor Dr. Bernd Nothofer for his constant dedication to the languages and linguistics of Indonesia and his great influence in the field of Austronesian linguistics. I have enjoyed the privilege of knowing him from my earliest days at the Goethe University of Frankfurt, as he kindly agreed to act as my supervisor during my BA and MA program, which laid the foundations for my linguistic career.

On a more professional level, this article is intended to provide an overview of Nothofer's laudable contribution to the correct classification of Enggano as an Austronesian language, and to make some of his research more accessible to a broader audience. I have felt the need to do so because his immense work on Enggano is either written in German, unpublished, difficult to retrieve in the plethora of Austronesian literature, or otherwise somewhat hard to access.

ENGGANO

The Enggano language is spoken on Enggano island. With less than 2,000 speakers, the language is considered endangered. Enggano island is situated about 130 kilometers off the southern coast of Sumatra in Indonesia (Figure 1), about 35 km long (Figure 2) and forms the southern part of the Barrier Islands.

For many decades, scholars have raised questions about the genetic affiliation of the Enggano language. The two principal hypotheses have been as follows:

(1) Enggano is an Austronesian language with very unusual but regular sound changes (Dyen 1965: 28; Edwards 2015; Mahdi 1988: 59–61; Nothofer 1986a; Smith 2017)

(2) Enggano is a non-Austronesian language with loanwords from Austronesian languages (Blench [2014]; Capell 1982: 6; Eberhard et al. 2021)
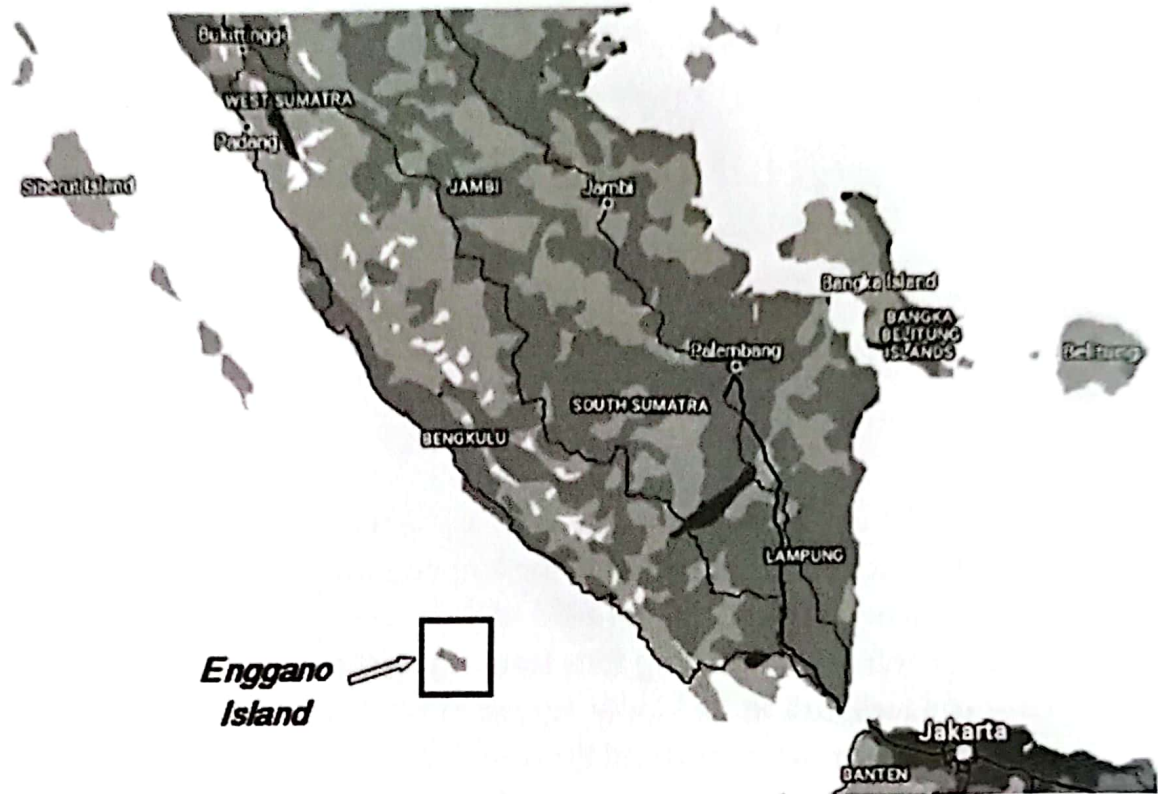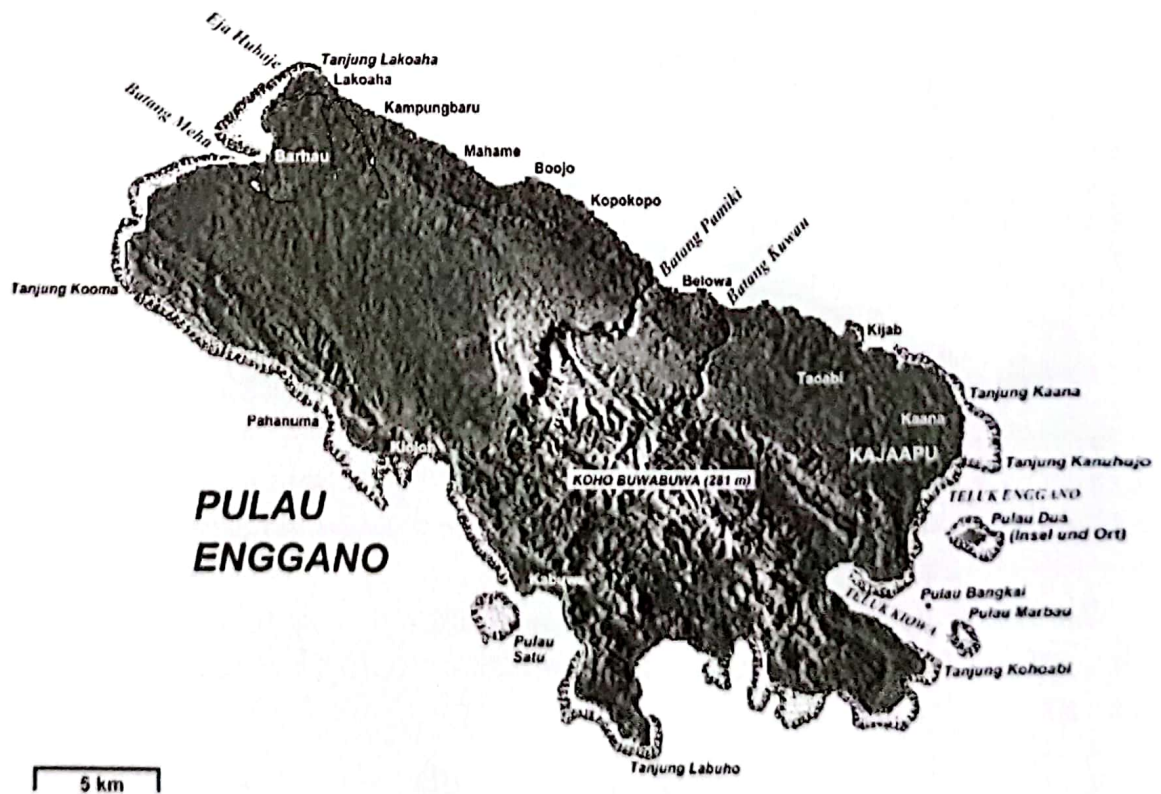
Figure 1: Location of Enggano island

Figure 2: Enggano island

There is now general consensus that Enggano is in fact an Austronesian language with "aberrant" features (Edwards 2015: 90). It is perhaps worth noting that Enggano is not the only "aberrant" Austronesian language with disputed genetic affiliation. Other such examples are the Reefs-Santa Cruz languages of the Solomon Islands (Næss & Boerger 2008; Ross & Næss 2007) and the Maisin language of the Papuan Tip (Frampton 2014: 6–8), which have been classified as Austronesian and non-Austronesian back and forth over the past decades. The historical linguist's task is to solve such puzzles. Before I discuss Nothofer's contribution to solving the puzzle revolving around the Enggano language, let me first demonstrate what other researchers have said about the genetic affiliation of Enggano.

THE PUZZLE

Almost 150 years ago, Rosenberg (1878: 217) remarks that "the [Enggano] language does not have the slightest resemblance with the idioms of the neighboring peoples". About two decades later, Modigliani (1894: 292) attempts a comparison of Enggano and the Nicobarese languages, which are now classified as Austro-Asiatic, but except for superficial physical similarities between the peoples, he could not demonstrate any closer relationship. For Lafeber (1922: 24), the old wordlists collected by missionaries are insufficient to determine whether or not Enggano is a Malayo-Polynesian language. Kähler (1942/45: 890) hypothesizes that Enggano is a "mixed" language of the original indigenous language of Enggano island and Sulawesi languages.[1]

Dyen (1965: 53) is the first scholar to apply the comparative method to Enggano by using lexicostatistics. He counts a maximum retention rate of only 11 % of basic Austronesian vocabulary.[2] This prompted other researchers to view Enggano as non-Austronesian or at least as not clearly Austronesian. For example, Capell (1982: 6) states the following:

> But Enggano [...] is a remnant of these pre-Austronesian languages, which does indeed have Austronesian loanwords, but which remains non-Austronesian.

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[1] See the end of the third section, which discusses Nothofer's stance on Kähler's hypothesis.

[2] In an earlier publication, Dyen (1962: 45) gives a retention rate of 15.4 % cognacy with other Austronesian languages (then termed 'Malayopolynesian'). Edwards (2015: 76) calculates a higher retention rate for Enggano, namely 21 %, but states that this number is only slightly higher than that of non-Austronesian languages, which is evidence for a high rate of lexical replacement in Enggano.

The foreword of Kähler's (1987: iii) Enggano-German dictionary by Hans Schmidt contains the following information:

> Enggano most likely belongs to the Western Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian languages, but it exhibits only very few lexical correspondences with other Austronesian languages.

There is an ongoing project at the University of Oxford entitled "Enggano in the Austronesian family: Historical and typological perspectives" whose investigators examine the typological and historical perspective of Enggano and summarize the current state as follows:

> For linguists, Enggano is an intriguing puzzle: it has been claimed by some linguists to be a member of the Austronesian language family, like many other languages of the region, but by other linguists to be an isolate with no known relation to other languages.

Butters (2021: 25) investigates the negation patterns of Enggano among other languages and declares that "Enggano is a puzzle within Austronesian linguistics". The linguistic puzzle concerning the Enggano language is that it seems to exhibit only very few lexical items that are similar to other Austronesian languages. Therefore, there has been some debate over the linguistic affiliation of Enggano. We will see in the ensuing discussion that Nothofer's classification of Enggano as Austronesian (Nothofer 1986a, 1992, 1994) has been confirmed by several authors later on (Edwards 2015; Smith 2017).

Before we explore Nothofer's contribution, let me briefly explain what historical linguists do. Their principal objective is to classify all languages according to their genetic affiliation by carefully analyzing the lexicon, Oxford comma morphology of a given language in the hope to find related words (cognates) in supposedly related languages. These cognates between related languages are then compared with each other and a proto-form, equipped with an asterisk (*), is reconstructed. It is assumed that these proto-forms represent the lexicon of the putative ancestral language, usually several hundred or thousand years ago. The putative ancestral language of English is Proto-Indo-Euopean, that of Indonesian is Proto-Austronesian, that of Thai is Proto-Tai-Kadai, etc. Before such reconstructions and proto-languages are accepted, there must be some consensus among the majority of historical linguists who are experts in this field.

Examples of cognates and reconstructions are illustrated in Table 1. I chose English, Russian, Armenian, and Hindi, which are all Indo-European languages. The right column is the putative ancestor Proto-Indo-European (PIE), which is assumed to have been spoken over 7000 years ago.

Table 1: Indo-European cognates and their reconstruction

English	Russian	Armenian	Hindi	PIE
bear (v.)	brémja 'burden'	beṙ 'burden'	bharna 'to fill'	*bʰer- 'carry'
mouse	myš' 'mouse'	muk 'mouse'	mūs 'mouse'	*múh₂s 'mouse'
six	šest' 'six'	vec' 'six'	chah 'six'	*swéks 'six'
eye	oko 'eye' (rare)	ač'k' 'eye'	ā̃kh 'eye'	*h₃ókʷs 'eye'

We can see from Table 1 that PIE *bʰ* became *b* in English, Russian and Armenian, but *bh* in Hindi. Similarly, we can see that a PIE *r*, *m* and *u* have been very stable in all descendant languages. In turn, the PIE sound *k* in *swéks* 'six' developed into a /k/ sound in English (written as *x* because of the final /s/), into /s/ in Russian, into /tsʰ/ in Armenian (written as *c'*), and into /h/ in Hindi. The development from PIE *h₃ókʷs* 'eye' into the four languages above is quite complicated but regular: *h₃* is lost in all languages but has had an effect on the vowel, *kʷ* loses the velarization in all languages above and developed into /k/ in Russian, Armenian, and Hindi, into /j/ (written as *y*) in English. Many of the developments from PIE into the descendant languages above may seem arbitrary at first sight, but they are very regular and can be applied to the majority of the languages' lexicon. To find these regularities is the task of historical linguists.

Consider now the Austronesian examples in Table 2, illustrated with Indonesian, Tagalog, Hawaiian and Enggano. The Enggano lexemes are taken from a contemporary Enggano wordlist (I Wayan Arka, p. c.).

Table 2: Austronesian cognates and their reconstruction

Indonesian	Tagalog	Hawaiian	Enggano	PAN
lima 'five'	limá 'five'	ʻelima 'five'	arib 'five'	*lima 'five'
mata 'eye'	matá 'eye'	maka 'eye'	ebak 'eye, face'	*maCa 'eye'
api 'fire'	apóy 'fire'	ahi 'fire'	yeb 'fire'	*Sapuy 'fire'
dengar 'hear'	dinggin 'hear'	lono 'news'	kidèhè 'hear'	*dəŋəR 'hear'

It is obvious from Table 2 that the Enggano lexemes appear somewhat "out of place", as they do not seem to correspond to the PAN roots in the other languages. The first row shows that PAN *lima* 'five' is very stable throughout the family. That is the case because the phonemes *l*, *i*, *m*, and *a* rarely undergo a sound shift in the Austronesian languages. Enggano *arib* does not seem to fit at first sight. The second row also demonstrates the stability of *m* and *a* throughout the family, while PAN *C* developed into /t/ in Indonesian and Tagalog, but into /k/ in Hawaiian. Enggano *ebak* does not seem to fit. In the third row, we see that PAN *S* has been lost in all languages, *p* has been retained in Indonesian and Tagalog but changed into /h/ in Hawaiian. Again,

Enggano *yèb* is not easily recognizable as being a descendant of **Sapuy*. The last row is evidence that PAN **d* has remained /d/ in Indonesian and Hawaiian and changed into *l* in Hawaiian. The PAN velar **ŋ* has remained the same sound in Indonesian and Tagalog but changed into /n/ in Hawaiian. The Enggano lexeme *kidèhè* also contains a /d/ but the other sounds do not seem to fit PAN **dəŋəR*.

With these differences between Enggano and the other Austronesian languages in mind, we understand why it has been so difficult to arrive at a consensus whether Enggano is really an Austronesian language or not. At this stage, I will simply tell the reader that all four Enggano lexemes in Table 2 are in fact regular reflexes of the PAN words, and that they all have undergone regular sound changes.

NOTHOFER'S CONTRIBUTION

In 1965, Austronesianist Isidore Dyen published a lexicostatistical classification of over 200 Austronesian languages using a method which was developed by Swadesh (1955). The aim was a rigid classification of the subgrouping of all Austronesian languages in a tree model. However, many of the findings in his work – albeit the greatest of its kind at that time – have since been rejected, especially Dyen's conclusion that the Austronesian homeland must have been the New Guinea area (Blust 1981: 456). Nothofer was one of Dyen's PhD students and therefore used the lexicostatistical classification from Dyen (1965: 26) as a starting point for his reconstruction of Proto-Malayo-Javanic in his 1973 thesis, later published as Nothofer (1975). Dyen's classification also includes Enggano as Austronesian but with a remark that the retention rate is too low to be certain about this classification (Dyen 1965: 53).

After having obtained his PhD from the University of Yale, Nothofer received a grant from the Volkswagen Foundation for fieldwork research on the Mentawai Islands of Sumatra. In 1982 and 1984, he spent six weeks in a longhouse on Siberut and collected material on Mentawai. In 1984, Nothofer presented a paper entitled "The Barrier Island Languages in the Austronesian Language Family" on the 4th International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics (4-ICAL) in Suva, Fiji, in which he demonstrated regular sound correspondences between the languages belonging to his proposed Barrier Island-Batak subgroup of Austronesian. For this, he drew on his own fieldwork material on Mentawai as well as on previously published material for Enggano, Nias, Sichule, and Simalur by Kähler (1936/37, 1940, 1959, 1961, 1975), along with material by Morris (1900) and Lenggang et al. (1978) for Mentawai and works by Warneck (1906) and van der Tuuk (1971) for Toba Batak.

Two years later, Nothofer's talk was published in the conference proceedings (Nothofer 1986a). This 1986 article was a major breakthrough in the understanding of the genetic affiliation of Enggano. As a trained historical linguist, Nothofer had immediately recognised that Enggano was an Austronesian language which must show at least some regular sound correspondences with other Austronesian languages. By using a qualitative method of carefully comparing all putative cognats, he presented a correspondence chart as can be seen in Figure 3.

VOWEL AND DIPHTHONG SHIFTS

PAN	SIMALUR	SICHULE	NIAS	MENTAWAI	ENGGANO	TOBA-BATAK	
1. *e	ə,ɨ	ə,ö,ɨ	i		'ö'	o	
Examples:							
*telu	təlu,təlo	tölu	tɨlu	(telu)	ʔakoru	tolu	*three*
*(b)eli	bəli	bɨli	bɨli=ɨli		e-odl *price*	boll *bride price*	*buy*
2. *e after *R	e				'ẽ'		
Example:							
*Sa-ReZan	aeran	(ola)	(ora)	(orat)	e-hẽã	(ardan)	*ladder, staircase*
3. *e before *j	o			o			
Example:							
*qunej	unog	(unɨ)	(hunɨ)	unou		(unok)	*marrow*
4. *-ay	ae	ae			ae		
Examples:							
*kuday	kudae		(kude, gude-gude)	(ore)	e-ʔorae		*basket made of bamboo*
*baday	badae	badae	(bade)				*storm*

VOWEL MERGERS

1. *au		ɨu	ɨu	eu			
*eu		ɨu	ɨu	eu			
Examples:							
*Zauq	(dao)	a-dɨu	a-rɨu	a-reu		(dao)	*far*
*behew	(fo)	bɨu	bɨu	beu	(upau)	(bau)	*smell*
2. *a before *-k and *-ŋ	o	o					
*e before *-k and *-ŋ	o	o					
Examples:							
*anak		n-ono	n-ono		(e-ara)	(anak) *son*	*child*
*ma(n)yaŋ	(maeaŋ)	mõẽõ	moyo	(mañaŋ)			*hawk*
*qutek	(utaʔ)	uto	uto	(ute) *head*		(utok-utok)	*brain, marrow*
*lateŋ	(lalateŋ)	lato	lato	(lalatek)		latoŋ	*stinging nettle*
3. *a in the environment of o (> *a)	o	o					
*e in the environment of o (> *e)	o	o					

Figure 3: Development of the vowels from Proto-Austronesian (PAN) to the Barrier-Islands languages
(Nothofer 1986a: 100)

Figure 3 shows that Nothofer lists the PAN phonemes *e, *e after *R, *e after *j, *ay etc. along with their corresponding translations in Simalur, Sichule, Nias, Mentawai, Enggano, and Toba Batak. Such a list helps the historical linguist identify that, for example, PAN *telu 'three' developed into *təlu~təlo* in Simalur, *tölu* in Sichule, *tɨlu* in Nias, *ʔakoru* in Enggano, and *tolu* in Toba Batak. The parentheses in Mentawai signify that the word *telu* is not a direct descendant of PAN *telu but may be borrowed from another language. With such

examples, we can see that PAN *e* became *ə* in Simalur, *ö* in Sichule, *i* in Nias (the bar is missing in this overview in the first row), *o* in Enggano, and *o* in Toba Batak. As other examples of Enggano show that PAN *e* also became *õ* in Enggano, Nothofer puts the tilde in parentheses. If Enggano *ʔakoru* 'three' really is a cognate of the lexemes in the other languages, then we need to establish a sound change from PAN *t* to Enggano /k/ and from PAN *l* to Enggano /r/. The first syllable *ʔa-* appears on all numerals, so that this is treated as an innovated prefix at this stage.

However, it is not as easy as that. As the example *(b)eli* 'buy' shows, PAN *l* also developed into Enggano /d/ in *e-odi* 'price'. Therefore, Nothofer needed to bear in mind that lexemes with *l* in PAN show either /r/ or /d/ in Enggano. This makes the search for Enggano cognates much more difficult. The next page in Nothofer's list demonstrates that he could only find very few cognates in Enggano. However, an important finding was *e-kiço* 'ant', supposedly being derived from PAN *sijem*.

Examples:								
•paRi	(ali)	foi	foi	pol				*stingray*
•qabaRaH	(bala)	bo	bo	bo		abara		*shoulder*
•Ratus	(latus)	otu	otu	otu				*hundred*
•DeŋeR		loŋo	roŋo					*hear*
•tImbeR	(tebəl)		simbo	tImbo	(e-Ipo)			*smoke*
•Sa-ReZan	(aeran)	ola	ora	orat	(e-hea)	(ardan)		*ladder*
•eRem				om		orom		*resist*
•baRaH	(bala,fala)	bo (naItɨ)	bo(galItɨ)	bo				*heat, red*

CONSONANT SHIFTS

1. •-j-				g		g		
	x,h,Ø	x	x	x(Pagai)	ç,h,Ø			
Examples:								
•Sua(n)ji	axi,ahi	axI	axI	bagI	(ãhãI)	aŋgi		*younger brothe:*
•sIjem	sIxəm	IxÖm	sIxɨ	sIgep	e-kIço			*ant*
2. •-ñ-	n	n	n	n	n	n		
Example:								
•peñu	əno	fɨnu	fɨnu	penu-ŋ	eʔũnũʔũnũ	ponu		*sea-turtle*
3. •-C		Ø (ʔ)	Ø		Ø			
Example:								
•xe(m)pat	(ad)	ɨfa	ɨfa	(epat)	ʔa-opa	(opat)		*four*
4. •-b-	f	f						
Example:								
•tabeq	tafɨ(x)	tafɨ	(tavɨ)	(tabe)		(tabo)		*fat*

Figure 4: Development of the consonants from Proto-Austronesian (PAN) to the Barrier-Islands languages (Nothofer 1986a: 101)

Considering that PAN *telu* 'three' developed into Enggano *ʔakoru* and that PAN *sijem* 'ant' became *e-kiço* in Enggano, we are faced with the problem that Enggano /k/ could be reconstructed either as *t* (as in *telu* > *ʔakoru*) or as *s* (as in *sijem* > *e-kiço*). The numeral prefix *ʔa-* and the nominative prefix *e-* add to the difficulty. Nothofer's task was to discover these regularities.

Using all this information, Nothofer was able to set up regular sound correspondences between PAN and Enggano and summarize them (Figure 5). This chart also allowed him to compare the Enggano lexemes with those in the neighboring languages.

Figure 5: Sound correspondences between Proto-Austronesian (PAN) and the Barrier-Island languages (Nothofer 1986a: 99)

Although these correspondences may seem quite arbitrary at first sight, Nothofer meticulously examined them and was able to establish that the following unusual sound changes, among others, turned out to be regular in Enggano (Table 3).

Table 3: Unusual sound changes in Enggano

PAN	Enggano	Example	Remarks
*/t/	/k/	*telu > ʔa-koru 'three'	also */e/ > /o/ and */l/ > /r/
*/s/	/k/	*sijem > e-kiço 'ant'	also */e/ > /o/ and *C# > Ø/
*/l/	/d/	*(b)əli 'buy' > e-odi 'price'	also */e/ > /o/
*/ŋ/	/h/	*dəŋəR > ki-dəhə: 'hear'	this ex. is from Nothofer (1986b)
*/d/	/r/	*kuday > ʔe-orae 'bamboo basket'	also */u/ > /o/ and */ay/ > /ae/
*/Z/	Ø	*Sa-ReZan > e-hē[]ã 'staircase'	*/R/ > /h/ is irregular
*C#	Ø	*xe(m)pat > a-opa[] 'four'	also */e/ > /o/ and */p/ > /p/

Due to these extreme sound changes, Nothofer could not state with certainty that Enggano belonged to his proposed Barrier Island-Batak subgroup of Aus-

tronesian. He therefore proposed the tentative subgrouping in Figure 6 and only provisionally includes Enggano.[3]
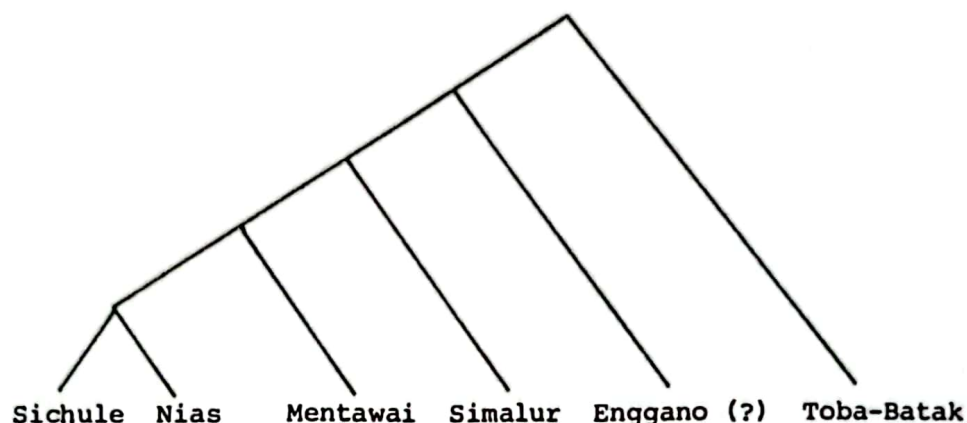

Figure 6: Proposed internal subgrouping of the Barrier Island languages and Toba Batak

Although Nothofer was able to back the unusual sound changes in Table 3 with a few Enggano examples, much more data was needed to determine why Enggano was so different from the other Barrier Island languages and from the other Austronesians as well.[4]

Therefore, in early 1986, Nothofer went to Sumatra again and conducted interviews with 28-year-old Hamdani Ka'uno who was a native speaker of Enggano residing in Padang (Nothofer 1992: 21). His research was funded by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD). Within three months, Nothofer elicited about 3500 Enggano lexemes with various pronunciation alternatives.[5] An excerpt of his fieldnotes is attached in Figure 7.

With this wordlist, Nothofer was able to conduct research on another aspect of the Enggano language, which so far had been largely disregarded by previous scholars. He examined the origin of loanwords in Enggano and pub-

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[3] Edwards (2015: 88, 94) considers "the evidence for including Enggano in the Barrier Island-Batak subgroup [...] extremely weak" and that "Mentawai appears to fit poorly in this subgroup", therefore Enggano should be one of several primary branches of Malayo-Polynesian (Edwards 2015: 93).

[4] In an unpublished draft, Blench ([2014]: 12) criticizes the sound correspondences established by Nothofer (1986a) stating that "many [cognates] depend on a sound change only attested once", and concludes that Enggano is "underlyingly a forager language of unknown affiliation" (Blench [2014]: 13). This erroneous conclusion has been extensively refuted by Edwards (2015: 70).

[5] This 130-page wordlist remains unpublished until today (Nothofer 1986b), but Schmidt (1988) made use of this list to compare Nothofer's collected lexemes to those in Kähler's (1987) dictionary. As Kähler's dictionary includes material from his consultants in the 1930s, Schmidt sought to compare the phonological changes which the Enggano language had undergone within 50 years.

117	tongkat	yɔ'kɔb˥		kɔbɔ	eoʔoba
	tongkat saya	yɔkɔba?, yɔkɔbwə			
	kaki	eaᵉ (?)			eae
118/9	cincin, gelang	karaʔyap˥			ekada uʔapɔ
	cincin saya	krapɨ? — nasal?			
120	tudung				
	tutup kepala	yɔ̃kɔ̃pyur			kɔ̃pĪ, eʔuru
121	kantong	ˆkatɔ̄ (nicht ɔ)			
	kantong saya	katɔ̄?			
122	binatang	˚minatã̄	nasal		
	b. saya (?)	mịna'tã̄:wɨ̃?			
123	lalat	yũm			eũmɔ̃
	lalat saya	yũmu? — nasal?			
124	kutu	hyũk	,		ehũkũ

Figure 7: Nothofer's transcript of his fieldnotes from 1986 sorted by Indonesian headwords

lished his results in German (Nothofer 1992). In the first part of this article, he repeats his proposed sound laws from PAN to Enggano in a somewhat unfortunate way. They could perhaps have been arranged slightly more neatly in a table.

Um ererbtes von entlehntem Material unterscheiden zu können, bedarf es der Feststellung der regelmäßigen Reflexe protoaustronesischer (PAN) Phoneme im Enggano (En.):
PAN i > En. ĩ, ẽ; PAN u > En. ũ, õ; PAN a > En. ã; PAN ə > ə̃, ɨ̃, õ, ẽ; PAN -ay, -uy, -əy, -aw, -əw, -iw, > ∅; PAN p > En. p-, -p-, -∅; PAN b > En. p-, -p-, -∅; PAN t > k-, -k-, ∅; PAN d > En. ʾ; PAN D > En. d-/r-, -d-/-r-, -∅; PAN Z-, -Z- > En. r- -d-; PAN c- -c- > En. ʾ; PAN z- -z- > En. ʾ; PAN -j- -j > En. -ç-/-h-/-∅- -∅; PAN s > En. k- -k- -∅; PAN R > En. ∅; PAN r > ʾ- -d-/-r- -∅; PAN l > En. l-/r-/d- -l-/-r-/-d- -∅; PAN k > En. ʾ-/k-/∅- -∅- -∅; PAN g > ʾ; PAN h > En. ∅; PAN q > En. ∅; PAN y > En. ʾ; PAN w > En. b- -b- -∅; PAN m > En b- -m-/-b- -∅; PAN n > En. ʾ- -r-/-d- -∅; PAN ñ- -ñ- > En. ʾ- -n-; PAN ŋ > ʾ- -h-/-∅- -∅.

Figure 8: Regular sound reflexes of PAN phonemes in Enggano (Nothofer 1992: 21)

By carefully comparing the lexical material of Enggano with Malay and Minangkabau, Nothofer established regular correspondences to show whether an Enggano word was borrowed from Malay or from Minangkabau.

He demonstrated that in many cases, it was possible to identify which of the two languages was the donor language for a given Enggano borrowing. This is illustrated in Figure 9, which shows that the Enggano lexemes *kormī* 'mirror', *təpəda'*, 'k. o. breadfruit', *nātūn* 'poison', *pakur* 'hoe', and *ka'-dəbi* 'more' were clearly borrowed from Malay, whereas *tobai'* 'regret' was borrowed from Minangkabau. Nothofer also showed that the donor language for words like *bayu* 'jacket' and *minatā* 'animal' could not be unequivocally identified, as the source words are identical in the source languages.

5) Ml., Mi. *c- -c-* → En. *k-/t- -k-/-t-*:
    Ml. *cərmin* → *kormī:* 'Spiegel'
    Ml. *cəmpəda'* → *təpəda'* 'Brotbaumart'
    Ml., Mi. *racun* → *nātūn* 'Gift'
    Ml. *pacul* → *pakur* 'Hacke'

6) Ml., Mi. *b- -b-* → En *b-/m- -b-*:
    Ml., Mi. *baju* → *bayu:* 'Jacke'
    Ml., Mi. *binataŋ* → *minatā:* 'Tier'
    Ml. *ləbih* → *ka'-dəbi* 'mehr'
    Mi. *tobai'* → *tobai'* 'Reue'

Figure 9: Enggano loanwords from Malay and Minangkabau (Nothofer 1992: 25)

In a (1994) paper, Nothofer revives an earlier hypothesis advanced by previous scholars (Kähler n. d.; Mahdi 1988; Willms 1955), which states that the Barrier Island languages and the Sulawesi languages display some form of closer relationship than might be expected, be it through borrowings by trade or because they belong to a common subgroup of Austronesian. He proposes a so-called 'Paleo-Hesperonesian' proto-language, which probably also includes Enggano, although very litte evidence for the latter is presented.

Because Nothofer does not find any putative loanwords in the Barrier Island languages which can be identified as typical of languages of Sulawesi and/or the Philippines, he treats words which appear in both regions as cognates, provided that they share closely related semantics and regular correspondences. He argues that the settlement of the Barrier Islands took place via Sumatra with the Proto-Paleo-Hesperonesian homeland being located east of Sumatra (Nothofer 1994: 392). He bases his hypothesis on the etymon **kusai* 'k. o. placental and marsupial mammal' and presents qualitative evidence that the islands of Western Austronesia (the Philippines, Sulawesi, Borneo, Java, Bali, Lombok, Western Sumbawa, Sumatra, Barrier Islands) must have formed a linguistic area in the early days, in which the 'Paleo-Hesperonesian languages' were spoken, and which were later intruded by other Austronesian-speaking peoples. The languages of the 'new' arrivals then replaced the

daughter languages of Proto-Paleo-Hesperonesian in the center of Paleo-Hesperonesia but not in the peripheral areas. Nothofer hypothesizes that these peripheral languages retained part of their original vocabulary despite being heavily influenced by the new languages. He proposes that the peripheral languages are still spoken on the Barrier Islands (including Enggano), in the Batak-Gayo area, in northern Oxford comma in the southern Philippines. This intrusion would then have formed a wedge-shaped settlement of the islands of western and central Indonesia.

The hypothesis of Proto-Paleo-Hesperonesian is not examined in Edwards (2015: 91–92) who discusses several reasons for Enggano's aberration within Austronesian. He states that "while we may ultimately never know the reasons why Enggano is so aberrant among Austronesian languages of western ISEA, contact and/or isolation are likely explanations," but he ignores the possibility that Nothofer's hypothesis was perhaps a better explanation of the aberrant nature of Enggano. Nevertheless, Edwards (2015: 62) duly acknowledges Nothofer's significant contribution in the establishment of regular sound correspondences between Proto-Malayo-Polynesian and Enggano.

Thanks to the careful research carried out by Nothofer (1986a) and the novel data provided by Edwards (2015), we can now safely say that Enggano *is* an Austronesian language, contra Capell (1982) and Blench ([2014]).

CURRENT RESEARCH ON ENGGANO

As briefly mentioned in the first section, an international research project entitled "Enggano in the Austronesian family: Historical and typological perspectives" was formed in 2019 at the University of Oxford.[6] As one of the chief investigators, Nothofer continues to examine and analyze the historical data and lexical material of Enggano. The aim of the project is to compile a revised dictionary of Enggano, to write a comprehensive grammar of Enggano, and to test various hypotheses for the "aberrant" nature of the Enggano lexicon.

A preliminary offshoot of said project is Nothofer's (2021) short article on the history of the Enggano lexeme *bakub* 'window', which he uses as an example to demonstrate the complex historical development of the Enggano sound system on its way from Proto-Austronesian to contemporary Enggano. He shows that *bakub* consists of *bak* 'eye' and *ub* 'house', whereupon he takes the reader on a historical journey from PAN **maCa* 'eye' to Enggano *bak* as well as from PAN **Rumaq* 'house' to Enggano *ub*.

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[6] The project website can be accessed through https://enggano.ling-phil.ox.ac.uk/.

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