

The Enggano: archaic foragers and their interactions with the Austronesian world



Engganese (Rosenberg 1855)

[DRAFT CIRCULATED FOR COMMENT]

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This printout: August 11, 2014

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ABSTRACT

The island of Enggano, west of Sumatra, is inhabited by a small population speaking a language which is difficult to classify. Although usually treated as Austronesian it is lacking many basic lexemes, suggesting that the Austronesian vocabulary may be superimposed on a base of another language. The paper reviews the existing literature on Engganese and includes a lengthy vocabulary compiled from various sources, with etymological speculations.

1 Introduction

The island of Enggano, off the west coast of Sumatra represents a major linguistic and historical puzzle. Its inhabitants are said to be Austronesian speakers, yet their language shows few cognates with mainstream Austronesian vocabulary. The inhabitants were apparently using Stone Age technology until the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, when expanding trade brought them metals. They had no cloth, grew no cereals, but only vegetative crops and lived in beehive-shaped houses on stilts, resembling those of the Nicobar Islands and quite unlike any peoples in neighbouring regions. There is a considerable early traveller literature in Dutch cited in the bibliography¹, but little in the way of ethnographic accounts except Modigliani (1893, 1894). Around the turn of the twentieth century, when missionaries were gearing up to convert the population, the former systems of housing and social organisation were in breakdown and it is hard now to reconstruct their exact nature. In recent years Keurs (2006, 2008) has been the main ethnographer to take an interest in this topic and his internet publication (Keurs n.d.) includes a summary of what can be extracted from the literature, photographs of remaining items of material culture in European museums and a valuable bibliography. However, he has not focused on the likely origin of Engganese idiosyncratic culture.

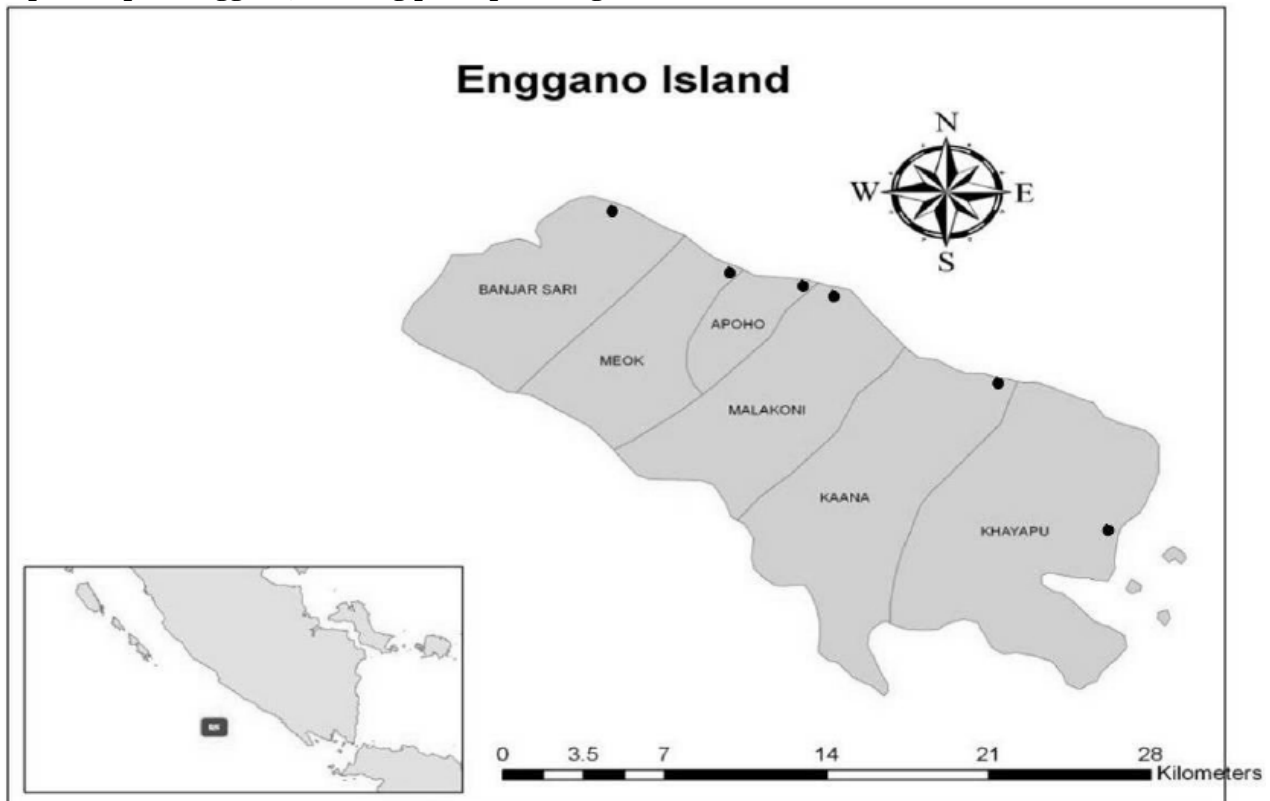
Linguistically speaking, the main source for the Enggano language is Kähler (1939, 1940, 1973, 1975, 1987). Kähler also published extensive material on the other West Sumatran island languages of Nias (Sikue) and Simeulue (the ‘Barrier Island’ languages), but his work is not really that of a trained linguist. His Enggano *Wörterverzeichnis* was published after his death and remains a problematic text with some unexplained symbols as well as lexical entries with incorporated morphology (see Prentice 1989 for comment on some of these problems). Despite this, the Enggano dictionary is a document of major significance and the transcription, broadly phonetic, is certainly usable. The other source for Enggano is Kaslim et al. (1987) which gives comparative citations for two different villages. Both the phonology and semantics of their transcriptions look uncertain, and the actual lexemes often do not agree with Kähler. Yoder (2011) is the only description of Enggano using modern linguistic terminology, and fortunately has a lengthy wordlist appended.

Further research on Enggano could clear up some of these problems; the 2013 Ethnologue states there are 1500 speakers of the language. Yoder (2011) gives an interesting account of how the language nearly died out, but has been revived and indeed has been growing in recent years despite the large numbers of migrants from the mainland. Keurs (2006) observes that more than 60% of the population are migrants.

¹ Many of these references I have harvested from Kähler (1987) and the publications of Keurs, updated with more recent materials. I have now placed some of the out of copyright materials on a webpage available for download at; <http://www.rogerblench.info/Language%20data/Austronesian/Enggano/Enggano%20page.htm>

Map 1 shows Enggano island with the principal Engganese-speaking villages marked.

Map 1. Map of Enggano, showing principal villages



Source: Yoder (2011)

This paper then is a fishing expedition such as was once beloved of the Engganese, to present a wordlist of Enggano and send it out to scholars who might detect lexical cognates in languages they know in order to make progress in resolving the mystery of its affiliations and origins.

2. The classification of Enggano

The affiliation of Enggano has perplexed linguists; the 2013 Ethnologue includes it under Malayo-Polynesian, but the text states ‘Not conclusively established as an Austronesian language, rather than an isolate with Austronesian loans’. There is no doubt that the publication in Dutch or German of the key reference material has deterred the predominantly Anglophone Austronesian establishment from giving the Barrier Island languages the attention they undoubtedly deserve. Helfrich, & Pieters (1890-1891) and Helfrich (1893) appear to be the source for some of the earlier attempts to classify Enggano. Nothofer (1986) has usefully reviewed all prior attempts to place Enggano. Dyen (1962), probably the first author to consider this, counted a 15.4% ‘critical percentage’ (i.e. cognacy) with other Austronesian languages and treated Enggano as an individual branch of PMP. Even a figure as high as this seems optimistic; Enggano lacks almost all the basic Austronesian lexemes usually employed to assign a language to a branch of the family. Cognacy judgments are thus highly idiosyncratic to individual authors. Since then, apart from passing references, it seems that little has been done to try and explain the features of this language, which is exceptional in the general realm of Austronesian.

What might account for the situation? Three hypotheses can be considered;

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- a) Enggano is Austronesian but complex morphophonemic changes have obscured its lexical relationships with mainstream vocabulary
- b) Enggano is non-Austronesian with an overlay of Austronesian borrowings of various periods
- c) Enggano is a ‘mixed language’ with elements from Austroasiatic, Austronesian and possibly other languages whose affiliation is obscured by the transcription system

Kähler (1942-45) seems to have considered this possibility and apparently regarded Enggano as a *Mischsprache*. Additionally, Nothofer (1986) has proposed that there is a ‘Barrier Island’ subgroup of Austronesian which would include Sichule, Nias, Mentawai, Simalur, Enggano and Toba Batak.

Other islands, not so far from Sumatra, do have very ancient and distinctive populations; the Andamanese, whose languages are isolates, and Nicobarese, a branch of Austroasiatic. There is no archaeological record of settlement of Enggano, but it could well represent a historical layer much older than the Neolithic expansion of Austronesian. It is striking that Enggano appears to show no special relationship with the other languages of the islands off the west coast of Sumatra; Nias and Mentawai show more obvious links with the languages of the Sumatran mainland. The people of Siberut had clearly undergone some cultural change in isolation and some groups in the interior live a near-foraging lifestyle. Nonetheless, their culture was more obviously a product of a migration from the Sumatran mainland. Enggano does indeed appear to be the product of an interaction between long-resident foragers and a relatively recent AN incursion.

2. Enggano phonology

The phonology of Enggano in Yoder (2011) is taken to supersede all prior versions. Enggano has seven phonemic vowels;

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i	ɨ	u
Close-Mid	e		o
Open-Mid		ə	
Open		a	

All of these vowels can be nasalised. The following diphthongs occur; /ai/, /ai/, /au/, /ei/, /əi/, /oi/. Kaslim et al. (1987) do not record nasalisation at all, which immediately makes their transcription suspect. However, the distinction made by Yoder (2011) between phonetic nasalisation as a result of nasal consonants and underlying distinctive nasalisation is not always clear.

Enggano consonants are as follows:

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b	t d	(tʃ) (dʒ)	k	ʔ
Nasal	m	n	ɲ		
Trill		r			
Fricative				x	h
Approximant	w		y		
Lateral		l			

Yoder (2011) analyses surface [s], [c], and [x] as allophones of /x/. /l/ is said to be very rare.

3. Comparative Enggano wordlist

The lengthiest source for Enggano is Kähler (1987) with additional material quoted from Kaslim et al. (1987) [coded K in Table 1 below] quoted in the Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database (ABDV) where this differs. Yoder (2011) appends a substantial wordlist and his transcriptions are preferred where available. The English translation is given first and then the German entries, the Enggano forms and finally a comparative commentary. The main sources for comparative Austronesian lexicon are the Comparative Dictionary of Austronesian (Tryon et al. 1995), the Comparative Austronesian Dictionary (Blust online) and the

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Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database (Greenhill et al. 2008). I have cross-cited from these sources rather than checking back to the originals; hence I reproduce any errors they may contain. Where the commentary says ‘not Austronesian’ it implies I have been able to check the Enggano gloss against a large comparative wordlist without finding any obvious comparisons.

The source of much of the lexical data in Kähler (1987) was the extraction of lexemes from the previously published texts with little morphological analysis. As a consequence, extracting the root from the accumulated weight of incorporated morphemes is not always easy. In this case, the much shorter citation in Kaslim et al. (1987) can be helpful. For example, the verb ‘to see’ [*sehen*] is listed as;

kabapəa, kipĩnã

whereas Kaslim et al. (1987) have *pə* which seems much more credible. Differences in transcription make it difficult at times to establish clearly whether the two sources are trying to represent the same word. However, it is assumed that;

- a) the *e-* prefix in nouns is a determiner
- b) that the *ki-*, *ka-* prefix in verbs is an infinitive marker or similar, and that probably *-ba-* or *-pa-* infix is another verbal marker
- c) that the frequent verbal suffix *ãʔã* or similar is not part of the root

Yoder (2011) also seems to have recorded the infinitive marker with many verbs. To clarify this in assessing cognacy, the likely non-root elements are marked in red in the entries in Table 1.

Even apart from these difficulties, Enggano has eroded from the front, and the loss of C₁ and often C₂ makes the identification of cognates a chancy business without more reliable data on historical morphology. The frequent nasalisation in Kähler and its absence in Kaslim suggests that it may be non-phonemic.

Some lexical items are very stable in Austronesian such as ‘eye’ or ‘five’. Others, such as ‘fog’ or ‘cook’ are highly variable and with nearly 1000 languages to choose from it is possible to find a lookalike somewhere in the Austronesian realm. The parallels suggested here are with the putative root I assume to be concealed within the morphological baggage. No doubt many of them will prove to be spurious or untestable; even a relatively coherent phylum such as Austronesian proves to have a great deal of lexical diversity at lower levels.

With these caveats, Table 1 presents an Enggano wordlist, drawn initially from Kähler but corrected from Kaslim and Yoder (2011) [[blue text](#)], focusing heavily on common wordlist items as well as additional words connected with economic plants, fishing and the sea.

Table 1. Enggano wordlist with commentary

English	German	Enggano	Comment
all (of them)		daʔkiar	
already		ho	
anchor	<i>Anker</i>	eãpãkũ	
areca palm	<i>areca</i>	eupo	
arm	<i>arm</i>	eparahaodi	
ashes	<i>Asche</i>	eah[a]oi, eapuʔuda	not Austronesian
		udopo	
back	<i>Rücken</i>	ekahãõ, ekũkã, epou,	not Austronesian
		ekahupou	
banana	<i>Banane</i>	eʔito, ekibáha	
bat	<i>Fledermaus</i>	ekadaboʔa	
bed		ioʔhoe	
bee		bix [surface biʃ]	? cf. Indonesian <i>lebah</i>
behaviour		ii	

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English	German	Enggano	Comment
belly	<i>Bauch</i>	ekitai	not Austronesian
bird	<i>Vogel I</i>	ekēʔēpā	not Austronesian
bird	<i>Vogel II</i>	eburuburū	< Malay <i>buruŋ</i>
birth	<i>Geburt</i>	eamō, eaʔada	
bite I v.		hau [K əha]	
bite I v.		ka.hiken	
black	<i>schwarz</i>	kahedo, kaʔa kōhō, kaũʔũĩ	n.b. ABVD has <i>kaʔk'eh</i> . not Austronesian
blood	<i>Blut</i>	ekiaki	not Austronesian
blow v.	<i>blasen</i>	kipaici, kapoi [K apo]	sound symbolism makes identifying cognates uncertain but cf. Solomonian Patpatar <i>puh</i> , Maringe, Cheke Holo <i>ifu</i> , Mono <i>ihu</i> etc.
boat		dohoa	
boil n.		iaʔkeʔei	
boil v.		ka.dit	
bone	<i>Knochen</i>	eʔā	not obviously Austronesian, but a reduced form like this could be cognate with any number of forms
breast	<i>Brust</i>	ekoko	If t~k then Malay <i>toto</i>
breathe		hāpōʔ	
broom		iĩhian	
broth		be	
burn v.t.		duduk	not Austronesian
buttocks		iiʔ	
buy v.	<i>kaufen</i>	bər	
carrion	<i>aas</i>	earoʔoa	
cassava		ba	recent introduction
chew v.	<i>Vorkauen</i>	e[pa] amai	appears to be metathesis of Bajaw <i>mapaʔ</i>
child	<i>Kind</i>	eada, eara, epae	cf. common Austronesian <i>ana</i> ‘child’
chili		dadə	recent introduction
chase		ka.karai	
choose v.	<i>aussuchen</i>	ka[ʔa] kēnāĩ	cf. New Ireland e.g. Tabar <i>kinane</i>
climb I		buber	
climb II		der	
close		ka	
close eyes		ka.bak	
cloud	<i>Wolke</i>	ekai udahauhu	not Austronesian
cockroach		hēōk	
coconut	<i>Kokos</i>	epō, ekamũʔa, ekaruku	
coconut		ĩĩʔĩ, iĩhion, ioko	
cutter			
cocoyam	<i>Taro</i>	epokeʔa	
cold		ĩāh	not obviously Austronesian, but lexemes too diverse to be sure
come I	<i>kommen</i>	ba	unless Solomonian languages <i>mai</i> with loss of first consonant
come II	<i>kommen</i>	ka	
cook		ka.bix [K pahbu]	semantic scatter ‘bake’, ‘boil’ makes this a hard gloss for broad comparison.
count	<i>zählen</i>	kikũā, kanũā [K ə'anəm]	cf. New Georgia Lunga <i>añi</i> , Simbo, Luqa <i>añe</i> ,
crab, marine I		eũnũkĩō	
crab, marine		ka.hʔuis	

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English	German	Enggano	Comment
II			
crocodile		buai	< Indonesian
cry, weep v.	<i>weinen</i>	k[ab]edo [K bēber]	not Austronesian
current, river		dər	
cut, hack	<i>hacken</i>	hik [K hək ^h]	not Austronesian
cut grass		ka.dii?	
dark	<i>dunkel</i>	ka.hedo, ka?akōhō, kapōpō	
day	<i>Tag</i>	hapi?	cf. Indonesian <i>hari</i> though a strange correspondence
day after tomorrow		da?ikah	
death		iaba?a	nominalisation of ‘die’
<i>Derris elliptica</i>	<i>Fischgift</i>	eükühūi, ekakaroku	
diarrhoea		bibi	
die	<i>sterben</i>	ba.?a	
dig	<i>graben</i>	k[ah]inōi, kinōñā?ā [K enam]	not Austronesian
dog		be	not Austronesian
don’t		iar	
dream	<i>Traum</i>	e?anixā	not Austronesian
drink v.	<i>trinken</i>	<itə [K kahit]	not Austronesian
drizzle		ka.hik	
duck	<i>Ente</i>	ebēbē	< Malay <i>bebek</i>
dull		ka.hū	
dust	<i>Staub</i>	hiur	? loan from Melayu <i>dabu</i> , also found in Borneo languages, i.e. Tunjung
ear	<i>Ohr</i>	ekadixa	not Austronesian
earth/soil	<i>Erde</i>	dop	
earthquake		diŋ	
earthworm		hiər	
eat	<i>essen</i>	ki, kamānō [K no]	many Austronesian languages have –ŋo as a second element
ebb tide	<i>Ebbe</i>	eoki, ea?o?oki u?u	
eel	<i>aal</i>	ekāmā	
egg	<i>Ei</i>	eara uki?adobu	not Austronesian
emerge from water		dia	
European		bed	
exaggerate		ka.bobohok	loan but from what language?
excrement		ka	
eye		bak	not Austronesian
eye disease		iako?oi	
fall		dap	
father	<i>Vater</i>	amā	cf. PCMP *ama
feather	<i>Feder</i>	epurudui (cf. ‘hair’)	cf. PMP *bulu
fence		iū?pīā?	
fence, small		iarkia?ai	
few		ba?ki	
<i>Ficus religiosa</i>		ekabodi	
fig tree	<i>Feigenbaum</i>	e?ōnō	
fire		iəb	? cf. PMP *hapuy

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English	German	Enggano	Comment
fish	<i>Fisch I</i>	eʔaiyo, epaəadia	Yapen has <i>dia</i> for fish
fish	<i>Fisch II</i>	yay	? reduction of forms such as Bajaw <i>dayah</i>
fish-hook	<i>Fischhaken</i>	eʔāmī	
fishing-net	<i>Fischnetz</i>	ekabuʔaiyo	
fishing-spear	<i>Fischspeer</i>	ekiakuna	
five	<i>fünf</i>	ʔadiba, riba, liba	? < Austronesian *lima
flag		barera	< Indonesian
flow	<i>fließen</i>	kiabue	cf. Solomonian, Temotu group Buma, Vano, Tanimbili <i>pu</i>
flute	<i>Flöte</i>	e[pa]i xiu	
fly (n.)		ium	
fly v.	<i>fliegen</i>	keʔēʔēpā [K hēʔep]	not Austronesian
fog I [K]		kabut	< Lampung or similar
fog II [K]		kepəpə	
foot	<i>Fuß</i>	eaē, epakaʔaiyo	
forest, bush	<i>Wald</i>	ekue	not Austronesian
forest II		hoʔpu K	cf. widespread Solomonian <i>wapu</i> , e.g. Santa Ana, Kahua, Sa'a
four	<i>vier</i>	ʔaopa	? from Malay <i>ampat</i> or another Austronesian language. PAN * <i>epat</i> . Also borrowed into Aslian
friend	<i>Freund</i>	ʔānō, hobeʔa	
frog	<i>Frosch</i>	epēʔō, epinōʔāēā	
fruit		hiū	
fruits		ioʔoʔ	
fruit tree sp.		iə	
garden	<i>Garten</i>	epia	
ginger		iakeʔ	< Indonesian <i>jahe</i>
give birth	<i>gebären</i>	ea[ʔa] ʔara, kimō	
go, walk	<i>gehen</i>	kā, nā	cf. West New Guinea e.g. Waropen, Marau <i>ra</i> , Gedaged, Nehan <i>la</i>
goods		dəb	
grandchild	<i>Enkel</i>	edahao, ekōhōpīō	
grass I	<i>Gras</i>	eomāʔaiñō	not Austronesian
grass II		εap	not Austronesian
guest	<i>Gast</i>	ekitabo	
hair I	<i>Haare</i>	epududui	= 'hair of head'
hair II	<i>Haare</i>	yur [K]	? *PCMP * <i>qulu</i>
hand	<i>Hand</i>	eʔapo	not Austronesian
hatch		ka.biaʔ	
he, it	<i>er</i>	kia	
head	<i>Kopf</i>	iur	PAN * <i>ʔulu</i>
hear	<i>hören</i>	dəhə	not Austronesian
heart		bahauʔ	
heat of sun		kahaʔ	
hit	<i>schlagen</i>	iti, ici, iji, [K abə]	not Austronesian
hold		dər	
hole		hop	
home of the dead		iakuru	
horn		kaduʔ	? cf. Malay <i>tanduk</i>
house		bibi	not Austronesian
hundred		kahaiʔ ratuh	<i>ratuh</i> element is Malay
hunt	<i>jagen</i>	kikakarai, kiparahau, kiodi	not Austronesian

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English	German	Enggano	Comment
hunt octopus		baʔ.he	
husband		dar	not Austronesian
husk		ioroi	
I, me	<i>ich</i>	ʔua, uuw [K]	? Austronesian. Many languages have forms like <i>au</i> < <i>aku</i> , but not easy to see a better source
immediate family		kabakeʔ	
in		ho	
in house		iohom	
intestines		kita [K]	not Austronesian unless forms such as Selaru [Maluku] <i>katin</i> are cognate. But see under 'liver' < Indonesian <i>besi</i> but not a reconstructible word
iron		biti	
joint	<i>Gelenk</i>	epūʔū	
jungle		haʔku	
knee		iurpuʔ	
knife		iaʔa	
know	<i>wissen</i>	kipohoyaʔa [K paʔko'aʔ], kipəhai, kipakaʔāūāʔā	not Austronesian
laugh	<i>lachen</i>	kiʔəkahai [K kəkah], kʔoʔoʔoi	cf. Solomonian Temotu Buma, Teana <i>keke</i>
leaf	<i>Blatt</i>	epūnū, epuru	? loan from Lampung <i>buluy</i>
leaf, young		diʔ	
lean		dahid	
leaning		ka.həʔ	
leg	<i>Bein</i>	eae, εʔaa [K]	reduced form which can be compared numerous Austronesian etymons, such as Bajawa <i>nai</i> , or Yapen group, Motu <i>ae</i> , possibly going back to <i>*kaki</i> .
lie down	<i>liegen</i>	kanū, kuʔuoho	cf. Molima [Papuan Tip] <i>ʔeno</i> ,
life		iidaʔ	
lightning		doab	
liver		bah	not Austronesian
lizard	<i>Eidechse</i>	edeʔa, hūʔēʔō, ekamānāwā	
load (boat)	<i>einladen</i>	kipa kūʔūā	
long ago		hare, kahenu	
louse I	<i>Laus</i>	enāē	not Austronesian
louse II		hīūk	not Austronesian
maid		babu	< ?
maize		īākō	recent introduction
man	<i>Mann</i>	hau [Kā emānī]	scattered Austronesian cognates in Halmahera languages, e.g. Buli <i>man</i> , also Balinese <i>muani</i> .
mango		eʔokio	
marriage (woman)	<i>Ehe</i>	eaʔaradua	
mat		dapiʔ	
meat		her	not Austronesian
middle		iūʔū	
mine		haruʔ	
mist	<i>Dunst</i>	ekanēōā, eoaba	
money		iuk	
money		dupi	cf. Indonesian <i>duit</i>
moon	<i>Mond</i>	ekanāāī, kaŋa [K]	Solomonian languages have <i>ʔkene</i> and similar while

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English	German	Enggano	Comment
			some Lampung dialects have <i>kənawat</i> . ? a loan from Lampung
<i>Morinda citrifolia</i>		eodu	
mortar		dak	
mosquito	<i>Mücke</i>	ekiʔao	not Austronesian
mother	<i>Mutter</i>	nāē, nāhā, [K maʔaʔ]	Lampung has probable sources for both these forms, Lampung Nyo <i>ma:ʔ</i> and Lampung Api <i>ina</i> .
mountain	<i>Berg</i>	ekohoi	
mouth	<i>Mund</i>	ekaʔa [K kaʔaʔ]	not Austronesian
name	<i>Name</i>	eniñ [K ni]	Western Oceanic languages have numerous lookalikes, e.g. Bilibil <i>ɲian</i> or Gedaged <i>néan</i> . More remotely Banjarese Malay <i>ɲaran</i> .
neck	<i>Hals</i>	eūʔū, [K hanuʔ]	cf. Arosi [Solomonic] <i>ʔuʔu-na</i>
needle		iaru	cf. Indoensian <i>jarum</i>
night	<i>Nacht</i>	epō, [K karpō'aṣ]	K probably incorporates spurious morphology. Apparent cognates with Western Oceanic, e.g. Kayapuluau <i>poni</i> , Saliba <i>boni</i> .
nine		kaba kahaiʔ	
nose	<i>Nase</i>	epānū [K panum]	Solomonic languages have numerous lookalikes, e.g. Are'are, Oroha <i>panona</i> .
octopus		he	
hunting implement			
oil, grease	<i>Öl I</i>	emīñāʔā	cf. PCMP <i>*miñak</i>
oil, grease	<i>Öl II</i>	ew [K]	not obviously Austronesian but a form like this could be reduced from CVCV attestations such as Philippines <i>tava</i>
old		iaʔdəb	
one		kahaiʔ	cf. Cheke Holo [Solomonic] <i>kaha</i> , though also see Bajaw <i>dakau</i>
orphan		daʔarah	
other		kahaiʔ kak	
ours		harub	
paddle		iuʔuis	
pea	<i>Erbse</i>	ekacā	
person	<i>Person</i>	ekabake [K kakh]	probably not Austronesian although Vitu <i>kaka</i> and Solomonic languages have –ka element in person words, i.e. Vano <i>lamuka</i> , Tanema <i>anuka</i> .
person who has died		kakabak	
picture		kabarar	presumably Indonesian <i>gambar</i>
pig	<i>Schwein</i>	eboʔoa	? cf. *PAN <i>babuy</i> which has reflexes such as Wolio <i>bawu</i> which might lead to this form
<i>Piper betel</i>		epuru ukuo	
<i>Piper nigrum</i>		ekodokodo	
place to sit		hēkū	
plant v.	<i>pflanzen</i>	koʔo, kitahaʔa	perhaps related to widespread reflexes of PCMP <i>*tanəm</i>
play		ia-ʔitar	
pole		iukua	
pot		doioʔ	
pound v.	<i>zerstampfen</i>	kipāū, kamāū	cf. widespread Micronesian <i>*ppau</i> (although sound-symbolism may be involved here)

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English	German	Enggano	Comment
pray		iah.roʔoa	
price		iər	
prison		bui	
punishment		iahmiʔ	
rain	<i>Regen</i>	ebō, [K ɛbe]	cf. Tanema [Solomonic] <i>emba</i> , Mussau <i>baoo</i>
rat	<i>Ratte</i>	ehuao, ekōʔānū, epeha, eʔuiʔui	No obvious Austronesian cognates, but species of rat are many. K has Malay loanword <i>tikus</i> .
recommend	<i>empfehlen</i>	kīpa bohei	
reconciliation		iakoro	
remember		kitaʔ	Y. enter twice with different prefixes, here removed
rice basket		didu	Y. marks as loan
right		dab	
river		bero	
road	<i>Weg</i>	eʔekoa [K (h)eko], eparabia	cf. Teanu [Solomonic] <i>anoko</i> . Other Solomonic languages have final <i>-ka</i> , e.g. Babatana <i>zuka</i>
root	<i>Wurzel</i>	eāpū	not Austronesian
root II		akar [K]	recent borrowing cf. Javanese <i>akar</i>
rope I	<i>Tau</i>	ekiʔio	cf. Xaracuu <i>kʷii</i> though probbaly coincidence
rope II		kadi	< Malay etc. <i>tali</i>
rope III		bohoi	
rope IV		iʔiaʔ	
sail	<i>Segel</i>	edayada, epa upo	
salt I	<i>Salz</i>	eʔue, ekitikiti uʔue	
salt II	<i>Salz</i>	ekanāmū [K kanam]	looks like a loanword e.g. Bajaw, Malayic <i>garam</i> but sound shifts hard to explain unless this is archaic
sand	<i>Sand</i>	doʔra [K]	not Austronesian
sap sp.		iənən	
say I	<i>sagen</i>	ʔua [K uəh]	? cf. Sa'a <i>unua</i>
say II	<i>sagen</i>	pana [K]	cf. widespread <i>paranga</i> in New Georgia languages [Solomonic]
scratch v.		hion	
sea		haʔau, iu	
sea cucumber		epakui	
sea eagle		eʔeba	
sea II		iyuuʔ [K]	? weakening of <i>dilaut</i> (Malay, Bajaw etc.)
see	<i>sehen</i>	ki	cf. PCMP <i>kita</i> , retained in Oceanic and Solomonic
see v.	<i>sehen</i>	kabapəa [K pə], kipīnā	not Austronesian
settlement	<i>Dorf</i>	ekaʔaudara	
sew		iaiʔ [K yaʔ],	could be related widespread reduplicated forms, such as Mouk <i>sisix</i> or Cheke Holo <i>susuki</i>
shirt		baiu	< Indonesian
shoot	<i>schießen</i>	kīpopoʔoki, k[ip]aboʔoki	not Austronesian unless with Madara [New Ireland] <i>paneko</i> 'throw spear'
shore		iok	
shoulder	<i>Schulter</i>	eʔāmīʔāmī	not Austronesian
sickness		iatapux	
sit		hēk	cf. Solomonic, e.g. Blablanga <i>hnɔkrɔ</i> , Sa'a <i>neku</i> ,
skin		iuk	
skin	<i>Haut</i>	eʔudi	reflex of widespread Austronesian <i>kuli</i> , with loss of velar, eg. Iliun [Celebic] <i>'uli</i> also Kwara'ae (Solomonic) <i>'uli'uli</i>
sky	<i>Himmel</i>	eʔā edahauhu	not Austronesian. K has <i>layit</i> , a recent loan from

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English	German	Enggano	Comment
			Bajaw or similar.
slash, jab		ba.bip	
sleep		ba.ʔueh	
smoke I	<i>Rauch</i>	eipō, eoaba	cf. Tolo and others [Solomonic] <i>pugu</i> , also Nêlêmwa [New Caledonia] <i>pum</i>
smoke II	<i>Rauch</i>	ekanōã [K kano]	cf. Babatana [Solomonic] <i>kanu</i> , Ririo <i>konok</i>
snake I	<i>Schlange</i>	eʔanōãẽ	? cf. Bajaw <i>paŋaʔaŋ</i> with extreme consonant loss
snake II		[K ap'ukh]	not Austronesian
soft		ka.der	probably a stative verb
song		iohor	
spear		ioʔoʔ	
spice		dapah	cf. Indoensian <i>rempah</i>
spider	<i>Spinne</i>	epūʔu ukahãō	not Austronesian
spit	<i>spucken</i>	kahito [K iit(h)]	? Malayic e.g. Javanese <i>idu</i> , Lampung <i>itop</i>
stab	<i>stecken</i>	kitahaʔa [K haʔ]	cf. Nissan [Solomonic] <i>haka</i> , Tanna <i>hai</i> ,
stairs		hẽ	
stand v.	<i>stehen</i>	ka.baʔ [Kã kiʔẽnũ]	not Austronesian
star I	<i>Stern</i>	eʔaperuau	cf. New Ireland languages, e.g. Tinag <i>papara</i> , Ririo <i>paraʔat</i> .
star II	<i>Stern</i>	ekaʔomĩmĩ koʔmim]	[K ? cf. Bajaw <i>mamaw</i> .
steal		ka.beh	
stem		iũʔ	
stick I	<i>Stock</i>	eoʔoba, eʔõmẽãʔã	not Austronesian
stick I		K ku	reduced from Malayic <i>kayu</i>
stone	<i>Stein</i>	eʔea [K iea]	not Austronesian
stream		ianome	
suck	<i>saugen</i>	kohō, kikoko	cf. Bajaw <i>kokomot</i> ,
suck	<i>saugen</i>	K hopiʔ	cf. Madara, Tabar <i>nopi</i> ,
sugar-cane		eamaiñō	
sweat		iãməʔ	
sweet potato		ebaba	
swim	<i>schwimmen</i>	kiʔãʔãkō, kiʔãʔãkəa	? cf. Tigak and other New Ireland <i>kakas(i)</i>
tail	<i>Schwanz</i>	eiʔo [eyiʔ]	cf. West New Guinea languages e.g. Mekeo, Motu <i>iu</i> , Sewa <i>wiyu</i> .
there		dit	cf. I. situ
they	<i>sie</i>	ki, da-, nã-, la-	many possible cognates, none certain due to diversity of forms
they II		haməʔ	not Austronesian
thing	<i>Ding</i>	edobu	
think	<i>denken</i>	kapanãũ [ekitai]	? cf. Longgu <i>hanã</i> ,
thirst	<i>Durst</i>	ekixea	
thorn		duri	< Indonesian
thought		iamakaʔoaʔ	
thousand		kahaiʔ dibu	dibu element cf. Malay <i>seribu</i>
three	<i>Drei</i>	ʔakodu, kolu, koru	not Austronesian unless t → k when PMP <i>*telu</i> [<i>tolu</i> in many Western Oceanic languages] is cognate
three		K akəət	not Austronesian
throat		hanuʔ	
throw	<i>werfen</i>	kipakai, kaho ʔobuaʔa, kipaʔ~aũãʔã	not Austronesian
throw	<i>werfen</i>	[K oyʔ]	cf. Lau and related <i>ʔui</i>
thunder		dauoh	

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English	German	Enggano	Comment
tongue		di [K di]	not Austronesian
tooth	<i>Zahn</i>	eahau, ekaʔa [K kaaʔ]	cf. isolated Papuan Tip e.g. Saliba <i>kawa</i> ,
trap (pigs)	<i>Falle</i>	ekuhua, enōpō	
turn around		hədik	
turtle		ekaboa, ekuha	
twenty		kahaiʔ kak	
two	<i>zwei</i>	ʔadua, rua, lua	< Malayic <i>dua</i>
vomit		ie	? cf. Papuan Tip languages e.g. Lala <i>e'ula</i>
war		iaʔkaʔaiʔ	
water, river		bə	cf. Bajaw <i>boe</i> , isolated Manus <i>bo</i> , Serili (Maluku) <i>be</i> .
wedding		iapaʔioi	
who?		hā	
wife		hin	not Austronesian
wife		enaʔ [K]	? < Bajaw Lemo <i>əndə</i>
wild		bohoi	
wild		ehobu	
breadfruit			
wind	<i>Wind</i>	ekiu [K ki(ə)]	not Austronesian unless isolated Torau [Solomonic] <i>kiu</i> is cognate
wing	<i>Flügel</i>	epaʔepa [K yapɛ'ap]	? cf. PMP <i>*panij</i> though similar forms found widely across the world. Also possibly reduced and reduplicated from Bajaw <i>kapi</i>
winnow		didu	Y. marks as loan but from what?
woman		hiir pl. ka.hir	not Austronesian
word		iis	
worm	<i>Wurm</i>	eāpō, ehodo, ekīnāpā, ekōpēnē [K kopen], emakəna	not Austronesian
year		taun [K]	< Lampung or Bajaw <i>taun</i>
you sg.	<i>du</i>	ʔoʔo [K ari]	
you sg.		K ari	cf. Solomonian e.g. Babatana, Senga <i>re</i> .
yours		harub	

4. Analysis

4.1 Historical contact and borrowing

The name Enggano probably comes from Portuguese *engano*, ‘disappointment, deceit’. The first documented European contact with Enggano was in 1596, when Cornelis de Houtman approached seeking supplies and was driven away by the hostile inhabitants (Rouffaer & Ijzerman 1915). We know from an interesting direct account written by a Buginese trader and published in Dutch that there was regular trade contact (Boewang 1854). At any rate, Engganese shows a variety of borrowings from Sumatran languages and Malay.

4.2 Methodological issues: single-item correspondences

Nothofer (1986) and Mahdi (p.c.) make a series of proposals for Engganese cognates with other Austronesian languages or PAN. While some of these are clearly valid, many depend on a sound change only attested once. For example, Nothofer proposes that Engganese *pudu* is cognate with PAN **bunuq* ‘kill’. This depends on b→p, which although not elsewhere attested is perfectly plausible and n→d, also attested once, which could go back to a non-attested intervocalic –nd-. Mahdi (p.c.) links Engganese *ekoko* ‘breast’ with PAN **susu*. This is perfectly possible, except that this sound-shift only occurs in this word; and reduplicated forms for ‘breast’ are common worldwide. The point at issue is that many Engganese lexemes

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may be cognate with more standard Austronesian forms if one-off sound-shifts are allowed, but they may also be lookalikes.

5. Conclusion

Enggano has only a very small proportion of its basic vocabulary that is unambiguously Austronesian with most common roots absent. Even where there are possible cognates, these are sometimes with geographically remote languages, suggesting chance. External cognates may thus be a series of loanwords dating from different periods of contact with the island. Given this, I propose the following hypothetical history of Engganese, subject to further commentary.

- a) Engganese is underlyingly a forager language of unknown affiliation but presumably a descendant of the original language spoken by Pleistocene settlers.
- b) Comparison with Nicobarese and other Austroasiatic have not yielded any obvious cognates, but Enggano culture seems to share some features with Nicobarese populations
- c) It possibly shares residual vocabulary with the other Sumatran Barrier islands, but this is yet to be determined.
- d) It has probably interacted with Austronesian populations in at least four different periods;
 - i. a primary wave of contact in the era of early Austronesian expansion
 - ii. contact with Bajaw, Orang Laut sea nomads as well as Buginese traders
 - iii. contact with Malayic languages
 - iv. contact with Sumatran mainland languages such as Lampung

Points ii-iv will probably not be controversial, although there is some interest in the fact that some Enggano cognates seem to preserve voicing differences in consonants which may point to archaisms preserved in borrowings. However, the nature and timing of early Austronesian contact is more difficult to establish. From the cognates listed in Table 1, Enggano may share more lexemes with Western Oceanic and in particular Solomonic than with more obvious sources such as Philippines and Borneo languages. This seems initially unlikely and one explanation is simply the erroneous identification of such cognates. Is it possible historically? Under more traditional views of Austronesian dispersal, where Oceanic was the final product of a series of complex splits in Western Malayo-Polynesian it would seem highly improbable. But archaeological evidence is increasingly pointing to a very rapid early dispersal following the exit from Taiwan without the intervening stages formerly posited (cf. Donohue & Denham 2010). It is at least conceivable that the same strand of rapid migration that created Oceanic and in particular the Solomonic languages also included a wayward expedition south and west. This may seem an improbably extended line of dispersal, but the rapid movement eastward to form Oceanic is also similarly lengthy. We know, moreover, at the same time, speakers of PMP were heading eastward to Micronesia to settle the Marianas, so in terms of maritime technology this is not impossible. Even so, it should lead us to expect that there would have been analogous early settlement in south Sumatra and possibly on other islands west of Sumatra. The later expansion of Malayic would have largely overwritten these more tentative migrations, and they might only remain on an island like Enggano, easily bypassed by larger more aggressive expansions. The connection with the Nicobars remains to be explained; but it would not be impossible for Pleistocene populations to populate these islands, since we know they reached the Andamans.

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[N.B. I do not claim to have sought out and read all the references below, but include them for future reference. They are a good illustration of how weak the internet remains for some topics; almost none show up on Google Scholar for example].

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Appendix 1. Cultural evidence

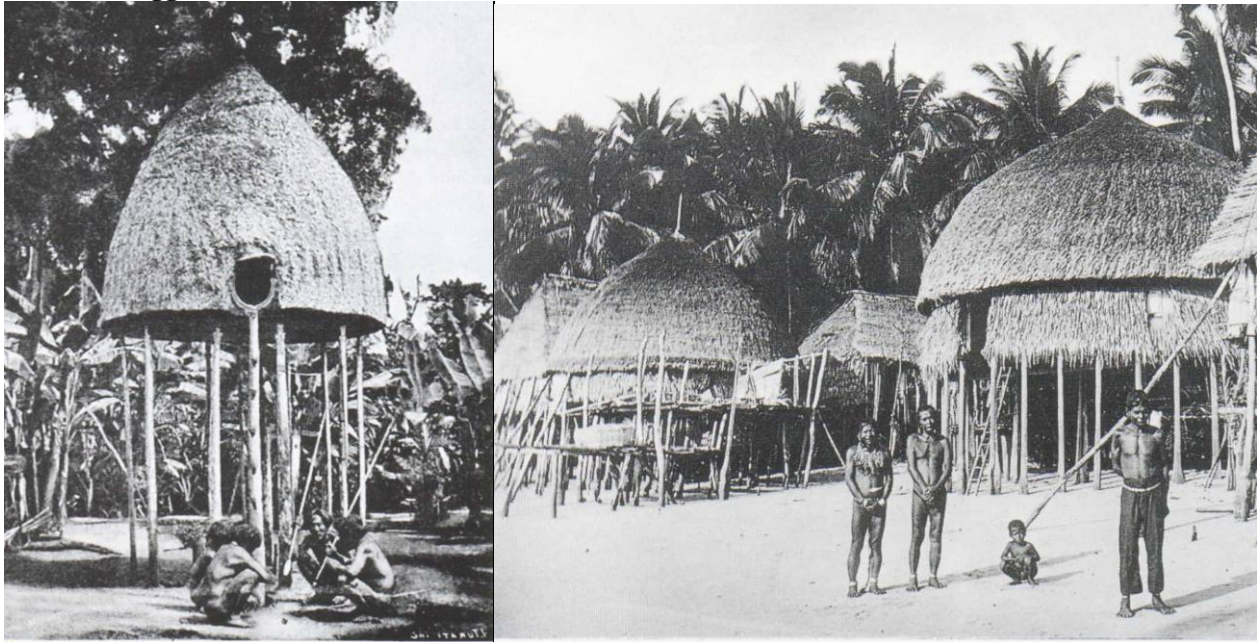
The beehive houses of Enggano were noticed as early as 1778 by Miller. The cover image of this paper and below shows one of these houses as represented in Modigliani (1894). Guillemard's review of Modigliani observes;

He does, however, find a marked resemblance to the Nicobarese, not only in physical appearance, but also with regard to customs and architecture, and gives illustrations in support of this view which are rather striking, though more evidence is of course necessary to promote the theory from the region of conjecture into that of probability.

Guillemard (1894:157)

Photo 1 shows images of Engganese and Nicobarese houses for comparison.

Photo 1. Engganese and Nicobarese traditional houses



Sources: Modigliani (1894) and Man (1889)

Roger Blench The Enggano: archaic foragers in an Austronesian world Circulated for comment

Photo 2 shows an Engganese headpiece, illustrated in early engravings, from the author's collection. The fragments of feathers inserted into the wood are the remnants of what would once have been a crown of feathers.

Photo 2. Engganese headpiece

