

A guide to the people and languages of Nusa Tenggara

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Centre for Regional Studies

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A guide to the people and languages of Nusa Tenggara

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A guide to the people and languages of Nusa Tenggara.

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Barbara F. Grimes, editor of the *Ethnologue: languages of the world* (12th edition)¹ and the Summer Institute of Linguistics, which publishes it made available their computer database on languages of Nusa Tenggara as a starting point. This allowed us to start with the benefit of others' research, rather than starting from scratch, and we are grateful for that cooperation.

The provincial government of Nusa Tenggara Timor has been very supportive of this effort, particularly Governor Herman Musakabe, the provincial head of the Provincial Planning Board (BAPPEDA Tingkat I), and the provincial head of Industry and Commerce (DEPERINDAG Tingkat I). They have made available equipment such as scanners for making maps and copying photographs, and their staffs have been very cooperative as well.

Some of the primary research carried out in the course of compiling this *Guide* were done in conjunction with other efforts. Much of the new information on Lembata and Alor was gathered in conjunction with Neil Johnston of the Summer Institute of Linguistics under the auspices of a cooperative arrangement with Pembangunan Masyarakat Desa. Some of the early trips to the island of Semaue were done in conjunction with research on endangered languages carried out in conjunction with UNESCO and the Australian National University.

I.N. Frans, Executive Director of the Alfa Omega Foundation arranged partial funding for this *Guide*.

¹ Updated *Ethnologue* information on the whole world (13th edition) is accessible on the Internet through the SIL Website at <http://www.sil.org>.

We are grateful to each of these individuals and organisations for their roles in bringing about this *Guide*.

The Authors



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Preface

Artha Wacana Christian University is pleased to introduce *A guide to the people and languages of Nusa Tenggara*. It is our expectation that this resource will be useful to people in a wide range of professions and interests.

In presenting this *Guide*, we also introduce one of the first publications of the newly formed ARTHA WACANA PRESS and its PARADIGMA series. This publication outlet is intended to provide a place to exchange ideas about the people of eastern Indonesia, the languages we speak, our ways of life, our life-cycles, our values, and the interaction and struggles we face straddling two worlds—both traditional and modern.

This *Guide* also reflects the fruit of research carried out by the staff of the newly formed Centre for Regional Studies here at UKAW. The Centre is commissioned with “bridging the gaps between teaching, research, and service to society by focusing on the study of peoples in the region of eastern Indonesia.” This *Guide* reflects an excellent beginning toward that goal. We look forward to further efforts of this kind.

It is therefore with great pleasure that we present this book.

Kupang, 29 July 1997



[Signature]
Dr. A.A. Yewangoe
Rector,

UNIVERSITAS KRISTEN ARTHA WACANA

Introduction

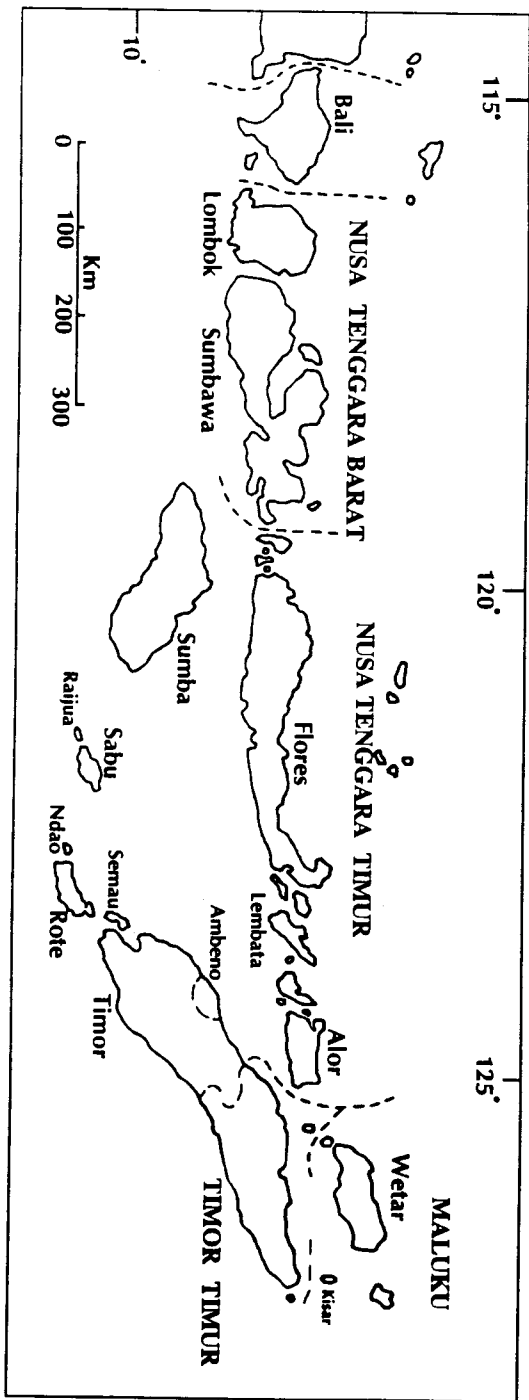
The term 'Nusa Tenggara' encompasses the islands found in the three present-day Indonesian provinces of Nusa Tenggara Timur [NTT], Nusa Tenggara Barat [NTB], and Timor Timur [TT] (See map on the following page). In older literature this region was referred to as the 'Lesser Sunda Islands'.

The people and languages of Nusa Tenggara [NT] are richly blessed with variety and complexity. However, that variety and complexity is little known and little understood. It has become clear to the authors of this *Guide* that there is a need for such information to be catalogued and aimed for a broad audience—but it must also be academically informed. Decision-makers in research, education, and development projects need information of this sort locally accessible. Who are we working with? What do we know about them? How do we most effectively communicate with them? How can we build on the strength of the diversity that already exists? What cultural values and traits should we be aware of to provide effective training and achieve sustainable results?

The present *Guide* began by incorporating (with permission) information on Nusa Tenggara from B.F. Grimes' 1992 *Ethnologue: languages of the world*. (12th edition) published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics. This information was then adapted and expanded, incorporating additional sources and recent research. During the course of compiling this *Guide* short trips were made by the authors to various parts of west Timor, Alor, Pantar, East Timor, Rote, Semau, Flores, Lembata, and Sumba.

This *Guide* is intended to be a 'living document', in the sense that future updates are anticipated. The current information is not definitive. As with any resource book of this nature, our information is limited to reflect the accuracy and thoroughness (or lack thereof) of our available sources. Our first step has been to compile and calibrate known information, and identify gaps where additional research is needed. As more research is done and more sources or more reliable and accurate information become available, we hope to incorporate it into future editions.

The islands of Nusa Tenggara

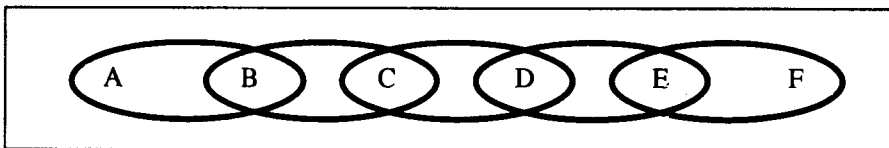


The use of the *Guide* should be self-explanatory. Many people (even many linguists) use different criteria to determine whether two speech varieties are two different languages, or two dialects of the same language. A number of factors come into play in our judgment. Similarities and differences in structure and vocabulary certainly play a part, but so also do indications of sociolinguistic attitudes, and reports of intelligibility (or blocked intelligibility). There are ways to measure and compare each of these (see Blair 1990, Casad 1974, J. Grimes 1995, Wimbish 1989), but they are labour intensive and, for the most part, must await future opportunities. Much information in the category 'Number in ethnic group' is unreliable or non-existent. As the following section discusses, the classification of languages in NT is still at an early stage, at best, and should be taken accordingly.

The information on languages is divided up geographically. In some places the divisions are entirely artificial—made for our own convenience. For example, Sabu is grouped with Sumba, partly because it is easier to make maps of Timor that do not include Sabu, partly because there are significant numbers of Sabu speakers on Sumba, and partly because some classify Sabu as part of the Bima-Sumba group of languages that does not include Rote. Administratively, however, Sabu is part of Kabupaten Kupang.

One common problem encountered in this region is with language names. What do you call this variety of speech? Many times the names most widespread in the literature are not acceptable to the speakers themselves for any of a number of reasons. Sometimes there are names that outsiders use for a group, but insiders use their own name (endonym). Some groups use a different term for the people than for the language (e.g. the Atoni people speak the Uab Meto language). Many names in the literature are simply the name of one village which someone visited in the past, and that name became established in the literature to represent the whole. But the language may be spoken in a number of villages whose inhabitants object strenuously to being referred to by the name of somebody else's village name. This is particularly a problem in Lembata, Alor, and Pantar. There is often no cover term used for a whole group that speak a common language. These issues are noted where possible and discussed in the text and in footnotes.

Another issue of particular relevance in Nusa Tenggara are the concepts of dialect networks and dialect chaining. People can often communicate successfully with those in adjacent dialects, but not with those in (some) non-adjacent dialects. For example, people in village or dialect A can communicate directly through the vernacular with their neighbours in dialect B, can partially communicate with those in dialect C, but cannot communicate through the vernacular with speakers of dialects D and E—even though they share a common ethnic identity, common origins, and have common life-cycle practices. This is particularly a challenge in larger languages with internal complexity such as Rote, Kambera, Manggarai, Uab Meto (Atoni/Timor/Dawan).



Dialect chaining

These and many other issues make Nusa Tenggara a region of fascinating ethnolinguistic diversity enriched by its multiple social heritages.

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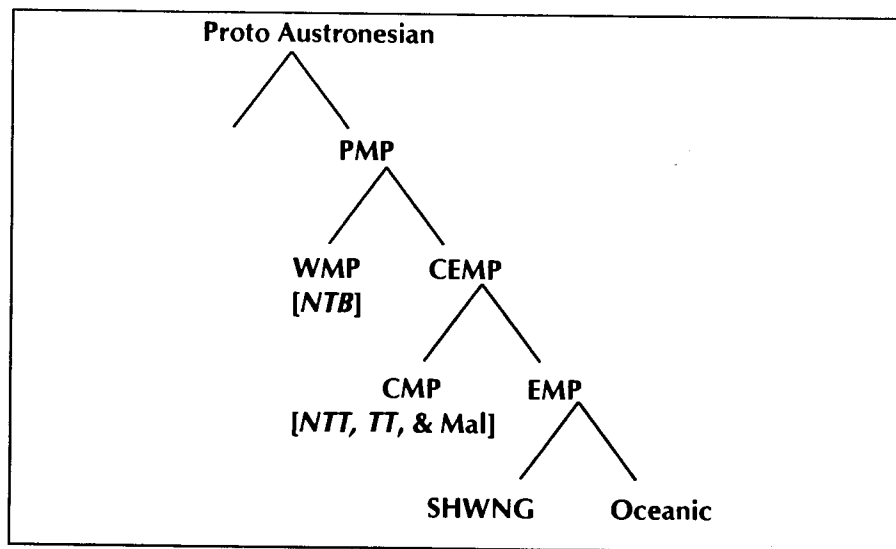
Language overview: a meeting place

Nusa Tenggara is a meeting place of languages, cultures, people, flora and fauna. It is a zone of contact between two major groups of languages that are not related to each other. These two groups are known as the Austronesian [AN] language family, and the non-Austronesian (Non-AN, or Papuan) languages.

The Austronesians who inhabit the region belong to a language family that is geographically the most widespread in the world, stretching from Madagascar off the coast of Africa to Easter Island in the Pacific off of South America. It includes the indigenous languages of Taiwan, the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia (excluding the non-Austronesian languages mentioned below), many coastal languages of Papua New Guinea, and most of the languages of Pacific island nations in Melanesia and all of Polynesia and Micronesia. It is thought (based on archeological evidence) that the Austronesians migrated southward through the Philippine islands and moved into eastern Indonesia around 4,000 years ago (with a wide margin for error), before continuing eastward into the Pacific and eventually peopling the islands of Polynesia around 1,000 years ago.

There are various views of how Austronesian languages are related to each other at higher levels, but for our purposes we can simplify a view held by many scholars that the Austronesian languages outside of Taiwan can all be referred to by the term Malayo-Polynesian. The ancestor of all these languages is referred to as Proto Malayo-Polynesian [PMP]. PMP seems to have chained its way southward through the Philippines into the Indonesian archipelago and then eastward into the Pacific. This chaining or networking pattern mean that issues of internal subgrouping (i.e. classification—how does this language relate to other languages in a taxonomy) are still unclear in many areas, mostly due to the lack of good descriptive data that are a prerequisite to such comparative and historical studies.

Again, to simplify a complex picture, languages to the west of the isthmus on the island of Sumbawa (in Nusa Tenggara Barat) including those in Sulawesi, western Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines are referred to as Western Malayo-Polynesian languages [WMP]. Languages to the east of the isthmus on the island of Sumbawa including the Austronesian languages of Nusa Tenggara Timur, Timor Timur, Maluku and Irian Jaya are referred to as Central-Eastern Malayo Polynesian [CEMP] languages.



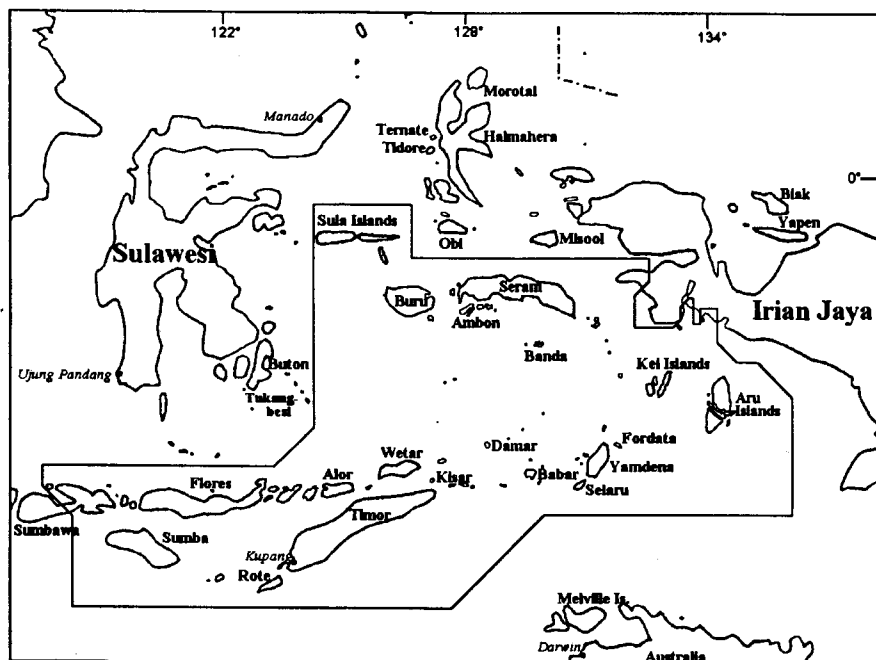
Simplified Austronesian taxonomy (after Blust 1978)

CEMP is composed of two groups of languages. Central Malayo-Polynesian [CMP] includes all the Austronesian languages east from the isthmus of the island of Sumbawa stretching through NTT and TT, and including the AN languages spoken on the islands of southern and central Maluku. A few languages spoken along the west coast of Irian Jaya are also classified as CMP (Blust 1993). AN languages in southern Halmahera and out into the Pacific are Eastern Malayo-Polynesian [EMP] languages, which subdivides into South Halmahera-West New Guinea languages and the Oceanic subgroup, the latter of which includes Polynesian languages.

Of particular interest to readers of this *Guide* then are CMP languages, covering the bulk of AN languages spoken in Nusa Tenggara. The study of CMP languages as a whole is still at a fledgling state, and based on scarce data. Recent attempts to define what features define CMP languages and what distinguishes them from WMP or EMP languages have helped clarify the picture, but are also full of exceptions and other difficulties.

Of further note is that the meeting place or boundary between these two major groupings of AN languages (i.e. between WMP and CMP) lies in Nusa Tenggara.

The AN languages of Nusa Tenggara exhibit a wide variety of sound inventories, morphology, morphophonemics, and some complex metathesis and elision patterns driven by discourse pragmatics.



Scope of CMP languages in eastern Indonesia

Internal subgrouping of CMP languages is still at little more than an impressionistic state (methodologically) and so the status quo warrants no further discussion here, other than to note that while the status quo is known to be unsatisfactory, the systematic work required to propose a credible alternative has not yet been done.

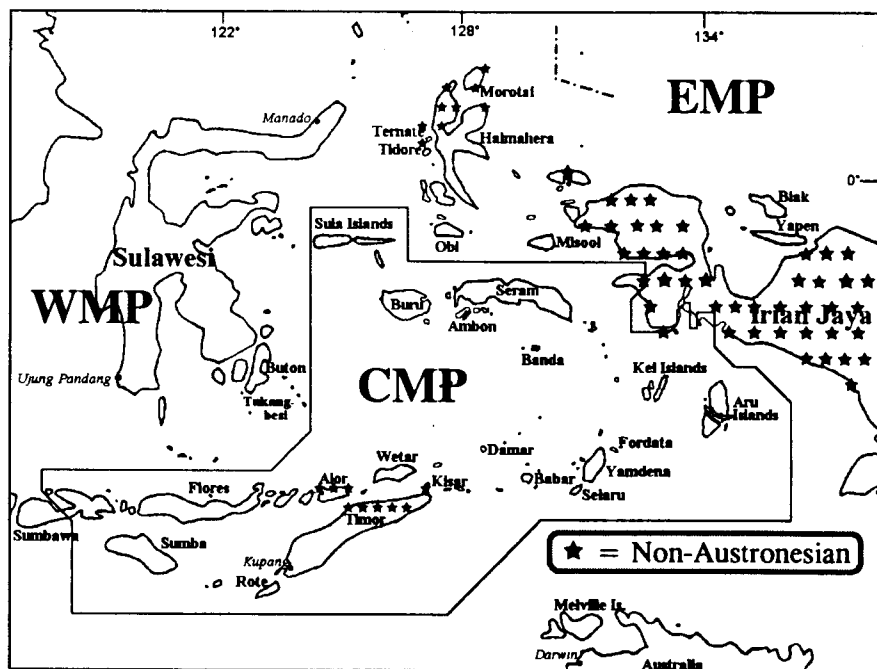
Readers interested in further orientation to recent studies of Austronesian culture history in general, and Austronesian and CMP languages in particular are referred to Bellwood (1985), Bellwood, Fox & Tryon, eds. (1995), Blust (1993), Fox, ed. (1993), Fox & Sather, eds. (1996), Grimes (1991), Pawley & Ross (1993), and Tryon, et.al. eds. (1995). Readers interested in a critique including alternate views of subgrouping within Austronesian are referred to Wolf (1997).

Non-Austronesian (Papuan) languages

Other languages in the region are contrasted with the Austronesian languages using the term 'Non-Austronesian' [Non-AN]. In one sense, this is a non-term, but its use is restricted to the greater New Guinea island area and alternatives are equally problematic. The term 'Papuan' is sometimes used, but unlike AN, Papuan does not encompass a mass of related

languages, but is rather a geographical term that encompasses over a dozen unrelated language *families* (note that AN is a single language family). Descriptive studies of the Non-AN languages of Alor, Pantar, and East Timor tend to be both sparse and sketchy. Because of that, the comparative study of how these Non-AN languages relate to the Non-AN languages of Irian Jaya and Papua New Guinea is also sketchy.

The Non-AN languages of East Timor, Alor and Pantar are currently classified within what is called the 'Trans-New Guinea Phylum' of languages, in the Timor-Alor-Pantar branch. This classification is tenuous enough that its basis would not impress a layman, but pending further study it is a classification we can work with.



Location of Non-AN languages in eastern Indonesia

More interesting than the classification of these Non-AN languages, perhaps, is the question of their history. There are three possibilities:

1. The Non-AN languages in Nusa Tenggara reflect remnants of populations in place before the coming of the Austronesians. In East Timor the Non-AN populations moved further into the interior upon the

arrival of the Austronesians. The AN populations tended to settle more along the coasts.

2. The Non-AN languages in Nusa Tenggara reflect relatively recent migrations from the New Guinea mainland to the Timor area. (Many groups in Alor and Pantar, and the Non-AN language of Oirata on the island of Kisar claim to have migrated from the Timor mainland.) But archeological evidence of a Papuan maritime culture on the New Guinea mainland capable of supporting such migrations are hard to find.
3. It is also possible that *both* of the above possibilities are true. Some of the diversity of languages on Alor suggests two different sources or waves of settlement.

The question of their history remains open.

The Non-AN languages of Nusa Tenggara tend to be verb-final, agglutinative languages, with clause chaining.

For an orientation to Non-AN languages in general, and Timor-Alor-Pantar languages in particular, see Capell 1943-44, Foley 1986, Stokhof 1975, and Wurm, ed. 1975.

Parallelism and ritual language

One feature prominent in both Austronesian and Non-Austronesian languages of Nusa Tenggara is the use of binary parallel structures in ordinary and ritual speech. This feature is so widespread and noticeable that the entire next section of this *Guide* is devoted to providing a brief orientation to it.

Languages of wider communication

The language of government, education, and the mass media is *Indonesian*, the national language (Moeliono & Grimes 1995). Indonesian is used in a diglossic relationship with regional varieties of Malay which tend to be used in urban areas and for inter-ethnic communication, expressing regional solidarity (B. Grimes 1991, C. Grimes 1996). Since both Indonesian and regional Malays developed from varieties of Malay, the differences between the languages are seen as a continuum, rather than as completely distinct linguistic identities. B. Grimes (1991) gives a historical, theoretical, and sociolinguistic look at the development of Malays in eastern Indonesia. The Malays of eastern Indonesia are difficult for Malay speakers from the west to understand on initial contact, due to differences

including pronominal systems, negatives, possessive constructions, ellision, discourse markers, semantics and idioms.

Identifiable varieties of Malay spoken in Nusa Tenggara include *Larantuka Malay* (Kumanireng 1982) spoken in eastern Flores, *Kupang Malay* spoken around Kabupaten Kupang, and *Dili Malay* spoken around east Timor. Kupang Malay is also in written form in a special column of the daily newspaper *Pos Kupang*. Dili Malay is different from other varieties of Malay spoken in eastern Indonesia in that it is not based primarily on trade Malays, but on Indonesian, and has calqued on East Timorese languages. One noticeable feature includes the absence of affricates, such that Indonesian/Malay *tujuh* [tudʒu] 'seven' is pronounced [tuzu], and so forth.

Lamaholot is used as a language of wider communication from eastern Flores to western Alor. After European contact, government and commerce in the area were centred around a Portuguese fort on northeast Solor and across the strait at Waiwerang on Adonara. Thus in the early literature the language used was referred to as 'Solor'. Later, the centre of government, commerce and the church was moved to Larantuka on the east coast of Flores. The 'Solor' language continued to be used for commerce and interethnic communication and is now known as Lamaholot. But throughout this whole Lamaholot-speaking area are also found vernacular languages that hidden by the dominance of Lamaholot as a language of interethnic communication. See the section on Flores-Lembata languages for further discussion of this complex multilingual area.

Tetum Prasa (Tetum Praça, Tetun Dili) developed as a creolised variety of Tetun spoken in the immediate environs around the town of Dili. Since the Portuguese left East Timor, Tetum Prasa has grown rapidly in its use as a language of wider communication in East Timor and its use often reflects an expression of solidarity.

Languages of immigrants

Perhaps the largest group of people who share an ethnic identity from outside Nusa Tenggara are the *Balinese* communities found in western Lombok. They continue to maintain their culture and linguistic identity, even after several generations.

One of the more elusive groups are the *Bajau*, also known as Bajo, Orang Laut, and Sea Gypsies. They are found in scattered communities in inlets along the north coasts of Sumbawa, Flores, Adonara, Lembata, and in a couple places on the island of Rote. Many have been in the region for

generations. Other Bajau communities are scattered around coastal Sulawesi, Maluku and Kalimantan. How much variety is found in the languages spoken in Bajau communities in Nusa Tenggara is unknown. Their language is thought to trace its origins to the Sama groups of the Sulu archipelago in the southern Philippines. See Pallesen (1985). Stereotypically the Bajau tend to be oriented to the sea, poorer and less educated than surrounding groups, and adhere to Islam.

In larger urban areas, and in some areas where wet-rice cultivation has gained a foothold, there are immigrants from South Sulawesi. They are referred to by the term '*Bugis*', but in Nusa Tenggara this term refers to any Muslims from South Sulawesi. Historically the Sultan of Goa (Makasar) dominated parts of western Flores until 1724, so the connection is long-standing. Many '*Bugis*' are in fact Bugis from various regions (Bone, Wajo, Soppeng, Luwu, Sidenrap, etc.), but there are also Makasarese, and people from Mandar, Mamuju, Pattinjo, and Selayar. See Grimes and Grimes (1987). Stereotypically immigrants from South Sulawesi are seen to move into an urban area (e.g. Kupang, Dili) and eventually begin to dominate the larger markets, and public transportation.

There are also long-standing communities referred to as '*Buton*' and sometimes as '*Binongko*'. Buton is the name of a large island off southeast Sulawesi. There used to be a sultanate on Buton at Bau-bau, and the administrative language of the sultanate for the greater Buton region was the Wolio language spoken natively in only a few villages around Bau-bau. These so-called Buton and Binongko communities are found in Nusa Tenggara along the north coast of Flores, Adonara, Lembata, Alor, in eastern Rote, and elsewhere. Their boats and their language are distinguishable from those of the Bajau. Many people labelled as '*Buton*' are in fact not from Buton, but rather from the Tukang Besi island chain between Buton and Buru (one island of which is Binongko). Among these multiethnic communities speaking a variety of languages, the Wolio language is occasionally still used as a language of interethnic communication and to emphasize the solidarity of the '*Buton*' identity. See Anceaux & Grimes (1995), Donohue (1995), and Southon (1995). Stereotypically, the Buton are seen to dominate harbour areas, and dominate smaller urban markets and a growing number of weekly rural markets. Their main identity, however, is in small-scale inter-island trade.

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Parallelisms and ritual language in eastern Indonesia

A widespread and prominent feature in the languages of eastern Indonesia is the use of parallelisms and ritual language, particularly in Nusa Tenggara and southwest Maluku. Therefore we provide brief orientation to the phenomena of "paired speech" as it occurs in the region. In doing so we also provide a framework for understanding both the linguistic and the social aspects associated with such parallelism.

The study of parallelism

The early study of parallelism as a linguistic phenomenon focused almost exclusively on Hebrew verse, stemming from a series of lectures delivered in Latin in 1753 by Rev. Robert Lowth, the Professor of Hebrew Poetry at Oxford. Even though scholars eventually came to recognize the phenomena of parallelism existed in many languages of the world, in a survey of the literature on parallelism Fox (1988a) notes that many studies showed a general lack of cross-fertilisation.

"With few exceptions, however, the tradition of biblical scholarship has confined its attention principally to the consideration of parallelism within Semitic languages. It has not taken cognisance of the existence of parallelism in other major languages, although it was Lowth's recognition of Hebrew parallelism that initially gave rise to the comparative study of parallelism. Already in the nineteenth century, linguists, literary scholars, and, not infrequently, Bible translators encountered traditions of parallel compositions in widely scattered areas of the world." (1988a:6)

The gradual accumulation of studies on parallelism now includes Russian, Finnish, Egyptian, Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Arabic, New Testament writings, rabbinical Hebrew, medieval Hebrew, modern Hebrew, Ostyak and Vogul folk poetry, Mongolian, Turkish, Nahuatl, Maya, Zinacanteco, Tzotzil, K'ekchi', Cuna, Aranda (Arrente(?), Australia), Thulung Rai (Nepal), Sadar and Todas (India), 'Chinese', Tibetan, Kachin, Garo, Shan, Burmese, Mon, Karen, Thai, and Vietnamese. Published studies on parallelism in Austronesian languages include Malagasy (Merina), Manobo, Hawaiian, Dayak,

Toraja, Bolaang Mongondow, Batak, Bugis, Bare'e (Pamona), Malay and Malay 'dialects' such as Kutai. Studies on parallelism in Austronesian languages in eastern Indonesia include east Sumba (Kambera), Rindi (dialect of Kambera), Wejewa (Weyewa, Wewewa), Kodi, Rote, Uab Meto (Timor Dawan), Wanukaka, Li'o, Ende, Tana Ai (dialect of Sika). Studies on parallelism in non-Austronesian (Papuan) languages in eastern Indonesia and Papua New Guinea include Bunaq (on Timor), and Buang (PNG).

Given the geographic and linguistic spread of these languages and the diversity of the studies, it must be remembered that the term 'parallelism' can mean many things. Some writers use a strict definition including only the canonical formulae of traditional oral literature and excluding the productive use of similar structures in non-ritual speech or contexts. Some writers exclude repetition from their definition of 'parallelisms', while others include it. Some writers restrict their studies to oral traditions, while for some languages (like Sanskrit—the *Veda*, Biblical Hebrew, etc.) parallelisms are accessible only through written manuscripts. Each definition of 'parallelism', 'doublet', 'couplet', 'pair', 'dyad', 'dual repetition' or 'binary speech' tends to reflect features that are most salient in the language(s) the writer knows best. After discussing some of the social contexts associated with the use of parallelism in eastern Indonesia, we consider the linguistic structure and semantic relationships found in forms of parallelism in this region.

Social factors relating to the use of parallelism in eastern Indonesia

The use of parallelism in eastern Indonesia is inherently tied with the transmission of cultural values and identity:

“...the cultures of the area [eastern Indonesia] are noted for their lively and diverse oral traditions; but they are equally, and perhaps more importantly, noted for the cultural importance attached to dyadic speech. Oral composition in a binary mode is an essential means of social as well as ritual communication. Dyadic language is, however, more than a means of special communication; it has become, for many of the societies of the region, the primary vehicle for the preservation and transmission of cultural knowledge. Thus, in eastern Indonesia, fundamental metaphoric structures of

culture are embedded in forms of dyadic language.” (Fox 1988a:2)

In many parts of eastern Indonesia the faithful transmission of cultural values, family roots and oral histories and behavioural norms are all associated with forms of parallelism. Conventionalised parallelisms spoken in certain ritual contexts may be considered the ‘words of the ancestors’. Certain situations require the oral recitation (or singing) of hundreds or even thousands of parallel verses, such as in the ritual recitation of clan histories chanted all night long. The following excerpt from a clan history narrates the ritual responsibilities of particular social leaders ‘who look after the road’ among the Mambai of east Timor (Traube 1986:115):

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (1) | <i>Ro fe deiki luron</i> | It is they who look after the road |
| | <i>Ro fe bale dambata</i> | It is they who watch over the bridge |
| | <i>Ro fe inu-ausa</i> | It is they who are dog-nosed |
| | <i>Ro fe mata-mauna</i> | It is they who are cock-eyed |
| | <i>Inan kau, ro fe flik</i> | [When] the Mother calls, |
| | | it is they who hear |
| | <i>Aman kau, ro fe tad</i> | [When] the Father calls, |
| | | it is they who know |
| | <i>Oid ma konta</i> | To come and account |
| | <i>Oid ma farti</i> | To come and report |

The next excerpt is from another clan history titled “The Gate and the Path of Nabuasa” (McWilliam 1989:62–82). It narrates the journey of the Nabuasa clan ancestors (from the Atoni people of West Timor) as they went out from their origin point in time and space. Although the narrative has a kind of mythological ‘timelessness’ to it, what is seen as culturally important is the *sequence* of events throughout the narrative.

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 | <i>Afi neno unu</i> | In the days of long ago |
| 2 | <i>fai unut ne</i> | and the ancient nights |
| 3 | <i>hai nai’ amtokom bi</i> | our ancestors lived at |
| 4 | <i>fatu Saenam am</i> | the rock of Saenam and |
| 5 | <i>Oe Saenam</i> | the water of Saenam |
| 6 | <i>bi fatun</i> | the rock name |
| 7 | <i>tal fatun</i> | the covering rock name |
| 8 | <i>Saenam and Oenam</i> | Saenam and Oenam |
| 9 | <i>Banam and Onam</i> | Banam and Oman |

| | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 31 <i>Tiaman tokot nak</i> | Reaching there he said, |
| 32 <i>pah I suis leuf am</i> | This land is very thin and |
| 33 <i>ma'len leuf</i> | very confined. |
| 34 <i>mas of tahat kaleko ma</i> | Later we will eat badly and |
| 35 <i>tinut kaleko</i> | drink poorly |
| 36 <i>Mautum hit nao neo</i> | So be it, we will go to |
| 37 <i>toi manuanam</i> | the wide stile and |
| 38 <i>eno manuan, es ne</i> | the wide gate that is |
| 39 <i>fatu tumbesima</i> | the rock of Tumbesi and |
| 40 <i>hau tumbesi</i> | the tree of Tumbesi |

[and so on for 493 lines]

Because parallelisms are often described (by anthropologists and others) as 'ritual speech' or 'ritual language', one can mistakenly jump to the conclusion that the use of parallelism is restricted to ritual situations. That is not the case. There is a wide range of situations in which parallelisms are used. In some languages (Rote, Sabu, Kisar) the use of parallelisms is *obligatory* at any time of ritual such as in life-cycle and agricultural rituals, as well as when praying to God, to the ancestors or to spirits, and in situations of 'formal' speaking such as in negotiations over land and marriage. In places in Central Maluku like Buru where rituals associated with the life-cycle and agriculture are not as elaborate as in the southern areas, the use of parallelisms is not as elaborate, but parallelisms are still considered to be part of 'elegant' speech and the use of parallel constructions sprinkled through everyday speech is appreciated, on occasions such as when one might be reporting on a hunt, making a joke, or chatting over the preparations for a community feast. As Wrigglesworth (1980:50) notes among the Manobo of the Philippines, people 'savour' every word of an attractive couplet of parallelism.

In Buru the use of parallelisms is found in a wide variety of discourse genres including being the hallmark of proverbs, *enwenet* 'sung ballads', and the more formal (ritual) language used in different types of *salawatu* 'prayers', *fisarat* 'speeches', and *efnasat* 'decisions resulting from negotiations'. Even though parallelisms may be found in many discourse genres, parallelism is so highly valued and striking that it often is a named mode of speaking. In Buru it is occasionally referred to as *plagu* 'speaking in pairs, parallelism'. In Wejewa (west Sumba)

couplets are called *jobba*. The Ata Tana Ai (eastern Flores) refer to *bleka hura* 'patterned speech'.²



Traditional Tetun house with suspended mats in south Belu

In the Tetun Fehan-speaking domain of Wehali (south Belu, Timor) the use of parallelisms is also widespread in many speech domains, including giving advice. Stages of advice-giving during the marriage process may be referred to by whole propositions and are rife with symbolism. Therik (1995:118) describes the following:

Advice given to a young couple is called *sadan uma kain foun, ha'i kain foun* (literally 'to make a place for the new stalk of the house, the new hearth of the house'). The aim of the advice is to prepare the young couple for life as a family. In Wehali this aim is referred to as 'to lay betel-nut in the female child's basket and in the male child's pouch' (*hahida bua baa oan fetu no oan mane sia kabinan, sia kakaluk*). The common metaphors used (horse and gardener) explicitly refer to men's jobs. The giving of advice starts after the husband-giver's

² When Grimes and Maryott (1994) was written, this aspect of named registers in Austronesian languages was not explicitly focused on.

house formally 'hands over' the young man to the husband-taker's house, saying:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Ami tutur ata hasan mamfatik</i> | We present the slave to you the ruler |
| <i>hakabit hola</i> | please accept him |
| <i>haliku hola</i> | take care of him |
| <i>kabun fuan ran</i> | (your own) foetus blood |
| <i>tan nia emi naha na'in ti'an</i> | because he is already your baggage carrier |
| <i>emi klaleban na'in ti'an</i> | he is already your baggage taker |
| <i>emi batar musan ti'an</i> | he is already your seed of maize |
| <i>batar sasuran ti'an</i> | he is already your own maize |
| <i>emi renu onan</i> | your own subject |
| <i>emi hutun onan</i> | your own people |
| <i>emi tota ba</i> | train him |
| <i>emi hanorin ba</i> | teach him |

In some areas the use of parallelisms is primarily the domain of ritual specialists.³ That does not preclude non-specialists from using the patterns of parallelisms, but their lack of breadth or confidence is often phrased as not knowing the 'old language', the 'poetic language' or 'the local language', even when they have just been observed speaking the vernacular fluently and sprinkling their speech with the occasional parallelism. The implication for outsiders is to recognise that even in societies in which there are few, if any, specialists, there are always those considered more eloquent or controlling a broader repertoire of oral traditions. It is often these individuals who are sought out by their relatives to speak on their behalf during wedding negotiations, in settling disputes, or in situations requiring speeches. People can often rate their own or other's abilities in the use of parallelisms in relation to certain individuals renowned for their skill in using parallelisms.

The shape of parallelism in eastern Indonesia

The range of data we have examined leads us to the following generalisations about the structure of parallelism in eastern Indonesia.⁴

³ This is very similar to the function of preachers and church elders controlling special registers such as High Church Malay.

⁴ We thank Kathy Taber, Jock Hughes, and David Coward for their insightful selection of Luang, Aru and Selaru data for us as well as their general input into this material.

Linguistic Structure

Parallelism usually takes the shape of two units with the second unit having a grammatical structure identical (or very similar) to the first, the difference being that parts are changed in the second unit. The number of replaced words varies, ranging from a single lexeme or phrase to several phrases. The repetition of the two units having the same grammatical frame (and therefore, the same number of syllables) gives rise to the distinctive rhythm of 'paired speech'.

- (2) Lexemes replaced—semantic similarity [Buru, Maluku]

Sira keha gam sak fuka //

3p climb ALL up mountain //

sira lepa gam sak Fakal.

3p ascend ALL up F.

They climbed up the mountains, they went up to F (name of mountain village).

- (3) Lexeme replaced—semantic opposition (and unity) [Buru, Maluku]

Sira ba hama tu lea //

3p DUR look with day //

pa du hama tu beto.

REAL 3p look with night

They searched by day and they searched by night. (i.e. kept looking continually)

- (4) Phrase replaced—semantic opposition (and unity)

[Rote, NTT, Fox 1988b:165]

Ana-mak mesan-mesan //

Each person is an orphan //

Ma valu-ina mesan-mesan

Each person is a widow

(culturally, widows and orphans together represent all people seen as "pitiful" and in need of assistance)

- (5) Phrase replaced—semantic similarity

[Rindi, eastern Sumba, NTT (Forth 1988:151)]

lua la uma mandamobu //

go to the house that does not rot //

lua la kaheli mandambata

go to the house-floor that does not break

The above examples show the basic form which can be repeated in a variety of ways. The most eloquent parallelisms in many languages involve *two dyadic sets*, with the overall meaning of the two sets being similar.

- (6) From a description of a hunt [Buru]
 Sira iko lepa-k iko logo-k
 3p go ascend-k go descend-k
iko sela-k iko manu-k
 go upstream-k go flow-k
'They went up, went down, went upstream, went downstream.
[i.e. they went all over the place]

- (7) From a prayer
 Tu Opo ba skota-k kita lea tong tu
 with lord DUR watch over-k 1pi sun also with
beto, supa-n tong tu emhawe-n.
 night next day-GEN also with evening-GEN

'[And] God is watching over us both day and night, both morning and evening.' [i.e. at all moments]

The parallel lines do not always have to be contiguous. The following excerpt from a Rote sermon (Fox 1982:316) shows a mixture of *a-b-a-b* and *a-a-b-b* couplet line structure.

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (8) | <i>Maleo Lain puana</i> | The Heavenly Lord's areca palm |
| | <i>Ana moli pengo naleon</i> | [symbolism for 'son'] |
| | <i>Ma Masafali Poin tuana</i> | He underwent a change |
| | | And High God's lontar palm |
| | <i>An' dadi hilu nasafalin</i> | [symbolism for 'son'] |
| | <i>Sehingga an' dadi neu</i> | He was transformed |
| | <i>huni malapa litik</i> | So that he became the banana tree |
| | <i>Ma an' dadi meu tefu</i> | with copper blossom. |
| | <i>manggona lilok</i> | And he became the sugarcane |
| | | with golden sheath. |
| | <i>De lapa litin fifiu</i> | The copper blossom sways |
| | <i>Ma nggona lilon ngganggape</i> | And the golden sheath waves |
| | <i>De ana ngape leli Hela Dulu</i> | He waves toward Hela Dulu |
| | <i>Ma fiu feo Kosi Kona</i> | And sways toward Kosi Kona |

Restrictions on doublets

Not any word can serve as a replacement for another in a grammatical frame: there are almost always conventionalized associations or 'rules' about which words can go together to form the dyadic sets filling the replacement positions in a grammatical frame. Semantically, the second element in a set may be a synonym similar in meaning to the first, or it may be an opposite or counterpart to the first. As in many languages there are conventionalized associations between synonyms and antonyms, but in eastern Indonesian parallelism the associations can be quite restricted, or, as Fox (1974:73) says, the dyadic pairs are 'highly determined'. In English oppositions *up* pairs with *down*, and *ascend* pairs with *descend*. Pairing *up* with *descend* could be considered (semantically) correct but not a 'normal' pair of opposites. Similarly in Buru *keha* 'climb' pairs with its opposite *toho* 'go down' while *lepak* 'ascend' pairs with *logok* 'descend', but *keha* does not pair with *logok* in expressing a semantic opposition. However, *keha* does pair with *lepak* when expressing semantic similarity.

Semantic Relations between doublets

The fundamental principle of all analysis—same or different—is also the starting point for categorising types and subtypes of parallelisms. Is the second unit intended to reinforce the first unit (meaning effectively the *same*, but often highlighting a different perspective), or is the second unit intended to show contrast with the first (*different* end of a scale, antonym, a conventionalised counterpart)? Where contrast is used, it is the *combination* of the two elements that provides the whole meaning, the complete extent of the range, and forms a complementary unit with the first.⁵

We do not discuss the exact repetition of single words here (e.g. *resek-resek* 'true, true') seeing such exact repetition as a stylistic device of a different sort. Similarly, reduplication of simple and complex sorts (e.g. Manggarai *limpe-le-limpe* 'flat-nosed'; Luang *podku-padku* 'foolish'), while having some similarities, is not addressed here.

⁵ MDF (Coward and C. Grimes 1995) provides a crude same/different distinction for inventorising special senses of words in parallelisms in the lexical functions field (Lf). *ParS* is 'Parallelism Same/Similar' and *ParD* is 'Parallelism Different'. MDF is flexible enough to accommodate more complex user-defined categories of meaning relationships in parallelisms.

Synonyms/Near synonyms

Exact synonyms are rare. The vast majority of parallelisms in traditional oral texts in languages of eastern Indonesia seem to fall into the near synonym category. In some cases the differences in the range of meaning of near synonyms is irrelevant as it is the shared meaning that is in focus. In other cases it appears the differences deliberately highlight a new slant on the same topic.⁶

- (9) (Kodi, west Sumba, NTT in Hoskins 1988:39)
Ngara na duki la hondi All those who came to the
wu panduku // tombstones in a line //
Ngara na toma la rate All those who entered the large
wu palolo graves in a row
- (10) (Rote, NTT in Fox 1988b:173)
De malole-a so // This was good //
Do mandak-a so And this was proper
- (11) (Dobel, Aru, Maluku, J. Hughes, p.c.)
ssara si baisse'im illness and sickness = illness, bad health
'umui si aratai leftovers and crumbs = leftovers

A significant feature of some languages in eastern Indonesia is that unitary concepts of cultural significance (like earth, sky, God) are required to be expressed as dualisms. Fox (1982:314—orthography modified) lists some commonly recognised key terms used in sermons on Rote.

- | | | | |
|------|-------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| (12) | Heaven | <i>Nusa Sodak //</i> | Domain of well-being // |
| | | <i>Ingu Temak</i> | Land of fullness |
| | Holy Spirit | <i>Dula Dalek //</i> | Patterner of the heart // |
| | | <i>Le'u Teik</i> | Marker of the inner self |
| | Repent | <i>Sale Dalek //</i> | To turn the heart // |
| | | <i>Tuka Teik</i> | To change the inner self |
| | Golgotha | <i>Lete Langaduik //</i> | Hill of the skull // |
| | | <i>Puku Pakulimak</i> | Mount of the nailed hands |
| | Redeem | <i>Soi // Tefa [Tifa]</i> | To free // To pay |
| | Redeemer | <i>Mana-soi //</i> | The one who freed // |
| | | <i>Mana-tefa</i> | The one who paid |

⁶ Defining principles for identifying contexts or genres where the semantic differences are considered salient and where they are irrelevant is worthy of further study.

The following examples are from Luang (southwest Maluku, Kathy Taber, p.c.). Taber observes that some terms are presented as parallelisms in their first introduction in a text, but may occasionally be tracked through a text by the use of the first unit of the pair by itself.

- | | | | |
|------|------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|
| (13) | condemn to death | <i>rotna ttieru //</i> | cut the neck // |
| | | <i>pniepar tikli</i> | slice the heel |
| | disobey | <i>dikdik o'ta //</i> | shake the head // |
| | | <i>weweha gai</i> | move the face |
| | evil | <i>yata-hala</i> | bad-wrong |
| | jealousy | <i>ihru yata // ralam yata</i> | bad chest // bad heart |
| | obey | <i>tlina-tailia</i> | listen-weigh |
| | persecute | <i>rammuki-ramma'ala</i> | kick-hit |

Antonyms/Counterparts

B.D.Grimes (1993:183-187) points out that there are different kinds of contrastive pairs in Buru. Some are fixed categories usually expressed as nominals (e.g. male/female, father/child, mother/child, elder sibling/younger sibling, root/tip, source/goal, day/night). Many of these reflect *two possible states or relationships of a single entity* (e.g. elder/younger, father/child). Others contrastive pairs express the *reversal of a parallel action* (e.g. go uphill/go downhill, open/close). These are expressed as active verbs. Concepts traditionally associated with the idea of 'antonym' often indicate two *extremes of a relative scale* (e.g. hot/cold, light/dark, wet/dry, good/bad, big/small). These are expressed in Buru as non-active (i.e. state/process) verbs. A significant feature of this latter category is they are transformable—they can be changed into the other category on the scale. Such transformation is often reflected morphologically with a causative prefix, or with a periphrastic causative.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (14) | <i>haa</i> | 'big (state), grow (process)' |
| | <i>ep-haa-k</i> | 'enlarge s.t.' (CAUS-big-k) |
| (15) | <i>moda</i> | 'cool' |
| | <i>Da ep-moda geba.</i> | 'He cools the person' |

These different types of opposite relations appear in doublets often to signal a unitary concept. See previous examples (6) and (7) where

day//night = at all times

go up//go down; go landward//go seaward = go everywhere.

and in previous example (1)

when the mother calls//when the father calls = when a parent calls

Generic-specific

Two units encompassed within a generic category in the native (i.e. emic) taxonomy can also be used to express a unitary concept.

- (16) (Dobel, Aru, Maluku, J. Hughes, p.c.)
diyan si abil plate and tongs = dishes, crockery
kwai si bata''am grasshopper₁ and grasshopper₂
= grasshoppers, crickets, etc.
kwakwa si bingan child and woman =
family (of a man)
sar si balera world and firmament = universe
- (17) (Selaru, Tanimbar, Maluku, D. Coward, p.c.)
asw o hahy dog and pig = animals
sru o mbinan spoon and plate = kitchen ware
- (18) (Buru, central Maluku in B.D. Grimes 1993:183)
Ma ba midi // Ma ba mali Let's play // Let's laugh
= Let's have a good time together.

The following parallelism specifies the different ingredients associated with relaxing and taking a break when walking on the trail (chewing betel and smoking tobacco). The parts represent the whole.

- (19) From a Buru ballad
Fen ya laha fua-é, rese-n rese-n-ó.
 say 1s request betel-VOC true-GEN true-GEN-VOC
Raja Bau-é, a lah tabako rese-n rese-n tu,
 king B.-VOC 1s request tobacco true-GEN true-GEN with
pa sepo ya nango lafa rese-n-é.
 REAL finish 1s 1sPOSS trailfood true-
 GEN-VOC

[She] said, "I ask for betelnut-é, truly, truly-ó. Hey King Bau-é, I ask for tobacco truly truly and, it is so that when I have it all I will have my snack for the trail truly-é."

A generic category can also be expressed by a combination of a generic term and one specific term.

- (20) (Dobel, Aru, Maluku, J. Hughes, p.c.)
alai si daba boat and pointed canoe
 = boats of all kinds

Dialectal synonyms

Extensive use of parallelisms requires the availability of a large number of synonyms and near synonyms. However, when the audience recognises the speaker (performer) is 'speaking in pairs' it is not important to understand the details of the semantics, but rather to appreciate the verbal dexterity of the performer and the rhythm which he or she evokes. Since the dominant pattern of parallelisms in ritual speech is rephrasing the first element by substituting a similar meaning verb or object (or both) in the second element, it is the structure that signals the existence of the parallelisms. The precise meaning of the words of the second element are often assumed to mean approximately the same as the first element. And it is not necessary for the hearers (and in ritual performances even the speakers) to control the vocabulary of the second member of the pair. In some cases, then, the second element (the synonym) can have its origins in 1) archaic language, 2) other dialects of the same language, or 3) the languages of other societies with which the groups sees themselves as having a formal or informal relationship.

In Buru if a set of two pairs of words are not readily available from the speaker's dialect, the key words for the second set may be borrowed from another dialect of Buru, from another language such as Kayeli or Sula, or from Malay. *Plagu* is thus a mechanism for introducing new forms into the language while associating them with known meanings. In an informal check in several mountain and coastal villages on Buru, we found the meanings of the alternate forms adapted from other dialects or languages were not known by over 90% of the people.⁷

7. Fox (1974:80-83) also discusses and illustrates the use of such "dialect semantics" in Rote parallelisms.

- (21) Adapting parallelism from dialectal synonyms
 Sira *rogo* la *bage*, sira *sii* la *ine*.
 3p enter IRR sleep 3p enter IRR sleep
 [MASARETE dialect] [LISELA dialect]
'They went in to sleep, they went in to sleep.'

- (22) Adapting parallelism from neighbouring languages
 Ring *ba dohi apu* oko-n,
 3s DUR search lime skin-GEN
 ring *ba hama ahul* usa-n.
 3s DUR seek lime [Kayeli] skin-GEN [Kayeli]
'She was systematically searching for seashells, she was looking for seashells [to make lime for betel].'

In these situations it is the first element of the pair that carries the story or the meaning. The second element of the pair results in what Valeri (1990) (discussing multilingualism among the Huaulu of Seram) calls "the retreat of the semantics". This leads Renard-Clamagirand (1988) in describing parallelisms among the Wejewa of west Sumba to observe that "These formulae form pairs using synonymous or related words and expressions which are not always found in everyday life."

In the following parallelism from Dobel, Aru, Maluku (J. Hughes, p.c.) the order is reversed, with the first element borrowed from Malay.

- (23) *suratu si aillaba* letter (Malay) and letter
 = written material in general

In some pairs, the meaning of one unit may not be recoverable. There are several instances where the only occurrence of a word in the entire available data corpus is in doublet form, and native speakers cannot give a meaning for the word in isolation.

- (24) (Selaru, Tanimbar, Maluku, David Coward p.c.)
kotw o abw food and ? = eatable things

| | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| (25) | (Dobel, Aru, Jock Hughes p.c.) | | |
| | <i>abasa'an si abakoloin</i> | | slave and ? = person in |
| | slavery | | |
| | <i>ssoba si ainna</i> | friend and ? | = friends (not relatives) |
| | <i>a'u si ronga</i> | k.o. fish and ? | = celebration ⁸ |
| | <i>mar si bulai</i> | ? and hunger | = needs, lack |

Are there specialised meanings when 'normal' words are used in parallelism?

Fox (1993 [1972]) has made the beginnings of a dictionary of 'Rotinese formal dyadic language' to record the specialised senses occurring when a word is used in a conventionalised parallelism in ritual texts. Words can be used in their normal senses as well, but when they occur paired with certain other words or phrases this signals a conventionalised non-normal (or special ritual language) meaning.

How 'productive' or 'frozen' are the parallelisms in eastern Indonesia?

Although the flexibility of the system varies from language to language, some generalisations can be made. Certain words can function in parallelisms with a conventionally restricted set of other words—usually one or two, but may be as many as seven (often mapping a variety of possible semantic relationships). Conventionalised associations (restrictions) of this sort are found in many languages. Many people may know some basic sets, but skilled speakers are considered to be those who control a greater number of sets and have a greater degree of confidence in using them..

Given the instances where certain pairs have specialised meaning and the conventionalised associations (restrictions) of pairs, it does not appear that there is much room for 'coining' new pairings. Where the productivity comes into play is in the ability to appropriately manipulate conventionalised doublets in a variety of contexts. The 'skilled' speakers find creative applications of both widely known and little known parallelisms.

⁸ Hughes notes that a festive atmosphere was associated with the past practice of spearing these particular fish at high tide while sitting in mangrove trees around October each year.

In many areas the structures associated with parallelisms are available for creative performance in conventionalised ways. For example certain Atoni (west Timor) are skilled at composing and performing *natonni*, a chanted history structured in parallelisms and repetitions complete with a choral echo, such as the history of the Protestant Church on Timor performed in February 1996 for the 25th anniversary of the theological school.

The skilful use of parallelisms is at once a link to the ancestors, a link expressing solidarity with those of other dialects or languages with whom one is allied, and a social link with those who hear and appreciate the skilful art of the poet.

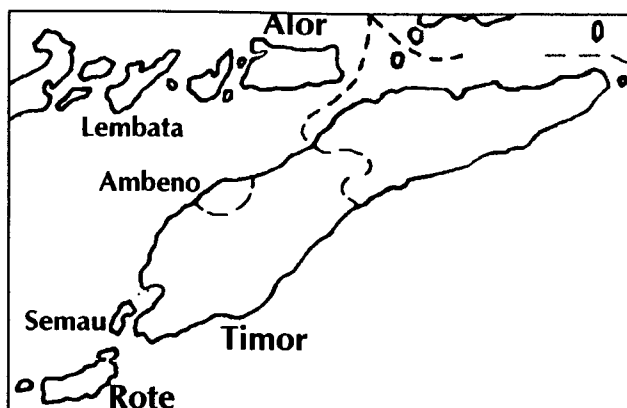
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Timor Area (23 languages)



ADABE

Alternate language names: ATAURO, ATAURA, ATAURU, RAKLU-UN, RAKLU UN.

Dialects: MUNASELI PANDAI.

Language Classification: (Non-Austronesian) Trans-New Guinea, Timor-Alor-Pantar.

Location: Atauro Island, north of Dili on Timor Island.

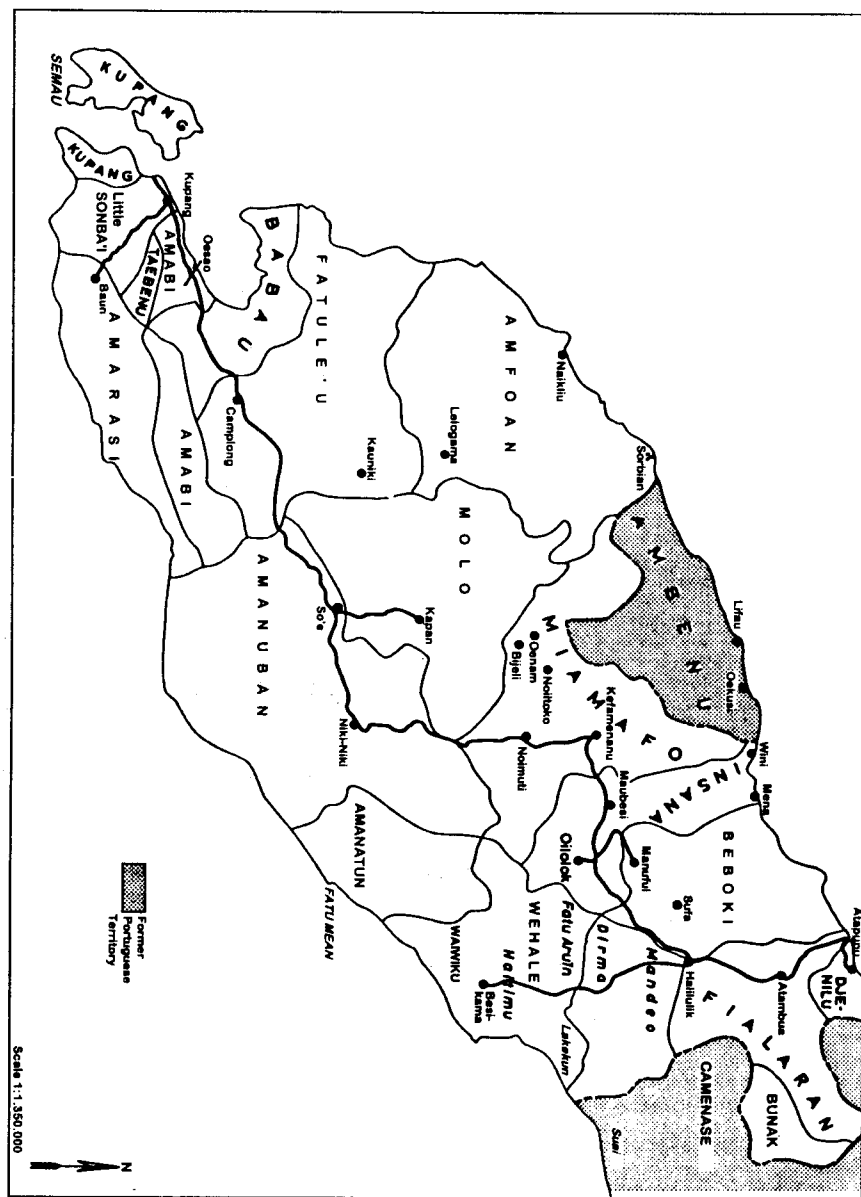
Administratively in East Timor.

Number in ethnic group: 1,000 (?) (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

Comments: Reported to be different from Galoli dialects on Atauro, and not to be related to Timor languages. Whether it is more closely related to the languages on the Timor mainland or those on Alor needs investigation. Atauro was used as a prison island by the Portuguese.

Key bibliographical sources:

Magalhaes, Antonio Leite de. 1918. A ilha de Atauro. Noticia sobre a ilha e seus habitantes. *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*:(36):53-70; 164-178.



Traditional princedoms of west Timor Island
 (adapted from Schulte Nordholt 1971:154)

AMARASI

Dialects:

- AMARASI BARAT (WEST)
- AMARASI TIMUR (EAST)

Location: Southwestern tip of Timor Island.

Number in ethnic group: 50,000 [check].

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Nuclear Timor, West. Most closely related to Atoni (Uab Meto).

Religious profile: Christian.

Comments: Consensus among scholars and 'Atoni' themselves that Amarasi is the most divergent variety. The differences include /r/ where other dialects tend to have /l/, vocabulary differences and semantic differences. Local preachers often translate the Atoni scriptures into Amarasi on-the-spot so it can be understood. Intermixed with Helong speakers. Borderline between very divergent dialect and different language from Atoni (Uab Meto).

Key bibliographical sources:

Middelkoop, P. 1939. Amarassisch-Timoreesche teksten. *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 74(2).

ATONI⁹

Alternate language names: TIMOR¹⁰, TIMORESE, TIMOL, TIMOREESCH, TIMOREEZEN, DAWAN¹¹, TIMOR DAWAN, AMBENO, AMBENU, VAIKENU, VAIKINO, BAIKENU, BIKENU, BIQUENO, UAB METO, UAB ATONI PAH METO, UAB PAH METO, ORANG GUNUNG, RAWAN.

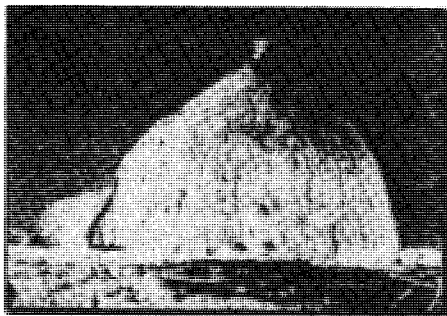
⁹ *Atoni* means 'person'. It is acceptable as a cover term for the ethnic group, but not for the language.

¹⁰ 'Timor' is generally understood to refer to the Atoni, but is problematic in that there are many other languages on Timor as well.

¹¹ 'Dawan' is a term used by North Tetun speakers in Belu to refer to the non-Tetun (i.e. Atoni) people to their west. Middelkoop suggested *dawan* is a Tetun word meaning 'enemy', in contrast to *belu* which means 'friend, companion', but this folk etymology is difficult to support on both linguistic and anthropological grounds. Note that the language does not have a /d/ sound. The term 'Dawan' is occasionally used by Atoni in Timor Tengah Utara to refer to themselves or their language, but not generally in other regencies. Many Atoni do not accept the term 'Dawan' to refer to either themselves or their language.

*Dialects:*¹²

- AMFOAN-FATULE'U-AMABI (AMFOAN, AMFUANG, FATULE'U, AMABI),
- AMANUBAN-AMANATUN (AMANUBAN, AMANUBANG, AMANATUN)
- MOLLO-MIOMAFO (MOLLO, MIOMAFO),
- BIBOKI-INSANA (BIBOKI, INSANA)
- AMBENU (AMBENO, VAIKENU, VAIKINO)
- KUSA-MANLEA (KUSA, MANLEA).



Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Nuclear Timor, West. Most closely related to Amarasi.

Location: Western Timor Island.

Number in ethnic group: 600,000; 14,000 in Ambeno (1989).

Comments: Much dialect variation, requiring speakers up to several weeks to adjust for effective communication to take place. Ethnographic and linguistic differences are encountered in nearly every valley, but the details and over-all patterns have yet to be studied. 'Uab Meto' is speakers' name for their own language.

Religious profile: Christian (Atoni), traditional religion (Ambeno).

Key bibliographical sources:

Cunningham, Clark. 1964. Order in the Atoni House. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 120:34-68.

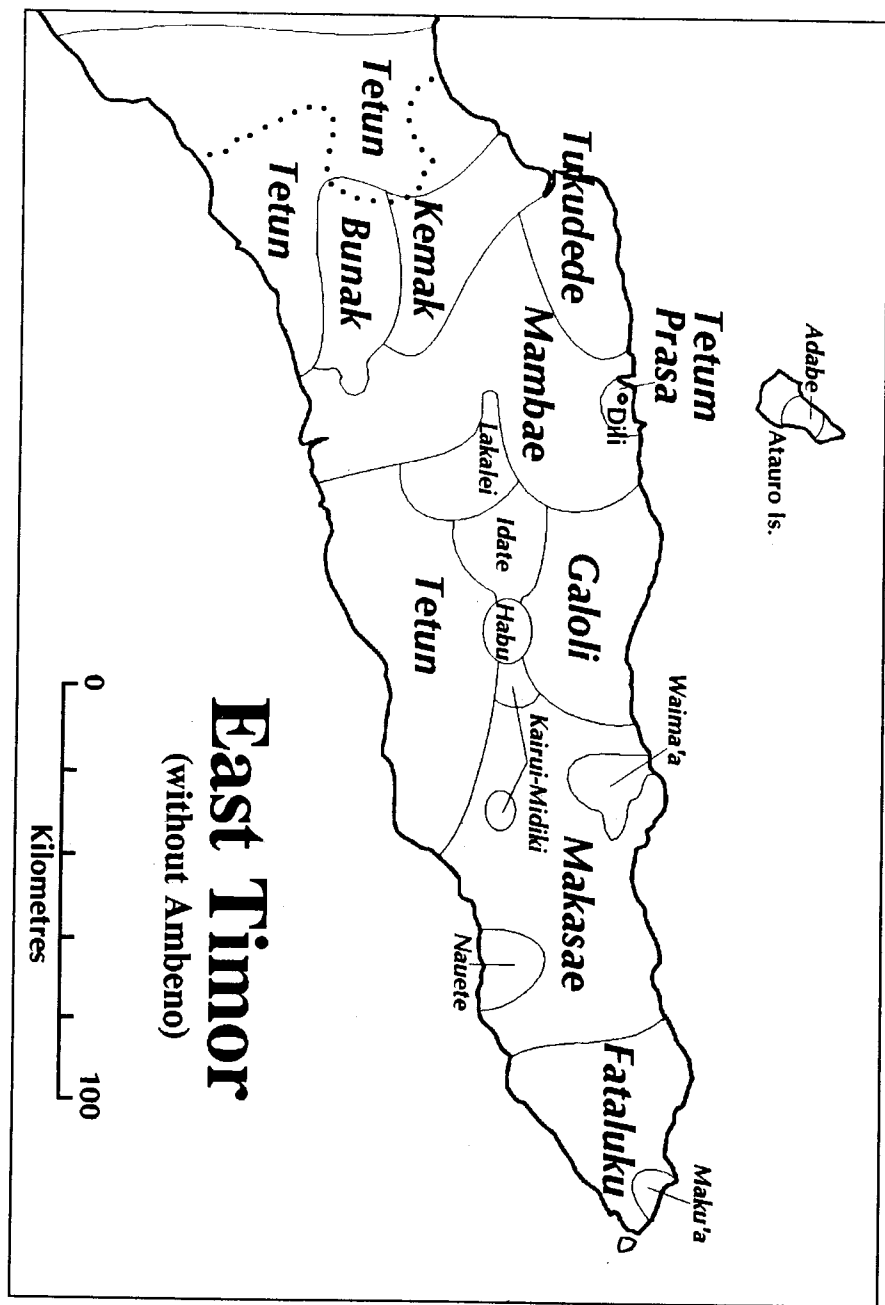
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———. 1967. Atoni kin categories and conventional behavior. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land en Volkenkunde* 123:53-70.

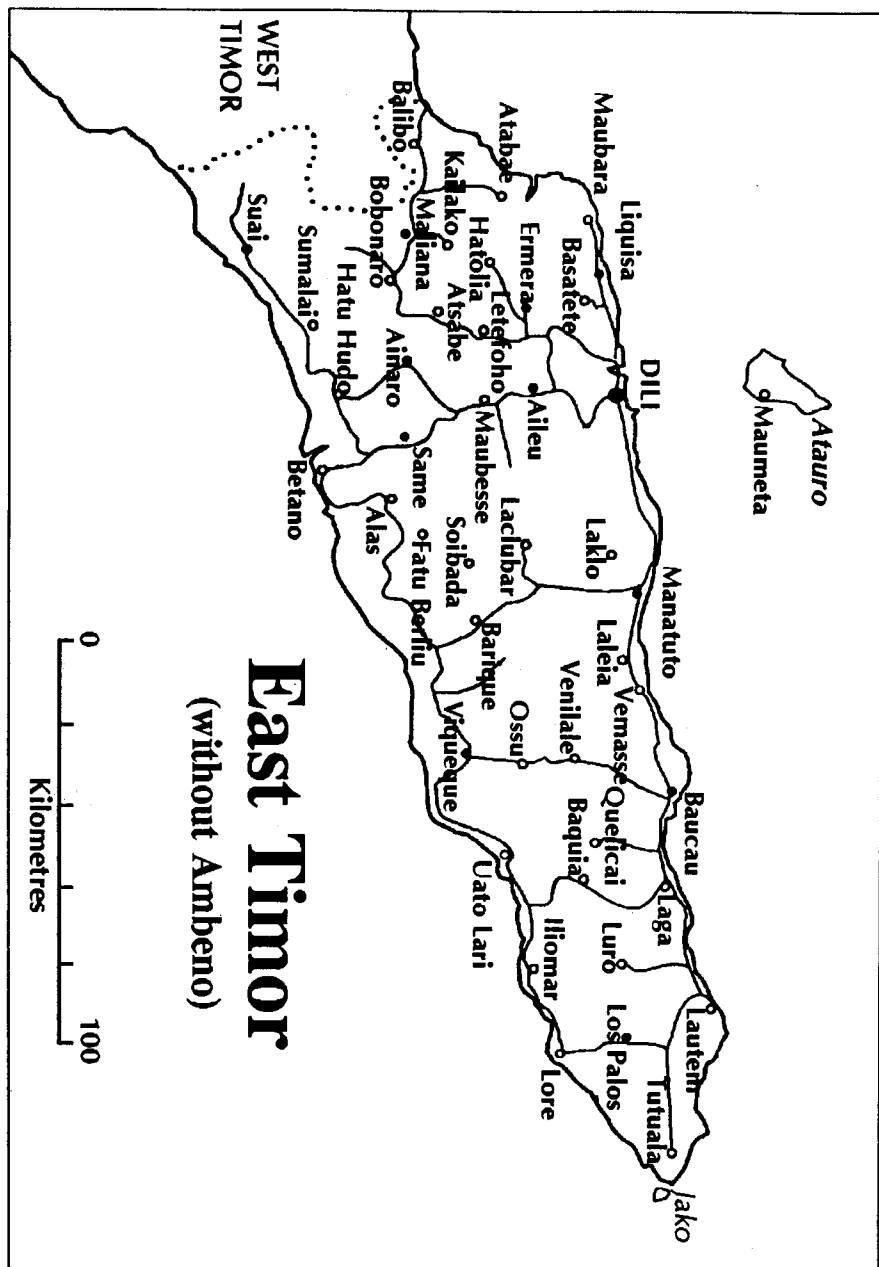
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¹² Note that Amarasi is listed separately as a closely related language. People in the Amarasi region have been unable or unwilling to use materials long available to them in the Mollo-Miomafo dialect. Amarasi uses /r/ where other dialects use /l/. There are also lexical and semantic differences that separate them.

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Languages of East Timor



Selected towns in East Timor

BUNAK

Alternate language names: BUNA', BUNAKE, BUNAQ.

Language Classification: (Non-Austronesian) Trans-New Guinea, Timor-Alor-Pantar, Bunak.

Location: Central interior Timor Island to the south coast.

Number in ethnic group: 50,000 (1977 Voegelin and Voegelin).

Comments: Some small groups are scattered among other languages.

Religious profile: Traditional religion.

Key bibliographical sources:

Berthe, Louis. 1959. Sur quelques distiques Buna' (Timor central). *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 115:336-371.

———. 1963. Morpho-syntaxe du Buna' (Timor central). *L'Homme* 3/1:106-116.

Cowan, H.K.J. 1963. Le Buna' de Timor: une langue 'ouest-papoue'. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Vulkankunde* 119(4):387-400.

Friedberg, Claudine. 1977. La femme et le féminin chez les Bunaq du centre de Timor. *Archipel* 13:37-52.

———. 1980. Boiled woman and broiled man: Myths and agricultural rituals of the Bunaq of central Timor. In J. Fox (ed.), *The flow of life: essays on eastern Indonesia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. pp. 266-289.

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FATALUKU

Alternate language names: DAGADA, DAGAGA, DAGODA'.

Language Classification: (Non-Austronesian) Trans-New Guinea, Timor-Alor-Pantar, Fataluku.

Location: Eastern tip of Timor Island around Los Palos.

Number in ethnic group: 30,000 (1989).

Comments: May be related to Oirata on the nearby island of Kisar (Maluku).

Religious profile: Traditional religion, Christian.

Key bibliographical sources:

Campagnolo, Maria Olimpia Lameiras. 1972. Etudes sur les Fataluku (Timor Portugais) II. Langue Fataluku (extremite est de Timor Portugais). *Asie du sud-est et monde insulindien* 3(3):53-76.

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GALOLI

Alternate language names: GALOLE.

Dialects:

- NA NAHEK
- EDI
- DADUA
- GALOLI
- BABA
- HAHAK.

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Nuclear Timor, East.

Location: East Timor Province, north coast between Mambae and Makasae, regions of Laklo, Manatutu, Laleia, and We-Masin.

Number in ethnic group: 50,000 (?) (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

Comments: Talur on Wetar Island in Maluku may be inherently intelligible.

HABU

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Nuclear Timor, Waima'a.

Location: East Timor Island, northeast of Laclubar and the Idate language.

Number in ethnic group: 1,000 (?) (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

Comments: Many loanwords from (Non-Austronesian) Trans-New Guinea languages similar to Makasai, but with Austronesian structure. Related to Waima'a and Kairui.

HELONG

Aliernate language names: HELON, SEMAU, KUPANG.

Dialects:

- HELONG PULAU (ISLAND HELONG)

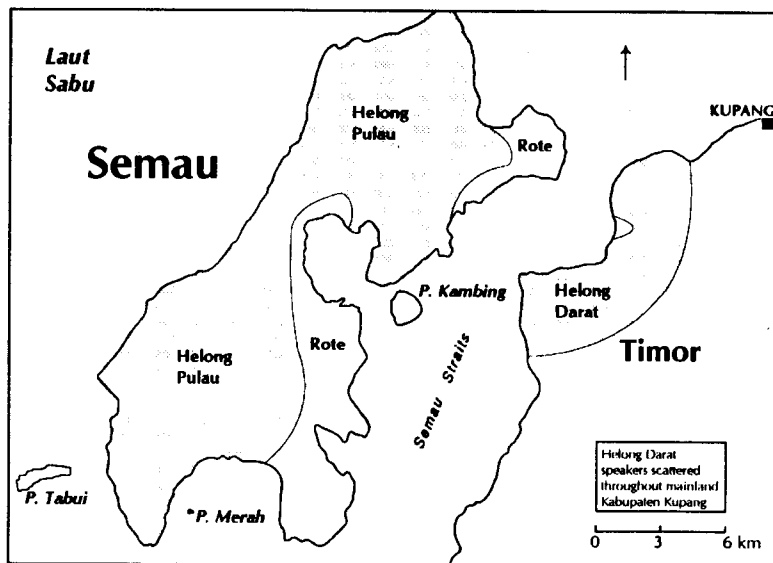
- **HELONG DARAT (LAND HELONG).**

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Helong.

Location: Western tip of Timor Island near the port of Tenau, extending across the mainland to the Amarasi region, and several villages on Semau Island.

Number in ethnic group: 14,000.

Comments: The area of old Kupang city was formerly the seat of the *raja* of Helong who were based on the Timor mainland. Under various pressures a large number of Helong moved to the island of Semau. The two groups have minor dialect differences: Helong Darat is on the Timor mainland around Kupang and interspersed with Rote, Atoni, and Amarasi communities through the mountains to the south coast. Helong Pulau is on Semau Island. The former are reported to be beginning to shift to Kupang Malay under the influence of people from Rote and Sabu. Little is documented about the language or culture.



A note on the language: Unlike many surrounding languages, Helong does not inflect V-initial verb roots for person and number. It has long and short vowels, and glottal stop.

Key bibliographical sources:

Fox, James J. 1972. Helong. In Frank Lebar, (ed.), *Ethnic groups of Insular Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Human Relations area File Press. 1:105.

Grimes, Charles E. and Mes D. Beeh. 1995-ms. *Kamus bahasa Helong*. Typescript. Kupang: Centre for Regional Studies, Universitas Kristen Artha Wacana.

IDATE

Alternate language names: IDATÉ.

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Nuclear Timor, East.

Location: Central East Timor, mountains of part of the Laclubar area, surrounded by the Mambae, Galoli, Kairui, and Tetun.

Number in ethnic group: 5,000 (?) (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

Comments: Closest to Lakalei and Galoli.

KAIRUI-MIDIKI

Alternate language names: CAIRUI, MIDIKI.

Dialects:

- KAIRUI
- MIDIKI (MIDIK)

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Nuclear Timor, Waima'a.

Location: Mountains of Central East Timor, small area surrounded by Makasai, Waima'a, Tetun, Galoli.

Number in ethnic group: 2,000 (?) (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

Comments: Vocabulary is predominantly (Non-Austronesian) Trans-New Guinea, structure is Austronesian. Related to Waima'a and Habu. Needs investigation.

Dominant terrain: Mountain slope.

KEMAK

Alternate language names: EMA.

Dialects:

- NOGO (NOGO-NOGO)
- KEMAK

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Nuclear Timor, East.

Location: North-central border area between east and west Timor—mostly on the eastern side.

Number in ethnic group: 50,000 or more (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

Comments: Closely related to Tetun. Most closely related to Mambae and Tukudede. Morris (1992) marks Nogo as a different language from Kemak.

Word order typology: Said to be OSV, which influences the way they speak Malay.

Religious profile: Traditional religion, Christian.

Key bibliographical sources:

Clamagirand, Brigitte. 1980. Social organization of the Ema of Timor. In James J. Fox, ed. *The flow of life: essays on eastern Indonesia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Stevens, Alan M. 1967. Kemak: an Austronesian language. *Anthropological Linguistics* 9(1):26-32.

LAKALEI

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Nuclear Timor, East.

Location: Central Timor, north of Same, northeast of Ainaro.

Number in ethnic group: 5,000 (?) (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

Comments: Closely related to Idate, Tetun, and Galoli. Many loanwords from Tetun, Mambae, and Idate.

MAKASAE

Alternate language names: MA'ASAE, MAKASSAI, MAKASAI, MACASSAI.

Dialects:

- MAKLERE
- MAKASAI

Language Classification: (Non-Austronesian) Trans-New Guinea, Timor-Alor-Pantar, Makasai-Alor-Pantar, Makasai.

Location: Timor Island, eastern end around Baucau and inland, west of Fataluku, from northern to southern coast in a dialect chain.

Number in ethnic group: 70,000 (1989).

Comments: Not closely related to other languages.

Religious profile: Traditional religion, Christian.

Key bibliographical sources:

Forman, Shepard. 1980. Descent, alliance and exchange ideology among the Makassae of East Timor. In J. Fox (ed.), *The flow of life: essays on eastern Indonesia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. pp.152-177.

MAKU'A

Alternate language names: LOVAEA, LOVAIA.

Language Classification: (Non-Austronesian) Trans-New Guinea, Timor-Alor-Pantar, Maku'a.

Location: Northeast tip of Timor Island, around Tutuala.

Number in ethnic group: 50 (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

Comments: Endangered language almost completely assimilated with Fataluku. Spoken only by some elderly people.

MAMBAE

Alternate language names: MAMBAI, MANBAE.

Dialects:

- DAMATA
- LOLEI
- MANUA
- MAMBAI

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Nuclear Timor, East.

Location: Mountains of central Timor, around Ermera, Aileu, and Ainaro. One of the dominant groups among the Timorese communities living in Australia.

Number in ethnic group: 80,000 (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

Comments: Second most widely spoken language of East Timor.

Dominant terrain: Mountain slope.

Religious profile: Traditional religion, Christian.

Key bibliographical sources:

Carmo, Antonio Duarte de Almeida. 1965. O povo Mambai. Contribuicao para o estudo do povo do grupo linguistic Mambai-Timor. *Estudos Politicos e Sociais*, Lisbon, 3(4):1233-1368.

- Traube, Elizabeth, 1980a. Mambai rituals of black and white. In J. Fox (ed.), *The flow of life: essays on eastern Indonesia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. pp. 290–314.
- . 1980b. Affines and the dead: Mambai rituals of alliance. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 136:90–115.
- . 1986. *Cosmology and social life: ritual exchange among the Mambai of East Timor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 1989. Obligations to the source: complementarity and hierarchy in an eastern Indonesian society. In D. Maybury-Lewis and U. Almagor (eds.), *The attraction of opposites: thought and society in a dualistic mode*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. pp. 321–344.

NAUETE

Alternate language names: NAUHETE, NAUETI.

Dialects:

- NAUMIK
- OSO MOKO

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Nuclear Timor.

Location: South coast of eastern tip of Timor, west of Tiomar.

Number in ethnic group: 1,000 (?) (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

Comments: Not closely related to any other language. Many loanwords from (Non-Austronesian) Trans-New Guinea languages like Makasae.

NDAO

Alternate language names: NDAONESE, DAO, NDAUNDAU.

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba.

Location: island of Ndao off the west coast of Roti, and on Sumba, Roti, and Timor. (See maps for Rote)

Number in ethnic group: 3,500 (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

Comments: Closely related to Sabu, but a distinct language. Known as silversmiths, the men leave the island for long periods of seasonal work.

Fox, James. J. 1977. The textile traditions of Roti, Ndao and Savu. In M. Kahlenberg (ed.), *Textile traditions of Indonesia*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

PIDGIN, TIMOR

Alternate language names: TIMOR CREOLE PORTUGUESE.

Dialects:

- PORTUGUÊS DE BIDAU
- MACAÍSTA.

Language Classification: Creole, Portuguese based.

Location: Timor Island, around Bidau, Dili and Lifan.

Comments: The Jakarta variety of creole Portuguese survived in Tugu until recent times (1981 Wurm and Hattori). Varieties of creole Portuguese were also spoken in Larantuka, Flores; Adonara (Vure), Solor; as well as Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, and Maluku.

ROTE

Alternate language names: ROTI, ROTTI, ROTINESE.

Dialects:

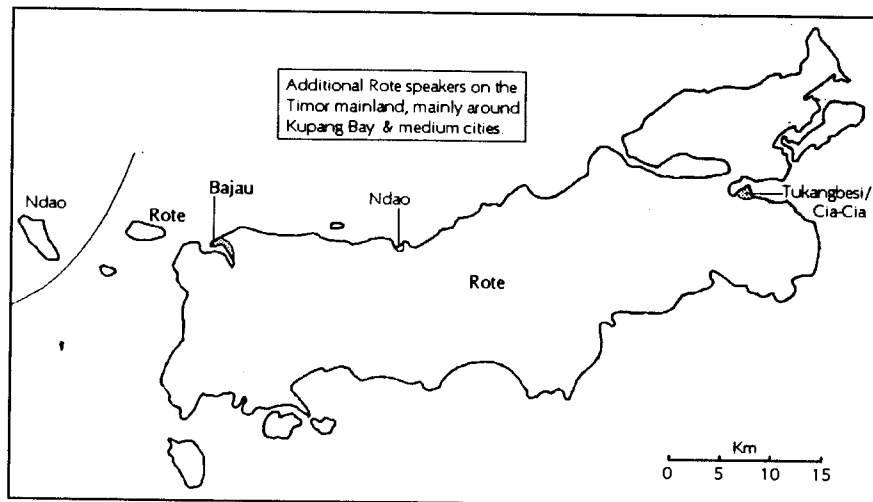
- ROTE BARAT (OENALE-DELHA, OENALE, DELHA, DELA)
- ROTE TIMUR (LANDU-RINGGOU-OEPAO, LANDU, RINGGOU, RENGGOU, RIKOU, OEPAO,)
- BILBA-DIU-LELENUK (BILBA, BELUBAA, DIU, LELENUK)
- ROTE TENGAH (TERMANU-TALAE-KEKA, TERMANU, PADA, TALAE, KEKA, BOKAI, KORBAFO, KORBAFFO, KOLBAFFO)
- BA'A-LOLEH (BAÄ, BA'A, LOLEH, LOLE)
- DENGKA-LELAIN (DENGKA, LELAIN)
- TII (THIE, TI)

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Nuclear Timor, West.

Location: Rote Island southwest of Timor and on adjacent Timor Island around Kupang Bay and eastern Semau Island.

Comments: Significant linguistic blockages to intelligibility among 'dialects', and attitudes which hinder acceptance of other 'dialects', but social factors favor considering them one. Phonological variations between dialects include /nd - d - r - l/

and /k - ʔ - zero/. Speakers from different dialects often communicate via Malay. Access by ferry from Kupang, or by air.



Languages spoken around Rote

Number in ethnic group: 123,000 to 133,000 (1981 Wurm & Hattori).

Religious profile: Christian.

Key Bibliographical Sources:

Fanggidaej, J. 1892. Rottineesche spraakkunst. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 41:554-571.

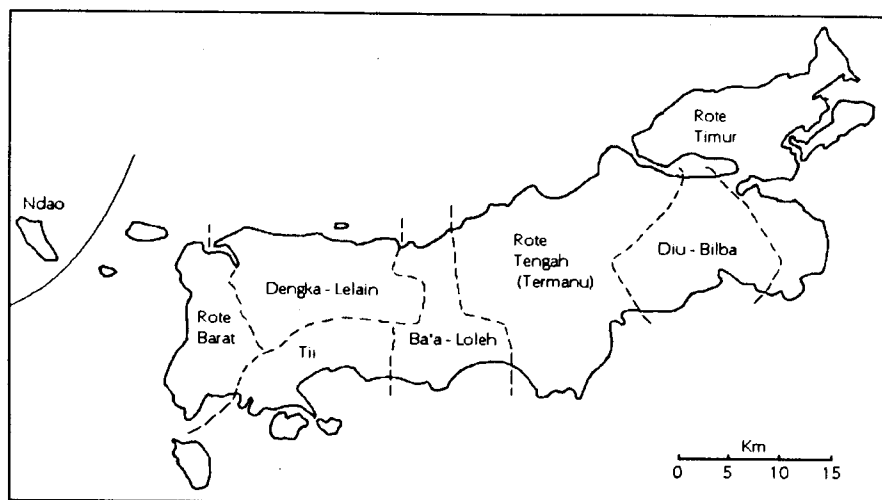
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Fox, James J. 1971. Semantic parallelism in Rotinese ritual language. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 127:215-255.

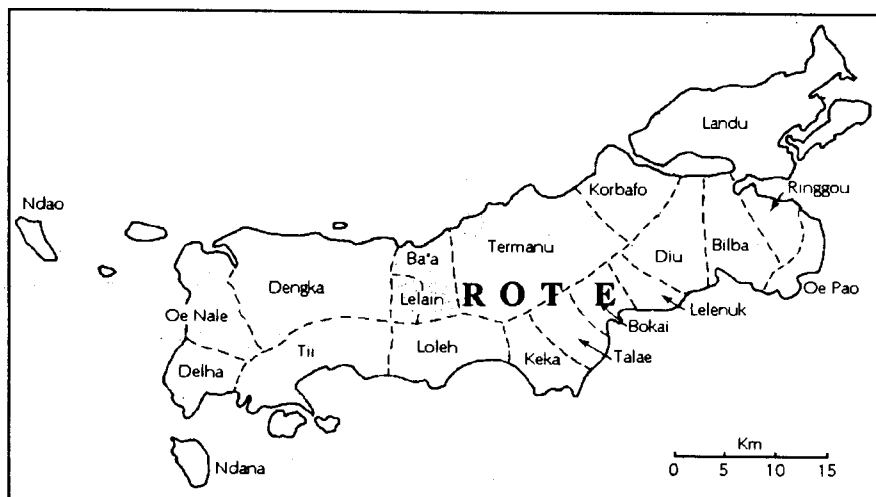
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———. 1973. On bad death and the left hand. In R. Needham (ed.), *Right and left: essays on dual symbolic classification*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1974. 'Our ancestors spoke in pairs': Rotinese views of language, dialect, and code. In Richard Bauman and Joel Scherzer (eds). *Explorations in the ethnography of speaking*. Cambridge: University Press. pp. 65-85.



Dialects of Rote (tentative)



Traditional *nusak* in Rote (adapted from Fox 1977)

- . 1975. On binary categories and primary symbols: some Rotinese perspectives. In R. Willis (ed). *The interpretation of symbolism*. ASA Studies 3:99-132. London: Malaby Press.
- . 1977. *Harvest of the palm: ecological change in eastern Indonesia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- . 1977. The textile traditions of Roti, Ndao and Savu. In M. Kahlenberg (ed.), *Textile traditions of Indonesia*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art.
- . 1979. A tale of two states: ecology and the political economy of inequality on the island of Roti. In R. Burnham and R. F. Ellen (eds.), *Social and ecological systems*. Association of Social Anthropologists Monograph 18. London: Academic Press.
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- . 1989. To the aroma of the name: The celebration of a Rotinese ritual of rock and tree. In C. Barraud and J.D.M. Platenkamp (eds.), *Rituals and socio-cosmic order in eastern Indonesian societies. Part I: Nusa Tenggara Timur. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 145:
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- . 1993. Memories of ridge-poles and cross-beams: the categorical foundations of a Rotinese cultural design. In J. Fox (ed.), *Inside Austronesian Houses: Perspectives on domestic designs for living*. Canberra: Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University.
- . 1996. *Panen lontar: perubahan ekologi dalam kehidupan masyarakat Pulau Rote dan Sawu*. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- Fox, James J. and Charles E. Grimes. 1995. Roti introduction. In Darrell Tryon, ed. *Comparative Austronesian Dictionary: an introduction to Austronesian studies*. 4 Parts. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. Part 1, Fascicle 1:611-622.
- Jacob, Max, Zet Malelak and R. Garsetiasih. 1992. Prospek pengembangan sumberdaya Pulau Ndana (Nusa Tenggara Timur)

sebagai taman buru. *Santalum*: *buletin penelitian dan pengembangan kehutanan Nusa Tenggara dan Maluku Tenggara*. 10:1-45. [contains oral history and ritual language.]

Jonker, J.C.G. 1905. Rotineesche verhalen. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 58:369-464.

———. 1906. Over de eind-medeklinkers in het Rotineesch en Timoreesch. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 59:263-343.

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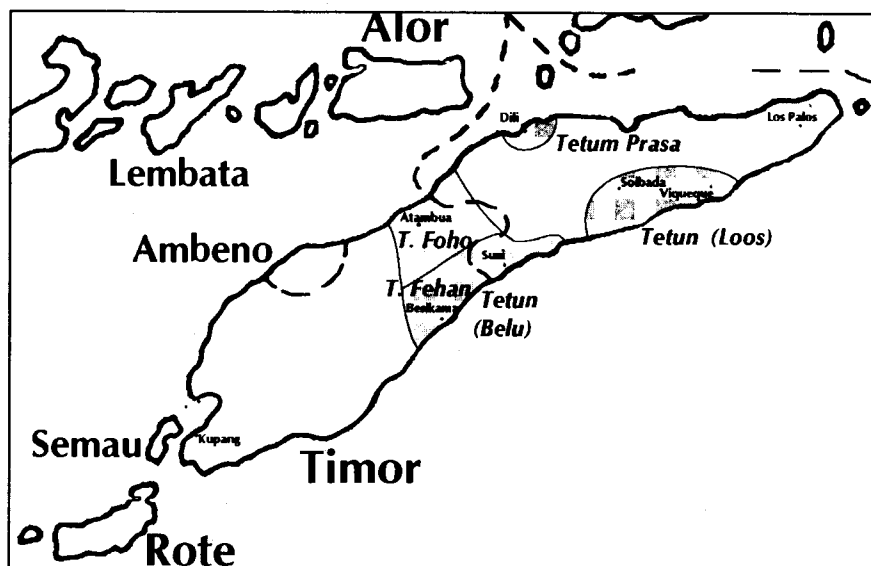
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Manafe, Minggu. 1967. *Aneka kehidupan di pulau Roti*. Jakarta: Balai Pustaka.

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Varieties of Tetun spoken on Timor

TETUM PRASA

Alternate language names: TETUN DILI, TETUM PRAÇA , TETUN PRASA, TETUM PRACA, DILI TETUN.

Language Classification: Creole, Tetun based, with heavy Portuguese and Mambae influence.

Location: First language speakers concentrated in and around Dili on the north coast of East Timor Province. Second language speakers scattered widely throughout East Timor.

Number in ethnic group: 50,000 (?).

A note on the language: When compared with Tetun, Tetum Prasa has a significantly higher portion of Portuguese loanwords, does not inflect V-initial verb roots for person and number, tends to use more periphrastic constructions than morphological constructions (e.g. causatives), and has differences in the possessive constructions and in the negatives. Sociolinguistically Tetum Prasa has been a language of inter-ethnic communication used predominantly in an urban area, in contrast with Tetun which is used internally in predominantly rural agricultural areas. As such, the cultural rituals and themes found in Tetun are not as deeply rooted in Tetum Praça.

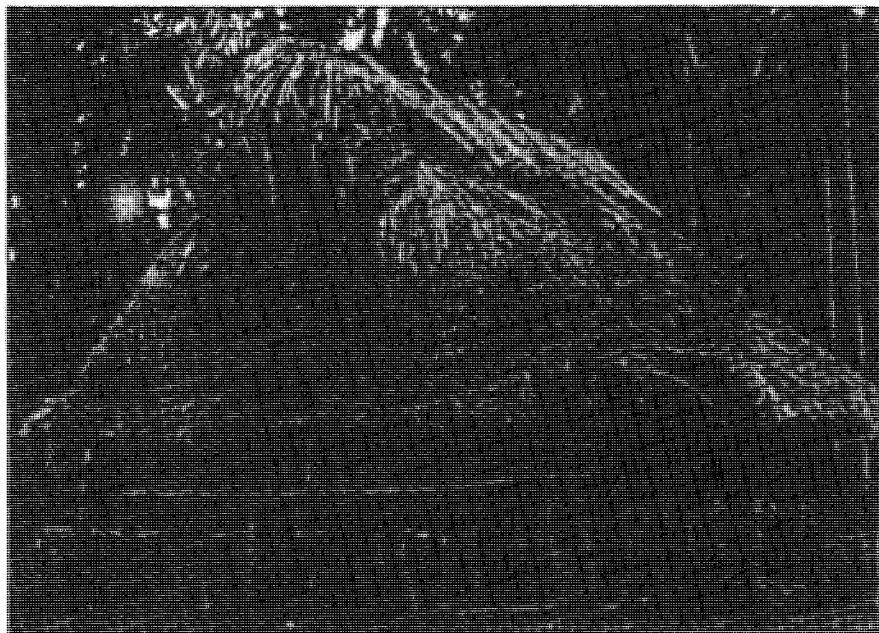
Comments: The terms 'Tetun Dili' and 'Tetum Prasa' are both widely used to refer to the same language. Tetun Dili tends to be used more by those from outside the city area and from other ethnic origins. The language is growing in its role as a language of wider communication, functioning as a symbol of inter-ethnic solidarity in the region. Speakers of Tetun Foho and Tetun Fehan have significant difficulty understanding Tetum Prasa in many speech domains, and vice versa. Some first language speakers of Tetum Prasa consider themselves 'bilingual' in Tetun, due to contact, but when pressed admit there are domains in which communication is completely blocked. A variety of Tetum Prasa has been adopted by the Catholic Church as their primary liturgical language. This special register is referred to locally as 'Tetun ibadat' (worship-service Tetun), and manifests a heavy incidence of Portuguese religious vocabulary.

Religious profile: Christian.

Key bibliographical sources:

Hull, Geoffrey. 1993. *Mai kolia Tetun: a course in Tetum-Praca, the lingua franca of East Timor*. North Sydney: Australian Catholic Relief, and the Australian Catholic Social Justice Council.

Morris, Cliff. 1992. *A traveller's dictionary in Tetun-English and English-Tetun from the land of the sleeping crocodile—East Timor*. Fitzroy, Australia: Baba Dook Books.



Adat house in Laran (Tetun Fehan)

TETUN

Alternate language names: TETUM¹³, TETTUM, TETO, TETU, TETUNG, BELU, BELO, FEHAN.

Dialects:

¹³ The final *m* on *Tetum* is from the Portuguese spelling system for indicating word-final nasals. Just as the Brazilian city written *Belém* is pronounced [be'leŋ], Portuguese *sim* 'no, not' is pronounced [siŋ], so also the spelling *Tetum* reflects the local pronunciation ['tetun], and *Seram* 'island in central Maluku' reflects the local pronunciation ['seraŋ].

- TETUN FOHO (NORTH BELU,¹⁴ TETUN BELU, NORTH TETUN, TETUN TERIK, LIA FOHO (HILL TETUN), TASI FETO, BELU UTARA, TETUN TERIK, TETUN THERIK)
- TETUN FEHAN (SOUTH BELU, TETUN BELU, SOUTH TETUN, LIA FEHAN (PLAIN TETUN), TASI MANE, BELU SELATAN)
- TETUN LOOS (TETUN LOS, EAST TETUN, SOIBADA, NATARBORA, LAKLUTA).

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Nuclear Timor, East.

Location: Central Timor corridor from the north to the south coasts, east of Atoni, west of Bunak (in Batagude) around Batibo and in from the south coast around Viqueque and Soibada.

Number in ethnic group: 300,000 or more, and many thousands of second language users (1981 Wurm and Hattori); 600,000 (1991 UBS).

Comments: Wide variation in morphology and syntax among major dialects, and significant variation in social structure. Note: Tetun Prasa (Dili) is linguistically considered a creole and is treated as a separate language.

Religious profile: Christian, traditional religion.

Key bibliographical sources:

Francillon, Gérard, 1980. Incursions upon Wehali: a modern history of an ancient empire. In J. Fox (ed.), *The flow of life: essays on eastern Indonesia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. pp. 248–265.

Hicks, David. 1972. Eastern Tetum. In F. Lebar (ed.), *Ethnic groups of insular southeast Asia, Vol. 1: Indonesia, Andaman Islands and Madagascar*. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files Press.

———. 1973. Tetum narratives: an indigenous taxonomy. Stockholm, *Ethnos* 38(1-4):93–100.

———. 1976. *Tetum ghosts and kin*. Prospect Heights: Waveland Press [1988].

———. 1985. *Roh orang Tetum di Timor Timur*. Jakarta: Sinar Harapan.

¹⁴ The term 'Tetun Terik' is widely used in East Timor to signify the varieties of Tetun used in the Belu region of West Timor, i.e. North Tetun and South Tetun. However, Tetun speakers in East Timor claim 'Tetun Terik' is also spoken in East Timor, particularly in Soibada, Natarbora, and Lakluta. Some say the term 'Terik ('real, pure, original)' contrasts with the creolised variety spoken around Dili (see Tetun Prasa).

Klinken, Catherina van. 1994. Consonant clusters in Tetun. Paper presented at the Seventh International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Leiden, The Netherlands. August 1994.

Morris, Cliff. 1984. *Tetun-English dictionary*. Pacific Linguistics C-83.

Therik, Tom. 1995. Wehali: the Four Corner's land cosmology and traditions of a Timorese ritual centre. Ph.D. dissertation, Australian National University.

TUKUDEDE

Alternate language names: TUKUDE, TOKODEDE, TOKODÉ, TOCOD.

Dialects:

- KEHA (KEIA)
- TUKUDEDE

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Nuclear Timor, East.

Location: North-central coast of Timor, around Maubara and Liquisa to Dili.

Number in ethnic group: 50,000 (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

Religious profile: Christian.

WAIMA'A

Alternate language names: UAI MA'A, UAIMO'A, WAIMAHA, WAIMOA.

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Nuclear Timor, Waima'a.

Location: Northeast coast of Timor Island, enclave within Makasae-speaking area.

Number in ethnic group: 3,000 (?) (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

Comments: Many (Non-Austronesian) Trans-New Guinea loanwords similar to Makasae. Related to Habu and Kairui.

Key bibliographical sources:

Hicks, David. 1973. The Cairui and Uai Ma'a of Timor. *Anthropos* 68:473:481.

Alor-Pantar

(17 languages)

See general Alor-Pantar language map on the following page.¹⁵ A number of dialects reported for these languages are simply the names of source villages for Stokhof's (1975) wordlists and represent a sampling rather than a systematic coverage of a language group. It is expected that previously unreported dialects will need to be catalogued once further study is carried out.

General bibliographical sources:

Gaalen, G.A.M. van. 1945. *Memorie van Overgave van den fundgeerend controleur van Alor. Kalabahi* (unpublished manuscript with map).

Stokhof, W.A.L. 1975. *Preliminary notes on the Alor and Pantar languages*. Pacific Linguistics B-43.

Vatter, Ernst. 1932. *Ata Kiwan. Unbekannte Bergvölker im Tropischen Holland*. Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut.

ALOR

Alternate language names: ALORESE.

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Flores-Lembata.

Location: West and south bird's head of Alor, north Ternate island, pockets along northern Pantar and adjacent islands.

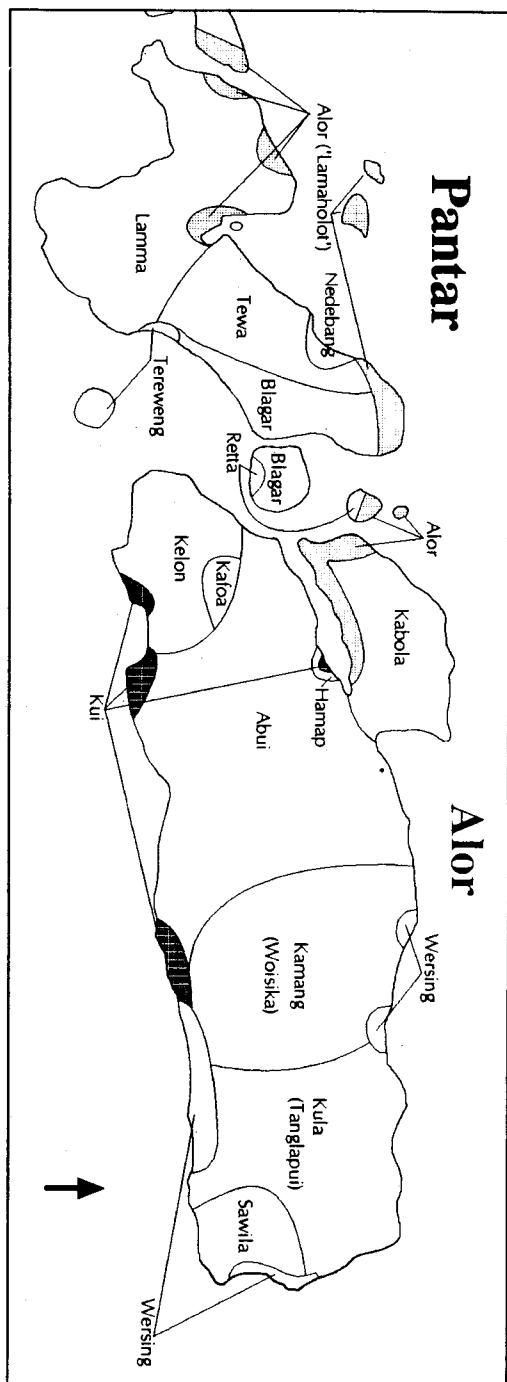
Number in ethnic group: 25,000.

Religious profile: Muslim, Christian.

Comments: The scope of this language and its internal variation are unknown. The speakers of Alor are oriented towards Lembata and Adonara, and are bilingual in Lamaholot as a language of wider communication. Alor is not intelligible with Adonara or languages of Lembata. Because of their bilingualism. 'Alor' was formerly listed in much literature as a 'dialect' of Lamaholot. (See also 'Lamaholot' entry under Flores languages).

¹⁵ The information on Alor languages has benefited from comments by J.A. Adang, Mark Donohue, and Neil Johnston.

Languages of Alor and Pantar



ABUI

Alternate language names: BARUE, BARAWAHING, NAMATALAKI.

Dialects:

- ATIMELANG
- KOBOLA
- ALAKAMAN

Language Classification: (Non-Austronesian) Trans-New Guinea, Timor-Alor-Pantar, Makasai-Alor-Pantar, Alor.

Location: Central and western Alor.

Number in ethnic group: 16,000 (?) (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

Comments: The name 'Barawahing' is a derogatory name used by other ethnic groups for the Abui with the connotation of 'black, smelly, smoky'. The language is said to have widespread internal diversity with variations such as: *ia*, *dʒa*, *sa* all meaning 'water'. Stokhof (1975:12) observes that his Abui data are "rather scanty" and "reveal strong dialectal variation". The *Alakaman* dialect may be a dialect of Kamang (Woisika).

Key bibliographical sources:

DuBois, Cora. 1961. *The people of Alor: a social-psychological study of an East Indian Island*. 2 vols. New York: Harper Torchbooks.

Stokhof, W. 1984. Annotations to a text in the Abui language. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 140/1:106-162.

BLAGAR

Alternate language names: BELAGAR, TARANG.

Dialects:

- APURI
- LIMARAHING
- BAKALANG
- PURA

Language Classification: (Non-Austronesian) Trans-New Guinea, Timor-Alor-Pantar, Makasai-Alor-Pantar, Pantar.

Location: Eastern Pantar, northern Pura, and southern Ternate islands.

Number in ethnic group: 11,000 (?) (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

Comments: The Retta dialect on south Pura is thought to be a separate language by two Alorese (one from north Pura who claims it is unintelligible with his language). Stokhof (1975:10) admits "This

Retta (spoken on Pura and Ternate) is rather different from the dialects spoken in the remaining Blagar areas." The dialect spoken in the northern parts of Pura shows differences between west and east (/r/ and /l/ difference). Tereweng is grouped by Stokhof (1975) with Blagar, and by Vatter (1932) with Kelong, and as distinct by van Gaalen (1945). We are treating Tereweng tentatively as a separate ethnolinguistic group.

HAMAP

Location: Kalabahi Bay across from the city of Kalabahi around the town of Moru. Two villages. Migration in 1947 from Mo'eng, a few kilometres to the south. Still on their own traditional land, but now in an interethnic community with Kui speakers. 18km by road from Kalabahi.

Number in ethnic group: 1,000–1,500

A note on the language: Verb final. Contrast between close /e/ and open /ɛ/. Contrast between vowel-initial and glottal-initial words.

Comments: Said to be intelligible with the Adang-Aimoli dialect of Kabola, but the term 'Kabola' is associated exclusively with the Bird's Head area of Alor. Hamap has noticeable structural and vocabulary differences with other Kabola varieties. The Hamap have a separate socio-political history from Kabola. There is some intermarriage.

KABOLA

Alternate language names: ADANG.

Dialects:

- PINTUMBANG
- ADANG AIMOLI (AIMOLI)
- TANG'ALA
- MEIBUIL
- OTVAI
- KEBUN KOPI

Language Classification: (Non-Austronesian) Trans-New Guinea, Timor-Alor-Pantar, Makasai-Alor-Pantar, Alor.

Location: Northwestern Alor Island (Bird's Head area north and west of Kalabahi).

Comments: The names and locations of the dialects in Wurm and Hattori (1981) are disputed by native speakers. Intelligibility with Hamap is uncertain.

Number in ethnic group: 3,900 (1995).

KAFOA

Alternate language names: JAFOO, RUILAK, AIKOLI, FANATING, PAILELANG.

Language Classification: (Non-Austronesian) Trans-New Guinea, Timor-Alor-Pantar, Makasai-Alor-Pantar, Alor.

Location: Southwest Alor Island, north of Aluben, between Abui and Kelong languages.

Comments: The name *Jafoo* is suggested by some Alorese—the name ‘Kafoa’ is not known locally.

Number in ethnic group: 1,000 (?) (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

KAMANG

Alternate language names: WOISIKA, WAISIKA.

Dialects:

- LEMBUR (LIMBUR, KAWEL)
- KAMOT
- KAMANA (KAMANG)
- PETIMPUI
- KAMENGMI
- ATEITA
- PIDO
- LANGKURU-KOLOMANA
- SILAIPUI
- APUI

Language Classification: (Non-Austronesian) Trans-New Guinea, Timor-Alor-Pantar, Makasai-Alor-Pantar, Alor.

Location: Alor Island, east central, between Abui and Tanglapui.

Number in ethnic group: 12,000 (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

Comments: ‘Woisika’ is the name of one village, but is rejected by native speakers as a name for the entire language—‘Kamang’ is preferred for the whole language area and is the term in earlier literature. The ‘Kamang’ dialect of the Kamang language is spoken in Woisika and two other villages. ‘Kamot’ is not known

by our sources as a dialect name. 'Apui' is reported as a place name, not a dialect name. 'Kamana' as a dialect name is preferred as a compound 'Kamana-Kamang'. A Kamang speaker suggests the dialects of the language should be LEMBUR, SIBO, KAMANG, TIAYAI, WATANG, KAMANA-KAMANG. The government is currently spelling the village name as 'Waisika'.

Key bibliographical sources:

Stokhof, W.A.L. 1977. *Woisika I: An ethnographic introduction*. Pacific Linguistics D-19.

———. 1979. *Woisika II: Phonemics*. Pacific Linguistics B-59.

———. 1982. *Woisika riddles: Alor, East Indonesia*. Pacific Linguistics D-41.

KELON

Alternate language names: KELONG, KALONG.

Dialects:

- PROBUR
- HALERMAN
- GENDOK
- PANGGAR

Language Classification: (Non-Austronesian) Trans-New Guinea, Timor-Alor-Pantar, Makasai-Alor-Pantar, Alor.

Location: Southwestern Alor Island.

Number in ethnic group: 6,000 (?).

KUI

Alternate language names: LERABAIN, MASIN-LAK.

Dialects:

- KUI (LERABAING, BURAGA)
- BATULOLONG (
- KIRAMANG (KRAMANG)

Language Classification: (Non-Austronesian) Trans-New Guinea, Timor-Alor-Pantar, Makasai-Alor-Pantar, Alor.

Location: Alor Island in scattered enclaves. Kui dialect is spoken on the south coast in Lerabaing and Buraga., the Batulolong dialect is spoken in Sibera and Kapebang. Kui is also spoken in Moru in Kalabahi Bay interspersed with Hamap speakers.

Number in ethnic group: 5,000 (?) (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

Religious profile: Muslim, Christian.

Comments: Masin-lak is endonym (speakers own name for their language).

KULA

Alternate language names: TANGLAPUI, LANTOKA, LAMTOKA, KOLA.

Dialects:

- IRAMANG
- KULA
- KULATELA
- WATENA
- LARENA
- KULA WATENA
- SUMANG
- ARUMAKA

Language Classification: (Non-Austronesian) Trans-New Guinea, Timor-Alor-Pantar, Tanglapui.

Location: Eastern quarter of Alor Island between Kamang and Sawila. Naumang is an old village. Other villages are the result of recent migrations from older locations. Most are in higher elevations, but the villagers of Maukuru, Takala, Koilela, Peisaka, and Kiralela on the north coast also speak Kula.

Number in ethnic group: 5,000

Comments: A number of sources report Tanglapui is not closely related to other languages on Alor. Intelligibility with Sawila is marginal and the historical ethnic identities are distinct.

LAMMA

Alternate language names: LEMMA, LAMMA', MAUTA.

Dialects:

- KALONDAMA
- TUBAL (TUBE, MAUTA)
- BIANGWALA

Language Classification: (Non-Austronesian) Trans-New Guinea, Timor-Alor-Pantar, Makasai-Alor-Pantar, Pantar.

Location: Southwestern and western Pantar.

Number in ethnic group: 10,000 (?).

Religious profile: Christian, Muslim.

Comments: Van Gaalen (1945) marks Mauta as distinct from Lamma. Mauta has differences in morphosyntactic structure from Lamma, but there are diareements as to reported intelligibility between the two.

NEDEBANG

Alternate language names: NÉDEBANG, BALUNGADA.

Language Classification: (Non-Austronesian) Trans-New Guinea, Timor-Alor-Pantar, Makasai-Alor-Pantar, Pantar.

Location: North central Pantar, south and southwest of Kabir.

Number in ethnic group: 1,000 (?) (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

RETTA

Alternate language names: PURA.

Dialects:

- PURA
- TERNATE

Location: Southern Pura Island at mouth of Kalabahi Bay, and southern part of Ternate Island.

Comments: Language in southernmost village(s) of Pura is not intelligible with those in the north. Those in the north partially intelligible with Blagar on Pantar.

SAWILA

Alternate language names: TANGLAPUI.

Dialects:

- SAWILA
- LONA
- SALIMANA
- LALAMANA
- SILERA

Language Classification: (Non-Austronesian) Trans-New Guinea, Timor-Alor-Pantar, Tanglapui.

Location: Eastern quarter of Alor Island between Kula and Wersing. Many current village locations are the result of recent migrations from older locations.

Number in ethnic group: 3,000

Comments: A number of sources report Tanglapui is not closely related to other languages on Alor. Intelligibility with Kula is marginal and the historical ethnic identities are distinct.

TEREWENG

Alternate language names: TREWENG.

Language Classification: (Non-Austronesian) Trans-New Guinea, Timor-Alor-Pantar, Makasai-Alor-Pantar, Pantar.

Location: Tereweng Island off southeast Pantar. Two villages on northern side of the island and one on Pantar mainland. Water and gardens on Pantar.

Number in ethnic group: 800 (?)

Comments: Disagreements over whether this is related to Blagar or a separate language. Distinct ethnic identity. Tereweng is grouped by Stokhof (1975) with Blagar, by Vatter (1932) with Kelong, and by van Gaalen (1945) as distinct. We are treating Tereweng tentatively as a separate ethnolinguistic group.

TEWA

Alternate language names: DEING.

Dialects:

- DEING
- MADAR
- LEBANG

Language Classification: (Non-Austronesian) Trans-New Guinea, Timor-Alor-Pantar, Makasai-Alor-Pantar, Pantar.

Location: Central Pantar.

Number in ethnic group: 5,000 (?) (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

WERSING

Alternate language names: KOLANA, KOLANA-WERSIN, WERSIN, WARSINA.

Dialects:

- LANGKURU (PUREMAN, MADEMANG)
- KOLANA
- MANETA [check name]

Language Classification: (Non-Austronesian) Trans-New Guinea, Timor-Alor-Pantar, Kolana.

Location: Alor Island, east coast around Kolana, southeast coast at Pietoko and Pureman, two enclaves on the central north coast.

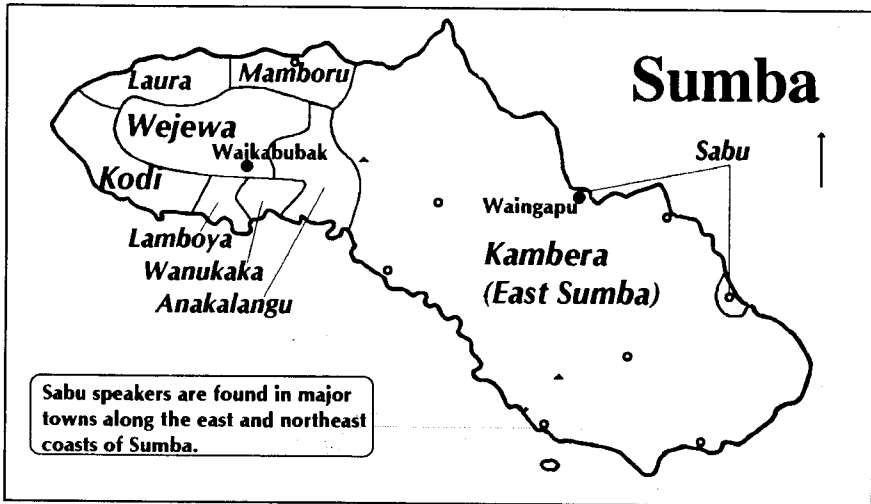
Number in ethnic group: 3,700.

Comments: Cultural-historical relationship with Liquisa area in East Timor. Said to have migrated from Timor mainland prior to 1500, first to Pureman on the south coast, then Kolana on the east coast, then on the north coast near Taramana. The former king was located at Kolana.

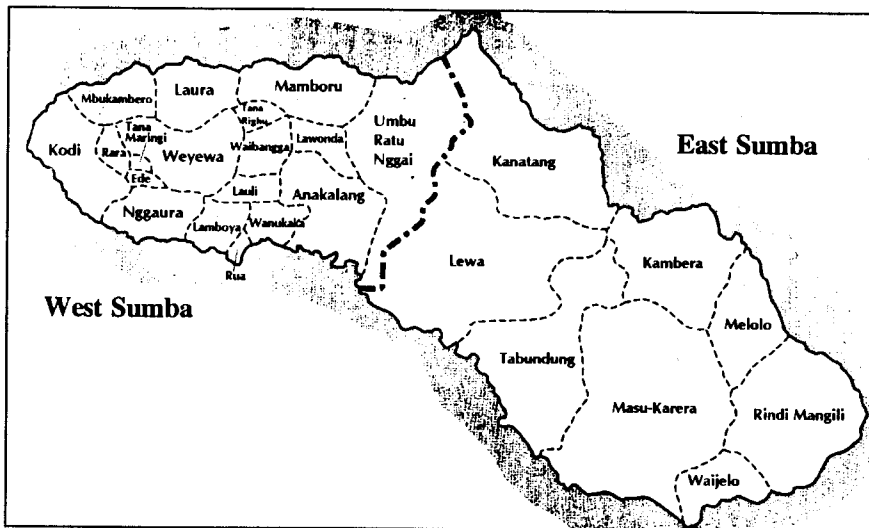
Dominant terrain: Coastal.

Religious profile: Christian, traditional religion.

Sumba-Sabu (9 languages)



Languages on Sumba



Traditional domains on Sumba (adapted from Goh 1991)

ANAKALANGU

Alternate language names: ANAKALANG.

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba.

Location: Sumba Island, southwest coast, east of Wanukaka.

Number in ethnic group: 14,000 (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

Key bibliographical sources:

Keane, Webb. 1990. The social life of representations: ritual speech and exchange in Anakalang (Sumba, eastern Indonesia). Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago.

———. 1991. Delegated voice: ritual speech, risk, and the making of marriage alliances in Anakalang. *American Ethnologist* 18:311-330.

KAMBERA

Alternate language names: SUMBA, SUMBANESE, EAST SUMBA, EAST SUMBANESE, OOST-SUMBAAS, HUMBA, HILU HUMBA.

Dialects:

- KAMBERA
- MELOLO
- UMA RATU NGGAI (UMBU RATU NGGAI)
- LEWA
- KANATANG
- MANGILI-WAIJELO (WAI JILU, WAIDJELU, RINDI, WAIJELO)
- SOUTHERN SUMBA

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba.

Location: Eastern half of Sumba Island.

Number in ethnic group: 200,000 (1989).

Religious profile: Christian, traditional religion.

Comments: Dialect network. Kambera dialect widely understood. Speakers of Lewa and Uma Ratu Nggai have difficulty understanding those from Mangili in many speech domains.

Key bibliographical sources:

Adams, Marie Jean. 1969. System and meaning in East Sumba textile design: a study in traditional Indonesian art. New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, *Cultural Report Series* No. 16.

- . 1973. Structural aspects of a village art, East Sumba, Indonesia. *American Anthropologist* 75:265-279.
- . 1974. Symbols of the organized community in East Sumba, Indonesia. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 130:324-327.
- . 1980. Structural aspects of East Sumbanese art. In J. Fox (ed.), *The flow of life: essays on eastern Indonesia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp.208-220.
- Forth, Gregory. 1981. *Rindi: an ethnographic study of traditional domain in Eastern Sumba*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- . 1983. Time and temporal classification in Rindi, Eastern Sumba. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 139:46-80.
- . 1985. Kampera temporal classification: a note on an early reference. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 141:139-142.
- . 1985. The language of number and numerical ability in Eastern Sumba. Occasional Paper no. 9, University of Hull Centre for South-East Asian Studies.
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- Kapita, Oe.H. 1976. *Masyarakat Sumba dan adat istiadatnya*. Waingapu: Gereja Kristen Sumba.
- . 1979. *Lii Ndai: Rukudu da Kabihu Dangu la Pahunga Lodu (Sejarah Suku-Suku di Sumba Timur)*. Waingapu: Gereja Kristen Sumba.
- . 1983. *Tata Bahasa Sumba Timur dalam dialek Kampera*. Ende: Arnoldus Press.
- . 1982. *Kamus Sumba/Kampera-Indonesia*. Waingapu: Gereja Kristen Sumba.
- Klamer, Marian. 1994. *Kampera: a language of eastern Indonesia*. Amsterdam: Holland Institute of Generative Linguistics.
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Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie, vol. 3. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Onvlee, L. 1973. *Cultuur als antwoord*. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde Vol. 66. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.

———. 1977. The construction of the Mangili Dam: notes on the social organization of Eastern Sumba. In P.E. de Josselin de Jong (ed.), *Structural anthropology in the Netherlands*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. pp. 151-163.

———. 1980. Mannelijk en vrouwelijk in de sociale organisatie van Soemba. In R. Schefold, J.W. Schoorl and J. Tennekes (eds.), *Man, meaning and history: essays in honour of H.G. Schulte Nordholt*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

———. 1980. The significance of livestock on Sumba. In James J. Fox (ed.), *The flow of life: essays on Eastern Indonesia*. pp. 195-207. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Onvlee, L., Oe H. Kapita and P.J. Lujendijk. 1984. *Kambaraas (Oost Soembaas)–Nederlands Woordenboek*. Foris: Dordrecht.

Wielenga, D.K. 1909. *Schets van een Soembaneesche spraakkunst (naar't dialect van Kambara)*. Batavia: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

KODI

Alternate language names: KUDI.

Dialects:

- KODI BOKOL
- KODI BANGEDO
- NGGARO (NGGAURA)

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba.

Location: West Sumba.

Number in ethnic group: 40,000 (1987).

Comments: May be closest to Wejewa.

Religious profile: Traditional religion, Christian.

Key bibliographical sources:

Hoskins, Janet, 1987. Complementarity in this world and the next: gender and agency in Kodi mortuary ceremonies. In M. Strathern (ed.),

Dealing with inequality: analysing gender relations in Melanesia and beyond. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 174–206.

- . 1988. Etiquette in Kodi spirit communication: the lips told to pronounce, the mouths told to speak. In James J. Fox, ed. *To speak in pairs: essays on the ritual languages of eastern Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 29–63.
- . 1989. Burned paddy and lost souls. In C. Barraud and J.D.M. Platenkamp (eds), *Nusa Tenggara Timur, Part I of Rituals and sociocosmic order in Eastern Indonesian societies. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 145:430–444.
- . 1989. On losing and getting a head: warfare, exchange, and alliance in a changing Sumba, 1888–1988. *American Ethnologist* 16:419–440.
- . 1989. Why do ladies sing the blues? Indigo dyeing, cloth production and gender symbolism in Kodi. In Annette B. Weiner and Jane Schneider (eds), *Cloth and human experience*. pp. 141–173. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- . 1990. Doubling descent, deities and personhood: an exploration of Kodi gender categories. In Jane Atkinson and Shelly Errington (eds), *Power and difference: gender in island Southeast Asia*, pp. 273–306. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Needham, Rodney. 1957. Kodi fables. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 113:361–379.

LAMBOYA

Alternate language names: LABOYA.

Dialects:

- LAMBOYA
- NGGAURA

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba.

Location: Sumba Island, southwest coast, southwest of Waikabubak.

Number in ethnic group: 25,000

Key bibliographical sources:

- Geirnaert, Daniel. 1987. Hunt wild pig and grow rice: on food exchanges and values in Laboya, West Sumba (Eastern Indonesia). In R. de Ridder and J.A.J. Karremans (eds) *The Leiden tradition n structural*

anthropology: essays in honour of P.E. de Josselin de Jong, pp. 106-122. Leiden: E.J. Brill

- . 1989. The Pogo Nautua ritual in Laboya (West Sumba): Of Tubers and Mamuli. In C. Barraud and J.D.M. Platenkamp (eds), *Nusa Tenggara Timur, Part I of Rituals and sociocosmic order in Eastern Indonesian societies. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 145:445-463.

LAURA

Alternate language names: LAORA.

Dialects:

- LAURA
- MBUKAMBERO (BUKAMBERO)

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba.

Location: Northwest Sumba between Kodi and Mamboru.

Comments: Not intelligible with Kodi.

Number in ethnic group: 10,000

MAMBORU

Alternate language names: MEMBORO.

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba.

Location: Northwest Sumba Island, coast around Memboro.

Number in ethnic group: 16,000 (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

Key bibliographical sources:

Needham, Rodney. 1980. Principles and variation in the structure of Sumbanese society. In J. Fox (ed.), *Flow of life: essays on eastern Indonesia*. pp. 21-47.

- . 1987. *Mamboru: history and structure in a domain of northwestern Sumba*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

SABU¹⁶

Alternate language names: HAWU, HAVUNESE, SAVU, SAWU, SAWUNESE, SAVUNESE.

Dialects:

- SEBA (HEBA)
- TIMU (DIMU)
- LIAE
- MESARA (MEHARA)
- RAIJUA (RAIDJUA)

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba.

Location: Islands of Savu and Raijua south of Flores and west of Timor, and in Sumba (especially in Waingapu and Melolo), in Ende on Flores, and the Kupang area of Timor. Note that Savu is administratively in Kabupaten Kupang. Airstrip is served irregularly.

Number in ethnic group: 100,000 (1990 UBS), including 15,000 to 25,000 outside of Savu (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

Comments: Related to Ndao and the languages of Sumba.

Religious profile: Christian, traditional religion.

A note on the language: Complex phonetics with implosives, glottal stop, long and short vowels, diphthongs, long and short consonants.

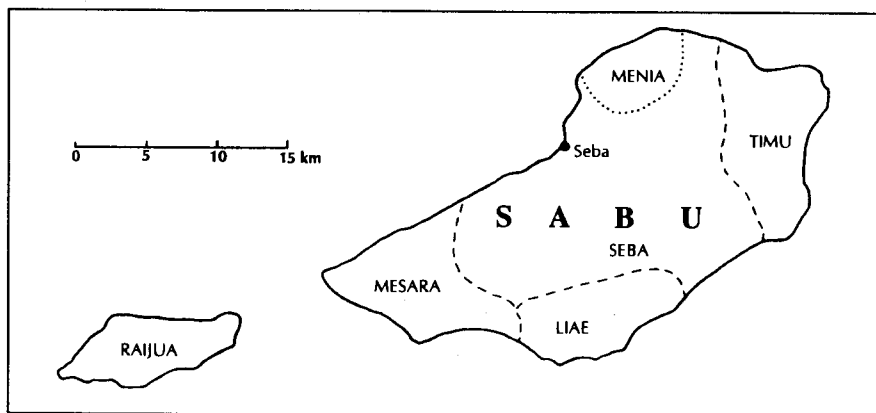
Key bibliographical sources:

Fox, James. J. 1977. The textile traditions of Roti, Ndao and Savu. In M. Kahlenberg (ed.), *Textile traditions of Indonesia*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

———. 1979. The ceremonial system of Savu. In A.L. Becker and A.A. Yengoyan, eds. *The imagination of reality: essays in Southeast Asian coherence systems*. Norwood N.J: Ablex. pp. 145–173.

Kana, N.L. 1980. The order and significance of the Savunese House. In J. Fox (ed.), *The flow of life: essays on eastern Indonesia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. pp. 221–230.

¹⁶ We use the term *Sabu* for the language, following pronunciation widespread in the region and in some written sources. *Savu* is retained as the name of the island, and the sea following practice entrenched in the literature.



Traditional domains on Sabu from the 1700s (after Fox 1977)

Wadu, Nguru. n.d. Bahan-bahan usul dalam tata penulisan bahasa daerah Sabu untuk dipakai secara umum. Typescript. Kupang: Gereja Masehi Injili di Timor.

Walker, Alan T. 1982. *A grammar of Sawu*. NUSA Vol. 13.

WANUKAKA

Alternate language names: WANOKAKA.

Dialects:

- WANUKAKA
- RUA

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba.

Location: Sumba Island, southwest coast, east of Lamboya.

Number in ethnic group: 10,000 (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

Comments: Intelligibility with dialects of East Sumba (Kambera) uncertain.

Key bibliographical sources:

Mitchell, David. 1988. Method in the metaphor: the ritual language of Wanukaka. In James J. Fox, ed. *To speak in pairs: essays on the ritual languages of eastern Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 64-86.

WEJEW

Alternate language names: WEYEW, WEWEWA, VEVEVA, WAJEW, WEWJEW, WAIDJEW, WEST SUMBANESE.

Dialects:

- WEJEW
- LAULI (LOLI)
- TANA RIGHU

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba.

Location: Interior of western Sumba.

Number in ethnic group: 65,000

Religious profile: Traditional religion.

Comments: Our sources (native speakers) all say the name of the language with an affricate [dʒ]. See the names of this language in the literature. There is clearly variation.

Key bibliographical sources:

Clamagirand, Brigitte. 1988. Li'i marapu: speech and ritual among the Wewewa of west Sumba. In James J. Fox, ed. *To speak in pairs: essays on the ritual languages of eastern Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 87-103.

———. 1989. Uppu Li'i, 'Fulfill the promise': analysis of a Wewewa ritual. In C. Barraud and J.D.M. Platenkamp (eds.), *Rituals and socio-cosmic order in eastern Indonesian societies. Part I: Nusa Tenggara Timur. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 145:

Kuipers, Joel C. 1982. Weyewa ritual speech: a study of language and ceremonial interaction in eastern Indonesia. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Yale University, New Haven.

———. 1984. Matters of taste in Weyewa. *Anthropological Linguistics* 26(1):84-101.

———. 1986. Talking about trouble: gender differences in Weyewa speech use. *American Ethnologist* 13:448-462.

———. 1988. The pattern of prayer in Weyéwa. In James J. Fox, ed. *To speak in pairs: essays on the ritual languages of eastern Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 104-128.

———. 1990. *Power in performance: the creaion of textual authority in Weyewa ritual speech*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Flores-Lembata

(28 languages)

ADONARA

Alternate language names: NUSA TADON, WAIWERANG, VAIVERANG, SAGU.

Dialects:

- WEST ADONARA
- EAST ADONARA
- EAST SOLOR

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Flores-Lembata.

Location: Adonara Island, and eastern Solor island, between Flores and Lembata.

Number in ethnic group: unknown

Comments: Lamaholot is used as a language of wider communication.

Religious profile: Muslim, Christian.

ENDE

Alternate language names: ENDEH.

Dialects:

- ENDE (ENDEH, JA'O, DJAU)
- NGA'O (NGAO, WEST ENDE)

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba, Ende-Li'o.

Location: Central Flores, west of Sikka.

Number in ethnic group: 87,000, including 78,000 Ende, 9,000 Nga'o (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

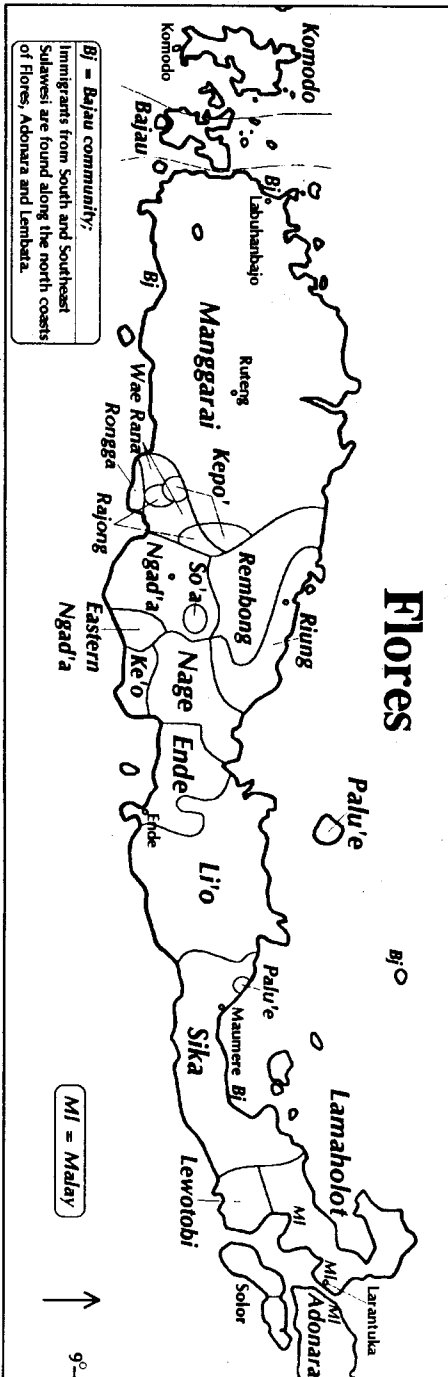
Comments: Dialect chain. Palu'e is on the border between a separate language or dialect of Ende and Li'o.

Religious profile: Christian.

Key bibliographical sources:

Needham, Rodney. 1968. Endeh: Terminology, Alliance and Analysis. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 124:305-335.

Languages of Flores



Nakagawa, Satoshi. 1988. The journey of the bridegroom: idioms of marriage among the Endenese. In James J. Fox, ed. *To speak in pairs: essays on the ritual languages of eastern Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 228–245.

ILE APE

Alternate language names: NUSA TADON.

Dialects:

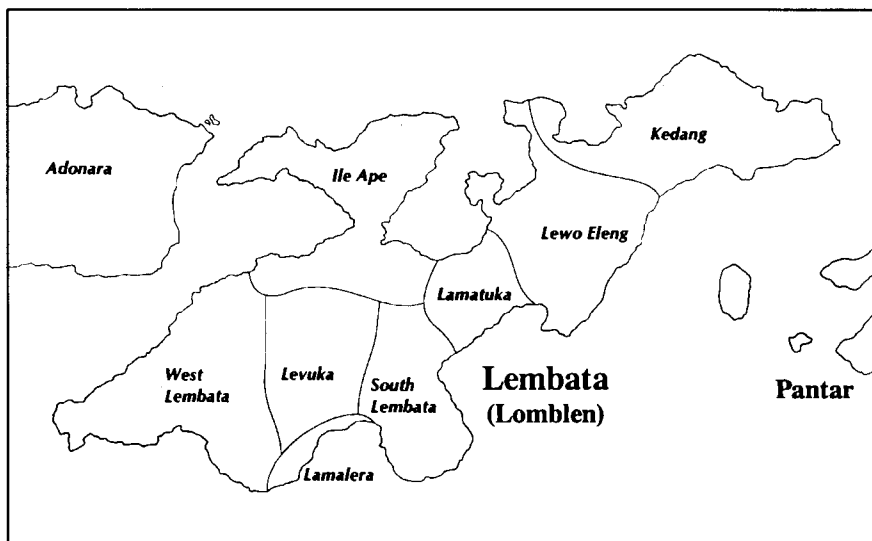
- NORTH ILE APE (PENINSULA)
- SOUTH ILE APE (MAINLAND)

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Flores-Lembata.

Location: North Lembata (Lomblen) Island, including Ile Ape volcanic peninsula and nearby mainland Lambata.

Number in ethnic group: unknown.

Comments: Lamaholot is used as a language of wider communication.



KEDANG

Alternate language names: DANG, KDANG, KÉDANG, KEDANGESE.

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Flores-Lembata.

Location: Northeast Lembata (Lomblen) Island. All modern villages relocated on a ring road around the base of a volcano.

Number in ethnic group: 25,000 (1970 census).

Religious profile: Christian, Islam.

Key bibliographical sources:

Barnes, R.H. 1974. *Kédang: a study of the collective thought of an eastern Indonesian people*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

———. 1980. Concordance, structure and variation: considerations of alliance in Kedang. In J. Fox (ed.), *The flow of life: essays on eastern Indonesia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 68-97.

KE'O

Alternate language names: KEO, NAGE-KEO.

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba, Ende-Li'o.

Location: South central Flores, east of Ngad'a, south of Nage, south and southeast of the volcano Ebu Lobo.

Number in ethnic group: 50,000 (1993 Forth)

Key bibliographical sources:

Forth, Gregory. 1994. Considerations of 'Keo' as an ethnographic category. *Oceania* 64:302-316.

KEPO'

Alternate language names: KEPOQ.

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba.

Location: Central Flores, two enclaves; one between Manggarai and Rembong, with a separate enclave between Manggarai and Wae Rana.

Comments: May be intelligible with one of the surrounding languages.

KOMODO

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba.

Location: Komodo Island and west coast of Flores.

Comments: Clearly separate language from Manggarai.

Key bibliographical sources:

Verheijen, J.A.J. 1982. *Komodo: het eiland, het volk en de taal*. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 96. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

LAMAHOLOT

Alternate language names: SOLOR, SOLORESE.

Dialects:

- WEST LAMAHOLOT (MUHANG, PUKAUNU)
- LAMAHOLOT (ILE MANDIRI, LARANTUKA, TAKA, LEWOLAGA, RITAEBANG, TANJUNG BUNDA)—also a lingua franca from eastern Flores to northwestern Alor, not including Kedang and parts of Pantar.
- WEST SOLOR

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Flores-Lembata.

Location: Used as a mother tongue on the eastern tip of Flores, east of the Sika language, and on western Solor. Used as a second language (language of wider communication on all of Solor, Adonara Lembata (except the Kedang area), and in enclaves on the northern coast of Pantar, northwest Alor and surrounding islands.

Number in ethnic group: 150,000 (?).

Comments: The term formerly also included the languages of Adonara, Alor, Ile Ape, Lamalera, Lamatuka, West Lembata, South Lembata, Levuka, Lewo Eleng, and Lewotobi. The area around Larantuka is multi-ethnic and many people have shifted to Malay (a variety known as Larantuka Malay). Historically the locus of political and economic activity has shifted from around the Portuguese fort on Solor and the port of Waiwerang on Adonara to the town of Larantuka—now the centre for both government and church. Lamaholot as it is known on language maps should perhaps best be thought of as a *lingua franca*, spoken in an area encompassing a number closely related and poorly documented languages, each with internal variation. Keraf (1978:8–10) reports 18 distinct languages “according to Swadesh’s classification”,¹⁷ but the details of how these are

¹⁷ Presumably meaning there are 18 sample sites that relate to each other below Swadesh’s proposed threshold of 80% cognate/similarity on the inspection method.

related to each other are elusive. The reevaluation of former information on Lamaholot is based on a short trip to Larantuka and Lembata by one of the authors, and consulting a variety of other sources.¹⁸ The nature of Keraf's LEWO HEBA language (1978:10) is unknown.

Religious profile: Traditional religion, Muslim, Christian.

Key bibliographical sources:

Arndt, P.P. 1937. *Grammatik der Solor-Sprache*. Ende, Flores: Arnoldus.

Barnes, R. 1989. Mei Nafa, a rite of expiation in Lamalera, Indonesia. In C. Barraud and J. Platenkamp (eds.), *Rituals and socio-cosmic order in eastern Indonesian societies, Part I, Nusa Tenggara Timur. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 145:539-537.

Fernandez, Inyo Yos. 1977. *Bahasa Lamaholot Ile Mandiri*. Thesis. Yogyakarta: Universitas Gadjah Mada.

Graham, Penelope, 1991. To follow the blood: the path of life in a domain of eastern Flores, Indonesia. PhD dissertation. Australian National University.

Keraf, Gregorius. 1978. *Morfologi dialek Lamalera*. Ph.D. dissertation. Universitas Indonesia. Ende, Flores: Arnoldus.

Kumanireng, Threes Y. 1982. Diglossia in Larantuka, Flores: a study about language use and language switching among the Larantuka community. *Pacific Linguistics* C-76:131-136.

LAMALERA

Alternate language names: MULAN, KAWELA, LEBATUKAN.

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Flores-Lembata.

Location: South coastal Lembata (Lomblen) Island. About four villages.

Number in ethnic group: unknown.

Keraf used 200-item Swadesh lists. He reports relationships as low as 57%, but does not tell us which languages those are.

¹⁸ There is no attempt to either include or reconcile Salzner's (1960) language names for this region in the proposed list.

Comments: Lamaholot is used as a language of wider communication.

Known for traditional whale hunting.

Key bibliographical sources:

Barnes, R. 1989. Mei Nafa, a rite of expiation in Lamalera, Indonesia. In C. Barraud and J. Platenkamp (eds.), *Rituals and socio-cosmic order in eastern Indonesian societies, Part I, Nusa Tenggara Timur. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 145:539-537.

Keraf, Gregorius. 1978. *Morfologi dialek Lamalera*. Ph.D. dissertation. Universitas Indonesia. Ende, Flores: Arnoldus.

LAMATUKA

Alternate language names: LAMATOKA.

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Flores-Lembata.

Location: Central Lembata (Lomblen) Island, between Ile Ape and Lewo Eleng. Several mountain villages. Villages near the north coast are the result of recent government-induced migrations.

Number in ethnic group: unknown.

Comments: Lamaholot is used as a language of wider communication. Harvesting candlenut is a key source of income. Lewo Eleng is probably the most closely related language.

LEMBATA, SOUTH

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Flores-Lembata.

Location: South Lembata (Lomblen) Island, between Lamalera and Lamatuka.

Number in ethnic group: unknown.

Comments: Lamaholot is used as a language of wider communication.

LEMBATA, WEST

Alternate language names: MINGAR, LABALEKAN.

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Flores-Lembata.

Location: Western end of Lembata (Lomblen) Island, west of Levuka.

Both mountain and coastal villages around the base of a volcano.

Number in ethnic group: unknown.

Comments: Lamaholot is used as a language of wider communication.

LEVUKA

Alternate language names: LEWUKA, CENTRAL LEMBATA, PAINARA, LEWOKUKUN.

Dialects:

- LEVUKA
- KALIKASA

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Flores-Lembata.

Location: West central Lembata (Lomblen) Island, between Ile Ape and Lamalera.

Number in ethnic group: unknown.

Comments: Lamaholot is used as a language of wider communication. Mountain villages. Recently-worked road through the area to Lamalera.

LEWO ELENG

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Flores-Lembata.

Location: East central Lembata (Lomblen) Island, between Lamatuka and Kedang. Several mountain villages. Villages near the north coast are the result of recent government-induced migrations.

Number in ethnic group: unknown.

Comments: Lamaholot is used as a language of wider communication. Harvesting candlenut is a key source of income. Lamatuka is probably the most closely related language.

LEWOTOBI

Alternate language names: SOUTHWEST LAMAHOLOT.

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Flores-Lembata.

Location: Eastern Flores, south of Lamaholot and east of Sika.

Number in ethnic group: unknown.

Comments: Lamaholot is used as a language of wider communication.

LI'O

Alternate language names: LIO, AKU, TANAH KUNU, LIONESE.

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba, Ende-Li'o.

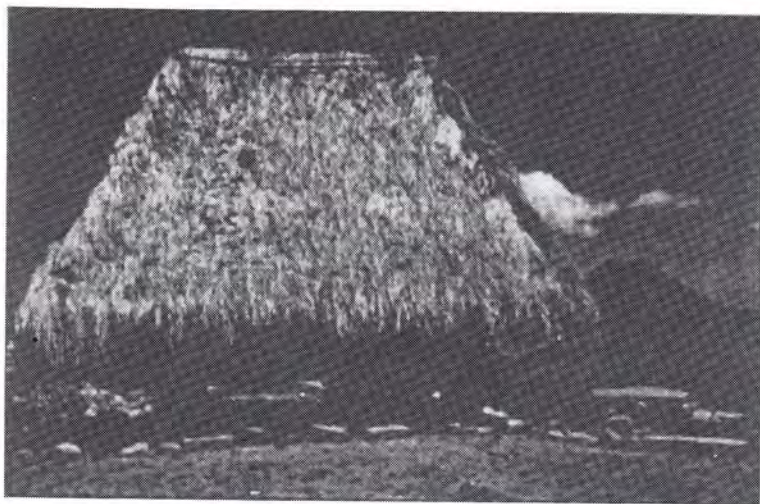
Location: Central Flores, west of Sikka around Paga and Dondo, Lesser Sundas.

Number in ethnic group: 130,000 (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

Comments: Dialect chain with Ende, difficult intelligibility at ends.

Palu'e is borderline between language and dialect with Li'o.

Religious profile: Christian.



Traditional house in Lio, central Flores

Key bibliographical sources:

Aoki, Eriko. 1988. The case of the purloined statues: the power of words among the Lionese. In James J. Fox, ed. *To speak in pairs: essays on the ritual languages of eastern Indonesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 202-227.

Arndt, Paul, 1934. *Li'onesisch-Deutsches Worterbuch*. Ende, Flores.

Howell, Signe. 1990. Husband/wife or brother/sister as the key relationship in Lio kinship and sociosymbolic relations. *Ethos* 55:248-259.

Yamaguchi, Masao. 1989. Nai Keu, a ritual of the Lio of Central Flores. In C. Barraud and J.D.M. Platenkamp (eds.), *Rituals and socio-cosmic order in eastern Indonesian societies. Part I: Nusa Tenggara*

MANGGARAI

Dialects:

- WESTERN MANGGARAI
- WEST-CENTRAL MANGGARAI
- CENTRAL MANGGARAI (RUTENG)
- EASTERN MANGGARAI

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba.

Location: Western third of Flores Island.

Number in ethnic group: 500,000 (1989).

Comments: Around 43 subdialects. Closely related to Riung.

Religious profile: Christian, Muslim.

Key bibliographical sources:

Burger, Adolf. 1946. Voorlopige Manggaraise spraakkunst. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 103:15-265.

Gordon, John L. 1980. The marriage nexus among the Manggarai of west Flores. In J. Fox (ed.), *The flow of life: essays on eastern Indonesia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 48-67.

Verheijen, J.A.J. 1948. Woordherhaling in het Manggarais. *TGB* 82:258-301.

———. 1950. De stem der dieren in de Manggaraise folklore. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 106:55-78.

———. 1962. Bird-names in Manggarai, Flores, Indonesia. *Anthropos* 58:677-718.

———. 1967. *Kamus Manggarai 1: Manggarai-Indonesia*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

———. 1970. *Kamus Manggarai 2: Indonesia-Manggarai*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

———. 1977. The lack of formative IN affixes in the Manggarai language. *NUSA* 5:35-37.

———. 1982. *Dictionary of Manggarai plant names*. *Pacific Linguistics* D-43.

Verheijen, J.A.J., and Charles E. Grimes. 1995. Manggarai introduction. In Darrell Tryon, ed. *Comparative Austronesian Dictionary: an introduction to Austronesian studies*. 4 Parts. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. Part 1, Fascicle 1:585-592.

NAGE

Alternate language names: NAGÉ, NAGE-KEO.

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba, Ende-Li'o.

Location: Central Flores, northeast of Ngad'a, on the northern and western slopes of the volcano Ebu Lobo.

Number in ethnic group: (50,000 Forth 1993).

Key bibliographical source:

Forth, Gregory, 1989. The Pa Sese festival of the Nage of Bo'a Wae (Central Flores). In C. Barraud and J.D.M. Platenkamp (eds.), *Rituals and socio-cosmic order in eastern Indonesian societies. Part I: Nusa Tenggara Timur. Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 145:502-519.

———. 1991. Shamanic powers and mystical practitioners among the Nage of Central Flores. *Canberra Anthropology* 14(2):1-29.

———. 1991. The rice scattering ritual in Austronesian Southeast Asia: Instances from the Nage of central Flores. In A.R. Walker (ed.), *Contributions to Southeast Asian Ethnography*. Vol 10.

———. 1993. Nage kin terms: a new form of eastern Indonesian social classification. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 149: 94-123.

NGAD'A¹⁹

Alternate language names: NGADHA, NGADA, NAD'A, NGA'DA, BAJAVA, BADJAVA, BAJAWA, ROKKA.

Dialects:

- CENTRAL NGADA

¹⁹ We use *Ngad'a* (with *d'* representing an implosive [d]) to refer to the language, and *Ngada* to refer to the administrative regency, following government practise. Molnar (1994:37) notes the term *Bajawa* is in widespread use today to refer to both the people and the language, and the term *Ngada*, also in current use with variant spellings, traces its origins to the name of a particular clan.

- BAJAWA
- SOUTH NGADA

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba.

Location: South central Flores, between Manggarai and Ende and Li'o.

Number in ethnic group: 60,000.

Comments: Dialect diversity.

Religious profile: Christian.

Key bibliographical sources:

Arndt, Paul. 1933. *Grammatik der Ngad'a-Sprache*. VBG 72(3).

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Djawanai, Stephanus, and Charles E. Grimes. 1995. Ngada introduction. In Darrell Tryon, ed. *Comparative Austronesian Dictionary: an introduction to Austronesian studies*. 4 Parts. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. Part 1, Fascicle 1:593–599.

Moore, Patrick. 1980. Nga'da phonology. In Paz Buenaventura Naylor, ed. *Austronesian studies: papers from the Second Eastern Conference on Austronesian Languages*. Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan. pp. 203–212.

NGAD'A, EASTERN

Alternate language names: SOUTHEAST NGADA.

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba.

Location: South central Flores, between Ngad'a and Nage in Kecamatan Golewa in the *desas* (administrative villages) of Sara

Sedu, Taka Tunga, Sanga Deto, and in Kecamatan Boawae in desa Rowa, all in Kabupaten Ngada.

Number in ethnic group: 5,000 (1994).

Comments: Minor dialect variation.

Religious profile: Christian.

Key bibliographical sources:

Molnar, Andrea A. 1994. The grandchildren of the Ga'é ancestors: the Hoga Sara of Ngada in west-central Flores. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Australian National University, Canberra.

PALU'E

Alternate language names: PALUE, PALUQE.

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba.

Location: Palu Island, north of central Flores. Also the village of Nangahure on the north coast of the Flores mainland northwest of Maumere.

Number in ethnic group: 10,000.

Comments: Dialect chain with Ende-Li'o; marginal intelligibility with Li'o.

Key bibliographical sources:

Vischer, Michael. 1992. Children of the black Patola stone: origin structures in a domain on Palu'e Island (eastern Indonesia). Ph.D. dissertation. Australian National University, Canberra.

———. 1996. Precedence among the domains of the three hearth stones: contestation of an order of precedence in the Ko'a ceremonial cycle. In *Origins, ancestry and alliance: Explorations in Austronesian ethnography*. Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, The Australian National University, pp. 175-198.

RAJONG

Alternate language names: RAZONG.

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba.

Location: Central Flores, two enclaves between Manggarai, Wae Rana, Ngad'a, and Rembong.

REMBONG

Dialects:

- REMBONG
- WANGKA
- NAMU

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba.

Location: North central Flores, between Eastern Manggarai and Riung.

Key bibliographical sources:

Erb, Maribeth, 1992. Talking and eating: sacrificial ritual among the Rembong. Paper presented at the Conference on Sacrifice in Eastern Indonesia. Oslo, June 1992.

RIUNG

Alternate language names: FAR EASTERN MANGGARAI.

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba.

Location: North-central Flores, Kecamatan Riung in Kabupaten Ngada.

Number in ethnic group: 14,000 (1981 Wurm and Hattori).

Comments: Closely related to Manggarai; but marginal intelligibility.

RONGGA

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba.

Location: South central Flores, between Manggarai and Ngad'a, and south of Wae Rana.

SIKA

Alternate language names: SARA SIKKA, SIKKA, SIKKANENESE, KROWE, MAUMERE.

Dialects:

- SARA KROWE (CENTRAL SIKA)
- SIKKA NATAR (SOUTH COAST SIKA, KANGAÉ)
- TANA AI

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Timor, Flores-Lembata.

Location: Eastern Flores Island, between Li'o and Lamaholot.

Number in ethnic group: 175,000 (1990 E.D. Lewis).

Comments: Wide variation within language and culture.

Religious profile: Christian.

Key bibliographical sources:

Arndt, Paul. 1931. *Grammatik der Sika-Sprache*. Ende, Flores: Arnoldus.

Calon, L.F. 1890-91. *Woordenlijstje van het dialekt van Sikha (Midden-Flores)*. 2 vols. Batavia. [Original published in *TBG* 33:501-530; 34:283-363.]

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Lewis, E.D., and Charles E. Grimes. 1995. Sika introduction. In Darrell Tryon, ed. *Comparative Austronesian Dictionary: an introduction to*

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Meyer, Frans. n.d. Sikkaneesch–Nederlands woordenboek. Ruteng: Flores. (mss c1937, 1946, 1964 (mimeo)).

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Soge, Paulinus. 1979. The structure of Sikka. Skripsi, Jurusan Bahasa Inggris, Univ. Sanata Dharma, Jogjakarta.

SO'A

Alternate language names: SOA.

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba.

Location: Central Flores, central Kabupaten Ngada, between Ngad'a and Riung.

Number in ethnic group: 10,000 (?) (1994).

Comments: Closely related to Ngad'a.

Religious profile: Christian.

Key bibliographical sources:

Molnar, Andrea A. 1994. The grandchildren of the Ga'é ancestors: the Hoga Sara of Ngada in west-central Flores. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Australian National University, Canberra.

WAE RANA

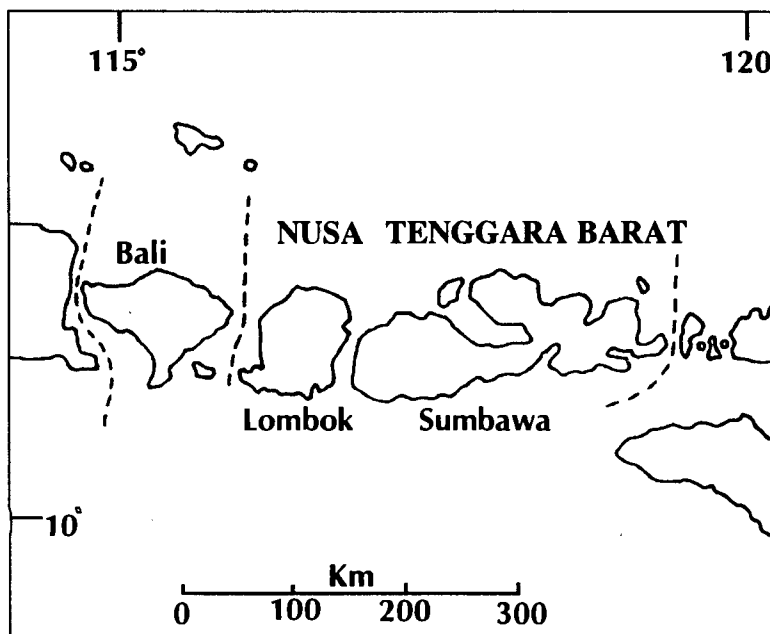
Alternate language names: WAERANA.

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba.

Location: South central Flores, between Manggarai and Ngad'a.

Lombok-Sumbawa

(3 languages)



BIMA

Alternate language names: BIMANESE.

Dialects:

- KOLO
- SANGAR (SANGGAR)
- TOLOWERI
- BIMA

Language Classification: Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian, Bima-Sumba.

Location: Eastern Sumbawa Island, east of the isthmus.

Number in ethnic group: 500,000 (1989).

Religious profile: Muslim 99%, Christian 1%.

Key bibliographical sources:

Jonker, J.C.G. 1893. *Bimaneesch-Hollandsch woordenboek*. Batavia.

- . 1896. *Bimaneesche spraakkunst*. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Deel 48.

SASAK

Alternate language names: LOMBOK.

Dialects:

- KUTO-KUTE (NORTH SASAK)
- NGETO-NGETE (NORTHEAST SASAK)
- MENO-MENE (CENTRAL SASAK)
- NGENO-NGENE (CENTRAL EAST SASAK, CENTRAL WEST SASAK)
- MRIAK-MRIKU (CENTRAL SOUTH SASAK)

Language Classification: Austronesian, Western Malayo-Polynesian, Sundic, Bali-Sasak.

Location: Lombok Island.

Number in ethnic group: 2,100,000; 1% of the population of Indonesia (1989).

Comments: Complex dialect network. Reports of blocked intelligibility between dialects. Related to Sumbawa and Balinese. Subgroups: Waktu Lima, Waktu Telu. Most Waktu Telu own farms, most Waktu Lima are landless, travel more, and have diverse occupations. Many Balinese also on Lombok Island, particularly in the west.

Religious profile: Muslim 99%, Christian 1%, traditional religion (Waktu Telu).

Key bibliographical sources:

Clynes, Adrian. 1995. Sasak introduction. In Darrell Tryon, ed. *Comparative Austronesian Dictionary: an introduction to Austronesian studies*. 4 Parts. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. Part 1, Fascicle 1:511–520.

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SUMBAWA

Alternate language names: SEMAWA, SUMBAWARESE.

Language Classification: Austronesian, Western Malayo-Polynesian, Sundic, Bali-Sasak.

Location: Western end of Sumbawa Island, west of the isthmus.

Number in ethnic group: 300,000 (1989).

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Appendix A: Index of languages by province

| Ethnolinguistic Name | Province | Classification²⁰ | Page |
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| Sasak | NTB | WMP | 94 |
| Sumbawa | NTB | WMP | 95 |
| Abui | NTT | TAP | 59 |
| Adonara | NTT | CMP | 77 |
| Alor | NTT | CMP | 57 |
| Amarasi | NTT | CMP | 35 |
| Anakalangu | NTT | CMP | 68 |
| Atoni (Timor, Uab Meto) | NTT | CMP | 35 |
| Blagar | NTT | TAP | 59 |
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| Ile Ape | NTT | CMP | 79 |
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| Kamang (Woisika) | NTT | TAP | 61 |
| Kambara (East Sumba) | NTT | CMP | 68 |
| Kedang | NTT | CMP | 79 |
| Ke'o | NTT | CMP | 80 |
| Kelon | NTT | TAP | 62 |
| Kepo' | NTT | CMP | 80 |
| Kodi | NTT | CMP | 70 |
| Komodo | NTT | CMP | 80 |
| Kui | NTT | TAP | 62 |

²⁰ CMP = Austronesian, Central Malayo-Polynesian; WMP = Austronesian, Western Malayo-Polynesian; TAP = Non-Austronesian (Papuan), Trans New Guinea Phylum, Timor-Alor-Pantar.

| | | | |
|------------------|-----|-----|----|
| Kula (Tanglapui) | NTT | TAP | 63 |
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| Lamboya | NTT | CMP | 71 |
| Lamma | NTT | TAP | 63 |
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| Lembata, West | NTT | CMP | 83 |
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| Lewotobi | NTT | CMP | 84 |
| Li'o | NTT | CMP | 85 |
| Mamboru | NTT | CMP | 72 |
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| Nage | NTT | CMP | 87 |
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| Rembong | NTT | CMP | 90 |
| Retta | NTT | TAP | 64 |
| Riung | NTT | CMP | 90 |
| Rongga | NTT | CMP | 90 |
| Rote | NTT | CMP | 47 |
| Sabu | NTT | CMP | 73 |
| Sawila | NTT | TAP | 64 |
| Sika | NTT | CMP | 90 |
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| Bunak | TT | TAP | 40 |
| Fataluku | TT | TAP | 40 |
| Galoli | TT | CMP | 41 |
| Habu | TT | CMP | 41 |
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