



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

A history of Alorese (Austronesian) combining linguistic and oral history

Sulistyono, Y.

Citation

Sulistyono, Y. (2022, February 16). *A history of Alorese (Austronesian): combining linguistic and oral history*. LOT dissertation series. LOT, Amsterdam. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3275052>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3275052>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

A history of Alorese (Austronesian)

Combining linguistic and oral history

Published by

LOT
Kloveniersburgwal 48
1012 CX Amsterdam
The Netherlands

phone: +31 20 525 2461

e-mail: lot@uva.nl
<http://www.lotschool.nl>

Cover illustration: edited version of a page in a written historical text found in the village of Pandai, Alor Regency, Indonesia.

ISBN: 978-94-6093-399-8
DOI: <https://dx.medra.org/10.48273/LOT0614>
NUR: 616

Copyright © 2022 Yunus Sulistyono. All rights reserved.

A history of Alorese (Austronesian)

Combining linguistic and oral history

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van rector magnificus prof.dr.ir. H. Bijl,
volgens besluit van het college voor promoties
te verdedigen op woensdag 16 februari 2022
klokke 13.45 uur

door

Yunus Sulistyono

geboren te Klaten, Indonesië
in 1990

Promotor: prof. dr. M.A.F. Klammer

Copromotores: dr. F.R. Moro
dr. O.D.E. Edwards

Promotiecommissie: prof. dr. M.R.M.T. Lauder (University of Indonesia)
prof. dr. M.G. Kossmann
prof. dr. M.P.G.M. Mous
dr. E.H. van Lier (Universiteit van Amsterdam)
dr. A.T.P.G. van Engelenhoven

Table of contents

Table of Contents	v
Acknowledgements	xiii
List of abbreviations	xv
1. General introduction	1
1.1 Overview	1
1.2 Research questions and aims.....	5
1.3 Geographic description	7
1.3.1 Alor.....	8
1.3.2 Buaya and Ternate.....	9
1.3.3 Pantar	10
1.3.4 The western islands.....	12
1.4 The Alorese people	13
1.4.1 Livelihood.....	13
1.4.2 Religion.....	14
1.4.3 Sociocultural life.....	15
1.5 History	16
1.5.1 Pre-colonial history and Islamization.....	16
1.5.2 Colonial times.....	17
1.5.3 History after Indonesian independence	19
1.6 Summary.....	20
2. Methodology	21
2.1 Overview	21
2.2 Data collection	21
2.2.1 Fieldwork	21
2.2.1.1 Fieldwork for collection of wordlists and oral history data	21
2.2.1.2 Fieldwork to collect data for sketch grammar	23

2.2.1.3	Data archiving	23
2.2.2	Data collection through open data archives	25
2.3	Data analysis	26
2.3.1	Oral history	26
2.3.2	Historical-comparative linguistics	27
2.4	Summary	28
3.	Migration stories of the Alorese people	31
3.1	Introduction	31
3.2	Previous studies	33
3.3	Methods	35
3.3.1	Data collection	35
3.3.2	Limitations	37
3.3.3	Interpreting the stories	37
3.4	Migration stories	41
3.4.1	The flood on Rusa Island	41
3.4.2	Settlers from islands west of Pantar	46
3.4.3	The rise and fall of the Munaseli Kingdom	49
3.4.4	The expansion of the Pandai Kingdom	53
3.4.4.1	The Pandai expansion to Alor Besar	53
3.4.4.2	The Pandai expansion to Baranusa	55
3.4.5	The flood on the Lapang-Batang Islands	56
3.4.6	The expansion to Ternate and Buaya	58
3.5	Alorese clans and their origins	59
3.6	Summary	63
4.	A sketch grammar of Alorese	67
4.1	Introduction	67
4.1.1	Location and speakers	68
4.1.2	Data collection and processing	71
4.1.3	Citation codes	74
4.1.4	Transcription and glossing conventions	74
4.2	Phonology	74
4.2.1	Consonants	74
4.2.1.1	Minimal pairs for plosives /p, t, k, / and /b, d, g/	75

4.2.1.2	Minimal pairs for /ʔ/ contrasted with zero and /k/	76
4.2.1.3	Minimal pairs for nasals /m, n, ŋ/	77
4.2.1.4	Minimal pairs for fricatives /s, h/	78
4.2.1.5	Minimal pairs for affricate /dʒ/	78
4.2.1.6	Minimal pairs for approximant /w/	79
4.2.1.7	Minimal pairs for liquids /l, r/	79
4.2.2	Vowels	79
4.2.2.1	Minimal pairs of high vowels /i, u/ contrasted with /ε, ɔ/	80
4.2.2.2	Minimal pairs of mid vowels /ε/ and /ɔ/	81
4.2.2.3	Minimal pairs with the low vowel /a/	81
4.2.3	Allophones	82
4.2.4	Phonotactics	82
4.2.4.1	Phoneme distributions	82
4.2.4.2	Consonant clusters	83
4.2.4.3	Syllable structure	87
4.2.4.4	Stress	90
4.2.5	Complex words	91
4.2.6	Summary on the phonology	93
4.3	Noun phrases	94
4.3.1	Core modifiers	94
4.3.1.1	Nominal modifiers	94
4.3.1.2	Property modifiers	95
4.3.1.3	Locative modifiers	96
4.3.1.4	Numeral modifiers	98
4.3.2	Relative clauses	100
4.3.3	Phrase-final slots	101
4.3.3.1	Demonstratives	101
4.3.3.2	Focus particle	102
4.3.3.3	Plural word	103
4.4	Possessive constructions	104
4.4.1	Phrases with a nominal possessor	104
4.4.1.1	Noun + noun	104
4.4.1.2	Noun + possessive linker + noun	104

4.4.2	Phrases with a pronominal possessor	106
4.4.2.1	Pronoun + noun	106
4.4.2.2	Pronoun + possessive linker + noun	107
4.4.3	Traces of an alienability distinction	111
4.4.3.1	Traces of a historic possessive suffix <i>-ng</i>	111
4.4.3.2	Distinction in the third person possessor pronoun	114
4.5	Verbs	114
4.5.1	Overview	114
4.5.2	Verbs without subject prefixes	115
4.5.3	Verbs with subject prefixes	116
4.5.4	Reduplication	119
4.5.5	Serial verbs	120
4.6	Clauses	122
4.6.1	Clause structure	122
4.6.2	Verbal clauses	123
4.6.2.1	Intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive clauses	123
4.6.2.2	Clauses with locational and instrumental phrases	126
4.6.2.3	Adjectival clauses	129
4.6.2.4	Aspect and temporality	130
4.6.3	Non-verbal clauses	132
4.6.3.1	Equational clauses with nominal predicates	132
4.6.3.2	Locational clauses with prepositional phrases as predicates ..	132
4.6.4	Summary on the clauses	133
4.7	Sentence types and clause combinations	133
4.7.1	Negation and prohibition	133
4.7.2	Imperatives	134
4.7.3	Questions	135
4.7.4	Clause combinations	138
4.8	Summary and conclusions	141
5.	Alorese historical phonology	143
5.1	Introduction	143
5.2	Previous studies	145
5.3	Methods	146

5.3.1	Language sampling and data sources.....	147
5.3.2	Representation of varieties.....	149
5.3.3	Transcription conventions.....	152
5.3.4	Organization of tables.....	153
5.4	Reconstruction of the sounds of Proto-Alorese	154
5.4.1	Reflexes of PFL voiceless plosives in Alorese	154
5.4.1.1	PFL initial and intervocalic *p *t *k *ʔ.....	154
5.4.1.2	Reflexes of initial plosive with PFL *m-	158
5.4.1.3	Reflexes of PFL final plosive *p *k *ʔ.....	159
5.4.1.4	Change of PFL final *t > *ʔ in PAL.....	161
5.4.2	Reflexes of PFL fricatives *v *s *h in Alorese.....	163
5.4.2.1	Reflexes of PFL *v.....	163
5.4.2.2	Merger of PFL *s /*h > PAL *h	165
5.4.3	Reflexes of PFL affricate *dʒ in Alorese.....	167
5.4.4	Reflexes of PFL voiced obstruents *b *d *g in Alorese	167
5.4.5	Reflexes of PFL nasals *m *n *ŋ in Alorese	170
5.4.5.1	PFL initial and intervocalic nasals.....	170
5.4.5.2	Merger of PFL final nasals > PAL *ŋ	171
5.4.6	Reflexes of PFL liquids *l and *r in Alorese.....	172
5.4.7	Reflexes of the PFL approximant *y [j] in Alorese	175
5.4.8	The origin of final consonants in Alorese.....	176
5.4.9	PFL vowels in Alorese.....	179
5.4.10	The Proto-Alorese sound inventory	183
5.5	Reconstruction of the sounds of Proto-Western-Lamaholot	184
5.5.1	Reflexes of PFL voiceless plosives in Western Lamaholot	184
5.5.1.1	Reflexes of PFL initial and intervocalic *p *t *k *ʔ	184
5.5.1.2	Reflexes of initial plosives following PFL *m-	189
5.5.1.3	Reflexes of PFL final *p *t *k *ʔ.....	190
5.5.2	Reflexes of PFL fricatives *v *s *h in Western Lamaholot.....	193
5.5.2.1	Reflexes of PFL *v.....	193
5.5.2.2	Merger of PFL initial and intervocalic *h and *s > PWL *h.....	195
5.5.3	Reflexes of PFL affricate *dʒ in Western Lamaholot.....	196
5.5.4	Reflexes of PFL voiced obstruent *b *d *g in Western Lamaholot... 197	

x *A history of Alorese (Austronesian)*

5.5.5	Reflexes of PFL nasals *m *n *ŋ in Western Lamaholot.....	199
5.5.5.1	PFL initial and intervocalic nasals.....	199
5.5.5.2	PFL final nasals	200
5.5.6	Reflexes of PFL liquids *l and *r in Western Lamaholot	202
5.5.7	Reflexes of PFL approximant *y [j] in Western Lamaholot	204
5.5.8	PFL vowels in Western Lamaholot	205
5.5.9	The Proto-Western-Lamaholot phoneme inventory	207
5.6	Sound changes attested in PWL and PAL.....	208
5.7	Evidence for Alorese as a subgroup	209
5.7.1	Exclusively shared sound change	209
5.7.2	Grammatical innovation: Plural word.....	210
5.7.3	Lexical replacement	211
5.7.4	Metathesis	212
5.8	Low-level subgrouping within Alorese	214
5.9	The most conservative varieties of Alorese	217
5.10	Summary and conclusions	218
6.	Lexical borrowing into and from Alorese	221
6.1	Introduction	221
6.2	Previous studies	221
6.3	Aims of the present study	222
6.4	Methods.....	223
6.4.1	Data collection.....	223
6.4.2	Loanword detection using automatic comparison	230
6.4.3	Manual check.....	231
6.4.4	Criteria to identify loanwords	233
6.4.4.1	AP loanwords in Alorese	233
6.4.4.2	Malay loanwords in Alorese	234
6.4.4.3	Portuguese loanwords in Alorese.....	234
6.4.4.4	Alorese loanwords in the AP languages	234
6.4.5	Geographic grouping of Alorese varieties	235
6.4.6	Data representation.....	237
6.4.7	Organization of tables.....	237
6.5	Loanwords in Alorese	238

6.5.1	Loans from Alor-Pantar languages	238
6.5.1.1	AP loanwords reconstructable to PAL	238
6.5.1.2	AP loanwords in the Pantar varieties	247
6.5.1.3	AP loanwords in the Northeast Pantar varieties	249
6.5.1.4	AP loanwords in Northeast Pantar and Alor Peninsula.....	257
6.5.1.5	AP loanwords in the Straits varieties	259
6.5.1.6	AP loanwords in the Alor Peninsula varieties	265
6.5.1.7	Summary of AP loanwords in Alorese	266
6.5.2	Loans from Malay	268
6.5.3	Loans from Portuguese	271
6.5.4	Loans from Dutch.....	271
6.6	Alorese as a donor language	272
6.6.1	Alorese loanwords attested in more than one AP language.....	272
6.6.2	Alorese loanwords attested only in Blagar	278
6.6.3	Alorese loanwords attested only in Reta	281
6.6.4	Alorese loanwords attested only in Teiwa	282
6.7	Loanwords of unknown origin and unclear direction	283
6.8	Summary and conclusions	290
7.	Discussion and conclusions	293
7.1	Revisiting the research questions.....	293
7.2	Summary of results	293
7.3	General discussion.....	297
7.4	Directions for further research	299
	Bibliography	301
	Appendix A: Questionnaire, texts, and clans	321
	Appendix B: A short dictionary of Alorese-English-Indonesian	351
	Appendix C: Western Lamaholot lexeme sets	383
	English summary	461
	Nederlandse samenvatting.....	463
	Ringkasan dalam Bahasa Indonesia	467
	Curriculum vitae	471

Acknowledgements

This dissertation would never have been completed without the help, support, and encouragement of my team of supervisors. I would like to thank my promotor Marian Klamer for great advice that helped me to structure both my thoughts and my chapters. I would also like to thank her for her patience, understanding, and words of encouragement, as well as for giving me the opportunity to be part of her research team. I am grateful to Francesca Moro for her support and input to this dissertation. I would also like to thank Owen Edwards for our discussions, and for his suggestions while I was putting together the chapters of this dissertation. I am grateful for having been able to learn from all three of you!

I would like to thank the members of Marian Klamer's research group, which I had the privilege to be part of: Marian, Francesca, Hanna, Gereon, Owen, George, Jiang, Alex, Eline, Renzi, Zoi, and Axel. Thank you all for the discussions that we had and for the great experiences I had in learning from you.

Next, I wish to thank the Indonesian scholarship *Lembaga Pengelola Dana Pendidikan* (LPDP) for providing me with a doctoral grant (2017–2021) and a six month-extension (2021–2022) to pursue my research at the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL).

My deepest gratitude goes to the Alorese people in the Alor Regency of East Nusa Tenggara Province in Indonesia who I had the honor to work with. I would like to thank the families that hosted me during my survey fieldwork in 2018: *Bapak* Ulrudin Laka in Bana village, *Bapak* Rahim Mursalim in Wailawar village, *Bapak Kepala Desa* in Kayang village, and *Bapak* Muhadjir (Herru) Usman in Alor Besar village. I also wish to thank my consultants during my 2020 fieldwork for allowing me to work with them in the middle of a global pandemic: *Ibu* Baidia Boro, *Ibu* Sahro Lang Ere, and *Ibu* Hasna Lang Ire in Kabir village, *Ibu* Rukia Bolang in Pandai Village; *Bapak* Djamra Anwar in Wailawar Village; *Bapak* Syamsudin Koli Amang in Kabir village, and *Ibu* Hamida Bara in Baranusa village. Thank you to *Bapak* Mustafa Salim for permitting me to stay at your place during that time. I would also like to thank all of the *Kepala Desa* in Alor who provided me with information, guidance, and facilities during my fieldwork: *Bapak* Assywad Kossah, *Bapak* Samsah Wahid, *Bapak* Rahman Kasih, *Bapak* Bai Rudin,

Bapak Dominikus Weni Sali, and *Bapak* Sudirman Subang. I am also grateful to the *Pemerintah Kabupaten Alor* (Government of the Alor Regency) for granting me permits to conduct research with the Alorese people. In addition, I wish to thank everyone I met in Alor for making my time there less lonely: George Saad, David Gil, Herru, Novi, Hamida, Abdul, and Mas Jawa, as well as *Bapak* and *Ibu* Kris.

I would like to thank a number of scholars who inspired me through their insightful contributions and remarks: Hanna Fricke for our fruitful discussion on Alorese historical phonology and loanwords (thank you also for your inputs and suggestions for this dissertation); Susanne Rodemeier, Aone van Engelenhoven, and Kathryn Wellen for comments and notes on the migration story chapter; Gereon Kaiping for our collaboration with Francesca Moro in developing the methods to detect loanwords through automatic comparison; George Saad for all your input to this research; Jeroen Willemsen for our discussion during the 2019 APLL conference; Eleanor Dutton for your valuable notes when editing this dissertation; Gary Holton for our conversation during ENUS conference and in APLL 2019; Jiang Wu and Alexander Elias for your inputs during our group meeting discussions; Marton Bax for our discussions and your help in translating the Dutch summary of this dissertation; and Eline Visser for our meaningful conversations during your stay in Leiden. I also wish to thank the organizers of several linguistic discussion groups I participated in during my research in Leiden: Hanna Fricke, Chams Bernard, Alexander Vertegaal, Kate Bellamy, Katja Lubina, and Sophie Villerius. I would also like to thank the people at LUCL for making my four-and-a-half years in Leiden more fun: Jiang, Renzi, Hanna, Amy, Bushra, Min, Arum, Kate, Hana, and Reski. In addition, my PhD journey would not have been the same without all the friendly people I have met in the Netherlands: in particular, Aditya Budiarsa, Abdulrokhman Kartonegoro, Eman Soge, Marton Bax, Carmen Marseille, Safe, Dimas Janssen, Nazarudin, Taufik, Bilal, Adrian, Mira, Syahril, Ayu, Angga, Fachrizal, Ton Meeuwissen, and Rogier.

I am grateful to my colleagues at the Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta for letting me embark a long period of research abroad: Yakub Nasucha, Miftakhul Huda, Laili Rahmawati, Zainal Arifin, Endang Fauziati, Markhamah, Atiqa Sabardila, and Ida Nursanti. Last but not least, I wish to express my special thanks to my family for your endless love: my parents Umi Zulaikhah and Basuki, and my wife Saffanatus Choiriyyah and our first-born child Azlan.

List of abbreviations

Glosses

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
ART	Article
DEM	Demonstrative
DISC	Discourse marker
DIST	Distal
EXCL	Exclusive
ITER	Iterative
INT	Intensive
INCL	Inclusive
L	Long form of an alternating noun
LOC	Locative
NEG	Negation, negator
PART	Particle
PFV	Perfective
PL	Plural
POSS	Possessor
PROG	Progressive
PROX	Proximate
Q	Interrogative, question
REL	Relativizer
SG	Singular

S	Short form of an alternating noun
STAT	Stative

Languages

AL	Alorese
AN	Austronesian
AP	Alor-Pantar
CL	Central Lembata
CLH	Central Lamaholot
EL	Eastern Lamaholot
FL	Flores Lembata
KD	Kedang
LH	Lamaholot
PAL	Proto-Alorese
PAN	Proto-Austronesian
PAP	Proto-Alor-Pantar
PCEMP	Proto-Central-Eastern-Malayo-Polynesian
PFL	Proto-Flores-Lembata
PMP	Proto-Malayo-Polynesian
PTAP	Proto-Timor-Alor-Pantar
SK	Sika
TAP	Timor-Alor-Pantar
WL	Western Lamaholot

Villages

alb	Alor Besar
alk	Alor Kecil
ban	Bana Onong
bar	Baranusa
beo	Beang Onong
bya	Buaya
dul	Dulolong
hel	Helangdohi
kya	Kayang
mrs	Marisa
mun	Munaseli

pan	Pandai
ter	Ternate
war	Wailawar

Citation codes

AOL	Alorese
aolfm	Alorese data collected by Moro (2016b)
aolys	Alorese data collected by Sulistyono (2021)
CV	Conversations
CQ	Cultural questionnaire
CWL	Core wordlist
EWL	Extended wordlist
FS	Frog story
PM	Pronominal marking
SR	Surrey stimuli
ST	Stories
WT	Written texts

Other abbreviations

BPS	Badan Pusat Statistik
C	Consonant
conv	Conversations
fm	Francesca Moro
G	Glide
Kemendagri	Kementerian Dalam Negeri Republik Indonesia
lit	literally
N	Nasal
NTT	Nusa Tenggara Timur
O	Object
p	pages
S	Subject
srvy	Survey
V	Verb (in Chapter 4); Vowel (in Chapter 5 and 6)
VOC	Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie
ys	Yunus Sulistyono

