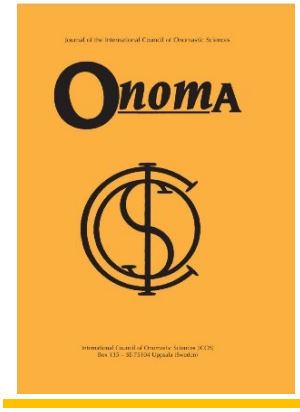


Onoma **51**
Journal of the International Council of Onomastic Sciences

ISSN: 0078-463X; e-ISSN: 1783-1644
Journal homepage: https://onomajournal.org/

Abui landscape names: Origin and functions

DOI: 10.34158/ONOMA.51/2016/5

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To cite this article: Kratochvíl, František & Delpada, Benediktus & Perono Cacciafoco, Francesco. 2016. Abui landscape names: Origin and functions. *Onoma* 51, 75–111. DOI: 10.34158/ONOMA.51/2016/5

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.34158/ONOMA.51/2016/5

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Abui landscape names: Origin and functions

Abstract: This paper describes the toponymy of the Abui community of Eastern Indonesia (Papuan, Alor Archipelago). In absence of detailed cartographic documentation, we have built a database of Abui place names. The data was collected using various tasks (hiking, narratives, map-drawing and elicitation) and annotated in a database tracking the type of place name, its etymology, and the onomastic source. The paper demonstrates that the toponymic pattern in the Abui community is largely native, transparent, and derived from the agricultural and horticultural use of the landscape. The most prominent source of place names are tree names (both fruit and cash crop). In their swiddening practice, the Abui farmers promoted the growth of certain tree species and derived landmark names from them. These names provide evidence of the emergence of secondary forest, stimulated by the targeted harvesting of trees such as canarium or candlenut over the past centuries. The peripheral, coastal toponymic interface records traces of inter-island trade driven by the available cash crops.

Finally, we report the social functions of place names. Place name sequences function as keychains, which affirm kin relations, stake out land claims and rights but also verify the truthfulness of certain ancestral myths. The paper shows that even in areas where detailed cartographic and historical data are absent, a great deal of information can be obtained from the systematic study of toponyms and their function in various types of discourse.

Keywords: Toponymy of eastern Indonesia, effect of horticulture and swiddening, toponymic fieldwork.

Paysage linguistique d'Abui : Origine et fonctions

Résumé : Cet article décrit la toponymie de la communauté Abui en Indonésie orientale (Papouasie, archipel d'Alor). En absence de documents cartographiques détaillés nous avons établi une base de données des noms de lieu de la communauté Abui. Les données ont été rassemblées par diverses méthodes et classées dans une base de données en fonction du type de nom de lieu, de son étymologie et de la source onomastique. L'article démontre que le modèle toponymique de la communauté Abui est en grande partie indigène, transparent, et dérivé de termes agricoles et horticoles locaux. La source la plus importante des noms de lieux sont des noms d'arbres, de fruits et de cultures. En pratiquant la culture sur brûlis, les agriculteurs d'Abui ont favorisé la croissance de certaines espèces d'arbres. Les noms de lieux proviennent du nom de ces espèces. Ces noms fournissent des preuves de l'émergence de la forêt secondaire, stimulée par la culture ciblée d'arbres tels que le canarium ou le bancoulier au cours des siècles passés. En périphérie, sur les côtes, les traces toponimiques montrent l'existence d'un commerce inter-insulaire lié par l'existence de cultures commerciales.

En conclusion, nous présentons les fonctions sociales des noms de lieux. Le nom de lieu fonctionne comme un maillon, ce qui confirme non seulement les relations familiales, mais aussi les droits et les revendications territoriales. Il confirme également l'exactitude de certains mythes héréditaires. L'article prouve que même dans des secteurs où les données cartographiques et historiques détaillées

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sont absentes, beaucoup d'informations peuvent être obtenues à partir de l'étude systématique des toponymes et de leur fonction dans divers types de discours.

Mots-clés : Toponymie Indonésie orientale, toponymie et horticulture, toponymie terrain.

Landschaftsnamen der Abui (Ost-Indonesien): Ursprung und Funktionen

Zusammenfassung: Dieser Artikel beschreibt die Landschaftsnamen der Abui in Ost-Indonesien (papuasprachig, Alor Archipel). Ohne detaillierte kartographische Quellen haben wir eine Datenbank mit Landschaftsnamen der Abui aufgebaut. Die Daten wurden mit Hilfe von verschiedenen Aufgaben (wandern, Geschichten erzählen, Karten zeichnen, und Elizitation) erhoben und in eine Datenbank, unter Angabe der Art des Landschaftsnamen, seiner Etymologie, und der onomastischen Quelle, aufgenommen. Dieser Artikel zeigt, dass die toponymischen Strukturen der Abui zum größten Teil einheimisch, bedeutungstransparent und von der landwirtschaftlichen und gartenbaulichen Nutzung der Landschaft abgeleitet sind. Die wichtigste Quelle für Landschaftsnamen sind Baumnamen (von sowohl Früchten als auch Marktkulturen). Mit ihrem Wanderfeldbau förderten die Abui-Bauern das Wachsen bestimmter Baumarten und leiteten Landschaftsnamen von diesen ab. Diese Namen geben Hinweise auf die Entstehung sekundärer Wälder, angeregt durch das gezielte Abernten von zum Beispiel *canarium*-Arten und Lichtnussbäumen über die letzten Jahrhunderte. Die periphere, an der Küste gelegene, toponomische Zwischenzone verzeichnet Spuren von inter-insularem Handel, der durch das Vorkommen von Marktkulturen angetrieben wurde.

Zum Schluss, berichten wir über die sozialen Funktionen von Landschaftsnamen. Abfolgen von Landschaftsnamen dienen als Schlüssel, der Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse bestätigt, Landansprüche und -rechte absteckt, aber auch den Wahrheitsgehalt bestimmter Legenden der Vorfahren nachweist. Der Artikel zeigt, dass, selbst in Gegenden, wo detaillierte kartographische und historische Daten fehlen, das systematische Erforschen von Toponymen und deren Funktionen in verschiedenen Diskursarten eine erhebliche Menge an Informationen erbringen kann.

Schlüsselbegriffe: Landschaftsnamen der Ost Indonesien, Landschaftsnamen und Gartenbau, Feldforschung in Toponymie.

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Onoma 51 (2016), 75–111. DOI: 10.34158/ONOMA.51/2016/5

Abui landscape names: Origin and functions

FRANTIŠEK KRATOCHVÍL, BENIDIKTUS DELPADA,
AND FRANCESCO PERONO CACCIAFOCO

1. Introduction

This paper describes landscape terms in the Abui-speaking area of Takalelang, Alor Archipelago, in East Indonesia, whose location can be seen in Figure 1. It provides an overview of the Abui landscape terminology, its etymological origin and the associated functions. Further details about the site can be found in section 1.1.

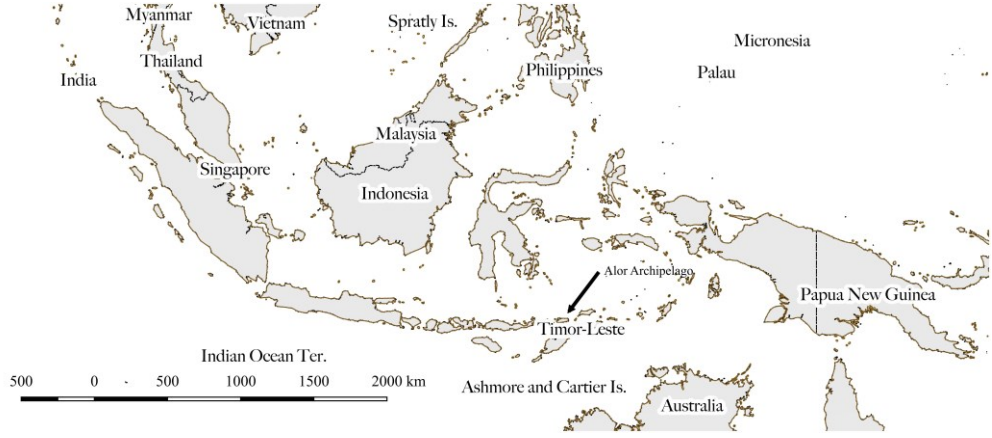


Figure 1: Location of the Alor Archipelago in insular Southeast Asia

The paper focuses on terms related to human settlement in the area: (i) it discusses the basic concepts of landscape and settlement classification, (ii) establishes the historical layering of terms in the Takalelang area, (iii) analyses the composition of the settlement names, and (iv) makes a comparison with Western Pantar (Holton 2011) and East Timor (Huber 2014) – two areas where related languages are spoken. In the second part, the paper discusses the social function of the Abui landscape terminology, in particular as keychains offering authenticity to land claims and rights, ancestral myths, and as traces of kin links. We demonstrate that there are differences with both Pantar, as described in Holton (2011) and with East Timor, as described in Huber (2014). In the remainder of this section, we

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describe the geography and human settlement of the Alor area (1.1), the Abui community (1.2) and outline our research methodology (1.3).

1.1. Geography and human settlement of the Timor area

Deep seas divide insular Southeast Asia into two continents: Sundaland (Borneo, Java, Sumatra) in the west, and Sahul (New Guinea and Australia) in the east. In between lies Wallacea, consisting of the larger islands Sulawesi and Lesser Sunda, and many smaller islands. Wallacea was never connected by a land bridge to either continent. Most Wallacean islands lack large terrestrial fauna. Early humans therefore had to adapt to littoral subsistence. The geographic isolation has produced a large number of endemic species – among these, spices and aromatic woods will play an important part in our discussion.

The archaeological record, combined with the genetic, linguistic, archaeological and historical evidence, allows us to establish a rough periodization of human settlement in the area:

Table 1: Periodization of human settlement in Wallacea

Period	**Start**	**Human activity**
First settlement	around 50k BP	First human settlement from mainland Asia involving the use of a watercraft, continuing to New Guinea and Australia
Papuan expansion	before 4k BP	westward expansion of Papuan speaking peoples from New Guinea into Wallacea
Austronesian arrival	around 3500BP	southward expansion of the early Austronesians from the Philippines towards Sulawesi, Timor and Malukku and New Guinea
Dongson era	first millennium BP	integration in the Dongson trade network
Srivijayan era	first millennium CE	integration in the Malayic trading networks centred in the west of the Malay Archipelago
Majapahit era	fourteenth century	partial dependency on the Javanese Majapahit empire
Portuguese era	sixteenth century	Portuguese colonization competing for influence with the Gowa Sultanate of Makassar
Dutch era	seventeenth century	gradual integration in the Dutch colonial possessions and diminishing Portuguese influence
WWII	1940s	Japanese occupation
Independence	1945–present	decolonization and integration into modern Indonesia

The archaeological evidence dates the human population in the Wallacea and Sahul area reliably to at least 49,000 years ago. This date was obtained in the Ivane Valley site in East New Guinea (Summerhayes et al. 2010: 78). For the Wallacea area population outside Flores, the oldest records presently go as far back as 40,000 years (Bellwood 2013: 78). The Timor area was colonized during the same early dispersal of modern humans around

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42,000 years ago (O'Connor et al. 2011: 1117).[1]

In the Alor Archipelago, recently presented evidence dates the human population to at least 21,000 years BP (Samper Carro et al. 2016: 68–69). The coastal site of *Tron Bon Lei* in southern Alor contains evidence of marine-oriented subsistence without any significant terrestrial fauna component. Whether the interior was settled prior to the Papuan agriculturalists remains to be established.

1.2. Abui community

Abui are mountain people and with about 17,000 speakers belong to the largest groups of the area (see Figure 2). Their language belongs to the Timor-Alor-Pantar family (Holton et al. 2012: 87), which has no proven links outside the area, although a deep relationship with the Trans-New-Guinea languages was proposed (Ross 2005: 36) and links with other Papuan languages are regularly debated. The linguistic affiliation is significant, because it suggests the arrival of the ancestor population (the speakers of Proto-Timor-Alor-Pantar) in the area either before or coinciding with the Austronesians. Bellwood (2013: 193–194) places the date of Austronesian arrival at about 3,500 years BP but later estimates are also considered.

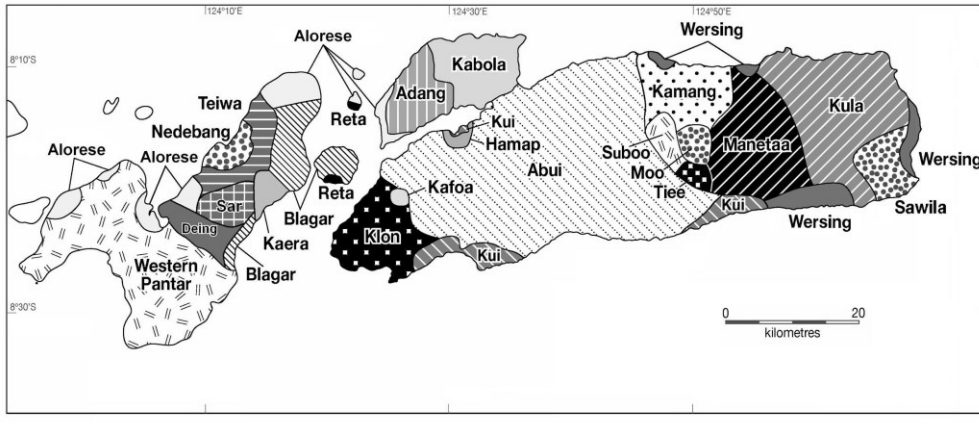


Figure 2: Linguistic situation in the Alor-Pantar Archipelago. Alorese and Alor Malay (not on the map) are the only Austronesian languages, the remaining languages are Papuan.

[1] The initial colonization is followed by the extinction of several large vertebrates, such as the proboscidean *Stegodon timorensis*, giant terrestrial tortoise *Geochelone atlas* and a large monitor lizard *Varanus sp.* (O'Connor et al. 2014: 110). Apart from their advanced fishing techniques, early colonizers of the Timor area produced remarkable artefacts as early as 35,000 years ago: unique bone artefacts from Late Pleistocene were found at Matja Kuru 2 site on Timor (O'Connor et al. 2014: 110–111).

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The seafaring Austronesians established contacts early with their Papuan neighbours living in the Alor-Pantar Archipelago. The evidence for this comes from ancient Austronesian loanwords shared by the entire Alor-Pantar family and regularly inherited by daughter languages (Robinson 2015: 26–27). Other islands of the Timor area contain substantial Austronesian populations, yet the Alor Archipelago remained entirely Papuan speaking until about seven centuries ago, when an Austronesian community, speaking a dialect of Lamaholot, was established in northern Pantar and spread along the coast to Northwest Alor (Klamer 2011: 10).[2] Austronesian encounters are recorded in the Abui landscape (toponymy) as well as in the oral tradition and will be discussed in a separate paper.

The archipelago was known to the early sixteenth c. observer Pigafetta (Le Roux 1929: 11) and to the Portuguese (Barnes 1982: 411).[3] It has been suggested that the archipelago was known to the Javanese Majapahit thalassocracy as early as the first half of the fourteenth c. (Barnes 1982: 410). Alor lies on the line of the Chinese and Makassarese sailing routes to Timor and has been known to both trading powers (Ptak 1987: 37; de Roever 2002: 149). The Alor Archipelago did not produce the most prized commodity of the area, sandalwood, and remained outside of Dutch and Portuguese control. Various Dutch sources cite rough seas and lack of substantial commercial interests for Alor. In 1637, the Dutch sent a brief expedition to confirm whether Alor could become a source of pepper, mentioned in Pigafetta's journal (de Roever 2002: 29). The expedition failed to find pepper or other significant produce, so the trade was left to the Makassarese and Bajau (de Roever 2002: 164–168). The Alor Archipelago was formally incorporated in the Dutch colonial possessions in 1850s, although greater efforts to control it only began in the early twentieth century. Throughout the colonial period, the Alor Archipelago was in all

[2] Genetic evidence reveals a long history of contact between Melanesian and East Asian genetic types, obscuring the correlation between language and genes over time. Eastern Indonesia is a genetic melting pot: Melanesian signals can be detected in Austronesian speakers and East Asian signals in Non-Austronesian speakers (Mona et al. 2009: 1875). Lansing et al. (2011: 269) attribute the mismatch between genes and languages to the matrilocal states of the Neolithic (and some modern) Austronesians, during which men from surrounding non-Austronesian communities were accepted as husbands in the matrilocal Austronesian communities. This state lasted in some cases for thousands of years leading to a gradual language shift in the western part of the Lesser Sunda archipelago. It continues in some areas until the present day (cf. Lansing et al. 2011).

[3] Antonio Pigafetta was an Italian lawyer and explorer who joined Ferdinand Magellan's crew on their circumnavigation of the globe in the 1520s. Unlike Magellan, Pigafetta survived the voyage and wrote a detailed account of the journey including cartographic and linguistic data. The report is known to amplify the curious and exotic (Adams 1980). Only some parts of Pigafetta's report were published, and other parts have been lost. The part pertaining to the Timor area were published in Le Roux (1929).

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probability a source of slaves and food for the Makassarese and Bajau traders.

The north Abui community of Takalelang did not have a dependent role in the political structures of the pre-colonial era and likely remained autonomous until the early twentieth century.[4] The external attempts for control were met by violence: the Abui rebellion against the Dutch rule in 1917 was quenched in a bloody manner. Subsequent rebellions occurred in March 1942 and in 1945 (Hägerdal 2010: 24–25). Various colonial sources provide details of these events, but parallel oral accounts exist as well (see Wellfelt 2016: 182).

The first description of the Abui community is a monograph by Cora Du Bois (1960), a well-known American anthropologist. Her 18-month long fieldwork, just before the onset of WWII, was the basis for a study of personality formation and shared behavioural characteristics (Seymour 2015). Du Bois's companion Martha Maria Nicolspeyer described the Abui social structure, and included Abui legends and a wordlist in her dissertation (Nicolspeyer 1940).[5] Our language documentation effort began in 2003 and also produced a storybook collection (Kratochvíl & Delpada 2008a) and a dictionary (Kratochvíl & Delpada 2008b).[6] The Abui community of Takalelang takes an active part in the documentation of their language and culture and provides strong support. A team of younger speakers is engaged in data collection and processing.

1.3. Data collection

Since detailed cartographic documentation of the area does not exist, we created our own database of Abui landscape terms. We collected the terms by various means including hiking with and without GPS, elicitation, map drawing, landscape modelling tasks, and path narrations, similar to the methodology used by Wellfelt (2016) to map the "historyscapes" of Alor. Figure 3 illustrates a typical map elicitation session with our consultant.

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[4] The Abui territory offered a refuge to refugees from Muna in Pantar. Barnes (1982: 410) lists sources that allow reconstruction of the Majapahit intervention in Pantar, possibly contemporary with the 1357 expedition to subdue Dompo, Sumba, recorded in the *Nagarakertagama* chronicle. The Pantar settlements of Pandai and Muna were subdued and some survivors fled to Alor. The Abui oral tradition reports their arrival (Kratochvíl & Delpada 2008a: 30–37). The influence of the Alorese coastal alliance is disputed in the oral tradition and problematic given the events of 1917 when a coastal Alorese king was slaughtered after he entered the Abui territory to collect taxes from the domain he proclaimed control over (cf. Gomang 1993; Hägerdal 2010: 31; Delpada 2016).

[5] Cora Du Bois has written a sketch of the Abui grammar, which is part of her notes held in the Harvard Tozzler Library. Stokhof (1984) used some of the Du Bois and Nicolspeyer texts and produced the first published sketch of Abui.

[6] Kratochvíl (2007) is a monograph-length description of the Abui grammar. The first dictionary is Kratochvíl & Delpada (2008b).

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Figure 3: Mapping task with Elias Atafani in Tifolafeng. Coloured playdough markers are placed on A2 sheets to suggest landmarks (villages, springs, fields, etc.), paths are traced and distances recorded. A separate log with additional information is recorded by the researcher.

The methodological framework and our larger research objectives are discussed in detail in Perono Cacciafoco et al. (2015). When such an opportunity presented itself, we collected narratives related to the mapped landscape terms. Our database is annotated for etymology, designated object and the onomastic source. The database has the following structure and contains 288 landscape terms (July 2018):

Table 2: Abui toponymic database structure

Field	**Content**
ID	unique identifier (used throughout this paper)
GPS	where available, GPS coordinates were collected
MapID	number tracing the recorded landscape term to a hand-drawn, scanned map, or to a sequence number in hike logs
Toponym	native term as used in Abui[a)]
Variant	records dialectal variants of landscape terms
Gloss	English gloss capturing the meaning of the morphemes
Designation	describes the designated landscape feature in general terms such as *beach*, *village*, *village part*, etc.;
Source	identifies the onomastic source for the name, where possible, in terms of landscape categories (*hill*, *plain*, *valley*) and affordances (*path*, *garden*, *bivouac*)
Match	evaluation of the designation and onomastic source
Transparency	records the feedback of the Abui speakers, including alternative etymologies
Proto-Alor-Pantar source	where available, records the reconstructed Proto-AP etymon.
Template	evaluates the morphosyntactic make-up of the name in simple phrasal types such as N-Mod, N-N, Mod-N, Poss-N, etc.;
File	records the name of an electronic file (photograph, map scan)
Questions and Notes	records questions for fieldwork and lists related anthropological and ethnobotanical information

a) Glottolog identifier for Abui is *abui1241*: https://glottolog.org/resource/languoid/id/abui1241

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It is quite common that some names have alternative forms, which in some cases also trigger an alternative etymology (folk etymology) as in (1).

(1)	*Foring*	*Taahang*	~	*Foring*	*Taal*	
	tree.sp	above		tree.sp	waterfall	[abz.133]

In the next section, we will evaluate the most prominent patterns in our sample. Here it suffices to say that the most common source for landscape terms are plant names, matching the importance of horticulture for the Abui community. There is evidence that at least some of the forest products were harvested for the inter-island trade. It remains to be established whether this pattern is found in the entire Abui area, but it is remarkably different from the Western Pantar (Holton 2011: 158–161) toponymy, where the most important onomastic source in the arid landscape is the running water.

2. Structure of landscape names and their origin

The Abui classification is dominated by references to specific locations on the slope and to renewable resources such as trees, although generic terms such as ‘hill’, ‘forest’, ‘village’, or ‘garden’ are attested with some frequency. Culturally specific locations are sacrifice places, defence structures and resting places, showing that it is not just the “landscape affordances”, but also the human uses that motivate the toponomastic process.

2.1. Basic landscape and settlement concepts

The Abui community of Takalelang is located on the northern slopes of the Central Alor Island, falling to the coast of the Banda Sea. These steep and wide slopes (*loma*) are carved by deep valleys with periodic water streams (*lu*), which serve as natural boundaries. Figure 4 shows the typical terrain of halfway along the *lu* valley. The path leads through the bottom and ends up with a steep climb above the spring of the (periodic) creek.

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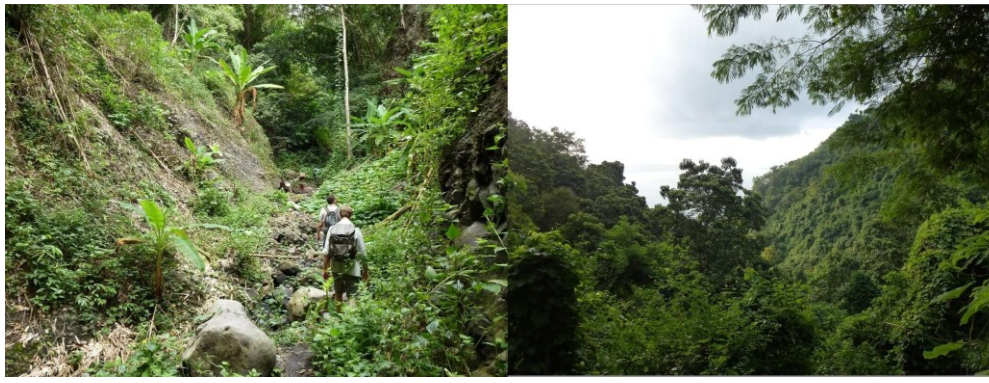


Figure 4: The view of the *lu* just above Rafuun Mea and the same location viewed from higher along the same *lu* from Ayuut Beeka

Each slope contains flatter areas used to rest (*lulang*) or to bivouac. The largest and oldest of them are known as *lasak* and give the name to the entire slope. Originally a place for hunter rendezvous, after the clearing of forest, *lasak* became places to bring offerings for a good crop yield. Figure 5 views the Takalelang area from the north and shows the position of the mountain top villages, resting places *lulang* and trading places *ailol* along the coast, usually at the mouth of the associated *lu* creek.

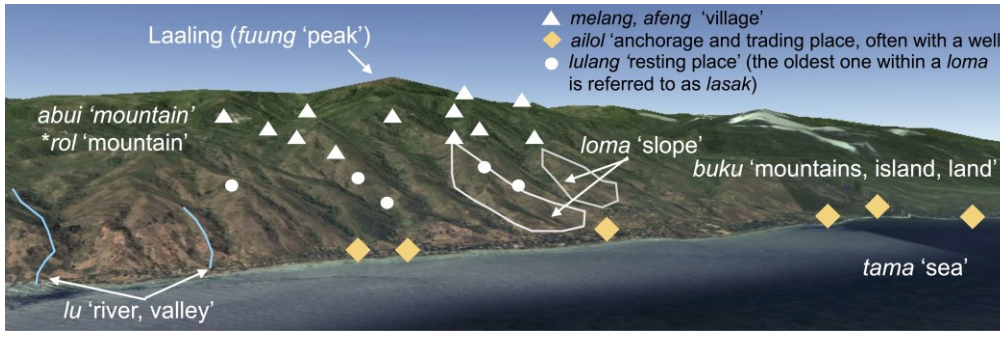


Figure 5: The view of the Takalelang area from the north-east, illustrating the basic landscape categories (the view is generated with Google Earth).

The collection of hills and the entire interior of the island is referred to as *abui* 'mountains' which also gave the name to the entire territory and language. The conceptualization of individual hills is anthropomorphic: a hill sits (*miti*) in the landscape; its peak is *fuung*, the waterless and often deserted summit is *watika*; sharp ridges are shoulders (*habang*), and the flat parts as *fuui* (crown of the head on the human body). Water sources are important landmarks: a spring is referred to as *ya hieng* (lit. 'eye of the water'). Place names, derived with the basic concepts, are common and several examples are listed in Table 3, where

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the ID column refers to the ID number in our database.

Table 3: Abui toponyms derived from basic landscape concepts

ID	Toponym	English gloss	Type	Onomastic source
2	*Meebung /Meabuung*	mango ravine	village	landscape feature
11	*Fe Fuui*	pig plain	village	landscape feature
13	*Fuung Waati*	peak clan.name	village	landscape feature + unclear etymon
15	*Fuui Mia*	plain at	village	landscape feature
16	*Fuung Afeng*	peak village	village	landscape feature + settlement type
43	*Lu Meelang*	river village	village	landscape feature

There are certain special geological features which are named. With some frequency we find elevated fossilized coral reefs, caves, and karst phenomena, such as underground rivers, which sink and reappear. There is an understanding that certain swamps are fed by underground water streams. After heavy rain in their headwaters such swamps are suddenly inundated and may overflow, causing a flash flood downstream. One such place is the *Karuwaal* swamp. It is believed to be a place with a magic connection to the earth serpent (*moon foka*), worshiped in the traditional religion (Du Bois 1960: 68, 152–175). The swamp water must not be disturbed by falling stones – even passing requires caution, although the surrounding forest may be harvested.

Table 4: Abui toponyms referring to unusual landscape features

ID	Toponym	English gloss	Type	Onomastic source
182	*Kideengkai*	shell skin	rock formation	elevated reef with fossilized shells
193	*Karuwaal*	whirlwind-pond	swamp	frequently overflowing swamp causing downstream flooding during heavy rains
201	*Kokai Afeeng*	coral village	rock formation	idem.
212	*Kokai*	coral	resting place	idem.

2.2. Human use of the landscape

Intensity of human use of the landscape is reflected in ownership. Extensive use, either as hunting grounds or as a source of wood, is characterized by loosely defined or unclear ownership. Such areas may be remote or unsuitable for other use. Clearly defined ownership (communal or individual) is characteristic for intensively used land, either periodically farmed (swiddening), harvested forest, or permanent settlements. The ownership and usage rights do not necessarily overlap, however, but the matter requires a separate discussion.

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2.2.1. General concepts of land division

The key concepts in land division are listed in Table 5, as defined by Abner Yetimauh, one of the Abui elders in Takalelang.

Table 5: Abui land division system

Division	Definition
lasak	'originally a place in the mountains where hunters met up, when the forest was cleared, these places became the central point of a new settlement area with an old name, i.e. these are the first named objects in an area, rituals are held here and offerings for good crop yield'
lasak	'originally a place in the mountains where hunters met up, when the forest was cleared, these places became the central point of a new settlement area with an old name, i.e. these are the first named objects in an area, rituals are held here and offerings for good crop yield'
lulang	'resting place or forest clearing – flat place on a mountain slope, usually with a tree to provide shade, typically with good airflow and view of the sea, valley, or path'
farai	'bamboo or tree which is trimmed to mark a border of land ownership'
tak	'friendship, alliance border'

2.2.2. General concepts for harvested land, forests and settlements

More intensive use of land comes with clearly defined ownership is traditionally clan-based. Modern Indonesian law supports, however, a transition towards personal ownership. The transition does take place and fuels land disputes among and within clans when sales unauthorized by the entire clan take place. Traditionally, the ownership of land is not exclusively patrilineal. In fact, it was reported to also be traditionally the domain of women, who remain the main food producers.[7]

Key concepts referring to human settlements and their parts are listed below. Note that the general name for a large village is innovated in Abui, and the inherited Proto-Alor-Pantar form has undergone a semantic shift to mean 'hamlet'. The default form is innovated and resembles the forms for 'field' in the neighbouring languages. Traditionally, Abui villages are always located on hilltops, resembling fortresses, with limited and protected means of access, blocked in the old days by stone walls, palisades and bushes of thorny plants.

[7] Du Bois (1960: 24) suggests that Abui men traditionally focused on the cash-crops and were involved in trade and financial exchanges. The subsistence economy was largely in the hands of the Abui women. Her monograph dedicated to the Atimelang community of 1930s documents the avid interest in financial transactions, usually conducted in moko drums, among the Abui men.

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Table 6: Abui settlement related terminology

Settlement	Definition
afeeng	'hamlet' < Proto-Alor-Pantar **haban* (Holton et al. 2012: 96)
futing	'yard, house yard'
kameeng	'three stones which are placed atop at the centre of a sanctuary or sacrifice place which symbolize three clans forming an alliance'
kota	'stone walls and terraces surrounding villages serving as fortifications or as a border of a house compound'
maasang	'sanctuary, dance place (often the only remainder of previous settlements)'
maayang	'the edge of a village or dance place, where people gather'
meelang	'village' (possibly semantic shift from Proto-Central-Alor **milaang* '(flat) field' (cf. Papuna & Tiyei *milaa* 'field')

Human modifications of the landscape include building of defence walls and flattening of hilltops to make more space for the houses.[8] Two place names pointing to such features are listed below. These features are in some cases the only remaining evidence of previous settlements. Our informants usually arrive to such a conclusion pointing to the mismatch between the name and the function of the particular place (usually a field or garden). It would seem that such places may be of some archaeological interest, especially because the community does not treat them with the same deference as recently abandoned villages, in which the clan members hold an annual communal meal, clear the ancestral graves and pray to their ancestors.

Table 7: Abui toponyms derived from settlement related terminology

ID	Toponym	English gloss	Type	Onomastic source
22	*Kalang Maasang*	*Schleichera.oleosa*	village	renewable resource
24	*Kameeng Taaha*	sacrifice.place above	village part	village features
103	*Wii Tapat*	rock thick	village part	flattened hilltop
155	*Kameeng Faking*	sacrifice.place broken	field	village features
245	*Kota Pee*	wall near	garden	forward defence wall

2.2.3. Settlement organization and distribution

Pre-modern villages (before forced resettlements in 1918/1945/1965) were formed by political alliances among smaller settlements. The Takalelang area is a modern reincarnation of the *Meelang Talaama* (lit. Six

[8] Fortified hilltops are a feature not unique to Alor, but widespread throughout south-east Asia and Oceania. Although various reasons, which led to the construction of these fortifications, are proposed in neighbouring Timor, including the growing trade, their construction likely started from about 1100 (Lape 2006: 294) or after 1300 (O'Connor et al. 2012: 212). Similar ideas have been put forward for the entire Alor as well in Wellfelt (2016: 195–196).

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Villages) alliance, consisting of six smaller settlements located on their respective hilltops: *Kaleen* (1), *Murafang* (2), *Mahafuui* (3), *Lilafang* (4), *Fuungafeng* (5), and *Takalelang* (6). It is part of a larger confederation known as Lembur. Figure 6 shows the view of the area from the sea.

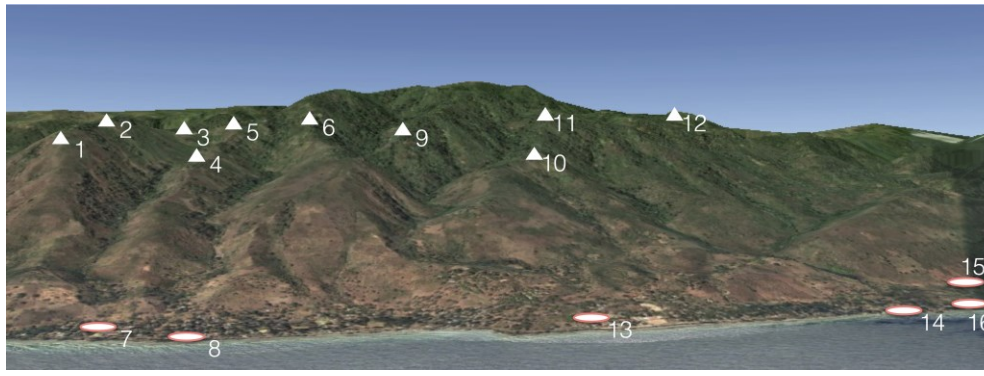


Figure 6: The view of the Takalelang area hilltop villages from the north-east, illustrating their location and the parallel coastal trading places *ailol* (generated with Google Earth). Legend: 1 *Kaleen*, 2 *Murafang*, 3 *Mahafuui*, 4 *Lilafang*, 5 *Fuungafeng*, 6 *Takalelang*, 7 *Ailol Kiding*, 8 *Mas Beeka*, 9 *Lu Melang*, 10 *Laakafeng*, 11 *Leelawi*, 12 *Kanaafeng*, 13 *Fulful*, 14 *Elahang*, 15 *Al Melang* (*Nurdin*), 16 *Kalangfati*.

The local oral tradition attributes the founding of villages to a political process consolidating the initial settlement of the area, during which the forest on the coastal slopes was exploited for horticulture, probably in a pioneer-like way. In order to stop conflicts, the pioneer settlements were consolidated into village alliances through negotiations known as *teinuku, tanga nuku, tomi nuku* (unity, alliance, and peace, lit. 'unite each other, one word, one heart'). This example has been given to us in the case of a secondary village on the border between the settlements *Laakafeng* (10), *Leelawi* (11), *Kanaafeng* (12), which lie west of *Takalelang* (east) [source: Markus Lema, Makongpe, June 2015]. The same is generally proclaimed about the Takalelang alliance.

The traditional system of governance involves three groups with specific political roles. Discussion of this matter is beyond the scope of this paper, but the Abui terms and the corresponding Alor-wide terms are provided in Table 8.

Table 8: Village governance terminology

Abui term	**Alor term**	**Location**	**Role in the village**
Poming	*Marang*	lower part	guardians of the entrance, individual warfare and trade, lay/common people, care for the *maasang* altar
Tamawaat	*Aweni*	central part	mediation, judges, governance of the village, as king in the past, peace maker
Afeeng Hiyetang	*Kapitang*	higher part	warfare, defence, as guard of the king in the past

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The governance system terminology is a productive source for deriving names for parts of settlements and other toponyms. The derivation is accomplished with modifiers such as *pee* 'neighbourhood (from *pee* 'nearby')', *habaang* 'hillside below the respective village part (from *habaang* 'shoulder')', *hapoong* 'entering hill ridge (from *hapoong* 'forehead')', *taaha* 'upper hill ridge (from *taaha* 'upper part'), etc.

There are a number of generic terms for settlements which appear in place names with some regularity, often modified by sound change. The oldest form *afeeng* (regularly inherited from proto-Alor-Pantar **haban* 'village') refers to a hamlet or a small village. Larger villages are known as *meelang* (the term probably originates through a semantic shift from proto-Central-Alor **mila* 'field'). Finally, the root *lelang* refers to an allied congenial kin group.

The majority of Abui place names are two-part compounds. Many of the forms are noun-noun compounds, but other patterns also exist, typically arranged in the order of constituents required by the noun phrase (cf. Kratochvíl 2007: 137, 149–152). Apart from the forms listed in section 2.3., the transparently formed place names show no deviation from the expected phrase or compound structure in the spoken language. This may be due to our focus on a small area, and perhaps also typical for a society where knowledge is transmitted orally.

2.2.4. Paths and resting places

Paths and resting places are another important feature of the Abui landscape. A land-based trade route connecting the East of Alor (Kolana) with the Benlelang and Kalabahi Bay area runs parallel with the Takalelang coast. Several Abui expressions describe the coastal travel mode:

(2) *ailol tootilei* 'walk along the coast (for purpose of trade, business)'
(3) *tuut habaang haluol* 'walk along the coast (traditional trade route connecting East Alor and the main harbour of Kalabahi)'

Several places in Takalelang were dedicated to trade. Local population traded here with the mountain people from East Alor (Kula, Sawila, Kamang) who travelled on foot, usually spending the last night in Takalelang on their three-day journey to the main harbor of Kalabahi (source: Isak Bantara – Sawila community in Kolana, East Alor). Local tradition also refers to traders from other islands who arrived here, primarily the Bajau.

Such trading places had a neutral status and were considered 'safe'. The notion of 'safety' is suggested to us by the Abui consultants and its content requires further investigation. Here it suffices to say that in the local perception (both Abui and other groups), certain places are associated with misfortune. The misfortune may come from several sources. It can be caused by powerful

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spirits dwelling in a particular area, such as *Sibone, Mas Beeka/Aipada, Kaaiheya.* These spirits should be regarded as the true owners of such places and can also be worshiped there. The spiritual dimension of such places made them a neutral ground for trade with outsiders and guaranteed outsiders' safety from attack when staying the night there. A secondary interpretation, stemming from the conversion to Christianity and Islam, is that such places are primitive and unclean. In such a view, trade should take place in the modern centres of power, such as the local capital Kalabahi or in the district markets. People who remain trading in such places are, in extension of the stigma, considered primitive and uncouth. We will return to this point again in the conclusion.

The shared root *ailol* is not etymologically transparent.[9] It may be related to another common root *Aila* or *Alila,* also found in the Kabola territory.[10] The trade function of *Ailol Kidiing* has survived to this day; it remains a common stop for lorries from East Alor and the interior, to offer their goods for sale. If all goods are sold, the lorries return home and do not continue to the capital. Until recently, *Ailol Kidiing* was also a regular place of barter of corn and cassava for dried fish offered by Bajau people.

Certain clans within the Takalelang area have kinship links with East Alor whereby Abui girls marry within the Kamang territory (one-day journey on foot), and East Alor girls within the Abui territory (two-day journey on foot). It is likely that some of these marriages were arranged in the context of the trade taking place there.

Table 9: Coastal trade places

ID	Toponym	Type	Onomastic source
14	*Foola Ailol*	village	*foola* 'flesh' + trading place
186	*Ailol*	small anchorage	*ai* = perhaps referring to the *al* 'strangers', with an irregular sound change *l > j (in final position Ø is expected)
192	*Ailol Kidiing*	village part	known as *Terminal Mabu*, place with a water spring, trade with *Kolana* (East Alor) and Bajo people of fish for corn and cassava

[9] Other possible etymologies may be considered, such as the Abui word *ai* 'side, part (of clan/origin), root (of plants)'. The name can also be introduced by Austronesian traders and may have an entirely different origin. In Timor, the root *oi* 'water' occurs in a number of place names, just consider various suburbs of Kupang: ***Oi**bobo, **Oe**bufu, **Oi**sapa, **Oi**ba*, ***Oi**pura* (Misrani Balle p.c.). The root is a regular reflex of the PCEMP *waiR (http://www.trussel2.com/ACD/acd-s_w.htm#28722). Similarly Tetun *ai* 'wood' is found in various place names around Dili, such as ***Ai**mutin* and ***Ai**naro*; or ***Ai**tarak* lit. 'plant thorn'.

[10] The coastal trading place names tend to have equivalents in other local languages, usually showing regular sound changes specific to Abui in their Abui versions and a more archaic version of the name in the other languages: *Aila ~ Alila*, *Fulful/fluful/Flufil ~ Blubul*, *Mafu/Mafi ~ Mabu, Liikwotang ~ Likwatang, Ateengmeelang ~ Atimelang.*

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Apart from the *ailol* places, trade took place along the coast with regular intervals, representing individual trading spots of each mountain ridge, with original settlements on the top and usually a river mouth or a fresh water spring on the coast.

Certain trade names seem to have an anecdotal etymology, although we are yet to record an oral account. *Maas Beeka* 'bad gold, false/fake gold' suggests a failed transaction.[11] The noun *ful*, translated as 'wit', 'trick', or 'deception', is used in several idioms and suggests another deceitful episode. These toponyms fit the more common pattern of "edgy" edges, associated with beaches and coast of islands (Hay 2006: 22–23), which attract the unconventional and creative, being places of inherent uncertainty, in which a great deal may happen.

Table 10: Coastal trade places with anecdotal names

ID	Toponym	Gloss	Type
70	*Ful(u)f(u/i)l ~ B(e/u) lubul*	tricks	village
128	*Maas Beeka*	gold fake	coastal feature

The last category consists of the *lulang* resting places, mentioned in section 2.1.1. In the mountainous terrain, there are several types of paths. The paths connecting *ailol* trade places run along the coast (*tuut habaang haluol*). Two other path types run through the mountainous terrain, either along a water stream (*lu haluol*), or along a mountain ridge and plains (*ya foka haluol*).

2.2.5. Horticultural use of landscape reflected in place names

Horticultural place names originating in tree names are common in the Abui landscape. The most common trees are *Canarium* nuts (*kanaai*), candle nuts (*fiyaai*), tamarind (*tamal*), mango (*mea*), coconuts (*wata*), lemon (*muur*), fig tree (*makoong* – Spondias cytherea/dulcis), drumstick tree (*matoling* – Moringa oleifera), lontar palm (*aikol*, Borassus flabellifer), jackfruit (*soong*). The distribution of these names is most likely determined by their natural habitat (coast for introduced plants, mountains for the native ones). Their growth was promoted by clearing other trees, creating space for their spread and sometimes by planting. This process gradually transformed the landscape.[12]

To interpret the Abui horticulture derived toponymy, we need to briefly address plant transfers, associated with human migrations and trade that took place in Eastern Indonesia. The first modern humans in Island Eastern

[11] The word *maas* in *Maas Beeka* is a Malay loan from *emas* 'gold'. Oral history (or folk etymology) also mentions that gold was also found in the particular creek mouth.

[12] Oral tradition (*Poying Padalehi story*) indicates that clues such as wild birds feeding on particular tree nuts were used to find new exemplars in the forest (imperial pigeons are known to feed on *Canarium* trees) (Kratochvíl & Delpada 2008a: 42–53).

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Indonesia are characterized by littoral-based subsistence. Horticultural and agricultural species supported the human occupation of Eastern Indonesia, New Guinea, and Near Oceania from about 7000 BC. Paleobotanical study of the East Timor Baucau region recorded the presence of tree crops and tubers throughout the Holocene (de Oliveira 2008: 108–128; O'Connor 2015: 20), but no similar study was carried out in the Alor Archipelago.

In New Guinea Highlands, agriculture developed between 7000 and 4000 BC; domesticated plants include bananas, sugarcane, greater yam, sago and certain fruit trees (Spriggs 2006: 122–123). A parallel development occurred in South and south-east and East Asia. Austronesians, originating in Taiwan, contributed other crops, such as rice, common and foxtail millet, all domesticated in Mainland East Asia (Bellwood 2013: 136) and have participated in the eastward and further westward translocation of plant species such as mango, coconut, etc. (Hoogervorst 2013: 10). Among the trees, the most important are *canarium*, *mango*, *candlenut*, *coconut*, *tamarind* and *kusum* tree. An excellent overview of these species, their origin, domestication and spread can be found in de Oliveira (2008: 108–128).

Abui oral tradition offers narratives of the arrival of certain cultivated plants, such as corn, rice, and various types of beans (cf. *Kalepa* myth recorded in Wellfelt 2016: 184–185) although in other myths the same crops may be described as originating in Alor (cf. *Arrival of People in Alor* myth recorded in Nicolspeyer 1940: 81–88).

Abui place names reveal specialization in both agriculture (reliance on tubers and millet – female domain) as well as horticulture (*Canarium*, candlenut, mango, tamarind, and kusum tree – male domain). Abui agricultural activity is concentrated on growing edible crops (grains and tubers) and is complemented with horticulture. Commonly found toponymic sources are *mea* 'mango', *kalang* 'kusum tree (*Schleichera oleosa*)', *fiyaai* 'candlenut (*Aleurites moluccanus*)', and foremost *kanaai* 'Canarium indicum'. A number of place names derived from tree names are given in Table 11.

The pattern suggests that valuable trees were originally only found (or grown) in small patches in particular parts of the forest, in their natural habitat. The frequent numerals that occur in the names indicate that even a single tree was potentially a landmark. The commodity crops were promoted over generations so successfully that large parts of the Takalelang mountain slopes are currently overgrown with candlenut and *Canarium* trees.

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Table 11: Abui place names derived from tree names

ID	Toponym	Gloss	Type
22	*Kalang Maasang*	*Schleichera.oleosa* sanctuary	village
27	*Kanaai Loohu*	*Canarium.tree tall*	garden
28	*Kanaai Pee/a*	*Canarium.tree near*	village
83	*Kanaafeng*	*Canarium.tree village*	village
134	*Loonkanai*	*tall Canarium.tree*	garden, village
137	*Fiyaai Mea*	candlenut mango	garden
141	*Kanaaisua*	*Canarium.tree* three	valley
143	*Reikanaai*	unclear *Canarium.tree*	valley
160	*Fiyaai Lelang*	candlenut relatives	village
210	*Padak Kanai*	mud *Canarium.tree*	field
219	*Keela Kanai*	bamboo.sp *Canarium.tree*	valley part
236	*Karkanaai*	ten *Canarium.tree*	valley

Similar environmental changes probably occurred also on the coast, obscuring the difference between endemic and introduced species. We believe that the rich layer of horticultural toponyms is not only connected to inter-island trade but exists exactly due to the trade connection. The production of the commodities (both food items, and forest products) offered a unique opportunity to gain wealth and purchase the highly sought-after *moko* drums.

The early Dutch account of van Lynden characterizes Alor as the storehouse of the Buton-Binongko people (originating from SE Sulawesi) and the source of exports to Timor because of its rich yields of rice and corn (van Lynden 1851: 331). It is a recurring theme in the oral history known as *afu heesei* (lit. 'come down for fish'; see also Wellfelt 2016: 184–185). The stories describe how after a bountiful harvest of various nuts, maize, bananas and certain tubers, villagers travelled to trading places along the coast to barter for fish, salt and other goods such as *moko* drums, gongs, fabrics, porcelain and metal tools. Certain trading place names are derived from the commodities that were traded there, such as *Atii Maal* (lit. 'cook salt'), where corn could be traded for salt (cf. Delpada 2016: 11–13). The term *faat* 'corn, (formerly also millet)' occurs almost exclusively in coastal place names.[13]

Place names derived from various tuber species are found inland. The common sources for place names are corn and millet (*faat-kala*), rice (*ayak*), cassava and tubers (*daa*, *ko*), sugarcane (*fa*). Some place names are related to specific practices associated with agriculture. An example is the village name

[13] We believe that *faat* is a regular reflex of an old Proto-Alor-Pantar loan coming ultimately from the Proto-Austronesian **baCaR* 'foxtail millet, *Setaria italica*' (Blust & Trussel 2013). The name was transferred to corn in many Eastern Indonesian languages, after it was introduced from Central America in the sixteenth century. For discussion of other early loans from proto-Malayo-Polynesian, see Robinson (2015: 20–28).

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Ruuilak which refers to piled up stones with corn as a bait within each pile. After the rodents moved in, the piles were taken apart and the rodents hunted as game. Additional examples can be seen in Table 12.

Table 12: Abui place names derived from agricultural crops

ID	Toponym	English gloss	Type
3	*Ruuilak*	rat field	village
18	*Kafaakyei*	tobacco plant	village
89	*Koolelang*	tuber relatives	village
95	*Komea*	tuber mango	village
256	*Daalelang Fuui Hieng*	cassava relatives plain see	resting place
287	*Kaalaapalaai*	millet mango	hamlet

Another source for place names consists of trees and vines with uses in building, clothing, etc. Names derived from such plants are less frequent. It is not clear whether their habitat is gradually expanded through human intervention, as is the case with the cash crop trees discussed above, but some kind of management is probably necessary. The most common are gumlac (*kalang* - Schleichera oleosa), cotton tree (*fena*), loincloth tree – eucalyptus sp. (*ka*), bamboo (*maai*, *tifool*, *keela*), various vines (*kafee*, *fang*, etc.), cajuput tree (*karetak*), ironwood (*laa*, *kawaaka*), blackboard tree (*Alstonia scholaris, mitaai*), and cactus (*kafiel* – used as a natural barrier to protect village walls).

Table 13: Abui place names derived from other useful plants

ID	Toponym (abz)	Gloss	Type
19	*Kafee Tamai*	liana.sp bent.down	village part
20	*Kafiel Meelang*	cactus.sp village	village
29	*Karetak Afeeng*	eucalyptus village	village
31	*Kawaaka Loohu*	iron.wood tall	garden
56	*Takpala*	club.wood	hamlet, formerly garden
68	*Kalang Anu*	*Schleichera.oleosa* market	trading place
145	*Tifool ya*	bamboo water	spring
149	*Mitaai Uwo*	*Alstonia.scholaris* below	ridge garden
150	*Mitaai Pee*	*Alstonia.scholaris* near	ridge garden
159	*Tifolafeng*	bamboo village	village
169	*Futing Maai*	yard bamboo	plant crusher
219	*Keela Kanaai*	bamboo *Canarium*	valley
288	*Kalangfat(i)*	*Schleichera.oleosa* millet	coastal trading village

In summary, the pattern of the place names of the Takalelang area suggests the importance of forest products, with some harvested for external demand. Most of the place names have some relationship to land use – horticulture, agriculture, or forestry and are etymologically transparent. The names of renewable resources (plants) are compounded with common nouns

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for settlements such as *afeeng* 'hamlet, small village' (from proto-Alor-Pantar **haban* 'village'), *meelang* 'large village' (a semantic shift from proto-Central-Alor **mila* 'field'), *lelang* 'allied congenial kin group'.

2.3. Historical layering of landscape terms

As mentioned above, there is a clear pattern revealing the past agriculturalist use of the land. Certain place names are nevertheless etymologically obscure. Where the etymology is unclear, we assume that the original forms are obscured by internal changes in Abui and therefore old, because time is required for such changes to take place. In some cases such names may even predate the Abui settlement in the area. Through the application of historical toponymy, we distinguish between these two types. If any future archaeological exploration of the area should be carried out, some of these places may be considered for exploration. The first group of such place names is listed in Table 14. Many of them refer to villages in the mountains in the interior, from which the Abui population moved northwards to the coast in historical times. Roots identified by our Abui consultants are provided in the third column. There is no agreement or shared folk etymology for these names.

Table 14: Abui place names with an unclear etymology

ID	Toponym (abz)	Possible roots	Type
17	*Kadaating*	*ka-* 'loincloth bark'	village
23	*Kaleen*	*ka-* 'loincloth bark'	village
25	*Kamoi*	*ka-* 'loincloth bark'	village
37	*Lamang Taaha*	*taaha* 'above'	former village
38	*Lamang Uwo*	*uwo* 'below'	former village
39	*Lelawii*	*-wii* 'stone'	village
44	*Ma(ha)fuui*	ant.hill flat	village
75	*Hane Aloo*	his-name Aloo	village part
112	*Elaah/yang*	unclear	coastal place
132	*Leu/imaang*	*maang* 'field'	village
157	*Fanalei*	*fana-* < *fena-* 'cotton tree'	garden
158	*Faila*	unclear	garden
233	*Yusi*	unclear	valley and river

There are a number of etymologically obscure names containing a root referring to a type of settlement (*afeeng* 'village') or kin relation (*lelang*). Such names follow the widespread pattern described in the previous section.

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Table 15: Abui place names with an unclear etymology derived from *afeeng* and *lelang*

ID	Toponym	Possible roots	Type
41	*Lilafang*	*-afang* < *afeeng* 'village'	village
90	*Kabilelang*	*-lelang* 'allied kin group'	village
91	*Tateelang*	*-elang* < *lelang* 'allied kin group'	village
101	*Sa(a)lfang*	*-fang* < *afeeng* 'village'	field (former village)

Because the etymologically obscure place names are concentrated inland, we consider it the older settlement area, which is consistent with the oral tradition, which places the origin of the Abui people inland, in a place called *Ateng Afeeng* (lit. 'Ancient Village'; cf. Wellfelt 2016: 142) and the overall southward orientation of the Abui historyscape (Wellfelt 2016: 130).[14]

From the landscape term pattern for settlements, we reconstruct a historical northward and seaward expansion of the current Abui community, which consists of related and congenial settlements. The sampled place names are generally Abui and their etymology is mostly transparent and the onomastic process easily motivated. There is a layering of place names, consisting of at least four layers defined by the degree of transparency and motivation of the onomastic process.

The origin of the current population has to be traced inland. Geographically proximate mountain settlements are in the area of *Fuuisama* and *Maainaang*, on the other side of the coastal mountain ridge, beyond Laaling Mountain, and linked within the same dialect chain. The place names of the first layer are in the mountains, from which the Abui population spread northward to the coastal slopes. The second layer can be identified by the name varieties differentiated by regular sound changes. The existence of an older form, preserved in the neighbouring languages, suggests that the place name has been around before a particular sound change took place. The third layer consists of transparent names related to horticulture. As mentioned above, the economic importance of horticulture drove the northward expansion. Finally, the most recent layer is linked to the resettlement to the coast or new villages along the roads, where modern landmarks emerge, such as *SD = sekolah dasar* 'primary school', *gereja* 'church', *terminal* 'bus terminal or bus station', etc. The four layers are summarized below in Table 16.

[14] Wellfelt (2016: 143) provides an oral account linking the greater Takalelang area below Laaling Mountain to the ancient *Ateeng Afeeng*, the village of origin of the Abui, probably in the Kelaisi area. The first humans, two women named Hilingwai and Ayaksialaka, who lived in Ateng Afeng, made children of clay after their sons moved away. One of the clay children is recorded in the oral tradition as settling down in Laaling Mountain above *Takalelang*.

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Table 16: Historical layers in the Abui place names

Layer	Properties	Examples
I	not reconstructable Abui and/or substrate layer	*Kamoi, Laaling*, *Lelawii, Salfang*, *Yusi*
II	reconstructed Abui (before sound change *b>f)	*Fenalelang* < *Benalelang*, *Fululful* < *Bulubul*, *Mafu* < *Mabu*
III	recent Abui garden names based on horticulture	*Kanaafeng, Loonkanai, Fiyaai Mea, Kanaaisua, Reikanaai, Fiyaai Lelang*
IV	modern names with Malay components referring to modern institutions	*SD Impres Mabu*, *Terminal*, *Gereja Ebenhezer*, *Gereja Susan*, *SD Takalelang*

3. Functions of landscape names

This section illustrates certain functions of place names in Abui oral tradition and discourse. We focus on origin stories, in which temporal progression is conceptualized as movements through landscape. Places and paths provide a narrative organization frame. The correctness of an origin story is verified by the place name sequence (which equals the chronological sequence). Such sequences resemble keychains proving the authenticity of the story and the identity of the storyteller. In addition, certain places are associated with either benevolent or malevolent forces and may be either a place of worship or avoided.

3.1. Origin stories

The Abui narrative genre *tiira* (legend, myth) records past events to establish and clarify the bond between the landscape and its inhabitants. It is common for the Abui *tiira* narratives to support their truthfulness with references to the physical environment. The genre is rooted in the local oral tradition. Wellfelt (2016: 175) puts this adroitly stating that "the idea of history as a journey has a wider bearing in the Abui history scape. Life and history in the Abui lands has, or has had, a quality of movement: of walking in the landscape, of moving from one place to another."

References to the physical environment form touchable "evidence" of the authenticity of a myth (Malay *bukti*). Prominent rock formations, caves, water bodies, as well as places and movements between them anchor narratives in space. They constitute *chronotopes* – configurations of space and time in which the myth and the present intersect (Basso 1996: 62, after Bakhtin & Holquist 1981).

The Abui oral tradition records origin stories of clans, broken and existing alliances, as well as past migrations. During our fieldwork, when tracking mythical routes, we were joined by excited members of the

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respective clan, who were keen to see the places only known to them from narratives. Some of the myths can be found in Kratochvíl & Delpada (2008a).

A common theme of ancestor stories are past external alliances. Delpada (2016: 12–15) reports the narratives of the Raja Abui (who is responsible for the physical separation of the Timor and Alor landmass) and the unsuccessful attempts of *Aloomalei*, the son of *Tilaakar* to invite relatives from Timor for a house building ceremony. Claims of kinship links to East Timor are more widespread in other parts of Alor, especially in the east and south (cf. Wellfelt 2016: 296). We will now give an example of an ancestor myth to show how the past is captured in movements of space.

The ancestor myth of the *Aila* clan describes the fate of refugees from *Munaseli* (located in the island of Pantar), who found a safe haven in the Abui territory. The narrative states that the *Munaseli* refugees fled to their allies/relatives in Likwatang. Likwatang is located just to the east of Takalelang and the village moved to the coast in the twentieth century. The *Munaseli* refugees had been trading iron items with *Likwatang*. The alliance allowed them to seek refuge there after they lost the war. The first village named is *Tipai Baabi* (lit. 'iron forge'). It suggests that their iron-working skills were put to use and appreciated. According to the myth, the *Munaseli* clan could stay in order to help their hosts replace their stone tools with iron ones. Some old members of the *Aila* clan in fact still master the craft of smithing. The following fragment comes from the opening part of the myth and illustrates the movements through the landscape and associated place-name sequence.

> "Originally, our ancestors came from *Muna*, a village in *Pantar* and they were split up there. The king of *Munaseli* and the king of *Pandai* were in conflict and started a war. From that the people in *Muna* had to split and our ancestors left and arrived in the village *Likwatang*.
> After they arrived in *Likwatang*, they went to a village called *Tipai-Baabi*, and cleared it. They cleared that place and made fields all around there. From there they kept clearing the forest upwards. They cleared so much land that they got a whole granary of rice and they went to *Muna* and built a sanctuary there.
> Then, from there they returned here (to *Likwatang*) and cleared the fields. Then some of them turned to the west. They cleared the fields on the mountains to the villages *Loma Lohu* and *Kalang Masang*. From there they went up again and cleared the village *Leumang*.
> After they cleared *Leumang*, they went to *Abui Kewai* and there they met some of their relatives […]."
> (Storyteller: Martinus Maufani; published in Kratochvíl & Delpada 2008a: 31)

Another example of the use of a place name sequence can be seen in Table 17. Two versions of the same myth *Moon Mot Moon* are given here (see also Wellfelt 2016: 179–183). Both versions are clearly parallel, but the version

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narrated by Anderias Padafani (see also Kratochvíl & Delpada 2008a: 68–77 and Padafani et al. 2016: 4–59) is shorter, contains fewer details and the path descriptions are less detailed. The second version by Mansur Maata is recognized in the community as the version inherited in the direct line (Mansur Maata is thus a direct descendant of the mythical figures).[15] For Mansur Maata, this myth also constitutes land ownership proof, as we will discuss in section 3.2.

Table 17: Comparison of place name sequences in two versions of a myth

	Anderias Padafani (2003 version)	**Mansur Maata (2014 version)**
	Snake's original location *unknown*.	The snake came down from *Karuwaal-Kabuwaal* (in the Kafak Beeka area, but Mansur does not know the precise area).
1	Mon Mot came down to *Lelawii* and killed everyone there.	Mon Mot came down to *Kabilelang*.
2–5	Just one pregnant woman was left and escaped into a cave.	The woman's name is *Manrolai*. She tried to board a Bajo boat in *Fenalelang* to sail to Kabola but was ejected and sent along the coast. Other people tried to escape to *Kodang Faleefa*. An old man sent *Manrolai* to *Foring* to hide in a hole or cave named *Anai Hieng*. She could not find water to drink in *Poolmaau/ Poolmaai*.
5–6	She stayed in a cave or hole with her dog.	She stayed in a cave or hole with six dogs named *Kabilelang, Koolelang, Koolkaai, Makalkaai, Hawaikaai, Hakilkaai*.
7–9	The dogs found water and the woman followed.	The dogs found water in *Foringtaaha* and *Manrolai* followed.
10–15	The woman gave birth to twins and raised them in the cave and taught them how to hunt, until they asked where their original village was.	The woman gave birth to twins and raised them in the cave and taught them how to hunt grasshoppers in *Tabenafang*, until they asked where their original village was.
16–23	Both young men went to their original village *Lelawi* and rebuilt their house.	Both young men went to their original village *Kabilelang* and rebuilt their house. The ladder had 21 rungs.
24–28	Both young men built a treehouse on *Kawaaka Loohu* where they stored various weapons and hid their mother.	Both young men built a treehouse on *Kawaaka Loohu* where they stored various weapons and hid their mother, whom they brought from *Anai Hieng* and *Koolelang* and *Tabenafaang*. The stones were brought from *Fenalelang*.
29–44	They went to Mon Mot's village and challenged him to kill them.	They went to Mon Mot's village *Karuuwaal-Kabuwaal* and challenged him from the edge of *Feelang* to kill them.
44	They first run to *Roolmeelang*.	

[15] Mansur Maata's version is also the subject of the documentary *The children of Mon Mot* by Rachel Siao Jia Yu (2015). The creative process is described in Kratochvíl et al. (2016: 1–3).

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45–48	Then they ran down to *Mitiingfuui*.	Then they waited in *Mitiingfuui*.
		The snake arrived in *Wiibaa*.
		The snake went in the wrong direction towards *Wii Loohu*.
		They escaped to *Bukulaka* and then to *Lelangtukoi*.
49–51	Then they ran to *Kawaaka Loohu*.	Then they ran to *Tabenafaang* where there used to be many tall trees – that's where *Kawaaka Loohu* was.
		From *Komea* they asked their mother to prepare tools.
52–57	They climbed up to their tree house and found their mother scared. *Luutangfaan* is more courageous.	They climbed up to their tree house and found their mother scared. *Luutangfaan* is more courageous.
58–67	They killed the snake by throwing stones, axes, and pouring down hot millet.	They killed the snake by throwing stones, axes, and pouring down hot millet.
68–75	They sliced the snake according to his instructions.	They sliced the snake according to his instructions and sent one head to *Karuwaal-Kabuwaal* and another to *Luafuui Malei*.
76–78	They made fire and dance and their relatives returned.	They made fire and dance and their relatives returned.
79	Their descendants live up until the present in *Nurdin* and *Mitiingfui*.	Their descendants live up until the present in *Nurdin*, *Mitiingfui*, *Kabilelang*, *Koolelang* and *Maaulelang*.

3.2. Place names and land ownership claims

It has been established for other Melanesian cultures that origin myths constitute viable evidence in customary legal traditions (cf. Goldman 1983: 92–93). In Alor, origin myths define group identities and underlie local political arrangements by connecting history with heritage and demonstrating their 'truthfulness' (cf. Wellfelt 2016: 289). Heritage and history are tied with physical possessions as well and the proofs of authenticity are analogous. Abui traditional law considers the correct citation of the sequence of place names to be proof of land ownership. This principle is stated by Mansur Maata pertaining to the function of the Moon Mot Moon myth. Maata explains that the place names form a keychain authenticating his claims to the land.

> "So, all these lands are yours. Write your name on the certificates of the lands. You can write your name on all the certificates. And you will have lots of lands. Your older sibling also has lots of lands. So, write your name on those certificates only. Do not make any certificates on other's lands. All these lands are mine. If I were like other people, I would take all these lands back. My lands are ranging from Akanel up to that mountain. All those lands are mine […]" [Mansur Maata, July 2014]

Wellfelt (2016) offers additional examples of myths in which places have a symbolic function in relation to peace treaties, alliances or settled

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border disputes. As shown above, the parallel versions do not always align. For that reason, myths and histories are often kept decentralized and secret while their transmission is regulated. Their keepers, seen as "rightful owners" guard them not allowing others to share them (Wellfelt 2016: 292).

The main purpose of the regulation is to prevent the fragmentation of the *tiira* myths and protect their "truthfulness". While these myths can be told casually by anyone (e.g. to children or neighbours before sleeping) and their length may be adjusted to the situation, in formal contexts, the storytelling rights are reserved for the eldest living clan member, to ensure that the myth will not "break". The existence of multiple versions of a myth may be considered a measure of its age and significance. Anyone, telling a myth formally, has to indicate their relationship to the myth. Those who claim to be descended from the mythical figures sometimes quiz their listeners about various details of the plot to demonstrate that their version is "truthful". Where multiple versions exist, they are inherited in other branches of the clan along both the paternal and maternal lines.

Although the Abui myths can be told casually, children become aware of their significance as they encounter the place names reminding them of the plot and their interest is rekindled. The degree of regulation depends on the contemporary significance of the story. A story with a similar plot to *Moon Mot* in Kolana can only be told jointly by the three eldest members of the three local clans. Fines could be demanded if the rule were not obeyed. In this particular case, the reason seems to be the fear that the story has the potential to revive old rivalries. For a detailed discussion of the transmission of oral tradition in Alor, see Wellfelt (2016: 17).

The narrated landscape connects the current inhabitants with their mythical ancestors and the knowledge of its physical and symbolic attributes serves (i) to validate one's genealogical connection to the mythical actors, (ii) to put claims on associated landscape "affordances" (Levinson 2008: 277), and (iii) to explain the current physical, spiritual, and intellectual well-being of the descendants of the mythical actors. The myth does not, however, seem to have any synchronic religious or ceremonial relevance.

4. Conclusion

A detailed study of landscape terms and their etymological origin in the Abui-speaking area of Takalelang has revealed (i) the basic concepts of the landscape and settlement classification, (ii) the composition of the place names, (iii) their sources, and (iv) their relative age. The landscape classification suggests that the Takalelang area was gradually settled from the central valleys and cleared of the original forest. Before WWII, all the

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villages in the area were located on hilltops, away from the coast, but were abandoned during the 1950s and 1960s when the population moved down to the coast, to what used to be exclusively agricultural land.

The generic terms for settlements are *afeeng* 'hamlet, small village' (from proto-Alor-Pantar **haban* 'village') and *meelang* 'large village' (perhaps a semantic shift from proto-Central-Alor **mila* 'field, garden'). Although many terms are etymologically obscure, a solid pattern of revealing the past horticulturalist use of the land is detectable in the onomastic sources (typically including reference to renewable resources associated with the place, such as fruit or cash-crop trees). Commonly found are *mea* 'mango', *kalang* '*Schleichera oleosa*', *fiyaai* 'candle nut', and first and foremost *kanaai* '*Canarium indicum*'.

The Abui landscape classification reflects the "human experience of the landscape" and is driven by the "landscape affordance" (Levinson 2008: 277). While generic terms such as 'hill', or 'forest' are encountered with some frequency, the classification is dominated by references to specific locations on the slope as well as with references to renewable resources such as trees. Culturally specific locations to the Abui community are sacrifice and dance places, defence structures and resting places.

Abui shares features of the Timor-Alor-Pantar type described in Huber (2014: 179): (i) basic concepts such as *mountain*, *water*, *village*, and *garden* are inherited (Schapper et al. 2014: 149–151); (ii) the classification is focused on "landscape affordances"; (iii) sea-oriented forms are largely absent (Huber 2014: 176). There are virtually no names for shore features beyond the beach. The Abui classification differs also from the much more arid landscape of Western Pantar, which makes much finer distinctions of water quality (Holton 2011: 144). Despite a low degree of similarity, numerous lexical innovations and semantic shifts, the Abui pattern is not unlike that of the East Timor, as described by Huber (2014: 195–196).

Apart from places associated with some taboo, such as the Karuwaal swamp, discussed in section 2.1., the "spiritual" dimension of the landscape is manifested in the ancestral villages where certain ceremonies are held annually to worship the ancestors, and the legendary original village *Ateeng Afeen*g, located outside of the Takalelang area. There are also various "bad" places (Malay *tempat pemali*) that should be avoided or treated with respect, as discussed in section 2.2.4. Malevolent spirits, spilled blood, or powerful magic used by the inhabitants are cited as the main dangers. Perono Cacciafoco & Cavallaro (2017: 51) study the myth of *Lamoling* in the Takalelang area. They have shown the complex layering of the myth, where a mythical being *Lamoling*, who is presented as an original being worshiped in the area, was gradually replaced by the more powerful, but possibly imported,

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being named *Lahatala* (borrowed name?). *Lamoling* gradually began to be seen as malevolent and associated with pre-Christian "dark" beliefs, while *Lahatala* began to represent the Christian and Islamic "god of light" in modernity. Perono Cacciafaoco & Cavallaro (2018: 13) show that the *Lamoling* myth involves a complex of eight place names, including three villages and two sacred houses. To complicate the matters further, a parallel version, disputing the meaning of the Lamoling myth, exists as well (cf. Perono Cacciafoco & Cavallaro 2018: 6–8), demonstrating that the spirituality of landscape deserves further attention.

Acknowledgements

All the authors gratefully acknowledge the hospitality of the Abui community and the support of the Abui language documentation team members Anselmus Delpada, Frengkismus Delpada, Daniel Lanma. George Saad, Freek Otte, and Rachel Siao Jia Yu supported us during the 2015 and 2016 fieldwork. We gratefully acknowledge the funding for this research from Nanyang Technological University (Singapore) through a Singapore Ministry of Education Tier 1 Grant 2014-T1-001-051 (Cavallaro) and the support of the Czech Ministry of Education through the IGA_FF_2018_024 grant.

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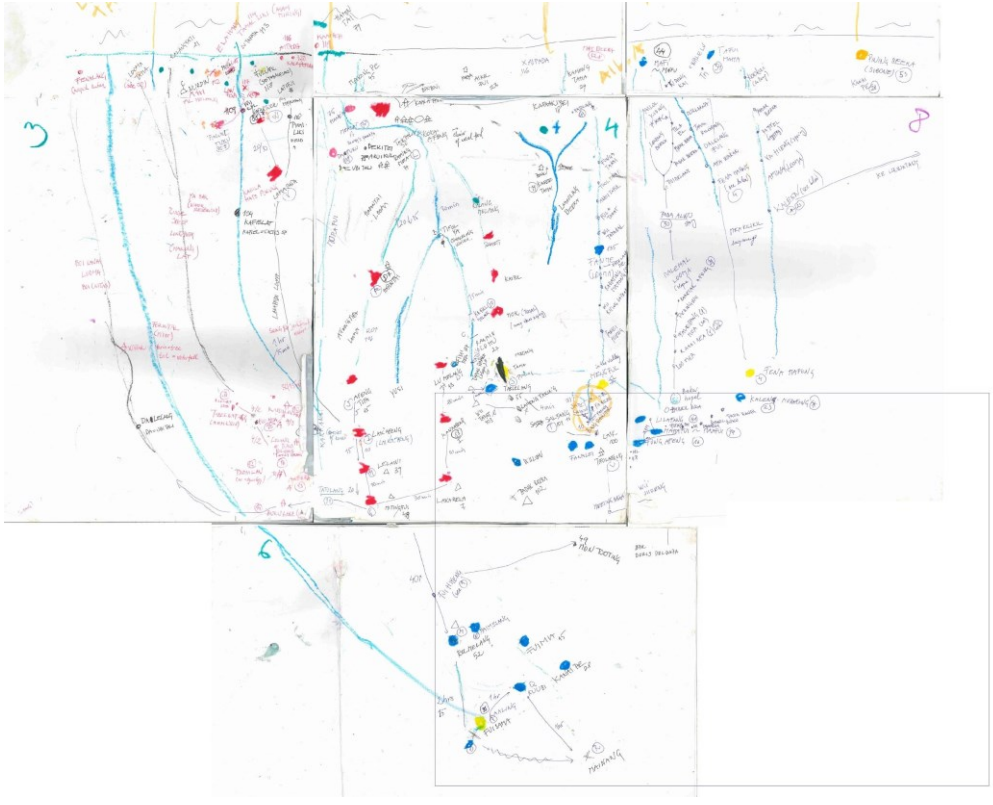
Creative work

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Appendix: Maps

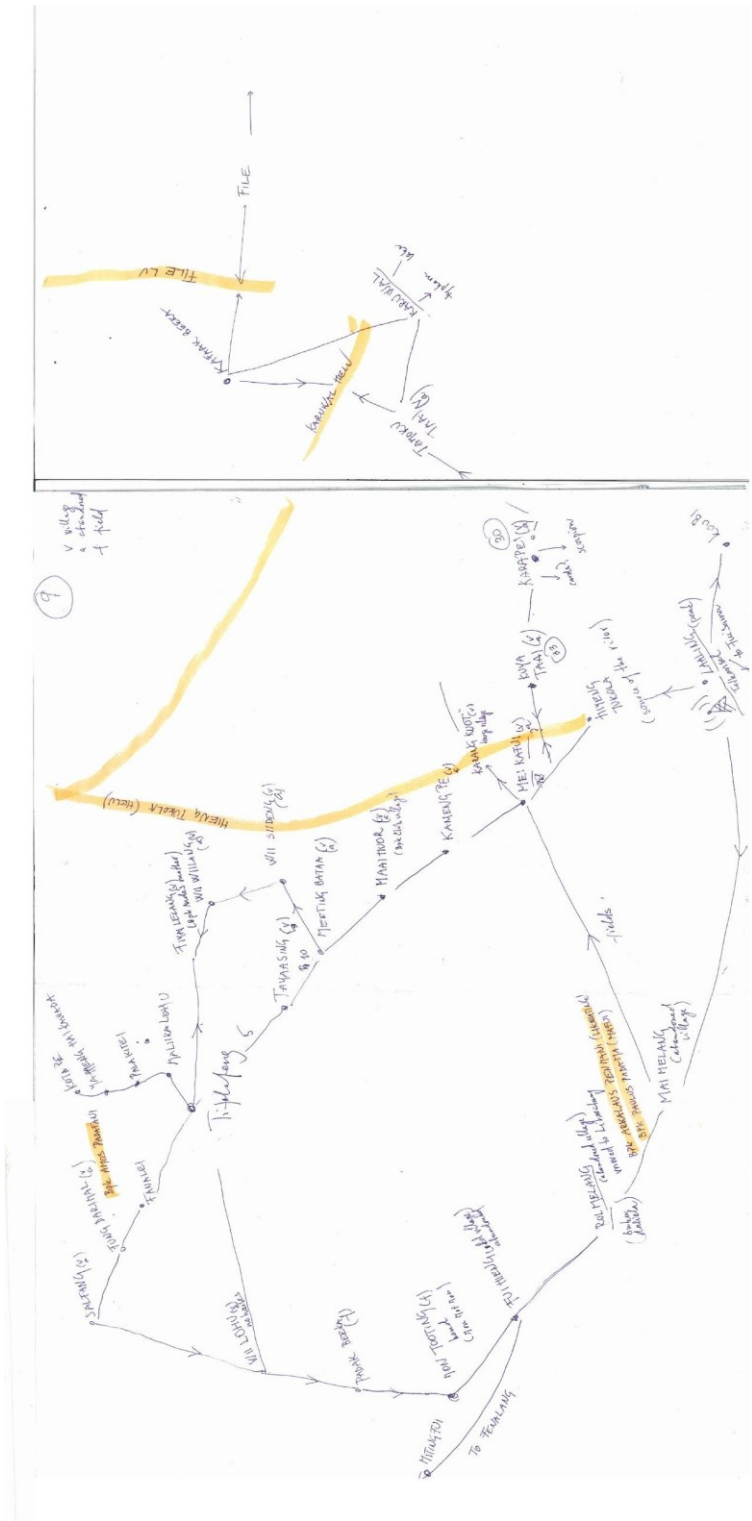
This appendix contains the maps that we have created through the various tasks described in section 1.2. The maps are "verbal" or "lived" maps, i.e. their scale is not metric, but reflect the conceptualization of the area by its inhabitants. The reference point of distances is travel time, and in the mountainous terrain, the same distance downwards can be sometimes traversed in less than half of the time required for the climb along the same path. This means that people who live on the coast may visit the mountains less frequently than the mountain dwellers for whom the coast is conceptualized as near; it is just the time it takes to get home that is longer.



Map 1: Assembled hand-drawn maps of the Takalelang-Mainang area. The blue frame represents the area of Tifolafeng.

The Tifolafeng area was mapped separately relying on the knowledge of its inhabitants. They provided much more detail than the people in Takalelang were able to. To accommodate the details, we started another map. This illustrates clearly the ego-centered landscape knowledge, which is our main source of information at this stage of landscape mapping.

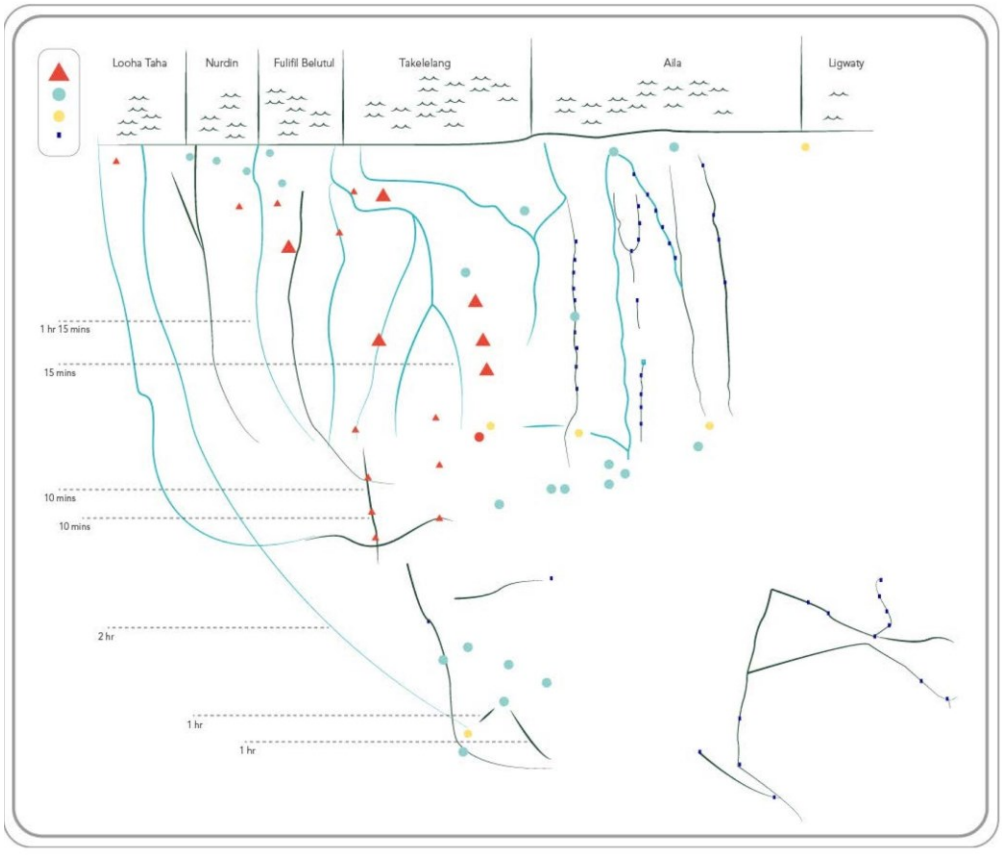
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Map 2: Assembled hand-drawn maps of the Tifolafeng-Laaling area

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Finally, the main contours of the map, in which the participants converge, are highlighted to show the south-north orientation within the landscape. The orientation of the valleys and main mountain ridges determines the directions to hike, and east-west travel is only easy along the coast and when the mountain plains are reached. The landscape structure corresponds to micro-variation in the language, where the sections of the shore with labels such as *Taklelang* or *Aila* correspond to local micro-dialects and distinct clan alliances.



Map 3: A roughly processed "verbal" map of the Takalelang-Mainang area, where different water bodies and tracks are extracted and connected (map created by Pamela Ng, an associated URECA student).

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