Tentatively locating West-Damar among the languages of Southwest Maluku

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For Mika Chlenov, the 20th Century Pioneer of Malukan linguistics.

1.Introduction

Damar Island constitutes a district of its own in the new Regency of *Maluku Barat Daya* ('Southwest Maluku') that was carved out of the Regency of *Maluku Tenggara Barat* ('West Southeast Maluku') in the East Indonesian province of Maluku. To its North it borders onto the southwestern district of the islands of Teun, Nila and Serua in the Central Maluku Regency, whereas to its South is borders onto the *Pulau-pulau Terselatan* ('Southernmost Islands') District of which Damar used to be part up till 2008.

Although Damar is a prominent narrative landmark in the oral traditions of Southwest Maluku (Josselin de Jong 1937, ms, Van Engelenhoven 2004b) and Lautem District in the republic of East Timor (Gomes 1972), it appears not to be part of *Nuspaikra-Rapïatatra* ('Conducted Islands – Arranged Lands), the regional trade network. This is corroborated, for example, by the notable fact that unlike its neighboring islands in the region, Damar Island lacks a lexical parallel name in the Austronesian Luangic-Kisaric and non-Austronesian Fataluku and Oirata languages.

We explain this non-occurrence of Damar in the regional trade network as a consequence of its relative isolation imposed by the winds and currents rather than its geographical distance to the network's centres, the Kisar and Luang Islands that lie further South in the *Pulau-pulau Terselatan* and Mdona-Hiera districts, respectively. Damar is known in the region for its fertile soil, its lush gardens and the high diversity of bananas that are cultivated there. Were it not for its remote location, Damar could easily replace Kisar Island further South that functions in the trade network as 'the garden island'.

Damar equals most islands in the regency in that it lodges two Austronesian language communities.[1] In the East of Damar a language is spoken that is known in the region after the name of the island's capital, Wulur, or Wulur-language. In the literature it is known as 'East-Damar' (Taber 1993). Chlenova and Chlenov (2008) mention Basset-Smith's 20 items wordlist in 1893 as the first wordlist of East-Damar.[2] Van Engelenhoven (2004) suggests that East-Damar be a separate branch within Luangic-Kisaric, because Taber's (1993)

[1] Minor dialect differentiation set aside, the only monolingual islands in the regency are found Leti, Moa, Lakor, Luang, Sermata and Wetan (in the Letti-Moa-Lakor, Moa-Lakor, Dona-Hiera and Babar Islands Districts, respectively) where Luangic languages are spoken.

[2]Jonker's (1932) posthumously published *Lettineesche taalstudiën* (' Leti Language Studies'), however, mentions Riedel's (1886) scanty East-Damar notes through which he surmises a close genetic link between Leti and East-Damar).

lexicostatistical calculations signal that it has a 55% cognacy with the Luangic[3] branch of Luangic-Kisaric. Blust (2005a), however, dismisses this hypothesis. The cognacy with the Kisaric[4] branch of the subgroup, 46%, shows that there is only a closer link to the Luangic languages. Taber (1993:401) explains this seeming cognacy to be due to Luang's strong cultural influence in the region rather than to an internal relationship.

Most inhabitants on this island are reported as speakers of this language. In two villages, Amaya (Batumerah in Indonesian, Pannel 1991) and Kuai-Melu (Taber 1993), another Austronesian language is spoken. This language is known in the region as the Batumerah language and in most literature as West-Damar. Whereas there is still relatively little information about Damar Island, the Amaya community has been extensively described by the Australian anthropologist Sandra Pannel. The only linguistic information on West-Damar are the wordlist presented by Svetlana Chlenova and Mikhael Chlenov at the 10th International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, later published in Lander and Ogloblin (2008), the accompanying grammatical outline by Chlenova (2008) and the wordlist in Taber's (1993) lexicostatistical analysis.

The West-Damar wordlist is one of forty two wordlists that Mikhael Chlenov and Svetlana Chlenova compiled during their 1963-1965 mission at Ambon Island in Central Maluku. During this period they supervised a construction project at the Pattimura University campus in Poka that was funded by the Soviet government. At the construction site in Poka there were many workers from different islands in Maluku Province whom were asked to fill in a wordlist of around 500 items and 36 sentences.[5] Beside well-known languages, like Galela (Halmahera island, North Maluku) in list number 35, there are also languages that are still fully unknown in the literature but are represented in the 'Chlenov lists' (Van Engelenhoven 2004a), as for example list 20: Gorom (spoken on Geser and Gorom Island, off the eastern tip of Seram Island, see also Chlenova's contribution to this volume) and list 21: Manusela (spoken in the East of Seram Island). Svetlana Chlenova has started to analyse and publish some of the lists of the lesser known languages, for example list 11: Dawloor (Babar Archipelago, Chlenova 2002), list 3: Serua (South-Central Seram Island[6], Chlenova 2004) and list 1: the Wetan dialect on Teun Island (Chlenova 2006).

These wordlists were the basis for Chlenov's (1976) South Malukan hypothesis, which we will discuss further in paragraph two. These lists suffer from one serious shortcoming that in a way may blur their obvious importance for Malukan linguistics. The ones who filled in the wordlists turned out to be the language consultants themselves without having had a basic phonetic training. This implied that the consultants who filled in the lists used the orthography

[3] Luang language in Taber's (1993) terminology.
[4] Roma-Kisar Subgroup in Taber's (1993) terminology.
[5] During my visit to Moscow in August 2004, I found six lists of languages outside Maluku: one of of Gorontalo (Minahassa Peninsula, Sulawesi island) and five others that all are located in Nusa Tenggara Timur Province: Ile Ape and Lembata on Lomblen Island, Endeh in East Flores and two lists of Adonara on the island with the same name. it has not become clear to me whether this lists were also produced by workers at the construction site in Poka, or whether they retrieved in another way.
[6] This language used to be spoken on the island with the same name in the extreme South of Central Maluku Regency. During a migration experiment induced by the government from the late 60-ie through the 80-ies in the last century, its speakers were relocated in Waipia in South-Central Seram Island (Van Engelenhoven 2003).

of Indonesian of that time for languages whose phonological and phonetic inventories often significantly differ from the Indonesian one. As a consequence, the lists are in principle not as reliable as the shorter ones in Taber (1993), for example, which are in the IPA spelling.

As a salute to Mikhail Anatoljevitch Chlenov and his contribution to Malukan linguistics, this paper intends to provide a preliminary view on the position of West-Damar among the Austronesian languages in the region. This is done by means of comparing the data in list no. 4 with the ones in Taber's (1993) list, and with additional material found elsewhere in the literature.

The paper is divided in the following paragraphs. Paragraph 2 sketches the state of the art in subgrouping theories on languages in the area. Paragraph 3 tracks the phonological retentions and innovations of West-Damar with respect to Proto Malayo-Polynesian. Paragraph 4 compares the sound changes in West-Damar with the ones attested in the surrounding subgroups. Paragraph 5, finally, proposes to relocate West-Damar in Taber's (1993) North Babar Group.

2.Subgrouping theories on Malukan languages: a bird's eye view.

At present there are 11 proposals on subgrouping in Southwest Maluku. Brandes (1884) distinguished between a *Westersche afdeeling* ('Western Division') and an *Oostersche afdeeling* ('Eastern Division') of Malayo-Polynesian languages. The latter division displayed four typological features: 1) the addition of final consonants to nouns, 2) pronominal affixes on verbs, 3) plural suffixes and 4) the 'reversed genitive construction' in which the possessor noun precedes the possession noun. In this apporach, all languages of Southwest Maluku whether Austronesian or not (Oirata on Kisar Island) belong to the Eastern Division. In Brandstetter's (1911) reconstruction of Proto-Indonesian, this subgrouping argument reappears as the so-called *Grenzdistrikt im Osten* ('Border District in the East'). Only in 1914 did J.C.G. Jonker write a huge article against Brandes' (1884)[7] thesis in which he convincingly argued that typological criteria could not be decisive for the genetic subgrouping of Malayo-Polynesian languages.[8] Later on, Stresemann (1927) was the first to observe that Meher, or "*Kisarisch*" as he labeled it, evidenced an exclusive merger of PMP *z and *t because of which it needed to be excluded from his putative "*Proto-Ambonisch*" or 'Proto-Ambonic' in which he grouped the languages of Central Maluku together.

When Dyen (1965) proposed his lexicostatistical classification, he proposed a single Moluccan Linkage directly under the Malayo-Polynesian Linkage. In this Moluccan Linkage

[7] Interestingly, Brandstetter's (1911) analysis is not even mentioned in this article. This should be interpreted in the context of the time of publication. Whereas Brandes was generally acknowledged by his fellow-Austronesianists at that time, the role of Brandstetter was structurally ignored and downgraded.

[8] Jonker pointed out that indeed the languages found East of the geographical boundary that later was to be called 'the Brandes line' (Blust 1982) shows a possessor noun –possession noun word order, but that past Mamberamo River in New Guinea the reversed order possession noun – possessor noun was again common, which showed the invalidity of this criteria in subgrouping. Rather, he suggested that the 'reversed genitive construction' -as it became known in the literature- was better explained as evolving from the emphatic possessive construction in West Malayo-Polynesian where the possessor noun that was original right of the possession noun was preposed to the left of the latter.

he grouped together four languages[9] in Maluku Province, three languages in Nusa Tenggara Timor Province[10] and two[11] in the Fakfak Regency in the province of West Papua.

Chlenov (1976) used the same methodology but devised his own 500 items wordlist. He proposed a South Moluccan Subfamily without elaborating on how it is related to Austronesian protolanguages on a higher node. He distinguishes a separate Southwestern Group next to five other languages and groups that have descended from the South Moluccan Subfamily. Within the Southwestern Group he distinguishes nine other languages that he considers to be equally related to each other. As can be seen from Figure 1, he includes West-Damar in this group. The seemingly confusion between a language labeled 'Babar' and another one labeled 'Dawloor' is easily explained. Although both refer to languages in the Babar archipelago, 'Babar' actually refers to the Tepa isolect spoken on Babar Island, whereas 'Dawloor' refers to the language of the islets of Dawloor and Dawra.[12]

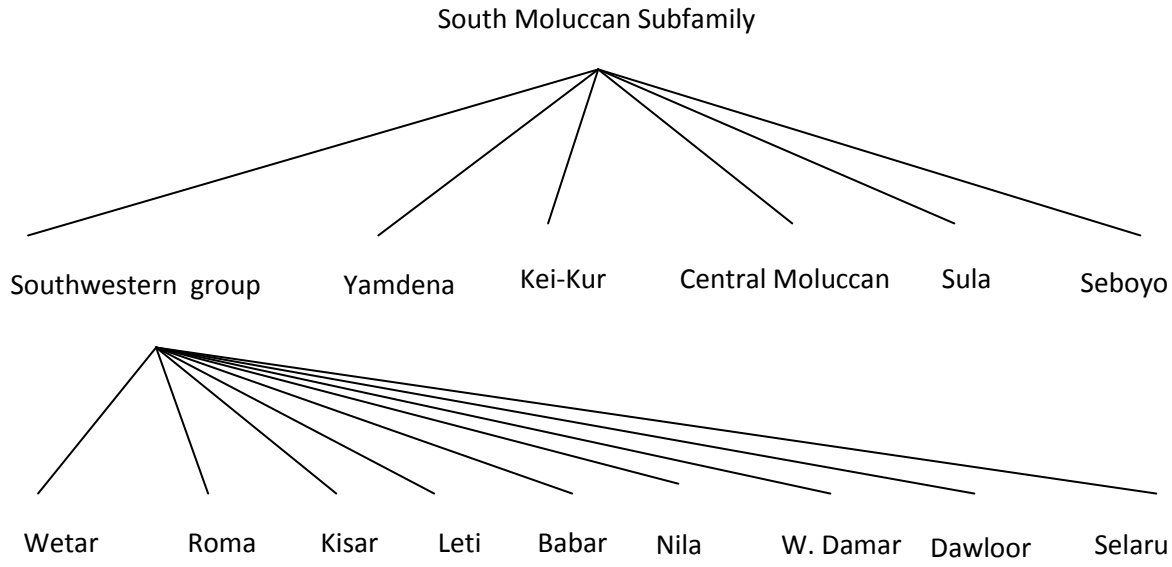

Figure 1: the South Moluccan subfamily (Chlenov 1976) [13]

Collins (1982) is the first after Stresemann (1927) to use sound changes for the determination of subgroups. Unlike Chlenov, he groups the languages of Ewaw (Kei Islands), Fordata, Selwasa and Yamdena on Tanimbar Island together as descendants of one Proto Southeast Maluku based on shared sound innovations. He excluded Kur, which he labels Teor, in the Tual District from his Proto Southeast Maluku ànd from his Proto Central Malukan

[9] Lettic (Leti and Meher), Ambic (languages on Ambon Island), Buru and Kei (Ewaw).
[10] Sikka (East-Flores), Sumba and Savu.
[11] Sekar and Kuiwai.
[12] In my notes I also found that there is also a wordlist of the isolect spoken in Layeni village on Teun Island in the Central Maluku Regency. Collins (1982) and Taber (1993) rather consider it to be a dialect of Wetan. For the time being it remains unclear whether Tepa and Wetan are different languages or just different names for the same language. Engelenhoven (1995) categorises Wetan as a Luangic language. See also Chlenova (2006:38).
[13]The 'Wetar language' refers to the Iliun language on Wetar Island (Hinton 1990) for which he used Josselin de Jong (1947). For the Seboyo language (Taliabu Island) he used Fortgens (1921).

(Chlenov's Central Moluccan).[14] An important contribution in this paper is his study of the languages of Teun, Nila and Serua, of which he concluded that because of their sound changes they cannot have descended from Proto Central Maluku or Proto Southeast Maluku. He also observed that the Selaru language in the Tanimbar archipelago may not be a descendant of Proto Southeast Maluku either.

Hughes (1987) lexicostatistical calculations confirmed Collins' proposal to exclude Kur from Proto Southeast Maluku, but at the same time they refuted the latter's hypothesis that the languages of the Aru archipelago be part of the Southeast Maluku group. Instead, Hughes suggested that the languages of Aru and Kur independently descended directly from Proto Central Malayo-Polynesian, a sister language of Proto Western Malayo-Polynesian that descended from Proto Malayo-Polynesian.[15]

Mills (1991) took up Collins' (1982) suggestion that the Selaru language in the Tanimbar archipelago be excluded from the Southeast Maluku group (which he labels (Proto) Kei-Tanimbar). Alternatively, he proposed to group the languages in the Tanimbar and Kei archipelagos and Southwest Maluku in separate descendant groups and added Selaru to the latter. This is sketched in Figure 2.[16]

[14] Chlenov distinguishes a Kur and Teor dialect for his Kur language, based on the data in Von Rosenberg (1878) and Wallace (1869), respectively.

[15] At this point it needs to be stressed that although the idea of a Proto Central Malayo-Polynesian (PCMP) was already ventilated by Bob Blust in his (1978) proposal on Eastern Malayo-Polynesian, it was only in 1993 that he elaborated on this proto language. Although there had been disagreements with his initial proposal from the start, these were only substantially motivated in Hull (1998) and (Donohue and Grimes 2008).

[16] This figure has been modeled after Table 9 in Mills (1991:261). Whereas in his explanation on page 260 he discusses a Proto Southeast Maluku, Table 9 rather displays a Proto Southern Maluku that is a descendant from the same node as Proto Timor. On page 260 he refers to Proto Southern Maluku as being a possible alternative name from Proto Post-CMP. This has been adapted in our figure.

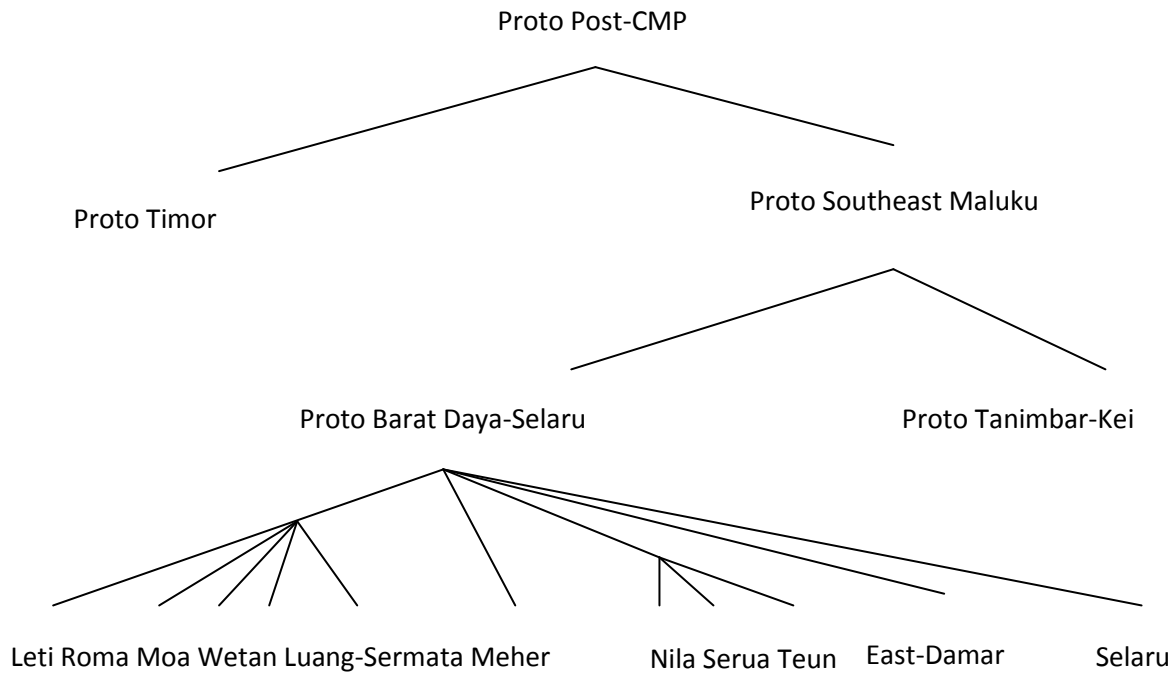

Figure 2: East-Damar among the languages of Southwest Maluku (Mills 1991)

Taber (1993) was the first to pay attention to the position of West-Damar among the Austronesian languages of Southwest Maluku. Based on his lexicostatistical calculations he concluded that West-Damar is a descendant from Proto Central Malayo-Polynesian like all other Austronesian languages in Southwest Maluku. At the same time, because of its low cognacy rates with the other Austronesian languages in the region[17] and in Southeast Maluku[18], he classifies West-Damar as an 'isolate' (Taber 1993:406) that is equally distant genetically from both his Southwest Maluku Group and Babar Group. This is displayed in figure 3. Whereas Taber leaves the option open that the languages of his Southwest Maluku group descended from Central Malayo-Polynesian through (Proto) Timor as suggested by other scholars in earlier publications, he considers West-Damar and the Babar Group languages as separate direct descendants of Proto Central Malayo-Polynesian.

[17] approx. 37 à 34 % with the Wetar Island languages, 37% à 38% with Meher and Roma, 46% with the Luang language, 46% with East-Damar, 37% à 41 % with the Teun-Nila-Serua group, 36% à 42% with the languages of the Babar archipelago (Taber 1993: figure 1). Taber considers the studied isolects on Leti, Moa and Luang as dialects of one Luang language.

[18] 27% with Selaru, 28% à 34% with the languages of Tanimbar and Kei, 29% with Kur, 20% with Benjina in the Aru Archipelago (Taber 1993: figure 1).

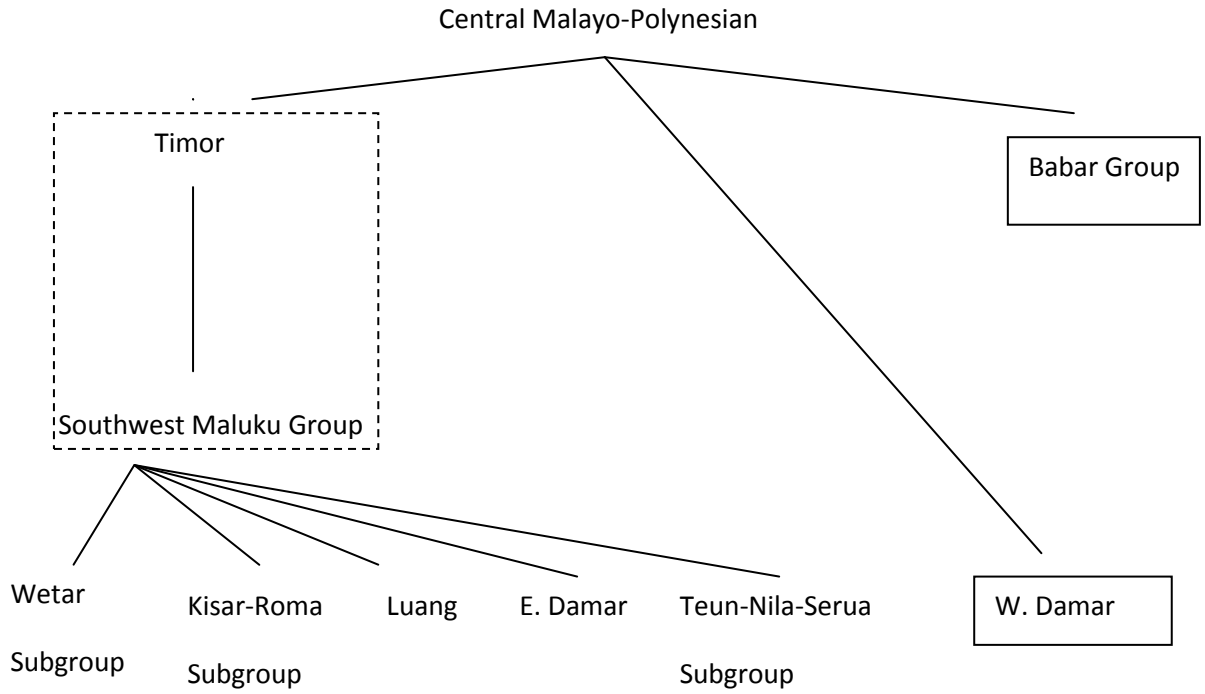

Figure 3: The position of West-Damar among the languages of Southwest Maluku (Taber 1993)

Hull (1998) was the first to rebut in writing the existence of a Proto Central Malayo-Polynesian. Instead, he proposed a Proto Santalic from which descended three proto languages, Proto Florinic[19], Proto Timoric[20] and Proto Arafuric that in his (2002/3) paper with José Branco was relabeled as Proto Nautonic[21]. Against Collins (1982) and Hughes (1987), Hull incorporated again Kur in his Nautonic group. In their (2002/3) paper Hull and Branco analysed Makuva in the Lautem District in the Republic of East Timor as a Nautonic (read: non-Timorese language).

Van Engelenhoven (1995) proposed a single ancestor language, Proto Luangic-Kisaric, for Taber's (1993) Roma-Kisar Subgroup and Luang language, which Van Engelenhoven (1995) preferred to label as a group of Luangic isolects. In 2009 he proposed that Proto Luangic-Kisaric, the ancestor of the Kairui-Waimaha-Midiki-Naueti dialect chain in East Timor and Makuva are sister languages that descended from Proto Timoric through Proto Extra-Ramelaic and Proto East Group.

[19] from which descended the Austronesian languages of Nusa Tenggara Timur Province, excluding Timor Island and the Alor-Pantar Archipelago

[20] From which descended the Austronesian languages of Timor Island, Atauru Island and Wetar Island in the Southwest Maluku Regency.

[21] From which descended all Austronesian languages in the Southwest, West Southeast and Southeast Maluku Regencies.

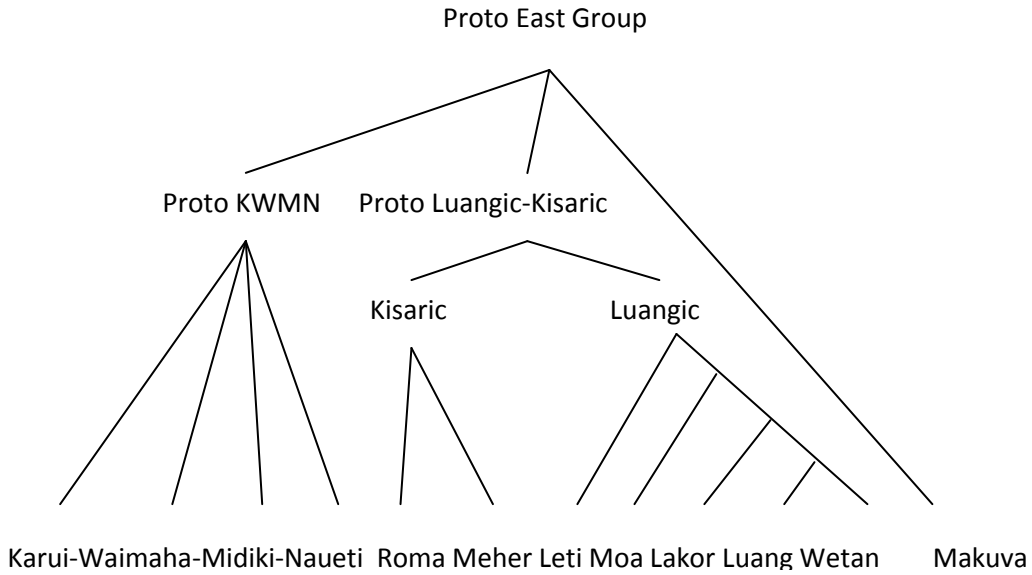

Figure 4: Position of Makuva en the Karui-Waimaha-Midiki-Naueti dialectchain in East

Timor and the Luangic-Kisaric languages in Southwest Maluku (after Van Engelenhoven 1987 and 2009).

Donohue and Grimes (2008) elaborated Hull's thesis and concluded that Proto Central Malayo-Polynbesian was a chain of separate proto languages rather than one as implied by Blust (1993).

3. Phonological retentions and innovations in West-Damar.

The information in Chlenov and Chlenova (2008) and Taber (1993) suggests that West-Damar's vowel inventory is a fairly common one in Southwest Maluku: /i, u, e, o, a/. Taber's (1993) wordlist contains an accidental indication of the existence of long vowels, namely in no. 62: [viá:][22] 'eight'. Examples with comparable phonological contexts, respectively no. 61 and 63: [vití] 'seven' and [visí] 'nine', where the vowel is not long, might suggest that the length of [a:] in [viá:] is compensatory in stressed final syllables without an onset and as such not phonemic.

As can be seen in the consonant inventory below, there are four consonants in the West-Damar that set this language off from most other languages in the region: [ñ], [c], [ʃ] and [x]. The only languages in the region that have indigenous palatal consonants are the non-Austronesian Fataluku and Austronesian Makuva in East-Timor (Van Engelenhoven 2009, In Press). The latter language has a voiced and voiceless palatal occlusive, of which the first

[22] Taber (1993) indicates main stress by placing an apostrophe before the stressed syllable. Since in Chlenov and Chlenova (2008) the apostrophe is used to mark the glottal stop, stress is signaled as an acute accent on the vowel in this paper.

mentioned is a retention of PAN *z.[23] The voiceless palatal occlusive occurs in loans from the East Fataluku dialect that corresponds to a post-alveolar occlusive in the western dialects of Fataluku. Otherwise formulated, the general absence of palatal consonants in the languages of the region - with the notable exception of [j] < PAN *z in Makuva - makes their occurrence in West-Damar suspicious. We therefore will consider [ñ], [c], and [ʃ] in Taber (1993) and <ny>, <c> and <sy> in Chlenov and Chlenova (2008) as concatenations of /n/ + /i/, /t/ + /i/ and /s/ + /i/, respectively, except when they occur in Indonesian loans.

	labial	alveo-dental	palatal	velar	glottal
occlusive vcd	p	t	c (t+i)	k	
occlusive vcl	(b)	(d)		(g)	
nasal	m	n	ñ (n+i)	(ŋ)	
fricative	{v}	s	ʃ (s+i)	{x	h}
liquid		l, r			
glide	{w}		y		

Table 1: West-Damar consonant chart

All voiced occlusives in Table 1 have been put in parentheses, because they occur only in local Malay loans in the wordlists. As such, the West-Damar inventory corresponds with the general picture in the region that there are no indigenous voiced occlusives. The same observation applies to the velar nasal, which in the region is confined to local Malay loans. Chlenova (2008) observed that it also occurs directly left of a sound for which she uses the grapheme <ch>.

As far as we know, this latter sound distinguishes West-Damar from all the other languages in the region. Pannel (1991) in her PhD Thesis on West-Damar suggests it to be a voiceless velar fricative [x], in that she equates it to "the sound represented by <ch> in the Scottish word *loch*". Taber's phonetic transcriptions in his (1993) wordlist consequently signal a voiceless glottal fricative [h]. In Chlenov and Chlenova (2008) and Chlenova (2008), however, both graphemes occur. Chlenova (2008) proposes to maintain using both graphemes, because their occurrence in the written down words seem to relate to different proto phonemes, respectively. We will apply her proposal here, albeit that we will consequently write <x> where Pannel (1991), Chlenov and Chlenova (2008) and Chlenova (2008) write <ch>. The braces in Table 1 indicate that we keep open the possibility that the sounds represented by <ch> and <h> in fact are allophones of the same phoneme. We suppose that this was the reason for Taber (1993), who is trained in phonetics, to use one grapheme only.

Interestingly, Chlenov and Chlenova (2008) use <w> where Taber (1993) uses either <v> or <w>. From a diachronic point of view <v> in Taber (1993) may reflect PMP *w, as in no. 22 *vío* 'water'< PMP ***wahiR***, or PMP *b, as in no. 59 *vi-límo* ´five´ < PMP ***buwaq*** + ***lima***. A quick glance at the latter's wordlist, however, did not reveal a good indication whether both sounds are allophones of a single phoneme or not. With the notable exceptions of no. 119

[23] This consonant is confined to initial position and seems to be in free variation with the palatal glide and voiced palatal fricative.

dewéya ‘woman’ and no. 121 *deweyéni* ‘husband’, the data in Taber (1993) suggest that <v> is confined near high or mid front vowels or other consonants and as such mutually exclusive with <w> that occurs elsewhere. As such, we will consider <v> and <w> here as graphemes referring to a labial fricative and glide that are allophones of a single labial glide phoneme, indicated in Table 1 by braces.

In this paper we will continue to write both <v> and <w>. Van Engelenhoven (1995) signals that in Leti PMP *w is retained as a bilabial glide in initial position (for example PMP **wahiR* ‘water’> Leti *üèra*), which in the system, however, must be analyzed as a glide allophone of /u/.

Chlenova (2008) informs that most West-Damar items in the wordlist are bisyllabic or trisyllabic. Based on a comparison with the data in Taber’s (1993) wordlist she concludes stress is fixed on the penultimate syllable.

West-Damar shares the feature of initial and intervocalic consonant clusters with most Austronesian languages in Southwest Maluku. Chlenova’s (2008) observation that West-Damar has initial occlusive geminates, for example *ppelo* “diligent”, has been attested as well for Leti (Van Engelenhoven 2004b). The occurrence of intervocalic consonant geminates in Leti, however, are the result of sandhi processes on morpheme boundaries.[24] Steinhauer (2009)a) reports intervocalic consonant geminates in Makuva also, however, without being able to further explicate them.

In the remaining part of this paragraph we will provide the sound changes of West-Damar with reference to Proto Malayo-Polynesian (PMP). Due to the limitations of the wordlists, we have not been able to incorporate any information on the PMP *c, *g and *r. Where possible both Chlenov’s and Chlenova’s and Taber’s etymon is given.[25]

PMP *p > Ø — **pitu* ‘seven’ > *+wo-itu* > *w-iti* (C11), *v-ití* (T61); **padi* > *ary-o* ‘cooked rice’ (C509), *ári-o* ‘hulled rice’ (T14); **apuy* ‘fire’ > *o-so* (C238), *ó-so* (T33); **ma-qudip* “live’ > *-nori* (C436), **malip* ‘laugh’ > *wa-móli* (T161).

PMP *b > w — **batu* ‘stone’ > *wot-ho* (C61), *wót-ho* (T24); **baRu* ‘new’ > *+ wau* > *++wai* > *we-we-xa* (C325); **babuy* ‘pig’> *+wawi* > *wowi*[26], **bunuq* ‘kill’ > *-wuni* (C480), *wuŋxi* (= /wun-xi/) (T175).

Two instances were found were PMP *b > Ø:

**bulan* > *ullo* (C184), *ulón-ni* (T20), **buwaq* ‘fruit’ > *ú-ha* (T11).

No examples have been found of *b in final position.

[24] The only possible exception being /nn/ that is a combination of /n/ +/n/.
[25] The etymon from Chlenov and Chlenova is marked (C) and the one from Taber is marked (T). The number in the reference refers to the actual place in the respective word lists, for example ‘mouth’: *nungxo* (C26), *núnho* (T100).
[26] Chlenov and Chlenova (2008), sentence 27

PMP *m > m **matay* ‘dead’ > *-moto* (C435), **mata* ‘eye’ > *mota* (C19), *móta* (T98); **ama* ‘father’ > *amo* (C149); **ma-qitem* ‘black’> *me-metmo* (C313), *me-mέtmo*(T50).

PMP *w > w /#_ **wahiR* ‘water’ > *+wai* > *wi-(y)o* (C239), *ví-o* (T22); **wakaR* ‘root’ > *+waa* > *wo-to* (C60), *wó-to* (T1), **waji* ‘younger sibling’ > *+wai* > *we-(y)o*, *we-seni* (C155a), *we-séni* (T128);

> Ø /# V_V **siwa* ‘nine’ > *+sia* > *wi-si* (C13), *vi-sí* (T63) (expected *di*);

> Ø / _# **qalejaw* ‘sun’ > *la-(w)oni* (C48), *la-(w)óni* (T20); **laRiw* ‘run’ > *+ne* > *-ne-hi* (C391), *-nɛ-hi* (T187).

PMP *t > t **qa-teluR* ‘egg’ > *tal-xo* (C110), *diu-tál-ho* (T42); **talih* ‘rope’ > *tol-so* (T13); **batu* ‘stone’ > *wot-ho* (C61), *wót-ho* (T24); **mata* ‘eye’ > *mota* (C19), *móta* (T98); **(bi-)tuqen* ‘star’ > *tón-no* (T21).

No examples have been found of *t in final position.

PMP *d > r **dindiŋ* ‘cold’ > *+va-ridin* > *++va-ridni* > *va-rinni-o* (C299), *me-ríni-o*(T38); **daRaq* ‘blood’ > *ro-wo* (C251), *ró-wo* (T91); **dalem* ‘inside’ > *+rolom* > *rolmo* ‘liver’ (C195), *rólmo* (T111); **sida* ‘3pl’> **sida* ‘3pl’ > *i-diro* (C4); **likud* ‘back’ > *a-liro* (C355), *a-liro* (T87); **lahud* ‘sea’ > *a-lero* (C50), *a-léro* (T30).

PMP *n > n **nusa* ‘island’> *nuda* (C167), *núda* (T26) (expected *nudo*); **manuk* ‘bird’ > *+monu* > *munw-o* (C86), *múnw-o* (T41); **tunu* ‘fry’ > Luang –*tuni* > *-tuni* (C468); **ina* ‘mother’ > *+na-ina* > *neno* (C150), *neno-jéni* (T123); **haŋin* ‘wind’ > *+anin* > *++anni* > *anny-o* (C47)[27]; **ihekan* ‘fish’ > *+ian* > *++iana* > *yeno* (C92), *yéno* (T40).[28]

PMP *s > d **susu* ‘milk, breast’ > *+ dudu* > *dut-ho* ‘milk’ (C507), *dút-ho* ‘breast’ (T110); **sida* ‘3pl’ > *i-diro* (C4), **semaŋ* ‘outrigger’ > *+deman* > *demna* (C115); **asu* ‘dog’ > *+odu* > *ot-ho* (C74), *ót-ho* (T43); **nusa* ‘island’> *nuda* (C167), *núda* (T26) (expected *nudo*); PLK **va-la(b,w)a-s* ‘long’ > *plo-lodo* (269); **mapanas* ‘hot’ > *+mpanas* > *++ponod* > *pondo* ‘ill’ (C283).

There is an alternative sound shift PMP *s > h. Since PMP *s > h is typical in Eastern Luangic, we consider etyma with this sound shift to be Luangic loans rather than original West-Damar. For comparison, the Luang etymon has been added.

PMP *s > h PLK **sakar* ‘divide’ > *+hokor* > *-hoxro* (C457), Luang –*hakra*; PLK **surat* ‘remember’, or alternatively local malay *surat* ‘letter’ > *+hurat* >

[27] Chlenov and Chlenova (2008) give *annoy*. With reference to Taber’s (1993) etymon we consider the first to be a typographic error.
[28] Taber writes a palatal nasal, which we interpret as misunderstood due to the preceding mid front vowel.

hurto (C217), Luang *hurta* ‘remember, book’; Makassarese *sombalaʔ* ‘sail’ > -$^{+}$*hopal* > *hoplo* (C500), Luang –*hopla*; **lesuŋ* ‘mortar’> $^{+}$*lehun* > $^{++}$ *luhin/luhni* > *lúhni-o,* Luang *lyehin/lyehni;* PLK **masa* ‘gold’> *maho* (C137), Luang *maha;* PLK **kavas* ‘cotton’ > *kawho* (C203), Luang *kavha*.

PMP *l > l **layaR* ‘sail’ > *lo-wo* (C248), *ló-wo* (T134), **lima* ‘hand’ > *lima* (C16), *líma* (T107); **qa-teluR* ‘egg’ > *tal-xo* (C110), *diu-tál-ho* (T42); **kulit* ‘skin’ > $^{+}$*ulit* > $^{++}$*ulti* > *ulty-o* (C33), *últy-o* (T89)[29].

West-Damar also displays the soundshift PMP *l > n in initial position, which is not as pervasive as the retention of PMP *l exemplified above.[30]

PMP*l > n **laŋuy* ‘swim’ > *-amu-nuni* (C481), *jan-nun-núni* (T157) (*a > u unexplained); **laRiw* ‘run’ > $^{+}$*ne* > *-ne-hi* (C391), *-né-hi* (T187).

PMP *z > h **zalan* ‘road’ > $^{+}$*holan* > $^{++}$*holna* > *hollo* (C197), *hóllo* (T132); **quzan* ‘rain’ > *uhn-oni* (C51), *uháno* (T23).

PMP *ñ >n **ñ(i)uR* ‘coconut’ > *nu-xo* (C95), *nu-ho* (T6); **ñuka* ‘wound’ > *nua* (C448).

There is no indication in Chlenova (2008) or Taber (1993) that West-Damar has a glottal stop. Unlike in Proto Luangic-Kisaric where the PMP voiceless velar occlusive first became a glottal stop and then was lost in Leti (Van Engelenhoven 1995), the data suggest that PMP **k* was lost altogether in West-Damar.

PMP *k > Ø **kulit* ‘skin’ > $^{+}$*ulit* > $^{++}$*ulti* > *ulty-o* (C33), *últy-o* (T89); **kutu* ‘flea, louse’ > *ut-ho* (C89), *út-ho* (T45), **ihekan* > $^{+}$*ikan* > $^{++}$*iØan* > $^{+++}$*ien* > *yeno* (C92*), yeny-o* (T40); **lakaw* ‘walk’ > $^{+}$*laØaw* > *-lo (C390), *ikuR* ‘tail’ > $^{+}$*iØuØ* > $^{++}$*ea* > *exex-e(y)a* (C34), *eheh-éa* (T49); **manuk* ‘bird’ > $^{+}$*monu* > *munw-o* (C86), *múnw-o* (T41).

West-Damar displays another sound shift in which intervocalic PLK * k > x as has been reported to for Southeast Babar by Steinhauer (2009). This sound shift has been attested only in clear Kisaric-Luangic and local Malay loans.

PLK *k > x / *V_V PLK **sakar* ‘divide’ > $^{+}$*hokor* > $^{++}$*hoxor* > *-hoxro* (C457), Luang –*hakra;* PLK **mukal* ‘cloud’ > $^{+}$*mukol* > $^{++}$*muxol* > *muxl-oni* ‘sky’ (C45), *muhálo* ‘cloud’ (T28), *múhəlo* ‘sky’(T165); Loc.M *nakoda* ‘captain’ > *a-naxoda* (C487), Loc. M *taku* ‘afraid’ > $^{+}$*taxu* > *taxe-do* (C452).

[29] Chlenov and Chlenova (2008) write *ulco,* where Taber (1993) writes *ultʃo.*

[30] In a personal communication during the 11th International on Austronesian Linguistics, June 22nd – 26th, 2009, Aussois, France, John Wolff elaborated that *l > n supports his hypothesis of the existence of a palato-alveolar liquid **ɬ* in Proto Austronesian next to an apico-alveolar **l* that was retained as *l* in many Southwest Malukan languages.

PMP *ŋ > n *ŋajaŋ ‘name’ > *nóno* (T124); **haŋin* ‘wind’ > *+anin* > *++anni* > *anny-o* (C47); **teliŋa* ‘ear’ > *tlina* (C27), *tlínna* (T97); **kempuŋ* ‘stomach’ > *opny-o* (C21), *ópny-o* (T108).

PMP *j > Ø *ŋajaŋ ‘name’ > *nóno* (T124); **pija* ‘how many’ > *+iØa* > *ww-i* (C484), *v-í* (T145); **waji* ‘younger sibling’ > *+waØi* > *we-(y)o*, *we-seni* (C155a), *we-séni* (T128).

One clear instance of final *j has been attested where PMP *j > n / _#: **ulej* ‘worm’ > *+ulan* > *ulna* ‘shrimp’ (C93).

PMP *R > Ø **Rumaq* ‘house’ > *uma (C35), úma* (T189); **maRi* ‘come’ > *-mói* (T167); **daRaq* ‘blood’ > *ro-wo* (C251), *ró-wo* (T91); *ma-iRaq* ‘red’ > *+meØaØ* > *me-meyo* (C312), *me-méyo* (T52); **baRu* ‘new’ > *+ wau* > *++wai* > *we-we-xa* (C325); **layaR* ‘sail’ > *lo-wo* (C248), *ló-wo* (T134); **ikuR* ‘tail’ > *+iØuØ* > *++ea* > *exex-e(y)a* (C34), *eheh-éa* (T49); **qa-teluR* ‘egg’ > *tal-xo* (C110), *diu-tál-ho* (T42).

PMP *q > Ø **endey* ‘carry’ > *-edi* (C408); **quzan* ‘rain’ > > *uhn-oni* (C51), *uháno* (T23); **qenay* ‘sand’ > *+ena* > *eno* (C62), *énno* (T25); **ma-dequ* ‘thirsty’> *+mareØu* > *mare* (C290), *máre* (T146); **liqeR* ‘throat’ > *+liØeØ* > *li-so* ‘voice’ (C259)[31]; **bunuq* ‘kill’ > *-wuni* (C480), *wuŋxi* (= /wun-xi/) (T175).

PMP *h > Ø **haŋin* ‘wind’ > *+anin* > *++anni* > *anny-o* (C47), **wahiR* ‘water’ > *+wai* > *wi-(y)o* (C239), *ví-o* (T22).

No clear instances of *h in final position were found.

Thus far the following changes can be observed. Among the voiceless occlusives, only the dental stop *t was retained and the labial, velar and uvular stops *p, *k and *q were lost in West-Damar. The shift of *k > x appears to be confined to Luangic-Kisaric or local Malay loans. Among the voiced occlusives, the voiced palato-velar stop *j had disappeared, whereas the alveolar stop *d became a trill r and the labial *b merged with its glide counterpart *w in w. Palatal *z shifted to h, whereas the dental fricative *s became a voiced alveolar stop. The uvular and glottal fricatives *R and *h also were lost.

With exception of *m, which was retained, all other nasals merged into n, except for final *n that merged with a preceding onset *l in l after metathesis. One instance of PMP *j# > l was attested where this merger did not happen: **ulej* ‘worm’ > *+ulan* > *ulna* ‘shrimp’(C93). This suggests that it is actually a loan from either the clearly Luangic-Kisaric Isu dialect from nearby Teun Island or from East-Damar where this merger has not happened as in the other Luangic-Kisaric isolects (Van Engelenhoven 1995). Neither did it occur in the Teun, Nila and

[31] The semantic shift of PMP **liqeR* ‘throat’ to West-Damar *li-so* ‘voice’ (see also C260 *li-su* ‘sound’) has been attested also in Luangic-Kisaric, as in Meher, Leti, Luang, Wetan *lira* ‘voice, sound’.

Serua isolects that are not Luangic-Kisaric languages. This fact suggests that this particular merger was confined to the languages in the *Nuspaikra-Rapïatatra* territory proper (see paragraph 1) and that the isogloss separating the areas where the merger did occur and did not occur runs through Damar Island. This is exemplified in Table 2 by the derivations of PMP **bulan* 'moon' and **zalan* 'road'.

PMP	**bulan* 'moon'	PMP	**zalan* 'road'
Leti	*vulla*	Leti	*talla*
Meher	*wollo*	Meher	*kalla*
Daweloor	*wullol*	Daweloor	*allol*
West-Damar	*úl-oni*[32]	West-Damar	*hóllo*
East-Damar	*vúlnɔ*	East-Damar	*lalnó*
Isu	*wolna*	Isu	*talna*
Nila	*húlna*	Nila	*salna*
Serua	*wulna*	Serua	*salna*

Table 2: PMP *n# > l isogloss separating the *Nuspaikra-Rapïatatra* territory.

Little evidence has been found on West-Damar reflexes of PMP prenasalized consonants. The following etyma have been found. No clear reflexes of *ŋk have been found.

PMP *mp > p **ma-peñuh* 'full' > $^{+}$*mpenu* > $^{++}$*panu* > *-pani* (T71); **kempuŋ* 'stomach' > $^{+}$*apun* > $^{++}$*opnu* > $^{+++}$ *opni* > *opny-o* (C21), *ópny-o* (T108); **empuh* 'grandparent/child' > *up-ho (mamsa)* 'ancestor' (C160).

PMP *mb > p **ma-besuR* 'sated' > $^{+}$*mbesuR* > $^{++}$*padu* > *-podw-a* (C284); **timbah* 'scoop' > *ti-tipa* 'bucket' (C134).

PMP *nd > d **endey* 'carry' > *-edi* (C408); **dindiŋ* 'cold' > $^{+}$*va-ridin* > $^{++}$*va-ridni* > *va-rinni-o* (C299), *me-ríni-o*(T38).

The penultimate high vowels in PMP have been all retained. They are difficult to trace in final position where they are often deleted because of a CV suffix. In a few instances *u > i, which suggests these are Luangic-Kisaric, probably Wetan (marked in the examples below as WET), loans where this sound shift also happened. In case of a V suffix, final high vowels are represented in the wordlists by the corresponding glide that we consider as allophones. PMP *e and *a split in West-Damar /e, a/ and /a, o/, respectively.

PMP *i > i PLK **sivi* 'chicken' > *diwo* (C82); **lilin* 'candle' > $^{+}$*lilni* > $^{++}$*lilli* > *lilly-o* (C235); **kulit* 'skin' > $^{+}$*ulit* > $^{++}$*ulti* > *ulty-o* (C33), *últy-o* (T89).

PMP *u > u **Rumaq* 'house' > *uma* (C35), *úma* (T189); **buluh* 'body hair' > *wul-wúl-ha* (T95); **tuhud* 'knee' (Hull 1998:121) > $^{+}$*tuØur* > *turo* (T106).

PMP *u# > i# **bunuq* 'kill' > *-wuni* (C480), *wuŋxi* (= /wun-xi/) (T175), WET: *-wuni*; **lesuŋ* 'rice mortar' > $^{+}$*lúhun* > $^{++}$*lúhnu* > $^{+++}$*lúhni* > *lúhny-o* (T137) (u unexplained), WET: *lehni* or *liehni*.

[32] PMP *b > Ø unexplained. Expected is *wull-oni* or *wul-oni*.

PMP *e > e/ _CVy

**endey* ‘carry’ > *-edi* (C408); **qenay* ‘sand’ > $^{+}$*ena* > *eno* (C62), *énno* (T25).

PMP *e > a **qa-teluR* ‘egg’ > *tal-xo* (C110), *diu-tál-ho* (T42); **qalejaw* ‘sun’ > *la-(w)oni* (C48), *la-(w)óni* (T20); **ma-peñuh* ‘full’ > $^{+}$*mpenu* > $^{++}$*panu* > *-pani* (T71); *(n)deŋeR* ‘hear’> $^{+}$*dana* > *wa-dano* (C400).

PMP* a > o / C [+labial]_, _C[+labial]

**mata* ‘eye’ > *mota* (C19), *móta* (T98); **ama* ‘father’ > *amo* (C149); **dalem* ‘inside’ > $^{+}$*ralam* > $^{++}$*rolom* > *rolmo* ‘liver’ (C195), *rólmo* (T111); PLK **va-la(b,w)a-s* ‘long’ > $^{+}$*plo(b,w)od* > $^{++}$*ploØod* > *plo-lodo* (269); **ma-panas* ‘hot’ > $^{+}$*mpanas* > $^{++}$*ponod* > *pondo* ‘ill’ (C283); **matey* ‘dead’ > $^{+}$*mata* > *-moto* (C435).

The reflexes of **dalem* ‘inside’, **ma-panas* ‘hot’ and **matay* ‘dead’ show that *a > o change took place after *e > a, and that either the protrusion of *a was carried over past the intervening consonant (in this case *n and *t, respectively) to the next *a, or, alternatively, that there may have been a rule in which *a# was rounded. In both cases, however, *a# > a# in **nusa* ‘island’ > **nusa* ‘island’> *nuda* (C167), *núda* (T26), **mata* ‘eye’ > *mota* (C19), *móta* (T98), **ñuka* ‘wound’ > *nua* (C448) and **Rumaq* ‘house’ > *uma* (C35), *úma* (T189) remains unexpected. Examples of *a# > o# are given below.

PMP *a > o / _#

PMP **teRas* ‘hard’ > PLK **teras* > Luang *terha > terho; *zalan* ‘road’ > $^{+}$*holan* > $^{++}$*holna* > *hollo* (C197), *hóllo* (T132); PMP **kabas* > PLK **kavas* ‘cotton’ > Luang *kavha*.> *kawho* (C203).

Another unexplained phenomenon is that *a > o also is sometimes attested without the labial context and nót in final position, as for example in PMP **haŋin* ‘wind’ > $^{+}$*anin* > $^{++}$*anni* > *anny-o* (C47), but also *óny-o* (T29) and **daRaq* ‘blood’ > *ro-wo* (C251), *ró-wo* (T91).[33]

In two instances *a > u was attested in the penultimate syllable.

PMP *a > u / _σ#

**manuk* ‘bird’ > $^{+}$*monu* > *munw-o* (C86), *múnw-o* (T41); **laŋuy* ‘swim’ > *-amu-nuni* (C481), *jan-nun-núni* (T157).[34]

[33] In the case of ‘blood’, *a > o may also be explained by the labial glide in *–wo*.

[34] Whereas *a > u in **manuk* > *munw-o* can be explained as being evoked by *m-, the change in **laŋuy* > *-nuni* seems unconditioned, unless the roundedness of **uy* evoked **a* > $^{+}$*o* > *u*, comparable to the first case. This scenario would suggest that rightward rounding across intervening consonants hypothesized above for **panas* > *pondo*, would also apply leftward. Additionally, this would imply that *a > $^{+}$o would have taken place before *uy > i.

Most mid vowels in West-Damar can be explained as mergers of high and low proto vowels after an intervening proto consonant was lost.

PMP *aCu > $^{+}$au > o

> **ma-qudip* 'live' > $^{+}$*auri* > *n-ori* (C346); **apuy* 'fire' > $^{+}$ *auy*> $^{++}$*au* > *o-so* (C238), *ó-so* (T33).

PMP *aCi > $^{+}$ai > e

> **wahiR* 'water' > $^{+}$*wai* > *wi-(y)o* (C239), *ví-o* (T22); **laRiw* 'run' > $^{+}$*ne* > *ne-hi* (C391), *-nɛ-hi* (T187); **waji* 'younger sibling' > $^{+}$*wai* > *we-(y)o, we-seni* (C155a), *we-séni* (T128); **taqi* 'feces' > $^{+}$*tai* > $^{++}$*te* > *teo* (T113); **baRu* 'new' > $^{+}$ *wau* > $^{++}$*wai* > *we-we-xa* (C325); **ma-qitem* 'black'> $^{+}$*maitam* > $^{++}$*metam* > $^{+++}$*metma* > *me-metmo* (C313), *me-mɛ́tmo*(T50).

One instance of PMP * uCi > e was attested: **ikuR* 'tail' > $^{+}$*iØuØ* > $^{++}$*e* > *exex-e-(y)a* (C34), *eheh-éa* (T49). Only a few instances with reflexes of final diphthongs from PMP were attested, which may be related to addition of (C)Vsuffixes in West-Damar.

PMP *uy > i **babuy* 'pig'> $^{+}$*wawi* > *wowi*; **laŋuy* 'swim' > *-amu-nuni* (C481), *jan-nun-núni* (T157) (*a > u unexplained).

PMP *ay > $^{+}$a > o

> **qenay* 'sand' > $^{+}$*ena* > *eno* (C62), *énno* (T25); **matay* 'dead' > *-moto* (C435).

One striking feature that acknowledges West-Damar as language from the Timor-Southwest Maluku region is the consistent metathesis of the coda consonant and rhyme vowel in final closed syllables *CV# > VC# in polysyllabic etyma.

	PMP		West-Damar
'outrigger'	**semaŋ* >	$^{+}$*deman*	> *demna*
'hot'	**ma-panas* >	$^{+}$*mpanad* > *ponod*	> *-pondo*
'wind'	**haŋin* >	$^{+}$*anin*	> *anni* > *anny-o*
'inside'	**dalem* >	$^{+}$*ralam* > *rolom*	> *rolmo*

Table 3: Metathesis in West-Damar.

Whereas in the isolects of Teun, Nila and Serua North of Damar, and in the Luangic-Kisaric isolects – with the exception of Meher and Makuva – metathesis is a productive process, it is not mentioned in Chlenova's (2008) grammatical sketch. The latter author only explicitly mentions final vowel deletion, because of which we take it for the time being that metathesis is not a productive process in West-Damar, comparable to what Steinhauer (2009)a, in press) describes for Makuva.

4. West-Damar among the surrounding language groups.

Paragraph 2 indicated that West-Damar is located in between three language groups: Luangic-Kisaric in the Southwest, Teun-Nila-Serua in the North and Babaric in the Southeast. Beyond these language groups we will find the Northgroup of Extra-Ramelaic on Wetar Island (Hull 1998), Timor-Alor-Pantar (TAP), (Oirata on Kisar Island and Fataluku in Lautem District, Donohue and Schapper 2007), Central Malukan (Banda, Collins and Kaartinen 1998) and Southeast Malukan (Collins 1982). Of these, the TAP languages are non-Austronesian and will not be discussed in this paper, due to lack of space and time.[35]

Among the remaining groups, Luangic-Kisaric has been documented best (Van Engelenhoven 1995, 2009). The Isu isolect on Teun Island, North of Damar and Roma on the island with the same name South of Damar are acknowledged members of Luangic-Kisaric. Van Engelenhoven (2004) suggests, based on the lexicostatistical findings of Taber (1993), that East-Damar may be another a separate branch within Luangic-Kisaric. Blust (2005a), however, rightly remarks that lexicostatistics cannot be decisive and dismisses this hypothesis. A closer look to the East-Damar (ED) data in Taber's (1993) that provides the only data available of this language[36] is therefore required with reference to the sound changes in Proto Luangic-Kisaric (PLK).

The sound changes that set off Proto Luangic-Kisaric from the other proto languages in the region are PMP *z and *t > **t. This sound change is not attested in West-Damar. Taber's wordlist does not provide any decisive clues for East-Damar either, in that it displays one East-Damar item only with a reflex of *z: **zalan* 'road' > (+*lalan* >) *lalnó*. The only other sound change to acknowledge East-Damar as a Luangic-Kisaric language is PMP *j, *d, *R > r. In West-Damar *j, *R > Ø and only *d > r.

The only historical analysis on the languages of Teun, Nila and Serua is by James Collins (1982) and (1991). These languages used to be spoken on the islands with the same names directly to the North of Damar Island. Their population, however, has been resettled on Seram Island half way the 20th Century (Van Engelenhoven 2003). Like the Luangic-Kisaric languages, these languages distinguish themselves from Southeast and Central Maluku by a highly productive process of metathesis in the final syllable. Nila and Serua share with the Luangic-Kisaric languages the above mentioned merger of PMP *j, *d, *R > r. Teun also has PMP *d > r, but deviates from Nila and Serua by the splits PMP *j > Ø, ʔ and *R > Ø, r.

For a comparison, typical Luangic-Kisaric, Babar[37] and Teun, Nila and Serua etyma have been added in the examples when applicable.

[35] Ongoing research, however, shows a strong lexical influence of Austronesian on Fataluku and Oirata, ànd from Fataluku on Leti.

[36] The few words in Riedel (1886) on which Jonker (1932) decided that (East-)Damar to be related to the Austronesian languages of Timor and Maluku are too scanty and too corrupted in writing to be taken into consideration here.

[37] These are mainly Southeast Babar (SEB) representing Taber's (1993) South Babar Group and Dawloor (DWL), representing Taber's (1993) North Babar Group. The data are all taken from Taber (1993), Chlenova 2002 and Steinhauer (2009).

PMP *d > PLK $^{+}$r, East-Damar, West-Damar, Babaric, Teun, Nila, Serua r

> **dalem* 'inside' > WD: *rolmo* 'liver' (C195), *rólmo* (T111), ED *rálmano* 'liver', Mhr: *raram*, DWL: *mil-rálam*, SEB: *ralm* (Steinhauer 2008), *rámblɛ* (T82), Teun: *rálma*, Nila: *na-rámna*, Serua: *na-rálna*; **lahud* 'sea' > WD: *a-lero* (C50), *a-léro* (T30), ED: *lur*, Leti: *l-y-ora*, DWL: *la-rol-ol* (Chlenova 2002), *la-rór-ol* (T30), East Marsela: *lor*, Nila: sɛ-lɔ́ra, Serua: *sel-l-y-ora* (Chlenova 2004)

PMP *j > PLK $^{+}$r, East-Damar, Nila, Serua r, West-Damar, Babaric Ø[38], Teun Ø or ʔ

> **ŋajaŋ* 'name' > WD: *nóno* (T124), ED: *inan-nárano*, Mhr: *naran*, SEB: *non*, Teun: *nána*, Nila: *nárna*, Serua *árna*; **waji* 'younger sibling' > *we-(y)o*, *we-seni* (C155a), *we-séni* (T128), ED: *árni*, Leti: *uari*, WDL: *wé-lol*, SEB: *víau*, Teun: *wáʔi* Nila: *wár-ni*, Serua: *war-ni* (Chlenova 2004), *wari* (Collins 1991), *ár-ni* (T128).

PMP *R > PLK $^{+}$r, East-Damar, Nila, Serua r, West-Damar, Babaric Ø[39], Teun Ø or r

> **daRaq* 'blood' > WD: *ro-wo* (C251), *ró-wo* (T91); ED: *rar*, Leti: *rara*, WDL: *rai-ol*, SEB: *ra* (Steinhauer 2008), *rah* (T91), Teun: *ráwa*, Nila: *n-reára*, Serua: *n-rara*; *ma-iRaq* 'red' > *me-meyo* (C312), *me-méyo* (T52), ED: *mer-mér*, Leti: *mer-mera*, WDL: *me-méy-el*, Teun: *n-méra*, Nila: *mer-méra*, Serua: *m-mera* ; **ikuR* 'tail' > *exex-e(y)a* (C34), *eheh-éa* (T49), ED: *irw-án*, Mhr: *iʔur*, DWL: *i* (Chlenova 2002), SEB: *iː*, Teun: *n-íu*, Nila: *n-íru*, Serua: *n-iru* (Chlenova 2004), *pn-íru* (T49).

Hull (1998) points out that the merger of PMP *n, *ñ and *ŋ is the only sound change featured by all Extra-Ramelaic languages. The retention of *ŋ is typical of Proto Ramelaic[40], which Collins and Kaartinen (1998) also acknowledge for Proto East-Central Maluku, the ancestor of the Banda language. Hardly any information is available about Proto Babar. Steinhauer (2009) mentions the merger of PMP *n, *ŋ and *l in Southeast Babar, but does not provide information about PMP *ñ. A quick glance at Taber's wordlist seems to indicate that only in the Masela-Southeast Babar Cluster of Taber's South Babar Group PMP *ñ did shift to n, but did not merge with *l in l, as is exemplified by **miñak* 'fat' > Southeast Babar: *min*,

[38] In Taber's wordlist PMP *j > r is noticeable for all Babar isolects in the etymon **pija* 'how many' except in Southeast Babar and Serili where *j > Ø. I consider the etyma with *j > r to be loaned from Luangic-Kisaric Wetan where it is a regular sound shift and the Southeast Babar and Serili etyma to display the original Babaric sound shift (see also Steinhauer 2008).

[39] In Taber's wordlist PMP *R > r is noticeable for all Babar isolects in the etymon **layaR* 'sail'. In the same line of thought as in the previous footnote, I consider this etymon to be loaned from Wetan, since in the other Babaric etyma *R > Ø.

[40] The labels 'Ramelaic and Extra-Ramelaic' are mine. In Hull's (1998) terminology they are referred to as 'Austromunic' and 'Austrofabronic', respectively.

Serili: *minɛ́* and Central Marsela: *mánj-ei*.[41] Collins (1991) mentions the merger of the alveo-dental, palatal and velar nasals for Serua, which seems to be confirmed for Teun and Nila in Taber (1991). East-Damar seems to feature the merger of PMP*n,*ñ and * ŋ.

PMP *n, *ñ, *ŋ > PLK $^{+}$n, East-Damar, West-Damar, Teun, Nila, Serua n,

> **ñ(i)uR* 'coconut' > WD: *nu-xo* (C95), *nu-ho* (T6), ED: *núru*, Leti: *nura*, Teun: *nówa*, Nila, Serua*: núru*; **manuk* 'bird' > WD: *munw-o* (C86), *múnw-o* (T41), ED: *mánuk*, Leti: *maanu*, Teun, Nila, Serua: *mánu*; **bulan* 'moon' > ED: *vúlnɔ*, Leti: *vulla*, Teun: *fúla*, Nila: *húlna*, Serua: *wúlna*; **ŋajaŋ* 'name' > WD*: nóno* (T124), ED: *inan-nárano*, Mhr: *naran*, Teun: *nána*, Nila: *nárna*, Serua: *árna; *kempuŋ* 'stomach' > WD: *opny-o* (C21), *ópny-o* (T108), ED: *ápno-no*, Leti: *apnu*.

Taber's wordlist mentions two instances in East-Damar where it appears to have retained *ŋ: **teliŋa* 'ear' > $^{+}$*teliŋa* > *ŋína-no*, where West-Damar and Luangic-Kisaric clearly have *ŋ > n: WD: *tlina* (C27), *tlínna* (T97); Mhr. *keli-n* and **ŋisi* 'tooth' > ED: *ŋiháno*, Mhr. *nihi-n*, Leti: *nisa*.

West-Damar distinguishes itself from Luangic-Kisaric through its sound shifts PMP *R, *j > Ø and PMP *s > d. Steinhauer (2009) mentions these shifts for Southeast Babar, which belongs to the South Babar Group, according to Taber (1993), albeit that PMP *s > t rather than d in Southeast Babar. Unlike the Luangic-Kisaric languages, Teun, Nila and Serua have a separate retention of PMP *z > s, which in West-Damar is rather *z > h. Steinhauer (2009), however, mentions PMP *z > Ø too for Southeast Babar. Additionally, he reports PMP *s > t for Southeast Babar. A glance at Taber's wordlist shows that this applies for all langauges of the South Babar Group, whereas the languages of the North Babar Group display PMP *s >d, like in West-Damar.

PMP *z > PLK $^{+}$t, West-Damar h, Babaric Ø, Teun, Nila, Serua s

> **zalan* 'road' > WD: *hollo* (C197), *hóllo* (T132), ED: *lálno*, Leti: *talla*, DWL: *áll-ol*, SEB: *ál*, but Serili: *hallɛ́* (!), Teun: *kála* [42], Nila, Serua: *salna*; **quzan* 'rain' > *uhn-oni* (C51), *uháno* (T23), DWL: *úl-ol*, Teun, Nila, Serua: *úsna*.

PMP *s > PLK $^{+}$s, East-Damar h, West-Damar, North Babar Group d, South Babar Group t, Teun, Nila, Serua s

> **susu* 'milk, breast' > *dut-ho* 'milk' (C507), *dút-ho* 'breast' (T110), ED: *húhuno* 'breast', Leti: *susu*, DWL: *dudk-ol*, SEB: *tuty* (Steinhauer 2008), Teun, Nila, Serua: *súsu*; **asu* 'dog' > *ot-ho* (C74), *ót-ho* (T43), ED: *áhu*, Leti: *asu*, DWL: *adk-ol*, SEB: *uty* (Steinhauer 2008), Teun, Nila: *wásu*, Serua: *ásu*;

[41] Compare Tela-Masbuar *mélje* that belongs to the Southwest Babar Cluster.
[42] Expected **salna*, possibly a Meher loan where PMP *z > $^{+}$t > k?

**mapanas* ‘hot’ > *pondo* ‘ill’ (C283), Leti: *pánsa*, SEB: *pant* (Steinhauer 2008), Teun: *pánsa*, Nila: *saʔu-pánsa*.

5. West-Damar as a North Babar language?

Taber (1993) disconnected the Babar languages as a transitional group between the languages from Timor and his Southwest Maluku group, whereas he considers West-Damar as an ‘isolate’ (Taber 1993:406) being distinctly related to any other (Austronesian) language in the region. A closer look at the attested sound changes in his data and Chlenov’s and Chlenova’s wordlist in the previous paragraph suggests that West-Damar shares with Babaric the sound shifts PMP *j and *R > Ø. I agree with Taber (1993) that the loss of *j identifies West-Damar and the Babar languages as ‘non-Timorese’. Hull (1998) signaled that *j survived in both Ramelaic and Extra-Ramelaic languages as [l] and [r], respectively. *R only was retained in the East Group, because of which Makuva and the Luangic-Kisaric languages were recognized as Timorese languages as well (Van Engelenhoven 2009).

More suggestive even for a Babaric link for West-Damar are the shifts PMP *s > d that is also attested for the North Babar Group and PMP *z > h, which can be explained as a precursor to PMP *z > Ø in all Babar languages. The voiceless dental stop in the South Babar Group may easily be interpreted as the result of a following devoicing of d as is still displayed in the North Babar Group. Blust (2005b), however, explains the shift PMP *s > t in Southeast Babar as a drag chain effect of PMP *t > k. This does not apply to West-Damar where PMP *t was retained as t. Taber’s wordlist also reveals that in the North Babar languages *n# > l after metathesizing first with preceding vowel (see Steinhauer 2008).

The shift PLK *k > x attested in Luangic-Kisaric loanwords in West-Damar, being unexpected in a Luangic-Kisaric or Teun-Nila-Serua context, is comfortably fits a Babar scenario where Steinhauer (2009) finds this to be a recent sound change in Southeast Babar.

Chlenova (2008) provides some grammatical information about West-Damar based on the example sentences in the Chlenov list. In terms of grammar West-Damar does not seem to deviate much from the patterns found in the region. The most salient feature of the language is that it has a negative circumfix *ke- -we* around verbs (example 1a), adjectives and nouns (example 1b).

(1a) *ke-yowen-we*
NEG-excellent-NEG
‘not excellent’
as a translation of ‘bad’ (C255)

(1b) *Ke-mormorsa-we…*
NEG-buffalo-NEG
‘It is not a buffalo[43]…’ (sentence 29)

In ‘one word sentences’ it used as *Kewe* ‘no’ (sentence 6 in Chlenova 2008). Its use as a circumfix seems unique for West-Damar in the region as far as we know.[44]

[43] *Mormorsa* ‘buffalo’ most probably is a reduplication of *morsa* < PMP *ma-qudip* ‘live’ + *-sa*, comparable to Luangic-Kisaric Leti *orï-ori* ‘buffalo’. See also C70a: *de-mormorsa* ‘human’ and C264: *morso* ‘young’.

[44] Van Engelenhoven (in press) lists *kava* for Makuva in the same context and *de-bo* for negation of negative nominal clauses in Waimaha that are both East-Timorese languages closely related to the Luangic-Kisaric languages. From a diachronic point of view, West-Damar *kewe* is difficult to link, because Makuva k < PMP *t

One other typical feature in West-Damar that Chlenov and Chlenova (2008) overlooked are the nominal suffixes ending in *–so*. A comparison of the Chlenov and Taber wordlists suggest that *–so* may also be *–sa* and as such a suffix that is subjected to the *a > o shift mentioned in paragraph 2. This seems reminiscent of Makuva *–va*, which was Capell's (1972) main reason to categorize the language as non-Austronesian. As in Makuva, the suffix disappears in West-Damar when a modifier is added. In the West-Damar example in (2a) this is shown by 'pig' that is listed as *wow-so* (C77), whereas in the Makuva example in (2b) this is shown by 'fish' *jene=va*.

(2a)	*wow-dar-oni* pig-wild-DEM '(a) wild pig' (West-Damar sentence 28)	(2b)	*jene pate=va* fish small=va 'small fish' (Makuva, Van Engelenhoven in press)

Other endings in *–Co*, namely *–xo*, and *-ho* can easily be explained as an additional vocalic ending *–o* that receive an uvular or glottal fricative onset before $^{+}$u#, and a labial glide onset before monosyllabic in a# or o#.

	PMP	intermediate state + *-o*	output	
'coconut'	**ñiuR*	$^{+}$ *nu-o*	*nu-xo*	C95
'egg'	**teluR*	$^{+}$*talu-o*	*tal-xo*	C110
'head'	**qulu*	$^{+}$*ulu-o*	*ul-xo* 'man'	C151
'stone'	**batu*	$^{+}$*wotu-o*	*wot-ho*	C61
'dog'	**asu*	$^{+}$*otu-o*	*ot-ho*	C74
'flea'	**kutu*	$^{+}$*utu-o*	*ut-ho*	C89
'milk'	**susu*	$^{+}$*dudu-o*	*dut-ho*	C507
'sun'	**qalejaw*	$^{+}$*la-o*	*la-wo*	C185
'sail'	**layaR*	$^{+}$*lo-o*	*lo-wo*	C248
'blood'	**daRaq*	$^{+}$*ro-o*	*ro-wo*	C251

Table 4: *-xo, -ho* or –wo in West-Damar.

West-Damar appears to be different from Makuva, in that in the latter language *=va* occurs rather in phrase final position. This may explain why in Makuva it is mutually exclusive with the possessive marker, for example *lipe=va* 'hand' versus *lipo-n=oni* (hand-3sgPOS=DEM) 'his hand'. Chlenova's (2008) data, however, indicate that *–so, -sa* is a suffix in West-Damar that is maintained in possessive constructions, as for example *wow-su-m-xeni* (pig-so-2sg-POS) 'your pig' (sentence 17).

West-Damar appears to have a possessive construction that resembles very much the one described for Makuva in East-Timor and for Southeast Babar in the South Babar Group (Van

and Waimaha d < PMP *z (Van Engelenhoven 2009) which proto phonemes became t and h in West-Damar, respectively.

Engelenhoven In Press).[45] Instead of suffixing the pronominal markers to the noun as in most Luangic-Kisaric languages, they are prefixed to a separate particle following the noun. This is displayed in Table 5, in which N stands for noun.

	West-Damar	Makuva	Southeast Babar
1sg	N ch-eni	N ‘=moni	N ‘-ol
2sg	N m-cheni	N m=oni	N m-ol
3sg	N eni	N n=oni	N l-ol
1plinc	N t-oni	ik N n=oni	N k-ol
1plex	N m-oni	am N n=oni	N m-ol
2pl	N ms-eni	em N n=oni	N m-ol
3pl	N r-oni	tir N n=oni	N t-ol

Table 5: possessive constructions in West-Damar, Makuva and Southeast Babar

Whereas in Makuva this construction is specifically used for inalienable nouns, West-Damar appears not to distinguish between alienable and inalienable possession, like most Babaric and Luangic languages.

6. Conclusion

A close inspection of the Chlenov list for West-Damar and comparison of its etyma with Taber’s (1993) wordlist allows to tentatively group West-Damar in the Babar languages. Although the evidence is very scanty, Taber’s (1993) data seem to suggest that East-Damar is a Luangic-Kisaric language. Decisive evidence in the form of a merger of PMP *z and *t would definitively support this hypothesis. Unfortunately, the only applicable etymon to show this merger is *lalnó* where *z > l rather than t. Lack of data prevents us from interpreting this specific case.

The wordlists may indicate that Damar Island indeed is the area where the Luangic-Kisaric, Babaric and Teun-Nila-Serua groups meet. The influence of the latter is more or less only presumed by the awkward retention of *n# in **ulej* ‘worm’ > $^{+}$*ulan* > *ulna* ‘shrimp’ (C93), which is conform the scenario in Teun, Nila and Serua.

It is obvious that the wordlists can assist in tentatively pointing in a certain direction in subgrouping research. However, the more one depends on only wordlists – because the languages studied are not accessible, the more important it is that the wordlist contains solid phonological information. Hein Steinhauer (2009) rightly observed this as a weakness in Taber’s (1993) wordlist. The same observation applies too to the Chlenov lists, because they were filled in by speakers who were not trained in phonetics.

Notwithstanding all this, the Chlenov lists have become important tools in Malukan linguistics. In the case of West-Damar this list may be the only data that will be available on the language. As such, it is more than clear that Michael Chlenov indeed is the Twentieth Century Pioneer of South Malukan Linguistics.

[45] Note, however, that Chlenova (2002) only reports possessive suffixing to the noun in Daweloor. For the time being it remains unclear in how far the Southeast Babar system applies to all Babaric languages. Steinhauer and Van Engelenhoven (2006) also note that Southeast Babar distinguishes singular possessed nouns (marked by *–ol*) from plural possessed nouns (marked by *–ot*). This has not been attested for West-Damar nor for Makuva.

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