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

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A history of Alorese (Austronesian)

Combining linguistic and oral history

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List of abbreviations

Glosses

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

S	Short form of an alternating noun
STAT	Stative

Languages

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

Villages

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

pan	Pandai
ter	Ternate
war	Wailawar

Citation codes

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

Other abbreviations

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

General introduction

1.1 Overview

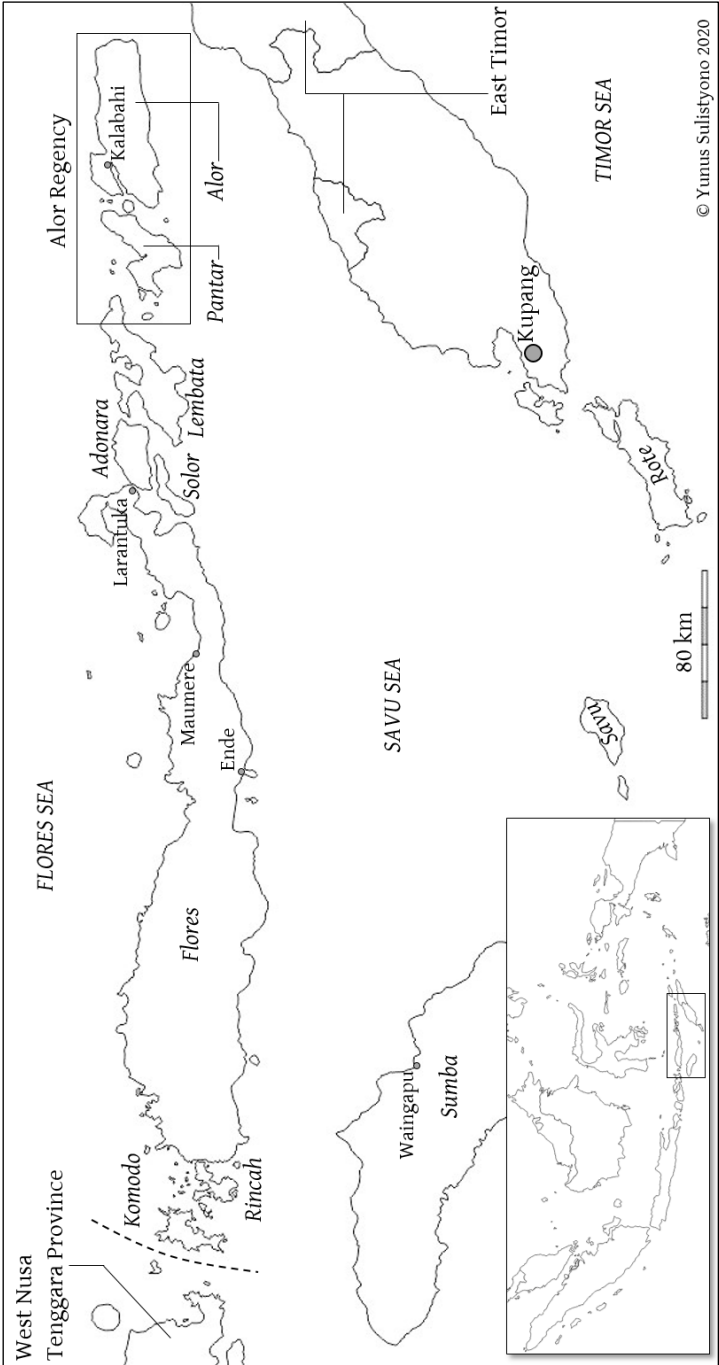
This research aims to provide a description of the history of Alorese (Indonesian: *Bahasa Alor*; ISO 639-3: aol), an Austronesian language spoken in eastern Indonesia, drawing on both linguistic and oral history. As the name indicates, Alorese is associated with the Alor archipelago, where at least 20–25 local languages are spoken (Klamer, 2017:1; Stokhof, 1975:8). Alorese is unique within the Alor archipelago in two domains; namely, language history and religion. It is the only Austronesian local language in a region where most of the local languages are non-Austronesian or ‘Papuan’ and belong to the Timor-Alor-Pantar family.¹ Moreover, most of the speakers of Alorese are coastal Muslims, surrounded by the inland majority Christian speakers of the Alor-Pantar (AP) languages.

Alorese is spoken in the administrative Regency (Indonesian: *kabupaten*) of Alor in the Indonesian province of East Nusa Tenggara (see Figure 1.1). This province is vast, with a landmass eight times larger than Bali, and is inhabited by around 5.5 million people (BPS NTT, 2020). The Alor Regency, encompassing the islands of Alor and Pantar in the northeast of East Nusa Tenggara (Figure 1.2), has a population of 215,512 inhabitants and a total landmass of 2,865 square kilometers (Kemendagri, 2019:2314).

¹ The non-Austronesian languages in the Alor archipelago are often referred to by the umbrella term ‘Papuan’, even though they do not form a genealogical unit with languages spoken on the island of Papua/New Guinea.

2 A history of Alorese (Austronesian)

Figure 1.1: The Indonesian province of East Nusa Tenggara



4 *A history of Alorese (Austronesian)*

The ancestors of the Alorese people were migrants from islands further west. It is estimated that they came to Alor at least half a millennium ago (Anonymous, 1914:7; Barnes, 2001:280; Klamer, 2011:10; Lemoine, 1969:5–23; Rodemeier, 2006). Since then, more offshore arrivals have come at different times to different places in the coastal areas of the Alor-Pantar islands. Moreover, the Alorese community has been shaped by contact with the inland population of non-Austronesian speakers through trade and intermarriage.

Within the predominantly Christian population of East Nusa Tenggara province, the Alorese form a minority Muslim group. However, they are not the only coastal Muslim community in this province. Similar groups can be found along the coast of Lembata (Fricke, 2019:6), as well as other Indonesian provinces, such as West Papua and Maluku (Onim, 2006:83; Wanggai, 2009:51–77). Groups like these are typically linked to the sixteenth century trading empire of Ternate in North Maluku. From Ternate, Islam spread slowly and sporadically across eastern Indonesia, including to Alor and Pantar (Pringle, 2010:25).

The Alorese language has been included in the Western Lamaholot (WL) subgroup of the Flores-Lembata family (Fricke, 2019). Other languages of the WL subgroup are spoken in the Regency of East Flores, located west of the Alor Regency (see Figure 1.1). Alorese was once classified as a dialect of Lamaholot (Stokhof, 1975:9), but can be considered a separate language due to the low percentage of shared core vocabulary (Klamer, 2011:18, 2012a:74). Alorese shares around 60% of its basic vocabulary with Lamaholot (Klamer, 2011:17; Sulistyono, 2015:100).

Alorese and WL languages have a relatively low level of mutual intelligibility. Barnes (1996:3) reported that the Lamaholot speakers could understand Alorese; however, based on my observations during fieldwork, the Alorese speakers are not able to understand Lamaholot, with the Lamaholot dialect on Solor being particularly unintelligible to Alorese speakers. Nevertheless, linguistic evidence suggests a common ancestor with Lamaholot languages in the near west in the not so-distant past. A phoneme inventory and several lexical items have been reconstructed for Proto-Flores-Lembata (PFL; Fricke, 2019). PFL is the closest common ancestor of WL and Alorese that has been reconstructed.

However, narrative accounts of Alorese oral history do not agree with the linguistic history. The oral history of the Alorese people is quite well-preserved in the community. The locals, particularly members of clans that have high social status, generally consider themselves descendants of the prominent Javanese empire known as *Majapahit*. By combining linguistic history and oral

history approaches, this research aims to shed light on the history of Alorese.

This dissertation consists of seven chapters: an introduction (Chapter 1), a presentation of the methodology used in this research (Chapter 2), a discussion of migration stories (Chapter 3), a sketch grammar (Chapter 4), a study of Alorese historical phonology (Chapter 5), an investigation into loanwords (Chapter 6), and conclusions (Chapter 7). The chapter on migration stories describes the history of the Alorese from the perspective of oral history as well as documented stories about the people's ancestral migration. The sketch grammar chapter provides a synchronic description of Alorese. The chapter on historical phonology reconstructs the linguistic history of Alorese in connection to its sister languages in the WL subgroup. Lastly, the chapter on loanwords reveals patterns of contact between Alorese and the surrounding non-Austronesian languages, based on their lexicons.

The ultimate goal of this dissertation is to reconstruct the history of Alorese through the synthesis of the results from Chapters 3, 5, and 6. Moreover, this dissertation contributes to the documentation of the linguistic diversity in Indonesia through the sketch grammar in Chapter 4.

The present chapter is an introduction to this dissertation and is structured as follows. Section 1.2 presents the research questions and aims of this dissertation. In Section 1.3, I describe the geography of the Alorese-speaking area on Alor, the Buaya-Ternate islands, Pantar, and the western islands. In Section 1.4, I provide background information on the Alorese people, including their livelihoods, religion, and social structure. A description of the Alorese pre-colonial and post-colonial history is given in Section 1.5, which also contains a historical description of the spread of Islam in the Alorese community.

1.2 Research questions and aims

It has been suggested that Alorese split from Lamaholot around 600 years ago (Klamer, 2011:10, 2012a:101). Since their arrival on Pantar, the Alorese speakers have spread into many pockets on the Alor-Pantar islands. The language has undergone much grammatical simplification due to second-language learning (Moro, 2018, 2019). Against this backdrop, several research questions and aims are formulated.

Chapter 3 on oral history aims to describe oral accounts of the history of Alorese through careful readings of transcribed interviews with the Alorese traditional leaders. The oral accounts are focused on the stories of migration of the Alorese people's ancestors. The research questions guiding the investigation were as follows.

6 *A history of Alorese (Austronesian)*

- 1) Which historical events are regarded as being key in the migration stories of the Alorese people?
- 2) Do the various Alorese clans and villages share a common narrative with regard to their migration history?
- 3) How do the specific narratives of the various Alorese clans correlate with the migration history?

Questions (1) and (2) relate to the reconstruction of the history of the Alorese migration based on key events that are believed by the locals to have taken place in the past. A chronology is constructed based on the correlation among these events. Question (3) focuses on how the histories of specific clans within the Alorese community correlate with the migration history in forming the chronology.

Following the description from the perspective of oral history, in the remaining chapters the history of Alorese is approached from a linguistic perspective. Chapter 4 provides a grammatical description of an Alorese variety spoken in the northeast Pantar area. The description includes phonology, noun phrases, possessive constructions, verbs, clauses, sentence types, and clause combinations. This grammatical description serves as an introduction to the characteristics and features of the language.

Chapter 5 investigates the historical phonology of Alorese in comparison with varieties of WL within the Flores-Lembata family, guided by the following research questions.

- 4) How are the Proto-Flores-Lembata (PFL) proto-sounds reflected in the WL varieties including Alorese?
- 5) Is there evidence for Alorese being an innovation-defined subgroup within WL?

Question (4) focuses on the reflexes of PFL sounds reconstructed by Fricke (2019) in the current Alorese varieties and in a selection of WL varieties. Question (5) aims to survey the evidence for considering Alorese as a separate subgroup within the WL subgroup. In addition, I address possible evidence that, within the Alorese subgroup, another low-level grouping can be established.

Lastly, Chapter 6 focuses on the Alorese lexicon by examining loanwords from AP languages, as well as from Malay, Portuguese, and Dutch. In addition, this chapter also examines Alorese loanwords into AP languages. The following research questions are addressed in Chapter 5:

- 6) Which AP words are borrowed into Alorese and which AP languages are the main donors?
- 7) Which Malay, Portuguese, and Dutch words are borrowed into Alorese?
- 8) Which Alorese words are borrowed into AP languages and which AP languages are the recipients?
- 9) What does the distribution of loanwords in the Alorese varieties and their neighboring AP languages indicate about contact history?

There are two main themes in Chapter 6: (1) discussion of the loanwords in Alorese from external sources and (2) identification of loanwords that are borrowed from Alorese into AP languages. In that chapter, I propose that lexical evidence confirms contact scenarios between the Alorese people and AP speakers that were hypothesized in previous studies on Alorese.

1.3 Geographic description

The administrative Regency of Alor has two main islands: Alor and Pantar. These two islands are among the eastern-most islands in the Lesser Sunda island chain. As shown in Figure 1.1. Alor's closest neighbor to the west is the Lembata Regency. To the south, it borders Timor Island, which also includes the country of East Timor. The eastern border of the Alor Regency is formed by Wetar Island in the Maluku Province and Atauro Island of East Timor. Finally, its northern border is the Flores Sea. The capital of the Alor Regency is Kalabahi, which can be reached from the provincial capital of Kupang by daily flight and ferry connections.

This section describes the geography of the area where the Alorese speakers live. The area encompasses the coastal parts of the Alor Peninsula, the northern coasts of Pantar, and several small surrounding islands. Figure 1.3 is a language map that shows the Alorese speaking area, while Figure 1.4 shows the location of the Alorese villages. In the following sections, I describe the geography of the Alorese area on Alor (§1.3.1), Buaya and Ternate (§1.3.2), Pantar (§1.3.3), and the western islands (§1.3.4).

Figure 1.3: Language map of Alor and Pantar (Edwards, 2017)

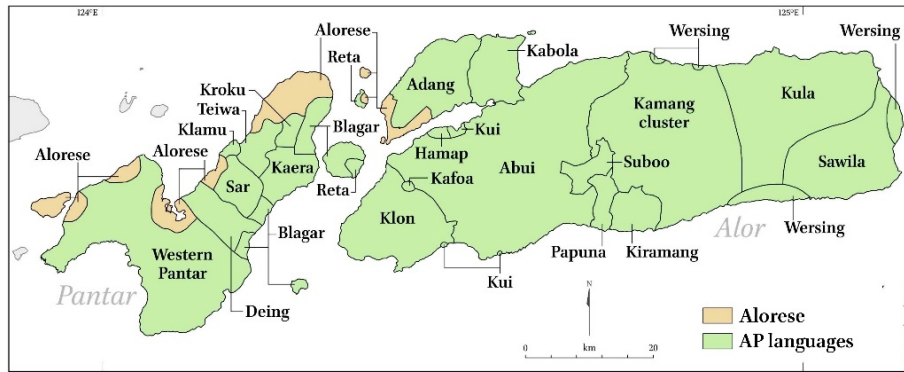
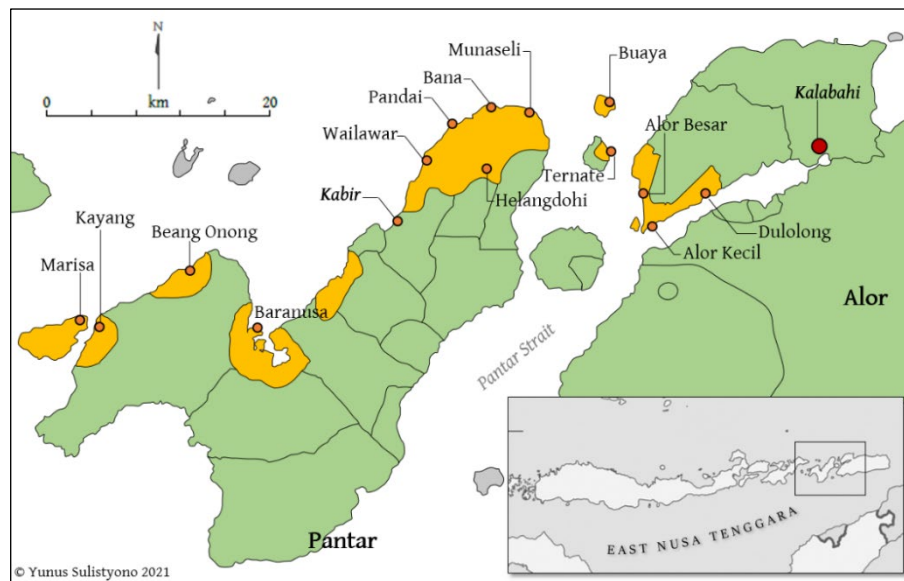


Figure 1.4: Locations of the Alorese villages



1.3.1 Alor

The Alorese area on Alor covers the western coast of the Alor Peninsula. Here, Alorese villages are built near the sea and form a chain along the coast. A road connects the capital city of Kalabahi to the Alorese villages. On Alor, the distance from one Alorese village to another ranges from 1–5 kilometers. There are three main Alorese villages: Dulolong, Alor Kecil, and Alor Besar. These coastal villages are located just below some relatively steep and green hills, of

which the highest point is around 800 meters above sea level. Alor is generally a fertile island. Although it is possible to create fields and grow crops, flat land is rare on the coast. Therefore, crops in this area are usually grown on sloped agricultural fields.

On Alor, it is relatively easy to reach the Alorese villages, which lie within one hour's travel of the capital city Kalabahi. The main road from Kalabahi runs along the northern coast, while the local houses are built around or slightly above the road and on the hillside. Travel in this area is possible with public transportation, such as minibuses (local Malay: *oto*) and motorbikes (Indonesian: *ojek*). Electricity in the villages may be available during both day and night, but more often during the night.

1.3.2 Buaya and Ternate

The Alorese people also live on two small islands called Buaya and Ternate² which are situated in a strait between Pantar and Alor. Buaya Island is inhabited by about one thousand Alorese people. The Alorese people there rely on access to the Alor Peninsula to transport fresh water by boat. In Indonesian, the term *Buaya* means 'crocodile' and, according to some, the island is named thus because it looks like a giant crocodile's head when seen from afar. Buaya is known for its traditional woven products which attract domestic and international tourists. Figure 1.5 below shows the waterfront of the Alorese village on Buaya looking towards Ternate Island in the Pantar Strait.

Figure 1.5: Ternate Island seen from Buaya



² Note that the Ternate Island in Alor is different from the famous Ternate Island in North Maluku.

On Ternate, the Alorese people share the island with speakers of the Reta language (ISO 639-3: ret), a non-Austronesian language. An Alorese village, called Ternate Uma Pura is located on the eastern side of the island. There is a public well in this village, giving easy access to fresh water. Sea currents from the north bring strong waves towards the village, which makes docking and disembarking boats challenging.

In the Pantar Strait there is also a small white sand island, called Kepa, situated near Alor Kecil village. This island is used as a dive resort and is frequently visited by tourists from Indonesia and abroad alike. However, there are no villagers living permanently on Kepa.

1.3.3 Pantar

Most of the Alorese villages on Pantar are located near the sea, except the village of Helangdohi, which is located on a hilltop in the northeastern part of the island. This part of the island is relatively greener and more fertile compared to the western part. Figure 1.6 shows the northeast Pantar area, seen from a boat traveling along the west side of the island. The villages Pandai and Wailawar are indicated in the picture. In addition, Figure 1.7 shows the western part of Pantar, seen from hills in central Pantar. The location of the villages Baranusa and Beang Onong can be seen in this picture.

Figure 1.6: The northeastern part of Pantar and two villages, Pandai and Wailawar

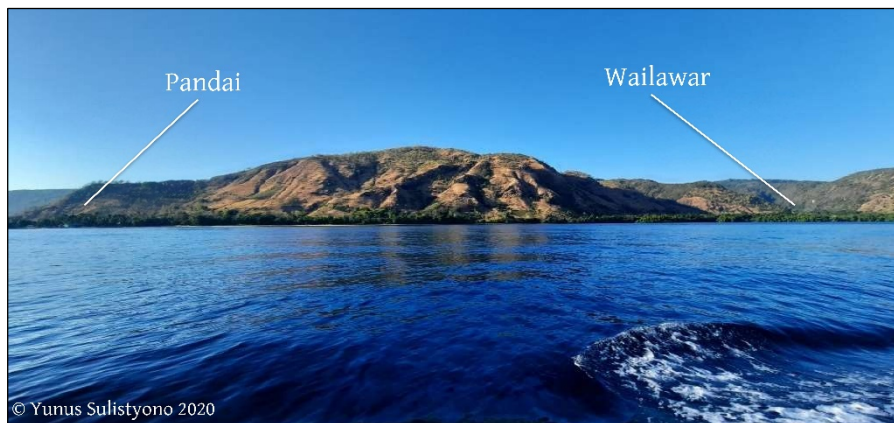


Figure 1.7: The western part of Pantar and two villages, Baranusa and Beang Onong



Similar to Alor, crops in this area are grown on sloped agricultural fields, although growing vegetables in a home garden has become more common recently. Burning land is a common practice to create agricultural fields. Temperatures on the coast are much warmer than on the hilltops. Water supply has always been an issue on Pantar because the island is generally very dry. Residents who own wells have easier access to water, while others need to go to a public water pump to obtain water. In several places, such as the villages of Kabor and Wailawar, pipe lines have been installed to transport water to houses and fields.

During my fieldwork, travel to Pantar was only possible by sea. An airport is still under construction and is set to begin operating in the coming years. Several sea routes are possible, for example, from Kalabahi to Baranusa, there is a daily boat that transport people and small vehicles, such as motorbikes, and there is also a weekly ferry that transport large vehicles, such as cars and trucks. From Alor Kecil, there is a daily boat to Munaseli. The trip from Kalabahi to Baranusa takes around 5–6 hours, while the trip from Alor Kecil to Munaseli takes around 1 hour. These trips are relatively safe during the dry season, but difficult during the rainy season.

Physical infrastructure on Pantar is still not well developed. The roads on the coast are mostly in poor condition, but some more substantial roads have been constructed in the village of Baranusa, connecting a sea port in the village with the neighboring villages to the south. On Pantar, there is no overland public transportation and *ojek* is only available on demand. This situation makes overland travel more difficult, which is compounded by the longer distance from one village to another, which is between 3–8 kilometers. Therefore, many

people choose to travel by boat to reach different places on the island. Electricity is produced by generators and is only regularly available during the night.

1.3.4 The western islands

In the west, a small island called Kangge is inhabited by a group of a few hundred Alorese villagers who named their village Marisa.³ This village is just 15 minutes by fishing boat from the village of Kayang on the Pantar mainland. Kangge Island is generally dry; since fresh water is therefore scarce on the island, fresh water must be transported from Pantar by boat. In addition, each home usually has aboveground water reservoirs. There is also livestock such as goats and cows on the island. Figure 1.8 below shows the Alorese village of Marisa on Kangge Island, seen from a fishing boat while crossing the strait between Pantar and Kangge.

Figure 1.8: The Alorese village Marisa on Kangge Island



To the west of Kangge, there are two small uninhabited islands, namely Rusa and Kambing. The Alorese sometimes go to these islands to hunt animals.

³ The place name *Marisa* can cause confusion. There are two Alorese villages situated close to each other, named *Kayang* and *Marisa*; the former is located on the Pantar mainland, while the latter is located on Kangge Island. Within the village *Kayang*, there is a sub-village which is also named *Marisa*, as marked on the map in Figure 1.2. In this dissertation, I use *Kayang* to refer to the village on the Pantar mainland and *Marisa* to refer to the village on Kangge Island.

To the northwest of Pantar, there are also two small islands, called Lapang and Batang. Lapang is a flat sandy island, of which a large part is submerged. This island produces seaweed. The Alorese people from western Pantar have built semi-permanent houses on this island to stay in when they want to harvest the seaweed. Batang Island is a steep mountain island and is also uninhabited. The Lapang-Batang Islands are known for a legend in living memory about a disastrous tsunami that struck the islands and forced people living there to flee to Lembata (§3.4.5).

1.4 The Alorese people

1.4.1 Livelihood

Most Alorese people are fishermen and farmers. The men often go to sea to fish, while the women take care of household chores and often work in their home gardens. The fishermen sell their catch at a weekly market or have it sold to buyers in the neighborhood or from the regency capital, Kalabahi. Among the locals in Alor, the waters around Pantar are known for their abundant catches. Fish sellers are often found walking around in villages selling what they have caught. In home gardens, the most commonly grown crops are maize, tubers, and peanuts. In addition, mustard greens, onions, and fruits such as banana, lime, and papaya are also grown in home gardens. Some of these products are grown for self-consumption, while some are sold at the weekly market, which is held alternately in different villages.

The daily work of the Alorese people varies considerably between the people living in western Pantar, northeast Pantar, and Alor. In western Pantar, another source of income besides fishing and farming is cultivating seaweed. People often go to Lapang Island to harvest seaweed and sell it to buyers from elsewhere in the Indonesian archipelago, such as Makassar in Sulawesi. In addition, some Alorese people in western Pantar go to nearby small islands to hunt for deer or wild goat. In northeast Pantar and in Alor, most of the Alorese people rely on fishing and farming, while others rely on home businesses, such as selling household items or weaving cloth. The Alorese have a long-established weaving tradition and their woven products are wellknown regionally, nationally, and among international tourists. It is common to find tourists coming to Alor to buy woven cloth. Other occupations of the Alorese include civil servants, *ojek* drivers, and teachers.

More groups of Alorese people can also be found in the regency capital, Kalabahi. In the city, they sell their catches of fish and woven cloth. Moreover, Alorese people can also be found in other places, such as Kokar in the northern

part of the Alor Peninsula. Several Alorese people can also be found selling their goods nearby tourist attractions, such as Takalelang village in central Alor.

Some members of the Alorese younger generation go to the city for education. Some even go further to other parts of Indonesia, such as Java and Sulawesi, for either work or education. A few decades ago, the Alorese young generation were inclined to drop out of school and sail overseas (Alorese: *bua*) to look for work (Gomang, 1993:42). However, sacrificing school for work is not common anymore. Today, the younger generation prefers to go to the regency capital or other places in the country to pursue higher education and to look for jobs.

1.4.2 Religion

The Alorese people are predominantly Muslim, especially the residents of the coastal villages. They converted to Islam in the sixteenth century, when preachers from Maluku in the north came to spread the religion (Kersten, 2017; Rodemeier, 2010). In the village of Munaseli, the Alorese Muslims and Christians live side by side. One hill top village, Helangdohi, has a majority Christian population. The Christian religion arrived on Alor-Pantar in the seventeenth century (Aritonang & Steenbrink, 2008:83). In many parts of the Indonesian archipelago, it is typical that communities living on the coast (Indonesian: *pesisir*) are Muslim, while those living in the mountains are Christian (Vickers, 1987:35, 57). This also holds for the Alor-Pantar islands. In addition, it must be noted that the Alorese are not the only coastal Muslim community in the Alor-Pantar area; several other non-Alorese speaking coastal communities, such as Blagar and Kui, also adhere to Islam (Windschuttel & Shiohara, 2017:111).

Although Islam is the most prominent religion in the Alorese community, remnants of local religion still exist. On the hill in the village of Helangdohi, the *ketua adat* 'traditional leaders' still live in a *rumah adat* 'ceremonial house', a traditional house used for ceremonial purposes. Every year, there is at least one occasion where the *ketua adat* hold a traditional ceremony, either to renovate the *rumah adat*, or to open land for the cultivation of crops. These occasions are usually attended by representatives from other villages along the coast. Moreover, in many villages across Alor and Pantar, people believe in the existence of mythical creatures from the forest, rivers, and seas. Traditional medical practitioners help the sick by asking for guidance from these mythical creatures (Gomang, 1993:48). In Kayang, the villagers often go to the *ketua adat* to ask for help when they experience difficulties in life. In addition to traditional beliefs, the Alorese people hold very tightly to the covenants made by their ancestors. For example, in Marisa, when people are fishing and they land on the

soil of another community, they are allowed to drink the water from the coconuts on the trees, but are not allowed to take the coconuts away.

1.4.3 Sociocultural life

The Alor-Pantar region has been known for many centuries as a region rife with local conflicts, including wars among ethnic groups and between the local people and the western colonizers (Gomang, 1993:3). This situation has shaped the Alorese social structure, which is largely based on a clan system. In almost every Alorese village, there are clans with specific roles in the community. One clan has the role of community leader, referred to as the *Raja* 'king' clan. One clan has the role of the village guard or army troop, and is usually referred to with the term *Kapitang*, a loanword from Portuguese (*capitã* 'captain'). Several other clans have additional roles, such as religious preachers, law enforcers, and carpenters. Apart from these clans, there are clans that comprise members of groups who arrived later, such as people from Maluku or Sulawesi who came to Alor and formed their own clans.

The Alorese people mostly live on the coast with the exception of the hill top village in northeast Pantar. In the past, the first Alorese settlers occupied the coastal area and lived off marine products. It is probable that they lived nomadically around coastal Alor-Pantar before finally settling in several pockets along the northern coasts. In later developments, many groups from other islands, such as the Moluccans, the Solorese, and the Makassarese, came to the area and merged with the Alorese people. In addition, marriages between the coastal Alorese people and the mountain AP speakers also shaped the Alorese community we see today.

The relationship between the coastal Muslim Alorese people and the inland indigenous AP speakers has been described as consisting of 'mutual distrust and fear' (Nicolspeyer, 1940:8; Du Bois, 1960). This used to be the norm, of course, as this area was very prone to tribal warfare among the local ethnic groups. However, the situation did not prevent social interaction between the coastal and mountain people (Calo, 2014). Trade and intermarriage took place between them for many centuries, forming alliances which are still upheld today.

Despite the many conflicts, the Alorese people and the surrounding coastal communities are characterized by their friendliness and inclination to establish brotherhood relationships with other ethnic groups (Gomang, 1993:37). This is especially manifested in alliances such as the *Galiyao Watang Lema* alliance and the 10-3-7 alliance. The *Galiyao Watang Lema* alliance involves five kingdoms located around the Pantar Strait. The name *Galiyao* refers to the island of Pantar

(Holton, 2010a; Rodemeier, 1995), while *watang* in Alorese means coastal (Indonesian: *pesisir*, as opposed to *woto* ‘mountain’; Gomang, 1993:49), and *lema* is an Alorese word meaning ‘five’. This century-old alliance was declared among five coastal communities around the straits between the Alor and Pantar islands. It involves, not only the Alorese-speaking communities, but also two AP-speaking communities who live on the coast. The five communities are: Bungabali (Alorese), Blagar (AP), Kui (AP), Pandai (Alorese), and Baranusa (Alorese). The 10-3-7 alliance comprises ten Adang villages, three Alorese villages (Alor Besar, Alor Kecil, and Dulolong), and seven villages from Pura Island (Wellfelt, 2016:232)

Today, the sociocultural life of the Alorese people is strongly shaped by religion. In almost every village, mosques and churches play an important role in running the community. Most of the community gatherings and events are centered on the religious institutions. In some places that still have *rumah adat*, for example Baranusa, Helangdohi, Alor Besar, and Dulolong, the community gatherings are centered on the traditional houses. The gatherings usually take the form of meetings to discuss issues or to plan events in the village. Sometimes, the gatherings only concern religious lectures.

1.5 History

In this section, I describe the history of the Alorese community in three stages. First, I start with pre-colonial history, which includes the period of Islamization (§1.5.1). Secondly, I describe the period of European occupation on the Alor-Pantar islands (§1.5.2). Finally, I discuss post-colonial history, which concerns the era after Indonesian independence (§1.5.3).

1.5.1 Pre-colonial history and Islamization

It has been estimated that the Alorese people first migrated to Pantar around 600 years ago (Anonymous, 1914:77; Klamer, 2011:10, 2012a:72). At that time, there were already people living on the island; the non-Austronesian speakers of AP languages who had settled on the island at least 3,000 years earlier (Holton and Robinson, 2014; O’Connor, 2015; Schapper, 2017).

After the arrival of the Alorese on Alor and Pantar, one of the first contacts they made with the outside world was with Islamic preachers from Maluku, Sulawesi, and Solor. Scholars suggest that Islam arrived on the Alor-Pantar islands at least 500 years ago. Generally, the Islamic preachers converted the local kings, who would be then followed by their people (Harun, 1994). Moreover, trade and migration brought Islam to the Alorese people. The

religion spread from the trading area in the Pantar Strait towards the west (Baranusa and Marisa). A Qur'an manuscript from Maluku dating back to 1518 (Gogo, 1984 in Rodemeier, 2010: 28) and a circumcision knife were brought to Alor around the late sixteenth century (Rodemeier, 2010:28). In addition, a sermon text handwritten by a *Sultan* ('king') from Sulawesi was found in Alor Besar (Gomang, 1993:45–47). Another theory suggests that Islam came to Alor via Solor at around the same time (Aizid, 2016:258). A report from 1642 by a Dominican missionary mentions that the Alor-Pantar islands were inhabited by pagans and Muslims (Hägerdal, 2010a:224). Another piece of evidence regarding the Islamization of Alor and Pantar is a record from 1733 by a Portuguese missionary, Lucas de Santa Catharina, mentioning that Muslims were already widespread in the Alor coastal area at that time (Aritonang and Steenbrink, 2008; Steenbrink, 2003, 2007). In addition, Hägerdal (2010a, 2010b, 2012) states that when the European sailors arrived on Alor, the coastal people did not want to be converted to Catholicism because they had already converted to Islam.

Among the Alorese people, the history of Islamization is manifested in clan names and historic places, such as old cemeteries. In Baranusa, there is a place called Maluku, where the first Islamic preacher, Muktahur Likur, first arrived in the village. His descendants are still living in Baranusa with the family name Likur, under a clan named Maluku. In Alor Besar, there is an old cemetery where Islamic preachers from overseas were buried. Some locals believe that these preachers' graves are sacred.

In the sixteenth century, when the coastal Alorese people were already practicing Islam, the Alor-Pantar people living in the mountains remained untouched by modern religions. They held tightly to their ancestral traditions (Manfroni, 1928). Nonetheless, trading between the coastal people and the mountain people was common practice, although nowhere near as common as it is today. Typically, the coastal people traded their marine products for the agricultural products from the mountain.

1.5.2 Colonial times

The earliest western records concerning the Alor-Pantar islands were from the sixteenth and seventeenth century. A note from 1522 written by Francisco Albo, a helmsman on Magellan's ship 'Victoria' which passed by the islands on 9 January 1522 (Le Roux, 1928) mentions that two islands near Pantar, which were then identified as the Lapang-Batang Islands, were already inhabited (Ataladjar, 2015:19; Pigafetta, 2010b). In addition, a report from 1642 by a Dominican missionary who passed by the area mentions that the people on the islands were pagans (referring to the inland community) and Muslims (referring to the

coastal community). The area was described as uninteresting with little opportunity for trade (Hägerdal, 2012; Manfroni, 1928; Pigafetta, 2010; Sá, 1956:487–488).

By the late seventeenth century, trading activities in the Pantar Strait started to grow, involving people from nearby islands, such as Solor, Flores, and Timor (Dietrich, 1984). The trading involved household goods and weapons that were exchanged for the local copra (dried coconut kernels). Among the people who came from across the sea to the Pantar Strait, the Solorese had the biggest impact. Their presence can be traced back through the clan name Solor in several villages, although these are not the main clans. In addition, a political alliance was formed between the five kingdoms of Alor (*Galiyao Watang Lema*) and the five kingdoms of Solor (*Solor Watang Lema*; Gomang, 1993:30). This indicates that the Pantar Strait was indeed a busy hub.

In the early eighteenth century, the Portuguese missionaries expanded their Catholic influence from Flores to Alor. However, Catholicism did not have a strong influence on the coastal communities in Pantar because they had already converted to Islam. Nevertheless, the Portuguese managed to make treaties with the local kings. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Portuguese had established a base on Alor. They then slowly spread Catholicism among the mountain people of Alor and Pantar (Hägerdal, 2010b).

In the nineteenth century, when the Portuguese had already left Alor, the Dutch began to spread their influence to the island. In 1851, the Dutch army took over Larantuka, located in east Flores, and established a port there (see Figure 1.1). Following that, Dutch influence began to reach Alor. In 1853, the Portuguese gave up their claim to Alor in exchange for Atauro Island (now part of East Timor) which was at that time occupied by the Dutch (Hägerdal, 2010b:17). This exchange was the result of a treaty signed in Lisbon, Portugal on 20 April 1859 (Lardy, 1914). The Dutch then took over Alor, but their influence was limited. Ships from the Dutch East Indies Company (Dutch: VOC) did not travel much to Alor; meanwhile, the nearby Portuguese port on Timor was actively sending boats back and forth to Alor and trading commodities such as iron, wax, rice, and corn (Hägerdal, 2010b:17). Once the news reached the Dutch that this kind of trade was taking place and that the Portuguese were forming suspicious alliances with local villages, the Dutch moved to attack some of the villages on Alor, such as Kui (Hägerdal, 2010b:23). In 1861, the Dutch established a *posthouder* ‘post holder’ in Alor Kecil at the entrance of Kabola Bay to strengthen their presence on Alor.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Chinese merchants from Kupang began to expand their trading activities in the area of the Pantar Strait (Du Bois,

1960:16). They traded copra as well as marine products, woven cloth, agricultural products, and even slaves. In addition, the Chinese formed a good relationship with the locals. Later, during the Japanese occupation in World War II, the people from the mountains offered shelters to the Chinese people. These Chinese traders from Kupang also brought the Kupang Malay language to Alor. Subsequently, the Malay language began to spread, and possibly replaced Alorese as the language of interethnic communication (Klamer, 2014b).

Dutch modern bureaucracy did not reach Alor until the beginning of the twentieth century when the Dutch arrived in Alor Kecil again in 1908. Several local rulers in the coastal communities, including the Alorese, were designated as kings by the Dutch government. These local rulers included the *raja* 'king' of Bungabali (Alorese), Blagar (Papuan), and Kui (Papuan). They were even given control over the inland mountain community. However, these rulers could not exercise power over the mountain population, since the communities had been living in opposition for a long time. Social control was only exercised within kin and village groups, while relations with other groups remained hostile (Du Bois, 1960:16; Nicolspeyer, 1940:8).

1.5.3 History after Indonesian independence

When Indonesia proclaimed independence on 17 August 1945, the news reached Alor not long after the declaration. Administratively, Alor first belonged to the Lesser Sunda Province (Indonesian: *Sunda Kecil*), which in 1958 was split into three (Bali, West Nusa Tenggara, and East Nusa Tenggara; Burhanudin & Lestariningsih, 2015:332–337; Lauder et al. 2000:5). In the period following independence, the Alorese began to expand their settlements across the Alor-Pantar coastal lines. Several new villages were formed in the 1960s, such as Beang Onong, established in 1960, and Bana, established in 1966.

In the early days of Indonesian independence, political instability led to conflicts in several regions, including Alor. In 1965, there were killings in Kalabahi, where hundreds or possibly thousands of inhabitants of inland Alor were rounded up and executed by the Indonesian army because they were alleged to belong to communist groups (Klamer, 2012a, 2014b:17).

From the early 1960s, the national language Indonesian, which is based on a variety of Malay, was used in public schools. Pupils who attended public schools learned Indonesian as one of their first languages. Since the use of the local variety of Alor Malay (derived from Kupang Malay) was already common, the Indonesian language (Indonesian: *Bahasa Indonesia*), which was also derived from a Malay variety, was taken up easily by the Alorese (Baird et al. n.d.; Saad, 2020:74, 78).

1.6 Summary

In this chapter, research questions and aims of this dissertation have been presented. These encompass four main topics; namely, oral history, grammatical description, historical phonology, and loanwords. Furthermore, this chapter has provided an introduction to the Alorese geography, community, and history. The Alorese people live in areas that are generally very dry with limited access to fresh water. Means of transportation to the Alorese villages mainly comprises fishing boats and roads that are in poor condition. The Alorese people are mostly fishermen, with some cultivating crops, weaving cloth, or harvesting seaweed. Alorese villages are predominantly Muslim, except for one village in northeast Pantar (Helangdohi) where the majority of inhabitants are Christian. The Alorese social structure is based on a clan system, in which each clan fulfills a specific role in the community. The recorded history of the Alorese dates back to the year 1518 when Islam spread in the coastal communities of Alor and Pantar. Other historical records come from European sailors who passed by the area in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the next chapter, the methodology used in this study is presented.

CHAPTER 2

Methodology

2.1 Overview

The following sections present the methodology used to collect and analyze the data for this study. This dissertation combines two types of data: oral history and linguistic data. Below, I describe the processes I implemented in data collection (§2.2) and data analysis (§2.3).

2.2 Data collection

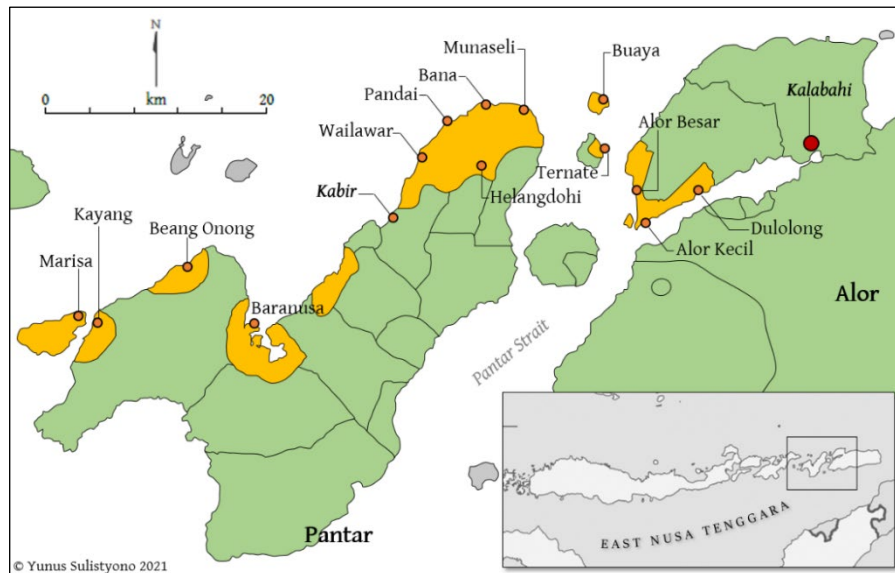
2.2.1 Fieldwork

Fieldwork was conducted during two trips: one in 2018 and one in 2020. The goal of the first trip was to collect wordlists and oral history data (§2.2.1.1), while the second trip was aimed at collecting data for a grammar sketch (§2.2.1.2).

2.2.1.1 Fieldwork for collection of wordlists and oral history data

In April–July 2018, I carried out survey fieldwork to collect wordlists and oral history data. The data from this fieldwork form the basis of the discussions of migration stories in Chapter 3, historical phonology in Chapter 5, and loanwords in Chapter 6. I visited fourteen Alorese villages: Marisa, Kayang, Beang Onong, Baranusa, Wailawar, Pandai, Bana, Munaseli, Helangdohi, Ternate, Buaya, Alor Besar, Alor Kecil, and Dulolong (see Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1: Locations of the Alorese villages



During this fieldwork trip, I traveled twice to Alor from my hometown in Java. My first visit was to the villages located on Pantar and my second visit was to the villages located on Alor and on the small islands in the Pantar Strait. During the first visit, I used the village of Bana as the base for my activities. From there, I went to Wailawar, Pandai, Helangdohi, and Munaseli, spending three to nine days in each village. I then went to Baranusa to collect data from the western part of Pantar Island. I first visited the villages of Kayang and Marisa, following which I collected data from Beang Onong and Baranusa. During my second visit to Alor, I used the village of Alor Besar as a base from which to make trips to the villages of Alor Kecil and Dulolong, as well as two island villages on Ternate and Buaya.

During this trip, I made recordings of oral history, wordlist, and speech using stimuli. Out of the fourteen villages I visited, I collected oral history from all of the fourteen villages, wordlists from ten of the villages, and speech using stimuli from six of the villages (cf. 2.2.1.3; Table 2.1). The interviews for oral history were carried out with the local traditional leaders (Indonesian: *ketua adat*) using a cultural questionnaire (Appendix A). The oral history recordings are in Indonesian. The wordlist recordings were made with consultants who met the following criteria: (a) a self-described native speaker of Alorese, (b) adult over the age of twenty-five, (c) no obvious speech impediments, (d) had spent their childhood in the same village as they were now living in, and (e) had not

traveled or lived outside of the village for any period longer than one year. In each village, I carried out interviews using a set of wordlists (Kaiping et al. 2019), with at least two consultants and made recordings with one of them. In addition, I made recordings of natural speech during this trip.⁴ The speech was generated using stimuli namely, the Frog story (Meyer, 1969) and the Surrey stimuli (Fedden et al. 2010).

2.2.1.2 Fieldwork to collect data for sketch grammar

In February–August 2020, I carried out another fieldwork to collect data for the Alorese sketch grammar in Chapter 4. This fieldwork took place in three villages: Pandai, Wailawar, and Kabir. These villages were chosen because the surveys from the previous fieldwork trip had revealed that the varieties spoken in these villages were relatively linguistically conservative, thus making them good candidates to explore the grammatical system of Alorese.

For this part of the fieldwork, I made two visits to Pantar. The first visit was in March–April 2020. This first visit was originally planned to last at least two months, until May 2020. However, due to the COVID-19 restrictions imposed by local officials, I was not able to work fully in the field. Therefore, I continued working from home on Java while maintaining contact with my consultants via phone and text messaging. My second visit to Pantar took place in June–July 2020. During this visit, I worked in the field for three weeks before my scheduled return to the Netherlands.

During this part of the fieldwork, I collected thirty-two recordings of Alorese speech in the form of conversations and monologues, with a total combined length of 2 hours and 14 minutes. The individual recordings are of various lengths, from 1 minute to 13 minutes (cf. §4.1).

2.2.1.3 Data archiving

The data from the two fieldwork trips are archived and publicly accessible at <https://dataverse.nl/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.34894/APQDTX>. The collection of oral history interviews, wordlists, and recordings of natural speech (collected on the first trip in 2018) are stored in folders organized as shown in Table 2.1 below.

⁴ The term ‘natural speech’ in this dissertation refers to any narratives, elicited materials, and spontaneous conversations collected during fieldwork. Note that the naturalness of this type of data depends on the speakers, and not necessarily on the tools or stimuli (Klamer and Moro, 2020).

Table 2.1: Names of folders from the 2018 survey fieldwork data collection

Folder name	Village	Contents
Spoken Data_01_aolys_dul_srvy	Dulolong	oral history, wordlist
Spoken Data_02_aolys_alk_srvy	Alor Kecil	oral history, wordlist
Spoken Data_03_aolys_alb_srvy	Alor Besar	oral history
Spoken Data_04_aolys_bya_srvy	Buaya	oral history, wordlist, speech
Spoken Data_05_aolys_ter_srvy	Ternate	oral history, wordlist, speech
Spoken Data_06_aolys_mun_srvy	Munaseli	oral history
Spoken Data_07_aolys_ban_srvy	Bana Onong	oral history, wordlist
Spoken Data_08_aolys_hel_srvy	Helangdohi	oral history, wordlist
Spoken Data_09_aolys_pan_srvy	Pandai	oral history
Spoken Data_10_aolys_war_srvy	Wailawar	oral history, wordlist, speech
Spoken Data_11_aolys_bar_srvy	Baranusa	oral history, wordlist, speech
Spoken Data_12_aolys_beo_srvy	Beang Onong	oral history, wordlist, speech
Spoken Data_13_aolys_kya_srvy	Kayang	oral history, wordlist, speech
Spoken Data_14_aolys_mrs_srvy	Marisa	oral history

All fourteen folders contain oral history interviews and some have recordings of wordlist and natural speech data. The abbreviation *aolys* represents the Alorese Glottolog code (*aol*) and my initials *ys*. The following abbreviations in the folder name stand for the names of the villages where I collected the data (see also list of abbreviations on page xv). The details of the oral history recordings can be found in the introduction to Chapter 3 (cf. §3.1), while the details of the wordlist can be found in the introduction to Chapter 5 (cf. §5.1). From this 2018 survey fieldwork, I also collected written data of stories about village history preserved by the local leaders in the form of scanned PDF files (cf. §3.3.1; Table 3.3).

During my fieldwork in 2020, I focused on one dialect spoken in three villages: Pandai (*pan*), Wailawar (*war*), and Kabir (*kbr*). Kabir is an additional location where Alorese speakers of the same dialect as Pandai and Wailawar can be found. All three villages are located close to each other (see Figure 2.1). The list in Table 2.2 below shows the names of the folders in which the recordings of natural speech are stored, together with their transcriptions.

Table 2.2: Names of folders from the 2020 fieldwork data collection

Folder name	Village	Contents
Spoken Data_15_aolys_pan_st_rkb	Pandai	Monologue (stories)
Spoken Data_16_aolys_pan_st_ska	Pandai	Monologue (stories)
Spoken Data_17_aolys_pan_cv_mms	Pandai	Conversations
Spoken Data_18_aolys_pan_cv_hp	Pandai	Conversations
Spoken Data_19_aolys_war_st_dja	Wailawar	Monologue (stories)
Spoken Data_20_aolys_kbr_st_hmd	Kabir	Monologue (stories)
Spoken Data_21_aolys_kbr_st_ltf	Kabir	Monologue (stories)

This collection consists of two conversations (abbreviated to *cv*) as well as monologues (abbreviated to *st*) from five individual speakers whose names are abbreviated in the folder names. Details of these recordings can be found in the introduction to Chapter 4 (cf. §4.1.2).

2.2.2 Data collection through open data archives

I also made use of openly accessible archival materials of Alorese in order to enrich my data collection; namely, Alorese linguistic data in the form of video recordings collected by Moro (2016b). This collection comprises MP4 recordings and their transcriptions (cf. §4.1.2). In addition, I make use of lexical data (~600 words per language) of Flores-Lembata and Timor-Alor-Pantar languages from the LexiRumah linguistic database (Kaiping et al. 2019).

I incorporated recordings from Moro (2016b) together with their transcriptions into my corpus data. This additional data was particularly useful for composing the sketch grammar (cf. Chapter 4). I selected recordings that were made at the same locations as my 2020 fieldwork sites. Therefore, they are from the same dialect as the one I focused on during my 2020 fieldwork. In addition, I make use of wordlist of Alorese collected by Moro (2016a; via Kaiping et al. 2019) from the villages Alor Besar, Munaseli, and Pandai for the study in Chapters 5 and 6.

From the LexiRumah database (<https://lexirumah.model-ling.eu/>; Kaiping et al. 2019), I collected wordlists pertaining to two language families: the Flores-Lembata (Austronesian) and Timor-Alor-Pantar (non-Austronesian) languages. These wordlists include both phonemic transcriptions and transcriptions in practical orthography. They were collected by various linguists and comprise varying numbers of lexemes. Details of these wordlist are provided in the introductions to Chapter 5 (§5.3.1) and Chapter 6 (§6.4.1). The Flores-Lembata

wordlists were used in particular for the study of Alorese historical phonology presented in Chapter 5. The data enable the reconstruction of the ancestral language of Alorese, together with its sister language, Lamaholot, within the language family of Flores-Lembata. Moreover, the Timor-Alor-Pantar wordlists were studied to identify loanwords between Alorese and the neighboring non-Austronesian languages (see Chapter 6).

2.3 Data analysis

In this section, I describe how I analyzed and interpreted the data. Based on the research questions of this dissertation (§1.2), there are two relevant methodological domains to consider: oral history and historical-comparative linguistics. This dissertation combines both approaches, which complement each other in the pursuit of providing a complete picture of Alorese history.

No previous studies of Alorese history have yet attempted to combine oral history and historical linguistics.

A combination of oral history and historical linguistics is informative when studying dialects because it can provide insight into whether the dialect variation can be explained by the social history of the speakers. By linking both disciplines, I was, for example, able to confirm that dialects which are considered linguistically conservative are spoken in the oldest Alorese settlements. The combination of these two approaches also has potential to yield more insight into the social history of the Alorese people.

2.3.1 Oral history

There are various possible approaches to oral history. For example, some researchers describe unique phenomena in storytelling, while others focus on the way stories are told or the sociocultural background of the storytellers. For this study, I focus on migration stories told by the traditional leaders of the Alorese community. Such stories are part of indigenous history, which refers to history as situated knowledge with specific understandings about how the past is preserved, constituted, and represented in the memory of the present-day community (Wellfelt, 2016:17).

The oral traditions of the Alorese people, in which their migration histories are retold, can be regarded as legends. According to Danandjaja (1984:66–83), legends, specifically in Indonesia, are prose stories that are strongly believed by the storytellers to be factual; in other words, that they convey events that genuinely occurred in the past. However, legends are often seen by historians as collective folk history, with the potential to be distorted

and to diverge greatly from the actual events of the past.

In line with this, it is important to consider whether oral history can be considered reliable as a source to reconstruct the past of the Alorese people. Due to the fluidity of oral narrative topology, narrative history does not fit well with scientific research, unless there is archaeological evidence and/or archival material enabling further analysis. Nevertheless, storytelling can sometimes be the only available instrument to discover the history of a group of people, meaning that it is valuable even in the absence of supporting evidence (Van Engelenhoven & Nazarudin, 2016:227). Ritchie (2003:110) and Vansina (1985:199) argue that oral history has an important part to play in the reconstruction of the past and that it should be considered equally as important as any other form of historical evidence. By examining the themes of stories in various accounts of Alorese oral history, it is possible to generate ideas and hypotheses about the history of the Alorese people.

The oral history approach used in this study is comparable to the *historyscapes* on Alor proposed by Wellfelt (2016). This approach employs close reading of transcribed texts from interviews, followed by analyzing and organizing the texts to form a timeline. In addition, this process can be supplemented with archive materials, such as written texts. The resulting chronologies point to important issues, events, and developments. The ethnographic study by Wellfelt (2016) describes how the peoples on Alor distinguish and represent their own histories. It is a study of the collective memory of the indigenous people on Alor using situated history to relate to the past. The study highlights key stories and treats them as being equally as important as academic sources. A similar approach to Alorese oral history is found in Rodemeier (2006), a qualitative ethnological study of oral narratives among the Alorese people on Pantar which aims to shed light on how the Alorese community represent their narratives and myths.

I adopt this approach for my study as it yields insight into the history of a group of people who have no strong written tradition. It can help provide information regarding where the Alorese people came from and where they moved to. In Chapter 3, I relate the Alorese migration story, based on the interviews I conducted with my consultants to gain knowledge about the migration of their ancestors.

2.3.2 Historical-comparative linguistics

Historical-comparative linguistics reveals and examines ways in which languages can change. The methodology involved draws on lexical data across various languages to gain an understanding of the changes that a language has

undergone, and can provide insight into the linguistic history of a certain group of people. In this discipline, synchronic data is used as a basis to reconstruct an ancestor language of several dialects or languages (Campbell, 1999:2).

Historical-comparative linguistic methods have been applied to Alorese by several linguists. Stokhof (1975) is a study of the lexicon of Alor-Pantar languages. This study indicates that Alorese is strongly related to Lamaholot, a neighboring Austronesian language, just west of the Alorese speaking area. Alorese is deemed a distinct language by Klamer (2011), due to obvious historic changes in the language which manifest in a low percentage of cognates with Lamaholot and the loss of morphology in Alorese (Klamer, 2012a, 2012b, 2020). Robinson (2015) studied the traces of lexical borrowing between Alorese and the AP languages, while Moro (2018) investigated a contact scenario between the Alorese and the AP speakers resulting in the use of a plural word, which is not a native Alorese feature. Fricke (2019) studied the contact history of languages in the Flores-Lembata area, including Alorese as part of the Flores-Lembata language family. Lastly, the study by Moro and Fricke (2020) is a structural comparison of *give*-constructions in Alorese, Lamaholot (Austronesian), and Adang (Timor-Alor-Pantar), which shows that the Alorese *give*-construction is a result of contact between the Alorese and the AP speakers.

Following the line of research in previous work, this dissertation uses historical-comparative linguistics as a tool to investigate the history of the Alorese language and its speakers by comparing Alorese with its sister language, Lamaholot, within the language family of Flores-Lembata. Alorese is considered to be closely related to Western Lamaholot (abbreviated as WL; Elias, 2017; Fricke, 2019), therefore I compare my Alorese data with the WL varieties, with the aim of examining the historical relationship between these varieties and reconstructing a set of Alorese proto-forms. In addition, historical linguistic analysis is useful as a tool to investigate the contact history between Alorese and the neighboring AP languages, especially through lexical borrowing. In my study of loanwords, I use the historical linguistic approach to support arguments regarding the status of loanwords in Alorese and to identify Alorese words that might be the sources of loanwords in several AP languages.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has described the methods employed in collecting and analyzing the data in this dissertation. It has also discussed the combination of historical linguistic and oral history approaches applied in the following chapters. In the study of the language and culture of the Alorese, there has not yet been any attempt to combine both these approaches in reconstructing the history of the

language. The data for this reconstruction include oral history interviews collected through fieldwork in fourteen Alorese villages across the Alor-Pantar islands. The linguistic data comprise data collected through fieldwork, as well as openly accessible archived materials. Two fieldwork trips were carried out in 2018 and 2020 to collect wordlists, oral history interviews, and natural speech. All data collected during the two fieldwork trips are available in openly accessible archives.

Migration stories of the Alorese people⁵

3.1 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to investigate the past of the Alorese people through their oral history, particularly stories about migration. The stories are summarized chronologically so they can provide insights into the events of the past.

In order to gather data for this study of Alorese oral history, I visited fourteen Alorese villages and conducted interviews with local traditional leaders, which were recorded on video. The fourteen villages in question are Kangge, Marisa, Beang Onong, Baranusa, Wailawar, Helangdohi, Pandai, Bana, Munaseli, Buaya, Ternate, Alor Besar, Alor Kecil, and Dulolong. These villages are located in several pockets along the coast covering a distance of over 100 kilometers' travel by boat. Figure 3.1 shows the location of the villages.

⁵ Part of this chapter is published in: Sulistyono, Yunus. 2021. "Interpreting oral history from the Alorese people in eastern Indonesia". *Revista Universidad y Sociedad*. 13(4): 339–350. Available at: <https://rus.ucf.edu.cu/index.php/rus/article/view/2173>.

Figure 3.1: Locations of the Alorese villages



The westernmost village is called Marisa, located on Kangge Island. To the east of Marisa is the nearby village of Kayang. Further to the east lies a newly established village, called Beang Onong. Around 10 kilometers to the southeast of Beang Onong is Baranusa. To the north, in northeast Pantar, a large number of Alorese groups are settled in the villages of Wailawar, Pandai, Bana, Helangdohi, and Munaseli. In this area, most of the villages are located near the sea, except Helangdohi, which is located in the interior mountains. Further to the east, in the Strait of Pantar, Alorese groups are found on two islands called Ternate and Buaya. The Alorese share the island of Ternate with speakers of a Papuan Alor-Pantar language called Reta (ISO 639-3: ret). On the Alor Peninsula, the Alorese live in three main villages: Alor Besar, Alor Kecil, and Dulolong.

My fieldwork in these villages generated oral history data. Sources for the oral history take two forms: oral testimonies and written texts. Oral testimonies are drawn from the interviews conducted during fieldwork (cf. §2.2.1.1), while written texts are drawn from documents provided by the traditional leaders, of which copies were made during fieldwork.

In the early stages of this research, the interviews were based on a set of questions related to a wide variety of cultural practices, such as traditional art performances, marriage, weaving tradition, religion, migration, clans, and sociopolitical roles.⁶ Of all these cultural themes, the topics of migration and clans were the most prominent. The Alorese migration stories and clan histories, summarized in this chapter, recurred consistently in all of the interviews.

This chapter is structured as follows. Section 3.2 provides information about previous studies of Alorese oral history. Section 3.3 presents the methods applied, including data collection and ways of interpreting the stories. In Section 3.4, I discuss migration stories along the lines of six main themes: (i) the flood on Rusa Island, (ii) the foreign arrivals on Pantar, (iii) the rise and fall of Munaseli, (iv) the expansions of Pandai, (v) the flood on Lapang-Batang, and (vi) the expansion to Ternate and Buaya. In addition, I discuss Alorese clans and their origins in Section 3.5. Finally, Section 3.6 provides a summary and conclusions.

3.2 Previous studies

Previous studies of Alorese oral history mainly discuss themes relating to the history of wars, political alliances, myths, and legends about the beginnings of a given Alorese group. Lemoine (1969) is one of the first descriptions of Alorese

⁶ See Appendix A for the complete questionnaire.

oral history, which focuses on the community settled in northeast Pantar. This publication was the first to reveal narratives about the arrival of people from Java and a war between Munaseli and Pandai.

Gomang (1993) discusses political alliances among several Alorese kingdoms based on oral history. The political alliances were used to display Alorese traditional values in creating harmony among communities inhabiting areas of Alor-Pantar, which experienced frequent local conflicts. This depiction from Gomang is based on the interpretation of oral history obtained from three villages on the Alor Peninsula, namely Alor Besar, Alor Kecil, and Dulolong.

Rodemeier (2006) is a description of oral narratives of the Alorese people living in northeast Pantar. This study focuses on the discussion of Alorese myths, legends, and forms of rituals. The myths include stories about the beginning of the Alorese people in the mountains of northeast Pantar, particularly in the village of Helangdohi. Here can be found a legend about two babies who are believed to be the ancestors of today's Alorese people. In addition, several forms of rituals related to story telling are described in this study.

Wellfelt (2016) seeks to understand themes relating to indigenous history, socio-geographic grouping, local actors, and colonial interference in many communities across Alor Island. This study develops a method called *historyscapes*, in which various heterogeneous sources are incorporated to understand the connections between local people and non-existent geographical references. One chapter discusses the historyscape of the Alor Peninsula (Wellfelt, 2016:228–287), covering the history of the Alorese people living in the villages of Alor Besar, Alor Kecil, Dulolong, and on Ternate and Buaya. The discussion concerns stories about ancestors and conflicts among communities on Alor.

In linguistic studies of the Alorese language, it is usually stated that the Alorese speakers are descendants of groups migrating eastward from the Lamaholot area, which includes the eastern part of Flores, and the islands Adonara, Solor, and coastal areas of Lembata (Doyle, 2010:25; Klammer, 2011:8; Moro, 2018:180, 2019:381; Moro & Fricke, 2020:116). Based on legends about the arrival of a Javanese king who came to Pantar around 600 years ago, it has been suggested that the groups from the Western Lamaholot area settled on Pantar roughly in the the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

In general, studies of Alorese oral history have focused on specific Alorese groups living on the Alor Peninsula and in northeastern Pantar. The oral history of groups living in the western part of Pantar has not yet been described. The present study is the first to describe Alorese oral history from a wider

perspective, including Alorese groups living across the whole Alor-Pantar archipelago.

3.3 Methods

In this study, I combine survey and interview methods to collect data. I conducted a survey during visits to fourteen villages and carried out interviews with the local traditional leaders as my consultants. The aim in doing so was to reconstruct the history of Alorese through oral history (cf. §1.2). In the following sections, I describe the data collection, limitations, and approaches to interpreting the migration stories.

3.3.1 Data collection

Table 3.1 lists the fourteen villages visited, the type of data that were collected, and details about the consultants. The villages are listed from west to east (see Figure 3.1). The data include historical narratives in the form of videotaped interview and written texts.

Table 3.1: Villages, types of data, and consultant details

Village	Type of data	Consultant unique identifier	Gender & age
Marisa	Interview	01401_mrs	Male, 62
Kayang	Interview	01301_kya	Male, 88
Beang Onong	Interview	01202_beo	Male, 71
Baranusa	Interview, texts	01103_bar	Male, 58
Wailawar	Interview, texts	01002_war	Male, 63
Pandai	Interview	00901_pan	Male, 68
Helangdohi	Interview	00801_hel	Male, 83
Bana	Interview, texts	00702_ban & 00703_ban	2 Males, unknown
Munaseli	Interview, texts	00601_mun	Male, 68
Ternate	Interview	00501_ter	Male, 66
Buaya	Interview	00401_bya	Male, unknown
Alor Besar	Interview, texts	00301_alb	Male, 61
Alor Kecil	Interview	00201_alk	Male, 69
Dulolong	Interview	00101_dul	Male, 63

Oral testimonies were collected through interviews conducted during fieldwork in 2018. The interviews were conducted with the local *ketua adat* (traditional leaders) as the main consultants. The *ketua adat* are the ones who

understand the details of the local oral history and who have the right to tell historic stories. A set of questions was prepared in advance for the interview (Appendix A). The interviews were conducted in Indonesian and thus the oral stories are told in Indonesian. They vary in length from 15 to 68 minutes (see Table 3.2). During each interview, at least one consultant was present in front of the camera. In addition, two or three other elders were present in the same room to give input and corrections. Details of the collection of video recordings and the corresponding files are provided in Table 3.2. In the villages of Wailawar and Alor Kecil, two videos are listed in the table because, in both cases, the recording process was interrupted due to an empty battery in the recording device; thus two recordings resulted from a single interview session.

*Table 3.2: Video interviews on Alorese oral history**

Video unique identifier	Format	Length	Size [†]
AOLYS_Marisa_2018_07_16_Cultural_Interview_01401-01	MP4	32 min	708
AOLYS_Kayang_2018_07_14_Cultural_Interview_01301-01	MP4	43 min	968
AOLYS_Beang_Onong_2018_07_16_Cultural_Interview_01202-01	MP4	15 min	331
AOLYS_Baranusa_2018_07_18_Cultural_Interview_01103-01	MP4	41 min	919
AOLYS_Wailawar_2018_05_21_Cultural_Interview_01002-01	MP4	23 min	449
AOLYS_Wailawar_2018_05_21_Cultural_Interview_01002-02	MP4	31 min	682
AOLYS_Pandai_2018_05_23_Cultural_Interview_00901-01	MP4	68 min	1490
AOLYS_Helangdohi_2018_05_20_Cultural_Interview_00801-01	MP4	35 min	776
AOLYS_Bana_2018_05_19_Cultural_Interview_00702_00703-01	MP4	42 min	936
AOLYS_Munaseli_2018_05_24_Cultural_Interview_00601-01	MP4	40 min	889
AOLYS_Ternate_2018_05_28_Cultural_Interview_00501-01	MP4	30 min	653
AOLYS_Buaya_2018_05_30_Cultural_Interview_00401-01	MP4	29 min	640
AOLYS_Alur_Besar_2018_06_06_Cultural_Interview_00301-01	MP4	63 min	1410
AOLYS_Alur_Kecil_2018_06_05_Cultural_Interview_00201-01	MP4	16 min	356
AOLYS_Alur_Kecil_2018_06_05_Cultural_Interview_00201-02	MP4	20 min	443
AOLYS_Dulolong_2018_06_04_Cultural_Interview_00101-01	MP4	47 min	970

*Accessible at <https://dataverse.nl/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.34894/APQDTX>

[†]in mega bytes (MB)

In addition to video interviews, a number of written texts about oral history were provided by some of the consultants. The texts are written in Indonesian. Five of the fourteen villages have preserved written texts, listed in Table 3.3. Texts from Pandai and Alur Besar, identified in the table as

AOLYS_pan_WT-01, AOLYS_pan_WT-02, and AOLYS_alb_WT-02, are reproduced in Appendix A due to their relevance to the discussion in this chapter.

*Table 3.3: Texts about Alorese oral history obtained during fieldwork**

Villages	Document unique identifier	Length	Contents
Alor Besar	AOLYS_alb_WT-01	10 p	History of Alor Besar Kingdom
	AOLYS_alb_WT-02	4 p	Family tree of the Alor Besar royals
Bana	AOLYS_ban_WT-01	4 p	History of Bana village
Pandai	AOLYS_pan_WT-01	15 p	History of Pandai Kingdom
	AOLYS_pan_WT-02	27 p	History of Munaseli Kingdom
Wailawar	AOLYS_war_WT-01	17 p	Wailawar village profile
Baranusa	AOLYS_bar_WT-01	10 p	Clans and traditional practices in Baranusa
	AOLYS_bar_WT-02	104 p	History of Baranusa Kingdom

*PDF documents are accessible at <https://vici.marianklamer.org/manuscripts.html> and <https://dataverse.nl/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.34894/APQDTX>.

3.3.2 Limitations

Some limitations of the present study should be addressed. First, the interviews were conducted as direct ‘question and answer’ sessions with the researcher, during which the consultants told short narratives about their community’s oral history. Therefore, no full narration of stories was documented or recorded. Second, the scope of the present discussion only covers oral history about migration stories. Data collected on other Alorese cultural features during the interviews were excluded. Third, only fourteen out of roughly twenty Alorese groups living across the Alor-Pantar archipelago were sampled. Lastly, the discussion about Alorese clans in Section 3.5 covers only some of the Alorese clans; namely, the ones that show a relatively clear naming pattern. The remaining clans were excluded (cf. Appendix A).

3.3.3 Interpreting the stories

In this section, I discuss how the oral history data are interpreted and summarized in this chapter. I present examples of how information from oral testimonies and written texts are understood in building a chronology of the

migration history of the Alorese people. I use the term ‘account’ to refer to a local version of a story based on where it was told. For example, if a story was told in the Baranusa village, it is referred to as the ‘Baranusa account’.

Narrative knowledge in the Alorese community is preserved in two ways: orally and in writing. The written version usually represents the oral consensus which has been agreed upon through long debates or meetings among the elders of the community. These written texts have now become the main source of the narrative knowledge, with which no other members of the community are allowed to disagree. Nevertheless, some variations and differences can still be found in the oral versions. Common differences include inconsistency of character names, animal types, and geographical references.

Turning first to the oral data, Table 3.4 presents an example of how oral testimonies are interpreted. The left column is a direct transcription of the interview in the Indonesian language, which is sometimes mixed with the local Malay variety. The right column is a free translation in English. The free translations are always marked with quotation marks ‘...’. Notes in square brackets [...] are added to clarify the meaning where needed. Furthermore, important parts of the transcriptions (and translations) are highlighted in bold. The fragment in this table relates a legend about the beginnings of Alor Kecil village.

Table 3.4: Fragment of an oral narrative from Alor Kecil (Video unique identifier: AOLYS_Alор_Kecil_2018_06_05_Cultural_Interview_00201-01)

1. Desa Alor Kecil ini dahulunya ada penghuni tapi masih terpencar, tidak berkumpul.	1. ‘Alor Kecil used to be inhabited by people, but not united [as one community].’
2. Masih berkelompok-kelompok di masing-masing wilayah, begitu.	2. ‘[They] lived in small groups within their own territories.’
3. Terus, datang seseorang yang namanya Saku Bala Duli	3. ‘And then, a person named Saku Bala Duli arrived.’
4. Dia ini yang melihat bahwa kalau memang ada orang satu wilayah yang ada orang tetapi masih terpencar seperti begini, berarti tidak dapat berbuat sesuatu.	4. ‘He thought, if people are not united [living in one place together], they cannot do anything.’
5. Karena itu, dia sengaja mendatangi dari satu kelompok ke kelompok yang lainnya, meminta kalau dapat mereka berkumpul, kemudian membicarakan bagaimana kalau bisa, mereka buka satu lahan begitu untuk membuat satu perkampungan.	5. ‘Therefore, he systematically came to each group and asked them if they could gather round and talk about a plan to open the land [at a certain place] and build a village.’

6. Ternyata ini diterima dengan baik.	6. 'Apparently, this [suggestion] was well-received.'
7. Jadi, ada satu kelompok yang datangnya dari Munaseli , namanya Bapak Mau .	7. 'Then, there is a group from Munaseli , [its leader was] called Bapak [means 'father'] Mau .'
8. Dia ini punya kepandaianya untuk menimba besi menjadi parang, menjadi pisau, menjadi linggis.	8. 'He had an ability to forge iron into machetes, knives, and crowbars.'

The story presented in the table is apparently a mix of two separate tales. Lines 1–6 sketch the arrival of an important figure (*Saku Bala Duli*) who is regarded as the founder of the Alor Kecil community. The descendants of *Saku Bala Duli* are now members of primary clans in the Alor Kecil village. Then, lines 7–8 tell the arrivals of people from *Munaseli*. Here, my consultant mentions a character named *Bapak Mau*. Based on my interview, the descendants of *Bapak Mau* became a secondary clan in the Alor Kecil community because their ancestors, depicted here as the character *Bapak Mau*, arrived later than *Saku Bala Duli*.

Generally, stories about the beginnings of the Alorese people do not go back to the creation of man, unlike most historical narratives of Western Lamaholot-speaking groups in the Flores-Lembata area.⁷ The Alorese stories rather point to certain locations that their ancestors came from. Moreover, the stories are heavily concerned with the order of arrival of the ancestors.

Turning now to the written data, Figure 3.2 provides an example of a written text from the village of Pandai. The text is hand-written by a person named Bahrudin Pella Boka and dated 7 November 2004 (Appendix A). Table 3.5 contains the transcription and translation of this text sample.

⁷ An example of this claim is a story found in East Flores, where there is a legend about a clan named *Hipir* that appeared from within the Earth (Ataladjar, 2015:72). Another example is found in Tanjung Bunga, East Flores where the testimony of a local *ketua adat* claims that his ancestors came from inside the Earth (Sulistiyono, 2015a).

Figure 3.2: Sample of a written text from Pandai (AOLYS_pan_WT-01, page 7)

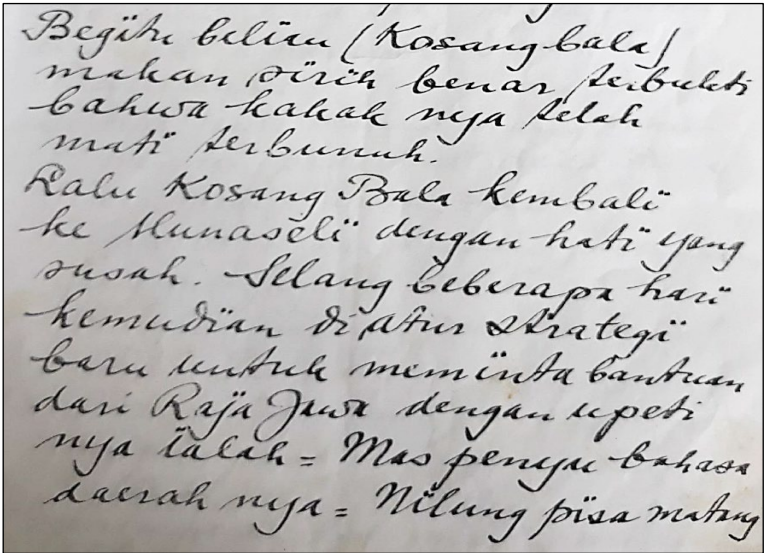


Table 3.5: Transcription and translation of text in Figure 3.2

Begitu beliau (<i>Kosang Bala</i>) makan sirih benar terbukti bahwa kakaknya telah mati terbunuh.	‘When he (<i>Kosang Bala</i>) was chewing betel nuts, his brother was apparently murdered.’
Lalu Kosang Bala kembali ke Munaseli dengan hati yang susah. Selang beberapa hari kemudian diatur strategi baru untuk meminta bantuan dari <i>Raja Jawa</i> dengan upetinya ialah: mas penyu, bahasa daerahnya: nilung pisa matang.	‘Then, Kosang Bala went back to Munaseli with a saddened heart. A few days later, a new strategy was arranged by asking for help from a <i>Javanese king</i> with a gift [a tribute from Munaseli to the Javanese king] of a golden turtle, called <i>nilung pisa matang</i> .’

This fragment is taken from a text that tells the story of a war between Munaseli and Pandai. Here, a character named *Kosang Bala* is mentioned. He is depicted as a warrior whose older brother was murdered by the Pandai people. This story is documented by the locals based on a locally known narrative about the war between Munaseli and Pandai. The war is also mentioned in several publications (Gomang, 1993:84; Lelang, 2008; Lemoine, 1969:7; Rodemeier, 2006:175, 301–305; Wellfelt, 2016:275).

In this story, a 'Javanese' association is mentioned. This most likely relates to the Javanese empire *Majapahit*, which was a great influential realm in West Nusantara.⁸ The theory about Javanese presence on Pantar is essentially based on the mention of the Island of Galiyao (today's Pantar) in the *Negarakertagama* chronicles, written by Rakawi Prapanca of Majapahit in 1365 (Barnes, 1982:407; Pigeaud, 1962:34). Pantar was referred to as one of the islands conquered by the Majapahit empire in the fourteenth century. Rodemeier (2006:70) states that the mention of the Javanese army in Alorese oral history is probably due to the fact that the Javanese army was known throughout the Nusantara archipelago, and therefore calling them an ally would raise one's reputation. This 'Javanese' association can also be interpreted as referring more generally to immigrants from elsewhere in the Indonesian archipelago, not necessarily from Java (Klamer, 2011:7).

Several Alorese clans believe that they are descendants of the Javanese people from Majapahit. These clans are generally acknowledged to have a higher status in society because of their 'Javanese' roots. This 'Javanese' association is mainly found in clans in the villages of Pandai and Baranusa.

3.4 Migration stories

In this section, I discuss six events that mark migrations of the Alorese people around the Alor-Pantar archipelago. The events include: (i) the flood on Rusa Island, (ii) foreign arrivals on Pantar, (iii) the rise and fall of the Munaseli Kingdom, (iv) the expansion of the Pandai Kingdom, (v) the flood on the Lapang-Batang Islands, and (vi) the expansion to Ternate and Buaya.

3.4.1 The flood on Rusa Island

The island of Rusa is located in the strait between Pantar and Lembata (see Figure 3.1). In the village of Kayang, located in the west of Pantar, people mainly work as seaweed farmers and fishermen. They often go to the nearby islands, such as Kambing and Rusa, when fishing.⁹ Similar activities are observed in nearby villages of Beang Onong and Baranusa, from where people regularly travel by boat to islands in the vicinity.

⁸ The term Nusantara is generally used as a cover term for islands spreading from Sumatra to Papua. The term was first used in the Javanese *Negarakertagama* (1365) to refer to islands desired to be conquered by the Hindu-Javanese kingdom of Majapahit in the fourteenth century (Muljana, 2005, 2006; Robson, 1995).

⁹ The name *Kambing* and *Rusa* mean 'goat' and 'deer' in Malay.

To the community in west Pantar, including the Alorese, Rusa Island is a place that offers resources. However, to the people from the island of Lembata (west of Rusa), Rusa Island is a sacred place. Barnes (1974:201) states that people from Lembata consider Rusa Island to be the place where the souls of the dead go. This view is probably related to the difficulties encountered by fishermen crossing the strait from Lembata to Pantar, where there are strong sea currents. It is widely known that the waters in the strait between Lembata and Pantar are very dangerous and fishermen can only cross the strait at very specific times. If they fail, their dead bodies are usually buried on nearby islands, such as Rusa, and cannot be brought back to Lembata (Barnes, 1996:320).

Within the Alorese communities on Pantar and Alor, there is a legend of a flood on Rusa Island that caused the existing land to be divided and new islands to emerge. My consultants in Kayang believe that Rusa was once part of Pantar. In addition, my consultants in Alor Kecil claimed that Pantar and Alor were originally one island that had split due to a flood, which also caused the emergence of smaller islands, including the islands of Rusa and Kambing. Furthermore, my consultant in Baranusa said that people from a kingdom on Rusa fled to the mountains of Pantar because of the flood. In Table 3.6, I present oral testimonies of these accounts in a comparative format.

Table 3.6: Kayang, Alor Kecil, and Baranusa accounts of the story of the flood on Rusa (Video unique identifier: AOLYS_Kayang_2018_07_14_Cultural_Interview_01301-01, AOLYS_Alор_Kecil_2018_06_05_Cultural_Interview_00201-01, and AOLYS_Baranusa_2018_07_18_Cultural_Interview_01103-01)

Kayang account	Alor Kecil account	Baranusa account
Bapak lihat dari sana itu to, ujung lagi. Tsunami naik ini, baru kita hanya bukan menyeberang dengan perahu. Kita hanya menyeberang dengan kaki cari tempat saja. Kita bukan orang pelarian.	Itu menurut cerita raja kerajaan di sana dipimpin oleh Bapak Raja Lapi Loma . [...] Dulunya Pantar dengan Alor itu satu . Tetapi karena air bah, Pantar dan Alor terpisah lalu muncul Pulau Rusa dan Pulau Kambing. Raja Lapi Loma itu raja yang tertua di Alor. Itu letaknya di antara Pantar dan Alor. Sudah tenggelam.	Koli Rawang itu kerajaan di Pulau Rusa. Itu penduduk dari sana karena akibat pengaruh tsunami itu yang mereka lari datang membentuk kerajaan di gunung .

'You look over there, on the tip. The tsunami rose, then we did not cross here by boat. We only crossed [the strait] on foot, looked for a new place. We were not fugitives.'	'According to stories, the kingdom over there [pointing west, referring to Rusa] was led by King Lapi Loma. [...] In the past, Pantar and Alor were one [land]. Because of the flood, Pantar and Alor split up, then Rusa and Kambing emerged. The King[dom of] Lapi Loma is the oldest kingdom in Alor. It is located between Alor and Pantar. It has already sunk [due to the flood].'	'Koli Rawang Kingdom was on Rusa Island. People from there fled because of the tsunami and formed a kingdom in the mountain [possibly referring to the northeast Pantar mountains; Helangdohi].'
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This tale about divided lands and the emergence of new islands is attested in all three of these accounts, which are geographically distant (see Figure 3.1). In the Kayang account, the narrator describes an event of rising sea water. When the flood came, his ancestors rescued themselves by walking from Rusa to Pantar, implying that the Pantar mainland was accessible by foot. In the Alor Kecil account, the narrator indicates the location Rusa Island as if it is located between Alor and Pantar. It is plausible that, from the point of view of Alor Kecil, any islands located in the south and west of Pantar are considered to be located between Alor and Pantar, since one passes these islands when following the coastline of Pantar. In this account, a now-sunken kingdom on Rusa, led by King *Lapi Loma*, is introduced. In addition, the Baranusa account refers to a kingdom named *Koli Rawang* that collapsed because of the flood.

The legend about the lost civilization on Rusa is also discussed by Barnes (1982:410), who mentions archaeological evidence of a finger ring, a figure on a knoll, and an upright monolith. Moreover, a statement from my consultant in the village of Beang Onong attests that when people go to Rusa Island to hunt deer, they can see still the ruins of the kingdom.

The story of the *Koli Rawang* Kingdom is known to the Alorese people in west Pantar through this flood story. The kingdom is believed to be the oldest kingdom in Pantar. In northeast Pantar, there is also a myth about the origin of the Alorese people, involving a flood and two babies (Rodemeier, 2006:103). The two babies (named *Helang* and *Dohi*) were found after a flood and they were then raised by a couple living in the mountains around present-day Helangdohi. The

legend of Rusa in west Pantar strongly correlates with the story from Helangdohi, where the community's ancestors are believed to be the two babies who survived the flood.

A more detailed narration of the flood story on Rusa Island was provided by my consultant in Marisa. Table 3.7 presents a part of the narration.

Table 3.7: *The Marisa account of the story of the flood on Rusa (Video unique identifier: AOLYS_Marisa_2018_07_16_Cultural_Interview_01401-01)*

1. Menurut legenda cerita orang tua, itu legenda tsunami itu terjadi di Pulau Rusa .	1. 'According to the stories from the elders, the flood happened on Rusa Island .'
2. Sebelum orang Munaseli ke sini.	2. '[It was] before the Munaseli people came here.'
3. Belum, itu tahun yang tidak bisa kita tentukan.	3. 'Not yet, we cannot say the year [because he doesn't know].'
4. Sudah lama.	4. 'It was long time ago.'
5. Ini menurut sejarah yang diceritakan oleh orang tua Alor.	5. 'This is according to a story told by our elders of Alor.'
6. Dan ada orang-orang khusus yang waktu itu ada di Pulau Rusa.	6. '[At that time], there were people on Rusa Island.'
7. Dan dengan adanya tsunami itu mereka lari.	7. 'Because of the flood, they ran away.'
8. Ada yang ke sini.	8. 'Some of them arrived here.'
9. Dalam pengertian artinya raja itu yang disebut dengan Lapi Lomang .	9. 'Meaning, there was a king called Lapi Lomang .'
10. Raja Lapi Lomang dari Istrinya Samu Makiwang.	10. 'King Lapi Lomang and his wife Samu Makiwang.'
11. Dia itu mendalami di sana tinggal di sana, dan menurut sejarah yang saya belajar di orang tua dulu itu, dengan punya anak istri kemudian dengan adanya peristiwa air bah itu maka mereka tinggalkan Pulau Rusa waktu itu.	11. 'He stayed there for a long time and based on stories that I learned from the elders, he had a wife and children, and then because of the flood, they left Rusa Island.'
12. Tapi raja Lapi Lomang datang di sini kemudian anaknya yang disebut dalam sejarah Saku Bala Duli , itu sudah sampai di Alor.	12. 'But King Lapi Lomang arrived here and then his son, mentioned in stories, named Saku Bala Duli , reached Alor.'
13. Yang dia kawin dengan istri orang Alor yang tinggal di Alor Kecil yang punya keturunan ada di sana.	13. 'In which [stories] he then married a wife in Alor and he stayed in Alor Kecil and had offspring there.'

[...]	[...]*
14. Dan dia kerajaan Koli Rawang Wang Weni yang tenggelam ke muka.	14. 'And the Kingdom of Koli Rawang Wang Weni had sunk earlier.'
15. Ke muka tenggelam sesudah itu baru dengan adanya air bah naik menyeberang. Hancurnya Munaseli ini kemudian	15. 'It had sunk and then because of the flood, the people crossed the strait. The collapse of Munaseli Kingdom happened later. '
16. Menurut sejarah Koli Rawang itu hancur duluan.	16. 'According to history, Koli Rawang Kingdom sank first.'
17. Ini di pulau rusa pokoknya di barat sini.	17. 'This happened on Rusa Island to the west of here.'
18. Itu sampai di Tude.	18. 'It reached Tude (West Pantar)'
19. Tapi karena ada bencana penduduknya tersebar.	19. 'But because of the disaster, the people dispersed.'

*This intermediate part is left out. A complete video recording and the transcriptions of this narrative are available at <https://dataverse.nl/file.xhtml?fileId=139747&version=1.0>.

In this Marisa account, line 1 indicates the location of the flood, Rusa Island. In line 2, and again in line 15, the narrator stresses that the flood happened before the arrival of refugees from Munaseli escaping a war defeat (cf. §3.4.3). A character, named *Lapi Lomang* is mentioned in line 9. This character is similar to King *Lapi Loma* named in the Alor Kecil account in Table 3.6. In line 12, the character *Saku Bala Duli* is again mentioned in reference to the ancestor of the Alor Kecil people (see Table 3.4). Moreover, the Kingdom of *Koli Rawang* is also named in line 14 and 16, similarly to the Baranusa account in Table 3.6.

The legend about a sunken kingdom on Rusa is sometimes linked to the Lapang-Batang flood (cf. §3.4.5) because they both represent a similar type of event, namely the rising of the sea water. Barnes (1982) considers the flood on Rusa to be the same event as the Lapang-Batang flood. He estimates that the flood took place in 1450, and links it with the Lapang-Batang origin of the Lamaholot people. This estimation is based on oral history mentioning a flood that took place a century after the 'Javanese' arrived on Pantar around the year 1357 (Barnes, 1982:411). On the other hand, by referring to the diary of Pigafetta, Ataladjar (2015:37) proposes, that the Lapang-Batang flood took place around 1522–1525, but does not mention Rusa.

Rodemeier (2006:103) implies that there was a kingdom that collapsed due to a flood that happened presumably five generations before the 'Javanese' people arrived on Pantar in the fourteenth century. If we count a generation as twenty-five years, the flood on Rusa may have taken place around the thirteen-

th century. In addition, in Table 3.7, my consultant from Kayang testifies that the flood on Rusa took place before the war in Munaseli; in lines 15–16, he says that first the kingdom on Rusa sank, followed by war in Munaseli. Therefore, I conclude that the flood on Rusa is not the same as the Lapang-Batang flood and that it happened before the ‘Javanese’ (settlers from islands west of Pantar) arrived on Pantar.

3.4.2 Settlers from islands west of Pantar

Stories about the ‘Javanese’ settlers on Pantar are widely attested in the villages located in northeastern Pantar (see Figure 3.3). The northeast Pantar area is where the coastal and mountain Alorese groups are settled. The coastal villages include Wailawar, Pandai, Bana, and Munaseli, while the only mountain village is Helangdohi.

Figure 3.3: Alorese villages on Pantar and the Alor Peninsula



In this area, there is a traditional treaty called *Helang anang Dohi anang* lit. ‘Helang child Dohi child’. This treaty is acknowledged by all five villages in northeast Pantar: Helangdohi, Wailawar, Pandai, Bana, and Munaseli. It contains an agreement that the villages in the coastal area are considered the ‘children’ of the village of Helangdohi. The names *Helang* and *Dohi* go back to the legend about the two babies found after the flood on Rusa Island (cf. §3.4.1). A narrative in which the treaty is mentioned is also presented in Rodemeier (2006:154).

The coastal communities were regarded as ‘children’ of the Helangdohi community because they were immigrants who were given permission by the

people in Helangdohi (the original owners of the land) to establish villages in the coastal area. These coastal villages developed into kingdoms and their stories are included in the local oral history. Table 3.8 contains part of a text about the kingdoms in coastal northeast Pantar.

Table 3.8: A fragment about an arrival from the west (AOLYS_pan_CQ_WT-01, page 1)

1. Terjadinya kerajaan Pandai Baranusa ini akibat datangnya seorang dari asal Jawa Sekitar tahun 1310 yang namanya Majapahit sebab pada 1309 terjadi pecah perang antara Baginda Raja Kertarajasa dari Majapahit yang berpusat di Kediri dengan Rangga Lawe sebagai adipati Tuban.	1. 'The beginning of the Pandai-Baranusa Kingdom was when a person called Majapahit from Java arrived in 1310 due to a war in 1309 between King Kertarajasa from Majapahit, which was centered on Kediri, and Rangga Lawe , the leader of the Tuban Regency.'
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The text tells a story about the arrival of people from Java. The first striking feature is the mention of the years 1309 and 1310, whereas Lemoine (1969) and Rodemeier (2006) do not state specific years for the Javanese arrivals. The mention of this specific time is also seen in other local texts, such as those in Baranusa (cf. §3.4.4.2). It is unclear how the local sources and the authors of the texts came up with these years. However, they often correlate with the history of the Javanese empire, Majapahit.

The history of Majapahit is widely known because it features in Indonesia's national history textbooks. A Javanese character *Rangga Lawe* is mentioned in the fragment in Table 3.8. According to Indonesian history textbooks (e.g. Poesponegoro and Notosusanto, 1984:430), *Rangga Lawe* rebelled against the Majapahit government in 1309. It seems that the authors of the text given in Table 3.8 connected an event on Java, which is mentioned in national history textbooks, with their own interpretation of the Javanese presence on Pantar. In other words, it is likely that the text incorporates elements from both academic and indigenous history, which is prevalent in Alor (Wellfelt, 2016:20).

The story in Table 3.8 is actually a simplified version of a more complex oral narrative. The narrative involves a tale about an ancestor in the form of a fish (or sometimes an eagle) who turned into a woman. The woman was found on Java by two brothers. One of them then married the woman. After the marriage, they moved to Pantar and their offspring became the present-day Alorese people (Gomang, 1993:28; Lemoine, 1969:11; Rodemeier, 2006:144, 344). Table 3.9 below presents a fragment of this narrative based on the Pandai account.

Table 3.9: A narrative about the arrival of the Javanese people (Video unique identifier: AOLYS_Pandai_2018_05_23_Cultural_Interview_00901-01)

1. Jadi ada dua saudara laki-laki, Akiae dan Majapahit.	1. 'There were two brothers, Akiae and Majapahit.'
2. Yang kakak Majapahit, adiknya Akiae.	2. 'Majapahit is the older brother and Akiae is the younger brother.'
3. Mereka berdua ke sini sedang memancing begitu.	3. 'They were both looking for fish.'
4. Mereka ke sini memancing.	4. 'They arrived here [because of] fishing.'
5. Mancingnya di Jawa.	5. 'The fishing [activity] was on Java.'
6. Lalu dia ini kan setelah dia obati ini, ikan yang dia ambil pancing ini sudah suruh dia berpakaian sudah.	6. 'Then, after he was healed [from unknown ailment], he asked the fish to get dressed.'
7. Bagaimana suruh dia berpakaian ko, datang bisa, turun bisa layani orang.	7. 'Why did he ask her to get dressed? So that she can come down and serve people.'
8. Jadi sekarang tadi dia naik, dia berubah menjadi manusia biasa.	8. 'So now when she climbed up, she [the fish] had turned into a human.'
[...]	[...]
9. Sehingga ada cerita di darat bahwa ada hubungan kawin mawin antara laut dengan darat.	9. 'There is a story that there was sexual intercourse between the sea and the land.'
10. Jadi keturunan Akiae dan Majapahit kawin dengan orang di gunung.	10. 'So the offspring of Akiae and Majapahit married people in the mountain.'

The narrative in Table 3.9 is the basis of the text presented earlier in Table 3.8. The other accounts of this same story differ from this account in some details, such as that the woman was originally an eagle instead of a fish. Generally, however, each account has a similar plot, involving two brothers and a woman. Such differences are expected, given that it is common for oral narratives to not only incorporate a sequence of events or facts, but also emphasize the drama of the story (Abrams, 2010:107). Today, some Alorese clans claim to be descendants of the 'Javanese' people from Majapahit. Due to these prestigious Javanese roots, these clans are considered the main clans in the villages of Pandai and Baranusa.

Besides Javanese ancestors, several other Alorese clans consider themselves to have ancestors from *Malaka* (a town in present-day Malaysia).

People from Malaka are believed to have established a kingdom in Munaseli. Table 3.10 presents a fragment from a text about the history of Munaseli.

Table 3.10: Text about the history of Munaseli (AOLYS_pan_WT-01, page 1)

1. Dari cerita-cerita rakyat dari zaman dahulu kala sampai sekarang yang bersumber pada syair-syair adat demikian pun dari tanda-tanda bukti yang ada pada masa lampau berupa kota atau benteng yang sementara berada di Lamalu sekarang kepulauan ini diungkapkan sejarah datangnya seorang leluhur dari jazirah Malaka beberapa ratusan tahun Sebelum datangnya bangsa-bangsa barat.	1. 'Based on stories from the past which have sources in traditional poems and evidence of past civilization or castles located in Lamalu [now Munaseli] today, there is now revealed on these islands a history of the arrival of ancestors from the land of Malaka a few hundred years before the Europeans arrived.'
2. Sekitar pada tahun kurang lebih 1347 datanglah sekeluarga besar Bapak Taru Amang bersama 2 (dua) orang anak laki-laki yaitu Mau Taru konon gelarnya bilang Sultan Markus, dengan seorang adik yang bernama: Babu Taru.	2. 'Around 1347 , there arrived the big family of Bapak Taru Amang with two sons: Mau Taru, with the title Sultan Markus, and his younger brother Babu Taru.'

The text is about the beginnings of the Munaseli Kingdom. The place-name *Lamalu* refers to present-day Munaseli. It is unclear how the author came up with the year 1347, but this chronology implies that the people from Malaka arrived in Munaseli later than the 'Javanese' people in Pandai (cf. Table 3.8). Moreover, this account suggests that around the fourteenth century, the area of northeast Pantar was exposed to contact with people from overseas.

3.4.3 The rise and fall of the Munaseli Kingdom

The Alor-Pantar region has been known for its local conflicts and battles for many centuries (Gomang, 1993:3). The Alorese inhabitants of the region have also been involved in these conflicts and battles. One of many famous conflicts is the war between Munaseli and Pandai. In this section, I present stories about the time when the Munaseli Kingdom prospered, until the major defeat by Pandai.

As stated earlier, the origins of the Munaseli Kingdom are claimed to go back to ancestors from Malaka (cf. Table 3.10). Thus, the people of Munaseli have a different history from the community who had already settled in Pandai and claimed to be of Javanese descent. Munaseli is located in the east of the

northeast Pantar peninsula, while Pandai is located in the west of the peninsula. The distance between the two villages is around 10 kilometers (see Figure 3.3).

Stories about the Munaseli Kingdom are often concerned with the wealth of this kingdom and a magic rooster (Gomang, 1993:84; Rodemeier, 2006:300). While rooster is often considered a universal folk character, the Munaseli magic rooster in particular has the power to grant wishes. Often, it grants gold. The rooster is believed to be the source of Munaseli's wealth. The tale about the magic rooster is attested in the local history, in both written and oral sources, as shown Table 3.11.

Table 3.11: Written and oral narratives about the magic rooster in Munaseli

Written source (AOLYS_pan_WT-02, page 3–4)	Oral source (AOLYS_Pandai_2018_05_23_ Cultural_Interview_00901-01)
Dengan adanya Bapak Babu Taru mendapat manu siri koko ini lah hidup dan penghidupan mereka semakin kaya raya dan katanya menurut cerita bahwa kota atau benteng yang ada ini pun ciptaan dari manu siri kokopula . Babu Taru ini semenjak besar dan kawin mendapat seorang anak laki-laki yang bernama Sirang Babu .	Kalau waktu itu didirikan kerajaan Munaseli itu karena dengan ayam tadi itu ayam sakti itu. Terus dikasih makan terus dia berkokok. Terus barang itu jadi. Jadi didirikan Munaseli begitu. [...] Raja yang pertama itu Babu Taru , yang kedua itu Lepo Mahi , yang ketiga itu yang Sirang Bagung Sudah. Raja ketiga sudah pecah.
'Because Babu Taru owned manu siri koko [the magic rooster], they lived wealthily and according to stories, the houses and fortresses were built by the rooster <i>manu siri koko</i> . When grown up, Babu Taru married and had a son called Sirang Babu .'	'The beginning of the Munaseli Kingdom goes back to the magic rooster . When given food, it crowed. And then, it granted requests. Thus, the Munaseli Kingdom began. [...] The first king was Babu Taru , the second was Lepo Mahi , and the third was Sirang Bagung . Then [the war] broke out.'

Both written and oral sources demonstrate the wealth of Munaseli. They also mention the first king of Munaseli, named *Babu Taru*, said to be the owner of the magic rooster. The character *Babu Taru* is the son of *Taru Amang* (see Table 3.10, line 2), who was the leader of groups from Malaka who arrived in Munaseli. Through *Babu Taru*'s wealth, acquired due to the magic rooster, the Munaseli Kingdom prevailed. Lemoine (1969:17) suggests that the legend of the Munaseli Kingdom involves not only a rooster, but also a golden turtle and a coral tree.

During the era of the Munaseli Kingdom, trading activities were centered in Munaseli. Rodemeier (2006:265) gives a detailed description of the trading empire of Munaseli; it is described as being a long-lost civilization until the invasion by the Pandai-Javanese, who forced the people of Munaseli to flee to Alor and west Pantar. The Pandai invasion of Munaseli was motivated by a conflict among traders. Lemoine (1969:10) explains that the wealth of Munaseli caused jealousy among neighboring groups. This interpretation is confirmed by local narratives from three villages: Bana, Wailawar, and Pandai, as shown in Table 3.12.

Table 3.12: Bana, Wailwar, and Pandai accounts of the war between Munaseli and Pandai (AOLYS_Bana_2018_05_19_Cultural_Interview_00702_00703-01, AOLYS_Wailawar_2018_05_21_Cultural_Interview_01002-01, AOLYS_Pandai_2018_05_23_Cultural_Interview_00901-01)

Bana account	Wailawar account	Pandai account
Perang itu kan masa kerajaan. Kerajaan Munaseli dengan kerajaan Pandai. Baru timbul angkat peperangan di Bana sini. Perangnya di Bana sini. Di sini kan pasar, di Bana . Karena mereka datang ke pasar Bana ini, orang Pandai juga datang, dari Munaseli juga datang. Lalu dari Pandai datang bawa garam, ikan, dengan kapur. Sedangkan dari Munaseli datang bawa emas. Datang baku tukar, lalu dorang baku keris di situ, baku hina. [...] Ada baku hina akhirnya ada perang. Yang menang itu dari Pandai.	Kalau dulu kerajaan Munaseli itu dihancurkan oleh Lahar Blegur . Yang menangnya Lahar Blegur. Sementara jual beli antara barang lokal dengan emas.	Jadi orang Munaseli turun dengan emas biji. Jadi kalau mau ditukar dengan jagung atau beras, atau tukar dengan ikan. Nah ini pakai dengan emas sedangkan orang dari kampung lain mereka hanya tukar dengan sirih pinang. [...] Baku hina sudah. Terjadi baku hina inilah makanya pada saat itu sampai juga perjanjian perang.

‘The war was in the era of kingdoms. It was between Munaseli and Pandai. The war was here, in Bana. There was a market here in Bana. When they came to Bana, Pandai people came here, Munaseli people also came here. Pandai people came with salt, fish, and betel nuts while the Munaseli people came with gold. They traded and mocked each other. [...] Because of the mocking, a war broke out. The winner was Pandai.’	‘In the past, Munaseli was destroyed by Lahar Blegur. The winner was Lahar Blegur. While they were trading local goods and gold there [pointing to the north, referring to Bana].’	‘So people from Munaseli came with their gold. So they traded their gold for corn and rice or fish. They traded their gold while people from other villages only traded betel. [...] Then they mocked each other. This is why they declared war.’
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The village of Bana is located between Pandai and Munaseli (see Figure 3.3). This place used to hold a market during the time when the coastal Alorese groups of Pandai and Munaseli lived side by side. The character *Lahar Blegur* is mentioned only in the Wailawar account, not in the other accounts. The trading situation is described as a busy market where people from Munaseli traded gold while people from other places traded fish and betel. This social inequality gave rise to envy, which led to a war.

Among the coastal villages in northeast Pantar, narratives about the war are attested in Bana, Wailawar, and Pandai, but not in Munaseli. In Munaseli, when I asked my consultant about the war, he did not directly refer to the war in his response. Instead, he narrated some highly detailed stories about the beginnings of the Munaseli Kingdom. I assume that this is because the defeat of Munaseli is considered a source of embarrassment for the locals.

The Munaseli war caused the collapse of the Munaseli Kingdom. The locals believe that several entities were involved in this war. My consultant in Pandai stated that people from Java, Kedang (Lembata Island), and Atauro (Portuguese: Atauru, now part of East Timor, located north of Dili) were considered allies. As a result, the war is considered to have been a great war because it involved people from overseas. The Munaseli Kingdom lasted for three generations: the first king was *Taru Amang*; the second king was *Babu Taru*; and the third king was *Sirang Bagung* (Table 3.11). The written text sampled in Table 3.10 states that the kingdom was established in 1347. Its collapse three generations later, due to the

Pandai invasion, must therefore have been around 1420 (if a generation is counted as 25 years).

3.4.4 The expansion of the Pandai Kingdom

After defeating Munaseli, Pandai became the political center of northeast Pantar. In a later development, Pandai expanded its territory to the Alor Peninsula and west Pantar. In this section, I present stories that relate how people from Pandai reached Alor and took part in forming a kingdom in Alor Besar, called the Bungabali Kingdom (§3.4.4.1), and how they established Baranusa Kingdom in west Pantar (§3.4.4.2; see Figure 3.3 for locations).

The general consensus about the history of Pandai holds that there was a couple from Java who came to Pantar and had five children. One child named *Dai Mauwolang* ruled the Pandai Kingdom, another child named *Bara Mauwolang* ruled the Baranusa Kingdom, and a child named *Tuli Mauwolang* ruled the Bungabali Kingdom in Alor Besar. The other two children ruled kingdoms in *Blagar* and *Kui*, the two non-Alorese coastal communities in the area (see Figure 3.3). These five kingdoms were consolidated under the political alliance known as *Galiyao Watang Lema* ‘five coastal domains’ (Gomang, 1993:28; Rodemeier, 1995:441). Gomang (1993:85) mentions that one of the founders of this alliance was King *Selasang Bakolaha* of the Bungabali Kingdom in Alor Besar. In the Alor Besar manuscript (AOLYS_alb_WT-02, Appendix A) concerning the family tree of the Alor Besar royals, King *Selasang Bakolaha* is the twenty-third king of Alor Besar. Considering that the present monarch is the twenty-eighth king, the alliance is five generations old (around 125 years old).

3.4.4.1 The Pandai expansion to Alor Besar

The Pandai expansion to Alor Besar marks the movement of the Alorese people from Pantar to the east in the sixteenth century. Wellfelt (2016:273) states that the lineage of the Alor Besar royal family tree went back seventeen generations prior to the year 1971. She concludes that the establishment of the first Alorese village on Alor must therefore have taken place around 1550.

In the Alor Besar oral history, arrivals of groups from Pantar are mentioned in a legend about the marriage of a couple who came from Pantar and from the mountains of Adang (Gomang, 1993:86; Hägerdal, 2010; Wellfelt, 2016:248).¹⁰ The main point of this story is that *Tuli Mauwolang*, one of the five Javanese sons, came to Alor and defeated a local ruler, called *Bunga Bara*. *Tuli Mauwolang* then

¹⁰ Adang is a mountainous area on the Alor Peninsula. The people of Adang speak a non-Austronesian language called Adang (ISO 639-3 code: and; Robinson & Haan, 2014). They live in the interior mountain area close to the coastal Alorese community (see Figure 3.3).

married a local woman and built a kingdom, named Bungabali. Some Alorese clans in the villages Alor Besar, Alor Kecil, and Dulolong regard themselves as the descendants of Tuli Mauwolang.¹¹ Table 3.13 presents an excerpt of an interview conducted in Alor Besar about the history of the clans.

Table 3.13: Interview in Alor Besar about clan history
(AOLYS_Alors_Besar_2018_06_06_Cultural_Interview_00301-01)

1. Ada tiga suku utama.	1. 'There are three main clans.'
2. <i>Bungabali</i> yang di sini ini atau disebut juga <i>Suku Raja</i>	2. ' Bungabali is the one living here, or [it] is also called Suku Raja [king's clan].'
3. <i>Suku Kapitang</i> itu yang Apu Kulung di atas ini, kapitang itu yang sekarang bilang pasukan tentara.	3. ' The clan Kapitang , this is the Apu Kulung from above here, Kapitang, which is now called the army.'
4. Mereka aslinya dari <i>Pandai</i> , dari desa Alila, ada dua etnis bergabung lalu tinggal di sini.	4. 'They are originally from Pandai , from Alila, there were two ethnic groups merged here.'
5. Suku Hukung atau suku Lelang Kisu.	5. 'Clan Hukung or clan Lelang Kisu.'
6. Mereka dari Solor, Mananga.	6. 'They came from Solor, Mananga [in Solor].'

The *Suku Raja* (lit. 'king's clan') is one of the main clans in Alor Besar. The clan is also known as the *Bungabali* clan. The locals believe that members of this clan are descended from people from the mountains of Adang. The clan *Kapitang* is descended from *Tuli Mauwolang* from Pandai.

Generally, the Alor Besar oral history concerns two different tales. One tale is about ancestors from Adang, while the other tale refers to an origin among the Pandai-Javanese. The first tale involves an Adang mountain ancestor and an Alorese-speaking woman (Wellfelt, 2016:248), who married each other and then lived on the coast. The second tale mentions Tuli Mauwolang as the first foreign arrival in Alor Besar (Gomang, 1993:28; Wellfelt, 2016:248). It is likely that this foreign arrival concerns groups of people from Pandai, mentioned in the interview presented in Table 3.13 lines 3–4.

¹¹ Note that ancestors of the villages Alor Besar, Alor Kecil, and Dulolong on the Alor Peninsula arrived in different stages and some are recent arrivals. These villages are considered to be the three Alorese villages that have mixed origins (Wellfelt, 2016:248).

3.4.4.2 The Pandai expansion to Baranusa

The Pandai expansion to Baranusa took place around the same time as the expansion to Alor Besar. The history of the Baranusa Kingdom also goes back to the Javanese association with Pandai, in which one of the five children, *Bara Mauwolang*, became ruler of the Baranusa Kingdom. The written text from Pandai narrates an event after the Munaseli war and the movement of Pandai people to the west.

Table 3.14: Written text about migration to the west (AOLYS_pan_WT-02, page 13)

1. Sesudah selesai perang antara kedua kerajaan Pandai-Baranusa melawan kerajaan Munaseli, maka pada beberapa tahun kemudian terjadilah kakak beradik yaitu Mauwolang dan Boli Mau (Boli Tonda) bersama semua keluarga kawan kerabatnya mengangkat kaki tinggalkan Waiwagang dan berangkat Menuju bagian barat.	1. 'After the war between Pandai-Baranusa and Munaseli, a few years later, the siblings Mauwolang and Boli Mau (Boli Tonda) together with their family members left Waiwagang [now Wailawar] and departed to the west.
2. [...] maka rombongan Boli Tonda tadi semuanya menyeberang ke Pulau Batang untuk tinggal di sana.	2. '[...] Boli Tonda groups attempted to cross to Batang Island to live there.'

Table 3.14 shows two lines from a written text that tell of movements of the Pandai people to the west. The group from Pandai left the Pantar mainland from Waiwagang (present-day Wailawar). They headed to Batang Island (line 2), located west of Pandai (see Figure 3.3). Then, a natural disaster struck the Lapang-Batang Islands (cf. §3.4.5).

Another expansion attempt by the Pandai people towards the west took place in the eighteenth century. A group of people moved to an island, named Kura Island, in the Baranusa Bay (see Figure 3.3). My consultant in Baranusa claimed that this movement happened in 1783 when the Baranusa Kingdom was under its eighth king. This Baranusa group settled on Kura for a few generations. Then, in 1908, a family named Baso, descendants of the former Baranusa king, decided to move the kingdom to the north, which is now the modern-day Baranusa.

An additional expansion to Kayang took place in the eighteenth century. Kayang is located 20 kilometers west of Baranusa (see Figure 2.1). Oral history in Kayang recounts that their ancestors arrived seven generations ago. Table

3.15 contains a testimony from Kayang describing the lineage of the first settlement in Kayang.

Table 3.15: Oral testimony about family lineage since the first settlement in Kayang

1. <i>Pertama moyang perang itu Lutang Lesi.</i>	1. 'First, [my] ancestor was from the war, [he was] Lutang Lesi.'
2. <i>Lutang Lesi dia punya anak Telu Lutang.</i>	2. 'Lutang Lesi had a child, Telu Lutang.'
3. <i>Dia punya anak Por Telu.</i>	3. 'He [then] had a child, Por Telu.'
4. <i>Por Telu punya anak Bleta Pora.</i>	4. 'Por Telu had a child, Bleta Pora.'
5. <i>Bleta Pora punya anak Woto Bleta.</i>	5. 'Bleta Pora had a child, Woto Bleta.'
6. <i>Woto Bleta punya anak Lawing Woto.</i>	6. 'Woto Bleta had a child, Lawing Woto.'
7. <i>Lawing Woto punya anak yang saya ini.</i>	7. 'Lawing Woto had a child, me.'
8. <i>Saya, dia punya anak mati.</i>	8. 'I have a child [but he] died.'
9. <i>Diganti saya, sebagai bapak.</i>	9. '[The lineage is then] replaced by me, as the father.'
10. <i>Sudah keturunan yang ketujuh to?</i>	10. 'It is already the seventh generation, right?'

The movements of groups of Alorese people could have been motivated by the pursuit of territorial expansion. Lemoine (1969:15) states that the king of Pandai sent away groups of people to colonize the surrounding area. It is possible that this has been a regular practice of the Alorese people, as in the nineteenth century, a king in Alor Besar sent out groups of Reta people to occupy two islands, Ternate and Buaya, in the Pantar Strait (cf. §3.4.6).

Some recent expansions in the west took place in the twentieth century. The village of Beang Onong in western Pantar was established in the early 1960s when people from Baranusa moved to Beang Onong. In addition, a community in Bagang, located around ten kilometers east of Baranusa, settled there in the late 1980s. A group from Kayang, west Pantar, also recently moved to the nearby island of Kangge and established the village Marisa there. Today, permanent residents are starting to occupy Lapang Island due to seaweed production around the island.

3.4.5 The flood on the Lapang-Batang Islands

The story about the flood on the Lapang-Batang Islands is known not only in the Alorese community but also in the Lamaholot communities in East Flores Regency and on Lembata. The locals there believe that the Lapang-Batang

Islands were once inhabited by their ancestors. These ancestors had to flee to Lembata and other places because of a natural disaster.

The Alorese oral accounts do not mention a flood on the Lapang-Batang Islands. Instead, when they were asked about the flood, some consultants responded that it was not in their capacity to tell the story because their culture does not have historical ties with Lapang-Batang. However, my consultant in Baranusa recounted a historic flood on Lapang-Batang that caused people to flee to Lembata. Table 3.16 contains a fragment of the interview in Baranusa.

Table 3.16: The Baranusa account about flood on Lapang-Batang
(AOLYS_Baranusa_2018_07_18_Cultural_Interview_01103-01)

1. Suku Sandiata punya sumber kehidupan kegiatan ini di Pulau Lapang	1. 'The clan Sandiata has a source of living from working on Lapang Island.'
2. Pulau Lapang Batang	2. 'The Lapang-Batang Islands.'
3. Mereka dulu hidup di sana satu kerajaan besar.	3. 'They [their ancestors] used to live there [in a] big kingdom.'
4. Suku Sandiata ini mendominasi Pulau Lapang Batang.	4. 'The clan Sandiata dominated the Lapang-Batang Islands.'
5. Ada bekas-bekas peninggalan masih ada.	5. 'There are remains of the kingdom there.'
6. Karena akibat tsunami, maka penduduknya meninggal ada yang lari dengan perahu sampai di Lembata.	6. 'Because of a tsunami, the people died and some of them fled [to other places] by boat [and] reached Lembata.'

Here, the narrator was actually talking about the history of the Alorese clans. He mentions the flood in the context of talking about the clan *Sandiata*, which apparently consists of descendants of people who once settled on the Lapang-Batang Islands.

According to oral tradition in the Lamaholot community, some of the Lamaholot people are descendants of the people from the Lapang-Batang Islands (Ataladjar, 2015:15–19; Sulistyono, 2015). Fricke (2019:13–15) suggests that the people on Lapang-Batang may have been part of the Alorese people, who have been present on Pantar since at least the fourteenth century. The Lamaholot clans who were originally from Lapang-Batang are referred to as *tena mao* lit. 'boat float' (Ataladjar, 2015:11). They are believed to be the refugees from the natural disaster on the Lapang-Batang Islands. Ataladjar (2015:37), having compiled historical records and oral history of the Lamaholot people, concludes that the natural disaster on Lapang-Batang must have happened between 1522–1525.

Evidence of the early inhabitants of the Lapang-Batang islands is in a record made by European voyagers. The famous voyage of Magellan reached

eastern Indonesia in the sixteenth century (Kelsey, 2016:30). A ship named Victoria, which was a remnant of Magellan's fleet, passed by the Lapang-Batang Islands on 9 January 1522 (Ataladjar, 2015; Pigafetta, 2010:150). A diary written by a person on the ship named Francisco Albo records two small inhabited islands located between Pantar and Lembata, identified as the Lapang-Batang Islands by Le Roux (1928:12).

3.4.6 The expansion to Ternate and Buaya

Another important movement of the Alorese people was the expansion to Ternate and Buaya. Ternate and Buaya are two small islands located in the strait between Alor and Pantar (see Figure 3.3). An oral testimony from Buaya states that the ancestors of the Buaya community were people from Pura who moved to Alor Besar and then to Ternate and Buaya. Pura is a larger island located south of Buaya and Ternate. Table 3.17 presents the oral account from Buaya.

Table 3.17: Oral account from Buaya
(AOLYS_Buaya_2018_05_30_Cultural_Interview_00401-01)

1. Itu moyang kita tiga dengan keluarga Bapak Raja antar datang di Alor Besar.	1. 'Our ancestors were from the three [villages] with the family of the king who arrived in Alor Besar'
2. Datang di Alor Besar langsung tinggal di Alor Besar di kali tinggal di situ.	2. '[They] arrived in Alor Besar and then lived in Alor Besar, close to a river there.'
3. Tinggal di situ, tapi namanya kita dulu kan nenek moyang itu masih Kristen	3. '[They] lived there, but our ancestors were Christians .'
4. Habis tinggal di Alor Besar itu di Alor kering.	4. 'Upon living in Alor Besar, Alor was [in the] dry [season].'
5. Tapi namanya orang Pura itu, namanya, sudah minum, bicara banyak, makan juga bisa ribut.	5. 'But they were people from Pura , they drink [traditional wine], they talk a lot, [and] they eat loudly.'
6. Orang Reta punya minum dari moyang kita.	6. 'The Reta people have traditional wine from our ancestors.'
7. Akhirnya Bapak Raja bilang, 'orang Pura datang tinggal di kita ini tapi ribut-ribut kita tidak bisa tidur.'	7. 'Finally, the King said, "the people from Pura came to live with us but [they are] very noisy [so] we cannot sleep".'
8. Jadi kasih mereka pindah.	8. 'So they asked them to move.'
9. Akhirnya itu moyang kita ini langsung dari Alor Besar.	9. 'Finally our ancestors [departed] from Alor Besar.'
10. Dulu itu perahu besar, dulu kan pakai perahu.	10. '[They rowed] a big boat, they used to travel by boats.'
11. Bawa mereka ambil barang dari perahu,	11. '[They] carried their belongings on

<i>langsung dayung.</i>	the boat and rowed.'
12. <i>Dua pulau ini masih kosong.</i>	12. 'These two islands were empty.'

This account indicates that the king in Alor Besar was disturbed by the noise made by the people from Pura and therefore, ordered them to move to Ternate. However, my consultant in Alor Kecil proposed that the king in Alor Besar ordered people to move there in order to prevent the Dutch occupation of the two islands. The association with Reta in line 5–6 implies that the ancestors of today's residents of Ternate and Buaya were probably speakers of Reta. Reta is a non-Austronesian language (ISO 639-3 code: *ret*) spoken on Reta, Ternate, and the Alor Peninsula.

In line 3, the consultant states that his ancestors were followers of the Christian religion. It is plausible that when the Reta people moved to Alor Besar, Christianity had already spread through the Alor archipelago. The Reta people then converted to Islam by following the king in Alor Besar. Subsequently, the Alor Besar king ordered them to move to Ternate. In 1935, this Reta group on Ternate moved to Buaya due to a religion-related conflict (Gomang, 1993:114). Today, there are three villages on Ternate: one Alorese speaking and two Reta-speaking villages. Meanwhile, the entire Buaya Island is inhabited by an Alorese-speaking group.

3.5 Alorese clans and their origins

Another topic that recurred in all the interviews was that of the Alorese clans. The Alorese clans relate to domains within a single Alorese village; each village is traditionally subdivided into domains for which the Indonesian term *suku* 'clan' is used.

When asked about the history of clans during the interviews, all of my consultants mentioned the clans with higher social status first, followed by clans with a lower social status (cf. Table 3.13). The clans with higher status are those whose ancestors arrived earlier and the clans with lower social status are those whose ancestors arrived in more recent times. Therefore, I expect that the order of arrival of Alorese clans may show patterns that correlate with the migration stories discussed in the previous sections. Table 3.18 shows a number of Alorese clans that have similar names.¹²

¹² Not all Alorese clans are presented in the table (see Appendix A for the complete list).

Table 3.18: Some Alorese clans and their relation to key events in the chronology

Chronology		Villages													
		Marisa	Kayang	Beang Onong	Baranusa	Waliawar	Helangtohi	Pandai	Bana	Munaseli	Ternate	Buaya	Alor Besar	Alor Kecil	Dulolong
I	Flood on Rusa	Muko-Bao			Bao	Mukoraja Being Marang	Being Marang		Being Marang	Mukor Being Marang				Bao Raja	
II	Arrivals from the west							Dingalaeng Laduboleng							
			Uma Kakang		Uma Kakang						Uma Kakang	Uma Kakang			
					Uma Tukang		Uma Tukang		Uma Tukang		Uma Tukang	Uma Tukang			
					Uma Aring		Uma Aring		Uma Aring		Uma Aring	Uma Aring			
III	Mountain people												Bungabali		
IV	Munaseli war							Lakatuli						Lekaduli	
V	Expansion to Alor					Pitang	Pitang		Pitang				Kapitang		
VI	Expansion to Baranusa				Uma Haliweka Uma Sandiata Uma Maloku			Haliweka Sandiata Uma Maloku							
VII	Expansion to Kayang														
			Kolong Kamal Mee Kaku Kobi Kaku												
VIII	Flood on Lapang-Batang				Uma Kakatua Uma Bepa Uma Puko Uma Wai Bofo										
IX	Expansion to Ternate & Buaya														
X	Recent arrivals				Makassar			Uma Kabagoe Uma Lamakera			Deing Wahi	Deing Wahi		Makassar	
XI	Expansion to Dulolong													Alu Kaee	Kaa Nae

The oral histories of the clans sometimes refers back to a certain event in the migration stories. In order to examine the connection between the Alorese clans and the migration history, I built a chronology based on a number of events, some of which have been discussed in the previous sections. These events include: 1) the flood on Rusa, 2) the arrivals from the west, 3) the mountain people on the Alor peninsula, 4) the Munaseli war, 5) the expansion to Alor, 6) the expansion to Baranusa, 7) the expansion to Kayang, 8) the flood on Lapang-Batang, 9) the expansion to Ternate and Buaya, 10) recent arrivals, and 11) the expansion to Dulolong.

Based on the similarity of clan names, I infer that these Alorese clans share common ancestors. However, this hypothesis is uncertain because every clan in each village tells different origin stories. In the following discussion, I show some possible connections between the Alorese migration stories and the history of some of the clans.

Several clans with similar names—*Muko-Bao*, *Bao*, *Muko Raja*, *Mukor*, and *Bao Raja*—are widespread on Alor and Pantar. My consultant in Alor Kecil claimed that the ancestor of the clan *Bao Raja* in Alor Kecil was *Saku Bala Duli*, a refugee from Rusa Island. In Alor Kecil, this clan has the highest social status. In other villages, however, the ancestors of this clan are not yet clear. For example, in Baranusa, the clan *Bao* fulfills the role of preachers in mosques, but their origin was not mentioned.

The clans *Being* and *Marang* are found in the villages of Wailawar, Helangdohi, Pandai, Bana, and Munaseli, which are located in northeast Pantar. In the interviews, my consultants claimed that these clans were originally from Helangdohi. Oral history in Helangdohi recounts that the ancestors of these clans were the two babies *Helang* and *Dohi* who survived the flood on Rusa Island (cf. §3.4.1). The majority of my consultants in these villages agree that the clans *Being* and *Marang* are the original owners of the land, meaning that they were the indigenous inhabitants of Pantar. It is likely that they were already on Pantar before the settlers from islands west of Pantar arrived.

In Pandai, there are clans named *Dingalaeng* and *Laduboleng*. Local oral history recounts that these clans were from Java. They hold the highest social status in Pandai. Several other clans that are of foreign origin include *Uma Kakang*, *Uma Tukang*, and *Uma Aring*. Clans with these names are relatively widespread in the Alorese community. However, it is unclear whether these clans share a common origin, as the oral history in different villages tells different stories. It is plausible that the names of these clans are related to their function in society, rather than their origin. For instance, the clan *Uma Kakang* in Buaya and Baranusa fulfills the role of community leader, while the clan *Uma*

Aring in Baranusa has the role of enforcing the local traditional law.¹³

In Alor Besar, the *Bungabali* clan is of Adang mountain origin. This clan consists of the descendants of *Mau Pelang*, mentioned in the oral history described by Wellfelt (2016:244). The clan *Bungabali* is at the top of the social hierarchy in Alor Besar because their clan members are the royal family of the Alor Besar (*Bungabali*) Kingdom. The clan that has Pandai origin is called *Kapitang* (possibly derived from Portuguese *capitão* or Dutch *kapitein* ‘captain’). This clan has the social role of guarding the land in case of war.

The history of several other Alorese clans goes back to different stages of ancestral arrivals. The clan *Lekaduli* is found in Pandai, Alor Kecil, and Dulolong. My consultant in Alor Kecil claimed that this clan is descended from the refugees of Munaseli who fled after being defeated by Pandai. The clan *Kapitang/Pitang* is found in Wailawar, Helangdohi, Bana, and Alor Besar. In addition, some of the clans with the name *Kapitang/Pitang* have a history that goes back to the expansion of the Alorese people to the east (Alor Besar). In Pandai and Baranusa, the clans *Haliweka*, *Sandiata*, and *Maloku* are presumably of common ancestry because their history goes back to the time when people from Pandai started to move to the west (Baranusa). In Baranusa, several clans have a history going back to the flood on Lapang-Batang. These clans are *Uma Kakatua*, *Uma Bepa*, *Uma Puko* and *Uma Wai Boho*. In Marisa, the four clans in the table are of unknown origin, but some of them came from Rusa and some of them were from the mountain. Furthermore, on the islands of Ternate and Buaya, the history of the *Deing Wahi* clan goes back to the time when the king in Alor Besar ordered people from Reta to move to Ternate and Buaya. Moreover, some relatively recent arrivals from overseas are also attested. For example, the *Makassar* clan in Baranusa and Alor Kecil arrived recently when traders from south Sulawesi came to Pantar and decided to settle there. In addition, the *Uma Kabagoe* clan is from Borneo and the *Lamakera* clan is from Solor.

The clans *Alu Kae* and *Kaa Nae* in Alor Kecil and Dulolong are of common ancestry. The oral history from these villages recounts that the ancestors of the two clans arrived from Pantar. In Alor Kecil, the *Alu Kae* clan is originally descended from the *Being* clan on Pantar. In Dulolong, the clan *Kaa Nae* is descended from the *Alu Kae* clan in Alor Kecil. Oral history in Dulolong recounts that the *Kaa Nae* clan moved to Dulolong from Alor Kecil and then built the Kingdom of Alor. The Kingdom of Alor is of recent establishment; specifically, from around the early 20th century. This kingdom started to recede when, in 1918, its king *Bala Nampira* was killed by people from Atimelang (central Alor)

¹³ In Alorese, *uma* means ‘house’, *kakang* means ‘older sibling’, and *aring* means ‘younger sibling’.

due to his attempt in preventing the construction of access roads on Alor by the Dutch government (Du Bois, 1960; Gomang, 1993:4, 81; Stokhof, 1984; Wellfelt, 2016:285).

To sum up, in villages that have political powers, the Alorese clans that have higher social status tend to be those descended from earlier arrivals that were mostly of foreign origin. This situation is mainly found in Munaseli, Pandai, and Baranusa. In Alor Besar, however, clans of foreign origin have a lower social status compared to the clans of Adang mountain origin. In Helangdohi and Alor Kecil, the primary clans are those descended from refugees from Rusa Island. Meanwhile, the primary clans in Ternate and Buaya are those who came from Pura via Alor Besar. Finally, the primary clans in Dulolong are those from Alor Kecil, who formed the Kingdom of Alor in Dulolong.

3.6 Summary

The oral history of the Alorese suggests that their migrations have been characterized by events such as floods, wars, territorial expansions, and community displacement. The ancestors of the Alorese people were a mix of mountain people and migrants; there were people from the interior Alor-Pantar mountains and there were migrants on coastal Pantar who then merged with the inlanders. In addition, this chapter has described the history of the Alorese clans and how this correlates with the Alorese migration stories.

In the chronology outlined above, the first key event in Alorese oral history is a natural disaster on Rusa Island which caused people to flee from Rusa to Pantar (Helangdohi) and Alor (Alor Kecil). The foreign arrivals on Pantar in the fourteenth century marked the beginning of political developments in the Alorese community, in which local kingdoms began to form. Subsequently, the people spread towards the east (Alor Besar) and west (Baranusa). Furthermore, some relatively recent movements, such as the expansion to Marisa, Dulolong, and the islands of Ternate and Buaya, are also attested in the oral history.

The history of Alorese clans also shows connections between the arrivals of each clan's ancestors and the events that mark the ancestors' arrivals. Even though not all Alorese clans show clear connections, some similarity in clan naming and community roles suggests that the history of the Alorese clans correlates with the migration stories. Several clans, such as *Being* and *Marang* have common ancestors going back to the mountain people in Helangdohi. Other clans, such as *Uma Kakang*, *Uma Tukang*, and *Uma Aring*, have similar roles in their respective villages.

Based on the description of oral history and the origin of clans presented in this chapter, the fourteen Alorese villages can be listed in order from the ones

that have the earliest history to the ones that have the most recent history. Table 3.19 thus summarizes the history of each village in chronological order.

Table 3.19: A summary of the oral history of the fourteen Alorese villages/communities

Villages/ community	Estimated date of establishment	Sources and the corresponding events based on oral history
Helangdohi	13 th century	Flood on Rusa Island took place five generations before the arrival of the Javanese group on Pantar (cf. §2.4.1; Rodemeier, 2006:103).
Alor Kecil	13 th century	Ancestor of the primary clan in Alor Kecil, named <i>Bao Raja</i> , goes back to the character <i>Saku Bala Duli</i> , who came from Rusa Island (cf. §3.4.1; 3.5).
Pandai	14 th century	Ancestors from 'Java' (Lemoine, 1969; cf. §3.4.2)
Munaseli	14 th century	Ancestors from 'Malaka' (cf. §3.4.2; 3.4.3)
Alor Besar	16 th century	Lineage of the royal house in Alor Besar goes back seventeen generations before the year 1971 (Moro, 2018:180; Wellfelt, 2016:273; cf. §3.4.4.1).
Baranusa	18 th century	A group of people from Pandai moved to Kura Island in 1783 (cf. §3.4.4.2).
Kayang	18 th century	Ancestry of people in Marisa goes back seven generations (cf. §3.4.4.2).
Ternate	19 th century	When the people from Pura moved to Alor Besar and then to Ternate, Christianity had already spread in Alor-Pantar (cf. §3.4.6).
Dulolong	1912	There was a power struggle in which the Tuli Mauwolang dynasty in Alor Besar was replaced by the Nampira dynasty in Dulolong (Gomang, 1993:81).
Buaya	1935	A group of Alorese people on Ternate moved to Buaya due to a religious conflict (Gomang, 1993:114; cf. §3.4.6).
Beang Onong	1960's	The village of Beang Onong was established due to expansion from Baranusa (cf. §3.4.4.2).
Marisa	1960's onwards	Marisa is the result of a recent expansion from Kayang.
Bana	1966	Based on the text <i>Sejarah Berdirinya Desa Bana (Bana Onong)</i> (AOLYS_ban_WT-01)
Wailawar	20 April 1996	Based on the text about Wailawar village (AOLYS_war_WT-01)

In addition to the list of villages, local kingdoms mentioned in the Alorese oral history can also be organized in the same manner. Table 3.20 summarizes the history of the Alorese kingdoms.

Table 3.20: A summary of the history of the Alorese local kingdoms

Kingdom	Estimated date of establishment	Sources and the corresponding events based on oral history
Koli Rawang	13 th century	Flood on Rusa (cf. §3.4.1; Rodemeier, 2006:103)
Pandai	14 th century	Ancestors from ‘Java’ (Lemoine, 1969; cf. §3.4.2)
Munaseli	1347	Ancestors from ‘Malaka’ (cf. §3.4.2; 3.4.3)
Bungabali	16 th century	(Moro, 2018:180; Wellfelt, 2016:273; cf. §3.4.4.1).
Baranusa	1783	(cf. §3.4.4.2)
Alor	1911–1918	(Gomang, 1993:4, 81; Wellfelt, 2016:285).

To conclude, the ancestors of the Alorese people probably settled in northeast Pantar and the Alor Peninsula in the thirteenth century. They came from Rusa Island and settled in Helangdohi and Alor Kecil. Then, in the fourteenth century, overseas people, depicted as ancestors from ‘Java’ and ‘Malaka’, arrived in coastal Pandai and Munaseli. With their social and political influence, these migrants from overseas merged with the inland population in northeast Pantar, and in later developments, spread to the many locations where they are living today.

The mention of arrivals from Rusa Island and the migrants from ‘Java’ and ‘Malaka’ suggests that the history of the Alorese people may date back to the thirteenth century, meaning their community could be as old as 800 years. However, the time when the Alorese language spread in this community is probably not as long ago as this; it is likely that the language only began to spread due to the fourteenth century arrivals, meaning it has been used in the community for the last 600 years or so. The speakers of Alorese must have had great influence in the region; they must have also been large in number and socially dominant. It seems that the group on Helangdohi are originally not Alorese (cf. §3.4.1; Rodemeier, 2006:103); rather they were descendants of the two babies who were saved from the flood on Rusa. Given their common ancestry, it is plausible that the group in Alor Kecil is also not originally Alorese (§3.4.1). Thus, the arrival of overseas people in northeast Pantar in the fourteenth century is more likely to represent the arrival of the Alorese-speaking community in the Alor-Pantar region.

A sketch grammar of Alorese

4.1 Introduction

The Alorese community speaks an Austronesian language called Alorese, or in Indonesian *Bahasa Alor* (ISO 639-3: aol). It is the only Austronesian local language spoken in the Alor-Pantar archipelago. The other communities in the area use non-Austronesian languages which are linguistically grouped as the Timor-Alor-Pantar (TAP) languages (Holton et al. 2012; Holton & Robinson, 2014). Speakers of the TAP languages had already settled in the area around 3,000 years ago (Klamer, 2014:14; Pawley, 2005:100; Springs, 2011:516), which means they already inhabited the area long before the ancestors of the Alorese arrived. As discussed in the previous chapter, the ancestors of the Alorese people are migrants who arrived in the area of northeast Pantar around 600 years ago. Their language is closely related to the Western Lamaholot languages, a cluster within the Austronesian Flores-Lembata languages spoken just west of Pantar Island. It has been suggested that Alorese is typologically isolating as it lost some of the morphology it once shared with Lamaholot; and it has undergone structural innovations (Klamer, 2020; Moro, 2018; Moro and Fricke, 2020).

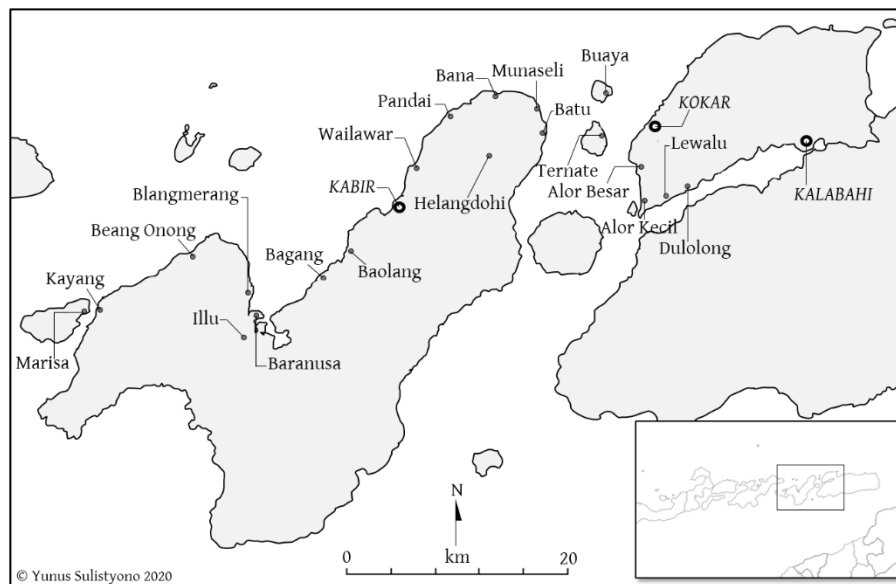
The purpose of this chapter is not only to familiarize readers with the grammar of Alorese, but also to serve as a form of documentation of the language, particularly the dialect spoken in northeast Pantar. In addition, this sketch serves as a tool to better understand the phonology of Alorese, in turn enabling the reconstruction of the proto-forms on the basis of dialect comparison. In this sketch, I describe Alorese phonology (§4.2), noun phrases

(§4.3), possessive constructions (§4.4), verbs (§4.5), clauses (§4.6), and lastly, sentence types and clause combinations (§4.7). In this introductory section, I provide information on the location and speakers (§4.1.1), data collection and processing (§4.1.2), and the conventions used in the transcription and glossing (§4.1.4).

4.1.1 Location and speakers

Alorese is spoken by about 25,000 people (Grimes et al. 1997:57) spreading across many locations around the northern coastal area of Pantar and Alor. Based on my survey fieldwork in 2018, I noted down at least twenty Alorese settlements, of which I surveyed fourteen. The twenty settlements are Marisa, Kayang, Beang Onong, Blangmerang, Baranusa, Illu, Bagang, Baolang, Wailawar, Pandai, Bana, Munaseli, Batu, Helangdohi, Ternate, Buaya, Alor Besar, Alor Kecil, Lewalu, and Dulolong. In addition to these villages, there are three major towns in the region where the Alorese community is mixed with speakers of the Alor-Pantar (AP) languages and migrants from outside Alor. These towns are Kabir, Kokar, and Kalabahi. Figure 4.1 shows the location of the twenty Alorese settlements and the major towns in this region.

Figure 4.1: The twenty Alorese settlements and the towns of Kabir, Kokar, and Kalabahi



This sketch grammar concerns an Alorese dialect spoken in three locations: Pandai, Wailawar, and Kabir. These locations are part of the Pantar district (Indonesian: *Kecamatan Pantar*) under the Alor Regency (Indonesian: *Kabupaten Alor*) of the East Nusa Tenggara Province. Based on the Alor Regency statistics (Indonesian: *Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Alor*; 2020:37), the population within the Pantar district numbers 10,235 people.

The Pantar district is accessible by boat from Kalabahi and Alor Kecil. From Kalabahi, a boat goes daily to the village of Kabir, while from Alor Kecil, a boat goes daily to Munaseli. The infrastructure in the district is still being developed. An access road connects villages along the coastal area, while smaller roads go up to the villages in the mountain. The only public transportation is in the form of a motorcycle (Indonesian: *ojek*). Trucks and cars are only owned by a few and are usually used to transport goods. In Kabir, Wailawar, and Pandai, electricity is produced by generators and is only available only from evening onwards, for twelve hours or more. In addition, electricity is also available during Friday afternoon and Sunday morning for religious activities.

The village name *Pandai* is an abbreviation of *pana dai* lit. ‘walk.come’, which means an activity of walking or an invitation for anyone to come to the village. The name *Wailawar* derives from the fact that the village is a merger of two older villages, *Waiwagang* and *Lawar*. The name *Lawar* comes from the word *plawak* ‘wide’ and the name *Waiwagang* from the words *wai* and *wagang* which have the meaning ‘water source’. Kabir is a fairly large coastal town in the Pantar district and is the district capital. Here, the Alorese people live side by side with people from other areas of Pantar, along with migrants from Sulawesi and Java. The name Kabir is an adoption of the Arabic word *kabīr/akbar*, meaning ‘big’.

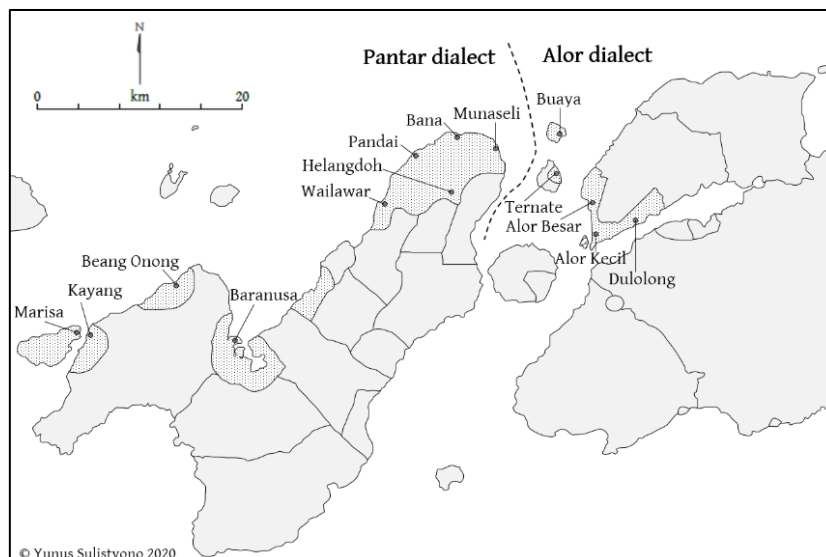
The inhabitants of Pandai, Wailawar, and Kabir are mainly fishermen and farmers. Small numbers of the villagers are traders and government officials. The younger generation prefers to go to bigger cities, such as Kalabahi (the capital of the Alor Regency) or Kupang (the provincial capital) for work or to pursue higher education. Some have even migrated to Sulawesi and Java in search of better prospects.

The village of Pandai is among the oldest villages of the Alorese community (cf. §3.4.4). The locals believe that their ancestors were migrants from ‘Java’ who came to Pantar in around the fourteenth century (cf. §3.3). These ‘Javanese’ migrants then merged with the local Pantarese who inhabited the island long before their arrival. Subsequently, intermarriage, trade, and territory expansions have led this group to grow into a larger community of Alorese, extending from villages in west Pantar to the regency capital, Kalabahi.

The Alorese speakers on Pantar, especially those who settled in the northeast villages, call their language *Basa Senaing* ‘local language’ (Indonesian: *Bahasa Daerah*). *Basa Senaing* refers to the Alorese language in general, including the dialect spoken in west Pantar and on the Alor Peninsula. Another term for the language is *tutu kedire* ‘speak language’ or ‘to speak the local language’ (Indonesian: *omong bahasa daerah*). In addition, the locals also refer to the Alorese dialect spoken on the Alor Peninsula as *Basa Alor* ‘Alor language’ (Indonesian: *Bahasa Alor*) which is then used as the cover term for the Alorese language.

There are two dialects of Alorese, the Pantar dialect and the Alor dialect (see Figure 4.2). These dialects differ mainly in their phonology and lexicon. An example of this is the use of pronouns; the Pantar dialect can use either *ro* or *no* for the third person singular pronoun, while the Alor dialect mainly uses *no* for this purpose. The local perception of the differences between the dialects also concerns politeness while using the language; in particular the Pantar dialect is perceived as less polite than the Alor dialect. In addition, it is possible for a speaker of one dialect to have some difficulty understanding another dialect. For example, a certain young speaker from Alor Besar found it difficult to translate sentences of a dialect spoken in Marisa (although he did eventually succeed with careful study and the help of older speakers). This is because some speakers of certain dialects have a tendency to shorten words, which diminishes mutual intelligibility with speakers of other dialects.

Figure 4.2: The Pantar dialect and the Alor dialect



4.1.2 Data collection and processing

The data underpinning this grammar sketch are mainly drawn from my fieldwork in 2020. This fieldwork was conducted in Pandai, Wailawar, and Kabir. These three locations were chosen because, based on oral history (cf. Chapter 3), the area of northeast Pantar appeared to be the location of the earliest Alorese settlements around six centuries ago (cf. §2.4.2). Based on this finding, I expected that the Alorese variety in this area would be more conservative compared to other areas settled more recently.

The fieldwork in Pantar was undertaken for a total of three months, resulting in a collection of thirty two recordings with a total combined length of 2 hours and 14 minutes. All recordings are in digital MP4 format. Table 4.1 provides the details of each recording.

Table 4.1: Recordings from the 2020 fieldwork

Village	Video unique identifier	Citation code	Speaker(s) & their age
Pandai	aolys_2020_07_10_stories_rkb-01	aolys_ST/RKB_1	1 female (38)
Pandai	aolys_2020_07_10_stories_rkb-02	aolys_ST/RKB_2	
Pandai	aolys_2020_07_10_stories_rkb-03	aolys_ST/RKB_3	
Pandai	aolys_2020_07_10_stories_rkb-04	aolys_ST/RKB_4	
Pandai	aolys_2020_03_28_stories_ska-01	aolys_ST/SKA_1	1 male (73)
Pandai	aolys_2020_03_28_stories_ska-02	aolys_ST/SKA_2	
Pandai	aolys_2020_03_28_stories_ska-03	aolys_ST/SKA_3	
Pandai	aolys_2020_03_28_stories_ska-04	aolys_ST/SKA_4	
Pandai	aolys_2020_03_28_stories_ska-05	aolys_ST/SKA_5	
Pandai	aolys_2020_03_28_stories_ska-06	aolys_ST/SKA_6	
Pandai	aolys_2020_06_30_conversation_memasak-01	aolys_CV/MMS_1	3 females (38, 44, unknown)
Pandai	aolys_2020_06_30_conversation_memasak-02	aolys_CV/MMS_2	
Pandai	aolys_2020_06_30_conversation_memasak-03	aolys_CV/MMS_3	
Pandai	aolys_2020_06_30_conversation_memasak-04	aolys_CV/MMS_4	
Pandai	aolys_2020_06_30_conversation_memasak-05	aolys_CV/MMS_5	
Pandai	aolys_2020_06_30_conversation_memasak-06	aolys_CV/MMS_6	
Pandai	aolys_2020_06_30_conversation_memasak-07	aolys_CV/MMS_7	
Pandai	aolys_2020_06_30_conversation_memasak-08	aolys_CV/MMS_8	
Pandai	aolys_2020_06_30_conversation_memasak-09	aolys_CV/MMS_9	
Pandai	aolys_2020_06_30_conversation_memasak-10	aolys_CV/MMS_10	

Village	Video unique identifier	Citation code	Speaker(s) & their age
Pandai	aolys_2020_07_02_conversation_hari_pasar-01	aolys_CV/HP_1	1 female (38), 1 male (37)
Wailawar	aolys_2020_03_31_stories_dja-01	aolys_ST/DJA_1	1 male (66)
Wailawar	aolys_2020_03_31_stories_dja-02	aolys_ST/DJA_2	
Wailawar	aolys_2020_03_31_stories_dja-03	aolys_ST/DJA_3	
Wailawar	aolys_2020_03_31_stories_dja-04	aolys_ST/DJA_4	
Kabir	aolys_2020_06_28_stories_hmd-01	aolys_ST/HMD_1	1 female (28)
Kabir	aolys_2020_06_28_stories_hmd-02	aolys_ST/HMD_2	
Kabir	aolys_2020_06_28_stories_hmd-03	aolys_ST/HMD_3	
Kabir	aolys_2020_06_28_stories_hmd-04	aolys_ST/HMD_4	
Kabir	aolys_2020_06_28_stories_hmd-05	aolys_ST/HMD_5	
Kabir	aolys_2020_06_28_stories_ltf-01	aolys_ST/LTF_1	1 female (48)
Kabir	aolys_2020_06_28_stories_ltf-02	aolys_ST/LTF_2	

In addition to the data collected during the fieldwork in 2020, I use recordings from my 2018 fieldwork in the village of Wailawar. Table 4.2 lists the details of the 2018 recordings used in this chapter.

Table 4.2: Recordings used in this chapter from the 2018 fieldwork in the Wailawar village

Video unique identifier	Citation code	Speaker
aolys_Wailawar_2018_05_21_surrey_01001-01	aolys_SR/HJW_1	1 female (48)
aolys_Wailawar_2018_05_21_surrey_01001-02	aolys_SR/HJW_2	
aolys_Wailawar_2018_05_21_frog_story_01001-01	aolys_FS/HJW_1	
aolys_Wailawar_2018_05_21_core_wordlist_01001-01	aolys_CWL/HJW_1	
aolys_Wailawar_2018_05_21_extended_wordlist_01001-01	aolys_EWL/HJW_1	

Besides data from my own fieldwork, I also make use of the recorded materials collected by Moro (2016b) during her fieldwork on Pantar in 2016.¹⁴ These additional recordings are used because they were collected in the village of Pandai; that is, in the same location as my own data collection. Table 4.3 provides details of the recordings made by Moro that are used in this chapter.

¹⁴ This material is available from the MPI language Archive in Nijmegen, the Netherlands, at <https://hdl.handle.net/1839/8e2e2262-0590-4a22-86a2c87ec87bfbaa>.

Table 4.3: Recording materials by Moro (2016b) used in this chapter

Village	Type	Length (min)	Citation code	Speaker
Pandai	Frog story	10:48	aolfm_FS/MDP_1	
Pandai	Pronominal marking	17:04	aolfm_PM/MDP_1	1 female (42)
Pandai	Stories	02:15	aolfm_ST/MDP_1	
Pandai	Surrey stimuli	12:04	aolfm_SR/MDP_1	
Pandai	Frog story	09:04	aolfm_FS/MFS_1	
Pandai	Pronominal marking	12:40	aolfm_PM/MFS_1	1 female (57)
Pandai	Stories	01:13	aolfm_ST/MFS_1	
Pandai	Surrey stimuli	10:00	aolfm_SR/MFS_1	
Pandai	Frog story	07:03	aolfm_FS/MMN_1	
Pandai	Pronominal marking	11:37	aolfm_PM/MMN_1	1 female (67)
Pandai	Stories	15:24	aolfm_ST/MMN_1	
Pandai	Surrey stimuli	10:45	aolfm_SR/MMN_1	

All recordings were transcribed using the ELAN linguistic annotation software.¹⁵ The transcription process involved myself, as the main researcher, and native speakers of Alorese; generally, these were the same speakers who featured in the recording. Following transcription in ELAN, I exported the data as .eaf files, which I was then able to import into FLEEx.¹⁶ A FLEEx project contains a lexical database and a text corpus, together with glossing and translation. In my FLEEx corpus, texts were glossed and translated into Indonesian, while English translation was used when adding information to the lexical database.

The FLEEx project for this chapter is named ‘The Pantar-Alorese corpus’. This corpus essentially contains all the recordings listed in Table 4.1, Table 4.2, and Table 4.3. The data from my 2018 and 2020 fieldwork is archived at <https://dataverse.nl/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.34894/APQDTX>. From this corpus, I obtained a lexical database of about 1,400 Alorese lexical entries. A short dictionary of Alorese based on this corpus is available in Appendix B of this dissertation.

¹⁵ ELAN is a linguistic annotation software produced by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, The Language Archive, Nijmegen, The Netherlands, accessible at <https://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tolls/elan> (Wittenburg et al. 2006).

¹⁶ FLEEx is a free software provided by SIL International and is accessible at <https://software.sil.org/fieldworks>. This software allows user to build corpus with glossings and translations that are connected to a lexical database.

4.1.3 Citation codes

Citation codes refer to the codes used to cite examples in this chapter. The codes for each recording are indicated in Table 4.1, Table 4.2, and Table 4.3 above. An example of a citation code is aolys_ST/HMD_1. It contains the Alorese Glottolog code *aol* and my initial *ys*, followed by an abbreviation referring to the type of recording, *ST* (stories) and the initials of the speaker. The number at the end indicates the number of recording within the same section of the elicitation process. In addition, I take examples from my personal fieldnotes; these are indicated with the abbreviation *FN*. A list of all the abbreviations is provided on page xv.

4.1.4 Transcription and glossing conventions

All examples in this sketch grammar are transcribed using either the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) or a conventional orthographic, in which most characters represent a single phoneme each. The IPA transcription may be displayed phonemically (/.../) or phonetically ([...]). Abbreviations in glosses follow the Leipzig glossing rules, with additional modifications where necessary. All abbreviations and their meanings are also given in the list of abbreviations on page xv.

4.2 Phonology

4.2.1 Consonants

Alorese has seventeen phonemic consonants, displayed in Table 4.4. Where the orthographic representation of a sound differs from the phonemic IPA symbols, this is presented alongside the corresponding phoneme in angle brackets <...>.

Table 4.4: Consonant inventory of Alorese

	Bilabial		Coronal		Velar		Glottal
Plosive	p	b	t	d	k	g <g>	ʔ <'>
Nasal	m		n		ŋ <ng>		
Approximant	w						
Fricative	(f)		s		h		
Affricate			dʒ <j>				
Trill			r				
Lateral			l				

The plosives appear in voiceless-voiced pairs, /p b/, /t d/, and /k g/, except for the glottal stop /ʔ/, represented orthographically as <'>. The three nasal phonemes are /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/.

The phoneme /w/ is listed in the bilabial column, but there is in fact free variation, with some speakers producing a voiced fricative [v] or bilabial approximant [w]. The fricative /f/ appears marginally in my Alorese corpus (Pantar dialect) and is only attested in one lexeme, that is *fiti* /fiti/ 'to shoot with slingshot'. The marginal status of the phoneme /f/ in my sample dialect is indicated in the table by placing it within brackets.¹⁷

The two fricatives /s/ and /h/ appear synchronically distinct, although /s/ is more marginal. Most of the lexemes that contain /s/ are loanwords, such as *sawa* 'rice field' (a Malay loanword *sawah* 'field'), *mesia* 'human' (a Malay loanword *manusia* 'human'), and *oras* 'hour' (a loanword originating from Portuguese, *hora* 'hour'). There are only a few native words that have /s/, such as *seru* 'to see' and *wisu* 'few'. The affricate /dʒ/ is orthographically represented as <j>, as in *ojo* 'wave'. Finally, Alorese has two phonemic liquids, the voiced alveolar trill /r/ and the voiced lateral /l/.

Some Alorese consonants can be realized as geminates in intervocalic position, as in *gadong* [ˈgad:ɔŋ] 'break (rope)'. Klamer (2011:30) suggests that this consonant lengthening usually occurs when words are uttered in isolation, such as in a word list. Geminates in Alorese are not phonemic and gemination is conditioned by penultimate stress and a preceding vowel that goes back to Proto-Alorese (PAL) schwa *ə.

The phonemic status of the consonants in Table 4.4 is demonstrated in minimal pairs given in the following sections.

4.2.1.1 Minimal pairs for plosives /p, t, k,/ and /b, d, g/

Minimal pairs of plosives in Alorese are shown in Table 4.5. Voiced plosives do not occur in word-final position. Asterisk symbol (*) indicates ungrammatical forms.

¹⁷ In the Alor dialect, spoken on the Alor Peninsula, the fricative /f/ appears as a substitute for the phoneme /w/. That is, while the Pantar dialect uses /w/ as in *wata* 'corn', the Alor dialect uses /f/ as in *fata* 'corn'. There is a clear distinction in the use of fricative [f] and approximant [w] between the Alor dialect and the Pantar dialect (cf. §5.8). The dialect described in this sketch has [w] rather of [f]. In essence, these are two different phonemes, but they are historically related.

Table 4.5: Voicing contrast between plosives

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/p/ - /b/	initial	/pa.na/	‘walk’
		/ba.na/	‘forest; mud’
	intervocalic	/kɛ.pa/	‘ground nut’
		/kɛ.ba/	‘wall’
	final	/lap/ *lab	‘wipe’
/t/ - /d/	initial	/ta.kɛ/	‘lizard; gecko’
		/da.kɛ/	‘thorn; sharp; evil’
	intervocalic	/ti.tɛ/	‘1PL’
		/ti.dɛ/	‘stand’
	final	/u.rat/ *urad	‘vein’
/k/ - /g/	initial	/ka.tɛ/	‘that; over there’
		/ga.tɛ/	‘itchy’
	intervocalic	/ta.kɛ/	‘lizard; gecko’
		/ta.gɛ/	‘sweet’
	final	/ki.pɛk/ *kipeɡ	‘slim (person)’

4.2.1.2 Minimal pairs for /ʔ/ contrasted with zero and /k/

In my Alorese corpus, glottal stop does not appear phonemically in initial position. However, vowel-initial words may start with a phonetic glottal stop, as in *anang* [ʔa.naŋ] ‘child’. Table 4.6 provides contrasts between the glottal stop and zero, while Table 4.7 provides contrasts between the glottal stop and /k/ in applicable positions. Most contrasts with the glottal stop are near-minimal pairs.

Table 4.6: Contrast between glottal stop and zero

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/?/ - Ø	initial	*ʔanaŋ	
		/a.naŋ/	‘small; child’
	intervocalic	/kaʔ.iŋ/	‘finished; already’
		/ka.i/	‘ADV; this; that’
	final	/la.kuʔ/	‘fold’
		/la.ko/	‘civet cat’

Table 4.7: Contrast between glottal stop and /k/

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/?/ - /k/	initial	*ʔapuŋ	
		/ka.puŋ/	‘mosquitos’
	intervocalic	/na.ʔaŋ/	‘3SG.POSS’; ‘POSS’
		/na.ka/	‘jackfruit’
	final	/na.muʔ/	‘fly (n.)’
		/ra.mu.k/	‘root’

4.2.1.3 Minimal pairs for nasals /m, n, ŋ/

Table 4.8 provides contrasts between the nasals /m/ and /n/, while Table 4.9 provides contrasts for /n/ and /ŋ/. The nasals /m/ and /n/ cannot appear in final position in native Alorese words. Several loan words have final /m/ or /n/, such as *wanan* < Indonesian *kanan* ‘right side’. Furthermore, the velar nasal /ŋ/ cannot appear in initial position in Alorese.

Table 4.8: Contrast between the nasals /m/ and /n/

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/m/ - /n/	initial	/mɛ.aŋ/	‘red’
		/nɛ.aŋ/	‘seed’
	intervocalic	/da.mɛ/	‘suck’
		/da.nɛ/	‘hit; pound’
	final	*a.nam	
		*a.nam	

Table 4.9: Contrast between the nasals /n/ and /ŋ/

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/n/ - /ŋ/	initial	/ni.ha/	‘fence’
		*ŋi.ha	
	intervocalic	/i.na/	‘mother’
		/i.ŋa/	‘think; study’
	final	*a.nan	
		/a.naŋ/	‘small; child’

4.2.1.4 Minimal pairs for fricatives /s, h/

Table 4.10 provides contrasts between the fricatives /s/ and /h/. As the distinction between /s/ and /h/ is not very prominent in Alorese (/s/ is marginal, §4.2.1), examples below show cases where the two phonemes are clearly distinguished.

Table 4.10: Contrast between the fricatives /s/ and /h/

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/s/ - /h/	initial	/sa.ru/	‘burn’
		/ha.ru/	‘who’
	intervocalic	/pa.sa/	‘shoot’
		/pa.ha/	‘hold; grasp’
	final	/a.lus/	‘good(-looking)’
		/a.luh/	‘mortar’

4.2.1.5 Minimal pairs for affricate /ɖʒ/

Table 4.11 shows the phonemic contrast between the affricate /ɖʒ/ and the voiced plosive /d/. In Alorese, neither phoneme is attested in final position.

Table 4.11: Contrast between postalveolar /ɖʒ/ and alveolar /d/

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/ɖʒ/ - /d/	initial	/ɖʒo.u/	‘priest (in Islam)’
		/do/	‘3sg (Malay)’
	intervocalic	/la.ɖʒa/	‘sail (n.)’
		/la.da/	‘storage house’
	final	*a.laɖʒ	
		*a.lad	

4.2.1.6 Minimal pairs for approximant /w/

Table 4.12 shows the phonemic contrast between the approximant /w/ and the voiced plosive /b/. Neither phoneme can appear in final position in Alorese.

Table 4.12: Contrast between approximant /w/ and voiced plosive /b/

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/w/ - /b/	initial	/w ^h ak/	'pull'
		/b ^h ak/	'heavy'
	intervocalic	/nɔ.waŋ/	'fabric; cloth'
		/nɔ.baŋ/	'hole'
	final	*a.naw *a.nab	

4.2.1.7 Minimal pairs for liquids /l, r/

Table 4.13 shows the contrast between the liquids /l/ and /r/ with their minimal pairs. The two phonemes are clearly contrastive in all three positions.

Table 4.13: Contrast between the liquids /l/ and /r/

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/l/ - /r/	initial	/la.ta/	'field'
		/ra.ta/	'hair'
	intervocalic	/ku.la/	'moss'
		/ku.ra/	'cassava'
	final	/na.kal/	'embers'
		/na.kar/	'(thatch) roof'

4.2.2 Vowels

Table 4.14 shows the vowels in Alorese.

Table 4.14: Vowel inventory of Alorese

	Front	Central	Back
High/close	i		u
Mid	ɛ < e >		ɔ < o >
Low/open		a	

Alorese has two high vowels, which include the unrounded front vowel /i/ and the rounded back vowel /u/. The mid vowels include the unrounded open-mid /ɛ/, which is represented orthographically with <e>, and the rounded close-mid /o/. The central vowel [ə] appears as an allophone of /ɛ/. The phoneme /ɔ/ has a variant [o], and both are represented orthographically as <o>. Finally, Alorese has one low central vowel, /a/. In the following, I illustrate contrasts between the Alorese vowels with minimal pairs.

4.2.2.1 Minimal pairs of high vowels /i, u/ contrasted with /ɛ, ɔ/

Here, I show the phonemic status of the high vowels /i/ and /u/ in Alorese. The two phonemes are compared with their phonetically close counterparts /ɛ/ and /o/. Contrasts between these vowels are presented below as follows: Table 4.15 shows the contrast between /i/ and /ɛ/, Table 4.16 shows the contrast between /u/ and /o/, and Table 4.17 shows the contrast between /i/ and /u/. These contrasts show that the high vowels /i/ and /u/ are clearly contrastive.

Table 4.15: Contrast between the front vowels /i/ and /ɛ/

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/i/ - /ɛ/	initial	/i.kan/	‘fish’
		/ɛ.kan/	‘garden; field’
	medial	/bi.hɛ/	‘borrow’
		/bɛ.hɛ/	‘hit; pound’
	final	/ta.ni/	‘cry’
		/ta.nɛ/	‘waving’

Table 4.16: Contrast between the back vowels /u/ and /ɔ/

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/u/ - /o/	initial	/u.tan/	‘forest’
		/ɔ.tan/	‘swing’
	medial	/bu.a/	‘to sail’
		/bɔ.a/	‘hit; slap’
	final	/nu.hu/	‘mouth’
		/nu.hɔ/	‘war; battle’

Table 4.17: Contrast between the high vowels /i/ and /u/

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/i/ - /u/	initial	/i.ɔ/	‘shark’
		/u.a/	‘betel nut’
	medial	/ba.iŋ/	‘wait’
		/ba.uŋ/	‘wake up’
	final	/ha.i/	‘sweep’
		/ha.u/	‘come down’

4.2.2.2 Minimal pairs of mid vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/

Table 4.18 shows the contrast between the mid vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/.

Table 4.18: Contrast between the mid vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/ɛ/ - /ɔ/	initial	/ɛ.karj/	‘garden’
		/ɔ.taŋ/	‘swing’
	medial	/bɛ.a/	‘big’
		/bɔ.a/	‘hit; pound’
	final	/na.mɛ/	‘sweat’
		/na.mɔ/	‘broom’

4.2.2.3 Minimal pairs with the low vowel /a/

The low vowel /a/ contrasts with the mid vowel /ɔ/, as shown in Table 4.19.

Table 4.19: Contrast between the low vowel /a/ and the mid vowel /ɔ/

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/a/ - /ɔ/	initial	/a.ta/	‘person’
		/ɔ.ta/	‘swing’
	medial	/ha.ru/	‘who’
		/hɔ.ru/	‘sew’
	final	/la.da/	‘storage house’
		/la.dɔ/	‘chase’

4.2.3 Allophones

Table 4.20 below summarizes the allophones in Alorese.

Table 4.20: Allophones in Alorese

Phoneme	Orthography	Allophone	Position/condition
/ɛ/	< e >	[ɛ]	All positions
		[ə]	Stress in following syllable
/ɔ/	< o >	[ɔ]	All positions
		[o]	free variation

The mid vowel [ə] appears as an allophone of /ɛ/ when preceding a stressed syllable. In disyllabic words, penultimate schwa [ə] is conditioned by stress in the ultimate syllable, as in *peku* [pə'ku] 'to cut' and *kete* [kə'tɛ] 'that'. In trisyllabic words, the antepenultimate schwa is conditioned by the stress in the penultimate syllable; if the penultimate syllable is stressed, the preceding vowel is realized as schwa, as in *benoteng* [bə.'nɔ.tɛŋ] 'wave' and *penuhung* [pə.'nu.huŋ] 'smoke'. The phoneme /ɔ/ has a variant [o], which is in free variation with [ɔ]; that is, [o] occurs also in all positions, but the variant [ɔ] is more frequently used.

4.2.4 Phonotactics

4.2.4.1 Phoneme distributions

Here, I present the permitted combinations of phonemes in Alorese. A positive sign (+) marks the permitted positions, while a minus sign (-) indicates the disallowed positions. The distributional constraints are summarized in (1).

- (1) Distributional constraints of the Alorese consonants:
 - a) The glottal stop /ʔ/ cannot appear in the syllable onset, or root-initial or final position.
 - b) The voiced plosives /b, d, g/, fricatives /h, f/, affricate /dʒ/ and approximant /w/ cannot appear in the coda or root-finally.
 - c) The nasals /m, n/ can appear in the coda but not root-finally.
 - d) The velar nasal /ŋ/ cannot appear in the syllable onset or root-initially.

Table 4.21: Distributional constraints of consonants

	p	b	t	d	k	g	ʔ	m	n	ŋ	s	h	f	w	dʒ	r	l
<i>Syllable level</i>																	
onset	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
coda	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
<i>Root level</i>																	
initial	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
medial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
final	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+

The glottal stop /ʔ/ appears in syllable coda position, and at the root level only in word-medial and word-final positions. The voiced plosives /b, d, g/, fricatives /h, f/, affricate /dʒ/, and approximant /w/ are all disallowed in the coda and root-finally.

The nasals /m, n/ cannot appear in root-final position, but /ŋ/ can. All of the nasals can occur word-medially, but only /m, n/ can occur word-initially. Since Alorese does not allow /m, n/ to occur word-finally, all final nasals are realized as /ŋ/. For example, the Indonesian loanword *badan* is assimilated as *badang* ['ba.daŋ] 'body', the Dutch word *rekenen* is assimilated as *rekeng* ['rekeŋ] 'to count' and the Malay word *salam* is realized as *salang* ['sa.laŋ] 'greeting'. In coda position, the nasals /m, n/ are sometimes geminated, for example in *nam.mu* ['nam:u] 'six' and *an.nɛ* ['an:ɛ] 'sand'. This often happens when the words are uttered in isolation, such as in a wordlist.

The fricative /h/ cannot appear word-finally, except in a number of Malay loanwords, such as *bodoh* 'stupid'. The affricate /dʒ/, fricative /f/, and approximant /w/ are also disallowed word-finally. The distribution of the historically related phonemes /w/ and /f/ is the same in all dialects; that is the Pantar dialect uses /w/ and the Alor dialect uses /f/, but the distribution is likely the same.

4.2.4.2 Consonant clusters

Alorese has a number of consonant clusters that appear in word-initial onset position. When uttered slowly or in a careful manner, a non-phonemic schwa [ə] can be inserted. Table 4.22 provides an overview of the Alorese consonant clusters in the onset position. A consonant cluster that is not attested is marked with a dash (-).

Table 4.22: Onset consonant clusters in Alorese

C1 →	/p/	/b/	/t/	/k/	/g/	/s/	/m/
C2 ↓							
/t/	-	-	-	/kt/	-	-	-
/d/	-	-	-	/kd/	-	-	-
/w/	-	-	-	/kw/	-	-	-
/m/	-	-	/tm/	/km/	-	-	-
/n/	/pn/	-	-	/kn/	/gn/	-	/mn/
/l/	/pl/	/bl/	-	/kl/	-	/sl/	-
/r/	/pr/	/br/	/tr/	/kr/	-	-	-

The following generalizations apply regarding Alorese onset consonant clusters:

- a) The first consonant of a cluster can be a plosive, /s/, or /m/.
- b) The plosive /d/ cannot be the first consonant of a cluster.
- c) The plosive /k/ is the most commonly used first consonant of a cluster.
- d) The nasals and liquids are the most frequently used as the second consonant.

Table 4.23 contains examples of each consonant cluster along with the number of (unique) lexemes displaying each cluster found in my Alorese corpus. The consonant clusters in these words are part of the underlying form; that is, these words are underlyingly disyllabic and are distinct from trisyllabic forms.

Table 4.23: Consonant clusters with frequencies and examples

Cluster	Number of lexemes	Example	Gloss
<i>/p/-initial</i>			
/pn/	3	/pna.haŋ/	‘to sell’
/pl/	6	/pla.wa/	‘wide’
/pr/	2	/pra.gɛŋ/	‘to hold’
TOTAL	12		
<i>/b/-initial</i>			
/bl/	6	/blo.lok/	‘tall (people)’
/br/	2	/brɛ.ha/	‘to sow’
TOTAL	9		
<i>/t/-initial</i>			
/tm/	2	/tma.ka/	‘to steal’
/tr/	1	/tra.gaŋ/	‘spider’
TOTAL	3		
<i>/k/-initial</i>			
/kt/	1	/ktu.ka/	‘middle’
/kd/	1	/kda.bu/	‘gwang (tree)’
/kw/	6	/kwɛ.tiŋ/	‘lost’
/km/	4	/kma.pak/	‘to lay’
/kn/	6	/kno.pal/	‘fish trap’
/kl/	12	/kla.rak/	‘forehead’
/kr/	6	/kru.mok/	‘slave’
TOTAL	34		
<i>/g/-initial</i>			
/gn/	2	/gna.bɛŋ/	‘wall’
TOTAL	2		
<i>/s/-initial</i>			
/sl/	1	/sla.kan/	‘to say’
TOTAL	1		
<i>/m/-initial</i>			
/mn/	6	/mni.pi/	‘thin (non-human)’
TOTAL	6		

The consonants /p, t, k, m/ used as the first consonant of a cluster, require further discussion. It is likely that some of these first consonants are fossilized

prefixes going back to proto-forms (Proto Flores-Lembata and Proto Malayo-Polynesian), as illustrated in Table 4.24 below.

Table 4.24: Sources of first consonant in consonant clusters

First consonant and example words	PFL (Fricke)	PMP (Blust & Trussel)	Gloss
<i>p-</i> /pla.ɛ/	*plari	*pa-laRiw	‘to run’
/pra.gɛŋ/	#pehen	[...]	‘to hold’
/pla.wa/	[...]	*lawa	‘wide’
<i>t-</i> /tma.ka/	*t<əm>akav	*takaw	‘to steal’
<i>k-</i> /kwa.ɛ/	*vai	*bahi	‘woman’
/kna.mu/	*kə-namuk	*ñamuk	‘fly (n.)’
/kni.to/	*kənito	[...]	‘forehead’
/kpu.hor/	*pusər	*pusəj	‘navel’
/kla.kɛ/	*(kabe)laki	*laki	‘man’
<i>m-</i> /mni.pi/	*m-nipih-i	*ma-nipis	‘thin’
/mni.aŋ/	*məya	*ma-həyaq	‘shy’
/mna.ka/	#m<an>akap	[...]	‘sorcerer’
/mna.o/	*m-panau	*panaw	‘tinea’

The initial consonants /p/ and /t/ can be considered fossilized prefixes as they have possible sources in Proto Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) *pa- ‘causative prefix’ and *ta- ‘prefix marking spontaneous or involuntary action’ (Blust & Trussel, 2016). An example from another language in the region that also shows fossilized affixes is *p-lari* ‘run’ in Sika (spoken on Flores). The consonant /k/ is also a fossilized prefix *k-* going back to PMP *ka- ‘formative’ (Blust, 2013:375). Examples from other languages in the region that show similar affixes are the Lamaholot words *ke-lake* ‘man’, *ke-wae* ‘woman’, *ke-puser* ‘navel’. It has been shown by Klamer (2020:355) that these fossilized affixes in Alorese are originally complex forms, proven by comparing them with active derivational morphology in Lamaholot. Lastly, the initial consonant /m/ could possibly result from fossilized Proto Flores-Lembata (PFL) stative marker *m- (< PMP *ma-; Fricke, 2019:180), which goes back to PMP stative prefix *ma-. Examples from another Flores-Lembata language are *nau?* ‘tinea’ and *meaŋ* ‘shy’ in Sika.

In the Flores-Lembata languages, sequences of consonants are commonly attested in word-initial position. Fricke (2019:44) suggests that this phenomenon can be explained by the common loss of an unstressed antepenultimate vowel. Word-medially, consonant sequences mostly occur in

loanwords. They are divided by a syllable boundary, where the first consonant is the coda of the preceding syllable and the second consonant is the onset of the next syllable. Examples are *sambo* /sam.bə/ ‘to help’, *rongge* /rɔŋ.ge/ ‘to dance’, and *jamba* /dʒam.ba/ ‘WC’.

4.2.4.3 Syllable structure

Most native Alorese words are disyllabic; such words make up around 82% of all lexemes in my database. Only 5% of all lexemes are monosyllabic, while 13% are trisyllabic. No quadrisyllabic words are attested in native Alorese words, except for compounds built from two stems that are lexicalized, such as *erepira* [‘ɛ.rɛ.pi.ra] ‘when’ < *oro* ‘DEM’ + *pira* ‘how much’, and *hakanai* [‘ha.ka.na.i] ‘to go up’ < *haka* ‘climb’ + *n-ai* ‘3SG-go’. In the following, I discuss monosyllabic, disyllabic, and trisyllabic words in Alorese.

Table 4.25 below shows the possible structures of Alorese monosyllabic words.

Table 4.25: Monosyllabic structure of Alorese words

Syllable structure	Count	Example	Gloss
CV	21	/gə/	‘1SG’
CVC	9	/nɔŋ/	‘with’
CCV	1	/krɛ/	‘that; east’

The syllable structure CV is the most frequent and is commonly found in functional words, such as pronouns and particles. Only a few words from the non-functional words are monosyllabic. CV is also the minimal structure for monosyllabic roots. All roots have an onset C(C); monosyllabic roots with V onset are not attested.

In disyllabic words, the most frequent structures are CV.CV and CV.CVC, as shown in Table 4.26.

Table 4.26: Disyllabic structure of Alorese words

Syllable structure	Count	Example	Gloss
V.V	4	/u.a/	‘betel nut’
V.CV	18	/a.hɔ/	‘dog’
CV.V	30	/be.a/	‘big’
CV.VC	24	/ba.iŋ/	‘wait’
CV.CV	201	/be.hɛ/	‘hit’
V.CVC	29	/a.laŋ/	‘sound’
VC.CV	2	/aŋ.gɛ/	‘coral reef’
CCV.V	7	/klɔ.u/	‘seaward’
CCV.VC	2	/klu.aŋ/	‘fresh (water)’
CCV.CV	27	/kni.tɔ/	‘lizard’
CVC.CV	10	/biŋ.ku/	‘hoe’
CV.CVC	149	/bi.nɛŋ/	‘sister’
CCV.CVC	19	/glo.kɔr/	‘round’
CCVC.CV	1	/pluŋ.ku/	‘kickbox’
CVC.CVC	4	/maŋ.gɛr/	‘necklace’

Disyllabic words with the structure CV.V containing two identical vowels may be realized as monosyllabic, as in *wuu* [‘wu:] ‘market’ *baa* [‘ba:] ‘heavy’, and *paa* [‘pa:] ‘four’. They are underlyingly disyllabic, but monosyllabic on the surface. Therefore, the long vowels are not phonemic, but can be regarded as double vowels. This also applies to CV.VC words that contain two identical vowels, such as *baaŋ* [‘ba:ŋ] ‘swollen’ and *tuuŋ* [‘tu:ŋ] ‘year’.

Disyllabic words with CV.CV structure can be shortened and realized as monosyllabic words, such as *kate* which becomes *te* ‘that’, *lahe* which becomes *la* ‘no; not’, and *kana* which becomes *na* ‘this; that’. This shortening is commonly found in adverbs or connectors. Not all shortenings of disyllabic words result in monosyllabic words. Some remain disyllabic, such as *klou* /klɔ.u/ which becomes *lou* /lɔ.u/ ‘seaward’ and *tangge* /taŋ.gɛ/ which becomes *tage* /ta.ge/ ‘sweet’.

Trisyllabic words in Alorese are commonly CV.CV.CV or CV.CV.CVC. Table 4.27 below lays out the trisyllabic structures of Alorese words.

Table 4.27: Trisyllabic structure of Alorese words

Syllable structure	Count	Example	Gloss
CV.CV.V	11	/kɛ.wa.ɛ/	‘woman; wife’
CV.CV.VC	4	/kɛ.lu.aŋ/	‘cold’
V.CV.CVC	1	/a.si.kəl/	‘shrimp’
CV.CV.CV	40	/ta.pi.na/	‘starfish’
CV.CV.CVC	24	/tɛ.na.kar/	‘roof’
CV.CVC.CVC	1	/ka.luŋ.kuŋ/	‘hit; fist’

Trisyllabic words with the syllable structure CV.CV.CV or CV.CV.CVC that have phonetic schwa [ə] in the antepenultimate syllable can be realized as disyllabic when pronounced quickly. Some examples are *kewae* [kə.'wa.ɛ] which may also be realized as *kwae* ['kwa.ɛ] ‘woman; wife’. As the realization with schwa is more common, I consider these words trisyllabic.

There are also several words that are trisyllabic and do not allow the vowel in the antepenultimate syllable to be reduced. These words are listed in Table 4.28; most are loanwords.

Table 4.28: Trisyllabic stems in Alorese

Trisyllabic stems	Gloss	
Loanwords		Origin
/bi.na.ta/	‘animal’	< Indonesian <i>binatang</i> ‘animal’
/mɛ.si.a/	‘people; men’	< Indonesian <i>manusia</i> ‘human’
/sa.pa.da/	‘machete’	< Portuguese <i>espada</i> ‘sword’
/sa.ban.tar/	‘a moment’	< Indonesian <i>sebentar</i> ‘a moment’
/sa.bɛ.aŋ/	‘to worship’	< Indonesian <i>sembahyang</i> ‘to pray’
/sa.ra.ma/	‘sermon’	< Indonesian <i>ceramah</i> ‘sermon’
/gɛ.rɛ.dʒa/	‘church’	< Indonesian <i>gereja</i> ‘church’
Others		
/tu.ra.iŋ/	‘spear’	
/nu.wa.la/	‘be a while ago; be some time ago’	
/hɛ.wa.i/	‘who’	
/pa.da.i/	‘divide; split’	
/mi.hu.a/	‘fruit bat; flying fox’	

Trisyllabic stems from loanwords are sometimes realized as disyllabic, for example *sapada* becomes *pada* /pa.da/ ‘machete’. The trisyllabic words that are categorized as ‘Others’ in Table 4.28 may also be historic compounds, such as the word *nuwala* ‘be a while ago; be some time ago’, which may be derived from PAL **noŋ* ‘and; with’ and a stem *ala/alay* ‘voice’; and the word *hanai* ‘go up’, which may be derived from PFL **hakay* ‘to climb’ and *n-ai* ‘3SG-go’.

4.2.4.4 Stress

Stress in Alorese is marked by higher pitch. If words are uttered in isolation, such as in a wordlist, stress almost always occurs on the penultimate syllable. However, when words are uttered in fast speech, initial syllables can be reduced and the stress moves to another syllable. This phonetic variation due to the reduction of syllables can be seen in words such as *lara* ‘day; sun’. When uttered in isolation, the stress is on the penultimate syllable [ˈla.ra], but when uttered in fast speech, the penultimate vowel becomes schwa as in [ləˈra], or even becomes barely audible, as in [l̥ˈra]. The penultimate syllable is reduced, therefore stress falls on the final syllable. Table 4.29 below shows more examples of penultimate syllable reduction in disyllabic words, causing the stress to land on the ultimate syllable.

Table 4.29: Stress on disyllabic words uttered in isolation and in fast speech

	Phonemic	Phonetic	
a.	/la.hɛ/	[ˈla.hɛ]	‘NEG’
		[l̥ˈhɛ]	
b.	/ma.to/	[ˈma.to]	‘frog’
		[m̥ˈto]	

When the phonetic schwa occurs in the antepenultimate syllable of a trisyllabic word, the stress remains on the penultimate syllable, even when the word is uttered in fast speech, as shown in Table 4.30 below.

Table 4.30: Stress on trisyllabic words uttered in isolation and in fast speech

	Phonemic	Phonetic	
a.	/kɛ.wa.ɛ/	[kə.'wa.ɛ] ['kwa.ɛ]	'woman; wife'
b.	/kɛ.lu.aŋ/	[kə.'lu.aŋ] ['klu.aŋ]	'cold'
c.	/bɛ.ri.ŋi/	[bə.'ri.ŋi] ['bri.ŋi]	'shivering'

In disyllabic words with a final consonant, free variation between penultimate and ultimate stress is observed. An example is *tahak* 'ripe' which can be pronounced ['ta.hak] or [ta.'hak]. The ultimate stress in [ta.'hak] can be explained through the heavy final syllable in the CVC structure, which causes the stress to land on the ultimate syllable. Moreover, when pronounced in a fast manner, the penultimate syllable is reduced, as in [tʰ.'hak].

In compounds, stress remains on the penultimate syllable and the primary stress of the compound coincides with the word stress of the first element of the compound. An example is *onong mara* ['ɔ.nɔŋ.ma.ra] 'thirsty', which is built up of *onong* ['ɔ.nɔŋ] 'inside' and *mara* ['ma.ra] 'dry'.

4.2.5 Complex words

Complex words in Alorese are formed through reduplication, subject agreement on the verb, and compounding. The examples in (2) illustrate word formation through reduplication.

- (2) a. /ki.laŋ~ki.laŋ/
kilang-kilang
 RDP~slow
 'slowly; go slowly' (aolys_EW/HJW-01)
- b. /tu.ka~tu.ka/
tuka-tuka
 RDP~middle
 'middle' (aolys_EW/HJW-01)

- c. /di.ke~di.ke/
dike-dike
 RDP~good
 ‘with care; be careful’ (aolys_ST/HMD-01)

Reduplication is the only productive derivational morphological process in Alorese. The language has lost almost all of its derivational morphology since its split from Lamaholot around half a millennium ago (Klamer, 2011, 2012a; Moro, 2019).

The examples in (3) illustrate subject agreement on the verb. Alorése subject agreement is discussed further in Sections 4.4 and 4.5.

- (3) a. go *k-enung*
1SG 1SG-drink
'I drink.'
(aolys20_FN)
- b. mo *m-enung*
2SG 2SG-drink
'You drink.'
(aolys20_FN)
- c. ro *r-enung*
3SG 3SG-drink
'She drinks.'
(aolys20_FN)

The third type of compound word formation is through lexicalized compounding. Compounding of words is very productive in Alorese. There are five types of compounding: the combination of N + N, as in (4); N + A, as in (5); N + V, as in (6); V + V, as in (7); and V + N, as in (8).

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|--------------------|-----------------|------------------------|---|-----------------------|---------------|
| (4) | a. | <i>ana bapa</i> | /a.na ba.pa/ | <i>ana</i>
child | + | <i>bapa</i>
father | ‘grandchild’ |
| | b. | <i>kajo limang</i> | /ka.ɖʒo li.maŋ/ | <i>kajo</i>
tree | + | <i>limang</i>
hand | ‘branch’ |
| | c. | <i>kajo ape</i> | /ka.ɖʒo a.pɛ/ | <i>kajo</i>
tree | + | <i>ape</i>
fire | ‘firewood’ |
| (5) | a. | <i>onong mara</i> | /ɔ.nɔŋ ma.ra/ | <i>onong</i>
inside | + | <i>mara</i>
dry | ‘thirsty’ |
| | b. | <i>ata bea</i> | /a.ta bɛ.a/ | <i>ata</i>
person | + | <i>bea</i>
big | ‘king; ruler’ |

c. <i>ekang tarang</i> /ɛ.kəŋ ta.raŋ/		<i>ekang</i>	+	<i>tarang</i>	'afternoon'
		garden		bright	
(6)	a. <i>ekang otang</i> /ɛ.kəŋ ɔ.taŋ/	<i>ekang</i>	+	<i>otang</i>	'earthquake'
		garden		shake	
	b. <i>laka gawe</i> /la.ka ga.wɛ/	<i>laka</i>	+	<i>gawe</i>	'adultery'
		curse		make	
	c. <i>tukang malu</i> /tu.kəŋ ma.lu/	<i>tukang</i>	+	<i>malu</i>	'hungry'
		stomach		chew	
(7)	a. <i>putor bale</i> /pu.tɔr ba.lɛ/	<i>putor</i>	+	<i>bale</i>	'lie; to tell
		turn		return	untruth'
	b. <i>ukur inga</i> /u.kur i.ŋa/	<i>ukur</i>	+	<i>inga</i>	'study'
		measure		think	
	c. <i>bua dagang</i> /bu.a da.ɡaŋ/	<i>bua</i>	+	<i>dagang</i>	'trade
		sail		trade	overseas'
(8)	a. <i>pitong ilu</i> /pi.tɔŋ i.lu/	<i>pitong</i>	+	<i>ilu</i>	'spit'
		spit		saliva	
	b. <i>maring ata</i> /ma.riŋ a.ta/	<i>maring</i>	+	<i>ata</i>	'invite'
		say		person	
	c. <i>gena ikang</i> /ge.na i.kəŋ/	<i>gena</i>	+	<i>ikang</i>	'fishing'
		search		fish	

4.2.6 Summary on the phonology

Alorese has 17 phonemic consonants /p, b, t, d, k, g, ʔ, m, n, ŋ, w, f, s, h, dʒ, r, l/ and 5 vowels /i, u, ɛ, ɔ, a/. The voiced plosives /b, d, g/ cannot appear in coda position; nor can /h, dʒ, w/. The glottal stop /ʔ/ is not attested contrastively in the onset position and the velar nasal /ŋ/ cannot appear in the onset position. Alorese has a number of onset consonant clusters, but when a word with an onset consonant cluster is uttered in isolation, such as in wordlist, a phonetic schwa [ə] may be inserted. Some of the Alorese consonant clusters are the result of fossilized affixes. The majority of stems are disyllabic. Stress in Alorese falls on the penultimate syllable. Finally, complex words in Alorese are formed through reduplication, subject agreement, and compounding.

4.3 Noun phrases

The structure of the Alorese noun phrase (NP) is head-initial, in which the nominal head precedes its modifier. Table 4.31 below shows the slots of a noun phrase in Alorese.

Table 4.31: Alorese noun phrase template

NP slots:	Core	Subordinate	Final
Elements:	N (N) (PROP) (LOC) (NUM)	(Relative clause)	(DEM) (FOC) (PL)

The template shows all possible slots for a noun phrase and the elements that can be inserted in the slots. The core slot contains up to two nouns, and the head noun can be modified by either a nominal (N), property concepts (PROP), locatives (LOC), or numerals and quantifiers (NUM). The core slot of the NP can be followed by a relative clause, which is semantically subordinated. Then, there is a final slot which can contain demonstratives (DEM), focus particles (FOC), or plural word (PL). In this final slot, a demonstrative can be used together with either a focus particle or a plural word.

In this section, I discuss the structure of the Alorese NP based on each slot. First, I discuss the core modifiers in Section 4.3.1, including nominal modifiers (§4.3.1.1), property modifiers (§4.3.1.2), locative modifiers (§4.3.1.3), and numeral modifiers (§4.3.1.4). Following this, in Section 4.3.2, I discuss the subordinate slot, i.e. relative clauses. Finally, in Section 4.3.3, I discuss the phrase-final slot, which may contain demonstratives (§4.3.3.1), focus particles (§4.3.3.2), and a plural word (§4.3.3.3).

4.3.1 Core modifiers

4.3.1.1 Nominal modifiers

Alorese nouns can be modified by nominals, which include common nouns, referring to general entities, as in examples (9) and (10), and proper nouns (names), as in (11) and (12). The head nouns are followed by their nominal modifiers.

- (9) *wai tana*
 water soil
 ‘ground water’ (aolys_EWL/HJW_1)

- (10) *uma gereja*
house church.MLY
'church house' (aolys_EWL/HJW_1)
- (11) *lewo Lawar*
village Lawar
'Lawar village' (aolys_ST/DJA_2)
- (12) *ama Jalas*
father Jalas
'Mr. Jalas' (aolys_CV/MMS_8)

4.3.1.2 Property modifiers

In Alorese, nouns can be modified adnominally with property concepts, including words that translate as English adjectives. In the Alorese NP, property concepts modify the head nouns without any derivational morphology, as illustrated in examples (13) to (17).

- (13) *tukang bea*
belly big
'big belly' (aolys_EWL/HJW_1)
- (14) *bai meak*
baby red
'newborn baby' (aolfm_ST/MDP_1)
- (15) *wai pelating*
water hot
'hot water' (aolys_CV/HP_1)
- (16) *kondo miteng*
cloth black
'black shirt' (aolys_SR/HJW_1)

- (17) *We bang seng wisu*
 3PL carry money small
 ‘They carried a little money.’ (aolys_CV/HP_1)

Many Alorese property concepts contain fossilized suffixes *-k* or *-ng*, such as in *meak* ‘red’ or *pelating* ‘hot’. This morphology is no longer productive and the forms are fossilized. The historic suffix *-k* means ‘be like’, while the historic suffix *-ng* is normally found on possessed body part nouns and kinship terms, thus marking inalienable possessed nouns. These fossilized suffixes in Alorese are discussed further in Section 4.4.

When body-part nouns are combined with property-denoting words or stative verbs, they form expressions that denote physical states, as illustrated in examples (18) to (20). When such a combination is used in a clause, the subject is the possessor of the body part noun, as illustrated in (21).

- (18) *onong pelating*
 Inside hot
 ‘feverish’ (aolys_FN)

- (19) *tukang malu*
 stomach chew
 ‘hungry’ (aolys_EWL/HJW_1)

- (20) *matang date*
 eye bad
 ‘blind’ (aolys_EWL/HJW_1)

- (21) *go tobo go matang date*
 1SG sit 1SG eye bad
 ‘I sat down and my eyes had gone blind.’ (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

4.3.1.3 Locative modifiers

Locative modifiers convey information on the topological relationship between the subject referent and an(other) object or a place. Alorese has two types of locative nouns: general locative nouns, and body-part nouns that can also express topological relations. Table 4.32 provides an overview of Alorese locative nouns.

Table 4.32: Alorese locative nouns

Locative nouns	Gloss	
<i>onong</i>	‘inside’	
<i>lolong</i>	‘top’	
<i>laung</i>	‘bottom’	
<i>ketuka/tuka</i>	‘middle’	
<i>awing</i>	‘side’	
<i>ipadai/papa</i>	‘side’	
<i>wutung</i>	‘end; tip’	
Body part nouns used to express topological relations		
<i>matang</i>	‘eye’	‘front’
<i>punung</i>	‘back’	‘top’

In the NP, locative nouns appear posthead, as illustrated in examples (22) to (25).

- (22) *utang onong*
 forest inside
 ‘inside the forest’ (aolys_CV/MMS_1)

- (23) *deki lolong*
 bed above
 ‘above the bed’ (aolys_ST/LTF_9)

- (24) *kajo papa kia*
 tree side PROX\L
 ‘next to this tree’ (aolys_FN)

- (25) *te dua kali te tobo meja laung te alang laheng*
 MED\S two.MLY time.MLY MED\S sit table below MED\S voice NEG
 ‘For the second time, (he) sat under that table quietly.’ (aolys_CV/MMS_8)

The use of body-part nouns to express topological relations is illustrated in examples (26) and (27) below. They also appear post-head when modifying the head noun.

- (26) *pite* *matang*
 door eye
 ‘front of door’ (aolfm_SR/MMN_1)

- (27) *meja* *punung*
 table back
 ‘top of table’ (aolys_FN)

These body-part nouns do not form fixed expressions with their head noun; they can also be employed with other nouns, such as *uma matang* ‘front of house’, *wato punung* ‘top of rock’, or *kandera punung* ‘top of chair’. The body-part noun *punung* ‘back’ in the expression *meja punung* ‘top of table’ entails a view of the table as having a form like an animal, where the back of the animal is at the top.

4.3.1.4 Numeral modifiers

Alorese numeral modifiers and quantifiers follow the head noun. In this section, I provide examples of the use of number marking and numeral quantifiers in Alorese noun phrases. Table 4.33 below lists the Alorese cardinal numerals.

Table 4.33: Alorese cardinal numerals

#	Numbers	#	Numbers
1	<i>tou</i>	20	<i>ka-rua</i>
2	<i>rua</i>	21	<i>ka-rua ilak tou</i>
3	<i>talo</i>	22	<i>ka-rua ilak rua</i>
4	<i>paa</i>	30	<i>kar-talo</i>
5	<i>lema</i>	31	<i>kar-talo ilak tou</i>
6	<i>namu</i>	50	<i>kar-lema</i>
7	<i>pito</i>	100	<i>ratu tou/ ratu</i>
8	<i>buto</i>	102	<i>ratu tou rua</i>
9	<i>hiwa</i>	200	<i>ratu rua</i>
10	<i>kar-tou</i>	125	<i>ratu ka-rua ilak lema</i>
11	<i>kar-tou ilak tou</i>	1,000	<i>ribu tou/ ribu</i>
12	<i>kar-tou ilak rua</i>	1,983	<i>ribu ratu hiwa kar-buto ilak talo</i>
13	<i>kar-tou ilak talo</i>	2,000	<i>ribu rua</i>
14	<i>kar-tou ilak paa</i>	1,000,000	<i>juta tou/ juta</i>
19	<i>kar-tou ilak hiwa</i>	1,250,000	<i>juta tou ribu ratu rua kar-lema</i>

All basic numerals are inherited from PFL, except for the forms of *tou* ‘one’ and *buto* ‘eight’. Historically, the form *tou* ‘one’ is an innovation in the Lamaholot and Kedang languages (Fricke, 2019:366). The form *buto* ‘eight’ is related to *butu* or *wutu* ‘four’ in the languages spoken on Flores, in which the form *butu rai* ‘four many’ is used to express the numeral form of ‘eight’ (Fricke, 2019:367; Klamer, 2011:42; Schapper & Klamer, 2014:329). The form *kar-* ‘tens’ is a loan from the Alor-Pantar languages, as *qar ‘ten; tens’ has been reconstructed for proto Alor-Pantar (PAP; Holton & Robinson, 2014:90). The origin of the Alorese additive marker *ilak* is still unclear. It is different from Lamaholot, which has *pulu* ‘ten’ (Nagaya, 2011:161; Nishiyama & Kelen, 2007:38). Nor is it identical to the Alor-Pantar additive operator *wali* ‘fill, full, gather more’ which signifies addition and appears between the tens and the units when forming numbers that is a set or series of ten (Schapper & Klamer, 2014:307). The terms for thousand and million are loan words from Malay *ribu* ‘thousand’ and *juta* ‘million’.

The Alorese numeral *tou* ‘one’ can also function as indefinite marker, as illustrated in example (28).

- (28) *Bai anang tou tide kali jendela.*
 child small one stand LOC.LOW window
 ‘A child was standing at the window.’ (aolfm_FS/MFS_1)

In Alorese, it is also possible to have a nominal phrase with a numeral where the noun is omitted, as in (29).

- (29) *Ada wato talo kemapak tou bea rua kihu.*
 exist.MLY rock three lay one big two small
 ‘There were three stones lying (on the ground), one (of them) was big,
 two (of them) were small.’ (aolfm_SR/MFS_1)

Quantifiers take the same position as numerals, as illustrated in examples (30) and (31).

- (30) *Kia te muko labi to?*
 PROX MED\S banana many PART.MLY
 ‘This (village) is rich in bananas, right?’ (aolfm_ST/HMD_2)

- (31) *we baang seng wisu*
 3PL carry money small
 'He carried a little money.' (aolys_CV/HP_1)

When preceded by a unit of time, the numeral also follows the head noun, as illustrated in (32) and (33).

- (32) *wulang pito*
 month seven
 'the seventh month (July)' (aolys_ST/RKB_8)

- (33) *Na umur tuung kertou.*
 POSS age.MLY year ten
 'His age is ten.' (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

4.3.2 Relative clauses

Alorese does not have a native relativizer. However, due to the influence of local Malay and the use of Indonesian, the relative marker *yang* 'REL.MLY' is quite productive in the language. In Alorese, the function of the Indonesian relativizer *yang* is similar to its use in Indonesian sentences.

In the Alorese NP construction, a relative clause follows the head. The subordinate slot precedes the final slot, which may contain either demonstratives, focus particles, discourse particles, or demonstratives, together with either a focus particle or a plural word. A relative clause can be used to relativize a subject NP, as illustrated in (34), an object NP, as illustrated in (35), and it can function as a nominalizer, as illustrated in (36).

- (34) *g=ina yang jaga uma te pelae mene*
 1SG.POSS=mother REL.MLY guard.MLY house MED\S run come
 'My mother, who guards the house, comes running.' (aolfm_ST/RHM_1)

- (35) *batubata yang ada kate ata lalu tahang kaing*
 brick.MLY REL.MLY exist.MLY MED\LPerson CONJ.MLY hold.MLY already
 'The bricks that are over there, were kept (by someone).' (aolys_CV/HP_1)

- (36) *Ada yang Salang ada yang Kristen.*
 exist.MLY REL.MLY Islam exist.MLY REL.MLY Christian
 ‘There are Muslims (and) there are Christians.’ (aolys_ST/DJA_3)

4.3.3 Phrase-final slots

4.3.3.1 Demonstratives

Demonstratives can be categorized into proximal, medial, and distal, listed in Table 4.34. In the NP construction, these demonstratives are not strictly modifiers, but they situate a noun in the discourse and fill the phrase-final slot.

Table 4.34: Demonstratives in Alorese

Gloss	Long form	Short form
PROX	<i>kia</i>	<i>ke</i>
PROX	<i>hang</i>	<i>ha</i>
MED	<i>kate</i>	<i>te</i>
DIST	<i>kewali</i>	<i>wali</i>

All demonstratives appear in both long and short forms. Alorese has two proximal demonstratives; the demonstrative *kia/ke* ‘PROX’ is the most frequently used, while *hang/ha* ‘PROX’ is not used very frequently. The medial demonstrative *kate/te* ‘MED’ is used to indicate something in between proximal and distal position. The distal demonstrative *kewali/wali* ‘DIST’ is used to indicate something in a relatively distant position. Both the medial and the distal demonstratives can also be used to point to something that is not visible to the speaker. In the Alorese NP, demonstratives follow the head noun, as illustrated in examples (37) to (43).

- (37) *bapa kia*
 father PROX\L
 ‘this man’ (aolys_ST/SKA_1)
- (38) *manu ke*
 chicken PROX\S
 ‘this chicken’ (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

- (39) *aho hang*
 dog PROX\L
 ‘this dog’ (aolys_FS/HJW_1)
- (40) *ata ha*
 person PROX\S
 ‘this person’ (aolfm_SR/MDP_1)
- (41) *jadi makanan te habis*
 so.MLY food.MLY MED\S finish.MLY
 ‘So, that food is finished.’ (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)
- (42) *jadi kerajang uma sigi kate*
 so.MLY work house mosque MED\L
 ‘So (he) works (building) that mosque.’ (aolys_ST/SKA_5)
- (43) ... *gute kali wali seng ratu rua karlema.*
 take LOC.LOW DIST\S money hundredread two fifty
 ‘... (they) take that two hundredread and fifty (thousand rupiahs).’
 (aolys_CV/HP_1)

Based on the current data set, there is no clear rule determining whether the demonstratives appear in long or short form. My consultants expressed that the difference between the long and the short form lies in politeness; for example, the demonstrative *kia* is considered more polite than *ke*.

4.3.3.2 Focus particle

Alorese has a focus particle *aru/ru* ‘FOC’ which functions as a contrastive focus marker, emphasizing the subject or object noun. It occurs following the head noun, as illustrated in examples (44) to (48).

- (44) *ternyata kemore aru keluar*
 evidently.MLY rat FOC exit.MLY
 ‘Evidently, it was the rat went out.’ (aolfm_FS/MDP_36)
- (45) *mo ru molo hela tapo*
 2SG FOC straight climb coconut
 ‘You are the one who climbs the coconut tree.’ (aolfm_ST/MFS_1)

The focus particle always occurs at the very end of the phrase, even when a modifier is placed between the head noun and the focus particle, as illustrated in (46).

- (46) *ro hanya bangang manu kali aru*
 3PL just.MLY ask rooster LOC.LOW FOC
 ‘He only asked for THAT rooster.’ (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

When the focus particle is used together with a demonstrative, the focus particle is placed following the demonstrative, as illustrated in (47) and (48).

- (47) *manu ke aru mo m-ate*
 chicken MED\S FOC 2SG 2SG-bring
 ‘THAT chicken you bring’ (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

- (48) *kewae kate ru n-ai jawa sampe hari kia bale lahe*
 woman MED\LFOC 3SG-go Java until.MLY day PROX return NEG
 ‘THAT woman went to Java (and) has not returned home.’
 (aolys_ST/SKA_5)

4.3.3.3 Plural word

Alorese has a word *hire* ‘PL’ which expresses plurality. It occurs following the head noun, as illustrated in example (49). It cannot co-occur with numerals but can be combined with a classifier, as illustrated in (50) and (51) (Moro, 2018:184–185).

- (49) *muko hire*
 banana PL
 ‘bananas’ (aolys_ST/HMD_4)

- (50) **mato anang namung hire*
 frog small six PL
 ‘Intended: six frogs’ (Moro, 2018:184)

- (51) *Klake te no n-ate kurajafa odang hire.*
 man MED\S 3SG 3SG-bring cassava CLF.stick PL
 ‘That man brings some cassavas.’ (Moro, 2018:184)

When it is used with a demonstrative, the plural word occurs before the demonstrative. It can also be combined with a reduplicated noun, as in (52).

- (52) *Ata r-eing ongong~ongong hire kate*
 person 3PL.POSS RDP~bruise PL MED\L
 ‘That person bruises’ (aolys_ST/SKA_5)

4.4 Possessive constructions

In this section, I present three aspects of Alorese possessive constructions: phrases with a nominal possessor (§4.4.1), phrases with a pronominal possessor (§4.4.2), and traces of an alienability distinction in the Alorese possessive construction (§4.4.3).

4.4.1 Phrases with a nominal possessor

4.4.1.1 Noun + noun

The simplest possessive construction in Alorese is possession by a noun. In this construction, the order is the possessor noun followed by the noun that is possessed. There is no inflectional morphology involved. Examples (53) and (54) illustrate this construction.

- (53) *aho kotong*
 dog head
 ‘(the) dog’s head’ (aolys_FS/HJW_1)

- (54) *taragang umang*
 spider house
 ‘(the) spider’s web’ (aolys_EW/HJW_1)

4.4.1.2 Noun + possessive linker + noun

Another possessive construction also contains two nouns, but with a possessive linker in between. Examples (55) and (56) illustrate this construction.

- (55) *ruha na'ang huar*
 deer POSS horn
 '(the) deer's horn' (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

- (56) *ula na uma*
 snake POSS house
 '(the) snake's house' (aolys_FN)

In the examples above, the possessive linkers *na'ang* and *na* 'POSS' are used in the same way and in the same context; the later is a short form of the former. Examples (57) to (60) below show that the use of the long form or the short form of *na'ang/na* 'POSS' does not relate to any apparent difference in meaning.

- (57) *Ujang na kewae*
 Ujang POSS woman
 'Ujang's wife' (aolys_CV/MMS_5)

- (58) *muko na'ang kamang*
 banana POSS skin
 'banana skin' (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

- (59) *Kobar na'ang paman*
 Kobar POSS uncle
 'Kobar's uncle' (aolys_CV/MMS_8)

- (60) *gambeing na uma*
 old.man POSS house
 '(the) old man's house' (aolys_CV/HP_1)

The possessive linker *na'ang* 'POSS' is related to the possessive verb *n-a'ang* '3SG-have'. Examples (61) and (62) illustrate the use of the verbal predicate *n-a'ang*, which functions like Indonesian *punya* 'to have/possess'.

- (61) *Raja Tanatukang kate ro n-a'ang kewae ata pito.*
 king Tanatukang MED\L 3SG 3SG-to.have woman person seven
 'King Tanatukang, he had seven wives.' (aolfm_ST/MMN_3)

- (62) *ina nong n-a'ang anang namu kaing.*
 mother 3SG 3SG-to.have child six already
 'A woman, she has six children.' (aolfm_ST/MMN_3)

4.4.2 Phrases with a pronominal possessor

4.4.2.1 Pronoun + noun

Here, I discuss possessive constructions in which a pronoun is followed by a noun. In Alorese, personal pronouns can function as possessive pronouns when preceding a noun. Table 4.35 below lists the Alorese personal pronouns.

Table 4.35: Alorese personal pronoun

Gloss	Personal pronoun
1SG	<i>go</i>
2SG	<i>mo</i>
3SG	<i>ro/no</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>kame</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>tite</i>
2PL	<i>mi</i>
3PL	<i>we</i>

The third person singular pronoun is either *ro* or *no* '3SG'. In the Pantar dialect, both forms are used for the third person pronoun, but *ro* '3SG' is more frequent. In contrast, the Alor dialect only uses the pronoun *no* '3SG'; the form *ro* in the Alor dialect is a locative marker (short for *oro* 'LOC'; see §4.8). Examples (63) to (66) below show how personal pronouns in Alorese can also function as possessive pronouns.

- (63) *go uma*
 1SG house
 'my house' (aolys_ST/DJA_2)
- (64) *kame basa daerah*
 1PL.EXCL language region.MLY
 'our local language' (aolys_CV/MMS_8)

- (aolys_FN)

(aolys_cv/MMS_7)

4.4.2.2 Pronoun + possessive linker + noun

(aolys_FN)

- (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

- (aolys_cv/MMS_5)

- (aolys_cv/MMS_8)

- (71) *g-o'ong kawan*
 1SG-POSS friend
 'my friend' (aolys_ST/ITF_2)

A pronoun can either take only the possessive linker or only the inflected possessive verb, displayed in Table 4.36. As mentioned earlier, the inflected verb *n-a'ang* '3SG-to.have' has functions similarly to the Indonesian/Malay verb *punya* 'to have'. The third person singular possessive form of this inflected verb is the same essentially as the possessive linker *n-a'ang* '3SG-POSS' (introduced in §4.4.1.2). Since *na'ang* can combine with all pronouns and nouns, regardless of whether they are third person singular or not, *na'ang* is considered a default linker. However, *na'ang* is also the third person singular form of the verb *-a'ang* 'to have'. The inflected possessive verb is not completely regular (cf. §4.5.3). Table 4.36 below shows the paradigm of the Alorese pronominal possessive, which can be combined with either the default possessive linker or the possessive verb construction.

Table 4.36: Alorese possessive pronouns which can be combined with either the default possessive linker or the possessive verb construction

Pronouns	Possessive linker	Gloss	Possessive verb	Gloss
1SG <i>go</i>	<i>na'ang/na</i>	'3SG-POSS'; 'POSS'	<i>g-o'ong</i>	'1SG-POSS'
2SG <i>mo</i>			<i>m-ong</i>	'2SG-POSS'
3SG <i>ro/no</i>			<i>n-a'ang, na</i>	'3SG-POSS'; 'POSS'
1PL.EXCL <i>kame</i>			<i>m-ong</i>	'1PL.EXCL-POSS'
1PL.INCL <i>tite</i>			<i>ta'ang</i>	'1PL.INCL-POSS'
2PL <i>mi</i>			<i>m-ong; m-a'ang</i>	'2PL-POSS'
3PL <i>we</i>			<i>r-a'ang, re</i>	'3PL-POSS'

From the table, we see that the inflected part of the verb changes according to the person or the subject of the verb. It is unclear what the stem vowel of the root is because it alternates between /a/ and /o/. The use of the inflected possessive verb *g-o'ong* '1SG-POSS' is illustrated in (72) and (73). It is not possible to use both the first-person pronoun and the possessive, as in **go go'ong uma* or **go go'ong ina* (intended as 'my house' and 'my mother', respectively).

- (72) *g-o'ong uma*
 1SG-POSS house
 'my house' (aolys_FN)

- (73) *g-o'ong ina*
 1SG-POSS mother
 'my mother' (aolfm_ST/MMN_109)

Examples (74) and (75) below illustrate the use of the inflected possessive verb for the second person singular pronoun.

- (74) *mo m-ong pao*
 2SG 2SG-POSS mango
 'your mango' (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

- (75) *mo m-ong kewae*
 2SG 2SG-POSS woman
 'your wife' (aolys_FN)

The third person singular pronoun *ro/no* '3SG' can take the default possessive *na'ang/na* 'POSS', illustrated in (76) and (77). When combining with a possesum, the pronoun *no* '3SG' can also use a possessive verb *neing* 'POSS', which also functions as the verb 'give' (§4.5.3), as in (78).

- (76) *ro na'ang aho*
 3SG POSS dog
 'his dog' (aolfm_FS/MMN_1)

- (77) *ro na'ang anang*
 3SG POSS child
 'her child' (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

- (78) *no neing batas*
 3SG POSS border
 'its border' (aolys_ST/SKA_2)

The exclusive first person plural pronoun *kame* '1PL.EXCL' can take both the default possessive and the inflected verb *m-ong*, as illustrated in examples (79) and (80).

- (79) *kame* *na* *ina*
 1PL.EXCL POSS mother
 ‘our mother’ (aolys_CV/MS-04_18)
- (80) *kame* *m-ong* *keluarga* *beda* *bapa*.
 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-POSS family different.MLY father
 ‘our family (has) different ancestors.’ (aolys_ST/SKA_1)

For the plural pronouns *tite* ‘1PL.INCL’ and *mi* ‘2PL’, besides the default possessive linker *na’ang/na* ‘POSS’, the inflected possessive verb forms *t-a’ang* ‘1PL.INCL-POSS’ and *m-a’ang* ‘2PL-POSS’ are also used respectively.

- (81) *tite* *t-a'ang* *uma*
1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL-POSS house
'our house' (aolys_FN)
- (82) *mi* *m-a'ang* *uma*
2PL 2PL-POSS house
'your house (you have a house)' (aolys_FN)

The third person plural pronoun *we* ‘3PL’ can use the default possessive linker *na’ang* ‘POSS’ as in (83) or the inflected possessive verb *r-a’ang* and its short form *re* ‘POSS’, as shown in examples (84) and (85).

- (83) *we na'ang teing*
 3PL POSS excrement
 'their dirt' (aolys_CV/MMS_6)
- (84) *we r-a'ang penampilan*
 3PL 3PL-POSS appearance.MLY
 'their appearance' (aolys_CV/MS_5)

- (85) *we re ina*
 3PL 3PL-POSS mother
 ‘their mother’ (aolys_CV/MS_8)

The inflected possessive verb does not display a clear vowel-initial verb root that takes a consonant as prefix, as the whole form varies between the persons. It is possible that this Alorese possessive verb shows some remnants of older inflections of the vowel-initial verb, which is no longer regular.

4.4.3 Traces of an alienability distinction

Alorese may once have had an alienability distinction, as its close ancestral language Western Lamaholot has/had an alienability distinction (Fricke, 2019:282). This distinction is no longer active in Alorese, but traces of it are still observable through the Alorese fossilized affixes. In the following sections, I discuss a historic possessive suffix *-ng* for inalienable nouns (§4.4.3.1) and a distinction in the third person pronoun when possessing alienable and inalienable nouns (§4.4.3.2).

4.4.3.1 Traces of a historic possessive suffix *-ng*

In Table 4.37 below, I provide a list of examples of nouns that end with a velar nasal and those that do not. If a noun appears in both columns, it means that both forms are attested.

Table 4.37: Examples of Alorese nouns ending with velar nasal

	with velar nasal	without velar nasal	Gloss
Kinship terms	<i>inang</i>	<i>ina</i>	‘mother’
	<i>amang</i>	<i>ama</i>	‘father’
	<i>anang</i>	<i>ana</i>	‘child’
	<i>opung</i>	-	‘uncle’
	<i>kakang</i>	-	‘older sibling’
	<i>aring</i>	-	‘younger sibling’
	-	<i>kewae</i>	‘wife’
	-	<i>kelake</i>	‘husband’
Body part nouns	<i>matang</i>	<i>mata</i>	‘eye’
	<i>tilung</i>	<i>tilu</i>	‘ear’
	<i>nirung</i>	-	‘nose’
	<i>wiwing</i>	-	‘lips’
	<i>kotong</i>	-	‘head’
	<i>limang</i>	-	‘arm’
	<i>leing</i>	-	‘foot’
	<i>teing</i>	-	‘stomach’
	<i>kulung</i>	-	‘testicle’
	<i>bamang</i>	-	‘chin’
	<i>higung</i>	-	‘elbow’
	<i>ubong</i>	-	‘bottom’
	<i>kamang</i>	-	‘skin’
	-	<i>wewel</i>	‘tongue’
	-	<i>tuho</i>	‘breast’

From the table, it can be seen that some words can have both forms, while others only have one form, which may be with or without a velar nasal. Although today the two options are equivalent, historically, this was not the case, as will be demonstrated below.

In kinship terms, both options can appear in possessive constructions interchangeably, even when a possessive linker is used, as shown in examples (86) to (89).

- (86) *go ina*
 1SG mother
 ‘my mother’ (aolys_CV/MMS_8)

- (87) *go inang*
 1SG mother
 ‘my mother’ (aolys_FN)
- (88) *mo na’ang ama*
 2SG POSS father
 ‘your father’ (aolys_FN)
- (89) *mo na’ang amang*
 2SG POSS father
 ‘your father’ (aolys_FN)

The kinship terms that end with velar nasal appear to be fossilized forms, consisting of a root and a suffix. If we trace these back to the reconstructed ancestral languages PMP (Blust & Trussel, 2016) and PFL (Fricke, 2019), we can ascertain the root for each word, as presented in Table 4.38 below. From the table, we see that the proto-forms do not have the final velar nasal, indicating that Alorese has added it.

Table 4.38: Alorese kinship terms and their reconstructed ancestral forms

Gloss	Alorese	PFL	PMP
‘mother’	<i>inang</i>	*ina	*ina
‘father’	<i>amang</i>	*ama	*ama
‘child’	<i>anang</i>	*anak	*anak
‘younger sibling’	<i>aring</i>	*vadi	*huaji
‘older sibling’	<i>kakang</i>	-	*kaka

For body-part nouns, the use of the final velar nasal is almost always obligatory; only *matang* ‘eye’ and *tilung* ‘ear’ are also attested without the final *-ng*. In my corpus, the word *mata* only appears in the compound *ata mata puna* ‘foreigner’ (lit. ‘person eye fruit’) and the word *tilu* only appears in the compound *tilu date* ‘deaf’ (lit. ‘ear bad’). Furthermore, there are two exceptions in *wewel* ‘tongue’ and *tuho* ‘breast’, which both appear only without final velar nasal in my corpus. In the Alor dialect, however, the term for ‘tongue’ is *weweleng* ‘tongue’.

This final *-ng* can be traced back to a possessive suffix found in the closest ancestral language of Alorese, Lamaholot. Nasal suffixes to mark nouns as

possessed are found in all Lamaholot varieties to varying degrees. They do not always only mark inalienable possession. They are clearly possessive markers that go back to PMP **ni* ‘genitive marker’ (Blust, 2013:449; Ross, 2002:36).

The use of the final velar nasal only occurs in kinship terms and body-part nouns, which are inalienable nouns. This indicates that in Alorese, it is likely that there was a grammatical distinction in the past for alienable-inalienable nouns. Fricke (2019:282) states that Western Lamaholot and Central Lamaholot have innovated an alienability distinction and not inherited this feature from any common ancestor. This alienability distinction is, however, no longer active in Alorese.

4.4.3.2 Distinction in the third person possessor pronoun

In Klamer (2011:54), it is suggested (based on a variety spoken in Alor Kecil) that Alorese still has a productive alienability distinction, expressed by different third person singular pronouns, namely *no* ‘3SG’ for inalienable nouns and *ni* or *ne* ‘3SG’ for alienable nouns, as shown in (90) and (91). This distinction has not been confirmed in any of the dialects I investigated, however.

- | | | | | | |
|------|---------------------|-------------|-----------|------------|-------------------|
| (90) | <i>bapa</i> | <i>John</i> | <i>ni</i> | <i>uma</i> | |
| | father | John | 3SG | house | |
| | ‘Bapa John’s house’ | | | | (Klamer, 2011:52) |

- | | | | | | |
|------|--------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|-------------------|
| (91) | <i>aho</i> | <i>no</i> | <i>ning</i> | <i>kotong</i> | |
| | dog | 3SG | POSS | head | |
| | ‘dog’s head’ | | | | (Klamer, 2011:54) |

4.5 Verbs

4.5.1 Overview

Alorese does not have verbal morphology marking tense, aspect, or modality. Verbs in Alorese encode their subject either as a free pronoun, as discussed in Section 4.5.2, or as a pronominal prefix combined with an optional additional pronoun, as discussed in Section 4.5.3. The only productive derivational morphological process in Alorese is reduplication, which is discussed in Section 4.5.4. Finally, verb serialization is quite common in Alorese and is discussed in Section 4.5.5.

4.5.2 Verbs without subject prefixes

All Alorese verbs can occur with free pronouns, given in Table 4.35, repeated here as Table 4.39. These pronouns can function either as subjects or objects. Example (92) illustrates the use of a free subject pronoun that is followed by the verb *gute* ‘take’.

Table 4.39: Alorese personal pronouns

Gloss	Personal pronoun
1SG	<i>go</i>
2SG	<i>mo</i>
3SG	<i>ro/no</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>kame</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>tite</i>
2PL	<i>mi</i>
3PL	<i>we</i>

- (92) *We gute wulung.*
 3PL take vegetables
 ‘They took some vegetables.’ (aolys_ST/SKA_4)

Table 4.40 below shows the paradigm of free subject pronouns combined with four verbs, *pana* ‘walk’, *tutu* ‘say’, *seru* ‘see’, and *gute* ‘take’. These verbs cannot take any agreement marking morphology (i.e. pronominal prefix).

Table 4.40: Verbal paradigms with independent subject pronouns

Gloss	<i>pana</i> ‘walk’	<i>tutu</i> ‘say’	<i>seru</i> ‘see’	<i>gute</i> ‘take’
1SG	<i>go pana</i>	<i>go tutu</i>	<i>go seru</i>	<i>go gute</i>
2SG	<i>mo pana</i>	<i>mo tutu</i>	<i>mo seru</i>	<i>mo gute</i>
3SG	<i>ro pana</i>	<i>ro tutu</i>	<i>ro seru</i>	<i>ro gute</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>kame pana</i>	<i>kame tutu</i>	<i>kame seru</i>	<i>kame gute</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>tite pana</i>	<i>tite tutu</i>	<i>tite seru</i>	<i>tite gute</i>
2PL	<i>mi pana</i>	<i>mi tutu</i>	<i>mi seru</i>	<i>mi gute</i>
3PL	<i>we pana</i>	<i>we tutu</i>	<i>we seru</i>	<i>we gute</i>

Additional examples of verbs without agreement morphology in my corpus include *pelaē* ‘run’, *akal* ‘lie; cheat’, *dila* ‘lick’, *туру* ‘sleep’, *paha* ‘touch’, *tobo* ‘sit’, *hemo* ‘catch’, *tide* ‘stand’, *bata* ‘come’, *geka* ‘fall’, *gere* ‘climb’, *bote* ‘bring’, and *danga* ‘hear’.

A free pronoun subject can be part of an NP that also contains a demonstrative such as *te* ‘MED\S’ in (93).

- (93) *We te pelaē lelang pai*
 3PL MED\S run make what
 ‘They were running doing what?’ (aolys_ST/SKA_4)

All vowel-final verbs may appear with a final nasal. There currently appears to be no definite rule for the occurrence of this final nasal on verbs. Examples (94) and (95) below illustrate the verb *туру* ‘sleep’ both with and without the final nasal.

- (94) *Go тuru di urang onong.*
 1SG sleep also rain inside
 ‘I also sleep in the rain.’ (aolfm_ST/MMNW_1)

- (95) *Ro turung ke apa ke lolong kaing.*
 3SG sleep PROX\S what.MLY PROX\S above finish
 ‘He (already) sleeps on that thing.’ (aolys_FS/HJW_1)

This applies regardless of whether the pronoun is singular or plural, as in *we turung* ‘they sleep’ or *we тuru* ‘they sleep’ or *tite turung* ‘we sleep’, and *tite тuru* ‘we sleep’.

4.5.3 Verbs with subject prefixes

The only verbal morphology found in my Alorese corpus are reduplication (cf. §4.5.4) and prefixes marking subject-verb agreement. Subject agreement prefixes are attested on verbs with a vowel-initial root; however, there are also vowel-initial verbs that only take a free pronoun and no subject prefixes, such as *akal* ‘to lie; tell untruth’, *inga* ‘think’ and *ota* ‘shake’.

The subject prefixes for the vowel-initial verb-root are given in Table 4.41, alongside their corresponding free pronouns.

Table 4.41: Alorese free pronouns and subject prefixes

Gloss	Personal pronoun	Subject prefix
1SG	<i>go</i>	<i>k-</i>
2SG	<i>mo</i>	<i>m-</i>
3SG	<i>ro/no</i>	<i>n-</i>
1PL.EXCL	<i>kame</i>	<i>m-</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>tite</i>	<i>t-</i>
2PL	<i>mi</i>	<i>m-</i>
3PL	<i>we</i>	<i>r-</i>

Several verbs that combine regularly with subject prefixes are illustrated in Table 4.42. The presence of the prefix is mandatory; the free pronouns can optionally be added, and are thus given in brackets.

Table 4.42: Verbs that take subject-prefix

Gloss	-ai ‘to go’	-ate ‘to bring’	-enung ‘to drink’	-oing ‘to know’
1SG	(<i>go</i>) <i>k-ai</i>	(<i>go</i>) <i>k-ate</i>	(<i>go</i>) <i>k-enung</i>	(<i>go</i>) <i>k-oing</i>
2SG	(<i>mo</i>) <i>m-ai</i>	(<i>mo</i>) <i>m-ate</i>	(<i>mo</i>) <i>m-enung</i>	(<i>mo</i>) <i>m-oing</i>
3SG	(<i>ro</i>) <i>n-ai</i>	(<i>ro</i>) <i>n-ate</i>	(<i>ro</i>) <i>n-enung</i>	(<i>ro</i>) <i>n-oing</i>
1PL.EXCL	(<i>kame</i>) <i>m-ai</i>	(<i>kame</i>) <i>m-ate</i>	(<i>kame</i>) <i>m-enung</i>	(<i>kame</i>) <i>m-oing</i>
1PL.INCL	(<i>tite</i>) <i>t-ai</i>	(<i>tite</i>) <i>t-ate</i>	(<i>tite</i>) <i>t-enung</i>	(<i>tite</i>) <i>t-oing</i>
2PL	(<i>mi</i>) <i>m-ai</i>	(<i>mi</i>) <i>m-ate</i>	(<i>mi</i>) <i>m-enung</i>	(<i>mi</i>) <i>m-oing</i>
3PL	(<i>we</i>) <i>r-ai</i>	(<i>we</i>) <i>r-ate</i>	(<i>we</i>) <i>r-enung</i>	(<i>we</i>) <i>r-oing</i>

Other verbs that combine regularly with the prefixes but are not indicated in the table include the verb *-ang* ‘to use; wear’, *-ala* ‘to follow’, *-ekung* ‘to grasp’, *-ahu* ‘to take water from a well’, *-iang* ‘await’, *-ong* ‘to add; with/and’, and the intransitive verb *-olo* ‘to go first’. These are the known verbs that take agreement prefixes. Examples (96) to (98) below illustrate the use of these verbs. Example (98) demonstrates that the free pronoun can be omitted.

- (96) *Go k-ai oro kali.*
 1SG 1SG-go LOC LOC.LOW
 ‘I go over there.’ (aolys_FN)

- (97) *Mo m-ate roti kae wu.*
 2SG 2SG-bring bread toward market
 ‘You bring (the) bread to the market.’ (aolys_FN)

- (98) *Tobo m-enung rokok.*
 sit 1PL.EXCL-drink smoke
 ‘(We) sit, drinking, and smoking.’ (aolys_ST/SKA_4)

Besides the verbs which combine regularly with prefixes as shown earlier, there are three verbs, *-ong/-ang* ‘have’ (cf. Table 4.36), *-ang* ‘eat’, and *-eing* ‘give’, that appear irregular when taking the subject prefix. The verb *-ang* ‘eat’ employs two different root forms: *(g)Vng* and *-aka*, as illustrated in examples (99) to (104).

- (99) *Go kang wata.*
 1SG 1SG.eat rice
 ‘I eat rice.’ (aolys_FN)

- (100) *Mo gounng pai ama?*
 2SG 2SG.eat what father
 ‘What do you want to eat, sir?’ (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

- (101) *Ro gang muko.*
 3SG 3SG.eat banana
 ‘He eats banana.’ (aolys_SR/MMN_1)

- (102) *Tite taka apa.*
 1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL-eat what.MLY
 ‘We eat something.’ (aolys_CV/MMS_6)

- (103) *Mi geing muko na’ang ihik.*
 2PL PL.eat banana POSS seed
 ‘You(pl) eat banana’s seeds.’ (aolys_ST/SKA_4)

- (104) *Wawe ruha we bata raka lahe.*
 pig deer 3PL come eat NEG
 ‘The hog deer won’t eat (our crops).’ (aolys_ST/DJA_2)

This irregularity in the verb ‘eat’ is also found in Lamaholot, which has the roots *gaN* and *kan* ‘eat’ (Nishiyama and Kelen, 2007), which are similar to the Alorese root forms (*g*)*Vng* and *-aka* ‘eat’ (Klamer, 2011:62).

The verb *-eing* ‘give’ occurs very frequently with the third person singular pronoun prefix, as *n-eing* ‘3SG.give’, illustrated in example (105). Sometimes, *r-eing* ‘3PL.give’ is also used, as in (106). However, **k-eing* ‘1SG-give’, **m-eing* ‘2SG-give/1PL.EXCL-give’ and **t-eing* ‘1PL.INCL-give’ are not attested. The form *neing* can occur with all subject pronouns (cf. §4.6.2.1). It occurs also as *ning* in the Pantar dialect or as *neng* in the Alor dialect.

- (105) *Ada bai hire ata namu n-eing biskue.*
 exist.MLY child PL person six 3PL-give biscuit
 ‘There are six people giving biscuits.’ (aolfm_PM/MMN_1)

- (106) *We r-eing kacamata hire.*
 3PL 3PL-give glasses.MLY PL
 ‘They give (the) spectacles.’ (aolys_FN)

The verb *-eing* ‘to give’ can also be used in possessive constructions, as in (107) and (108). The concepts ‘to give’ and ‘to have’ are related and in Alorese; the verb *-eing* ‘to give’ can also be used to convey possession. Its use in the possessive construction is a secondary use.

- (107) *no n-eing batas*
 3SG 3SG-POSS border
 ‘its border’ (aolys_ST/SKA_2)

- (108) *we r-eing uma*
 3PL 3PL-POSS house
 ‘their house’ (aolys_FN)

4.5.4 Reduplication

Reduplication is the only productive derivational process in Alorese. Nominal reduplication denotes plural diversity, as in *lawo-lawo* (RDP~village) ‘villages’ and *anang-anang* (RDP~child) ‘children’. Verbal reduplication indicates iterative meaning, as in examples (109) and (110), and intensive meaning, as in (111).

- (109) *Kia* *gena~gena.*
PROX\L ITER~search
‘(He) looks for it (repeatedly).’ (aolfm_SR/MDP_1)
- (110) *Ada* *ama* *tou* *ro* *pana~pana.*
exist.MLY father one 3SG ITER~walk
‘There is a man walking (repeatedly).’ (aolfm_SR/MDP_1)
- (111) *... aho* *kia* *shh* *rama~rama.*
dog PROX\L shh INT~quiet
‘.. this dog says, “shh be (very) quiet!” (aolfm_FS/MDP_1)

4.5.5 Serial verbs

Verb serialization is quite common in Alorese. In a serial verb construction, the first verb expresses an activity and it may indicate a causative. The second verb within the construction can express direction, motion, or purpose.

Examples (112) to (116) below show serial verb constructions in which the second verb expresses direction. In this construction, the second verb marks the direction of the physical action expressed by the first verb. Some of the most frequently used second verbs are *gere* 'go', *-ai* 'go', *bale* 'return', *mene* 'come', and *lodo* 'go.down'. The combination of *tide* 'stand' and *bale* 'return' in (114) meaning 'return home' is a common idiom in Alorese.

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------|---------------|--------------|------------------|
| (112) | Go | <i>gute</i> | <i>gere.</i> | |
| | 1SG | run | go.up | |
| | 'I run upwards.' | | | (aolys_ST/SKA_6) |
| | | | | |
| (113) | <i>Lako</i> | <i>plaing</i> | <i>n-ai.</i> | |
| | civet | run | 3SG-go | |
| | 'The civet cat runs upwards.' | | | (aolys_FS/HJW_1) |
| | | | | |
| (114) | Go | <i>di</i> | <i>tide</i> | <i>bale.</i> |
| | 1SG | also | stand | return |
| | 'I also return (home).' | | | (aolys_CV/MMS_5) |

- (115) *Ada kelake tou panang mene.*
 exist.MLY man one walk come
 ‘There is a man coming (here).’ (aolfm_SR/MFS_1)
- (116) *... tapo kali na’ang gokal lodo.*
 coconut LOC.LOW POSS fall go.down
 ‘... the coconut fell down.’ (aolfm_SR/MMN_1)

Example (117) shows a serial verb construction where the second verb expresses a motion.

- (117) *No teleng beo~beo.*
 3SG hang ITER~swing
 ‘He hangs swinging back and forth.’ (Klamer, 2011:64)

In examples (118) and (119) below, the verb *tide* ‘stand’ is followed by a second verb expressing purpose, namely *sembeang* ‘worship’ and *seru* ‘see’, respectively. Here, the verb serialization expresses two aspects of an event: a posture and an activity. The meaning of the serial verb constructions in the examples below is that the activities are performed while standing.

- (118) *Bapa Iwan tide sembeang.*
 father Iwan stand worship
 ‘Mister Iwan stands and prays.’ (aolys_CV/MMS_8)
- (119) *Aleng klage ka no tide seru.*
 hip tired PART 3SG stand see
 ‘(His) hips were tired so he stood and looked around.’ (aolys_ST/DJA_2)

Serial verb constructions can also be used to express causative meanings, mainly using the verb *lelang* ‘make’ as illustrated in examples (120) and (121), and the verb *neing* ‘give’ as illustrated in examples (122) and (123) (cf. §4.6.2.1). Here, the first verb is the one which expresses the causative element.

(120) *Mo lelang bola meja ni leing.*
 2SG make break table.MLY POSS leg
 ‘You broke the table leg.’ (Klamer, 2011: 65)

(121) *Mo lelang ota wata!*
 2SG make shake corn
 ‘Go grind the corn!’ (aolys_ST/HMD_5)

(122) *No neing goka mo tapo.*
 3SG give fall 2SG.POSS coconut
 ‘He dropped your coconut.’ (Klamer, 2011: 66)

(123) *Mo neing tanam ke tapo.*
 2SG give to.plant.MLY PROX\S coconut
 ‘Go plant the coconut.’ (aolys_ST/HMD_4)

4.6 Clauses

4.6.1 Clause structure

Alorese has SVO word order, as illustrated in examples (124) and (125) below.

(124) *S V*
Ro taning
 3SG cry
 ‘He is crying.’ (aolys_FN)

(125) *S V O*
We gute wulung.
 3PL take vegetables
 ‘They take some vegetables.’ (aolys_ST/SKA_4)

There is an alternative OSV word order that is used only when O is emphasized, as illustrated in example (126). In addition, there is a reversed VS order that is used for stylistic effect, as in (127).

- (126) O S V
Banang kate ro tahan.
 thread MED\L 3SG hold.back
 ‘He holds back the thread.’ (aolys_CV/HP_1)

- (127) V S
... tiba-tiba kaluar kolong to
 suddenly come.out.MLY bird one
 ‘suddenly, out came a bird’ (Klamer, 2011:71)

In what follows, I discuss two types of clauses in Alorese: verbal clauses (§4.6.2) and non-verbal clauses (§4.6.3).

4.6.2 Verbal clauses

4.6.2.1 Intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive clauses

In intransitive clauses, the encoding of active subjects appears identical to the encoding of non-active subjects. Examples (128) and (129) below illustrate the encoding of active subjects, while (130) and (131) show the encoding of non-active subjects (cf. §4.6.3 on non-verbal clauses). The subject always precedes the verb.

- (128) *Bai anang kate kado.*
 child child MED\L jump
 ‘The child jumps.’ (aolfm_FS/MMN_1)

- (129) *Anang kewae daka n-ai.*
 child woman climb 3SG-go
 ‘The girl went away.’ (aolys_CV/MMS_1)

- (130) *Sela te bea kaing.*
 papaya MED\S big PFV
 ‘The papaya is already big.’ (aolys_FN)

- (131) Ro *taku* *di* *kaing.*
3SG afraid also already
'He is also afraid.'
(aolys_SR/HJW_1)

In Alorese, there is no case marking on nouns and the only verbal marking is subject prefixes (cf. §4.5.3). The language lacks a dedicated passive construction and passive morphology (Klamer, 2011:70).

In transitive constructions, the grammatical relations of subject and object are expressed by constituent order, as shown in (132) and (133).

- (132) *Aho kali dila na piping.*
 dog LOC.LOW lick POSS cheek
 ‘The dog licks his cheek.’ (aolfm_FS/MFS_1)

- (133) Ata lelang uma sigi kia.
 people make house mosque PROX\L
 ‘People are building the mosque.’ (aolys_ST/SKA_5)

Examples (134) and (135) below illustrate the use of the verb *-eing* ‘give’ in a ditransitive construction. As mentioned in Section 4.5.3, the verb *-eing* ‘give’ appears irregular when taking the subject prefix and can also appear as *ning* or *neng*. The recipient precedes the patient, and neither the recipient nor the patient are marked.

- (134) *Ada ina tou ning ina tou kali bunga.*
 exist.MLY mother one give mother one LOC.LOW flower.MLY
 ‘There is a woman (who) gives another woman flowers.’
 (Moro & Fricke, 2020:133)

- (135) *Gina ha neng bunga oro ina kafe ha.*
 mother PROX\S give flower.MLY LOC mother girl PROX\S
 ‘The woman gives flowers to the girl.’ (Moro & Fricke, 2020:133)

Moro and Fricke (2020:132–136) provide a detailed description of the Alorese ‘give’ construction. It has been suggested that Alorese has three constructions to express ‘give’ events. The first is a monoverbal construction with only the verb ‘give’, as illustrated in examples (135) above, (140), and (141) below. The second construction, which is the most common, involves at least

two verbs, as illustrated in (136) and (137). The third construction is biclausal and involves a conjunction, as illustrated in (138) and (139).

- (136) ... *sorong bunga n-eng ina kafe ...*
 pass.MLY flower.MLY 3SG-give mother girl
 ‘... (she) gives flowers to the woman ...’ (Moro & Fricke, 2020:134)

- (137) ... *n-ate bunga mene n-eng ina kafe ...*
 3SG-carry flower.MLY come 3SG-give mother girl
 ‘...(she) brings flowers and gives (them) to the woman ...’
 (Moro & Fricke, 2020:134)

- (138) ... *yang tou ha n-ate bunga hau*
 REL.MLY one PROX\S 3SG-carry flower.MLY come.downward
mung n-eng ina kafe ha.
 while 3SG-give mother girl PROX\S
 ‘...this one (woman) carries flowers, then (she) gives (them) to the woman.’
 (Moro & Fricke, 2020:135)

- (139) ... *tou ke bangang muko kali na*
 one PROX\S ask banana LOC.LOW POSS
kawan kaing kawan te n-eing ro.
 friend.MLY then friend.MLY MED\S 3SG-give 3SG
 ‘...this one (woman) asks her friend for the banana then the friend gives (it) to her.’
 (Moro & Fricke, 2020:135)

In addition, it is also possible to have two object patients when one of the objects is a pronoun, illustrated in (140) and (141).

- (140) *Ata n-ing ro wulu belaong ...*
 person 3SG-give 3SG feather gold
 ‘(A) person gives him a golden feather ...’ (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

- (141) ... go n-ing mo kia ke.
 1SG 3SG-give 2SG PROX\L
 ‘... I give you this.’
(aolys_ST/SKA_5)

4.6.2.2 Clauses with locational and instrumental phrases

Non-core arguments, such as locations and instruments are expressed as part of a prepositional phrase. Table 4.43 below lists locational prepositions in Alorese.

Table 4.43: Alorese locational prepositions

Prepositions	Gloss
<i>oro</i>	'LOC'
<i>kali</i>	'LOC.LOW'
<i>keti</i>	'LOC.HIGH'
<i>klou/klau/lau</i>	'seawards'
<i>kerai/kre/ke</i>	'mountainwards'

The preposition *oro* 'LOC' expresses a generic location 'on, at, in', while the prepositions *kali* 'LOC.LOW' and *keti* 'LOC.HIGH' express locations in lower and higher positions than the speaker, as illustrated in (142) to (144). The prepositions *klou* 'seawards' and *kerai* 'mountainwards' express locations towards the sea and towards the mountains from the perspective of the speaker, as in (145) and (146).

- (142) Go *beta* *oro* *Wailawar*
 1SG arrive LOC Wailawar
 ‘I just arrived in Wailawar.’ (aolys_FN)

- (143) *Kame hama-hama pana m-ai kali ekang onong.*
 1PL.EXCL together walk 1PL.EXCL-go LOC.LOW garden inside
 ‘We walked together to the garden.’ (aolys_ST/DJA_2)

- (144) *Ojek k-ai keti Lamalu.*
 ojek.MLY 1SG-go LOC.HIGH Lamalu
 ‘(I ride) ojek to Lamalu.’ (aolys_ST/DJA_3)

- (145) *Mo lodo klou laung.*
 2SG go.down sea.ward low.place
 ‘You go down there (towards the sea)!’ (aolys_FN)

- (146) *Go k-ai kre lolong.*
 1SG 1SG-go mountainwards high.place
 ‘I go upwards (towards the mountain).’ (aolys_FN)

The generic preposition *oro* ‘LOC’ can co-occur with any of the other prepositions, as illustrated in examples (147) to (150) below.

- (147) *Wu oro kali doli.*
 market LOC LOC.LOW astray
 ‘The market over there is gone.’ (aolys_ST/SKA_1)

- (148) *Go pana oro keti.*
 1SG walk LOC LOC.HIGH
 ‘I walk (towards) there.’ (aolys_FN)

- (149) *Ata kakari yang salah paham oro klau tana Jawa*
 person sibling REL.MLY wrong understand.MLY LOC seawards earth Java
 ‘The siblings who had a misunderstanding were on Java.’ (aolys_ST/SKA_3)

- (150) *Ada ruang teleng oro ke kajo kate.*
 exist.MLY bee hang LOC mountainwards tree MED\L
 ‘There is a hanging bee hive on the tree over there.’ (aolys_ST/SKA_1)

All the prepositions presented in Table 4.43 above can also co-occur with postnominal locative expressions, such as *onong* ‘inside’, *lolong* ‘above’ and *laung* ‘below’, as illustrated in (151) to (153). Note that the noun can be left out, as in (153), and that the locative expressions can also occur without the prepositions, as in (154).

- (151) *Go haing oro ekang onong.*
 1SG sweep LOC garden inside
 ‘I sweep inside the garden.’ (aolys_FN)

- (152) *oro deki lolong*
 LOC raised.platform above
 ‘on the raised platform’ (aolys_FN)

- (153) *Ada ruang kali laung.*
 exist.MLY bee LOC.LOW below
 ‘There are bees down there.’ (aolys_FN)

- (154) *...we gokal kolang onong*
 3PL fall lake inside
 ‘... they fell into the lake’ (aolys_FS/HJW_1)

Additionally, there is locative noun *onong* ‘inside’ can also be found in other constructions. It can be combined with a nominal property resulting in a compound that has a new meaning, more like that of a stative verb. Some examples are *onong mara* lit. ‘inside dry’ which is translated as ‘thirsty’, and *onong belara* lit. ‘inside ill’ translated as ‘evil, jealeous’.

The presence of the generic preposition *oro* ‘LOC’ is mandatory in clauses that express locational objects, but can be omitted in clauses that express directional objects. Compare example (155) to examples (156) and (157) below to see the semantic contrast between the presence and absence of *oro* ‘LOC’.

- (155) *Go oro kia.*
 1SG LOC PROX\L
 ‘I am here.’ (aolys_FN)

- (156) *Ro n-ai utang onong.*
 3SG 3SG-go forest inside
 ‘He goes into the forest.’ (aolys_FS/HJW_1)

- (157) *Kame pinda dai oro kia.*
 1PL.EXCL move.MLY to go LOC PROX\L
 ‘We moved in here.’ (aolys_ST/HMD_4)

In example (155), *kia* ‘PROX\L’ is the locational object, while in examples (156) and (157), the objects *utang onong* ‘forest inside’ and *kia* ‘PROX\L’ are the directional objects of the verbs *n-ai* ‘3SG-go’ and *dai* ‘to go’ respectively. Here, we see that *oro* ‘LOC’ is obligatory in expressing locational objects, but can be omitted in directional expressions.

There is also a connective *nong* ‘and, with’, from the verb *-ong* ‘to add’, which functions as a prepositional conjunction. It is used to mark instruments and comitatives as oblique (Klamer, 2011:80), illustrated in (158) and (159).

- (158) *Wata emping goreng n-ong minyak.*
 grain chip fry.MLY 3SG-with oil.MLY
 ‘The chip grains are fried with cooking oil.’ (aolys_FS/HJW_1)

- (159) *Ama to tari kajo n-ong peda.*
 man one cut.down tree 3SG-with machete
 ‘Someone cuts the tree with a machete.’ (Klamer, 2011:80)

4.6.2.3 Adjectival clauses

In Alorese, adjectives do not form a distinct word class. However, there are stative verbs which are translated as English adjectives. In adjectival clauses, the subject occurs with the predicate without a copula verb, as in (160) and (161), or with demonstratives, as in (162) and (163).

- (160) *Ro belera.*
 3SG ill
 ‘He is ill.’ (aolys_FN)

- (161) *Bai ke na rata gapal.*
 child PROX\S POSS hair thick
 ‘That child, her hair is thick.’ (aolys_FN)

- (162) *Tale* *te* *ijong.*
 rope MED\S green
 ‘That rope is green.’ (aolys_FN)
- (163) *Apa* *kate* *date.*
 what.MLY MED\L bad
 ‘That thing is ugly.’ (aolys_FN)

4.6.2.4 Aspect and temporality

Aspect and modality in Alorese are expressed by adverbs in either pre-predicate or post-predicate position. Table 4.44 below lists the three aspectual adverbs in Alorese.

Table 4.44: Alorese aspectual adverbs

Adverb	Meaning	Aspect	Position
<i>kaing, ki</i>	‘already’	perfective	post-predicate
<i>wati</i>	‘still, not yet’	imperfective	post-predicate, pre-predicate
<i>mungga</i>	‘while’	progressive	post-predicate, clause-final

The post-predicate adverb *kaing* ‘already’ marks an event that has already happened, as illustrated in (164). The aspectual adverb *wati* ‘still, not yet’ can either express something that has not yet been done or something that is still ongoing. When *wati* is used to mark something that has not yet been done, it occurs in post-predicate position, as in (165). However, when it is used to mark something that is still in progress, it occurs in pre-predicate position, as in (166). The aspectual adverb *mungga* ‘PROG’ occurs in post-predicate position and is placed clause-finally. It often occurs with dynamic verbs, such as *gang* ‘eat’, as illustrated in (167).

- (164) *Lera* *here* *kaing.*
 sun set already
 'The sun has already set.' (aolys_FN)

- (165) Go *habo* *wati*.
 1SG bathe not.yet
 ‘I haven’t taken a bath.’ (aolys_FN)
- (166) Go *wati* *habo*.
 1SG still bathe
 ‘I am still taking a bath.’ (aolys_FN)
- (167) *Ume* *ape* *gang* *mungga*.
 house fire eat PROG
 ‘The house is on fire (lit. eaten by fire).’ (Klamer, 2011:70)

Tense is not marked on the verb in Alorese, but there are temporal adverbs, as shown in Table 4.45. These adverbs occur either before or after the subject, as illustrated in examples (168) to (172) below. The adverb *nu* ‘earlier’ and *wiang* ‘yesterday’ can co-occur, as in (172).

Table 4.45: Temporal adverbs in Alorese

Temporal adverb	Meaning
<i>nu</i>	‘earlier’
<i>nihu</i>	‘now, today’
<i>wiang</i>	‘yesterday’

- (168) *Jadi* *ro* *nu* *boa* *Ma’ruf* *ke*.
 so 3SG earlier hit Ma’ruf PROX\S
 ‘So, earlier, he hit Ma’ruf.’ (aolys_CV/MMS_6)
- (169) *Bai* *anang* *nihu* *te* *gokal*.
 child child now MED\S fall
 ‘Now the child falls.’ (aolfm_FS/MFS_1)
- (170) *We* *wiang* *kate* *baku* *luka* *kate*.
 3PL yesterday MED\L RECP.MLY wound.MLY MED\L
 ‘Yesterday, they hit each other.’ (aolys_CV/HP_1)

- (171) *Wiang kame urus na materai hire kaing.*
 yesterday 1PL.EXCL work.MLY POSS stamp PL already
 ‘Yesterday, we already took care of the stamps.’ (aolys_VC/HP_1)

- (172) *We nu wiang arisan to?*
 3PL earlier yesterday social.gathering PART.MLY
 ‘Yesterday, they were having social gathering, right?’
 (aolys_CV/MMS_4)

4.6.3 Non-verbal clauses

Non-verbal clauses are clauses that do not have verbs, but which consist of at least a subject and a predicate. In the following, I discuss such clauses in Alorese, which include equational clauses with nominal predicates (§4.6.3.1) and locational clauses with prepositional phrases as the predicates (§4.6.3.2).

4.6.3.1 Equational clauses with nominal predicates

Examples of equational clauses with a nominal predicate are given in (173) and (174). The subject always precedes its predicate.

- (173) *Go narang Yunus.*
 1SG.POSS name Yunus
 ‘My name is Yunus.’ (aolys_FN)

- (174) *No te go leing lahe*
 3SG MED\S 1SG.POSS foot NEG
 ‘That is not my leg.’ (Klamer, 2011:81)

4.6.3.2 Locational clauses with prepositional phrases as predicates

In this type of verbless clause, the prepositional phrases can contain any preposition from Table 4.43 above. Examples (175) to (177) below illustrate locational clauses with a prepositional phrase as the predicate.

- (175) *Go oro kate Alor Kecil.*
 1SG LOC MED\L Alor.Kecil
 ‘I am at (that) Alor Kecil.’ (aolys_ST/DJA_3)

- (176) *Kame kate kapal lolong.*
 1PL.EXCL MED\L ship above
 ‘We are/were on the ship.’ (aolys_ST/DJA_3)
- (177) *Wai Kalibanung kali lolong.*
 water Kalibanung LOC.LOW above
 ‘Kalibanung village is (located) up there.’ (aolys_ST/SKA_1)

In this construction, it is also possible to insert a copula, *ada* ‘exist.MLY’, which is a Malay loanword, between the subject and the complement, compare (178) below with (175) above.

- (178) *Jadi we ada oro kia uma.*
 SO.MLY 3PL exist.MLY LOC PROX\L house
 ‘So, they are in(side) this house.’ (aolys_ST/SKA_5)

4.6.4 Summary on the clauses

Alorese has SVO constituent order. The grammatical relations of subject and object are expressed by the order of constituents. There is no dedicated morphology to mark passive constructions. Peripheral arguments, such as locations, instruments, and comitatives are expressed using prepositional phrases. In addition, tense is not marked, while aspect and mood are expressed lexically by predicate adverbs. In adjectival clauses, the subject can take either a bare predicate or demonstrative. In equational clauses that have nominal predicates, the subject always precedes its predicate and no copula is used. However, verbless locational clauses can have the copula *ada* ‘exist.MLY’.

4.7 Sentence types and clause combinations

In this section, I discuss negative sentences (§4.7.1), imperatives (§4.7.2), and interrogatives (§4.7.3). In addition, in the last part of this section (§4.7.4), I discuss combinations of clauses.

4.7.1 Negation and prohibition

The Alorese negator is *lahe* ‘NEG’ which negates predicates and always appears in clause-final position, as illustrated in examples (179) and (180) below. The negator *lahe* is also used to negate nominal predicates, as in (181).

- (179) Go k-oring lahe.
 1SG 1SG-know NEG
 ‘I don’t know.’ (aolys_ST/SKA_1)

- (180) Wu terkenal aman lahe, pindah mene ke kame.
 Market known.MLY safe.MLY NEG move.MLY come PROX\S 1PL
 ‘The market was known to be unsafe, so we moved here.’
 (aolys_ST/SKA_1)

- (181) Ternyata mato lahe.
 apparently.MLY frog NEG
 ‘Apparently, (it was) not the frog.’ (aolfm_FS/MDP_1)

When *lahe* is combined with the aspectual verb *kaing* ‘already’, this combination creates the meaning ‘not anymore’, as illustrated in (182). There is also a negative modality verb *gehing* ‘not want’, as shown in example (183).

- (182) Barang perenta Belanda lahe kaing.
 goods.MLY government.MLY Dutch.MLY NEG already
 ‘The Dutch government was not (there) anymore.’ (aolys_ST/SKA_1)

- (183) Ro gehing.
 3SG not.want
 ‘He refuses.’ (aolys_FN)

In Alorese, prohibition is expressed with the negative verb *haki/aki* ‘don’t’ which appears in pre-predicate position, as illustrated in (184).

- (184) Apa kali tona na’ang, aki gute.
 what.MLY LOC.LOW breadfruit POSS don’t take
 ‘That breadfruit, don’t take (it).’ (aolys_FN)

4.7.2 Imperatives

Imperative sentences do not use specific morphosyntactic means, but the syntactic subject can be omitted, as shown in examples (185) to (187); it can also be present, as in (188).

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------|
| (185) | <i>Ning</i> | <i>gia!</i> | | |
| | give | already | | |
| | 'Give it (to him) now!' | | | (aolys_FN) |
| | | | | |
| (186) | <i>Giha</i> | <i>ro!</i> | | |
| | step.on | 3SG | | |
| | 'Step on it!' | | | (aolys_FN) |
| | | | | |
| (187) | <i>Gato</i> | <i>tale</i> | <i>kalil</i> | |
| | cut | rope | LOC.LOW | |
| | 'Cut that rope!' | | | (aolys_FN) |
| | | | | |
| (188) | <i>Mo</i> | <i>mene</i> | <i>ke!</i> | |
| | 2SG | come | PROX\S | |
| | 'You come here!' | | | (aolys_FN) |

In (185), both the subject and the object are omitted. In (186), *ro* ‘3SG’ indicates the object and so does *tale* ‘rope’ in (187). Using a pronoun for the addressee in an imperative, as in (188), is considered polite in Alorese. The adverb *gia* ‘already’, as in (185), is different from the aspectual adverb *kaing* ‘already’ (§4.6.2.3); *gia* is only used in imperatives, while *kaing* ‘already’ is used mostly in declaratives.

4.7.3 Questions

Polar questions (yes-no questions) in Alorese have an identical construction to declaratives. Several question particles may be used, such as Malay particles *ko* 'PART.MLY' and *to* 'PART.MLY', as illustrated in examples (189) and (190).

- (189) *Nona ke tutup ko?*
 lady.MLY PROX\S close.MLY PART.MLY
 'Is the lady (her store) closed?' (aolys_CV/MMS_5)
- (190) *Kia te muko labi to?*
 PROX\L MED\S banana many PART.MLY
 'This (village) is rich in bananas, right?' (aolfm_ST/HMD_2)

Alorese has six interrogative words, all of which can appear as one-word utterances. Table 4.46 below lists the question words in Alorese.

Table 4.46: Question words in Alorese

Question word	Meaning
<i>pai</i>	'what'
<i>hewai aru, haru</i>	'who'
<i>pira</i>	'how much'
<i>nang ga, namengga</i>	'how, why'
<i>oro ga, orga</i>	'where'
<i>oro pira, ere pira, arpira</i>	'when'

The use of the question word *pai* 'what' is shown in examples (191) to (193). In (191), the question word expresses the subject of a nominal clause and can occur before or after the predicate. When it is the direct object, the question word *pai* cannot appear clause-initially, as shown in (192b). Nor can it appear clause-initially when taking a nominal modifier, as in (193).

- | | | | | | | | |
|-------|----|----------------------|-------------|----|-------------|---------------|------------------|
| (191) | a) | <i>Ke</i> | <i>pai?</i> | b) | <i>Pai</i> | <i>ke?</i> | |
| | | PROX\S | what | | what | PROX\S | |
| | | 'What is this?' | | | | | (aolys_FN) |
| | | | | | | | |
| (192) | a) | <i>Goung</i> | <i>pai?</i> | b) | <i>*Pai</i> | <i>goung?</i> | |
| | | eat | what | | what | eat | |
| | | 'What do you eat?' | | | | | (aolys_FN) |
| | | | | | | | |
| (193) | a) | <i>Marga</i> | <i>pai?</i> | b) | <i>*Pai</i> | <i>marga?</i> | |
| | | clan.MLY | what | | what | clan | |
| | | 'What is your clan?' | | | | | (aolys_CV/MMS_6) |

The question word *hewai aru* lit. 'who FOC', translated as 'who', contains a focus marker *aru* 'FOC' which marks the nominal referent. This question word may appear in a short form as *haru* 'who'. It occurs either in clause-final position, as in (194) and (195) which express predicative uses, or in clause-initial position, as in (196) and (197) which express pronominal uses.

- (194) *Na haru?*
 POSS who
 ‘What is (your name)?’ (aolys_CV/MMS_6)

- (195) *Bai kali haru?*
 child LOC.LOW who
 ‘Who is that child?’ (aolys_FN)

- (196) ... *haru na dapa?*
 who POSS catch.MLY
 ‘...who catches (it)?’ (aolys_CV/MMS_8)

- (197) ... *haru bo go pao ke?*
 who then 1SG feed PROX\S
 ‘... then who would feed me?’ (aolys_CV/MMS_6)

The question word *pira* ‘how much’ occurs clause-finally when used to ask about quantity, as illustrated in example (198). When used to pose a question, it cannot appear clause-initially, as illustrated in (199) and (200). *Pira* can also function as a quantifier denoting ‘several; few; little’, as shown in (201).

- (198) *Mi kate pira?*
 2PL MED\L how.much
 ‘How many people?’ (aolys_CV/MMS_2)

- (199) a. *Weling pira?* b. **Pira weling*
 expensive how.much how.much expensive
 ‘How expensive (is the price)?’ (aolys_FN)

- (200) a. *Ata pira?* b. **Pira ata?*
 people how.much how.much people
 ‘How many people?’ (aolys_FN)

- (201) *Pira te tobo te.*
 how.much MED\L sit MED\L
 ‘Several (frogs) are sitting.’ (aolys_FN)

The question word *namengga* ~ *nangga* ‘how; why’ and *oro ga* lit. ‘LOC where’, translated as ‘where’, both contain a clitic *ga* ‘PART’ which marks interrogatives. Alorese uses the same question word *namengga* ~ *nangga* ‘how; why’ to express both the reason for something (‘why’), as in (202), and the way to do something (‘how’), as in (203). The use of *oro ga* ‘where’ is shown in example (204).

- (202) *Nang.ga kate?*
 why.part MED\L
 ‘Why is that?’ (aolys_CV/MMS_1)

- (203) *Ada tite kate kadire nang.ga?*
 exist.MLY 1PL.INCL MED\L language how.part
 ‘How do we say it in our language?’ (aolys_CV/MMS_1)

- (204) *Ama mo m-ai oro ga?*
 father 2SG 2SG-go LOC where
 ‘Father, where are you going?’ (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

The question word *oro pira* ~ *ere pira* ~ *arpira* lit. ‘LOC how.much’ is used to inquire about time, and is translated as ‘when’, illustrated in example (205).

- (205) *Arpira go kewae kate batang?*
 when 1SG woman MED\L come
 ‘When will my wife come home?’ (aolys_FN)

4.7.4 Clause combinations

This section describes how clauses in Alorese are combined. Most clause combinations in Alorese express coordination, using clause-initial linking words/conjunctions, which are listed in Table 4.47.

Table 4.47: Alorese linking words

Linking words	Meaning
<i>mu, ma</i>	‘then’
<i>bo, ba</i>	‘then’
<i>ka</i>	‘when; so’

The linking word *mu/ma* ‘then’ connects clauses that express sequential events, as illustrated in examples (206) and (207).

- (206) *Plaeng~plaeng ha n-ai mu ro masuk klou kolangonong.*
 RDP~run PROX/S 3SG-go then 3SG enter.MLY seawardslake inside
 ‘(He) ran upwards and then he fell into the lake.’ (aolys_FS/HJW_1)

- (207) *Wanti mo masuk tas miteng kali onong kali ma*
 Wanti 2SG enter.MLY bag black LOC.LOW inside LOC.LOW then
 ‘Wanti, go inside (the house), find the black bag, then

gute lema.
 take five
 take five (thousand rupiahs). (aolys_CV/MMS_5)

The linking word *bo/ba* ‘then’ also expresses sequence, as illustrated in examples (208) to (210). In this construction, the linking word *bo* mostly, but not always, occur after the aspectual adverb *kaing* ‘already’.

- (208) *Ada meja kemapa ba lampu ada teleng keti lolong.*
 exist.MLY table.MLY shoulder then lamp exist.MLY hang LOC.HIGH above
 ‘There is that table, the lamp hangs above it.’ (aolfm_PM/MMN_1)

- (209) *...pelae ke oto kaing bo ro poho~poho bai kate.*
 run PROX\S car already then 3SG RDP~tie child MED\L
 ‘... (he) came with a car, and then he tied up that child.’ (aolys_CV/MMS_6)

- (210) *...ro haleng ke tana wai sampai muang namu kaing bo*
 3SG dive PROX\S earth water until.MLY times six already then
 ‘... he dives into the water six times already, and then

ro bakung matang seru ada tapo keti lolong.
 3SG RECP.MLY eye see exist.MLY coconutLOC.HIGHabove
 he opens his eyes (and) sees there are coconuts above (the water).’
 (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

The linking word *ka* ‘when; so’ connects clauses that express either temporal coordination, as illustrated in example (211), or consequences as in (212).

- (211) ... *go taka wata ka ada klau ata karejang umasigi.*
 1SG 1SG.eat grains when exist.MLY seawardsperson work mosque
 ‘...I ate some rice when there were people working on the the mosque
 down there.’ (aolys_ST/SKA_4)

- (212) *Kobar kia mare na taing ka mene watang.*
 Kobar PROX\L ill POSS stomach so come beach
 ‘Kobar has stomach ache so (he) went to the beach.’ (aolfm_ST/MFS_1)

Another type of clause combination in Alorese is a complement clause. In this construction, one clause in a sentence functions as the argument (either subject or object) of another clause. One example of this type of clause combination can be found in direct speech, as illustrated in (213).

- (213) *Jadi go nu maring, “Bapa lahe na hope ni ha!”*
 so.MLY 1SG earlier say father NEG POSS buy PROX.MLY PROX\S
 ‘So, I said, “Father, don’t you want to buy this!”’ (aolys_CV/HP_1)

The only subordinate clauses in Alorese are relative clauses using the relativizer *yang* ‘REL.MLY’ which is a loanword from Malay. Example (214) below shows how *yang* ‘REL’ is used in a relative construction.

- (214) *Ada uma tou yang ape gang.*
 exist.MLY house one REL.MLY fire eat
 ‘There is a house that is on fire (lit. eaten by fire).’ (aolfm_SR/MDP_1)

Furthermore, other Malay conjunctions are frequently used, including *kalau* ‘if’ which expresses a condition, *jadi* ‘so that’ which introduces a purpose, *karena* ‘because’ which has a causal function, and *tapi* ‘but’ which expresses contrast. Examples (215) to (218) below illustrate the use of these linkers.

- (215) *Kalau mo tandatangan oro kuitansi, mo pate seng sisa.*
 if.MLY 2SG signature.MLY LOC receipt.MLY 2SG pay money rest.MLY
 'If you sign on the receipt, you pay the rest of the money.'
 (aolfm_SR/MDP_1)

- (216) *Go gehi, jadi mo lodo mai.*
 1SG not want so 2SG down 2SG-go
 'I refused, therefore you left.'
 (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

- (217) *Tiba-tiba bapa guru ke beta guo go ko ekang*
 suddenly.MLY father teacher PROX\S come call 1SG PART garden
 'Suddenly, the teacher called me to come into the garden'

onong karena ada kebutuhan
 inside because.MLY exist.MLY needs.MLY
 because there were necessities.'
 (aolys_ST/DJA_1)

- (218) *Kame keluarga sakali kumpul oro kate tapi*
 1PL.EXCL family.MLY all get.together.MLY LOC MED\L but.MLY
 'All of our family got together there, but'

kame seng sampai lahe.
 1PL.EXCL.POSS money arrive.MLY NEG
 our money was not enough.'
 (aolys_ST/DJA_3)

4.8 Summary and conclusions

In this chapter, I have presented an outline of the grammar of the Alorese language. Alorese has a medium-sized phoneme inventory. There are only small number of distributional restrictions for phonemes. The language has mostly disyllabic words which can contain either open or closed syllables in both medial and final position. Stress falls primarily on the penultimate syllable, except when the penultimate syllable is reduced causing the stress to fall on the final syllable. The Alorese NP is head initial and the core slot can be filled by nominals, properties, locations, and numerals. The subordinate slot of the NP can be filled by a relative clause and its final slot can be filled by either a demonstrative, focus marker, or plural word. There is no inflectional morphology in Alorese possessive constructions. A possessive linker may be

used between the nouns when expressing possession. There are traces of an alienability distinction for nouns, which can be observed in the fossilized possessive suffix *-ng*. Some Alorese verbs encode their subject as a free pronoun, as in *go pana* 'I walk', while other verbs encode their subject as a pronominal prefix combined with an optional additional pronoun, as in *we r-enung* 'they drink'. The only active derivational process in Alorese is reduplication. Meanwhile, verb serialization is fairly common. The grammatical relations of subject and object are expressed by constituent order. Tense is not marked, and aspect and mood are expressed through adverbs. Negative expressions mainly use one negator, *lahe* 'NEG'. Furthermore, clause combinations in Alorese mostly express coordination, using clause-initial linking words or conjunctions.

Alorese historical phonology

5.1 Introduction

Alorese is part of the Western Lamaholot (WL) subgroup in the Flores-Lembata family, displayed in Figure 5.1. This chapter presents the historical phonology of all Alorese varieties and the languages within the WL subgroup. The aims of this chapter are to reconstruct lower-level Proto-Alorese (PAL) and higher-level Proto-Western-Lamaholot (PWL) sounds and to establish exclusively shared sound changes and other innovations that support the existence of an Alorese subgroup.

Figure 5.1: The Western Lamaholot subgroup

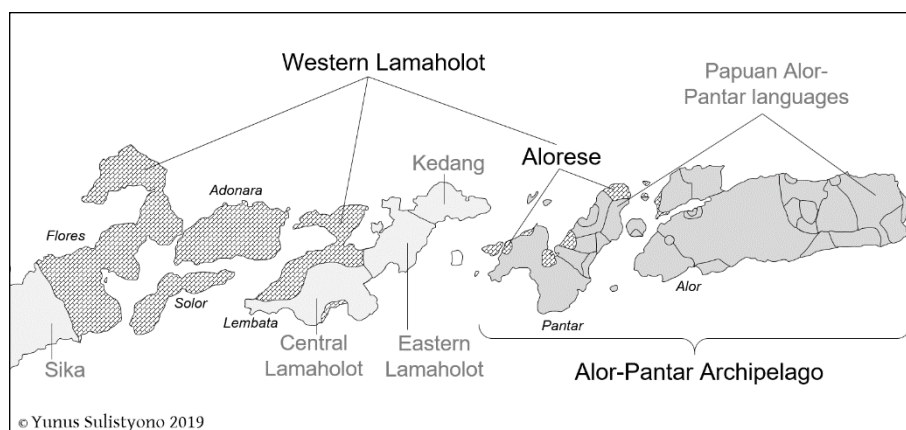
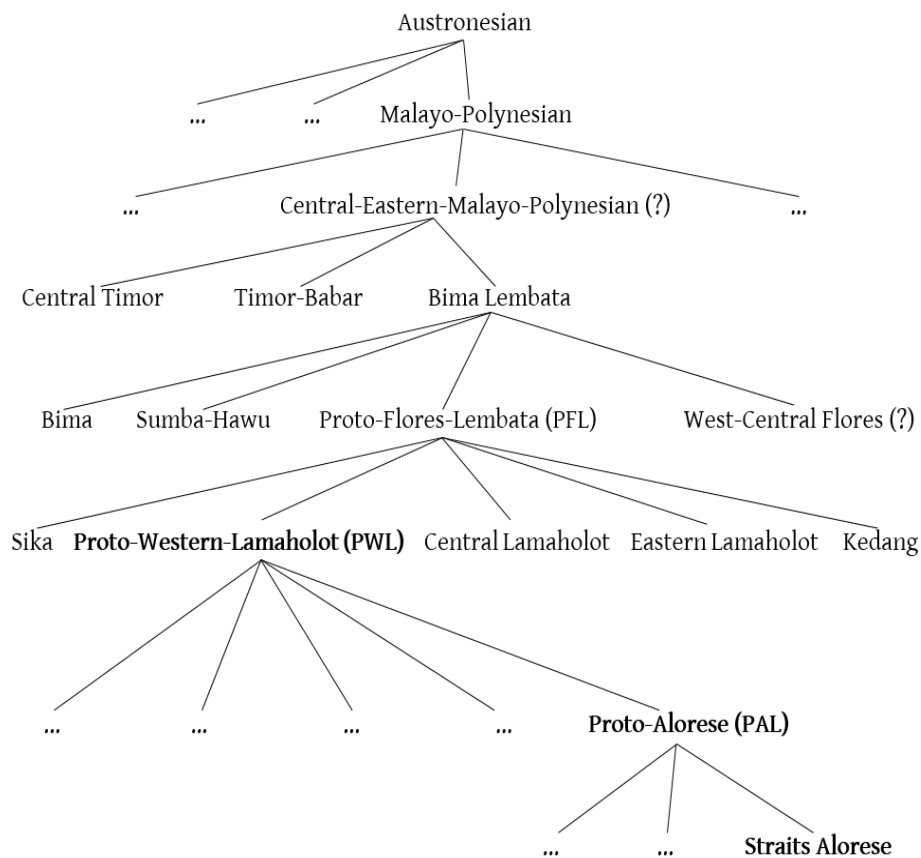


Figure 5.2 shows the genealogical classification of Alorese in the WL subgroup within with the context of the Austronesian language family lineage.

Figure 5.2: Genealogical classification of the Western Lamaholot subgroup



The WL subgroup has been defined as an individual subgroup within the Flores-Lembata family. Alorese is part of WL based on an exclusively shared regular sound change of Proto-Flores-Lembata (PFL) **r > ʔ* (Fricke, 2019:224). In this chapter, I confirm this hypothesis and show that there is a possible low-level subgroup within Alorese, called Straits Alorese. This classification is based on a bottom-up reconstruction and it aims to establish the internal structure of the Alorese subgroup based on exclusively shared sound changes. In addition, other varieties within WL are also taken into account to provide context for the Alorese subgroup.

This chapter is structured as follows. Section 5.2 is a summary of previous studies on the WL languages. Section 5.3 discusses the method used in this chapter, which details regarding language sampling, data sources, representation of varieties, transcription conventions, and organization of tables. In Section 5.4, I reconstruct the sounds of Proto-Alorese (PAL), while in Section 5.5, I reconstruct the sounds of Proto-Western-Lamaholot (PWL). Section 5.6 summarizes the sound changes attested in both PWL and PAL and Section 5.7 provides evidence for an Alorese subgroup. In addition, Section 5.8 presents a lower-level subgrouping within Alorese. Section 5.9 proposes Alorese varieties that are considered the most conservative. Finally, Section 5.10 gives a summary and conclusions.

5.2 Previous studies

Previous studies on the WL languages, including Alorese, cover varieties spoken on eastern Flores, Solor, Adonara, Lembata, Pantar, and the Alor Peninsula. The first description of WL varieties was Arndt (1937), which described varieties spoken in the western area, but excluding Lembata and the Alor archipelago. Stokhof (1975) compiled a list of vocabulary from languages spoken in the Alor-Pantar region, and asserted that Alorese is closely related to Lamaholot. It was then established by Klamer (2011) that Alorese can be considered a separate language, due to a low percentage of lexical similarity with Lamaholot and the loss of morphology.

There are several studies focusing on the grammatical description of WL varieties in the western area (Flores, Solor, Adonara, and Lembata). One of the earliest grammatical descriptions is Fernandez (1977), which contains a short description of a variety spoken around the mountain Ile Mandiri, close to the city of Larantuka. Keraf (1978) is a doctoral dissertation on the morphology of the Lamalera dialect spoken on Lembata. Keraf's study provides vocabulary from twenty-five WL varieties, sampled in the present study (cf. §5.3.1). Another source for the present study is a dictionary published by Pampus (1999) which is based on a Lamaholot variety spoken in Lewolema. Nishiyama and Kelen (2007) is a grammatical description of Lamaholot dialects spoken in Lewoingu and Lewolaga. Further studies include a grammatical description of the WL variety of Lewotobi by Nagaya (2011) and a Master thesis by Akoli (2010) which compares some different aspects of several WL varieties. Lastly, the grammar of a WL variety spoken on Solor is described in the doctoral dissertation of Kroon (2016).

There is much less work done on Alorese than on other WL varieties. Klamer (2011) is a short grammar of Alorese based on varieties spoken in Alor

Kecil. In my own Master thesis (Sulistiyono, 2015) I undertook lexical comparison between Lamaholot, Kedang, and Baranusa (Alorese). Furthermore, comparison of dialects across WL, including Alorese, is found in the Master thesis of Michels (2017).

A proposal regarding the homeland of the Lamaholot speakers can be found in Grangé (2015), which posits that Adonara is the Lamaholot homeland. However, this proposal is based on a study that covers varieties of WL only; varieties spoken on Central and Eastern Lamaholot were not included in the study. Therefore, the proposal is only informative regarding a possible homeland for WL speakers, not Central or Eastern Lamaholot speakers.

The subgrouping of the Flores-Lembata languages has been investigated by Elias (2017) and Fricke (2019). Elias (2017) proposes a classification of the Flores-Lembata family, including the WL subgroup, using historical glottometry.¹⁸ This study concludes that Alorese shares the same regular sound changes with varieties of WL. A comprehensive study based on regular sound changes and grammatical innovation is provided by Fricke (2019), who proposes that WL, together with Eastern Lamaholot, Central Lamaholot, Sika, and Kedang, form a language family called Flores-Lembata. This study also reconstructs the sounds of PFL and suggests that Alorese belongs to the WL subgroup.

5.3 Methods

This chapter contains analyses that answer the research questions posed in Section 1.2 concerning the reflexes of PFL and the evidence for Alorese as a subgroup. To answer the questions, it is necessary to reconstruct the sound inventory of Proto-Alorese (PAL) and Proto-Western-Lamaholot (PWL) using a bottom-up approach. In order to reconstruct the sounds of PAL and PWL, I built a database containing lexical items from varieties in the WL subgroup. This comprises one or two wordlists per variety, with around 200 to 600 lexical items in each list.

From the wordlists, I gathered items that form sets of cognates, from which a proto-form can often be reconstructed. The proto-form often goes back to PFL, reconstructed by Fricke (2019), and, in many cases, to Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP; Blust & Trussel, 2016). Some lexeme sets do not go back to PFL or PMP, but can be reconstructed to PWL. Some of these are lexical innovations in PAL (cf. §5.5.1.1). From this reconstruction, I collected 508 sets of related words that appear across the WL languages (Appendix C). In this chapter, I examine the sets

¹⁸ Historical glottometry is a method inspired by the wave model, which allows realistic treatment of linkages and dialect chains (François, 2014).

that go back to PMP, PFL, and PWL. Examples of lexeme sets are presented in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Examples of lexeme sets

	‘stone’	‘long’
PMP	*batu	[...]
PFL	*vatu	[...]
PWL	*wato	*bəlaha
Lewoingu	wato	bəlahə
Lewolema	wato	bəlāha
Adonara	wato	blaha
Lamalera	fato	blā
PAL	*wato	*bəlaha k
Kayang	wato	laha ²
Pandai	wato	blahak
Alor Besar	fato	belahakan

The set for the concept ‘stone’ in Table 5.1 contains cognates that appear across many WL varieties and which trace back to PFL and PMP forms. In contrast, the cognate set for PWL *bəlaha ‘long’ does not go back to PFL or PMP, but reflexes of the PWL form are attested across all WL varieties, including Alorese (PAL).

5.3.1 Language sampling and data sources

The historical reconstruction carried out in this chapter is based on lexical data from a total of thirty-eight WL varieties, which are listed in Table 5.2. The lexical items are taken from the LexiRumah online database <https://lexirumah.modeling.eu/lexirumah/> (Kaiping, et al. 2019). The selection of Alorese varieties used in this study is based on my 2018 fieldwork, which is also available on LexiRumah. In addition, lexical data from a Lamaholot dictionary by Pampus (1999) is used. The varieties used in the present study are referred to by the names of the villages in which the varieties are spoken. Table 5.2 shows, for each variety, the island on which it is spoken, the ISO code, location of data collection, the data collector, when the data were collected/published, and the number of lexical items available. I distinguish two types of lexical items: a core list, which is based on the 200-word Swadesh list, and an extended list, which is based on additional vocabulary. It is important to make this distinction because not all varieties have an extended list. The ISO codes are based on the grouping of the

varieties into six languages: Lewotobi (ISO: lwt), Lamaholot (ISO: slp), Adonara (ISO: adr), Lamalera (ISO: lmr), Ile Ape (ISO: ila), and Alorese (ISO: aol).

Table 5.2: List of Western Lamaholot varieties used in this study

Variety/ village	ISO 639-3	Geographical location	Data collector	Year	Number of lexical items	
					Core list	Extended list
Pukaunu	-	Flores	Keraf	1978	199	0
Lewotobi	lwt	Flores	Keraf	1978	201	0
Ritaebang	slp	Solor	Keraf	1978	201	0
Lewolaga	slp	Flores	Keraf	1978	200	0
Lewoingu	slp	Flores	Klamer	2015	201	397
Bama	slp	Flores	Keraf	1978	200	0
Waibalun	slp	Flores	Keraf	1978	201	0
Baipito	slp	Flores	Keraf	1978	200	0
Lewolema	slp	Flores	Keraf	1978	199	0
Lewolema	slp	Flores	Pampus	1999	dictionary	
Tanjung Bunga	slp	Flores	Keraf	1978	198	0
Botun	adr	Adonara	Keraf	1978	200	0
Waiwadan	adr	Adonara	Keraf	1978	201	0
Horowura	adr	Adonara	Keraf	1978	200	0
Dulhi	adr	Adonara	Keraf	1978	199	0
Watan	adr	Adonara	Keraf	1978	198	0
Lamakera	adr	Solor	Keraf	1978	201	0
Adonara	adr	Adonara	Klamer	2015	209	401
Kiwangona	adr	Adonara	Keraf	1978	200	0
Lamahora	lmr	Lembata	Keraf	1978	200	0
Belang	lmr	Lembata	Keraf	1978	198	0
Merdeka	lmr	Lembata	Keraf	1978	201	0
Wuakerong	lmr	Lembata	Keraf	1978	201	0
Mulan	lmr	Lembata	Keraf	1978	201	0
Lamalera	lmr	Lembata	Keraf	1978	204	0
Ile Ape	ila	Lembata	Keraf	1978	198	0

Variety/ village	ISO 639-3	Geographical location	Data collector	Year	Number of lexical items	
					Core list	Extended list
Kayang	aol	Pantar	Sulistyono	2018	204	480
Beang Onong	aol	Pantar	Sulistyono	2018	203	484
Baranusa	aol	Pantar	Sulistyono	2018	204	384
Baranusa	aol	Pantar	Klamer	2003	255	0
Helangdohi	aol	Pantar	Sulistyono	2018	200	499
Wailawar	aol	Pantar	Sulistyono	2018	205	503
Pandai	aol	Pantar	Moro	2016	202	538
Bana	aol	Pantar	Sulistyono	2018	207	621
Munaseli	aol	Pantar	Moro	2016	203	586
Buaya	aol	Pantar Strait	Sulistyono	2018	180	357
Ternate	aol	Pantar Strait	Sulistyono	2018	206	538
Alor Besar	aol	Alor	Moro	2016	203	535
Alor Kecil	aol	Alor	Sulistyono	2018	204	434
Dulolong	aol	Alor	Sulistyono	2018	202	471

5.3.2 Representation of varieties

The varieties sampled in this study are spread over the Flores-Lembata and Alor-Pantar archipelago. Figure 5.3 shows the location of the WL subgroup within the context of the Flores-Lembata family and the Alor-Pantar languages. The location of each variety is shown in Figure 5.4.

Figure 5.3: Western Lamaholot within the context of the Flores-Lembata family and the Alor-Pantar languages

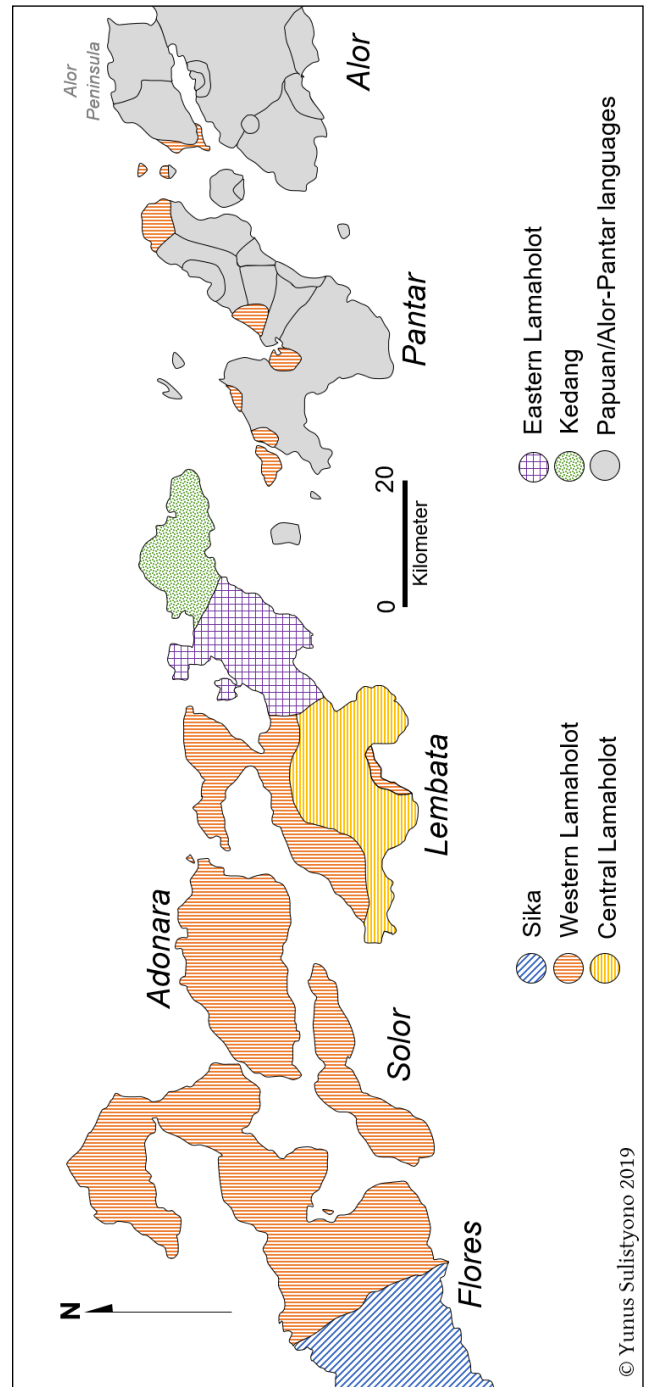
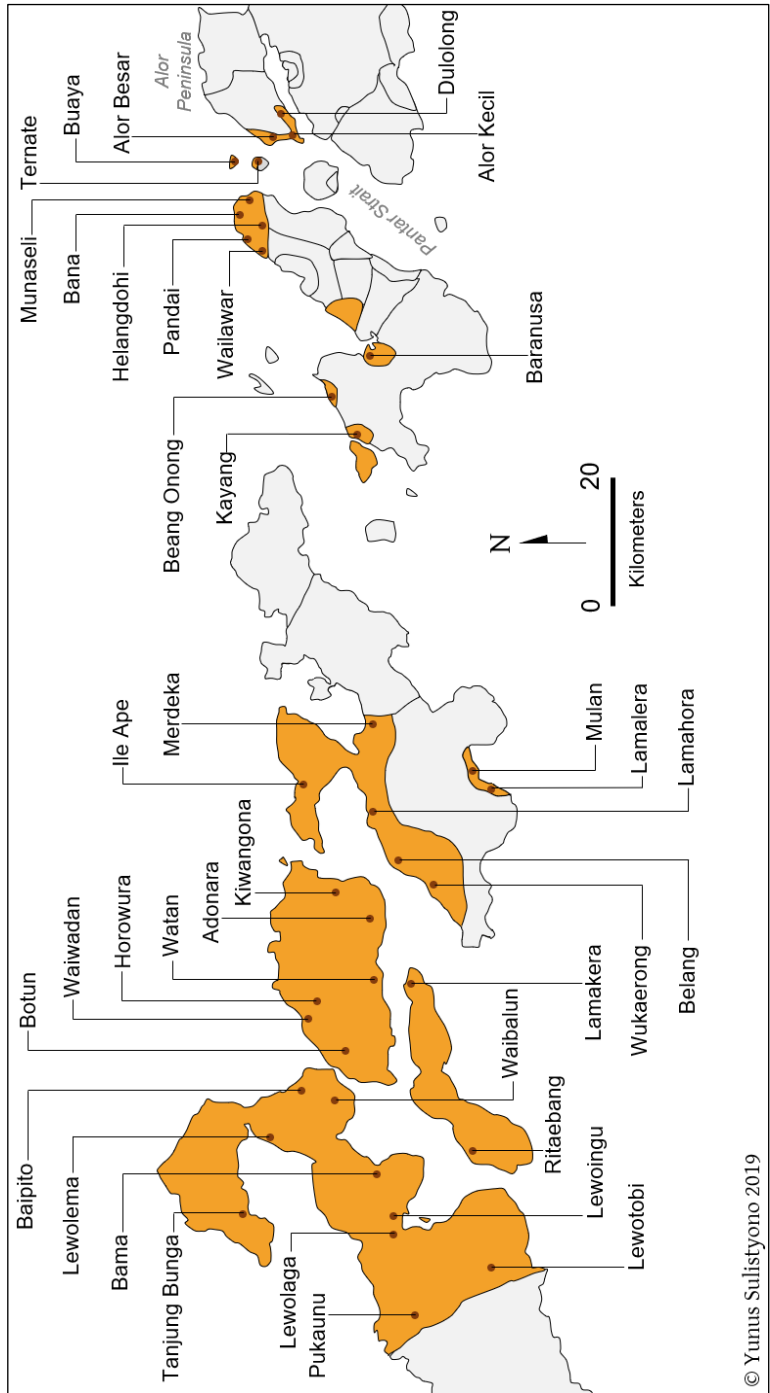


Figure 5.4: Locations of the Western Lamaholot varieties



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Although the analysis is based on all of the varieties, the cognate sets that I present in this chapter only contain data from a subset of the varieties. This is because (1) several varieties have a larger number of lexical items and (2) it is not possible to represent all varieties, as the cognate sets would become too big. I have selected the varieties to present in the cognate sets in such a way as to ensure that the geographical spread of the WL varieties is represented. From each region, I take one representative; for instance, one from Flores, one from Adonara, one from Lembata, and so forth. Nevertheless, I incorporate as many varieties as possible to demonstrate the regularity of sound correspondences. The complete cognate sets showing comparisons of all varieties are provided in Appendix C.

5.3.3 Transcription conventions

The symbols used for the PMP and PFL forms in this dissertation are largely equivalent to IPA. However, some adjustments are made to the conventions in order to avoid confusion. All PMP forms are adopted in the form they are given in Blust and Trussel (2016), with the exceptions of PMP *e [ə], which is represented as *ə, and PMP *z [dʒ] which is represented as *dʒ. PFL forms are represented using the symbols employed in the reconstruction by Fricke (2019), with the exception of the PFL voiced stop *g which is represented here as *g. Table 5.3 shows the conventions for non-IPA symbols used for PMP and PFL.

Table 5.3: Conventions for non-IPA symbols used to represent PMP and PFL sounds

PMP; Blust and Trussel (2010)	IPA symbol	PAL and PWL; this dissertation
<R>	[r] / [ʀ]	<R>
<j>	[g] / [ɣ] / [gʲ]	<j>
<z>	[dʒ]	<dʒ>
<y>	[j]	<y>
<e>	[ə]	<ə>
PFL; Fricke (2019)		
<y>	[j]	<y>
<g>	[g]	<g>

The reconstructions of PAL and PWL sounds are given using IPA symbols, with two exceptions, namely (1) the palatal approximant [j], which is represented here as *y, and (2) the voiced plosive palatal [j] / [dʒ], which is represented here as *dʒ. All reconstructed proto-forms are marked with a

preceding asterisk symbol <*>. Furthermore, a hash sign (#) in proto-forms means that the reconstructed form has undergone regular sound changes but there is not enough evidence to reconstruct a proto-form. The approximant /w/ covers phonetic realizations of [v], [ʋ] and [w]. The PFL voiced fricative *v is represented as *v. The phonemic symbol /e/ is used to represent the phonetic realization of [ɛ] and [æ] from some WL sources. Finally, the phonemic symbol /o/ is used to represent phonetic realizations of both [o] and [ɔ].

The description in Chapter 4 of one Alorese dialect spoken in the villages of Pandai and Wailawar yields a phonemic inventory, which is also used in the phonemic transcription of the Pandai and Wailawar varieties in this Chapter. Phonemic representations of the remaining varieties are based on transcription from fieldwork and the existing phonemic representations as used in the data sources (cf. Table 5.2).

5.3.4 Organization of tables

As already exemplified by Table 5.1, tables in this chapter are generally organized as follows. The leftmost column contains the names of proto-languages and modern-day varieties. The following column lists reconstructions and their reflexes for one set. The header row contains the English glosses of each lexeme set. The English glosses represent the concepts associated with the synchronic meanings of the reflexes. If the English gloss does not match with the meaning of the reconstructed forms or with the meaning in the modern-day varieties, an additional gloss is given next to or above the respective lexeme, or is provided in a footnote. The second row always contains the PMP forms, followed by the PFL forms and the reconstructed PWL and PAL forms. The lexemes in the present-day varieties are given in italics, while the proto-forms are given in normal font. In addition, individual phonemes are given in boldface to highlight the sounds that are being compared and to show sound correspondences.

In the tables, the following symbols are used. An en dash (–) in a cell means that, in the given variety, the item has been replaced by new forms which are not cognate with the given lexeme set. A hyphen (–) within a proto-form indicates a morpheme boundary. A vertical line or pipe symbol (|) marks a historical morpheme boundary, which means that the morpheme was added earlier and has become fossilized in the present-day varieties. A cell displaying [...] indicates that there is no data available or that the proto-form has not yet been reconstructed. Angle brackets <...> indicate infixes in proto-forms. Lastly, parentheses (...) are used to indicate morphemes that are non-etymological.

5.4 Reconstruction of the sounds of Proto-Alorese

5.4.1 Reflexes of PFL voiceless plosives in Alorese

5.4.1.1 PFL initial and intervocalic *p *t *k *ʔ

In this section, I present the reflexes of the initial and intervocalic voiceless plosives of PFL in the Alorese varieties. Reflexes of final plosives are discussed in Section 5.4.1.3. For comparative purposes, the PMP sounds or forms are listed above PFL. As indicated in Table 5.4, the PFL initial and intervocalic *p, *t, and *k are retained unchanged in PAL and the present-day languages. However, the PFL initial and intervocalic *ʔ is lost in all varieties.

Table 5.4: Reflexes of PFL initial and intervocalic voiceless plosives *p *t *k *ʔ in Alorese

Env.	#_	V_V	#_	V_V	#_	V_V	#_	V_V
PMP	*p-	*-p-	*t-	*-t-	*k-	*-k-	*q-/*h-	*-q-/*-h-
PFL	*p-	*-p-	*t-	*-t-	*k-	*-k-	*ʔ-	*-ʔ-
PAL	*p-	*-p-	*t-	*-t-	*k-	*-k-	Ø	Ø
Kayang	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	Ø	Ø
Baranusa	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	Ø	Ø
Munaseli	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	Ø	Ø
Alor Besar	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	Ø	Ø

Table 5.5 provides examples of the reflexes of PFL initial *p-, which is retained as *p* in all Alorese varieties. The PFL stative prefix *m- in PFL, as in *m-paʔit ‘bitter’ and *m-pədu ‘salty’, is lost in PAL (see §5.4.1.2 for discussion of reflexes of PFL *m-).

Table 5.5: Reflexes of PFL initial *p- in Alorese

	‘seven’	‘choose’	‘walk’	‘bitter’	‘salty’
PMP	*pitu	*piliq	*panaw	*ma-paqit	*ma-qapəju
PFL	*pitu	*piliʔ	*pana(v)	*m-paʔit	*m-pədu
PAL	*pito	*pile	*pana	*paiʔ	*pəro
Kayang	<i>pito</i>	<i>pile</i>	<i>pana</i>	<i>pai</i>	[...]
Baranusa	<i>pito</i>	<i>pile</i>	<i>pana</i>	<i>pai</i>	<i>paro</i>
Pandai	<i>pito</i>	<i>pile</i>	<i>pana</i>	<i>paiʔ</i>	<i>parə</i>
Munaseli	<i>pito</i>	<i>pile</i>	<i>pana (lei)</i>	<i>paiʔ</i>	<i>pəro</i>
Alor Besar	<i>pito</i>	<i>pile</i>	<i>pana</i>	<i>pei</i>	<i>paro</i>

Table 5.6 shows examples of the reflexes of PFL intervocalic *-p-, which is retained unchanged in all Alorrese varieties.

Table 5.6: Reflexes of PFL intervocalic *-p- in Alorrese

	‘fire’	‘lime (stone)’	‘wipe’	‘thin (non-human)’	‘fold’
PMP	*hapuy	*qapuR	*sapu	*ma-nipis	*lapət
PFL	*api	*lapur	*hapu	*m-nipih-i	*lapət
PAL	*ape	*apu	*hapo	*mənipi	*lapəʔ
Baranusa	ape	apu	[...]	manipi	lape
Munaseli	ape	apu	hapo	nipi	–
Bana	ape	apu	[...]	nipi	lapə
Wailawar	ape	apu	[...]	nipiʔ	lapəʔ
Alor Besar	ape	apu	hapo	[...]	[...]
Dulolong	ape	apu	[...]	mənipi	lape

Table 5.7 shows the reflexes of PFL initial *-t-, which is retained unchanged in PAL. In the cognate set for PFL *t<əm>akav ‘to steal’, the Bana word *makaŋ* ‘to steal’ has lost its initial syllable due to simplification of trisyllabic words, a process often observed in Alorrese varieties.

Table 5.7: Reflexes of PFL initial *-t- in Alorrese

	‘excrement’	‘to steal’	‘sugarcane’	‘three’	‘rope’
PMP	*taqi	*takaw	*təbuh	*təlu	*talih
PFL	*taʔi	*t<əm>akav	*təvu	*təlu	*taliʔ
PAL	*tae	*təmaka	*təwo	*təlo	*tale
Kayang	tae	təmaka	təwo	talo	tale
Beang Onong	[...]	tamaka	təwo	talo	tale
Bana	tae	makaŋ	təwo	təlo	tale
Alor Besar	tae	tamaku	tafo	təlo	tale
Dulolong	[...]	[...]	tafo	talo	tale

PFL intervocalic *-t- is regularly retained as *t* in PAL, as shown by all examples in Table 5.8. For the concept ‘eye’ and ‘liver’, final consonant -ŋ is attested in the Alorrese varieties and is reconstructed to PAL. This final consonant is a fossilized possessive suffix that marks body-part nouns (cf. §4.4.3.1).

Table 5.8: Reflexes of PFL intervocalic *-t- in Alorese

	‘seven’	‘louse’	‘eye’	‘liver’	‘stone’	‘black’	‘itchy’
PMP	*pitu	*kutu	*mata	*qatay	*batu	*qitəm	*gatəl
PFL	*pitu	*kutu	*mata	*ate	*vatu	*mitəm	*gatər
PAL	*pito	*kuto	*mata ŋ	*ate ŋ	*wato	*miteŋ	*gateʔ
Kayang	<i>pito</i>	<i>kuto</i>	<i>mata ŋ</i>	<i>ate ŋ</i>	<i>wato</i>	<i>miteŋ</i>	<i>gato</i>
Baranusa	<i>pito</i>	[...]	<i>mata ŋ</i>	<i>ate ŋ</i>	<i>wato</i>	<i>miteŋ</i>	<i>gate</i>
Pandai	<i>pito</i>	<i>kuto</i>	<i>mata ŋ</i>	<i>ate ŋ</i>	<i>wato</i>	<i>miteŋ</i>	<i>gateʔ</i>
Alor Besar	<i>pito</i>	<i>kuto</i>	<i>mata ŋ</i>	<i>atē</i>	<i>fato</i>	<i>miteŋ</i>	<i>gate</i>

Table 5.9 shows the reflexes of PFL initial *-k-, which is retained unchanged as *k* in Alorese. The only exception is the cognate set for PFL *k|silap ‘lightning’, in which PFL prefix *-k- is lost. In this process, the PFL consonant cluster *-ks- is reduced to *-s-, which then becomes an initial *-h- in PAL due to a regular sound change PFL *s > PAL *h (cf. §5.4.2).

Table 5.9: Reflexes of PFL initial *-k- in Alorese

	‘1pl excl.’	‘louse’	‘wood’	‘lightning’
PMP	*kami	*kutu	*kahi	*silap ‘sparkle; drizzle’
PFL	*kami	*kutu	*kayu	*k silap
PAL	*kame	*kuto	*kadʒo	*hila
Kayang	<i>kame</i>	<i>kuto</i>	<i>kadʒo</i>	<i>hila</i>
Baranusa	<i>kame</i>	[...]	<i>kadʒo</i>	<i>hila</i>
Pandai	<i>kame</i>	<i>kuto</i>	<i>kadʒo (apa)</i>	<i>hila (bilŋ)</i>
Dulolong	<i>kame</i>	<i>kuto</i>	<i>kadʒo</i>	<i>hila (biba)</i>

The PFL intervocalic *-k- is also regularly retained as *k* in all Alorese varieties, as shown in Table 5.10. In the cognate set for PFL *ikur ‘tail’, a fossilized suffix *-k is reconstructed in PAL, which is not a reflex of PFL final *-r. Alor Kecil tends to add -uŋ, which is also observed in the other varieties spoken in the Straits (cf. §5.8). The Alor Kecil word *tamaku* ‘to steal’ also shows a remnant of the added syllable -uŋ in its final vowel.

Table 5.10: Reflexes of PFL intervocalic *-k- in Alorese

	‘fish’	‘tail’	‘to steal’	‘civet cat’	‘bat’
PMP	*hikan	*ikuŋ	*takaw	*laku	*paniki
PFL	*ikan	*ikur	*t<əm>akav	*laku	[...]
PAL	*ikan	*iku k	*tamaka	*lako	*panike
Beang Onong	<i>ika</i>	<i>iku</i>	<i>tamaka</i>	<i>lako</i>	<i>panike</i>
Munaseli	<i>ikaŋ</i>	<i>iku k</i>	<i>maka</i>	<i>lako</i>	–
Bana	<i>ikan</i>	<i>iku k</i>	<i>maka ŋ</i>	<i>lako</i>	<i>mike</i>
Alor Kecil	<i>ikan</i>	<i>iku kuŋ</i>	<i>tamaku</i>	<i>lako</i>	–

As can be seen in Table 5.10, some Alorese varieties, e.g. Munaseli and Alor Kecil, have replaced the PMP word for ‘bat’ with other terms. For example, in Munaseli, there is a term *mihua* ‘bats’ while in Alor Kecil, there is *bəleru* ‘bat’; these may refer to different species of bats. In Bana, the word *mike* ‘bat’ shows a possible merger of consonant *p* and *n* into the nasal *m*, which leads to shortening of the trisyllabic word. The shortening probably went through an intermediate form with a consonant cluster, *pnike*.

Table 5.11 provides cognate sets with reflexes of PFL initial and intervocalic *ʔ (<PMP *q). The glottal stop is regularly lost in PAL. In the reflexes of PFL *m-paʔit ‘bitter’, the final glottal stop in the Munaseli word *paiʔ* ‘bitter’ is a reflex of PFL final *-t. The final velar nasal *-ŋ in PAL *tua|ŋ ‘old’ is analyzed as a fossilized possessive marker. In the concept ‘excrement’, the -i preceding the final -ŋ in Munaseli arose because of the fossilized final suffix and is therefore not inherited.

Table 5.11: Reflexes PFL initial and intervocalic *ʔ in Alorese

	‘lime (stone)’	‘ash’	‘bitter’	‘excrement’	‘old’
PMP	*qapuR	*qabuk	*ma-paʔit	*taqi	*ma-tuqah
PFL	*ʔapur	*ʔavu	*m-paʔit	*taʔi	*m-tuʔa
PAL	*apu	*kər awu	*paiʔ	*tae	*tua ŋ
Beang Onong	<i>apu</i>	<i>kər awu</i>	<i>pai</i>	<i>tae</i>	<i>tua ŋ</i>
Baranusa	<i>apu</i>	<i>kər awu</i>	<i>pai</i>	[...]	[...]
Munaseli	<i>apu</i>	<i>awo (kaha)</i>	<i>paiʔ</i>	<i>tai ŋ</i>	<i>tua</i>
Alor Besar	<i>apu</i>	<i>afo</i>	<i>pei</i>	<i>tae</i>	–

5.4.1.2 Reflexes of initial plosive with PFL *m-

The PFL stative prefix *m-, which goes back to PMP *ma-, affects the behavior of initial plosives in Alorese. In this section, I discuss PAL reflexes of the PFL stative prefix *m- followed by consonants. The discussion involves reflexes of PFL *m-p, *m-t, *m-k, and *m- (< PMP *ma-q).

Table 5.12 shows the reflexes of PFL initial *m-p and PFL *m-t. From the examples, it can be seen that the PFL stative prefix *m- is lost in PAL but the PFL initial plosives *p- and *t- are retained unchanged.

Table 5.12: Reflexes of PFL initial *m-p and *m-t in Alorese

	‘salty’	‘bitter’	‘full’	‘ripe’	‘old’
PMP	* ma -qapəju	* ma -paqit	* ma -pənuq	* ma -tasak	* ma -tuqah
PFL	* m -pədu	* m -paʔit	* m -pənu	* m -tasak	* m -tuʔa
PAL	* p əro	* p aiʔ	* p əno ŋ	* t ahak	* t ua ŋ
Kayang	[...]	<i>pai</i>	<i>pəno ŋ</i>	–	<i>tua ŋ</i>
Baranusa	<i>pəro</i>	<i>pai</i>	<i>pəno ŋ</i>	[...]	[...]
Munaseli	<i>pəro</i>	<i>paiʔ</i>	<i>pəno ŋ</i>	<i>tahak</i>	<i>tua</i>
Alor Besar	<i>pəro</i>	<i>pei</i>	<i>pəno</i>	<i>taha</i>	–

In Table 5.13, reflexes of the PFL initial *m- originating from PMP *ma-k are presented. The PFL stative marker and the initial plosive are reflected in an initial voiced stop *g- in PAL, as shown in PFL *m-kapal ‘thick’, where the PFL *m- is lost and the initial voiceless plosive becomes voiced in PAL.

Table 5.13: Reflexes of the PFL initial *m-k of PMP *ma-k origin

	‘thick’
PMP	* ma -kapal
PFL	* m -kapal
PAL	* g apal
Kayang	<i>gəpa</i>
Baranusa	<i>gəpa</i>
Pandai	<i>gəpal</i>
Alor Besar	<i>gəpa</i>

Table 5.14 contains reflexes of the PFL initial *m- originating from PMP *ma-q. The reflexes show that the PMP stative prefix *ma- preceding *q- is

fossilized at the stage of PFL, with the loss of the initial plosive *q- and the vowel -a-, as observed in the reflexes of PMP *ma-qitəm ‘black’ and *ma-qudip ‘alive’. The PAL final *-k in *morik ‘alive’ is analyzed as a fossilized suffix (cf. §5.4.8).

Table 5.14: Reflexes of the PFL initial *m- of PMP *ma-q origin

	‘black’	‘alive’
PMP	* ma -qitəm	* ma -qudip
PFL	* mit əm	* mod ip
PAL	* mit eŋ	* mor i k
Kayang	<i>mit</i> eŋ	<i>mor</i> i ʔ
Baranusa	<i>mit</i> eŋ	<i>mor</i> i
Pandai	<i>mit</i> eŋ	<i>mor</i> i k
Alor Besar	<i>mit</i> eŋ	<i>mor</i> i

Table 5.15 is a summary of the reflexes in PAL of PFL stative prefix *m- followed by plosives. The summary shows that Alorese always drops the PFL stative prefix if it precedes word-initial *p- and *t-. If the PFL stative prefix precedes an initial *k-, the initial plosive becomes voiced *g- in PAL. Furthermore, PFL stative prefixes that originate from PMP *ma-q are reflected in PAL as *m- because the stative prefix is already fossilized at the PFL stage.

Table 5.15: Historical changes of PFL *m-plosives in PAL

PMP		PFL		PAL
*ma-p	>	*m-p	>	*p
*ma-t	>	*m-t	>	*t
*ma-k	>	*m-k	>	*g
*ma-q	>	*m-	>	*m-

5.4.1.3 Reflexes of PFL final plosive *p *k *ʔ

The PFL final voiceless plosives *-p and *-ʔ are lost completely in Alorese, but PFL final *-k is retained in PAL as *-k, summarized in Table 5.16.

Table 5.16: Loss of PFL final plosives *-p, *-k, and *-ʔ in Alorese

PMP	*-p	*-k	*-h/*-q
PFL	*-p	*-k	*-ʔ/∅
PAL	∅	*k	∅
Kayang	∅	∅	∅
Baranusa	∅	∅	∅
Bana	∅	k/∅	∅
Pandai	∅	k/∅	∅
Alor Besar	∅	∅	∅

Cognate sets that show reflexes of PFL final *-p are provided in Table 5.17. In the reflexes of PFL *modip ‘alive’, the final consonants in the Kayang word *moriʔ* ‘alive’ and the Bana/Pandai word *mori|k* ‘alive’ are not reflexes of the PFL final plosive *-p; rather, they are analyzed as a fossilized suffix. The change of medial PFL *d > PAL *r is regular. The Bana word *kərake* ‘crab’, which goes back to PMP *kaRakap ‘crab’, supports the conclusion that the loss of PFL final *-p is regular, although no PFL form has been reconstructed.

Table 5.17: Reflexes of PFL final *-p in Alorese

	‘alive’	‘crab’
PMP	*ma-qu di p	*kaRa ka p
PFL	*mo di p	[...]
PAL	*mo ri k	*kə ra ke
Kayang	<i>mori ʔ</i>	–
Baranusa	<i>mori</i>	[...]
Bana	<i>mori k</i>	<i>kərake</i>
Pandai	<i>məri k</i>	–
Alor Besar	<i>mori</i>	–

Table 5.18 shows that the PFL final *-k is partially retained as *k* in several Alorese varieties. The final plosives in the synchronic Alorese varieties are most likely fossilized suffixes that mark body parts, such as *kapik* ‘wing’ (< PAL *kapi|k ‘wing’). However, in a small number of cases, it is possible that a final plosive in Alorese is a retained PFL final consonant. One such example is PFL *m-tasak > PAL *tahak ‘ripe’. In the cognate set for PFL *anak ‘child; small’ and *manuk ‘bird; chicken’, the Alorese final velar nasal is analyzed as a fossilized suffix.

Table 5.18: Reflexes of PMP final *-k in Alorese

	‘wing’	‘sea’	‘ripe’	‘bird; chicken’	‘child; small’
PMP	*kapak	*tasik	*ma-tasak	*manuk	*anak
PFL	*kapik	*tahik	*m-tasak	*manuk	*anak
PAL	*kapi k	*tahi	*tahak	*manuk	*ana ŋ
Kayang	<i>kapi</i>	<i>tahi</i>	–	<i>manu</i>	<i>ana ŋ</i>
Baranusa	<i>kapi k</i>	<i>tahi</i>	[...]	<i>manu ŋ</i>	<i>ana ŋ</i>
Bana	<i>kapi k</i>	<i>tahi</i>	<i>tahak</i>	<i>manuk</i>	<i>ana ʔ</i>
Pandai	<i>kapi k</i>	<i>tahi</i>	<i>tahak</i>	<i>manu</i>	–
Alor Besar	<i>kapi kiŋ</i>	<i>tahi</i>	<i>taha</i>	<i>manu</i>	<i>ana ŋ</i>

Table 5.19 contains cognate sets that show the loss of PFL final *-ʔ in all Alorese varieties.

Table 5.19: Reflexes of PFL final *-ʔ in Alorese

	‘rope’	‘chew’	‘choose’
PMP	*tali h	*mama q	*pili q
PFL	*taliʔ	*mamaʔ	*piliʔ
PAL	*tale	*mame	*pile
Kayang	<i>tale</i>	<i>mame</i>	<i>pile</i>
Baranusa	<i>tale</i>	<i>mame</i>	<i>pile</i>
Bana	<i>tale</i>	<i>mame</i>	<i>pile</i>
Pandai	<i>tale</i>	<i>mame</i>	<i>pile</i>
Alor Besar	<i>tale</i>	<i>mame</i>	<i>pile</i>

5.4.1.4 Change of PFL final *-t > *-ʔ in PAL

In this section, the sound change of PFL final *-t > PAL *-ʔ is discussed. The same sound change is regular in the neighboring language Kedang, where PFL final *-t is changed into -ʔ (Fricke, 2019:184). Table 5.20 summarizes the sound correspondences going back to PFL *-t and gives example in lexemes.

Table 5.20: Reflexes of PFL final *-t in Alorese

		‘bitter’	‘to fold’	‘heavy’	‘skin’	‘root’
PMP	*-t	*ma-paqit	*ləpət	*ma-bəRəqat	*kulit	*Ramut
PFL	*-t	*m-paʔit	*ləpət	*bərat	*kulit	*ramut
PAL	*-ʔ	*paiʔ	*lapeʔ	*ba:ʔ	*kuli k	*ramu k
Kayang	ʔ/Ø	paiʔ	lape	baʔ	–	ramu
Beang Onong	Ø	pai	ləpe	baa	–	ramu k
Baranusa	Ø	pai	lepe	baa	kuli k	ramu k
Wailawar	ʔ	paiʔ	lapeʔ	baaʔ	–	ramu k
Pandai	ʔ	paiʔ	–	baʔ	kuli k	ramu k
Helangdohi	ʔ	paiʔ	ləpeʔ	baaʔ	–	ramu k
Bana	ʔ	paiʔ	ləpeʔ	baʔ	–	ramu k
Munaseli	ʔ	paiʔ	–	baʔ	kuli k	ramu k
Ternate	Ø	pei	lape	baa	kuli kiŋ	rambu kuŋ
Buaya	Ø	pei	[...]	ba	–	rambu kuŋ
Alor Besar	Ø	pei	–	baa	kuli kiŋ	rambu kuŋ
Alor Kecil	Ø	pei	lape	baa	–	–
Dulolong	ʔ/Ø	pei	lape	baaʔ	–	–

In the Alorese varieties spoken in Wailawar, Pandai, Helangdohi, Bana and Munaseli, the PAL glottal stop is retained as ʔ. However, the varieties in Kayang and Dulolong have sporadically lost the glottal stop. Furthermore, the varieties in Beang Onong, Baranusa, Ternate, Buaya, Alor Besar, and Alor Kecil have lost the glottal stop completely. It seems that the most conservative varieties, which retain the glottal stop resulting from the regular change of PFL *-t > PAL *-ʔ, are located in northeastern Pantar (Wailawar, Pandai, Helangdohi, Bana, and Munaseli; §5.9). Other varieties in the west and east have either irregularly retained the glottal stop or lost it completely.

If a suffix is present in PAL, the PFL final consonant is lost. As observed in the Alorese cognate sets for ‘skin’ and ‘root’, PAL *kuli|k ‘skin’ and *ramu|k ‘root’ have a possessive suffix *-k, which may have been added after the loss of the final consonant in PFL. In contrast, in the non body-part concepts, such as in the cognate sets for PFL *m-paʔit ‘bitter’, *ləpət ‘fold’, and *bərat ‘heavy’, the PAL final *-ʔ is reconstructed as a reflex of PFL final *-t.

5.4.2 Reflexes of PFL fricatives *v *s *h in Alorese

5.4.2.1 Reflexes of PFL *v

In this section, reflexes of PFL *v in all positions are discussed. The PFL voiced fricative *v is reflected in the Alorese approximants *w* and *f*. Note that the phonetic realization of /w/ includes the bilabial approximant [w] or voiced fricative [v]. Alorese varieties on Pantar (the Pantar dialect) have retained PFL *v as *w*, but varieties on Alor (the Alor dialect) have undergone a regular change from PFL *v to *f* (cf. §5.8). As summarized in Table 5.21, PFL initial and intervocalic *v is retained as *w in PAL. However, PFL final *-v is lost completely in all Alorese varieties.

Table 5.21: Reflexes of PFL *v in all positions

Env.	#_	V_V	_#
PMP	*w/*b	*w/*b	*w/*b
PFL	*v-	*-v-	*-v
PAL	*w-	*-w-	Ø
Kayang	w/Ø	w	Ø
Baranusa	w	w	Ø
Wailawar	w	w	Ø
Pandai	w	w	Ø
Munaseli	w	w	Ø
Buaya	f	f	Ø
Alor Besar	f	f	Ø
Dulolong	f	f	Ø

Examples of the reflexes of PFL initial *v- (< PMP *b-) are presented in Table 5.22. In Kayang, initial *w* is regularly lost when followed by the vowel *u*, as shown in the word *ulu* (< PAL *vulu[k] ‘body hair’ and *ulaŋ* (< PAL *vulaŋ) ‘moon’. In addition, all examples show that the varieties spoken in the Straits (Alor Besar, Buaya, and Dulolong) have undergone a change of PAL *w > *f*.

Table 5.22: Reflexes of PFL initial *v- in Alorese

	‘body hair’	‘moon’	‘mouth’	‘water’	‘body’	‘corn’	‘fat’
PMP	*bulu	*bulan	*bəqbəq	*wahiR	[...]	[...]	[...]
PFL	*vulu-k	*vulan	*vəva ¹⁹	*vaʔir	*vəki	*vatar	*voda-k
PAL	*wulu k	*wulan	*wəva ŋ	*wai	*wəki ŋ	*wataʔ	*worak
Kayang	ulu	ulan	[...]	wai	waki ŋ	wata	[...]
Baranusa	wulu k	wulan	wawa ŋ	wai	waki ŋ	wata	worak
Wailawar	–	wulan	–	wai	waki ŋ	wataʔ	woraʔ
Pandai	wulu k	wulan	wəwa ŋ	wai	wəki ŋ	wata	worak
Munaseli	wulu k	wulan	–	wai	[...]	wata	worak
Buaya	–	fulan	fafa ŋ	fei	faki ŋ	fata	[...]
Alor Besar	fulu kuŋ	fulan	fafa ŋ	fei	faki ŋ	fata	forakan
Dulolong	falu kuŋ	fulan	fafa ŋ	fei	faki ŋ	fata	fora

Table 5.23 contains examples demonstrating the reflexes of PFL intervocalic *-v- (< PMP *-b-/*-w-). Similar to the PFL initial *v-, PFL intervocalic *-v- is also retained as w in the Pantar varieties, and as f in the Alor varieties, such as Buaya, Alor Besar, and Dulolong.

Table 5.23: Reflexes of PFL intervocalic *-v- in Alorese

	‘ash’	‘sugarcane’	‘pig’	‘fishing hook’	‘nine’
PMP	*qabuk	*təbuh	*babuy	*kawil	*siwa
PFL	*ʔavu	*təvu	*vavi	*kavil	*siva
PAL	*kər awu	*təwo	*vawe	*kawil	*hiwa
Kayang	kər awu	təwo	wawe	kawi	hiwa
Baranusa	kər awu	tawo	wawe	[...]	hiwa
Wailawar	awə (kaha)	tawə	wawə	kawil	hewa
Pandai	awə (kaha)	tawə	wawə	kawil	hiwa
Munaseli	awo (kaha)	tewo	vawe	kawil	hiwa
Buaya	[...]	tafo	fafe	kafi	hifa
Alor Besar	afo	tafo	fafe	kafi	hifa
Dulolong	[...]	tafo	fafe	kafi	hifa

¹⁹ In Fricke (2019:471) PFL *vava ‘mouth’ (< PMP *baqbaq ‘mouth’).

Table 5.24 shows a regular loss of PFL final *-v in all Alorese varieties. The PFL final *-v goes back to PMP final *w/*b. In the cognate set for PFL *muav ‘yawn’, the PAL *pə|noe goes back to PWL *pə|moa ‘yawn’. The irregular change of PWL *m > PAL *n and PWL final *a > PAL *e remain unexplained.

Table 5.24: Reflexes of PFL final *-v in Alorese

	‘to go; walk’	‘to steal’	‘sun’	‘yawn’
PMP	*pana w	*takaw	*qaləjaw	*ma-huab
PFL	*pana v	*takav	*lədav	*muav
PAL	*pana	*təma ka	*ləra	*pə noe
Kayang	<i>pana</i>	<i>təmaka</i>	<i>ləra</i>	<i>pə noe</i>
Baranusa	<i>pana</i>	<i>tamaka</i>	<i>lera</i>	<i>pə noe</i>
Wailawar	<i>pana</i>	<i>maka</i>	<i>ləra</i>	–
Pandai	<i>pana</i>	<i>tmaka</i>	<i>ləra</i>	<i>p nəe</i>
Munaseli	<i>pana</i>	<i>makaŋ</i>	<i>ləra</i>	<i>p noek</i>
Buaya	<i>pana</i>	<i>tamaku</i>	<i>lera</i>	<i>pə noe</i>
Alor Besar	<i>pana</i>	<i>tamaku</i>	<i>lara</i>	<i>pa noe</i>
Dulolong	<i>pana</i>	[...]	<i>ləra</i>	<i>pə noe</i>

5.4.2.2 Merger of PFL *s /*h > PAL *h

From Fricke (2019:198), it is known that PMP *s underwent an unconditional split into PFL *s and *h. Here, I present evidence that both PFL *s and *h merged into PAL *h in both initial and intervocalic positions, and that this change can be seen in all Alorese varieties. Table 5.25 presents this merger as completion of shift of PFL initial and intervocalic *s and *h into PAL *h.

Table 5.25: Merger of PFL initial and intervocalic *s- and *-h- in Alorese

Env.	#_	V_V
PMP	*s-	*-s-
PFL	*s-/*h-	*-s-/*-h-
PAL	*h-	*-h-
Kayang	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>
Baranusa	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>
Munaseli	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>
Alor Besar	<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>

Examples of the merger of PFL initial **s-/h-* into PAL **h-* are presented in Table 5.26. The Alorese plural word *hire* ‘PL’ originates from the PFL third person plural pronoun **hida* ‘3PL’, which has grammaticalized into a plural word in Alorese. This grammaticalization has been shown in Moro (2018) to be the result of contact between the Alorese people and the neighboring ‘Papuan’/Alor-Pantar speakers.

Table 5.26: Merger of PFL initial **s-/h-* > **h-* in PAL

		‘nine’	‘same’	‘wrong’	‘wipe’	‘3PL’
PMP	<i>*s-</i>	<i>*siwa</i>	<i>*sama</i> ²⁰	<i>*salaq</i>	<i>*sapu</i>	<i>*si-ida</i>
PFL	<i>*s-/h-</i>	<i>*siva</i>	<i>*sama</i>	<i>*sala</i>	<i>*hapu</i>	<i>*hida</i>
						‘PL’
PAL	<i>*h-</i>	<i>*hiwa</i>	<i>*hama</i>	<i>*hala</i>	<i>*hapo</i>	<i>*hire</i>
Kayang	<i>h</i>	<i>hiwa</i>	[...]	<i>hala</i>	–	<i>hire</i>
Baranusa	<i>h</i>	<i>hiwa</i>	<i>hama</i>	<i>hala</i>	[...]	<i>hire</i>
Munaseli	<i>h</i>	<i>hiwa</i>	<i>hama</i>	<i>hala</i>	<i>hapo</i>	<i>hire</i>
Alor Besar	<i>h</i>	<i>hifa</i>	<i>hama</i>	<i>hala</i>	<i>hapo</i>	<i>hire</i>

Table 5.27 contains examples of the merger of PFL intervocalic **-s-* and **-h-*, which is also reflected as *h* in all Alorese varieties.

Table 5.27: Merger of PFL intervocalic **-s-/h-* > **-h-* in PAL

		‘navel’	‘breast’	‘dog’	‘meat’	‘bow’
PMP	<i>*s-</i>	<i>*pusəj</i>	<i>*susu</i>	<i>*asu</i>	<i>*isi</i>	<i>*busuR</i>
PFL	<i>*-s-/h-</i>	<i>*pusər</i>	<i>*(t)usu</i>	<i>*ahu</i>	<i>*ihi-k</i>	<i>*vuhur</i>
PAL	<i>*h-</i>	<i>*puhor</i>	<i>*tuhu</i>	<i>*aho</i>	<i>*ihi k</i>	<i>*wuhu</i>
Kayang	<i>h</i>	<i>kə puhor</i>	<i>tuho</i>	<i>aho</i>	<i>ihi</i>	<i>uhu</i>
Baranusa	<i>h</i>	<i>ka puhor</i>	<i>tuho</i>	<i>aho</i>	<i>ihi k</i>	<i>wuhu</i>
Munaseli	<i>h</i>	<i>puhor</i>	<i>tuho</i>	<i>aho</i>	<i>hi k</i>	<i>wuhu</i>
Alor Besar	<i>h</i>	<i>ka puhor oŋ</i>	<i>tuhū</i>	<i>aho</i>	<i>ihi kiŋ</i>	<i>fuhu</i>

²⁰ Blust & Trussel (2016) reconstruct **sama* ‘same’, but the form is possibly a borrowing from Sanskrit *sama*.

5.4.3 Reflexes of PFL affricate *ɟ in Alorese

The PFL affricate *ɟ in initial position is retained as initial *r in PAL. As shown in Table 5.28, two examples are available for PFL initial *ɟ reflexes in Alorese. For the concept ‘night’, PAL *mare|ŋ undergoes consonant metathesis from PWL *rəma (< LH-SK #ɟəma) ‘night’ (cf. §5.5.3).

Table 5.28: Reflexes of PFL affricate *ɟ in Alorese

	#_	‘two’	‘mountain-wards’	‘night’
PMP	*d-	*duha	[...]	[...]
PFL	*ɟ-	*ɟua	#ɟae	#ɟəma
PAL	*r	*rua	*rae	*mare ŋ
Kayang	<i>r</i>	<i>rua</i>	<i>rae</i>	<i>maro ŋ</i>
Baranusa	<i>r</i>	<i>rua</i>	[...]	<i>mare ŋ</i>
Munaseli	<i>r</i>	<i>rua</i>	[...]	<i>mare ŋ</i>
Alor Besar	<i>r</i>	<i>rua</i>	[...]	<i>mare ŋ</i>

5.4.4 Reflexes of PFL voiced obstruents *b *d *g in Alorese

The reflexes of PFL voiced obstruents *b *d and *g are presented in this section. From Table 5.29, it can be observed that all PFL initial voiced obstruents are retained unchanged in PAL, except for PFL intervocalic *-d-, which has undergone a regular change to PAL *-r-.

Table 5.29: Reflexes of PFL voiced obstruent

Env.	#_	V_V	#_	V_V	#_	V_V
PMP	*b-	*-b-	*d-	*-d-	*g-	*-g-
PFL	*b-	*-b-	*d-	*-d-	*g-	*-g-
PAL	*b-	*-b-	*d-	*-r-	*g-	*-g-
Kayang	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>g</i>	[...]
Baranusa	<i>b</i>	[...]	<i>d</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
Munaseli	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
Alor Besar	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>

Table 5.30 contains examples of PFL initial *b-, which is retained unchanged in PAL.

Table 5.30: Reflexes of PFL initial *b- in Alorese

	‘divide’	‘open’	‘pound’	‘wake up’	‘white’
PMP	* baqagi	* buka	* bayu	[...]	* budaq
PFL	* bagi	* bukat	* bayu	* baɲun	* budaʔ
PAL	* bage	* buka	* baɟo	* baɲ	* bura
Kayang	[...]	<i>buka</i>	<i>baɟo</i>	<i>baɲ</i>	<i>bura</i> ʔ
Baranusa	<i>bage</i>	<i>buka</i>	<i>baɟo</i>	<i>baɲ</i>	<i>bura</i>
Munaseli	<i>bage</i>	<i>buka</i>	<i>baɟo</i>	<i>baɲ</i>	<i>bura</i> k
Alor Besar	<i>bage</i>	<i>buka</i>	<i>baɟo</i>	[...]	<i>bura</i>

There are only two examples indicating reflexes of PFL intervocalic *-b- in Alorese, which are shown in Table 5.31. The Alorese word *ribu* ‘thousand’ could also be a loanword from Malay *ribu* ‘thousand’. However, since a PFL form *ribu/*rivu has been reconstructed (Fricke, 2019:246), I include this example here.

Table 5.31: Reflexes of PFL intervocalic *-b- in Alorese

	‘thousand’	‘shirt’
PMP	* Ribu	[...]
PFL	* ribu /* rivu	* labur
PAL	* ribu	* labu
Kayang	[...]	<i>labu</i>
Baranusa	[...]	–
Munaseli	<i>ribu</i>	–
Alor Besar	<i>ribu</i>	–

Table 5.32 displays examples of reflexes of PFL initial *d-, which is retained unchanged in Alorese. There is an irregular case of initial *ɟʒ-* in the word *ɟʒoan* ‘far’ in Alor Besar. This may be due to the influence of the Indonesian word *jauh* [‘ɟʒau^h] ‘far’ or due to independence shift of d > ɟʒ.

Table 5.32: Reflexes of PFL initial *d- in Alorese

	‘far’	‘good; right; person’	‘hear’
PMP	[...]	[...]	*dəŋəR
PFL	*doa	*dikə	*dəŋər
	‘right side’		
PAL	*doaŋ	*dike ŋ	*dəŋa
Kayang	doan	dike ŋ	dəŋa
Baranusa	doan	dike ŋ	dəŋa
Munaseli	doan	dike ŋ	dəŋa
Alor Besar	dʒoan	dike	dəŋa

Table 5.33 contains examples of reflexes of PFL intervocalic *d, which results from a PMP merger of *d/*j/*z > PFL *d. The forms in the table show that Alorese has changed all instances of PFL intervocalic *-d- into *r*. The same sound change has been attested in the other WL varieties and in the neighboring subgroups of Sika and Eastern Lamaholot (Fricke, 2019:186).

Table 5.33: Reflexes of PFL intervocalic *-d- in Alorese

	‘3PL’	‘alive’	‘fat’	‘day; sun’	‘dry’	‘name’
PMP	*si-ida	*ma-quḍip	[...]	*qaləjaw	*ma-maja	*ŋajan
PFL	*hida	*m-odip	*voda k	*lədav	*mada	*nadan
	‘PL’					
PAL	*hire	*mori k	*wora k	*ləra	*mara	*naraŋ
Kayang	hire	mori?	[...]	ləra	mara	naraŋ
Baranusa	hire	mori	worak	lera	mara	naraŋ
Munaseli	hire	morik	worak	ləra	mara k	naraŋ
Alor Besar	hire	mori	fora kaŋ	lara	mara	naraŋ

Table 5.34 shows examples of the reflexes of PFL *g (< PMP *g) in both initial and intervocalic position. Only one example is found for the reflexes of PFL intervocalic *-g- in Alorese. The examples show that PFL initial and intervocalic *g is retained unchanged in all Alorese varieties.

Table 5.34: Reflexes of PFL initial *g- in Alorese

	‘itchy’	‘scratch’	‘bite’	‘divide’
PMP	*gatəl	*gaRut	[...]	*baqagi
PFL	*gatər	*garu	*giki	*bagi
PAL	*gateʔ	*gau	*gaki	*bage
Kayang	<i>gato</i>	<i>gao</i>	<i>gaki</i>	[...]
Baranusa	<i>gate</i>	<i>gao</i>	<i>gaki</i>	<i>bage</i>
Munaseli	<i>gateʔ</i>	<i>gau</i>	[...]	<i>bage</i>
Alor Besar	<i>gate</i>	<i>gou</i>	<i>gaki</i>	<i>bage</i>

5.4.5 Reflexes of PFL nasals *m *n *ŋ in Alorese

5.4.5.1 PFL initial and intervocalic nasals

In most instances, the PFL initial and intervocalic nasals *m, *n, and *ŋ are retained unchanged in PAL and in all Alorese varieties. Initial *ŋ- does not occur in PFL.

Table 5.35: Reflexes of PFL *m, *n, and *ŋ in Alorese

Env.	#_	V_V	#_	V_V	V_V
PMP	*m-	*-m-	*n-/*ŋ-	*-n-	*-ŋ-
PFL	*m-	*-m-	*n-	*-n-	*-ŋ-
PAL	*m-	*-m-	*n-	*-n-	*-ŋ-
Kayang	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
Baranusa	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
Munaseli	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
Alor Besar	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>

The PFL initial *m- (< PMP *m-) and *n- (< PMP *ŋ-/*n-) are retained unchanged in all varieties as shown in Table 5.36.

Table 5.36: Reflexes of PFL initial *m- and *n- in Alorese

	‘eye’	‘chew’	‘alive’	‘swim’	‘mouth’	‘name’
PMP	*mata	*mamaq	*ma-qudip	*naŋuy	*ŋusu	*ŋajan
PFL	*mata	*mamaʔ	*modip	*naŋi	*nusu	*nadan
PAL	*mata ŋ	*mame	*mori k	*naŋge	*nuhu ŋ	*naraŋ
Kayang	mata ŋ	mame	mori ʔ	nage	nuhu ŋ	naraŋ
Baranusa	mata ŋ	mame	mori	naŋge	–	naraŋ
Munaseli	mata ŋ	mame	mori k	naŋge	nuhu ŋ	naraŋ
Alor Besar	mata ŋ	mame	mori	naŋge	nuhu ŋ	naraŋ

Table 5.37 shows examples of the reflexes of PFL intervocalic *-n- in Alorese. As can be seen from the table, the PFL intervocalic *-n- is retained unchanged in all Alorese varieties. In Munaseli, a case of shortening due to simplification of trisyllabic words is attested. In the Munaseli word *nao* (< PAL *mānau) ‘tinea’, the PFL intervocalic *-n- becomes initial. PFL *-ŋ- is also retained unchanged in all Alorese varieties. In the cognate set for PFL *naŋi, the Alorese reflexes show an insertion of *g*, resulting in PAL *naŋge ‘swim’, which becomes *nage* ‘swim’ in Kayang.

Table 5.37: Reflexes of PFL intervocalic *-m-, *-n-, and *-ŋ- in Alorese

	‘arm’	‘house’	‘canoe’	‘chicken’	‘tinea’	‘hear’	‘swim’	‘wind’
PMP	*qalima	*Rumaq [...]	*manuk	*panaw	*dəŋəR	*naŋuy	*haŋin	
PFL	*lima	*ruma	*tena	*manuk	*m-panau	*dəŋər	*naŋi	*aŋin
PAL	*lima ŋ	*ʔuma	*tena	*manu ŋ	*mənaʊ	*dəŋa	*naŋge	*aŋiŋ
Kayang	lima n	uma	tena	manu	[...]	dəŋa	nage	aŋi
Baranusa	lima ŋ	ʔuma	tena	manu ŋ	mənao	dəŋa	naŋge	aŋi
Munaseli	lima ŋ	uma	tena	manu	nao	dəŋa	naŋge	aŋiŋ
Alor Besar	lima ŋ	uma	tena	manu	manau	dəŋa	naŋge	aŋi

5.4.5.2 Merger of PFL final nasals > PAL *ŋ

All PFL final nasals become *ŋ in PAL, as shown in Table 5.38. It is important to note that Alorese words that contain final nasals are often the result of suffixation, such as in the Alorese word *lima|ŋ* ‘hand’ (< PFL *lima ‘hand’).

Table 5.38: Merger of PFL **n/*ŋ/*m > *ŋ* in PAL

Env.	_#	_#	_#
PMP	*-m	*-n	*-ŋ
PFL	*-m	*-n	*-ŋ
PAL	*-ŋ	*-ŋ	*-ŋ
Kayang	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ
Baranusa	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ
Munaseli	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ
Alor Besar	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ

Table 5.39 contains examples of the reflexes of PFL final nasals, which are merged into **ŋ* in PAL.

Table 5.39: Reflexes of PFL final nasals in Alorese

	‘rain’	‘moon’	‘year’	‘moringa’	‘ridge’	‘black’	‘sky’
PMP	*quzan	*bulan	*taqun	[...]	*bubuŋ	*ma-qitəm	*kələm ²¹
PFL	*udan	*vulan	*tuun	*motoŋ	*(v)uvuŋ	*mitəm	*kələm
PAL	*uraŋ	*wulaŋ	*tuuŋ	*motoŋ	*vuhuŋ	*miteŋ	*kaleŋ
Kayang	uraŋ	ulaŋ	tuuŋ	motoŋ	uhuŋ	miteŋ	–
Baranusa	uraŋ	wulaŋ	tuuŋ	motoŋ	buhuŋ	miteŋ	–
Pandai	uraŋ	wulaŋ	tuŋ	mətəŋ	–	mitəŋ	kələŋ
Alor Besar	uraŋ	fulaŋ	tuŋ	motoŋ	–	miteŋ	–

5.4.6 Reflexes of PFL liquids **l* and **r* in Alorese

This section discusses reflexes of PFL liquids **l* and **r* in Alorese. As shown in Table 5.40, PFL **l* is retained in PAL in all positions. In some varieties, however, PFL final **-l* is lost, as attested in Kayang and Alor Besar. PFL initial **r-* is mostly retained as *r* in Alorese, but in Baranusa, it sometimes becomes *ʔ*. In addition, PFL intervocalic and final **r* is lost completely in all varieties, except in Munaseli where final **-r* sometimes becomes a glottal stop.

²¹ PMP **kələm* means ‘dark; overcast; obscure’

Table 5.40: Reflexes of PFL *l and *r in Alorese

Env.	#_	V_V	_#	#_	V_V	_#
PMP	*l-	*-l-	*-l	*R-	*-R-	*-R/*-l
PFL	*l-	*-l-	*-l	*r-	*-r-	*-r
PAL	*l	*l	*l	*r/*ʔ	∅	*ʔ
Kayang	l	l	∅	r	∅	∅
Baranusa	l	l	l	r/?	∅	∅
Munaseli	l	l	l	r	∅	?/∅
Alor Besar	l	l	∅	r	∅	∅

Table 5.41 contains examples that show regular retention of PFL initial and intervocalic *l in Alorese.

Table 5.41: Reflexes of PFL initial and intervocalic *l in Alorese

	‘civet cat’	‘arm; hand’	‘tear’	‘moon’	‘rope’	‘three’
PMP	*laku	*qalima	*luhəq	*bulan	*talih	*təlu
PFL	*laku	*lima	*luu	*vulan	*taliʔ	*təlu
PAL	*lako	*lima	*lou ŋ	*wulaŋ	*tale	*təlo
Kayang	lako	lima n	lou ŋ	ulaŋ	tale	talo
Baranusa	lako	lima ŋ	lou	wulaŋ	tale	talo
Munaseli	lako	lima ŋ	lou ŋ	wulaŋ	tale	təlo
Alor Besar	lako	lima ŋ	lou	fulaŋ	tale	təlo

Reflexes of PFL final *-l in Alorese are shown in Table 5.42. The reflexes show that PAL final *-l can be reconstructed, although it has been lost in Kayang and Alor Besar. The Alorese northeast Pantar varieties (e.g. Munaseli) are more conservative compared to varieties in the west (Kayang) and varieties in the east (Alor Besar).

Table 5.42: Reflexes of PFL final *-l in Alorese

	‘fishing hook’	‘thick’
PMP	*kawil	*ma-kapal
PFL	*kavil	*m-kapal
PAL	*kawil	*gapal
Kayang	<i>kawi</i>	<i>gapa</i>
Baranusa	[...]	<i>gapa</i>
Munaseli	<i>kawil</i>	<i>gapal</i>
Alor Besar	<i>kafi</i>	<i>gapa</i>

PFL initial *-r- is retained as *r* in the majority of Alorese varieties, shown in Table 5.43. Only Baranusa shows a reflex of PFL initial *-r- as *ʔ*. For the concept ‘root’, the final *-k in PAL is analyzed as a fossilized suffix (cf. 5.4.8).

Table 5.43: Reflexes of initial PFL *-r- in Alorese

	‘blood’	‘root’	‘thousand’	‘house’
PMP	*da R aq	* R amut	* R ibu	* R umaq
PFL	* r a	* r amut	* r ibu/* r ivu	* r uma
PAL	* r a	* r amu k	* r ibu	* <i>ʔ</i> uma
Kayang	<i>ra</i>	<i>ramu</i>	[...]	<i>uma</i>
Baranusa	<i>ra</i>	<i>ramu k</i>	[...]	<i>ʔuma</i>
Munaseli	<i>ra ŋ</i>	<i>ramu k</i>	<i>ribu</i>	<i>uma</i>
Alor Besar	<i>ra</i>	<i>rambu kuŋ</i>	<i>ribu</i>	<i>uma</i>

As shown in Table 5.44, PFL *-r in intervocalic and final positions is mostly lost in the Alorese varieties, except Munaseli. This variety shows the regular sound change of PFL *-r > *ʔ* in the concept ‘itchy’. It is plausible that this final glottal stop is the remnant of PFL *-r reflexes.

Table 5.44: Loss of PFL intervocalic and final *r in Alorese

	‘red’	‘scratch’	‘run’	‘bow’	‘itchy’	‘navel’
PMP	*ma-iRa q	*gaR u t	*laR i w	*busuR	*gatəl	*pusəj
PFL	*meran	*garu	*plari	*vuhur	*gatər	*pusər
PAL	*mean	*gau	*plae	*wuhu	*gate?	*kə-puhor
Kayang	mean	gao	lae	puhu	gato	kəpuhor
Baranusa	mean	gao	pəlae	wuhu	gate	kapuhor
Munaseli	mean	gau	plaen	wuhu	gate?	puhor
Alor Besar	mean	gou	palae	fuhu	gate	kapuhor oŋ

The cognate set for PFL *pusər ‘navel’ requires more discussion. Fricke (2019:196) analyzes the PFL final *-r as an irregular reflex of PMP *-j; PMP final *j (phonetically [g/ɣ/gʲ]) typically becomes y in the Flores-Lembata languages, and not -r. In Alorese, this irregular final -r is retained, as seen in the set for ‘navel’. However, it is also possible that this final -r is an analogy of the Malay word *pusar* ‘navel’ which also has final -r. Nevertheless, I consider it to be an irregular retention of PFL final *-r.

5.4.7 Reflexes of the PFL approximant *y [j] in Alorese

Table 5.45 presents reflexes of PFL intervocalic *y, which is regularly changed into *ɖʒ in all Alorese varieties. PFL *y is only reconstructed in intervocalic position. In Munaseli, the simplification of trisyllabic words is seen in the word *maɖʒuŋ* ‘bedbug’.

Table 5.45: Reflexes of PFL approximant *y in Alorese

	Env.	V_V	‘sail’	‘pound’	‘tree’	‘bedbug’
PMP		*y	*layaR	*bayu	*ka hi w	[...]
PFL		*y	*layar	*bayu	*kayu	*təmayuŋ
PAL		*ɖʒ	*laɖʒa	*baɖʒo	*kaɖʒo	*təmaɖʒuŋ
Kayang		ɖʒ	[...]	baɖʒo	–	təmaɖʒuŋ
Baranusa		ɖʒ	laɖʒa	baɖʒo	kaɖʒo	təmaɖʒuŋ
Munaseli		ɖʒ	laɖʒa	baɖʒo	kaɖʒo	maɖʒuŋ
Alor Besar		ɖʒ	laɖʒa	baɖʒo	kaɖʒo	təmaɖʒuŋ

5.4.8 The origin of final consonants in Alorese

In the foregoing analysis of the reflexes of PFL consonants in Alorese, final consonants can often be observed in the Alorese lexeme sets. Sometimes, these final consonants indicate possessive suffixes. However, this is not always the case: in some lexeme sets the final consonant cannot be considered a historic affix; in others, it results from the retention of a PFL/PMP final consonant. Table 5.46 shows examples of Alorese final consonants that represent retention of PMP/PFL final consonants.

Table 5.46: Alorese final consonants that are retained PMP/PFL final consonants

	‘black’	‘sky’
PMP	*ma-qitə m	*kələ m
PFL	*mitə m	*kələ m
PWL	*mitə m	*kələ m
PAL	*miter ŋ	*kaler ŋ
Kayang	miter ŋ	–
Baranusa	miter ŋ	–
Bana	miter ŋ	kaler ŋ
Pandai	miter ŋ	–
Munaseli	miter ŋ	kaler ŋ
Alor Besar	miter ŋ	–

The PMP final *-m is retained as *ŋ in PAL, as discussed in Section 5.4.5.2; thus, the Alorese final velar nasals are retained from PMP. However, there are words that are vowel-final in PMP/PFL, but have a final consonant in (some) Alorese varieties, as shown in Table 5.47.

Table 5.47: Alorese final consonant with no PMP origin

	‘eye’	‘liver’	‘meat’	‘fat’	‘full’	‘night’
PMP	*mata	*qatay	*isi	[...]	*ma-pənuq	[...]
PFL	*mata	*ate	*ihi-k	*voda-k	*m-pənu	#dʒəma
PWL	*mata	*ate	*ihi k	*vora k	*mənu/*pənu	*rəma
PAL	*mata ŋ	*ate ŋ	*ihi k	*wora k	*pəno ŋ	*mare ŋ
Kayang	mata ŋ	ate ŋ	ihi	–	pano ŋ	maro ŋ
Beang Onong	mata ŋ	ate ŋ	ihi k	wora k	pano ŋ	mare ŋ
Baranusa	mata ŋ	ate ŋ	ihi k	wora k	pano ŋ	mare ŋ
Helangdohi	mata ʔ	–	nihi k	ne wora k	pəno ŋ	mare ŋ
Wailawar	mata ŋ	atɛ ŋ	ihi ʔ	wəra ʔ	pano ŋ	marɛ ŋ
Pandai	mata ŋ	atɛ ŋ	ihi	wəra k	pano ŋ	marɛ ŋ
Bana	mata ŋ	ate ŋ	ihi k	wora k	pəno ŋ	mare ŋ
Munaseli	mata ʔ, mata ŋ	ate ŋ	hi k	wora k	pəno ŋ	mare ŋ
Ternate	mata ŋ	ate ŋ	ihi kiŋ	fora kaŋ	pano	mare ŋ
Buaya	mata ŋ	ate	ihi kiŋ	–	pəno	mare ŋ
Alor Besar	mata ŋ	atē	ihi kiŋ	fora kaŋ	pano	mare ŋ
Alor Kecil	mata ŋ	ate ŋ	ihi kiŋ	fora	pano	mare ŋ
Dulolong	mata ŋ	ate ŋ	ihi kiŋ	fora	pano	mare ŋ

The first two concepts, ‘eye’ and ‘liver’, are body-part nouns, which means that the final consonants in Alorese are possessive suffixes (cf. §4.4.3.1). In Munaseli, the forms *mataʔ* and *mataŋ* ‘eye’ show that the possessive suffix could be final -ʔ or -ŋ. For the concepts ‘meat’ and ‘fat’, a suffix is already added in PFL, meaning that the final consonants in the Alorese sets go back to PFL suffix *-k. For the concepts ‘night’ and ‘full’, final velar nasals are added in Alorese. This addition, however, does not go back to Proto-Western-Lamaholot, because several WL varieties do not have final velar nasals for these concepts; they were possibly added before Alorese split from PWL but after PWL split from PFL.

Table 5.48 contains examples of final consonants in Alorese words that go back to PMP/PFL forms that have a final consonant, but where the final consonant in PMP/PFL is not likely to be the source of the Alorese final consonants.

Table 5.48: Alorese words where the final consonant is not of PMP/PFL origin

	‘skin’	‘tail’	‘child’	‘chicken’	‘root’	‘alive’	‘white’
PMP	*kulit	*ikuŋ	*anak	*manuk	*Ramut	*ma-quḍip	*budaq
PFL	*kulit	*ikur	*anak	*manuk	*ramut	*modip	*budaʔ
PWL	*kulit	*ikuʔ	*anak	*manuk	*ramut	*mori	*bura
PAL	*kuli k	*iku k	*ana ŋ	*manu ŋ	*ramu k	*mori k	*bura k
Kayang	–	iku	ana ʔ	manu	ramu	mori ʔ	bur:a ʔ
Beang Onong	–	iku k	ana ŋ	manu ŋ	ramu k	mori	bura
Baranusa	kuli k	iku k	ana ŋ	manu ŋ	ramu k	mori	bura
Helangdohi	–	ne iku k	–	manu ʔ	ramu k	mori	bura k
Wailawar	kuli k	iku k	–	manu k	ramu k	mori ʔ	bura k
Pandai	–	iku k	–	manu	ramu k	mori k	bura k
Bana	–	iku k	ana ʔ	manu k	ramu k	mori k	bura
Munaseli	kuli k	iku k	ana ŋ	manu ʔ	ramu k	mori k	bura k
Ternate	kuli kiŋ	iku kuŋ	ana ŋ	manu ŋ	rambu kuŋ	mori	bura kaŋ
Buaya	–	iku kuŋ	ana ŋ	manu ŋ	rambu kuŋ	–	bura kaŋ
Alor Besar	kuli kiŋ	iku kuŋ	ana ŋ	manu	rambu kuŋ	mori	bura
Alor Kecil	–	iku kuŋ	ana ʔ	manu	–	mori	bura
Dulolong	–	iku kuŋ	ana ŋ	manu ŋ	–	mori	bura

In the first two concepts in the table, ‘skin’ and ‘tail’, the Alorese final consonants arise through suffixation. For the concept ‘skin’, PFL final *-t is regularly changed into ʔ in Alorese; however, suffix -k is added because the concept ‘skin’ is a body-part noun. In a similar fashion, the concept ‘tail’, which is also a body-part noun, has the suffix -k added, while PFL final *-r is regularly lost in Alorese. In the Straits varieties (Alor dialect), the final syllables *iŋ*, *uŋ*, and *aŋ* are added, as seen in *kulikiŋ* ‘skin’, *ikukuŋ* ‘tail’, and *burakaŋ* ‘white’ (cf. §5.8).

For the concepts ‘child’ and ‘chicken’, the final consonants -ŋ and -k/ʔ are not reflexes of PFL/PWL final *-k. They possibly represent other suffixes, but are of unknown origin. A similar addition of final consonants is observed in other WL varieties; therefore, these final consonants were possibly added before the split of PAL. A similar situation is observed for the concept ‘root’, where the final -k/*kuŋ* is not a reflex of PFL/PWL final *-t, but arises through suffixation. The two adjectives ‘alive’ and ‘white’ also show final consonants that are not reflexes of earlier forms. For the concept ‘alive’, the PAL final *-k was possibly added before the split of PAL but after PWL split from PFL, because some WL

varieties show similar final consonants, while others do not have final *-k*. For the concept ‘white’, PFL final **-ʔ* is regularly lost in PWL, thus the Alorese final consonant *-ʔ/k/kaŋ* was added at a later stage.

In addition, there is one case in which the origin of the Alorese final consonant is ambiguous, as shown in Table 5.49.

Table 5.49: Ambiguous case of Alorese final consonant

	‘ripe’
PMP	<i>*ma-tasak</i>
PFL	<i>*m-tasak</i>
PWL	<i>*tahak</i>
PAL	<i>*tahak</i>
Pandai	<i>tahak</i>
Bana	<i>tahak</i>
Munaseli	<i>tahak</i>
Alor Besar	<i>taha</i>

Final PFL **-k* is regularly lost in Alorese (cf. §5.4.1.3). In the concept ‘ripe’, however, there is an addition of final *-k*. This final *-k* could be a remnant either of PFL final **-k* or of suffixation.

In sum, most Alorese final consonants come from derived (fossilized) possessive suffixes or other suffixes. However, some of these final consonants are retentions from PMP, while others were added at an earlier stage. In addition, there seem to be phonotactic restrictions on which consonants can be final, with *-k*, *-ʔ*, and *-ŋ* being the most common final consonants.

5.4.9 PFL vowels in Alorese

In this section, I present reflexes of PFL vowels in Alorese. The PFL vowels **a*, **i*, **u*, and **o* are retained unchanged in non-final position. In final position, PFL **a* is retained unchanged, with a few exceptions where PFL **a* becomes *e* (namely **hida* > *hire* ‘pl’ and **hala* > *lahe* ‘no; not’, which also involves metathesis *hala* > *laha* > *lahe*). In PAL, PFL final **-i* is changed into **e* and PFL final **-u* is changed into **o*. Table 5.50 summarizes the reflexes of PFL vowels **a*, **i*, **u*, and **o* in Alorese non-final and final positions. In Alor Besar and the remaining Straits varieties, PAL non-final **a* is sometimes reflected as *a* or *e*.

Table 5.50: Reflexes of PFL vowels *a, *i, *u, and *o in Alorese

	Non-final				Final		
PMP	*a	*i	*u	[...]	*a	*i/*uy	*u
PFL	*a	*i	*u	*o	*a	*i	*u/*o
PAL	*a	*i	*u	*o	*a	*e	*o
Kayang	a	i	u	o	a	e	o
Baranusa	a	i	u	o	a	e	o
Munaseli	a	i	u	o	a	e	o
Alor Besar	a/e	i	u	o	a	e	o

Table 5.51 and Table 5.52 provide reflexes of PFL penultimate *a, *i, *u, and *o in Alorese. The penultimate vowel position refers to the position of the proto-phonemes. For the concept ‘bitter’, the reflex of PAL *a is *e* in Alor Besar. It is often the case in the Straits varieties that PAL *a in a final *-ai is raised to *e*, as seen in PAL *pai > Alor Besar *pei* ‘bitter’. Another example is PAL *vai > Alor Besar *fei* ‘water’ (discussion of vowel changes in Straits Alorese can be found in §5.8).

Table 5.51: Reflexes of PFL penultimate *a and *i in Alorese

	‘bitter’	‘rope’	‘seven’	‘lightning’
PMP	*ma-paqit	*talih	*pitu	*silap ‘sparkle; drizzle’
PFL	*m-paʔit	*taliʔ	*pitu	*k silap
PAL	*paiʔ	*tale	*pito	*hila
Kayang	<i>pai</i>	<i>tale</i>	<i>pito</i>	<i>hila</i>
Baranusa	<i>pai</i>	<i>tale</i>	<i>pito</i>	<i>hila</i>
Munaseli	<i>paiʔ</i>	<i>tale</i>	<i>pito</i>	<i>hila bilon</i>
Alor Besar	<i>pei</i>	<i>tale</i>	<i>pito</i>	<i>hila biba</i>

Table 5.52: Reflexes of penultimate PFL *u and *o in Alorese

	‘white’	‘mouth’	‘alive’	‘fat’
PMP	*budaq	*ɲusu	*ma-qudip	[...]
PFL	*budaʔ	*nusu	*modip	*voda k
PAL	*bura k	*nuhu ŋ	*mori k	*wora k
Kayang	<i>buraʔ</i>	<i>nuhu ŋ</i>	<i>moriʔ</i>	[...]
Baranusa	<i>bura</i>	–	<i>mori</i>	<i>worak</i>
Munaseli	<i>bura k</i>	<i>nuhu ŋ</i>	<i>mori k</i>	<i>worak</i>
Alor Besar	<i>bura</i>	<i>nuhu ŋ</i>	<i>mori</i>	<i>fora kan</i>

Table 5.53 shows reflexes of PFL final *-a, *-i, *-u, and *-o. The change of PFL final *-i to PAL *e and PFL final *u to PAL *o are regular. PFL final *-o is retained unchanged, as shown in the set for ‘2SG’. In Munaseli, the final -ŋ in the word *tailŋ* ‘excrement’ has caused the rise of vowel -i-; this is not inherited from PFL.

Table 5.53: Reflexes of PFL final *-a, *-i, *-u and *-o

	‘dry’	‘star’	‘fire’	‘excrement’	‘sugarcane’	‘three’	‘2SG’
PMP	*ma-maja	*mantalaq	*hapuy	*taqi	*təbuh	*təlu	*-mu
PFL	*mada	*mtala	*api	*taʔi	*təvu	*təlu	*mo
PAL	*mara k	*tamala	*ape	*tae	*təwo	*təlo	*mo
Kayang	<i>mara</i>	<i>tamala</i>	<i>ape</i>	<i>tae</i>	<i>təwo</i>	<i>talo</i>	<i>mo</i>
Baranusa	<i>mara</i>	<i>tamala</i>	<i>ape</i>	[...]	<i>təwo</i>	<i>talo</i>	<i>mo</i>
Munaseli	<i>mara k</i>	<i>təməla</i>	<i>ape</i>	<i>tai ŋ</i>	<i>təwo</i>	<i>təlo</i>	<i>mo</i>
Alor Besar	<i>mara</i>	<i>tamala</i>	<i>ape</i>	<i>tae</i>	<i>tafo</i>	<i>təlo</i>	<i>mo</i>

Table 5.54 summarizes the reflexes of PFL penultimate and ultimate *ə. PFL penultimate schwa is retained unchanged as *ə in PAL, and PFL ultimate schwa is changed into PAL *e. In modern-day Alorese varieties, schwa in the penultimate syllable is reflected as ə, a, or e, while schwa in PAL final syllables is reflected as e, except in Kayang where it is sometimes reflected as either e or o.

Table 5.54: Reflexes of PFL penultimate and final *ə in Alorese

	Penultimate	Final
PMP	*ə	*ə
PFL	*ə	*ə
PAL	*e	*e
Kayang	ə/a	e/o
Baranusa	ə/a/e	e
Munaseli	ə/a/e	e
Alor Besar	ə/a/e	e

Table 5.55 shows PFL penultimate *ə reflexes. All instances of forms that go back to PFL penultimate *ə can be reconstructed to to PAL schwa. Alorese varieties sporadically undergo *ə > a in penultimate syllables, and this happens to different extents in different varieties. Alor Besar shows the most cases of *ə > a, while Munaseli has the most cases where *ə is retained unchanged. In addition, PFL penultimate schwa is sometimes lost in PAL when it is directly adjacent to other vowels, as seen in PFL *bərat > PAL *baaʔ ‘heavy’. Here, PFL schwa is changed into *a, resulting in *baaʔ. PAL *baaʔ ‘heavy’ is a straightforward reflex of PFL *bərat ‘heavy’ with regular *r > Ø and final *-t > -ʔ.

Table 5.55: Reflexes of penultimate PFL *ə in Alorese

	‘fold’	‘three’	‘salty’	‘sugarcane’	‘sun’	‘hear’	‘heavy’
PMP	*ləpət	*təlu	*ma-pəzu	*təbuh	*qaləjaw	*dəŋəR	*ma-bəRəqat
PFL	*ləpət	*təlu	*m-pədu	*təvu	*lədav	*dəŋər	*bərat
PAL	*ləpeʔ	*təlo	*pəro	*təwo	*ləra	*dəŋa	*baaʔ
Kayang	ləpe	talo	[...]	təwo	ləra	dəŋa	baʔ
Baranusa	–	talo	paro	tawo	lera	dəŋa	baa
Munaseli	ləpeʔ	təlo	pəro	tewo	ləra	dəŋa	baʔ
Alor Besar	ləpe	təlo	paro	tafo	lara	dəŋa	baa

Table 5.56 shows reflexes of PFL *ə in ultimate syllables. The change of PFL final *ə > PAL *e is regular. However, in the concept ‘hear’ (PFL *dəŋər), PFL *ə is changed into PAL *a, which is possibly conditioned by the PFL final *-r.

Table 5.56: Reflexes of PFL ultimate *ə in Alorese

	‘fold’	‘itchy’	‘black’	‘sky’	‘good’	‘hear’
PMP	*ləpət	*gatəl	*ma-qitəm	[...]	*diqɑq	*dəŋəR
	‘good, right’					
PFL	*ləpət	*gatər	*mitəm	*kələm	*dikə	*dəŋər
PAL	*ləpeʔ	*gateʔ	*miteŋ	*kaleŋ	*dike	*dəŋa
Kayang	<i>ləpe</i>	<i>gato</i>	<i>miteŋ</i>	–	<i>dikeŋ</i>	<i>dəŋa</i>
Baranusa	–	<i>gate</i>	<i>miteŋ</i>	–	<i>dikeŋ</i>	<i>dəŋa</i>
Munaseli	<i>ləpeʔ</i>	<i>gateʔ</i>	<i>miteŋ</i>	<i>kaleŋ</i>	<i>dikeŋ</i>	<i>dəŋa</i>
Alor Besar	<i>ləpe</i>	<i>gate</i>	<i>miteŋ</i>	–	<i>dikē</i>	<i>dəŋa</i>

5.4.10 The Proto-Alorese sound inventory

This section provides a summary of the reconstructed PAL sounds based on regular correspondences in the Alorese varieties. Table 5.57 contains the PAL vowels and Table 5.58 presents the consonant inventory of PAL.

Table 5.57: Vowel inventory of Proto-Alorese

	Front	Central	Back
High	*i		*u
Mid	*e	*ə	*o
Low		*a	

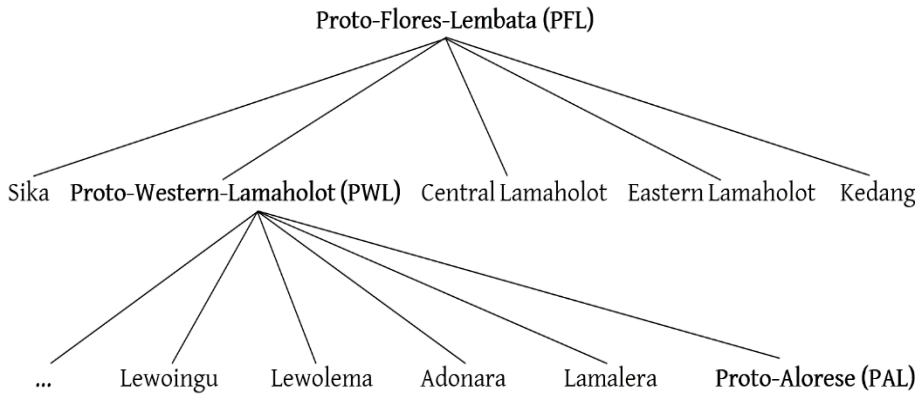
Table 5.58: Consonant inventory of Proto-Alorese

	Labial	Coronal	Dorsal	Glottal
Voiceless stops	*p	*t	*k	*ʔ
Voiced stops	*b	*d	*g	
Affricate		*dʒ		
Fricative	*v			*h
Nasal	*m	*n	*ŋ	
Rhotic		*r		
Lateral		*l		

5.5 Reconstruction of the sounds of Proto-Western-Lamaholot

In this section, I reconstruct the sounds of Proto-Western-Lamaholot (PWL) by examining the reflexes of PFL in all Western Lamaholot (WL) varieties, including the reconstructed PAL sounds. Here, PAL is placed on the same level as the other WL varieties. Figure 5.5 below illustrates the relationship between PFL, PWL, and PAL. The varieties Lewoingu, Lewolema, Adonara, and Lamalera are included as representatives of the other WL varieties; they are not intended to indicate subgrouping.

Figure 5.5: The relationship between PFL, PWL, and PAL



The WL forms used in this section are based on transcribed materials in the LexiRumah database (Kaiping et al. 2019). This reconstruction of PWL sounds is useful because it provides the context for establishing Alorese as a separate subgroup within WL. In addition, it helps in determining whether a given sound change in Alorese is exclusive or not.

5.5.1 Reflexes of PFL voiceless plosives in Western Lamaholot

5.5.1.1 Reflexes of PFL initial and intervocalic *p *t *k *ʔ

Reflexes of PFL initial and intervocalic voiceless plosives are summarized in Table 5.59. All PFL initial and intervocalic voiceless plosives are retained unchanged in PWL, except for the PFL glottal stop, which is lost in PWL.

Table 5.59: Reflexes of PFL initial and intervocalic voiceless plosives *p, *t, *k, and *ʔ

Env.	#_	V_V	#_	V_V	#_	V_V	#_	V_V
PMP	*p-	*-p-	*t-	*-t-	*k-	*-k-	*q-	*-q-
PFL	*p-	*-p-	*t-	*-t-	*k-	*-k-	*ʔ-	*-ʔ-
PWL	*p-	*-p-	*t-	*-t-	*k-	*-k-	∅	∅
Lewoingu	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	∅	∅
Lewolema	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	∅	∅
Adonara	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	∅	∅
Lamalera	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	∅	∅
PAL	*p-	*-p-	*t-	*-t-	*k-	*-k-	∅	∅

Table 5.60 provides cognate sets that show examples of the reflexes of PFL initial *p- in PWL. PFL initial *p- is retained unchanged in all varieties. In Lewoingu, the final -k in the word *paik* ‘bitter’ is not a reflex of final *t-, but it could indicate a change of *t > k.

Table 5.60: Reflexes of PFL initial *p- in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘seven’	‘choose’	‘walk’	‘bitter’	‘salty’
PMP	* p itu	* p iliq	* p anaw	*ma- p aqit	*ma- p əzu
PFL	* p itu	* p iliʔ	* p ana(v)	*m- p aʔit	*m- p ədu
PWL	* p ito	* p ileʔ	* p ana	* p ait	* p əro
Lewoingu	<i>p</i> ito	<i>p</i> iləʔ	<i>p</i> ana	<i>p</i> aik	<i>p</i> əro
Lewolema	<i>p</i> ito	<i>p</i> ile	<i>p</i> ana	<i>p</i> ait	<i>p</i> ero
Adonara	<i>p</i> ito	<i>p</i> ile	<i>p</i> ana	<i>p</i> ait	<i>p</i> əro
Lamalera	[...]	[...]	<i>p</i> ana	[...]	[...]
PAL	* p ito	* p ile	* p ana	* p ai	* p aro

Table 5.61 shows examples of the reflexes of PFL intervocalic *-p-, which is also retained unchanged in all WL varieties. The Lewoingu word *ləpək* ‘to fold’ again shows the change of PFL final *t > -k in Lewoingu.

Table 5.61: Reflexes of PFL intervocalic *-p- in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘fire’	‘lime (stone)’	‘wipe’	‘thin (non-human)’	‘fold’
PMP	*hapuy	*qapuR	*sapu	*ma-nipis	*lapət
PFL	*api	*ʔapur	*hapu	*m-nipih-i	*lapət
PWL	*ape	*ʔapuʔ	*hapu	*mənipi	*lapət
Lewoingu	apeʔ	apuʔ	[...]	mənipi	lapək
Lewolema	ape	apu	–	mənipī	lapət
Adonara	ʔape	ʔapuʔ	[...]	[...]	lepet
Lamalera	ape	[...]	hapu	mənipi	[...]
PAL	*ape	*apu	*hapo	*mənipi	*lapəʔ

Table 5.62 contains cognate sets that show reflexes of PFL initial *-t-, which is retained unchanged in all WL varieties. In the cognate set for the concept ‘egg’ (PFL *təlur), the final -k in Lewolema and Adonara is not a reflex of PFL *-r, but could be a fossilized possessive suffix.

Table 5.62: Reflexes of PFL initial *-t- in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘rope’	‘excrement’	‘to steal’	‘egg’	‘earth’
PMP	*talih	*taqi	*takaw	*qatəluR	*tanaq
PFL	*taliʔ	*taʔi	*t<əm>akav	*təlur	*tana(?)
PWL	*taleʔ	*tae	*təmaka	*təlu	*tana
Lewoingu	tale	tae	təmaka	telu	tana
Lewolema	tale	tae	təmaka	təluk	tana
Adonara	taleʔ	tae	[...]	teluk	tana
Lamalera	tale	[...]	[...]	təlu	tana
PAL	*tale	*tae	*təmaka	*təlu k	*tana

Table 5.63 shows the reflexes of PFL intervocalic *-t-, which is retained unchanged in all WL varieties.

Table 5.63: Reflexes of PFL intervocalic *-t- in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘1PL.INCL’	‘eye’	‘liver’	‘stone’	‘black’	‘louse’
PMP	*kita	*mata	*qatay	*batu	*qitəm	*kutu
PFL	*kita	*mata	*ate-n	*vatu	*mitəm	*kutu
PWL	*tite	*mata	*ate	*wato	*mitəŋ	*kuto
Lewoingu	tite	mata	ate ŋ	wato	mitəŋ	kuto
Lewolema	tite	mata	atē	wato	mitē	kuto
Adonara	tite	mata k	–	wato	mite	kuto
Lamalera	tite	matā	–	fato	mitāŋ	kuto
PAL	*tite	*mata ŋ	*ate ŋ	*wato	*mitəŋ	*kuto

Table 5.64 contains examples demonstrating the reflexes of PFL initial *k- which is retained unchanged in all WL varieties.

Table 5.64: Reflexes of PFL initial *k- in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘1PL.EXCL’	‘louse’	‘wood’	‘lightning’	‘wing’
PMP	*kami	*kutu	*kahi	*silap	*kapak
PFL	*kami	*kutu	*kayu	*k silap	*kapik
PWL	*kame	*kuto	*kayo	*kə hilat	*kəpik
Lewoingu	kame	kuto	kadʒo	hila	kəpi ʔiŋ
Lewolema	kame	kuto	kadʒo	kə hilat	kəpi ʔ
Adonara	kame	kuto	kadʒo	ke hilat	kep ʔi
Lamahora	kame	[...]	kayo	[...]	kəpi
Lamalera	kame	kuto	[...]	[...]	kəpi k
PAL	*kame	*kuto	*kadʒo	*hila	*kəpi k

Table 5.65 shows reflexes of intervocalic *-k-, which is also retained unchanged in all WL varieties.

Table 5.65: Reflexes of PFL intervocalic *-k- in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘fish’	‘tail’	‘to steal’	‘civet cat’	‘bat’
PMP	*hikan	*ikuŋ	*takaw	[...]	*paniki
PFL	*ikan	*ikur	*t<əm>akav	*laku	[...]
PWL	*ikaŋ	*ikuʔ	*təma ^h ka	*lako	*pənike
Lewoingu	ikaŋ	ikuʔuŋ	təma ^h ka	lako	pənike
Lewolema	ikā	ikū	təma ^h ka	lako	pənike
Adonara	ʔikā	ʔikuʔū	[...]	lako	penike
Lamalera	ikā	iku	[...]	[...]	[...]
PAL	*ikan	*iku k	*tamaka	*lako	*panike

Table 5.66 shows reflexes of PFL initial *ʔ-, which is lost in PWL. In Adonara, the initial glottal stop is not likely phonemic, thus an initial glottal stop is not reconstructed for PWL. In the concept ‘ash’, there is an insertion of PFL prefix *kə-, which is fossilized at the level of PWL, and is retained in the Lewoingu and Adonara varieties of WL, and is also reconstructed for PAL.

Table 5.66: Reflexes of PFL initial *ʔ- in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘lime (stone)’	‘ash’
PMP	*qapuR	*qabuk
PFL	*ʔapur	*ʔavu
PWL	*apuʔ	*kə awu
Lewoingu	apuʔ	kə awuk
Lewolema	apu	–
Adonara	ʔapuʔ	ke ʔawu
Lamalera	[...]	k afu
PAL	*apu	*kə(r) awu

Table 5.67 shows reflexes of PFL intervocalic *-ʔ-, which is lost in PWL. The PWL form *t<ən>ua ‘old’ has a nominalization infix, which is attested in the daughter languages except for PAL. A glottal stop is inserted in Adonara, in the word *tənuʔe* ‘old’. The Adonara wordlist collected by Klammer (2015) shows a number of unexpected glottal stops. Although PFL *m-tuʔa ‘old’ has been reconstructed with a medial glottal stop, I do not reconstruct the medial ʔ to PWL as it appears that this is unlikely to be phonemic in Adonara.

Table 5.67: Reflexes of intervocalic PFL *-ʔ- in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘bitter’	‘excrement’	‘old’
PMP	*ma-pa ^q it	*ta ^q i	*ma-tu ^q as
PFL	*m-paʔit	*taʔi	*m-tuʔa
PWL	*pait	*tae	*t<ən>ua
Lewoingu	<i>paik</i>	<i>tae</i>	<i>t<ən>ueŋ</i>
Lewolema	<i>pait</i>	<i>tae</i>	[...]
Adonara	<i>pait</i>	<i>tae</i>	<i>t<ən>uʔe</i>
PAL	*paiʔ	*tae	*tua

5.5.1.2 Reflexes of initial plosives following PFL *m-

The PFL stative prefix *m- is merged with following plosives in WL in various ways. Table 5.68 shows reflexes of the PFL initial stative prefix *m-, which is lost in the concepts ‘salty’ and ‘bitter’, but is fossilized in the concepts ‘full’ and ‘tinea’.

Table 5.68: Reflexes of the PFL initial *m-p in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘salty’	‘bitter’	‘full’	‘tinea’
PMP	*ma-qapəju	*ma-pa ^q it	*ma-pənu ^q	*ma-panaw
PFL	*m-pədu	*m-paʔit	*m-pənu	*m-panau
PWL	*pəro	*pait	*pənu/*m ənu	*m anau
Lewoingu	<i>pəro</i>	<i>paik</i>	<i>menuŋ</i>	<i>mau</i>
Lewolema	<i>pəro</i>	<i>pait</i>	<i>pənũ, mənũ</i>	–
Adonara	<i>pero</i>	<i>pait</i>	<i>peno</i>	<i>menao</i>
PAL	*pəro	*pai	*pənoŋ	*manau

In the concept ‘full’ in Table 5.68, PFL *m- is present in Lewoingu, but lost in Lewolema and Adonara. In Lewolema, the word *pənũ* is a verb (‘to fill; to fill until full’) and the form *mənũ* is the derived adjective (Pampus, 1999:296). Whether similar semantic differences are present in other varieties of WL is unknown, due to the preliminary nature of the data. For the concept ‘tinea’, PFL *m- is fossilized in the Adonara word *menao*. It seems that the wordlists show sporadic variation between derived forms with PFL *m- and underived forms without PFL *m-.

Table 5.69 contains cognate sets showing the reflexes of PFL initial *m-t (< PMP *ma-t) and initial *m- that go back to PMP *ma-q. In the reflexes of PFL

*m-t, the stative prefix is lost completely and the initial plosive *t- is retained. In addition, PFL *m- (< PMP *ma-q) is retained unchanged in PWL, because the stative marker is already fossilized in PFL.

Table 5.69: Reflexes of the PFL initial *m-t and initial *m- (< PMP *ma-q) in PWL

	‘ripe’	‘old’	‘alive’	‘black’
PMP	* ma -tasak	* ma -tuqah	* ma -qudip	* ma -qitəm
PFL	* m -tasak	* m -tuʔa	* mod ip	* mit əm
PWL	* tah ak	* t -ən>ua	* mori	* mitəŋ
Lewoingu	<i>taha</i>	<i>tənuəŋ</i>	<i>mori</i>	<i>mitə ŋ</i>
Lewolema	<i>tahak</i>	<i>tənuē</i>	<i>mori</i>	<i>mitē</i>
Adonara	<i>tahak</i>	<i>tenuʔe</i>	<i>morit</i>	<i>mite</i>
PAL	* tah ak	* tua	* mori	* mitəŋ

Table 5.70 summarizes the rules that apply to the historical development of PMP *ma- followed by a root-initial plosive in PWL. As seen in the first and second rows of the table, when PFL retains both the initial prefix *m- and the initial plosive, often the initial prefix *m- is lost in PWL while the initial plosive is retained; however, in some cases of PMP *ma-p, PWL reflexes show retention of *m rather than the plosive. Meanwhile, the PFL *m- that goes back to PMP *ma-q is retained unchanged in PWL, because the stative prefix is already fossilized since PFL.

Table 5.70: Historical changes of PMP *ma-(plosive) in Proto-Western-Lamaholot

PMP		PFL		PWL
*ma-p	>	*m-p	>	*p/*m
*ma-t	>	*m-t	>	*t
*ma-q	>	*m-	>	*m-

5.5.1.3 Reflexes of PFL final *p *t *k *ʔ

Reflexes of the PFL final plosives are summarized in Table 5.71. PFL final *p is retained in Lamahora, and thus can be reconstructed to PWL *-p. PFL *-ʔ is retained unchanged in PWL, while PFL *-t and *-k are retained. PWL final *-t changes into a glottal stop in PAL, but is retained as *t* in some WL varieties.

Furthermore, the PWL final *-k is sometimes retained unchanged or weakened into a glottal stop in the modern-day WL varieties.

Table 5.71: Reflexes of PFL final plosives in Western Lamaholot varieties

PMP	*-p	*-t	*-k	*-q/*-h
PFL	*-p	*-t	*-k	*-ʔ/∅
PWL	*-p	*-t	*-k	*ʔ
Lewoingu	∅	k/∅	∅	ʔ/∅
Lewolema	∅	t	k/ʔ	∅
Adonara	∅	t	k/ʔ	ʔ/∅
Lamahora	p	t	∅	∅
Lamalera	∅	t/∅	k	∅
PAL	∅	*-ʔ	∅	∅

Table 5.72 contains a cognate set that shows the reflexes of the PFL final *-p in WL. Lamahora appears to be conservative in this respect. The Adonara final -t is unlikely to be a reflex of PFL *-p.

Table 5.72: Reflexes of PMP and PFL final *-p in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘alive’
PMP	*ma-qudip
PFL	*modip
PWL	*morip
Lewoingu	mori
Lewolema	mori
Adonara	mori t
Lamahora	morip
Lamalera	mori
PAL	*mori k

In Table 5.73, reflexes of PFL final *-t are presented. Here, the regular sound change of PFL final *-t > PWL *-t > PAL *-ʔ is attested. In some WL varieties, such as Lewolema and Adonara, PFL final *-t is retained, but in other varieties, it is lost. Lewoingu allows for PFL *-t > k/∅, while in Lamalera, the word *batā* ‘heavy’ has undergone consonant metathesis, with subsequent loss of the glottal stop, thus PWL *baʔat > *bataʔ > *batā*.

Table 5.73: Reflexes of PFL final *-t in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘skin’	‘root’	‘bitter’	‘fold’	‘heavy’
PMP	*k ^h ulit	*Ramut	*ma-paqit	*ləpət	*ma-bəRəqat
PFL	*k ^h ulit	*ramut	*m-paʔit	*ləpət	*bərat
PWL	*k ^h ulit	*ramut	*pait	*ləpet	*baʔat
Lewoingu	<i>kuli</i>	<i>ramu</i>	<i>paik</i>	<i>ləpək</i>	<i>baʔa</i>
Lewolema	<i>kulit</i>	<i>amut</i>	<i>pait</i>	<i>ləpət</i>	<i>baʔat</i>
Adonara	–	<i>ʔamut</i>	<i>pait</i>	<i>lepet</i>	<i>baʔat</i>
Lamahora	<i>kulit</i>	<i>amutə</i>	[...]	[...]	<i>baʔat</i>
Lamalera	–	<i>ramut</i>	[...]	[...]	<i>batā</i>
PAL	*kuli k	*ramu k	*paiʔ	*ləpeʔ	*baaʔ

Table 5.74 shows reflexes of PFL final *-k, which evidently can be reconstructed to PWL *-k. In the cognate set for ‘wing’, the final plosive is sometimes weakened into a glottal stop. This lenition could be due to suffixation, but this is uncertain; in other cases, a V-initial suffix would also just attach to a C-final stem, for example *kapikiŋ* ‘wing’ in Alor Besar Alorese, here seen in Lewoingu *kəpiʔ|iŋ* ‘wing’.

Table 5.74: Reflexes of PFL final *-k in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘sea’	‘chicken’	‘ripe’	‘wing’
PMP	*tasik	*manuk	*ma-tasak	*kapak
PFL	*tahik	*manuk	*m-tasak	*kapik
PWL	*tahik	*manuk	*tahak	*kəpik
Lewoingu	<i>tahi</i>	<i>manu</i>	<i>taha</i>	<i>kəpiʔ iŋ</i>
Lewolema	<i>tahik</i>	<i>manuk</i>	<i>tahak</i>	<i>kəpiʔ</i>
Adonara	–	<i>manuk</i>	<i>tahak</i>	<i>kepʔ i</i>
Lamahora	<i>tahi</i>	[...]	[...]	<i>kəpi</i>
Lamalera	–	[...]	[...]	<i>kəpik</i>
PAL	*tahi	*manu ŋ	*taha	*kapi k

Reflexes of PFL final *-ʔ (< PMP *-q/*-h) are presented in Table 5.75. The final glottal stop is retained unchanged in PWL, although it is lost in most of the modern-day languages. It is important to note, however, that a final glottal stop could be inserted generally after final vowels; this type of laryngeal insertion at prosodic boundaries is common across languages (Blevins, 2008:87).

Table 5.75: Reflexes of PFL final *-ʔ in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘choose’	‘white’	‘rope’
PMP	*piliq	*budaq	*taliḥ
PFL	*piliʔ	*budaʔ	*taliʔ
PWL	*pileʔ	*buraʔ	*taleʔ
Lewoingu	<i>piləʔ</i>	<i>bura</i>	<i>tale</i>
Lewolema	<i>pile</i>	<i>burā</i>	<i>tale</i>
Adonara	<i>pile</i>	<i>buraʔ</i>	<i>taleʔ</i>
Lamahora	[...]	<i>burʔā</i>	<i>tale</i>
Lamalera	[...]	<i>burā</i>	<i>tale</i>
PAL	*pile	*bura k	*tale

5.5.2 Reflexes of PFL fricatives *v *s *h in Western Lamaholot

5.5.2.1 Reflexes of PFL *v

This section presents reflexes of PFL *v in all positions in WL. Table 5.76 demonstrate that PFL *v is retained as *w* and *f* in initial and intervocalic positions, but lost completely in final position. The sound change of PWL *w > *f*, similar to Straits Alorese varieties (cf. §5.4.2.1), is found in Lamalera.

Table 5.76: Reflexes of PFL *v in PWL in all positions

Env.	# _	V _ V	_ #
PMP	*w-	*-w-	*-w
PFL	*v-	*-v-	*-v
PWL	*w-	*w-	Ø
Lewoingu	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	Ø
Lewolema	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	Ø
Adonara	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	Ø
Lamalera	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	Ø
PAL	*w	*w	Ø

Table 5.77 shows examples of the reflexes of the PFL initial *w-, which is regularly retained as *w* in most varieties, but as *f* in Lamalera and adjacent varieties.

Table 5.77: Reflexes of PFL initial *-v- in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘moon’	‘stone’	‘mouth’	‘body’	‘corn’	‘fat’
PMP	* bulan	* batu	* bəqbəq	[...]	[...]	[...]
PFL	* vulan	* vatu	* vəva ²²	* vəki	* vatar	* voda k
PWL	* wulan	* wato	* wəva	* wəki ŋ	* wata?	* wora k
Lewoingu	wula	wato	wəva ŋ	wəki ŋ	wata	wora ŋ
Lewolema	wulan	wato	wəva	[...]	[...]	worā
Adonara	wulā	wato	wəva kət	wəki ket	wata?	[...]
Lamalera	[...]	fato	fəfā	[...]	[...]	forā
PAL	* wulaŋ	* wato	* wəva ŋ	* wəki ŋ	* wata?	* wora k

Table 5.78 contains examples that show reflexes of the PFL intervocalic *-v-, which is also retained as intervocalic *w* or *f*.

Table 5.78: Reflexes of PFL intervocalic *-v- in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘ash’	‘sugarcane’	‘pig’	‘fishing hook’	‘nine’
PMP	* qabuk	* təbuh	* babuy	* kawil	* siwa
PFL	* ʔavu	* təvu	* vavi	* kavil	* siva
PWL	* kə awu	* təwo	* wawe	* kawil	* hiwa
Lewoingu	kə awuk	təwo	wawe	kawi	hiwa
Lewolema	–	[...]	[...]	[...]	hiwa
Adonara	ke ʔawu	təwo	wawe	[...]	[...]
Lamalera	k əfu	[...]	fəfə	[...]	hifa
PAL	* kə(r) awu	* təwo	* vawe	* kawil	hiva

Regular loss of PFL final *-v in all Alorese varieties is shown in Table 5.79. In the cognate set for PFL *lədav ‘sun; day’, the Lewoingu word *ləra* ‘sun; day’ and the Lewolema word *rəra* ‘sun; day’ contain a lengthened final vowel *a*. It is plausible that this lengthening is a remnant of PFL final *-w (i.e. compensatory lengthening). Therefore, a lengthened final *-a:/*-aa is reconstructed for PWL.

²² In Fricke (2019:471) PFL *vava ‘mouth’ (< PMP *baqbaq ‘mouth’).

Table 5.79: Loss of PFL final *-v in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘to go; walk’	‘to steal’	‘sun; day’
PMP	*pana w	*tak w	*qalə j aw
PFL	*pana(v)	*t<əm>ak v	*ləd v
PWL	*pana	*təmaka	*ləraa
Lewoingu	pana	təmaka	ləra:
Lewolema	pana	təmaka	rəra:
Adonara	pana	[...]	rera
Lamalera	pana	[...]	ləra
PAL	*pana	*tamaka	*ləra

5.5.2.2 Merger of PFL initial and intervocalic *h and *s > PWL *h

Here, merger of PFL initial and intervocalic *h/*s into PWL *h is discussed. Table 5.80 summarizes the reflexes. It can be seen that PFL initial and intervocalic *s and *h are merged into PWL *h. PWL *h is also reflected regularly in the modern-day languages, except in Lamalera, in which intervocalic -h- is lost.

Table 5.80: Merge of PFL *-h-/*s- > *-h- in Western Lamaholot varieties

Env.	#_	V_V
PMP	*s-	*-s-
PFL	*s-/ *h-	*-s-/ *-h-
PWL	*h-	*-h-
Lewoingu	h	h
Lewolema	h	h
Adonara	h	h
Lamalera	h	Ø
PAL	*h-	*-h-

Table 5.81 shows examples of the merger of PFL *s-/ *h > PWL *h- in initial position. For the concept ‘3PL’, PAL retains the PFL initial *h-, but the remaining WL varieties lose the initial syllable.

Table 5.81: Merger of PFL initial *h- and *s- > PWL *h-

		‘nine’	‘same’	‘wipe’	‘3PL’
PMP	*s-	*siwa	*sama	*sapu	*si-ida
PFL	*s-/*h-	*siva	*sama	*hapu	*hida
PWL	*h	*hiwa	*hama	*hapu	*hira
Lewoingu	<i>h</i>	<i>hiwa</i>	<i>hama</i>	–	<i>ra:</i>
Lewolema	<i>h</i>	<i>hiwa</i>	<i>hama</i>	–	<i>raʔe</i>
Adonara	<i>h</i>	<i>hiwa</i>	<i>hama</i>	[...]	<i>raʔe</i>
Lamalera	<i>h</i>	[...]	[...]	<i>hapu</i>	<i>rae</i>
					‘PL’
PAL	*h	*hiwa	*hama	*hapo	*hire

Examples of the merger of PFL intervocalic *h-/*s- > PWL *h- are presented in Table 5.82. The examples indicate that the merger is regular in all WL varieties. In Lamalera, PFL intervocalic *h- is usually lost completely. However, in the Lamalera word *hik* ‘meat’, PFL intervocalic *h- becomes initial *h-*.

Table 5.82: Merger of PFL *h- and *s- > PWL *h-

		‘breast’	‘ripe’	‘navel’	‘mat’	‘dog’	‘flower’	‘meat’
PMP	*s-	*susu	*ma-tasak	*pusəj	[...]	*asu	*pusuŋ ²³	*isi
PFL	*s-/*h-	*(t)usu	*m-tasak	*pusər	*osan	*ahu	*puhun	*ihi-k
PWL	*h-	*tuho	*tahak	*kə puhur	*ohaŋ	*aho	*puhu	*ihi-k
Lewoingu	<i>h</i>	<i>tuho</i>	<i>taha</i>	<i>kəpuhur</i>	<i>ohaŋ</i>	<i>aho?</i>	–	–
Lewolema	<i>h</i>	<i>tuho</i>	<i>tahak</i>	<i>kəpuhu(r)</i>	–	<i>aho</i>	<i>puhū</i>	<i>ihī k</i>
Adonara	<i>h</i>	<i>tuho</i>	<i>tahak</i>	<i>kepuhuret</i>	<i>ʔohā</i>	<i>ʔaho</i>	[...]	<i>ihī k</i>
Lamalera	∅	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	<i>ao</i>	<i>pu</i>	<i>hi k</i>
PAL	*h	*tuhu	*tahak	*puhor	*ohaŋ	*aho	*puhu ŋ	*ihī

5.5.3 Reflexes of PFL affricate *dʒ in Western Lamaholot

The forms presented in Table 5.83 show that PFL *dʒ regularly becomes PWL *r in initial position. No intervocalic and final *-dʒ sounds are reconstructed for PFL. PAL *mare|ŋ is a metathesis of the PWL *rəma ‘night’.

²³ PMP *pusuŋ means ‘heart; heart of banana plant’

Table 5.83: Reflexes of PFL affricate *ɖʒ in Western Lamaholot varieties

Env.	#_	‘two’	‘night’	‘mountain-wards’
PMP	*d	*duha	[...]	[...]
PFL	*ɖʒ	*ɖʒua	#ɖʒəma	#ɖʒae
PWL	*r	*rua	*rəma	*rae
Lewoingu	<i>r</i>	<i>rua</i>	<i>rəmaʔaŋ</i>	[...]
Lewolema	<i>r</i>	[...]	<i>rema</i>	<i>rae</i>
Adonara	<i>r</i>	<i>rua</i>	<i>remaʔ</i>	[...]
Lamalera	<i>r</i>	[...]	<i>remā</i>	[...]
PAL	*r	*rua	*mare ŋ	*rae

5.5.4 Reflexes of PFL voiced obstruent *b *d *g in Western Lamaholot

This section presents the reflexes of PFL initial and intervocalic voiced obstruents *b, *d, and *g in WL. Table 5.84 provides an overview of the reflexes. All PFL initial voiced obstruents are retained unchanged in WL. The same applies to PFL intervocalic *-b- and *-g-. However, the PFL intervocalic *-d- (< PMP merger *d/*j) is changed into *r* in all WL varieties.

Table 5.84: Reflexes of PFL voiced obstruents *b, *d, and *g in Western Lamaholot varieties

Env.	#_	V_V	#_	V_V	#_	V_V
PMP	*b-	*-b-	*d-	*d/*j	*g-	*-g-
PFL	*b-	*-b-	*d-	*-d-	*g-	*-g-
PWL	*b	*-b-	*d-	*-r-	*g-	*-g-
Lewoingu	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>g</i>	[...]
Lewolema	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
Adonara	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>g</i>	[...]
Lamalera	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>g</i>	[...]
PAL	*b-	*-b-	*d-	*-r-	*g-	*-g-

Table 5.85 contains reflexes of PFL initial and intervocalic *b. The forms show that PFL *b is regularly retained as *b* in all WL varieties.

Table 5.85: Reflexes of PFL initial and intervocalic *b in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘white’	‘pound’	‘thousand’	‘shirt’
PMP	*budaq	*bayu	*Ribu	[...]
PFL	*budaʔ	*bayu	*ribu	*labur
PWL	*bura	*bayo	*ribu	*labu
Lewoingu	<i>bura</i>	<i>bayo</i>	[...]	<i>labu</i>
Lewolema	<i>burā</i>	<i>badʒo</i>	<i>ribu</i>	<i>labu</i>
Adonara	<i>bura()</i> ʔ	<i>badʒo</i>	<i>ribu</i>	<i>labu</i>
Lamalera	<i>burā</i>	[...]	[...]	[...]
PAL	*bura	*badʒo	*ribu	*labu

PFL initial and intervocalic *g are also retained unchanged in WL varieties, as shown in Table 5.86. In the cognate set for PFL *giki ‘bite’, the PAL form *gaki seems to have undergone vowel metathesis compared to the rest of the WL varieties, which have *gike* ‘bite’ (cf. §5.7.4). The vowel *i is reconstructed as it appears in both positions in PFL.

Table 5.86: Reflexes of PFL initial and intervocalic *g in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘itchy’	‘bite’	‘divide’
PMP	*gatəl	*kitkit	*baqagi
PFL	*gatər	*giki	*bagi
PWL	*gatəʔ	*gike	*bage
Lewoingu	<i>gatə</i>	<i>gike</i>	–
Lewolema	<i>gatə k</i>	<i>gike</i>	<i>bage</i>
Adonara	<i>gatə k</i>	<i>gike</i>	–
Lamalera	[...]	[...]	–
PAL	*gateʔ	*gaki	*bage

Table 5.87 contains examples that show reflexes of PFL initial and intervocalic *d in WL. The table shows that PFL initial *d- is retained unchanged in all WL varieties. In PAL, the form *dike has gone through a semantic change from meaning ‘good’ in PFL to meaning ‘right side’. This is plausible given that, in the Alorese culture, things that are considered good or decent are commonly associated with the right side. For example, the right hand is called the ‘good’ hand. This is also a very common semantic association cross-linguistically. The PFL intervocalic *-d- is changed into *r* in all WL varieties. The same sound

change is attested in some of the neighboring languages of Flores Lembata, which include Sika and Eastern Lamaholot (Fricke, 2019:186).

Table 5.87: Reflexes of PFL initial and intervocalic *d in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘far’	‘good’	‘hear’	‘day; sun’	‘dry’	‘alive’	‘3PL.’
PMP	[...]	*diqaq	*dɛŋəR	*qaləjaw	*maja	*ma-qudip	*si-ida
PFL	*doa	*dike	*dɛŋər	*lədav	*mada	*m-odip	*hida
PWL	*doa ŋ	*dike	*dɛŋa	*ləra:	*mara	*mori	*hira
Lewoingu	doaŋ	[...]	–	ləra:	mara	mori	ra:
Lewolema	doā	dike	–	rəra	marā	mori	raʔe
Adonara	doā	[...]	deŋeʔ	rera	maʔrā	mori t	raʔe
Lamalera	doe	[...]	dɛŋa	ləra	marā	mori	rae
		‘good; right side’					‘PL’
PAL	*doaŋ	*dike ŋ	*dɛŋa	*ləra	*mara	*mori k	*hire

5.5.5 Reflexes of PFL nasals *m *n *ŋ in Western Lamaholot

5.5.5.1 PFL initial and intervocalic nasals

In this section, reflexes of PFL nasals *m, *n, and *ŋ in WL are discussed. Table 5.88 shows an overview of reflexes of the PFL nasals, which indicates that the PFL nasals are retained without any changes in PWL.

Table 5.88: Reflexes of PFL nasals in Western Lamaholot varieties

Env.	#_	#_	V_V	V_V	V_V
PMP	*ŋ-/n-	*m-	*-n-	*-ŋ-	*-m-
PFL	*n-	*m-	*-n-	*-ŋ-	*-m-
PWL	*n-	*m-	*-n-	*-ŋ-	*-m-
Lewoingu	n	m	n	ŋ	m
Lewolema	n	m	n	ŋ	m
Adonara	n	m	n	ŋ	m
Lamalera	n	m	n	ŋ	m
PAL	*n-	*m-	*-n-	*-ŋ-/*-ŋg-	*-m-

Table 5.89 contains examples of the reflexes of PFL initial *n- and *m-.

Table 5.89: Reflexes of PFL initial *n- and *m- in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘name’	‘swim’	‘eye’	‘alive’	‘banana’
PMP	* ŋ ajan	* n aŋuy	* m ata	* m a-qudip	[...]
PFL	* n adan	* n aŋi	* m ata	* m odip	* m uku
PWL	* n araŋ	* n aŋe	* m ata	* m orip	* m uko
Lewoingu	<i>naŋã</i>	<i>naŋe</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>mori</i>	<i>muko</i>
Lewolema	<i>naŋã</i>	<i>naŋe</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>mori</i>	[...]
Adonara	<i>naŋã</i>	<i>naŋe</i>	<i>mata k</i>	<i>mori t</i>	<i>muko</i>
Lamahora	<i>naraŋ</i>	<i>naŋe</i>	<i>mata kə</i>	<i>morip</i>	[...]
Lamalera	<i>naraŋ</i>	<i>naŋe</i>	<i>matã</i>	<i>mori</i>	[...]
PAL	* n araŋ	* n aŋge	* m ata	* m ori	* m uko

Table 5.90 contains examples that show reflexes of PFL intervocalic *-n-, *-ŋ-, and *-m- in WL. The forms in the table demonstrate that all PFL intervocalic nasals are retained unchanged in PWL.

Table 5.90: Reflexes of PFL intervocalic nasals in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘drink’	‘weave’	‘swim’	‘wind’	‘hear’	root’	‘skin; bark of tree’
PMP	* i num	[...]	* n aŋuy	* h aŋin	* d əŋəR	* R amut	[...]
PFL	*- i nu	* t ani	* n aŋi	* a ŋiŋ	* d əŋəŋ	* r amut	* k amak
PWL	*- e nu	* t ane	* n aŋe	* a ŋin	* d əŋəʔ	* r amut	* k amak
Lewoingu	- <i>enuŋ</i>	<i>tane</i>	<i>naŋe</i>	<i>aŋin</i>	–	<i>ramu</i>	[...]
Lewolema	- <i>enu</i>	<i>tane</i>	<i>naŋe</i>	<i>aŋi</i>	–	<i>amut</i>	<i>kamaʔ</i>
Adonara	- <i>enu</i>	<i>tane</i>	<i>naŋe</i>	<i>ʔaŋĩ</i>	<i>deŋeʔ</i>	<i>ʔamut</i>	<i>kamaket</i>
Lamalera	- <i>enu</i>	[...]	<i>naŋe</i>	<i>aŋi</i>	<i>dəŋa</i>	<i>ramut</i>	<i>kāmã</i>
PAL	*- e nu ŋ	* t ane	* n aŋge	* a ŋiŋ	* d əŋa	* r amu k	* k ama

5.5.5.2 PFL final nasals

Table 5.91 contains examples showing reflexes of PFL final nasals in WL. The PFL final *-n is retained in all varieties, but is sometimes lost in Lewoingu, Lewolema, and Adonara. The PFL final velar nasal is retained unchanged in Lewoingu and Alorese, but lost in the other varieties. In addition, the PFL final *-m is retained as *m* only in Ile Ape, but becomes -ŋ in Lewoingu and Lamalera and is lost in Lewolema and Adonara.

Table 5.91: Reflexes of PFL final nasals Western Lamaholot varieties

Env.	_#	_#	_#
PMP	*-n	*-ŋ	*-m
PFL	*-n	*-ŋ	*-m
PWL	*-n	*-ŋ	*-m
Lewoingu	ŋ/Ø	ŋ	ŋ
Lewolema	n/Ø	Ø	Ø
Adonara	ŋ/Ø	Ø	Ø
Ile Ape	n	ŋ	m
Lamalera	Ø	ŋ	ŋ/Ø
PAL	*-ŋ	*-ŋ	*-ŋ

Table 5.92 contains examples showing the reflexes of PFL final nasals.

Table 5.92: Reflexes of PFL final nasals in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘moon’	‘rain’	‘nose’	‘moringa’	‘black’	‘sky’
PMP	*bulan	*quzan	*jjuŋ	[...]	*ma-qitəm	*kələm
PFL	*vulan	*udan	*(n)iduŋ	*motoŋ	*mitəm	*kələm
PWL	*wulan	*uran	*(n)iruŋ	*motoŋ	*mitəm	*kələm
Lewoingu	wula	uraŋ	iruŋ	motoŋ	mitəŋ	kələŋ
Lewolema	wulan	urā	irū	[...]	mitē	kəle
Adonara	wulā	ʔuraŋ	iru net	motō	mite	kɜlɜ
Ile Ape	[...]	uran	iruŋ	[...]	mitəm	kələm
Lamalera	[...]	urā	niruŋ	[...]	mitaŋ	kələ
PAL	*wulaŋ	*uraŋ	*niru	*motoŋ	*miteŋ	*kaleŋ

PFL final *-n is retained unchanged in PWL, but becomes ŋ in most of the varieties. However, Lewolema and Ile Ape appear to be more conservative because they retain PFL final *-n as n. Thus, final *-n is reconstructed for PWL. Furthermore, PFL final *-ŋ is also retained unchanged in PWL, as shown in the concepts ‘nose’ and ‘moringa’. The PFL final *-m is lost in the majority of WL varieties. However, Ile Ape retains the final -m as shown in the words *mitəm* ‘black’ and *kələm* ‘sky’. Ile Ape is also conservative in retaining PFL final *-m.

5.5.6 Reflexes of PFL liquids *l and *r in Western Lamaholot

Table 5.93 contains an overview of the reflexes of PFL liquids in WL. The PFL initial and intervocalic *l is retained-unchanged in PWL. There is a split of PWL initial *l- > l/r in Lewolema and Adonara. No reflexes of PFL final *-l are attested in WL varieties outside of Alorese. However, *-l can be reconstructed for PWL since a PAL final *-l has already been reconstructed (cf. §5.4.6). In addition, PFL *r becomes *ʔ in PWL; Fricke (2019:207) argues that this change is complete in intervocalic and final position, but incomplete in initial position.

Table 5.93: Reflexes of PFL liquids *l and *r in Western Lamaholot varieties

Env.	#_	V_V	_#	#_	V_V	_#
PMP	*l-	*-l-	*-l	*R-	*-R-	*-R
PFL	*l-	*-l-	*-l	*r-	*-r-	*-r
PWL	*l-	*-l-	*-l	*r-	*-ʔ-	*-ʔ
Lewoingu	l	l	[...]	r	ʔ	ʔ
Lewolema	l/r	l	[...]	r/∅	ʔ	ʔ/∅
Adonara	l/r	l	[...]	r/ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
Lamalera	l	l	[...]	r	∅	∅
PAL	*l-	*-l-	*-l	*r-	∅	∅

Table 5.94 contains examples showing the reflexes of PFL initial and intervocalic *l. Based on the data presented in the table, I conclude that PFL *l in both positions is retained unchanged in the majority of WL varieties, except Lewolema and Adonara. In the cognate sets for PFL *l̥adav ‘day; sun’ and *lalan ‘road’, the PFL initial *l- becomes r in Lewolema and Adonara due to assimilation of the following intervocalic r. For the concept ‘road’, an additional point should be addressed: the change from PMP *zalan > PWL *lara(n) may have involved consonant metathesis, where PMP *zalan > PFL *dalan > PWL *laran, with the regular change *d > *r. Some WL varieties show assimilation of the initial liquid, as shown in *rarã* (Lewolema and Adonara), while some (e.g. Lewoingu) do not show assimilation. Furthermore, PFL intervocalic *-l- is retained in all WL varieties as seen in the cognate sets for ‘egg’, ‘rope’, and ‘choose’.

Table 5.94: Reflexes of PFL initial and intervocalic *l in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘tear’	‘testicles’	‘day; sun’	‘road’	‘egg’	‘rope’	‘choose’
PMP	*luhəq	*lasəR	*qaləjaw	*zalan	*qatəluR	*taliḥ	*piliq
PFL	*luu	*lahe k	*lədav	*dalan ²⁴	*təluR	*taliʔ	*piliʔ
PWL	*lou	*laha k	*ləra:	*lara(n)	*təlu	*taleʔ	*pileʔ
Lewoingu	<i>lou ŋ</i>	[...]	<i>ləra:</i>	<i>laraŋ</i>	<i>telu</i>	<i>tale</i>	<i>piləʔ</i>
Lewolema	<i>lou n</i>	[...]	<i>rəra</i>	<i>rarā</i>	<i>təlu k</i>	<i>tale</i>	<i>pile</i>
Adonara	<i>lō</i>	<i>lahak</i>	<i>rera</i>	<i>rarā</i>	<i>telu k</i>	<i>taleʔ</i>	<i>pile</i>
Lamalera	[...]	[...]	<i>ləra</i>	<i>larā</i>	<i>təlu</i>	<i>tale</i>	[...]
PAL	*lou ŋ	*laha k	*ləra	*lara	*təlu k	*tale	*pile

Table 5.95 contains examples that show reflexes of PFL initial *r- in WL, which is regularly retained as *r* but becomes ʔ/∅ in some of the modern-day languages, such as Lewolema and Adonara. In the PFL cognate *ruma ‘house’, the PFL initial *r- is retained as a glottal stop in PWL. Since only one example is attested, I consider this change to be irregular.

Table 5.95: Reflexes of PFL initial *r- in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘root’	‘thousand’	‘house’
PMP	*Ramut	*Ribū	*Rumaq
PFL	*ramut	*ribu	*ruma
PWL	*ramut	*ribu	*ʔuma
Lewoingu	<i>ramu</i>	[...]	<i>umaŋ</i> ‘hole’
Lewolema	<i>amut</i>	<i>ribu</i>	–
Adonara	<i>ʔamut</i>	<i>ribu</i>	–
Lamalera	<i>ramut</i>	[...]	–
PAL	*ramu	*ribu	*ʔuma

Examples of reflexes of PFL intervocalic and final *r are given in Table 5.96. PFL intervocalic and final *r becomes a glottal stop at the level of PWL and is lost completely in PAL. In the cognate set for PFL *ikur ‘tail’, the final glottal stop is an inherited sound; it is retained when followed by a suffix, but lost in other contexts.

²⁴ In Fricke (2019:479); PFL *alan ‘road; path way’.

Table 5.96: Reflexes of PFL intervocalic *-r- in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘red’	‘turtle’	‘run’	‘lime’	‘tail’
PMP	*RaRa	[...]	*laRiw	*qapuR	*ikuŋ
PFL	*meran	*kera	*plari	*ʔapur	*ikur
PWL	*meʔaŋ	*keʔa	*plaʔe	*apuʔ	*ikuʔ
Lewoingu	meʔa	keʔa	pəlaʔe	apuʔ	ikuʔ uŋ
Lewolema	meʔã	[...]	pəlaʔe	apuʔ	ikũ
Adonara	[...]	keʔa	palaʔe	ʔapuʔ	ʔikʔ ũ
Lamalera	meã	[...]	[...]	[...]	iku
PAL	*mean	*kea	*plae	*apu	*iku k

5.5.7 Reflexes of PFL approximant *y [j] in Western Lamaholot

The reflexes of PFL *y [j] in WL are presented in Table 5.97. PFL *y is only reconstructed in intervocalic position. PFL *y [j] is retained unchanged in PWL but sometimes becomes *dʒ* in the modern-day varieties.

Table 5.97: Reflexes of PFL approximants in Western Lamaholot varieties

Env.	V_V	‘sail’	‘tree’	‘bedbug’	‘pound’	‘wave’
PMP	*y	*layaR	*kahiW	[...]	*bayu	[...]
PFL	*y	*layar	*kayu	*təmayuŋ	*bayu	*(l)oyor
PWL	*y	*layaʔ	*kayo	*təmayuŋ	*bayo	*oyo(?)
Lewoingu	y	layaʔ	[...]	təmayuŋ	bayo	oyo
Lewolema	dʒ	ladʒa	kadʒo	[...]	badʒo	[...]
Adonara	y/dʒ	ladʒaʔ	kayo	temayũ	badʒo	[...]
Lamalera	dʒ	[...]	kadʒo	[...]	[...]	[...]
PAL	*dʒ	*ladʒa	*kadʒo	*tamaɖʒuŋ	*badʒo	*ondʒo

There seems to be an ongoing change of PFL *y > *dʒ* in WL. However, the change is complete only in PAL and possibly in Lamalera and Lewolema. In Adonara, reflexes of PFL *y as y are sporadically attested, such as in *təmayũ* ‘bedbug’. Most Adonara forms display the change from PWL *y > *dʒ*. In Lewoingu, retention of PWL *y as y is regular, indicating that the variety of Lewoingu is conservative in this respect.

5.5.8 PFL vowels in Western Lamaholot

In this section, I discuss the WL reflexes of PFL vowels. In non-final position, PFL *a, *i, *u, and *o are retained unchanged. Final PFL *-a is also retained unchanged in all WL varieties. In final position, PFL *-i undergoes regular change to PWL *-e, while PFL *-u becomes PWL *-o. Table 5.98 summarizes the reflexes of PFL vowels.

Table 5.98: Reflexes of PFL vowels *a, *i, *u, and *o in Western Lamaholot varieties

	Non-final				Final		
PMP	*a	*i	*u	[...]	*a	*i/*uy	*u
PFL	*a	*i	*u	*o	*a	*i	*u/*o
PWL	*a	*i	*u	*o	*a	*e	*o
Lewoingu	a	i	u	o	a	e	o
Lewolema	a	i	u	o	a	e	o
Adonara	a	i	u	o	a	e	o
Lamalera	a	i	u	o	a	e	o
PAL	*a	*i	*u	*o	*a	*e	*o

Table 5.99 provides examples of reflexes of PFL non-final *a, *i, *u, and *o, which are retained unchanged in all WL varieties.

Table 5.99: Reflexes of PFL non-final *a, *i, *u, and *o in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘bitter’	‘fire’	‘1PL.INCL’	‘wind’	‘lime (stone)’	‘louse’	‘far’	‘mat’
PMP	*ma-paqit	*hapuy	*kita	*haŋin	*qapuR	*kutu	[...]	[...]
PFL	*m-paʔit	*api	*kita	*aŋiŋ	*ʔapur	*kutu	*doa	*osan
PWL	*pait	*ape	*tite	*aŋin	*ʔapuʔ	*kuto	*doa ŋ	*ohaŋ
Lewoingu	paik	apeʔ	tite	aŋin	apuʔ	kuto	doa ŋ	ohaŋ
Lewolema	pait	ape	tite	aŋi	apu	kuto	doã	–
Adonara	pait	ʔape	tite	ʔaŋĩ	ʔapuʔ	kuto	doã	ʔohã
Lamalera	[...]	ape	tite	aŋi	[...]	kuto	doe	[...]
PAL	*pai	*ape	*tite	*aŋiŋ	*apu	*kuto	*doa ŋ	*ohaŋ

Table 5.100 shows reflexes of PFL final *-a, *-i, and *-u in WL. The change of PFL final *-i > PWL *-e and PFL final *-u > PAL *-o is regular.

*Table 5.100: Reflexes of PFL final *a, *i, and *u in Western Lamaholot varieties*

	‘dry’	‘eye’	‘excrement’	‘swim’	‘stone’	‘civet cat’
PMP	*ma-maja	*mata	*taqi	*nanjuy	*batu	*laku
PFL	*mada	*mata	*taʔi	*nanjɪ	*vatu	*laku
PWL	*mara	*mata	*tae	*naje	*wato	*lako
Lewoingu	<i>mara</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>tae</i>	<i>naje</i>	<i>wato</i>	<i>lako</i>
Lewolema	<i>marā</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>tae</i>	<i>naje</i>	<i>wato</i>	<i>lako</i>
Adonara	<i>maʔrā</i>	<i>mata k</i>	<i>tae</i>	<i>naje</i>	<i>wato</i>	<i>lako</i>
Lamalera	<i>marā</i>	<i>matā</i>	[...]	<i>naje</i>	<i>fato</i>	[...]
PAL	*mara	*mata	*tae	*naje	*wato	*lako

Table 5.101 summarizes reflexes of PFL *ə in penultimate and ultimate syllables. PFL schwa in both syllable positions is retained unchanged in PWL. Lewolema and Adonara have undergone an irregular change of PFL schwa > *e* in penultimate and ultimate syllables. PAL is the only WL branch that has completely changed the ultimate PFL *ə into PAL **e* (cf. §5.4.9).

*Table 5.101: Reflexes of PFL penultimate and ultimate *ə in Western Lamaholot varieties*

Env.	Penultimate	Ultimate
PMP	*ə	*ə
PFL	*ə	*ə
PWL	*ə	*ə
Lewoingu	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>
Lewolema	<i>ə/e</i>	<i>ə/e</i>
Adonara	<i>ə/e</i>	<i>ə/e</i>
Lamalera	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>
PAL	*ə	* <i>e</i>

Table 5.102 shows reflexes of penultimate PFL *ə in WL varieties. The irregular change of PWL *ə > *e* is seen in the examples for Lewolema and Adonara. This change is attested in almost all the Adonara examples, but only in one of the Lewolema examples.

Table 5.102: Reflexes of PFL penultimate *ə in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘egg’	‘salty’	‘fold’	‘body’	‘sugarcane’
PMP	*qatəluR	*ma-pəzu	*ləpət	[...]	*təbuh
PFL	*təlur	*m-pədu	*ləpət	*vəki	*təvu
PWL	*təlu	*pəro	*ləpət	*wəki ŋ	*təwo
Lewoingu	telu	pəro	ləpək	wəkiŋ	təwo
Lewolema	təlu k	pero	ləpət	[...]	[...]
Adonara	telu k	pəro	lepet	wekiket	tewo
Lamalera	təlu	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
PAL	*təlu k	*pəro	*ləpe?	*wəki ŋ	*təwo

Table 5.103 shows reflexes of PFL ultimate *ə in WL varieties. The examples again demonstrate the irregular change of PWL *ə > e is attested in Lewolema and Adonara. In addition, there is an irregular change of PWL *ə > a in the Adonara word for ‘six’.

Table 5.103: Reflexes of PFL ultimate *ə in Western Lamaholot varieties

	‘fold’	‘black’	‘fold’	‘itchy’	‘hear’	‘six’
PMP	*ləpət	*qitəm	*ləpət	*gatəl	*dəŋəR	*ənəm
PFL	*ləpət	*mitəm	*ləpət	*gatər	*dəŋər	*ənəm
PWL	*ləpət	*mitenŋ	*ləpet	*gate?	*dəŋa	*nəmu
Lewoingu	ləpək	mitəŋ	ləpə k	gata	–	nəmuŋ
Lewolema	ləpət	mitē	ləpət	gata k	–	nem(e)
Adonara	lepet	mite	lepet	gata k	deŋe?	namu
Lamalera	[...]	mitāŋ	[...]	[...]	dəŋa	[...]
PAL	*ləpe?	*mitenŋ	*ləpe?	*gate?	*dəŋa	*nəmu

5.5.9 The Proto-Western-Lamaholot phoneme inventory

Based on the regular correspondences in WL varieties, it is possible to reconstruct the PWL sounds. The PWL vowel inventory is shown in Table 5.104, and the PWL consonant inventory is given in Table 5.105.

Table 5.104: Vowel inventory of Proto-Western-Lamaholot

	Front	Central	Back
High	*i		*u
Mid	*e	*ə	*o
Low		*a	

Table 5.105: Consonant inventory of Proto-Western-Lamaholot

	Labial	Coronal	Dorsal	Glottal
Voiceless stops	*p	*t	*k	*ʔ
Voiced stops	*b	*d	*g	
Fricative	*v			*h
Nasal	*m	*n	*ŋ	
Rhotic		*r		
Lateral		*l		
Approximant			*y [j]	

5.6 Sound changes attested in PWL and PAL

Bottom-up reconstructions of Proto-Western-Lamaholot (PWL) and Proto-Alore (PAL) sounds and lexical items have been discussed in Section 5.4 and Section 5.5. Here, I summarize the sound changes leading to PWL and PAL.

Table 5.106 contains a list of PWL sounds, together with their PFL sources and the sound changes that are reconstructed between PFL and PWL.

Table 5.106: Sound changes from PFL to PWL

PFL source	PWL	Position	Type of change
*h/*s	*h	initial and intervocalic	merger
*d	*-r-	intervocalic	lenition
*dʒ (marginal)	*r-	initial	lenition
*r	*ʔ	intervocalic and final	lenition
*i	*e	final	vowel lowering
*u	*o	final	vowel lowering

Among these changes, the change of PFL *r > PWL *ʔ is the only one that is exclusively shared by (all) WL varieties. The other changes are also attested in the other subgroups in the Flores-Lembata family, and are thus not exclusive to WL.

Table 5.107 lists the sound changes leading to PAL, along with the sound changes that are reconstructed between PWL and PAL. The change of PWL *-t > *-ʔ is exclusively found in PAL. However, the changes of PWL *y > *ɟ and PWL *ə > *e are not exclusive to PAL, as they are also attested in the other WL varieties, though these changes are apparently incomplete (cf. §5.7.1).

Table 5.107: Sound changes from PWL to PAL

PWL source	PAL	Position	Type of change
*-t	*-ʔ	final	lenition
*y	*ɟ	initial and intervocalic	strengthening
*ə	*e	final syllable	vowel lowering

5.7 Evidence for Alorese as a subgroup

In this section, I summarize the evidence for the establishment of Alorese as a subgroup within Western Lamaholot (WL); in other words, the innovations leading to the split of PAL from PWL. The Alorese subgroup comprises the varieties of Kayang, Beang Onong, Baranusa, Wailawar, Pandai, Bana, Helangdohi, Munaseli, Ternate, Buaya, Alor Besar, Alor Kecil, and Dulolong.

There are two criteria which a certain innovation has to meet in order to be considered evidence for an Alorese subgroup. First, the innovation should only be found in Alorese and not in the other WL varieties. Second, the innovation should be attested in the majority of Alorese varieties. Based on these criteria, the evidence for an Alorese subgroup includes one exclusively shared sound change (cf. §5.7.1), grammatical innovation of the plural word *hire* (cf §5.7.2), lexical replacement (cf. §5.7.3), and metathesis (cf. §5.7.4).

5.7.1 Exclusively shared sound change

The Alorese subgroup displays the following exclusively shared sound change:

- a) PWL *t > PAL *ʔ / _#

None of the Alorese varieties retains PWL final *-t as t. The varieties in northeast Pantar retain it as a glottal stop and some varieties at the western and

eastern edges have lost it completely (cf. §5.4.1.4). When a suffix is reconstructed to PAL, the final glottal stop is also lost in suffixes that can be reconstructed to PAL. For example, in PFL *kulit ‘skin’ > PAL *kuli|k, the reflex of PFL final *-t is lost in the presence of the fossilized suffix in PAL.

Apart from this regular change, there are other sound changes in PAL that are regular and complete in Alorese, but sporadic in other WL varieties. These changes are PWL *y > PAL *ɟ in initial and intervocalic position and PWL *ə > PAL *e in ultimate syllable position.

- b) PWL *y > PAL *ɟ in initial and intervocalic position
- c) PWL *ə > PAL *e in ultimate syllable position

As these changes are attested in other WL varieties, they do not meet the criterion of being exclusive to Alorese. However, in other WL varieties, it is uncertain whether these sound changes are complete, incomplete, or absent. For example, the Adonara variety sometimes retains PWL *y as y, as seen in the Adonara word *temayū* (< PWL *təmayuŋ) ‘bedbug’. Possibly, the change PWL *y > ɟ is completed sporadically in Lamalera, but due to the preliminary nature of the data, it is too early to say. Therefore, it can be proposed that the change of PWL *y > ɟ in several varieties is, so far, partial or incomplete, while in Alorese, this change is already completed. Similarly, the change of PWL *ə > e is complete in Alorese, but in other WL varieties, it may be complete, incomplete, or absent.

These changes between Alorese and several WL varieties may indicate a higher level subgrouping than PAL; that is, a subgroup that would comprise several WL varieties along with PAL. However, since the focus of the present study is PAL, this issue will not be discussed further here.

5.7.2 Grammatical innovation: Plural word

Alorese has undergone structural change in the use of the plural word *hire* ‘PL’ and the pronoun *we* ‘3PL’ (Moro, 2018; cf. §4.3.3.3). Table 5.108 outlines the origin of the Alorese plural word and the forms of the 3PL pronoun in Alorese.

Table 5.108: Plural word and 3rd person plural in Alorese

	‘3PL’	
PMP	*si ida	
PFL	*hida	
PWL	*hira	
	‘PL’	‘3PL; person’
PAL	*hire	*we
Kayang	hire	we
Baranusa	hire	we
Munaseli	hire	we
Alor Besar	hire	fe

The Alorese plural word *hire* goes back to the PMP form *si ida ‘3PL’ > PFL *hida ‘3PL’, which becomes a plural word in PAL. This grammaticalization of the third person plural pronoun to a plural word is proposed to be the result of contact with the neighboring Papuan Alor-Pantar languages (Moro, 2018). This change has only happened in Alorese and is not found in any of the other WL languages.

In addition, alorese has innovated a third person plural pronoun *we* ‘3PL’, which is of unknown origin. This form can be reconstructed to PAL *we, which seems to be cognate with the Lewoingu plural marker -wé ‘3PL’. However, Fricke, (2019:319) suggests that this plural marker in Lewoingu is infrequent, since it only appears in two examples in the grammar of Lewoingu by Nishiyama and Kelen (2007).

In conclusion, the use of the plural word *hire* and the innovation of a new third person plural pronoun *we*, which are only attested in Alorese, lend support the hypothesis that Alorese is a separate subgroup within WL.

5.7.3 Lexical replacement

Alorese varieties also share some lexical replacements that further support the establishment of an Alorese subgroup. Table 5.109 contains several examples of lexical replacements in Alorese. These lexical items are identified as innovations because they are inherited neither from PWL nor from a higher-level ancestor language.

Table 5.109: Examples of lexical innovation in Alorese

	‘to cook’	‘heart’	‘wash’	‘to hide’	‘dark’	‘to close’
PAL	*da kaŋ	*(tapo)kubaŋ	*bema	*dəvu	*kui ŋ	*teraʔ
Kayang	dakaŋ	təpokubaŋ	bema	daw:u	kui ŋ	taraʔ
Beang Onong	dakaŋ (vata)	təpokubaŋ	bema	–	kui ŋ	tera
Baranusa	dakaŋ	–	bema	–	kui ŋ	tera
Helangdohi	dakaŋ	–	bema	dəwuk	kui ŋ	teraʔ
Wailawar	dakaŋ (apa)	tapəkubaŋ	bema	dɛwu	koi ŋ	tera
Pandai	dakaŋ	tapəkubaŋ	bema	dawu	kui ŋ	tera
Bana	dakaŋ	tapokubaŋ	bema	–	kui ŋ	teraʔ
Munaseli	dakaŋ	tap kubaŋ	bema	dəvuk	kui ŋ	teraʔ
Ternate	dakaŋ (apa)	kubaŋ	beme	daf:u	ui	fera
Buaya	dakaŋ (apa)	ubaŋ	beme	dafu	kui	[...]
Alor Besar	dakaŋ (apa)	kubaŋ	beme	–	kui	tera
Alor Kecil	dakaŋ (apa)	kubaŋ	beme	–	kui	tera
Dulolong	kədakaŋ (apa)	kubaŋ	beme	dafu	kui	tera
PMP	[...]	*pusuŋ	*basuq	[...]	[...]	[...]
PFL	ʃ(g)iu	*puhuŋ	[...]	ʃsoroŋ	*mitəm	[...]
PWL	*giu	*puho	*baha	*horon	*miterŋ	ʃlətu

As the table shows, these lexemes are attested across Alorese varieties, but do not go back to Proto-Western-Lamaholot or a higher ancestor language. Some of these lexical replacements are of loanwords from the neighboring ‘Papuan’/Alor-Pantar languages, while others are of unknown origin (cf. §6.5).

5.7.4 Metathesis

In this section, I discuss lexical items that undergo consonant or vowel metathesis between PWL and PAL. Table 5.110 contains examples of phonological metathesis in specific lexical items along with their known proto-forms. A hash sign (#) in a PFL form means that the reconstructed form has regular sound changes but there is not enough evidence to reconstruct this form with certainty (Fricke, 2019:168).

Table 5.110: Metathesis in Alorese

	‘bite’	‘rat’	‘night’	‘wrong’	‘betel nut’
PMP	[...]	[...]	[...]	*salaq	*buaq
PFL	*giki	#kromi	#ɖəma	*sala	*vua
	‘no; not’				
PWL	*gike	*kərome	*rəma	*hala	*wua
PAL	*gaki ²⁵	*kəmore	*məre ŋ	*lahe	*uwa
Kayang	<i>gaki</i>	<i>kamore</i>	<i>maroŋ</i>	[...]	<i>uwa</i>
Baranusa	<i>gaki</i>	<i>kəmore</i>	<i>mareŋ</i>	<i>lahe</i>	<i>uwa</i>
Munaseli	[...]	<i>more</i>	<i>məreŋ</i>	<i>lahe?</i>	<i>uwa</i>
Alor Besar	<i>gaki</i>	<i>kamore</i>	<i>mareŋ</i>	<i>lahe</i>	<i>ufa</i>

Table 5.110 indicates three types of metathesis in Alorese. The first type is the reversal of ultimate and penultimate vowels, as shown in the cognate set for ‘bite’. The second type is the reversal of two consonants in the ultimate and the penultimate syllables. Three examples show this type: the cognate sets for ‘rat’ and ‘night’ both show reversal of *m* and *r*, while the cognate set for ‘wrong’ shows reversal of *l* and *h*. There is also a semantic change from PWL *hala ‘wrong’ to a negator in PWL *lahe ‘no; not’. The third type of metathesis is the reversal of a glide and the preceding vowel, as seen in the set for ‘betel nut’. Table 5.111 summarizes the types of phonological metathesis found in Alorese.

Table 5.111: Types of metathesis in Alorese

Types		PWL		PAL	Gloss
1) CV ₁ CV ₂	→	CV ₂ CV ₁	*gike	→	*gaki ‘bite’
2) C ₁ VC ₂ V	→	C ₂ VC ₁ V	*kərome	→	*kəmore ‘rat’
			*rema	→	*məre ŋ ‘night’
			*hala	→	*lahe ‘wrong; no; not’
3) CV ₁ V ₂	→	V ₁ CV ₂	*wua	→	*uwa ‘betel nut’

²⁵ The change of PWL *e > PAL *a is not regular. This change may have been motivated by the metathesis.

These instances of metathesis in Alorese must have come about after the split from WL, as the other WL varieties have retained the order seen in the PWL forms. Therefore, these innovations can be seen as evidence for an Alorese subgroup.

5.8 Low-level subgrouping within Alorese

In this section, I provide evidence for a lower-level subgroup within Alorese, namely Straits Alorese. This evidence comprises two sound changes and the addition of a final syllable. The Straits Alorese subgroup covers varieties spoken around the Strait of Pantar, namely Ternate, Buaya, Alor Besar, Alor Kecil, and Dulolong. The sound changes in question are PAL *w > Straits Alorese *f* and PAL *ai > Straits Alorese *ei*. In addition, Straits Alorese varieties show addition of a final syllable, which may be *-uŋ*, *-iŋ* or *-aŋ*.

Table 5.112, I show the sound change of PAL *w > *f* in the Straits Alorese, which has taken place in all Straits Alorese varieties.

Table 5.112: Change of PAL *w > *f* in Straits Alorese varieties

	‘3PL’	‘water’	‘pig’	‘nine’
PMP	[...]	*wahiR	*babuy	*siwa
PFL	[...]	*vaʔir	*vavi	*siva
PWL	[...]	*waiʔ	*wawe	*hiwa
PAL	*we	*wai	*wawe	*hiwa
Kayang	<i>we</i>	<i>wai</i>	<i>wawe</i>	<i>hiwa</i>
Beang Onong	<i>we</i>	<i>wai</i>	<i>wawe</i>	<i>hiwa</i>
Baranusa	<i>we</i>	<i>wai</i>	<i>wawe</i>	<i>hiwa</i>
Helangdohi	<i>we</i>	<i>wai</i>	<i>wawe</i>	<i>hiwa</i>
Wailawar	<i>wɛ</i>	<i>wai</i>	<i>wawɛ</i>	<i>hiwa</i>
Pandai	<i>wɛ</i>	<i>wai</i>	<i>wawɛ</i>	<i>hiwa</i>
Bana	<i>we</i>	<i>wai</i>	<i>wawe</i>	<i>hiwa</i>
Munaseli	<i>we</i>	<i>wei</i>	<i>wawe</i>	<i>hiwa</i>
Ternate	<i>kafe</i>	<i>fei</i>	<i>fafe</i>	<i>hifa</i>
Buaya	<i>fe</i>	<i>fei</i>	<i>fafe</i>	<i>hifa</i>
Alor Besar	<i>fe</i>	<i>fei</i>	<i>fafe</i>	<i>hifa</i>
Alor Kecil	<i>fe</i>	<i>fei</i>	<i>fafe</i>	<i>hifa</i>
Dulolong	<i>fe</i>	<i>fei</i>	<i>fafe</i>	<i>hifa</i>

The same sound change is found in two other WL varieties, namely Lamalera and Mulan, located in Southern Lembata. However, given that a shift from $w > f$ is a cross-linguistically common process, this should not be interpreted as evidence that Straits Alorese and the South Lembata varieties form a subgroup together; it only indicates that these varieties have undergone a similar change.

The change of the vowel sequence PAL $*ai > ei$ in the Straits Alorese varieties can be seen in examples in Table 5.113. The forms in the table demonstrate that this change is regular in the Straits Alorese varieties.

Table 5.113: Change of PAL $*ai > ei$ in Straits Alorese

	‘water’	‘dry in sun’	‘bitter’	‘stomach’	‘to go’	‘fight’
PMP	* wahi R [...]		* ma-paqit [...]		* ma(R)i [...]	
PFL	* vaʔir	* pa-vari	* m-paʔit	* tai	#- ai	[...]
PWL	* waiʔ	* paʔi ŋ	* pait	* tai	* maʔi/*naʔi	[...]
PAL	* wai	* pai ŋ	* paiʔ	* tai ŋ	* mai	* kəlai ŋ
Kayang	<i>wai</i>	<i>pai ŋ</i>	<i>pai</i>	–	–	<i>kale</i>
Beang Onong	<i>wai</i>	<i>pae ŋ</i>	<i>pai</i>	<i>taiŋ</i>	–	–
Baranusa	<i>wai</i>	<i>pae ŋ</i>	<i>pai</i>	<i>taiŋ</i>	–	<i>kəlaeŋ</i>
Helangdohi	<i>wai</i>	<i>pai ŋ</i>	<i>paiʔ</i>	–	–	–
Wailawar	<i>wai</i>	<i>pai ŋ</i>	<i>paiʔ</i>	–	<i>mai</i>	–
Pandai	<i>wai</i>	<i>pai ŋ (apa)</i>	<i>pai</i>	<i>taiŋ</i>	–	<i>klaiŋ</i>
Bana	<i>wai</i>	<i>pai ŋ</i>	<i>paiʔ</i>	–	<i>mai</i>	–
Munaseli	<i>wai</i>	<i>pai ŋ</i>	<i>paiʔ</i>	–	–	–
Ternate	<i>fei</i>	<i>pei ŋ</i>	<i>pei</i>	–	<i>mei</i>	<i>kaleiŋ</i>
Buaya	<i>fei</i>	<i>pei ŋ</i>	<i>pei</i>	–	–	<i>keli</i>
Alor Besar	<i>fei</i>	<i>pei ŋ</i>	<i>pei</i>	<i>teiŋ</i>	<i>mei</i>	–
Alor Kecil	<i>fei</i>	<i>pei ŋ</i>	<i>pei</i>	<i>teiŋ</i>	<i>mei</i>	–
Dulolong	<i>fei</i>	<i>pei ŋ</i>	<i>pi:</i>	–	–	–

Apart from these two regular sound changes, there is an indication that Straits Alorese varieties tend to add $-uŋ$, $-iŋ$, and $-aŋ$ at the end of certain words, as shown in Table 5.114.

Table 5.114: Addition of *-uŋ*, *-iŋ*, and *-aŋ* in Straits Alorese

	‘egg’	‘tail’	‘skin’	‘trousers’	‘horn’
PMP	*qa-təluR	*ikuR	*kulit	[...]	[...]
PFL	*təluR	*ikur	*kulit	[...]	[...]
PWL	*təlu k	*ikuʔ	*kulit	*deko bəlahaha	[...]
PAL	*təlu k	*iku k	*kuli k	*deko bəlahaha	*huar
Kayang	<i>talʊ</i>	<i>iku</i>	–	<i>dəkoliŋ belaha</i>	<i>huar</i>
Beang Onong	<i>talʊ k</i>	<i>iku k</i>	–	<i>dei koliŋ belaha</i>	<i>huar</i>
Baranusa	<i>man talʊ k</i>	<i>iku k</i>	<i>kuli k</i>	<i>dekoliŋ belaha</i>	<i>huar</i>
Helangdohi	<i>mən telu</i>	<i>neiku k</i>	–	[...]	<i>ne huar</i>
Wailawar	<i>telu k</i>	<i>iku k</i>	<i>kuli k</i>	<i>dekəlei blaha</i>	<i>huar</i>
Pandai	<i>talʊ k</i>	<i>iku k</i>	–	<i>deko leiŋ blahak</i>	<i>huar</i>
Bana	<i>telu k</i>	<i>iku k</i>	–	<i>deko lei blaha</i>	<i>huar</i>
Munaseli	<i>təlu k</i>	<i>iku k</i>	<i>kuli k</i>	<i>deko leiŋ blahak</i>	<i>huar</i>
Ternate	<i>man talʊ kuŋ</i>	<i>iku kuŋ</i>	<i>kuli kiŋ</i>	<i>deko leiŋ belahakaŋ</i>	<i>uharaŋ</i>
Buaya	<i>talʊ kuŋ</i>	<i>iku kuŋ</i>	–	<i>koliŋ blahakaŋ</i>	<i>uharaŋ</i>
Alor Besar	<i>talʊ kuŋ</i>	<i>iku kuŋ</i>	<i>kuli kiŋ</i>	<i>deko leiŋ bəlahakaŋ</i>	<i>uharaŋ</i>
Alor Kecil	<i>təlu kuŋ</i>	<i>iku kuŋ</i>	–	<i>deko leiŋ belahakaŋ</i>	<i>uharaŋ</i>
Dulolong	<i>talʊ kuŋ</i>	<i>iku kuŋ</i>	–	<i>dekoliŋ bəla hakaŋ</i>	<i>uharaŋ</i>

It seems that the vowel in this additional final syllable aligns with the vowel in the preceding (now penultimate) syllable. The function of this final syllable is unknown, although it may have been part of the fossilized possessive suffix. A similar pattern is observed in the WL variety of Lewoingu, as seen in words such as *ikuʔuŋ* (< PWL *iku < PFL *ikur) ‘tail’ and *rəmaʔaŋ* (< PWL *rəma* < PFL #dʒəma) ‘night’. The origin of this additional final syllable is still under investigation.

In conclusion, there is evidence for the establishment of a lower-level subgroup within Alorese, comprising the Straits varieties; namely Ternate, Buaya, Alor Besar, Alor Kecil, and Dulolong. This subgrouping is based on two exclusively shared sound changes (PAL *w > f and PAL *ai > ei) and the shared addition of a final syllable (*-uŋ*, *-iŋ* or *-aŋ*) on certain words, as presented above.

5.9 The most conservative varieties of Alorese

In this section, I show the tendency of several Alorese varieties to retain final consonants of the protolanguages. Table 5.115 contains examples of the retention of PMP, PFL, and PWL consonants in Alorese words.

Table 5.115: PMP and PFL retentions in Alorese varieties

	‘ripe’	‘fold’	‘itchy’	‘fishnig hook’
PMP	*-k *ma-tasak	*-t *ləpət	*-R/*-l *gatəl	*-l *kawil
PFL	*-k *m-tasak	*-t *ləpət	*-r *gatər	*-l *kavil
PWL	*-k *tahak	*-t *ləpet	*-ʔ *gatəʔ	*-l *kawil
Kayang	-	Ø <i>lape</i>	Ø <i>gato</i>	Ø <i>kawi</i>
Beang Onong	-	Ø <i>lape</i>	Ø <i>gate</i>	Ø <i>kawi</i>
Baranusa	-	Ø <i>lepe</i>	Ø <i>gate</i>	-
Helangdohi	-	ʔ <i>ləpeʔ</i>	Ø <i>gate</i>	-
Wailawar	-	ʔ <i>ləpeʔ</i>	Ø <i>gate</i>	l <i>kawil</i>
Pandai	k <i>tahak</i>	-	Ø <i>gate</i>	-
Bana	k <i>tahak</i>	ʔ <i>ləpeʔ</i>	Ø <i>gate</i>	-
Munaseli	k <i>tahak</i>	-	ʔ <i>gateʔ</i>	l <i>kawil</i>
Buaya	-	-	Ø <i>gate</i>	-
Ternate	-	Ø <i>lape</i>	Ø <i>gate</i>	Ø <i>kafi</i>
Alor Besar	<i>taha</i>	-	Ø <i>gate</i>	Ø <i>kafi</i>
Alor Kecil	-	Ø <i>lape</i>	Ø <i>gate</i>	Ø <i>kafi</i>
Dulolong	-	Ø <i>lape</i>	Ø <i>gate</i>	Ø <i>kafi</i>

From Table 5.115, we see that varieties spoken in northeast Pantar, such as Helangdohi, Wailawar, Pandai, Bana, and Munaseli, have a tendency to retain archaic final consonants that are reflexes of the PMP, PFL, and PWL forms. This evidence thus suggests that these varieties are more conservative than the other varieties. In this context, it is interesting to consider the migration stories found in these conservative areas, which mention arrivals from the western islands, which coincides with the location of the Lamaholot community (cf. §3.6.2). This suggests that the earliest settlement of the ancestors of the Alorese people was in the northeast Pantar area. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the evidence from historical phonology aligns with the oral history accounts, together confirming the location of the earliest settlements of the Alorese people.

5.10 Summary and conclusions

In this chapter, the regular reflexes of PFL consonants and vowels in all Western Lamaholot (WL) varieties, including Alorese have been presented. Reconstructions of Proto-Alorese (PAL) and Proto-Western-Lamaholot (PWL) sounds and lexical items have been presented in Sections 5.4 and 5.5. A summary of the sound changes attested in both PAL and PWL has been presented in Section 5.6. In section 5.7, I presented the evidence for an Alorese subgroup within WL, which includes an exclusively shared sound change. In addition, I proposed a possible lower-level subgroup within Alorese in Section 5.8, and the discussion on Alorese's most conservative varieties in Section 5.9.

Most PFL sounds are retained unchanged in PWL, though there are also a small number of innovations. PWL retains the plosives *p, *t, and *k unchanged in initial and intervocalic positions, but drops *ʔ completely. In final position, PWL retains PFL *t and *k unchanged, but drops both *p and *ʔ completely. PWL also retains PFL *v as *w in initial and intervocalic positions, but drops them completely in final position. The PFL voiced obstruents *b, *d and *g are retained unchanged in PWL in initial position. In intervocalic position, only PFL *b and *g are retained unchanged in PWL. All PFL nasals are retained unchanged in PWL. Furthermore, while PFL *l is retained unchanged, PFL *r is retained only in initial position. In addition, PFL *y is retained unchanged in PWL in intervocalic position. PFL *a, *i, *u, and *o are retained unchanged in non-final positions in PWL, while in final position only PFL *a and *i are retained unchanged.

The PFL sound changes attested between PFL and PWL include a merger of PFL *h and *s into PWL *h. In addition, PFL *d becomes PWL *r in intervocalic position, while the PFL marginal sound *dʒ becomes *r in PWL in initial position. Furthermore, PFL *r becomes PWL *ʔ in intervocalic and final positions. Lastly, the PFL front vowels *i and *u become *e and *o respectively in word-final position.

PAL retains most PWL sounds unchanged. The sound changes that are attested include PWL *t > PAL *ʔ in final position, and PWL *y > PAL *dʒ in initial and intervocalic positions. In addition, PWL schwa becomes PAL *e in ultimate syllables.

After PAL split from WL, it underwent several changes, which form the evidence for establishing an Alorese subgroup within WL. The Alorese subgroup is defined by the exclusive sound change of PWL *t > PAL *ʔ in final position. Other regular sound changes, such as PWL *y > PAL *dʒ and PWL *ə > PAL *e are complete in Alorese, while they are complete, incomplete, or absent in the other WL varieties. Further supporting evidence for Alorese as a subgroup includes

the grammatical innovation of the plural word *hire*, lexical replacements, and metathesis attested in certain lexical items.

A lower-level subgroup can be established within Alorese, comprising the varieties spoken in the Pantar Strait area: Ternate, Buaya, Alor Besar, Alor Kecil, and Dulolong. This subgroup is based on the shared sound change of PAL *w > f in all positions, PAL *ai > ei, and the addition of a final syllable *uŋ*, *iŋ* or *aŋ*.

Lastly, there is a tendency in the Alorese varieties spoken in northeast Pantar to retain the final consonants of PMP, PFL, and PWL forms. This suggests that the area of northeast Pantar is home to the most conservative varieties of Alorese.

Lexical borrowing into and from Alorese

6.1 Introduction

This chapter has two main themes. First, I look at loanwords in Alorese from external sources. Second, I identify loanwords that are borrowed from Alorese into Alorese's neighboring Alor-Pantar (AP) languages. I discuss previous studies in Section 6.2 and the aims of the present study in Section 6.3. The methods used are described in Section 6.4. In Section 6.5, I discuss loanwords in Alorese, including loans from AP languages, loans from Malay, and loans from Portuguese and Dutch. In Section 6.6, I present loanwords that are borrowed from Alorese into AP languages. Finally, I provide a summary and conclusion in Section 6.8.

6.2 Previous studies

Previous studies have argued that the effects of contact between Alorese and the neighboring AP languages caused three types of change in Alorese: (1) structural innovation and convergence, e.g. the plural word *hire* and 'give' constructions; (2) morphological simplification; and (3) lexical borrowing.

In terms of structural innovation, Moro (2018) suggests that the function of the Alorese plural word *hire* emerged due to contact with AP languages. The form of the plural word *hire* is actually derived from the PMP pronoun **si-ida* > PFL **hida* '3PL' > PAL **hire* 'PL' (cf. §4.7.2) and is used to mark plurality in Alorese. Furthermore, the Alorese community went through a stage of bilingualism

which resulted in structural convergence in some parts of the Alorese grammar. Moro and Fricke (2020) show that there has been structural convergence in the domain of the ‘give construction’ in Alorese. This structural convergence occurred due to grammatical calquing, performed by speakers who were bilingual in Alorese and at least one AP language. In addition, Moro (2021) suggests that there is opposite outcome of the contact between Alorese and the AP languages, which resulted from two distinct scenarios, namely complexation and simplification in the grammar.

The second type of change in Alorese caused by AP contact is morphological simplification. Klammer (2020) compares the morphological profile of Lewoingu (Lamaholot) and Alorese, and shows that the morphology of pre-Alorese was minimally as complex as the current morphology of Lewoingu.²⁶ It is suggested that this morphological simplification in Alorese is caused by imperfect second-language learning. This hypothesis is confirmed by Moro (2019) in a case study of ongoing morphological simplification in Alorese. The case study involves adult speakers of Alorese and Adang. It shows that there is historical and ongoing morphological simplification in Alorese as a result of second-language learning. This scenario mostly arises through intermarriage between Alorese speakers and AP speakers, in which the non-Alorese speakers have to learn Alorese.

Klammer (2011) conducted the first study on the traces of contact in the Alorese lexicon. This study published as part of an Alorese sketch grammar based on a variety spoken in Alor Kecil, presents fourteen AP loanwords in Alorese. Also attested in this study are five Malay loanwords, and one Dutch loanword in Malay which was then borrowed into Alorese. Robinson (2015) investigated lexical borrowing between Alorese and the AP languages. Robinson proposes several categories of lexical borrowing into and from Alorese, and identifies four items as very likely to be loanwords from AP languages into Alorese. Moreover, the study presents a list of Austronesian loanwords into AP that are pre-Alorese and loanwords with an uncertain direction of borrowing.

6.3 Aims of the present study

The aim of this chapter is to describe (1) traces of contact in the Alorese lexicon after its split from WL and (2) the role of Alorese as a donor language for lexical borrowing into the Alor-Pantar (AP) languages. Together, these two themes have the potential to reveal or confirm contact scenarios between the Alorese

²⁶ The term *pre-Alorese* is used in Robinson (2015), referring to a stage before Alorese split from Lamaholot and became a separate language.

people and the speakers of neighboring languages. This investigation is guided by research questions that were set forth in Section 1.2. The first question concerns loanwords that entered the Alorese language due to contact between Alorese and the AP languages. The second question concerns loanwords in Alorese that emerged due to contact with people from overseas during pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial times. The third question focusses on loanwords in AP languages that entered into these languages through contact with Alorese. The last question addresses the possibility of establishing a contact scenario based on the distribution of loanwords in the Alorese varieties and their neighboring languages.

6.4 Methods

In this study, I consider at a collection of wordlists and potential loanwords, and identify loanwords borrowed both into Alorese and from Alorese. The following sections describe data collection (§6.4.1), steps in detecting loanwords (§6.4.2 and §6.4.3), criteria to identify loanwords (§6.4.4), geographic grouping of the Alorese varieties (§6.4.5), and data representation (§6.4.6).

6.4.1 Data collection

The lexical data in this study were collected through fieldwork and from published online databases and dictionaries. During my fieldwork in 2018, I visited fourteen Alorese villages and collected lexical data from ten of them. Besides this fieldwork data, a number of additional wordlists are accessible through the LexiRumah online database (Kaiping et al. 2019). I also use dictionaries of eight languages, namely: *Western Pantar* (Holton and Koly, 2008), *Blagar* (Steinhauer and Gomang, 2016), *Reta* (Willemsen, 2021), *Abui* (Kratochvíl and Delpada, 2008), *Kamang* (Schapper and Manimau, 2011), *Teiwa* (Klamer and Sir, 2011), *Kedang* (Samely and Barnes, 2013), and *Sika* (Pareira and Lewis, 1998). Tables 6.1 to 6.11 lists the varieties of Alorese and the Alor-Pantar languages that feature in the present study. The tables provide the name of each variety,²⁷ its geographical region, the data collector, the year of collection or publication, and the number of lexical items used in the present study.

²⁷ “Language” to refer to the overall grouping of language e.g. Alorese, Adang, Reta, etc. and “variety” to refer to the subvarieties e.g. AL-Kayang, AD-Lawahing, RT-Ternate, etc.

Table 6.1: Alorese (AL) varieties ISO 639-3: aol

Variety	Region	Data collector	Year	Lexical items
AL-Kayang	Pantar	Sulistyono	2018	684
AL-Beang Onong	Pantar	Sulistyono	2018	687
AL-Baranusa	Pantar	Sulistyono	2018	588
AL-Baranusa	Pantar	Klamer	2003	255
AL-Baranusa	Pantar	Sulistyono	2018	699
AL-Wailawar	Pantar	Sulistyono	2018	708
AL-Pandai	Pantar	Moro	2016	740
AL-Bana	Pantar	Sulistyono	2018	828
AL-Munaseli	Pantar	Moro	2016	789
AL-Buaya	Straits islands	Sulistyono	2018	537
AL-Ternate	Straits islands	Sulistyono	2018	744
AL-Alor Besar	Alor Peninsula	Moro	2016	738
AL-Alor Kecil	Alor Peninsula	Sulistyono	2018	638
AL-Dulolong	Alor Peninsula	Sulistyono	2018	673

Table 6.2: Adang (AD) varieties ISO 639-3: adn

Variety	Region	Data collector	Year	Lexical items
AD-Lawahing	Alor Peninsula	Robinson	2010	424
AD-Otvai	Alor Peninsula	Choi	2015	566

Table 6.3: Reta (RT) varieties ISO 639-3: ret

Variety	Region	Data collector	Year	Lexical items
RT-Ternate	Ternate	Robinson	2010	316
RT-Pura	Pura	Willemsen	2016	624
RT-Hula	Alor Peninsula	Willemsen	2018	690
Reta (all varieties)	Pura	Willemsen	2021	Dictionary

Table 6.4: Klon (KL) varieties ISO 639-3: kyo

Variety	Region	Data collector	Year	Lexical items
KL-Bring	Alor (West)	Baird	2003	234
KL-Hopter	Alor (West)	Choi	2015	613

Table 6.5: Blagar (BG) varieties ISO 639-3: beu

Variety	Region	Data collector(s)	Year	Lexical items
BG-Tuntuli	Pantar (north)	Robinson	2010	403
BG-Bakalang	Pantar (north)	Robinson	2010	381
BG-Bama	Pantar (north)	Robinson	2010	393
BG-Kulijahi	Pantar (north)	Robinson	2010	394
BG-Manatang	Pantar (north)	Robinson	2010	607
BG-Warsalelang	Pantar (north)	Robinson	2010	446
BG-Pura	Pura (Pantar Strait)	Robinson	2010	423
BG-Nule	Pantar (south)	Robinson	2010	413
Blagar (all varieties)	Pura	Steinhauer & Gomang	2016	Dictionary

Table 6.6: Abui (AB) varieties ISO 639-3: abz

Variety	Region	Data collector(s)	Year	Lexical items
AB-Fuimelang	Alor (central)	Schapper	2010	352
AB-Atimelang	Alor (central)	Schapper	2010	423
AB-Petleng	Alor (central)	Saad	2015	107
AB-Takalelang	Alor (central)	Saad	2015	627
AB-Ulaga	Alor (central)	Saad	2016	689
Abui (all varieties)	Alor (central)	Kratochvíl & Delpada	2008	Dictionary

Table 6.7: Wersing (WS) varieties ISO 639-3: kvw

Variety	Region	Data collector	Year	Lexical items
WS-Taramana	Alor (east)	Holton	2010	439
WS-Maritaing	Alor (east)	Choi	2015	579

Table 6.8: Suboo (SB) varieties ISO 639-3: woi

Variety	Region	Data collector(s)	Year	Lexical items
SB-Suboo	Alor (central)	Han	2014	506
SB-Atiibaai	Alor (central)	Kratochvíl	2008	310

Table 6.9: Teiwa (TW) varieties ISO 639-3: twe

Variety	Region	Data collector(s)	Year	Lexical items
TW-Lebang	Pantar	Klamer	2016	653
TW-Adiabang	Pantar	Robinson	2010	418
TW-Nule	Pantar	Robinson	2010	415
Teiwa	Pantar	Klamer & Sir	2011	dictionary

Table 6.10: Kamang (KM) varieties ISO 639-3: woi

Variety	Region	Data collector	Year	Lexical items
KM-Atoitaa	Alor (East)	Schapper	2011	612
KM-Tiyei	Alor (East)	Delpada	2011	353

Table 6.11: Other Alor-Pantar languages with only one variety available

Language	ISO 639-3	Abbr.	Variety	Region	Data collector(s)	Year	Lexical items
Kaera	jka	KR	KR-Kaera	Pantar	Klamer	2018	612
Deing	twe	DE	DE-Deing	Pantar	Holton	2010	411
Sar	twe	SR	SR-Sar	Pantar	Klamer	2018	577
Klamu	nec	KU	KU-Klamu	Pantar	Robinson	2010	398
Western Pantar	lev	WP	WP-Tubbe	Pantar	Holton & Koly	2008	657
Kabola	klz	KB	KB-Kabola	Alor (west)	Robinson	2010	391
Kui	kvd	KI	KI-Labaing	Alor (west)	Holton	2010	403
Kiramang	kvd	KG	KG-Kiramang	Alor (east)	Holton	2010	420
Hamap	hmu	HM	HM-Moru	Alor (west)	Baird	2003	231
Kafoa	kpu	KF	KF-Kafoa	Alor (west)	Baird	2003	235
Papuna	abz	PN	PN-Papuna	Alor (east)	Delpada	2011	703
Kula	tpg	KU	KU-Lantoka	Alor (east)	Choi	2015	583
					Williams	2010	406
Sawila	swt	SW	SW-Sawila	Alor (east)	Choi	2015	576

The map in Figure 6.1 shows where these languages are spoken, while Figure 6.2 shows the location of each variety.

Figure 6.1: Language map of the Lembata-Pantar-Alor archipelago

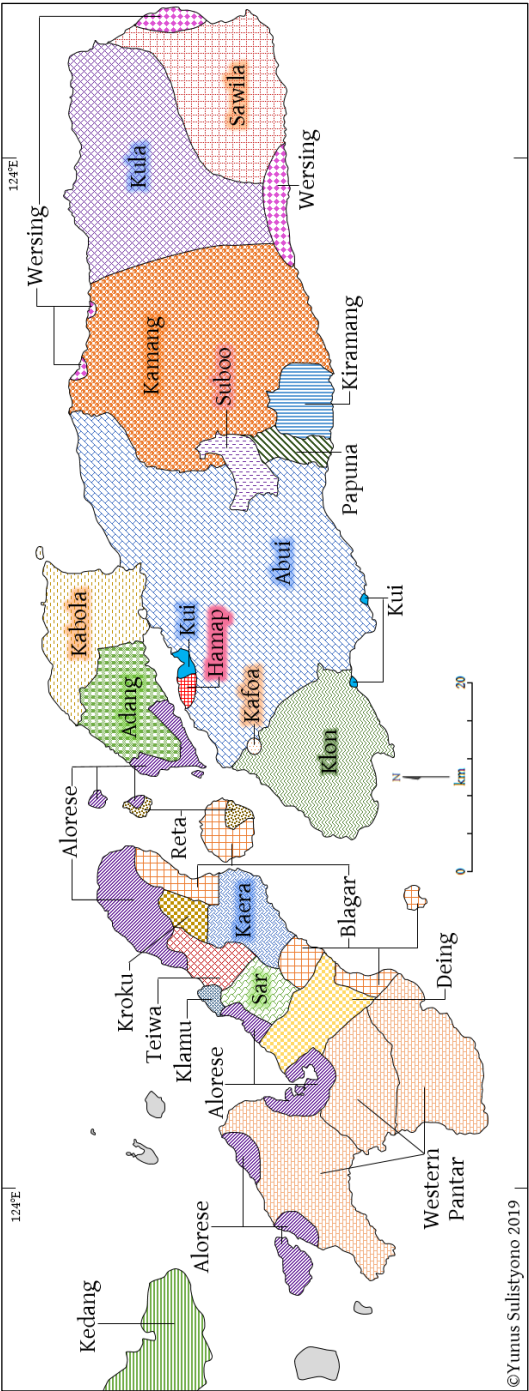
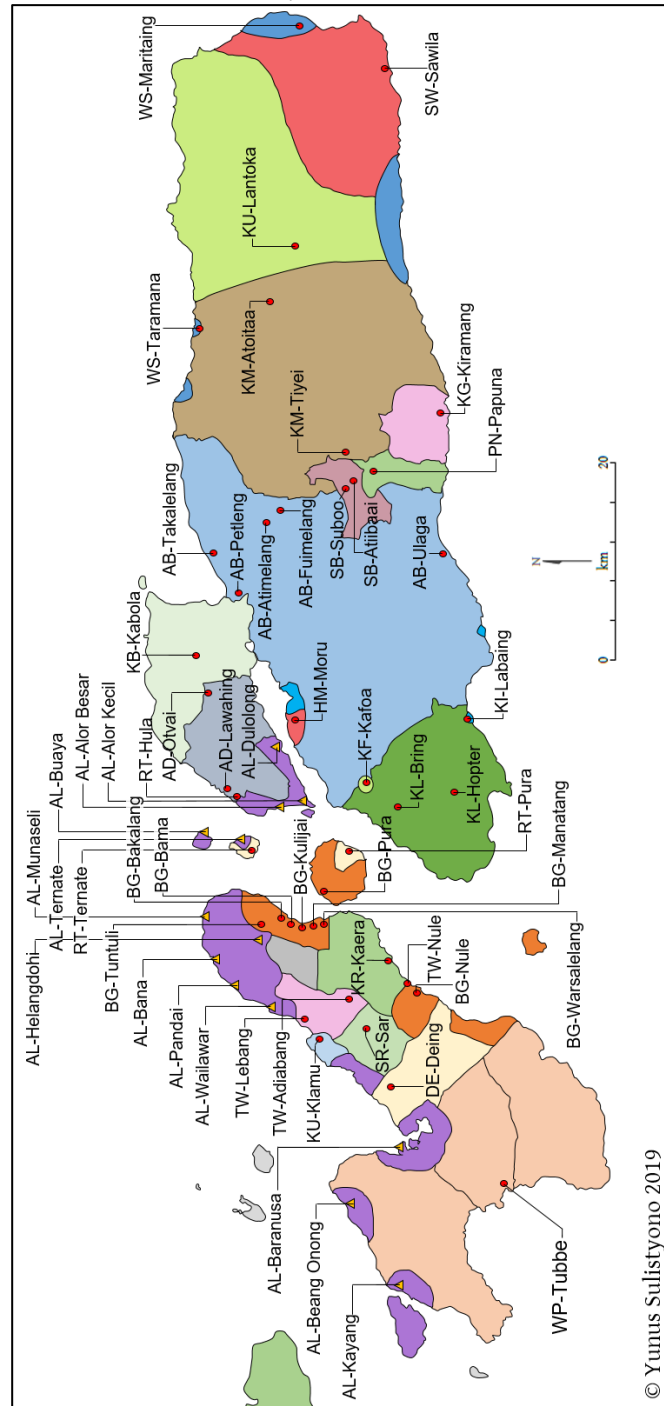


Figure 6.2: Location of the varieties of Alorese and the Alor-Pantar languages



In order to make comparisons, the wordlists from these different languages were combined under common concepts. A concept refers to a collection of words from the different languages which are all associated with the same meaning, such as ‘dog’, ‘to walk’, or ‘tall’. There are 605 concepts that are then used as the base-line to build a collection of wordlists across the languages. From this collection of wordlists, I then look for loan candidates through a systematic lexical comparison.

6.4.2 Loanword detection using automatic comparison²⁸

To identify candidate loanwords, a systematic lexical comparison using wordlists for the 605 concepts is performed on all varieties listed in Table 6.1 to Table 6.11 (note that this did not include data from the dictionaries listed). The automatic comparison was conducted using Lexstat (List, 2012). The aim is to identify words that show similarities in form and meaning between at least one Alorese variety and in at least one variety of the AP languages. It is not possible that these similar words are cognates because Alorese is not genealogically related to the Alor-Pantar family; therefore, they can be regarded as loan candidates.

In addition, it is important that the loan candidates do not have similar forms in Alorese’s sister languages; if a loan candidate goes back to PMP or PFL, it would indicate an early contact which might not have involved Alorese. Therefore, no Flores-Lembata languages are included in the automatic coding to ensure that no loan candidates between the Alorese and AP languages go back to PMP or PFL. Only Alorese words that are similar to at least one AP form were selected. The Alorese’s sister languages were involved when manual checking of loan candidacy was carried out (cf. §6.6). To illustrate the automatic loan detection procedure, Table 6.12 shows the result of the word set for the concept ‘to breathe’.

²⁸ This method was developed and applied in collaboration with colleagues at Leiden University, G.A. Kaiping and F.R. Moro (Moro et al. 2019).

Table 6.12: Examples of a word set associated with the concept 'to breathe' generated using automatic comparison

Concept		Language	Alignment	Form
to_breathe	•	AL-Munaseli	h ɔ - p a ŋ	hɔpaŋ
to_breathe	—	BL-Bama	s o - p a ŋ	sopaŋ
to_breathe	—	BL-Kulijai	h o - p a ŋ	hopaŋ
to_breathe	—	BL-Nule	h o - p a ŋ	hopaŋ
to_breathe	—	BL-Pura	h o - p a ŋ	hopaŋ
to_breathe	—	DE-Deing	- o - p a ŋ	opaŋ
to_breathe	—	KR-Kaera	s u ʔ p a ŋ	suʔpaŋ
to_breathe	—	WP-Tubbe	h o - p a ŋ	hopaŋ
to_breathe	—	RT-Pura	h o : - p a ŋ	ho:paŋ
to_breathe	—	RT-Ternate	h u - p a ŋ	hupaŋ

The automatic comparison recognized that one Alorese variety, namely Munaseli has a word *hopaŋ* 'to breathe' which is similar to forms attested in several Alor-Pantar languages. Therefore, this may be a loanword. From the 605 concepts reviewed, 161 contained loan candidates, such as in Table 6.12. This list of loan candidates was then manually checked to screen for any errors that occurred during the automatic comparison.

6.4.3 Manual check

The manual checking procedure was conducted with three aims: (1) to detect errors in loan candidacy; (2) to identify sets of words within a concept; and (3) to add more similar words that were not detected by the automatic comparison process.

When checking the proposed loan candidates, it turned out that some sets of words, such as in Table 6.13, did not actually point to loan candidacy. Therefore, these were excluded from the list of loan candidates.

Table 6.13: Examples of erroneously detected loan candidacy

Concept		Languages	Alignment	Form	Category
stick_pole	•	AL-Pandai	- a p a	apa tikiŋ wai	not similar
stick_pole	—	BG-Tuntuli	q a b a	qaba	
stick_pole	—	BG-Warsalelang	x a b a	xaba	

Here, the automatic comparison identified a similarity between Pandai *apa* 'something' and Blagar *qaba/xaba* 'stick, pole'. The Alorese word *apa* is actually part of the compound *apa tikiŋ wai* 'stick pole' (lit. 'something to carry water'). Knowing the meaning of the individual parts of this compound allows us to

exclude this loan candidate. Among the 161 concepts containing loan candidates identified using the automatic comparison, 40% were excluded due to the manual identification of non-similar words. This left a list of 71 candidate loanword sets, each associated with a single concept.

In the next step, different word sets within a concept were identified. A word set refers to a group of words that have a higher degree of similarity than the other words in a concept set. To recognize a word set, a column ‘category’ was added. Each word set was then marked with a number. Table 6.14 shows an example of a concept set that has three word sets (compare with Table 6.12 which has only one word set).

Table 6.14: Examples of a concept ‘gravel’ with three word sets

Concept		Languages	Alignment	form	Category
gravel	•	AL-Alor Besar	b a l ɔ f a -	balɔfa	1
gravel	•	AL-Alor Kecil	b - l o f a -	blofa	1
gravel	•	AL-Dulolong	b a l o f a -	balofa	1
gravel	•	AL-Helandohi	k ə d o l u -	kədolu	2
gravel	•	AL-Munaseli	g - l o w a r	glowar	3
gravel	—	BG-Bakalang	g ə d o b a r	gə'dobar	3
gravel	—	BG-Kulijai	g ə d o w a r	gədowar	3
gravel	—	BG-Nule	g ə n o v a r	gə'novar	3

As the table shows, the automatic comparison recognized that these forms for the concept set ‘gravel’ are all similar to each other. However, there is actually more than one word set within this concept set; category 1 refers to the lexical class *balofa*; category 2 to *kədolu*; category 3 to *gedowar*. In the later analyses, this categorization is useful for establishing direction of borrowing, donor languages, and recipient languages.

As mentioned above, the third aim of the manual check was to manually add data to concept sets. An example of this is the concept set ‘gravel’, as already presented in Table 6.14. Here, more lexical items are added that were not recognized by the automatic method but nonetheless may be related to the other words. Table 6.15 below shows the manually added lexical items for this set.

Table 6.15: Examples of manually added lexical items in the word set 'gravel'

Concept		Languages	Alignment	form	Category
gravel	•	AL-Alor Besar	b a l ɔ f a -	balɔfa	1
gravel	•	AL-Alor Kecil	b - l o f a -	blofa	1
gravel	•	AL-Dulolong	b a l o f a -	balofa	1
gravel	•	AL-Helandohi	k ə d o l u -	kədolu	2
gravel	•	AL-Munaseli	g - l o w a r	glowar	3
gravel	—	BG-Bakalang	g ə d o b a r	gə'dobar	3
gravel	—	BG-Kulijai	g ə d o w a r	gədowar	3
gravel	—	BG-Nule	g ə n o v a r	gə'novar	3
		KM-Atoitaa		dawai	3
		AD-Otvai		darofe	3
		TW-Lebang		dalawar	3
		KR-Kaera		dəlour	3
		BG-Bama		dologar	3
		BG-Warsalelang		dolowar	3
		BG-Pura		daroal	3
		SR-Sar		dəlawar	3
		DE-Deing		dalawir	3

Loanwords from Malay and Portuguese were all checked manually based on a comparison of my Alorese corpus data with dictionaries of Malay (Ngajenan, 1990; Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, 2008; Wah, 1997), Portuguese (Whitlam et al. 1991), and Dutch (Beheydt and Wieers, 1995; Soekartini, 1986), as well as a list of loanwords in Indonesian and Malay (Jones, 2007).

6.4.4 Criteria to identify loanwords

In this section, I describe the criteria used to identify loanwords in Alorese and the AP languages.

6.4.4.1 AP loanwords in Alorese

The criteria to identify Alor-Pantar (AP) loanwords in Alorese (see §6.5) as follows: (1) no similar form is attested in the other Flores-Lembata languages; (2) the form does not go back to PMP; (3) the AP forms have regular sound correspondences and they can potentially be reconstructed to Proto-Alor-Pantar (PAP) or at least to an intermediate proto language below PAP; and (4) there are extra-linguistic conditions that make it plausible that an AP form would be borrowed into Alorese, such as a nearby AP donor language or socio historical ties between speakers of an Alorese variety and of AP languages.

The first two criteria are used to ensure that the word is not inherited from an ancestor of Alorese. The third criterion concerns the identification of cognate sets across AP languages, and whether they display regular sound correspondences. Here, I use the 127 PAP reconstructions by Holton et al. (2012). In addition, I consult previous publications, such as Robinson (2015) and Klammer (2011) to gain further insight regarding the probable direction of borrowing of certain lexical items.

6.4.4.2 Malay loanwords in Alorese

Malay loanwords in Alorese may be of recent or early borrowing. An example of an early lexical borrowing from Malay is the Alorese word *sabeang* ‘to worship’, from Malay *sembahyang* ‘to worship’, which is found throughout the Alorese varieties. If there are two different words with similar meanings, one from Malay and one inherited, it may show that the Malay loanword is a more recent borrowing. An example is *sampa* ‘canoe’ (from Malay *sampan* ‘canoe’) which is used in some dialects, while other dialects still use an inherited word *tena* ‘canoe’ < PFL **tena* ‘canoe’. List of Malay loanwords in Alorese can be found in Section 6.5.2.

6.4.4.3 Portuguese loanwords in Alorese

When sailors from Europe arrived on Alor in the fifteenth century, the Alorese were among the first groups of indigenous people who came into contact with them. As a result, some Portuguese words entered Alorese. However, it is important to note that these words may also have been borrowed into Alorese through contact with Malay/Indonesian and with the Timorese, because the presence of the Portuguese sailors was more intensive on Timor than on Alor (Hägerdal, 2012).

6.4.4.4 Alorese loanwords in the AP languages

The criteria to detect Alorese loanwords in the Alor-Pantar languages are as follows: (1) the word is of Alorese origin and can be reconstructed to an earlier stage e.g. PFL or PMP; (2) the loanword cannot be reconstructed to Proto-Alor-Pantar (PAP); and (3) there is a plausible contact scenario, such as geographical proximity or historical ties among groups of speakers. In addition, ancient Austronesian loanwords in Alor-Pantar languages are excluded because the borrowing of these ancient Austronesian loanwords did not involve Alorese;

they were possibly borrowed into AP languages before the Alorese people arrived on the Alor-Pantar islands.

6.4.5 Geographic grouping of Alorese varieties

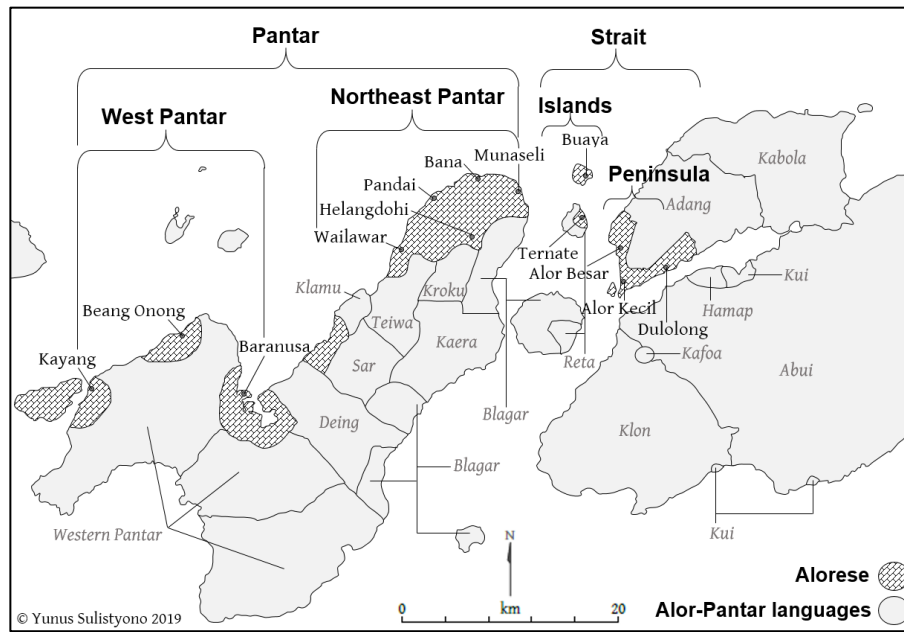
To investigate the distribution of loanwords among the varieties of Alorese, I made subgroups of varieties based on their geographical locations. That is, varieties that are grouped together are close to each other geographically. In addition, these geographical groupings tend to coincide with sociocultural ties, as a result of interaction between groups that are in proximity to each other. Table 6.16 shows this geographic grouping.

Table 6.16: Geographic grouping of the Alorese varieties

Group	Sub-division	Varieties
Pantar	West Pantar	Kayang, Beang Onong, Baranusa
	Northeast Pantar	Wailawar, Helangdohi, Pandai, Bana, Munaseli
Straits	Islands	Ternate, Buaya
	Peninsula	Alor Besar, Alor Kecil, Dulolong

There are two main groups: Pantar and Straits. Both groups are subdivided: the Pantar group is divided into West Pantar and Northeast Pantar, while the Straits group is divided into Islands and Peninsula. This geographical grouping is useful when determining the spread of loanwords among the varieties. Figure 6.3 illustrates this geographical grouping of Alorese varieties, along with the AP languages that are spoken in the surrounding areas.

Figure 6.3: Alorese geographic grouping and the surrounding Alor-Pantar languages



The distinction between the Pantar varieties and the Straits varieties is based on the low-level subgrouping of Alorese as discussed in Chapter 5 (cf. §5.8), in which a linguistic subgroup called *Straits Alorese* is established.

The varieties in the West Pantar geographic group (Kayang, Beang Onong, and Baranusa) are close to each other not only geographically but also socioculturally. Beang Onong is an expansion village of Baranusa, established in the early 1960s, while Kayang has a close relationship with Baranusa due to the shared practice of seaweed farming on Lapang Island.

The Northeast Pantar geographic group (Wailawar, Helangdohi, Pandai, Bana, and Munaseli) is unified by a common oral history in which their ancestors are believed to have come from the mountain (Helangdohi). In addition, they are united by historic events, such as a flood (cf. §3.4) and war between Munaseli and Pandai (cf. §3.5 and §3.6). Today, villages in this area are unified by a traditional treaty called *Helang anang Dohi anang*, in which members of the treaty visit each other to carry out cultural practices, such as *lego-lego* dances and renovating traditional houses.

The Islands group (Ternate and Buaya) is historically related to the Alor Besar community. According to oral history, the people on these islands are originally from Pura. Pura Island is located south of Ternate and Buaya and is

inhabited by speakers of two AP languages, namely Blagar and Reta. The people there moved to Alor Besar and the king in Alor Besar ordered them to go and occupy the islands of Ternate and Buaya (cf. §3.4.6).

The Peninsula varieties (Alor Besar, Alor Kecil, and Dulolong) are historically bound to each other due to the historical Bungabali Kingdom in Alor Besar which encompassed these three villages. The village of Dulolong is a relatively recent expansion from Alor Kecil (cf. §3.5).

6.4.6 Data representation

Most of the data in this chapter are represented using IPA symbols in the same way as they are given in the LexiRumah database (Kaiping et al. 2019). For Alorese, however, several exceptions are made. The sound [ɟ] is represented by the symbol <ɟ>. In addition, the phonemic symbol /o/ is used to represent phonetic sounds [o] and [ɔ], /e/ to represent [e] and [ɛ], and /v/ to represent [ʋ], [w], and [v]. An asterisk symbol <*> indicates proto-forms, while a hash sign <#> in a supposed proto-form means that the reconstructed form shows regular sound changes, but there is not enough evidence to reconstruct a proto-form with certainty.

6.4.7 Organization of tables

In what follows, there are two main types of tables: first, tables that contain lexical items and the evidence that these items are innovations; second, tables that contain proposed sources for these innovations. In all tables, the leftmost column contains the names of languages, while the uppermost row gives the concepts. All lexical items for each language are given in italics, while proto-forms are given in normal font with an asterisk symbol (*).

Several symbols are used in the tables. An en dash (–) in a cell indicates that no data is available for certain languages. A hyphen (–) within a form marks a morpheme boundary. Parentheses (...) are used to indicate morphemes that are non-etymological. In addition, a vertical line (|) marks fossilized affixes. In the tables, (parts of) lexical items are given in boldface to highlight the loanwords.

6.5 Loanwords in Alorese

6.5.1 Loans from Alor-Pantar languages²⁹

In this section, I discuss twenty-five loanwords in Alorese that have Alor-Pantar (AP) sources. There are six categories based on the geographical distribution of the AP loanwords in Alorese. In Section 6.5.1.1, I discuss AP loanwords that are geographically wide-spread in Alorese and show regular sound correspondences within Alorese. Therefore, these loanwords can be reconstructed to Proto-Alorese (PAL). In the subsequent sections, I discuss loanwords that are only attested in a subset of Alorese varieties. I begin with AP loanwords attested only in varieties on Pantar (§6.5.1.2), followed by loanwords attested only in northeast Pantar (§6.5.1.3), then AP loanwords attested only in northeast Pantar and on the Alor Peninsula (§6.5.1.4), AP loanwords attested only in the Straits varieties (§6.5.1.5), and finally, AP loanwords attested only in the Peninsula varieties (§6.5.1.6).

6.5.1.1 AP loanwords reconstructable to PAL

There are two criteria which an AP loanword must fulfill in order to be reconstructed to PAL. First, the loanword should be attested not only in northeast Pantar, but also in west Pantar and in the Straits, which are the western and eastern edges of the Alorese-speaking area (Figure 6.3). Second, the loanword should show regular sound correspondences among the Alorese varieties. If a loanword meets these criteria, it must have entered Alorese before Alorese split up in the thirteen varieties under investigation. Here, AP loanwords in Alorese that go back to an ancestor of PAL (e.g. PFL and PMP) are excluded, as these forms are considered inherited forms in Alorese and not an AP loanword. An example is PAL *kiri < LH #kiri ‘comb’ (Fricke, 2019:255), which was probably borrowed into Lamaholot from an AP language, since there is a PAP reconstruction *kir (Robinson, 2015:29) ‘comb’.

This section discusses seven AP loanwords in PAL, which are presented in three consecutive tables. These AP loanwords are innovations at the PAL level, and they either have replaced or are used together with the corresponding ancestral forms. Table 6.17 shows the first two of these PAL lexical innovations, together with the ancestral forms in PFL and Proto-Western-Lamaholot (PWL) for the same concepts.

²⁹ This section corresponds to Moro, Francesca R. Gereon Kaiping, and Yunus Sulistyono. To appear. Detecting Papuan loanwords in Alorese. In Klammer, Marian and Francesca R. Moro (Eds.). *Traces of contact in the lexicon: Austronesian and Papuan studies*. Leiden: Brill.

Table 6.17: Lexical innovations in PAL (table 1 of 3)

	‘ten; tens’ ‘one’		‘younger sibling’
PFL	*s-pulu	[...]	*vadi
PWL	*pulo	*tou	*ari
PAL	*kar tou		*kau
AL-Kayang	<i>kar tou</i>		<i>kaʔu</i>
AL-Beang Onong	<i>kar tou</i>		–
AL-Baranusa	<i>kar tou</i>		–
AL-Helangdohi	<i>kar tou</i>		–
AL-Wailawar	<i>kar təu</i>		<i>kaʔu</i>
AL-Pandai	<i>kəʔ təu</i>		<i>kau</i>
AL-Bana	<i>kar tou</i>		<i>kau</i>
AL-Munaseli	<i>kar tou</i>		<i>kau</i>
AL-Ternate	<i>kar tou</i>		–
AL-Buaya	<i>kar tou</i>		<i>kau</i>
AL-Alor Besar	<i>kar tou</i>		–
AL-Alor Kecil	<i>kar tou</i>		–
AL-Dulolong	<i>kar tou</i>		–

From the table, it can be concluded that PAL innovated the highlighted forms, as they are different from the proto-forms (PWL and PFL). PAL *kartou ‘ten’ is actually a compound of the AP borrowing *kar-* ‘ten’ and the inherited numeral *tou* (< PWL **tou*) ‘one’. Thus, the ancestral form **pulo* ‘ten; tens’ is replaced with loanword.³⁰ As for the concept of ‘younger sibling’, reflexes of the PAL reconstruction **kau* are quite widespread in the Alorese varieties. In Kayang and Wailawar, a medial glottal stop has been inserted. Another term for this concept in Alorese is *aring* ‘younger sibling’.

Table 6.18 contains AP words that could be the sources of the PAL innovations. The sets are based on formal similarity among AP languages. Some forms have already been reconstructed to PAP in earlier publications (Holton et al. 2012; Robinson, 2015) and others are potentially reconstructable to PAP (these are indicated by a question mark). Forms that show the highest degree of similarity to the PAL forms are highlighted. The AP languages are sorted in geographical order from east to west.

³⁰ This loan has been discussed also in Klammer (2011); Moro (2018); and Robinson (2015)

Table 6.18: Possible AP sources for loanwords into PAL (table 1 of 3)

	‘ten; tens’	‘younger sibling’
PAP	*qar-	*kaku (?)
SW-Sawila	–	nikaku
KU-Lantoka	–	kaku
WS-Maritaing	–	<i>nekauk</i>
WS-Taramana	–	nekaku
KM-Atoitaa	karnək	<i>idika</i>
KG-Kiramang	karnuku	<i>ika</i>
SB-Atiibaai	karnok	<i>nekak</i>
AB-Fuimelang	karnuku	–
KB-Kabola	karnu	–
KF-Kafoa	karnuku	<i>nuka</i>
KL-Hopter	karnuk	<i>ninik</i>
KL-Bring	karənuk	–
KI-Labaing	karnuku	<i>ika</i>
HM-Moru	<i>airnu</i>	–
AD-Lawahing	<i>airnu</i>	–
AD-Otvai	<i>ʔernu</i>	–
RT-Ternate	–	<i>gakaku</i>
RT-Pura	karanu	–
BG-Pura	<i>arinu</i>	–
BG-Warsalelang	<i>xarnuk</i>	<i>pi kaw</i>
BG-Bakalang	<i>arnu</i>	kaw
BG-Kulijahi	<i>ar nu</i>	kaw
BG-Tuntuli	<i>qarnuk</i>	<i>pikaw weka</i>
BG-Nule	–	<i>ne kaw</i>
BG-Bama	<i>qarnuku</i>	–
KR-Kaera	<i>xar nuko</i>	<i>nekau kiki</i>
TW-Lebang	<i>qa:r nuk</i>	–
TW-Adiabang	<i>qarnuk</i>	<i>neʔa</i>
TW-Nule	<i>qarnuk</i>	nakaʔaw
KU-Klamu	<i>ka nuk</i>	–
DE-Deing	<i>qarnuk</i>	–
SR-Sar	<i>qarnuk</i>	<i>naʔi:k</i>
WP-Tubbe	<i>keanuku</i>	<i>iaku</i>
PAL	*kar tou	*kaʔu

The AP forms, highlighted in bold, show similarities to the reconstructed PAL forms. It is very likely that the lexical innovations in PAL are the result of lexical borrowing from AP sources. The PAP word *qar- ‘tens’ has been reconstructed by Holton, et al. (2012:115). As described above, it seems that PAL only borrowed the part of the numeral that marks tens, *kar-*, but retained the PWL form *tou ‘one’.³¹ Since the borrowing happened at an early stage (PAL), the donor language is not immediately evident. The donor is likely to be one which has initial *k* (and most likely one which has the exact syllable *kar*) because PAL also has initial *kar-. Among the AP languages that have *kar* (Kamang, Kiramang, Abui, Kabola, Klon, Kui, and Reta), the donor is most likely one which is spoken close to the coast or located around the Pantar Strait, such as Klon or Reta.

The PAL reconstruction *kaʔu ‘younger sibling’ shows similarities with several AP languages for which PAP *kaku (?) may be reconstructed. In Sawila, *ni-* is a possessive first singular pronoun (Kratochvíl, 2014:396). In Wersing, *ne-* is a first person singular prefix (Schapper, 2014:451). In Reta, *ga-* is a third person singular object prefix (Willemsen, 2021:47). In addition, *na-* in Teiwa is a first person singular possessive prefix (Klamer, 2010:55). The PAP initial *k- is retained unchanged in most of the languages, as expected. It seems that Teiwa has the most similar form to PAL because of the intervocalic glottal stop. The Teiwa ʔ as a reflex of PAP intervocalic *-k- is uncertain, because no additional evidence in the regular reflexes of PAP intervocalic *k in Teiwa is attested.

Table 6.19 contains the next three AP loanwords in Alorese that can be reconstructed to PAL.

³¹ In Alorese, the form *kar-* is also used in numerals higher than ten, such as *kartou ilaka rua* ‘twelve’ (lit. ‘tens-one more two’; cf. §4.3.1.4).

Table 6.19: Lexical innovations in PAL (table 2 of 3)

	‘heart’	‘to close’	‘angry’
PFL	*puhuŋ	[...]	[...]
PWL	*puho	#lətu	[...]
PAL	*(təpo) kubaŋ	*teraʔ	*(onoŋ) kəlīkil
AL-Kayang	(tepo) kubaŋ	taraʔ	(onoŋ) kəlīkil
AL-Beang Onong	(təpo) kubaŋ	tera	–
AL-Baranusa	–	tera	(onoŋ) kəlīkil
AL-Helangdohi	–	teraʔ	–
AL-Wailawar	(tapək) ubaŋ	tera	(ənoŋ) kəlīkil
AL-Pandai	(tapə) kubaŋ	tera	kəlīkil
AL-Bana	(tapo) kubaŋ	teraʔ	–
AL-Munaseli	(tap) kubaŋ	teraʔ	(onoŋ) kəlīkil
AL-Ternate	kubaŋ	–	kalaki
AL-Buaya	ubaŋ	[...]	kleki
AL-Alor Besar	kubaŋ	tera	kalaki
AL-Alor Kecil	kubaŋ	tera	kalaki
AL-Dulolong	kubaŋ	tera	kəlaki

PAL innovated *(təpo) kubaŋ for the concept ‘heart’. The part *təpo* is possibly from PAL *tapo (< Lamaholot-Kedang #tapu) ‘coconut’, while the part *kubaŋ* is suspected to be an AP loan.³² For the concept ‘to close’, PAL innovated *teraʔ ‘to close’ which is different from the form LH-KD #lətuʔ ‘to close’. No proto-forms are available for the concept ‘angry’. The PAL reconstruction *(onoŋ) kəlīkil ‘angry’ is a compound consisting of an inherited root *onoŋ* ‘inside’ (< PFL *una ‘house; inside; hole’) and an AP loan *kəlīkil*. Table 6.20 provides the possible AP sources for these PAL innovations.

³² In Kedang, there is a compound *taʔ kubaŋ* ‘heart’ (Samely, 1991), which consists of the word *taʔ* ‘coconut’ and *kubaŋ*, which is also assumed to be of an AP loanword into Kedang via Alorese. In addition, Alorese and Kedang seem to have similar conceptions of the notion ‘heart’, with both languages forming a compound in which one of the roots has the meaning ‘coconut’.

Table 6.20: Possible AP sources for loanwords into PAL (table 2 of 3)

	‘heart’	‘to close’	‘angry’
PAP	*kVbaŋ (?)	*teri/tira(?)	*kV-likil(?)
SW-Sawila	–	<i>litira</i>	–
KU-Lantoka	–	<i>tira, letira</i>	–
WS-Maritaing	<i>ukabaŋ</i>	<i>leter</i>	–
WS-Taramana	<i>geukabaŋ</i>	<i>leter</i>	–
KM-Atoitaa	–	–	<i>kailaŋ</i>
KG-Kiramang	–	<i>uter</i>	–
SB-Atiibaai	–	–	<i>nalil maka:</i>
KB-Kabola	–	<i>whutele</i>	<i>ekeriʔiŋ</i>
KL-Hopter	<i>ta:kub</i>	<i>ʔute:r</i>	<i>gihəla kəlik</i>
KL-Bring	<i>ətakob</i>	–	–
KI-Labaing	<i>tabat kublai</i>	<i>uteri</i>	–
AD-Lawahing	–	<i>watele</i>	–
AD-Otvai	–	<i>utel</i>	–
RT-Ternate	–	<i>utieli</i>	<i>numi kalila</i>
RT-Pura	<i>takumba</i>	<i>utiali</i>	<i>go:mi kalila</i>
RT-Hula	<i>takumba</i>	–	<i>go:mi kalila</i>
BG-Pura	<i>kubaŋ</i>	<i>venteriŋ</i>	<i>alil</i>
BG-Warsalelang	<i>kubaŋ</i>	–	<i>kilikil</i>
BG-Bakalang	<i>e kubaŋ</i>	<i>venteriŋ</i>	<i>om ilil</i>
BG-Kulijahi	<i>kubaŋ</i>	–	<i>lil</i>
BG-Tuntuli	<i>kubaŋ</i>	<i>venteriŋ</i>	–
BG-Nule	<i>kubaŋ</i>	–	<i>tomilil</i>
BG-Bama	<i>kubaŋ</i>	<i>venteriŋ</i>	–
BG-Manatang	–	–	<i>tomi aliʔil</i>
KR-Kaera	–	<i>wanteriŋ</i>	<i>keʔlikil</i>
TW-Lebang	–	–	<i>om kəlehel</i>
DE-Deing	–	<i>tiar</i>	–
SR-Sar	–	–	<i>om kaka</i>
WP-Tubbe	–	<i>tiariŋ</i>	<i>gaume kakiŋ</i>
PAL	<i>*(təpo) kubaŋ</i>	<i>*teraʔ</i>	<i>*kəlikil</i>

Based on the cognates presented in the table, PAP *kVbaŋ ‘heart’ may be reconstructed. In Wersing, *ge-* is a third person prefix (Schapper, 2014:451). In Klon and Reta, *ta-/eta* is a reciprocal prefix (Baird, 2008:221; Willemsen, 2021).

The PAP initial *k- is regularly retained as *k* in all languages. Even though the PAP intervocalic *-b- is expected to be retained as *p* in Wersing, a similar retention of intervocalic *-b- happens also in PAP *-lebur > Wersing *jebur* ‘tongue’ (Holton et al. 2012:115). The PAL reconstruction *(təpɔ) *kubaŋ* ‘heart’ is probably a loan from Blagar, as this language has the forms that are most similar to the PAL reconstruction. Robinson (2015:24) proposed that this form is an Alorese loanword into Blagar and Wersing. This proposal was based on the similar form *taʔ kubaŋ* ‘heart’ found in Kedang. However, with the collection of more AP forms, the evidence suggests that the form *kubaŋ* is likely of AP origin borrowed into PAL, while the Kedang word *kubaŋ* is a loan from Alorese.

For the concept ‘to close’ cognates are attested in several AP languages. The following AP languages have the most similar forms to the PAL *teraʔ ‘to close’: Kui *uteri*, Blagar *venteriŋ*, and Kaera *wanteriŋ*. These languages could be the donors for PAL *teraʔ because they are geographically close to the Straits and Northeast Pantar varieties of Alorese. In Kaera, *waŋ-* is an applicative verb which means ‘be; exist’ (Klamer, 2014:137), and in Kui, *u-* is also an applicative verb for inanimate arguments (Windschuttel & Shiohara, 2017:164). It seems that Alorese has borrowed the root *teri* > PAL *teraʔ* ‘to close’ from either Kui, Kaera, or Blagar. The change of the ultimate vowel from *i* to *a* in loans is also attested in other Blagar loanwords in the Straits Alorese varieties, such as Alorese *reha* ‘monitor lizard’ < Blagar *rihi* ‘monitor lizard’ (see §6.5.1.5).

The PAL reconstruction *kəlikil ‘angry’ also appears to be an AP loanword, with similar words being attested in several AP languages as displayed in Table 6.20. From this word set, PAP *kV-likil may be reconstructed. PAP initial and medial *l is retained in all languages, with Western Pantar as an exception. PAP medial *k is retained unchanged, but reflected as *h* in Teiwa. This correspondence is not regular, though, because Teiwa *h* normally corresponds to PAP *g (Holton et al. 2012:93). The correspondence of Blagar *k* and Teiwa *h* is regular; it is also seen in pairs, such as Blagar *tekil* ~ Teiwa *taħal* ‘thin’ and Blagar *sokil* ~ Teiwa *soħai* ‘to dance’. Furthermore, the Blagar *k* and Kabola *ʔ* correspondence is regular, as seen in other pairs such as Blagar *trukinuk* ~ Kabola *tiʔinu* ‘nine’ and Blagar *tətoku* ~ Kabola *atoʔo* ‘stomach; belly’. However, the change of medial *l* and *r* in Blagar, Kaera, and Kabola on these words is not regular. Nevertheless, since no similar forms are attested in the other Flores-Lembata languages and the PAL form *kəlikil is more similar to AP words, I propose that this is a loan from AP into Alorese.

Table 6.21 presents the remaining two lexical innovations in PAL that show indications of being AP loanwords.

Table 6.21: Lexical innovations in PAL (table 3 of 3)

	‘dirty’	‘taro’
PFL	#mila	[...]
PWL	*mila	[...]
PAL	*kalita?	*golo
AL-Kayang	<i>klita?</i>	–
AL-Beang Onong	<i>kalita</i>	–
AL-Baranusa	<i>klita?</i>	(<i>au</i>) <i>golo</i>
AL-Helangdohi	<i>klita?</i>	–
AL-Wailawar	<i>klita?</i>	–
AL-Pandai	<i>klita</i>	–
AL-Bana	<i>klita?</i>	–
AL-Munaseli	<i>klita?</i>	–
AL-Ternate	<i>kalita</i>	–
AL-Buaya	<i>kalita</i>	–
AL-Alor Besar	<i>kalita</i>	<i>agol</i>
AL-Alor Kecil	<i>klita</i>	(<i>ai</i>) <i>golo</i>
AL-Dulolong	<i>kalita</i>	(<i>kadzō</i>) <i>golo</i>

For the concept ‘dirty’, PAL innovated **kalita?*; this is different from the other Flores-Lembata languages, which use a form that can be reconstructed to PWL **mila* ‘dirty’. The PAL **golo* ‘taro’ is reconstructed based on similar words found in Baranusa and varieties on the Alor Peninsula. The preceding word *au/ai* is possibly from PFL **kayu* ‘tree’ and the form *kadzō* is an Alorese word meaning ‘tree; wood’.

Table 6.22 lists AP forms that are presumably the sources of the PAL innovations.

Table 6.22: Possible AP sources for loanwords in PAL (table 3 of 3)

	‘dirty’	‘taro’
PAP	(?)	(?)
AB-Takalelang	–	<i>ähwo:l</i>
AB-Ulaga	–	<i>ago:</i>
HM-Moru	–	<i>akol</i>
AD-Otvai	–	<i>agol</i>
RT-Ternate	<i>karita</i>	<i>aigol</i>
RT-Pura	<i>karita</i>	–
BG-Pura	<i>karita</i>	<i>au gol</i>
BG-Bakalang	<i>klitak</i>	<i>awgol</i>
BG-Kulijahi	<i>kəlitah</i>	–
BG-Nule	<i>kəritak</i>	–
TW-Nule	<i>klita?</i>	–
DE-Deing	<i>quŋ qalit</i>	–
PAL	<i>*kalita?</i>	<i>*golo</i>

The comparison for the concept set ‘dirty’ in Table 6.22 shows regular sound correspondences between Blagar *l* and Reta *r* in intervocalic position. Blagar medial *l* corresponds to Reta medial *r*, which can also be seen in several other words, such as Blagar *bulaŋ* ~ Reta *burəŋ* ‘sky’ and Blagar *bulit* ~ Reta *kaburit* ‘arrow’. A similar form for the concept ‘dirty’ *kila?ɛ* is attested in Fataluku (a Timor-Alor-Pantar language spoken in East Timor). Thus, these cognates are likely to be non-Austronesian. The Alorese form *kalita?* ‘dirty’ is also mentioned by Robinson (2015:24) who suggests that this is a loan with an uncertain direction of borrowing. However, evidence presented in Table 6.22 leads to the proposal that this set is of AP origin, borrowed into PAL. In addition, a phonologically similar cognate set with a different semantic meaning, ‘old; elderly (people)’, is attested across AP languages: Abui *kalieta/kaleita*, Kafoa *kalta*, Kiramang *kaleta*, and Kui *kakaleta* ‘old; elderly (people)’.

For PAL **golo* ‘taro’, similar forms are found in several AP languages, as shown in Table 6.22. Within this cognate set, the words *agol* (Otvai), *ai gol* (RT-Ternate), *au gol* (Pura), and *awgol* (Bakalang) are most similar to PAL. Languages where these words are used are located close to the Straits Alorese varieties, except Abui, which is spoken in central Alor. The fact that Baranusa also uses a

similar form, *au golo* for ‘taro’ indicates that this word can be reconstructed to PAL.

In conclusion, in this section seven loanwords have been presented and identified as AP words borrowed into PAL. The donor AP languages seem mostly to be those that have access to the Strait of Pantar, such as Blagar, Reta, Adang, Klon, Kui, and Kaera. This suggests that PAL was in contact with these AP languages and thus supports the hypothesis that PAL was spoken around northeast Pantar (cf. §5.4.1.4). The loanwords relate to the semantic domains of body parts (‘heart’), quantity (‘ten’), kinship terms (‘younger sibling’), emotions (‘angry’), motion (‘to close’), and sense perception (‘dirty’, ‘angry’).

6.5.1.2 AP loanwords in the Pantar varieties

This section discusses two AP loanwords that are attested only in the Alorese varieties spoken on Pantar (see Figur 6.3). Table 6.23 contains Alorese words for the concepts ‘road’ and ‘to wash’.

Table 6.23: Lexical innovations in the Alorese varieties on Pantar

				‘road’	‘to wash’
	PMP		*zalan		[...]
	PFL		*lalan		[...]
	PWL		*lara		[...]
	PAL		*lara ŋ		*bema
Geographic groups					
Pantar	Kayang	<i>laraŋ</i>	–	<i>bema</i>	–
Pantar	Beang Onong	–	tor	<i>bema</i>	–
Pantar	Baranusa	–	toor	<i>bema</i>	lamiŋ
Pantar	Helangdohi	<i>laraŋ</i>	–	<i>bema</i>	–
Pantar	Wailawar	<i>laraŋ</i>	–	<i>bema</i>	–
Pantar	Pandai	<i>laraŋ</i>	–	<i>bema</i>	lamiŋ
Pantar	Bana	<i>laraŋ</i>	–	<i>bema</i>	–
Pantar	Munaseli	<i>laraŋ</i>	tor	<i>bema</i>	lamiŋ
Straits	Ternate	<i>laraŋ</i>	–	<i>beme</i>	–
Straits	Alor Besar	[...]	–	<i>beme</i>	–
Straits	Dulolong	<i>laraŋ</i>	–	<i>beme</i>	–

The most widespread Alorese words for these concepts are inherited from PAL. They go back to PAL *lara|ŋ ‘road’ (< PMP *zalan) and PAL *bema ‘wash’, an innovation of unknown origin at the level of PAL. In some Alorese varieties on Pantar, however, the AP loans *tor* ‘road’ and *lamiŋ* ‘to wash’ are found. These putative loanwords are spread among the varieties spoken on Pantar, but are not found in the Straits. The word *tor* ‘road’ is attested in Beang Onong, Baranusa, and Munaseli. The word *lamiŋ* ‘to wash’ is attested in Baranusa, Pandai and Munaseli. The possible AP sources for these lexical borrowings are listed in Table 6.24.

Table 6.24: Possible AP sources for loanwords in Pantar Alorese varieties

	‘road’	‘to wash’
PAP	*ya (tor)	#lamiN
AB-Takalelang	<i>ja</i> (<i>foqa</i>)	–
KB-Kabola	–	<i>lam</i>
KF-Kafoa	<i>ya</i>	<i>ulam</i>
KI-Kui	<i>ya</i>	–
HM-Moru	–	<i>nalam</i>
AD-Lawahing	–	<i>la:m</i>
AD-Otvai	–	<i>lam</i>
Reta (from dictionary)	–	<i>laamiŋ</i>
KR-Kaera	<i>tor</i>	–
TW-Lebang	<i>yitar</i>	–
DE-Deing	<i>tor</i>	<i>lanaiŋ</i>
WP-Tubbe	<i>ya tor</i>	<i>lamiŋ</i>
AL-Beang Onong	<i>tor</i>	–
AL-Baranusa	<i>to:r</i>	<i>lamiŋ</i>
AL-Pandai	–	<i>lamiŋ</i>
AL-Munaseli	<i>tor</i>	<i>lamiŋ</i>

The form *ya tor* ‘road’ is of AP origin because it is widespread among AP languages. The part *ya* is the AP word for ‘road’ and *tor/tar* is found in Kaera, Deing, Teiwa, and Western Pantar. The addition of *tor/tar* is a result of a semantic shift within the AP languages going back to PAP *ora ‘tail’ with reflexes such as Teiwa *tor* ‘backbone tail; tailbone’ and Klon *tor* ‘bone’. Western Pantar is the only language where the compound is still complete. The other languages have either lost the *ya* part or the *tor* part. However, it is also possible

that the varieties that only have *ya*, like Kafoa, Abui and Kui, might never have had the compound *ya tor*. In Abui, *foqa* means big; thus *ja foqa* means ‘big road; highway’.

The item *tor* ‘road’ in Alorese has also been proposed as an AP loanword by Klammer (2011:64) and Robinson (2015:28), suggesting Western Pantar as the donor language. Table 6.24 shows that not only Western Pantar has the word *tor* ‘road’, but also Kaera and Deing (indicated in bold). Therefore, Deing and Kaera could have also been the donor languages; Deing is geographically close to Baranusa, while Kaera could have also been in contact with Munaseli due to their geographical proximity.

The Alorese word *lamiŋ* ‘to wash’ in the varieties of Baranusa, Pandai, and Munaseli also appears to be a loanword from an AP source. This form is an inherited AP form, with cognates in several AP languages, as can be seen in Table 6.24. Reta and Western Pantar have the most similar forms to Alorese and both these languages are in contact with Alorese; Reta is close to Munaseli and Pandai, while Western Pantar is close to Baranusa. Therefore, these are the most likely donor languages. This AP loanword has also already been mentioned by Robinson (2015:28), who indicates Western Pantar as the donor language.

In summary, there are two AP loanwords attested only in the Alorese varieties spoken on Pantar. The donor language for the words ‘road’ and ‘to wash’ in Baranusa and Beang Onong is most likely Western Pantar. Kaera and Reta could be donor languages for the words in Munaseli and Pandai. However, since the Alorese communities are also in contact with each other, it is also possible that the varieties Pandai and Munaseli took the words from Baranusa and not directly from an AP source.

6.5.1.3 AP loanwords in the Northeast Pantar varieties

In this section, I discuss eight AP loanwords attested only in the varieties spoken in northeast Pantar (see map in Figure 6.3). This area includes the varieties Wailawar, Helangdohi, Pandai, Bana, and Munaseli. Table 6.25 provides the word sets for the first two concepts.

Table 6.25: *Lexical innovation in the northeast Pantar varieties (table 1 of 3)*

	‘rattan’	‘fish trap’
PMP	*quay	*pukət
PFL	*uay	*pukət
PWL	*ua	*puko?
PAL	*ue	*puko?
AL-Kayang	<i>uwe</i> –	<i>puko?</i> –
AL-Beang Onong	<i>uwee</i> –	<i>puko</i> –
AL-Baranusa	– –	– –
AL-Helangdohi	<i>uwe</i> –	<i>puko k</i> –
AL-Wailawar	<i>uwe</i> –	<i>pukə</i> –
AL-Pandai	<i>ue</i> lua	<i>pukə</i> ker
AL-Bana	<i>uwe</i> –	– –
AL-Munaseli	<i>uwe</i> lua	<i>puko?</i> –
AL-Ternate	<i>ufi</i> –	<i>puko</i> –
AL-Buaya	– –	– –
AL-Alor Besar	<i>ufi</i> –	– –
AL-Alor Kecil	<i>ufi</i> –	<i>puko</i> –
AL-Dulolong	– –	– –

The form *lua* ‘rattan’ in Pandai and Munaseli is suspected to come from an external source. This form is used alongside a different form, inherited from PAL *ue (< PFL *uay ‘rattan’). The Pandai word *ker* ‘fish trap’ is an innovation, different from the inherited form *puko?* < PFL *pukət ‘fish trap’. The possible AP sources for these innovations are listed in Table 6.26.

Table 6.26: Possible AP sources for loanwords in the northeast Pantar varieties (table 1 of 3)

	‘rattan’	‘fish trap’
PAP	#lijag (?)	*Cer
KU-Lantoka	–	<i>gar</i>
WS-Maritaing	–	<i>ar</i>
KB-Kabola	<i>lojo?</i>	–
AD-Lawahing	<i>le?</i>	–
AD-Otvai	<i>le</i>	–
BG-Warsalelang	<i>le:g</i>	–
BG-Manatang	<i>leg, lia</i>	<i>ver</i>
BG-Kulijahi	<i>lia</i>	–
BG-Nule	<i>lija</i>	<i>ker</i>
BG-Pura	<i>lia</i>	–
BG-Bakalang	<i>lija</i>	<i>ver</i>
BG-Tuntuli	<i>leg</i>	<i>ver</i>
BG-Bama	<i>leg</i>	<i>wer</i>
RT-Ternate	<i>lijag</i>	–
RT-Pura	<i>liag</i>	–
RT-Hula	<i>liag</i>	–
KI-Labaing	<i>le</i>	–
DE-Deing	<i>liax</i>	–
KR-Kaera	<i>le:g</i>	–
TW-Nule	<i>lijag</i>	–
TW-Adiabang	<i>lijah</i>	–
TW-Lebang	<i>lijag</i>	<i>ke:r</i>
KR-Kaera	–	–
KU-Klamu	–	<i>tʃar</i>
SR-Sar	<i>liag</i>	–
WP-Tubbe	–	–
AL-Pandai	<i>lua</i>	<i>ker</i>
AL-Munaseli	<i>lua</i>	–

In this concept set, a regular sound correspondence can be seen, namely PAP initial *l- that is retained unchanged in all languages, as expected. The initial *l* is attested in the AP forms as well as in the Alorese innovation *lua*.

However, no AP language shows the vowel combination *ua*.

For the concept ‘fish trap’, PAP *Car is reconstructed due to regular reflexes of final *-r which is retained unchanged in all the AP languages, except Klamu. In Klamu, the PAP final *-r is expected to be lost (Holton et al. 2012:94), but it is possibly irregular because a retention of PAP *-r is also attested in PAP *dur > Klamu *dur* ‘rat’. This cognate set is likely to be of AP origin. Pandai seems to have borrowed *ker* from Blagar or Teiwa, because they have the most similar forms and the varieties are located close to each other.

The next three candidate AP loanwords in the Alorese varieties of northeast Pantar are presented in Table 6.27.

Table 6.27: Lexical innovation in the northeast Pantar varieties (table 2 of 3)

	‘to fold’		‘to pull’		‘coral rock’	
PMP	*lipət		[...]		[...]	
PFL	*lɔpət		#vidu		[...]	
PWL	*lɔpət		*vidu		[...]	
PAL	*lɔpɛʔ		*wider		*wato kəraki	
AL-Kayang	<i>lapeʔ</i>	–	<i>wider</i>	–	–	–
AL-Beang Onong	<i>lape</i>	–	–	–	<i>wato karaki</i>	–
AL-Baranusa	<i>lape</i>	–	–	–	<i>wato kraki</i>	–
AL-Helangdohi	<i>lapeʔ</i>	–	–	–	–	–
AL-Wailawar	<i>lapeʔ</i>	–	–	–	–	–
AL-Pandai	<i>lepe</i>	lakuk	<i>wider</i>	wak	–	–
AL-Bana	<i>lape</i>	–	–	–	–	–
AL-Munaseli	–	–	–	–	–	koka
AL-Ternate	<i>lape</i>	–	–	–	<i>fato kerakiki</i>	–
AL-Buaya	<i>lape</i>	–	–	–	–	–
AL-Alor Besar	<i>lape</i>	–	–	–	–	–
AL-Alor Kecil	<i>lape</i>	–	–	–	–	–
AL-Dulolong	<i>lape</i>	–	–	–	–	–

For the concept ‘to fold’, Pandai uses both the inherited form *lepe* and an innovation *lakuk* ‘to fold’. Pandai also uses both the inherited form *vider* ‘to pull’ and an innovation *wak* ‘to pull’.³³ In addition, an innovation *koka* ‘coral rock’ is

³³ For this concept, the majority of Alorese varieties use a Malay loan *tarek* ‘to pull’

attested in Munaseli. Possible AP sources for these innovations are listed in Table 6.28 below.

Table 6.28: Possible AP sources for loanwords in the northeast Pantar varieties (table 2 of 3)

	‘to fold’	‘to pull’	‘coral rock’
PAP	*(?)	*CVk(?)	#qoqVs(?)
SW-Sawila	<i>lakupi</i>	–	–
KU-Lantoka	<i>lakup</i>	–	–
KI-Labaing	–	<i>gabik</i>	–
KG-Kiramang	<i>galuk</i>	–	–
AB-Ulaga	<i>galuk</i>	<i>gafik, gavik</i>	–
AB-Takalelang	<i>ha-luq</i>	<i>hafik</i>	<i>koqai</i>
AB-Fuimelang	<i>ha-luk</i>	<i>hafik</i>	–
AB-Atimelang	<i>ha-luk</i>	–	–
HM-Moru	–	<i>abiʔiŋ</i>	–
KB-Kabola	<i>napa liʔi</i>	<i>apiʔiŋ</i>	<i>koʔoi</i>
AD-Lawahing	<i>paliʔi</i>	<i>ʔabiʔiŋ</i>	–
AD-Otvai	<i>paliʔ</i>	–	<i>ʔoʔoi</i>
KL-Bring	<i>lu:s</i>	<i>gəbɪk</i>	–
KL-Hopter	–	<i>gəbɪk</i>	<i>kəka</i>
KF-Kafoa	–	<i>gafiki</i>	–
BG-Warsalelang	<i>piliku</i>	–	–
BG-Kulijahi	–	<i>awak</i>	–
BG-Nule	–	<i>avak</i>	–
BG-Bakalang	–	<i>avak</i>	<i>koka</i>
BG-Bama	–	–	<i>koqas</i>
BG-Tuntuli	<i>pəliku</i>	–	–
BG-Pura	–	–	<i>koka omi</i>
DE-Deing	<i>plik</i>	–	<i>qawa sis</i>
KR-Kaera	<i>piloko</i>	–	<i>qoʔqis</i>
TW-Teiwa	–	–	<i>qoqas</i>
SR-Sar	–	–	<i>qoqis</i>
WP-Tubbe	<i>luk:iŋ</i>	–	–
AL-Helangdohi	–	–	–
AL-Pandai	<i>laku</i>	<i>wak</i>	–
AL-Munaseli	–	–	<i>koka</i>

For the concept ‘to fold’, Blagar is among the AP languages that have similar forms to the Pandai word *lakuk* ‘to fold’. It is unclear whether these AP words for ‘to fold’ are all related. In Sawila, *kupi* means ‘to fold’ (Kratochvíl, 2014:408), but the additional syllable *la-* is of unclear origin. In Abui, *ha-* is a bound third person pronoun (Kratochvíl, 2007:78). In Blagar, *pi-* is an inalienable possessor for first person plural inclusive (Steinhauer, 2014:182).

The Pandai word *wak* ‘to pull’ is possibly a Blagar loan too, because a similar form *avak* ‘to pull’ is attested in Blagar. The initial vowel *a-* is a prefix in Blagar indicating causative (Steinhauer, 2014:160, 194). This Blagar word seems to be related to the other AP words listed in the table. The Blagar forms are formally the most similar, hence I identify it as the source.

The Munaseli innovation *koka* for the concept ‘coral rock’ is also a loanword from Blagar. A set of cognates is attested in several AP languages and an early AP form $\#qoqVs$ ‘coral rock’ may be reconstructed. The sound changes of PAP initial and intervocalic $*q > k$ are semi-regular in most of the AP languages. According to Holton et al. (2012:94), both PAP initial and intervocalic $*q$ are retained as *k* in Abui, as expected. In Adang, the change of PAP initial $*q$ into glottal stop is regular. In Teiwa, PAP $*q$ is retained unchanged in both positions, as expected. In addition, PAP $*q$ is changed into *x* in Kaera, as expected. Since cognates of this set are quite widespread in the AP languages, it is likely that the form is of AP origin and borrowed into Munaseli.

The remaining three lexical innovations in the Alorese varieties spoken in northeastern Pantar are presented in Table 6.29.

Table 6.29: Lexical innovations in the northeast Pantar varieties (table 3 of 3)

	‘digging stick’		‘to pray’		‘garden’
PFL	[...]		[...]		[...]
PWL	*nuar		[...]		*eka
PAL	*Cuar		[...]		*ekaŋ
AL-Kayang	<i>nuo?</i>	–	<i>sabeaŋ</i>	–	–
AL-Beang Onong	–	–	<i>sabeaŋ</i>	–	–
AL-Baranusa	<i>kuvar</i>	–	–	–	–
AL-Helangdohi	–	<i>noru?</i>	–	–	<i>ekaŋ</i>
AL-Wailawar	<i>buaŋ</i>	–	<i>sabeaŋ</i>	–	<i>ekaŋ</i>
AL-Pandai	–	–	<i>sebeaŋ</i>	–	<i>ekaŋ</i>
AL-Bana	–	<i>noru?</i>	<i>səbəaŋ</i>	–	<i>ekaŋ</i>
AL-Munaseli	–	–	<i>səbeaŋ</i>	<i>gamar (apa)</i>	<i>ekaŋ buta?</i>
AL-Ternate	–	–	<i>səbeaŋ</i>	–	<i>ekaŋ</i>
AL-Buaya	–	–	<i>səbeaŋ</i>	–	<i>ekaŋ</i>
AL-Alor Besar	–	–	<i>sambəaŋ</i>	–	<i>ekaŋ</i>
AL-Alor Kecil	<i>kuaŋ</i>	–	<i>səbeaŋ</i>	–	<i>ekaŋ</i>
AL-Dulolong	<i>kuaŋ</i>	–	<i>sabeaŋ</i>	–	<i>ekaŋ</i>

The table shows that some Alorese varieties in northeast Pantar have innovated *noru?* ‘digging stick’, *gamar apa* ‘to pray’, and *ekaŋ buta?* ‘garden’. The word *noru?* is used in the Helangdohi and Bana varieties for the concept ‘digging stick’. Other varieties use a word inherited from PWL. Furthermore, for the concept ‘to pray’, the word *gamar apa* is attested only in Munaseli, while the more widely used term for ‘to pray’ is *səbeaŋ* (< Malay loan *sambayang* [samba^hiaŋ] ‘to pray; to worship God’). The Munaseli form *gamar apa* comprises *gamar* (external origin) and *apa* (Alorese ‘something’). For the concept ‘garden’, the general Alorese term that goes back to PWL is *ekaŋ* ‘garden’. However, the Munaseli variety uses a compound *ekaŋ buta?*, which comprises an inherited form *ekaŋ* (< PWL *eka ‘garden’) and the new form *buta?*, which is of external origin. In Table 6.30, the AP languages that could possibly be the sources of these lexical innovations are listed.

Table 6.30: Possible AP sources for loanwords in the northeast Pantar varieties (table 3 of 3)

	‘digging stick’	‘to pray’	‘garden’
PAP	#sVnoru(k)(?)	#ha(?)mar(?)	#butVq
KB-Kabola	–	–	<i>butu?</i>
AD-Lawahing	–	–	<i>butu</i>
AD-Otvai	–	–	<i>but</i>
BG-Pura	–	–	<i>buta</i>
BG-Warsalelang	–	–	<i>butax</i>
BG-Tuntuli	–	–	<i>butaq</i>
BG-Nule	<i>noruk</i>	–	–
BG-Tuntuli	<i>seʁonuk</i>	–	–
RT-Pura	<i>hano:ruk</i>	<i>amur</i>	–
RT-Hula	<i>hano:ruk</i>	–	–
KR-Kaera	–	<i>aʔmur</i>	–
TW-Lebang	–	<i>hamar</i>	–
KU-Klamu	<i>murū</i>	–	–
WP-Tubbe	<i>sorū</i> ‘stick; pole’	<i>hamur</i>	–
AL-Helangdohi	<i>noru?</i>	–	
AL-Munaseli	<i>noru?</i>	<i>gamar (apa)</i>	<i>ekaŋ buta?</i>

Cognate forms for the concept ‘digging stick’ are attested in the AP languages Blagar, Reta, Klamu, and Western Pantar. In Western Pantar, it seems that there has been a semantic change to the relatively similar concept ‘stick; pole’. The initial *s- is regularly reflected as *h* in Reta and retained unchanged in Blagar and Western Pantar (Holton et al. 2012:94). The intervocalic *-n- is retained unchanged in all languages, as expected. However, the intervocalic *-r- shows irregular reflexes in Western Pantar because it is expected to be retained as *l*. Even though the sound correspondences are only semi-regular, I consider the Alorese word *noru?* to be an AP borrowing because the other Alorese varieties use a different inherited form.

In the set for the concept ‘to pray’, it seems that Munaseli has borrowed *gamar* from a neighboring AP language, such as Teiwa, which has *hamar* for ‘pray’. Since cognates of this form for ‘to pray’ are attested across several AP languages, it is likely that this is an inherited AP form. Teiwa is very likely to be the donor because the vowels match with the Munaseli word *gamar*. The initial *g* in the Munaseli word may come from a compound in Teiwa *ga hamar* ‘pray for

someone' as *ga-* in Teiwa is a third person singular pronoun (Klamer, 2010:55).

The AP words meaning 'garden' in the table are clearly related and attested in AP languages spoken around the Pantar Strait. Possibly, a Proto-Nuclear-Alor-Pantar (Kaiping & Klamer, 2019:35) form **butVq* 'garden' could be reconstructed based on this cognate set. Munaseli has borrowed the form *buta?* to form a compound *ekaj buta?* 'garden'. The donor language is most likely Blagar because it has the most similar forms and is geographically close to Munaseli. The lenition of final stop *x/q* in Blagar into a glottal stop in Munaseli is expected because Alorese does not allow final *x/q*.

In conclusion, this section has presented eight concepts for which there are putative AP loanwords in the northeastern Pantar varieties of Alorese. In most cases, the probable donor languages are Blagar, Reta, and Teiwa. The semantic domains involve agriculture ('rattan', 'garden', 'digging stick'); hunting ('fish trap'); the physical world ('coral rock') and several verbs ('to fold' 'to pull' 'to pray'). Among the varieties in northeast Pantar, Munaseli has the most loanwords from AP languages. Furthermore, several of these loanwords are only used in Munaseli.

6.5.1.4 AP loanwords in Northeast Pantar and Alor Peninsula

In this section, I discuss two AP loanwords that are attested in at least one variety in northeast Pantar and in at least one variety on the Alor Peninsula. Table 6.31 shows AP loanwords attested in these geographic groups for the concepts 'raised platform' and 'adultery'.

Table 6.31: Lexical innovations in the Northeast Pantar and Alor Peninsula varieties

	'raised platform'		'adultery'
AL-Kayang	<i>kosa</i>	–	–
AL-Baranusa	<i>kolsa</i>	–	–
AL-Helangdohi	<i>kolsa</i>	–	–
AL-Wailawar	<i>woslak</i>	–	–
AL-Pandai	–	<i>deki</i>	–
AL-Bana	<i>boslak</i>	–	–
AL-Munaseli	–	<i>deki</i>	<i>buha</i>
AL-Buaya	–	–	–
AL-Ternate	<i>bosla</i>	–	–
AL-Alor Besar	–	<i>deki</i>	<i>buha</i>
AL-Alor Kecil	<i>kolosae</i>	–	–
AL-Dulolong	<i>kolosae</i>	–	–

No reconstructed proto-forms are available. Innovations in the Northeast Pantar and the Alor Peninsula varieties are highlighted. The Alorese words for ‘raised platform’ are forms related to a Dutch loan-word *bultzak* ‘mattress’ (Jones, 2007:41). For the concept ‘adultery’, no similar forms to the Munaseli and Alor Besar word *buha* ‘adultery’ are attested in the nearby Flores-Lembata languages and no proto-forms are available for this concept. In the following discussion, I show possible AP sources for these loans (see Table 6.32).

Table 6.32: Possible AP sources for loanwords in the Northeast Pantar and Alor Peninsula

	‘raised platform’	‘adultery’
PAP	#dek(i)	#bus (?)
KM-Atoitaa	–	–
AD-Otvai	<i>de?</i>	–
BG-Bama	<i>deki</i>	–
BG-Warsalelang	<i>deki</i>	–
BG-Tuntuli	<i>deki</i>	–
BG-Pura	<i>dei</i>	<i>buha</i>
BG-Kulijahi	<i>dei</i>	–
BG-Manatang	–	<i>vej buha</i>
BG-Bakalang	<i>dei</i>	–
BG-Nule	<i>dej</i>	–
RT-Pura	<i>deki</i>	<i>buha</i>
RT-Hula	–	<i>buha</i>
TW-Lebang	<i>de:k</i>	<i>bu:s</i>
KR-Kaera	<i>dɛ:ki</i>	<i>bus</i>
SR-Sar	–	<i>bu:s</i>
DE-Deing	–	–
WP-Tubbe	<i>deki</i>	–
AL-Helangdohi	–	–
AL-Bana	–	–
AL-Pandai	<i>deki</i>	–
AL-Munaseli	<i>deki</i>	<i>buha</i>
AL-Alor Besar	<i>deki</i>	<i>buha</i>
AL-Alor Kecil	–	–
AL-Dulolong	–	–

A cognate set reconstructable to an early AP form #deki ‘bed; raised platform’ is attested. In Adang, PAP medial *k is retained as ʔ, as expected; and in Blagar, PAP final *-k is lost, as expected (Holton et al. 2012:94). Therefore, it is likely that the form *deki* is of AP origin and borrowed into Alorese. Among the AP languages, Blagar, Reta, and Western Pantar have the most similar form because the medial *k* is retained. However, of these, Blagar or Reta are likely the donor language(s) given their geography.

An early AP form #bus ‘adultery’ can be reconstructed based on cognates in several AP languages spoken around the straits (Teiwa, Kaera, Blagar, Reta, and Sar). As seen in the examples, regular sound correspondences can be identified among the AP languages. The PAP initial *b- is retained unchanged in all the languages, as expected. The PAP final *-s is retained regularly as *s* in Teiwa, Kaera, and Sar, and changed regularly into *h* in intervocalic position in Blagar and in Reta, as expected. A similar sound change is attested in several Blagar words, such as PAP *mis > Blagar *mihi* ‘sit’ and PAP *bis > Blagar *bihi* ‘mat’. Thus, the AP cognate set for the concept ‘adultery’ is likely to be of AP origin, and not a borrowed form. Alorese Munaseli and Alor Besar likely borrowed *buha* from either Blagar or Reta.

In conclusion, in this section I have presented two candidates for AP loanwords in the Northeast Pantar and Alor Peninsula varieties. The loanwords relate to the semantic domains of the house (‘bed; raised platform’) and law (‘adultery’). The spread of the loanword encompasses the Northeast Pantar and Alor Peninsula varieties, but not the Islands varieties. This spread may suggest that the Island varieties are isolated in this respect.

6.5.1.5 AP loanwords in the Straits varieties

In this section, I discuss five AP loanwords that are attested only in the varieties spoken in the Straits. The varieties are Ternate, Buaya, Alor Besar, Alor Kecil, and Dulolong. Table 6.33 contains the first three loans.

Table 6.33: *Lexical innovations in the Straits varieties (table 1 of 2)*

	‘monitor lizard’		‘to bury’		‘finished’	
PFL	[...]		*tanəm		[...]	
PWL	*eto		*tone		[...]	
PAL	*eto		*tono ŋ		[...]	
AL-Kayang	<i>eto</i>	–	<i>tono ŋ</i>	–	–	–
AL-Baranusa	<i>eto</i>	–	<i>tono ŋ</i>	–	<i>kapo</i>	–
AL-Helangdohi	<i>teto damar</i>	–	<i>tono ŋ</i>	–	<i>kapo</i>	–
AL-Wailawar	<i>teto damar</i>	–	<i>tənə ŋ</i>	–	–	–
AL-Pandai	<i>teto damar</i>	–	<i>tənə ŋ</i>	–	<i>kapə</i>	–
AL-Bana	<i>teto damar</i>	–	<i>tono ŋ</i>	–	<i>kapo?</i>	–
AL-Munaseli	<i>teto damar</i>	–	<i>tono ŋ</i>	–	–	–
AL-Buaya	–	–	–	<i>tou</i>	–	<i>kena</i>
AL-Ternate	–	<i>reha</i>	–	<i>tou</i>	–	<i>kenəŋ</i>
AL-Alor Besar	–	<i>reha</i>	–	<i>tou</i>	–	<i>kenəŋ</i>
AL-Alor Kecil	–	<i>reha</i>	–	<i>tohu</i>	–	<i>hena</i>
AL-Dulolong	–	<i>reha</i>	–	<i>tuho</i>	–	<i>kena</i>

In the table, the Alorese word *reha* ‘monitor lizard’ is contrasted with an inherited form *eto/teto damar* (< PWL *eto ‘monitor lizard’; *damar* is of unknown origin). The PWL form is reconstructed as *eto because both forms are attested in Alorese and several Western Lamaholot (WL) varieties, but not at a higher level. The Alorese word *tou* ‘to bury’ is likely to be an AP loanword borrowed into Straits Alorese. For the concept ‘finished’, Straits Alorese varieties have innovated *kenəŋ/hena*, while the rest of the varieties use *kapo* ‘finished’. Table 6.34 lists the possible AP sources for the Straits Alorese innovations for the concepts ‘monitor lizard’, ‘to bury’, and ‘finished’.

Table 6.34: AP sources for loanwords in the Straits varieties (table 1 of 2)

	‘monitor lizard’	‘to bury’	‘finished’
PAP	*GVrisi (?) *lVsi (Robinson, 2015:29)	#tVroqu (?)	*qana (?)
SW-Sawila	–	–	<i>lekana</i>
KM-Tiyei	–	<i>fo.ɹu</i>	–
AB-Takalelang	–	–	<i>känri</i>
AB-Ulaga	–	–	<i>känri</i>
KL-Hopter	<i>wərih</i>	–	–
KI-Kui	<i>ros</i>	–	–
BG-Manatang	–	<i>taroʔu</i>	–
BG-Bakalang	<i>rihi</i>	<i>tow</i>	–
BG-Kulijahi	<i>rihi</i>	<i>trou</i>	–
BG-Bama	<i>iris</i>	<i>troku</i>	–
BG-Nule	<i>ri</i>	<i>tərow</i>	–
BG-Tuntuli	<i>iris</i>	<i>toroku</i>	–
BG-Warsalelang	<i>iris</i>	<i>təroku</i>	–
BG-Pura	<i>ari</i>	<i>tarou</i>	–
Blagar	–	–	<i>kanak</i> ‘even’
KR-Kaera	<i>iʔris, tɛʔrɛs</i>	<i>traqo</i>	<i>qanap</i>
TW-Teiwa	<i>ris</i>	<i>taraʔaʔ</i>	–
KU-Klamu	<i>lisi</i>	–	–
DE-Deing	<i>yɛris</i>	–	–
SR-Sar	<i>yiris, ris</i>	–	–
WP-Tubbe	<i>hiddis</i>	–	<i>kan:a</i>
AL-Buaya	–	<i>tou</i>	<i>kena</i>
AL-Ternate	<i>reha</i>	<i>tou</i>	<i>kenarj</i>
AL-Alor Besar	<i>reha</i>	<i>tou</i>	<i>kenarj</i>
AL-Alor Kecil	<i>reha</i>	<i>tohu</i>	<i>hena</i>
AL-Dulolong	<i>reha</i>	–	<i>kena</i>

Robinson (2015:29) reconstructs PAP *lVsi ‘monitor lizard’ and suggests that Alorese *reha* is a loanword from AP languages. With availability of more data, a new PAP form may be proposed: *GVrisi ‘monitor lizard’ (G: glide; V: vowel). An initial glide may be reconstructed in PAP because Klon, Deing, and Sar have an initial glide. Further, PAP intervocalic *-r- is changed into *l* in Klamu, as in *lisi* ‘monitor lizard’. In addition, the change of PAP intervocalic *-s-

into Blagar *h* is also regular. Based on the evidence presented in Table 6.34, I conclude that the donor language for the Alorese word *reha* is probably Blagar (Bakalang and Kulijahi) because it has the form *rihi*, which is the most similar to Alorese *reha*. Reasons for the change of the non-final vowel *i* to *e* remain unclear, but the Alorese final *a* from Blagar *i* in loanwords seems regular, as seen earlier in the Alorese *tera* ‘to close’ ~ Blagar *teriŋ* ‘to close’.

PAP *tVroqu ‘to bury’ may be reconstructed because PAP initial *t- is attested regularly in most of the languages and the PAP intervocalic *-r- is also expected to appear unchanged in most of the languages. In Kamang, PAP intervocalic *-r- is expected to have changed into *l*, but in one of the varieties in the Kamang cluster, namely Tiyei, it has changed into *ɿ*. Among the AP languages that have a reflex of this form, Bakalang has the most similar form to Alorese, suggesting that Alorese borrowed *tou* ‘to bury’ from this Blagar variety. In Alor Kecil, the addition of intervocalic *h*, as seen in *tohu* ‘to bury’ is also seen in other words, such as Alor Besar *tafeuŋ* ~ Alor Kecil *təfihuŋ* ‘fog’.

For the concept ‘finished’, a PAP form *qana may be reconstructed. In Sawila, the initial syllable *le-* is similar to the applicative prefix *li-* (Kratochvíl, 2014:401). The reflexes of PAP initial *q- in the AP languages listed are regular, as it is retained as *q* in Kaera and changed into *k* in the remaining AP languages. In Abui, the word *kanri* is morphologically complex, with a stem *kan* meaning ‘be good’ (Kratochvíl, 2007:358). Among AP languages, the Blagar form *kanak* ‘even’ is the most similar to the Straits Alorese innovation *kanak* ‘finished’. The meanings of ‘even’ and ‘finished’ may be considered semantically close as the Malay word *genap* ‘even’ is sometimes used to say that something is ‘finished’. This Malay word, however, is not used in the Alor-Pantar region to express something that is complete; rather, the Malay form that is commonly used is *suda* ‘already’. Therefore, *genap* is not the source for the Alorese form.

The next two candidate AP loanwords in the Straits varieties are ‘small’ and ‘mud’, presented in Table 6.35.

Table 6.35: Lexical innovations in the Straits varieties (table 2 of 2)

	'small'				'mud'
PMP	*anak	[...]	*kədi 'small in size'		[...]
PFL	*anak	[...]	[...]		[...]
PWL	*ana	*kesi/*kisu	[...]		[...]
PAL	*ana ŋ	*kihu	*kari		[...]
AL-Kayang	<i>anaŋ</i>	–	–	–	<i>buta</i> –
AL-Baranusa	<i>anaŋ</i>	–	–	–	<i>buta</i> –
AL-Helangdohi	<i>anak</i>	<i>kihu?</i>	–	–	– –
AL-Wailawar	–	<i>kihu?</i>	–	–	<i>buta?</i> –
AL-Pandai	<i>anaŋ</i>	<i>kihu</i>	<i>kari</i>	–	<i>buta</i> –
AL-Bana	–	<i>kihu?</i>	–	–	– –
AL-Munaseli	<i>anaŋ</i>	<i>kihu</i>	–	–	– –
AL-Buaya	–	–	–	<i>kae</i>	– –
AL-Ternate	–	–	–	<i>kae</i>	– <i>bana</i>
AL-Alor Besar	–	–	–	<i>kae</i>	– –
AL-Alor Kecil	–	–	–	<i>kae</i>	– <i>bana</i>
AL-Dulolong	–	–	–	<i>kae</i>	– <i>bana</i>

The Alorese varieties on Pantar use three different inherited forms for the concept 'small'. There are two forms of PMP origin: *anaŋ* (< PMP *anak) 'small' and *kari* (< PMP *kədi 'small in size'), and one form which can only be traced back to PWL *kesi/*kisu 'small' > *kihu* 'small'. The sound changes *s > *h in PWL *kisu > PAL *kihu 'small' and *d > *r in PMP *kədi > PAL *kari 'small' are regular. The Straits Alorese varieties, however, have innovated a new form *kae* which suggests an external source. The reason that I do not put *kae* 'small' together with *kari* 'small' is that all the Straits varieties use the same form *kae*, and it differs from the conservative variety of Pandai which retains *kari* < PMP *kədi 'small in size'. The word *bana* 'mud' shows no similar forms in the neighboring FL languages or in the proto languages.³⁴ These innovations are suspected to come from the AP sources listed in Table 6.36.

³⁴ Note that the word *bana* in Alorese also means 'forest'. Robinson (2015:22) proposes a relation between *bana* 'mud' and *bana* 'forest', which is an Austronesian form derived from PMP *banua 'inhabited land'. However, as the semantic shift from 'forest' to 'mud' is not straightforward, I consider this similarity in form to be a coincidence.

Table 6.36: Possible AP sources for loanwords in the Straits varieties (table 2 of 2)

	‘small’	‘mud’
PAP	#kVk(V)in	*banaq (?)
SB-Suboo	–	<i>fānāq</i>
KL-Bring	<i>kəkəin</i>	–
KB-Kabola	<i>kaʔai</i>	–
AD-Lawahing	<i>kaʔai</i>	–
AD-Otvai	<i>kaʔai</i>	–
HM-Moru	<i>kaʔi</i>	–
BG-Manatang	<i>kiki</i>	–
BG-Bama	<i>kiki</i>	–
BG-Tuntuli	<i>kiki</i>	–
BG-Warsalelang	<i>kiki</i>	–
BG-Pura	<i>kiki</i>	<i>banakuŋ</i>
RT-Ternate	–	<i>banakuŋ</i>
RT-Pura	–	<i>ʃana:kuŋ</i>
KR-Kaera	<i>kiki</i>	–
TW-Adiabang	–	<i>bena:q</i>
KU-Klamu	–	<i>banāqa</i>
SR-Sar	–	<i>bena:q</i>
AL-Buaya	<i>kae</i>	–
AL-Ternate	<i>kae</i>	<i>bana</i>
AL-Alor Besar	<i>kae</i>	–
AL-Alor Kecil	<i>kae</i>	<i>bana</i>
AL-Dulolong	<i>kae</i>	<i>bana</i>

The Alorese word *kae* ‘small’ may have been borrowed from Adang *kaʔai* ‘small’. Several AP languages have similar words, and an early AP form #kVk(V)in ‘small’ may be reconstructed. The change of *k into intervocalic -ʔ- in Adang is regular (Holton et al. 2012:94). However, the change in final -ai in Adang and Kabola remains unexplained.

For the concept ‘mud’, I propose the PAP reconstruction *banaq because of the regular sound change of PAP initial *b- into Abui *f* (Holton et al. 2012:93). The addition of a final syllable -uŋ in Blagar and Reta remains unclear, although similar additions of final syllables are found in the Straits Alorese varieties, where additional syllables *uŋ*, *iŋ*, and *aŋ* are attested (cf. §4.8). Straits Alorese varieties apparently borrowed *bana* ‘mud’ from either Blagar or Reta, as these

language have the most similar form.

In conclusion, in this section I have discussed five AP loanwords in the Straits varieties of Alorese. Adang, Blagar, and Reta are likely to be donor languages for the Alorese words *reha* ‘monitor lizard’, *tou* ‘to bury’, *kanan* ‘finished’, *kae* ‘small’ and *bana* ‘mud’. These loanwords belong to the semantic domains of animals, the body, sense perception, and the physical world. These exclusively shared lexical innovations in the Straits varieties could also be taken as additional evidence for a lower level subgroup within Alorese, namely Straits Alorese (cf. § 5.7).

6.5.1.6 AP loanwords in the Alor Peninsula varieties

There is only one AP loanword found in the Alor Peninsula varieties, namely the word for root, as displayed in Table 6.37.

Table 6.37: AP loanword in the Alor Peninsula varieties

	‘root’
PMP	*Ramut
PFL	*ramut
PWL	*ramut
PAL	*ramu?
AL-Kayang	<i>ramu</i>
AL-Beang	<i>ramu?</i>
AL-Baranusa	<i>ramu?</i>
AL-Helangdohi	<i>ramu?</i>
AL-Wailawar	<i>ramu?</i>
AL-Pandai	<i>ramu</i>
AL-Bana	<i>ramu?</i>
AL-Munaseli	<i>ramu?</i>
AL-Ternate	<i>rambuk uŋ</i>
AL-Buaya	<i>rambuk uŋ</i>
AL-Alor Besar	<i>rambuk uŋ</i>
AL-Alor Kecil	– <i>aliŋ</i>
AL-Dulolong	– <i>aliŋ</i>

The majority of the Alorese varieties use an inherited form *ramu?* (< PMP *Ramut ‘root’). PFL final *-t > ? in Alorese is regular. The highlighted form ***aliŋ*** is

an innovation in Alor Kecil and Dulolong. The possible AP sources for this loanword are listed in Table 6.38.

Table 6.38: Possible AP sources for the loanword in the Alor peninsula varieties

	‘root’
PAP	*(h)ali(kan)
SB-Suboo	<i>ali:</i>
PN-Papuna	<i>ali:</i>
KM-Atoitaa	<i>ali:</i>
KF-Kafoa	<i>ili:kan</i>
AB-Fuimelang	<i>bata ai</i>
AB-Ulaga	<i>ai</i>
AD-Lawahing	<i>aliʔiŋ</i>
AD-Otvai	<i>aliʔaŋ</i>
KB-Kabola	<i>haliʔiŋ</i>
HM-Moru	<i>aliaŋ</i>
KU-Klamu	<i>al:i</i>
AL-Alor Kecil	<i>aliŋ</i>
AL-Dulolong	<i>aliŋ</i>

The PAP reconstruction *(h)ali(kan) ‘root’ is proposed based on the cognate set given in the table. The PAP intervocalic *-l- is retained unchanged in all modern-day AP languages, as expected (Holton et al. 2012:94). Here, however, an unexpected loss of intervocalic *l* is attested in Abui. It seems that Alorese borrowed the word *aliŋ* ‘root’ from Adang, Kabola, or Hamap. These languages are located close to the Alor Peninsula varieties. Among these languages, Adang is most likely to be the donor. The Lawahing word *aliʔiŋ* is the most similar to Alorese *aliŋ* ‘root’. It is likely that Alorese borrowed the word from Lawahing and dropped the ʔ in the process.

6.5.1.7 Summary of AP loanwords in Alorese

To conclude this section, I summarize all AP loans in Alorese, aiming to additionally shed light on which group of Alorese varieties have borrowed the most AP forms and which group of varieties the least. In addition, this summary aims to identify out the main AP donor language(s) and whether this varies according to the group of Alorese varieties concerned (cf. Table 6.16). Table 6.39 provides an overview.

Table 6.39: Overview of the AP loanwords in Alorese

Alorese varieties	Concept	Likely AP source(s)
Loanwords reconstruct- able to Proto-Alorese (PAL)	‘ten’	Reta, Klon
	‘younger sibling’	Blagar, Teiwa, Kaera
	‘heart’	Blagar
	‘to close’	Blagar, Kui
	‘angry’	Blagar, Kaera
	‘dirty’	Blagar, Teiwa
	‘taro’	Blagar, Reta, Adang
Pantar	‘road’	Western Pantar, Kaera, Deing
	‘to wash’	Western Pantar, Reta
Northeast Pantar	‘rattan’	N/A (cf. §6.5.1.3)
	‘fish trap’	Blagar, Teiwa
	‘to fold’	Blagar
	‘to pull’	Blagar
	‘coral rock’	Blagar, Klon
	‘garden’	Blagar
	‘digging stick’	Blagar, Reta
Northeast Pantar and Alor Peninsula	‘to pray’	Teiwa
	‘bed, raised platform’	Blagar, Reta, Western Pantar
	‘adultery’	Blagar, Reta
Straits	‘monitor lizard’	Blagar
	‘to bury’	Blagar
	‘finish’	Blagar
	‘small’	Adang, Kabola
	‘mud’	Blagar, Reta, Klamu
Alor Peninsula	‘root’	Adang, Hamap

Based on the evidence provided in the table, I conclude that there are two groups that have the most AP loanwords: specifically, loanwords that can be reconstructed to PAL and loanwords attested in the geographic group of Northeast Pantar. The other subgroupings, such as Pantar, Straits, and the lower subgroup, Alor Peninsula, show relatively small numbers of AP loanwords. Two subgroupings, namely West Pantar and Islands, do not have any exclusive loanwords from AP languages. This AP loanword distribution offers support for the proposal that the Alorese homeland is the northeast Pantar area, and that

this is thus where Alorese first came into contact with (an) AP language(s).

The AP donor languages are mainly languages spoken around the Strait of Pantar. Many words come from Blagar, making it the main donor language of AP loans in Alorese. That Blagar is as the dominant donor comes as no surprise, since Alorese and Blagar have a close, historical relationship. Both communities are bound in a century-old sociopolitical alliance, called *Galiyao Watang Lema* (§1.4.3). The second-most common putative donor language is Reta. However, unlike Blagar, which has a straightforward role as a donor language to Alorese, the role of Reta is not as obvious. This is because the Retanese people live in almost inaccessible villages surrounded by thorny bushes for protection, resulting in isolation (Willemsen, 2020, 2021:54). It is likely that the similarities between Alorese and Reta are not a result of borrowing between the two languages. Thus, Reta is not likely the main source for loanwords in Alorese.

Other AP languages around the Straits that have also contributed AP loanwords to Alorese are Adang, Klon, and Kaera. The contribution of these languages varies according the Alorese subgroup in question. Adang is more likely to be the donor of loanwords found in the Straits and Alor Peninsula varieties, while Klon is more likely the donor for loanwords found both in Northeast Pantar and Alor Peninsula varieties. Kaera probably had one of the earliest contacts with Alorese, because almost all loans from Kaera can be reconstructed to PAL.

A number of languages including Western Pantar and Deing are donors only for Alorese varieties spoken on Pantar. With regard to the role of Sar and Klamu, these are not primary donor languages but rather happened to have words similar to Alorese and another AP language that acted as a donor language to Alorese. The fact that none of loanwords can be reconstructed to PAL can traced to languages spoken in the western part of Pantar adds further support for the view that PAL did not originate in west Pantar.

6.5.2 Loans from Malay

Malay loanwords in Alorese indicate contact with people from other parts of Indonesia. These could be people from Kupang who have had in contact with the Alorese, and who speak Bazaar Malay (Adelaar & Prentice, 1996: 675). They could also be people from the Moluccas (Indonesian: *Maluku*) who spread Islam through the coastal Alorese communities in the sixteenth century. The Malay language is presumed to have been the lingua franca in the Indonesian archipelago at that time (Paauw, 2009:2).

A market in Bana (located in northeastern Pantar) and a port in Alor Kecil (located on the Alor Peninsula) were gateways for traders from overseas to come into contact with the coastal Alorese people (cf. §3.4.3). The market in Bana existed since the times of the Munaseli Kingdom (around the fifteenth century). The traders from overseas may have brought Malay loanwords into Alorese. Furthermore, the Islamic preachers from the Moluccas may also have brought Malay words. In addition, the existence of an emerging Malay variety in the local Alor Regency, called Alor Malay, may have also influenced the Alorese lexicon. Table 6.40 contains examples of Malay loanwords in Alorese. The examples of Malay loans in Alorese that occur in at least one Alorese variety. The loanwords are presented by geographic subgroup, namely West, Northeast, Islands, and Peninsula.

Table 6.40: Examples of Malay loanwords in Alorese

Meaning in Malay	Malay words	Meaning in Alorese	West	Northeast	Islands	Peninsula
'(rice) field'	<i>sawah</i>		<i>sawa</i>	<i>sawa</i>	<i>safa</i>	<i>safa</i>
'a while'	<i>sebentar</i>		<i>səbəntar</i>	<i>sabantar</i>	–	–
'very'	<i>sekali</i>	'all'	<i>sakali</i>	<i>sakali</i>	<i>sakali</i>	<i>sakali</i>
'baby'	<i>bayi</i>	'child'	<i>bi-</i>	<i>bai</i>	–	–
'burden stick'	<i>lalepak</i>		–	<i>ləplepa?</i>	–	<i>kəlapaŋ</i>
'butterfly'	<i>kupu-kupu</i>		–	<i>kupu-kupu</i>	–	<i>pupu</i>
'canoe'	<i>sampan</i>		–	–	<i>sampa</i>	–
'clock'	<i>jam</i>		<i>dʒam</i>	<i>dʒam</i>	<i>dʒam</i>	<i>dʒam</i>
'clothes'	<i>pakaian</i>		<i>pakiaŋ</i>	<i>pakian</i>	<i>pakiaŋ</i>	<i>pakiaŋ</i>
'cup'	<i>cangkir</i>		–	<i>sangkir</i>	–	–
'dance'	<i>ronggeng</i>		–	<i>roŋge</i>	–	<i>roŋge</i>
'dawn'	<i>subuh</i>		<i>subuh</i>	<i>subuh</i>	<i>subuh</i>	<i>subuh</i>
'earring'	<i>anting</i>		<i>anti</i>	<i>anti</i>	<i>anti</i>	<i>anti</i>
'earth'	<i>bumi</i>		<i>bumi</i>	<i>bumi</i>	–	<i>bumi</i>
'enemy'	<i>musuh</i>		<i>musuh</i>	<i>musuh</i>	<i>mosu</i>	–
'front'	<i>muka</i>		–	<i>muka</i>	–	–
'glass cup'	<i>gelas</i>		–	<i>gelasa</i>	–	–
'guts'	<i>usus</i>		<i>usus</i>	–	–	–
'handsome'	<i>gagah</i>	'beautiful'	–	<i>gaga</i>	–	–
'human'	<i>manusia</i>	'person'	<i>mansia</i>	<i>mansia</i>	<i>mansia</i>	<i>mansia</i>
'if'	<i>kalau</i>		<i>kalaw</i>	<i>kalo</i>	<i>kalau</i>	<i>kalo</i>
'island'	<i>pulau</i>		–	<i>pulo</i>	<i>pulaw</i>	<i>pulaw</i>

Meaning in Malay	Malay words	Meaning in Alorese	West	Northeast	Islands	Peninsula
‘law’	<i>hukum</i>		–	<i>hukuŋ</i>	–	<i>hukuŋ</i>
‘lazy’	<i>malas</i>		<i>malas</i>	<i>malas</i>	<i>pəmalasa</i>	<i>pəmalasa</i>
‘left (side)’	<i>kiri</i>		–	<i>kiri</i>	–	<i>kiri</i>
‘magic’	<i>sihir</i>		–	<i>seher</i>	–	–
‘mirror’	<i>kaca</i>		–	<i>kasa</i>	–	–
‘older sibling’	<i>kakak</i>		–	<i>kakaŋ</i>	<i>kakaŋ</i>	<i>kakaŋ</i>
‘peaceful’	<i>damai</i>		–	<i>dame</i>	–	–
‘to bless’	<i>berkat</i>		–	<i>beraka</i>	–	–
‘to breathe’	<i>napas</i>		<i>napas</i>	–	–	–
‘to dance’	<i>joget</i>		–	<i>ɖʒoged</i>	–	–
‘to forgive’	<i>ampun</i>		–	–	–	<i>ampon</i>
‘to get’	<i>dapat</i>		–	<i>dapa</i>	–	–
‘to help’	<i>bantu</i>		<i>bantu</i>	<i>bantu</i>	–	–
‘to let go	<i>lepas</i>		<i>lepasa</i>	<i>lepas</i>	<i>lapasa</i>	<i>ləpasa</i>
‘to lick’	<i>jilat</i>		–	<i>dila</i>	–	–
‘to measure’	<i>ukur</i>		<i>ukur</i>	<i>ukur</i>	<i>ukur</i>	<i>ukur</i>
‘to pray’	<i>sembayang</i>		<i>sabeaŋ</i>	<i>səbeaŋ</i>	<i>səbeaŋ</i>	<i>sə(m)beaŋ</i>
‘to pull’	<i>tarik</i>		<i>tare(k)</i>	<i>təre(k)</i>	<i>tare</i>	<i>tare</i>
‘to read’	<i>baca</i>		–	<i>basa</i>	–	–
‘to remember’	<i>ingat</i>	‘to think’	<i>iŋa</i>	–	<i>iŋa</i>	<i>iŋa</i>
‘to teach’	<i>ajar</i>		–	–	–	<i>aɖʒara</i>
‘to trade’	<i>dagang</i>		–	<i>dagang</i>	–	–
‘to turn’	<i>belok</i>		<i>belok</i>	<i>belok</i>	<i>beloʔ</i>	<i>belo</i>
‘treaty’	<i>belabaja</i>		–	<i>belabaɖʒa</i>	–	<i>belabaɖʒa</i>
‘veil’	<i>tudung</i>		–	<i>tudung</i>	–	–
‘spear’	<i>rapang</i>		–	<i>rapaŋ</i>	–	<i>rapaŋ</i>
‘stupid’	<i>bodoh</i>		–	<i>bodoh</i>	–	–
‘WC’	<i>jamban</i>		–	<i>jamba</i>	–	–

The Malay word for ‘dawn’, *subuh*, is possibly a recent loan, because PAL does not allow final *-h*. In the word *kalaw* ‘if’ found in the west group, the final *-w* (which may also be realized as voiced fricative [v]) comes from final *-u* > *-w*. The loanword for ‘lazy’ found in the Islands and Peninsula groups includes the Malay prefix *pe-* which indicates the person who carries out a certain action. When there is a voiceless palatal c [tʃ] in Malay, it always becomes *s* in Alorese, as in *sangkir* (< *cangkir*) ‘cup’ and *basa* (< *baca*) ‘to read’.

6.5.3 Loans from Portuguese

Six Portuguese loanwords are attested in Alorese, which are listed in Table 6.41.

Table 6.41: Portuguese loanwords in Alorese

	Portuguese	West	Northeast	Islands	Peninsula
‘hour’	<i>hora</i>	–	<i>oras</i>	–	–
‘window’	<i>janela</i>	<i>dʒenela</i>	<i>dʒenela</i>	<i>dʒenela</i>	<i>dʒanela</i>
‘closet’	<i>armário</i>	<i>ləmari</i>	<i>ləmari</i>	<i>ləmari</i>	<i>ləmari</i>
‘machete’	<i>espada</i>	<i>peda</i>	<i>pedaʔ</i>	–	<i>peda</i>
‘tobacco’	<i>tabaco</i>	–	–	–	<i>tabako</i>
‘chair’	<i>cadeira</i>	<i>kandera</i>	<i>kandera</i>	<i>kədera</i>	<i>kadera</i>

The Portuguese loanwords for ‘window’ and ‘closet’ look similar to the Malay equivalents, *jendela* ‘window’ and *lemari* ‘closet’; it is possible that they entered Alorese through Malay.

6.5.4 Loans from Dutch

Five Dutch loanwords are attested in Alorese, shown in Table 6.42. The Dutch word *bultzak* refers to the type of bed made of the cloth usually found inside sailing ships (‘ship mattress’). It is important to note, however, that these Dutch words may not have entered Alorese directly from Dutch; rather they may have entered Alorese through Malay or the local Alor Malay variety.

Table 6.42: Dutch loanwords in Alorese

	Dutch	West	Northeast	Islands	Peninsula
‘to give/take over’	<i>over</i>	–	<i>oper</i>	–	–
‘raised platform’	<i>bultzak</i>	<i>kolsa</i>	<i>boslak</i>	<i>bosla</i>	<i>kolosae</i>
‘to count’	<i>rekenen</i>	<i>rekeng</i>	<i>rekeng</i>	<i>rekeng</i>	<i>rekeng</i>
‘biscuit’	<i>beschuit</i>		<i>biskui</i>		
‘free; detached’	<i>los</i>	–	<i>los</i>	–	–

6.6 Alorese as a donor language

In this section, I discuss the role of Alorese as donor to the AP languages. I have found evidence for twenty-seven loanwords that have entered the AP languages through contact with Alorese; these appear to have been borrowed by the AP languages after PAL split from WL, as will be shown below. Ancient Austronesian loanwords in AP languages that can be traced back to Proto-Alor-Pantar are not included, because the borrowing therefore did not involve Alorese.³⁵ Also excluded are loanwords from Flores-Lembata languages that entered AP languages before the split of Alorese from PWL.³⁶ The recipient AP languages are therefore mostly those spoken in proximity to Alorese varieties.

In the following sections, I present Alorese loanwords attested in more than one AP language (§6.6.1), followed by Alorese loanwords attested only in Blagar (§6.6.2), only in Reta (§6.6.3), and only in Teiwa (§6.6.4).

6.6.1 Alorese loanwords attested in more than one AP language

In this section, I discuss fourteen Alorese loanwords that are found in several AP languages. Below, I present examples and discuss the evidence that the forms are inherited in Alorese and are borrowed into AP. Table 6.43 contains the first three concepts.

Table 6.43: Alorese loanwords found in AP languages (table 1 of 5)

	PFL	PAL	AP languages
‘breast’	*(t)usu	*tuho	AD-Lawahing <i>toʔ</i> , AD-Otvai <i>tə</i> , BG-Bama <i>tu</i> ., KR-Kaera <i>tu</i> .
‘crocodile’	#bəpap	*bapa	BG-Bakalang <i>bapa</i> , BG-Manatang <i>bapa</i> , BG-Bama <i>bapa</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>bapaʔ</i> , BG-Nule <i>bapa</i> , BG-Tuntuli <i>bapa</i> , BG-Pura <i>bapa</i> , RT-Pura <i>bapa</i> , RT-Hula <i>bapa</i>
‘to wipe’	*hapu	*hapo	BG-Bakalang <i>hapo</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>hapo</i> , BG-Nule <i>hapo</i> , RT-Pura <i>hapo</i> , RT-Hula <i>hapo</i> , KR-Kaera <i>apo</i>

³⁵ Examples are PAP *is(i) ‘fruit’, *bali ‘axe’ (Holton et al. 2012:115).

³⁶ Examples are PFL *layar > Teiwa *yar* ‘sail’ (not from PAL *ladʒa ‘sail’; entered before PAL changed *y > *dʒ), PFL *sala > Kabola *asala* ‘wrong’ (not from PAL *hala ‘wrong’; entered before PAL changed *s > *h), and Proto-Lamaholot (PLH) #dani ‘to hit’ > Sar, Teiwa, WP *dani* ‘hour’ (not from PAL *dane ‘hour’; entered before PAL changed *i > *e); Blagar *buraj*, Alorese *wuraj* ‘lungs’; PMP *baRaq ‘lungs’ entered Blagar before Alorese changed PMP initial *b- into w.

PAL *tuho ‘breast’ goes back to PFL *(t)usu (< PMP *susu ‘breast’). It seems that Adang, Blagar, and Kaera borrowed *toʔ*, *tu:*, and *tu:* ‘breast’ respectively from Alorese. The Adang addition of a final glottal stop (in *toʔ*) seems to be regular, as it also happens in other loanwords in Adang, such as *ʔahalaʔ* < PAL *hala ‘wrong’ and *bihiʔ* < pre-Alorese *bese (Robinson, 2015:23) < PAL *behe ‘to hit’. In Blagar and Kaera, the PAL ultimate syllable is dropped which results in a lengthened final vowel.

The PAL reconstruction *bapa ‘crocodile’ goes back to FL #bəpap ‘crocodile’. This form is attested across languages in Central Lembata, Kedang, and Western Lamaholot (Fricke, 2019:448). It seems that Blagar and Reta borrowed *bapa* from Alorese, since similar forms are attested across the Alorese varieties. In this case, no significant sound change has taken place, except an additional final glottal stop in Kulijahi *bapaʔ* ‘crocodile’ which is regular in the Blagar varieties, e.g. Bama *ele* ~ Kulijahi *leʔ* ‘big’ and Bama *we* ~ Kulijahi *uweʔ* ‘blood’. This loanword has also been mentioned in Robinson (2015:24) as having of a less certain direction of borrowing. However, since the form *bapa* is not widespread in the AP languages, I propose that it is an Alorese loanword in Blagar and Reta.

The PAL reconstruction *hapo (< PFL *hapu) ‘to wipe’ is borrowed into Blagar, Reta, Teiwa, and Sar. In Blagar and Reta, no significant sound change is attested in the loanwords, except a change in the final back rounded vowel ɔ. In both Blagar and Reta, similar sound correspondences of ɔ and ɔ are seen in other forms, such as Kulijahi *molo* ~ Reta *mɔlɔ* ‘correct’ and Kulijahi *moro* ~ Reta *mɔrɔ* ‘dust’.

Table 6.44 contains the next three Alorese loanwords in AP languages, which correspond to the concepts ‘whale’, ‘to blow’, and ‘to say’.

Table 6.44: Alorese loanwords found in AP languages (table 2 of 5)

	PFL	PAL	AP languages
‘whale’	#kəraru/ kəlaru	*kəlaru	KM-Kiramang <i>kalar</i> , KL-Hopter <i>kəlar</i> , BG-Bakalang <i>klaru</i> , BG-Bama <i>kalaru</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>klaru</i> , BG-Nule <i>kəlaru</i> , BG-Tuntuli <i>qalaru</i> , BG-Warsalelang <i>xalaru</i> , BG-Pura <i>kalaru</i>
‘to blow’	#puit (?)	*pui?	AD-Otvai <i>apu</i> , BG-Bakalang <i>opu</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>up:u?</i> , BG-Nule <i>upu</i> , DE-Deing <i>pui</i> , HM-Moru <i>apu</i> , KL-Hopter <i>pu</i> , BG-Pura <i>apu</i> , TW-Lebang <i>pui</i> , TW-Nule <i>puy</i> , SR-Sar <i>pu:i</i>
‘to say’	*tutur	*tutu	BG-Bakalang <i>tutuk</i> , BG-Manatang <i>tutuk</i> , BG-Bama <i>tutuk</i> , BG-Nule <i>tutuk</i> , BG-Warsalelang <i>tutuk</i> , BG-Pura <i>vəj tutuk</i> , RT-Ternate <i>u tutuk</i> , RT-Hula <i>tutuk</i> , KR-Kaera <i>tutuk</i>

The lexeme *kəlaru* ‘whale’ is found across Alorese, and is attested in Lamalera (a coastal Western-Lamaholot variety), as well as several coastal AP languages, namely Kiramang, Klon, and Blagar. It is unlikely that the word *kəlaru* is of ancient Austronesian origin given that the majority of the Flores-Lembata languages do not have a form related to *kəlaru*; instead, they use the Malay word *paus* ‘whale’ or the Central Lamaholot form *tə'mus/təm'hu* ‘whale’. In Lamalera, *kəlaru* refers specifically to blue whale. According to local tradition, *kəlaru* is a type of whale that it is forbidden to hunt (Anonymous, 2015). Van Lynden (in Barnes, 1996:328) mentions the name *keraru* or *kelaru* as a type of sea animal from which the Solorese people (possibly refer to the Lamalera people) took oil which they then sold to the people of Timor. This description leads to the conclusion that the term *kəlaru* ‘whale’ is of WL origin and inherited from PAL **kəlaru*. This form is then borrowed into Blagar, Klon, and Kiramang from Alorese.

For the concept ‘to blow’, similar forms are attested in PAL **pui?* (< Flores-Lembata; FL #*puit* ‘to blow’) and several AP languages. The direction of borrowing is likely from Alorese into AP languages, given that (1) the form is an inherited Flores-Lembata form, since similar words are found in Eastern Lamaholot (*pui*, *pu*), Western Lamaholot (*puit*, *puis*), and Kedang (*pui?*); and (2) the regular sound change *-t > Alorese -ʔ is attested. All the AP languages that use forms from the lexeme set *pui* ‘to blow’ are located close to Alorese. Adang, Blagar, Klon, and Hamap are close to the Straits Alorese varieties, while Teiwa and Sar are close to the Alorese varieties spoken on Pantar.

The PAL reconstruction *tutu ‘to say’ goes back to PFL *tutur (< PMP *tutuR ‘to speak’), while several AP languages have similar forms, including Blagar *vej tutuk*, Reta *u tutuk*, and Kaera *tutuk*. In Blagar, *vej-* means ‘about’; *vej-tutuk* ‘speak about’ (lit. ‘about speak’). The prefix *vej-* has been analyzed as indirect relationally or indirect relatedness prefix (Steinhauer, 2014:200). In addition, the *u* in Reta has been analyzed as a productive applicative proclitic in the language (Willemsen, 2021). It is likely that these AP languages borrowed *tutu* from Alorese and added a final plosive *k* (giving *tutuk* ‘to say’). A similar addition of final *k* is also seen in another Alorese loanword in Blagar and Kaera, *kopok* < Alorese *kipe* < PAL *kipe? ‘narrow’ (< PFL *kiput < PMP *kiput ‘narrow’).

Table 6.45 contains Alorese loanwords in AP languages corresponding to the concepts ‘tinea’, ‘rope’, and ‘narrow’.

Table 6.45: Alorese loanwords found in AP languages (table 3 of 5)

	PFL	PAL	AP languages
‘tinea’	*mpanau	*mənao	BG-Nule <i>mənaʷ</i> , BG-Tuntuli <i>banaw</i> , BG-Warsalelang <i>banau</i> , KM-Klamu <i>manu</i> , TW-Lebang <i>manai</i> , SR-Sar <i>manai</i> , RT-Hula <i>manau</i>
‘rope’	*tali	*tale	DE-Deing <i>tar</i> , TW-Teiwa <i>tar</i> , SR-Sar <i>tar</i>
‘narrow’	*kiput	*kipe?	BG-Bama <i>kopok</i> , KR-Kaera <i>kopok</i> , RT-Pura <i>kipe</i> , RT-Hula <i>kipe</i>

The PAL reconstruction *mənao ‘tinea’ goes back to PFL *mpanau (< PMP *panaw ‘tinea’). It is very likely that the AP languages given in Table 6.45 borrowed the forms from Alorese because the forms cannot be reconstructed to PAP. The initial *m* and *b* correspondence in Blagar is irregular. In addition, AP languages that have a form similar to *mənao* are spoken close to Alorese. In Teiwa and Sar, the change of final vowel *u* into *i* is probably regular because a similar change is seen in another (possibly early) Austronesian loanword for ‘needle’, namely Alorese *batul* ~ Teiwa *bati* and Sar *bitai* ‘needle’.

Words going back to PAL *tale (< PFL *tali < PMP *talih) ‘rope’ are also likely to have been borrowed into Teiwa, Deing and Sar. Robinson (2015:23) also suggests that this loanword has an Alorese origin. The other AP languages have different forms that can be reconstructed to Proto-Alor-Pantar *sil ‘rope’.

The PAL reconstruction *kipeʔ ‘narrow’ goes back to PFL *kiput (< PMP *kiput); PFL final *-t > PAL final *-ʔ is regular. PAL *kipeʔ is borrowed into Blagar and Kaera as *kopok* and into Reta as *kipe* ‘narrow’. No significant sound change is found in the borrowing into Reta. However, the change of the front-unrounded vowels *i* and *e* into the back rounded vowel *o* in Blagar and Kaera is unexplained because no similar change is attested in other Alorese loanwords in these languages.

Table 6.46 contains the next three Alorese loanwords found in AP languages.

Table 6.46: Alorese loanwords found in AP languages (table 4 of 5)

	PFL	PAL	Alor-Pantar languages
‘tall’	#blolo	*balolo k	RT-Pura <i>balolu</i> , RT-Hula <i>balolu</i> BG-Manatang <i>balolu</i>
‘to push’	#tobaŋ	*tobaŋ	BG-Bakalang <i>tobaŋ</i> , BG-Bama <i>gotobaŋ</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>tobaŋ</i> , BG-Pura <i>atobaŋ</i> , KR-Kaera <i>gotobuŋ</i> , RT-Pura <i>tomba</i> , WP-Tubbe <i>dub:a</i> , DE-Deing <i>doba</i>
‘shy’	*meya	*maniaŋ	BG-Bakalang <i>miniaŋ</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>məniaŋ</i> , KI-Labaing <i>manian</i> , WP-Tubbe <i>maniaŋ</i> , TW-Lebang <i>maniaŋ</i> , TW-Nule <i>meniya:ŋ</i> , SR-Sar <i>maniaŋ</i> , RT-Pura <i>maniaŋ</i> , RT-Hula <i>maniaŋ</i>

The PAL reconstruction *balolo|k ‘tall’ goes back to Lamaholot #blolo. Similar forms are found in AP languages, such as Reta *balolu* and Blagar *balolu* ‘tall’. Since Blagar and Reta are located close to the Straits Alorese varieties, it is very likely that these forms are of Alorese origin. No significant sound change is attested in these loanwords. Robinson (2015:23) also suggests that the Alorese word *balolo* is borrowed into Blagar and Reta.

For the concept ‘to push’, the PAL reconstruction *tobaŋ ‘to push’ goes back to Lamaholot #tobaŋ ‘to push’ (Fricke, 2019:508; Robinson, 2015:23). There is a semantic shift within FL languages, whereby the form *tobaŋ* has the meaning ‘to fall (from above)’ in Central Lamaholot and two other WL varieties, namely Adonara and Lewoingu. Based on the data presented in the table, I conclude that several AP languages, namely Blagar, Kaera, Deing, and Western Pantar borrowed the form *tobaŋ/tobuŋ/tomba/doba* ‘to push’ from Alorese. Within these

AP languages, no regular sound correspondences are attested. Initial *d* in Deing and Western Pantar is unexpected because PAP initial **t*- is retained unchanged in these languages. These irregularities indicate that the form is not inherited in the AP languages. Since the AP languages that have forms similar to Alorese *tobaj* are spoken in close proximity to Alorese, I suggest that the forms are borrowed from Alorese *tobaj* ‘to push’.

The PAL reconstruction **manianj* ‘shy’ goes back to PFL **mia* (< PFL **meya* < PMP **ma|həyaq* ‘shy; ashamed’). Since these forms are attested in the AP languages that are located close to Alorese, it is likely that the AP forms similar to PAL **manianj* are borrowed from Alorese.

Table 6.47 contains Alorese loanwords in AP languages for the concepts ‘field’ and ‘mosque’.

Table 6.47: Alorese loanwords found in AP languages (table 5 of 5)

	PFL	PAL	AP languages
‘field’	[...]	* <i>lata</i>	AD-Otvai <i>laʔ</i> , KI-Labaing <i>lat</i> , RT-Pura <i>la:t pare:hi</i> ,
‘mosque’	[...]	# <i>uma sigi</i>	AD-Otvai <i>ʔuma sigi</i> , RT-Pura <i>umasigi</i> , RT-Hula <i>umasigi</i>

The PAL reconstruction **lata* ‘field’ does not go back to any ancestral forms nor is it attested in the sister Flores-Lembata languages. However, a similar word *lataj* ‘rice field’ is attested in Kambera (spoken on Sumba). This form is also similar to a Malay word *ladaj* ‘field’. The AP forms *laʔ* in Adang, *lat* in Kui, and *la:t* in Pura are more likely Alorese loanwords with a loss of final vowel *a* as they also do not go back to an AP ancestor.

The word for ‘mosque’ probably entered Alorese when Islam was introduced to the coastal Alorese community in the fifteenth century, brought by preachers from the Moluccas (Aizid, 2016; Karim, 2007). The form *uma sigi* is found in all Alorese varieties. Alorese uses an inherited form *uma* (< PFL **ʔuma* < PMP **Rumaq*) ‘house’ combined with the word *sigi* (from Arabic source via the Moluccan Islamic preachers).³⁷ The AP languages that have similar forms are Adang (*ʔuma sigi*) and Reta (*umasigi*). Therefore, Adang and Reta are likely to

³⁷ Similar words for ‘mosque’ are attested in several languages in eastern Indonesia, such as *sigi* in west Flores languages (Komodo, Manggarai, and Bima), *masigi* in Tolaki (Southeast Sulawesi) and *masikit* in Buru, Geser-Gorom, Batuley, Uruangnirin, Kalamang (spoken in southeast Maluku and West Papua; Kaiping et al. 2019).

have borrowed these forms from Alorese.³⁸

In conclusion, in this section I have presented fourteen Alorese loanwords that are found in several Alor-Pantar languages. Among the recipient AP languages, the languages Blagar, Adang, Reta and Teiwa have borrowed the most Alorese words. These AP languages are located close to coastal areas and to the Alorese speaking communities. The loanwords comprise verbs ('to wipe', 'to blow', 'to say', and 'to push'); adjectives ('narrow' and 'shy'); nouns, related to cultural items ('rope' and 'mosque'); the body ('breast' and 'tinea'); animals ('crocodile' and 'whale'); and agriculture ('field').

6.6.2 Alorese loanwords attested only in Blagar

Historically, the speakers of Blagar have sociocultural ties with the speakers of Alorese due to a political alliance, named *Galiyao Watang Lema* (Gomang, 1993). The alliance involves three Alorese kingdoms (Pandai, Baranusa, and Bungabali) and two Alor-Pantar kingdoms (Blagar and Kui; cf. §3.4.4). This alliance may be several generations old, going back to the expansion of the Pandai Kingdom to Alor.

Here, I discuss Alorese loanwords attested only in Blagar, which is spoken in several pockets along the east coast of Pantar and on Pura Island (Figure 6.3). There are eight Blagar varieties documented, listed in

Table 6.5 (cf. §6.4.1). The majority of these varieties are spoken in the northeast Pantar area, with the exception of Pura, which is spoken on Pura Island, and of Nule, which is spoken in southeastern Pantar. Table 6.48 lists Alorese words that are borrowed exclusively into Blagar.

³⁸ Note that in Blagar, there is also a word for 'mosque' *masikit*. This word is possibly not from Alorese, but could have been borrowed directly from an external source because it has final *t* as seen in languages in southeast Maluku and West Papua. This scenario is possible given that several coastal Muslim communities are also found in Blagar (Gomang, 1993:50).

Table 6.48: Alorese loanwords attested only in Blagar

	PFL	PAL	Blagar varieties
‘flea’	*təməla	*tamela	BG-Nule <i>təmela</i> , BG-Bama <i>təpela</i>
	[...]	#məre	BG-Pura <i>məra</i>
‘to fold’	*ləpət	*ləpeʔ	BG-Bakalang <i>lepet</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>lepet</i> , BG-Nule <i>lepet</i>
‘frog’	LH #kəmətor	*mato	BG-Bakalang <i>moto</i> , BG-Nule <i>moto</i>
‘burden stick’	*leba	*kə ləpa ŋ	BG-Warsalelang <i>kəlepa</i> , BG-Bama <i>kalaŋ</i>
‘mud’	LH-KD #bota(n)	*butaʔ	BG-Bakalang <i>buta</i> , BG-Bama <i>buta</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>wutaʔ om</i>
	‘sand’		
‘butterfly’	[...]	*kəlili	BG-Bakalang <i>kaliliŋ</i> , BG-Bama <i>qaqil</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>kaliliŋ</i> , BG-Nule <i>kaliliŋ</i> , BG-Tuntuli <i>kaliliŋ</i> , BG-Manatang <i>xaliliŋ</i>
‘branch’	[...]	*kəraŋak	BG-Kulijahi <i>tei kraŋga</i> , BG-Nule <i>tei kəraŋa</i>
‘deaf’	[...]	*kəmukek	BG-Nule <i>kmuke</i>

PAL *tamela ‘flea’ goes back to PFL *təməla ‘flea’ (< PMP *qatiməla ‘flea’). Nule borrowed *təmela* from Alor Besar *tamela*. In Bama, the change of intervocalic *m* to *p* in *təpela* is sporadic because no similar sound change is attested within the Blagar varieties. In addition, a Blagar word *məra* ‘flea’ is also suspected to have been borrowed from Munaseli *məre* ‘flea’. This Munaseli form may also be related to other reflexes of PMP *qatiməla though irregularly.

PAL forms for ‘to fold’ and ‘frog’ also go back to early forms, such as PAL *ləpeʔ ‘to fold’ < PFL *ləpət (PFL *-t > PAL *-ʔ is regular). The fact that Blagar retains the final *t* indicates that the borrowing took place at an early stage; possibly before Alorese changed the PFL sound into a glottal stop, or perhaps at an even earlier stage. PAL *mato ‘frog’ goes back to LH #kəmetor ‘frog’. This form is borrowed into Blagar as *moto* ‘frog’. The change of the Alorese vowel *a* into Blagar *o* is also seen in other Alorese loans into Blagar, such as Blagar *bololu* < PAL *balolu ‘tall’.

PAL *kə|ləpa|ŋ ‘burden stick’ goes back to PFL *leba (< Proto-Central-Malayo-Polynesian; PCMP *ləmba). The Blagar words *kəlepa* and *kalaŋ* have initial *k* which come from PAL *kə-. In addition, Blagar varieties that use these

forms are located in northeastern Pantar, close to the Straits varieties of Alorese. In Warsalelang, no phonemic change is attested, but in Bama, the intervocalic plosive *p* is dropped.

Blagar has also borrowed *buta* ‘mud’ from Alorese *buta* (< PAL **buta*?), which goes back to Lamaholot-Kedang #*bota*(n) ‘sand’. The Blagar varieties Bakalang and Bama have not made any significant phonological changes to the word; meanwhile in Kulijahi the initial *b* has become *w*, as seen in *wuta? om* ‘mud’. This change is irregular within the Blagar language, suggesting that the word is indeed a borrowing. The suffix *-om* means ‘over there’ (Steinhauer & Gomang, 2016:219).

No higher-level reconstructions have yet been made for the PAL form **kəlili* ‘butterfly’. However, similar forms are found in several Austronesian languages, namely Central Lamaholot *kəbu kal*, Manggarai *kakel* (spoken in west Flores), Waerana *kakel* (spoken in west Flores), Waima’a *lili baka* (spoken on Timor), and Naueti *liliboka* (spoken on Timor). Moreover, although no similar forms are attested in the other AP languages, but in Makasae (spoken on Timor) a form *lili baka* is attested, which is similar to the forms found in the Timor Austronesian languages, Waima’a and Naueti. Given that, of the AP languages, only Blagar uses this form, it is likely that Blagar borrowed *kaliliŋ* ‘butterfly’ from Alorese.

Although no higher-level reconstruction in Flores-Lembata languages has yet been made for PAL **kəraŋak* ‘branch’, Proto-Western-Malayo-Polynesian (PWMP) **raŋkaŋ* ‘forked, as a branch’ has been reconstructed. In addition, similar words with the same meaning ‘branch’ are attested across Central-Eastern-Malayo-Polynesian (CEMP) languages, such as *karaŋga* ‘branch’ in Kambera (spoken on Sumba) and *raŋ* ‘branch’ in Geser-Gorom (spoken on islands in southeast Maluku; Blust & Trussel, 2016; Klamer, 1998). In Blagar, word-medial consonant clusters are limited to onomatopoeic nouns (Steinhauer, 2014:153). Insertion of a nasal, as seen in the Blagar word *kraŋga* ‘branch’, marks a loanword. Therefore, since no similar form is attested in the other AP languages, besides Blagar, I propose that this form is also a loanword from Alorese.

Lastly, the PAL reconstruction **kəmukek* ‘deaf’ does not go back to any available proto-forms. However, some rather similar words are attested across Lamaholot varieties; Central-Lamaholot *kəmoɦoka*, *kəmoɦok*, *kəmoso*, *kəmosol*, and Western-Lamaholot *kəmoŋo* ‘deaf’. In the AP languages, other similar words are also attested, namely *moki* in Kula, *muko* in Sawila, *moku/mokol* in Wersing, *mok* in Suboo, *mok* in Kamang, and *məki* in Papuna. It seems that these words are stem

from ancient contact. However, if we look at the reconstructed PAL **kəmukek*, which is possibly inherited from Lamaholot, the Blagar form *kmuke* ‘deaf’ is likely to be an Alorese loan due to the existence of the initial *k-* in Blagar. In addition, Blagar usually does not allow initial consonant clusters *km-* which also indicates borrowing (Steinhauer, 2014:153).

In sum, this section has presented eight Alorese loanwords attested only in Blagar. These loanwords correspond to the semantic domains of animals (‘flea’, ‘frog’), cultural items (‘burden stick’), the physical world (‘mud’, ‘branch’), the body (‘deaf’), and motion (‘to fold’).

6.6.3 Alorese loanwords attested only in Reta

In this section, I present Alorese loanwords in Reta. Reta is spoken mainly on two islands in the Pantar Straits, namely Ternate Island and Pura Island. On Pura, speakers of Reta (RT-Pura) share the island with speakers of Blagar (BG-Pura). On Ternate, speakers of Reta (RT-Ternate) share the island with speakers of Alorese (AL-Ternate; see map in Figure 6.2). In addition, one variety of Reta, namely Hula, is spoken on the Alor Peninsula.

There are two Alorese loanwords attested exclusively in Reta; these are displayed in Table 6.49.

Table 6.49: Alorese loanwords attested only in Reta

	PFL	PAL	Reta
‘traditional house’	#korke	#kokor	RT-Ternate <i>kokor</i>
‘to think’	<i>gənuan</i> (CL)	<i>*ganokun</i>	RT-Pura <i>ganukun</i> , RT-Hula <i>ganəkun</i>

In Alorese, the word *kokor* ‘traditional house’ is only found in Pandai. Similar words with a relatively similar meaning are found in several other WL varieties, such as *koke* ‘meeting house’ in the WL varieties of Lewoingu and Adonara. The word *korke* ‘village temple’ is also mentioned in a cultural-anthropological description of the Lamaholot area (Arndt, 1938:8). In addition, a locally published book about the oral history of the Baranusa Kingdom (Lelang, 2008:1), uses the term *kokor* to refer to a house used for reciting the Qur’an. Therefore, it is likely that this form is of Austronesian origin that got borrowed into RT-Ternate through Alorese.

The PAL reconstruction **ganokun* ‘to think’ does not go back to any available proto-forms. However, a similar form *gənuan* ‘to think’ is attested in the Central Lamaholot variety of Painara. Since a similar form is attested in

Central Lamaholot and no similar form is used in other AP languages, it is likely that Reta borrowed *ganokun* ‘to think’ from Alorese. For this loanword, no significant phonological change is found in Reta.

6.6.4 Alorese loanwords attested only in Teiwa

Teiwa is spoken on Pantar, south of the Alorese community in the northeast Pantar area. Teiwa speakers interact with the Alorese in the context of trade and probably also through inter-marriage. A commercial center named Kabir is located in the Teiwa speaking area (see Figure 1.3 or 1.4), where the mixed community of Alorese and Alor-Pantar speakers meet regularly for trade.

In this section, I discuss two Alorese loanwords attested only in Teiwa, for the concepts ‘name’ and ‘children’. These are displayed in Table 6.50.

Table 6.50: Alorese loanwords attested only in Teiwa

	PFL	PAL	Teiwa
‘name’	*nadan	*naraj	TW-Lebang <i>nara?</i>
‘children’	[...]	*bai hire kari	TW-Teiwa <i>biar kariman</i>

The PAL reconstruction *naraj ‘name’ goes back to PFL *nadan (< PMP *ŋajan) ‘name’. It is very likely that the Teiwa variety Lebang borrowed *nara?* ‘name’ from Alorese. Final glottal stop is phonemic in Teiwa (Klamer, 2010:511), but it is unclear whether its presence is due to the final velar nasal in the Alorese word *naraj* ‘name’.

Similar words for ‘children’ are found in several Alorese varieties: Beang Onong *bire*, Baranusa *bire kari*, Helangdohi *bai*, Wailawar *bahire*, and Pandai *bai*. These forms originate from a compound of the root *bai* ‘child’ with *hire* ‘PL’, and *kari* ‘small’, combined to give the form *bai hire kari* ‘children’ (lit. ‘child-PL-small’). The root *bai* is most likely a Malay loan *bayi* ‘newly born child’; the word *hire* is the Alorese plural word, and *kari* (< PMP *kedi ‘small’) means ‘small’. Teiwa has a similar form *biar kariman* ‘children’. Teiwa has borrowed *biar kari* from Alorese with metathesis and a vowel change *bire* > *biar*, and the addition of the suffix *-man*. The suffix *-man* in Teiwa conveys plurality of a certain number of people in a group (Klamer, 2010:84). The Teiwa form is noted by Robinson (2015:22), who suggests that the direction of borrowing is from Alorese into Teiwa.

In sum, this section has shown how Alorese has influenced the AP languages spoken around the Strait of Pantar and east Pantar, such as Blagar,

Adang, Reta, Teiwa, and Kaera. Alorese loanwords that have been borrowed into these AP languages include basic vocabulary, such as verbs and nouns related to cultural items, body parts, and animals. Several AP-speaking communities, namely Blagar, Reta, and Teiwa have special bonds with the Alorese, as shown by the fact that there are several Alorese loanwords exclusive to the lexicon of each of these languages.

6.7 Loanwords of unknown origin and unclear direction

In this section, I present words that indicate contact between Alorese varieties and the Alor-Pantar languages and possibly a third language. The evidence for contact is seen in the similarity of words attested in Alorese and AP. However, these similar words do not have clear ancestors; they could be of Austronesian origin or non-Austronesian origin. The following tables contain loans of unknown origin and unclear direction.

The first three of these loans of unknown origin and unclear direction are presented in Table 6.51.

Table 6.51: Loans of unknown origin and unclear direction (table 1 of 7)

	Alorese varieties	AP languages
'to breathe'	AL-Munaseli <i>hopaŋ</i>	BG-Kulijahi <i>hopaŋ</i> , BG-Nule <i>hopaŋ</i> , BG-Pura <i>hopaŋ</i> , BG-Bama <i>sopaŋ</i> , RT-Ternate <i>hupaŋ</i> , DE-Deing <i>opaŋ</i> , KR-Kaera <i>supaŋ</i> , WP-Tubbe <i>hopaŋ</i>
'mountain'	AL-Alor Besar <i>dola</i> , AL-Dulolong <i>dola</i>	KL-Bring <i>dɔl</i> , KL-Hopter <i>dɔl</i> , KI-Labaing <i>dol</i> , BG-Pura <i>dɔl</i>
'scabies; ringworm'	AL-Beang Onong <i>katu</i> , AL-Helangdohi <i>katu</i> , AL-Wailawar <i>katu</i> , AL-Pandai <i>katu</i> , AL-Bana <i>katu</i> , AL-Munaseli <i>katu</i> , AL-Ternate <i>katu</i> , AL-Buaya <i>katu</i> , AL-Alor Besar <i>katu</i>	KL-Hopter <i>kat</i> , RT-Ternate <i>katu</i> , RT-Pura <i>katu</i> , BG-Bakalang <i>katu</i> , KR-Kaera <i>qatu</i> , KU-Klamu <i>katu</i> , WP-Tubbe <i>kat:ur</i>

The Munaseli form *hopaŋ* 'to breathe' is similar to the forms attested in several AP languages, such as Blagar, Reta, Deing, Kaera, and West Pantar. An early AP form #sVpaN 'to breathe' may be reconstructed based on several sound correspondences; initial PAP *s is retained as s in Kaera and changed into h in Blagar and Adang; in addition, the PAP intervocalic *-p- is retained in all

languages. However, there is also a possibility that this form is an inherited Austronesian form that was borrowed into AP languages at an early stage, since a similar form *hopaŋ* ‘to be out of breath’ is also attested in Sika (Pareira & Lewis, 1998:78).

The Peninsula Alorese form *dola* is similar to the Kui and Blagar forms, with the addition of final *a*. The final *a* in the Alorese form may arise from the fact that these varieties do not allow words end in *l*. Robinson (2015:24) proposes that the Alorese word *dola* ‘mountain’ is a loanword from Alorese into the AP languages (Adang, Hamap, Klon, and Kui). This proposal is based on evidence that a similar word *doro* ‘mountain’ is found in Bima (spoken in the eastern part of Sumbawa Island). Robinson (2015:24) also states that the direction of borrowing is less certain and it is also possible that the direction is the other way around (AP into Alorese).

For the concept ‘scabies; ringworm’, there exist many similar forms across AP languages. However, the evidence that the AP forms for ‘scabies; ringworms’ go back to PAP is rather weak, because the sound correspondences are irregular in the AP languages. The Alorese form *katu* can actually be reconstructed to PAL **katu* ‘scabies; ringworm’. However, no similar ancestral Austronesian form is attested. There is a similar word in Kotos Amarasi (spoken on Timor) *katu* ‘ringworm’ (Edwards & Bani, 2017 in Kaiping et al. 2019), possibly suggesting that the AP forms derive from early contact with an external source.

The following three examples are presented in Table 6.51 for the concepts ‘breadfruit’, ‘clothing’, and ‘coral rock’.

Table 6.52: Loans of unknown origin and unclear direction (table 2 of 7)

	Alorese varieties	AP languages
‘breadfruit’	AL-Alor Besar <i>kundžu</i> , AL-Buaya <i>kundžu</i> , AL-Dulolong <i>kundžu</i> , AL-Alor Kecil <i>kundžu</i> , AL-Ternate <i>kundžu</i>	BG-Bakalang <i>undur</i> , BG-Bama <i>kunur</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>undur</i> , BG-Nule <i>undur</i> , BG-Tuntuli <i>kunur</i> , DE-Deing <i>kulur</i> , KR-Kaera <i>kunur</i> , KI-Labaing <i>kulur</i>
‘clothing’	AL-Baranusa <i>kondžo/kondo</i> , AL-Pandai <i>kondə</i> , AL-Buaya <i>kondžo</i>	AB-Ulaga <i>konde</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>kondo</i> , BG-Warsalelang <i>kondo</i> , BG-Pura <i>kondo</i> , BG-Manatang <i>kondo</i>
‘coral rock’	AL-Alor Besar <i>fato manapa</i>	BG-Nule <i>mənapa</i>

The Alorese form *kundžu* ‘breadfruit’ may go back to PMP **kulur* ‘breadfruit’ with irregular sound changes. Ro’is Amarasi (spoken on Timor) has

a rather similar form *kunum* ‘breadfruit’ which is also irregularly related to the PMP form. However, no similar form is attested in the FL languages. In AP, the similar forms *undur/kundul/kunur* ‘breadfruit’ are attested. On the one hand, this similarity among AP languages may indicate that the direction of borrowing is from AP into Alorese; in addition, Alorese does not allow medial consonant clusters, unlike Blagar. On the other hand, the similarity with the PMP form may indicate an early contact between AP languages and (an) Austronesian language(s). Overall, it seems that these terms for ‘breadfruit’ entered Alorese and AP languages at different stages.

The word *konɔʒo* ‘clothing’ is included in this list because it is unclear where the form entered from. Klamer (2011) and Robinson (2015:33) have suggested that this form is of Makassarese origin, borrowed into Blagar, and subsequently borrowed from Blagar into Alorese. However, the evidence supporting this hypothesis is rather weak.

For the concept ‘coral rock’, the similarity between the Alor Besar and Nule forms points towards innovation, but the origin is unclear. In Alor Besar, the word for ‘coral rock’ is a compound, *fato manapa*, consisting of an inherited PMP form *fato* (< PMP *batu ‘stone’) and the innovated form *manapa*.

Table 6.53: Loans of unknown origin and unclear direction (table 3 of 7)

	Alorese varieties	AP languages
‘dolphin’	AL-Alor Besar <i>ikaŋ kuɖʒae</i> , AL-Munaseli <i>kuɖʒa</i> , AL-Pandai <i>uɖʒa</i> , AL-Buaya <i>uɖʒae</i> , AL-Helangdohi <i>kuɖʒa</i> , AL-Alor Kecil <i>kuɖʒai</i> , AL-Ternate <i>kuɖʒae</i> , AL-Wailawar <i>kuɖʒa</i>	BG-Bakalang <i>kuɖʒa</i> , BG-Bama <i>kuɖʒa</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>kuɖʒa</i> , BG-Nule <i>kuɖʒa</i> , BG-Tuntuli <i>kuɖʒah</i> , BG-Warsalelang <i>kuɖʒa</i> , BG-Pura <i>kuja</i> , Deing <i>kui</i> , KR-Kaera <i>xuja</i> , TW-Lebang <i>kuja?</i> , SR-Sar <i>kuja kla.r</i> , RT-Pura <i>kolol</i> , AD-Lawahing <i>usaha</i> , AD-Otvai <i>usah</i> , Abui <i>ku</i>
‘fish trap’	AL-Alor Besar <i>kanopaŋ</i> , AL-Pandai <i>knɔpal</i>	WS-Taramana <i>knopoŋ</i> , RT-Hula <i>pəkə</i>
‘fog’	AL-Dulolong <i>ekaŋ maru</i>	BG-Bama <i>ilmoro</i> , BG-Nule <i>bil moro</i> , BG-Warsalelang <i>ilməro</i> , RT-Ternate <i>moro</i> , RT-Pura <i>ʔil mərə</i> , RT-Hula <i>mamərə</i>

The word for ‘dolphin’ is widely attested both in Alorese varieties and in the AP languages. The Alorese word *kuɖʒae/kuɖʒa* ‘dolphin’ may go back to an

early Austronesian form, since there is a Proto-Oceanic form *kuriap ‘dolphin’. However, no similar form is attested in the FL languages. In other languages in the far north of Alor, several forms are attested; *uas* in Geser-Gorom (south Maluku); *kurap* in Kalamang (spoken on west Papua); and *kuraf* in Uruangnirin (spoken on west Papua). In the AP languages, there are similar forms showing regular sound correspondences (*kudʒa/xuja/kuja/kuja?*), which indicates shared ancestry. The sound correspondences enable the reconstruction of a possible early AP form *kujasi ‘dolphin’. In Blagar, the approximant [j] only occurs in the interjection *jo* ‘yes’ and a few borrowings, such as the recently adopted Christian name *Yohan* [johan] and the word *rayat* [rajat], borrowed from Indonesian *rakyat* ‘the people’. In Adang, PAP medial *s is regularly reflected as *h*, as seen in the Adang word *usaha* ‘dolphin’. These similarities may indicate an early contact. However, the similarity between the Alorese *kudʒae* and the Blagar word *kudʒa* ‘dolphin’ may also indicate recent contact. Ultimately, there may be layers of contact, in which the form can be related to PCOMP *kuriap, with Blagar then borrowing the Alorese form more recently. Nevertheless, there is no strong pattern that enables us to determine the borrowing direction of this word.

For the concept ‘fish trap’, the Alorese word *kanopaj/knopal* is similar to Wersing *knopaj* and Reta (AP) *poko*. Given the great distance between the two languages, this similarity may be a coincidence; however, it could also have arisen from contact, as Alorese and Wersing are both coastal communities. In sum, the origin of this form is unknown.

In Dulolong, only the word *ekaj maru* is used for the concept ‘fog’. The form is a compound consisting an inherited word *ekaj* ‘garden’ and the form *maru* ‘fog’. Similar forms to *maru* are attested in Kedang (*aruq* ‘foggy’) and Kambara (*mahu* ‘fog’; Klamer, 1998; Samely & Barnes, 2013). In the AP languages, the forms *moro/ilmero/manurunj* are widely attested in Blagar and Reta varieties. The similarity between Alorese and Blagar may indicate contact, but the origin of the word is unclear.

Table 6.54: Loans of unknown origin and unclear directions (table 4 of 7)

	Alorese varieties	AP languages
'knife'	AL-Kayang <i>duri</i> , AL-Beang Onong <i>duri</i> , AL-Baranusa <i>duri</i> , AL-Wailawar <i>durik</i> , AL- Helangdohi <i>duri</i> , AL-Pandai <i>duri</i> , AL-Bana <i>duri</i> ?, AL- Munaseli <i>durik</i> , AL-Ternate <i>duri</i> , AL-Buaya <i>duri</i> , AL-Alor Besar <i>duri</i> , AL-Alor Kecil <i>duri</i> , AL-Dulolong <i>duri</i>	AD-Lawahing <i>duir</i> , AD-Otvai <i>dir</i> , AD-Otvai <i>duir</i> , HM-Moru <i>duir</i> , KB-Monbang <i>dur</i> , KF-Kafoa <i>dor</i> , KL-Bring <i>dor</i> , KL-Hopter <i>dor</i> , KI-Labaing <i>dur</i>
'stick pole'	AL-Helangdohi <i>noru</i> ?	BG-Nule <i>noruk</i> , BG-Tuntuli <i>şenoruk</i>
'rack'	AL-Munaseli <i>here</i> ?, AL-Pandai <i>here</i> , AL-Kayang <i>here</i> , AL- Ternate <i>here</i>	RT-Pura <i>here</i>
	AL-Pandai <i>huruj</i>	AD-Otvai <i>huruj</i>

Regarding the set for *duri* 'knife', Klamer (2011:105) suggests that it is an AP loanword in Alorese sourced from Adang; and Robinson (2015:29) identifies this form as an Alorese loanword in the AP languages (cf. Tetun *tudik*, Ngadha *tudi*, Sika *tudi* 'knife'). However, between Alorese and Sika, the correspondence of initial *d* (Alorese *duri*) and *t* (Sika *tudi*) is irregular, indicating that the forms are probably not of PFL origin. In both Alorese and Sika, PFL medial **d* is regularly retained as *r*; initial **d*- and **r*- are also retained unchanged. These irregular correspondences between the Alorese and Sika forms suggest that the forms *duri*/*tudi* come from external sources. A similar irregularity is seen among the AP languages: PAP **r* would normally be retained in Adang as *l*, but the form in the table show a different pattern; this provides further indication that the AP forms for 'knife' are not inherited. However, there is similarity between the Alorese form *duri* and the nearby AP languages, for instance Blagar *duir*, which might indicate contact; however, the direction of borrowing remains unknown due to the unclear origin of the forms.

The Helangdohi word *noru* 'stick pole' is similar to *noruk*/*şenoruk* in Blagar. However, there is minimal evidence to link this set to any particular proto-form. For the concept 'rack', two word sets are identified: *here* and *huruj*. These forms do not appear to go back to any available proto-forms. In Kotos-Amarasi (spoken on Timor) a form *harak* 'rack above hearth' is attested (Edwards & Bani, 2017 in Kaiping et al. 2019), and in Lio (Central Flores) another form *gara* 'rack above hearth' is also attested (Elias, 2017 in Kaiping et al. 2019).

Table 6.55: Loans of unknown origin and unclear direction (table 5 of 7)

	Alorese varieties	AP languages
'sweet'	AL-Kayang <i>tago</i> , AL-Beang Onong <i>tange</i> , AL-Baranusa <i>tange</i> , AL-Wailawar <i>tage</i> , AL- Helangdohi <i>tage</i> , AL-Pandai <i>tage</i> , AL-Bana <i>tage</i> , AL- Munaseli <i>tage</i> , AL-Ternate <i>tange</i> , AL-Buaya <i>tange</i> , AL-Alor Besar <i>tage</i> , AL-Alor Kecil <i>tange</i> , AL-Dulolong <i>tange</i>	BG-Bakalang <i>tenge</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>tenge</i> , BG-Nule <i>tenge</i>
'to be silent'	AL-Munaseli <i>rama?</i> , AL-Pandai <i>rama</i> , LA-Bana <i>ramak</i> , AL- Baranusa <i>rama</i> , AL-Wailawar <i>ramak</i>	AB-Takalelang <i>rama</i> , AB-Ulaga <i>rama</i>
'to call out'	AL-Baranusa <i>garaj</i> , AL-Beang Onong <i>garaj</i> , AL-Kayang <i>garonj</i>	BG-Bakalang <i>garenj</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>gadenj</i> , BG-Nule <i>garenj</i>

PAL **tange* 'sweet' may go back to an early Austronesian form, since **tagek* 'tree sap; juice of fruit' has been reconstructed for proto-Philippines (Blust and Trussel, 2016). However, no similar forms in the FL languages are attested. In the AP languages, the word *tenge* 'sweet' is only attested in Blagar. Other AP languages use a form of either *marak* 'sweet' or *hub/wub* 'sweet'. In addition, although word-medial consonant clusters are rare in Blagar, they are possible; nonetheless, their rarity suggests that this particular form may originate from an external source.

The set *rama?*/*ramak*/*rama* 'to be silent' in Alorese and Abui potentially indicates contact, but at an early stage, as no similar forms are attested in Blagar, Reta, or Adang. However, the origin of this form is unclear. It may be connected to *ramak* 'night; black' in several WL varieties.

For the concept 'to call out', the Kulijahi form *gadenj* 'to call out' may have retained an early -*d*- sound as the sound change *d* > *r* is regular. However, since no similar early forms are attested, the direction of borrowing is unclear.

Table 6.56: Loans of unknown origin and unclear direction (table 6 of 7)

	Alorese varieties	AP languages
'stick pole'	AL-Alor Besar <i>doba</i> , AL-Buaya <i>doba</i> , AL-Dulolong <i>doba</i> , AL-Alor Kecil <i>ɖɔba</i>	AD-Lawahing <i>dopon</i> , AD-Otvai <i>dopon</i> , BG-Bakalang <i>doba</i> , Klon-Hopter <i>dob</i> , Klamu <i>do</i> , BG-Pura <i>doba</i>
'papaya'	AL-Alor Besar <i>kasi</i> , AL-Pandai <i>kasi</i> , AL-Baranusa <i>kasi</i> , AL-Beang Onong <i>kasi</i> , AL-Dulolong <i>kasi</i> , AL-Alor Kecil <i>kasi</i> , AL-Ternate <i>kasi</i>	BG-Bakalang <i>kasi</i> , BG-Bama <i>kasi</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>kasi</i> , BG-Nule <i>kasi</i> , BG-Tuntuli <i>kasi</i> , BG-Warsalelang <i>kasi</i> , KR-Kaera <i>kasi</i> , BG-Pura <i>kasi</i> , TW-Lebang <i>kasi</i> , RT-Pura <i>kasi</i> , BG-Manatang <i>kasi</i> , RT-Hula <i>kasi</i> , PN-Papuna <i>mukusi</i>

For the concept 'stick pole', similar forms *doba/ɖɔba/dopon/dob/do* are attested in the Straits Alorese varieties and the AP languages spoken around the Strait of Pantar, namely Adang, Blagar, and Klon. This form is an innovation in Straits Alorese. In the AP languages, the correspondences of intervocalic *b* and *p* between Adang and Blagar are irregular, which may also indicate innovation.

Papaya is not native to Southeast Asia, but was introduced by the Spanish or Portuguese. Robinson (2015:22) suggests that the word *kasi* is an Alorese loanword in the AP languages because the form has an identifiable Austronesian etymology. However, since no similar forms are attested in the Flores-Lembata languages, it is unclear whether the Alorese word *kasi* is inherited. Moreover, the form is quite wide-spread in the AP languages.

Table 6.57: Loans of unknown origin and unclear direction (table 7 of 7)

	Alorese varieties	AP languages
'ritual mound'	AL-Pandai <i>doru</i> , AL-Alor Besar <i>dolu</i> , AL-Munaseli <i>doru</i> , AL-Bana <i>doru</i>	AD-Otvai <i>dor</i> , KR-Kaera <i>dor</i> , KL-Hopter <i>dur</i> , BG-Pura <i>doru</i> , SR-Sar <i>dɔ:r</i> , RT-Pura <i>doru</i> , BG-Manatang <i>doru</i> , RT-Hula <i>doru</i>
'whisper'	AL-Baranusa <i>kapi</i> , AL-Beang Onong <i>kapi~kapi</i>	WP-Tubbe <i>kap~kap biran</i>

For the concept 'ritual mound', the Alorese varieties and the AP languages both show regular sound correspondences in the word *doru*. The initial *d* is

regularly retained and the medial *l ~ r* correspondences are also regular. A form *dolu* ‘stone; stone wall; layers of stone’ is also attested in Kedang. However, there is insufficient evidence to establish whether this form is of Austronesian or non-Austronesian origin; thus it is not yet possible to determine the direction of borrowing.

The set for the concept ‘whisper’ is only attested in the western Alorese varieties and the AP language Western Pantar. The form *kapi/kapi~kapi* ‘whisper’ is an innovation in the western varieties of Alorese.³⁹ In Western Pantar, the compound *kap~kap biraj* comprises reduplication (*kap~kap*) and *biraj* ‘to say’, which could also be from Malay *bilang* ‘to say’. These forms are possibly contact-induced innovations in both languages, but the borrowing direction and origin are unclear.

6.8 Summary and conclusions

In this chapter, loanwords in Alorese from various sources have been presented, as well as loans from Alorese in the Alor-Pantar languages. In addition, I have discussed loans of unknown origin with an unclear direction of borrowing.

The data indicate that AP loanwords entered Alorese at different stages. An earlier stage of contact between the languages resulted in AP loanwords in Alorese that can be reconstructed to PAL (cf. §6.5.1.1). Moreover, some more recent contact scenarios are demonstrated by loanwords that are attested in varieties spoken over smaller areas, such as Pantar (cf. §6.5.1.2), northeast Pantar (cf. §6.5.1.3), northeast Pantar and the Alor Peninsula (cf. §6.5.1.4), the Straits (cf. §6.5.1.5), and the Alor Peninsula (cf. §6.5.1.6). In essence, the more widespread the AP loanwords, the earlier the borrowing took place in Alorese; likewise, the narrower the spread of the AP loanwords, the more recently the borrowing took place.

The geographic distribution of loans can also indicate donor languages and recipient varieties. Blagar is the main donor for AP loanwords in Alorese overall with most loanwords in PAL and northeast Pantar being borrowed from Blagar. For AP loanwords attested in the Pantar varieties of Alorese, the AP language Western Pantar is the most likely donor language and the Alorese varieties in the west (Kayang, Beang Onong, Baranusa) are the main recipients. The loanwords from this contact in the west were then adopted by speakers in northeast Pantar, but not by speakers in the Straits. With respect to AP loanwords attested only in the Northeast Pantar varieties, the most likely donor languages are Blagar, Teiwa, and Reta. In some cases, loanwords from these

³⁹ The other varieties use forms reconstructed to PAL **tamaga* ‘to whisper’.

donors were brought also to the Peninsula varieties of Alorese. For the Straits varieties, Blagar is the main donor. In addition, the AP languages Adang and Hamap are among the main donors for AP loanwords attested only in the Peninsula varieties.

The semantic domains of borrowed lexemes may also indicate the intensity of contact. There is a crucial difference between the early AP loans borrowed into PAL and the more recent loans attested in, for instance, the Peninsula varieties. On the one hand, the early loans contain more basic vocabulary, such as a numeral (PAL *kar- ‘tens’), a kinship term (PAL *kaʔu ‘younger sibling’) and verbs (‘to hide’, ‘to cook’, ‘to close’). On the other hand, the more recent borrowings mainly concerns nouns, particularly relating to cultural items, such as ‘rattan’, ‘fish trap’, ‘coral rock’, ‘digging stick’, ‘gravel’, and ‘bed; raised platform’. These findings may strengthen the hypothesis that different types of contact took place between the Alorese and the speakers of AP languages.

It has been argued that the Alorese went through two main stages of contact with AP speakers (cf. §6.2). The first stage is thought to have involved intensive contact (the stage relating to loanwords reconstructable to PAL); at this stage, the community was presumably bilingual, including the children. This may have been the time during which structural borrowings (e.g. the plural word, give constructions; cf. Moro, 2018; Moro & Fricke, 2020) and the borrowing of basic vocabulary took place, even though it is rather surprising to see that only small number of loanwords are attested. The second later stage is thought to have possibly involved a large amount of adult second-language learning, for example due to incoming spouses with a non-Alorese language background (cf. Moro, 2019). At this stage, morphological simplification may have taken place, and more cultural terms and general nouns may have been borrowed into Alorese.

There are a number of compounds among the AP loans in Alorese; however, no particular pattern is shown in these compounds. In some cases, Alorese borrowed the modifier instead of the head word, as seen in the AP form *ya tor* ‘road’ in which Alorese borrowed the modifier *tor* (< PAP *ora ‘tail; back bone tail; tailbone’) instead of the head word *ya* (a common term for ‘road’) (Robinson, 2015:28). In most cases, however, Alorese borrowed the headword, instead of the modifier, as seen in the AP verb *venterij* ‘to close’, where Alorese borrowed the root *teraʔ* ‘to close’ without the applicative suffix *ven-*.

There are no AP loanwords in Alorese that are exclusively attested in West varieties (Kayang, Beang Onong, and Baranusa) or the Islands varieties (Ternate and Buaya). This confirms the hypothesis, based on oral history, that these Alorese-speaking groups were only recently separated from their respective

homelands (cf. §3.4.4 and §3.4.6).

The distribution of loanwords in the varieties of Alorese sheds light on the contact among speakers in the area where each Alorese variety is spoken. Blagar is the main donor for AP loanwords in Alorese not only because of its proximity within the Straits area, but also due to the historical ties this community has with the Alorese, enshrined in *Galiyao Watang Lema* sociopolitical alliance. In this sense, the Straits area likely to have been where the most intense contact took place. Moreover, the distribution of Alorese loanwords in the AP languages also confirms the geographical location of the contact, which appears to have been the Straits area, given that Blagar has the most Alorese loanwords. The presence of Alorese loanwords in the AP languages Reta and Teiwa also points toward contact in the Straits area. It is thus very likely that the area around the Strait of Pantar was a busy area where speakers of Alorese and AP languages had significant contact.

Loanwords from Alorese into AP languages are mainly attested in AP languages spoken around the Straits and northeast Pantar. This suggests that the earliest Alorese settlement was located in either the Straits or northeast Pantar. If the local oral tradition is also taken into account, it appears that the cultural center of the Alorese speaking community was indeed located in northeast Pantar. One of the oldest Alorese kingdoms, Pandai, expanded its territory to Alor Besar (which became the Kingdom of Bungabali), and to west Pantar (which became the Kingdom of Baranusa). Taken together, there is thus considerable evidence for the view that northeast Pantar is the homeland of Alorese.

Discussion and conclusions

7.1 Revisiting the research questions

The overall aim of this dissertation is to reconstruct the history of Alorese by combining oral history and linguistic history. There are nine questions posed in the beginning of this dissertation (cf. §1.2). The first three questions deal with Alorese oral history and how it can be used to build a chronology of the migration of the ancestors of the Alorese people. The following two questions concern Alorese historical phonology and specifically how the Proto-Flores-Lembata (PFL) sounds are reflected in the Western Lamaholot (WL) languages, which include Alorese. In addition, the discussion of historical phonology also addresses evidence for Alorese as an innovation-defined subgroup within WL. The last four questions address traces of contact between Alorese and the Alor-Pantar languages in terms of their lexicons. There are three main topics in this discussion: loanwords in Alorese from various sources, including the Alor-Pantar (AP) languages; the role of Alorese as donor language to the AP languages; and finally what the distribution of loanwords in the Alorese varieties and its neighboring AP languages indicates about contact history.

7.2 Summary of results

The general introduction presented in Chapter 1 situated Alorese in its geographic and historical context. The geography of Alorese covers coastal

Alor-Pantar areas which are mostly dry and fresh water are generally scarce. There are only two fertile areas, namely the hilltop area of northeast Pantar where the village Helangdohi is located, and the area of the Alor Peninsula where the villages of Alor Besar, Alor Kecil, and Dulolong are located. Historical records of Alorese date back to the early sixteenth century when the Alor-Pantar islands is mentioned in records from European sailors.

Chapter 2 is a description of the methodology, which includes a presentation of the techniques I used in data collection and analysis. The data used in this dissertation were collected through fieldwork and from openly accessible data archives. In analyzing the data, I combined the approaches of oral history and historical-comparative linguistics to reconstruct the history of Alorese.

According to Alorese oral history, discussed in Chapter 3, there are six key events in the chronology that shaped the migration patterns of the Alorese people. First, a flood on Rusa Island caused people to flee from Rusa to Pantar and the Alor Peninsula. This event marks the earliest movement of the ancestors of the Alorese people. The second key event was the arrival of people from outside the Alor-Pantar islands. This event is believed by the locals to have taken place in the fourteenth century, marking the beginning of sociopolitical development in the Alorese community, in which kingdoms began to be established. According to legend, one of the oldest Alorese kingdoms, called Pandai, was founded by migrants said to be from 'Java'. The third important event was a war between two Alorese kingdoms, called Pandai and Munaseli. The fourth event was the expansion of the Alorese people from Pandai to Baranusa in west Pantar and to Alor Besar on the Alor Peninsula. The fifth event of importance was the flood on the Lapang-Batang Islands. Lastly, the sixth key event was the expansion of the Alorese people to the islands of Ternate and Buaya.

There is a common narrative among the Alorese communities with regard to the migration stories, which forms part of the history of the clans. That is, every clan in each village has a historical narrative about the origin of their ancestors, and this ancestral background always aligns with the general consensus regarding the migration stories. For example, in the village of Pandai, there is the *Being* clan who are originally from the mountain. The ancestors of this clan are believed to have been the descendants of the survivors of the flood on Rusa Island. Another example is the *Uma Kakang* clan who are believed to be the descendants of the 'Javanese' people from Pandai.

The grammatical description of Alorese provided in Chapter 4 is based on the Pantar dialect, as spoken in the villages of Pandai, Wailawar, and Kabir; this

dialect was chosen as it is the most conservative. This description provides an in-depth introduction to the Alorese language in terms of its grammatical structure. The chapter includes a description of Alorese phonology, noun phrases, possessive constructions, verbs, and clauses, as well as sentence types and clause combinations.

Chapter 5 is a study of Alorese historical phonology, with the aim of reconstructing the sounds of Proto-Alorese (PAL) and Proto-Western-Lamaholot (PWL). The regular reflexes of PFL sounds in Alorese are also investigated. The resulting sound inventories of PAL and PWL show that the only difference between the inventories of the two proto languages is that PAL did not have the approximant [j]. This sound has become affricate [dʒ] in PAL, as in PAL *kadʒo < PWL *kayo ‘tree’ and PAL *ladʒa < PWL *layaʔ ‘sail’. Alorese is an innovation-defined subgroup within WL due to an exclusively shared sound change of PWL *t > PAL *ʔ in word-final position. In addition, a lower-level subgroup within Alorese can be defined, which I call Straits Alorese. The varieties in this subgroup are Ternate, Buaya, Alor Besar, Alor Kecil, and Dulolong, which are spoken in the Pantar Strait area. This subgroup is based on the exclusively shared sound change of PAL *w > f in all positions, PAL *ai > ei in word-final position, and the addition of the syllables -uŋ, -iŋ and -aŋ in final position in some words.

Chapter 6 is devoted to the study of lexical borrowing in Alorese and the neighboring Alor-Pantar (AP) languages. The issue of lexical borrowing is studied from two perspectives: (1) lexical borrowing in Alorese from different sources, including AP languages, Malay, Portuguese, and Dutch; and (2) lexical borrowing in the AP languages from Alorese, which excludes earlier Austronesian borrowing in AP languages that do not involve Alorese.

AP loanwords in Alorese can be grouped based on the geographical spread of the loanwords. There are six groups of loanwords that indicate stages of contact with the AP donor languages (§6.5.1). The first group concerns AP loanwords that can be reconstructed to PAL, and comprises seven loanwords in the semantic domains of body parts (‘heart’), quantity (‘ten’), kinship terms (‘younger sibling’), emotions (‘angry’), agriculture (‘taro’), motion (‘to close’), and sense perception (‘dirty’). The main donor languages in this group are languages that have access to the Pantar Strait, namely Blagar, Adang, Klon, Kui, and Kaera. As these loanwords are attested in all Alorese varieties as regularly inherited forms and can be reconstructed to PAL, this group of loans indicates a very early stage of contact. The second group concerns two AP loanwords that are attested only in the varieties spoken on Pantar, namely the words for ‘road’ and ‘to wash’. Kaera and Western Pantar the most likely donor language for

these words. The third group contains AP loanwords only attested in the varieties spoken in northeast Pantar. This group comprises eight AP loanwords, including nouns from the semantic domains of agriculture ('rattan', 'garden', 'digging stick'), hunting ('fish trap'), and the physical world ('coral rock'), and several verbs ('to fold', 'to pull', 'to pray'). The donor languages for this group of words are most likely Blagar, Reta, and Teiwa. The fourth group covers three AP loanwords attested only in varieties spoken in northeast Pantar and on the Alor Peninsula. These are words belonging to the semantic domains of the household ('bed; raised platform') and law ('adultery'). The fifth group concerns only the Straits varieties, and covers five AP loanwords, including nouns belonging to the semantic domains of animals ('monitor lizard'), spatial relations ('small'), motion ('to bury'), time ('finished'), and the physical world ('mud'). Adang, Blagar, and Reta are likely the donor languages for this group. The sixth loanword category concerns the Alor Peninsula varieties and contains only one AP loan, namely the word for 'root', likely borrowed from Adang, Kabola, or Hamap.

In addition to the AP loans, Alorese has also borrowed from Malay, Portuguese, and Dutch (§6.5.2; §6.5.3; §6.5.4). In the Malay loanwords, the voiceless palatal *c* [tʃ] always becomes *s* in Alorese, as in *sangkir* (< Malay *cangkir*) 'cup' and *basas* (< *baca*) 'to read'. In my Alorese corpus, there are six Portuguese loanwords, corresponding to the concepts 'hour', 'window', 'closet', 'machete', 'tobacco', and 'chair'. Furthermore, there are five Dutch loanwords attested in Alorese, corresponding to the concepts 'give'/'take over', 'raised platform', 'count', 'biscuit', and 'free; detached'.

Alorese has also acted as donor language to the neighboring AP languages. Twenty-six loanwords from Alorese are attested in AP languages (§6.6). The AP languages with the highest number of Alorese loanwords are Blagar, Reta, and Teiwa. These loanwords belong to the semantic domains of animals ('crocodile', 'whale', 'tinea', 'flea', 'frog', 'butterfly'), basic actions and technology ('to wipe', 'rope', 'to fold', 'burden stick'), religion and belief ('mosque', 'traditional house'), the body ('breast', 'deaf'), speech and language ('to say', 'name'), agriculture ('field', 'branch'), motion ('to blow', 'to push'), the physical world ('mud'), spatial relations ('narrow', 'tall'), emotions and values ('shy'), cognition ('to think'), and kinship ('child').

The distribution of loanwords in both directions of borrowing indicates that contact among Alorese speakers and speakers of AP languages must have taken place in the Pantar Strait area. Moreover, the distribution of Alorese loanwords in the AP languages also indicates that the strait area is a zone of intensive contact, with Blagar as the most important donor language to Alorese.

The presence of Alorese loanwords in the other AP languages, particularly Reta and Teiwa, also points to contact between Alorese and the AP languages around the area of northeast Pantar and the Pantar Strait.

7.3 General discussion

In what follows, I aim to relate the results of this study to the previous work on Alorese, before concluding with directions for future research in Section 7.4.

The historical chronology based on Alorese oral history dates the arrival of the Alorese speakers on the Alor-Pantar islands to the fourteenth century, and reports key events that represent waves of migration of the Alorese people. The suggestion that the earliest settlement of the Alorese people took place in the fourteenth century in the area of northeast Pantar (cf. §3.6) confirms the linguistic hypothesis suggesting that Alorese split from Lamaholot around 600 years ago (Klamer, 2011). The migrants from the western islands, depicted in oral history as the people from ‘Java’ and ‘Malaka’, established sociopolitical centers in the forms of kingdoms and markets in the northeast Pantar area. These kingdoms, referred to today as the Pandai and Munaseli Kingdoms, are also reported by Gomang (1993:84), Lemoine (1969:7), Rodemeier (2006:175, 301–305), and Wellfelt (2016:275). Further information from oral history states that from the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Alorese population in northeast Pantar expanded their territory to the coastal Alor Peninsula (which became the Bungabali Kingdom), west Pantar (which became the Baranusa Kingdom), and the Lapang-Batang Islands. After that, they slowly spread to the surrounding coastal areas of Alor-Pantar, and the small islands.

Based on the findings from oral history, which considers the northeast Pantar area to be the site of the earliest settlement of the Alorese people, it was decided that the grammatical description of Alorese would be based on the varieties spoken in this area, particularly in and around the village of Pandai. This choice was motivated by the consideration that conservative varieties could possibly show remnants of linguistic features that were lost in the other Alorese varieties.

It has been suggested in the work of Klamer (2011, 2012a, 2020) and Moro (2019) that Alorese lost its productive morphological processes due to contact with the Alor-Pantar languages. These studies are mainly based on the Alorese varieties spoken on the Alor Peninsula, particularly in the villages of Alor Besar and Alor Kecil, which were settled later than Pandai. The Alorese sketch grammar presented in Chapter 4 reveals that even in the most conservative dialect, i.e. that spoken in northeast Pantar, Alorese hardly has any derivational morphology; only reduplication, and final suffixes which suggest remnants of

an alienability distinction. Therefore, indeed, compared to the other WL languages (such as the Lewoingu variety; Nishiyama & Kelen, 2007), Alorese is substantially simplified (Klamer, 2020; cf. §4.4 and §4.5 of this dissertation).

The description of the phonology of Alorese further reveals how it differs from Lamaholot, particularly when the phonology of both Alorese and Lamaholot are investigated diachronically. According to Fricke (2019:224), Alorese is part of the WL subgroup in the Flores-Lembata family, due the shared sound change of PFL *r > ʔ in the WL languages. In the study of Alorese historical phonology presented in Chapter 5, where the sounds of Proto-Alorese (PAL) and Proto-Western-Lamaholot (PWL) are reconstructed, it is revealed that PAL has an exclusive sound change of PWL *t > *ʔ in word-final position, thus, providing evidence for Alorese as a distinct branch within the WL subgroup. Other evidence supporting this grouping includes the grammatical innovation of a plural word *hire* 'PL' in Alorese (Moro, 2018), lexical replacements such as *bema* 'to wash' and *kuing* 'dark', and the existence of metathesis in some words, such as Lamaholot *kerome* ~ Alorese *kemore* 'rat', Lamaholot *gike* ~ Alorese *gaki* 'to bite', and Lamaholot *rema* ~ Alorese *mareng* 'night'. In addition, the study of Alorese historical phonology confirms that there is a tendency in the linguistically conservative area of northeast Pantar to retain final consonants in some Alorese words, such as PMP and PFL final *-k which is retained unchanged (as in *tahak* 'ripe' < PFL *m-tasak 'ripe' < PMP *ma-tasak 'ripe'), PMP and PFL final *-t which is retained as a glottal stop (as in *lapeʔ* 'fold' < PFL *ləpət 'fold' < PMP *ləpət 'fold'), PMP final *-R/*-l and PFL *-r which is retained as ʔ (as in *gateʔ* 'itchy' < PFL *gatər 'itchy' < PMP *gatəl 'itchy'), and PMP and PFL final *-l which is retained unchanged (as in *kawil* 'fishing hook' < PFL *kavil 'fishing hook' < PMP *kawil 'fishing hook'; cf. §5.9).

The Alorese lexicon also shows traces of contact with the AP languages, particularly through borrowing, as already suggested in previous work by Klamer (2011) and Robinson (2015). Furthermore, the investigation of loanwords presented in Chapter 6 reveals several layers of contact, visible in the context of geographic subgroups of Alorese varieties. The more widespread the AP loanwords, the earlier the borrowing took place; the narrower the spread of the AP loanwords, the more recently the borrowing took place (cf. §6.8).

The distribution of AP loanwords among the Alorese varieties also reveals a conservative area of Alorese where early contact took place. Based on the geographic grouping of the Alorese varieties (cf. §6.4.5), the varieties spoken in northeast Pantar have eight exclusively shared AP loanwords; this contrasts with the other geographic subgroups, such as the Alor Peninsula group which has just one exclusively shared AP loanword; the overall Pantar group which

has only two exclusively shared AP loanwords, and the combination of the Northeast Pantar and the Straits groups, in which there are only three exclusively shared AP loanwords (cf. §6.5.1.7).

The distribution of the Alorese loanwords in the AP languages also suggests that the contact between Alorese and AP languages took place in the vicinity of the Alorese varieties spoken in northeast Pantar. There are fourteen Alorese loanwords attested in more than one AP language; these AP languages include Adang, Blagar, Reta, Kaera, Teiwa, Kamang, Klon, Sar, Klamu, and Western Pantar. In addition, there are eight Alorese loanwords exclusively attested in Blagar, two Alorese loanwords exclusively attested in Reta, and two Alorese loanwords exclusively attested in Teiwa (cf. §6.6).

In conclusion, based on this combined investigation of oral history and linguistic history, there is clear evidence that the earliest Alorese settlement was in the northeast Pantar area. Through the study of linguistic history, we have seen that there is a tendency in the northeast Pantar varieties to retain final consonants of proto-forms (*-k, *-t, *-r, and *-l) and to have the largest number of exclusively shared AP loanwords. In addition, most AP languages that are recipients of Alorese loanwords are located in proximity to the Alorese varieties of northeast Pantar.

7.4 Directions for further research

At a general level, this dissertation has shown that the combination of data from oral history and comparative-historical linguistics allows for a better understanding of the history of a language such as Alorese. We have seen that both disciplines are of great relevance in reconstructing the history of a community; this is particularly pertinent for the indigenous people of east Indonesia, who typically have few historical records. This dissertation has provided answers to the research questions posed in Section 1.2; however, at the same time, a number of other questions have been raised. These questions include the following: (1) Apart from migration stories, which other cultural features can be examined to support the link between oral history and historical linguistics? (2) Are there other branches within the WL subgroup besides Alorese? (3) Which branches of WL are the closest relatives to Alorese? (4) When was the time of the densest contact between speakers of Alorese and AP languages?

In Chapter 3, I discuss migration stories that emerged in all the interviews I conducted. However, this does not rule out that there are other cultural features that could be used as indexes for reconstructing the history of Alorese. These could include traditional house shapes, woven cloth motifs, or various

types of traditional rituals, such as dances or mantras. By considering these additional aspects, further shared historic narratives may be found among the various Alorese groups.

To investigate the internal division of the WL subgroup beyond Alorese was not within the scope of this dissertation. However, I would like to stress that this particular topic is nevertheless important in revealing the history of the Lamaholot community as a whole. The lexical data from WL varieties provided by Keraf (1978), easily accessible through the LexiRumah database (Kaiping et al. 2019), were very useful in the present study. However, in order to ascertain whether there are other branches within the WL group, besides Alorese, further data collection especially of spoken language data, preferably in combination with oral history data is desirable. Moreover, these additional data on other WL varieties and their oral histories would potentially point to the closest relatives of Alorese in the WL group.

Finally, the contact scenarios proposed in Chapter 6 suggest that there were multiple stages of contact that resulted in the emergence of loanwords in the varieties of Alorese. However, more research into the Alorese lexicon and its semantics is required to determine which stage of contact influenced Alorese the most: borrowing at the level of PAL, or borrowing that took place at later stages.

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Appendices

APPENDIX A

Questionnaire, texts, and clans

This appendix contains materials used in the description of the migration stories in chapter 3. Here, I present cultural questionnaire (§A.1), historical texts (§A.2), and a complete list of the Alorese clans (§A.3).

A.1 Cultural questionnaire

Questions	Indonesian Translation	Notes
Question 1. What do you call your language?	<i>Apa nama bahasa daerah di sini?</i>	
Question 2. What is the origin of the name of this village?	<i>Bagaimana asal-usul nama desa ini?</i>	
Question 3. Where do the residents of this village come from?	<i>Dari mana penduduk desa ini berasal?</i>	
Question 4. Why did they move here?	<i>Mengapa mereka pindah ke sini?</i>	
Question 5. How many tribes/clans in this village?	<i>Ada berapa jumlah suku di desa ini?</i>	Each clan may lead to the early migrations in and around the village.
Question 6. Where are these tribes/clans from?	<i>Dari mana saja suku-suku itu berasal?</i>	

Questions	Indonesian Translation	Notes
Question 8. Can you specify the ancestry of the indigenous people in this village?	<i>Bisakah Bapak menyebutkan nenek moyang orang-orang asli di sini?</i>	Some informants were able to mention precisely the names of their ancestors. This can lead to the number of generations involved in the development of the community.
Question 9. Are there kingdoms in this village? Can you tell the history?	<i>Apa ada kerajaan di desa ini? Bisa cerita sejarahnya?</i>	The history of kingdoms can be very broad that it involves stories that are not necessary. However, any information on migration and first settlers can be useful.
Question 10. Can you say what language(s) were used in a specific level of ancestry?	<i>Bisa cerita bahasa apa yang dipakai nenek moyang dulu?</i>	
Question 11. When is Alorese started to be used here?	<i>Kapan bahasa Alor mulai dipakai?</i>	
Question 12. Have there been any wars or battles in this village?	<i>Adakah perang</i>	Information on warfare is usually very popular in the community. Any detailed story that shows involvement of other language communities may lead to information on language contact.
Question 13. Were other tribes/clans from outside the village involved in the wars/battles? Can you specify those clans?	<i>Adakah suku dari luar kampung yang terlibat dalam perang itu? Suku apa saja dan dari mana?</i>	

Questions	Indonesian Translation	Notes
Question 15. How is the historical relationship between the people in this village and the people in the neighboring (Alorese or non-Alorese) villages?	<i>Bagaimana hubungan sejarah orang kampung sini dengan orang kampung sebelah?</i>	Some informants were able to mention the historical ties among villages.
Question 16. How is the historical relationship between people in this village and fellow Alorese speakers on other places/islands?	<i>Bagaimana hubungan sejarah kampung sini dengan kampung yang jauh di luar pulau sana?</i>	
Question 17. Were there settlers from Java or other places outside of Flores-Alor-Pantar in this village?	<i>Adakah pendatang dari Jawa atau dari luar daerah di kampung sini?</i>	
Question 18. How Islam was first introduced in this village?	<i>Bagaimana agama Islam disebarkan di sini?</i>	
Question 19. Do you know anything about tsunami disaster in the past?	<i>Apa Bapak tahu bencana air bah di masa lalu?</i>	
Question 20. Do you know anything about the concept Lera Wulan Tana Ekang?	<i>Apa Bapak tahu konsep Lera Wulan Tana Ekang?</i>	This cultural concept is related to oral history in Lamaholot. None of my Alorese consultant know about this concept.
Question 21. Are there any performances?	<i>Adakah pertunjukan seni di kampung sini?</i>	
Question 22. Are there any written sources for the village history?	<i>Adakah sumber sejarah tertulis yang disimpan di kampung sini?</i>	Some villages keep written historical texts.

A.2 Historical text

Text 1. Sejarah Kerajaan Pandai-Baranusa (AOLYS_pan_WT-01)

(2)
 sebagai "di Pati Tuban."
 Kerajaan ini sangat di sesal
 kan agar lagi Kerajaan Majapahit
 ini baru saja pada tahun
 1292 (17 tahun) baru di dirikan
 oleh Raden Wijaya
 Kerajaan Jawa Tengah.
 Timbul kerusuhan pada
 perang saudara telah dari
 beritah ke beritah yang di bawa
 oleh = Halayuda baik dari
 Bagindarman pun sebalik nya
 dari Ranga Rade sebagai
 Rsi Pati Tuban. Kalaupun
 beritah dari Ranga Rade
 bahwa: Ranga Rade tidak
 setuju untuk Bagindar Raja
 mengangkal seorang bernama
 Nindri sebagai pejabat
 Amangku Bumi (Pardana
 Mendri) dari Kerajaan
 Majapahit.

(1)
 Rungga Rade awal mulanya
 timbul Kerajaan Pandai
 Baranusa.
 Pada zaman dahulu kala sebagaimana
 di pulau-pulau besar dalam wilayah
 Republik Indonesia tumbuhlah Kerajaan
 Majapahit Hindu di pulau Jawa
 maka di pulau Pandai nama pada
 zaman itu dan sekarang baru di
 sebut pulau Pantar tumbuhlah kerajaan
 kerajaan kecil yang sangat terkenal
 ialah Kerajaan Pandai Baranusa
 yang pada awal nya berpusat di
 lereng gunung seharang ini.
 Dengan penduduk kerta atau benteng
 di situ ada meskipun kota nya
 di bukit dari pulau bahu bukit
 yang sudah tumbuh letak nya
 pada lereng gunung-bahagian
 timur dan sebelah-laki lereng
 bahagian-barat. Terjadi nya pun-
 bul Kerajaan Pandai Baranusa
 ini akibat datang nya seorang
 dari asal Jawa sekitar pada
 tahun 1340 yang bernama Ranga
 dari Majapahit, sebab pada tahun
 1309 terjadi pelek perang saudara
 antara Baginda Raja Kerajaan
 dari Kerajaan Majapahit yang
 berpusat di Kediri dengan
 Ranga Rade.

(4) Bernama Wai Wunong pua Pa-
 tinggal di Jawa dalam keduan-
 hamil pua. Berhubung pua sama
 pirang mesik begalan kagah,
 maka pada suatu hari istri
 nya Majapahit sangat marah
 danah maka begalan lah ia
 untuk mencari petak orang
 Dewa yang berdiam di suatu
 kampung bernama Dahan
 sekitar dekat kota Kediri. Begitu
 Amur untuk meminta bantuan
 pada Dewa Brahma yang
 bernama: Sidi Mantra.
 Dewa tersebut sangat petak
 pada saat itu. Pada saat
 permohonan bantuan dari
 si istri Majapahit yang dalam
 keduan hamil pua itu Dewa,
 dapat di-kabulkan oleh Dewa,
 bahwa kamu istri yang di
 tinggalkan oleh pua mi-
 ra, kamu harus berapa
 selama 3 hari 3 malam se-
 hingga dapat menjelma-kan
 diri menjadi burung elang
 untuk dapat dapat terbang
 mencari pua mi ra di berbagai
 jurusan timur.

(3) Dengan ada nya si benih ke-
 berita maka Majapahit lah yang
 saudara yang sangat banyak
 mencuri korban pua mi ra dan
 kedua petak petak.
 Pada hal sebenarnya bukan
 Ranga Rawa yang keluar kan
 kata-kata itu.
 Oleh sebab itu dapat diingat
 kan bahwa = "Ranga Rawa"
 Berharus "Halayuda"
 merupa-kan perungutan
 sejarah bagi setiap pemimpin
 haruslah selalu waspada.
 Untuk menyelamatkan diri
 pua saat itu terpaksa lah
 Majapahit dan adik nya Rany
 melarikan diri sampai di
 Wai Wung sedang kan adik
 nya diadig dalam waktu yang
 tidak terlalu lama terus kem-
 bali ke Jawa sedang kan
 Majapahit tetap tinggal
 di Wai Wung. Pada saat
 Majapahit dan Rany melari-
 kan diri menuju ke arah
 jurusan Pandri selatan timur di
 Pandri ini sedang kan istri nya
 Majapahit

⑤
 Saya Dwar Yakin bahwa kamu akan dapat bertemu dengan kami mu asal saja semua petengkah dari Dwar-kamu jangan lupa-kau.
 Akhir nya di istri bel mulai terbang sepanggang menyusur pantai dari pulau ke pulau dan pinggal peraktia di puncak gunung Sleape yang bernama: Eriang-bao.
 Begitu terbang lagi. peteleh di Waidang karena memang sudah ada petengkah dari Dwar yang begitu banyak dari petengkah yang datang dari depot beru-bah kupa menjadi manusa biasa yang sangat cantik pida ber uba kupa seperti istri pertama di Dwar itu.
 Ketika semua istri pet pada akhir nya tinggal di Waidang sedang kan orang-orang pribumi seperti kampung Wai Kolibang dan Rewolobong memang sudah ada pada sebelum nya tetapi tinggal nya di gunung, sering sering baru turun di pantai

⑥
 Untuk mencari mih all.
 Pada saat itu, petapak salah Kijapahid men bangun sebuah pondok darurat panjang yang menurut bebar, dekrak bang-pal sehingga tempat pet sampai hari ini masih di-sebut-sebut bungpal kolibong Pada suatu hari pibi-pibi datang ke seorang tokoh moya nabel yang terkenal pada saat itu bernama: Raka Blegur, yang baru turun dari gunung asal kampung Wai Kolibang untuk mencari mih sekat. gus memang ket keta di laut.
 Pada saat itu, dia kedua belah pihak sama-sama merasa bahwa mereka adalah orang yang baru, maka mereka mulai duduk bercekap-cekap sambil menditerakan hal hal yg terjadi di Jawa akhir perang saudara, serta lebih banyak diajak oleh bepar Raka Blegur, supaya mereka berdua mau istri petri menetap di Waidang, sedang kan

⑧
kelahiran, menaruh benci dan
bukan kuat bertelur model
bungung.
Anak? mereka itu di beri
nama masing? pbb:
Anak laki? pertama di beri
nama = Dadi Mau Wolong
Anak laki? kedua di beri
nama = Gara Mau Wolong
Anak laki? ketiga di beri
nama = Tuli Mau Wolong
Anak laki? keempat di beri
nama = Bang Mau Wolong
Anak laki? kelima di beri
nama = Gang Mau Wolong
Anak perempuan yang pertama
di beri nama = Kone Koi
Anak perempuan yang kedua
di beri nama = Nti Koi.
Senus anak? menampi umur
dewasa kedua suami istri
kumpul kan mereka semua
untuk men beri mesibit atau
kewan pesan. Berh berjanji
pbb:

⑦
bapak Raha Blegar tinggal nya
di gunung kumpang ke. Kelabang
di kebun. Wati, batri, prum
di pratri. Semua mereka berada
ber sandi guran (omong?) bapak
Raha Blegar kumpang mena-
nibah kan agai: nama Misa
patis agere di gant: nama
Mau wolong kedua janyan pmi-
pri akan di bunt: oleh orang?
pribumi karena nanti nya
di anggap penakut yang me-
leri kan diri dan pbb: bang.
Bintang yang di sampai
oleh bapak Raha Blegar itu
dapat di prima oleh Misa priah
karena di anggap orang pbb: dan
mesyerahet yang pbb: dan
di anggap bapak angkat yang
Cukuf brik hati antar ke-
keluarga. Gunung pratri.
Sudah menjadi pratri Vukan
Yang Mah Kuas kedua suami
istri itu hidup dalam beberapa
dan pratri pbb: dapat me-
lahir kan 5 (lima) orang anak
laki? dan 2 (dua) orang anak
perempuan, yang Cere melahir
kan nya sama saja dengan

(10)

3. Tuli Mau Wdlang memilik
tempat tinggalnya di Munga
Pete. Apn keling sekarang
Pler Bawa.

4. Tuli Mau Wdlang memilik
tempat tinggalnya di denda
Flores atri pun di pulau
peter naga.

5. Tuli Mau Wdlang memilik
tempat tinggalnya di denda
Lembata sekarang Reba
Writaba.

6. Tuli Mau Wdlang memilik
tempat tinggalnya di denda
Tale Bawa anak Raja
Sirang babu dari Kerapan
Munali.

7. Tuli Mau Wdlang memilik
tempat tinggalnya di denda
Pete ke Tim-pun (Mantaba)
maor petek perang Munali
Lembata Kerapan Pandi Prama
Tuli Mau Wdlang memilik
tempat tinggalnya di denda
Flores atri pun di pulau
peter naga.

(9)

1. Kamu kakak beradik kelima
orang ini kakak di kemudun
hari akan menjadi orang
besar (Raja) karena bapak
dan mama ini pun adak
keluarga terdapat dengan
Kerapan Raja Kerapan
dan Kerapan Majapahit
yang akibat perang saudara
selingka leri tumbuk menyel-
lami dan di sampun di
Writaba sekarang ini.

2. Kamu? kakak beradik ini
di mana kamu berada akan
jadi perang.

3. Kamu? kakak beradik ini
kelak akan jadi mentap
pdr atau tempat.

Tadi maor kelima anak laki-
laki pdr, denda, mung.
Bawa memilik tempat
tinggalnya sendiri? yaiki:

1. Dai Mau Wdlang pdr keli denda
timur.

2. Dai Mau Wdlang pdr keli
denda, Carat.

(11)
 Ibu baru lah pindah pindah
 kerajinan kecil yang pengas
 perkenal dengan Rapa nya
 ber nama: Man Wolang
 Ya itu Cucu dari Dni Man
 Wolang di angkat menjadi
 Rapa Pandra. Beranusa
 dengan toti lah nama
 gelaran nya: Man Rapa Raha
Blagur karena Man Wolang
 kaum dengan anak perempuan
 nya Raha Blagur yang ber
 nama: Riti Blagur.
 Pada saat itu lah mulai di bangun
 kota (benteng) prdr kali pebel
 timur sampai prdr kali siber
 barat.
 Kemudian prdr pebel kurang
 lebih prdr tahun 1347. Diting
 lah orang? dari semenanjung
 Malaka yaitu bapak:
 Tera Amang bersama keluarga
 dan beberapa orang lain, nya
 Armanah¹⁵ kepala keluarga
 dengan perahu layar yang
 di angkat di Rantau sekarang ini.
 Untuk mencari tempat tinggal
 yang baru.

(12)
 Dalam beberapa tahun kemudian
 Langrang mahu buka prdr kerajinan
 baru lagi yang bernama
 kerajinan Minasoli.
 Nama arbingnya prdr
 Seli arbingnya berlebu.
 Kerajinan pal di benteng dengan
 perhimpunan untuk mengeseri
 wilayah kerajinan Pandra.
 Beranusa yang prdr ada
 prdr sebelum nya
 Hre demikian maka perjis
 lah perang andra antara
 Rapa kerajinan Pandra Beranusa
 melawan kerajinan Minasoli
 yang prdr akhir nya kerajinan
 Minasoli hancur dan kalah
 prdr.
 Tentang Rurapat awal mula
 nya prdr kerajinan Minasoli
 dan perjis nya perang melawan
 kerajinan Pandra Beranusa
 akan di susun tersendiri.

(13) Sudah selesai perang antara kedua kerajaan, Padoe Baranusa melawan Kerajaan Munasoli maka padoe beberapa prajurit kemuliaan, berjela-luk kekak berantak yaichi. Mau Wolong dan Bole Man (Bole Vonda) ada berolakan paham maka adik nya Bole Man (Bole Vonda) bersama semua keluarga-kakak kerabat nya menyangkut-keti tinggal-kah wati dagang dan berangket menuju bagian barat longgek pertama nyad. Prang untuk menuntut wati membunuh 1 (satu) buah-beor yakni prang nya dari paku fanyikr dengan perhitungan perahu nya ydi masuk laut maka rombongan Bole Vonda tadi semua nya berangket menuju prang ke pulau Batang untuk tinggal di sana. Setelah perahu selesai di kary ken dan padoe prang hari perku ibri di padoe ke laut padoe perahu padoe prang penggelam ke dasar laut hitam. Padoe adik nya rombongan Bole Vonda bersama semua keluarga berangket

menyusun prubri ke barat lagi (14) dan adik nya pampri di Rosadate dan dalam prang wati ke laut padoe padoe loma Bole Vonda pun di angket menuju Raja Kerapen, Baranusa dan longkung membuat kaka atru benteng masih ada sekarang. Abang tandra buchi prang kerapen lalak meriam boer 1 buah masih ada, boer pilang lump masih ada sekarang. Semasor Bole Man (Bole Vonda) menjadi Raja Kerapen, Baranusa dengan nama gelaran nya ialah: Ratu Kae Bole Vonda. Pada saat seude Bole Vonda berangket tinggal-kah di dagang sebagai kampung halaman pertama, maka padoe beberapa prahu kemudien Raja Man Wolong pun memindih ke prang Kerapen padoe ke bahagian jurusan pinto yaichi di kubang kaka dan longkung membuat kaka atru benteng masih ada sekarang.

(16)
 di mukul menjadi Raja
 Kerajan, dibatalkan dengan
 perintah dari pader naga sbt.
 Raja Dingalan, bunu naga
 Kubang kata gere.
 Kubang Kotz gere Helandhi
 Raud Helandhi.
 Karena Raja Puka mau
 istri ke dia bernama Helang
 berasal dari kampung
 Helandhi bunu pumabekang
 dari Rumah Poser (Rikalang)
 keluarga berdekatan dengan
 nenek Helang Sa sekarang
 ialah = Radang Hibu/alamah
 dan adik naga Seli Hibu/alamah
 sedang kan istri pertama dari
 Raja Puka mau bernama:
 Pui Kede Hede ada anak
 Comendul.
 Pada tahun 1851, belulah Reme-
 rintak kompeni Belanda di
 pulau Jlor dan pulau Pandir
 dan tinggal di Pandir maka
 semua laporan pahlawan yang
 di tempati pun oleh Raja
 Salama Prang dan anak naga

(15)
 Dalam kurun waktu kurang lebih
 lebih 15 tahun Raja Mau Helang
 pun meninggal dunia, sedang
 kan anak naga Pader mau
 masih kecil.
 Setelah naga Pader Raja dari
 Kerajan Pandir di ambil alih
 oleh Kimung Raudu sebagai
 Raja Kerajan Pandir dan langsung
 membuat kata akan berking
 mau ada Yaku di Deba Prang
 sekarang ini. Souda Raja
 Kimung Raudu meninggal
 dunia maka jabatan Raja
 naga Padi di jabat oleh anak
 naga Salama Prang sebagai
 Raja Kerajan Pandir.
 Setelah Raja Salama Prang di
 hari tua Pader depag mau-
 palem mau, naga naga lagi maka
 jabatan Raja pad di ambil
 oleh oleh Puka Mau yakni
 Queen eici dari Raja
 Mau Wolung. Begitulah Pader
 Mau juga menjabat Raja
 Kerajan Pandir, maka dalam
 beberapa bulan naga Nana
 setus Kerajan Pandir.

(17)

Ben Huku berkata: Marilah
dan pihuan yang berkembang
selama ini telah Raja Man
bertindak mengambil alih
Pandi sebagai guru moribut
nama Huku. Kerajaan Pandi
menjadi Kerajaan Singalim
Raja Raja Man ini mem-
milihlah kepada Pmerintah
Tahapal-karenateh mentina
barang? bukti berupa:

1. Meriam besar 2 buah
2. Meriam sedang 1 buah
3. Meriam kecil 1 buah

Pada kesempatan nya terakhir
Pmerintah Kompeni Belanda
berjanji akan datang di Pandi
pada kali yang kedua akan
mengambil yang kedua
Ben Huku datang dari
Raja Salama Krang men-
jadi Raja Kerajaan Pandi
Hal demikian merupakan
kehasia penting bagi Pmerintah
Kompeni Belanda dan Raja
Kerajaan Pandi Salama Krang
dan anak nya Ben Huku.

tahun 1861

Ben Huku berkata yang kedua (18)
kali Pmerintah Kompeni
Belanda telah di Pandi
mengambil yang kedua
Ben Huku menjadi Raja
Kerajaan Pandi yang Cap
Pabaten Raja nya masih
ada sekarang. Cap nya
berbunyi = Raja Van Pandi
Ben Huku
Dan Raja Man Raja Singalim
pun datang mendapat Huku
man pmerintah ke Maluku
Amboi-Selang kei Yangdam-
pui hari ini tau ada bukti
jelas bahwa ada punya ke-
Hukuman, atau Huku
Dipad Raja Ben Huku men-
jadi Raja Kerajaan Pandi
Langsung mem-buat kata akan
berteng masih ada bukti di
kampung lama Pandi yang
kementer ini masih didiami
orang dengan mem-buat nya
bernama = Dara Radu Goleg
dan kata akan berteng nya
bernama = Kota Kali Wana.

(19)
 Sangat di soal kan karena
 pake soal Raja Boka Mau
 Berangkat langsung di bawa
 oleh Pemerintah Kompeni
 Belanda dengan meninggal
 kan seorang istri yang ber-
 nama Helang asal kampung
 Helandohi dulu dimabukang
 dengan seorang anak laki-laki
 berumur kurang lebih 7 tahun
 yang ber nama "Pela"
 Sebelum Raja Boka Mau berangkat
 ke kaki bukit berangkat
 masuk sampai depan Kawan
 kan beberapa paman Kawan
 sekali sus memberi kuasa
 kepada ipar nya Kapitan
 Tobii Pella Hasan sbb:
 1. Istri saya ber nama "Helang" dan
 anak nya ber nama "Pela".
 Yang ada sekarang ini saya
 titip kan kepada Ipar dengan
 sungguh harapan agar =
 Pendidikan mereka
 Pura di lah mereka

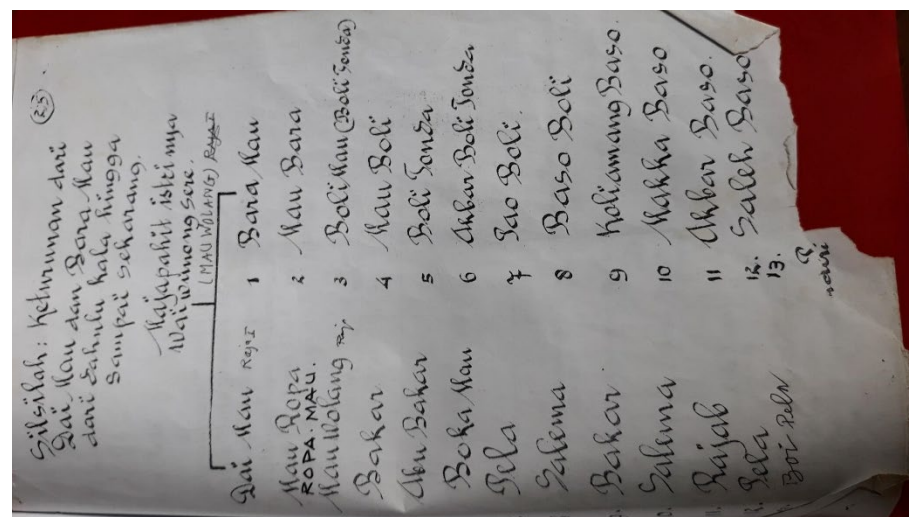
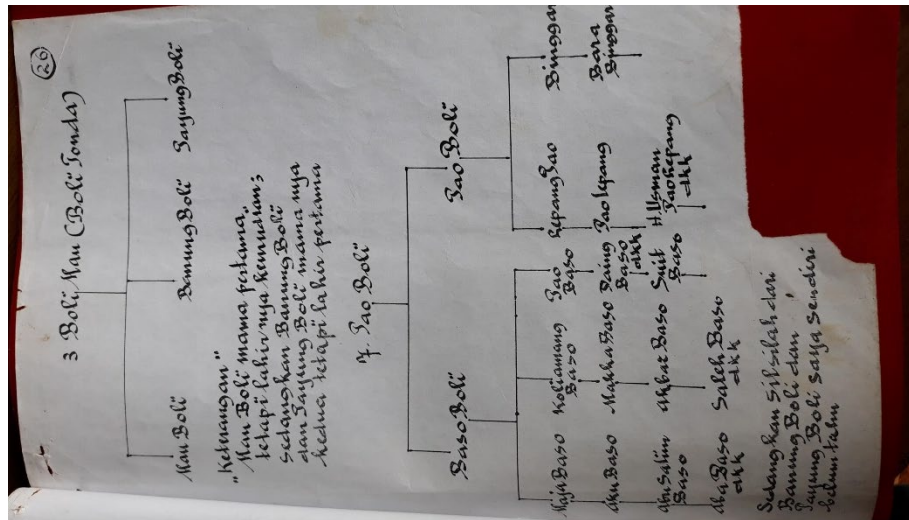
(20)
 Karena anak Pela ini masih
 kecil baru ber umur kurang
 lebih 7 tahun, jangan sampai
 akan di bunuh oleh anak
 Raja Ben Huku dengan kawan
 kawan nya mengugal jangan
 sampai anak Pela ini di
 kemudikan hari ipar dua ora
 akan merobuk jabatan
 Raja ini kemudi.
 2. Tak ada harta atau barang lain
 yang saya titip atau berikan
 kepada ipar Kapitan
 Tobii Pella Hasan hanya
 berupa manusia dua orang
 maka anggaplah sebagai
 manusia mu sendiri.
 Akhir nya Raja Boka Mau
 pun berangkat dengan hati
 yang sedih apa kata depat
 bi bilang mai sudah men-
 jadi bukur. Raja Boka Mau
 berangkat ber sama dua orang
 anak ipar yaitu anak kibi
 dan Gatri.

(21)
 Pada awal Raja Boka Man
 di bawah oleh Pemerintah
 Kompeni Belanda langsung
 pingsat di Alor kecil karena
 Alor kecil merupakan pem-
 bukaan kota yang pertama
 setelah pada tahun 1861 melalui
 Pemerintah Kompeni Belanda
 sebelum Kalebati.
 Setelah di Alor kecil anak laki-laki
 pingsat dari menyebarkan kam-
 dari, sedang kam, fatal langsung
 berangkat bersama Raja
 Boka Man ke Jember, Matan,
 Seranghei yang langsung
 diantar oleh Pemerintah
 Kompeni Belanda sebagai
 hukuman pembunuhan.
 Anak Raja dan nama raja
 Helang tetap di Lundungis
 di petihara; dan di adu di
 oleh Kapitan Tobi Rella Hasan
 sampai Raja dardar dan
 Rida berbuat sesuatu yang
 kurang baik, sedang kam
 nama raja Helang meninggal
 dunia di masa umur tua.

(22)
 Riwayat tentang kerangka
 raja Raja Boka Man sebagai
 hukuman pembunuhan oleh
 Pemerintah Kompeni Belanda
 maka ada prutun atau peng-
 gantikan dari pihak keluarga
 pro Raja Ben Huku adalah
 sebagai berikut:
 1. Boka Man Raja Dingalain
 Roro Kutang kata
 Roro Kutang kata
 Pukong Ben Huku.
 2. Ben Huku Raja Pandi
 Pandi Riko Riko
 Pandi Riko Riko
 nongbraking
 Raja Dingalain.
 3. Boka Man, selafena
 Bale naking maring
 Bale naking maring
 Kapitan Tobi Riko Rella Boka
 4. Kapitan Tobi Ony budi, dik-
 Riko Dingalain.
 Riko Dingalain, nama
 nolo, dikke nama nolo.

(24)
 Keterangan dari Raja Ben Huku
 hari ini tidak ada sama sekali
 dan berakutir lah sudah riwayat
 Dandian lah riwayat singkat
 Kertang asal mulanya pembul
 yang di buat ini adalah singkat
 dan benar, mungkin masih
 kurang jauh dari pale-kurapan
 mau pun dalam penjuruan
 kata dan kalimast masih jauh
 dari pada sempurna, motor
 Audi di maafkan keranya
 dapat kita sama perbaiki.
 Sebagai kata orang pandai
 pandai: Tidak Jading yang
 Tenina kasih
 Pandai 07-11-2004
 Yang mengasun
 Tokoh Masyarakat Pandai
 Bahrudin Lella Boka
 Keterangan:
 Silalah Dai "Mau dan
 Bara Mau Lihat pula
 halaman: 25 dan 26.

(23)
 Gantun atau opai dari nomor
 1844 ini sepa dari dahulu
 kala telah di larang oleh
 Kapitan Vati Rile Hsuan
 agar tidak boleh di punthun
 untuk lego-lego namun atau
 pun pribadi, pisorang kerem
 isi nya dapat menjelaskan
 nama baik dari pihak pihak
 yang bisa pada akhir nya
 akan menjadi kehan curan
 kembali.
 Setelah Raja Ben Huku
 meninggal dunia maka
 sebagai pengganti Raja
 Kerajaan Pandai ialah Raja
 Singang Haleng. Setelah
 Raja Singang Haleng di hari
 tua dan kahi nya agak
 lumpuh maka pada tahun
 1908 Kapitan Koliangang
 Wono di panggil oleh Pamin
 Pak Kumpini Belanda
 sebagai Wernemen atau
 wakil Raja dari Kerajaan
 Pandai. Karena Pakar
 dan Tolong masih kecil
 atau belum dewasa.



Text 2. Sejarah kerajaan Munaseli (AOLYS_pan_WT-02)

② dan Langpung menatap pada dataran
 luas hutan belantara yang belum
 di diani orang, sedang pendu-
 duk asli ("pribumi") memang
 sudah ada tetapi tinggalnya
 di perkebunan atau di gunung
 seperti:
 Kampung Kirangbeko
 Kampung Helendohi
 Kampung Ratuduhung
 Kampung Luandohi
 Kampung Ramahala
 Ranarlang.
 Tempat yang mereka tinggal
 di Ramahala itu Langpung di-
 beri nama "Munaseli".
 Nama artinya pulau
 Seli artinya berlabuh.
 Jadi Munaseli artinya
 pulau berlabuh.
 Dalam tahun 1847 beberapa
 bulan atau tahun-sepuluh Marwan
 kawin dengan seorang perempuan
 di sekolah yang nama nya
 Klept mahi. Hasil ada anak
 sedang kan adik nya Babu Vanu.

Kerajaan Lingket yang asal mula
 nya timbul kerajaan Munaseli
 dan Lingket yang berang dan dari
 antara Raja kerajaan Sunda
 Baranusa melawan kerajaan
 Munaseli.
 Dari Cerita Cerita rakyat dan kemun-
 dahulu kala sampai sekarang yang
 bersumber pada Hyain-Hyain adat
 dan kebiasaan dari pada-pada
 suku yang ada pada masa lampau
 berupa cerita atau bentuk yang dinu-
 hara cerita di Ramahala sekarang
 kepulauan ini di angkotkan
 sejarah, sejarah nya sekarang
 dari jaman dahulu beberapa
 ratus tahun sebelum datang
 nya bangsa-bangsa barat.
 Ketika pada tahun kurang lebih
 1347 datanglah sekeluarga besar
 bapak Juru Amang bersama
 2 (dua) orang anak laki-laki
 yaitu Mar Vanu konon gelar
 nya Bilang Sultan Mar-kus,
 dengan seorang adik yang bu-
 nama: Babu Vanu. Selain itu
 ada pula, kurang lebih 15 orang ke-
 pada keluarga permesuk anak buah
 perantun, untuk mengurus tempat
 tinggal yang baru. Tiga puluh di dua
 atau dua puluh meraka Langpung
 berpindah di pantai Ramahala sekarang
 ini.

(4)
 Kerajaan Minawati yang berada
 di Lela itu dengan pertikaian-
 banyan akan menguasai
 wilayah kerajaan Tandai
 Baranusa.
 Pada pertikaian kedua kerajaan
 ini berakibat gaham maka
 terjadi lah perang saudara
 habis-habisan dengan menelan
 banyak korban terutama dari
 kerajaan Minawati.
 Dalam pertempuran tersebut
 masing-masing Raja dari kedua
 kerajaan ABL dengan "Kekad"
 bahwa siapa menang dialah
 akan menjadi Raja untuk
 memerintah selama lamanya
 dari kedua kerajaan itu.
 Kekad ini mulai terjadi
 pecah perang saudara yang
 sangat gigit antara kedua
 kerajaan sehingga pada tahun
 kurang lebih 1465. — 500 R. terjadi
 kedua kerajaan ini
 masing-masing dengan
 kepada orang tua ABL.
 1. Kerajaan Minawati
 2. Kerajaan Tandai Baranusa
 3. Kerajaan Lela
 4. Kerajaan Lela
 5. Kerajaan Lela
 6. Kerajaan Lela
 7. Kerajaan Lela
 8. Kerajaan Lela
 9. Kerajaan Lela
 10. Kerajaan Lela

(5)
 Babu Tani ini semangit men-
 mukul teman-temannya dengan
 mendeput. Mendeput itu
 atau ayun sakti yang semua
 yang di mendeput itu berakibat
 perwujudan dari Lela Ula Bering
 di akhir-akhir ini Lela Ula Bering
 dengan pelatannya.
 Dengan ada nya babu Tani
 mendeput mendeput itu
 lah timbul dan penghidupan
 mereka semakin kaya-raya
 dan kata nya menurut cerita
 bahwa kata itu benteng yang
 ada ini pun Ciptaan dari
 mendeput itu kokopula.
 Babu Tani ini semangit besar
 dan karim mendeput orang
 anak laki-laki yang bernama:
 Sirang Babu.
 Dari babu Sirang babu ini
 ini lah menjadi Raja kerajaan
 Minawati pada saat itu.
 Kedung kan kerajaan Tandai
 Baranusa oleh ada pada
 sebelum nya dengan Rany nya
 bernama = Man Wolang

⑤
 "Kerajaan Sunda" Baranusa
 Kepala perang nya ialah:
 Bori Riko asal Kelang
 Sekeloa.
 1. Kerajaan "Munasele" Kepala
 perang nya: Tolo Sarra, Mun Sarra
 dengan anjing-anjing nya
 beranda: Timung Kosa
 dan Ringkole.
 Disetihi dal Kepala perang
 dari "Munasele" Baranusa:
 Tolo Sarra dan Mun Sarra
 2. pun berbunuh mudi habio
 oleh Bori Riko dengan
 pantun atau syair nya sbb:
 Bori Riko loto eda peda
 Gasa Tolo keti
 Tolo keti tua selang Colong
 Tameng moning ketikang
 3. Tuno Apso Hilang gelang awuk
 Bori Ringkole, Bori Ringkole
 Timung Kosa, Bori Timung Kosa.
 Setelah Kepala perang dari kerajaan
 "Munasele" berbunuh mudi keti
 dengan anjing-anjing nya maka
 selang sehari dua,

⑥
 maka Raja Muda dari Kerajaan
 "Munasele" ber nama = Tali Bura
 pun dapat berhasil di "Culik"
 oleh pasukan perang dari
 Kerajaan "Sunda" Baranusa
 yang di pimpin oleh Batu Man
 bersama anggota-anggotanya
 dengan perahu selang-anjing
 yang pantun atau syair sbb:
 3. Batu Man amang suku selang
 Tali Bura limang lan gere
 Tali Bura limang lan gere
 selang-anjing.
 Pada waktu Tali Bura di Culik
 sekita hampir siang dan di
 bawa-hidup-hidup di perahu
 ber nama selang-anjing
 langsung ke urai urang beru
 di baruk sekita jam 8 pagi
 dengan liwat lepacara adat. 7 =
 Adik nya Kosang Bala ikut
 datang di urai urang untuk
 minta ampun atau hulu
 dengan Raja Sunda Baranusa
 dengan pantun atau syair
 nya sbb:

(P)
 'Urusan ke Jawa Lampung di
 tempat di Lh. Sanggo Dosi. Adik
 Simentara mau berangkat datang
 lah kita-kita satu Beda Beda
 yang-kata nya di bermacam
 oleh Raja Tandri Baranusa
 maka dia juga berangkat ke
 Jawa sebagai utusan perbudi
 Kadu nya berderah garis garis
 di akan akan menunjukkan
 bahwa sangguh benar, pada
 hal Beda Beda putar balik
 dia sendiri yang buah badan nya
 jadi derah. To
 Pada hal sesungguhnya Beda
 Beda ini ada lah mata-mata
 dari Raja Kerajaan Tandri
 Baranusa.
 Di Kita Jawa semua orang pun
 di punji pada hal Beda Beda
 tidak mau turun, mau nya
 ingin bersama seorang perempuan
 yang menjaga peti beridi mas
 penyus (maling pros maling)
 itu. Pada akhir nya Beda
 Beda milih mas penyus itu
 maling pros maling untuk
 di lihat nya. Namun di
 oleh perampasan pos mati milih
 tidak mau.

(F)
 Kosang Bala lering hati mau
 lering hati urang
 Bapa lering Gombi Bapa Rung
 Miki pun Kosang Bala sudah
 sudah ketapi perlambatan diting
 sedang-kata nya Raja mada
 Muraweli ber nama Tali Bura
 telah berbunuh mati dengan
 kerbuki. Solo buah Raja mada
 Muraweli (Tali Bura) di
 buat ampul isi pempunang
 untuk jadi pempal kepun
 makan dirik pinang.
 Begitu belian (Kosang-bale)
 makan dirik benar kerbuki
 bahwa-kata nya telah
 mati berbunuh.
 Ratu Kosang Bala kembali
 ke Muraweli dengan hati yang
 susah. Selay beberapa hari
 kemudian di akhir strategi
 baru untuk meminibabukan
 dari Raja Jawa dengan sepeti
 nya telah = Mas pengai-bahwa
 daerah nya = Maling pros maling

(9)
 fahar-petir nya jalan yang di
 tempuk oleh di Beda Dara
 lalak di rayu nya di perumpuan
 ihe untuk bersenggama atau
 berstribuk. Sewidak berseng-
 gama atau berstribuk lalu
 di perumpuan, petir berpikir.
 Rayu punya diri di Beda Dara
 sudah dapat lebih baik mas
 penyuk (nilung pira matung) ini
 saya perlihatkan pada Beda
 Dara mes kemmas penyuk
 (nilung pira matung) ini
 adalah sebagai seperti Raja
 Jawa.
 Terakhir di perumpuan petir
 membuka petir kan mas
 penyuk (nilung pira matung)
 ihe di arah kan kepada
 Beda Dara untuk dilihat
 nya. Begitu Beda Dara
 prima dan sementara lihat
 dilihat apak lama lalu di
 lepas kan kedalam laut
 hitam yang sudah dapat
 di ambil kembali dengan
 pantun atau syair nya
 sbb =

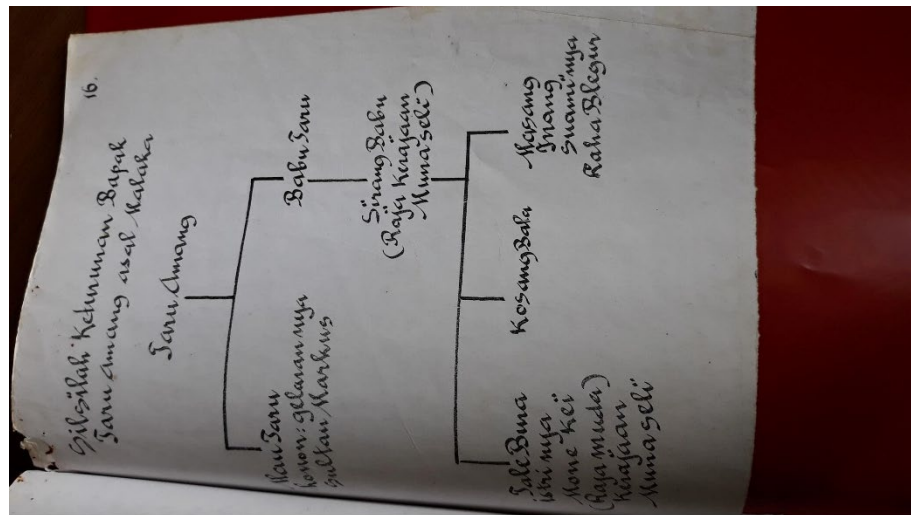
(10)
 Nilung pira matung saba seru
 Beda Dara amang
 Beda Dara amang panggopi
 Musa Jawa punung.
 Kadran petir dari Tunggogosi
 sendiri juga tidak berpikir
 ke arah ihe dan semesta orang
 di perahu pun di pelabuhan
 dan Tunggogosi berama kebera-
 kauan nya langsung menghidup
 Raja Jawa dan melapor kan
 bahwa kami drang ini meminta
 bantuan Raja Jawa untuk berda-
 perang melawan kuryan
 Raja Kerajan Kange-Baramu
 dengan membawa seperti bepra
 mas penyuk bahasa daerah
 (nilung pira matung)
 Lalu Raja Jawa bilang kamu
 drang ini petir perahu
 kosong tidak ada apa-apa
 di dalam nya.
 Kalau Tunggogosi bilang ada
 coba kamu ambil ikan
 lapa karang yang semesta
 bermain di laut petir
 Jawa ini kalau dapat berati
 perahu kamu ini ada musti
 dan kalau tidak dapat berati

(11)
 perahu kamu ini kosong pitek
 bawa apa-apa.
 Lalu nya Sanggo Dosi mulai
 bombak ikan lapa karang itu.
 Yang semesta bermain itu.
 Kemang & tombak nya itan
 itu kena petapi, terakir nya
 perlepas juga dengan prandun
 atau Syair nya pbb =
 6. Sanggo Dosi amang lapa karang
 Buno lapa karang lundo ukung
 Rodo lundo ukung.
 Sudah itu Sanggo Dosi langung
 puun di perahu lihat permyate
 mas benyu (nilung pira matang)
 pitek ada peti nya kosong.
 Sanggo Dosi langung kimbati
 ke darat dan melapor kan
 kepada Raja Guru bahwa
 kami lupa harua keddun
 perang itu baru jalan.
 Sanggo Dosi berjanji lagi keprda
 Raja Guru bahwa kami pulang
 nanti bulan kemudian proutan
 Raja Guru datang banti perang
 baru ambil.

(12)
 Begitu Sanggo Dosi bersama
 kawan-kawan nya pulang
 proutan Raja Guru pun
 berangkat ikut dan belahang
 Terjaka proutan Raja Guru
 pira mas benyu atau
 nilung pira matang benar
 benar pitek ada.
 Rkiry nya proutan Raja Guru
 mem banti lagi proutan,
 Raja Paudi Darama untuk
 mengkan car lapa kan kati
 kerjayan Munaseli.
 Marusa nya lani hikut pitek
 untuk menjelamatkan diri
 ke daratan pulau Rlor dan
 ada yang ke pulau Vinor dan
 sekiter nya.
 Sedang kan sebelum proutan
 Raja Guru datang Kasang Bele
 berangkat meminta bantuan
 Raja Ternate (Matukus) kemayab
 per mintaan nya Rkiry & kabal
 kan oleh Raja Ternate.
 Sekembali stampir di pulau
 pulau Lempuur yaitu sekurang
 nama nya pulau Braya dan
 pulau Ternate itu Kasang Bele
 melibat datang kati kerjayan
 Munaseli sedang semesta

(13)
 berbakas, langkas, alih api.
 Kosang Bala, belik-hulan
 karena langkas-kembali
 angien penak mya B. baw
 Jatur-ke, aras langkas
 Dili: dengan pambun atri
 & Koyair mya B. B. F.
 Kosang Bala nong kura dan
 Rong Rac pimat
 Raja Manduk, posi dawa
 Dawa Kosang Bala.
 Pada saat peltimpuran beraktin
 ada proutan Raja Jura Dlung
 lagi karena alih hulan langkas
 masak B. nung, Munaseli yang
 tempatnya sekarang bernama
 Jura Toka koto.
 Sementara berlabuh dan pti
 pondan meraka ikat pada
 selak satu pohon-kayu yang
 ketekulan pambuk B. baw
 batri itu. Tika-kibi Dlung
 leh searang pribumi yang
 bernama: Koli Maleng anang
 dengan membawa sebuah
 kalantang untuk potong
 proutan dari Raja Jura

(14)
 berbakas proutan dari Raja Jura
 Jura Cepat, Cepat potong B.
 proutan dan melirik dari
 dengan penak ke pengak dari
 dan langkas-ke Jura.
 Keadan, B. B. dengan proutan
 atri Jura mya B. B.
 & Kura dunduanang pua
 Ketiung
 Koli Maleng anang
 Tika kelo Jura peltimpuran.
 Sililik keturuman Dlung
 mya keluarga B. baw
 Jura Pmang bersama
 keluarga dari peltimpuran
 Malaka, lihat kumbaran
 terakhir.
 Demikianlah riwayat
 singkat secara garis besar
 yang saya buat ini tentang
 asal mula mya B. baw
 Kerajan, Munaseli dan
 peltimpuran proutan
 antra Raja Kerajan
 Pandri B. baw dan Malaka



Text 3. Linneage of the Alor Besar (Bungabali) kings (AOLYS_alb_WT-02)

1. Mangkit.
 2. Kituarq.
 3. Senang.
 4. Harai.
 5. Awen Har.
 6. Pelang Awen.
 7. Tang Pelang.
 8. Wen Tang.
 9. Mang Wen Tang.
 10. Pat Mang Awen.
 11. Mang Pat.
 12. Helollmo.
 13. Pelang Heloll.
 14. Pelau Pelang. → Turun di Pantai.
 15. Nuka ulau.
 16. Tobikama.
 17. Kabeka Tobik.
 18. Kari Kabeka.
 19. Dati Kari.
 20. Kurang Amang.
 21. Ago.
 22. Baololong I (Besar) → Datang Island di Maluku.
 23. Bakolaha Solasa. Minam dora di Kiri, Belaga, Baran.
 24. Dati Kari II. → Perang dengan Lawihing.
 25. Kabeka II. → Tukal nama dengan Kalana.
 26. Pako ulali. Keturunan mulai Terbagi.
 27. Kari Naha. Perang dengan Alor kecil.
 28. Baololong II. Datang Island dari Bugis.
- Keturunan Pako ulali datang di Pantai.
Sestunya Lay ulung Poali.
Nuka ulau
↓
Kari Naha Baolaha
- Tobikama.
↓
1. Juma Tobik.
2. Kabeka Tobik.
3. Kalang Tobik.
4. Kitang Tobik.

A.3 A list of names of Alorese clans

Village	Name of Clans	Sub-clan	Sub sub-clans	Origin	Tasks
Dulolong	Kaa Nae			from Alor Kecil, descendants of Mou Tukung	
	Roma Nae			from Alor Kecil, descendants of Mou Tukung	
	Kadafu Nae			from Alor Kecil, descendants of Mou Tukung	
	Dopu Nae			from Alor Kecil, descendants of Mou Tukung	
	Wou Bote			from the right direction from the village (Lewalu)	
	Leka Duli			from the left direction of the village (to Kalabahi)	
	Solor			from Solor, Lamaholot Flores Timur	
Alor Kecil	Baoraja			Descendant of Saku Bala Duli (from Koliwarang Kingdom in Rusa island)	community leader, imam masjid
	Maung Lolong			from Fol Boa (to the east towards Dulolong))	community leader, imam masjid
	Leka Duli			from Munaseli	one representative on the board and as bilal
	Mudilohang			from Pura island	one representative on the board and as bilal
	Gei Lahe			from Solor	one representative on the board and as bilal
	Mekassar			from Bugis in Sulawesi	law enforcement
	Alu Kae			descendant of Being clan from the mountain	
Alor Besar	Bungabali			descendant of Wau Pelang, kings of Alor Besar	run the kingdom
	Kapitang			from Pantar (Pandai) and Kabola (Alila village)	army
	Hukung			Solor and Mananga	law enforcement
Ternate	Uma Kakang			from Pura	community leader
	Uma Tukang			-	community leader
	Uma Haring			-	
	Wolang Kalelang			-	
	Wilwau Atas			speak different language	
	Wilwau Bawah			speak different language	
	Deing Wahi			-	
Buaya	Bia Tabang			-	
	Uma Kakang			from Pura	community leader
	Uma Tukang			from Pura	community leader
	Uma Aring			from Pura	community leader
	Leing				
	Deing Wahi				do circumcision
	Welu Balu Wolang (Wilwau Lolong)				khatib (preacher)
	Lamaholot			arrived from Sebanjar	
	Uma Jawa			arrived from Sebanjar	
Helandohi	Being			descendants of Helan and Dohi (Koliwarang)	

Village	Name of Clans	Sub-clan	Sub sub-clans	Origin	Tasks
	Being Aring			descendants of Helan and Dohi (Koliwarang)	
	Marang			descendants of Helan and Dohi (Koliwarang)	
	Pitang			descendants of Helan and Dohi (Koliwarang)	
	Uma Tukang			descendants of Helan and Dohi (Koliwarang)	
	Uma Aring			descendants of Helan and Dohi (Koliwarang)	
Munaseli	Bisang			Descendant of Bui Muna	guards to protect the area
	Marang			from Flores Lamaholot	royal family
	Being			from Helandohi	provide wives for the kings
	Kawine			from Helandohi	the servant, call up people to gather
	Mukor			from Bisang	
	Berino			from Erana (Kolana, East Alor)	
Pandai	Dingalaeng or Bingalaeng			from Java	has the highest position in the community, had responsibility to run the kingdom
		Uma Au		Bakuluka (from the mountain)	
		Uma Kabagoe		from Borneo	
		Uma Laka tuli		from Alor	
	Laduboleng	Uma Pangka			
		Uma Opa			
	Kawine	Uma Luwo			
		Uma Sandiata		from Solor	
		Uma Maluku		from Ternate, Maluku	
		Uma Wai Boho		from Baranusa, but originally from Helandohi	
		Uma Lampuho			
		Uma Hali Weka		from Baranusa	
		Uma Lamakera		from Lamakera, Lembata	
Wailawar	Marang			come from within the earth	
	Being			the largest clan, indigenous Wailawar people	
	Mukoraja			from Helandohi	royal family, run the kingdom (Helandohi)
	Pitang			Pandai	Secure the land
	Hukung			Solor	made decision, law enforcement
Bana	Being			from Helandohi	
	Being Aring			from Helandohi	
	Marang			from Helandohi	
	Pitang			from Helandohi	
	Uma Tukang			from Helandohi	
	Uma Aring			from Helandohi	
Baranusa	Uma Kakang	Uma Peing		from Java	community leader

Village	Name of Clans	Sub-clan	Sub sub-clans	Origin	Tasks
		Uma Manung		from Java	
		Uma Kisu		from Java	
		Lema Keluang		from Java	
		Uma Aring Hukung Uma		from Java	
		Utung Wala		from Java	
		Kaing Moring		from Java	
		Banawala		from Java	
		Karoku		from Java	
		Beri Manema		from Java	
Hali Weka	Hale	Haliweka			
		Maung Lolong			
		Toda Ise			
		Pali Wala			
		Geu Iaja			
		Lampuhu			
	Bao	Bao			
		Maloku Tosiwo			religious leader
		Lamahala			
		Tarrong			
		Lakatuli			
		Makassar			
		Wato Wutung			
		Wato Batta			
		Bone Kato			
		Katar			
		Belasing			
		Hang Jawa			
Sandiata	Uma Kakatua			from Lepad Batan	
	Uma Bepa			from Lepad Batan	
	Uma Puko			from Lepad Batan	
	Uma Tukang			from Lepad Batan	
	Uma Wai Boho			from Lepad Batan	
Maloku	Uma Duang	De		from Maluku	
	Uma Du			from Maluku	
	Uma Being			from Maluku	
	Uma Senaji			from Maluku	
	Uma Tukang			from Maluku	
Illu	Uma Illu			from Tolu, Alor	

Village	Name of Clans	Sub-clan	Sub sub-clans	Origin	Tasks
		Kautema		from Tolu, Alor	
		Illu Delangkas		from Tolu, Alor	
Beang Onong	Uma Kakang			from Baranusa	
	Sandiata			from Baranusa	
	Haliweka			from Baranusa	
Kayang	Kolong				
	Kamal				
	Mekaku				
	Kobi Kaku				
Marica	Marisa				Chief of the village
	Leuwerang				Land owner
	Mukobao			from Kayang	the tetua adat
	Tonu/Buta Sua				Guard and secure the land

APPENDIX B

A short dictionary of Alorese-English-Indonesian

B.1 Overview

This dictionary contains a wordlist generated from the FLEx database based on the Alorese dialect spoken in northeast Pantar, particularly in the villages of Pandai, Wailawar, and Kabir. In this list, I include examples that I gathered in the field during the time when I make data confirmation in my fieldwork in 2020. In addition, there are notes that are based on the grammatical description in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

In this short dictionary, the given Alorese words and sentences are in boldface and their English meaning are in normal font, while their Indonesian (Ind) translation are in italics. Note that Alorese does not have the word category of Adjective (cf. §4.6.2.3); the category of adjective in this dictionary refers to Indonesian adjectives (Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, 2008). Below is the list of abbreviations used in this dictionary.

adj.	adjective	num.	numeral
adv.	adverb	med.	medial
conj.	conjunction	pl.	plural
dem.	demonstrative	pron.	pronoun
dist.	distal	prox.	proximal
lat.	latin	q.	question
loc.	locative	sg.	singular
n.	noun	v.	verb
neg.	negation		

A

adok	v. nod; Ind: <i>angguk</i> .
adung	adj. sleepy; Ind: <i>mengantuk</i> .
aho	n. dog; Ind: <i>anjing</i> .
-ahu / go	kahu / mo mahu / ro nahu / no nahu / kame mahu / tite tahu / mi mahu / we rahu v. to take water from a well; Ind: <i>timba</i> .
-ai / go	kai / mo mai / ro nai / no nai / kame mai / tite tai / we rai v. to go; Ind: <i>pergi</i> . Go kai oro kali . I go to that place. <i>Saya pergi ke sana</i> .
aing	loc. towards; Ind: <i>ke</i> .
ajara	v. to teach (Malay); Ind: <i>mengajari</i> .
akal	v. to lie, tell untruth; Ind: <i>bohong</i> . Go kau akal neing sekola . My younger sister lies for going to school. <i>Adik saya bohong bolos sekolah</i> .
ala₁ / alapong	n. scorpion; Ind: <i>kalajengking</i> .
Ala₂	n. God; Ind: <i>Tuhan</i> . Go doa oro tuhang Ala . I pray to God. <i>Saya berdoa kepada Tuhan</i> .
-ala / go	kala / mo mala / no nala / ro nala / kame mala / tite tala / we rala v. follow; Ind: <i>ikut</i> .
alang	n. sound; Ind: <i>suara</i> . Motor ada alang te lewat . There is the sound from the passing motor boat. <i>Ada suara dari perahu motor yang lewat</i> .
aleng	n. waist; hip; Ind:

pinggang; pinggul. **Go aleng te belara**. My waist hurts. *Pinggul saya ini sakit*.

aling	n. vein; Ind: <i>urat</i> .
aling being	n. ribs; Ind: <i>tulang rusuk</i> .
alo	n. mortar; Ind: <i>lesung</i> .
alu	n. river; stream; Ind: <i>sungai; kali</i> . Go kali alu gute wai . I went to the river to take some water. <i>Saya pergi ke sungai untuk ambil air</i> .
alus	adj. good looking, beautiful, handsome; Ind: <i>bagus; ganteng; cantik</i> . Kewae kali na alus . That woman is pretty. <i>Perempuan itu cantik</i> .
ama / mama	n. father, mister; Ind: <i>bapak; ayah</i> .
ampo	v. to forgive (Malay); Ind: <i>ampun; mengampuni</i> .
amuk / amu	adj. empty; Ind: <i>kosong</i> . Go ember kali amuk . My bucket is empty. <i>Ember saya kosong</i> .
amung / mung	adv. only; Ind: <i>saja</i> . Ke urus ro mung . She takes care of him only. <i>Ibu itu urus dia saja</i> .
ana bapa	n. grand child; Ind: <i>cucu</i> . Go ana bapa wati anang . My grand child is still young. <i>Cucu saya masih kecil</i> .
anang / ana / anak	1 • n. child; <i>anak</i> . 2 • adj. small; <i>kecil</i> . Go sela wati anang . My papaya is still small. <i>Pepaya saya masih kecil (belum besar)</i> .
ane / anne	n. sand; Ind: <i>pasir</i> .

- ang₁ / **go kang** / **mo mang** / **ro nang** / **no nang** / **tite tang** / **kame mang** / **mi mang** / **we rang**. v. to use; Ind: *pakai*.
- ang₂ / **go kang** / **mo goug** / **ro gang** / **tite taka** / **mi geing** / **we raka**. v. eat; Ind: *makan*. **Go kang wata**. I eat rice. *Saya makan nasi*.
- ang liang / **go kang liang** / **mo mang liang** / **no nang liang** / **ro nang liang** / **kame mang liang** / **tite tang liang** / **mi mang liang** / **we rang liang**. v. sing; Ind: *menyanyi*.
- anggo waking** v. to decorate; to put make up on; Ind: *rias; hias; dandan; dekor*. **Ro kali anggo waking ro**. She is putting make up on her. *Dia itu mendandani dia*.
- anging** n. wind; Ind: *angin*.
- anging bea** n. storm; Ind: *badai, angin besar*.
- anti** n. earring; Ind: *anting*.
- apa** n. 1 • rice; Ind: *padi, beras*. 2 • something, thing; *sesuatu, barang, benda*.
- ape** n. fire; Ind: *api*.
- ape rape** n. embers; Ind: *bara api*.
- apu** n. lime; Ind: *kapur*.
- apung** n. dew; Ind: *embun*.
- aring** n. younger sibling; Ind: *adik*. **Go'ong aring tobo kali Baranusa**. My younger sibling lives in Baranusa. *Adik saya tinggal di Baranusa*.
- aru / ru** foc. focative marker; Ind: *penanda fokus, yang*.
- asikol** n. shrimp; all kind of shrimps; Ind: *udang; semua jenis udang*.
- ata** n. person, man; Ind: *orang*.
- ata bea** n. 1 • ruler; king; people with high social strata; rich people; Ind: *orang besar; orang kaya; orang berkedudukan tinggi di masyarakat*. 2 • older people; Ind: *orang lebih tua*.
- ata mata puna** n. foreigner; new comer; stranger; Ind: *orang luar; pendatang baru; orang baru; orang asing; pendatang; bukan warga lokal*.
- ate / **go kate** / **mo mate** / **no nate** / **ro nate** / **kame mate** / **tite tate** / **mi mate** / **we rate**. v. bring, carry; Ind: *bawa*. **Mo mate roti kae wu**. You go carry the bread to the market! *Kamu bawalah roti ke pasar*.
- ateng** n. liver; Ind: *hati*.
- au / awu** n. bamboo; Ind: *bambu*.
- awang** n. cloud; Ind: *awan*.
- awing** loc. side; Ind: *samping*.
- awo** n. oven; hearth; Ind: *dapur; tungku; tempat memasak*. **Go'ong awo te rusak**. My oven is broken. *Tungku saya rusak*.
- awo kaha** n. ash; fireplace ash; Ind: *abu; abu perapian*.

B

- ba** conj. then; discourse particle; Ind: *lalu*. **Na'ang kotong maso botol onong ba, akhirnya aho gokal.** The dog's head was inside a bottle and then the dog fell. *Kepala anjing masuk ke dalam botol itu akhirnya anjingnya jatuh.*
- baa / ba.** adj. heavy; Ind: *berat*.
- bage** v. divide; Ind: *bagi*.
- bai** n. child; baby; Ind: *anak*; *bayi*.
- bai hire / bahire.** n. children; *anak-anak*.
- bai laming / belaming.** n. young people; Ind: *anak muda*.
- baing** v. wait; Ind: *tunggu*. **Go baing bapa bale dari Lawar.** I wait for father to return from Lawar. *Saya tunggu bapak pulang dari Lawar. See also -iang* v. wait.
- bajo** v. pound; Ind: *pukul*. **Go bajo wata oro muka.** I pound some corns at house front. *Saya tumbuk jagung di depan (rumah).*
- baka / beka / bekang / bakang.** v. 1 • to fly; Ind: *terbang*. **Kolong beka kali.** The bird flies. *Burung itu terbang.* 2 • to peel the inner skin of a coconut; Ind: *mengupas kulit kelapa bagian dalam*.
- baki / baki leing.** n. cucumber; Ind: *timun*.
- baku / bakung₁ / bakku.** 1 • v. to pull out; to lift up; Ind: *cabut; angkat*. **Ro baku**

ladung. Pull out some grass! *Kamu cabut rumput (sana)!*

2 • Reciprocal. Ind: *baku, saling*.

bakung₂ v. fall down (tree); Ind: *tumbang*.

balang adj. fishy (smell); Ind: *amis*. **Go kate ikang ke tapi balang.** I carry some fish but (they are) fishy (smell like fish). *Saya bawa ikan tapi ikannya bau amis.*

bale v. to return; to come back; Ind: *kembali*.

bali n. axe; Ind: *kapak*.

bameng / bamang. n. chin; Ind: *dagu*.

bana n. 1 • forest; Ind: *hutan*. 2 • mud; Ind: *lumpur*.

banang n. thread; yarn; Ind: *benang*.

bang 1 • v. carry; bring; Ind: *bawa*. **Mo bang roti mae wu.** You, go bring the bread to the market. *Kamu bawa roti pergi ke pasar.* 2 • adj. swollen; Ind: *benjol; bengkak*.

bangang v. 1 • want; to ask for. Ind: *minta*. **Go bangang wata.** I want some rice. *Saya minta nasi.*

2 • borrow; Ind: *pinjam*. **Go bangang kondo ro.** I want to borrow your clothes. *Saya mau pinjam baju kamu.*

bantu v. to help (Malay); Ind: *membantu*.

bao n. banyan tree; Ind: *beringin*.

bapa n. 1 • crocodile; alligator; Ind: *buaya*. **Go seru bapa**

- klou wata.** I saw a crocodile down there. *Saya lihat buaya di bawah sana.*
2 • father; Ind: *ayah; bapak.* **Go bapa nai Kalabahi** My father was going to Kalabahi. *Ayah saya pergi ke Kalabahi.*
- bapa kelake** *n.* grandfather; Ind: *kakek.*
bapa kewae *n.* grandmother; Ind: *nenek.*
bapang kelake *n.* grandson; Ind: *cucu laki-laki.*
bapang kewae *n.* granddaughter; Ind: *cucu perempuan.*
bape *v.* hit; Ind: *pukul.*
bapek *v.* slice; Ind: *iris.*
bare **1 • v.** to cut fish in half; to open fish and then took out the inner part of the fish; Ind: *potong ikan; belah ikan lalu ambil isi perut ikan.* **Go gute duri bare ikang.** I took a knife (and then) I cut the fish (in half). *Saya ambil pisau (lalu) saya potong ikan.*
2 • n. company; partner; friend; Ind: *teman.* **Na'ang bare pana nai gereja.** My friend went to the church. *Teman saya pergi ke gereja.*
- bareng** **1 • v.** break; Ind: *pecah.*
2 • n. sea current; Ind: *arus (laut).*
3 • v. to flow; Ind: *mengalir.*
- bareng kua** *adj.* heavy (rain); Ind: *deras.* **Urang te bareng kua.** The rain is heavy. *Hujannya deras.*
- baringi** *adj.* shivering; Ind: *gemetar; menggigil.*
- basa / baca.** (Malay). *v.* read; Ind: *baca.*
- bata / beta / batang / betta.** *v.*
1 • break; Ind: *pecah.* **Go lelang piring batang.** I broke the plates. *Saya buat piring pecah.*
2 • divide; split; Ind: *bagi; membagi.*
- batul** *n.* needle; Ind: *jarum.*
- bau** *adv.* tomorrow; *besok.* **Go bau kai Lawar.** Tomorrow I go to Lawar. *Saya besok ke Lawar.*
- bau ertalo** *adv.* three days from now; Ind: *besok tiga hari lagi; tiga hari dari sekarang.*
- bau erua** *adv.* day after tomorrow; Ind: *besok lusa.*
- baung** *v.* wake up; Ind: *bangun.* **Go baung wura langsung go sebeang subuh.** I woke up early in the morning and then I made the dawn prayer. *Saya bangun pagi langsung saya sembahyang subuh.*
- bea / being.** *adj.* big; Ind: *besar.* **Sela te bea kaing.** The pepaya is already big. *Pepayanya sudah besar.*
- behe** *v.* pound; hit; Ind: *pukul; tumbuk.* **Mo belajar lahe na go behe!** Go study or I will hit you! *Kamu belajar sana kalau tidak saya pukul!* Note: The word **behe** 'pound; hit' is more often used in the Baranusa variety, while in the Pandai variety, the word **boa** 'to hit' is more often used.

- beku** v. dance lego-lego; Ind: *menari lego lego*. We beku. They do lego-lego dance. *Mereka menari lego-lego*.
beku toja n. dance lego-lego; Ind: *tarian lego-lego*.
- belabaja** n. treaty (Malay); Ind: *belabaja, perjanjian*.
- belaha / blaha / blahak** adj. long; Ind: *panjang*.
- belako** n. betel nut midrib; Ind: *pelepah pinang*.
- belane / blane / welane** n. bee; Ind: *lebah*.
- belane waing** n. honey; Ind: *madu*.
Go kai wu hope belane waing. I went to the market to buy some honey. *Saya pergi ke pasar beli madu*.
- belalong** n. gold; Ind: *emas*.
- belara** adj. painful; acheing; Ind: *sakit; perih; pedih*.
- belia** n. loom; Ind: *alat tenun*.
- belo waking** n. murder; crime act; people fighting and kill each other; Ind: *pembunuhan; orang baku potong; orang berkelahi sampai baku potong*. **Ata kali bao waking po belo waking**. Those people are fighting and killing each other. *Orang-orang itu sedang berkelahi dan mereka saling bunuh*.
- belok** v. to turn (Malay); Ind: *belok*.
- belone / lone / blone** n. pillow; Ind: *bantal*.
- belone galung** n. roll pillow; bolster; Ind: *guling*.
- belupa / blupa / blupak** v. forget; Ind: *lupa*. **Go belupa nihi lera ke lara pai**. I forgot what day is it. *Saya lupa ini hari hari apa*.
- bema** v. wash (clothes); Ind: *cuci (pakaian)*. **Go bema pakian labing**. I wash a lot of clothes. *Saya cuci pakaian banyak*.
- benoteng** n. wave (ocean); Ind: *gelombang; ombak*.
- beraka** n. bless. (Malay); Ind: *berkat*.
- bere** adj. light (weight); Ind: *ringan*. **Go bang apa hire bere**. I am carrying this thing, (it is) light. *Saya bawa barang ini ringan*.
- bereha** v. sow; scatter; Ind: *tabur*. **Apa kali bereha sekali**. Those things are all scattered. *Barang apa itu bertaburan semuanya*.
- beringi / bringi** adj. shivering; shaking; Ind: *menggigil; gemetar; demam*. **Go waki beringi**. My body is shaking. *Badan saya menggigil*.
- beta / bata / betta / weta** v. come; Ind: *datang*. **Go beta oro Wailawar**. I arrived from Wailawar. *Saya datang dari Wailawar*.
- bihe / bihu** v. borrow; Ind: *pinjam*.
- bihung / kewihung / bihu** v. tear off; rip off; Ind: *merobek*.
- bilang** n. lightning; Ind: *kilat*.
- bineng** n. sister; female sibling; Ind: *saudara perempuan*.
- bingku** 1 • n. hoe; Ind: *cangkul*. **Go kate bingku kae ekang onong**. I carry a hoe to the garden. *saya bawa pacul ke kebun*.
 2 • v. to cultivate; Ind: *mencangkul*. **Go bingku**

- oro ekang.** I was cultivating the field. *Saya memacul/mengolah ladang.*
- biskue** *n.* biscuit; (Malay); Ind: *biskuit.*
- blolok / blolo / belolo / blokong.**
 1 • *adj.* tall; Ind: *tinggi.*
 2 • *n.* ridge (of a house); peak; tip; end; Ind: *bubungan; puncak; ujung.*
- bo / ba.** *conj.* Then; and then; Ind: *lalu; kemudian.*
- boa** *v.* hit; pound; slap; Ind: *memukul; menampar.* **Go boa ata.** I hit someone. *Saya memukul seseorang.*
- boa waki** *v.* fight; *berkelahi.* **Go seru ata boa waki ke lapangan.** I saw people fighting in the square. *Saya lihat orang berkelahi di lapangan.*
- bodoh** *adj.* stupid (Malay); Ind: *bodoh.*
- bogal** *adj.* rough; Ind: *kasar.* **Go paha wato ke na bogal.** I touch this rock (it is) rough. *Saya pegang ini batu kasar.*
- bohu** *adj.* full (stomach); Ind: *kenyang.* **Go tukang bohu kaing.** My stomach is already full. *Perut saya sudah kenyang.*
- boing** *adj.* all; Ind: *semua.* **We kali hama boing.** They are all the same. *Mereka itu sama semua.*
- bokol** *adj.* swollen; Ind: *benjol; bengkak.* **Bai kali na'ang kotong sada pite bokol.** That child, his head hits the door and it becomes swollen. *Anak kecil dia punya kepala terbentur*
- pintu terus benjol.*
- bokor / boke.** *v.* take; Ind: *ambil.*
- bolak** *v.* break (stick); Ind: *patah.*
- bolor** *v.* lit; Ind: *menyala.* **Ape kate neing bolor!** Lit the fire! *Nyalakan apinya; Apinya kasih nyala!*
- bolung bolu** *n.* eggplant; Ind: *terong.*
- bota** *n.* noni; Ind: *mengkudu.*
- bote** *v.* lift up; Ind: *angkat; gendong.* **Go bote bai kali.** I carry a child (on my shoulder/waist). *Saya gendong anak ini.*
- bowong** *v.* bark (dog); Ind: *gonggong.* **Aho bowong apa oro ekang.** The dog was barking in the garden. *Anjing menggonggong di kebun; Anjing ada gonggong di kebun.*
- bua** *v.* to sail; leave; to go away; Ind: *berlayar; pergi; merantau; bepergian.* **Go anang ro bua dagang oro Flores.** My son, he was sailing (living elsewhere) to Flores to go trade. *Anak saya dia pergi berdagang ke Flores.*
- buang** *n.* wooden stick (used to plant corn); Ind: *tongkat untuk tanam jagung.* **Mo gute buang kali te mula wata.** You take that stick and go plant some corn! *Kamu sana ambil tongkat pergi tanam jagung!*
- bubu** *v.* pour; Ind: *tuang.*
- buha** *adj.* adultery; Ind: *zina.*
- buhu** *v.* spit; to spray (with mouth); Ind: *meludah;*

- menyembur* (melalui mulut).
- bule** v. squeeze; Ind: *peras*. **Go bule tapo**. I squeeze the coconut. *Saya peras kelapa*.
- bumi** n. earth; Ind: *bumi*.
- buno / wuno**. 1 • v. kill; Ind: *bunuh*. 2 • n. war; *perang*.
- burak / bura**. adj. white; Ind: *putih*.
- burang** 1 • adj. boiling (water); Ind: *mendidih*. 2 • n. foam; Ind: *busa*.
- buta** n. 1 • mud; Ind: *lumpur*. 2 • to cover up; bandage; Ind: *bungkus; perban*. **Buta wata tel** Pack the rice! *Bungkus nasi itu!*
- buta ekang** n. an old field but is still being used; Ind: *ladang yang sudah lama tapi tetap dipakai terus*.
- buto** num. eight; Ind: *delapan*.

C

- cakalele** n. cakalele dancing (Malay); Ind: *tarian cakalele*.
- cici** n. sister (Malay); Ind: *kakak perempuan*.

D

- dahe / dehek**. adj. near; Ind: *dekat*.
- dai / da**. v. go up; Ind: *naik*. **Mo dai oro ekang**. You go up there to the garden. *kamu naik sana ke kebun*. See also **-ai** v. go. Ind: *pergi*.
- daka** v. go up; Ind: *naik*. **Mo**

daka nai oro lolong. You go up there. *Kamu sana pergi naik*.

- dakang** v. to cook; Ind: *memasak*. **Ro dakang wata**. She was cooking some rice. *Dia masak nasi*.

- dake** 1 • adj. evil; Ind: *jahat*. **Ro kali dake**. He is evil. *Dia itu orang jahat*. 2 • n. thorns; Ind: *duri*. 3 • adj. sharp; Ind: *tajam*. **Peda kali dake**. The machete was sharp. *Parangnya tajam*.

- dame₁ / dumo / damme**. v. chew; Ind: *kunyah*. **Bai kali dame es**. The child was chewing some ice. *Anak itu kunyah es*.

- dame₂** adj. peace (Malay); Ind: *damai*.

- dane** v. hit; pound; Ind: *pukul*; *hantam*. **Go dane meja**. I hit the table. *Saya memukul meja*.

- dang** n. stairs; Ind: *tangga*.
- danga / denga / dangang**. v. hear; Ind: *dengar*. **Go danga manu kokong**. I hear a rooster crow. *Saya mendengar ayam berkokok*.

- dapa** v. get; (Malay) Ind: *dapat*.
- darang** adj. half; little; Ind: *setengah; sedikit*. **Halang wai darang-darang**. The water is half-boiled. *Air masak (sudah) setengah mendidih*.

- dare** v. follow; Ind: *ikut*. **Go dare bai kali**. I follow this child. *Saya ikut anak ini*. See also **-ala** v. follow. Ind: *ikut*.

- date** adj. ugly; bad; Ind: *jelek*.

dawu **Apa kate date.** This thing is ugly. *Ini barang jelek.*
v. 1 • to mix; Ind: *campur*.
2 • hide; Ind: *sembunyi*. **Ro ada dawu apa te?** What is he hiding? *Dia menyembunyikan apa?; Dia ada sembunyi apa?*

dehe / dehek **n.** forest; Ind: *hutan*.
dei **v.** throw away; Ind: *lempar; buang*. **Go dei manu kate.** I throw (some gravels) to the rooster. *Saya lempar (kerikil) ke ayam.*

deke **v.** to cut (tree); Ind: *potong (kayu)*. **Bai kali deke kajo.** That child is cutting a wooded. *Anak itu memotong kayu.*

deker **n.** tunnel; Ind: *terowongan*.

deki **n.** raised platform; Ind: *bale-bale*.

deko leing belahak / deko lei / deko. **n.** trousers; Ind: *celana; celana panjang*.

di **adv.** also; Ind: *juga*. **Go di kang.** I also eat. *Saya juga makan.*

dike **1 •** *adj.* good; *bagus*.
2 • *neg.* do not; prohibition; Ind: *jangan*.
dike-dike *adj.* with care; Ind: *hati-hati; cermat; teliti*.

dikeng **n.** right (side); Ind: *kanan*.

dila **v.** lick (Malay); Ind: *jilat*.

do / dorang. **prin.** 3sg (Malay); Ind: *dia orang; dorang; dia*.

doang *adj.* far; Ind: *jauh*.

doho **v.** wipe; Ind: *lap; gosok*. **Mo doho kali bale-bale.** You go wipe that bed. *Sana kamu lap bale bale itu.*

dohu / kedohur. **v.** slipped; Ind: *terpeleset*. **Bai kali dohu kali.** That child (fell) slipped. *Anak itu terpeleset.*

dola **n.** mountain; Ind: *gunung*.

doli **v.** lost; astray; *tersesat*. **Go kali utang hala larang bale doli.** I went into the wood (but) I took a wrong turn (so) I could not go home. *Saya pergi ke hutan (tapi) salah jalan (jadi) tidak bisa pulang.*

dongo **v.** look down; Ind: *liat bawah*.

doru **n.** ceremonial place; Ind: *tempat upacara adat*.

doti **v.** pry; Ind: *cungkil*. **Go tite pada doti kia.** I took the machete and then I pried this (thing). *Saya ambil parang lalu saya cungkil ini.*

duang **n.** sacred forest; least visited forest; Ind: *hutan keramat; hutan yang jarang didatangi*.

duri **n.** knife; Ind: *pisau*.

E

-eing / neing / neng / ning / we reing. **v.** give; Ind: *kasih; beri*.

ekang **n.** garden; field; Ind: *kebun; ladang*.

ekang buta **n.** unused field; empty field; Ind: *sawah yang sudah lama tidak dipakai*.

ekang dahe **n.** early morning; Ind: *pagi buta; subuh*.

ekang daheng **n.** dawn; evening; Ind: *malam; petang*.

ekang lu *n.* fog; cloud; Ind: *kabut; mendung (tanda akan turun hujan)*. **Ekang lu kaing ke.** It seems like it is going to rain. *Mendung sudah ini.*

ekang otang *n.* earthquake; Ind: *gempa bumi.*

ekang terang *n.* late morning; afternoon; Ind: *pagi menjelang siang.*

eker *n.* sputum; Ind: *dahak (batuk).*

-ekung / go kekung / mo mkekung / ro nekung / no nekung / kame mekung / tite tekung / mi mekung / we rekung *v.* to grasp; Ind: *pegang*

elek *adj.* wet; Ind: *basah*. **Kondo kali elek.** Those clothes are wet. *Bajunya basah.*

elung / elu. *adj.* bright; shine; Ind: *terang*. **Lampu te elung kaing.** That lamp shines bright. *Lampunya terang.*

eneng *adj.* different; Ind: *beda*

eneng wia *v.* talk much; Ind: *banyak omong*. **Mo ni eneng wia.** You talk too much. *Kamu ini banyak omong.*

ening *v.* exist; Ind: *ada*. **Ening pai? Pai ening?** What is going on? *Ada apa?*

-enung / go kenung / mo menung / ro nenung / no nenung / kame menung / tite tenung / mi menung / we renung. *v.* drink; Ind: *minum.*

ere pira / orong pira / erpira / arpira. *q.word.* when; Ind: *kapan.*

ertalo hele *n.* three days ago; Ind: *tiga hari lalu.*

erua *n.* day after tomorrow; Ind: *besok lagi; besok lusa.*

erua hele *n.* day before yesterday; Ind: *lusa; dua hari yang lalu.*

F

fiti *v.* shoot with slingshoot; Ind: *tembak dengan kertapel.*

G

-ga / namangga / namengga / nangga / namega. *q.word.* how; why; Ind: *bagaimana; mengapa; mana.*

gadeng *adj.* hard; frozen; Ind: *keras; beku*. **Muko kali gadeng.** The banana is hard. *Pisangnya keras.*

gaga *adj.* beautiful (Malay); Ind: *cantik; gagah.*

gagu *v.* mix; Ind: *campur.*

gahing *v.* command; order; Ind: *suruh; perintah.*

gahing gapang *n.* initiation ceremony; Ind: *upacara prabakti.*

gakar *v.* scream; Ind: *teriak.*

gaki / gai. *v.* bite; Ind: *gigit.*

galang / gala. *v.* try; Ind: *coba.*

galing *v.* dig (Malay); Ind: *gali*. **Galing nuo kali.** (He is) digging a hole. (Dia) menggali lubang.

galla / galla *v.* do it; Ind: *sana.*

gamar apa *v.* to pray; Ind:

- sembahyang.*
gambeing / **gambe**. *n.* old man; Ind: *bapak tua*. **gambeing kelake**. old man; *bapak tua laki-laki*.
gapal *adj.* thick; Ind: *tebal*. **Bai kana rata gapal**. That child has thick hair. *Anak itu dia punya rambut tebal*.
gareng *v.* turn; Ind: *putar*.
gasang *n.* things; Ind: *barang*.
gate *adj.* itchy; Ind: *gatal*.
gater *v.* ask (question); *tanya*.
gato *v.* harvest; Ind: *panen*.
gatong / **getong**. *v.* 1 • break; Ind: *putus*. **Gato ro kali**. Break that (rope). *Kasih putus (tali) itu*. **Gato tale kali**. Break that rope! *Kasih putus tali itu!*
2 • harvest; Ind: *panen*. **Gato pare**. Harvest some rice plant. *Panen padi*.
gau *v.* scratch; Ind: *garuk*.
gawe *v.* pass; Ind: *lewat*. **Ro gawe oro kali**. He passes by over there. *Dia ada lewat di situ*.
gawo *v.* cut; slaughter; Ind: *sembelih*. **Ro gawo witi**. He slaughtered the goat. *Dia potong kambing*.
gehing / **gehi**. *v.* 1 • push; Ind: *tolak*.
2 • refuse; not want; Ind: *menolak*. **Ro gehing**. He refused. *Dia tidak mau*.
gei *v.* shave; *cukur*.
geke / **gekeng**. *v.* laugh; Ind: *tertawa*.
gelaher *adj.* spread; Ind: *berhamburan*.
gelasa *n.* glass cup; (Malay); Ind: *gelas kaca; cangkir kaca*.
gelu / **geru**. *v.* exchange; Ind: *tukar*.
gena *v.* 1 • look for; search for; Ind: *cari*.
2 • hunt; Ind: *berburu*.
gena ekang. hunt; Ind: *berburu*.
genabeng *n.* wall; Ind: *dinding*.
genuku *v.* think; Ind: *berpikir*. **Ro kali genuku apa**. He was thinking about something. *Dia ada duduk pikir barang*.
gepar *v.* call; Ind: *panggil* (impolite). **Gepar ro!** Call him! *Panggil dia!*
gepe / **hipe** / **ipe**. *v.* clip; flop; Ind: *jepit*. **Mo gepe apa kia**. You flip this thing. *Kamu jepit ini barang*.
gerasang *adv.* maybe; perhaps; Ind: *mungkin*. **He ro gerasang**. It was him, maybe. *Itu dia mungkin*.
gere / **gara** / **ge**. *v.* climb; Ind: *panjat*.
gereng *v.* bloom; Ind: *mekar*.
gia / **gea**. *v.* already; Ind: *sudah*. **Gia kaing**. already finished. *sudah selesai*. **Ning gia!** Give it to him! *Kasih sudah!*
giha *v.* step on; Ind: *injak*. **Giha ro!** Step on it! *Injak dia (barang itu)!*
gileng *v.* scream; Ind: *teriak*. **Muat wai kate gileng wati**. The water pump screams (whether the pond is) full yet or not. *Muat air itu teriakannya (tanda) sudah penuh atau belum*.
gilong / **gilo**. *adj.* sour; Ind: *hambar*. **Ro dakang wulung naking gilong**. Dia makan jeruk rasanya asam. *He eats a lemon and (it) tastes*

	<i>sour.</i>
gimu	<i>v. pinch; Ind: cubit.</i>
giru	<i>adj. healthy; Ind: sehat.</i>
glokor	<i>adj. bulat; Ind: round.</i>
go	<i>pron. 1sg; first person singular pronoun; I; Ind: aku; saya; kata ganti orang pertama tunggal.</i>
gokal / geka	<i>v. fall; Ind: jatuh; terjun.</i>
golo₁	<i>v. turn; Ind: belok.</i>
golo₂	<i>n. taro; Ind: talas.</i>
gopa	<i>v. keep; Ind: simpan; taruh. Go gopa gelas oro kia. I lay a glass here. Saya taruh gelas di sini.</i>
gopak	<i>v. put; Ind: taruh.</i>
guang	<i>v. think; Ind: pikir. Guang larang onong. Traditional people stand on the street thinking (about something). Orang adat berdiri di jalan pikir sesuatu.</i>
gui	<i>v. dig; Ind: gali.</i>
guo	<i>v. call; Ind: panggil.</i>
guo baung	<i>v. wake someone up; call someone; Ind: bangunkan orang; panggil orang.</i>
gute	<i>v. take; Ind: ambil.</i>

H

habo	<i>v. bathe; Ind: mandi.</i>
hada	
hadat / adat	<i>adj. traditional (Malay); Ind: adat.</i>
hage	<i>v. stand; Ind: berdiri.</i>
haing	<i>v. sweep; Ind: menyapu. Go haing ekang. I clean up the garden. Saya menyapu kebun.</i>
haja	<i>n. party; Ind: hajjat; pesta.</i>

hakanai / hapanai / hapamai / haperai	<i>v. go up; go away; Ind: pergi; naik. Dakanai oro keti. Go over there. Pergi sana. We haperai elu kai. He goes there. Dia pergi ke sana.</i>
hakang	<i>n. 1 • rib; Ind: tulang rusuk. Bai kali na hakang. This child is dangerously thin (lit. this child is bone only). Anak ini tulang semua (kurus sekali). 2 • sweat; Ind: keringat.</i>
hala	<i>adj. wrong; Ind: salah.</i>
haleng	<i>v. dive; Ind: selam.</i>
hama	<i>adj. same; Ind: sama.</i>
hama-hama	<i>adj. together; Ind: sama-sama.</i>
hamang	<i>adj. stale; Ind: basi.</i>
hamar	<i>n. hammer; Ind: palu.</i>
hanai / hena / hamai	<i>v. go away; Ind: pergi sana.</i>
hang / ha	<i>prox.dem. this; Ind: ini.</i>
hanang	<i>n. shoulder; Ind: punggung; bahu; pundak.</i>
hapang	<i>v. defend; Ind: membela. We kali boa waking jadi go kai hapang. They were fighting so I came to defend (one of them). Mereka sedang bertengkar jadi saya datang membela.</i>
hapeng	<i>v. twisit; Ind: belit.</i>
hapo	<i>v. wipe; Ind: lap. Hapo meja te. Go wipe that table! Lap meja itu!</i>
haru / hewai aru / hawai aru.	<i>q.word. who; Ind: siapa.</i>
hau	<i>v. to go down; Ind: turun.</i>
haur	<i>v. sew; Ind: jahit.</i>
he	<i>1 • n. loom; Ind: alat tenun. 2 • q.word. who; Ind: siapa. See also haru / hewai</i>

- aru.** *q.* word. who. Ind: siapa.
- he blia** *n.* loom; Ind: *alat tenun*.
- heda / hedak / hada.** *v.* lean on; Ind: *sandar*. **Heda kandra.** to lean on a chair. *sandar ke kursi*.
- hekeng** *n.* left (side); Ind: *kiri*.
- hela / hea.** *v.* climb; Ind: *panjat*. **Go hela tapo.** I climb the coconut tree. *Saya panjat pohon kelapa*.
- hemo** *v.* catch; Ind: *tangkap*.
- here₁** *v.* set (sun); Ind: *terbenam*. **Lera here kaing.** The sun is setting. *Mataharinya tenggelam*.
- here₂ / hurung.** *n.* rack above hearth; Ind: *rak dapur*.
- hering** *V.* keep; Ind: *simpan*.
- hidung** *n.* elbow; Ind: *siku*.
- hila** *n.* thunder; Ind: *guntur*.
- hila bilong** *n.* lightning; Ind: *petir*.
- hire** *pl.* many; plural word; Ind: *banyak*. **Bai hire lelang apa kali.** What are (those) children making. *Anak-anak itu bikin apa*.
- hiu** *v.* breathe in; Ind: *hirup*.
- hiwa / hewa.** *num.* nine; Ind: *sembilan*.
- hobak / hoba.** *v.* fall down (tree); Ind: *tumbang*. **Kajo kali hobak.** The tree feel down. *Pohonnya tumbang*.
- hobo** *v.* to close; Ind: *tutup*. **Mo hobo wata te.** Close (protect) the rice. *Tutup nasi itu*.
- hodang** *v.* cut down (tree); Ind: *tebang*.
- hode** **1 • v.** to answer; Ind: *jawab*. **Go gater ro lalu go hode nalang.** I ask you (a question) then I answer it. *Saya tanya kamu lalu saya jawab*.
- 2 • n.** wicket; Ind: *gawang*. **Jaga hode kia.** Keep the wicket safe (as in football/soccer). *Jaga tangkap ini (gawang)*.
- hoe** *v.* let go; Ind: *lepas*. **Apa kate te hore ro.** Let go off that thing. *Lepaskan barang itu*.
- hojang** *adv.* almost; Ind: *hampir*.
- holi** *v.* gouge; Ind: *cungkil*.
- holong / holo.** *v.* sit; Ind: *duduk*.
- hongong / howo** *v.* to tie; Ind: *ikat*.
- hope** *v.* buy; Ind: *beli*.
- hora** *n.* basket; Ind: *keranjang*.
- horo** *v.* load (people); Ind: *muat (orang)*; *antar*.
- horu / haur.** *v.* to thread the needle; *memasukkan benang dalam jarum*.
- horuk** *v.* slip; Ind: *terpeleset*.
- huar** *n.* horn; Ind: *tanduk*.
- hudo** *n.* stick; Ind: *tongkat*.
- hue** *v.* wash (dishes); Ind: *cuci (piring)*.
- hukung** *n.* law; (Malay); Ind: *hukum*.
- hulor** *n.* mangrove; Ind: *bakau*.
- hunggo** *v.* sniff; kiss; Ind: *cium*. **Mama hunggo apa kali wau e.** You go smell that thing is it smelly or not. *Cium barang itu bau atau tidak*.
- hupol** *n.* arrow; Ind: *busur*; *anak panah*.

I

-iang / go kiang / mo miang / ro niang / no niang / kame miang / tite tiang / mi miang / we riang v. wait;

Ind: *tunggu*.

ihī / ihik n. 1 • flesh; meat; Ind: *daging*.

2 • fruit; Ind: *buah*.

3 • content; Ind: *isi*.

ijong adj. 1 • green; Ind: *hijau*.
Tale te ijong. The rope is green. Tali itu (berwarna) hijau.

2 • blue; *biru*.

ikang n. fish; Ind: *ikan*.

ikang bala adj. fishy (smell); Ind: *bau amis*.

ikang halus n. sardines; Ind: *ikan sarden*.

ikang pae n. stingray; Ind: *ikan pari*.

ikang pero n. salted fish; Ind: *ikan asin*.

ikang si'a n. salted fish; Ind: *ikan asin*.

ikuk n. tail; Ind: *ekor*.

ila / ilak / ilaka n. additive marker in numerals denoting a decade; Ind: *puluh*. *kartou ilak rua*. ten-one-additive marker-two 'twelve'. Ind: *dua belas*.

ilu n. saliva; Ind: *ludah*.

ina / inang / nina. n. mother; Ind: *ibu*.

inga v. think; Ind: *berpikir*.

io n. shark; Ind: *ikan hiu*.

ipadai / padai / papa. loc. side; Ind: *sebelah*. Ipadai kia? On which side? Di sebelah mana?

irung / nirung. n. nose; Ind: *hidung*.

irung mate / nirung mate. n. sniffless; Ind: *pilek*.

irung wanggo n. nostril; Ind: *lubang hidung*.

J

jadi / jading. conj. so; Ind: *jadi*.

jaga v. guard; Ind: *jaga*.

jamba n. WC; Ind: *jamban*.

janela / jendela. n. window; Ind: *jendela*.

jang neg. do not; Ind: *jangan*.

janggur v. hit; Ind: *tabrak*.

joget v. to dance; Ind: *joged*.

jou n. priest; imam; Ind: *imam; pendeta*.

juta num. million (Malay); Ind: *juta*

K

ka conj. when; so Ind: *jadi; ketika*.

kau / ka'u. 1 • adv. earlier; Ind: *tadi*.

2 • n. younger sibling;

Ind: *adik*. Go'ong kau

tobo kali Baranusa. My younger sibling lives in Baranusa. Adik saya tinggal di Baranusa.

kabehang v. twsit; Ind: *belit*.

kabukor / kebukor. n. neck; all parts of neck; Ind: *leher; semua bagian leher depan dan belakang*.

kadabu n. tree in which its leaf are used to tie things; Ind: *kayu pohon yang daunnya dibuat untuk mengikat*.

kadire / kdire n. 1 • language; Ind: *bahasa*.

2 • word; Ind: *kata*.

- kado** v. jump; Ind: *lompat*.
kagur v. shocked; Ind: *kaget*.
kahawulu / kaha n. coconut shell; Ind: *tempurung kelapa*.
kaing₁ n. cloth; Ind: *kain*.
kaing₂ / ki adv. Already; perfective adverb; Ind: *sudah; lunas*.
2 • adv. already; finished; Ind: *sudah; lunas*.
kajo / kaju n. wood; tree; Ind: *pohon; kayu*.
kajo ape n. firewood; Ind: *kayu bakar*.
kajo kamang n. bark of tree; Ind: *kulit pohon*.
kajo krangga / kajo kranggak / kajo kerangak n. branch of tree; Ind: *cabang pohon*.
kajo limang n. branch of tree; Ind: *cabang pohon*.
kajo lolong n. leaves; Ind: *daun pohon*.
kajo nanang n. sap (of tree); Ind: *getah pohon*.
kajo niher n. eucalyptus; Ind: *kayu pitih*.
kajo pukong n. tree; wooden log; Ind: *batang pohon*.
kakang n. older sibling; Ind: *kakak*.
kakelili n. butterfly; Ind: *kupu-kupu*.
kala adj. small; Ind: *kecil*.
kala-kala **1 •** n. sea current; Ind: *arus laut*.
2 • adj. small; Ind: *kecil-kecil*.
kalang / kalo₁ n. border; Ind: *batas*.
kale laung adv. under; below; Ind: *di bawah*.
kaleng n. sky; Ind: *langit*.
kaleso n. kaleso; cooked rice wrapped in young coconut leaves; Ind: *kaleso; sejenis ketupat*.
kali / keli / kalli loc. at; Ind: *di*.
kalipang n. centipede; Ind: *lipan*.
kalo₂ adv. if; (Malay); Ind: *kalau; jika*.
kalungkung / plungku v. fist; kickbox; Ind: *tinju*.
kamama / kemama / mama / kmama n. cat; Ind: *kucing*.
kamang / kamak n. skin; bark (of tree); Ind: *kulit*.
kamar n. room; Ind: *kamar*.
kame pron. first person plural exclusive; 1pl.exclusive; we; us; Ind: *kata ganti orang pertama jamak eksklusif; kami*.
kana / kanang / kanna adv. already; finished; Ind: *sudah; lunas*.
kanahung n. lunch box; Ind: *bekal*.
kananing / kenaing v. go up; Ind: *ke atas*.
kandera / kedera / kdera n. chair (Portuguese); Ind: *kursi*.
kapik n. wing; Ind: *sayap*.
kapitang n. captain (Portuguese); Ind: *kapten*.
kapo **1 •** adv. finish; Ind: *selesai*.
2 • n. cotton; kapok; Ind: *kapuk*.
kapung n. fly; Ind: *nyamuk*.
kar num. tens; ten; Ind: *puluh; puluhan*.
karbuto num. eighty; Ind: *delapan puluh*.
kare n. ant; Ind: *semut*.
karhiwa num. ninety; Ind: *sembilan puluh*.
kari / karrik / rere / sari adj. small; Ind: *kecil*.
karlema num. fifty; Ind: *lima puluh*.
karnamu num. sixty; Ind: *enam puluh*.
karpa num. forty; Ind: *empat*.

puluh.
karpito *num.* seventy; Ind: *tujuh puluh.*
kartalo *num.* thirty; Ind: *tiga puluh.*
kartou *num.* ten; Ind: *sepuluh.*
kasek *v.* drowned; Ind: *tenggelam.* **Go seru ata kasek.** I saw a man drowned. *Saya lihat orang tenggelam.*
kasa *n.* mirror; glass; (Malay) Ind: *kaca; cermin.*
kasi *n.* papaya; Ind: *pepaya.*
kasiang / kasihang / kasihan. *n.* pity (Malay); Ind: *kasihan.*
kate / katte / te. *med.dem.* that; this; Ind: *itu; ini.*
katu *n.* scabies; Ind: *kudis.* **Ro na waking na katu sekali.** His body is full of scabies. *Dia punya badan itu kudis semua.*
kau kelake *n.* younger brother; Ind: *adik laki-laki.*
kau kewae *n.* younger sister; Ind: *adik perempuan.*
kawan *n.* friend; Ind: *kawan.*
kawil *n.* fishing hook; Ind: *kail pancing.*
kea *n.* turtle; Ind: *kura-kura; penyu.*
keba *n.* wall; Ind: *dinding.*
kebaja *adj.* angry; Ind: *marah.* **Ro kali kebaja apa.** He was angry. *Dia itu ada marah-marah.*
kebukal / tabukar. *n.* bidara fruit; *buah bidara.*
kela *n.* eagle; Ind: *elang.*
kelaka / klaka *n.* spider web; Ind: *sarang laba-laba.*
kelake / kelake *n.* men; husband; Ind: *laki-laki; suami.*

kelala / lala / klala. **1 •** *adj.* visible; Ind: *kelihatan.*
2 • *v.* look around; Ind: *lihat-lihat.*
kelang *adj.* slim; skinny; Ind: *kurus.*
kelapang / klapang *n.* coconut (Malay); *kelapa.*
kelaru / klaru. *n.* whale; Ind: *paus.*
keler *n.* rack above hearth; Ind: *rak dapur.*
kelewang / klewang *n.* sword; Ind: *parang panjang; pedang.*
kelikil / onong klikil. **1 •** *adj.* angry; Ind: *marah.* **Bai kali onong kelikil te apa.** That child is angry about something. *Anak itu sedang marah karena sesuatu.*
2 • *n.* enemy; Ind: *musuh.*
kelita / kalita / klita. *adj.* dirty; Ind: *kotor.*
keluang / kluang. *adj.* cold (temperature); Ind: *dingin.*
keluba *n.* pot; Ind: *periuk.*
kemang *n.* eel; Ind: *belut.*
kemapak / kmapak / mapak / kemapa. *n.* shoulder; Ind: *bahu.*
kemaro / kamaro / maro. *n.* grasshopper; Ind: *belalang.*
kemerung / kmerung / merung. *n.* stinker; locust; stinky grasshopper; Ind: *walang sengit.*
kemore / more / kamore. *n.* rat; Ind: *tikus.*
kemuke / kmuke / muke. *adj.* deaf; Ind: *tuli.*
kenahung *n.* food; Ind: *makanan.*
kenamu / namu. *n.* fly; Ind: *lalat.*
kenau / knau / nau. *n.* bracelet; Ind: *gelang.*

- keneku / kneku / neku / naku /
nakung. v. play; Ind: *bermain*.
- kenito / knito n. forehead; Ind: *dahi*.
- kenopal / knopal. n. fish trap; Ind: *perangkap ikan*.
- kepa n. ground nut; Ind: *kacang tanah*.
- ker n. fish trap; Ind: *perangkap ikan*.
- kerajang / karejang. v. work; Ind: *bekerja*.
- kerako n. claw; Ind: *cakar*.
- kerawu n. dust; fine earth; Ind: *abu; debu tanah*.
- keremang / keramang / krema. n. morning; Ind: *pagi*.
- keroko n. wooden; Ind: *kayu*.
- kerumong n. slave; Ind: *pembantu*.
- kete / te *med.dem.* that; *itu*.
- keti *loc.high.* upwards; above; Ind: *di atas*. **keti lolong** *loc.high.* above; Ind: *di atas*.
- ketuane / katuane. n. itchy wound; Ind: *luka gatal*.
- ketuka / ktuka / tuka / tuka-tuka. *loc.* middle; Ind: *tengah*.
- kewae / kawae / wae / kwae. n. wife; women; Ind: *istri; perempuan*.
- kewala / kwala. n. taro; Ind: *ubi talas; keladi*.
- kewali / kwali / wali. *dist.dem.* that; Ind: *itu*.
- kewasang / kwasang. adj. rich; Ind: *kaya*.
- kewasang bisang adj. very rich; Ind: *kaya raya*.
- kewate / kwate. n. sarong; Ind: *sarung*.
- kewego / kwego adj. crooked; Ind: *bengkok*.
- keweting / kweting adj. lost; gone; Ind: *hilang*. **Apa kali keweting**. That thing is gone. *Itu barang hilang*.
- kewihul / kewihung / kwihul n. boils; Ind: *bisul*.
- kia / ke *prox.dem.* this; Ind: *ini*.
- kiang / riang / tiang / miang. v. wait; Ind: *tunggu*. **Go kiang**. I was waiting (for something). *Saya menunggu*.
- kihu / kisu. adj. small; Ind: *kecil*.
- kihu-kihu adj. narrow; Ind: *sempit*.
- kilang-kilang adj. slowly; Ind: *pelan-pelan*.
- kimung n. mustache; Ind: *kumis*.
- kipek adj. skinny; Ind: *kurus; kerempeng*.
- kiri n. comb; Ind: *sisir*.
- klage adj. tired; Ind: *capek*.
- klau adv. there; Ind: *di sana*.
- klelung adj. shiny; Ind: *mengkilap*. **Bai kali ra'ang rata klelung**. This child, his hair is shiny. *Anak ini rambutnya mengkilap*.
- klengang v. hide down; Ind: *rebahan*.
- klou / klau / lau. *loc.* seawards; Ind: *arah laut*.
- koba n. lizard; Ind: *kadal*.
- kobing n. upper leg; Ind: *paha*.
- koka n. coral rock; Ind: *batu karang*.
- kokong / kokok. v. crow; Ind: *kokok*.
- kokor n. traditional house; Ind: *rumah adat; rumah tradisional*.
- kolang n. lake; pond; Ind: *kolam; danau*.
- kole n. bloater; Ind: *guling*.
- koli n. lontar; Ind: *lontar*.
- kolong n. 1 • chest; Ind: *dada*. 2 • bird; Ind: *burung*.
- kondo / konjo. n. clothing; Ind:

pakaian; baju.
kotong *n.* head; Ind: *kepala*.
kragang / keragang / teragang / tragang. *n.* spider; Ind: *laba-laba*.
kre / ke / rae / kerai / krae / kerae. *adv.*
1 • mountainwards; Ind: *arah gunung*. **Kerai lolong.** Go mountainwards. *Pergi ke arah gunung.*
2 • eastwards; Ind: *arah timur*.
3 • upwards; Ind: *arah atas*. **Ro kre lolong.** He went upwards. *Dia pergi ke atas.*
kua *adj.* hard; Ind: *keras*.
kubang *adj.* unfripe (fruit); Ind: *mentah (buah)*. **kasi kubang.** unripened papaya. *pepaya mentah.*
kudul *n.* knee; Ind: *lutut*.
kuel / uel. *adj.* **1 •** drunk; Ind: *mabuk*. **2 •** crazy; mad; Ind: *gila*.
kueng *n.* oil; kerosene; Ind: *minyak*.
kueng tapo *n.* cooking oil; Ind: *minyak kelapa; minyak goreng*.
kuing / koing. *adj.* dark; Ind: *gelap*.
kuja / uja. *n.* dolphin; Ind: *lumba-lumba*.
kujo *n.* crab; Ind: *kepiting*.
kula *n.* moss; Ind: *lumut*.
kulik *n.* skin; Ind: *kulit*.
kulung *n.* seed; Ind: *benih; biji*.
kumang *n.* snail; Ind: *siput*.
kumbu *adj.* blunt; dull; Ind: *tumpul*.
kumong *adj.* yellow; Ind: *kuning*.
kunyadu / nyadu. *n.* uncle (Malay); Ind: *paman*.
kupok *n.* narrow; Ind: *sempit*;

kecil.
kura *n.* tubers; Ind: *umbi*.
kura jawa *n.* cassava; Ind: *ketela*.
kura mentega *n.* sweet potato; Ind: *ubi*.
kura ogal *n.* forest tubers; Ind: *ubi petatas hutan*.
kuto *n.* louse; Ind: *kutu*.
kuto inang *n.* mother louse; Ind: *induk kutu*.
kuto kleheng *n.* louse egg; Ind: *telur kutu*.

L

labi / lebi / labing. *adj.* many; Ind: *banyak*.
lada *n.* **1 •** storage house; Ind: *gudang*.
2 • traditional house; Ind: *rumah adat*.
lado *v.* chase; Ind: *kejar*.
ladung / laddung. *n.* grass; Ind: *rumpul*.
lahak *n.* penis; Ind: *penis*.
lahak kulung *n.* testicles; Ind: *buah peler*.
lahe *n.* not; not; Ind: *tidak*; *bukan*. **lahe-lahe** *n.* no; not; Ind: *tidak*.
laheng *adj.* clean; Ind: *bersih*.
laja *n.* sail; Ind: *layar*.
laju *v.* run; move forward; Ind: *laju*.
laju-laju *adj.* fast; Ind: *cepat*.
laka gawe *v.* adultery; Ind: *zina*.
laka-laka *v.* push; Ind: *sorong; dorong*.
laking / kalake. *n.* husband; Ind: *suami*.
lako *n.* civet cat; Ind: *musang*.
lakuk *v.* fold; Ind: *lipat*.
lalang *n.* clan; Ind: *suku*.

- lalu / la.** conj. and then (Malay); Ind: *lalu*.
- laming** v. wash; Ind: *cuci*.
- lampu / lampo.** n. lamp; Ind: *lampu*.
- langgara** v. break (rule); Ind: *melanggar (aturan)*.
- langi** n. sky; Ind: *langit*.
- langsung** conj. and then; Ind: *langsung*.
- lantai / lante.** n. floor; Ind: *lantai*.
- lap** v. wipe; Ind: *lap*.
- lapa** v. slap; hit; Ind: *tampar; pukul*.
- lapangan** n. square (Malay); Ind: *lapangan*.
- lape** v. fold; Ind: *lipat*.
- lara / lerang / lera.** n. 1 • sun; Ind: *matahari*.
2 • afternoon; Ind: *siang*.
3 • day; Ind: *hari*.
- larang** n. road; path way; Ind: *jalan*.
- laru** v. stall (rope); Ind: *ulur*.
- lata / watang.** n. field; Ind: *ladang*.
- latang** v. put; Ind: *taruh*.
- laung / loung / lau.** loc. under; below; Ind: *bawah*. **Tapo ada kate laung.** The coconut was down there. *Kelapanya ada di bawah sana*.
- lawang** n. fence; Ind: *pagar*.
- lawo / lewo / lewong.** n. village; Ind: *desa*.
- le** adj. long; Ind: *lama*.
- lebah** n. bee; Ind: *lebah*.
- lebi-lebi** adj. many; Ind: *banyak*.
- leda** v. lean on; Ind: *sandar*.
- leing** n. foot; Ind: *kaki*.
- leing onong** n. sole of foot; Ind: *telapak kaki*.
- leing ubong** n. heel of foot; Ind: *tumit*.
- leing uling** n. footprints; Ind: *jejak kaki*.
- leing utung** n. ankle; Ind: *mata kaki*.
- leka** v. open; Ind: *buka*.
- lelang** v. make; Ind: *buka*.
- lema** num. five; Ind: *lima*.
- lemari** n. closet; Ind: *lemari*.
- lepas** v. let go; (Malay); Ind: *lepas*.
- leplepa** n. burden stick; Ind: *tongkat beban*.
- lera pelating** adj. afternoon; Ind: *siang hari*.
- lera wero** adj. afternoon; mid day; Ind: *siang hari*.
- lewang / plewang.** adj. stip (hill); Ind: *curam*.
- lewat** v. pass; Ind: *lewat*.
- li uta** n. agreement; Ind: *bela baja*.
- lika / likak.** n. hearth; oven; Ind: *tungku*.
- liko** v. 1 • to close; Ind: *tutup*.
2 • defend; Ind: *membela*.
- limang** n. arm; hand; Ind: *tangan*.
- limang numak / klumak / numak.** n. finger; Ind: *jari*.
- limang onong** n. palm (of hand); Ind: *telapak tangan*.
- limang plawa / limang pelawa.** n. back (of hand); Ind: *punggung tangan*.
- liso** v. chase; Ind: *kejar*. **Go liso bai haka nai.** I chased that child upward. *Saya kejar anak itu ke atas*.
- loba** v. pour; Ind: *tuang*.
- lodo / dodo.** v. go down; Ind: *turun*.
Mo lodo klou laung. You are going downwards. *Kamu turun ke bawah*.
- loko** v. fall down; Ind: *terjungkur*. **Bai kali hoba loko oro kali.** That child fell down. *Itu anak jatuh tersungkur*.
- lolak** v. cut; Ind: *potong*.

- lolong** 1 • *n.* leaves; Ind: *daun*.
2 • *loc.* above; Ind: *atas*.
longa-longa *n.* type of dish (cake);
Ind: *kue longa-longa*.
los *v.* stall (rope); Ind: *ulur*.
lu *n.* fog; smoke; Ind: *kabut*.
lua / ue *n.* rattan; Ind: *rotan*.
lubang / lobang *n.* hole; Ind:
lubang.
lugu *v.* crouch; Ind: *jongkok*;
membungkuk.
lulang *v.* roll; Ind: *gulung*.
luo *n.* 1 • tall grass; Ind:
rumpit tinggi.
2 • thatch roof; Ind: *atap*
daun.
3 • field; Ind: *ladang*.

M

- mai** *v.* to go; Ind: *pergi*. **Mo**
mai! You go away! Kamu
pergi sana!
majung *n.* louse; Ind: *kutu busuk*;
kutu kasur.
maku *v.* lift up; Ind: *angkat*.
malu *n.* chew betel; Ind: *sirih*
pinang.
mama lapung *n.* small animal
found on banana;
vegetables; Ind: *binatang*
kecil di pisang; sayuran.
mame / mamme *v.* chew; Ind:
kunyah.
mang nahing / nang nahing *v.*
breathe; Ind: *bernafas*. **Go**
kaing nahing. I am
breathing. *Saya bernafas*.
Mo mang nahing You are
breathing. *Kamu bernafas*.
mangger *n.* 1 • necklace; Ind:
kalung.
2 • soul; Ind: *jiwa*.
manu / manung; manuk *n.*
chicken; Ind: *ayam*.
manu kokong *n.* crowing chicken;
dawn; Ind: *ayam berkokok*;
subuh.
manu kubang *n.* bile; Ind: *empedu*.
Manu Siri Kokong *n.* Manu Siri
Kokong (a legendary
rooster from the village
of Munaseli); Ind: *Manu*
Siri Kokong.
manung kokong 1 • *n.* (chicken)
crow; Ind: *kokok ayam*.
2 • *adj.* dawn; early
morning; Ind: *subuh*.
mapa *V.* take; Ind: *ambil*.
marak / marang; mara *adj.* dry;
Ind: *kering*.
mareng *n.* night; Ind: *malam*.
mareng tuka *adj.* midnight; Ind:
tengah malam.
maring / mari / re *v.* speak; to say;
Ind: *omong; bicara*.
maring-maring *say*; Ind:
bilang.
masia / mesia / mansia *n.* human;
Ind: *manusia*.
maso / masuk *n.* enter; Ind: *masuk*.
matang 1 • *n.* eye; Ind: *mata*.
2 • *loc.* front; Ind: *depan*.
matang belara *n.* eye inflammation;
Ind: *belekan; mata belek*.
matang date *adj.* blind; Ind: *buta*.
matang keweru *n.* swollen eye;
Ind: *mata benjol*.
matang loung *n.* tears; Ind: *air*
mata.
matang toke *adj.* sleepy; Ind:
mengantuk. **Bai kali**
matang toke. The child is
sleepy. *Anak ini sudah*
mengantuk.
mate / mati *adj.* die; Ind: *mati*.
mateng *adj.* frozen; Ind: *beku*.
Kueng ke mate. The oil is

- frozen. Minyaknya beku.
mato / **meto** / **metto**. *n.* frog; Ind: kodok; katak. **mato-**
mato. many frog; Ind: kodok-kodok.
mau *v.* want; Ind: mau.
meang / **meak**. *adj.* red; Ind: merah.
meha / **mehang**. *adj.* alone; Ind: sendiri.
meja *n.* table; Ind: meja.
mekku *adj.* short; Ind: pendek.
meluk *adj.* soft; slippery; Ind: licin; halus.
memeng *adj.* mushy; Ind: lembek. **Sela kate memeng**. The papaya was mushy. *Pepayanya lembek.*
menaka *adj.* magic; sorcerer; witch; Ind: sihir; ajaib; dukun.
menao / **nao**. *n.* panau; Ind: panu.
mene *v.* arrive; Ind: datang. **Mo mene ke**. You go first. *Kamu datang dulu.*
meniang / **mnianang** / **mania** / **menia** / **maniang**. *adj.* shy; ashamed; Ind: malu.
menipi / **mnipi**. *adj.* thin (no-human); Ind: tipis.
menohi / **mnohi**. *n.* storage house in the field; Ind: gudang; tempat penyimpanan; konstruksi semacam rumah pondok di ladang.
menole *n.* slave; Ind: budak; pembantu.
menong *n.* sea bird; Ind: burung laut.
menulang / **mnulang** / **nula**. *n.* nephew; Ind: keponakan.
mi / **mi hire**. *pron.* 2pl; second person plural pronoun; Ind: kalian; kata ganti orang kedua jamak.
mia *n.* owl; Ind: burung hantu.
mihua *n.* fruit bat; Ind: kelelawar buah.
mikung / **penikung** / **pnikung** *v.* turn; Ind: belok.
miteng *adj.* black; Ind: hitam.
mo *pron.* 2sg; second person singular pronoun; you; Ind: kata ganti orang kedua tunggal; kamu; Anda.
molang *n.* person who works specifically on certain field/expertise; Ind: tukang. **Ro kali molang uma**. He is a carpenter. *Dia tukang bikin rumah.*
molong / **molo**. **1** • *adj.* straight; Ind: lurus.
2 • *num.* first; Ind: duluan.
3 • *adj.* correct; Ind: benar; betul.
mori / **morik** / **moring**. *adj.* alive; Ind: hidup.
motong / **motung**. *n.* Marungga tree. *Lat: Moringa Oleifera; Ind: marunggai; pohon marunggai; kelor.*
mouk *v.* fall; Ind: jatuh.
mu / **ma** *conj.* and then; Ind: terus.
muang *n.* times (count); Ind: kali; kelipatan.
mude / **nube**. *n.* lemon; Ind: jeruk.
mudi *n.* mercy; Ind: ampun.
muhang *adj.* crushed; Ind: hancur.
muka *adv.* Front (Malay); Ind: depan.
muko *n.* banana; Ind: pisang.
mula *v.* to plant; Ind: menanam.
mulang *adj.* afternoon; Ind: siang.
mungga / **mung** *conj.* while; progressive, conjunction; Ind: sedang.
muro-muro *adj.* correct; Ind: betul.
murok / **mura** / **muro-muro**. *adj.* correct; Ind: benar. **Ro kali maring murok**. What

he said was right. *Apa yang dia katakan itu benar.*
musuh *n. enemy; (Malay): Ind: musuh.*

N

nadak *adj. flat; Ind: datar; rata.*
nahung *v. let go; Ind: kasih; lepas.*
naing / nai / mo maing / ro naing. *v. to go; Ind: pergi. Ro naing gute apa kali. He went to get that thing. Dia pergi ambil itu barang.*
naka *n. jackfruit; Ind: nangka.*
nakal *n. embers; Ind: bara (api).*
naking *v. 1 • to fill; Ind: isi. 2 • to promise; Ind: berjanji.*
nakung-nakung *v. play; Ind: main.*
nale / nele / nala. *v. through; Ind: lewat.*
nala / nalla *n. face; Ind: muka.*
nama / namakia / name / namang / namaga. *adv. like this; Ind: begini.*
namakeng *num. first (child); Ind: (anak) pertama. bai namakeng / anang namakeng. first-born child. anak pertama.*
namatang *n. raised platform; Ind: bale-bale.*
nami *v. lift up; Ind: angkat.*
namo *n. sweep; Ind: sapu.*
namu *num. six; Ind: enam.*
nanang *n. pus; Ind: nanah. Bai limang nanang sekali. That child's hand (with wund) has a lot of pus. Luka di tangan anak itu keluar nanah banyak.*
nang *1 • n. younger sibling;*

Ind: adik.
**2 • conj. and; with; Ind: dan; dengan.
nangge *v. swim; Ind: berenang.*
napu *adj. datar; Ind: rata.*
narang *n. 1 • name; Ind: nama. 2 • cousin; Ind: ipar; sepupu.*
nare *v. sniff; kiss; Ind: cium. Nare ro! kiss it! Cium dia/inil*
natong *v. push; give; Ind: sorong; kasih.*
nawang *v. can; Ind: bisa.*
neang *n. seed; Ind: benih; biji.*
neing / nehing / ning. *v. give; Ind: memberi.*
nekang / tenekang. *n. stick; pole; Ind: tongkat.*
nemu *num. six; Ind: enam.*
nena *v. whisper; Ind: bisik. Nena ro ke! Whisper to him! Bisik dia dulu!*
nepik *v. float; Ind: hanyut; mengapung.*
niha *n. 1 • fence; Ind: pagar. 2 • garden; field; Ind: kebun; lahan.*
nihi *n. mucus; Ind: ingus.*
nihu *adv. now; today; temporal adverb; Ind: sekarang; hari ini.*
nihung *1 • adj. small; Ind: kecil. 2 • adv. Ind: sekarang.*
nike / penike / panike / mike. *n. bat; Ind: kelelawar.*
no / ro *pron. third person singular pronoun; he; she; it; Ind: kata ganti orang ketiga tunggal; dia.*
nong *adv. and; with; Ind: dan; dengan.*
nolo *adv. 1 • long ago; Ind: dulu. 2 • old; Ind: tua; lama.***

nomal *n.* stick (from coconut leaf stems); Ind: *lidi*.
noring *num.* double; Ind: *rangkap*.
Muko kali noring. The bananas are doubled.
Pisang itu bercabang.
noru *n.* digging stick; Ind: *tongkat gali*.
nowang *n.* fabric; cloth; Ind: *kain*.
nu *adv.* earlier; temporal adverb; Ind: *baru saja; tadi*.
nuang *v.* 1 • to point; Ind: *tunjuk*.
 2 • to teach; Ind: *mengajar*.
nueng *n.* waste (water); Ind: *comberan*.
nuha *n.* island; Ind: *pulau*.
nuhu / nu / **nung.** *adv.* earlier; Ind: *tadi*.
nuhung *n.* 1 • mouth; Ind: *mulut*.
 2 • mortar; Ind: *lesung*. **Go bajo pare oro nuhung.** I pound some rice in the mortar. *Saya menumbuk padi di dalam lesung.*
nuka *adv.* 1 • end; tip; Ind: *puncak*.
 2 • ridge; Ind: *bubungan*.
nuke *adv.* now; Ind: *sekarang*.
Nuke ke ro lewat. Now he passes. *Sekarang ini dia lewat.*
nunggul *n.* fingernail; Ind: *kuku*.
nuro *n.* spoon; Ind: *sendok*.
nurong 1 • *n.* dream; Ind: *mimpi*
 2 • *v.* to dream; Ind: *bermimpi*. **Gong nurong nang kia.** I was dreaming this. *Saya tadi mimpi begini*
nuwala *adv.* since a while ago; Ind: *sejak tadi; dari tadi*.
Nuwala te ku nuhu go nung mo te ku. I have

given you this since earlier. *Saya sudah kasih kamu ini sejak tadi.*

O

obor *n.* torch (Malay); Ind: *obor*.
odang *n.* body; Ind: *badan*.
ohang *n.* mat; Ind: *tikar*.
-oing / go koing / ro noing / no noing / mo moing / tite toing / kame moing / mi moing / we roing. *v.* to know; Ind: *tahu*.
ojo *n.* wave; Ind: *ombak*.
oki *adj.* old; Ind: *lama; tua*.
Apa kali oki kaing. that thing is old. *Itu barang sudah lama/tua.*
ola *n.* iron stick; Ind: *tongkat besi*.
-olo / go kolo / mo molo / ro nolo / no nolo / kame molo / tite tolo / mi molo / we rolo. *v.* to precede; to go first; Ind: *dulu*.
onda *v.* invite (Malay); Ind: *undang*.
-ong / go kong / mo mong / no nong / ro nong / kame mong / tite tong / mi mong / we rong *v.* to add; with; and; Ind: *tambah; dengan; dan*.
onong / ane. *loc.* inside; Ind: *dalam*.
onong mara *adj.* thirsty; Ind: *haus*.
onong pelating *adj.* feverish; Ind: *demam*.
oper *v.* give over (Dutch); Ind: *oper*.
opung *n.* uncle (Malay); Ind: *paman*.
oras *n.* hour (Portuguese); Ind:

	<i>jam.</i>
oring	<i>n.</i> hut; Ind: <i>pondok</i> ; <i>gubuk</i> .
oro	<i>loc.</i> at; Ind: <i>di</i> .
oro ga / aro ga / orga / arga.	<i>q.word.</i> where; Ind: <i>di mana</i> .
oro kali	<i>adv.</i> there; Ind: <i>di sana</i> .
oro kate	<i>adv.</i> there; Ind: <i>di sana</i> .
oro ke	orke. <i>adv.</i> here; Ind: <i>di sini</i> .
oro keti	<i>adv.</i> there; Ind: <i>di sana</i> .
oro klau	<i>adv.</i> down there; Ind: <i>di bawah</i> .
orong	<i>v.</i> call; Ind: <i>panggil</i> .
ota / wojang / otang / tea.	<i>v.</i> shake; Ind: <i>goyang</i> . ota-ota / otang-otang. shake; Ind: <i>goyang-goyang</i> .
oto	<i>n.</i> car (Portuguese); public transport; Ind: <i>mobil</i> .

P

pa	<i>num.</i> four; Ind: <i>empat</i> .
padu	<i>n.</i> candlenut; Ind: <i>kemiri</i> .
padu nominal	<i>n.</i> candle; Ind: <i>lilin</i> .
paha	<i>v.</i> hold; Ind: <i>pegang</i> ; <i>genggam</i> . Mo paha apa kia. You hold this thing. <i>Kamu pegang ini barang.</i> paha-paha. grasp; Ind: <i>pegang</i> .
paha lawo	<i>n.</i> king; Ind: <i>raja</i> .
pai / paik.	1 • <i>q.word.</i> what; Ind: <i>apa</i> . 2 • <i>adj.</i> bitter; Ind: <i>pahit</i> .
painang	<i>q.word.</i> how; Ind: <i>bagaimana</i> . Pinang mo kate? Why like that? <i>Kenapa begitu?</i>
paing	<i>v.</i> dry in the sun; Ind: <i>jemur</i> .
paja	<i>adj.</i> difficult; Ind: <i>susah</i> ; <i>sulit</i> . Apa hire kana susa

paja.	This matter is difficult. <i>Persoalan ini sulit diselesaikan.</i>
pakai / pake.	<i>v.</i> use (Malay); Ind: <i>pakai</i> .
pakian	<i>n.</i> clothing; (Malay); Ind: <i>pakaian</i> .
paku / paku.	<i>v.</i> cut; <i>potong</i> . Paku kajo ke. Cut the tree. <i>Potong kayu dulu.</i>
pali	<i>v.</i> pour; Ind: <i>tuang</i> . Mo pali wai ke. (Can you) pour the water. (<i>Kamu</i>) <i>tuang air dulu.</i>
pana / panang.	<i>v.</i> walk; Ind: <i>jalan</i> . pana-pana walk; Ind: <i>jalan-jalan</i> .
Pandai / pana dai.	<i>n.</i> Pandai; Ind: <i>Pandai</i> . (<i>place name</i>).
pane	<i>n.</i> plate; Ind: <i>piring</i> .
panong / panohong.	<i>adj.</i> full; Ind: <i>penuh</i> . Wai kena eking ember te panong kaing. The water filling in the bucket is already full. <i>Air isi ember ini sudah penuh.</i>
pantun / pantong.	<i>n.</i> pantun; Ind: <i>pantun</i> .
panung	<i>n.</i> arrow; Ind: <i>panah</i> .
pao	<i>n.</i> mango; Ind: <i>mangga</i> .
papan / papang.	<i>n.</i> board; Ind: <i>papan</i> .
paping	<i>v.</i> to burn (land); Ind: <i>bakar</i> (<i>ladang</i>).
pare	<i>n.</i> unhusked rice; Ind: <i>padi</i> .
pare waha	<i>n.</i> husked rice; Ind: <i>beras</i> .
pare wuling	<i>n.</i> unshusked rice; Ind: <i>padi</i> .
pareng	<i>v.</i> blink; Ind: <i>kedip</i> .
paro	<i>adj.</i> salty; Ind: <i>asin</i> .
pas	<i>adv.</i> when exactly; Ind: <i>pas</i> ; <i>ketika</i> .
pasa	<i>v.</i> shoot; Ind: <i>tembak</i> .

patang	v. cook; Ind: <i>memasak</i> .	yawn; Ind: <i>menguap</i> (<i>kantuk</i>).
pate	1 • v. pay; Ind: <i>bayar</i> . 2 • v. punishment; Ind: <i>hukuman</i> .	penikung v. turn (head); Ind: <i>tengok</i> .
patu	v. warts; Ind: <i>kutil</i> .	penuhung n. smoke; Ind: <i>asap</i> .
patung	v. bamboo for decoration; Ind: <i>bambu pelihara</i> ; <i>bambu hias</i> .	peregeng / pregeng v. hold; Ind: <i>pegang</i> .
peda / sepada	v. blade (Portuguese); Ind: <i>parang</i> .	perenta v. order (Malay); Ind: <i>perintah</i> .
pehang	adj. different; Ind: <i>lain</i> ; <i>beda</i> . Meja tou kali meja tou kali pehang . This table (compared to) that table are different. <i>Meja satu ini dengan meja satu itu beda</i> .	peresa / presa / periksa v. check (Malay); Ind: <i>periksa</i> .
peing	adj. fat; Ind: <i>gemuk</i> .	perung v. massage; Ind: <i>mengurut</i> ; <i>pijat</i> .
peke	v. hug; Ind: <i>peluk</i> .	pido v. blink; Ind: <i>kedip</i> .
pela	v. hone; to sharpen; Ind: <i>asah</i> . Mo pela peda ke! You go sharpen the machete! <i>Kamu asah parang dulu sana!</i>	piha v. step on; Ind: <i>injak</i> .
pelae / plae / pelaeng / plaeng / plaing / plae / palae	v. run; Ind: <i>lari</i> . pelae-pelae run; Ind: <i>lari</i> .	piku v. press; Ind: <i>tekan</i> .
pelating / plating	adj. hot; Ind: <i>panas</i> .	pile v. choose; Ind: <i>memilih</i> .
pelawak / plawak / plawa	adj. wide; Ind: <i>lebar</i> ; <i>luas</i> .	pile bola v. harvest; Ind: <i>panen</i> .
pelihang / plihang / belehang	adj. lazy; Ind: <i>malas</i> .	piping / pipi v. cheek; Ind: <i>pipi</i> .
peling	adj. shiny; Ind: <i>mengkilap</i> .	pira 1 • adj. few; Ind: <i>sedikit</i> . 2 • q. word. Ind: <i>berapa</i> .
pelita	n. lightsource; Ind: <i>pelita</i> .	pite n. door; Ind: <i>pintu</i> .
peloka	n. breadfruit; Ind: <i>sukun</i> .	pito num. seven; Ind: <i>tujuh</i> .
peme	v. squeeze; Ind: <i>peras</i> .	pitong eker v. spit; Ind: <i>meludah</i> .
penahang / pnahang	v. sell; trade; Ind: <i>jual</i> ; <i>dagang</i> . Mene penahang tapo . (He) come and sell the coconut. (<i>Dia</i>) <i>datang jual kelapa</i> .	pleha / pleja n. illness; Ind: <i>penyakit</i> .
penahung / penoe / pnoe	v. to	pohi v. to tie; Ind: <i>ikat</i> .
		poho n. fart; Ind: <i>kentut</i> .
		pola n. 1 • palm tree; Ind: <i>pohon enau</i> . 2 • tuak tree; Ind: <i>pohon tuak</i> .
		poli / poli-poli n. round; Ind: <i>melingkar</i> .
		polu n. knife; Ind: <i>pisau</i> .
		poluk v. hit; Ind: <i>pukul</i> .
		pona aleng v. lie down; Ind: <i>rebahan</i> .
		ponang v. sprint; Ind: <i>lari kencang</i> .
		puat v. cut; Ind: <i>potong</i> .
		puhor / kpuhor / kapuhorong n. pusar; Ind: <i>navel</i> .
		puhung n. flower; Ind: <i>bunga</i> .
		pui v. blow; Ind: <i>tiup</i> .
		puji pakang v. worship; Ind: <i>doa</i> .

puji plewang v. worship; Ind: *doa*.
puking n. vagina; Ind: *vagina*.
puko n. fish net; Ind: *jaring*.
pukong n. 1 • stem (tree); Ind: *batang (pohon)*.
 2 • distance cousin; Ind: *sepupu jauh*.
pulo n. island; (Malay); Ind: *pulau*.
punak / puna 1 • n. fruit; Ind: *buah*.
Gute sela te puna tou.
 Take one papaya.
Ambillah pepaya satu buah.
 2 • adj. blunt; dull; Ind: *tumpul*.
punung 1 • n. back; Ind: *punggung*.
 2 • loc. top; Ind: *atas*.
punung kajung n. back bone; Ind: *tulang belakang*.
pustu n. Pustu; Ind: *Pustu*.
putor bale v. lie (tell untruth); Ind: *bohong*.
putu / utu adj. burnt; Ind: *hangus*.
Wata kali putu. The rice is burnt. *Nasinya gosong*.

R

ra n. blood; Ind: *darah*.
rahi / rai v. to go; leave; Ind: *pergi*.
We kali rahi oro kali. He was leaving that way. *Dia ada pergi ke sana*.
raja n. king (Malay); Ind: *raja*.
rale v. 1 • follow; Ind: *ikut*.
 2 • take; Ind: *ambil*.
rale gute n. marriage; Ind: *pernikahan*.
rama / ramak / rama-rama n. quiet; Ind: *diam*.
rame adj. crowded (Malay); Ind: *ramai*.
ramuk n. root; Ind: *akar*.

randu v. hit; Ind: *tabrak*.
rang / rong v. wear; Ind: *pakai*.
rante n. necklace; Ind: *kalung*.
rapang n. spear (Malay); Ind: *tombak*.
rasa num. many; Ind: *banyak*.
rata 1 • adj. flat; Ind: *landai*.
 2 • n. hair; Ind: *rambut*.
ratu num. hundred; Ind: *ratus*.
rau v. to clean up (animal excrement; Ind: *angkat kotoran*.
rawa n. doves; Ind: *burung dara*.
reha n. monitor lizard; Ind: *biawak*.
rekeng v. count (Dutch); Ind: *hitung*.
ribu num. thousand; Ind: *ribu*.
ro / no pron. 3sg; third person singular pronoun; he; she; it; Ind: *dia; kata ganti orang ketiga tunggal*.
roing pron. 3sg.poss; Ind: *dia punya*.
roke v. first; precede; Ind: *dulu; dulu*.
ronda v. lean on; Ind: *sandar*.
rongge v. dance (Malay); Ind: *menari*.
rua num. two; Ind: *dua*.
ruang n. bee; Ind: *lebah*.
ruha n. deer; Ind: *rusa*.
ruing n. 1 • bone; Ind: *tulang*.
 2 • vein; Ind: *urat*.

S

sabantar / sebantur adv. a while (Malay); Ind: *sebentar*.
sabeang v. worship (Malay); Ind: *sembahyang*.
sada v. hit; Ind: *kena; terantuk*.

- Bai kena sada pite bokol.**
That child (head) hit the door and then (it is) swollen. *Anak itu kena pintu lalu benjol.*
- sadu / du.** *n.* raised platform; Ind: *bale-bale.*
- sagu** *n.* sago; Ind: *sagu.*
- salang** *n.* 1 • Islam; Ind: *Islam.*
2 • circumcision; Ind: *khitan.*
- saligang** *n.* room; Ind: *kamar.*
- sambil** *conj.* while (Malay); Ind: *sambil.*
- sambo** *v.* help; Ind: *bantu.*
- sampa** *n.* canoe (Malay); Ind: *sampan.*
- sampai / sape / sampe.** *v.* until (Malay); Ind: *sampai.*
- sanang** *adj.* happy (Malay); Ind: *senang.*
- sandar / sandara.** *v.* lean on. (Malay); Ind: *sandar.*
- sanggar** *v.* fry; Ind: *goreng.*
- sangka** *v.* think. (Malay); Ind: *sangka.*
- sangkir** *n.* cup (Malay); Ind: *cangkir.*
- sapu** *n.* morning cloud; Ind: *kabut.*
- sarang** *n.* home (Malay); Ind: *sarang.*
- sarsumba** *v.* dancing (Malay); dancing with holding a spear; Ind: *tarian dengan pegang parang.*
- saru** *v.* burn (field, land, candle); Ind: *bakar (ladang, lilin).*
- sawa** *n.* rice field (Malay); Ind: *sawah.*
- sebeang** *v.* to pray (Malay); Ind: *bersembahyang.*
- seher** *n.* magic (Malay); Ind: *sihir.*
- sekali / sakali.** *num.* all; Ind: *semua.*
- sela / tela.** *n.* papaya; Ind: *pepaya.*
- selempang** *n.* cloth (Malay); Ind: *selempang.*
- seligang** *n.* bed; Ind: *kasur.*
- sementara** *conj.* while (Malay); Ind: *sementara.*
- Senaing / Sanaing.** *n.* the Senaing language; Ind: *Bahasa Senaing; Bahasa Daerah Senaing.*
- seng** *n.* money; Ind: *uang.*
- serama** *n.* sermon; Ind: *ceramah.*
- seri / seri-seri / urang sarik.** *n.* drizzle; Ind: *gerimis.*
- seru** *v.* see; Ind: *lihat.*
- seru blerung** *adj.* transparent; Ind: *tembus pandang.*
- sesaja / saja-saja.** *adj.* easy; Ind: *mudah.* **Ro taning saja-saja.** He is easily crying. *Dia mudah menangis.*
- si'a / sia.** *n.* salt; Ind: *garam.*
- sigi** *n.* mosque; Ind: *masjid.*
- sika** *v.* stab; Ind: *tikam.*
- sini** *n.* mucus Ind: *ingus.*
- siong** *v.* sniff; kiss; Ind: *cium.* **Siong ro.** Kiss it. *Cium dia (benda itu).*
- sipa** *v.* measure; Ind: *ukur.* **Sipa roke.** Do the measurement first! *Ukur dulu!*
- slaking / selakang.** *v.* 1 • talk; Ind: *mengobrol.*
2 • to joke; Ind: *berguaru; bercanda.*
- somba** *v.* give up; Ind: *menyerah.*
- soro bokong** *v.* crouch; Ind: *jongkok.*
- sorong** *v.* push (Malay); Ind: *dorong.*
- subu / subuh.** *n.* dawn (Malay); Ind: *subuh.*
- suka** *v.* like (Malay); Ind: *suka.*

sukar tudak *adj.* poor; Ind: *miskin*.
suwalaki / swalaki *v.* crouch; Ind: *jongkok*.
suwanggi *n.* magic (Malay); Ind: *sihir*.

T

tae *n.* excrement; Ind: *tai; kotoran*.
tae doli *n.* constipation; Ind: *sembelit*.
tahak / tasa *adj.* ripe; Ind: *masak; matang*. **Sela kai tahak kaing**. The papaya is ripe. *Pepayanya sudah matang*.
tahi *n.* sea; sea water; Ind: *laut; air laut*.
taing *n.* stomach; Ind: *perut*.
taing kari *n.* guts; *usus*.
take *n.* tokek; Ind: *lizard*.
taku *adj.* scare; Ind: *takut*.
tale *n.* rope; Ind: *tali*.
taleng *v.* swallow; Ind: *telan*. **Go taleng apa kia**. I swallow this meal. *Saya telan ini makanan*.
taling *v.* add; Ind: *tambah*.
talo *n.* three; Ind: *tiga*.
taluk / taluk *n.* egg; Ind: *telur*.
tamaga / tmaga *v.* whisper; Ind: *bisik*. **Mo temaga bai kate**. You go whisper to that child. *Kamu bisiki anak itu*.
tamaka *v.* accuse; Ind: *tuduh*.
tamang *v.* give; Ind: *kasih*.
tambah *v.* add (Malay); Ind: *tambah*.
tana *n.* earth; Ind: *bumi; tanah*.
tana meang *n.* clay; Ind: *tanah liat*.
Tana Tukang *n.* the clan Tana Tukang; Ind: *suku Tana Tukang*.
tanah otang tana otang *n.* earth quake; Ind: *gempa bumi*.

tandor *v.* knock; Ind: *ketuk pintu*.
tane *v.* weave; Ind: *tenun*.
tangang **1 •** *adj.* unripe (fruit); Ind: *mentah*. **Go dakang wata wati tangang**. I cook some rice but is is still not ready yet. *tani. Saya masak nasi, tetapi masih mentah (belum matang)*.
2 • *n.* tangan.
tangge / tage *adj.* sweet; Ind: *manis*.
tangkap *v.* catch (Malay); Ind: *tangkap*.
tani / taning *v.* cry; Ind: *menangis*.
tapala *n.* shirmp; Ind: *udang kecil*.
tapina *n.* starfish; Ind: *bintang laut*.
tapo / topo *n.* coconut; Ind: *kelapa*.
tapo kubang *n.* **1 •** kidney; Ind: *ginjal*.
2 • heart; Ind: *jantung*.
3 • young coconut; Ind: *kelapa muda*.
taragang umang *n.* spider web; Ind: *sarang laba-laba*.
tare / tarre *v.* **1 •** pull; Ind: *tarik*.
2 • cut down (tree); Ind: *tebang*.
tarong *adj.* bright (Malay); Ind: *terang*.
tata *n.* **1 •** older sibling. Ind: *kakak*.
2 • cut (fish); *potong (ikan)*. **tata ikang** cut some fish. Ind: *potong ikan*.
tata bae / tata baing / tata bai *n.* rainbow; Ind: *pelangi*.
tata kelake *n.* older brother; Ind: *kakak laki-laki*.
tata kewae *n.* older sister; Ind: *kakak perempuan*.
tawali *n.* bowl; Ind: *kuwali*.

tawang	v. grow; Ind: <i>tumbuh</i> . Muko kali tawang ka'ing. The banana tree has grown. <i>Pisang itu sudah tumbuh.</i>	terus	<i>tebang.</i> conj. continue (Malay); Ind: <i>terus</i> .
tawo	n. sugarcane; Ind: <i>tebu</i> .	teta	v. lie down; Ind: <i>berbaring</i> . Note: impolite word
tehel	n. floor; Ind: <i>lantai</i> .	tetap	v. stay (Malay); Ind: <i>tetap</i> .
teleng	v. hang; Ind: <i>gantung</i> . Pakiang kate gute teleng. Take that clothes and hang them. <i>Ambil pakaian itu terus gantung.</i>	teto damar	n. monitor lizard; Ind: <i>biawak</i> .
telengang / telenga	adj. supine; Ind: <i>terlentang</i> .	tide / tideng	v. stand; Ind: <i>berdiri</i> .
temajung	n. bed bug; Ind: <i>kutu kasur</i> .	tiking / riking	1 • n. burden stick; Ind: <i>tongkat beban</i> . 2 • v. to shoulder; Ind: <i>pikul</i> . Ro tiking apa kali. You are carrying something. <i>Kamu pikul apa itu.</i>
temaka / tmaka / tamakang / makang / maka	v. 1 • to steal; Ind: <i>mencuri</i> . Ro kate temaka apa. He steals that. <i>Dia curi barang itu.</i> 2 • Ind: <i>meraba</i> .	tilung	n. ear; Ind: <i>telinga</i> .
temala / mala	n. star; Ind: <i>bintang</i> .	tite	pron. 1pl.inclusive; first person plural pronoun; we; us; Ind: <i>kita; kata ganti orang pertama jamak inklusif</i> .
tembok	n. wall (Malay); Ind: <i>tembok</i> .	tiwang	v. throw away; Ind: <i>buang</i> . Go tiwang mo. I throw you away. <i>Saya buang kamu.</i>
tempat	n. place (Malay); Ind: <i>tempat</i> .	to / ko	adv. right; Ind: <i>kan</i> .
tena	n. boat; Ind: <i>perahu</i> .	tobang	v. tolak; Ind: <i>dorong</i> . Go tobang mo. I push you. <i>Saya dorong kamu.</i>
tenakar / nakar / takar	n. thatch roof; Ind: <i>atap dari daun</i> .	tobi	adj. bitter (lemon); Ind: <i>asam; kecut</i> .
tendes	v. press (Malay); Ind: <i>menekan</i> .	tobi-tobi	n. centipede; Ind: <i>lipan; kaki seribu</i> .
tepo / tapo	1 • v. clap; Ind: <i>tepuk</i> . 2 • adj. dry; Ind: <i>kering</i> . Tale su tapo kaing. The rope is dried already. <i>Tali itu sudah kering.</i>	tobo / tobong / tobok	v. 1 • sit; Ind: <i>duduk</i> . tobo-tobo v. sit; Ind: <i>duduk-duduk</i> . 2 • stay; Ind: <i>menginap; tinggal</i> .
tera	v. to close; Ind: <i>tutup</i> . Mo tera tite kana. Please close the door. <i>Tolong tutup pintunya.</i>	toja	n. dance lego-lego; Ind: <i>tarian lego-lego</i> .
terek	v. to pull (Malay); Ind: <i>menarik; tarik</i> .	toke	adj. sleepy; Ind: <i>kantuk</i> .
teri	v. cut down (tree); Ind:	tokeng	v. sleep. impolite; Ind: <i>tidur.kasar</i> .

tolong	v. help (Malay); Ind: <i>tolong</i> .
tona	n. breadfruit; Ind: <i>sukun</i> .
tonong	v. bury; Ind: <i>kubur</i> .
toples	n. jar (Malay); Ind: <i>toples</i> .
tor	n. road; pathway; Ind: <i>jalan</i> .
tou	num. one; Ind: <i>satu</i> .
tuak	n. traditional wine; Ind: <i>tuak</i> .
tudak	adj. happy; Ind: <i>senang</i> .
tudung	n. head scarf; veil (Malay); Ind: <i>kerudung</i> .
tuho	n. breast; Ind: <i>buah dada</i> .
tuhu	v. stab; Ind: <i>tikam</i> .
tukang	n. stomach; Ind: <i>perut</i> .
tukang malu	adj. hungry; Ind: <i>lapar</i> .
tulis	v. write (Malay); Ind: <i>tulis</i> .
tung	n. year; Ind: <i>tahun</i> .
tuno	v. burn (fish, food); Ind: <i>bakar (ikan, makanan)</i> .
turaing	n. big spear; Ind: <i>tombak besar</i> .
turu / turung	v. sleep; Ind: <i>tidur</i> .
turung tumang	v. accuse; Ind: <i>tuduh</i> .
tute	v. chase away; shoo; Ind: <i>usir</i> .
tutu	v. say; Ind: <i>berbicara</i> .
tutung	v. burn (cigaret); Ind: <i>bakar (rokok)</i> .

U

ua / ue	n. betel nut; Ind: <i>kacang pinang</i> .
ua malu	n. chew betel; Ind: <i>pinang kunyah</i> .
ubong / ubing	n. bottom; Ind: <i>pantat</i> .
ubong meang	n. anus; Ind: <i>lubang</i> .

uhung	n. Ind: <i>terumbu karang</i> .
uka	n. (old) wound; Ind: <i>luka (lama)</i> .
ukur inga	v. study; Ind: <i>belajar</i> .
ula	n. 1 • snake; Ind: <i>ular</i> . 2 • younger sibling; Ind: <i>adik</i> .
ula waking	v. fight; Ind: <i>berkelahi</i> .
ula wali	n. earth worm; Ind: <i>cacing</i> .
uli	n. steering wheel of motor boat; Ind: <i>kemudi haluan kapal motor</i> .
uling	n. place; Ind: <i>tempat</i> .
ulor	n. cartenpillar; Ind: <i>ulat</i> .
uma	n. house; Ind: <i>rumah</i> .
umang	n. house; Ind: <i>rumah</i> .
umur	n. age (Malay); Ind: <i>umur</i> .
unggar / ugar	n. scratched wound; new wound; Ind: <i>luka tergores baru</i> .
upok	n. seed; Ind: <i>biji</i> .
urang	n. rain; Ind: <i>hujan</i> .
urang rere	n. drizzle; Ind: <i>gerimis</i> .
urang sari	n. drizzle; Ind: <i>gerimis</i> .
urat	n. vein; Ind: <i>urat</i> .
utang	n. forest; Ind: <i>hutan</i> .

W

wa	v. pull; Ind: <i>tarik</i> . Mo wa kajo kate mene You pull that wood over here. <i>Kamu tarik kayu itu datang</i> .
wabeing	n. old woman; Ind: <i>mama tua</i> .
wai / waing	n. water; Ind: <i>air</i> .
wai burang	n. boiling water; Ind: <i>air mendidih</i> .
wai matang	n. source of water; Ind: <i>sumber air</i> .

- wak** v. to pull; Ind: *menarik*; *tarik*.
- waking / waki** adv. 1 • each other; Ind: *baku*; *saling*.
2 • body; Ind: *badan*.
- wala** adv. now; Ind: *sekarang*.
- wanggo** n. small cave; hole; Ind: *gua kecil*; *lubang*.
- wanggok / wango / wenggo** n. hole; Ind: *lubang*.
- wara** adv. west; Ind: *barat*.
Keang ke wara kaing kia.
We have entered the western area (of the village). *Kita sudah masuk barat ini.*
- wareng / ware** n. chest; Ind: *dada*.
- wata** n. 1 • seeds; Ind: *biji-bijian*.
2 • corn; Ind: *jagung*.
3 • rice; Ind: *nasi*.
- wata puna** n. cooked corn; corn soup Ind: *jagung masak*; *jagung ketema*.
- wati / watti** adv. 1 • not yet; imperfective adverb; Ind: *belum*. **Go habo wati.** I have not taken a bath. *Saya belum mandi.*
2 • still; process; imperfective adverb; Ind: *masih*. **Go wati habo.** I am (still) taking a bath. *Saya masih mandi.*
- wato** n. rock; stone; Ind: *batu*.
- wato kari** n. gravel; Ind: *kerikil*.
- wau** adj. 1 • smell; Ind: *bau*.
2 • ripe; Ind: *masak*; *matang*.
- wau pakong** adj. stink; Ind: *bau busuk*.
- wawe** n. pig; Ind: *babi*.
- we / we hire** pron. 3pl; third person plural; they; Ind: *kata ganti orang ketiga jamak*; *mereka*.
- wego-wego** adj. winding (road); Ind: *liku-liku*.
- wela** v. pin; prick; Ind: *tusuk (ikan)*. **Wela ikang** Prick the fish (before grill). *Tusuk ikan.*
- weleng** v. give over; Ind: *oper*; *kasih*.
- weling** 1 • adj. expensive; Ind: *mahal*.
2 • n. bride price; Ind: *mas kawin*.
- weling palang / palang** n. bride price; Ind: *mas kawin dari pihak laki-laki*.
- wero** adj. low; Ind: *rendah*. **Kajo papaya kali wero.** The papaya tree is till low. *Pohon pepaya masih pendek.*
- wewang** n. mouth; Ind: *mulut*.
- wewel** n. tongue; Ind: *lidah*.
- wiang** adv. yesterday; temporal adverb; Ind: *kemarin*. **Nu wiang we rahi ekang.** Yesterday they went to the garden. *Kemarin mereka pergi ke kebun.*
- wider** v. pull; Ind: *tarik*. **Mo wider tale hau ke.** You pull that rope over here. *Kamu tarik tali itu datang.*
- wiring / kola wiring** n. rust; Ind: *karat*.
- wisu / usu / isu / isuk** adj. few; Ind: *sedikit*.
- witi** n. goat; Ind: *kambing*.
- wiwing** n. lips; Ind: *bibir*.
- wono** adj. different; Ind: *lain*; *beda*. **Ro kali ata wono.** He is now different. *Dia itu orang sudah lain.*
- worak** 1 • n. body fat; Ind: *lemak*. **Witi kali na worak.** This goat is fat. *Kambing ini*

punya lemak banyak
 (gemuk).
 2 • adj. fat; *gemuk*.
woras n. Woras; Ind: Woras.
wortel n. carrot (Malay); Ind:
wortel.
woslak n. bed; Ind: *kasur*.
woto n. 1 • hill; mountain; Ind:
tebing; gunung.
 2 • island; Ind: *pulau*.
wu saluk / **wu** n. market; Ind:
pasar.
wuhu n. arrow; Ind: *busur*;
panah.
wuhung n. 1 • coral rock; Ind: *batu*
karang.
 2 • high hill; Ind: *bukit*
tinggi.
wulang n. moon; Ind: *bulan*.
wuling n. neck; Ind: *leher*.
wuling pukong n. back of neck;
 Ind: *leher bagian belakang*.
wulu n. feather; Ind: *bulu*.
wuluk n. body hair; Ind: *rambut*
badan.

wulung n. vegetables; Ind:
sayuran.
wunong adj. new; Ind: *baru*. **Mo**
hope bokor wunong. You
 bought a new thing.
Kamu beli barang baru.
wurang / **wura** n. 1 • busa; Ind:
foam.
 2 • lungs; Ind: *paru-paru*.
 3 • morning; Ind: *pagi*.
wuri adj. alive; Ind: *hidup*.
wuta n. meadow; Ind: *padang*
rumput.
wutung loc. end; tip; Ind: *ujung*.
wuwo n. fish trap; Ind:
perangkap ikan.
wuwung n. sinciput; Ind: *ubun-*
ubun.

Y

yang conj. relative linker
 (Malay); Ind: *yang*.

APPENDIX C

Western Lamaholot lexeme sets

This appendix contains the lexeme sets used in Chapter 5 of this dissertation. The sources of the database have been discussed in §5.3.1. The sets are sorted alphabetically based on the concept of each lexeme set, here given in bold. The forms are given in IPA with exceptions discussed in §5.3.3.

The reconstructed Proto-Western-Lamaholot (PWL) and Proto-Alorese (PAL) forms are marked by an asterisk (*). The potential reconstructions that cannot be reconstructed to a proto form with certainty, but found widespread are marked with a hash sign (#). Other proto forms (PMP and PFL) are not included in this appendix. In addition, this appendix contains several lexeme sets without reconstruction, but potentially reconstructed to PWL or earlier (higher level) proto-languages.

In this appendix, abbreviations below are used to represent the Western Lamaholot varieties, including Alorese.

Pukaunu	PK	Dulhi	DH	AL-Marica	AL-MC
Lewotobi	LB	Watan	WT	AL Beang Onong	AL-BO
Ritaebang	RB	Lamakera	LK	AL-Baranusa	AL-BN
Lewolaga	LG	Adonara	AD	AL-Helandohi	AL-HD
Lewoingu	LI	Kiwangona	KG	AL-Wailawar	AL-WR
Bama	BM	Lamahora	LH	AL-Pandai	AL-PD
Waibalun	WB	Belang	BL	AL-Bana	AL-BA
Baipito	BP	Ile Ape	IP	AL-Munaseli	AL-MN
Lewolema	LL	Merdeka	MD	AL-Ternate	AL-TR
Botun	BT	Wuakerong	WK	AL-Buaya	AL-BY
Tanjung Bunga	TB	Mulan	ML	AL-Alor Besar	AL-AB
Waiwadan	WW	Lamalera	LM	AL-Alor Kecil	AL-AK
Horowura	HR			AL-Dulolong	AL-DU

1pl excl:

(1) **PWL *kame**, PK *kame*, LB *kame*, RB *kame*, LG *kame*, LI *kame*, BM *kame*, WB *kame*, BP *kame*, LL *kame*, BT *kame*, TB *kame*, WW *kame*, HR *kame*, DH *kame*, WT *kame*, LK *kame*, AD *kame*, KG *kame*, LH *kame*, BL *kame*, IP *kame*, MD *kame*, WK *kame*, ML *kame*, LM *kame*, **PAL *kame**, AL-MC *kame*, AL-BO *kame*, AL-BN *kame*, AL-WR *kame*, AL-PD *kame*, AL-BA *kame*, AL-MN *kame*, AL-TR *kame*, AL-BY *kame*, AL-AB *kame*, AL-AK *kame*, AL-DU *kame*

1pl incl:

(1) **PWL *tite**, PK *tite*, LB *tite*, RB *tite*, LG *tite*, LI *tite*, BM *tite*, WB *tite*, BP *tite*, LL *tite*, BT *tite*, TB *tite*, WW *tite*, HR *tite*, DH *tite*, WT *tite*, LK *tite*, AD *tite*, KG *tite*, LH *tite*, BL *tite*, IP *tite*, MD *tite*, WK *tite*, ML *tite*, LM *tite*, **PAL *tite**, AL-BO *tite*, AL-BN *tite*, AL-WR *tite*, AL-PD *tite*, AL-BA *tite*, AL-MN *tite*, AL-TR *tite*, AL-BY *tite*, AL-AB *tite*, AL-AK *tite*, AL-DU *tite*

1sg:

(1) **PWL *goʔe**, PK *go*, LB *go*, RB *goʔe*, LG *go*, LI *go*, BM *go*, WB *goʔe*, BP *goʔe*, LL *goʔe*, BT *goʔe*, TB *go*, WW *goe*, HR *goʔe*, DH *go*, WT *goʔe*, LK *goʔe*, AD *goʔe*, KG *goʔe*, LH *goʔe*, BL *goe*, IP *go*, MD *goʔe*, WK *goʔe*, ML *goʔe*, LM *goe*, **PAL *go**, AL-MC *go*, AL-BO *go*, AL-BN *go*, AL-HD *go*, AL-WR *go*, AL-PD *go*, AL-BA *go*, AL-MN *go*, AL-TR *go*, AL-BY *go*, AL-AB *go*, AL-AK *go*, AL-DU *go*

2pl:

(1) **PWL *mio**, PK *mio*, LB *mio*, RB *mio*, LG *mio*, LI *mo*, BM *mio*, WB *mio*, BP *mio*, LL *mio*, BT *mio*, TB *mio*, WW *mio*, HR *mio*, DH *mio*, WT *mio*, LK *mio*, KG *mio*, WK *miʔo*, ML *mio*, LM *mio*, **PAL *mi**, AL-MC *mi*, AL-BO *mi*, AL-BN *mi*, AL-WR *mi*, AL-PD *mi*, AL-BA *mi*, AL-MN *mi*, AL-TR *mi*, AL-AB *mi*, AL-AK *mi*

2sg:

(1) **PWL *mo**, PK *mo*, LB *mo*, RB *moʔe*, LG *mo*, LI *mo*, BM *mo*, WB *moʔe*, BP *moʔe*, LL *moʔe*, BT *moʔe*, TB *mo*, WW *moe*, HR *mo*, DH *moʔe*, WT *mo*, LK *moʔe*, AD *moʔe*, KG *moʔe*, LH *moʔe*, BL *moe*, IP *mo*, MD *moʔe*, WK *moʔe*, ML *moe*, LM *moe*, **PAL *mo**, AL-MC *mo*, AL-BO *mo*, AL-BN *mo*, AL-WR *mo*, AL-PD *mo*, AL-BA *mo*, AL-MN *mo*, AL-TR *mo*, AL-BY *mo*, AL-AB *mo*, AL-AK *mo*, AL-DU *mo*

3pl:

(1) **PWL *raʔe**, PK *ra*, LB *ra*, RB *raʔe*, LG *ra*, LI *ra*, BM *ra*, WB *raʔe*, BP *raʔe*, LL *raʔe*, BT *raʔe*, TB *ra*, WW *rae*, HR *raʔe*, DH *raʔe*, WT *raʔe*, LK *raʔe*, AD *raʔe*, KG *raʔe*, LH *raʔe*, BL *rae*, IP *ra*, MD *raʔe*, WK *raʔe*, ML *rae*, LM *rae*,
 (2) **PAL *we**, AL-MC *we*, AL-BO *we*, AL-BN *we*, AL-WR *we*, AL-PD *we*, AL-BA *we*, AL-MN *we*, AL-TR *fe*, AL-BY *fe*, AL-AB *fe*, AL-AK *fe*, AL-DU *fe*

3sg:

(1) **PWL *naʔe**, PK *na*, LB *na*, RB *naʔe*, LG *na*, LI *na*, BM *na*, WB *naʔe*, BP *naʔe*, LL *naʔe*, BT *naʔe*, TB *naʔe*, WW *naʔe*, HR *naʔe*, DH *na*, WT *naʔe*, LK *naʔe*, AD *naʔe*, KG *naʔe*, LH *nae*, BL *nae*, IP *na*, MD *naʔe*, WK *naʔe*, ML *nae*, LM *nae*, **PAL *no**, AL-TR *no*, AL-BY *no*, AL-AB *no*, AL-AK *no*, AL-DU *no*

(2) **PAL *ro** (<PWL *raʔe ‘3pl’), AL-MC *ro*, AL-BO *ro*, AL-BN *ro*, AL-WR *ro*, AL-PD *ro*, AL-BA *ro*, AL-MN *ro*

above:

(1) **PWL *lolo**, LI *teti lolɔŋ*, AD *bloʔlō*; *lolō*, **PAL *loloŋ**, AL-MC *iti lolon*, AL-BO *iti lolon*, AL-BN *lolon*, AL-HD *blolok*, AL-WR *keti lolon*, AL-PD *lolon*, AL-BA *lolon*, AL-MN *lolon*, AL-TR *iti lolon*, AL-BY *lolon*, AL-AB *oro lolon*; *iti lolon*, AL-AK *iti lolon*, AL-DU *iti lolon*

afternoon:

(1) **PAL *ləra**, AL-MC *ləra*, AL-BO *ləra*, AL-BN *ləra*, AL-HD *lera mulaŋ*, AL-WR *teraŋ*, AL-PD *lera*; *ekaŋ teraŋ*, AL-BA *lera mulaŋ*, AL-MN *ləra*, AL-TR *ləra*, AL-BY *lera mula nekaŋ*, AL-AB *ləra*, AL-AK AL-DU *ləra*

again; add; with; and:

(1) **PWL *taliʔ**, AD *taliʔ*, **PAL *taliŋ**, AL-MC *taliŋ*, AL-BO *taliŋ*, AL-BN *taliŋ*, AL-WR *taliŋ*, AL-PD *taliŋ*, AL-BA *taliŋ*, AL-MN *taliŋ*, AL-TR *taliŋ*, AL-AB *taliŋ*, AL-AK *taliŋ*, AL-DU *taliŋ*

all:

(1) LB *waokāe*, RB *wokae*, LG *wəkāe*, LI *wau kaʔeŋ*, BM *waokae*, WB *wakaŋkae*, BP *wakaŋkae*, LL *wakaŋkae*, BT *wahaŋkae*, TB *wahak*, WW *wahaŋkae*, HR *wahaŋkae*, DH *wahaŋkae*, WT *wahaŋkae*, LK *wahok*, AD *wahā kaeʔ*, KG *wahaŋkae*, IP *wəkae*, MD *wahakae*, WK *wakae*, ML *fəka*, LM *fakahae*

(2) AL-TR *punamuŋ*, AL-BY *punamuŋ*, AL-AB *punamuŋ*, AL-AK *punamuŋ*, AL-DU *punaumu*

alive:

(1) **PWL *morit**, PK *mori*, LB *mori*, RB *mori*, LG *mori*, LI *mɔri*, BM *mori*, WB *mori*, BP *mori*, LL *mori*, BT *mori*, TB *mori*, WW *mori*, HR *morit*, DH *morʔi*, WT *morʔi*, LK *morʔi*, AD *mort*, KG *morip*, LH *morip*, BL *morip*, IP *moriw*, MD *mori*, WK *morʔi*, ML *mori*, LM, **PAL *moriʔ**, AL-MC *moriʔ*, AL-BO *mori*, AL-BN *mori*, AL-HD *mori*, AL-WR *moriʔ*, AL-PD *morik*, AL-BA *morik*, AL-MN *mori*, AL-TR *mori*, AL-AB *mori*, AL-AK *mori*, AL-DU *muri*

and:

(1) **PWL *noʔo**, PK *noʔō*, LB *noʔō o*, RB *noʔō*, LG *noʔō*, LI *noʔō*, BM *no*, WB *nā*, BP *nō*, LL *noʔō*, BT *noʔō*, TB *noʔo*, WW *noʔō*, HR *noʔō*, DH *noʔo*, WT *noʔō*, LK *noʔō*, AD *noʔ*, KG *noʔō*, BL *no*, IP *no*, WK *no*, ML *nɔ*, LM *nā*, **PAL *noŋ**, AL-BN *noŋ*, AL-PD *noŋ*

ant:

(1) **PWL *kəmərə**, AD *kəmərək*, **PAL *kare**, AL-MC *karo*, AL-BO *kare*, AL-BN *kare*, AL-HD *karek*, AL-WR *kare*, AL-PD *kare*, AL-BA *kare*, AL-MN *karek*, AL-TR *kare*, AL-BY *kare*, AL-AB *kare*, AL-AK *kare*, AL-DU *kare*

archery; arrow:

(1) **PAL *panuŋ**, AL-MC *panuŋ*, AL-BO *panuŋ*, AL-BN *panuŋ*, AL-HD *panuŋ*, AL-WR *panuŋ*, AL-PD *panuŋ*, AL-BA *panuŋ*, AL-MN *panuŋ*, AL-BY *panuŋ*, AL-AB *panuŋ*, AL-AK *panuŋ*, AL-DU *panuŋ*
 (2) AL-BO *hupol*, AL-BN *hupol*, AL-HD *hupol*, AL-PD *hupol*, AL-BA *hupol*, AL-MN *hupol*, AL-AB *hupo*, AL-AK *hupo*, AL-DU *fupo*
 (3) LI *amɜ*, AD *ʔamɜt*

arm; hand:

(1) **PWL *lima**, PK *lima*, LB *lima*, RB *lima*, LG *lima*, LI *limaŋ*, BM *lima*, WB *lima*, BP *lima*, LL *lima*, BT *lima*, TB *lima*, WW *limak*, HR *lima*, DH *lima*, WT *limā*, LK *limak*, KG *limak*, LH *limak*, BL *limak*, IP *limak*, MD *limak*, WK *limak*, ML *lima*, LM *limate*, **PAL *limaŋ**, AL-MC *limaŋ*, AL-BO *limaŋ*, AL-BN *limaŋ*, AL-HD *limaʔ*, AL-WR *limaŋ*, AL-PD *limaŋ*, AL-BA *limaŋ*, AL-MN *limaŋ*, AL-TR *limaŋ*, AL-BY *limaŋ*, AL-AB *limaŋ*, AL-AK *limaŋ*, AL-DU *limaŋ*

ash:

(1) **PWL *kəʔawu**, LI *kəʔawu*, AD *kəʔawuk*, **PAL *kərawu**, AL-MC *awo*, AL-BO *kərawu*, AL-BN *kərawu*, AL-HD *krawuʔ*, AL-WR *awo kaha*, AL-PD *awokaha*, AL-BA *awo kaha*, AL-MN *awo kaha*, AL-AB *afo*, AL-AK *afo*, AL-DU *afo*

at:

(1) **PWL *rae**, LB *rae*, WB *rae*, LL *rae*, ML *rae*, LM *rae*, **PAL *ro**, AL-MC *ro*, AL-BO *oro*, AL-BN *oro*, AL-HD *oro*, AL-PD *oro*, AL-BA *oro*, AL-AB *oro*, AL-AK *oro*
 (2) AL-MN *wəli*, AL-TR *fali*, AL-AB *ali*

axe:

(1) **PAL *bali**, AL-MC *balik*, AL-BO *bali*, AL-BN *bali*, AL-WR *bali*, AL-PD *bali*, AL-BA *bali*, AL-MN *bali*, AL-TR *bali*, AL-BY *bali*, AL-AB *bali*, AL-AK *bali*, AL-DU *bali*
 (2) LI *sɔru*, AD *soru kapa*

back:

- (1) RB *uhuk*, LG *uhuk*, BM *uhuk*, BP *hurut*, WW *uhuk*, DH *uhuk*, LH *kənaruk*, BL *usuk*, IP *uhuk*, MD *uhukət*, WK *uhuk*, ML *uhuk*
 (2) LI *kɔləŋ*, WB *kolaʔ*, LL *kolaʔ*, BT *kolak*, TB *kolaʔ*
 (3) WT *wohō*, LK *woho*, AD *wohʔokʔt*, KG *woho*
 (4) **PAL *punuŋ**, AL-MC *punuŋ*, AL-BO *punuŋ*, AL-BN *punuŋ*, AL-HD *pun lolon*, AL-WR *AL-PD punuŋ*, AL-BA *punuŋ*, AL-MN *punuŋ*; *punu*, AL-BY *punuŋ*, AL-AB *punuŋ*, AL-AK *punuŋ*, AL-DU *punuŋ*

bad:

- (1) **PWL *kədatek**, RB *datā*, WB *datə*, TB *datā*, LH *daʔa*, BL *kədatek*, IP *fedatən*, MD *datā*, LM *afadatəŋ*, **PAL *date**, AL-MC *dato*, AL-BO *date*, AL-BN *date*, AL-HD *date*, AL-WR *date*, AL-PD *date*, AL-BA *datek*, AL-TR *date*, AL-BY *date*, AL-AB *date*, AL-AK *date*, AL-DU *date*
 (2) PK *məko*, LB *məko*, LG *məko*, LI *məkɔʔ*, BM *məko*, BT *mədō*, WW *madō*, HR *mədō*, DH *mədō*, WT *mədōʔ*, LK *mədō*, AD *madoː*, KG *mədho*, ML *mədō*

bamboo:

- (1) **PWL *pətuŋ**, **PAL *pətuŋ**, AL-BO *patuŋ*, AL-BA *pətuŋ*, AL-WR *patuŋ*, AL-PD *patuŋ*, AL-BA *patuŋ*, AL-MN *pətuŋ*, AL-TR *patuŋ*, AL-BY *patuŋ*, AL-AB *patuŋ*, AL-AK *patuŋ*, AL-DU *patuŋ*
 (2) **PWL *au**, LI *au*, **PAL *au**, AL-BN *kau*, AL-WR *au*, AL-PD *au*

banana:

- (1) **PWL *muko**, LI *mukɔ*, AD *muko*, **PAL *muko**, AL-MC *muko*, AL-BO *muko*, AL-BN *muko*, AL-HD *muko*, AL-WR *muko*, AL-PD *muko*, AL-BA *muko*, AL-MN *muko*, AL-TR *muko*, AL-BY *muko*, AL-AB *muko*, AL-AK *muko*, AL-DU *muko*

barn; storage house:

- (1) **PWL *kebaŋ**, LI *kəbaŋ*, **PAL *kebaŋ**, AL-BO *kebaŋ*, AL-BN *kebaŋ*
 (2) AL-HD *lada*, AL-WR *lada*, AL-PD *lada*, AL-MN *lada*

bat:

- (1) **PWL *pənike**, LI *pənike*, AD *penike*, **PAL *panike**, AL-MC *penik:e*, AL-BO *panike*, AL-BN *panik:e*, AL-HD *nike*, AL-WR *nike*, AL-BA *mike*
 (2) AL-BY *bleruŋ*, AL-AB *laberuŋ*, AL-AK *bəleru*, AL-DU *bəliruŋ*

because:

- (1) PK *pukā*, LB *pukā*, RB *pukā*, LG *pukən*, LI *pukəŋ*, BM *pukā*, WB *pukā*, BP *pukā*, LL *pukē*, BT *pukā*, TB *pukā*, WW *pukā*, HR *pukā*, DH *pukā*, WT *pukā*, LK *pukā*, AD *pukɔ*, LH *pukā*, BL *puk*, IP *pukən*, MD *pukā*, WK *puka*, ML *pukə*, LM *pukāŋ*

bed:

- (1) AL-MC *kosa*, AL-BO *kolsa*, AL-BN *kolsa*, AL-HD *kolsa*, AL-AK *kolosae*, AL-DU *kolosae*
- (2) AL-WR *woslak*, AK AL-PD AL-BA *boslak*, AL-TR *bosla*
- (3) AL-PD *səligaŋ*, AL-AB *saligaŋ*

bedbug:

- (1) **PWL** **təmayuŋ*, LI *təmajūŋ*, AD *təmajū*, **PAL** **təmadɟuŋ*, AL-MC *təmadɟuŋ*, AL-BO *temadɟuŋ*, AL-BN *tamadɟuŋ*, AL-HD *madɟuŋ*, AL-WR *madɟuŋ*, AL-PD *madɟuŋ*, AL-BA *madɟuŋ*, AL-MN *madɟuŋ*, AL-TR *kamadɟo*, AL-BY *kəmadɟuŋ*, AL-AB *tamadɟoŋ*

below:

- (1) **PWL** *-*ali*, LI *lali*, AD *lali laŋū*, **PAL** *-*ali lau*, AL-BY *alilaŋ*, AL-AB *ali laŋ*, AL-AK *ali laŋ*, AL-DU *ali lalaŋ*, AL-BO *ali laŋuŋ*, AL-BN *lauŋ*, AL-WR *kale lauŋ*, AL-PD *lauŋ*, AL-MN *lauŋ*, AL-TR *io laŋ*, AL-AB *oro laŋ*, AL-DU
- (2) AL-MC *ali wero*, AL-HD *werok*, AL-BA *werok*

bent; crooked:

- (1) **PAL** **galuŋ*, AL-MC *galuŋ*, AL-BO *galuŋ*, AL-TR *galunaŋ*, AL-AB *galuŋ*, AL-AK *galu*, AL-DU *galuŋ*

betel nut; betel vine; chew betel:

- (1) **PWL** **wua*, LI *wua*, AD *wua?*, **PAL** **uwa*, AL-MC *uwa*, AL-BO *uwa*, AL-BN *uwa*, AL-HD *uwa*, AL-WR *uwa*, AL-PD *uwa*, AL-BA *uwa*, AL-MN *uwa*, AL-AB *ua*, AL-AK *ua*
- (2) **PWL** **malu*, LI *wua malu*, **PAL** **malu*, AL-MC *uwa malu*, AL-BO *malu*, AL-BN *malu*, AL-HD *malu*, AL-WR *malu*, AL-PD *malu*, AL-BA *malu*, AL-MN *malu*, AL-TR *malu*, AL-BY *ua malu*, AL-AB *malu*, AL-AK *malu*, AL-DU *malu*

bidara fruit:

- (1) **PAL** **kəbukal*, AL-MC *kəbuka*, AL-BO *kabukal ihi*, AL-BN *kabukal*, AL-WR *kbukal*, AL-PD *kabukal*, AL-BA *kəbukal*, AL-MN *kəbukal*, AL-TR *kəbuka ihikiŋ*, AL-BY *kebuka ihikiŋ*, AL-AB *kəbuk*, AL-AK *kəbuka*, AL-DU *kəbuka*

big:

- (1) PK *bəlʔā*, LB *belā*, RB *belā*, LG *belā*, LI *belā*, BM *belā*, WB *belā*, BP *bele?*, LL *belē*, BT *belʔā*, TB *belā*, WW *bele*, HR *belʔā*, DH *belā*, WT *belʔā*, LK *belʔā*, AD *bele*, KG *belʔā*, LH *belā*, BL *bel*, IP *belən*, MD *belā*, WK *belʔē*, ML *belɿ*, LM *belā*
 - (2) AL-MN *peiŋ*, AL-TR *bai*, AL-BY *beiŋ*, AL-AB *beiŋ*, AL-AK *beiŋ*, AL-DU *beiŋ*
- PAL** **bea*, AL-MC *beŋ*, AL-BO *bea*, AL-BN *bea*, AL-HD *bea*, AL-WR *bea*, AL-PD *bea*, AL-BA *bea*, AL-MN *bea*

bile:

(1) **PAL *pəruŋ**, AL-MC *pəruŋ*, AL-BO *paruŋ*, AL-HD *peruŋ*, AL-WR *peruŋ*, AL-PD *peruŋ*, AL-BA *peruŋ*, AL-MN *peruŋ*, AL-AB *paruŋ*, AL-AK *pəruŋ*, AL-DU *paruŋ*

bird:

(1) **PWL *kolo**, PK *kolō*, RB *kolō*, LG *kolō*, LI *kolon*, BM *kolō*, WB *kolō*, BP *kolō*, LL *kolō*, BT *kolō*, TB *kolō*, WW *kolō*, LK *kolō*, AD, KG *kolō*, LH *kolo*, BL *kolo*, MD *kolo*, WK *kolo*, ML *kolo*, LM *kolo*, **PAL *koloŋ**, AL-MC *koloŋ*, AL-BO *koloŋ*, AL-BN *koloŋ*, AL-WR *koloŋ*, AL-PD *koloŋ*, AL-BA *koloŋ*, AL-MN *koloŋ*, AL-TR *koloŋ*, AL-BY *koloŋ*, AL-AB *koloŋ*, AL-AK *koloŋ*, AL-DU *koloŋ*

bite:

(1) **PWL *gike**, PK *gike*, RB *gike*, LG *gike*, LI *gike*, BM *gike*, WB *gike*, BP *gike*, LL *gike*, BT *gike*, TB *gike*, WW *gike*, HR *gike*, DH *gike*, WT *gike*, LK *gike*, AD *gike*, KG *gike*, LH *gike*, BL *gike*, IP *gike*, MD *gike*, WK *gike*, ML *gike*, LM *goki*, **PAL *gaki**, AL-MC *gaki*, AL-BO *gaki*, AL-BN *gaki*, AL-HD *gaki*, AL-WR *gaki?*, AL-BA *gaki*, AL-MN *gaki?*, AL-TR *gaki ata*, AL-AB *gaki*, AL-AK *gaki*, AL-DU *gaki*

bitter:

(1) **PWL *pait**, LI *paik*, AD *pait*, **PAL *pai?**, AL-MC *pai*, AL-BO *pai*, AL-BN *pai*, AL-HD *pai?*, AL-WR *pai?*, AL-PD *pai*, AL-BA *pai?*, AL-MN *pai?*, AL-TR *pei*, AL-BY *pei*, AL-AB *pei*, AL-AK *pei*, AL-DU *pi*:

black:

(1) **PWL *mitəm**, PK *mitā*, LB *mitā*, RB *mitā*, LG *mitā*, LI *mitəŋ*, BM *mitə*, WB *mitā*, BP *mitən*, LL *mitā*, BT *mitā*, TB *mitə*, WW *mitā*, HR *mitā*, DH *mitā*, WT *mitā*, LK *mitā*, AD *mitə*, KG *mitr*, LH *mitəm*, BL *mitəm*, IP *mitəm*, MD *mitəm*, WK *mitəŋ*, ML *miten*, LM *mitāŋ*, **PAL *mitem**, AL-MC *mitem*, AL-BO *mitem*, AL-BN *mitem*, AL-HD *mitem*, AL-WR *mitem*, AL-PD *mitem*, AL-BA *mitem*, AL-MN *mitem*, AL-TR *mitem*, AL-BY *mitem*, AL-AB *mitem*, AL-AK *mitem*, AL-DU *mitem*

blind (eye):

(1) **PAL *matəŋ date**, AL-MC *matan dato*, AL-BO *matəŋ kərabō*; *matəŋ date*, AL-BN *matan date*, AL-HD *matan date*, AL-WR *matan date*, AL-PD *matan date*, AL-BA *matan date*, AL-MN *mata date*, AL-TR *matəŋ date*, AL-BY *matəŋ date*, AL-AB *matañ date*, AL-AK *matan date*, AL-DU *matəŋ date*

blood:

(1) **PAL *ra**, AL-MC *ra*, AL-BO *ra*, AL-BN *ra*, AL-HD *ra*, AL-WR *ra*, AL-PD *ra*, AL-BA *ra*, AL-MN *ra*; *raŋ*, AL-TR *ra*, AL-BY *ra*, AL-AB *ra*, AL-AK *ra*, AL-DU *ra*

(2) PK *mei*, LB *mei*, RB *mei*, LG *mei?*, LI *mei*, BM *mei*, WB *mei*, BP *mei*, LL *mei*, BT *mei*, TB *mei*, WW *mei*, HR *mei*, DH *mei*, WT *mei*, LK *mei*, AD *mei*, KG *mei*, LH *mei*, BL *mei*, IP *mei*, MD *mei*, WK *səmei*, ML *mehi*, LM *mei*

blow:

(1) PK *dihē*, LB *bu*, RB *kəbuha*, LG *bu*, LI *bu:*, BM *bu*, WB *bu*, BP *bu*, LL *bu*, BT *bu*, TB *bu*, WW *bu*, ML *bu*

(2) HR *dihē*, DH *dihe*, WT *dihē*, LH *dihe*, BL *didi*, LM *die*

(3) **PWL *pui**, LK *pui*, AD *puit*, KG *puit*, IP *puit*, MD *puit*, WK *puis*, **PAL *pui**, AL-MC *pui*, AL-BO *pui*, AL-BN *pui*, AL-HD *pui*, AL-WR *pui*, AL-PD *pui*, AL-BA *pui*, AL-MN *pui*, AL-TR *pui*, AL-BY *pui*, AL-AB *pui*, AL-AK *pui*, AL-DU *pui*

blue:

(1) AL-MC *pahalon*, AL-TR *pahale*, AL-BY *pahelen*, AL-AB *pahelen*, AL-AK *pahelen*

(2) AL-HD *taṇaṇ*, AL-PD *taṇaṇ*, AL-BA *taṇaṇ*

blunt; dull:

(1) PK *da*, LG *dā*, LI *da:*, BM *dat*, WB *dāt*, TB *dat*

(2) BP *gāhala*, LL *gāhala*, BT *gā hala*, WW *gāhala*, WT *gā hala*, KG *gā hala*

(3) DH *kəmoŋo*, LK *kəlaŋo*, AD *kəməŋo*, LH *moŋo*, BL *moso*, MD *kəmoŋo*, WK *motel*, ML *kəmotol*, LM *moso*

(4) **PAL *kumbu**, AL-BO *kumbu*, AL-BN *kumbu*, AL-WR *kumbu*, AL-PD *kumbuk*, AL-BA *kumbuk*, AL-TR *kumbu*, AL-BY *kumbu*, AL-AB *kumbu*, AL-AK *kumbu*, AL-DU *kumbu*

(5) AL-HD *wunak*, AL-PD *punak*, AL-BA *punak*

(6) AL-MC *pou*, AL-MN *pouŋ*

blue; green:

(1) **PWL *idžo**, LB *idžo*, LI *idžo*, WB *idžo*, BP *idžon*, LL *idžō*, BT *idžō*, TB *idžo*, WT *idžo*, LK *idžō*, **PAL *idžon**, AL-BO *idžo*, AL-WR *idžo*, AL-MN *idžo*

boiling (water):

(1) AL-BY *pato onon*, AL-AB *pato*, AL-AK *pato*, AL-DU *fei pato*

(2) AL-MC *buraṇ*, AL-BO *wai buraṇ*, AL-BN *wai buraṇ*, AL-HD *buraṇ*, AL-WR *buraṇ*, AL-PD *wai buraṇ*, AL-BA *buraṇ*, AL-MN *buraṇ*, AL-TR *bura naṇ*

body:

(1) **PWL *wəki**, LI *wəkiŋ*, AD *wəkiʒt*, **PAL *wəkiŋ**, AL-MC *wak:iŋ*, AL-BO *wakiŋ*, AL-BN *wakiŋ*, AL-WR *wak:iŋ*, AL-PD *wəkiŋ*, AL-BA *wək:iŋ*, AL-TR *fakiŋ*, AL-BY *fak:iŋ*, AL-AB *fakiŋ*, AL-AK *fakiŋ*, AL-DU *fakiŋ*

(2) AL-HD *oda?*, AL-PD *odaṇ*

body hair:

- (1) **PAL *wuluk**, AL-MC *ul:u*, AL-BO *wareŋ uluka*, AL-BN *wuluk*, AL-HD *wuluk*, AL-PD *wuluk*, AL-BA *wuluk*, AL-MN *wuluk*, AL-TR *fulukuŋ*, AL-AB *fulukuŋ*, AL-AK *fulukuŋ*, AL-DU *fulukuŋ*
- (2) LI *rawukəŋ*, AD *rawukət*

bolsters:

- (1) AL-MC *luluŋ*, AL-BO *luluŋ*, AL-PD *luluŋ*, AL-MN *luluŋ*, AL-AB *luluŋ*
- (2) AL-HD *kole*, AL-WR *kole*

bone:

- (1) **PWL *riʔu**, PK *riʔuk*, LB *riʔuk*, RB *riʔu*, LG *riʔu*, LI *riʔu*, BM *riʔu*, WB *riʔuk*, BP *riʔuk*, LL *riʔuk*, BT *riʔū*, TB *riʔuk*, WW *riuk*, HR *riʔuk*, DH *riʔū*, WT *riʔū*, LK *rīu*, AD *riʔū*, KG *riʔū*, LH *riʔu*, BL *riuk*, IP *riuk*, MD *riuk*, WK *riʔū*, ML *riuk*, LM *riuk*, **PAL *ruin**, AL-MC *ruin*, AL-BO *ruʔin*, AL-BN *ruʔin*, AL-HD *neruin*, AL-WR *ruin*, AL-PD *ruin*, AL-BA *ruin*; *rue*, AL-MN *ruin*, AL-TR *ruin*, AL-BY *ruin*, AL-AB *ruin*; *rue*, AL-AK *ruin*, AL-DU *ruin*

borrow:

- (1) AL-BN *bihe*, AL-MN *bihe*, AL-BY *bihe*, AL-AB *bihe*

bow:

- (1) **PWL *wuhu**, LI *wuhu*, AD *wuhuʔ*, **PAL *wuhu**, AL-MC *puhu*, AL-BO *wuhu*, AL-BN *wuhu*, AL-HD *wuhu*, AL-PD *wuhu*, AL-BA *woho*, AL-MN *wuhu*, AL-TR *puhu*, AL-BY *fuhu*, AL-AB *fuhu*, AL-AK *fuhu*, AL-DU *fuhu*

bracelet:

- (1) **PAL *kanau**, AL-MC *kənaʊ*, AL-BO *kenau*, AL-BN *kanau*, AL-WR *nauk*, AL-PD *kenau*, AL-BA *nau*, AL-MN *nau*, AL-TR *pənou*, AL-BY *kanou*, AL-AK *geno*, AL-DU *kanu*

breadfruit:

- (1) AL-MC *ploka*, AL-BO *pəloka*, AL-BN *kloka*; *ploka*, AL-HD *ploka*, AL-WR *ploka*, AL-PD *pəloka*, AL-BA *ploka*, AL-MN *ploka*

break (glass):

- (1) **PAL *bataŋ**, AL-MC *bataŋ*, AL-BO *bataŋ*, AL-BN *bataŋ*, AL-HD *bətaŋ*, AL-WR *wetaŋ*, AL-PD *bataŋ*, AL-BA *betaŋ*, AL-MN *betaŋ*, AL-TR *batanaŋ*, AL-BY *batanu*, AL-AB *bataŋ*, AL-AK *bataŋ*, AL-DU *bataŋ*

break (rope):

(1) **PAL *gatoŋ**, AL-MC *gatoŋ*, AL-BO *gatoŋ*, AL-BN *gatoŋ*, AL-HD *bətoŋ*, AL-WR *geton*, AL-PD *gatoŋ*, AL-BA *gətoŋ*, AL-MN *getoŋ*, AL-BY *geto nekaŋ*, AL-AB *gato*, AL-AK *gəto*, AL-DU *gatou*

breast:

(1) **PWL *tuhu**, LI *tuho*, AD *tuho*, **PAL *tuhu**, AL-MC *tuho*, AL-BO *tuho*, AL-BN *tuho*, AL-HD *tuho*, AL-WR *tuho*, AL-PD *tuho*, AL-BA *tuho*, AL-MN *tuho*, AL-TR *tuhuj*, AL-BY *tuhuj*, AL-AB *tuhũ*, AL-AK *tuhuj*, AL-DU *tuhũ*

breathe:

(1) **PWL *-nai**, LB *hari nāi*, RB *ər nāi*, LG *hari nait*, LI *hariŋ*, BM *harĩ*, WB *harināi*, BP *harinaĩ*, LL *harināi*, BT *nəri nahij*, TB *hari nāi*, WW *nərināi*, HR *nəri nahij*, DH *nəri nahij*, WT *nəri nahij*, LK *nərināi*, AD *nərinaĩ*, KG *nəri naik*, LH *eha naikə*, BL *hea naik*, IP *həŋə naikə*, MD *eha naikə*, WK *gidā nāi*, ML *eha nai*, LM *ərā nāi*, **PAL *-nahij**, AL-MC *manahij*, AL-BO *taŋ nahij*, AL-HD *nahi*, AL-WR *maŋ-nahij*, AL-PD *naŋ nahij*, AL-BA *nahij*, AL-MN AL-TR *nami nihij*, AL-BY *naminihij*, AL-AB *nami nihij*, AL-AK *naminihij*, AL-DU *nami nehe*

broom:

(1) **PWL *namu**, AD *namu*, **PAL *namu**, AL-MC, AL-BO, AL-BN, AL-HD *namo*, AL-WR *namo*, AL-PD *namo*, AL-BA *namo*, AL-MN *namo*, AL-BY *namo*, AL-AB *namu*, AL-AK *namu*, AL-DU *namo*

burden stick:

(1) AL-AB *doba*, AL-AK *džoba*
 (2) LI *bəleba?*, AL-MN *ləplepa*, AL-AB *kəlapaŋ*
 (3) **PAL *nekaŋ**, AL-HD *nekaŋ*, AL-WR *nekaŋ*, AL-PD *tənekaŋ*; *nekaŋ*, AL-BA *nekaŋ*, AL-MN *nəkaŋ*, AL-BY *tənuka nəkaŋ*

burn (clear land):

(1) PK *tuno*, LB *tuno*, RB *tuno*, TB *tuno*, WW *tuno*, HR *tuno*, LK *tuno*, MD *tuno*, ML *tuno*
 (2) **PWL *seru**, LG *səru*, LI *seru?*, BM *səru*, WB *səru*, BP *səru*, LL *səru*, BT *səru*, DH *səru*, WT *səru*, AD *səru?*, KG *səru*, LH *səru*, BL *səru*, IP *səru*, WK *səru*, **PAL *seru**, AL-PD *saru*, AL-TR *seru ape*, AL-BY *saru*, AL-AB *saru ekaŋ*, AL-AK *seru*, AL-DU *saru*
 (3) **PWL *papi**, LM *papi*, **PAL *papiŋ**, AL-BN *papiŋ*, AL-HD *papiŋ*, AL-WR *pakiŋ*, AL-BA *papi*, AL-MN *papiŋ*

burnt:

(1) **PAL *putu**, AL-MC *putu*, AL-BO *putu*, AL-BN *putuk*, AL-HD *putuk*, AL-WR

putuk, AL-PD *utuk*, AL-BA *putuk*, AL-MN *putuk*, AL-TR *putu naŋ*, AL-BY *putuna*, AL-AB *putu*, AL-AK *putu*, AL-DU *putu*

bury:

(1) **PWL *tone/*tome**, AD *tomɜ*, **PAL *tononŋ**, AL-MC *tononŋ*, AL-BO *tononŋ*, AL-BN *tononŋ*, AL-HD *tono*, AL-WR *tononŋ*, AL-PD *tononŋ*, AL-BA *tononŋ*, AL-MN *tononŋ*

buy:

(1) **PWL *hope**, LI *hope*, AD *hope*, **PAL *hope**, AL-MC *hope*, AL-BO *hope*, AL-BN *hope*, AL-HD *hope*, AL-WR *hope*, AL-PD *hope*, AL-BA *hope*, AL-MN *hope*, AL-TR *hope*, AL-BY *hope*, AL-AB *hope*, AL-AK *hope*, AL-DU *hope*

candle:

- (1) AL-PD *padu*, AL-AB *pandzu*
- (2) LI *tənarɔʔ*, AD *tɜnaro*

canoe:

(1) **PWL *tena**, LI *tena*, AD *təna*, **PAL *tena**, AL-MC *tena*, AL-BO *tena*, AL-BN *tena*, AL-HD *tena*, AL-WR *tena*, AL-PD *tena*, AL-BA *tena*, AL-MN *tena*, AL-TR *tena*, AL-BY *tena*, AL-AB *tena*, AL-AK *tena*, AL-DU *tena*

cassava:

- (1) LI *uwe kajɔ*, AD *uwe kaju*
- (2) **PAL *kura**, AL-MC *kura*, AL-BO *kura*, AL-BN *kura*, AL-PD *kura*, AL-BA *kura*, AL-MN *kura dʒawa*, AL-TR *kura dʒawa*, AL-AB *kura dʒafa*, AL-AK *kura dʒafa*, AL-DU *kura dʒafa*

cat:

(1) **PAL *kamama**, AL-BO *kamama*, AL-BN *kamama*, AL-WR *kamama*, AL-PD *kamama*, AL-TR *kamama*, AL-BY *kamama*, AL-AB *kamama*, AL-AK *kəməma*, AL-DU *kamama*

catch:

- (1) AL-TR *ləge*, AL-BY *lage*, AL-AB *lage*, AL-AK *lage*, AL-DU *lage*
- (2) AL-MC *hemo*, AL-BO *hemo*, AL-BN *hemo*, AL-HD *hemo*, AL-WR *hemo*, AL-PD *hemo*, AL-MN *hemo*

center:

- (1) AL-WR *tuka tuka*, AL-PD *katuka*, AL-BA *tuka-tuka*, AL-MN *tuka tuka*

centipede:

- (1) **PAL *kalipaŋ**, AL-MC *ala klipaŋ*, AL-BO *kalipaŋ*, AL-BN *kalipaŋ*, AL-WR *kalipan*, AL-PD *kalipaŋ*, AL-BA AL-AB *kalipaŋ*, AL-AK *kalipaŋ*, AL-DU *kalipan*
(2) AL-HD *siparaga*, AL-BA *siparaga*, AL-MN *siparaga*

chase:

- (1) **PWL *teru/*tute**, LI *təruŋ*, **PAL *tute**, AL-MC *tute*, AL-BN *tute*, AL-HD *tute*, AL-WR *tute*, AL-BA *tute*, AL-TR *tute*, AL-AB *tute*, AL-AK *tute*, AL-DU *tute*
(2) AL-PD *liso*, AL-MN *liso*

chew:

- (1) **PAL *mame**, AL-MC *mame*, AL-BO *mame*, AL-BN *mame*, AL-HD *mame*, AL-WR *mame*, AL-PD *mame*, AL-BA *mame*, AL-MN *mame*, AL-TR *mame*, AL-BY *mame*, AL-AB *mame*, AL-AK *mame*, AL-DU *mame*
(2) LI *baha*, AD *bahak*

chair:

- (1) **PAL *kadera**, AL-MC *kadera*, AL-BO *kadera*, AL-BN *kadera*, AL-HD *kadera*, AL-WR *kadera*, AL-PD *kdera*, AL-BA *kandəra*, AL-MN *kadera*, AL-TR *kədera*, AL-BY *kadera*, AL-AB *kadera*, AL-AK *kədera*, AL-DU *kadera*

chaotic:

- (1) **PAL *kanadžo**, AL-MC *kanadžo*, AL-BN *kənadžok*, AL-HD *kənadžok*

cheek:

- (1) **PWL *pipi**, LI *kəlipi*, AD *pipikət*, **PAL *pipiŋ**, AL-MC *pipiŋ*, AL-BO *pipiŋ*, AL-BN *pipiŋ*, AL-HD *pipi*, AL-WR *pipiŋ*, AL-PD *pipiŋ*, AL-BA *pipiŋ*, AL-MN *pipiŋ*, AL-TR *pipi*, AL-BY *pipi*, AL-AB *pipiŋ*, AL-AK *pipi*, AL-DU *pipiŋ*

chest:

- (1) **PAL *wareŋ**, AL-MC *waroŋ*, AL-BO *wareŋ*, AL-BN *wareŋ*, AL-WR *ware*, AL-PD *wareŋ*, AL-TR *fare*, AL-BY *farei*, AL-AB *farē*, AL-AK *fareŋ*, AL-DU *fareiŋ*
(2) AL-HD *kolo*, AL-PD *koloŋ*, AL-BA *koloŋ*, AL-MN *kolo*; *koloŋ*

chicken:

- (1) **PWL *manuk**, LI *manu*, AD *manuk*, **PAL *manuŋ/manuk**, AL-MC *manu*, AL-BO *manuŋ*, AL-BN *manuŋ*, AL-HD *manu?*, AL-WR *manuk*, AL-PD *manu*, AL-BA *manuk*, AL-MN *manu?*, AL-TR *manuŋ*, AL-BY *manuŋ*, AL-AB *manu*, AL-AK *manu*, AL-DU *manuŋ*

child:

(1) **PWL *ana?**, LB *ana?*, RB *ana*, LG *ana?*, LI *ana?*, BM *ana?*, WB *ana*, BP *ana*, LL *ana*, BT *ana*, TB *ana*, WW *ana*, HR *ana?*, DH *ana?*, WT *ana*, LK *ana*, AD *?ana?*, KG *ana?*, LH *ana*, BL *ana*, IP *ana*, MD *ana*, WK *ana*, ML *ana*, LM *ana*, **PAL *anaŋ**, AL-MC *anak*, AL-BO *anaŋ*, AL-BN *anaŋ*, AL-BA *ana?*, AL-MN *ana/ana?/anaŋ*, AL-TR *anaŋ*, AL-BY *anaŋ*, AL-AB *anaŋ*, AL-AK *anak*, AL-DU *anaŋ*

(2) AL-BO *bire*, AL-BN *bire kari*, AL-HD *bai*, AL-WR *bahire*, AL-PD *bai*

chin:

(1) **PAL *bamaŋ**, AL-MC *bimoŋ*, AL-BO *bamaŋ*, AL-BN *bamaŋ*, AL-HD *bame*, AL-WR *bameŋ*, AL-PD *bamaŋ*, AL-BA *bame*, AL-MN *bame; bameŋ*, AL-TR *bame*, AL-BY *bame*, AL-AB *bameŋ*, AL-AK *bame*, AL-DU *bameiŋ*

choose:

(1) **PWL *pile?**, LI *pile?*, AD *pile*, **PAL *pile**, AL-MC *pile*, AL-BO *pile*, AL-HD *pile*, AL-WR *pile*, AL-PD *pile*, AL-BA *pile*, AL-MN *pile*, AL-TR *pile*, AL-AB *pile*

civet cat:

(1) **PWL *lako**, LI *lakɔ*, AD *lako*, **PAL *lako**, AL-MC *lako*, AL-BO *lako*, AL-BN *lako*, AL-HD *lako*, AL-WR *lako*, AL-PD *lako*, AL-BA *lako*, AL-MN *lako*, AL-AB *lako*, AL-AK *lako*, AL-DU *lako*

clay:

(1) **PWL *tana me?aŋ**, LI *tana me?aŋ*, **PAL *tana meaŋ**, AL-MC *tana meaŋ*, AL-BN *tana meaŋ*, AL-HD *tana meaŋ*, AL-PD *tana meaŋ*, AL-BA *tana meaŋ*, AL-MN *tana meaŋ*, AL-AB *faraha meaŋ*, AL-AK *tana meaŋ*, AL-DU *tana ma*

clean:

(1) **PWL *lae?**, LI *laeŋ*, AD *lae?*, **PAL *lahen**, AL-MC *lahen*, AL-BO *lahiŋ*, AL-BN *lahiŋ*, AL-HD *lahen*, AL-WR *lahek*, AL-PD *lahen*, AL-BA *rahiŋ*, AL-MN *lahen; lahek*, AL-TR *lahiŋ*, AL-BY *lahiŋ*, AL-AB *lahiŋ*, AL-AK *lahiŋ*, AL-DU *lahiŋ*

climb:

(1) **PAL *hela**, AL-BO *hela*, AL-BN *hela*, AL-BA *hela*, AL-DU *hela*

(2) **PWL *gere**, LI *gere*, AD *gere*, **PAL *gere**, AL-MC *gere*, AL-PD *gere*, AL-MN *gere*, AL-AB *gere*

close:

(1) **PWL #letu**, LI *lɔtu?*, AD *lɔtu?*

(2) **PAL *tera?**, AL-MC *tara?*, AL-BO *tera*, AL-BN *tera*, AL-HD *tera?*, AL-WR *tera*, AL-PD *tera*, AL-BA *tera?*, AL-MN *tera?*, AL-TR *fera*, AL-AB *tera*, AL-AK *tera*, AL-DU

tera

clothing:

- (1) PK *akopake*, LG *akəpake*, BM *agopake*, WB *agopake*, BP *agopake*, LL *agopake*
- (2) RB *alelolō*, BT *alelolo*, TB *alelolo*, WW *alelolo*, HR *alelolo*, DH *alelolo*, WT *alelolo*, LK *alelolo*, AD *alelolo*, KG *alelolo*, LH *alelolo*, BL *alelolo*, IP *alelolo*, MD *alelolo*, WK *alelolo*, ML *alelolo*, LM *alelolo*
- (3) **PWL** **labu*, LI *labu*, AD *labu*, **PAL** **labu*, AL-MC *labu*
- (4) AL-BN *kondo*, AL-PD *kondo*, AL-BY *kondŋo*

cloud:

- (1) **PWL** **kowa*, PK *kowa*, LB *kowa*, RB *kowa*, LG *kowa*, LI *kɔwa*, BM *kowa*, WB *kowa*, BP *kowa*, LL *kowa*, BT *kowa*, TB *kowa*, DH *kowa*, WT *kowa*, LK *kowa*, AD *kɔ:wa*, KG *kowa*, LH *kowa*, BL *kowa*, IP *kowa*, MD *kowa*, WK *kowa*, ML *kəkə*, LM *kofā*, **PAL** **kowa*, AL-MC *kowa*, AL-HD *kowa*, AL-AB *kofā*, AL-AK *kofā*, AL-DU *kofā*
- (2) **PAL** **awanj*, AL-BO *awanj*, AL-BN *awanj*, AL-PD *awanj*, AL-BA *awanj*, AL-TR *afanj*, AL-BY *afanj*
- (3) WW *abak*, HR *abak*

coconut:

- (1) **PWL** **tapo*, LI *tapo*, AD *tapo*, **PAL** **tapo*, AL-MC *tapo*, AL-BO *tapo*, AL-BN *tapo*, AL-HD *kapo*, AL-WR *tapo*, AL-PD *tapo*, AL-BA *tapo*, AL-MN *tapo*, AL-TR *tapo*, AL-BY *tapo*, AL-AB *tapo*, AL-AK *tapo*, AL-DU *tapo*

cold:

- (1) RB *gəlatā*, LG *gəlatə*, LI *gəlatə*, BM *gəlatā*, WB *gəlatə*, BP *gəlatā*, LL *gəlatē*, BT *gəlatā*, TB *gəlatā*, WW *gəlatā*, HR *gəlatř*, DH *gəlatəŋ*, WT *gəlatā*, LK *gəlatā*, AD *glɜtɜ*, KG *gəlatr*, LH *ləta*, BL *lətəs*, IP *lətən*, MD *lətā*, WK *lətəs*, ML *leta*, LM *gəlatā*
- (1) **PAL** **kaluanj*, AL-MC *kəluanj*, AL-BO *kluanj*, AL-BN *kluanj*, AL-HD *kluanj*, AL-WR *kluanj*, AL-PD *kluanj*, AL-BA *kluanj*, AL-MN *kluanj*, AL-TR *kaluanj*, AL-BY *kaluanj*, AL-AB *kaluanj*, AL-AK *kaluanj*, AL-DU *kaluanj*

cold; influenza:

- (1) AL-PD *iruŋ mate*, AL-BA *iru mate*, AL-MN *iruononj məte*, AL-TR *niruŋ mate*, AL-BY *niruŋ mate*

comb:

- (1) **PWL** **kiri*, LI *kiri*, AD *kiri?*, **PAL** **kiri*, AL-MC *kiri*, AL-BO *kiri*, AL-BN *kiri*, AL-HD *kiri*, AL-WR *kiri*, AL-PD *kiri*, AL-BA *kiri*, AL-MN *kiri*, AL-TR *kiri*, AL-BY *kiri*, AL-AB *kiri*, AL-AK *kiri*, AL-DU *kiri*

come:

- (1) PK *səgat*, LB *səga*, RB *səga*, LG *səga*, LI *səga*, BM *səga*, BP *səga*, TB *səga*
- (2) WB *beto*, BT *beto*, WW *beto*, HR *beto*, DH *beto*, WT *beto*, LK *beto*, AD *beto*, KG *beto*, IP *beto*
- (3) LH *lohe*, MD *lohe*
- (4) BL *bəsol*, WK *bəsol*, ML *bəso*, LM *bəso*
- (5) AL-HD *mene*, AL-TR *mene*

conjunctivitis:

- (1) **PWL** **mata meʔa*, LI *mata meʔa*, **PAL** **matan mean*, AL-MC *matan mean*, AL-BO *matan mean*, AL-BN *matan mean*, AL-HD *matan mean*, AL-WR *matan mean*, AL-BA *mata mean*, AL-TR *matan no mean*, AL-BY *matan mean*, AL-AK *matan mean*, AL-DU *matan mean*

cook:

- (1) PK *biho*, LB *biho*, RB *biso*, LG *biho*, LI *biho*, BM *biho*, WB *biho*, BP *biho*, LL *biho*, BT *biho*, TB *biho*, WW *biho*, HR *biho*, LK *biho*, LH *biho*, BL *bio*, IP *biho*, MD *biho*, WK *biho*, ML *biho*
- (2) DH *dena*, WT *dena*, AD *dena*, KG *dena*, LM *denā*

cooking oil:

- (1) AL-MC *kuen tapo*, AL-BO *kuen tapo*, AL-BN *kuen tapo*, AL-HD *kuen*, AL-WR *kuen tapo*, AL-PD *kuen tapo*, AL-BA *kuen tapo*, AL-MN *kuen*, AL-TR *kue*, AL-BY *uwe*, AL-AB *kuen*, AL-AK *kuen*, AL-DU *kuiŋ*

coral (rock):

- (1) AL-BO *wato karaki*, AL-BN *wato kraki*, AL-TR *fato kerakiki*
- (2) AL-MC *wato karan*, AL-HD *wato karan*, AL-WR *wato karan*
- (3) LI *uhɔ*, AD *ʔaʔɔ*

coral (reef):

- (1) **PAL** **uhun*, AL-MC *uhun*, AL-BO *wuhun*, AL-BN *wohun*, AL-HD *terumbu*, AL-WR *uhun*, AL-PD *uhun*, AL-BA *uhun*, AL-TR *uho*, AL-BY *uho gapa*, AL-AK *uho*, AL-DU *uho*

correct:

- (1) LB *nādikā*, LG *naʔandikā*, LL *apadiken*, IP *apadikən*
- (2) **PWL** **mura*, RB *nə murā*, LI *murəŋ*, BM *murə*, WB *nə murə*, BP *mu*, BT *murā*, TB *murə*, WW *murō*, HR *murʔā*, DH *murʔā*, WT *murʔā*, LK *murʔā*, AD *muʔrʔ*, KG *murʔā*, LH *nā murā*, BL *mur*, MD *murā*, WK *nā mure*, ML *murɣ*, LM *murā*, **PAL** **muro*, AL-PD *murok*, AL-MN *murok*, AL-TR *murokoŋ*, AL-AB *muro*

(3) **PAL *moloŋ**, AL-MC *molo*, AL-BO *malon*, AL-BN *malon*, AL-HD *molo*, AL-WR *moloŋ*, AL-PD *moloŋ*, AL-BA *moloŋ*, AL-TR *molo*, AL-BY *molo*, AL-AK *molo*, AL-DU *molo*

corn:

(1) **PWL *wataʔ**, LI *wata*, AD *wataʔ*, **PAL *wataʔ**, AL-MC *wata*, AL-BO *wata*, AL-BN *wata*, AL-HD *wata*, AL-WR *wataʔ*, AL-PD *wata*, AL-BA *wata*, AL-MN *wata*, AL-TR *fata*, AL-BY *fata*, AL-AB *fata*, AL-AK *fata*, AL-DU *fata*

count:

(1) **PAL *rekeŋ**, AL-MC *rekeŋ*, AL-BO *rekeŋ*, AL-BN *rekeŋ*, AL-HD *rekeŋ*, AL-WR *rekeŋ*, AL-PD *rekeŋ*, AL-BA *rekeŋ*, AL-MN *rekeŋ*, AL-TR *rekeŋ*, AL-BY *rekeŋ*, AL-AB *rekeŋ*, AL-AK *rekeŋ*, AL-DU *rekeŋ apa*
(2) LI *gasi*, AD *gasik*

crab:

(1) **PAL *kudʒo**, AL-MC *kudʒo*, AL-BO *kudʒo*, AL-WR *kudʒo*, AL-PD *kudʒo*, AL-MN *kudʒo*, AL-TR *kudʒo*, AL-BY *udʒo*, AL-AB *kudʒo*, AL-AK *kudʒo*, AL-DU *kudʒo*

crocodile:

(1) **PAL *bapa**, AL-MC *bapa*, AL-BO *bapa*, AL-BN *bapa*, AL-HD *bapa*, AL-WR *bapa*, AL-BA *bapa*, AL-MN *bapa*, AL-BY *bapa*, AL-AK *bapa*, AL-DU *bapa*
(2) LI *kobu*, AD *kobu*

crooked:

(1) AL-HD *wego*, AL-WR *kwegok*, AL-PD *kwegok*, AL-BA *kwegok*

crouch:

(1) **PAL *galuŋ**, AL-MC *galuŋ*, AL-BO *lugu*, AL-BN *kəruɡuk*, AL-HD *lugu*, AL-WR *luguk*, AL-PD *lugu*, AL-AK *gulu*, AL-DU *gulu*
(2) AL-MC *doŋo*, AL-HD *doŋo*

cry:

(1) **PWL *tani**, PK *taniŋ*, RB *tani*, LG *tani*, LI *taniŋ*, BM *tani*, WB *tani*, BP *tani*, LL *tani*, BT *tani*, TB *tani*, WW *tani*, HR *tani*, DH *tani*, WT *tani*, LK *tani*, AD *tani*, KG *tani*, LH *tani*, BL *tani*, IP *tani*, MD *tani*, WK *tani*, ML *tani*, LM *tani*, **PAL *taniŋ**, AL-MC *taniŋ*, AL-BO *tani*, AL-BN *taniŋ*, AL-HD *tani*, AL-WR *tani*, AL-PD *tani*; *taniŋ*, AL-BA *taniŋ*, AL-MN *taniŋ*; *tani*, AL-AK *tani*
(2) AL-TR *gare*, AL-BY *gare*, AL-AB *gareŋ*, AL-AK *gariŋ*, AL-DU *gariŋ*

current (sea):

- (1) AL-BY *tahi gara*, AL-AB *tahi gara*, AL-AK *tahi gara*
- (2) AL-MC *bareŋ*, AL-BN *tahi banareŋ*, AL-PD *tahi bareŋ*

cut:

- (1) **PWL *belo**, PK *belo*, LB *belo*, RB *belo*, LG *belo*, LI *belo*, BM *belo*, WB *belo*, BP *belo*, LL *belo*, BT *belo*, TB *belo*, WW *belo*, HR *belo*, DH *belo*, WT *belo*, LK *belo*, AD *belo*, KG *belo*, LH *belo*, BL *belo*, IP *belo*, MD *belo*, WK *belo*, ML *belo*, LM *belo*, **PAL *belo**, AL-MC *belo*, AL-BO *belo*
- (2) **PAL *paku**, AL-BO *paku*, AL-BN *paku*, AL-WR *paku*, AL-PD *pəku*, AL-BA *paku*, AL-AB *paku*, AL-AK *paku*, AL-DU *paku*
- (3) AL-HD *hodaŋ*, AL-MN *hodaŋ*, AL-BY *hodaŋ apa*

cut down (tree):

- (1) AL-MC *tari*, AL-BO *tari*, AL-HD *terik*, AL-WR *tarik*, AL-PD *tari*, AL-BA *tari*, AL-MN *təri*
- (2) AL-AB *lolo*, AL-AK *lolo*

dance:

- (1) PK *soka*, LB *soka*, RB *soka*, LG *soka*, LI *soka*, BM *soka*, WB *soka*, BP *soka*, LL *soka*, BT *soka*, TB *soka*, WW *soka*, WT *soka*, LK *soka*, LH *soka*, BL *soka*, IP *soka*, MD *soka*, WK *soka*, ML *soka*, LM *soka*
- (2) HR *nigə*, AD *ni:gə*, KG *nigə*
- (3) AL-PD *ronge*, AL-DU *ronge*
- (4) AL-HD *toḏa*, AL-MN *toḏa*
- (5) AL-MC *təmo*, AL-BO *tamo*, AL-BN *tamo*

dark:

- (1) **PWL *mitəŋ**, LI *mitəŋ*
- (2) **PAL *kuiŋ**, AL-MC *kuiŋ*, AL-BO *kuiŋ*, AL-BN *kuiŋ*, AL-HD *kuiŋ*, AL-WR *kuiŋ*, AL-PD *kuiŋ*, AL-BA *kuiŋ*, AL-MN *kuiŋ*, AL-TR *ui*, AL-BY *kui*, AL-AB *kui*, AL-AK *kui*, AL-DU *kui*

day; sun:

- (1) **PWL *ləra**, PK *lərō*, LB *lərō*, RB *lərō*, LG *lərō*, LI *lər:ɔŋ*, BM *lərō*, WB *lərō*, BP *rərō*, LL *rərō*, BT *rərō*, TB *lərō*, WW *rərō*, HR *rərō*, DH *rərō*, WT *rərō*, LK *rərō*, AD *rə* *rō*, KG *rərō*, LH *lərō*, BL *ləro*, IP *ləron*, MD *ləro*, WK *ləro*, ML *ləro*, LM *ləro*, **PAL *ləra**, AL-MC *lər:a*, AL-BO *lər:a*, AL-BN *lər:a*, AL-HD *lər:a*, AL-WR *lər:a*, AL-PD *lər:a*, AL-BA *lər:a*, AL-MN *lara*, AL-TR *lər:a*, AL-BY *lər:a*, AL-AB *lara*, AL-AK *lər:a*, AL-DU *lər:a*

day after tomorrow:

(1) **PWL *ere rua**, LI *ərərúa*, AD *ʔərɜ́ rua*, **PAL *oroŋ rua/*ere rua**, AL-MC *oroŋ rua*, AL-BO *erua*, AL-BN *erua*, AL-HD *erua*, AL-WR *erua*, AL-PD *erua*, AL-BA *erua*, AL-MN *erua*, AL-TR *erua*, AL-BY *erua*, AL-AB *erua*, AL-AK *erua*, AL-DU *erua*

day before yesterday:

(1) AL-TR *erua neka*, AL-BY *erua nekaŋ*, AL-AB *erua*; *erua neka*, AL-AK *erua neka*, AL-DU *lera rua neka*
 (2) AL-MC *ere hele*, AL-BO *erua hele*, AL-BN *telo hele*, AL-HD *erua hele*, AL-WR *erua hele*, AL-PD *erua hele*, AL-MN *aru hele*; *erua hele*

debt:

(1) **PAL *peli**, AL-BN *peli*, AL-BA *li*, AL-AB *li*, AL-AK *liŋ*

deer:

(1) **PWL *ruha**, LI *ruha*, AD *ruha*, **PAL *ruha**, AL-MC *ruha*, AL-BO *ruha*, AL-BN *ruha*, AL-HD *ruha*, AL-WR *ruha*, AL-PD *ruha*, AL-BA *ruha*, AL-MN *ruha*, AL-TR *ruha*, AL-AB *ruha*, AL-AK *ruha*, AL-DU *ruha*

dew:

(1) **PWL *apu**, PK *apũ*, LB *apũ*, RB *apũ*, LG *apũ*, BM *apu*, WB *apũ*, BP *apu*, LL *apũ*, BT *apũ*, TB *apu*, WW *apũ*, HR *apũ*, DH *apũ*, WT *apũ*, LK *apũ*, KG *apũ*, LH *apũ*, BL *apu*, IP *apũ*, MD *apũ*, WK *apũ*, ML *apu*, LM *apu*, **PAL *apuŋ**, AL-MC *apuŋ*, AL-BO *apuŋ*, AL-BN *apuŋ*, AL-HD *apuŋ*, AL-WR *apuŋ*, AL-PD *apuŋ*, AL-BA *apuŋ*, AL-MN *apuŋ*, AL-TR *mopuŋ*, AL-AB *mopuŋ*, AL-AK *bopuŋ*, AL-DU *bopuŋ*
 (2) AL-PD *dawu*, AL-MN *dəwuk*, AL-AB *dafu*

die:

(1) **PWL *mati**, PK *matĩ*, LB *mata*, RB *mata*, LG *mata*, LI *mata*, BM *mata*, WB *mata*, BP *mata*, LL *mata*, BT *mate*, TB *mata*, WW *mate*, HR *mata*, DH *matẽ*, WT *mata*, LK *mata*, AD *mata*, KG *mata*, LH *mataɖɟ*, BL *mate*, IP *mataɖɟ*, MD *mataja*, WK *mataɖɟa*, ML *mate*, LM *mata*, **PAL *mate**, AL-BN *mate*, AL-PD *mate*, AL-MN *mate*, AL-AB *mati*

dig:

(1) LB *guʔi*, RB *guĩ*, LI *guʔi*, LM *gui*
 (2) **PWL *gali**, PK *galiŋ*, LG *gali*, WB *gəli*, BP *gəli*, LL *gəli*, TB *gəli*, LH *gali*, BL *gəli*, MD *gali*, ML *gali*, **PAL *galiŋ**, AL-MC *galiŋ*, AL-BO *galiŋ*, AL-BN *galiŋ*, AL-HD *galiŋ*, AL-WR *galiŋ*, AL-PD *galiŋ*; *gui*, AL-BA *galiŋ*, AL-MN *galiŋ*, AL-TR *galiŋ*, AL-BY *gali apa*, AL-AB *galiŋ*, AL-AK *galiŋ*, AL-DU *galiŋ*
 (3) BT *baʔe*, WW *baʔe*, HR *baʔe*, DH *baʔe*, WT *baʔe*, LK *bake*, AD *baʔe*, KG *baʔe*

digging stick:

- (1) AL-AK *kuaŋ*, AL-DU *kuaŋ*

dirty:

- (1) PK *milā*, LB *milā*, RB *milā*, LG *milā*, LI *milaŋ*, BM *milā*, WB *milā*, BP *milā*, LL *milā*, BT *milā*, TB *milā*, WW *milā*, HR *milā*, DH *milā*, WT *milā*, LK *milā*, AD *milā*, KG *milā*, LH *milā*, BL *wala*, IP *milan*, MD *milā*, WK *mila*, ML *milɿ*, LM *milā*

- (2) **PAL *kəliṭa**, AL-MC *klita*, AL-BO *kalita*, AL-BN *klitak*, AL-WR *klita*, AL-PD *klita*, AL-BA *klita*, AL-MN *klita*, AL-TR *kalita*, AL-AB *kalita*, AL-AK *klita*, AL-DU *kalita*

disappear:

- (1) **PAL *kəwətiŋ**, AL-MC *kəwetiŋ*, AL-BO *kuwetiŋ*, AL-BN *kwetiŋ*, AL-WR *kwetiŋ*, AL-PD *kwetiŋ*, AL-BA *wetiŋ*, AL-MN *wetiŋ*, AL-TR *kəwetinaŋ*, AL-AB *kəwetiŋ*, AL-AK *kəweti*, AL-DU *kefiti*

divide:

- (1) **PAL *bage**, AL-BO *bage*, AL-WR *bage*, AL-PD *bage*, AL-BA *bage*, AL-MN *bage*, AL-AB *bage*

- (2) LI *wekaŋ*, AD *weka*, AL-MN *wekaŋ*, AL-TR *pehaŋ fakiŋ*

dog:

- (1) **PWL *aho**, PK *aho*, LB *aho*, RB *aho*, LG *aho*, LI *ahoʔ*, BM *aho*, WB *aho*, BP *aho*, LL *aho*, BT *aho*, TB *aho*, WW *aho*, HR *aho*, DH *aho*, WT *aho*, LK *aho*, AD *ʔaho*, KG *aho*, LH *aho*, BL *ao*, IP *aho*, MD *aho*, WK *aho*, ML *aho*, LM *ao*, **PAL *aho**, AL-MC *aho*, AL-BO *aho*, AL-BN *aho*, AL-HD *aho*, AL-WR *aho*, AL-PD *aho*, AL-BA *aho*, AL-MN *aho/hao*, AL-TR *aho*, AL-BY *aho*, AL-AB *aho*, AL-AK *aho*, AL-DU *aho*

dolphin:

- (1) **PWL *temu**, AD *təmu*, **PAL *temu**, AL-MC *kətəmu*, AL-BO *təngu*, AL-BN *tamu*

door:

- (1) **PWL *pite**, AD *pita*, **PAL *pite**, AL-MC *pite*, AL-BO *pite*, AL-BN *pite*, AL-WR *pite*, AL-PD *pite*, AL-BA *pite*, AL-MN *pite*, AL-TR *pitu*, AL-BY *pitu*, AL-AB *pitu*, AL-AK *pitu*, AL-DU *pitu*

down:

- (1) **PAL *lodo**, AL-MC *lodo*, AL-BO *lodo*, AL-HD *lodo*, AL-WR *lodo*, AL-PD *lodo*, AL-BA *lodo*, AL-MN *lodo*, AL-TR *lodo*, AL-BY *lodo*, AL-AB *dodo*, AL-AK *dodo*, AL-DU *dodo*

dowry:

(1) **PWL *weli**, LI *weliŋ elan*, **PAL *weli**, AL-MC *weliŋ*, AL-BO *weliŋ*, AL-PD *weli*, AL-BA *weli*, AL-MN *weliŋ*, AL-AB *feliŋ*

dream:

(1) **PAL *nuroŋ**, AL-MC *nuroŋ*, AL-BO *nuroŋ*, AL-BN *nuroŋ*, AL-HD *nuroŋ*, AL-WR *nuroŋ*, AL-PD *nuroŋ*, AL-BA *nuroŋ*, AL-MN *nuroŋ*, AL-TR *nureŋ*, AL-BY *nureŋ*, AL-AB *nureŋ*, AL-AK *nureŋ*, AL-DU *nuriŋ*
(2) LI *turəŋ*, AD *təʒuru*

dressing (wund):

(1) **PAL *pohi**, AL-MC *pohi*, AL-BO *pohi*, AL-BN *pohi*, AL-MN *pohi*, AL-AB *pohi*, AL-AK *pohi*, AL-DU *pohi*

drifting:

(1) **PAL *nepik**, AL-MC *nepi*, AL-BO *nepik*, AL-BN *nepik*, AL-WR *nepik*, AL-PD *nepik*, AL-BA *nepik*, AL-MN *nepik*, AL-TR *nepi*, AL-BY *nepi*, AL-AB *nepi*, AL-AK *nepi*, AL-DU *nepi*

drizzle:

(1) **PAL *kərate**, AL-MC *urang krate*, AL-BO *kərate kərate*, AL-BN *karate*, AL-HD *kəri kəri*, AL-DU *kəri kəri*
(2) AL-WR *serik serik*, AL-PD *uraŋ sarik*, AL-MN *uraŋ sərik*
(3) AL-PD *uraŋ rere*, AL-MN *uraŋ brehak*, AL-AB *uraŋ fareha-fareha*, AL-AK *fereha*

drink:

(1) **PWL *-enu**, PK *tenu*, LB *tenu*, RB *tenu*, LG *tenu*, LI *tenuŋ*, BM *tenu*, WB *tenu*, BP *tenu*, LL *tenu*, BT *tenu*, TB *tenu*, WW *tenu*, HR *kenu*, DH *tenu*, WT *menu*, LK *tenu*, AD *kenu*; *menu*; *nenu*, KG *kenu*, LH *kenu*, BL *tenu*, IP *tenu*, MD *kenu*, WK *nenu*, ML *tenu*, LM *tenu*, **PAL *-enuŋ**, AL-MC *renuŋ*, AL-BO *renuŋ*, AL-BN *renuŋ*, AL-HD *tenuŋ*, AL-WR *kenuŋ*, AL-PD *menuŋ*, AL-BA *renuŋ*, AL-MN *kenuŋ*, AL-TR *renuŋ*, AL-BY *renuŋ*, AL-AB *kenuŋ*, AL-AK *renuŋ*, AL-DU *renuŋ*

drop (something):

(1) **PAL *goka**, AL-HD *gokal*, AL-WR *niŋ go kal*, AL-BA *lelaŋ gokal*, AL-AK *goka*, AL-DU *baŋ goka*

drowning:

(1) AL-MC *kaso*, AL-BO *kasek*, AL-BN *kasek*, AL-HD *kasek*, AL-WR *kasek*, AL-PD *kasek*

(2) AL-BA *abel*, AL-MN *abel*

(3) AL-TR *hule*, AL-BY *haleij*, AL-AB *hale*, AL-AK *hola*, AL-DU *hola*

drunk:

(1) **PAL *kawel**, AL-BO *kəwel*, AL-HD *kue*, AL-WR *kuer*, AL-PD *uwel*, AL-BA *kuel*, AL-MN *kuwel*, AL-TR *wue*, AL-AB *kewue*, AL-AK *kafue*, AL-DU

dry:

(1) **PWL *mara**, PK *marāʔā*, LB *marā*, RB *marā*, LG *mara*, LI *mara*, BM *mara*, WB *mara*, BP *mara*, LL *marā*, BT *marʔā*, TB *mara*, WW *mara*, HR *mara*, DH *mara*, WT *mara*, AD *maʔrā*, KG *marʔā*, LH *mara*, BL *mara*, IP *mara*, MD *marʔā*, WK *mara*, ML *mara*, LM *marā*, **PAL *mara**, AL-MC *mara*, AL-BO *mara*, AL-BN *mara*, AL-HD *marak*, AL-WR *marak*, AL-PD *marak*, AL-BA *marak*, AL-MN *marak*, AL-TR *mara*, AL-BY *mara*, AL-AB *mara*, AL-AK *mara*, AL-DU *mara*

(2) LI *paʔij*, AD *paʔi*

dry in sun:

(1) **PWL *paʔij**, LI *paʔij*, AD *paʔi*, **PAL *paiʔ**, AL-MC *pai*, AL-BO *pai*, AL-BN *pai*, AL-HD *paiʔ*, AL-WR *paiʔ*, AL-PD *pai*, AL-BA *paiʔ*, AL-MN *paiʔ*, AL-TR *pei*, AL-BY *pei*, AL-AB *pei*, AL-AK *pei*, AL-DU *pei*

dust; fine earth:

(1) BT *əmut*, WW *əmut*, HR *əmut*, DH *əmut*, WT *əmut*, LK *əmu*, AD *ʔəmut*, KG *əmut*, LH *əmut*, BL *əmut*, IP *əmut*, MD *əmut*, WK *əmut*, ML *əmu*, LM *əmut*

(2) **PWL *kərawuk**, PK *kəwuk*, LB *kəwu*, RB *kawuk*, LG *kəʔawuk*, LI *kəʔawu*, BM *kəawuk*, WB *kəawuk*, BP *kəawuk*, LL *kəawuk*, BT *kəawuk*, TB *kəawuk*, WW *kəʔawuk*, HR *kəʔawuk*, DH *kawuk*, WT *kəʔawuk*, LK *kaʔwuk*, KG *kəʔawuk*, LH *kawu*, BL *kawuk*, IP *awo*, MD *kawu*, WK *kawok*, ML *kawu*, LM *kafu*, **PAL *kərawu**, AL-MC *kərau*, AL-BO *kerawu*, AL-BN *awo*, AL-HD *krawo*, AL-WR *krawuk*, AL-PD *kərawu*, AL-BA *kerawu*, AL-MN *krawu*, AL-AB *afo*, AL-AK *afo*, AL-DU *awo*

eagle:

(1) **PAL *kela**, AL-MC *kela*, AL-BO *kolon kela*, AL-HD *kela*, AL-WR *kela*, AL-PD *kela*, AL-BA *kela*, AL-MN *kela*, AL-AB *kela*, AL-AK *kela*, AL-DU *kela*

ear:

(1) **PWL *tilu**, PK *tilu*, LB *tilu*, RB *tilū*, LG *tilu*, LI *tiluŋ*, BM *tilu*, WB *tilu*, BP *tilu*, LL *tilu*, BT *tilū*, TB *tilu*, WW *tilu*, HR *tiluk*, DH *tilū*, WT *tilū*, LK *tilū*, AD *tiluk3t*, KG *tiluk*, LH *tilukə*, BL *tiluk*, IP *tiluk*, MD *tiluk*, WK *tilu*, ML *tilu*, LM *tilu*, **PAL *tiluŋ**, AL-MC *tiluŋ*, AL-BO *tiluŋ*, AL-BN *tiluŋ*, AL-HD *tiluʔ*, AL-WR *tiluŋ*, AL-PD *tiluŋ*, AL-BA *tiluŋ*, AL-MN *tiluŋ*, AL-TR *tiluŋ*, AL-BY *tiluŋ*, AL-AB *tiluŋ*, AL-AK *tiluŋ*, AL-DU *tiluŋ*

earth:

(1) **PWL *tana**, PK *tana*, LB *tana*, RB *tana*, LG *tana*, LI *tana* ʔəkaŋ, BM *tana*, WB *tana*, BP *tana*, LL *tana*, BT *tana*, TB *tana*, WW *tana*, HR *tana*, DH *tana*, WT *tana*, LK *tana*, AD *tana* ʔekā, KG *tana*, LH *tana*, BL *tana*, IP *tana*, MD *tana*, WK *tana*, ML *tana*, LM *tana*, **PAL *tana**, AL-MC *tana*, AL-WR *tana*, AL-BA *tana*, AL-MN *tana*, AL-DU *tana*

earthquake:

(1) AL-MC *tana ota*, AL-BO *tana otaŋ*, AL-BN *tana otaŋ*, AL-HD *ekaŋ otaŋ*, AL-WR *ekaŋ otaŋ*, AL-PD *ekaŋ otaŋ*, AL-BA *tana otaŋ*; *tana otaŋ*, AL-MN *ekaŋ otaŋ*, AL-TR *tana ođanaŋ*, AL-BY *tana ođanaŋ*, AL-AB *tana ođanaŋ*, AL-AK AL-DU *tana hoda*

earthworm:

(1) LB *kəbeŋā*, RB *kəbeŋā*, LG *kəbeŋā*, BM *kəbeŋə*, BP *kəbeŋə*, LL *kəbeŋer*, BT *kəbeŋə*, TB *kəbeŋə*, WW *kəbeŋe*, HR *kəbeŋə*, DH *kəbeŋə*, WT *kəbeŋər*, LK *kəbeŋer*, AD *kalawala*, KG *kəbeŋā*

(2) LI *ulawala*, IP *keləwalo*, WK *salawalak*, ML *salafalā*, LM *salafalā*

(3) IP *kodəl*, WK *kodɾ*

easy:

(1) AL-BO *sənaŋ*, AL-BN *sənaŋ*

(2) AL-PD *səsadʒa*, AL-MN *sesadʒa*

eat:

(1) **PWL *-ka**, PK *kā*, LB *təkā*, RB *kā*, LG *təkā*, LI *təkaŋ*, BM *təkā*, WB *kā*, BP *kā*, LL *kā*, BT *ka*, TB *təkā*, WW *kā*, HR *ka*, DH *təka*, LK *kā*, AD *goe kā*; KG *goe kā*; LH *kā*, IP *ka*, MD *kā*, WK *ka*, ML *kɾ*, LM *kā*, **PAL *-ka**, AL-BO *rəka*, AL-BN *raka*, AL-HD *taka* *apa*, AL-WR *kaŋ*, AL-PD *kaŋ*; *gouŋ*; *gaŋ*, AL-BA *tekak*, AL-MN *kaŋ*, AL-TR *reka* *apa*, AL-BY *təka* *apa*, AL-AB *kaŋ* *apa*, AL-AK *gaŋ*, AL-DU *taka* *apa*

egg:

(1) **PWL *təluk**, PK *təlʔū*, LB *təlū*, RB *təluk*, LG *təluk*, LI *təlu*, BM *təluk*, WB *təlū*, BP *təluk*, LL *təluk*, BT *təlū*, TB *təluk*, WW *təluk*, HR *təluk*, DH *təlʔū*, WT *təlʔū*, LK *təluk*, AD *təluk*, KG *təluk*, LH *təlʔu*, BL *təlu*, IP *təluk*, WK *təlu*, LM *təlu*, **PAL *təluk**, AL-MC *talū*, AL-BO *taluk*, AL-BN *mantaluk*, AL-HD *mentelu*, AL-WR *teluk*, AL-PD *taluk*, AL-BA *teluk*, AL-MN *teluk*, AL-TR *mantaluk*, AL-BY *talukuŋ*, AL-AB *talukuŋ*, AL-AK *telukuŋ*, AL-DU *talukuŋ*

eight:

(1) **PWL *buto**, LI *butɔ*, AD *buto*; **PAL *buto**, AL-MC *buto*, AL-BO *buto*, AL-BN *buto*, AL-HD *buto*, AL-WR *buto*, AL-PD *buto*, AL-BA *buto*, AL-MN *buto*, AL-TR *buto*, AL-BY *buto*, AL-AB *buto*, AL-AK *buto*, AL-DU *buto*

elbow:

(1) AL-BO *limaŋ kudul*, AL-BN *limaŋ kudul*, AL-HD *lima iguŋ*, AL-PD *limaŋ kudul*, AL-MN *lima higuŋ*, AL-TR *limaŋ kənaduluŋ*, AL-BY *limaŋ kanaduluŋ*, AL-AB *kaduluŋ*, AL-AK *kaduluŋ*, AL-DU *limaŋ kaduluŋ*

(1) AL-MC *higuŋ*, AL-WR *higuŋ*, AL-BA *higuŋ*

embers:

(1) AL-BY *ape falariaŋ*, AL-AB *ape walariaŋ*, AL-AK *fala*

(2) AL-MC *ape nakal*, AL-BO *ape nakal*, AL-BN *nakal*, AL-HD *nakal*, AL-PD *ape nakal*, AL-BA *nakal*, AL-MN *ape nakal*

end; tip:

(1) **PAL** **utuŋ*, AL-MC *utuŋ*, AL-BO *wutuŋ*, AL-BN *wutung*, AL-HD *wutuŋ*, AL-WR *wutuŋ*, AL-BA *wutuŋ*, AL-MN *nəwutuŋ*, AL-TR *futuŋ*, AL-BY *futuŋ*, AL-AB *futu*, AL-AK *futuŋ*, AL-DU *futuŋ*

evening:

(1) **PAL** **ləra kəluanaŋ*, AL-BO *lera kəluanaŋ*, AL-PD *lera kaluaŋ*, AL-TR *ləra kluanaŋ*, AL-BY *lera kalua nekaŋ*, AL-AB *ləra kəluanaŋ*, AL-AK *kəluanaŋ*, AL-DU *lera kaluaŋ*

(2) AL-MC *ləra wero*, AL-BN *ləra wero*, AL-HD *lera wero*, AL-WR *ləra wero*, AL-BA *lera wero*, AL-MN *ləra wero*

excrement:

(1) **PWL** **tæ*, LI *tæ*, AD *tæ*, **PAL** **tæ*, AL-BO *tæ*, AL-BN *ta:e*, AL-PD *taiŋ*, AL-BA *tæ*, AL-MN *taiŋ*, AL-BY *taiŋ*, AL-AB *tæ*

(2) **PAL** **kəlita*, AL-MC *klita*, AL-HD *kəlita*, AL-WR *apa klita*, AL-TR *kalita*, AL-BY *kalita*, AL-AK *kəlita akaŋ*, AL-DU *kəlita*

eye:

(1) **PWL** **mata*, PK *mata*, LB *mata*, RB *mata*, LG *mata*, LI *mata*, BM *mata*, WB *mata*, BP *mata*, LL *mata*, BT *mata*, TB *mata*, WW *mata*, HR *mata*, DH *mata*, WT *mata*, LK *matā*, AD *matak*, KG *matak*, LH *matakə*, BL *matak*, IP *mata*, MD *mata*, WK *mata*, ML *mata*, LM *matr*, **PAL** **matanaŋ*, AL-MC *matanaŋ*, AL-BO *matanaŋ*, AL-BN *matanaŋ*, AL-HD *mata?*, AL-WR *matanaŋ*, AL-PD *matanaŋ*, AL-BA *matanaŋ*, AL-MN *mata?*, AL-TR *matanaŋ*, AL-BY *matanaŋ*, AL-AB *matanaŋ*, AL-AK *matanaŋ*, AL-DU *matanaŋ*

fabric:

(1) AL-AB *lipa*, AL-DU *lipa*

(2) **PAL** **nowaŋ*, AL-MC *nowaŋ*, AL-BO *nowaŋ*, AL-BN *nowaŋ*, AL-HD *nowaŋ*, AL-WR *nowaŋ*, AL-PD *nowaŋ*, AL-BA *nowaŋ*, AL-MN *nowaŋ*, AL-TR *nowaŋ*, AL-AK

nofaŋ

fall (from above):

(1) **PWL *goka**, LB *goka*, WW *goka*, HR *goka*, DH *goka*, WT *goka*, AD *goka*, KG *goka*, LM *goka*, **PAL *gokal**, AL-BO *gokal*, AL-BN *gokal*, AL-HD *gokal*, AL-WR *gokal*, AL-PD *lelaŋ gokal*; *gokal*, AL-BA *gokal*, AL-MN *lelaŋ gokal*; *gokal lodoŋ*, AL-TR *goka iti loloŋ ki lodoŋ*, AL-AB *naŋ goka*; *goka*, AL-AK *goka*, AL-DU *goka*

(2) PK *dakak*, RB *daka*, LG *daka*, LI *daka*, BM *dakak*, WB *dakak*, BT *dakak*, TB *dakak*, IP *daka*

(3) LK *ləŋa*, LH *ləŋa*, MD *ləŋat*, ML *ləŋa*

fall over (tree):

(1) LI *tobaŋ*, AD *tobaŋ*

(2) **PWL *hobaC**, AD *hobat*, **PAL *hobak**, AL-BO *hobak*, AL-BN *kaɟo hobak*, AL-HD *hobak*, AL-WR *hobak*, AL-PD *gokal lodoŋ*; *hobak*; *bakuŋ*, AL-BA *hobak*, AL-MN *hobak* AL-TR *hoba*, AL-AB *hoba*, AL-AK *hoba*, AL-DU *kaɟo huba*

far:

(1) **PWL *doa**, PK *doā*, LB *doē*, RB *doʔē*, LG *doā*, LI *doaŋ*, BM *doā*, WB *doā*, BP *doā*, LL *doā*, BT *doʔē*, TB *doa*, WW *doā*, HR *doā*, DH *doā*, WT *doā*, LK *doā*, AD *dɔā*, KG *bədoʔē*, LH *doa*, BL *doa*, IP *doa*, MD *doe*, WK *doʔe*, ML *doa*, LM *doe*, **PAL *doan**, AL-MC *doan*, AL-BO *doan*, AL-BN *doan*, AL-HD *doan*, AL-WR *doan*, AL-PD *doan*, AL-BA *doan*, AL-MN *doan*, AL-TR *dʒuan*, AL-BY *dʒuan*, AL-AB *dʒuan*, AL-AK *dʒuan*, AL-DU *dʒuan*

fart:

(1) **PAL *poho**, AL-MC *poho*, AL-BO *poho*, AL-BN *poho*, AL-HD *poho*, AL-WR *poho*, AL-PD *poho*, AL-BA *poho*, AL-MN *poho*, AL-TR *poho*, AL-BY *poho*, AL-AB *poho*, AL-AK *poho*, AL-DU *poho*

fat:

(1) **PWL *woraʔa**, PK *woraʔā*, LB *worā*, RB *worā*, LG *worʔā*, LI *wɔraŋ*, BM *wora*, WB *worā*, BP *wora*, LL *worā*, BT *worʔā*, TB *worā*, WT *worʔā*, LK *worʔā*, KG *worʔā*, LH *worʔā*, BL *wora*, IP *worak*, MD *worā*, WK *worʔa*, ML *worɔ*, LM *forā*, **PAL *worak**, AL-BO *worak*, AL-BN *worak*, AL-HD *neworak*, AL-WR *woraʔ*, AL-PD *worak*, AL-BA *worak*, AL-MN *worak*, AL-TR *forakaŋ*, AL-AB *forakaŋ*, AL-AK *fora*, AL-DU *fora*

(2) WW *kənaha*, DH *kənaha*

(3) HR *kənaharə*, AD *kahare*

(4) AL-MC *məs:a*

(5) AL-AK *kueŋ*

father:

(1) **PWL *mama**, WW *ama*, HR *ama*, DH *ama*, AD *ʔama*, KG *ama*, LH *amake*, BL *ama*, IP *ama*, MD *ama*, WK *ama*, **PAL *mama**, AL-MC *ama*, AL-BO *ama*, AL-BN *ama*, AL-HD *nemama*, AL-WR *ama*, AL-PD *mama*, AL-BA *mama*, AL-MN *mama*, AL-TR *amaŋ*, AL-BY *ama*, AL-AB *ama*, AL-AK *ama*, AL-DU *ama*

feather:

(1) PK *rawuʔū*, LB *rawu*, RB *rawuk*, LG *rawuk*, LI *rawukəŋ*, BM *rawuk*, WB *rawuk*, BP *rawuk*, LL *rawuk*, BT *rawū*, TB *rawuk*, WW *rawuk*, HR *rawuk*, DH *rawuk*, WT *rawuk*, LK *raʔwū*, AD *rawuke*, KG *rawuk*, LH *rawukə*, BL *rawuk*, IP *rawuk*, MD *rawuk*, WK *rawū*, ML *rawuk*, LM *rafuk*

(2) AL-MC *ulu*, AL-BO *wuluk*, AL-BN *wuluk*, AL-HD *newuluk*, AL-WR *wulu*, AL-PD *wuluk*, AL-BA *wuluk*, AL-MN *wuluk*, AL-TR *fulukun*, AL-BY *fulukun*, AL-AB *fulukun*, AL-AK *fulukun*, AL-DU *falukun*

fence:

(1) **PWL *niha**, LI *niha*, AD *niha*, **PAL *niha**, AL-PD *niha*, AL-TR *niha*, AL-BY *niha*, AL-AB *niha*, AL-AK *niha*, AL-DU *niha*

(2) AL-WR *laka-laka*, AL-BA *kelaka*, AL-MN *laka-laka*

(3) AL-BO *lawan*, AL-BN *lawan*

feverish:

(1) **PAL *pəlatiŋ**, AL-HD *ono platiŋ*, AL-WR *platiŋ*, AL-PD *wəkiŋ platiŋ*; *onoŋ platiŋ*, AL-BA *platiŋ*, AL-MN *platiŋ əker*, AL-AK *pəlatiŋ*, AL-DU *pəlatiŋ*

(2) AL-TR *təwewa*, AL-BY *tawewa*, AL-AB *tafefa*

(3) AL-MC *brinji*, AL-BO *barinji*, AL-BN *bərinji*

few; little (quantity):

(1) **PWL *Vsi**, BT *usi*, WW *əsiʔ*, HR *əsiʔ*, DH *əsi*, WT *əsiʔ*, LK *əsiʔ*, AD *ʔəsiʔ*, KG *əsi*, WK *usi*, **PAL *isu**, AL-MC *isu*, AL-BO *usu*, AL-BN *usu*, AL-HD *isu*, AL-WR *isu*, AL-PD *isu*, AL-BA *isu*, AL-MN *wisu*, AL-TR *usu*, AL-AB *usu*, AL-AK *usu*, AL-DU *usu*

field; garden:

(1) **PAL *ekaŋ**, AL-HD *ekaŋ*, AL-WR *ekaŋ*, AL-PD *ekaŋ*, AL-BA *ekaŋ*, AL-MN *ekaŋ*, AL-AB *saru ekaŋ*, AL-AK *ekaŋ*

(2) AL-BO *niha*, AL-BN *niha*

(3) LI *ma:ŋ*, AD *mā:*

fight:

(1) RB *gəni*, LG *gəni*, LI *gəniŋ*, BM *gəni*, WB *gəni*, BP *gəni*, LL *gəni*, TB *gəni*

(2) LB *kəwuno*, BT *pəwuno*, WW *pəwuno*, HR *pəwuno*, DH *pəwuno*, WT *pəwuno*, LK *pəwuno*, AD *pəwuno*, KG *pəwuno*, ML *pəwuno*

(3) LH *uno*, BL *uno*, IP *uno*, MD *uno*, WK *unho*, LM *uno*

finger:

(1) AL-MC *limaŋ kənuma*, AL-HD *numak*, AL-WR *numak*, AL-PD *limaŋ numak*, AL-BA *limaŋ numak* AL-MN *numak*

(2) AL-BO *limaŋ kalumak*, AL-BN *limaŋ klumak*, AL-TR *limaŋ kəlumakaŋ*, AL-BY *kəlumakaŋ*, AL-AB *kalumakaŋ*, AL-AK *kəlumakaŋ*, AL-DU *limaŋ kəlumakaŋ*

finished:

(1) AL-BO *kapo kai*, AL-BN *kapo*, AL-HD *kapo*, AL-PD *kapo*, AL-BA *kapo*

(2) LI *waha*, AD *wahak*

fill:

(1) **PAL *nakiŋ**, AL-MC *lakiŋ*, AL-BO *nakiŋ*, AL-BN *nakiŋ*, AL-HD *nakiŋ*, AL-WR *nekiŋ*, AL-PD *nəkiŋ*, AL-BA *nəkiŋ*, AL-MN *nəkiŋ*, AL-BY *nakiŋ*, AL-AB *nakiŋ*, AL-AK *nakiŋ*, AL-DU *nakiŋ*

fire:

(1) **PWL *ape**, PK *ape*, LB *ape*, RB *ape*, LG *ape*, LI *ape*, BM *ape*, WB *ape*, BP *ape*, LL *ape?*, BT *ape*, TB *ape*, WW *ape*, HR *ape?*, DH *ape*, WT *ape*, LK *ape*, AD *ʔape*, KG *ape*, LH *ape*, BL *ape*, IP *ape*, MD *ape*, WK *ape*, ML *ape*, LM *ape*, **PAL *ape**, AL-MC *ape*, AL-BO *ape*, AL-BN *ape*, AL-HD *ape*, AL-WR *ape*, AL-PD *ape*, AL-BA *ape*, AL-MN *ape*, AL-TR *ape*, AL-BY *ape*, AL-AB *ape*, AL-AK *ape*, AL-DU *ape*

firewood:

(1) **PWL *kadʒo ape**, LI *kajo ape*, AD *kajo ʔape*, **PAL *kadʒo ape**, AL-MC *kadʒo ape*, AL-BO *kadʒo ape*, AL-BN *kadʒo ape*, AL-HD *kadʒo ape*, AL-WR *kadʒo ape*, AL-PD *kadʒo ape*, AL-BA *kadʒo ape*, AL-MN *kadʒo ape*, AL-TR *kadʒo ape*, AL-BY *kadʒo ape*, AL-AB *kadʒo ape*, AL-AK *kadʒo ape*, AL-DU

fish:

(1) **PWL *ikan**, PK *ikā*, LB *ikā*, RB *ikā*, LG *ikā*, LI *ikaŋ*, BM *ikā*, WB *ikā*, BP *ikā*, LL *ikā*, BT *ikā*, TB *ikā*, WW *ikā*, HR *ikā*, DH *ikā*, WT *ikā*, LK *ikan*, AD *ʔikā*, KG *ikā*, LH *ikā*, BL *ika*, IP *ikan*, MD *ikā*, WK *ikā*, ML *ikɾ*, LM *ikā*, **PAL *ikan**, AL-MC *ikan*, AL-BO *ika*, AL-BN *ikaŋ*, AL-HD *ikan*, AL-WR *ikaŋ*, AL-PD *ikaŋ*, AL-BA *ikan*, AL-MN *ikaŋ*, AL-TR *ikaŋ*, AL-BY *ikaŋ*, AL-AB *ikaŋ*, AL-AK *ikan*, AL-DU *ikaŋ*

fishing hook:

(1) **PWL *kawi**, LI *kawi*, AD *kawi*, **PAL *kawi**, AL-MC *kawi*, AL-BO *kawi*, AL-

HD *kawi*, AL-WR *kawi*, AL-PD *kawi*, AL-MN *kawi*, AL-TR *kafi*, AL-BY *kafi*, AL-AB *kafi*, AL-AK *kafi*, AL-DU *kafi*

fish trap:

- (1) AL-HD *wuwo*, AL-PD *wuwo*, AL-MN *wuwo*, AL-AB *fufu*, AL-AK *fufu*
- (2) AL-BO *puko ro ikan*, AL-PD *puko*

fishnet:

- (1) **PAL** **dalan*, AL-MC *dalan*, AL-BO *puko dala*, AL-WR *dalan*, AL-BA *dalan*, AL-TR *dalan*, AL-AK *dalan*
- (2) AD *puk3t*, AL-BN *puko*, AL-WR *puko*, AL-PD *puko*, AL-MN *puko*, AL-AB *puko*

fishy:

- (1) AL-WR *balan*, AL-PD *balan*, AL-BY *bala neka*, AL-AK *balan*
- (2) AL-BO *watan wau*, AL-HD *wau*, AL-MN *wau*

fist:

- (1) PK *sadok*, LG *sado?*, BM *sadok*, LL *sadok*, TB *sadok*, MD *sadok*, WK *tado*, ML *sado*, LM *tado*
- (2) LB *tubuk*, RB *tubuk*, WB *tubuk*, BT *tubuk*, WW *tubuk*, HR *tubuk*, DH *tubuk*, WT *tubuk*, LK *tubuk*, KG *tubuk*, LH *tubuk*, BL *tubuk*, IP *tubuk*

five:

- (1) **PWL** **lema*, LI *lema*, AD *lema*, **PAL** **lema*, AL-MC *lema*, AL-BO *lema*, AL-BN *lema*, AL-HD *lema*, AL-WR *lema*, AL-PD *lema*, AL-BA *lema*, AL-MN *lema*, AL-TR *lema*, AL-BY *lema*, AL-AB *lema*, AL-AK *lema*, AL-DU *lema*

flat:

- (1) PK *rata*, LB *rata*, WT *rata*
- (2) RB *abã*, LG *abã*, LI *aba?an*, BM *abã*, WB *aba?*, BP *abã*, LL *abã*, BT *abã*, TB *abã*, WW *abã*, HR *abã*, DH *abã*, KG *abã*
- (3) LH *ler?e*, BL *lere*, MD *lere*, WK *lere*, ML *lere*, LM *lere*
- (4) AL-MC *napo*, AL-BO *napuk*, AL-PD *napuk*, AL-AB *napukun*
- (5) AL-PD *nadak*, AL-MN *nadak*

float:

- (1) PK *bao*, LB *bao*, RB *bao*, LG *bao*, LI *bao*, BM *bao*, WB *bao*, BP *bao*, LL *bao*, BT *bao*, TB *bao*, WW *bao*, HR *bao*, DH *bao*, WT *bao*, LK *bao*, AD *bao?*, KG *bao*, LH *ba?o*, BL *bao*, IP *bao*, MD *bao*, WK *bao*, ML *bao*, LM *bao*

(2) **PAL *nepik**, AL-MC *nepi*, AL-BO *nepik*, AL-BN *nepik*, AL-HD *nepi*, AL-WR *nepik*, AL-PD *nepik*, AL-BA *nepi*, AL-MN *nepik*, AL-TR *nepi*, AL-BY *nepi*, AL-AB *nepi*, AL-AK *nepi*, AL-DU *nepi*

flops:

(1) **PAL *ipe**, AL-MC *ipe*, AL-BO *ipe*, AL-BN *ipe*, AL-HD *ipek*, AL-WR *gepe*, AL-PD *hipe*, AL-BA *ipe*, AL-MN *ipe*, AL-TR *gepe*, AL-BY *ipe*, AL-AB *ipe*, AL-AK *ipe*, AL-DU *api fəkin*

flow:

(1) PK *ba*, LB *ba*, RB *ba*, LG *ba*, LI *ba:*, BM *ba*, WB *ba*, BP *ba*, LL *ba*, BT *ba?*, TB *ba*, WW *ba*, HR *ba?*, DH *ba?*, WT *ba?*, LK *ba*, AD *ba?*, IP *baŋ*, WK *baŋak*, ML *bapa*, LM *bā*

(2) **PAL *bareŋ**, AL-MC *bareŋ*, AL-BO *bareŋ*, AL-BN *bareŋ*, AL-WR *bareŋ*, AL-PD *bareŋ*, AL-TR *bare*, AL-AB *bare*, AL-DU *bare*

(3) LH *golo*, BL *golo*, MD *golo*

flower:

(1) **PWL *puhu**, PK *puhū*, RB *puhū*, LG *puhū*, LI *puhuŋ*, BM *puhū*, WB *puhū*, BP *puhū*, LL *puhū*, BT *puhū*, TB *puhū*, WW *puhū*, HR *puhū*, DH *puhū*, WT *puhū*, LK *puhū*, AD *puhū*, KG *puhū*, LH *puhū*, IP *puhun*, MD *puhū*, WK *puhu*, ML *puhu*, LM *pu*, **PAL *puhuŋ**, AL-MC *puhuŋ*, AL-BO *puhuŋ*, AL-HD *nepuhuŋ*, AL-WR *puhuŋ*, AL-BA *puhuŋ*, AL-MN *puhuŋ*, AL-AB *puhuŋ*, AL-DU *puŋu*

(2) LB *buŋa*, BL *puŋa*, AL-PD *buŋa*, AL-TR *buŋaŋ*, AL-BY *buŋa*, AL-AK *buŋa*

fly:

(1) **PWL *bəka**, PK *bəka*, LB *bəka*, RB *bəka*, LG *bəka*, LI *bəka*, BM *bəka*, WB *bəka*, BP *bəka*, LL *bəka*, BT *bəka*, TB *bəka*, WW *bəka*, HR *bəka*, DH *bəka*, WT *bəka*, LK *bəka*, AD *bəka*, KG *bəka*, LH *bəka*, BL *bəka*, IP *bəka*, MD *bəka*, WK *bəka*, ML *bəka*, LM *bəka*, **PAL *bəkaŋ**, AL-MC *bakaŋ*, AL-BO *bakaŋ*, AL-BN *bakaŋ*, AL-HD *bəkaŋ*, AL-WR *baka*, AL-PD *bəkaŋ*, AL-BA *bəkaŋ*, AL-MN *bəkaŋ*, AL-TR *baka*, AL-BY *bəka*, AL-AB *baka*, AL-AK *baka*, AL-DU *baka*

fly (n.):

(1) **PWL *kənamu**, LI *kənamu*, **PAL *kənamu**, AL-MC *kanamu*, AL-BO *kanamu*, AL-BN *kanamu*, AL-HD *namuk*, AL-WR *namuk*, AL-PD *knamu*, AL-BA *namu*, AL-MN *namu*, AL-TR *kənamu*, AL-BY *kənamuŋ*, AL-AB *kanamuŋ*, AL-AK *kənamu*, AL-DU *kənamu*

flying fox; fruit bat:

(1) LI *bəkaŋ*, AD *ʔobə?*

(2) AL-HD *mahua*, AL-PD *mihua*, AL-MN *mihua*

foam:

(1) **PAL *-wura**, AL-MC *təwura*, AL-BN *wuraŋ*, AL-HD *nəwuraŋ*, AL-PD *wuraŋ*, AL-BA *wuraŋ*, AL-TR *tewuraŋ*, AL-BY *furaŋ*, AL-AB *furaŋ*, AL-AK *furaŋ*, AL-DU *nene furaŋ*

fog:

(1) AL-BN *apuŋ*, AL-HD *səpu*, AL-WR *sapu*, AL-PD *sapu*, AL-BA *sapu*, AL-MN *səpu*

(2) AL-BO *lu*, AL-PD *ekaŋ lu*

(3) AL-MC *kərafo*, AL-TR *kərafo*

(4) LI *kəwa ləda?*, AD *kowa ko*:

fold; folding:

(1) **PWL *ləpət**, LI *ləpək*, AD *ləpet*, **PAL *ləpe?**, AL-MC *lap:e?*, AL-BO *lap:e*, AL-BN *lap:e*, AL-HD *ləpe?*, AL-WR *lap:e?*, AL-PD *lep:e*, AL-BA *lap:e*, AL-MN *ləpe?*, AL-TR *lap:e*, AL-BY *lap:e*, AL-AB *lape*, AL-AK *lape*, AL-DU *lape*

fontanel:

(1) **PAL *wuwuŋ**, AL-HD *wuwu*, AL-WR *wuwuŋ*, AL-PD *wuwuŋ*, *wuwuŋ*, AL-MN *wuwu*, AL-TR *fufu tukaŋ*, AL-BY *fufuŋ*, AL-AB *funu tukā*, AL-AK *fufuŋ*, AL-DU *fuhuŋ tukaŋ*

(2) AL-MC *kanuraŋ*, AL-BO *kuhaŋ*, AL-BN *kanuraŋ*

foot:

(1) **PWL *lei**, PK *lei*, LB *lei*, RB *lei*, LG *lei*, LI *kəan leiŋ*, BM *lei*, WB *lei*, BP *lei*, LL *lei*, BT *lei*, TB *lei*, WW *lei*, HR *leik*, DH *lei*, WT *lei*, LK *leik*, AD *leikət tənəp?*, KG *leik*, LH *leik*, BL *leik*, IP *leik*, MD *leik*, WK *leik*, ML *lei*, LM *leite*, **PAL *leiŋ**, AL-MC *leiŋ*, AL-BO *leiŋ*, AL-BN *leiŋ*, AL-HD *lei*, AL-WR *leiŋ*, AL-PD *leiŋ*, AL-BA *leiŋ*, AL-MN *leiŋ*; *lei*, AL-TR *leiŋ*, AL-BY *leiŋ*, AL-AB *leiŋ*, AL-AK *leiŋ*, AL-DU *leiŋ*

footprint:

(1) AL-MC *leiŋ uliŋ*, AL-BO *leiŋ aluŋ*, AL-BN *leiŋ aluŋ*, AL-HD *lei uliŋ*, AL-WR *leiŋ uliŋ*, AL-PD *leiŋ uliŋ*, AL-BA *leiŋ uliŋ*, AL-MN *lei uliŋ*, AL-TR *leiŋ uliŋ*, AL-BY *leiŋ uliŋ*, AL-AB *leiŋ uliŋ*, AL-AK *leiŋ uliŋ*, AL-DU *leuŋ leiŋ*

forehead:

(1) **PAL *kəlarak**, AL-MC *aiŋ klara*, AL-BO *aiŋ klara*, AL-BN *aiŋ klara*, AL-HD *klararak*, AL-WR *klararak*, AL-PD *kəlarak*, AL-BA *kəlarak*, AL-MN *klararak*, AL-TR *kəlara akaŋ*, AL-BY *peŋ kəlarakaŋ*, AL-AB *kalarakaŋ*, AL-AK *kəlarakaŋ*, AL-DU *kalarakaŋ*

(2) LI *kənitɔʔ*, AD *kəni:tokət*

forest:

(1) **PWL** **utan*, LI *huta*, LK *utan*, **PAL** **utaŋ*, AL-MC *utaŋ*, AL-BO *utaŋ*, AL-BN *utaŋ*, AL-PD *utaŋ*

(2) **PWL** **dua*, TB *duã*, KG *dua*, **PAL** **duaŋ*, AL-HD *duaŋ*, AL-WR *duaŋ*, AL-BA *duaŋ*, AL-MN *duaŋ*

(3) AL-PD *dəhek*, AL-BA *dehek*, AL-MN *dehek*

four:

(1) **PWL** **pat*, LI *pa*, AD *pat*, **PAL** **pa*, AL-MC *pa*, AL-BO *pa*, AL-BN *pa*, AL-HD *pa*, AL-WR *pa*, AL-PD *pa*, AL-BA *pa*, AL-MN *pa*, AL-TR *pa*, AL-BY *pa*, AL-AB *pa*, AL-AK *pa*, AL-DU *pa*

frog:

(1) **PWL** **meto*, LI *mato*, AD *meto*, **PAL** **məto*, AL-MC *mato*, AL-BO *məto*, AL-BN *mato*, AL-HD *məto*, AL-WR *meto*, AL-PD *mato*, AL-BA *mato*, AL-MN *məto*, AL-TR *mato*, AL-BY *mato*, AL-AB *mato*, AL-AK *mato*, AL-DU *mato*

fruit:

(1) PK *wuʔã*, LB *wuã*, RB *wuã*, LG *wuʔã*, LI *wuaŋ*, BM *wuã*, WB *wuã*, BP *wuã*, LL *wuã*, BT *wuã*, TB *wua*, WW *wuã*, HR *wuã*, DH *wuã*, WT *wuã*, LK *wuã*, AD *kajo wuã*, KG *wuã*, LH *wuã*, BL *wua*, IP *wuan*, MD *wuã*, WK *wuã*, ML *wur*, LM *fuã*

(2) AL-MC *ihĩ*, AL-BO *ihĩ*, AL-BN *ihik*, AL-HD *ihik*, AL-WR *ihik*, AL-PD *ihik*, AL-BA *ihik*, AL-MN *ihik*, AL-TR *ihikiŋ*, AL-BY *ihikiŋ*, AL-AB *ihikiŋ*, AL-AK *ihikiŋ*, AL-DU *ihikiŋ*

full:

(1) **PWL** **mənuŋ/pənuŋ*, LI *mənuŋ*, AD *pənɔ*, **PAL** **pənoŋ*, AL-MC *pan:oŋ*, AL-BO *pan:oŋ*, AL-BN *pan:oŋ*, AL-HD *pən:oŋ*, AL-WR *pan:oŋ*, AL-PD *pan:oŋ*, AL-BA *pənoŋ*, AL-MN *pənoŋ*, AL-TR *pan:o*, AL-BY *pəno*, AL-AB *pan:o*, AL-AK *pan:o*, AL-DU *pan:o*

give:

(1) PK *sorō*, LB *sorō*, RB *sorō*, LG *sorō*, BM *sotō*, WW *sorō*, LH *soro*, BL *soro*, IP *soro*, MD *sorō*, WK *sorō*, LM *soro*

(2) **PWL** **neʔiŋ*, LI *neiŋ*, WB *neʔi*, BP *nei*, LL *nei*, BT *nei*, TB *nei*, HR *nei*, DH *nei*, WT *nei*, LK *neʔi*, AD *neĩ*, KG *nei*, ML *ni*, **PAL** **neiŋ*, AL-MC *neiŋ*, AL-BO *niŋ*, AL-BN *neiŋ*, AL-HD *neiŋ*, AL-WR *niŋ*, AL-PD *neiŋ*; *niŋ*, AL-BA *neiŋ*, AL-MN *niŋ*, AL-TR *apa nei ata*, AL-BY *ne apa*, AL-AB *nē*, AL-AK *ne*, AL-DU *neiŋ*

go; leave:

(1) **PAL *-ai**, AL-BO *rai*, AL-WR *mai*, AL-PD *rahi*, AL-BA *mai*, AL-TR *mei*, AL-AB *mei*, AL-AK *mei*

go up:

(1) AL-AB *gere*, AL-AK *gere*

God:

(1) AD *ʔalatʔt*, AL-MC *tuhaŋ ala*, AL-BO *tuhan ala*, AL-BN *tuah ala*, AL-HD *alapo*, AL-WR *alak*, AL-PD *alapo laha tala*, AL-MN *alapo*, AL-TR *alapa*, AL-BY *alapa*, AL-AB *alapa*, AL-AK *alapaŋ*, AL-DU *alapa*

good; right side:

(1) **PAL *dike**, AL-MC *dike*, AL-PD *dikek*, AL-BA *dikek*, AL-MN *dikek*, AL-AB *dike*
 (2) LB *sarē*, RB *sənaŋe*, LG *əreʔ*, LI *əreŋ*, BM *əre*, WT *əre*, LK *ərʔē*, IP *sare*, LM *sənaŋeŋ*
 (3) WB *mae*, BP *mae*, LL *māe*, TB *mae*
 (4) BT *məlʔā*, WW *mālā*, HR *məlʔā*, DH *məlaʔ*, AD *məʔlaʔ*, KG *məlʔā*, BL *məla*, WK *mālā*, ML *alus*
 (5) LH *alus*, MD *alusā*
 (6) AL-BY *sade*, AL-AK *sade*, AL-DU *sade*
 (7) AL-TR *gaga*, AL-BY *gaga*
 (8) AL-BO *alus*, AL-BN *alus*, AL-HD *alus*, AL-WR *alus*

grass; bush:

(1) PK *luʔo*, LB *luʔo*, BM *luʔo*, WB *luʔo*, DH *luʔo*, LK *luʔo*
 (2) RB *kəramə*, LG *kəramə*, LI *kəramə*, BP *kəramət*, LL *kəramət*, BT *kəramət*, WW *kəramət*, HR *kəramət*, LH *kəramət*, BL *kərakak*, IP *kəramət*, MD *kəramət*, ML *kəramə*, LM *kəramet*
 (3) **PAL *laduŋ**, AL-BO *laduŋ*, AL-BN *laduŋ*, AL-HD *leduŋ*, AL-WR *laduŋ*, AL-PD *laduŋ*, AL-BA *leduŋ*, AL-MN *ləduŋ*, AL-TR *laduŋ*, AL-BY *laduŋ*, AL-AB *laduŋ*, AL-AK *laduŋ*, AL-DU *laduŋ*
 (4) WT *kədaku*, AD *kədaku*, KG *kəduku*

grasshopper:

(1) **PWL *kəmaro**, AD *kəmaroʔ*, **PAL *kəmaro**, AL-MC *kamaro*, AL-HD *marok*, AL-WR *maro*, AL-PD *kmaro*, AL-BA *maro*, AL-MN *maro*, AL-TR *kamaro*, AL-BY *kəmaro*, AL-AB *kamaro*, AL-AK *kəmaro*, AL-DU *kəmaro*
 (2) AL-BO *biluŋ*, AL-BN *biluŋ*

gravel:

- (1) AL-MC *wato kari*, AL-BO *kərikil*, AL-WR *wato karik*, AL-PD *wato karik*, AL-BA *wato kerī*, AL-TR *fato kəri kəri*
LI *kələka*, AD *kələkek*

green:

- (1) **PAL *idʒoŋ**, AL-MC *ioŋ*, AL-BO *ioŋ*, AL-BN *ioŋ*, AL-WR *iɟoŋ*, AL-PD *iɟoŋ*, AL-BA *iɟoŋ*, AL-TR *iɟoŋ*, AL-BY *iɟoŋ*, AL-AB *iɟoŋ*, AL-AK *iɟoŋ*, AL-DU *hiɟuŋ*

grind:

- (1) AL-BN *behar*, AL-HD *benehar*, AL-BA *bnehar*, AL-AB *beha*

grow:

- (1) **PWL *tawa**, LI *tawa*, AD *tawā*, **PAL *tawaŋ**, AL-BO *tawaŋ*, AL-HD *tawaŋ*, AL-WR *tawaŋ*, AL-PD *tawaŋ*, AL-BA *tawaŋ*, AL-MN *tawaŋ*, AL-TR *tafa naŋ*, AL-BY AL-AB *tafa*, AL-AK *tafa*, AL-DU *tawa*

gum tree; eucalyptus:

- (1) AL-MC *kaɟo bura*, AL-TR *kaɟo burakaŋ*, AL-AB *kaɟo burakaŋ*, AL-DU *kaɟo burakaŋ*
(2) AL-AB *areŋ*, AL-AK *arī*
(3) AL-BO *niher*, AL-BN *kaɟo niher*, AL-HD *niher*, AL-WR *kaɟo niher*, AL-PD *niher*, AL-BA *niher*, AL-MN *niher*

guts:

- (1) AL-MC *taɪŋ*, AL-BO *taɪŋ kərik*, AL-HD *tai kerik*, AL-WR *taɪŋ karik*, AL-PD *taɪŋ karik*, AL-BA *taɪŋ kərik*, AL-MN *taɪŋ kərik*, AL-AB *teɪŋ karikiŋ*, AL-AK *teɪŋ kərikiŋ*, AL-DU *tukaŋ karikiŋ*

gwang (tree):

- (1) **PAL *kədəbu**, AL-MC *kədəbu*, AL-PD *kdabu*, AL-BA *kədəbu*, AL-MN *kdebu* *pukoŋ*, AL-AB *kadabu*, AL-AK *kadafu*

hair:

- (1) **PWL *rata**, PK *ratak*, LB *rata*, RB *rata*, LG *rataʔ*, LI *rata*, BM *rata*, WB *rata*, BP *rata*, LL *rata*, BT *rata*, TB *rata*, WW *ratak*, HR *rata*, DH *rataʔ*, WT *rata*, LK *rata*, AD *rataʔ*, KG *rataʔ*, LH *rata*, BL *ratak*, IP *rata*, MD *rata*, WK *rata*, ML *rata*, LM *rata*, **PAL *rata**, AL-MC *rata*, AL-BO *rata*, AL-BN *rata*, AL-HD *rata*, AL-WR *rata*, AL-PD *rata*, AL-BA *rata*, AL-MN *rata*, AL-TR *rataŋ*, AL-BY *rataŋ*, AL-AB *rataŋ*, AL-AK *rataŋ*, AL-DU *rata*

hard:

(1) **PAL *gadon**, AL-MC *gadon*, AL-BO *gaden*, AL-BN *gaden*, AL-WR *gaden*, AL-PD *gaden*, AL-BA *gaden*, AL-MN *gaden*, AL-BY *gade*, AL-AB *gaden*, AL-DU *gadin*

harvest:

(1) AL-BO *wela*, AL-BN *wela*

head:

(1) **PWL *kote**, PK *kotā*, LB *kotā*, RB *kotā*, LG *kotā*, LI *kotā?*, BM *kote*, WB *kotā*, BP *kotāt*, LL *kotā*, BT *kotāk*, TB *kotāk*, WW *kotā*, HR *kotāk*, DH *kotān*, WT *kotā?*, LK *kotā?*, AD *kotāk*, KG *kotāk*, LH *kotākā*, BL *kotāk*, IP *kotr*, MD *kotākāt*, WK *kotē*, ML *kotē*, LM *kotāte*, **PAL *koton**, AL-MC *koton*, AL-BO *koton*, AL-BN *koton*, AL-HD *koto*, AL-WR *koton*, AL-PD *koton*, AL-BA *koton*, AL-MN *koton*, AL-TR *koton*, AL-BY *koton*, AL-AB *koton*, AL-AK *koton*, AL-DU *kotun*

hear:

(1) **PWL *dān**, HR *dān*, DH *dān*, WT *dān*, LK *dān*, AD *dān?*, KG *dān*, LH *dān*, BL *dān*, IP *dān*, MD *dān*, WK *dān*, ML *dān*, LM *dān*, **PAL *dān**, AL-MC *dān:a*, AL-BO *dān:a*, AL-BN *dān:a*, AL-HD *dānar*, AL-WR *dān:a*, AL-PD *dān*, AL-BA *dān*, AL-MN *dān*, AL-TR *dān*, AL-BY *dān*, AL-AB *dān*
 (2) PK *bāi*, LB *bāi*, WB *bāi*, BP *bāi*, LL *bāi*, BT *bāi*, TB *bāi*,
 (3) LG *weŋe*, LI *weŋe*, BM *weŋe*, WW *weŋe*
 (4) AL-AB *han̄ge*, AL-AK *han̄ge*, AL-DU *han̄ge*

heart:

(1) **PWL *puho**, LB *puhu*, RB *puho*, LG *puhū*, BM *puhū*, WB *puhū*, BT *puho*, TB *puhū*, WW *puho*, HR *puho*, DH *puho*, WT *puho*, LK *puho*, AD *puho*, KG *puho*, LH *puhokā*, BL *puo*, IP *puho*, MD *puho*, WK *puho*, ML *puhu*, LM *puo*
 (2) **PAL *tapokuban**, AL-MC *tāpokuban*, AL-BO *tāpokuban*, AL-WR *tapokuban*, AL-PD *tapokuban*, AL-BA *tapokuban*, AL-MN *tap kuban*, AL-TR *kuban*, AL-BY *uban*, AL-AB *kuban*, AL-AK *kuban*, AL-DU *kuban*

heavy:

(1) **PWL *baʔat**, PK *baʔat*, LB *baʔa*, RB *baʔa*, LG *baʔa*, LI *baʔa*, BM *baʔat*, WB *baʔat*, BP *baʔat*, LL *baʔat*, BT *baʔat*, TB *baʔat*, WW *bat*, HR *baʔat*, DH *baʔa*, WT *baʔat*, LK *baʔa*, AD *baʔat*, KG *baʔat*, LH *baʔat*, BL *bāt*, IP *baat*, MD *bānaʔat*, WK *baʔat*, ML *baa*, LM *batā*, **PAL *ba:ʔ**, AL-MC *baʔ*, AL-BO *ba:*, AL-BN *ba:*, AL-HD *ba:ʔ*, AL-WR *ba:ʔ*, AL-PD *ba:*, AL-BA *baʔ*, AL-MN *baʔ*, AL-TR *ba:*, AL-BY *ba*, AL-AB *ba:*, AL-AK *ba:*, AL-DU *ba:ʔ*

heavy (rain):

- (1) **PAL *kua**, AL-MC *kua*, AL-BN *kua*, AL-WR *bereŋ kua*, AL-AK *kuah*

help:

- (1) **PAL *sambo**, AL-MC *sambo*, AL-BO *bantu*, AL-HD *sambo*, AL-WR *sambo*, AL-PD *sambo*, AL-MN *sambo*, AL-TR *sambo*, AL-AB *sambo*, AL-DU *sambo*

here:

- (1) LB *pi*, RB *dipi*, LG *pi*, LI *piʔiŋ*, BM *pia*, WB *təpi*, BT *dəpi*, TB *pia*, WW *təpi*, HR *təpi*, WT *dipi*, LH *təpi*, BL *nəpi*, IP *təpi*, MD *təpi*, WK *dəpi*, ML *dipi*, LM *dipi*
(2) AL-TR *hadʒenaŋ*, AL-BY *hadʒenaŋ*, AL-AB *hã*, AL-DU *hadʒa*

hide:

- (1) **PAL *dawu**, AL-MC *dawu*, AL-BO *dawu*, AL-PD *dawu*, AL-BA *dəwu*, AL-MN *dəwuk*, AL-TR *dafu*, AL-BY *dafu*, AL-AB *dafu*, AL-DU *dafu*

hide:

- (1) **PWL *horonʃ**, LI *horonʃ*, AD *horō*
(2) **PAL *dəwu**, AL-MC *dawu*, AL-HD *dəwuk*, AL-WR *dəwu*, AL-PD *dawu*, AL-MN *dəwuk*, AL-TR *dafu*, AL-BY *dafu*, AL-DU *dafu*

hill; ridge:

- (1) **PWL *wuwuŋ**, LI *uwuŋ*, **PAL *wuhunʃ**, AL-MC *uhunʃ*, AL-BO *wuhunʃ*, AL-BN *buhunʃ*
(2) LI *wəka*, AD *woka*

hillwards; mountainwards:

- (1) LL *rae*, AL-MC *rae*, AL-Pandai *kre*

hit (drum):

- (1) **PWL *dane**, LI *dane*, AD *dane* **PAL *dane**, AL-BO *dane bawa*, AL-WR *dane*, AL-PD *dane*, AL-BA *dane*, AL-MN *dane*

hoe:

- (1) **PAL *biŋku**, AL-MC *beŋku*, AL-BO *beŋku*, AL-BN *beŋku*, AL-HD *biŋku*, AL-WR *biŋku*, AL-PD *biŋku tana*, AL-BA *biŋku*, AL-MN *biŋku ekaŋ*, AL-TR *biŋku*, AL-BY *biŋku*, AL-AB *biŋku*, AL-AK *biŋku*, AL-DU *bekū*

hold; grasp:

- (1) **PWL *peheŋ**, LB *pehē*, RB *pehē*, LG *pehē*, LI *peheŋ*, BM *pehe*, WB *pehe*, BP *pehe*, LL *pehē*, BT *pehē*, TB *pehe*, HR *pehe*, DH *pehē*, WT *pehē*, LK *pēhe*, AD *pehē*, KG

pehē, LH *pehe*, IP *pehe*, WK *pehe*, ML *pehe*, LM *pe*, **PAL *paha**, AL-MC *paha*, AL-BO *paha*, AL-BN *paha*, AL-HD *paha*, AL-WR *paha*, AL-PD *paha*, AL-BA *paha*, AL-TR *paha* *apa*, AL-AB *paha*, AL-AK *paha*, AL-DU *paha*

hold back:

- (1) AL-HD *mula*, AL-WR *mula*, AL-BA *mula*, AL-AB *mula*
- (2) AL-MC *tahaŋ*, AL-PD *tahaŋ*, AL-MN *tahaŋ*

hole:

- (1) **PAL *wango**, AL-MC *waŋo*, AL-BO *waŋgo*, AL-BN *waŋgo*, AL-HD *wəŋok*, AL-PD *waŋgo*, AL-BA *wəŋok*, AL-MN *waŋo*, AL-TR *faŋgokoj*, AL-BY *faŋgo*, AL-AB *faŋgo*, AL-AK *faŋgokoj*, AL-DU *faŋgo*
- (2) AL-WR *nuo*, AL-MN *nuo*

hone:

- (1) **PAL *pela**, AL-MC *pela*, AL-BO *pela*, AL-BN *pela*, AL-HD *pela*, AL-WR *pela*, AL-PD *pela*, AL-BA *pela*, AL-MN *pela*, AL-AB *pela*, AL-AK *pela*, AL-DU *pela*

honey:

- (1) **PWL *wane**, LI *wane*?, AD *wane*?, **PAL *wəlane**, AL-BO *wəlane*, AL-BN *wəlane*, AL-TR *fəlane fikiŋ*, AL-BY *fəlane fekiŋ*, AL-AB *fəlane fekiŋ*, AL-AK *fəlane fekiŋ*, AL-DU *fəlane fekiŋ*
- (2) AL-HD *blane*, AL-WR *blane waiŋ*, AL-PD *bəlane waiŋ*, AL-BA *blane waiŋ*, AL-MN *blane waiŋ*

hot:

- (1) PK *pate*, LB *pəlate*, RB *pəlate*, LG *pəlate*, LI *pəlate*, BM *pəlate*, WB *pəlate*, BP *pəlate*, LL *pəlate*, BT *pəlate*, TB *pəlate*, WW *pəlate*, HR *pəlate*, DH *pəlate*, WT *pəlate*, LK *pəlate*, AD *plate*, KG *pəlate*, LH *pəlate*, BL *pəlate*, IP *pəlate*, MD *pəlate*, WK *pəlate*, ML *pəlate*, LM *pəlate*

how?; why?:

- (1) **PAL *-ga**, AL-MC *naməga*, AL-BO *namoga*, AL-BN *erpira taliŋ*, AL-HD *naməŋgaboŋ*, AL-WR *namega*, AL-PD *paiŋaŋ*; *naməŋga*, AL-BA *naməga*, AL-MN *namonaŋga*, AL-TR *namonaŋga*, AL-BY *nəmonaŋga*, AL-AB *nəmga*; *nəmən*; *ga*, AL-AK *namonaŋga*, AL-DU *namo naŋga*

horn:

- (1) **PWL *tara**, LI *taraŋ*, AD *tarā*
- (2) **PAL *huar**, AL-MC *huar*, AL-BO *huar*, AL-BN *huar*, AL-HD *nehuar*, AL-WR *huar*, AL-PD *huar*, AL-BA *huar*, AL-MN *huar*, AL-TR *uharaŋ*, AL-BY *uharaŋ*, AL-AB

uharaŋ, AL-AK *uharaŋ*, AL-DU *uharaŋ*

hour:

- (1) **PAL *dane**, AL-MN *dane*, AL-AB *dane*

house:

- (1) **PWL *ʔuma**, LI *umaŋ* ‘hole’, **PAL *ʔuma**, AL-MC *uma*, AL-BO *uma*, AL-BN *ʔuma*, AL-HD *uma*, AL-WR *uma*, AL-PD *uma*, AL-BA *uma*, AL-MN *uma*, AL-TR *uma*, AL-BY *uma*, AL-AB *uma*, AL-AK *uma*, AL-DU *uma*
LI *laŋɔʔ*, AD *laŋɔ*

how much; how many?:

- (1) **PWL *pira**, LI *pira*, AD *pira*, **PAL *pira**, AL-MC *pira*, AL-HD *pira*, AL-WR *pira*, AL-PD *pira*, AL-BA *pira*, AL-MN *pira*, AL-BY *pira*, AL-AB *pira*, AL-AK *pira*, AL-DU

hunt:

- (1) PK *lɔraʔ*, LB *lɔrakə*
(2) RB *batī*, BP *hewābati*, BT *batī*, WW *batī*, HR *batī*, DH *batij*, WT *batʔ*, AD *batī*, KG *bati*, LH *batī*, BL *bati*, IP *batijən*, LM *bati*
(3) LG *pəreha*, LI *pərehaʔ*, BM *pəreha*
(4) WB *hewā*, BP *hewābati*, LL *hewa*, TB *hewa*
(5) MD *welok*, ML *welo*

hut:

- (1) AL-BO *mera*, AL-AB *meraŋ*, AL-AK *meraŋ*
(2) AL-HD *oriŋ*, AL-WR *owiŋ*, AL-PD *oriŋ*

in; inside:

- (1) **PWL *onʔa**, LB *onā*, RB *onā*, LG *onə*, LI *ɔnɔ*, BM *onə*, WB *bəlomə*, TB *onə*, WW *onā*, HR *onʔā*, DH *onʔā*, WT *onʔā*, AD *ʔɔnʔeʔ*, KG *dəonā*, LH *onā*, BL *on*, ML *onɔ*, **PAL *onoŋ**, AL-MC *te onoŋ*, AL-BO *oro kali onoŋ*, AL-BN *onoŋ*, AL-WR *kali onoŋ*, AL-PD *onoŋ*, AL-BA *onoŋ*; *kali onoŋ*, AL-MN *onoŋ*, AL-TR *fali onoŋ*, AL-BY *onoŋ*, AL-AB *onoŋ*, AL-AK *onoŋ*, AL-DU *unuŋ*
(2) PK *ləmā*, BP *bəlomə*, LL *bəlomo*, BT *bəlomā*, LK *bəlomā*, IP *lomək*, MD *bəlomā*, WK *bəlome*, LM *belomā*

inhale:

- (1) AL-BN *sioŋ*, AL-DU *siuŋ*
(2) AL-WR *hiuk*, AL-PD *hiu*, AL-BA *hiu*, AL-MN *hiu*

island:

(1) **PWL *nuha**, LI *nuha*, AD *nuha*, **PAL *nuha**, AL-MC *nuha*, AL-BO *nuha*, AL-BN *nuha*, AL-PD *nuha*, AL-MN *nuha*, AL-BY *nuha*, AL-AB *nuha*

itchy:

(1) **PWL *gateʔ**, LI *gatə*, AD *gatzk*, **PAL *gateʔ**, AL-MC *gato*, AL-BO *gate*, AL-BN *gate*, AL-HD *gate*, AL-WR *gate*, AL-PD *gateʔ*, AL-BA *gate*, AL-MN *gateʔ*, AL-TR *gateʔ*, AL-BY *gate*, AL-AB *gate*, AL-AK *gate*, AL-DU *gate*

jackfruit:

(1) AL-MC *kwera*, AL-BO *kawera*, AL-BN *kwera*

jump:

(1) **PAL *kado**, AL-MC *kado*, AL-BO *kado*, AL-BN *kado*, AL-HD *kedo*, AL-WR *kado*, AL-PD *kado*, AL-BA *kado*, AL-MN *kədo*, AL-TR *kado*, AL-BY *kado*, AL-AB *kado*, AL-AK *kado*, AL-DU

kill:

(1) PK *belo*, LB *belo*, RB *belo*, LG *belo*, LI *belo*, BM *belo*, WB *belo*, BP *belo*, LL *belo*, BT *belo*, TB *belo*, WW *belo*, HR *belo*, DH *belo*, WT *belo*, LK *belo*, AD *belo*, KG *belo*, LH *belo*, IP *belo*

(2) BL *təbadzak*, WK *təbadzak*, LM *təbadzak*

(1) **PAL *buno**, AL-BO *bunoŋ*, AL-HD *bunoh*, AL-WR *buno*, AL-PD *buno*, AL-BA *buno*, AL-MN *buno*, AL-TR *buno ata*, AL-BY *buno apa*, AL-AB *buno*, AL-AK *buno*, AL-DU *buno*

knee:

(1) **PAL *kudul**, AL-MC *leiŋ kudu*, AL-BO *leiŋ kudul*, AL-BN *leiŋ kudul*, AL-HD *kudul*, AL-WR *kudul*, AL-PD *kudul*, AL-BA *kudul*, AL-MN *kudul*; *lei kudul*, AL-TR *leiŋ kəna duluŋ*, AL-BY *kəna duluŋ*, AL-AB *kanaduluŋ*, AL-AK *kaduluŋ*, AL-DU *leiŋ ka duluŋ*

(2) LI *lotər*, AD *lotorət*

know:

(1) **PWL *-oi**, PK *koi*, LB *koi*, RB *koi*, LG *koi*, LI *nəi*, BM *koi*, WB *koi*, BP *koi*, LL *koi*, BT *koi*, TB *koi*, WW *moi*, HR *koi*, DH *koi*, WT *koi*, LK *koi*, AD *noi*, KG *koi*, LH *koi*, BL *toi*, IP *toi*, WK *koi*, ML *toi*, LM *toi*, **PAL *-oiŋ**, AL-MC *moiŋ*, AL-BO *goi koiŋ*, AL-BN *koiŋ*, AL-HD *koiŋ*, AL-WR *moiŋ*, AL-PD *noiŋ*; *koiŋ*; *moiŋ*, AL-BA *koiŋ*, AL-MN *koiŋ*, AL-TR *go koiŋ no go seruŋ*, AL-AB *koiŋ*, AL-AK *moi*, AL-DU *koiŋ*

lake:

(1) PK *liwo*, RB *liwu*, LG *liwū*, BM *liwo*, WB *liwuk*, LL *liwo*, BT *liwo*, TB *liwo*, WW *liwo*, HR *liwo*, DH *liwo*, WT *liwo*, LK *liwo*, AD *liwo*, KG *liwo*, LH *liwo*, BL *liwo*, WK *liwo*, ML *liwo*, LM *lifo*

(2) AL-MC *wai kolaŋ*, AL-WR *kolaŋ*, AL-PD *kolaŋ*, AL-BA *kolaŋ*, AL-MN *kolaŋ nebok*, AL-TR *kolam*, AL-BY *kolaŋ*, AL-AB *kolā bein*, AL-AK *kolaŋ*, AL-DU *kolaŋ*

(3) LB *walā*, MD *walā*

language:

(1) **PAL *kədire**, AL-MC *kadire*, AL-BO *kadire*, AL-HD *kdire*, AL-WR *kdire*, AL-PD *kdire*, AL-BA *kdire*, AL-MN *kdire*, AL-TR *kire*, AL-BY *kire*, AL-AB *kire*

laugh:

(1) **PWL *gekadz**, PK *gekat*, LB *geka*, RB *geka*, LG *geka*, LI *geka*, BM *geka*, WB *geka*, BP *geka*, LL *geka*, BT *geka*, TB *geka*, WW *geka*, HR *geka*, DH *geka*, WT *geka*, LK *geka*, AD *geka*, KG *geka*, LH *gekaj*, BL *gekadz*, IP *gekat*, MD *geka*, WK *gekadz*, ML *geka*, LM *geka*, **PAL *geke**, AL-MC *geke*, AL-BO *geke*, AL-BN *geke*, AL-HD *geki*, AL-WR *geke*, AL-PD *geke*, AL-BA *geki*, AL-MN *geki; geki; gekin*, AL-TR *geki*, AL-BY *geki*, AL-AB *geki*, AL-AK *geki*, AL-DU *geki*

lazy:

(1) AL-HD *plihan*, AL-PD *plihan*, AL-BA *plihan*, AL-MN *plihan*

leaf:

(1) **PWL *lolo**, PK *loloŋ*, LB *lolo*, RB *lolo*, LG *lolo*, LI *lolo*, BM *lolo*, WB *lolo*, BP *lolo*, LL *lolo*, BT *lolo*, TB *lolo*, WW *lolo*, HR *lolo*, DH *lolo*, WT *lolo*, LK *lolō*, AD *lolō*, KG *lolo*, LH *lolō*, BL *lolo*, IP *lolon*, MD *lolō*, WK *lolo*, ML *lolo*, LM *lolo*, **PAL *loloŋ**, AL-MC *loloŋ*, AL-BO *loloŋ*, AL-HD *loloŋ*, AL-WR *loloŋ*, AL-PD *loloŋ*, AL-BA *loloŋ*, AL-MN *loloŋ*, AL-TR *loloŋ*, AL-BY *loloŋ*, AL-AB *loloŋ*, AL-AK *loloŋ*, AL-DU *loloŋ*

lean back:

(1) **PAL *hedak**, AL-BN *hedak*, AL-HD *heda*, AL-WR *heda*, AL-PD *heda*, AL-BA *heda*, AL-MN *heda ekan*, AL-TR *leda*, AL-BY *leda*, AL-AB *heda*, AL-AK *heda*, AL-DU *heda*

(2) AL-MC *leda*, AL-BO *leda*, AL-BA *leda*

left (side):

(1) **PWL *meki**, LB *meki*, RB *meki*, LG *meki*, LI *mekin*, BM *meki*, WB *meki*, BP *meki*, LL *meki*, BT *meki*, TB *meki*, WW *meki*, HR *mekin*, DH *meki*, WT *meki*, LK *meki*, AD *meki*, KG *mekin*, LH *meki*, BL *seki*, IP *mekin*, MD *meki*, WK *səmekin*, ML *meki*, LM *meki*, **PAL *mekin**, AL-MC *mekin*, AL-BO *mekin*, AL-BN *mekin*

(2) **PAL *heken**, AL-HD *hehen*, AL-WR *heken*, AL-BA *heken*, AL-TR *heken*, AL-BY *heken*, AL-AK *heken*, AL-DU *heken*

lie down:

- (1) LB *ledānə*, LK *ledā*
- (2) RB *gola*, TB *epa gola*
- (3) LG *polar*, BM *pola*, KG *pola*
- (4) LI *туру*, WB *tobāturu*, MD *туру*
- (5) WW *pādenək*, DH *pādenək*
- (6) LH *ewa*, BL *pawaŋ*, IP *ewan*, ML *pawaŋ*, LM *pafā*
- (7) AL-PD *pona alet*, AL-MN *pona*, AL-AB *pona-pona*
- (8) AL-BO *hobak*, AL-HD *hobaki*, AL-AB *oba*

light; not dark:

- (1) AL-BO *bolor*, AL-AK *bolo*, AL-DU *bolo*
- (2) AL-HD *heluŋ*, AL-PD *eluŋ*, AL-MN *eluŋ*
- (3) AL-WR *morik*, AL-BA *morik*
- (4) LI *neʔa*, AD *neʔek*

light (weight):

(1) **PAL *bere**, AL-MC *bere*, AL-BO *bere*, AL-BN *bere*, AL-HD *bere*, AL-WR *bere*, AL-PD *bere*, AL-BA *bere*, AL-MN *bere*, AL-TR *beru*, AL-AB *beru*, AL-AK *beru*, AL-DU *beru*

lime (stone):

(1) **PWL *apuʔ**, LI *apuʔ*, AD *ʔapuʔ*, **PAL *apu**, AL-MC *apu*, AL-BO *apu*, AL-BN *apu*, AL-HD *a:pu*, AL-WR *apu*, AL-PD *apu*, AL-BA *apu*, AL-MN *apu*, AL-TR *apu*, AL-BY *apu*, AL-AB *apu*, AL-AK *apu*, AL-DU *apu*

lightning:

- (1) **PWL *kəhilat**, LI *kələ ka kəhia*, AD *kehilat*, **PAL *hila**, AL-MC *hil:a*, AL-BO *hil:a*, AL-BN *hil:a*, AL-PD *hila bilon*, AL-MN *hilaʔ*, AL-TR *hila*, AL-AB *hila biba*, AL-AK *hila*, AL-DU *hila biba*
- (2) AL-HD *bilon*, AL-WR *bilon*, AL-BA *bilon*

lips:

- (1) **PWL *nuhuŋ**, LI *nuhuŋ*, AD *nuhuŋ*, **PAL *nuhuŋ**, AL-MC *nuhuŋ*
- (2) **PAL *wiwiŋ**, AL-BO *wiwiŋ*, AL-BN *wiwiŋ*, AL-HD *wiwi*, AL-WR *wiwiŋ*, AL-PD *wiwiŋ*, AL-BA *wiwiŋ*, AL-MN *wiwi*; *wiwiŋ*, AL-TR *fif*, AL-BY *fifin*, AL-AB *fifin*, AL-AK *fifin*

liver:

(1) **PWL *ate**, PK *ate*, LB *atē*, RB *ate*, LG *ate*, LI *ateŋ*, BM *atē*, WB *ate*, BP *ate*, LL *atē*, BT *atek*, TB *ate*, WW *ate*, HR *atek*, DH *ate*, LK *ate*, IP *ate*, ML *ate*, **PAL *ateŋ**, AL-MC *ateŋ*, AL-BO *ateŋ*, AL-BN *ateŋ*, AL-WR *ateŋ*, AL-PD *ateŋ*, AL-BA *ateŋ*, AL-MN *ateŋ*, AL-TR *ateŋ*, AL-BY *ate*, AL-AB *atē*, AL-AK *ateŋ*, AL-DU *ateŋ*

(2) WT *mehĩ*, AD *mehi*, KG *mehĩ*

(3) LH *onənkə*, BL *onək*, MD *onəkət*, WK *one*, LM *onā*, AL-HD *ono?*

lizard:

(1) **PWL *təke**, LI *təkə?*, AD *təke*, **PAL *təke**, AL-MC *takek*, AL-BO *take*, AL-BN *take*, AL-HD *takek*, AL-WR *takek*, AL-PD *take*, AL-BA *takek*, AL-MN *take*, AL-TR *take*, AL-BY *take*, AL-AB *take*, AL-AK *take*, AL-DU *take*

(2) AL-BO *kalito*, AL-PD *kenito*, AL-DU *kanito*

(3) AL-HD *koba*, AL-WR *koba*, AL-BA *koba*, AL-MN *koba*, AL-AK *koba*

long (stick):

(1) **PWL *bəlahā**, PK *bahā*, LB *bəlahā*, RB *bəlahā*, LG *bəlahā*, LI *bəlahā*, BM *bəlahā*, WB *bəlahā*, BP *bəlahā*, LL *bəlahā*, BT *bəlahā*, TB *bəlahā*, WW *bəlahā*, HR *bəlahā?*, DH *bəlahā*, WT *bəlahā*, LK *bəlahā*, AD *blaha*, KG *bəlahā?*, LH *bəlahā*, BL *belawi*, IP *bəlahakən*, MD *bəlahā*, WK *bəlakā*, ML *bəlahā*, LM *blā*, **PAL *blaha|k**, AL-MC *laha?*, AL-BO *blaha*, AL-BN *blaha*, AL-HD *blahak*, AL-WR *blaha*, AL-PD *blahak*, AL-BA *blahak*, AL-MN *blahak*, AL-TR *bəlahā*, AL-BY *bəlahā*, AL-AB *bəlahakan*, AL-AK *bəlahā*, AL-DU *blaha*

lontar palm:

(1) AL-HD *koli*, AL-WR *koli*, AL-PD *koli*, AL-BA *koli*, AL-MN *koli pukon*

louse; headlice:

(1) **PWL *kuto**, PK *kuto*, LB *kuto*, RB *kuto*, LG *kuto*, BM *kuto*, WB *kuto*, BP *kuto*, LL *kuto*, BT *kuto*, TB *kuto*, WW *kuto*, HR *kuto*, DH *kuto*, WT *kuto*, LK *kuto*, KG *kuto*, LH *kuto*, BL *kuto*, IP *kuto*, MD *kuto*, WK *kuto*, ML *kuto*, LM *kuto*, **PAL *kuto**, AL-MC *kuto*, AL-BO *kuto*, AL-HD *kuto*, AL-WR *kuto*, AL-PD *kuto*, AL-BA *kuto*, AL-MN *kuto*, AL-TR *kuto*, AL-BY *kuto*, AL-AB *kuto*, AL-DU *kuto*

(2) LI *kətuma*, AD *kətumā*, AL-MC *katume*, AL-HD *tumi*, AL-BA *tumi*

(3) AL-PD *begal*, AL-MN *begal*

lungs:

(1) **PWL *wura**, AD *wurhā*, **PAL *wura**, AL-MC *uraŋ*, AL-BN *wuraŋ*, AL-HD *wuraŋ*, AL-PD *wuraŋ*, AL-MN *wuraŋ*, AL-AB *furaŋ*

lumps:

- (1) AL-BN *bakol*, AL-WR *bokol*, AL-BA *bokol*, AL-MN *bokaŋ*, AL-DU *boko*
 (2) AL-WR *kwiuhul*, AL-AK *kəwihu*

man; husband:

- (1) **PWL *lake**, LB *kəlake*, RB *lake*, LG *lake*, LI *lake*, BM *lake*, WB *lakē*, BP *lakē*, LL *lake*, TB *lake*, WW *kəlake*, HR *lake*, DH *kəlake*, LK *bəlake*, AD *lakhē*, MD *kəbəlake*, WK *kəlake*, ML *kəlake*, LM *kəlake*, **PAL *kelake**, AL-MC *kəlake*, AL-BO *kəlake*, AL-BN *kəlake*, AL-HD *klake*, AL-WR *klake*, AL-PD *kəlake*, AL-BA *kəlake*, AL-MN *kəlake*, AL-TR *kalake*, AL-BY *kalake*, AL-AB *kalake*, AL-AK *kalake*, AL-DU *kalake*
 (2) PK *kake*, RB *bəlake*, LG *amalake*, LI *ina məlake*, BM *amalake*, WB *bəlaki*, BP *bəlaki*, LL *amalake*, BT *bəlakī*, TB *amalake*, WW *amalake*, HR *amalake*, DH *amalake*, WT *bəlake*, LK *bəlake?*, AD *ʔama lake*, KG *amalake*, LH *bəlake*, BL *kəbailake*, IP *amalake*, MD *kəbəlake*, WK *kəlake*, ML *kəblake*, LM *kəbaelake*

mango:

- (1) **PWL *pau**, LI *pau*, AD *pau*, **PAL *pao**, AL-MC *pao*, AL-BO *pao*, AL-BN *pao*, AL-HD *pao*, AL-WR *pao*, AL-PD *pao*, AL-BA *pao*, AL-MN *pao*, AL-TR *pao*, AL-BY *pao*, AL-AB *pao*, AL-AK *pao*, AL-DU *pao*

mangrove:

- (1) AL-MC *kəwaka*, AL-BO *kadʒo kəwaka*, AL-BN *kəwaka*, AL-DU *kawaka*
 (2) AL-WR *hulor*, AL-PD *kulor*, AL-BA *ulor*, AL-BY *hule*, AL-AB *hule pukon*, AL-AK *fule*

many:

- (1) PK *aja?*, LB *adʒā*, RB *aja*, LG *aja?*, LI *aja?*, BM *aja*, WB *adʒā*, BP *adʒa*, BT *ajʔā*, TB *adʒā*, HR *ajʔā*, DH *arʔā*, WT *adʒa?*, LK *adʒā*, AD *ʔa:jʔa*, KG *ajā*, LH *ajʔā*, BL *adʒa*, IP *adʒa*, MD *ajā*, WK *adʒā*, ML *adʒa*, LM *adʒā*
 (2) AL-TR *mafa*, AL-BY *mafa*, AL-AB *mafa*, AL-AK *mafa*, AL-DU *mafa*
 (3) AL-HD *rasa*, AL-PD *rasa*, AL-BA *rasa*, AL-MN *rasa*

market:

- (1) **PWL *wule**, LI *wuləŋ*, AD *wulʒ*, **PAL *wu**, AL-MC *wu*, AL-BO *wu*, AL-BN *wu*, AL-HD *wu*, AL-WR *wu*, AL-PD *wu*, AL-BA *wu*, AL-MN *wu*, AL-TR *wu*, AL-BY *wu*, AL-AB *wu*, AL-AK *wu*, AL-DU *wu*

marungga:

- (1) **PWL *moton** LI *moton*, AD *motō*, **PAL *moton**, AL-MC *moton*, AL-BO *moton*, AL-BN *moton*, AL-HD *moton*, AL-WR *moton*, AL-PD *moton*, AL-BA *moton*, AL-MN *moton*, AL-TR *moton*, AL-BY *moton*, AL-AB *moton*, AL-AK *moton*, AL-DU *moton*

mat:

(1) **PWL *ohan**, LI *ɔhaŋ*, AD *ʔohā*, **PAL *ohan**, AL-MC *ohan*, AL-BO *ohan*, AL-BN *pohan*, AL-HD *ohan*, AL-WR *ohan*, AL-PD *ohan*, AL-BA *kohan*, AL-MN *ohan*; *hoan*, AL-TR *ohan*, AL-BY *ohan*, AL-AB *ohan*, AL-AK *ohan*, AL-DU *oha*

meat:

(1) **PWL *ihik**, RB *ihik*, LG *ihik*, BM *ihik*, LL *ihik*, TB *ihik*, WT *ihik*, KG *ihik*, IP *ihin*, LM *elā*, **PAL *ihik** ‘meat; fruit’, AL-MC *ihī*, AL-BO *hik*, AL-BN *ihik*, AL-HD *nihik*, AL-WR *hiʔ*, AL-PD *ihī*, AL-BA *ihik*, AL-MN *hik*, AL-TR *ihikiŋ*, AL-BY *ihikiŋ*, AL-AB *ihikiŋ*, AL-AK *ihikiŋ*, AL-DU *ihikiŋ*
 (2) PK *mātā*, LB *mātā*, WW *mātā*
 (3) LI *mānakəŋ*, BP *mānakē*
 (4) BT *umā*, HR *umā*, AD *ʔumā*
 (5) LH *ela*, MD *elā*, WK *elā*, LM *elā*

money:

(1) **PAL *seŋ**, AL-MC *seŋ loloŋ*, AL-BO *seŋ*, AL-BN *seŋ*, AL-HD *seŋ*, AL-WR *seŋ*, AL-PD *seŋ*, AL-BA *seŋ*, AL-TR *seŋ*, AL-AB *seŋ*, AL-AK *seŋ*, AL-DU *sī*
 (2) LI *doi*, AD *doi*

monitor lizard:

(1) **PWL *ote**; **eto**, LI *ote*, AD *ʔoteʔ*, **PAL *eto**, AL-MC *eto*, AL-BO *eto*, AL-BN *eto*, AL-HD *eto*, AL-WR *teto damar*, AL-PD *teto damar*, AL-BA *teto damar*, AL-MN *teto damar*
 (2) AL-AB *reha*, AL-AK *reha*, AL-DU *reha*
 (3) AL-HD *teto damar*, AL-WR *teto damar*, AL-PD *təto damar*, AL-BA *teto damar*, AL-MN *teto damar*

morning:

(1) AL-MC *kəraməŋ*, AL-BO *kəraməŋ*, AL-BN *kəremaŋ*, AL-PD *kəraməŋ*
 (2) LI *guləŋ*, AD *ghula*

moon:

(1) **PWL *wulan**, LI *wula*, AD *wulā*, **PAL *wulan**, AL-MC *ulan*, AL-BO *wulan*, AL-BN *wulan*, AL-HD *wulan*, AL-WR *wulan*, AL-PD *wulan*, AL-BA *wulan*, AL-MN *wulan*, AL-TR *fulan*, AL-BY *fulan*, AL-AB *fulan*, AL-AK *fulan*, AL-DU *fulan*

mosquito:

(1) **PWL *kənapuŋ**, LI *kənapuŋ*, **PAL *kapuŋ**, AL-MC *kapuŋ*, AL-BO *kapuŋ*, AL-BN *kapuŋ*, AL-HD *kapuŋ*, AL-WR *kapuŋ*, AL-PD *kapuŋ*, AL-BA *kapuŋ*, AL-MN *kapuŋ*, AL-TR *kapuŋ*, AL-BY *kapuŋ*, AL-AB *kapuŋ*, AL-AK *kapuŋ*, AL-DU *kapuŋ*

moss

(1) **PAL *kula**, AL-MC *kula*, AL-BO *kula*, AL-HD *kula*, AL-WR *kula*, AL-PD *ula*, AL-BA *kula*, AL-MN *kula*, AL-AB *kula*, AL-AK *kula*, AL-DU *kula*

mother:

(1) **PWL *ina**, WW *ina?*, HR *ina*, DH *ina*, AD *ina*, KG *ina*, LH *inakə*, BL *ina*, IP *ina*, MD *ina*, WK *ina*, ML *ina*, LM, **PAL *ina**, AL-MC *ina*, AL-BO *ina*, AL-BN *ina*, AL-HD *nenina*, AL-WR *ina*, AL-PD *nina*, AL-BA *nina*, AL-MN *ina*, AL-TR *inaŋ*, AL-BY *ina*, AL-AB *inaŋ*, AL-AK *ina*, AL-DU *ina*

mountain:

(1) PK *ile*, LB *ile*, RB *ile*, LG *ile*, LI *ile*, BM *ile*, WB *ile*, BP *ile*, LL *ile*, BT *ile*, TB *ile*, WW *ile*, HR *ile*, DH *ile*, WT *ile*, LK *ile*, AD *ile*, KG *ile*, LH *ile*, BL *ile*, IP *ile*, MD *ile*, WK *ile*, ML *ile*, LM *ile*

(2) AL-MC *uhun*, AL-BN *wuhun*

(3) **PAL *woto**, AL-BO *woto*, AL-BN *woto*, AL-HD *woto*, AL-WR *woto*, AL-PD *woto*, AL-BA *woto*, AL-MN *woto*, AL-TR *foto*, AL-BY *foto*, AL-AK *foto*

mouth:

(1) **PWL *wəwa**, PK *wəwa*, LB *wəwa*, RB *wəwa*, LG *wəwat*, LI *wəwaŋ*, BM *wəwa*, WB *wəwā*, BP *wəwat*, LL *wəwa*, BT *wəwā*, TB *wəwak*, WW *wəwak*, HR *wəwal*, DH *wəwat*, WT *wəwā*, LK *wəwā*, AD *wəwakət*, KG *wəwak*, IP *wəwak*, WK *wəwā*, ML *wəwa*, LM *fəfā*, **PAL *wəwaŋ**, AL-BO *wəwaŋ*, AL-BN *wawaŋ*, AL-PD *wəwaŋ*, AL-TR *fəfəŋ*, AL-BY *fəfəŋ*, AL-AB *fəfəŋ*, AL-DU *fəfəŋ*

(2) **PWL *nuhu**, LH *nuhukə*, BL *nūk*, MD *nuhu*, **PAL *nuhun**, AL-MC *nuhun*, AL-HD *tinuhu?*, AL-WR *nuhun*, AL-BA *nuhun*, AL-MN *nuhu?/nuhun*, AL-AK *nuhun*

mucus:

(1) AL-HD *sini*, AL-WR *nihi*, AL-PD *sini*, AL-BA *sini*, AL-MN *sini*

(2) AL-BO *nirun* *nihi*, AL-BN *nihi*

mud:

(1) AL-MC *buta*, AL-BO *buta*, AL-WR *buta*, AL-PD *buta*

(2) LI *walaŋ*, AD *walā*

name:

(1) **PWL *naran**, PK *narā*, LB *narā*, RB *narā*, LG *narā*, LI *naraŋ*, BM *narā*, WB *narā*, BP *narā*, LL *narā*, TB *narā*, WW *narā*, HR *narā*, DH *narā*, WT *narā*, LK *narā*, AD *narā*, KG *narā*, LH *narā*, BL *naraŋ*, IP *naran*, MD *narā*, WK *nara*, ML *nara*, LM *naraŋ*, **PAL *naraŋ**, AL-MC *naraŋ*, AL-BO *naraŋ*, AL-BN *naraŋ*, AL-HD *naraŋ*, AL-WR *naraŋ*, AL-PD *naraŋ*, AL-BA *naraŋ*, AL-MN *naraŋ/nara?*, AL-TR *naraŋ*, AL-BY *naraŋ*, AL-AB

naraŋ, AL-AK *naraŋ*, AL-DU *naraŋ*

narrow:

(1) **PWL *hipet**, BL *hipet*, WK *hipet*, LM *hipet*, **PAL *ipe**, AL-MC *ipe*, AL-TR *ipe*, AL-BY *ipe*, AL-AB *kipe*, AL-AK *kipe*, AL-DU *kipe*

(2) AL-MC *kupo*, AL-BO *kupo*, AL-HD *kupo*, AL-PD *kupo*, AL-BA *kupo*, AL-MN *kupo*

navel:

(1) **PWL *puhur**, LI *kəpuhur*, AD *kəpuhurət*, **PAL *puhor**, AL-MC *kəpuhor*, AL-BO *kapuhor*, AL-BN *kapuhor*, AL-HD *puhor*, AL-WR *puhor*, AL-PD *puhor*, AL-BA *puhor*, AL-MN *puhor*, AL-TR *kəpuhoruŋ*, AL-BY *kəpuhoru*, AL-AB *kapuhoroŋ*, AL-AK *kəpuhoroŋ*, AL-DU *kəpuhoroŋ*

near:

(1) **PWL *dahe**, PK *dahe*, LB *dāhe*, RB *dahē*, LG *dahe*, LI *dahe*, BM *dahe*, WB *dahe*, BP *dahe*, LL *dahē*, BT *dahʔē*, TB *dahe*, WW *dahe*, HR *dahe*, DH *dahe*, WT *dahe*, LK *dahē*, AD *dahe*, KG *dahʔē*, LH *dahe*, BL *dae*, IP *dahe*, MD *dahe*, WK *dahe*, ML *dahe*, LM *dae*, **PAL *dahe**, AL-MC *dahe*, AL-BO *dahe*, AL-BN *dahe*, AL-HD *dahe*, AL-WR *dahe*, AL-PD *dahe*, AL-BA *dahe*, AL-MN *dahe*, AL-TR *dahe*, AL-BY *dahe*, AL-AB *dahe*, AL-AK *dahe*, AL-DU *dahe*

neck:

(1) **PWL *wuli**, PK *wulī*, LB *wuli*, RB *wulī*, LG *wulī*, LI *wuliŋ*, BM *wuli*, WB *wulik*, BP *wuli*, LL *wuli*, BT *wuli*, TB *wulī*, WW *wuli*, HR *wulī*, DH *wuliŋ*, WT *wulī*, LK *wulī*, AD *wulikət*, KG *wulik*, LH *wulikə*, BL *wulik*, IP *wuli*, MD *wulik*, WK *wuli*, ML *fuli*, LM *fuli*, **PAL *wuli**, AL-MC *uliŋ*, AL-BO *uliŋ*, AL-BN *wuliŋ*, AL-HD *wuliŋ*, AL-WR *wuliŋ*, AL-PD *wuliŋ*, AL-BA *wuliŋ*, AL-MN *wuliŋ*, AL-TR *fuliŋ*, AL-BY *fuli*, AL-AB *fuli*, AL-AK *fuliŋ*, AL-DU *fuliŋ*

necklace:

- (1) AL-BN *maŋgar*, AL-PD *maŋger*, AL-MN *maŋger*; *maŋger bota*, AL-AB *maŋge*
- (2) AL-MN *emar*, AL-TR *maena*, AL-BY *maena*
- (3) LI *niŋəŋ*, AD *niŋə*

nephew; niece:

- (1) AL-PD *nula*; *mnulaŋ*, AL-BA *nulaŋ*, AL-MN *nula*; *mənulaŋ*, AL-BY *mənulaŋ*, AL-AB *manulaŋ*
- (2) LI *anaʔ*, AD *ʔanaʔ*

nets:

(1) **PAL *puko**, AL-MC *pukok*, AL-BO *puko*, AL-HD *pukok*, AL-PD *tuko*, AL-BA *pukok*, AL-MN *puko*, AL-TR *puko*, AL-AK *puko*, AL-DU *puko*

new (house):

(1) PK *wuʔu*, LB *wuʔũ*, RB *wuʔũ*, LG *wuʔũ*, LI *wuʔuŋ*, BM *wuʔũ*, WB *wuʔũ*, BP *wuʔũ*, LL *wuʔũ*, BT *wuʔũ*, TB *wuʔũ*, WW *wu*, HR *wuʔũ*, DH *wuʔũ*, WT *wuʔũ*, LK *wuʔũ*, AD *wuʔũ*, KG *wuʔũ*, LH *mureŋ*, BL *wu*, IP *wun*, MD *wuʔũ*, WK *wuʔũ*, ML *wu*, LM *fu*

(2) **PAL *wunoŋ**, AL-MC *unoŋ*, AL-BN *wunoŋ*, AL-HD *wunoŋ*, AL-WR *wunoŋ*, AL-PD *wunoŋ*, AL-BA *wunoŋ*, AL-MN *uma wunoŋ*, AL-TR *funuŋ*, AL-BY *funu*, AL-AB *uma funoŋ*, AL-AK *funo*, AL-DU *funuŋ*

night:

(1) **PWL *rəma**, LG *remā*, LI *rəmaʔaŋ*, BM *rəma*, BT *rəmā*, WW *rəmā*, HR *rəmā*, DH *rəmā*, WT *rəmā*, LK *rəmā*, AD *rəmāʔ*, LH *rəma*, BL *rəma*, MD *rəma*, ML *rəma*, LM *rəmā*, **PAL * mareŋ**, AL-MC *mar:ŋ*, AL-BO *mar:ŋ*, AL-BN *mar:ŋ*, AL-HD *mar:ŋ*, AL-WR *mar:ŋ*, AL-PD *mar:ŋ*, AL-BA *mar:ŋ*, AL-MN *mar:ŋ*, AL-TR *mar:ŋ*, AL-BY *mar:ŋ*, AL-AB *mareŋ*, AL-AK *mar:ŋ*, AL-DU *mareŋ*

(2) PK *noko*, LB *nokō*, RB *noko*, WB *nokō*, BP *noko*, LL *nokō*, TB *noko*

nine:

(1) **PWL *hiwa**, LI *hiwa*, AD *hiwa*, **PAL *hiwa**, AL-MC *hiwa*, AL-BO *hiwa*, AL-BN *hiwa*, AL-HD *hiwa*, AL-WR *hiwa*, AL-PD *hiwa*, AL-BA *hiwa*, AL-MN *hiwa*, AL-TR *hifa*, AL-BY *hifa*, AL-AB *hifa*, AL-AK *hifa*, AL-DU *hifa*

no; not:

(1) **PWL *hala**, AD *halaʔ*, **PAL *lahe**, AL-MC *lahe*, AL-BO *lahe*, AL-BN *lahe*, AL-HD *lahe*, AL-WR *lahe*, AL-PD *lahe*, AL-BA *lahe*, AL-MN *lahe*, AL-TR *lahe*, AL-BY *lahe*, AL-AB *lahe*, AL-AK *lahe*, AL-DU *lahe*

nose:

(1) **PWL *(n)iruŋ**, PK *irũ*, LB *irũ*, RB *irũ*, LG *irut*, LI *iruŋ*, BM *irũ*, WB *iru*, BP *iru*, LL *iru*, BT *irũ*, TB *irũ*, WW *iru*, HR *irun*, DH *iruŋ*, WT *irũ*, LK *irũ*, AD *iru nʔt*, KG *iruŋ*, LH *irunə*, BL *niruŋ*, IP *iruŋ*, MD *iru*, WK *niruŋ*, ML *niruŋ*, LM *niruŋ*, **PAL *niru**, AL-MC *niruŋ*, AL-BO *niruŋ*, AL-BN *niruŋ*, AL-HD *iruʔ*, AL-WR *iruŋ*, AL-PD *niruŋ*, AL-BA *iruŋ*, AL-MN *iruʔ*, AL-TR *niruŋ*, AL-BY *niruŋ*, AL-AB *niruŋ*, AL-AK *niruŋ*, AL-DU *niruŋ*

nostril:

(1) **PAL *wəŋgo**, AL-MC *waŋo*, AL-BO *niruŋ waŋgo*, AL-BN *niruŋ waŋgok*, AL-HD *iru wəŋo*, AL-WR *iruŋ wəŋo*, AL-PD *niruŋ waŋgo*, AL-BA *iruŋ waŋo*, AL-MN *iruŋ waŋo*; *iru wano*, AL-TR *niruŋ faŋgokoj*, AL-BY *niruŋ faŋ gokoj*, AL-AB *niruŋ faŋgokoj*, AL-AK *niruŋ faŋgokoj*, AL-DU *niruŋ faŋ gokuj*

not yet:

(1) **PAL *wati**, AL-MC *wati*, AL-BO *wati*, AL-BN *wati*, AL-HD *watik*, AL-WR *watik*, AL-PD *wati*, AL-BA *wati*, AL-MN *wati*, AL-TR *pai gua*, AL-BY *fai*, AL-AB *fai*, AL-AK *fai*, AL-DU *fai*

now:

- (1) AL-BY *hamu*, AL-AB *hamuŋ*, AL-DU *hamu*
- (2) AL-MC *nehu*, AL-WR *nihuŋ*, AL-PD *nihu*, AL-MN *nihu*, AL-TR *nihila raha*

obese (people):

- (1) AL-WR *peiŋ*, AL-MN *peiŋ*, AL-AB *odaŋ pei*
- (2) AL-HD *gambeiŋ*, AL-PD *wabeiŋ*; *gambeiŋ*, AL-AK *gambeiŋ*

old:

- (1) **PWL *tuʔa**, PK *duʔā*, LB *tua*, RB *tənuʔe*, LG *tənuə*, LI *tənuəŋ*, BM *tənuə*, WB *tənuə*, BP *tənuə*, LL *tənuē*, BT *tənuʔe*, TB *tənuə*, WW *tənuʔe*, HR *tənuʔe*, DH *tənuə*, WT *tənuʔe*, LK *tənuʔe*, AD *tənuʔe*, KG *tənuʔe*, **PAL *tuaŋ**, AL-MC *tuaŋ*, AL-BN *tuaŋ*, AL-HD *tua*, AL-WR *tua*, AL-PD *tua*, AL-BA *tua*, AL-MN *mesia tua*
- (2) LH *magū*, BL *magu*, MD *magū*, WK *magu*, ML *magu*, LM *magu*
- (3) AL-BO *basarŋ*, AL-TR *basarŋ*, AL-BY *basarŋ*, AL-AK *basarŋ*

older sibling:

- (1) PK *kakaʔ*, LB *kaka*, RB *kaka*, LI *kakaŋ*, WB *kaka*, BP *kakaʔ*, LL *kaka*, BT *kaka*, TB *kaka*, WW *kakaʔ*, HR *kaka*, DH *kaka*, WT *kaka*, LK *kaka*, AD *kaka*, KG *kaka*, LH *kakakə*, BL *kaka*, IP *kaka*, MD *kaka*, WK *kaka*, ML *kaka*
- (2) LG *tata*, BM *tataʔ*, LM *tata*

one:

(1) **PWL *toʔu**, LI *toʔu*, AD *toʔu*, **PAL *tou**, AL-MC *tou*, AL-BO *tou*, AL-BN *tou*, AL-HD *tou*, AL-WR *tou*, AL-PD *tou*, AL-BA *tou*, AL-MN *tou*, AL-TR *tou*, AL-BY *tou*, AL-AB *tou*, AL-AK *tou*, AL-DU *tou*

open:

(1) **PWL *buka**, LI *bukaʔ*, AD *buka*, **PAL *buka**, AL-MC *bukaʔ*, AL-BO *buka*, AL-BN *buka*, AL-WR *buka*, AL-PD *buka*, AL-BA *buka*, AL-TR *buka*, AL-AB *buka*, AL-AK

buka, AL-DU *buka*

(2) AL-HD *leka*, AL-MN *leka*

oven; hearth:

(1) **PWL *likat**, LI *lika*, AD *likat*, **PAL *lika**, AL-MC *lika*, AL-BO *lika*, AL-HD *lika*, AL-WR *lika*, AL-PD *lika*, AL-BA *lika*, AL-MN *lika*, AL-TR *lika*, AL-BY *lika*, AL-AB *lika*, AL-AK *lika*, AL-DU *lika*

other:

(1) PK *haʔekā*, LB *gehā*, LG *gehʔā*, BM *gehā*, WB *gehā*, BP *geha*, LL *gehā*, TB *gehā*, LK *geha*, LH *geha*, BL *geak*, IP *ahan*, MD *gehʔā*, WK *gehak*, ML *gehak*, LM *geak*

(2) RB *ikər*, BT *ikər*, WW *ikər*, HR *ikā*, DH *ikən*, WT *ikər*, KG *ikʔā*

pay:

(1) **PAL *pate**, AL-MC *pate*, AL-BO *pate*, AL-BN *pate*, AL-HD *pate*, AL-WR *pate*, AL-PD *pate*, AL-BA *pate*, AL-MN *pate*, AL-TR *pate*, AL-BY *pate*, AL-AB *pate*, AL-AK *pate*, AL-DU *pate nemo*

penis:

(1) **PWL *laha**, LI *laha*, **PAL *lahak**, AL-AB *lahakan*

(2) **PWL *ute**, AD *ute*, **PAL *utiŋ**, AL-BA *utiŋ*, AL-MN *utiŋ*

person:

(1) **PWL** PK *atadikē*, LB *atadikā*, RB *atadika*, LG *atadikā*, LI *atadikəʔ*, BM *atā*, WB *atadikā*, BP *atadikə*, LL *atadikē*, BT *atadikə*, TB *ata*, WW *atadike*, HR *atadikā*, DH *atadikā*, WT *atadikā*, LK *atadikā*, AD *ʔata*, KG *atadikʔā*, LH *dikā*, BL *atadik*, IP *atadikən*, MD *ədikā*, WK *atadikē*, ML *atadikr*, LM *atadikā*, **PAL *ata**, AL-WR *ata*, AL-PD *ata*, AL-BA *ata*, AL-MN *ata*, AL-TR *ata*, AL-BY *ata*, AL-AB *ata*, AL-AK *ata*, AL-DU *ata*

pig:

(1) **PWL *wawe**, LI *wawe*, AD *wawe*, **PAL *wawe**, AL-MC *wawe*, AL-BO *wawe*, AL-BN *wawe*, AL-HD *wawe*, AL-WR *wawe*, AL-PD *wawe*, AL-BA *wawe*, AL-MN *wawe*, AL-TR *fāfe*, AL-BY *fāfe*, AL-AB *fāfe*, AL-AK *fāfe*, AL-DU *fāfe*

pigeon; dove:

(1) **PAL *rawa**, AL-MC *rawa*, AL-BN *koloŋ rawa*, AL-HD *rawa*, AL-WR *rawa*, AL-PD *rawa*, AL-BA *rawa*, AL-MN *rawa*, AL-TR *rawa*, AL-AB *rawa*, AL-AK *klafa*, AL-DU *koloŋ rawa*

pillow:

(1) **PAL *bəlone**, AL-MC *blone*, AL-BO *bəlonge*, AL-BN *blone*, AL-HD *blone*, AL-WR *blone*, AL-PD *blone*, AL-BA *blone*, AL-MN *blone*, AL-TR *bəlonge*, AL-BY *blone*, AL-AB *blone*, AL-AK *bəlonge*, AL-DU *bəlonge*

pinch:

(1) **PAL *gimu|k**, AL-HD *gimuk*, AL-WR *gimuk*, AL-PD *gimuk*, AL-BA *gimuk*, AL-MN *gimu*, AL-TR *gimuŋ*, AL-BY *gimu apa*, AL-AB *gimu*, AL-AK *gimu*, AL-DU *gimu*
(2) AL-BO *tawe*, AL-BN *tawe*

pinning:

(1) AL-BO *ipe*, AL-BN *gepe*, AL-BA *ipe*, AL-TR *ipe*, AL-AK *ipe*, AL-DU *kipe*

place:

(1) **PAL *uliŋ**, AL-MC *uliŋ*, AL-BO *uliŋ*, AL-WR *uliŋ*, AL-PD *uliŋ*, AL-MN *na uliŋ*, AL-AB *uliŋ*, AL-DU *uliŋ*

play:

(1) PK *vəŋa*, LB *məŋə*, RB *gənəkuk*, LG *gənəku*, LI *gənəku*, BM *gənəku*, WB *gənəku*, BP *gənəku*, LL *gənəku*, BT *gələha*, TB *gənəku*, WW *gələha*, HR *gələha*, DH *gələha*, WT *gələha*, LK *gələha*, AD *glahaʔ*, KG *gələha*, LH *gələha*, BL *gəla*, IP *irek*, MD *raʔa*, WK *gələha*, ML *gələha*, LM *gəla*
(2) **PAL *kanaku**, AL-MC *tanaku*, AL-BO *kanaku*, AL-BN *kanuku*, AL-HD *keneku*, AL-WR *naku*, AL-PD *knaku*, AL-BA *kenaku*, AL-MN *knəku*, AL-TR *kanakuŋ*, AL-BY *kənəku*, AL-AB *kanaku*, AL-AK *kənaku*, AL-DU *kanaku*

plunge:

(1) **PAL *kado**, AL-MC *kado*, AL-BN *kado*, AL-PD *kado*, AL-BA *kado*, AL-TR *kado*, AL-AB *kado*, AL-AK *kado*

pound:

(1) **PWL *badʒo**, LI *bajo*, AD *badʒo*, **PAL *badʒo**, AL-MC *badʒo*, AL-BO *badʒo*, AL-BN *badʒo*, AL-WR *badʒo*, AL-PD *badʒo*, AL-MN *badʒo*, AL-TR *badʒo*, AL-AB *badʒo*, AL-AK *badʒo*
(2) AD *tubuk*, AL-HD *tubuk*, AL-BA *tubuk*

prawn; shrimp:

(1) **PAL *pəlatiŋ**, AL-MC *late*, AL-BO *pəlatiŋ*, AL-BN *platiŋ*, AL-HD *platiŋ*, AL-WR *platiŋ*, AL-PD *platiŋ*, AL-BA *pəlatiŋ*, AL-MN *mata onon platiŋ*, AL-AB *platiŋ*, AL-AK *plati*, AL-DU *pəlatiŋ*

(2) AL-BO *ai kolo*, AL-BN *ai kolo*, AL-HD *asikol*, AL-PD *asikol*, AL-BA *asikol*, AL-MN *asikol*, AL-AB *asikolo*, AL-DU *sikoro*

(3) AL-MC *tapala*, AL-WR *tapala*

press:

(1) AL-BO *piku*, AL-BN *iku*, AL-PD *piku*, AL-AB *iku iku*

pull:

(1) PK *gehā*, LB *geha?*, RB *widu*, LG *gehā*, LI *gehaŋ*, BM *gehē*, WB *gehā*, BP *gehā*, LL *eta*, BT *tubo*, TB *gehe*, WW *geā*, HR *gehā*, DH *wāda*, WT *tubo*, LK *tubo*, AD *gehā*, KG *tubo*, LH *tubo*, BL *tubo*, IP *tubo*, MD *gihā*, WK *tubo*, ML *tubo*, LM *gāfea*

(2) AL-MC *wider*, AL-PD *wider*

pull out:

(1) PAL ***baku**, AL-MC *baku*, AL-BO *baku*, AL-BN *baku*, AL-HD *beku*, AL-WR *baku*, AL-PD *bāku*, AL-BA *bāku*, AL-MN *bāku*, AL-TR *baku*, AL-BY *beku*, AL-AB *baku*, AL-AK *baku*, AL-DU *baku*

pumpkin:

(1) AL-BO *gihi*, AL-BN *gihi*

pus:

(1) PAL ***nanan**, AL-MC *nanan*, AL-BO *nana*, AL-BN *nana*, AL-HD *nanah*, AL-WR *nanan*, AL-PD *nanah*, AL-BA *nanan*, AL-MN *nanan*, AL-TR *nana*, AL-BY *nana*, AL-AK *nana*

push:

(1) LB *odo*, LG *odo*, BM *odo*, BP *odo*, TB *odo*, LM *odo*

(2) PK *sogor*, DH *osō*, WT *osō*, KG *osō*, IP *sokol*

(3) LI *tojo*, WB *tođō*, LL *tođō*, BT *tojō*, WW *tojō*, HR *tojō*, AD *tojō*

(4) RB *bogō*, LK *pogō*

(5) LH *uduk*, BL *uduk*, MD *uduk*, WK *udur*, ML *udu*, LM *uruk*

rainbow:

(1) PAL ***tata bei**, AL-BO *tata bae bae*, AL-BN *tata bae bae*, AL-HD *tata bei*, AL-WR *tata baiŋ*, AL-PD *tata bai*, AL-BA *tata bei*, AL-MN *tat beiŋ*, AL-TR *tata bei bei*, AL-BY *tata beiŋ beiŋ*, AL-AB *tata bei-bei*, AL-AK *tata bei bei*, AL-DU *tataŋ bebe*

(2) LI *patuŋ tawa*, AD *patū*

rat:

(1) PWL ***kərome**, LI *kəɾɔme*, AD *krome*

(2) **PAL *kamore**, AL-MC *kamore*, AL-BO *kəmore*, AL-BN *kəmore*, AL-HD *more*, AL-WR *more*, AL-PD *more*, AL-BA *kamore*, AL-MN *more*, AL-TR *kamore*, AL-BY *kəmore*, AL-AB *kəmore*, AL-AK *kəmore*, AL-DU *kamore*

rattan:

(1) **PWL *uwe**, LI *uajəŋ*, AD *ʔua*, **PAL *uwe**, AL-MC *uwe*, AL-BO *uwe*, AL-HD *uwe*, AL-WR *uwe*, AL-PD *ue*, AL-BA *uwe*, AL-MN *uwe*, AL-TR *ufi*, AL-AB *ufi*, AL-AK *ufi*

rain:

(1) **PWL *uran**, PK *urā*, LB *urā*, RB *urā*, LG *urā*, LI *uraŋ*, BM *urā*, WB *urā*, BP *urā*, LL *urā*, BT *urā*, TB *urā*, WW *urā*, HR *urā*, DH *urut*, WT *urā*, LK *urā*, AD *ʔuraŋ*, KG *urut*, LH *urā*, BL *ura*, IP *uran*, MD *urā*, WK *ura*, ML *urɿ*, LM *urā*, **PAL *uraŋ**, AL-MC *uraŋ*, AL-BO *uraŋ*, AL-BN *uraŋ*, AL-HD *uraŋ*, AL-WR *uraŋ*, AL-PD *uraŋ*, AL-BA *uraŋ*, AL-MN *uraŋ*, AL-TR *uraŋ*, AL-BY *ura*, AL-AB *uraŋ*, AL-AK *uraŋ*, AL-DU *uraŋ*

red:

(1) **PWL *meʔaŋ**, PK *məʔā*, LB *məʔā*, RB *məʔā*, LG *məʔā*, LI *məʔā*, BM *meʔa*, WB *məʔā*, BP *meʔa*, LL *meʔa*, BT *meʔa*, TB *meʔa*, HR *məʔā*, DH *məʔā*, WT *məʔā*, LK *meā*, AD *məʔā*, KG *məʔā*, LH *meʔa*, BL *mea*, IP *mean*, MD *məʔā*, WK *məʔā*, ML *meɿ*, LM *meā*, **PAL *mean**, AL-MC *mean*, AL-BO *mean*, AL-BN *mean*, AL-HD *mean*, AL-WR *mean*, AL-PD *mean*, AL-BA *mean*, AL-MN *mean*, AL-TR *mean*, AL-BY *mean*, AL-AB *mean*, AL-AK *mean*, AL-DU *mean*

refuse:

(1) AL-MC *gehi*, AL-WR *gehiŋ*, AL-PD *gehiŋ*, AL-MN *ono gehiŋ*

return:

(1) PK *tueʔ*, WB *tue*, LL *tuse*, BT *tue*, HR *tuē*, DH *tuē*, LH *tue*, BL *tue*, MD *tue*, WK *tue*, ML *tue*, LM *tue*

(2) LB *gəwali*, RB *gəwalik*, BP *gəwali*

(3) LG *pekot*, KG *pekot*

(4) WW *balok*, WT *balok*, LK *balok*

rice ear bug:

(1) AL-BO *kaberuŋ*, AL-HD *meruŋ*, AL-WR *meruŋ*, AL-PD *kmeruŋ*, AL-BA *meruŋ*, AL-MN *meruŋ*, AL-AB *kameruŋ*, AL-DU *kamiruŋ*

rich:

(1) AL-MC *kəwasəŋ*, AL-BO *mansia kəwasəŋ*, AL-BN *kəwasəŋ*, AL-PD *kwasəŋ*, AL-BA *kwasəŋ*, AL-MN *kwasəŋ*; *bisəŋ*, AL-BY *kawasəŋ*, AL-AB *kafasəŋ*

right side:

(1) **PWL *wanan**, PK *wana*, LB *wana*, RB *wana*, LG *wanã*, LI *wanaŋ*, BM *wana*, WB *wana*, BP *wana*, LL *wana*, BT *wanã*, TB *wana*, WW *wanan*, HR *wanã*, DH *wanã*, WT *wanã*, LK *wanã*, AD *wana*, KG *wana*, LH *wana*, BL *wana*, IP *wanan*, MD *wanã*, WK *wana*, ML *wɔnɔ*, LM *fana*

(2) **PAL *dikeŋ**, AL-MC *dikeŋ*, AL-BO *dikeŋ*, AL-BN *dikeŋ*, AL-HD *dikeŋ*, AL-WR *dikeŋ*, AL-PD *dikeŋ*, AL-BA *dikeŋ*, AL-MN *dikeŋ*, AL-TR *dikeŋ*, AL-BY *dikeŋ*, AL-AB *dikeŋ*, AL-AK *dikeŋ*, AL-DU *dikeŋ*

ripe:

(1) **PWL *tahak**, LI *taha*, AD *tahak*, **PAL *tahak**, AL-PD *tahak*, AL-BA *tahak*, AL-MN *tahak*, AL-AB *taha*

rip off:

(1) AL-MC *bian*, AL-TR *bianaŋ*, AL-BY *bianekiŋ*, AL-AB *bian*, AL-AK *bian*, AL-DU *bian*

(2) AL-BO *biŋu*, AL-BN *biŋu*, AL-HD *biŋuŋ*, AL-WR *biŋuŋ*, AL-PD *biŋuŋ*, AL-BA *biŋu*, AL-MN *biŋuŋ*,

river; stream:

(1) **PWL *lu**, LB *luŋu*, LI *luŋuŋ*, WB *lũ wã*, TB *luŋu*, LH *luŋu*, BL *luŋu*, MD *luŋu*, WK *luŋu*, **PAL *alu**, AL-MC *alu*, AL-BO *alu*, AL-BN *alu*, AL-HD *alu*, AL-WR *alu*, AL-PD *alu*, AL-BA *alu*, AL-MN *aluk*, AL-TR *fei alu*, AL-BY *alu*, AL-AB *alu*, AL-AK *alu*, AL-DU *alu*

(2) BP *wai ba*, BT *wai maʔã*, WW *wai*, HR *wai*, DH *wai*, LK *waimənaʔaŋ*, KG *wai maʔã*, IP *wai nahan*, ML *wai*

road:

(1) **PWL *lara(n)**, PK *larã*, LB *larã*, RB *larã*, LG *laran*, LI *laraŋ*, BM *larã*, WB *larã*, BP *larã*, LL *rarã*, TB *larã*, WW *larã*, HR *larã*, DH *rarã*, WT *rarã*, LK *rarã*, AD *rarã*, KG *rarã*, LH *laran*, BL *lara*, IP *laran*, MD *larã*, WK *lara*, ML *larã*, LM *larã*, **PAL *lara**, AL-MC *laraŋ*, AL-PD *laraŋ*, AL-MN *laraŋ*, AL-TR *laraŋ*, AL-BY *laraŋ*, AL-AB *laraŋ*

rope:

(1) **PWL *tale**, PK *tale*, LB *tale*, RB *tale*, LG *tale*, LI *tale*, BM *tale*, WB *tale*, BP *tale*, LL *tale*, BT *tale*, TB *tale*, WW *tale*, HR *tale*, DH *tale*, WT *taleʔ*, LK *tale*, AD *taleʔ*, KG *tale*, LH *tale*, BL *tale*, IP *tale*, MD *tale*, WK *tale*, ML *tale*, LM *tale*, **PAL *tale**, AL-MC *tale*, AL-BO *tale*, AL-BN *tale*, AL-HD *tale*, AL-WR *tale*, AL-PD *tale*, AL-BA *tale*, AL-MN *tale*, AL-TR *tale*, AL-BY *tale*, AL-AB *tale*, AL-AK *tale*, AL-DU *tale*

root:

(1) **PWL *ramut**, PK *ramut*, LB *ramu*, RB *amut*, LG *ramuk*, LI *ramu*, BM *ramut*, WB *amut*, BP *amut*, LL *amut*, BT *emut*, TB *ramut*, WW *amut*, HR *emut*, DH *ramut*, WT *ramut*, LK *amuta*, AD *amut*, KG *amut*, LH *amute*, BL *ramut*, IP *ramut*, MD *amut*, WK *amut*, ML *ramut*, LM *ramut*, **PAL *ramuk**, AL-MC *ramu*, AL-BO *ramuk*, AL-BN *ramuk*, AL-HD *ramuk*, AL-WR *ramuk*, AL-PD *ramu*, AL-BA *ramuk*, AL-MN *ramuk*, AL-TR *kadžo rambukuŋ*, AL-BY *rabukuŋ*, AL-AB *rabukuŋ*

rotten:

(1) **PWL *wau**, PK *wāu*, LB *wuhu*, RB *wāu*, LG *waũ*, LI *wauŋ*, BM *wāu*, WB *wāu*, BP *wāu*, LL *wāu*, BT *wāu*, TB *wāu*, WW *wāu*, HR *mənūtā*, DH *wāu*, WT *wāu*, LK *waũ*, KG *wāu*, LH *waũ*, BL *wau*, IP *waun*, MD *wāu*, WK *wau*, ML *wru*, LM *fāu*, **PAL *wau**, AL-MC *wau*, AL-BO *wau*, AL-BN *wau*, AL-HD *wau*, AL-WR *wau*, AL-PD *wau*, AL-BA *wau*, AL-MN *wou*, AL-AB *fou*, AL-AK *fou*, AL-DU *fukuŋ*

(2) AL-TR *nihi*, AL-BY *nihi*, AL-AB *nihij*

rough:

(1) AL-BY *kəro*, AL-AB *karo*, AL-AK *karo*

round:

(1) **PAL *gəlokor**, AL-MC *glokor*, AL-BO *blokor*, AL-BN *blokot*, AL-WR *glokor*, AL-BA *glokor*, AL-TR *gəloko*, AL-BY *gəloko*, AL-AB *galoko*, AL-AK *gloko*, AL-DU *galoko*

rub:

(1) PK *doru*, LB *doru*, RB *puʔũ*, LG *doruk*, LI *doruʔ*, BM *doru*, BP *doru*, LL *doru*, BT *doruk*, TB *doru*, WW *doru*, HR *doruk*, DH *doruk*, AD *doruʔ*, LH *doru*, BL *doru*, IP *doru*, MD *doru*, ML *doru*, LM *doru*

(2) WT *oso*, LK *oso*

(3) **PAL *doho**, AL-MC *doho*, AL-BO *doho*, AL-BN *doho*, AL-HD *doho*, AL-WR *doho*, AL-PD *doho*, AL-BA *doho*, AL-MN *doho*, AL-TR *doho*, AL-BY *doho apa*, AL-AB *doho*, AL-AK *doho*, AL-DU *doho*

run:

(1) **PWL *plaʔe**, LI *pəlaʔe*, AD *palaʔe*, **PAL *plae**, AL-MC *lae*, AL-BO *palae*, AL-BN *pəlae*, AL-HD *plae*, AL-WR *pəlae*, AL-PD *plae*, AL-BA *plae*, AL-MN *plaen*, AL-TR *palae*, AL-BY *pəlae*, AL-AB *palae*, AL-AK *pəlae*, AL-DU *palae*

rust:

(1) **PAL *wirij**, AL-MC *wirij*, AL-BN *wiwij*, AL-HD *wirij*, AL-WR *wirij*, AL-PD *ola wirij*, AL-BA *wirij*, AL-MN *wirij*, AL-TR *hafarinan*, AL-BY *hafarinji*, AL-AB *hafari neka*, AL-AK *hafarinj*, AL-DU *tarafij*

sail:

(1) **PWL *lajaʔ**, LI *lajaʔ*, AD *lajaʔ*, **PAL *ladʒa**, AL-BO *ladʒa*, AL-WR *ladʒa*, AL-PD *ladʒa*, AL-BA *ladʒa*, AL-MN *ladʒa*, AL-AB *ladʒa*, AL-AK *ladʒa*, AL-DU *ladʒa*

saliva:

(1) **PAL *ilu**, AL-MC *ilu*, AL-BA *pitonʔ ilu*, AL-MN *ilu*, AL-TR *ulij teinʔ*, AL-BY *uli teinʔ*, AL-AB *uli*, AL-DU *buhi ilu*

salt:

(1) **PWL *siʔa**, PK *siʔa*, LB *siʔa*, RB *siʔa*, LG *siʔa*, LI *siʔa*, BM *siʔa*, WB *siʔa*, BP *siʔa*, LL *siʔa*, BT *siʔa*, TB *siʔa*, WW *sia*, HR *siʔa*, DH *siʔa*, WT *siʔa*, LK *siʔa*, AD *siʔa*, KG *siʔa*, LH *sia*, BL *sia*, IP *sia*, MD *siʔa*, WK *siʔa*, ML *sia*, LM *sia*, **PAL *sia**, **PAL *sia**, AL-MC *sia*, AL-BO *sia*, AL-BN *sia*, AL-HD *sia*, AL-WR *sia*, AL-PD *sia*, AL-BA *sia*, AL-MN *sia*, AL-TR *sia*, AL-BY *sia*, AL-AB *sia*, AL-AK *sia*, AL-DU *sia*

salty:

(1) **PWL *pəro**, LI *pəro*, AD *pero*, **PAL *pəro**, AL-BO *per:o*, AL-BN *par:o*, AL-HD *wer:o*, AL-WR *par:o*, AL-PD *par:o*, AL-BA *pər:o*, AL-MN *par:o*, AL-TR *par:o*, AL-BY *par:o*, AL-AB *paro*, AL-AK *tar:o*, AL-DU *par:o*

same:

(1) **PWL *hama**, LI *hama*, AD *hama*, **PAL *hama**, AL-PD *hama*, AL-BA *hama*, AL-MN *hama*, AL-BY *hama*, AL-AB *hama*

sand:

(1) **PWL *ane**, **PAL *ane**, AL-MC *ane*, AL-BO *ane*, AL-BN *ane*, AL-HD *ani*, AL-WR *ane*, AL-PD *ane*, AL-BA *ani*, AL-MN *tani*, AL-TR *tani*, AL-BY *tani*, AL-AB *taniʔ*, AL-AK *teni*, AL-DU *tani*

(2) **PWL *wəra**, PK *wəra*, LB *wəra*, RB *wəra*, LG *wəra*, LI *wəra*, BM *wəra*, WB *wəra*, BP *wəra*, LL *wəra*, BT *wəra*, TB *wəra*, WW *wəra*, HR *wəra*, DH *wəra*, WT *wəra*, LK *wəra*, AD *wəra*, KG *wəra*, LH *wəra*, BL *wəra*, IP *wəra*, MD *wəra*, WK *wəra*

sarong (men):

(1) AL-BA *lipa*, AL-AB *lipa*, AL-DU *lipa*

sarong (women):

(1) **PWL *kəwata**, LI *kəwatə*, AD *kəwata*, **PAL *kəwata**, AL-MC *kwate*, AL-BO *nowaŋ*; *kəwate*, AL-BN *kəwate*, AL-HD *kəwate*, AL-WR *nowaŋ kawae*, AL-PD *kwate*, AL-BA *kəwatə*, AL-MN *kwate*, AL-AB *kəfate*, AL-AK *kəfate*

say:

(1) **PWL *mari**, LB *mari*, RB *marĩ*, LG *marĩ*, BM *marĩ*, WB *marĩ*, BP *mari*, LL *marĩ*, BT *marĩ*, TB *mari*, WW *marĩ*, HR *marĩ*, DH *marĩ*, WT *marĩ*, LK *mari*, KG *mari*, LH *mari*, BL *mari*, ML *m̃ri*, LM *mari*, **PAL *mariŋ**, AL-PD *mariŋ*, AL-MN *mariŋ*, AL-BY *mari*

(2) **PWL *tutu?**, LI *tutu?*, WK *tutu*, **PAL *tutu**, AL-MC *tutu*, AL-BO *tutu apa*, AL-BN *tutu apa*, AL-HD *tutu apa*, AL-WR *tutu*, AL-BA *tutu*, AL-TR *tutu*, AL-AB *tutu*, AL-AK *tutu*, AL-DU *tutu*

(3) LI *kɔda*, IP *koda*

scabies:

(1) **PAL *gato**, AL-MC *gato*, AL-BO *katu*, AL-HD *katu*, AL-WR *katu*, AL-PD *katu*, AL-BA *katu*, AL-MN *katu*, AL-TR *katu*, AL-BY *katu*, AL-AB *katu*

(2) LI *kəbuʔu*, AD *kəbuʔu*

scared:

(1) **PWL *taku?**, LB *taku?*, LG *taku*, LI *taku*, BM *taku*, WB *takut*, BP *takut*, LL *takut*, LH *takut*, MD *takut*, ML *taku*, **PAL *taku**, AL-MC *taku*, AL-BO *taku*, AL-BN *taku*, AL-HD *takut*, AL-WR *taku*, AL-PD *takuk*, AL-BA *taku*, AL-MN *taku*, AL-TR *taku*, AL-BY *taku*, AL-AB *taku*, AL-AK *taku*, AL-DU *taku*

(2) RB *soʔot*, BT *soʔot*, TB *soʔot*, WW *soʔot*, HR *soʔot*, DH *soʔot*, WT *soʔo*, LK *soʔo*, AD *soʔot*, KG *soʔot*, IP *soʔot*

(3) BL *kərui*, WK *kərui*, LM *kərui*

scorpion:

(1) **PAL *ala**, AL-MC *ala*, AL-BN *ala*, AL-HD *ala gagi*, AL-WR *ala*, AL-PD *ala*, AL-BA *ala*, AL-MN *ala*, AL-TR *ala*, AL-AB *ala*, AL-AK *ala*, AL-DU *ala*

(2) LI *kəmeko*, AD *məkət*

scratch:

(1) **PWL *garu**, PK *gaʔu*, LB *ragu*, RB *ragu*, LG *ragu*, LI *ragu?*, BM *ragu*, WB *ragu*, BP *ragu*, LL *ragu*, BT *ragu*, TB *ragu*, WW *garuk*, HR *ragu*, DH *ragu*, WT *garu*, LK *ragu*, AD *ragu?*, KG *ragu*, LH *ragu*, BL *ragu*, IP *gau*, MD *ragu*, WK *ragu*, ML *ragu*, LM *rago*, **PAL *gau**, AL-MC *gao*, AL-BO *gao*, AL-BN *gao*, AL-HD *gau*, AL-WR *gau*, AL-PD *gau*, AL-BA *gau*, AL-MN *gau*, AL-TR *gui*, AL-AB *gou*, AL-AK *gou*, AL-DU *garaku*

scream:

(1) AL-HD *gepar*, AL-WR *gakar*, AL-PD *gəpar*, AL-BA *gəpar*, AL-MN *gəpar*

(2) AL-MC *garoŋ*, AL-BO *garaŋ*, AL-BN *garaŋ*, AL-PD *oroŋ*

scrub:

(1) **PAL *doho**, AL-MC *doho*, AL-BN *doho*, AL-HD *dohok*, AL-WR *doho*, AL-PD *doho*, AL-BA *dohok*, AL-MN *doho*, AL-TR *doho*, AL-BY *doho*, AL-AB *doho*, AL-AK *doho*, AL-DU *doho*

sea:

(1) **PWL *tahik**, PK *tahik*, LB *tahi*, RB *tahik*, LG *tahik*, LI *tahi*, BM *tahik*, WB *tahik*, BP *tahik*, LL *tahik*, BT *tahik*, TB *tahik*, WW *tahik*, HR *tahik*, DH *tahik*, WT *tahik*, LK *tahik*, KG *tahi*, LH *tahi*, IP *tahi*, MD *tahik*, **PAL *tahi**, AL-MC *tahi*, AL-BO *tahi*, AL-BN *tahi*, AL-HD *tahi?*, AL-WR *tahi?*, AL-PD *tahi*, AL-BA *tahi*, AL-MN *tahi?*, AL-TR *tahi*, AL-BY *tahi*, AL-AB *tahi*, AL-AK *tahi*, AL-DU *tahi*

(2) AD *lewa?*, ML *lewa*, LM *lefa*

seabirds:

(1) AL-BN *hamba*, AL-AB *hamba*, AL-AK *hamba*

search for; look for:

(1) **PAL *gena**, AL-MC *gena*, AL-BO *gena*, AL-BN *gena*, AL-HD *gena*, AL-WR *gena*, AL-PD *gena*, AL-BA *gena*, AL-MN *gena*, AL-TR *gena*, AL-AB *gena*, AL-AK *gena*, AL-DU *gena*

(2) LI *seba?*, AD *s3ba?*

see:

(1) PK *bəlar*, TB *koi*, WW *hulā*, HR *hulā*, DH *hulā*, WT *təda?*, LK *təda*, AD *hul3*, KG *hulə*, LH *hulā*, BL *koi*, IP *niku*, MD *bəlele*, WK *hule*, ML *bele*, LM *təgəl*

(2) RB *tədə*, LG *tədə*, BM *tədə*, BP *tədə*, LL *tədə*

(3) **PAL *seru**, AL-BO *seru*, AL-BN *seru*, AL-HD *seru*, AL-WR *seru*, AL-PD *seru*, AL-BA *seru*, AL-MN *seru*, AL-TR *seru*, AL-BY *seru*, AL-AB *seru*, AL-AK *seru*, AL-DU *seru*

seed:

(1) PK *kulu?ü*, LB *kulu*, LG *kul?ü*, LI *kuluŋ*, BM *kulu?*, WB *kənulu?*, BP *kuluk*, BT *kul?ü*, TB *kulu?*, WW *kəlu?ü*, HR *kəlu?ü*, DH *kul?ü*, WT *kul?ü*, LK *kul?ü*, AD *kul?ü*, KG *kul?ü*, LH *kulü*, BL *kulu*, IP *kuluk*, MD *kul?ü*, WK *kul?u*, ML *kənuluk*

(2) **PAL *nean**, AL-HD *nean*, AL-WR *nean*, AL-BA *nean*, AL-AB *mənean*, AL-AK *mənean*, AL-DU *manian*

(3) AL-BO *kanuluk*, AL-PD *kuluŋ*, AL-MN *kuluŋ*, AL-AB *kulukun*

sell:

(1) **PAL *pənahən**, AL-MC *pənahən*, AL-BO *pənahən bui*, AL-BN *pənahən*, AL-HD *nahan*, AL-WR *pənahən*, AL-PD *pənahən*, AL-BA *pənahən apa*, AL-MN *pənahən*, AL-TR

pənahəŋ, AL-AB *panahaŋ* AL-DU *panahaŋ*

(2) LI *duʔuŋ*, AD *duʔũ*

seven:

(1) **PWL** ***pito**, LI *pitɔ*, AD *pito*, **PAL** ***pito**, AL-MC *pito*, AL-BO *pito*, AL-BN *pito*, AL-HD *pito*, AL-WR *pito*, AL-PD *pito*, AL-BA *pito*, AL-MN *pito*, AL-TR *pito*, AL-BY *pito*, AL-AB *pito*, AL-AK *pito*, AL-DU *pito*

sew:

(1) **PWL** ***hau**, PK *hau*, LB *hau*, RB *hau*, LG *hawurã*, BM *hãu*, WB *hau*, BP *hawu*, LL *hawu*, BT *hau*, WW *hau*, HR *hau*, DH *hau*, WT *hau*, LK *hawu*, AD *hau*, KG *hau*, LH *haur*, BL *haur*, IP *hau*, MD *haur*, WK *haur*, ML *hau*, LM *hau*, **PAL** ***haur**, AL-MC *haur*, AL-BO *haur*, AL-BN *haur*, AL-HD *haur*, AL-WR *haur*, AL-PD *haur*; *horu*, AL-BA *haur*, AL-MN *haur*, AL-TR *horu apa*, AL-BY *horu apa*, AL-AB *horu apa*, AL-AK *horu*, AL-DU *huru apa*

(2) LI *dauŋ*, TB *dau*

shaking; shivering:

(1) **PWL** ***bəber**, **PAL** ***bəber**, AL-BO *babər*, AL-BN *babɜr*, AL-HD *bɜbɜr*, AL-BA *babɜr*, AL-MN *bəbɜr*, AL-BY *babe*, AL-AB *babe*, AL-AK *babe*, AL-DU *nebabe*

(2) AL-MC *bəriŋi*, AL-BO *bəriŋi*, AL-BN *bəriŋi*, AL-WR *briŋi*, AL-PD *bariŋi*, AL-DU *bəraŋi*

(3) AL-TR *təwewa*, AL-BY *tafefa*, AL-AB *tawewa*

(4) AL-HD *aker*, AL-BA *aker*, AL-MN *aker*

shark:

(1) **PWL** ***io**, LI *io*, AD *hio*, **PAL** ***io**, AL-MC *io*, AL-BO *io*, AL-BN *io*, AL-HD *io*, AL-WR *io*, AL-PD *io*, AL-BA *io*, AL-MN *io*, AL-TR *iɔŋo*, AL-BY *iɔŋo*, AL-AB *iɔŋo*, AL-AK *io*, AL-DU *iɔŋo*

sharp:

(1) PK *gã*, LB *gã*

(2) RB *dəkət*, WB *dəkət*, BP *dəkət*, LL *dəkət*, BT *dəkət*, TB *dəkət*, WT *dəkət*, AD *dɜkɜt*, KG *dəkət*, IP *dəkət*

(3) LG *bərekə*, LI *bərəkə*, BM *bərəkət*, WW *bərəkət*, HR *bərəkət*, DH *wəreʔe*, LK *bərəkət*, LH *rəkətə*, BL *rəkət*, MD *bərəkət*, WK *rəkət*, ML *rəkə*, LM *bərəkət*

(4) **PAL** ***dake**, AL-MC *dako*, AL-BO *dake*, AL-BN *dake*, AL-HD *dəkek*, AL-WR *dəke*, AL-PD *dəkek*, AL-BA *dakek*, AL-MN *dəkek*; *dəke torak*, AL-TR *dake*, AL-BY *dake*, AL-AB *dake*, AL-AK *dake*, AL-DU *dake*

shave:

(1) **PAL *gei**, AL-MC *gei*, AL-BO *gei*, AL-BN *gei*, AL-HD *gehi*, AL-WR *gei*, AL-PD *gei*, AL-BA *gei*, AL-MN *gei*, AL-TR *gei*, AL-BY *gei*, AL-AB *gei*, AL-AK *gei*, AL-DU *gei*

shoot:

(1) **PWL *pasak**, PK *pasak*, LB *pasa*, RB *pasak*, LG *pasak*, LI *pasak*, BM *pasak*, WB *pasak*, BP *pasak*, LL *pasak*, BT *pasak*, TB *pasak*, WW *pasak*, HR *pasak*, DH *pasak*, WT *pasak*, LK *pasak*, AD *pasak*, KG *pasak*, LH *pasa*, BL *pasak*, IP *pasak*, MD *pasak*, WK *pasak*, ML *pasa*, LM *pasa*, **PAL *pasak**, AL-MC *pasak*, AL-BO *pasa*, AL-WR *pasak*, AL-PD *pasa*, AL-BA *pasa*, AL-MN *pasa*, AL-TR *pasa*, AL-BY *pasa*, AL-AB *pasa*, AL-DU *pasa*

short (objects or people):

- (1) PK *lerʔē*, LI *lereʔ*, BM *lere*, AD *rʔrē*
 (2) LB *pəsu*, LG *kəsu*, TB *ətu*, DH *kəsū*, WT *kəsʔū*, LK *kəsū*, MD *kəsʔu*, WK *kəsʔu*
 (3) RB *kəru*, WB *karu*, BP *kərū*, LL *kəru*, BT *kərʔū*, WW *kəru*, HR *kərʔū*, AD *kʔrū*, KG *kərʔū*, LH *kərʔu*, BL *kəru*, IP *kərukən*, LM *kəru*
 (4) **PAL *maku**, AL-MC *maku*, AL-BO *maku*, AL-BN *maku*, AL-HD *məku*, AL-WR *məku*, AL-PD *maku*, AL-BA *maku*, AL-MN *məku*, AL-TR *maku*, AL-BY *maku*, AL-AB *maku*, AL-AK *maku*, AL-DU *maku*
 (5) AL-PD *wero*, AL-MN *wero*, AL-AB *fero*

shoulder:

(1) **PAL *hanan**, AL-BO *hanan*, AL-BN *hanan*, AL-HD *hanak*, AL-WR *hanan*, AL-PD *hanan*, AL-BA *hanak*, AL-MN *hanan*, AL-TR *hane*, AL-AB *hanē*, AL-AK *hane*, AL-DU *hane*

shy; ashamed:

(1) **PWL *mia**, LI *mia*, AD *mia*, **PAL *mānian**, AL-MC *manian*, AL-BO *mānian*, AL-BN *manian*, AL-HD *manian*, AL-WR *menian*, AL-PD *mnia*, AL-BA *manian*, AL-MN *mnia*, AL-TR *manian*, AL-BY *mānian*, AL-AB *manian*, AL-AK *manian*, AL-DU *manian*

sick; painful:

(1) **PWL *bəlara**, AD *brara*, **PAL *bəlara**, AL-MC *bəlara*, AL-BO *blara*, AL-BN *blara*, AL-HD *blara*, AL-WR *blara*, AL-PD *blara*, AL-BA *blara*, AL-MN *blara*, AL-BY *blara*, AL-AB *bəlara*, AL-AK *blara*, AL-DU *belara*

silent:

(1) **PAL *mānehe**, AL-MC *nehe*, AL-TR *mānehe*, AL-BY *mānehe*, AL-AB *manehe*, AL-AK *mānehe*, AL-DU *manehe*

sing:

(1) PK *ɲani*, LB *ɲani*, LG *ɲani*, BM *ɲani*, BP *ɲani*, LL *ɲani*, TB *ɲani*, WT *ɲani*, LK *ɲani*, KG *ɲani*, MD *ɲani*, ML *ɲani*

(2) RB *kantar*, LI *kantar*, WB *kantar*, BT *kantar*, WW *kantar*, HR *kantar*, DH *kantar*, LH *kantar*, BL *kantar*, IP *kantar*, WK *kantar*, LM *kantar*

(3) **PAL *lian**, AL-MC *bota lian*, AL-HD *ralian*, AL-WR *maŋlian*, AL-PD *kaŋ lian*, AL-BA *raŋlian*, AL-MN *kaŋ lian*; *naŋ lian*, AL-TR *lian*, AL-BY *lian*, AL-AB *lian*, AL-AK *lian*, AL-DU *lian*

sit:

(1) **PWL *tobo**, PK *tobo*, LB *tobo*, RB *tobo*, LG *tobo*, LI *tɔbɔ*, BM *tobo*, WB *tobo*, BP *tobo*, LL *tobo*, BT *tobo*, TB *tobo*, WW *tobo*, HR *tobo*, DH *tobo*, WT *tobo*, LK *tobo*, AD *tobo*, KG *tobo*, LH *tobo*, BL *tobo*, IP *tobo*, MD *tobo*, WK *tobo*, ML *tobo*, LM *tobo*, **PAL *tobo**, AL-MC *tobo*, AL-BO *tobo*, AL-BN *tobo*, AL-HD *tobo*, AL-WR *tobo*, AL-PD *tobo*, AL-BA *tobo*, AL-MN *tobo*, AL-TR *tobo*, AL-BY *tobo*, AL-AB *tobo*, AL-AK *tobo*, AL-DU *tobo*

six:

(1) **PWL *nəmu**, LI *nəmuŋ*, AD *namu*, **PAL *nəmu**, AL-MC *nəmu*, AL-BO *namu*, AL-BN *namu*, AL-HD *nəmu*, AL-WR *nəmu*, AL-PD *namu*, AL-BA *nəmu*, AL-MN *nəmu*, AL-TR *namu*, AL-BY *nəmu*, AL-AB *namuŋ*, AL-AK *nəmu*, AL-DU *namu*

skin; bark of tree:

(1) **PWL *kulit**, PK *kulit*, LB *kuli*, LI *kuli*, BP *kulit*, WT *kulit*, LH *kulit*, **PAL *kulik**, AL-PD *kulik*, AL-MN *kulik*, AL-TR *kulikiŋ*, AL-AB *kulikiŋ*

(2) **PWL *kamak** ‘skin; bark (tree)’, RB *kamaʔ*, LG *kama*, BM *kama*, WB *kama*, LL *kamaʔ*, BT *kaŋʔa*, TB *kama*, WW *kaŋʔa*, HR *kamakət*, DH *kaŋʔa*, LK *kaŋʔa*, AD *kamakət*, KG *kaŋʔa*, BL *kama*, IP *kamak*, MD *kama*, WK *kama*, ML *kəmə*, LM *kāmā*, **PAL *kamaŋ**, AL-MC *kamaŋ*, AL-BO *kamaŋ*, AL-BN *kamaŋ*, AL-HD *kamaŋ*, AL-WR *kamaŋ*, AL-PD *kamaŋ*, AL-BA *kamaŋ*, AL-BY *kamaŋ*, AL-AK *kamaŋ*, AL-DU *kamaŋ*

skinny (human):

(1) **PAL *kipe**, AL-MC *kipe*, AL-BO *kipe*, AL-BN *ipe*, AL-HD *kipek*, AL-PD *kipek*, AL-MN *kipek*

sky:

(1) **PWL *kələN**, PK *kulā*, LB *kəlā*, RB *kəlā*, LG *kəlā*, LI *kələŋ*, BM *kəlā*, WB *kələ*, BP *kəlā*, LL *kələ*, BT *kəlā*, TB *kəlā*, WW *kəlā*, HR *kəlā*, DH *kələŋ*, WT *kəlā*, LK *kələŋ*, AD *kəɭɭ*, KG *kəɭɭ*, LH *kələm*, BL *kələm*, IP *kələm*, MD *kəlā*, WK *kələm*, ML *kəɭɭ*, LM *kəlā*, **PAL *kaleŋ**, AL-HD *kaleŋ*, AL-WR *kaleŋ*, AL-PD *kaleŋ*, AL-BA *kaleŋ*

slap:

- (1) **PWL *təpo**, LI *təpa*, AD *təpō*
- (2) **PWL *ləpa**, **PAL *ləpa**, AL-MC *ləpa*, AL-BO *ləpa*, AL-BN *ləpa*, AL-HD *ləpa*, AL-PD *ləpa*, AL-MN *ləpa*, AL-TR *ləpa*, AL-BY *ləpa*, AL-AB *ləpa*, AL-AK *ləpa*

sleep:

- (1) **PWL *turu**, PK *turu*, LB *turu*, RB *turu*, LG *turu*, LI *turu*, BM *turu*, WB *turu*, BP *turu*, LL *turu*, BT *turu*, TB *turu*, WW *turu*, HR *turuk*, DH *turu*, WT *turu*, LK *turu*, AD *turu*, KG *turu*, LH *turu*, BL *turu*, IP *turu*, MD *turu*, WK *turu*, ML *turu*, LM *turu*

slip:

- (1) AL-HD *dohu*, AL-WR *dohuk*
- (2) AL-BN *horuk*, AL-PD *horu*, AL-BA *horuk*

slow:

- (1) AL-MC *paha paha*, AL-BO *paa paa*, AL-BN *paa paa*, AL-TR *paha paha*, AL-AB *paha paha*, AL-AK *paha paha*
- (2) AL-WR *kilaŋ kilaŋ*, AL-PD *kilaŋ kilaŋ*, AL-BA *kilaŋ-kilaŋ*, AL-MN *kilaŋ kilaŋ*

small:

- (1) LG *kəne*, LI *kəne*, BM *kəni*, WB *kəne*, BP *kəne*, LL *kəni*, TB *kəni*, WW *kene*, HR *keni*, AD *keni*, KG *keni*, LM *keni*
- (2) LB *kərē*, ML *kəre*
- (3) **PWL *ana**, RB *anā*, BL *ana*, **PAL *anaŋ**, AL-MC *anaŋ*, AL-BO *anaŋ*, AL-BN *anak*, AL-PD *anaŋ*, AL-MN *anaŋ*
- (4) PK *kəsi?*, BT *kəsī*, LH *kesi*, MD *kesi*
- (5) AL-TR *kae*, AL-BY *kae*, AL-AB *kae*, AL-AK *kae*, AL-DU *kae*
- (6) AL-HD *kihu*, AL-WR *kihu*, AL-PD *kihu*, AL-BA *kihu*, AL-MN *kihu*

smell:

- (1) PK *siō*, LB *siō*, RB *siō*, LG *siō*, LI *siōŋ*, BM *siō*, WB *siō*, BP *siō*, LL *siō*, WW *sio*, WT *sioro*, LK *sio*
- (2) BT *pənuḱ*, LM *penukā*
- (3) HR *pənuḱuk*, DH *pənuḱuk*, AD *pənuḱuk*, KG *penuḱuk*, IP *nuḱuk*
- (4) LH *hodā*, BL *hodam*, MD *hodā*, WK *hodā*, ML *hodṛ*
- (5) AL-PD *mare*, AL-BA *mare*, AL-TR *mare*, AL-BY *mare*, AL-AB *mare*, AL-AK *mare*, AL-DU *mare*
- (6) AL-MC *narok*, AL-BO *nara*, AL-BN *nara*, AL-WR *nare*

smoke:

(1) **PWL *nuhu**, PK *nuhā*, RB *nuhu*, LG *nuhū*, LI *nuhūŋ*, BM *nuhu*, WB *nuhu*, BP *nuhū*, LL *huhū*, BT *nuhū*, TB *nuhu*, WW *nuhu*, HR *nuhu*, DH *nuhū*, WT *nuhū*, LK *nuhuŋ*, AD *nuhū*, KG *nuhū*, LH *nuhu*, MD *nuhu*, ML *nuhu*, **PAL *nuhuŋ**, AL-MC *pənuhuŋ*, AL-BO *panuhuŋ*, AL-BN *panuhuŋ*, AL-HD *nuhuŋ*, AL-WR *pnuhuŋ*, AL-PD *pənuhuŋ*, AL-BA *pənuhuŋ*, AL-MN *pnuhuŋ*, AL-TR *panuhuŋ*, AL-BY *pənuhuŋ*, AL-AB *panuhuŋ*, AL-AK *pənuhuŋ*, AL-DU *panuhū*

(2) BL *sənəgur*, WK *sənəgur*, LM *sənəgur*

smooth:

(1) **PWL *kəmelut**, AD *kəmelut*, **PAL *melu**, AL-MC *melu*, AL-BO *malok*, AL-BN *meluk*, AL-HD *melu*, AL-WR *meluk*, AL-PD *meluk*, AL-BA *meluk*, AL-MN *meluk*, AL-TR *hamelu*, AL-BY *AL-AB hamelu*, AL-AK *hamelu*, AL-DU *hamilu*

snake:

(1) **PWL *ulaʔ**, PK *ula*, LB *ulaʔ*, RB *ula*, LG *ula*, LI *ulaʔ*, BM *ulaʔ*, WB *ula*, BP *ulaʔ*, LL *ula*, BT *ula*, TB *ulaʔ*, WW *ula*, HR *ulaʔ*, DH *ulaʔ*, WT *ulaʔ*, LK *ula*, AD *ʔulaʔ*, KG *ulaʔ*, LH *ula*, BL *ula*, IP *ula*, MD *ula*, WK *ula*, ML *ula*, LM *ula*, **PAL *ula**, AL-MC *ula*, AL-BO *ula*, AL-BN *ula*, AL-HD *ula*, AL-WR *ula*, AL-PD *ula*, AL-BA *ula*, AL-MN *ula*, AL-TR *ula*, AL-BY *ular*, AL-AB *ula*, AL-AK *ula*, AL-DU *ula*

snail:

(1) **PAL *kehe**, AL-MC *kehe*, AL-BO *kehe*, AL-BN *kehe*, AL-PD *kehe*, AL-BA *kehe*, AL-AB *kehe*, AL-DU *kehe*

(2) AL-WR *kumaŋ*, AL-AK *kumaŋ*

some:

(1) PK *bopira*, LB *bopirā*, RB *bopira*, LG *bopira*, BM *bopira*, WB *bopira*, BP *bopira*, LL *bopira*, BT *bopira*, TB *bopira*, WW *bopira*, HR *bopira*, DH *bopira*, WT *bopira*, LK *bopira*, KG *pira pira*, LH *pira*, BL *bopira*, IP *pira pira*, MD *pira pira*, WK *pira pira*, ML *pira pira*, LM *bopira*

sorcerer; witch:

(1) AL-TR *fəloruŋ*, AL-AK *laforuŋ*, AL-DU *nafuruŋ*

(2) AL-PD *mnaka*, AL-MN *mnaka*, AL-BY *nakarasuŋ apa*, AL-AB *manaka*

sour:

(1) **PAL *gilo**, AL-BO *gilo*, AL-HD *gilo*, AL-PD *gilo*; *gilon*, AL-BA *gilo*, AL-MN *gilon*, AL-TR *gilo*, AL-BY *gilo*, AL-AB *gilo*, AL-AK *kilo*, AL-DU *tegilo*

(2) AL-MC *tobi*, AL-BO *tobi*, AL-BN *tobi*, AL-WR *tobi*, AL-BA *tobi*

sow:

(1) **PAL *wereha**, AL-MC *wəreha*, AL-BO *wəreha*, AL-BN *wəreha*, AL-AB *fereha*, AL-AK *fereha*, AL-DU *fereha*

(2) AL-HD *breha*, AL-WR *breha*, AL-PD *breha*, AL-BA *breha*, AL-MN *breha*,

spit:

(1) PK *pino*, LB *pino*, RB *pəriño*, LG *pəriño*, LI *pəriño*, BM *pəriño*, WB *pəriño*, BP *pəriño*, LL *pəriño*, BT *pəriño*, WW *pəriño*, HR *pəriño*, DH *pəriño*, WT *pəriño*, LK *pəriño*, AD *prino*, KG *pəriño*, LH *prino*, IP *pino*, MD *pəriño*, ML *pəriño*

(2) BL *təmidžo*, WK *təmidžo*, LM *təmiro*

spacious:

(1) **PAL *pələŋaŋ**, AL-MC *leŋaŋ*, AL-BO *pleŋa*, AL-HD *pleŋa*, AL-PD *pleŋaŋ*, AL-BA *pleŋaŋ*, AL-MN *pleŋaŋ*, AL-TR *pleŋaŋ*, AL-BY *pleŋaŋ*, AL-AB *pleŋaŋ*, AL-AK *pleŋa*, AL-DU *pələŋaŋ*

spear:

(1) AL-HD *turaiŋ*, AL-WR *turaiŋ*, AL-PD *turaiŋ*, AL-MN *turaiŋ*

(2) AL-PD *rapaŋ*, AL-MN *rapaŋ*

(3) LI *gala*, AD *gala?*

spider:

(1) **PAL *taragaŋ**, AL-MC *tragaŋ*, AL-BO *taragaŋ*, AL-BN *taragaŋ*, AL-HD *tragaŋ*, AL-WR *tragaŋ*, AL-BA *kragaŋ*, AL-MN *kanga ruka*, AL-TR *kəraŋga*, AL-AB *karaŋga*, AL-AK *kəraŋga*, AL-DU *kəraŋga*

split:

(1) **PWL *bəta**, IP *bəta*, **PAL *bəta**, AL-MC *bata*, AL-BO *bata*, AL-BN *bata*, AL-WR *bata*, AL-PD *bəta; bata*, AL-TR *bata*, AL-BY *bəta*, AL-AB *batak*, AL-AK *bəta*, AL-DU *bata*

(2) AL-HD *pea*, AL-PD *pea*, AL-BA *pea*, AL-MN *pea*

squeeze:

(1) PK *piʔuk*, LB *piʔu*, RB *piʔuk*, LG *piʔu*, LI *piʔu*, BM *piʔuk*, WB *piʔuk*, BT *peʔut*, WW *piʔuk*, HR *piʔuk*, DH *piʔuk*, AD *piʔuk*, KG *piʔuk*, LH *piuk*, BL *piuk*, IP *piuk*, MD *piuk*, WK *piʔuk*, ML *piu*, LM *piuk*

(2) BP *ikut*, LL *ikut*, TB *ikut*, LK *iku*

(3) **PAL *peme**, AL-BO *peme*, AL-HD *peme*, AL-WR *peme*, AL-PD *peme*, AL-BA *peme*, AL-MN *peme*, AL-BY *peme*, AL-AB *peme*, AL-AK *peme*, AL-DU *peme*

stab:

(1) PK *tubak*, LB *tuba*, RB *tubak*, LG *tubak*, BM *tubak*, WB *tubak*, BP *tubak*, LL *tubak*, BT *tubak*, TB *tubak*, WW *tubak*, HR *tubak*, DH *tubak*, WT *tubak*, LK *tubak*, KG *tubak*, LH *tubak*, BL *tubak*, IP *tuba*, MD *tubak*, WK *tubak*, ML *tuba*, LM *tuba*

(2) AL-MC *tuhu*, AL-HD *tuhuk*, AL-WR *tuhu*, AL-PD *tuhu*, AL-BA *tuhuk*, AL-MN *tuhu*, AL-AB *tuhu*, AL-AK *tuhu*

(3) **PAL** **sika*, AL-BO *sika*, AL-BN *sika*, AL-PD *sika*, AL-BA *sika*, AL-MN *sika*, AL-TR *sika*, AL-BY *sika* *apa*, AL-AB *sika*, AL-DU *sika*

stand:

(1) **PWL** **deʔi*, PK *deʔi*, LB *deʔi*, RB *deʔi*, LG *deʔi*, LI *deʔij*, BM *deʔi*, WB *deʔi*, BP *deʔi*, LL *deʔi*, BT *deʔi*, TB *deʔi*, WW *deʔi*, HR *dei*, DH *deʔi*, WT *deʔi*, LK *deʔi*, AD *deʔi*, KG *deʔi*, LH *deʔi*, BL *dei*, IP *dei*, MD *deʔi*, WK *deʔi*, ML *dei*, LM *dei*, **PAL** **tide*, AL-MC *tide*, AL-BO *tide*, AL-BN *tide*, AL-HD *tide*, AL-WR *tide*, AL-PD *tide*, AL-BA *tide*, AL-MN *tide*, AL-TR *tide*, AL-BY *tide*, AL-AB *tide*, AL-AK *tide*, AL-DU *tide*

star:

(1) **PWL** *(**m**)*tala*, PK *talaʔ*, LG *pətala*, LI *pətala*, BM *pətala*, WB *pətala*, BP *pətala*, LL *pətala*, TB *kətala*, WW *pətala*, HR *pətala*, BL *təmala*, IP *təmala*, **PAL** **təmala*, AL-MC *tamala*, AL-BO *təmala*, AL-BN *tamala*, AL-HD *mala*, AL-WR *mala*, AL-PD *təmala*, AL-BA *təmala*, AL-MN *mala*, AL-TR *təmala*, AL-BY *tamala*, AL-AB *tamala*, AL-AK *təmala*, AL-DU *tamala*

(2) LB *bəlia*, RB *bəlia*, ML *bəlia*

(3) BT *epət*, DH *ətəp*, WT *etəp*, LK *e təp*, AD *ʔetəp*, MD *etəp*

(4) LH *tona*, WK *tona*, LM *tona*

starfish:

(1) LI *bəwəjɔŋ*, AD *bowojō*

(2) **PAL** **tapina*, AL-MC *tapina*, AL-BO *tapina*, AL-HD *tapina*, AL-WR *tapina*, AL-PD *tapina*, AL-BA *tapina*, AL-MN *tapina*

stem:

(1) PK *pukā*, LB *pukā*, RB *pukā*, LG *pukā*, BM *pukā*, WB *pukə*, BP *pukən*, LL *pukē*, BT *pukā*, TB *pukə*, WW *pukā*, HR *əpā*, DH *əpʔā*, WT *pukā*, LK *pukā*, LH *pukā*, IP *pukən*, MD *pukā*, ML *pukə*, LM *pukā*

(2) BL *tawa*, WK *tawa*

step on:

(1) **PAL** **giha*, AL-MC *giha*, AL-BO *giha*, AL-BN *giha*, AL-HD *pihak*, AL-WR *gihak*, AL-PD *giha*, AL-BA *pihak*, AL-MN *giha*, AL-TR *giha*, AL-BY *giha*, AL-AB *giha*, AL-AK *piha*, AL-DU *gea*

stingray:

(1) **PAL *pae**, AL-MC *pae*, AL-BO *ikaŋ pae*, AL-BN *pae*, AL-HD *pae*, AL-WR *ikaŋ pae*, AL-PD *pae*, AL-BA *pae*, AL-MN *pae*, AL-TR *kalapa*, AL-BY *pai kela*, AL-AB *pai kela*, AL-AK *pai kela*, AL-DU *pai kela*

stone; rock:

(1) **PWL *wato**, PK *wato*, LB *wato*, RB *wato*, LG *wato*, LI *watɔ*, BM *wato*, WB *wato*, BP *wato*, LL *wato*, BT *wato*, TB *wato*, WW *wato*, HR *wato*, DH *wato*, WT *wato*, LK *wato*, AD *watɔ*, KG *wato*, LH *wato*, BL *wato*, IP *wato*, MD *wato*, WK *wato*, ML *wato*, LM *fato*, **PAL *wato**, AL-MC *wato*, AL-BO *wato*, AL-BN *wato*, AL-HD *wato*, AL-WR *wato*, AL-PD *wato*, AL-BA *wato*, AL-MN *wato*, AL-TR *fato*, AL-BY *fato*, AL-AB *fato*, AL-AK *fato*, AL-DU *fato*

stomach; belly:

(1) **PWL *tai**, LB *tāi*, RB, LG *tāi*, WB *tāikəboti*, BP *tāikəboti*, LL *tāikəboti*, BT *tāik lorā*, TB *tāi kəboti*, WW *tāikəboti*, AD *taim*, LH *taikət onā*, BL *taik kaluŋ*, IP *taik onən*, MD *taik kalunā*, WK *taik kaluŋ*, **PAL *taiŋ**, AL-BO *taiŋ*, AL-BN *taiŋ*, AL-PD *taiŋ*, AL-AB *taiŋ*, AL-AK *taiŋ*

(2) LB *luwu*, LG *luwu*, LI *luwuŋ*, BL *luwuk*, LM *lufu*

(3) PK *dulak*, BM *dulak*

(4) RB *ale*, WB *alek*, BP *ale*, LL *ale*, TB *ale*

straight:

(1) RB *mopā*, LG *mopaʔ*, LI *mopaʔ*, BM *mopa*, WB *mopa*, BP *mopa*, LL *mopa*

(2) PK *lorʔā*, KG *kəlohʔā*

(3) LB *kəlodo*, BT *kəlohok*, TB *kəlo*, WW *kəloho*, HR *kəloho*, DH *kəloho*, WT *kəloho*, LK *kəloho*, AD *kəlohɔ*, KG *kəlohʔa*

(4) **PWL *mulu**, LH *murā*, BL *mulu*, IP *mūr*, MD *murā*, WK *mulu*, ML *mulu*, LM *mūlu*, **PAL *moloŋ**, AL-MC *moloŋ*, AL-BO *malon*, AL-BN *malon*, AL-HD *moloŋ*, AL-WR *moloŋ*, AL-PD *moloŋ*, AL-BA *moloŋ*, AL-MN *moloŋ*, AL-TR *molo*, AL-BY *molo*, AL-AB *molo*, AL-AK *molo*, AL-DU *molo*

strangle:

(1) **PAL *peme**, AL-HD *peme*, AL-WR *peme*, AL-PD *peme kebukor*, AL-BA *peme*, AL-MN *pemek kbukor*, AL-TR *peme no*, AL-BY *peme*, AL-AK *peme*, AL-DU *peme*

(2) AL-BO *lage*, AL-BN *lage*, AL-AB *lage*

suck:

(1) PK *tuho*, LB *tuho*, RB *tuho*, LG *tuho*, BM *tuho*, WB *tuho*, BP *tuho*, LL *tuho*, BT *tuho*, TB *tuho*, WW *tuho*, HR *tuho*, DH *tuho*, WT *tuho*, LK *tuho*, KG *tuho*, LH *tuho*, BL *tuo*, IP *tuho*, MD *tuho*, WK *tuho*, ML *tuho*, LM *tu*

(2) LI *is3*, AD *ʔis3p*

sugar palm:

(1) **PWL *pola**, AD *polaʔ*, **PAL *pola**, AL-MC *pole*, AL-HD *pola*, AL-WR *pola*, AL-PD *pola*, AL-BA *pola*, AL-MN *pola pukonj*

sugarcane:

(1) **PWL *təwo**, LI *təwo*, AD *təwɔ*, **PAL *təwo**, AL-MC *tewo*, AL-BO *tewo*, AL-BN *tawo*, AL-HD *tewo*, AL-WR *tawo*, AL-PD *tawo*, AL-BA *tewo*, AL-MN *tewo*, AL-TR *tafo*, AL-AB *tafo*, AL-AK *tafo*, AL-DU *tafo*

sun:

(1) **PWL *ləra**, PK, *ləra* LB *ləra*, RB *ləra*, LG *ləra*, LI *ləra:*, BM *ləra*, WB *ləra*, BP *rəra*, LL *rəra*, BT *rəra*, TB *ləra*, WW *ləra*, HR *ləra*, DH *ləra*, WT *rəra*, LK *rəra*, AD *rəra*, KG *rəra*, LH *ləra*, BL *ləra*, IP *ləra*, MD *ləra*, WK *ləra*, ML *ləra*, LM *ləra*, **PAL *ləra**, AL-MC *lər:a*, AL-BO *lər:a*, AL-BN *ler:a*, AL-HD *lər:a*, AL-WR *ler:a*, AL-PD *lər:a*, AL-BA *lər:a*, AL-MN *lər:a*, AL-TR *ler:a*, AL-BY *ler:a*, AL-AB *lara*, AL-AK *lera*, AL-DU *lər:a*

surrender:

(1) AL-PD *somba*, AL-MN *somba*

surprised; shocked:

(1) **PAL *kagur**, AL-MC *kagur*, AL-BO *kagur*, AL-BN *kagur*, AL-WR *kagur*, AL-PD *kagur*, AL-BA *kagur*, AL-MN *kagur*, AL-AB *kagu*, AL-AK *kagu*, AL-DU *kagu*

swallow:

(1) **PAL *talenj**, AL-MC *talonj*, AL-BO *talenj*, AL-BN *talenj*, AL-HD *terenj*, AL-WR *talenj*, AL-PD *talenj*, AL-BA *talenj*, AL-MN *telej apa*, AL-TR *taleinj*, AL-BY *taleinj*, AL-AK *telej*, AL-DU *go talinj*

sweat:

(1) **PAL *namek**, AL-MC *nəmo*, AL-BO *name*, AL-BN *name*, AL-HD *nəme*, AL-WR *name*, AL-PD *name*, AL-BA *namek*, AL-MN *nəmek*, AL-TR *haname*, AL-BY *haname*, AL-AB *haname*, AL-AK *haname*, AL-DU *haname*

(2) LI *əwunj*, AD *ʔəwũ*

swell:

(1) **PWL *baʔa**, LB *baʔa*, RB *baʔa*, LG *baʔa*, LI *baʔa*, BM *baʔa*, WB *baʔa*, BP *baʔa*, LL *baʔa*, BT *baʔa*, TB *baʔa*, WW *baʔ*, HR *baʔa*, DH *baʔa*, WT *baʔa*, LK *baʔa*, AD *baʔa*, KG *baʔa*, IP *bā*, **PAL *baŋ**, AL-MC *ba*, AL-BO *baŋ*, AL-BN *baŋ*, AL-WR *baŋ*, AL-PD *baŋ*, AL-TR *baonəŋ*, AL-BY *baonəŋ*, AL-AB *bao*, AL-AK *bao*, AL-DU *bao*

- (1) LH *hogor*, MD *nogor*
- (2) WK *kəbəte*, ML *kebaras*, LM *kəbaras*

sweep:

- (1) AL-BY *gara ekaŋ*, AL-AB *gara ekaŋ*, AL-AK *gara ekaŋ*, AL-DU *gara ekaŋ*
- (2) AL-MC *kanaeŋ*, AL-BO *haeŋ*, AL-HD *kaiŋ*, AL-WR *haiŋ*, AL-PD *haiŋ ekaŋ*, AL-MN *haiŋ ekaŋ*

swim:

- (1) **PWL** **naŋe*, PK *naŋe*, LB *naŋe*, RB *naŋe*, LG *naŋe*, LI *naŋe*, BM *naŋe*, BP *naŋe*, LL *naŋe*, BT *naŋe*, TB *naŋe*, WW *naŋe*, HR *naŋe*, DH *naŋe*, WT *naŋe*, LK *naŋe*, AD *naŋe*, KG *naŋe*, LH *naŋe*, BL *naŋe*, IP *naŋe*, MD *naŋe*, WK *naŋe*, ML *naŋe*, LM *naŋe*, **PAL** **naŋge*, AL-MC *nage*, AL-BO *naŋge*, AL-BN *naŋge*, AL-HD *naŋge*, AL-WR *naŋge*, AL-PD *naŋge*, AL-BA *naŋge*, AL-MN *naŋge*, AL-TR *naŋge*, AL-BY *naŋge*, AL-AB *naŋge*, AL-AK *naŋge*, AL-DU *naŋge*

swing:

- (1) AL-MC *ota*, AL-WR *kota*, AL-PD *ota*
- (2) AL-HD *tea*, AL-BA *tea*

tail:

- (1) **PWL** **ikuʔ*, PK *kikuʔ*, LB *kiku*, RB *iku*, LG *ikū*, LI *ikuʔuŋ*, BM *iku*, WB *iku*, BP *ikū*, LL *ikū*, BT *iku*, TB *iku*, WW *ikū*, HR *ikuk*, DH *ikū*, WT *ikū*, LK *iku*, AD *ʔikʔū*, KG *ikū*, LH *ikū*, BL *iku*, IP *ikuk*, MD *iku*, WK *iku*, ML *iku*, LM *iku*, **PAL** **iku*, AL-MC *iku*, AL-BO *ikuk*, AL-BN *ikuk*, AL-HD *neikuk*, AL-WR *ikuk*, AL-PD *ikuk*, AL-BA *ikuk*, AL-MN *ikuk*, AL-TR *ikukuŋ*, AL-BY *ikukuŋ*, AL-AB *ikukuŋ*, AL-AK *ikukuŋ*, AL-DU *ikukuŋ*

tall:

- (1) **PWL** **bəlolo*, LI *bəloa*, AD *bləʔlɔ̃*, **PAL** **bəlolo*, AL-MC *blolo*, AL-BO *blolo*, AL-BN *lolo*, AL-HD *blolok*, AL-WR *blolok*, AL-PD *blolok*, AL-BA *blolok*, AL-MN *blolok*, AL-TR *bəlolo*, AL-BY *balolo*, AL-AB *balolo*, AL-AK *blolo*, AL-DU *bəlolok*

taro:

- (1) AL-HD *wela*, AL-PD *kəwala*, AL-BA *kwəla*, AL-MN *kwəla*
- (2) LI *kəladi*, AD *kəladi*

teach:

- (1) AL-BO *nuaŋ*, AL-PD *nuaŋ*, AL-BA *nuaŋ*, AL-MN *nuaŋ apa*

tear:

(1) **PWL *lou**, LI *louŋ*, AD *lō*, **PAL *lou**, AL-MC *matanŋ louŋ*, AL-BO *matanŋ louŋ*, AL-BN *matanŋ louŋ*, AL-HD *louŋ*, AL-WR *matanŋ louŋ*, AL-PD *matanŋ louŋ*, AL-BA *matanŋ louŋ*, AL-MN *matanŋ louŋ*, AL-TR *lou*, AL-BY *lou*, AL-AB *lou*, AL-AK *lou*

teeth:

(1) **PWL *ipe**, PK *ipək*, LB *ipə*, RB *ipə*, LG *ipə*, LI *ipəʔ*, BM *ipə*, WB *ipə*, BP *ipət*, LL *ipə*, BT *ipə*, TB *ipə*, WW *ipə*, HR *ipək*, DH *ipɾ*, WT *ipʔā*, LK *ipā*, AD *ipəʔ*, KG *ipək*, LH *ipəkə*, BL *ipək*, IP *ipək*, MD *ipə*, WK *ipē*, ML *ipə*, LM *ipā*

(2) **PAL *ulonŋ**, AL-MC *ulonŋ*, AL-BO *ulonŋ*, AL-BN *ulonŋ*, AL-HD *uloʔ*, AL-WR *ulonŋ*, AL-PD *ulonŋ*, AL-BA *ulonŋ*, AL-MN *ulonŋ*, AL-TR *ulonŋ*, AL-BY *ulonŋ*, AL-AB *ulonŋ*, AL-AK *ulonŋ*, AL-DU *ulonŋ*

testicles:

(1) **PWL *kuluŋ**, LI *kuluŋuŋ*, **PAL *lahak kuluŋ**, AL-PD *lahak kuluŋ*, AL-BA *lahak kuluŋ*, AL-AB *lahakanŋ kulukunŋ*

(2) **PWL *lahak**, AD *lahak*, **PAL *lahak**, AL-PD *lahak kuluŋ*, AL-BA *lahak kuluŋ*, AL-AB *lahakanŋ kulukunŋ*

that:

(1) RB *pe*, LG *peʔē*, LI *pe:*, BM *peʔē*, WB *pe*, BP *pe*, LL *peʔē*, BT *pe*, TB *peʔē*, WW *pe*, HR *pe*, DH *ne*, WT *pe*, KG *nəpe*, LH *nəpe*, BL *pəpe*, IP *pe*, MD *nəpe*, WK *nəpe*, ML *nəpe*, LM *pe*

(2) PK *teteʔē*, LB *teʔē*

(3) LK *nəwe*, AD *nhē*:

thick:

(1) **PAL *gapal**, AL-MC *gapa*, AL-BO *gapal*, AL-BN *gapa*, AL-HD *gapal*, AL-WR *gapal*, AL-PD *gapal*, AL-BA *gapal*, AL-MN *gapal*, AL-TR *gapa*, AL-BY *gapa*, AL-AB *gapa*, AL-AK *gapal*, AL-DU *gapal*

thin (non-human):

(1) **PWL *nənipih**, PK *nipi*, LB *mənipi*, RB *mənipī*, LG *mənipi*, LI *mənipi*, BM *mənipi*, WB *mənipi*, BP *mənipi*, LL *mənipī*, BT *mənipihī*, TB *nipi*, WW *mənipi*, HR *mənipihī*, DH *mənipi*, WT *mənipi*, LK *mənipi*, AD *mənipi*, KG *mənipihī*, LH *bənipi*, BL *nipi*, IP *nipi*, MD *bənipi*, WK *nipi*, ML *bənipi*, LM *mənipi*, **PAL *mənipi**, AL-MC *mənipi*, AL-BO *manipi*, AL-BN *manipi*, AL-HD *nipi nipi*, AL-WR *nipiʔ*, AL-PD *nipi/mənipi*, AL-BA *nipi*, AL-MN *nipi*, AL-TR *mənipi*, AL-BY *mənipi*, AL-AB *manipi*, AL-AK *manipi*, AL-DU *mənipi*

think:

- (1) PK *nəkət*, LG *nəkət*, LI *nəkə*, BM *nəkət*
- (2) RB *petə*, BT *petən*, WW *petən*, HR *petən*, DH *petəŋ*, WT *petā*, LK *petā*, AD *petə*, KG *petə*, LH *petən*, BL *pet*, IP *petən*, MD *petā*, WK *petā*, ML *petr*, LM *petā*
- (3) LB *hu*, WB *ukut*, BP *hukut*, LL *hukut*, TB *ukut*

this:

- (1) PK *iteʔē*, LB *teʔē*
- (2) LG *piʔi*, LI *pi*, BM *piʔi*, WB *pi*, BP *pi*, LL *piʔi*, BT *pi*, TB *piʔi*, WT *pi*, LM *pi*
- (3) WW *ni*, HR *ni*, DH *ni*, AD *nhi*, KG *ni*, MD *niʔi*
- (4) LH *napi*, BL *nəpi*, WK *nəpi*, ML *nəpi*

thorns:

- (1) **PAL *dake**, AL-MC *dako*, AL-BO *dake*, AL-BN *dake*, AL-HD *dəke*, AL-WR *dake*, AL-PD *dakek*, AL-BA *dəkek*, AL-MN *apa dəkek*, AL-TR *kekeŋ*, AL-BY *dake*, AL-AB *apa da kekeŋ*, AL-AK *dəke*, AL-DU *dake*

thousand:

- (1) LI *ribu*, AD *ribu*, AL-MN *ribu*, AL-AB *ribu*

thread:

- (1) **PAL *kapo**, AL-MC *kapo*, AL-BO *kapo*, AL-BN *kapo*, AL-HD *kapo*, AL-PD *kapo*, AL-MN *kapo*, AL-TR *kapo*, AL-BY *kapo*, AL-AB *AL-AK kapo*
- (2) AL-BN *banan*, AL-WR *banan*, AL-BA *benan*, AL-AB *banan*, AL-DU *banan*

throw:

- (1) LB *geba*, RB *geba*, WB *geba*, BP *geba*, LL *geba*, BT *geba*, TB *dəka*, WW *gahak*, HR *paluk*, DH *gahak*, WT *gahak*, LK *gahak*, AD *gebaʔ*, KG *geba*, LH *geba*, BL *geba*, IP *gaha*, MD *geba*, WK *geba*, ML *dəka*, LM *geba*
- (2) **PAL *tiwan**, AL-MC *tiwan*, AL-BO *tiwan*, AL-BN *tiwan*, AL-HD *tiwan*, AL-WR *tiwan*, AL-PD *tiwan*, AL-BA *tiwan*, AL-MN *dei tiwan*, AL-TR *fifan*, AL-BY *dei*, AL-AB *tifan*, AL-AK *tifan*, AL-DU *tifan*
- (3) **PAL *deiŋ**, AL-MC *de*, AL-BO *deiŋ*, AL-BN *deiŋ*, AL-HD *dei*, AL-WR *dei*, AL-PD *dei*, AL-BA *deik*, AL-MN *dei*, AL-TR *deiŋ apa*, AL-BY *deiŋ*, AL-AB *deiŋ*, AL-AK *deiŋ*, AL-DU *deiŋ*
- (4) LG *wəṛā*, LI *wəṛəŋ*, BM *wəṛə*

three:

- (1) **PWL *təlo**, LI *təl:o*, AD *təlo*, **PAL *təlo**, AL-MC *tal:o*, AL-BO *tal:o*, AL-BN *tal:o*, AL-HD *təl:o*, AL-WR *tal:o*, AL-PD *təl:o*, AL-BA *təl:o*, AL-MN *təl:o*, AL-TR *tal:o*, AL-BY *təl:o*, AL-AB *təl:o*, AL-AK *təlo*, AL-DU *talo*

tinea:

(1) **PWL *mənao**, LI *mau*, AD *mənao*, **PAL *mənau**, AL-BN *mənao*, AL-HD *nao*, AL-WR *nao?*, AL-PD *nao/mnao*, AL-BA *nao*, AL-MN *nao*, AL-TR *mənau*, AL-BY *mənau*, AL-AB *manau*, AL-AK *mənau*, AL-DU *mənau*

to ask (question):

(1) **PWL *gəter**, LI *gətə*, **PAL *gəter**, AL-MC *gator*, AL-BO *gater*, AL-BN *gater*, AL-HD *geter*, AL-WR *gater apa*, AL-PD *gater*, AL-BA *gəter*, AL-MN *gəter*, AL-TR *gatego*, AL-BY *gate*, AL-AB *gate*, AL-AK *gate*, AL-DU *gate*

to bathe:

(1) **PWL *habo**, LI *həbɔ*, AD *habo*, **PAL *habo**, AL-MC *habo*, AL-BO *habo*, AL-BN *habo*, AL-HD *habo*, AL-WR *habo*, AL-PD *habo; habo bai*, AL-BA *habo*, AL-MN *habo*, AL-TR *habo*, AL-BY *habo*, AL-AB *habo; habo beka*, AL-AK *habo*, AL-DU *habou*

to call out:

(1) AL-HD *gepar*, AL-PD *gəpar*, AL-MN *gəpar*

to cook:

(1) **PAL *dakaŋ**, AL-MC *dakaŋ*, AL-BO *dakaŋ*, AL-BN *dakaŋ*, AL-HD *dakaŋ*, AL-WR *dakaŋ*, AL-PD *dakaŋ*, AL-BA *dakaŋ*, AL-MN *dakaŋ*, AL-TR *dakaŋ*, AL-BY *dakaŋ*, AL-AB *dakaŋ*, AL-AK *dakaŋ*, AL-DU *kədakaŋ*

to go; leave:

(1) **PWL *naʔi**, LI *naʔi*, AD *naʔi*, **PAL *mai**, AL-WR *mai*, AL-BA *mai*, AL-TR *mei*, AL-AB *mei*, AL-AK *mei*

to hang:

(1) **PAL *teleŋ**, AL-MC *teleŋ*, AL-BO *teleŋ*, AL-BN *teleŋ*, AL-HD *teleŋ*, AL-WR *teleŋ*, AL-PD *teleŋ*, AL-BA *teleŋ*, AL-MN *teleŋ*, AL-TR *teleŋ*, AL-AB *teleŋ*, AL-AK *teleŋ*

to lie (tell untruth):

(1) **PWL *akal**, LI *opaʔakal*, **PAL *akal**, AL-HD *akal apa*, AL-WR *akal apa*, AL-BA *akal*, AL-TR *akala*, AL-BY *akala*, AL-AK *akala*, AL-DU *makala*
(2) AL-MN *kibir*, AL-TR *kibiri ata*, AL-AB *kibiri*, AL-AK *kibirin*

to mix; to blend:

(1) AL-BN *dawuŋ*, AL-WR *dawuŋ*, AL-PD *dawuŋ wəkiŋ*, AL-AK *dafuŋ*, AL-DU *dafuŋ*

to sail:

(1) **PWL *bua**, LI *bua tena*, AD *bua*.; **PAL *bua**, AL-MC *bua*, AL-BO *bua*, AL-BN *bua*, AL-HD *bua*, AL-PD *bua*, AL-BA *boa*, AL-MN *bua*, AL-TR *bua*, AL-BY *bua*, AL-AB *bua*, AL-AK *bua*, AL-DU *bua*

to shoo; to send away:

(1) **PAL *se**, AL-MC *se*, AL-BO *se*, AL-BN *se*, AL-TR *se*, AL-BY *se*, AL-AB *se*, AL-AK *se*, AL-DU *se*
 (2) AL-HD *tute*, AL-WR *tute*, AL-PD *tute*, AL-BA *tute*, AL-MN *tute*

to steal:

(1) **PWL *təmaka**, LI *təmaka*, **PAL *təmaka**, AL-MC *təmaka*, AL-BO *tamaka*, AL-BN *kəmaka*, AL-HD *makaŋ*, AL-WR *maka*, AL-PD *tmaka*, AL-BA *makaŋ*, AL-MN *maka*, AL-TR *tamaku*, AL-BY *tamaku apa*, AL-AB *tamaku*, AL-AK *tamaku*

to tie:

(1) **PAL *pohi**, AL-MC *pohi*, AL-BO *pohi*, AL-BN *pohi*, AL-HD *pohi*, AL-WR *pohi*, AL-PD *pohi*, AL-BA *pohi*, AL-MN *pohi*, AL-TR *pohi*, AL-BY *pohi*, AL-AB *pohi*, AL-AK *pohi*, AL-DU *puhi*,

together:

(1) AL-HD *hama hama*, AL-WR *te hama*, AL-BA *hama*, AL-TR *hama hama*

tomorrow:

(1) **PAL *bau**, AL-MC *bau*, AL-BO *bau*, AL-BN *bau*, AL-HD *bau*, AL-WR *bauk*, AL-PD *bau*, AL-BA *bau*, AL-MN *bou*, AL-TR *bou*, AL-BY *bou*, AL-AB *bou*, AL-AK *bou*, AL-DU *bo*

tongue:

(1) **PWL *wewel**, PK *wewel*, LB *wewe*, RB *wewel*, LG *wewel*, LI *weweləŋ*, BM *wewel*, WB *wewel*, BP *wewe*, LL *wewe*, BT *wewe*, TB *wewel*, WW *wewer*, HR *wewer*, DH *wewen*, WT *wewer*, LK *ewel*, KG *wewejək*, LH *ewel*, BL *ewel*, IP *ewel*, MD *ewelə*, WK *ewel*, ML *ewel*, LM *feel*, **PAL *wewel**, AL-BO *wewel*, AL-BN *wewel*, AL-HD *wewel*, AL-WR *wewel*, AL-PD *wewel*, AL-BA *wewel*, AL-MN *wewel*, AL-TR *fefelen*, AL-BY *fefelen*, AL-AB *fefelen*, AL-AK *fefelen*, AL-DU *fefelin*

tree:

(1) **PWL *kajo**, PK *kaju*, LB *kađo pukā*, RB *kajo*, LG *kajo*, BM *kajo*, WB *kađo*, BP *kađo*, LL *kađo*, BT *kajo*, TB *kađo*, WW *kajo*, HR *kajo*, DH *karo*, WT *kađo*, LK *kađo*, AD *kajo*, KG *kajo*, LH *kajo*, BL *kađo*, IP *kajo*, MD *kajo*, WK *kađo*, ML *kađo*, LM *kađo*, **PAL *kađo**, AL-BN *kađo*, AL-WR *kađo pukon*, AL-MN *kađo pukon*, AL-

BY *kadžo*, AL-AB *kadžo*, AL-AK *kadžo*, AL-DU *kadžo*

tuak (traditional wine):

(1) **PAL *tua**, AL-MC *tua*, AL-HD *tuak*, AL-WR *tuak*, AL-PD *tuak*, AL-BA *tuak*, AL-MN *tuak*, AL-AB *wei tahakan*, AL-AK *tua*, AL-DU *tuak*

turtle:

(1) **PWL *keʔa**, LI *keʔa*, AD *keʔa*, **PAL *kea**, AL-MC *kea*, AL-BO *kea*, AL-BN *kea*, AL-HD *kea*, AL-WR *kea*, AL-BA *kea*, AL-TR *kea*, AL-BY *kea*, AL-AK *kea*, AL-DU *kea*

two:

(1) **PWL *rua**, LI *rua*, AD *rua*, **PAL *rua**, AL-MC *rua*, AL-BO *rua*, AL-BN *rua*, AL-HD *rua*, AL-WR *rua*, AL-PD *rua*, AL-BA *rua*, AL-MN *rua*, AL-TR *rua*, AL-BY *rua*, AL-AB *rua*, AL-AK *rua*, AL-DU *rua*

ugly:

(1) **PAL *date**, AL-MC *datok*, AL-BO *datek*, AL-BN *date*, AL-HD *date*, AL-WR *aing matan date*, AL-BA *date*, AL-BY *date*

vagina:

(1) **PAL *puki**, AL-PD *pukin*, AL-BA *puki*, AL-MN *uti; pukin; puki*, AL-AB *pukin*, LI *mena*, AD *mɜna*

village:

(1) **PWL *lɔwo**, LI *lɔwɔ*, AD *lɔwɔː*, **PAL *lɔwo**, AL-PD *lawo*, AL-MN *lɔwo*, AL-TR *lɔfo*, AL-AB *lafo*

voice:

(1) **PAL *alan**, AL-MC *alan*, AL-BO *alan*, AL-BN *alan*, AL-HD *alan*, AL-WR *alan*, AL-PD *alan*, AL-BA *alan*, AL-MN *ala; alan*, AL-TR *alan*, AL-BY *alan*, AL-AB *alan*, AL-AK *alan*, AL-DU *alan*
(2) LI *raːŋ*, AD *rãː*

vomit:

(1) **PWL *muta**, PK *muta*, LB *muta*, RB *muta*, LG *muta*, LI *muta?*, WB *muta*, BP *muta*, LL *muta*, BT *muta*, TB *muta*, WW *muta*, DH *muta*, WT *muta*, LK *muta*, KG *muta*, LH *mutakə*, IP *muta*, LM *muta*, **PAL *muta**, AL-MC *muta*, AL-BO *muta*, AL-BN *muta*, AL-HD *muntah*, AL-WR *muta*, AL-PD *mutan; muta*, AL-BA *mutak*, AL-MN *mutan; muta*, AL-TR *munta*, AL-BY *muta*, AL-AB *muta*, AL-AK *muta*
(2) HR *luʔuk*, BL *lua*, MD *luã*, WK *lua*, ML *lua*

wait:

- (1) **PAL *bai**, AL-BO *bai*, AL-WR *baiŋ*, AL-PD *baiŋ*, AL-BA *baiŋ*, AL-MN *baiŋ*, AL-BY *baiŋ*, AL-AB *bai*
 (2) LI *niaŋ*, AD *mĩa*

waist:

- (1) **PAL *aleŋ**, AL-MC *aleŋ*, AL-BO *aleŋ*, AL-BN *aleŋ*, AL-HD *ale*, AL-WR *aleŋ*, AL-PD *aleŋ*, AL-BA *aleŋ*, AL-MN *aleŋ*; *ale*, AL-TR *aleŋ*, AL-BY *aleŋ*, AL-AB *alē*, AL-AK *ale*, AL-DU *aleiŋ*

wake up:

- (1) LI *hogo*, AD *hogo*
 (2) **PAL *bauŋ**, AL-MC *bauŋ*, AL-BO *bauŋ*, AL-BN *bauŋ*, AL-HD *bauŋ*, AL-WR *bauŋ*, AL-PD *bauŋ*, AL-BA *bauŋ*, AL-MN *bauŋ/baŋuŋ*
 (3) AL-TR *tide*, AL-BY *tide*, AL-AB *tide*, AL-AK *tide*, AL-DU *tide*

walk; to go:

- (1) **PWL *pana**, PK *pana*, LB *pana*, RB *pana*, LG *pana*, LI *pana*, BM *pana*, WB *pana*, BP *pana*, LL *pana*, BT *pana*, TB *pana*, WW *pana*, HR *pana*, DH *pana*, WT *pana*, LK *pana*, AD *pana*, KG *pana*, LH *pana*, BL *pana*, IP *pana*, MD *pana*, WK *pana*, ML *pana*, LM *pana*, **PAL *pana**, AL-MC *pana*, AL-BO *pana*, AL-BN *pana*, AL-HD *pana?*, AL-WR *pana*, AL-PD *pana*, AL-BA *pana*, AL-MN *pana lei*, AL-TR *pana*, AL-BY *pana*, AL-AB *pana leiŋ*, AL-AK *pana*, AL-DU *pana*

wall:

- (1) LI *kənəbi*, AD *kənəbi?*
 (2) **PAL *gənabeŋ**, AL-MC *gabe*, AL-BO *gənabeŋ*, AL-BN *gənabeŋ*, AL-HD *blebeŋ*, AL-PD *gnabeŋ*, AL-BA *ganabeŋ*, AL-MN *gəbe*, AL-TR *gena beŋ*, AL-AB *ganabeŋ*, AL-AK *ganabeŋ*
 (3) AL-WR *keba*, AL-MN *keba*

warts:

- (1) AL-PD *kəwihul*, AL-MN *kəwihul*

wash:

- (1) **PWL *baha**, PK *baha*, LB *baha*, RB *baha*, LG *baha*, LI *baha*, BM *baha*, WB *baha*, BP *baha*, BT *baha*, TB *baha*, WW *bak*, HR *baha*, DH *baha*, WT *baha*, LK *baha*, AD *baha*, KG *baha*, LH *baha*, ML *baha*, LM *ba*
 (2) **PAL *bema**, AL-MC *bema*, AL-BO *bema*, AL-BN *bema*, AL-HD *bema*, AL-WR *bema*, AL-PD *bema*, AL-BA *bema*, AL-MN *bema*, AL-TR *beme*, AL-BY *beme*, AL-AB *beme*, AL-AK *beme*, AL-DU *beme*

- (3) LI *puʔu*, LM *pu*
 (4) AL-PD *hue*, AL-MN *hue*

waste water:

- (1) AL-MC *bokonʔ*, AL-DU *fei bokonʔ*

water:

(1) **PWL** ***waʔi**, PK *wai*, LB *waiʔ*, RB *wai*, LG *wai*, LI *wai*, BM *wai*, WB *wai*, BP *wai*, LL *wai*, BT *wai*, TB *wai*, WW *wai*, HR *wai*, DH *wai*, WT *wai*, LK *wai*, AD *wai*, KG *wai*, LH *waʔi*, BL *wai*, IP *wai*, MD *waʔi*, WK *wai*, ML *wai*, LM *fai*, **PAL** ***wai**, AL-MC *wai*, AL-BO *wai*, AL-BN *wai*, AL-HD *wai*, AL-WR *wai*, AL-PD *wai*, AL-BA *wai*, AL-MN *wai*, AL-TR *fei*, AL-BY *fei*, AL-AB *fei*, AL-AK *fei*, AL-DU *fe*

wave:

(1) **PWL** ***oyo**, LI *ojo*, **PAL** ***odʒo**, AL-MC *odʒo*, AL-BO *ondʒo*, AL-BN *odʒo*, AL-WR *odʒo*, AL-PD *odʒo*, AL-BA *odʒok*, AL-MN *odʒo*, AL-TR *odʒo*, AL-AB *odʒo*, AL-AK *odʒo*

weave:

(1) **PWL** ***tane**, LI *tane*, AD *tane*, **PAL** ***tane**, AL-MC *tane kwate*, AL-BO *tane*, AL-BN *tane*, AL-HD *tane*, AL-WR *tane apa*, AL-PD *tane*, AL-BA *tane*, AL-MN *tane*, AL-TR *tane apa*, AL-BY *tane apa*, AL-AB *tane apa*, AL-AK *tane*, AL-DU *tane*

wet:

- (1) PK *deman*, RB *dəme*, LG *dəmə*, LI *dəmeŋ*, BM *dəme*, WB *kədəmək*, BP *kədəmu*, LL *kədəmu*, TB *dəma*
 (2) BT *nəme*, WW *nəme*, HR *nəme*, DH *nəme*, WT *nəmʔe*, LK *nəməŋ*, AD *namʔɛ*, KG *nəmʔe*, LH *nəme*, IP *nəməŋ*, MD *nəmʔe*
 (3) BL *səba*, WK *səba*, ML *sənəbe*, LM *sənəbe*
 (4) **PAL** ***ele**, AL-MC *ele*, AL-BO *ele*, AL-BN *ele*, AL-HD *elek*, AL-WR *elek*, AL-PD *elek*, AL-BA *elek*, AL-MN *elek*, AL-TR *ele*, AL-BY *hele*, AL-AB *ele*, AL-AK *ele*, AL-DU *ele*

what?:

- (1) PK *a*, LB *a*, RB *ã*, LG *a*, LI *a:*, BM *a*, WB *a*, BP *a*, LL *ã*, TB *a*, LH *a*
 (2) BT *aku*, WW *aku*, HR *aku*, DH *aku*, WT *aku*, LK *aku*, AD *ʔaku*, KG *aku*, BL *alaku*, IP *aku*, WK *alaku*, ML *ale*, LM *alaka*
 (3) **PAL** ***pai**, AL-MC *pai*, AL-BO *pai*, AL-BN *pai*, AL-WR *pai*, AL-PD *pai*, AL-BA *pai*, AL-MN *pai*; *apai*, AL-TR *pae*, AL-BY *pai*, AL-AB *pai*, AL-AK *pai*

when?:

- (1) PK *arəmpira*, RB *ərapira*, LG *arəmpira*, LI *əɾəŋ pira*, BM *arəmpira*, WB *ərapira*, BP *arəmpira*, LL *arapira*, BT *ər pira*, TB *arəmpira*, WW *ərapira*, HR *ərəm*

pira, DH *əɾən pira*, WT *əɾəm pira*, LK *arəmpira*, AD *ʔərɜpɪra*, KG *ər pira*, LH *arapira*, BL *arapira*, IP *arampira*, MD *ar apira*, WK *ar pira*, ML *arapira*, LM *arapira*

where?:

(1) **PWL *-ga**, PK *gaʔe*, RB *diga*, LG *gaʔe*, LI *gaʔe*, BM *gaʔe*, WB *təga*, BP *təga*, LL *təga*, BT *dəga*, TB *təgaʔe*, WW *təga*, HR *təga*, WT *digaku*, LK *dəga*, AD *dəgaku*, KG *dəga*, LH *təga*, BL *nəga*, IP *təga*, MD *təga*, WK *dəga*, ML *nəga*, LM *diga* **PAL *-ga**, AL-MC *bega*, AL-BO *oro ga*, AL-BN *oro ga*, AL-HD *arga*, AL-WR *oro ga*, AL-PD *orga*, AL-BA *oro ga*, AL-MN *oro ga*, AL-TR *naŋgaɟa*, AL-BY *naŋgaɟa*, AL-AB *naŋga*, AL-DU *naŋga*

white:

(1) **PWL *buraʔ**, PK *buraʔā*, LB *burā*, RB *burā*, LG *buraʔ*, LI *bura*, BM *burāʔ*, WB *burā*, BP *buraʔ*, LL *burā*, BT *burā*, TB *buraʔ*, WW *bura*, HR *burā*, DH *burʔā*, WT *burʔā*, LK *burʔā*, AD *buraʔ*, KG *burʔā*, LH *burʔā*, BL *bura*, IP *burakən*, MD *burʔa*, WK *bura*, ML *burɿ*, LM *burā*, **PAL *burak**, AL-MC *bur:aʔ*, AL-BO *bura*, AL-BN *bura*, AL-HD *burak*, AL-WR *burak*, AL-PD *burak*, AL-BA *bura*, AL-MN *burak*, AL-TR *burakaŋ*, AL-BY *burakaŋ*, AL-AB *bura*, AL-AK *bura*, AL-DU *bura*

who?:

(1) **PWL *henaku**, LK *heku*, AD *heku*, KG *heku*, LH *heku*, BL *heku*, IP *heku*, MD *heku*, WK *heku*, LM *heku*

(2) **PAL *hewaiaru**, AL-MC *haru*, AL-BO *haru*, AL-BN *haru*, AL-HD *hewai*, AL-WR *haru*, AL-PD *hewai*, AL-BA *hewai*, AL-MN *hewaiaru*, AL-TR *faru*, AL-BY *fe waru*, AL-AB *fīaru*, AL-AK *feiru*, AL-DU *hafā*

wide:

(1) PK *belʔā*, LG *belə*, LI *belə*, BM *belā*, WB *bəlä*, BP *bəlapa*, LL *belē*, TB *belə*, DH *belʔā*, AD *beleʔ*, MD *belā*, WK *belʔē*, ML *belɿ*

(2) RB *pəloʔē*, IP *pəloen*

(3) BT *pəlelet*, WW *pəlelet*, HR *pəlelet*, KG *pəlelet*

(4) AL-BN *pleŋa*, AL-HD *pleŋaŋ*, AL-WR *pleŋaŋ*, AL-PD *pleŋaŋ*, AL-BA *pleŋaŋ*, AL-MN *pleŋaŋ*, AL-TR *pleŋaŋ*, AL-AB *paleŋa*, AL-AK *pleŋaŋ*, AL-DU *pleŋa*

(5) AL-MC *lawā*, AL-BO *plawā*, AL-PD *plawā*, AL-BY *pələfā*

wife:

(1) **PWL *kəwahe**, PK *wahe*, LB *kəwae*, RB *kəwāe*, LG *kəwae*, LI *kəwae*, BM *kəwae*, WB *kəwae*, BP *kəwae*, LL *kəwae*, BT *kəwae*, TB *kəwae*, WW *kəwae*, HR *kəwahe*, DH *kəwae*, LK *bərkəwahe*, MD *kəwae*, WK *kəwae*, ML *kəwae*, LM *kəfae*, **PAL *kəwae**, AL-MC *kəwae*, AL-BO *kəwae*, AL-BN *kəwae*, AL-HD *kəwae*, AL-WR *kwae*, AL-PD *kwae*,

AL-BA *kwaē*, AL-MN *kwaē*; *kwaē nara*, AL-TR *kafae*, AL-BY *kafae*, AL-AB *kafae*, AL-AK *kawae*, AL-DU *kafae*

(2) WT *hā*, AD *hā*ː, KG *hak*, LH *hakā*, BL *ha*, IP *hān*

wind:

(1) **PWL** **aji*, LB *aji*, RB *aji*, LG *aji*, LI *ajin*, BM *aji*, WB *aji*, BP *aji*, LL *aji*, BT *aji*, TB *aji*, WW *aji*, HR *aji*, DH *aji*, WT *aji*, LK *aji*, AD *ʔaji*, KG *aji*, LH *aji*, BL *aji*, IP *ajin*, MD *aji*, WK *aji*, ML *aji*, LM *aji*, **PAL** **aji*, AL-MC *aji*, AL-BO *aji*, AL-BN *aji*, AL-HD *aji*, AL-WR *ajij*, AL-PD *ajij*, AL-BA *aji*, AL-MN *ajij*, AL-TR *aji*, AL-BY *aji*, AL-AB *aji*, AL-AK *aji*, AL-DU *aji*

wing:

(1) **PWL** **kapik*, PK *kəpiʔi*, LB *kəpiʔ*, RB *kəpi*, LG *kəpʔi*, LI *kəpiʔij*, BM *kəpiʔ*, WB *kəpiʔ*, BP *kəpiʔ*, LL *kəpiʔ*, BT *kəpʔi*, TB *kəpiʔ*, WW *kəpik*, HR *kəpik*, DH *kəpij*, WT *kəpi*, LK *kəpi*, AD *kəpʔi*, KG *kəpʔi*, LH *kəpi*, BL *kəpi*, IP *kəpikən*, MD *kəpi*, WK *kəpiʔ*, ML *kəpik*, LM *kəpik*, **PAL** **kapik*, AL-MC *kapi*, AL-BO *kapik*, AL-BN *kapi*, AL-HD *kapik*, AL-WR *kapik*, AL-PD *kapik*, AL-BA *kapik*, AL-MN *kapik*, AL-TR *kapikij*, AL-BY *kapikij*, AL-AB *kapikij*, AL-AK *kapikij*, AL-DU *kapikij*

wipe:

(1) **PWL** **hapu*, PK *hapū*, LB *hamu*, LG *hamu*, BM *amu*, WB *hamu*, LL *hamu*, TB *hamu*, WW *hamo*, LH *hapu*, WK *hapus*, ML *hapu*, LM, *hapu* **PAL** **hapo*, AL-HD *hapo*, AL-WR, AL-PD *hapo*, AL-MN *hapo*, AL-AB *hapo*

(2) RB *goho*, BT *bohok*, HR *bohok*, DH *bohok*, WT *oso*, LK *oso*, AD *bəhəʔ*, KG *bohok*, IP *boho*, MD *tohok*, AL-MC *doho*, AL-PD *doho*, AL-BA *dohoʔ*

with:

(1) **PWL** **noʔo*, PK *noʔō*, LB *noʔō*, RB *noʔō*, LG *noʔō*, LI *nəʔəŋ*, BM *no*, WB *nā*, BP *nō*, LL *noʔō*, BT *noʔo*, TB *noʔo*, WW *noʔō*, HR *noʔo*, DH *noʔo*, WT *noʔō*, LK *noʔō*, AD *nəʔ*, KG *noʔō*, BL *no*, IP *no*, WK *no*, ML *nɤ*, LM *nā*, **PAL** **noŋ*, AL-MC *mouŋ aru*, AL-BN *noŋ*, AL-WR *moŋ*, AL-PD *naŋ*, AL-BA *kali onoŋ*, AL-MN *naŋ*, AL-TR *noŋ*, AL-AB *noŋ*, AL-AK *noŋ feru*, AL-DU *nu*

word:

(1) LI *koda*, AD *koda*

wrong:

(1) **PAL** **hala*, AL-MC *hala*, AL-BO *hala*, AL-BN *hala*, AL-HD *halah*, AL-WR *hala*, AL-PD *halaŋ*, AL-BA *hala*, AL-MN *hala/ halaŋ*, AL-TR *hala*, AL-BY *hala*, AL-AB *hala*, AL-DU *hala*

(2) LI *nalaŋ*, AD *nalā*

wood:

(1) **PWL** *kayo, LI *kajo*, AD *kajo*, **PAL** *kadʒo, AL-MC *kadʒo*, AL-BO *kadʒo*, AL-BN *kadʒo*, AL-HD *kadʒo*, AL-WR *kadʒo*, AL-PD *kadʒo*, AL-BA *kadʒo*, AL-MN *kadʒo*, AL-TR *kadʒo*, AL-BY *kadʒo*, AL-AB *kadʒo*, AL-AK *kadʒo*, AL-DU *kadʒo*

work:

(1) PK *kəriä*, LB *kəriä*, LG *kəriä*, LI *kəriən*, BM *kəriä*, WB *kəria*, BP *gəriä*, LL *gəriä*, TB *kəriä*, WT *kərdʒa*, LK *kərdʒa*, AD *krəja*, KG *kəraja*, LH *kərdʒa*, BL *kərdʒa*, IP *kərdʒa*, MD *kərdʒa*, WK *kərdʒa*, ML *kərix*, LM *kəriä*, AL-MC *kraɖʒən*, AL-BO *karəɖʒən*, AL-BN *karaɖʒən*, AL-HD *kerɖʒa*, AL-WR *kredʒən*, AL-PD *kraɖʒən*, AL-BA *kerɖʒa*, AL-MN *kraɖʒən*, AL-BY *karəɖʒən*, AL-AB *kəraɖʒən*, AL-AK *kərdʒən*, AL-DU *kerɖʒən*

(2) RB *ola*, BT *ola*, WW *ola*, HR *ola*, DH *ola*

worm:

(1) AL-MC *ulor*, AL-BO *ulor*, AL-WR *ulor*, AL-PD *ulor*, AL-BA *ulor*, AL-MN *ulor*

(2) AL-BY *ule*, AL-AB *ule*, AL-AK *ule*, AL-DU *ule*

yawn:

(1) **PWL** *pəmoa, LI *pəmoa*, AD *pəmoa*: **PAL** *pənoe, AL-MC *pənoe*, AL-BO *pənoe*, AL-BN *pəno:e*, AL-HD *noeŋ*, AL-WR *pnaɦuŋ*, AL-PD *pnoe*, AL-BA *pənoe?*, AL-MN *pnoek*, AL-TR *pənoe*, AL-BY *pənoe*, AL-AB *pənoe*, AL-AK *pənoe*, AL-DU *pənoe*

year:

(1) **PWL** *tuŋ, PK *sū*, LB *sū*, RB *tū*, LG *sū*, LI *suŋ*, BM *sū*, WB *sū*, BP *sū*, LL *sū*, BT *tun*, TB *sū*, WW *tū*, HR *tuŋ*, DH *tuŋ*, WT *tun*, LK *tuŋ*, AD *tū*, KG *tūn*, LH *tune*, BL *tuŋ*, IP *tun*, MD *tuŋ*, WK *tuŋ*, ML *tu*, LM *tuŋ*, **PAL** *tuŋ, AL-MC *tuŋ*, AL-BO *tuŋ*, AL-BN *tuŋ*, AL-HD *tuŋ*, AL-WR *tuŋ*, AL-PD *tuŋ*, AL-BA *tuŋ*, AL-MN *tuŋ*, AL-TR *tuŋ*, AL-BY *tuŋ*, AL-AB *tuŋ*, AL-AK *tuŋ*, AL-DU *tuŋ*

yellow:

(1) **PWL** *kuma, LB *kumā*, RB *kumā*, LG *kumā*, LI *kuma*, BM *kuma*, WB *kumā*, BP *kuniŋ*, LL *kumā*, BT *kumha*, TB *kuma*, WW *kuma*, HR *kumha*, DH *kuma*, WT *kumā*, LK *kumha*, AD *kumhā*, KG *kumha*, LH *kuma*, BL *kuma*, IP *kuma*, MD *kumhā*, WK *kuma*, ML *kumɣ*, LM *kumā*, **PAL** *kumoŋ, AL-MC *kumoŋ*, AL-BO *kumoŋ*, AL-BN *kumoŋ*, AL-HD *kumoŋ*, AL-WR *kumoŋ*, AL-PD *kumoŋ*, AL-BA *kumoŋ*, AL-MN *kumoŋ*, AL-TR *kumoŋ*, AL-BY *kumoŋ*, AL-AB *kumoŋ*, AL-AK *kumoŋ*, AL-DU *kumoŋ*

yesterday:

(1) **PWL** *wia, LI *wia*, AD *wia*, **PAL** *wian, AL-MC *wian*, AL-BO *wian*, AL-BN *wian*, AL-HD *wian*, AL-WR *wian*, AL-PD *wian*, AL-BA *wian*, AL-MN *wian*, AL-TR *hian*, AL-BY *fian*, AL-AB *fian*, AL-AK *fian*, AL-DU *fia*

young (people):

(1) AL-PD *bikwae*, AL-MN *bikwae*, AL-AB *beikafae*

(2) LI *mənuɾeŋ*, AD *murine*

younger sibling:

(1) PK *arĩ*, LB *ari*, RB *arĩ*, LG *ariʔ*, LI *ariŋ*, BM *ariʔ*, BT *arik*, WW *arĩ*, HR *arik*, DH *arik*, WT *arik*, LK *arĩ*, AD *ʔarim*, KG *arik*, LH *arikə*, BL *ari*, IP *ari*, MD *ari*, WK *ari*, ML *ari*, LM *arik*

Summaries

English summary

The overall goal of this dissertation is to reconstruct the history of Alorese through a combined study of its linguistic and oral history. The data for this reconstruction were gathered through fieldwork, specifically in the form of oral history interviews, wordlists, and samples of natural speech. In addition, materials are also drawn from existing linguistic databases and archived recordings of natural speech, which serve to enrich the data set. From a synchronic perspective, Alorese lacks both inflectional and derivational morphology; in addition the grammatical relations of subject and object are expressed by constituent order. Diachronically, the language is an innovation-defined sub-group within the Western Lamaholot cluster in the Flores-Lembata family. Contact between the Alorese people and the speakers of Alor-Pantar (Papuan) languages has resulted in lexical borrowing, which can be observed in the lexicons of these languages. Moreover, oral history accounts confirm that there were socio-politically dominant Alorese communities in the 14th century, which implies that the spread of the Alorese people in the Alor-Pantar islands began around this time.

The study of Alorese oral history in Chapter 3 yields a chronology of the arrival of the Alorese ancestors. The chronology is built based on migration stories and the history of the Alorese clans. The migration chronology is characterized by the following events. The first event is a flood on Rusa Island in the 13th century which caused the island's inhabitants to flee to northeast Pantar and Alor Kecil. The next event is the arrival of people from islands west of Pantar, which marks the beginning of socio-political developments in which local kingdoms began to form. The third event is the expansion of the Alorese people from Pandai to the east (Alor Besar) and west (Baranusa). It is then followed by recent movements, such as the expansion to Marisa, Dulolong, and the islands of Ternate, Buaya, and Kangge. In addition, the clan histories also show connections between the arrival of each clan's ancestors and the events that mark their arrival.

The grammar sketch in Chapter 4 reports several grammatical features of Alorese. Alorese generally has penultimate syllable stress and the NP construction is head-initial. Verbs in Alorese can encode their subject as a free

pronoun or as a pronominal prefix combined with an optional additional pronoun. The only active morphological process in Alorese is reduplication, while grammatical relations of subject and object are expressed by constituent order. Moreover, tense is not marked, while aspect and mood are expressed by adverbs.

Chapter 5 is a discussion of Alorese historical phonology including the reconstruction of Proto-Alorese (PAL) and Proto-Western-Lamaholot (PWL) sounds. This chapter confirms Alorese as a separate subgroup within the Western Lamaholot cluster with the exclusive sound change of PWL *t > PAL *ʔ in final position. There are also other sound changes that are completely regular in Alorese, such as PWL *y > PAL *ɟ and PWL *ə > PAL *e, but these changes are attested in the other Western Lamaholot varieties (either completed or incomplete), and are thus not exclusive to Alorese. In addition, I present evidence for a lower-level subgroup within Alorese, which I call Straits Alorese and includes varieties spoken in the Pantar Strait area: Ternate, Buaya, Alor Besar, Alor Kecil, and Dulolong. This subgroup is proposed based on the shared sound change of PAL *w > f in all positions, PAL *ai > ei, and the addition of the syllables uŋ, iŋ and aŋ in word-final position.

Loanwords in Alorese and the Alor-Pantar languages indicate a number of stages of contact, as shown in Chapter 6. The earliest stage is reflected in loanwords that can be reconstructed to PAL. Some more recent contact scenarios are observable through loanwords that are attested in the varieties spoken over smaller areas. The more widespread the AP loanwords in Alorese, the earlier the borrowing took place; the narrower the spread of the AP loanwords in Alorese, the more recently the borrowing took place. In addition, the geographic distribution of loanwords in Alorese can indicate which were the donor languages and which were the recipient varieties.

Through this combined study of linguistic and oral history, I confirm that Alorese separated from Western Lamaholot at least 600 years ago. The ancestors of the Alorese-speaking groups first arrived in the northeastern part of Pantar. They formed communities on the coasts and slowly spread to many pockets along the northern coastlines of the Alor-Pantar islands. There is agreement between the results from the oral history description and the historical linguistic analysis. In particular, this dissertation reveals that varieties spoken in northeast Pantar, such as Helangdohi, Wailawar, Pandai, Bana, and Munaseli, tend to retain archaic final consonants that reflect PMP and PFL sounds; moreover, the location of these conservative varieties coincides with the geographic area where the ancestors of the Alorese-speaking groups arrived on Pantar around half a millennium ago.

Nederlandse samenvatting

Het centrale doel van deze dissertatie is om de geschiedenis van het Alorees te reconstrueren door zijn taal- en mondelinge geschiedenissen met elkaar te combineren. De gegevens voor deze reconstructie worden verzameld door veldwerk dat tot doel heeft interviews met mondelinge geschiedenis, woordenlijsten en natuurlijke spraak te verzamelen. Daarnaast worden ook bestaande linguïstische databases en gearchiveerde opnamen van natuurlijke spraak geraadpleegd om de gegevensverzameling te verrijken. Synchroon mist het Alorees zowel inflectionele als afgeleide morfologie en de grammaticale relaties tussen subject en object in de taal worden uitgedrukt door de argumentenvolgorde. Diachroon is de taal een door innovatie gedefinieerde subgroep binnen het Western Lamaholot-cluster in de Flores Lembata-familie. Contacten tussen het Alorees en de Timor-Alor-Pantar (niet-Austronesische) sprekers hebben geresulteerd in leenwoorden die waarneembaar zijn in hun lexicons. Bovendien bevestigt de mondelinge geschiedenis dat er in de 14e eeuw sociaal-politiek dominante Alorese gemeenschappen waren, wat het begin impliceert van de verspreiding van de Alorese gemeenschap op de Alor-Pantareilanden.

De mondelinge geschiedenisbenadering, toegepast in hoofdstuk 3, resulteerde in een chronologie van de aankomst van de Alorese voorouders. De chronologie is gebaseerd op migratieverhalen en clangeschiedenissen van de Alorese gemeenschap. De migratie wordt gekenmerkt door de volgende gebeurtenissen. De eerste gebeurtenis is de overstroming op het eiland Rusa in de 13e eeuw waardoor mensen naar het noordoosten van Pantar en Alor Kecil vluchtten. Ten tweede waren er buitenlandse aankomsten op Pantar, met name in Pandai en Munaseli, die het begin markeerden van sociaal-politieke ontwikkelingen waar lokale koninkrijken zich begonnen te ontploffen. De derde gebeurtenis was de uitbreiding van het Alorese volk van Pandai naar het oosten (Alor Besar) en het westen (Baranusa). De vierde gebeurtenis wordt gevormd door de recente bewegingen, zoals uitbreiding naar Marica, Dulolong en de eilanden Ternate, Buaya en Kangge. Bovendien tonen de geschiedenissen van clans ook verbanden tussen aankomsten van de voorouders van elke clan en de gebeurtenissen die hun aankomst kenmerken.

De grammaticaschets in hoofdstuk 4 vermeldt verschillende grammaticale kenmerken van het Alorees. Deze taal heeft over het algemeen een klemtoon op de voorlaatste lettergreep en de NP-constructie is hoofdinitieel. Werkwoorden in het Alorees kunnen hun onderwerp uitdrukken als een vrij voornaamwoord of als een voornaamwoordelijk voorvoegsel gecombineerd met een optioneel extra voornaamwoord. Het enige actieve morfologische proces in het Alorees is reduplicatie, terwijl grammaticale relaties tussen subject en object worden uitgedrukt in de constituentenvolgorde. Bovendien wordt tijd niet gemarkeerd, terwijl aspect en modus worden uitgedrukt door middel van bijwoorden.

Hoofdstuk 5 bevat een discussie over historische fonologie waarin de klanken van het Proto-Alorees (PAL) en Proto-Western-Lamaholot (PWL) worden gereconstrueerd. In dit hoofdstuk wordt het Alorees als een aparte subgroep binnen de Western Lamaholot cluster geclassificeerd, met de exclusieve klankverandering van PWL **t* > PAL **ʔ* in de eindpositie. Er zijn ook andere regelmatige klankveranderingen die volledig regelmatig zijn in het Alorees, zoals PWL **y* > PAL **ɖ* en PWL **ɔ* > PAL **e*, maar ze zijn voltooid, onvolledig of niet geattesteerd in de andere westerse Lamaholot-variëteiten dus niet exclusief voor het Alorees. Daarnaast presenteer ik bewijs voor een lagere subgroep binnen het Alorees, Straits Alorese genaamd, die variëteiten omvat die in het Pantar-zeestraatgebied worden gesproken: Ternate, Buaya, Alor Besar, Alor Kecil en Dulolong. Deze subgroep wordt voorgesteld op basis van de gedeelde klankverandering van PAL **w* > *f* in alle posities, PAL **ai* > *ei*, en de toevoeging van de lettergrepen *uj*, *ij* en *aj* in woordfinale positie.

Leenwoorden in het Alorees en de Alor-Pantartalen geven de contactstadia aan, zoals weergegeven in hoofdstuk 6. Het vroegste stadium is wanneer een leenwoord kan worden gereconstrueerd naar PAL. Sommige recentere contactscenario's zijn waarneembaar door middel van leenwoorden die worden geattesteerd in de variëteiten die in kleinere regio's worden gesproken. Hoe meer de AP-leenwoorden verspreid zijn, hoe eerder deze werden geleend in het Alorees, en hoe kleiner de spreiding van de AP-leenwoorden, hoe recenter de lening plaatsvond. Bovendien kan de geografische spreiding van leenwoorden ook donortalen en ontvangervariëteiten aangeven.

Door taalgeschiedenis en mondelinge geschiedenis te combineren, bevestig ik dat het Alorees minstens 600 jaar geleden scheidde van West-Lamaholot. De voorouders van de Aloreessprekende groepen kwamen voor het eerst aan in het noordoostelijke deel van Pantar. Ze vormden gemeenschappen aan de kusten en verspreidden zich langzaam naar vele gebieden langs de noordkust van de Alor-Pantareilanden. Er is een verband tussen de resultaten van de mondelinge geschiedenisbeschrijving en de historische taalkundige

analyse. Het onthult dat variëteiten die in het noordoosten van Pantar worden gesproken, zoals Helandohi, Wailawar, Pandai, Bana en Munaseli de neiging hebben om archaïsche eindmedeklinkers te behouden die reflecties vertonen met de PMP- en PFL-klanken. Deze conservatieve gebieden komen overeen met de geografische locatie waar de voorouders van de Aloreessprekende groepen een half millennium geleden op Pantar aankwamen.

Ringkasan dalam Bahasa Indonesia

Disertasi ini disusun dengan tujuan untuk merekonstruksi sejarah bahasa Alor dengan menggabungkan pendekatan linguistik historis dan sejarah lisan. Data untuk tujuan rekonstruksi ini dikumpulkan dengan kerja lapangan yang bertujuan untuk mengambil data berupa hasil wawancara sejarah lisan, koleksi daftar kosakata, dan rekaman percakapan. Sebagai tambahan, pengumpulan data secara daring melalui pangkalan data linguistik dan rekaman percakapan bahasa Alor yang tersimpan dalam arsip bahasa juga dilakukan untuk memperkaya koleksi data. Secara sinkronis, bahasa Alor tidak memiliki morfologi derifatif dan inflektif. Selain itu, hubungan gramatik antara subjek dan objek dinyatakan dengan urutan konstituen. Secara diakronis, bahasa Alor adalah sebuah sub-kelompok yang telah mengalami inovasi di dalam klaster bahasa-bahasa Lamaholot Barat dalam kelompok bahasa Flores-Lembata. Kontak antara penutur bahasa Alor dengan penutur bahasa-bahasa Timor-Alor-Pantar (non-Austronesia) menghasilkan kata pinjaman yang dapat diteliti melalui leksikon bahasa-bahasa tersebut. Analisis sejarah lisan mengonfirmasi bahwa terdapat komunitas yang dominan secara sosio-politis sejak abad ke-14 Masehi yang menyiratkan awal mula penyebaran penutur bahasa Alor di kepulauan Alor-Pantar.

Analisis sejarah lisan yang dijabarkan di bab 3 menghasilkan sebuah kronologi kedatangan nenek moyang para penutur bahasa Alor. Kronologi ini dibangun berdasarkan cerita-cerita migrasi dan sejarah suku-suku di dalam komunitas penutur bahasa Alor. Cerita-cerita migrasi tersebut dicirikan oleh peristiwa-peristiwa berikut. Peristiwa pertama adalah naiknya air laut di Pulau Rusa yang diperkirakan terjadi sekitar abad ke-13 Masehi dan menyebabkan penduduk Pulau Rusa mengungsi ke Pantar dan Alor Kecil. Peristiwa kedua adalah kedatangan para pendatang di Pulau Pantar, khususnya di Pandai dan Munaseli, yang menandai awal mulai perkembangan sosio-politis di Pantar ketika kerajaan-kerajaan lokal mulai berkembang. Peristiwa ketiga adalah ekspansi para penutur bahasa Alor dari Pandai menuju ke timur (Alor Besar) dan barat (Baranusa). Peristiwa selanjutnya adalah penyebaran penutur bahasa Alor yang terjadi relatif belum lama, yaitu ketika mereka menempati desa-desa

Seperti Marisa, Dulolong, dan pulau-pulau kecil, seperti Ternate, Buaya, dan Kangge. Selain itu, sejarah suku-suku dalam komunitas penutur bahasa Alor juga menunjukkan hubungan antara kedatangan nenek moyang dari masing-masing suku tersebut dengan keempat peristiwa migrasi tersebut.

Deskripsi tata bahasa di bab 4 melaporkan beberapa fitur-fitur gramatikal bahasa Alor. Bahasa Alor secara umum memiliki tekanan suara pada silabel penultima dan konstruksi frasa nomina yang terdiri atas unsur pusat yang terletak di awal frasa. Konstruksi verba dalam bahasa Alor dapat terdiri dari kata kerja yang mengaktifkan subjek yang berupa pronomina tanpa afiksasi atau pronomina yang diturunkan oleh prefiks yang dapat pula secara opsional diawali pronomina. Satu-satunya proses morfologis dalam bahasa Alor adalah reduplikasi dan hubungan gramatik antara subjek dan objek dinyatakan dengan urutan konstituen. Selain itu, bahasa Alor tidak memiliki pembeda bentuk kata kerja berdasarkan keterangan waktu dan sifat kegiatan atau kejadian (*tenses*) serta tidak pula memiliki aspek dan modalitas.

Bab 5 berisi penjabaran fonologi historis atau sejarah fonem yang melibatkan rekonstruksi fonem-fonem Proto-Bahasa-Alor (PAL) dan Proto-Lamaholot-Barat (PWL). Bab ini mengonfirmasi bahwa bahasa Alor adalah sebuah sub-kelompok yang terpisah di dalam klaster bahasa-bahasa Lamaholot Barat. Keberadaan sub-kelompok ini ditandai dengan perubahan bunyi eksklusif PWL *t > PAL *ʔ pada posisi akhir kata. Selain itu, terdapat pula perubahan bunyi reguler lainnya di dalam sub-kelompok bahasa Alor, seperti PWL *y > PAL *dʒ dan PWL *ə > PAL *e, tetapi perubahan-perubahan bunyi tersebut dikatakan tidak eksklusif di dalam bahasa Alor. Hal ini karena perubahan-perubahan bunyi reguler tersebut terjadi secara penuh atau sebagian pada varian-varian kluster Lamaholot Barat lainnya. Di dalam sub-kelompok bahasa Alor, diusulkan sub-kelompok di level yang lebih rendah, disebut bahasa Alor Selat, yang mencakup variasi-variasi yang dituturkan di Selat Pantar, yaitu Ternate, Buaya, Alor Besar, Alor Kecil, dan Dulolong. Sub-kelompok ini diusulkan berdasarkan perubahan bunyi reguler PAL *w > f di semua posisi, serta PAL *ai > ei, dan penambahan silabe *uŋ*, *iŋ* and *aŋ* di posisi akhir kata.

Kata pinjaman dalam bahasa Alor dan bahasa-bahasa Timor-Alor-Pantar mengindikasikan adanya tahap-tahap kontak bahasa, seperti yang telah didiskusikan di bab 6. Tahap paling awal adalah ketika sekelompok kata pinjaman dapat kembali direkonstruksi ke tahap PAL. Beberapa skenario kontak yang diperkirakan terjadi kemudian juga dapat diamati melalui kata-kata pinjaman yang ditemukan di dalam variasi-variasi yang dituturkan di kelompok regional tertentu. Semakin luas kelompok regional yang memiliki kata-kata pinjaman dari bahasa-bahasa Timor-Alor-Pantar, semakin awal tahapan kontak

yang terjadi. Semakin sempit sebaran kelompok regional variasi-variasi bahasa Alor tersebut, semakin baru pula tahapan kontak yang terjadi. Selain itu, distribusi geografis dari kata-kata pinjaman juga bisa menunjukkan bahasa sumber dari kata pinjaman yang bersangkutan serta variasi yang berperan sebagai penerima kata pinjaman.

Melalui studi multidisipliner linguistik historis dan sejarah lisan, disertasi ini mengonfirmasi bahwa bahasa Alor telah terpisah dari kluster bahasa-bahasa Lamaholot Barat sejak minimal 600 tahun yang lalu. Nenek moyang para penutur bahasa Alor diperkirakan pertama kali menginjakkan kaki di bagian timur laut Pulau Pantar. Mereka membentuk komunitas di sekitar pantai dan perlahan menyebar ke beberapa daerah kantong sepanjang pesisir utara Pulau Pantar dan Alor. Selain itu, terdapat pertalian antara hasil kajian dari sejarah lisan dengan hasil analisis linguistik historis. Pertalian ini mengungkap bahwa variasi-variasi bahasa Alor yang dituturkan di Pulau Pantar bagian timur laut, seperti Helandohi, Wailawar, Pandai, Bana, dan Munaseli cenderung memertahankan konsonan final yang sudah jarang ditemukan lagi di variasi-variasi lainnya. Konsonan final ini merupakan refleksi dari fonem-fonem Proto-Melayu-Polinesia dan Proto-Flores-Lembata. Variasi-variasi yang dianggap konservatif ini sejalan dengan lokasi geografis tempat para nenek moyang para penutur bahasa Alor pertama kali menginjakkan kaki di Pulau Pantar sekitar setengah milenium yang lalu.

Curriculum vitae

Yunus Sulistyono was born in Klaten, Indonesia in 1990. After graduating from the SMA Muhammadiyah 1 high school in Klaten in 2008, he pursued a Bachelor of Arts in the Indonesian Department of Universitas Gadjah Mada in Yogyakarta. His BA thesis was an application of the historical-comparative linguistic method to two languages, Bunak and Abui, spoken on Timor and Alor in eastern Indonesia. In 2013, he continued his studies with a Master's degree in linguistics at the same university. His master's thesis is a historical-comparative linguistic study of Lamaholot, Kedang, and Alorese, spoken in the regencies of East Flores, Lembata, and Alor. After obtaining his master's degree, he worked as a freelance teacher of Indonesian academic writing for university students at several universities in Yogyakarta. In 2015, he began his academic career as a lecturer at the Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta. Yunus started his PhD research in 2017 at Leiden University with a scholarship from the Indonesian Endowment Fund for Education (LPDP). His research concerned the reconstruction of the history of Alorese, culminating in the present dissertation.

