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

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CHAPTER 5

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

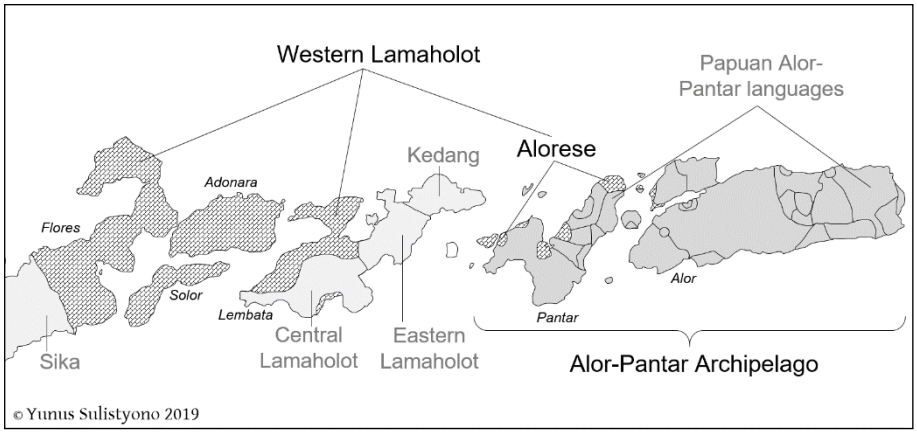
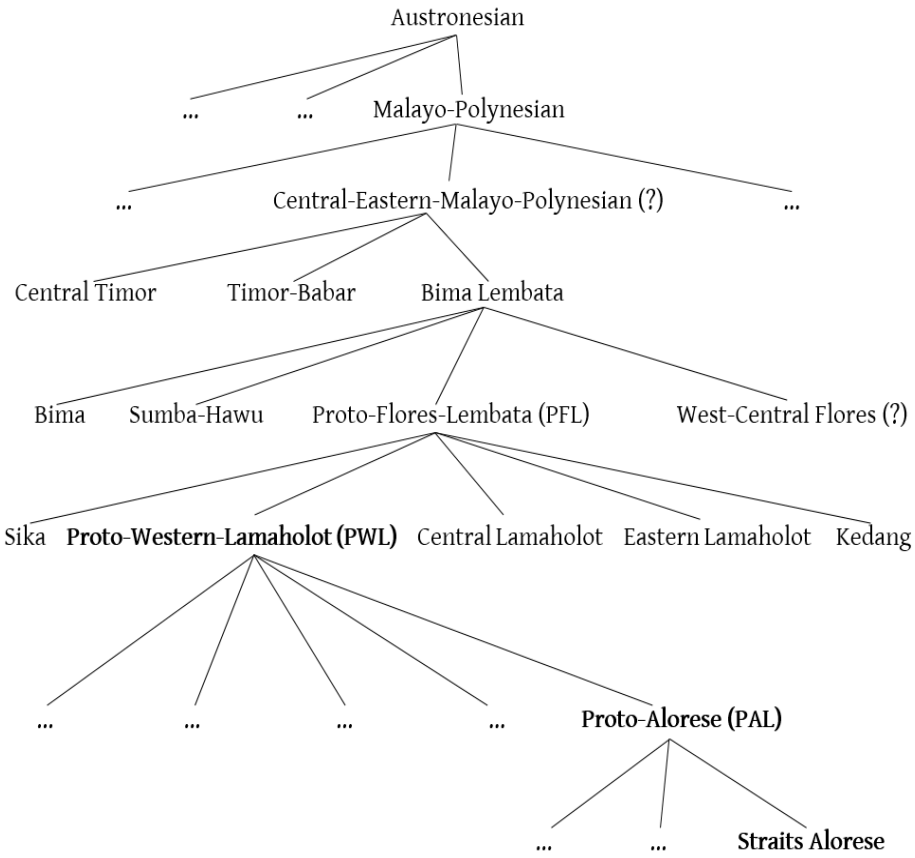


Figure 5.2 shows the genealogical classification of Alorese in the WL subgroup within with the context of the Austronesian language family lineage.

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 (Sulistyono, 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*	*bəlaha*
Lewolema	*wato*	*bəlãha*
Adonara	*wato*	*blaha*
Lamalera	*fato*	*blã*
PAL	*wato	*bəlaha|k
Kayang	*wato*	*lahaʔ*
Pandai	*watɔ*	*blahak*
Alor Besar	*fato*	*bɛlahakaŋ*

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.modelling.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

Varietiy/ 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.

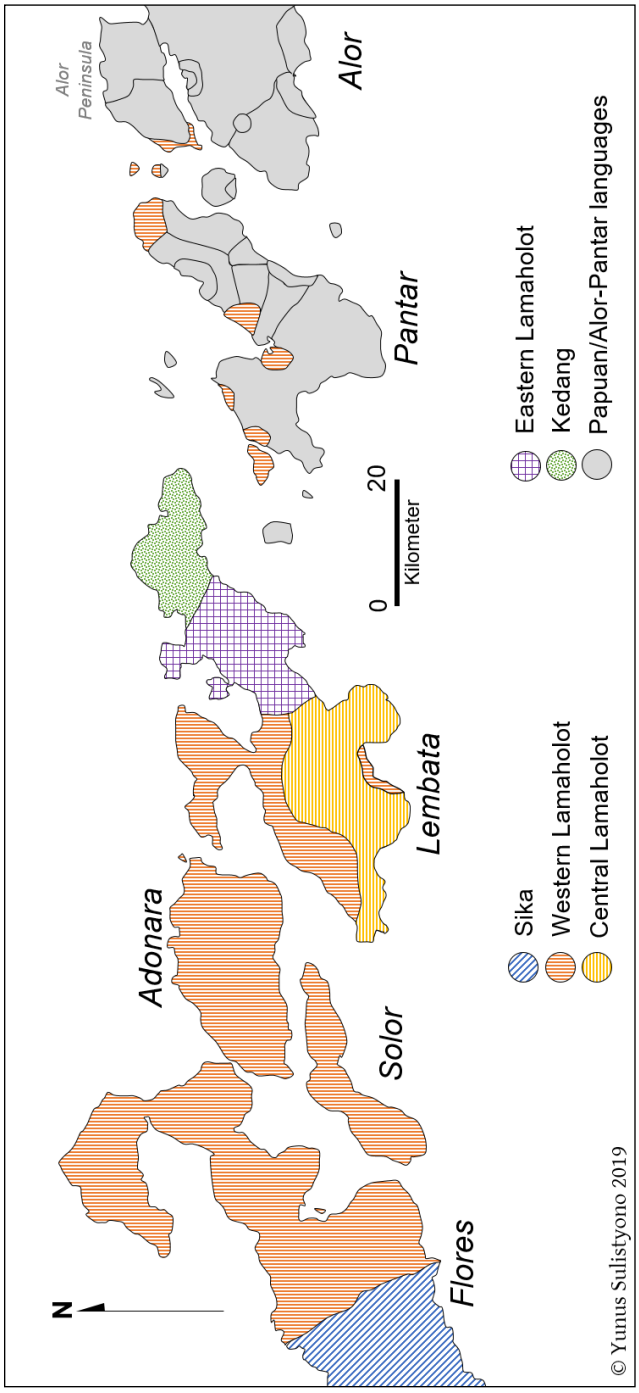


Figure 5.3: Western Lamaholot within the context of the Flores-Lembata family and the Alor-Pantar languages

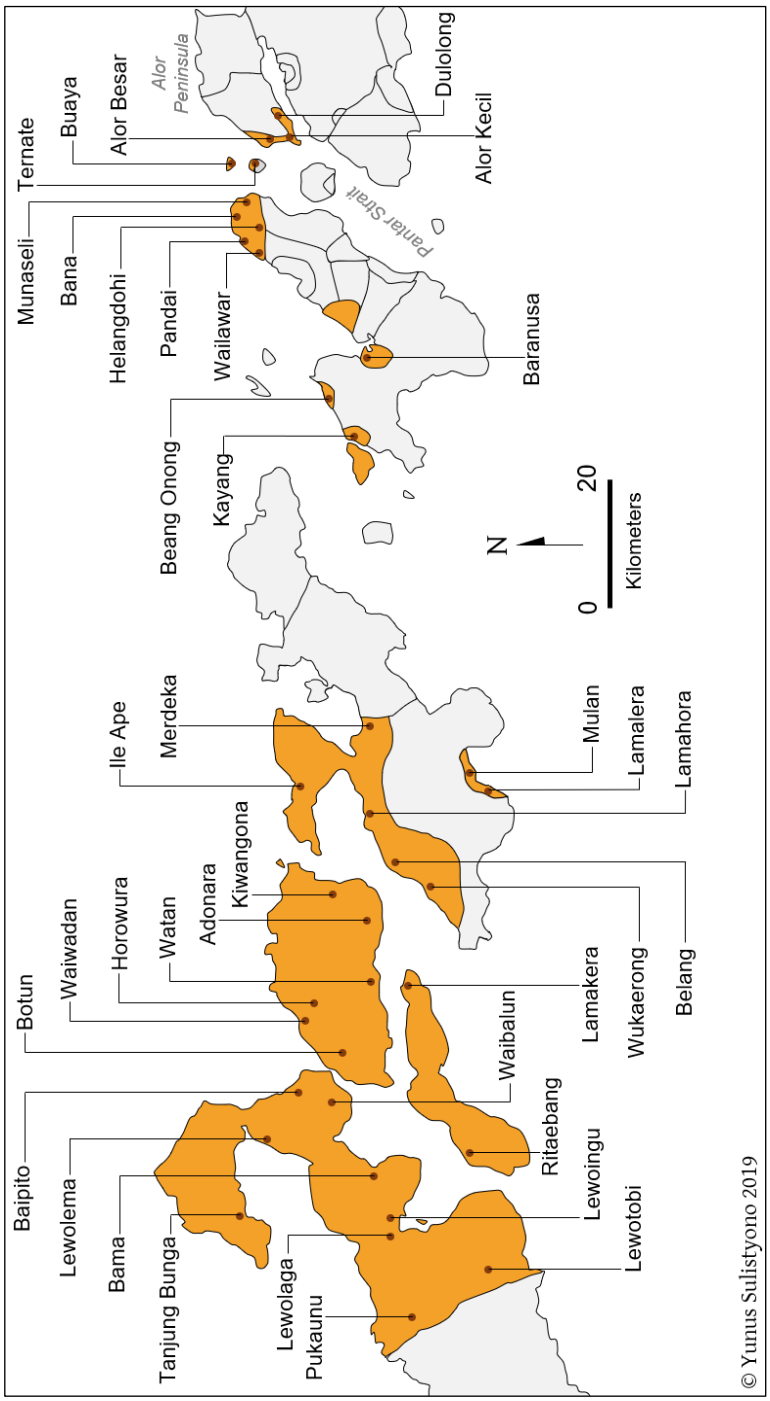


Figure 5.4: Locations of the Western Lamaholot varieties

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 [ʤ] which is represented as *ʤ. PFL forms are represented using the symbols employed in the reconstruction by 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] / [ʁ]	<R>
<j>	[ɡ] / [ɣ] / [ɡʲ]	<j>
<z>	[ʤ]	<ʤ>
<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 [ɟ] / [ʤ], which is represented here as *ʤ. 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], [ʊ] 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	*p*	*p*	*t*	*t*	*k*	*k*	Ø	Ø
Baranusa	*p*	*p*	*t*	*t*	*k*	*k*	Ø	Ø
Munaseli	*p*	*p*	*t*	*t*	*k*	*k*	Ø	Ø
Alor Besar	*p*	*p*	*t*	*t*	*k*	*k*	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	***p**itu	***p**iliq	***p**anaw	*ma-**p**aqit	*ma-qa**p**əju
PFL	***p**itu	***p**iliʔ	***p**ana(v)	*m-**p**aʔit	*m-**p**ədu
PAL	***p**ito	***p**ile	***p**ana	***p**aiʔ	***p**əro
Kayang	***p**ito*	***p**ile*	***p**ana*	***p**ai*	[...]
Baranusa	***p**ito*	***p**ile*	***p**ana*	***p**ai*	***p**aro*
Pandai	***p**itɔ*	***p**ilɛ*	***p**ana*	***p**aiʔ*	***p**arə*
Munaseli	***p**ito*	***p**ile*	***p**ana (lei)*	***p**aiʔ*	***p**əro*
Alor Besar	***p**ito*	***p**ile*	***p**ana*	***p**ei*	***p**aro*

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

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

	'fire'	'lime (stone)'	'wipe'	'thin (non-human)'	'fold'
PMP	*ha**p**uy	*qa**p**uR	*sa**p**u	*ma-ni**p**is	*lə**p**ət
PFL	*a**p**i	*ʔa**p**ur	*ha**p**u	*m-ni**p**ih-i	*lə**p**ət
PAL	*a**p**e	*a**p**u	*ha**p**o	*məni**p**i	*lə**p**eʔ
Baranusa	a***p**e*	a***p**u*	[...]	*mani**p**i*	*la**p**e*
Munaseli	a***p**e*	a***p**u*	*ha**p**o*	*ni**p**i*	–
Bana	a***p**e*	a***p**u*	[...]	*ni**p**i*	*lə**p**e*
Wailawar	a***p**ɛ*	a***p**u*	[...]	*ni**p**iʔ*	*la**p**ɛʔ*
Alor Besar	a***p**e*	a***p**u*	*ha**p**o*	[...]	[...]
Dulolong	a***p**e*	a***p**u*	[...]	*məni**p**i*	*la**p**e*

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 Alorese varieties.

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

	'excrement'	'to steal'	'sugarcane'	'three'	'rope'
PMP	*t**t**aqi	*t**t**akaw	*t**t**əbuh	*t**t**əlu	*t**t**alih
PFL	*t**t**aʔi	*t**t**<əm>akav	*t**t**əvu	*t**t**əlu	*t**t**aliʔ
PAL	*t**t**ae	*t**t**əmaka	*t**t**əwo	*t**t**əlo	*t**t**ale
Kayang	***t**ae*	***t**əmaka*	***t**əwo*	***t**alo*	***t**ale*
Beang Onong	[...]	***t**amaka*	***t**əwo*	***t**alo*	***t**ale*
Bana	***t**ae*	*makaŋ*	***t**ewo*	***t**ələ*	***t**ale*
Alor Besar	***t**ae*	***t**amaku*	***t**afo*	***t**ələ*	***t**ale*
Dulolong	[...]	[...]	***t**afo*	***t**alo*	***t**ale*

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 Alorese 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	*pi**t**u	*ku**t**u	*ma**t**a	*qa**t**ay	*ba**t**u	*qi**t**əm	*ga**t**əl
PFL	*pi**t**u	*ku**t**u	*ma**t**a	*a**t**e	*va**t**u	*mi**t**əm	*ga**t**ər
PAL	*pi**t**o	*ku**t**o	*ma**t**a|ŋ	*a**t**e|ŋ	*wa**t**o	*mi**t**eŋ	*ga**t**eʔ
Kayang	*pi**t**o*	*ku**t**o*	*ma**t**a|ŋ*	*a**t**e|ŋ*	*wa**t**o*	*mi**t**eŋ*	*ga**t**o*
Baranusa	*pi**t**o*	[...]	*ma**t**a|ŋ*	*a**t**e|ŋ*	*wa**t**o*	*mi**t**eŋ*	*ga**t**e*
Pandai	*pi**t**ɔ*	*ku**t**ɔ*	*ma**t**a|ŋ*	*a**t**ɛ|ŋ*	*wa**t**ɔ*	*mi**t**ɛŋ*	*ga**t**ɛʔ*
Alor Besar	*pi**t**o*	*ku**t**o*	*ma**t**a|ŋ*	*a**t**ẽ*	*fa**t**o*	*mi**t**eŋ*	*ga**t**e*

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	***k**ami*	***k**utu*	***k**ahiw*	*silap ‘sparkle; drizzle’
PFL	***k**ami*	***k**utu*	***k**ayu*	***k**|silap*
PAL	***k**ame*	***k**uto*	***k**adʒo*	*hila*
Kayang	***k**ame*	***k**uto*	***k**adʒo*	*hila*
Baranusa	***k**ame*	[...]	***k**adʒo*	*hila*
Pandai	***k**amɛ*	***k**utɔ*	***k**adʒo (apa)*	*hila (bilɔŋ)*
Dulolong	***k**ame*	***k**uto*	***k**adʒo*	*hila (biba)*

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	*hi**k**an	*i**k**uŋ	*ta**k**aw	*la**k**u	*pani**k**i
PFL	*i**k**an	*i**k**ur	*t<əm>a**k**av	*la**k**u	[...]
PAL	*i**k**an	*i**k**u|k	*tama**k**a	*la**k**o	*pani**k**e
Beang Onong	*i**k**a*	*i**k**u*	*tama**k**a*	*la**k**o*	*pani**k**e*
Munaseli	*i**k**aŋ*	*i**k**u|k*	*ma**k**a*	*la**k**o*	–
Bana	*i**k**an*	*i**k**u|k*	*ma**k**a|ŋ*	*la**k**o*	*mi**k**e*
Alor Kecil	*i**k**an*	*i**k**u|kuŋ*	*tama**k**u*	*la**k**o*	–

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 sufix and is therefore not inherited.

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

	‘lime (stone)’	‘ash’	‘bitter’	‘excrement’	‘old’
PMP	***q**apuR*	***q**abuk*	*ma-pa**q**it*	*ta**q**i*	*ma-tu**q**ah*
PFL	*ʔapur	*ʔavu	*m-paʔit	*taʔi	*m-tuʔa
PAL	*apu	*kər|awu	*paiʔ	*tae	*tua|ŋ
Beang Onong	*apu*	*kər|awu*	*pai*	*tae*	*tua|ŋ*
Baranusa	*apu*	*kər|awu*	*pai*	[...]	[...]
Munaseli	*apu*	*awo (kaha)*	*paiʔ*	*tai|ŋ*	*tua*
Alor Besar	*apu*	*afo*	*pei*	*tae*	–

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-**qa**p**əju*	***ma-p**aqit*	***ma-p**ənuq*	***ma-t**asak*	***ma-t**uqah*
PFL	***m-p**ədu*	***m-p**aʔit*	***m-p**ənu*	***m-t**asak*	***m-t**uʔa*
PAL	***p**əro*	***p**aiʔ*	***p**əno|ŋ*	***t**ahak*	***t**ua|ŋ*
Kayang	[...]	***p**ai*	***p**ano|ŋ*	–	***t**ua|ŋ*
Baranusa	***p**aro*	***p**ai*	***p**ano|ŋ*	[...]	[...]
Munaseli	***p**əro*	***p**aiʔ*	***p**əno|ŋ*	***t**ahak*	***t**ua*
Alor Besar	***p**aro*	***p**ei*	***p**ano*	***t**aha*	–

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-k**apal*
PFL	***m-k**apal*
PAL	***g**apal*
Kayang	***g**apa*
Baranusa	***g**apa*
Pandai	***g**apal*
Alor Besar	***g**apa*

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-q**itəm*	***ma-q**udip*
PFL	***m**itəm*	***m**odip*
PAL	***m**iteŋ*	***m**ori|k*
Kayang	***m**iteŋ*	***m**ori|ʔ*
Baranusa	***m**iteŋ*	***m**ori*
Pandai	***m**itɛŋ*	***m**əri|k*
Alor Besar	***m**iteŋ*	***m**ori*

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/Ø
PAL	Ø	*k	Ø
Kayang	Ø	Ø	Ø
Baranusa	Ø	Ø	Ø
Bana	Ø	*k*/Ø	Ø
Pandai	Ø	*k*/Ø	Ø
Alor Besar	Ø	Ø	Ø

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-qudi**p**	*kaRaka**p**
PFL	*modi**p**	[...]
PAL	*mori|k	*kərake
Kayang	*mori|ʔ*	–
Baranusa	*mori*	[...]
Bana	*mori|k*	*kərake*
Pandai	*məri|k*	–
Alor Besar	*mori*	–

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	*kapa**k**	*tasi**k**	*ma-tasa**k**	*manu**k**	*ana**k**
PFL	*kapi**k**	*tahi**k**	*m-tasa**k**	*manu**k**	*ana**k**
PAL	*kapi|k	*tahi	*taha**k**	*manu**k**	*ana|ŋ
Kayang	*kapi*	*tahi*	–	*manu*	*ana|ŋ*
Baranusa	*kapi|k*	*tahi*	[...]	*manu|ŋ*	*ana|ŋ*
Bana	*kapi|k*	*tahi*	*taha**k**	*manu**k**	*ana|ʔ*
Pandai	*kapi|k*	*tahi*	*taha**k**	*manu*	–
Alor Besar	*kapi|kiŋ*	*tahi*	*taha*	*manu*	*ana|ŋ*

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	*tali**ʔ**	*mama**ʔ**	*pili**ʔ**
PAL	*tale	*mame	*pile
Kayang	*tale*	*mame*	*pile*
Baranusa	*tale*	*mame*	*pile*
Bana	*tale*	*mame*	*pile*
Pandai	*talɛ*	*mamɛ*	*pilɛ*
Alor Besar	*tale*	*mame*	*pile*

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-paqi**t**	*ləpə**t**	*ma-bəRəqa**t**	*kuli**t**	*Ramu**t**
PFL	*-t	*m-paʔi**t**	*ləpə**t**	*bəra**t**	*kuli**t**	*ramu**t**
PAL	*-ʔ	*pai**ʔ**	*lape**ʔ**	*ba:**ʔ**	*kuli|k	*ramu|k
Kayang	ʔ/Ø	*pai**ʔ**	*lape*	*ba**ʔ**	–	*ramu*
Beang Onong	Ø	*pai*	*ləpe*	*baa*	–	*ramu |k*
Baranusa	Ø	*pai*	*lepe*	*baa*	*kuli |k*	*ramu |k*
Wailawar	ʔ	*pai**ʔ**	*lapɛ**ʔ**	*baa**ʔ**	–	*ramu |k*
Pandai	ʔ	*pai**ʔ**	–	*ba**ʔ**	*kuli |k*	*ramu |k*
Helangdohi	ʔ	*pai**ʔ**	*ləpe**ʔ**	*baa**ʔ**	–	*ramu |k*
Bana	ʔ	*pai**ʔ**	*ləpe**ʔ**	*ba**ʔ**	–	*ramu |k*
Munaseli	ʔ	*pai**ʔ**	–	*ba**ʔ**	*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*	*baa**ʔ**	–	–

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	*wulaŋ	*wəva|ŋ	*wai	*wəki|ŋ	*wataʔ	*worak
Kayang	*ulu*	*ulaŋ*	[...]	*wai*	*waki|ŋ*	*wata*	[...]
Baranusa	*wulu|k*	*wulaŋ*	*wawa|ŋ*	*wai*	*waki|ŋ*	*wata*	*worak*
Wailawar	–	*wulaŋ*	–	*wai*	*waki|ŋ*	*wataʔ*	*wəraʔ*
Pandai	*wulu|k*	*wulaŋ*	*wɛwa|ŋ*	*wai*	*wɛki|ŋ*	*wata*	*wərak*
Munaseli	*wulu|k*	*wulaŋ*	–	*wai*	[...]	*wata*	*worak*
Buaya	–	*fulaŋ*	*fafa|ŋ*	*fei*	*faki|ŋ*	*fata*	[...]
Alor Besar	*fulu|kuŋ*	*fulaŋ*	*fafa|ŋ*	*fei*	*faki|ŋ*	*fata*	*forakaŋ*
Dulolong	*falu|kuŋ*	*fulaŋ*	*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	*awɔ (kaha)*	*tawɔ*	*wawɛ*	*kawil*	*hewa*
Pandai	*awɔ (kaha)*	*tawɔ*	*wawɛ*	*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**	*taka**w**	*qaləja**w**	*ma-hua**b**
PFL	*pana**v**	*taka**v**	*ləda**v**	*mua**v**
PAL	*pana	*təmaka	*ləra	*pə|noe
Kayang	*pana*	*təmaka*	*ləra*	*pə|noe*
Baranusa	*pana*	*tamaka*	*lera*	*pə|noe*
Wailawar	*pana*	*maka*	*lɛra*	–
Pandai	*pana*	*tmaka*	*lɛra*	*p|nɔɛ*
Munaseli	*pana*	*makaŋ*	*ləra*	*p|noek*
Buaya	*pana*	*tamaku*	*lera*	*pə|noe*
Alor Besar	*pana*	*tamaku*	*lara*	*pa|noe*
Dulolong	*pana*	[...]	*ləra*	*pə|noe*

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	*h*	*h*
Baranusa	*h*	*h*
Munaseli	*h*	*h*
Alor Besar	*h*	*h*

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	*s-	***s**iwa	***s**ama[20]	***s**alaq	***s**apu	***s**i-ida
PFL	*s-/*h-	***s**iva	***s**ama	***s**ala	***h**apu	***h**ida
						'PL'
PAL	*h-	***h**iwa	***h**ama	***h**ala	***h**apo	***h**ire
Kayang	*h*	***h**iwa*	[...]	***h**ala*	–	***h**ire*
Baranusa	*h*	***h**iwa*	***h**ama*	***h**ala*	[...]	***h**ire*
Munaseli	*h*	***h**iwa*	***h**ama*	***h**ala*	***h**apo*	***h**ire*
Alor Besar	*h*	***h**ifa*	***h**ama*	***h**ala*	***h**apo*	***h**ire*

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	*s-	*pu**s**əj	*su**s**u	*a**s**u	*i**s**i	*bu**s**uR
PFL	*-s-/*-h-	*pu**s**ər	*(t)u**s**u	*a**h**u	*i**h**i-k	*vu**h**ur
PAL	*h-	*pu**h**or	*tu**h**u	*a**h**o	*i**h**i|k	*wu**h**u
Kayang	*h*	*kə|pu**h**or*	*tu**h**o*	*a**h**o*	*i**h**i*	*u**h**u*
Baranusa	*h*	*ka|pu**h**or*	*tu**h**o*	*a**h**o*	*i**h**i|k*	*wu**h**u*
Munaseli	*h*	*pu**h**or*	*tu**h**o*	*a**h**o*	***h**i|k*	*wu**h**u*
Alor Besar	*h*	*ka|pu**h**or|oŋ*	*tu**h**ũ*	*a**h**o*	*i**h**i|kiŋ*	*fu**h**u*

[20] Blust & Trussel (2016) reconstruct *sama 'same', but the form is possibly a borrowing from Sanskrit *sama*.

5.4.3 Reflexes of PFL affricate *ʤ in Alorese

The PFL affricate *ʤ in initial position is retained as initial *r in PAL. As shown in Table 5.28, two examples are available for PFL initial *ʤ reflexes in Alorese. For the concept 'night', PAL *mare|ŋ undergoes consonant metathesis from PWL *rəma (< LH-SK #ʤəma) 'night' (cf. §5.5.3).

*Table 5.28: Reflexes of PFL affricate *ʤ in Alorese*

	#_	'two'	'mountain-wards'	'night'
PMP	*d-	***d**uha	[...]	[...]
PFL	*ʤ-	***ʤ**ua	#**ʤ**ae	#**ʤ**əma
PAL	*r	***r**ua	***r**ae	*ma**r**e|ŋ
Kayang	*r*	***r**ua*	***r**ae*	*ma**r**o|ŋ*
Baranusa	*r*	***r**ua*	[...]	*ma**r**e|ŋ*
Munaseli	*r*	***r**ua*	[...]	*ma**r**e|ŋ*
Alor Besar	*r*	***r**ua*	[...]	*ma**r**e|ŋ*

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 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	*b*	*b*	*d*	*r*	*g*	[...]
Baranusa	*b*	[...]	*d*	*r*	*g*	*g*
Munaseli	*b*	*b*	*d*	*r*	*g*	*g*
Alor Besar	*b*	*b*	*d*	*r*	*g*	*g*

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	***b**aqagi*	***b**uka*	***b**ayu*	[...]	***b**udaq*
PFL	***b**agi*	***b**ukat*	***b**ayu*	***b**aŋun*	***b**udaʔ*
PAL	***b**age*	***b**uka*	***b**adʒo*	***b**auŋ*	***b**ura*
Kayang	[...]	***b**uka*	***b**adʒo*	***b**auŋ*	***b**ura|ʔ*
Baranusa	***b**age*	***b**uka*	***b**adʒo*	***b**auŋ*	***b**ura*
Munaseli	***b**age*	***b**uka*	***b**adʒo*	***b**auŋ*	***b**ura|k*
Alor Besar	***b**age*	***b**uka*	***b**adʒo*	[...]	***b**ura*

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	*Ri**b**u	[...]
PFL	*ri**b**u/*ri**v**u	*la**b**ur
PAL	*ri**b**u	*la**b**u
Kayang	[...]	*la**b**u*
Baranusa	[...]	–
Munaseli	*ri**b**u*	–
Alor Besar	*ri**b**u*	–

Table 5.32 displays examples of reflexes of PFL initial *d-, which is retained unchanged in Alorese. There is an irregular case of initial *dʒ*- in the word *dʒoaŋ* 'far' in Alor Besar. This may be due to the influence of the Indonesian word *jauh* [ˈdʒauʰ] 'far' or due to independence shift of d > dʒ.

*Table 5.32: Reflexes of PFL initial *d- in Alorese*

	'far'	'good; right; person'	'hear'
PMP	[...]	[...]	*dəŋəR
PFL	***d**oa	***d**ikə	***d**əŋər
		'right side'	
PAL	***d**oaŋ	***d**ike|ŋ	***d**əŋa
Kayang	***d**oaŋ	***d**ike|ŋ	***d**aŋa
Baranusa	***d**oaŋ	***d**ike|ŋ	***d**əŋa
Munaseli	***d**oaŋ	***d**ike|ŋ	***d**əŋa
Alor Besar	***dʒ**oaŋ	***d**ike	***d**aŋa

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-i**d**a	*ma-qu**d**ip	[...]	*qalə**j**aw	*ma-ma**j**a	*ŋa**j**an
PFL	*hi**d**a	*m-o**d**ip	*vo**d**a|k	*lə**d**av	*ma**d**a	*na**d**an
	'PL'					
PAL	*hi**r**e	*mo**r**i|k	*wo**r**a|k	*lə**r**a	*ma**r**a	*na**r**aŋ
Kayang	*hi**r**e*	*mo**r**iʔ*	[...]	*lə**r**a*	*ma**r**a*	*na**r**aŋ*
Baranusa	*hi**r**e*	*mo**r**i*	*wo**r**ak*	*le**r**a*	*ma**r**a*	*na**r**aŋ*
Munaseli	*hi**r**e*	*mo**r**ik*	*wo**r**ak*	*lə**r**a*	*ma**r**a|k*	*na**r**aŋ*
Alor Besar	*hi**r**e*	*mo**r**i*	*fo**r**a|kaŋ*	*la**r**a*	*ma**r**a*	*na**r**aŋ*

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	*gato*	*gao*	*gaki*	[...]
Baranusa	*gate*	*gao*	*gaki*	*bage*
Munaseli	*gateʔ*	*gau*	[...]	*bage*
Alor Besar	*gate*	*gou*	*gaki*	*bage*

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	*m*	*m*	*n*	*n*	*ŋ*
Baranusa	*m*	*m*	*n*	*n*	*ŋ*
Munaseli	*m*	*m*	*n*	*n*	*ŋ*
Alor Besar	*m*	*m*	*n*	*n*	*ŋ*

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 *mənau) '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	*qali**m**a	*Ru**m**aq	[...]	*ma**n**uk	*pa**n**aw	*dəŋəR	*naŋuy	*haŋin
PFL	*li**m**a	*ru**m**a	*te**n**a	*ma**n**uk	*m-pa**n**au	*dəŋər	*naŋi	*aŋin
PAL	*li**m**a|ŋ	*ʔu**m**a	*te**n**a	*ma**n**u|ŋ	*mə**n**au	*dəŋa	*naŋge	*aŋiŋ
Kayang	*li**m**a*|*n*	*u**m**a*	*te**n**a*	*ma**n**u*	[...]	*daŋa*	*nage*	*aŋi*
Baranusa	*li**m**a*|*ŋ*	*ʔu**m**a*	*te**n**a*	*ma**n**u*|*ŋ*	*mə**n**ao*	*daŋa*	*naŋge*	*aŋi*
Munaseli	*li**m**a*|*ŋ*	*u**m**a*	*te**n**a*	*ma**n**u*	*n**a**o*	*daŋa*	*naŋge*	*aŋiŋ*
Alor Besar	*li**m**a*|*ŋ*	*u**m**a*	*te**n**a*	*ma**n**u*	*ma**n**au*	*daŋa*	*naŋge*	*aŋĩ*

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	*quza**n**	*bula**n**	*taqu**n**	[...]	*bubu**ŋ**	*ma-qitə**m**	*kələ**m**[21]
PFL	*uda**n**	*vula**n**	*tuu**n**	*moto**ŋ**	*(v)uvu**ŋ**	*mitə**m**	*kələ**m**
PAL	*ura**ŋ**	*wula**ŋ**	*tuu**ŋ**	*moto**ŋ**	*vuhu**ŋ**	*mite**ŋ**	*kale**ŋ**
Kayang	*ura**ŋ**	*ula**ŋ**	*tuu**ŋ**	*moto**ŋ**	*uhu**ŋ**	*mite**ŋ**	–
Baranusa	*ura**ŋ**	*wula**ŋ**	*tuu**ŋ**	*moto**ŋ**	*buhu**ŋ**	*mite**ŋ**	–
Pandai	*ura**ŋ**	*wula**ŋ**	*tu**ŋ**	*mətə**ŋ**	–	*mitɛ**ŋ**	*kalɛ**ŋ**
Alor Besar	*ura**ŋ**	*fula**ŋ**	*tu**ŋ**	*moto**ŋ**	–	*mite**ŋ**	–

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	ø	*ʔ
Kayang	*l*	*l*	ø	*r*	ø	ø
Baranusa	*l*	*l*	*l*	*r/ʔ*	ø	ø
Munaseli	*l*	*l*	*l*	*r*	ø	*ʔ*/ø
Alor Besar	*l*	*l*	ø	*r*	ø	ø

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	*kawi**l**	*ma-kapa**l**
PFL	*kavi**l**	*m-kapa**l**
PAL	*kawi**l**	*gapa**l**
Kayang	*kawi*	*gapa*
Baranusa	[...]	*gapa*
Munaseli	*kawi**l***	*gapa**l***
Alor Besar	*kafi*	*gapa*

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	***ʔ**uma
Kayang	***r**a*	***r**amu*	[...]	*uma*
Baranusa	***r**a*	***r**amu|k*	[...]	***ʔ**uma*
Munaseli	***r**a|ŋ*	***r**amu|k*	***r**ibu*	*uma*
Alor Besar	***r**a*	***r**ambu|kuŋ*	***r**ibu*	*uma*

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-i**R**aq	*ga**R**ut	*la**R**iw	*busu**R**	*gatə**l**	*pusə**j**
PFL	*me**r**an	*ga**r**u	*pla**r**i	*vuhu**r**	*gatə**r**	*pusə**r**
PAL	*meaŋ	*gau	*plae	*wuhu	*gate**ʔ**	*kə-puho**r**
Kayang	*meaŋ*	*gao*	*lae*	*puhu*	*gato*	*kəpuho**r***
Baranusa	*meaŋ*	*gao*	*pəlae*	*wuhu*	*gate*	*kapuho**r***
Munaseli	*meaŋ*	*gau*	*plaeŋ*	*wuhu*	*gate**ʔ***	*puho**r***
Alor Besar	*meaŋ*	*gou*	*palae*	*fuhu*	*gate*	*kapuho**roŋ***

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 [ɡ/ɣ/ɡʲ]) 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 *ʤ in all Alorese varieties. PFL *y is only reconstructed in intervocalic position. In Munaseli, the simplification of trisyllabic words is seen in the word *maʤuŋ* 'bedbug'.

*Table 5.45: Reflexes of PFL approximant *y in Alorese*

Env.	V_V	'sail'	'pound'	'tree'	'bedbug'
PMP	*y	*la**y**aR	*ba**y**u	*ka**h**iw	[...]
PFL	*y	*la**y**ar	*ba**y**u	*ka**y**u	*təma**y**uŋ
PAL	*ʤ	*la**ʤ**a	*ba**ʤ**o	*ka**ʤ**o	*təma**ʤ**uŋ
Kayang	*ʤ*	[...]	*ba**ʤ**o*	–	*təma**ʤ**uŋ*
Baranusa	*ʤ*	*la**ʤ**a*	*ba**ʤ**o*	*ka**ʤ**o*	*tama**ʤ**uŋ*
Munaseli	*ʤ*	*la**ʤ**a*	*ba**ʤ**o*	*ka**ʤ**o*	*ma**ʤ**uŋ*
Alor Besar	*ʤ*	*la**ʤ**a*	*ba**ʤ**o*	*ka**ʤ**o*	*təma**ʤ**oŋ*

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 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	*mite**ŋ**	*kale**ŋ**
Kayang	*mite**ŋ***	–
Baranusa	*mite**ŋ***	–
Bana	*mite**ŋ***	*kale**ŋ***
Pandai	*mitɛ**ŋ***	–
Munaseli	*mite**ŋ***	*kale**ŋ***
Alor Besar	*mite**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	#ʤəma
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***	*panə*|***ŋ***	*marɛ*|***ŋ***
Pandai	*mata*|***ŋ***	*atɛ*|***ŋ***	*ihi*	*wəra*|***k***	*panə*|***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***	*atẽ*	*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-qudip	*budaq
PFL	*kulit	*ikur	*anak	*manuk	*ramut	*modip	*buda?
PWL	*kulit	*iku?	*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*	*mɔri|ʔ*	*bura|k*
Pandai	–	*iku|k*	–	*manu*	*ramu |k*	*mɔri|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	*ma-tasa**k**
PFL	*m-tasa**k**
PWL	*taha**k**
PAL	*taha**k**
Pandai	*taha**k***
Bana	*taha**k***
Munaseli	*taha**k***
Alor Besar	*taha*

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, wile 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-p**a**qit	*t**a**lih	*p**i**tu	*s**i**lap 'sparkle; drizzle'
PFL	*m-p**a**ʔit	*t**a**liʔ	*p**i**tu	*k|s**i**lap
PAL	*p**a**iʔ	*t**a**le	*p**i**to	*h**i**la
Kayang	*p**a**i*	*t**a**le*	*p**i**to*	*h**i**la*
Baranusa	*p**a**i*	*t**a**le*	*p**i**to*	*h**i**la*
Munaseli	*p**a**iʔ*	*t**a**le*	*p**i**to*	*h**i**la biloŋ*
Alor Besar	*p**e**i*	*t**a**le*	*p**i**to*	*h**i**la biba*

*Table 5.52: Reflexes of penultimate PFL *u and *o in Alorese*

	'white'	'mouth'	'alive'	'fat'
PMP	*b**u**daq	*ŋ**u**su	*ma-q**u**dip	[...]
PFL	*b**u**daʔ	*n**u**su	*m**o**dip	*v**o**da|k
PAL	*b**u**ra|k	*n**u**hu|ŋ	*m**o**ri|k	*w**o**ra|k
Kayang	*b**u**raʔ*	*n**u**hu|ŋ*	*m**o**riʔ*	[...]
Baranusa	*b**u**ra*	–	*m**o**ri*	*w**o**rak*
Munaseli	*b**u**ra|k*	*n**u**hu|ŋ*	*m**o**rik*	*w**o**rak*
Alor Besar	*b**u**ra*	*n**u**hu|ŋ*	*m**o**ri*	*f**o**ra|kaŋ*

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 *tai|ŋ* '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-maj**a**	*mantal**a**q	*hap**uy**	*taq**i**	*təb**u**h	*təl**u**	*-m**u**
PFL	*mad**a**	*mtal**a**	*ap**i**	*taʔ**i**	*təv**u**	*təl**u**	*m**o**
PAL	*mar**a**|k	*tamal**a**	*ap**e**	*ta**e**	*təw**o**	*təl**o**	*m**o**
Kayang	*mar**a***	*tamal**a***	*ap**e***	*ta**e***	*təw**o***	*tal**o***	*m**o***
Baranusa	*mar**a***	*tamal**a***	*ap**e***	[...]	*təw**o***	*tal**o***	*m**o***
Munaseli	*mar**a**|k*	*təmal**a***	*ap**e***	*tai|ŋ*	*tew**o***	*təl**o***	*m**o***
Alor Besar	*mar**a***	*tamal**a***	*ap**e***	*ta**e***	*taf**o***	*təl**o***	*m**o***

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	*qalәjaw	*dəŋәR	*ma-bәRәqat
PFL	*ləpət	*təlu	*m-pədu	*təvu	*lədav	*dəŋər	*bərat
PAL	*ləpeʔ	*təlo	*pəro	*təwo	*lәra	*dəŋa	*baaʔ
Kayang	*ləpe*	*talo*	[...]	*təwo*	*lәra*	*daŋa*	*baʔ*
Baranusa	–	*talo*	*paro*	*tawo*	*lera*	*dəŋa*	*baa*
Munaseli	*lapeʔ*	*təlo*	*pəro*	*tewo*	*lәra*	*dəŋa*	*baʔ*
Alor Besar	*lape*	*təlo*	*paro*	*tafo*	*lara*	*daŋa*	*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	[...]	*diq**a**q	*də**ŋ**əR
					'good, right'	
PFL	*ləpət	*gatər	*mitəm	*kələm	*dikə	*dəŋər
PAL	*ləp**e**ʔ	*gat**e**ʔ	*mit**e**ŋ	*kal**e**ŋ	*dik**e**	*dəŋ**a**
Kayang	*ləp**e***	*gat**o***	*mit**e**ŋ*	–	*dik**e**ŋ*	*daŋ**a***
Baranusa	–	*gat**e***	*mit**e**ŋ*	–	*dik**e**ŋ*	*dəŋ**a***
Munaseli	*lap**e**ʔ*	*gat**e**ʔ*	*mit**e**ŋ*	*kal**e**ŋ*	*dik**e**ŋ*	*dəŋ**a***
Alor Besar	*lap**e***	*gat**e***	*mit**e**ŋ*	–	*dik**ẽ***	*daŋ**a***

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	

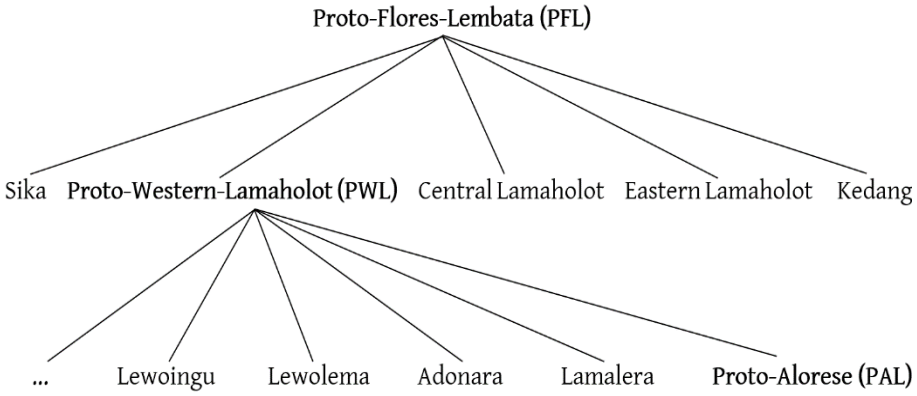
Table 5.58: Consonant inventory of Proto-Alorese

	Labial	Coronal	Dorsal	Glottal
Voiceless stops	*p	*t	*k	*ʔ
Voiced stops	*b	*d	*g	
Affricate		*ʤ		
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-	Ø	Ø
Lewoingu	*p*	*p*	*t*	*t*	*k*	*k*	Ø	Ø
Lewolema	*p*	*p*	*t*	*t*	*k*	*k*	Ø	Ø
Adonara	*p*	*p*	*t*	*t*	*k*	*k*	Ø	Ø
Lamalera	*p*	*p*	*t*	*t*	*k*	*k*	Ø	Ø
PAL	*p-	*-p-	*t-	*-t-	*k-	*-k-	Ø	Ø

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	***p**ito*	***p**ilәʔ*	***p**ana*	***p**aik*	***p**әro*
Lewolema	***p**ito*	***p**ile*	***p**ana*	***p**ait*	***p**ero*
Adonara	***p**ito*	***p**ile*	***p**ana*	***p**ait*	***p**әro*
Lamalera	[...]	[...]	***p**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	*ha**p**uy	*qa**p**uR	*sa**p**u	*ma-ni**p**is	*lə**p**ət
PFL	*a**p**i	*ʔa**p**ur	*ha**p**u	*m-ni**p**ih-i	*lə**p**ət
PWL	*a**p**e	*ʔa**p**uʔ	*ha**p**u	*mənі**p**i	*lə**p**ət
Lewoingu	a***p**eʔ*	a***p**uʔ*	[…]	*məni**p**i*	*lə**p**ək*
Lewolema	a***p**e*	a***p**u*	–	*məni**p**ī*	*lə**p**ət*
Adonara	*ʔa**p**e*	*ʔa**p**uʔ*	[…]	[…]	*le**p**et*
Lamalera	a***p**e*	[…]	*ha**p**u*	*məni**p**i*	[…]
PAL	*a**p**e	*a**p**u	*ha**p**o	*mənі**p**i	*la**p**eʔ

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	*t**a**lih	*t**a**qi	*t**a**kaw	*qat**ə**luR	*t**a**naq
PFL	*t**a**liʔ	*t**a**ʔi	*t<**ə**m>akav	*t**ə**lur	*t**a**na(ʔ)
PWL	*t**a**leʔ	*t**a**e	*t**ə**maka	*t**ə**lu	*t**a**na
Lewoingu	***t**ale*	***t**ae*	***t**əmaka*	***t**elu*	***t**ana*
Lewolema	***t**ale*	***t**ae*	***t**əmaka*	***t**əluk*	***t**ana*
Adonara	***t**aleʔ*	***t**ae*	[…]	***t**eluk*	***t**ana*
Lamalera	***t**ale*	[…]	[…]	***t**əlu*	***t**ana*
PAL	*t**a**le	*t**a**e	*t**ə**maka	*t**ə**lu|k	*t**a**na

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	*ki**t**a	*ma**t**a	*qa**t**ay	*ba**t**u	*qi**t**əm	*ku**t**u
PFL	*ki**t**a	*ma**t**a	*a**t**e-n	*va**t**u	*mi**t**əm	*ku**t**u
PWL	*ti**t**e	*ma**t**a	*a**t**e	*wa**t**o	*mi**t**əŋ	*ku**t**o
Lewoingu	*ti**t**e*	*ma**t**a*	*a**t**e*|*ŋ*	*wa**t**o*	*mi**t**əŋ*	*ku**t**o*
Lewolema	*ti**t**e*	*ma**t**a*	*a**t**ẽ*	*wa**t**o*	*mi**t**ẽ*	*ku**t**o*
Adonara	*ti**t**e*	*ma**t**a*|*k*	–	*wa**t**o*	*mi**t**e*	*ku**t**o*
Lamalera	*ti**t**e*	*ma**t**ã*	–	*fa**t**o*	*mi**t**ãŋ*	*ku**t**o*
PAL	*ti**t**e	*ma**t**a|ŋ	*a**t**e|ŋ	*wa**t**o	*mi**t**əŋ	*ku**t**o

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	***k**ami*	***k**utu*	***k**ahiw*	*silap	***k**apak*
PFL	***k**ami*	***k**utu*	***k**ayu*	***k**|silap*	***k**apik*
PWL	***k**ame*	***k**uto*	***k**ayo*	***k**ə|hilat*	***k**əpik*
Lewoingu	***k**ame*	***k**uto*	***k**adʒo*	*hila*	***k**əpi*|*ʔiŋ*
Lewolema	***k**ame*	***k**uto*	***k**adʒo*	***k**ə*|*hilat*	***k**əpi*|*ʔ*
Adonara	***k**ame*	***k**uto*	***k**adʒo*	***k**e*|*hilat*	***k**ep*|*ʔĩ*
Lamahora	***k**ame*	[...]	***k**ayo*	[...]	***k**əpi*
Lamalera	***k**ame*	***k**uto*	[...]	[...]	***k**əpi*|*k*
PAL	***k**ame	***k**uto	***k**adʒo	*hila	***k**api|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	*hi**k**an	*i**k**uŋ	*ta**k**aw	[...]	*pani**k**i
PFL	*i**k**an	*i**k**ur	*t<əm>a**k**av	*la**k**u	[...]
PWL	*i**k**aŋ	*i**k**uʔ	*təma**k**a	*la**k**o	*pəni**k**e
Lewoingu	*i**k**aŋ*	*i**k**uʔuŋ*	*təma**k**a*	*la**k**o*	*pəni**k**e*
Lewolema	*i**k**ã*	*i**k**ũ*	*təma**k**a*	*la**k**o*	*pəni**k**e*
Adonara	*ʔi**k**ã*	*ʔi**k**ʔũ*	[...]	*la**k**o*	*peni**k**e*
Lamalera	*i**k**ã*	*i**k**u*	[...]	[...]	[...]
PAL	*i**k**an	*i**k**u|k	*tama**k**a	*la**k**o	*pani**k**e

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 Klamer (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-pa**ʔ**it	*ta**ʔ**i	*m-tu**ʔ**a
PWL	*pait	*tae	*t<ən>ua
Lewoingu	*paik*	*tae*	*t<ən>ueŋ*
Lewolema	*pait*	*tae*	[...]
Adonara	*pait*	*tae*	*t<ən>uʔe*
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-**qa**p**əju*	***ma-p**aqit*	***ma-p**ənuq*	***ma-p**anaw*
PFL	***m-p**ədu*	***m-p**aʔit*	***m-p**ənu*	***m-p**anau*
PWL	***p**əro*	***p**ait*	***p**ənu/*__m__|ənu*	*__m__|anau*
Lewoingu	***p**əro*	***p**aik*	***m**enuŋ*	***m**au*
Lewolema	***p**əro*	***p**ait*	***p**ənũ, **m**ənũ*	–
Adonara	***p**ero*	***p**ait*	***p**eno*	***m**enao*
PAL	***p**əro*	***p**ai*	***p**ənoŋ*	***m**anau*

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-t**asak*	***ma-t**uqah*	***ma-q**udip*	***ma-q**itəm*
PFL	***m-t**asak*	***m-t**uʔa*	***m**odip*	***m**itəm*
PWL	***t**ahak*	***t**<ən>ua*	***m**ori*	***m**itəŋ*
Lewoingu	***t**aha*	***t**ənueŋ*	***m**ori*	***m**itə|ŋ*
Lewolema	***t**ahak*	***t**ənuẽ*	***m**ori*	***m**itẽ*
Adonara	***t**ahak*	***t**enuʔe*	***m**orit*	***m**ite*
PAL	***t**ahak*	***t**ua*	***m**ori*	***m**iteŋ*

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/ø
PWL	*-p	*-t	*-k	*ʔ
Lewoingu	*ø*	*k/ø*	*ø*	*ʔ/ø*
Lewolema	*ø*	*t*	*k/ʔ*	*ø*
Adonara	*ø*	*t*	*k/ʔ*	*ʔ/ø*
Lamahora	*p*	*t*	*ø*	*ø*
Lamalera	*ø*	*t/ ø*	*k*	*ø*
PAL	ø	*-ʔ	ø	ø

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-qudi**p**
PFL	*modi**p**
PWL	*mori**p**
Lewoingu	*mori*
Lewolema	*mori*
Adonara	*mori|t*
Lamahora	*mori**p***
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/ø*, while in Lamalera, the word *batã* 'heavy' has undergone consonant metathesis, with subsequent loss of the glottal stop, thus PWL *baʔat > *bataʔ > *batã*.

*Table 5.73: Reflexes of PFL final *-t in Western Lamaholot varieties*

	'skin'	'root'	'bitter'	'fold'	'heavy'
PMP	*kuli**t**	*Ramu**t**	*ma-paqi**t**	*ləpə**t**	*ma-bəRəqa**t**
PFL	*kuli**t**	*ramu**t**	*m-paʔi**t**	*ləpə**t**	*bəra**t**
PWL	*kuli**t**	*ramu**t**	*pai**t**	*ləpe**t**	*baʔa**t**
Lewoingu	*kuli*	*ramu*	*pai**k**	*ləpə**k**	*baʔa*
Lewolema	*kuli**t**	*amu**t**	*pai**t**	*ləpə**t**	*baʔa**t**
Adonara	–	*ʔamu**t**	*pai**t**	*lepe**t**	*baʔa**t**
Lamahora	*kuli**t**	*amu**t**ə*	[...]	[...]	*baʔa**t**
Lamalera	–	*ramu**t**	[...]	[...]	*ba**t**ã*
PAL	*kuli|k	*ramu|k	*pai**ʔ**	*lape**ʔ**	*baa**ʔ**

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	*tasi**k**	*manu**k**	*ma-tasa**k**	*kapa**k**
PFL	*tahi**k**	*manu**k**	*m-tasa**k**	*kapi**k**
PWL	*tahi**k**	*manu**k**	*taha**k**	*kəpi**k**
Lewoingu	*tahi*	*manu*	*taha*	*kəpi**ʔ**|iŋ*
Lewolema	*tahi**k**	*manu**k**	*taha**k**	*kəpi**ʔ**
Adonara	–	*manu**k**	*taha**k**	*kep**ʔ**|ĩ*
Lamahora	*tahi*	[...]	[...]	*kəpi*
Lamalera	–	[...]	[...]	*kəpi**k**
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	*pili**q**	*buda**q**	*tali**h**
PFL	*pili**ʔ**	*buda**ʔ**	*tali**ʔ**
PWL	*pile**ʔ**	*bura**ʔ**	*tale**ʔ**
Lewoingu	*pilə**ʔ**	*bura*	*tale*
Lewolema	*pile*	*burã*	*tale*
Adonara	*pile*	*bura**ʔ**	*tale**ʔ**
Lamahora	[...]	*burʔã*	*tale*
Lamalera	[...]	*burã*	*tale*
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	*w*	*w*	Ø
Lewolema	*w*	*w*	Ø
Adonara	*w*	*w*	Ø
Lamalera	*f*	*f*	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	***b**ulan*	***b**atu*	***b**əqbəq*	[...]	[...]	[...]
PFL	***v**ulan*	***v**atu*	***v**əva*[22]	***v**əki*	***v**atar*	***v**oda|k*
PWL	***w**ulan*	***w**ato*	***w**əva*	***w**əki|ŋ*	***w**ataʔ*	***w**ora|k*
Lewoingu	***w**ula*	***w**ato*	***w**əva|ŋ*	***w**əki|ŋ*	***w**ata*	***w**ora|ŋ*
Lewolema	***w**ulan*	***w**ato*	***w**əva*	[...]	[...]	***w**orã*
Adonara	***w**ulã*	***w**ato*	***w**ɜva|kɜt*	***w**eki|ket*	***w**ataʔ*	[...]
Lamalera	[...]	***f**ato*	***f**efã*	[...]	[...]	***f**orã*
PAL	***w**ulaŋ*	***w**ato*	***w**əva|ŋ*	***w**əki|ŋ*	***w**ataʔ*	***w**ora|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	*qa**b**uk*	*tə**b**uh*	*ba**b**uy*	*ka**w**il*	*si**w**a*
PFL	*ʔa**v**u*	*tə**v**u*	*va**v**i*	*ka**v**il*	*si**v**a*
PWL	*kə|a**w**u*	*tə**w**o*	*wa**w**e*	*ka**w**il*	*hi**w**a*
Lewoingu	*kə|a**w**uk*	*tə**w**o*	*wa**w**e*	*ka**w**i*	*hi**w**a*
Lewolema	–	[...]	[...]	[...]	*hi**w**a*
Adonara	*ke|ʔa**w**u*	*te**w**o*	*wa**w**e*	[...]	[...]
Lamalera	*k|a**f**u*	[...]	*fə**f**e*	[...]	*hi**f**a*
PAL	*kə(r)|a**w**u*	*tə**w**o*	*va**w**e*	*ka**w**il*	*hi**v**a*

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 *lərɑ:* '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**	*taka**w**	*qaləja**w**
PFL	*pana(**v**)	*t<əm>aka**v**	*ləda**v**
PWL	*pana	*təmaka	*ləraa
Lewoingu	*pana*	*təmaka*	*lərа:*
Lewolema	*pana*	*təmaka*	*rərа:*
Adonara	*pana*	[...]	*rera*
Lamalera	*pana*	[...]	*lərа*
PAL	*pana	*tamaka	*lərа

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-	***s**iwa	***s**ama	***s**apu	***s**i-ida
PFL	*s-/*h-	***s**iva	***s**ama	***h**apu	***h**ida
PWL	*h	***h**iwa	***h**ama	***h**apu	***h**ira
Lewoingu	*h*	***h**iwa*	***h**ama*	–	*ra:*
Lewolema	*h*	***h**iwa*	***h**ama*	–	*raʔe*
Adonara	*h*	***h**iwa*	***h**ama*	[...]	*raʔe*
Lamalera	*h*	[...]	[...]	***h**apu*	*rae*
					‘PL’
PAL	*h	***h**iwa	***h**ama	***h**apo	***h**ire

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-	*su**s**u	*ma-ta**s**ak	*pu**s**əj	[...]	*a**s**u	*pu**s**uŋ[23]	***s**i
PFL	*-s-/*-h-	*(t)u**s**u	*m-ta**s**ak	*pu**s**ər	*o**s**an	*a**h**u	*pu**h**un	*i**h**i-k
PWL	*h-	*tu**h**o	*ta**h**ak	*kə|pu**h**ur	*o**h**aŋ	*a**h**o	*pu**h**u	*i**h**i-k
Lewoingu	*h*	*tu**h**o*	*ta**h**a*	*kəpu**h**ur*	*o**h**aŋ*	*a**h**oʔ*	–	–
Lewolema	*h*	*tu**h**o*	*ta**h**ak*	*kəpu**h**u(r)*	–	*a**h**o*	*pu**h**ũ*	*i**h**i|k*
Adonara	*h*	*tu**h**o*	*ta**h**ak*	*kepu**h**uret*	*ʔo**h**ã*	*ʔa**h**o*	[...]	*i**h**i|k*
Lamalera	*ø*	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]	*ao*	pu	*hi|k*
PAL	*h	*tu**h**u	*ta**h**ak	*pu**h**or	*o**h**aŋ	*a**h**o	*pu**h**u|ŋ	*i**h**i

5.5.3 Reflexes of PFL affricate *ʤ in Western Lamaholot

The forms presented in Table 5.83 show that PFL *ʤ regularly becomes PWL *r in initial position. No intervocalic and final *-ʤ 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 *ʤ in Western Lamaholot varieties*

Env.	#_	'two'	'night'	'mountain-wards'
PMP	*d	***d**uha	[...]	[...]
PFL	*ʤ	***ʤ**ua	#**ʤ**əma	#**ʤ**ae
PWL	*r	***r**ua	***r**əma	***r**ae
Lewoingu	*r*	***r**ua*	***r**əmaʔaŋ*	[...]
Lewolema	*r*	[...]	***r**ema*	***r**ae*
Adonara	*r*	***r**ua*	***r**emaʔ*	[...]
Lamalera	*r*	[...]	***r**emã*	[...]
PAL	*r	***r**ua	*ma**r**e|ŋ	***r**ae

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	*b*	*b*	*d*	*r*	*g*	[...]
Lewolema	*b*	*b*	*d*	*r*	*g*	*g*
Adonara	*b*	*b*	*d*	*r*	*g*	[...]
Lamalera	*b*	*b*	*d*	*r*	*g*	[...]
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	*buda?	*bayu	*ribu	*labur
PWL	*bura	*bayo	*ribu	*labu
Lewoingu	*bura*	*bayo*	[...]	*labu*
Lewolema	*burã*	*badʒo*	*ribu*	*labu*
Adonara	*bura(|)?*	*badʒo*	*ribu*	*labu*
Lamalera	*burã*	[...]	[...]	[...]
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	*gatə?	*gike	*bage
Lewoingu	*gatə*	*gike*	–
Lewolema	*gatə|k*	*gike*	*bage*
Adonara	*gatə|k*	*gike*	–
Lamalera	[...]	[...]	–
PAL	*gate?	*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	*dəŋəR	*qaləjaw	*maja	*ma-qudip	*si-ida
PFL	*doa	*dike	*dəŋər	*lədav	*mada	*m-odip	*hida
PWL	*doa|ŋ	*dike	*dəŋa	*lərа:	*mara	*mori	*hira
Lewoingu	*doaŋ*	[...]	–	*lərа:*	*mara*	*mori*	*ra:*
Lewolema	*doã*	*dike*	–	*rəra*	*marã*	*mori*	*raʔe*
Adonara	*doã*	[...]	*deŋeʔ*	*rera*	*maʔrã*	*mori|t*	*raʔe*
Lamalera	*doe*	[...]	*dəŋa*	*ləra*	*marã*	*mori*	*rae*
		'good; right side'					'PL'
PAL	*doaŋ	*dike|ŋ	*dəŋa	*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	***n**arã*	***n**aŋe*	***m**ata*	***m**ori*	***m**uko*
Lewolema	***n**arã*	***n**aŋe*	***m**ata*	***m**ori*	[...]
Adonara	***n**arã*	***n**aŋe*	***m**ata|k*	***m**ori|t*	***m**uko*
Lamahora	***n**araŋ*	***n**aŋe*	***m**ata|kə*	***m**orip*	[...]
Lamalera	***n**araŋ*	***n**aŋe*	***m**atã*	***m**ori*	[...]
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**n**um	[...]	*na**ŋ**uy	*ha**ŋ**in	*də**ŋ**əR	*Ra**m**ut	[...]
PFL	*-i**n**u	*ta**n**i	*na**ŋ**i	*a**ŋ**iŋ	*də**ŋ**ər	*ra**m**ut	*ka**m**ak
PWL	*-e**n**u	*ta**n**e	*na**ŋ**e	*a**ŋ**in	*də**ŋ**əʔ	*ra**m**ut	*ka**m**ak
Lewoingu	*-e**n**uŋ*	*ta**n**e*	*na**ŋ**e*	*a**ŋ**in*	–	*ra**m**u*	[...]
Lewolema	*-e**n**u*	*ta**n**e*	*na**ŋ**e*	*a**ŋ**i*	–	*a**m**ut*	*ka**m**aʔ*
Adonara	*-e**n**u*	*ta**n**e*	*na**ŋ**e*	*ʔa**ŋ**ĩ*	*de**ŋ**eʔ*	*ʔa**m**ut*	*ka**m**aket*
Lamalera	*-e**n**u*	[...]	*na**ŋ**e*	*a**ŋ**i*	*də**ŋ**a*	*ra**m**ut*	*kã**m**ã*
PAL	*-e**n**u|ŋ	*ta**n**e	*na**ŋg**e	*a**ŋ**iŋ	*də**ŋ**a	*ra**m**u|k	*ka**m**a

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	*bula**n***	*quza**n***	*iju**ŋ***	[...]	*ma-qitə**m***	*kələ**m***
PFL	*vula**n***	*uda**n***	*(n)idu**ŋ***	*moto**ŋ***	*mitə**m***	*kələ**m***
PWL	*wula**n***	*ura**n***	*(n)iru**ŋ***	*moto**ŋ***	*mitə**m***	*kələ**m***
Lewoingu	*wula*	*ura**ŋ***	*iru**ŋ***	*moto**ŋ***	*mitə**ŋ***	*kələ**ŋ***
Lewolema	*wula**n***	*urã*	*irũ*	[...]	*mitẽ*	*kəle*
Adonara	*wulã*	*ʔura**ŋ***	*iru|net*	*motõ*	*mite*	*kɜlɜ*
Ile Ape	[...]	*ura**n***	*iru**ŋ***	[...]	*mitə**m***	*kələ**m***
Lamalera	[...]	*urã*	*niru**ŋ***	[...]	*mita**ŋ***	*kəlã*
PAL	*wula**ŋ***	*ura**ŋ***	*niru	*moto**ŋ***	*mite**ŋ***	*kale**ŋ***

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/Ø*	*ʔ*	*ʔ/Ø*
Adonara	*l/r*	*l*	[...]	*r/ʔ*	*ʔ*	*ʔ*
Lamalera	*l*	*l*	[...]	*r*	*Ø*	*Ø*
PAL	*l-	*-l-	*-l	*r-	*Ø*	*Ø*

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 *lədav '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 varietiess 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	*qalajaw	*zalan	*qatəluR	*talih	*piliq
PFL	*luu	*lahe|k	*lədav	*dalan[24]	*təlur	*taliʔ	*piliʔ
PWL	*lou	*laha|k	*ləra:	*lara(n)	*təlu	*taleʔ	*pileʔ
Lewoingu	*lou|ŋ*	[...]	*ləra:*	*laraŋ*	*telu*	*tale*	*pilәʔ*
Lewolema	*lou|n*	[...]	*rəra*	*rarã*	*təlu|k*	*tale*	*pile*
Adonara	*lõ*	*lahak*	*rera*	*rarã*	*telu|k*	*taleʔ*	*pile*
Lamalera	[...]	[...]	*ləra*	*larã*	*təlu*	*tale*	[...]
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/Ø* 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	*Ribu	*Rumaq
PFL	*ramut	*ribu	*ruma
PWL	*ramut	*ribu	*ʔuma
Lewoingu	*ramu*	[...]	*umaŋ* ‘hole’
Lewolema	*amut*	*ribu*	–
Adonara	*ʔamut*	*ribu*	–
Lamalera	*ramut*	[...]	–
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 *lalan ‘road; path way’.

*Table 5.96: Reflexes of PFL intervocalic *-r- in Western Lamaholot varieties*

	'red'	'turtle'	'run'	'lime'	'tail'
PMP	*Ra**R**a	[...]	*la**R**iw	*qapu**R**	*iku**ŋ**
PFL	*me**r**an	*ke**r**a	*pla**r**i	*ʔapu**r**	*iku**r**
PWL	*me**ʔ**aŋ	*ke**ʔ**a	*pla**ʔ**e	*apu**ʔ**	*iku**ʔ**
Lewoingu	*me**ʔ**a*	*ke**ʔ**a*	*pəla**ʔ**e*	*apu**ʔ**	*iku**ʔ**|uŋ*
Lewolema	*me**ʔ**ã*	[...]	*pəla**ʔ**e*	*apu**ʔ**	*ikũ*
Adonara	[...]	*ke**ʔ**a*	*pala**ʔ**e*	*ʔapu**ʔ**	*ʔik**ʔ**|ũ*
Lamalera	*meã*	[...]	[...]	[...]	*iku*
PAL	*meaŋ	*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 *ʤ* 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	*la**y**aR	*ka**hi**w	[...]	*ba**y**u	[...]
PFL	*y	*la**y**ar	*ka**y**u	*təma**y**uŋ	*ba**y**u	*(l)o**y**or
PWL	*y	*la**y**aʔ	*ka**y**o	*təma**y**uŋ	*ba**y**o	*o**y**o(ʔ)
Lewoingu	*y*	*la**y**aʔ*	[...]	*təma**y**uŋ*	*ba**y**o*	*o**y**o*
Lewolema	*ʤ*	*la**ʤ**a*	*ka**ʤ**o*	[...]	*ba**ʤ**o*	[...]
Adonara	*y/ʤ*	*la**ʤ**aʔ*	*ka**y**o*	*tema**y**ũ*	*ba**ʤ**o*	[...]
Lamalera	*ʤ*	[...]	*ka**ʤ**o*	[...]	[...]	[...]
PAL	*ʤ	*la**ʤ**a	*ka**ʤ**o	*tama**ʤ**uŋ	*ba**ʤ**o	*on**ʤ**o

There seems to be an ongoing change of PFL *y > *ʤ* 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 > *ʤ*. 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-p**a**qit	*h**a**puy	*k**i**ta	*haŋ**i**n	*qap**u**R	*k**u**tu	[...]	[...]
PFL	*m-p**a**ʔit	***a**pi	*k**i**ta	*aŋ**i**ŋ	*ʔap**u**r	*k**u**tu	*d**o**a	***o**san
PWL	*p**a**it	***a**pe	*t**i**te	*aŋ**i**n	*ʔap**u**ʔ	*k**u**to	*d**o**a|ŋ	***o**haŋ
Lewoingu	*p**a**ik*	***a**pe?*	*t**i**te*	*aŋ**i**n*	*ap**u**ʔ*	*k**u**to*	*d**o**a|ŋ*	***o**haŋ*
Lewolema	*p**a**it*	***a**pe*	*t**i**te*	*aŋ**i***	*ap**u***	*k**u**to*	*d**o**ã*	–
Adonara	*p**a**it*	*ʔ**a**pe*	*t**i**te*	*ʔaŋ**ĩ***	*ʔap**u**ʔ*	*k**u**to*	*d**o**ã*	*ʔ**o**hã*
Lamalera	[...]	***a**pe*	*t**i**te*	*aŋ**i***	[...]	*k**u**to*	*d**o**e*	[...]
PAL	*p**a**i*	***a**pe*	*t**i**te*	*aŋ**i**ŋ	*ap**u***	*k**u**to*	*d**o**a|ŋ	***o**haŋ*

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-maj**a**	*mat**a**	*taq**i**	*naŋ**uy**	*bat**u**	*lak**u**
PFL	*mad**a**	*mat**a**	*taʔ**i**	*naŋ**i**	*vat**u**	*lak**u**
PWL	*mar**a**	*mat**a**	*ta**e**	*naŋ**e**	*wat**o**	*lak**o**
Lewoingu	*mar**a**	*mat**a**	*ta**e**	*naŋ**e**	*wat**o**	*lak**o**
Lewolema	*mar**ã**	*mat**a**	*ta**e**	*naŋ**e**	*wat**o**	*lak**o**
Adonara	*maʔr**ã**	*mat**a**|k*	*ta**e**	*naŋ**e**	*wat**o**	*lak**o**
Lamalera	*mar**ã**	*mat**ã**	[...]	*naŋ**e**	*fat**o**	[...]
PAL	*mar**a**	*mat**a**	*ta**e**	*naŋg**e**	*wat**o**	*lak**o**

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	*ə*	*ə*
Lewolema	*ə/e*	*ə/e*
Adonara	*ə/e*	*ə/e*
Lamalera	*ə*	*ə*
PAL	*ə	*e

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	*ləpeʔ	*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	*miteŋ	*ləpet	*gateʔ	*dəŋa	*nəmu
Lewoingu	*ləpək*	*mitəŋ*	*ləpə|k*	*gatə*	–	*nəmuŋ*
Lewolema	*ləpət*	*mitẽ*	*ləpət*	*gatə|k*	–	*nem(e)*
Adonara	*lepet*	*mite*	*lepet*	*gatə|k*	*deŋeʔ*	*namu*
Lamalera	[...]	*mitãŋ*	[...]	[...]	*dəŋa*	[...]
PAL	*lapeʔ	*miteŋ	*lapeʔ	*gateʔ	*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
*ʤ (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 > *ʤ 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	*ʤ	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 *ʤ in initial and intervocalic position and PWL *ə > PAL *e in ultimate syllable position.

b) PWL *y > PAL *ʤ 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 crterion 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 *temayũ* (< PWL *təmayuŋ) 'bedbug'. Possibly, the change PWL *y > *ʤ* 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 > *ʤ* 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)*	*tapɔkubaŋ*	*bema*	*dɛwu*	*koi|ŋ*	*tera*
Pandai	*dakaŋ*	*tapɔkubaŋ*	*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	#(g)iu	*puhuŋ	[...]	#soroŋ	*mitəm	[...]
PWL	*giu	*puho	*baha	*horoŋ	*miteŋ	#lətu

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	*gik**i**	#k**r**om**i**	#**ʤ**ə**m**a	*sala	*vua
				'no; not'	
PWL	*gik**e**	*kə**r**om**e**	*r**ə**ma	*hala	*wua
PAL	*g**a**k**i**[25]	*kəm**o**r**e**	*m**ə**r**e**|ŋ	*l**a**h**e**	*uwa
Kayang	*g**a**k**i**	*k**a**m**o**r**e**	*m**a**roŋ	[...]	*uwa
Baranusa	*g**a**k**i**	*k**ə**m**o**r**e**	*m**a**reŋ	*l**a**h**e**	*uwa
Munaseli	[...]	*m**o**r**e**	*m**ə**reŋ	*l**a**h**e*ʔ	*uwa
Alor Besar	*g**a**k**i**	*k**a**m**o**r**e**	*m**a**reŋ	*l**a**h**e**	*uf**a**

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_1CV_2	→	CV_2CV_1	*gik**e**	→	*gak**i**	'bite'
2)	C_1VC_2V	→	C_2VC_1V	*kə**r**om**e**	→	*kəm**o**r**e**	'rat'
				*r**e**ma	→	*m**ə**r**e**|ŋ	'night'
				*h**a**la	→	*l**a**h**e**	'wrong; no; not'
3)	CV_1V_2	→	V_1CV_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	*we*	*wai*	*wawe*	*hiwa*
Beang Onong	*we*	*wai*	*wawe*	*hiwa*
Baranusa	*we*	*wai*	*wawe*	*hiwa*
Helangdohi	*we*	*wai*	*wawe*	*hiwa*
Wailawar	*wɛ*	*wai*	*wawɛ*	*hiwa*
Pandai	*wɛ*	*wai*	*wawɛ*	*hiwa*
Bana	*we*	*wai*	*wawe*	*hiwa*
Munaseli	*we*	*wei*	*wawe*	*hiwa*
Ternate	*kafe*	*fei*	*fafe*	*hifa*
Buaya	*fe*	*fei*	*fafe*	*hifa*
Alor Besar	*fe*	*fei*	*fafe*	*hifa*
Alor Kecil	*fe*	*fei*	*fafe*	*hifa*
Dulolong	*fe*	*fei*	*fafe*	*hifa*

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	*w**ahi**R	[...]	*ma-p**aqi**t	[...]	*m**a**(R)**i**	[...]
PFL	*v**aʔi**r	*p**a**-vari	*m-p**aʔi**t	*t**ai**	#-**ai**	[...]
PWL	*w**ai**ʔ	*p**aʔi**|ŋ	*p**ai**t	*t**ai**	*m**aʔi**/*n**aʔi**	[...]
PAL	*w**ai**	*p**ai**|ŋ	*p**ai**ʔ	*t**ai**|ŋ	*m**ai**	*kəl**ai**|ŋ
Kayang	*w**ai***	*p**ai**|ŋ*	*p**ai***	–	–	*kal**e***
Beang Onong	*w**ai***	*p**ae**|ŋ*	*p**ai***	*t**ai**ŋ*	–	–
Baranusa	*w**ai***	*p**ae**|ŋ*	*p**ai***	*t**ai**ŋ*	–	*kəl**ae**ŋ*
Helangdohi	*w**ai***	*p**ai**|ŋ*	*p**ai**ʔ*	–	–	–
Wailawar	*w**ai***	*p**ai**|ŋ*	*p**ai**ʔ*	–	*m**ai***	–
Pandai	*w**ai***	*p**ai**|ŋ (apa)*	*p**ai***	*t**ai**ŋ*	–	*kl**ai**ŋ*
Bana	*w**ai***	*p**ai**|ŋ*	*p**ai**ʔ*	–	*m**ai***	–
Munaseli	*w**ai***	*p**ai**|ŋ*	*p**ai**ʔ*	–	–	–
Ternate	*f**ei***	*p**ei**|ŋ*	*p**ei***	–	*m**ei***	*kal**ei**ŋ*
Buaya	*f**ei***	*p**ei**|ŋ*	*p**ei***	–	–	*kel**i***
Alor Besar	*f**ei***	*p**ei**|ŋ*	*p**ei***	*t**ei**ŋ*	*m**ei***	–
Alor Kecil	*f**ei***	*p**ei**|ŋ*	*p**ei***	*t**ei**ŋ*	*m**ei***	–
Dululong	*f**ei***	*p**ei**|ŋ*	*p**iː***	–	–	–

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 bəlaha	[...]
PAL	*təlu|k	*iku|k	*kuli|k	*deko bəlaha	*huar
Kayang	*talu*	*iku*	–	*dəkoliŋ belaha*	*huar*
Beang Onong	*talu|k*	*iku|k*	–	*dei koliŋ belaha*	*huar*
Baranusa	*man|talu|k*	*iku|k*	*kuli|k*	*dekoliŋ belaha*	*huar*
Helangdohi	*mən|telu*	*neiku|k*	–	[...]	*ne|huar*
Wailawar	*tɛlu|k*	*iku|k*	*kuli|k*	*dekəlɛi blaha*	*huar*
Pandai	*talu|k*	*iku|k*	–	*dekɔ lɛiŋ blahak*	*huar*
Bana	*telu|k*	*iku|k*	–	*deko lei blaha*	*huar*
Munaseli	*təlu|k*	*iku|k*	*kuli|k*	*deko leiŋ blahak*	*huar*
Ternate	*man|talu|k**uŋ***	*iku|k**uŋ***	*kuli|**kiŋ***	*deko leiŋ belahak**aŋ***	*uhar**aŋ***
Buaya	*talu|k**uŋ***	*iku|k**uŋ***	–	*koliŋ blahak**aŋ***	*uhar**aŋ***
Alor Besar	*talu|k**uŋ***	*iku|k**uŋ***	*kuli|**kiŋ***	*deko leiŋ bəlahak**aŋ***	*uhar**aŋ***
Alor Kecil	*təlu|k**uŋ***	*iku|k**uŋ***	–	*deko leiŋ belahak**aŋ***	*uhar**aŋ***
Dulolong	*talu|k**uŋ***	*iku|k**uŋ***	–	*dekoliŋ bəla hak**aŋ***	*uhar**aŋ***

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 #ʤəma) '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-tasa**k**	*-t	*ləpə**t**	*-R/*-l	*gatə**l**	*-l	*kawi**l**
PFL	*-k	*m-tasa**k**	*-t	*ləpə**t**	*-r	*gatə**r**	*-l	*kavi**l**
PWL	*-k	*taha**k**	*-t	*ləpe**t**	*-ʔ	*gatə**ʔ**	*-l	*kawi**l**
Kayang		-	Ø	*lape*	Ø	*gato*	Ø	*kawi*
Beang Onong		-	Ø	*ləpe*	Ø	*gate*	Ø	*kawi*
Baranusa		-	Ø	*lepe*	Ø	*gate*		-
Helangdohi		-	*ʔ*	*ləpe**ʔ***	Ø	*gate*		-
Wailawar		-	*ʔ*	*lapɛ**ʔ***	Ø	*gatɛ*	*l*	*kawi**l***
Pandai	*k*	*taha**k***		-	Ø	*gatɛ*		-
Bana	*k*	*taha**k***	*ʔ*	*ləpe**ʔ***	Ø	*gate*		-
Munaseli	*k*	*taha**k***		-	*ʔ*	*gate**ʔ***	*l*	*kawi**l***
Buaya		-		-	Ø	*gate*		-
Ternate		-	Ø	*lape*	Ø	*gate*	Ø	*kafi*
Alor Besar		*taha*		-	Ø	*gate*	Ø	*kafi*
Alor Kecil		-	Ø	*lape*	Ø	*gate*	Ø	*kafi*
Dulolong		-	Ø	*lape*	Ø	*gate*	Ø	*kafi*

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 *ʤ 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 *ʤ 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 *ʤ 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.