



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

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

Sulistyono, Y.

### **Citation**

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

Version: Publisher's Version

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

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

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

---

## Lexical borrowing into and from Alorese

---

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter has two main themes. First, I look at loanwords in Alorese from external sources. Second, I identify loanwords that are borrowed from Alorese into Alorese's neighboring Alor-Pantar (AP) languages. I discuss previous studies in Section 6.2 and the aims of the present study in Section 6.3. The methods used are described in Section 6.4. In Section 6.5, I discuss loanwords in Alorese, including loans from AP languages, loans from Malay, and loans from Portuguese and Dutch. In Section 6.6, I present loanwords that are borrowed from Alorese into AP languages. Finally, I provide a summary and conclusion in Section 6.8.

### 6.2 Previous studies

Previous studies have argued that the effects of contact between Alorese and the neighboring AP languages caused three types of change in Alorese: (1) structural innovation and convergence, e.g. the plural word *hire* and 'give' constructions; (2) morphological simplification; and (3) lexical borrowing.

In terms of structural innovation, Moro (2018) suggests that the function of the Alorese plural word *hire* emerged due to contact with AP languages. The form of the plural word *hire* is actually derived from the PMP pronoun \**si-ida* > PFL \**hida* '3PL' > PAL \**hire* 'PL' (cf. §4.7.2) and is used to mark plurality in Alorese. Furthermore, the Alorese community went through a stage of bilingualism

which resulted in structural convergence in some parts of the Alorese grammar. Moro and Fricke (2020) show that there has been structural convergence in the domain of the ‘give construction’ in Alorese. This structural convergence occurred due to grammatical calquing, performed by speakers who were bilingual in Alorese and at least one AP language. In addition, Moro (2021) suggests that there is opposite outcome of the contact between Alorese and the AP languages, which resulted from two distinct scenarios, namely complexation and simplification in the grammar.

The second type of change in Alorese caused by AP contact is morphological simplification. Klamer (2020) compares the morphological profile of Lewoingu (Lamaholot) and Alorese, and shows that the morphology of pre-Alorese was minimally as complex as the current morphology of Lewoingu.<sup>26</sup> It is suggested that this morphological simplification in Alorese is caused by imperfect second-language learning. This hypothesis is confirmed by Moro (2019) in a case study of ongoing morphological simplification in Alorese. The case study involves adult speakers of Alorese and Adang. It shows that there is historical and ongoing morphological simplification in Alorese as a result of second-language learning. This scenario mostly arises through intermarriage between Alorese speakers and AP speakers, in which the non-Alorese speakers have to learn Alorese.

Klamer (2011) conducted the first study on the traces of contact in the Alorese lexicon. This study published as part of an an Alorese sketch grammar based on a variety spoken in Alor Kecil, presents fourteen AP loanwords in Alorese. Also attested in this study are five Malay loanwords, and one Dutch loanword in Malay which was then borrowed into Alorese. Robinson (2015) investigated lexical borrowing between Alorese and the AP languages. Robinson proposes several categories of lexical borrowing into and from Alorese, and identifies four items as very likely to be loanwords from AP languages into Alorese. Moreover, the study presents a list of Austronesian loanwords into AP that are pre-Alorese and loanwords with an uncertain direction of borrowing.

### 6.3 Aims of the present study

The aim of this chapter is to describe (1) traces of contact in the Alorese lexicon after its split from WL and (2) the role of Alorese as a donor language for lexical borrowing into the Alor-Pantar (AP) languages. Together, these two themes have the potential to reveal or confirm contact scenarios between the Alorese

---

<sup>26</sup> The term *pre-Alorese* is used in Robinson (2015), referring to a stage before Alorese split from Lamaholot and became a separate language.

people and the speakers of neighboring languages. This investigation is guided by research questions that were set forth in Section 1.2. The first question concerns loanwords that entered the Alorese language due to contact between Alorese and the AP languages. The second question concerns loanwords in Alorese that emerged due to contact with people from overseas during pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial times. The third question focusses on loanwords in AP languages that entered into these languages through contact with Alorese. The last question addresses the possibility of establishing a contact scenario based on the distribution of loanwords in the Alorese varieties and their neighboring languages.

## 6.4 Methods

In this study, I consider a collection of wordlists and potential loanwords, and identify loanwords borrowed both into Alorese and from Alorese. The following sections describe data collection (§6.4.1), steps in detecting loanwords (§6.4.2 and §6.4.3), criteria to identify loanwords (§6.4.4), geographic grouping of the Alorese varieties (§6.4.5), and data representation (§6.4.6).

### 6.4.1 Data collection

The lexical data in this study were collected through fieldwork and from published online databases and dictionaries. During my fieldwork in 2018, I visited fourteen Alorese villages and collected lexical data from ten of them. Besides this fieldwork data, a number of additional wordlists are accessible through the LexiRumah online database (Kaiping et al. 2019). I also use dictionaries of eight languages, namely: *Western Pantar* (Holton and Koly, 2008), *Blagar* (Steinhauer and Gomang, 2016), *Reta* (Willemsen, 2021), *Abui* (Kratochvíl and Delpada, 2008), *Kamang* (Schapper and Manimau, 2011), *Teiwa* (Klamer and Sir, 2011), *Kedang* (Samely and Barnes, 2013), and *Sika* (Pareira and Lewis, 1998). Tables 6.1 to 6.11 lists the varieties of Alorese and the Alor-Pantar languages that feature in the present study. The tables provide the name of each variety,<sup>27</sup> its geographical region, the data collector, the year of collection or publication, and the number of lexical items used in the present study.

---

<sup>27</sup> “Language” to refer to the overall grouping of language e.g. Alorese, Adang, Reta, etc. and “variety” to refer to the subvarieties e.g. AL-Kayang, AD-Lawahing, RT-Ternate, etc.

*Table 6.1: Alorese (AL) varieties ISO 639-3: aol*

Variety	Region	Data collector	Year	Lexical items
AL-Kayang	Pantar	Sulistyono	2018	684
AL-Beang Onong	Pantar	Sulistyono	2018	687
AL-Baranusa	Pantar	Sulistyono	2018	588
AL-Baranusa	Pantar	Klamer	2003	255
AL-Baranusa	Pantar	Sulistyono	2018	699
AL-Wailawar	Pantar	Sulistyono	2018	708
AL-Pandai	Pantar	Moro	2016	740
AL-Bana	Pantar	Sulistyono	2018	828
AL-Munaseli	Pantar	Moro	2016	789
AL-Buaya	Straits islands	Sulistyono	2018	537
AL-Ternate	Straits islands	Sulistyono	2018	744
AL-Alor Besar	Alor Peninsula	Moro	2016	738
AL-Alor Kecil	Alor Peninsula	Sulistyono	2018	638
AL-Dulolong	Alor Peninsula	Sulistyono	2018	673

*Table 6.2: Adang (AD) varieties ISO 639-3: adn*

Variety	Region	Data collector	Year	Lexical items
AD-Lawahing	Alor Peninsula	Robinson	2010	424
AD-Otvai	Alor Peninsula	Choi	2015	566

*Table 6.3: Reta (RT) varieties ISO 639-3: ret*

Variety	Region	Data collector	Year	Lexical items
RT-Ternate	Ternate	Robinson	2010	316
RT-Pura	Pura	Willemsen	2016	624
RT-Hula	Alor Peninsula	Willemsen	2018	690
Reta (all varieties)	Pura	Willemsen	2021	Dictionary

Table 6.4: Klon (KL) varieties ISO 639-3: kyo

Variety	Region	Data collector	Year	Lexical items
KL-Bring	Alor (West)	Baird	2003	234
KL-Hopter	Alor (West)	Choi	2015	613

Table 6.5: Blagar (BG) varieties ISO 639-3: beu

Variety	Region	Data collector(s)	Year	Lexical items
BG-Tuntuli	Pantar (north)	Robinson	2010	403
BG-Bakalang	Pantar (north)	Robinson	2010	381
BG-Bama	Pantar (north)	Robinson	2010	393
BG-Kulijahi	Pantar (north)	Robinson	2010	394
BG-Manatang	Pantar (north)	Robinson	2010	607
BG-Warsalelang	Pantar (north)	Robinson	2010	446
BG-Pura	Pura (Pantar Strait)	Robinson	2010	423
BG-Nule	Pantar (south)	Robinson	2010	413
Blagar (all varieties)	Pura	Steinhauer & Gomang	2016	Dictionary

Table 6.6: Abui (AB) varieties ISO 639-3: abz

Variety	Region	Data collector(s)	Year	Lexical items
AB-Fuimelang	Alor (central)	Schapper	2010	352
AB-Atimelang	Alor (central)	Schapper	2010	423
AB-Petleng	Alor (central)	Saad	2015	107
AB-Takalelang	Alor (central)	Saad	2015	627
AB-Ulaga	Alor (central)	Saad	2016	689
Abui (all varieties)	Alor (central)	Kratochvíl & Delpada	2008	Dictionary

*Table 6.7: Wersing (WS) varieties ISO 639-3: kvw*

Variety	Region	Data collector	Year	Lexical items
WS-Taramana	Alor (east)	Holton	2010	439
WS-Maritaing	Alor (east)	Choi	2015	579

*Table 6.8: Suboo (SB) varieties ISO 639-3: woi*

Variety	Region	Data collector(s)	Year	Lexical items
SB-Suboo	Alor (central)	Han	2014	506
SB-Atiibaai	Alor (central)	Kratochvíl	2008	310

*Table 6.9: Teiwa (TW) varieties ISO 639-3: twe*

Variety	Region	Data collector(s)	Year	Lexical items
TW-Lebang	Pantar	Klamer	2016	653
TW-Adiabang	Pantar	Robinson	2010	418
TW-Nule	Pantar	Robinson	2010	415
Teiwa	Pantar	Klamer & Sir	2011	dictionary

*Table 6.10: Kamang (KM) varieties ISO 639-3: woi*

Variety	Region	Data collector	Year	Lexical items
KM-Atoitaa	Alor (East)	Schapper	2011	612
KM-Tiyei	Alor (East)	Delpada	2011	353

Table 6.11: Other Alor-Pantar languages with only one variety available

Language	ISO 639-3	Abbr.	Variety	Region	Data collector(s)	Year	Lexical items
Kaera	jka	KR	KR-Kaera	Pantar	Klamer	2018	612
Deing	twe	DE	DE-Deing	Pantar	Holton	2010	411
Sar	twe	SR	SR-Sar	Pantar	Klamer	2018	577
Klamu	nec	KU	KU-Klamu	Pantar	Robinson	2010	398
Western Pantar	lev	WP	WP-Tubbe	Pantar	Holton & Koly	2008	657
Kabola	klz	KB	KB-Kabola	Alor (west)	Robinson	2010	391
Kui	kvd	KI	KI-Labaing	Alor (west)	Holton	2010	403
Kiramang	kvd	KG	KG-Kiramang	Alor (east)	Holton	2010	420
Hamap	hmu	HM	HM-Moru	Alor (west)	Baird	2003	231
Kafoa	kpu	KF	KF-Kafoa	Alor (west)	Baird	2003	235
Papuna	abz	PN	PN-Papuna	Alor (east)	Delpada	2011	703
Kula	tpg	KU	KU-Lantoka	Alor (east)	Choi	2015	583
					Williams	2010	406
Sawila	swt	SW	SW-Sawila	Alor (east)	Choi	2015	576

The map in Figure 6.1 shows where these languages are spoken, while Figure 6.2 shows the location of each variety.



Figure 6.1: Language map of the Lembata-Pantar-Alor archipelago

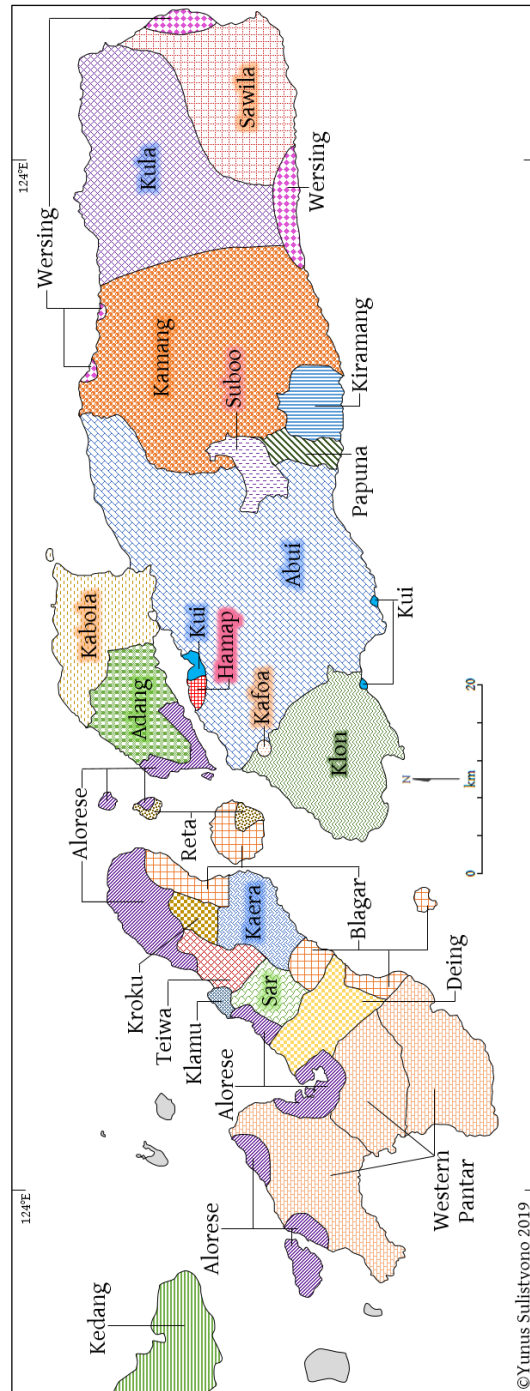
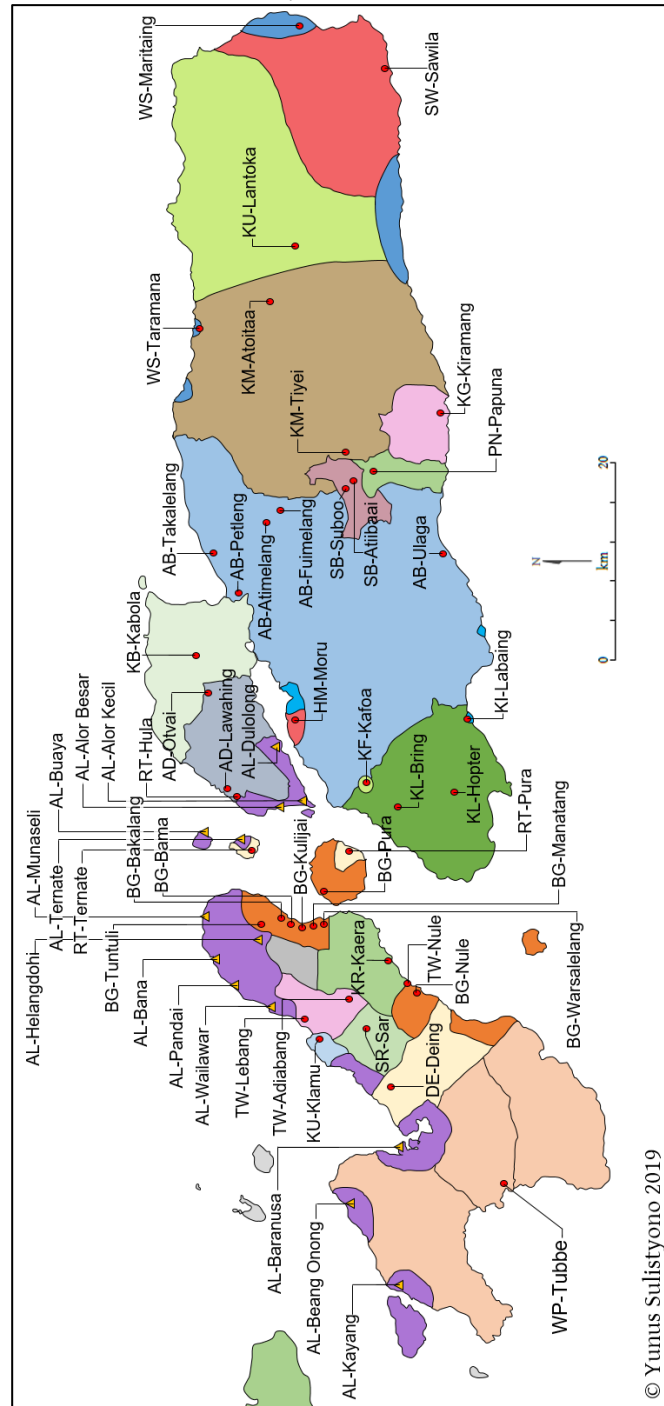


Figure 6.2: Location of the varieties of Alorese and the Alor-Pantar languages



© Yunus Sulistyono 2019

In order to make comparisons, the wordlists from these different languages were combined under common concepts. A concept refers to a collection of words from the different languages which are all associated with the same meaning, such as ‘dog’, ‘to walk’, or ‘tall’. There are 605 concepts that are then used as the base-line to build a collection of wordlists across the languages. From this collection of wordlists, I then look for loan candidates through a systematic lexical comparison.

#### **6.4.2 Loanword detection using automatic comparison<sup>28</sup>**

To identify candidate loanwords, a systematic lexical comparison using wordlists for the 605 concepts is performed on all varieties listed in Table 6.1 to Table 6.11 (note that this did not include data from the dictionaries listed). The automatic comparison was conducted using Lexstat (List, 2012). The aim is to identify words that show similarities in form and meaning between at least one Alorese variety and in at least one variety of the AP languages. It is not possible that these similar words are cognates because Alorese is not genealogically related to the Alor-Pantar family; therefore, they can be regarded as loan candidates.

In addition, it is important that the loan candidates do not have similar forms in Alorese’s sister languages; if a loan candidate goes back to PMP or PFL, it would indicate an early contact which might not have involved Alorese. Therefore, no Flores-Lembata languages are included in the automatic coding to ensure that no loan candidates between the Alorese and AP languages go back to PMP or PFL. Only Alorese words that are similar to at least one AP form were selected. The Alorese’s sister languages were involved when manual checking of loan candidacy was carried out (cf. §6.6). To illustrate the automatic loan detection procedure, Table 6.12 shows the result of the word set for the concept ‘to breathe’.

---

<sup>28</sup> This method was developed and applied in collaboration with colleagues at Leiden University, G.A. Kaiping and F.R. Moro (Moro et al. 2019).

Table 6.12: Examples of a word set associated with the concept 'to breathe' generated using automatic comparison

Concept		Language	Alignment	Form
to_breathe	•	AL-Munaseli	h ɔ - p a ŋ	hɔpaŋ
to_breathe	_	BL-Bama	s o - p a ŋ	sopaŋ
to_breathe	_	BL-Kulijai	h o - p a ŋ	hopaŋ
to_breathe	_	BL-Nule	h o - p a ŋ	hopaŋ
to_breathe	_	BL-Pura	h o - p a ŋ	hopaŋ
to_breathe	_	DE-Deing	- o - p a ŋ	opaŋ
to_breathe	_	KR-Kaera	s u ʔ p a ŋ	suʔpaŋ
to_breathe	_	WP-Tubbe	h o - p a ŋ	hopaŋ
to_breathe	_	RT-Pura	h o : - p a ŋ	ho:paŋ
to_breathe	_	RT-Ternate	h u - p a ŋ	hupaŋ

The automatic comparison recognized that one Alorese variety, namely Munaseli has a word *hopaŋ* 'to breathe' which is similar to forms attested in several Alor-Pantar languages. Therefore, this may be a loanword. From the 605 concepts reviewed, 161 contained loan candidates, such as in Table 6.12. This list of loan candidates was then manually checked to screen for any errors that occurred during the automatic comparison.

### 6.4.3 Manual check

The manual checking procedure was conducted with three aims: (1) to detect errors in loan candidacy; (2) to identify sets of words within a concept; and (3) to add more similar words that were not detected by the automatic comparison process.

When checking the proposed loan candidates, it turned out that some sets of words, such as in Table 6.13, did not actually point to loan candidacy. Therefore, these were excluded from the list of loan candidates.

Table 6.13: Examples of erroneously detected loan candidacy

Concept		Languages	Alignment	Form	Category
stick_pole	•	AL-Pandai	- a p a	apa tikiŋ wai	not similar
stick_pole	_	BG-Tuntuli	q a b a	qaba	
stick_pole	_	BG-Warsalelang	x a b a	xaba	

Here, the automatic comparison identified a similarity between Pandai *apa* 'something' and Blagar *qaba/xaba* 'stick, pole'. The Alorese word *apa* is actually part of the compound *apa tikiŋ wai* 'stick pole' (lit. 'something to carry water'). Knowing the meaning of the individual parts of this compound allows us to

exclude this loan candidate. Among the 161 concepts containing loan candidates identified using the automatic comparison, 40% were excluded due to the manual identification of non-similar words. This left a list of 71 candidate loanword sets, each associated with a single concept.

In the next step, different word sets within a concept were identified. A word set refers to a group of words that have a higher degree of similarity than the other words in a concept set. To recognize a word set, a column ‘category’ was added. Each word set was then marked with a number. Table 6.14 shows an example of a concept set that has three word sets (compare with Table 6.12 which has only one word set).

Table 6.14: Examples of a concept ‘gravel’ with three word sets

Concept		Languages	Alignment	form	Category
gravel	•	AL-Alor Besar	b a l o f a -	balofa	1
gravel	•	AL-Alor Kecil	b - l o f a -	blofa	1
gravel	•	AL-Dulolong	b a l o f a -	balofa	1
gravel	•	AL-Helandohi	k ə d o l u -	kədolu	2
gravel	•	AL-Munaseli	g - l o w a r	glowar	3
gravel	_	BG-Bakalang	g ə d o b a r	gə'dobar	3
gravel	_	BG-Kulijai	g ə d o w a r	gədowar	3
gravel	_	BG-Nule	g ə n o v a r	gə'novar	3

As the table shows, the automatic comparison recognized that these forms for the concept set ‘gravel’ are all similar to each other. However, there is actually more than one word set within this concept set; category 1 refers to the lexical class *balofa*; category 2 to *kədolu*; category 3 to *gedowar*. In the later analyses, this categorization is useful for establishing direction of borrowing, donor languages, and recipient languages.

As mentioned above, the third aim of the manual check was to manually add data to concept sets. An example of this is the concept set ‘gravel’, as already presented in Table 6.14. Here, more lexical items are added that were not recognized by the automatic method but nonetheless may be related to the other words. Table 6.15 below shows the manually added lexical items for this set.

Table 6.15: Examples of manually added lexical items in the word set 'gravel'

Concept		Languages	Alignment	form	Category
gravel	•	AL-Alor Besar	b a l ɔ f a -	balɔfa	1
gravel	•	AL-Alor Kecil	b - l o f a -	blofa	1
gravel	•	AL-Dulolong	b a l o f a -	balofa	1
gravel	•	AL-Helandohi	k ə d o l u -	kədolu	2
gravel	•	AL-Munaseli	g - l o w a r	glowar	3
gravel	_	BG-Bakalang	g ə d o b a r	gə'dobar	3
gravel	_	BG-Kulijai	g ə d o w a r	gədowar	3
gravel	_	BG-Nule	g ə n o v a r	gə'novar	3
		KM-Atoitaa		dawai	3
		AD-Otvai		darofe	3
		TW-Lebang		dalawar	3
		KR-Kaera		də'lowar	3
		BG-Bama		dologar	3
		BG-Warsalelang		dolowar	3
		BG-Pura		daroal	3
		SR-Sar		də'lowar	3
		DE-Deing		dalawir	3

Loanwords from Malay and Portuguese were all checked manually based on a comparison of my Alorese corpus data with dictionaries of Malay (Ngajenan, 1990; Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, 2008; Wah, 1997), Portuguese (Whitlam et al. 1991), and Dutch (Beheydt and Wieers, 1995; Soekartini, 1986), as well as a list of loanwords in Indonesian and Malay (Jones, 2007).

#### 6.4.4 Criteria to identify loanwords

In this section, I describe the criteria used to identify loanwords in Alorese and the AP languages.

##### 6.4.4.1 AP loanwords in Alorese

The criteria to identify Alor-Pantar (AP) loanwords in Alorese (see §6.5) as follows: (1) no similar form is attested in the other Flores-Lembata languages; (2) the form does not go back to PMP; (3) the AP forms have regular sound correspondences and they can potentially be reconstructed to Proto-Alor-Pantar (PAP) or at least to an intermediate proto language below PAP; and (4) there are extra-linguistic conditions that make it plausible that an AP form would be borrowed into Alorese, such as a nearby AP donor language or socio historical ties between speakers of an Alorese variety and of AP languages.

The first two criteria are used to ensure that the word is not inherited from an ancestor of Alorese. The third criterion concerns the identification of cognate sets across AP languages, and whether they display regular sound correspondences. Here, I use the 127 PAP reconstructions by Holton et al. (2012). In addition, I consult previous publications, such as Robinson (2015) and Klammer (2011) to gain further insight regarding the probable direction of borrowing of certain lexical items.

#### **6.4.4.2 Malay loanwords in Alorese**

Malay loanwords in Alorese may be of recent or early borrowing. An example of an early lexical borrowing from Malay is the Alorese word *sabeang* ‘to worship’, from Malay *sembahyang* ‘to worship’, which is found throughout the Alorese varieties. If there are two different words with similar meanings, one from Malay and one inherited, it may show that the Malay loanword is a more recent borrowing. An example is *sampa* ‘canoe’ (from Malay *sampan* ‘canoe’) which is used in some dialects, while other dialects still use an inherited word *tena* ‘canoe’ < PFL \**tena* ‘canoe’. List of Malay loanwords in Alorese can be found in Section 6.5.2.

#### **6.4.4.3 Portuguese loanwords in Alorese**

When sailors from Europe arrived on Alor in the fifteenth century, the Alorese were among the first groups of indigenous people who came into contact with them. As a result, some Portuguese words entered Alorese. However, it is important to note that these words may also have been borrowed into Alorese through contact with Malay/Indonesian and with the Timorese, because the presence of the Portuguese sailors was more intensive on Timor than on Alor (Hägerdal, 2012).

#### **6.4.4.4 Alorese loanwords in the AP languages**

The criteria to detect Alorese loanwords in the Alor-Pantar languages are as follows: (1) the word is of Alorese origin and can be reconstructed to an earlier stage e.g. PFL or PMP; (2) the loanword cannot be reconstructed to Proto-Alor-Pantar (PAP); and (3) there is a plausible contact scenario, such as geographical proximity or historical ties among groups of speakers. In addition, ancient Austronesian loanwords in Alor-Pantar languages are excluded because the borrowing of these ancient Austronesian loanwords did not involve Alorese;

they were possibly borrowed into AP languages before the Alorese people arrived on the Alor-Pantar islands.

#### 6.4.5 Geographic grouping of Alorese varieties

To investigate the distribution of loanwords among the varieties of Alorese, I made subgroups of varieties based on their geographical locations. That is, varieties that are grouped together are close to each other geographically. In addition, these geographical groupings tend to coincide with sociocultural ties, as a result of interaction between groups that are in proximity to each other. Table 6.16 shows this geographic grouping.

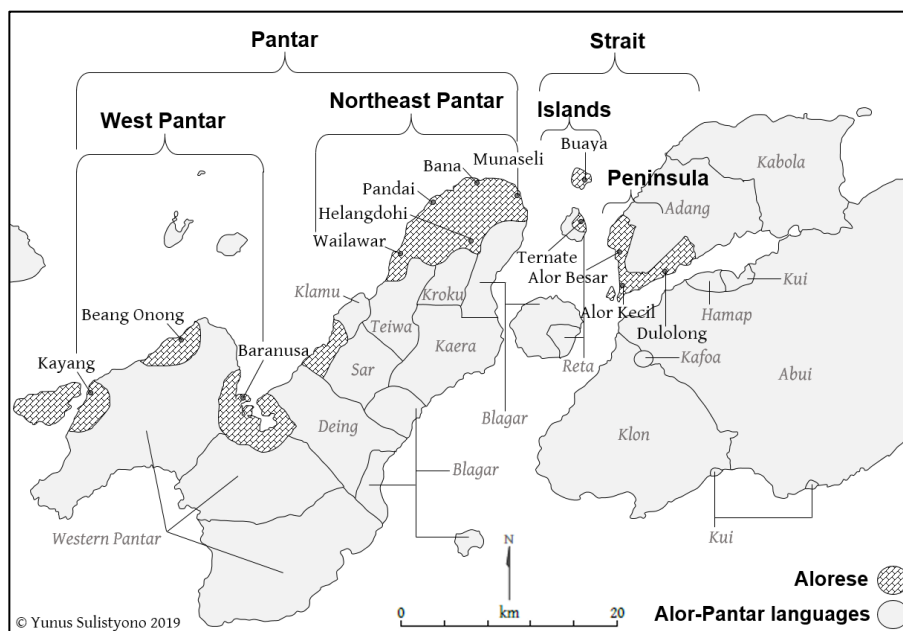
Table 6.16: Geographic grouping of the Alorese varieties

Group	Sub-division	Varieties
<i>Pantar</i>	<i>West Pantar</i>	Kayang, Beang Onong, Baranusa
	<i>Northeast Pantar</i>	Wailawar, Helangdohi, Pandai, Bana, Munaseli
<i>Straits</i>	<i>Islands</i>	Ternate, Buaya
	<i>Peninsula</i>	Alor Besar, Alor Kecil, Dulolong

There are two main groups: Pantar and Straits. Both groups are subdivided: the Pantar group is divided into West Pantar and Northeast Pantar, while the Straits group is divided into Islands and Peninsula. This geographical grouping is useful when determining the spread of loanwords among the varieties. Figure 6.3 illustrates this geographical grouping of Alorese varieties, along with the AP languages that are spoken in the surrounding areas.



Figure 6.3: Alorese geographic grouping and the surrounding Alor-Pantar languages



The distinction between the Pantar varieties and the Straits varieties is based on the low-level subgrouping of Alorese as discussed in Chapter 5 (cf. §5.8), in which a linguistic subgroup called *Straits Alorese* is established.

The varieties in the West Pantar geographic group (Kayang, Beang Onong, and Baranusa) are close to each other not only geographically but also socioculturally. Beang Onong is an expansion village of Baranusa, established in the early 1960s, while Kayang has a close relationship with Baranusa due to the shared practice of seaweed farming on Lapang Island.

The Northeast Pantar geographic group (Wailawar, Helangdohi, Pandai, Bana, and Munaseli) is unified by a common oral history in which their ancestors are believed to have come from the mountain (Helangdohi). In addition, they are united by historic events, such as a flood (cf. §3.4) and war between Munaseli and Pandai (cf. §3.5 and §3.6). Today, villages in this area are unified by a traditional treaty called *Helang anang Dohi anang*, in which members of the treaty visit each other to carry out cultural practices, such as *lego-lego* dances and renovating traditional houses.

The Islands group (Ternate and Buaya) is historically related to the Alor Besar community. According to oral history, the people on these islands are originally from Pura. Pura Island is located south of Ternate and Buaya and is

inhabited by speakers of two AP languages, namely Blagar and Reta. The people there moved to Alor Besar and the king in Alor Besar ordered them to go and occupy the islands of Ternate and Buaya (cf. §3.4.6).

The Peninsula varieties (Alor Besar, Alor Kecil, and Dulolong) are historically bound to each other due to the historical Bungabali Kingdom in Alor Besar which encompassed these three villages. The village of Dulolong is a relatively recent expansion from Alor Kecil (cf. §3.5).

#### 6.4.6 Data representation

Most of the data in this chapter are represented using IPA symbols in the same way as they are given in the LexiRumah database (Kaiping et al. 2019). For Alorese, however, several exceptions are made. The sound [j] is represented by the symbol <ɟ>. In addition, the phonemic symbol /o/ is used to represent phonetic sounds [o] and [ɔ], /e/ to represent [e] and [ɛ], and /v/ to represent [v], [w], and [ʋ]. An asterisk symbol <\*> indicates proto-forms, while a hash sign <#> in a supposed proto-form means that the reconstructed form shows regular sound changes, but there is not enough evidence to reconstruct a proto-form with certainty.

#### 6.4.7 Organization of tables

In what follows, there are two main types of tables: first, tables that contain lexical items and the evidence that these items are innovations; second, tables that contain proposed sources for these innovations. In all tables, the leftmost column contains the names of languages, while the uppermost row gives the concepts. All lexical items for each language are given in italics, while proto-forms are given in normal font with an asterisk symbol (\*).

Several symbols are used in the tables. An en dash (–) in a cell indicates that no data is available for certain languages. A hyphen (–) within a form marks a morpheme boundary. Parentheses (...) are used to indicate morphemes that are non-etymological. In addition, a vertical line (|) marks fossilized affixes. In the tables, (parts of) lexical items are given in boldface to highlight the loanwords.

## 6.5 Loanwords in Alorese

### 6.5.1 Loans from Alor-Pantar languages<sup>29</sup>

In this section, I discuss twenty-five loanwords in Alorese that have Alor-Pantar (AP) sources. There are six categories based on the geographical distribution of the AP loanwords in Alorese. In Section 6.5.1.1, I discuss AP loanwords that are geographically wide-spread in Alorese and show regular sound correspondences within Alorese. Therefore, these loanwords can be reconstructed to Proto-Alorese (PAL). In the subsequent sections, I discuss loanwords that are only attested in a subset of Alorese varieties. I begin with AP loanwords attested only in varieties on Pantar (§6.5.1.2), followed by loanwords attested only in northeast Pantar (§6.5.1.3), then AP loanwords attested only in northeast Pantar and on the Alor Peninsula (§6.5.1.4), AP loanwords attested only in the Straits varieties (§6.5.1.5), and finally, AP loanwords attested only in the Peninsula varieties (§6.5.1.6).

#### 6.5.1.1 AP loanwords reconstructable to PAL

There are two criteria which an AP loanword must fulfill in order to be reconstructed to PAL. First, the loanword should be attested not only in northeast Pantar, but also in west Pantar and in the Straits, which are the western and eastern edges of the Alorese-speaking area (Figure 6.3). Second, the loanword should show regular sound correspondences among the Alorese varieties. If a loanword meets these criteria, it must have entered Alorese before Alorese split up in the thirteen varieties under investigation. Here, AP loanwords in Alorese that go back to an ancestor of PAL (e.g. PFL and PMP) are excluded, as these forms are considered inherited forms in Alorese and not an AP loanword. An example is PAL \*kiri < LH #kiri ‘comb’ (Fricke, 2019:255), which was probably borrowed into Lamaholot from an AP language, since there is a PAP reconstruction \*kir (Robinson, 2015:29) ‘comb’.

This section discusses seven AP loanwords in PAL, which are presented in three consecutive tables. These AP loanwords are innovations at the PAL level, and they either have replaced or are used together with the corresponding ancestral forms. Table 6.17 shows the first two of these PAL lexical innovations, together with the ancestral forms in PFL and Proto-Western-Lamaholot (PWL) for the same concepts.

---

<sup>29</sup> This section corresponds to Moro, Francesca R. Gereon Kaiping, and Yunus Sulistyono. To appear. Detecting Papuan loanwords in Alorese. In Klammer, Marian and Francesca R. Moro (Eds.). *Traces of contact in the lexicon: Austronesian and Papuan studies*. Leiden: Brill.

Table 6.17: Lexical innovations in PAL (table 1 of 3)

	'ten; tens' 'one'		'younger sibling'
PFL	*s-pulu	[...]	*vadi
PWL	*pulo	*tou	*ari
PAL	<b>*kar tou</b>		<b>*kau</b>
AL-Kayang	<i>kar tou</i>		<i>kaʔu</i>
AL-Beang Onong	<i>kar tou</i>		–
AL-Baranusa	<i>kar tou</i>		–
AL-Helangdohi	<i>kar tou</i>		–
AL-Wailawar	<i>kar təu</i>		<i>kaʔu</i>
AL-Pandai	<i>kəʀ təu</i>		<i>kau</i>
AL-Bana	<i>kar tou</i>		<i>kau</i>
AL-Munaseli	<i>kar tou</i>		<i>kau</i>
AL-Ternate	<i>kar tou</i>		–
AL-Buaya	<i>kar tou</i>		<i>kau</i>
AL-Alor Besar	<i>kar tou</i>		–
AL-Alor Kecil	<i>kar tou</i>		–
AL-Dulolong	<i>kar tou</i>		–

From the table, it can be concluded that PAL innovated the highlighted forms, as they are different from the proto-forms (PWL and PFL). PAL \*kartou 'ten' is actually a compound of the AP borrowing *kar-* 'ten' and the inherited numeral *tou* (< PWL \**tou*) 'one'. Thus, the ancestral form \**pulo* 'ten; tens' is replaced with loanword.<sup>30</sup> As for the concept of 'younger sibling', reflexes of the PAL reconstruction \**kau* are quite widespread in the Alorese varieties. In Kayang and Wailawar, a medial glottal stop has been inserted. Another term for this concept in Alorese is *aring* 'younger sibling'.

Table 6.18 contains AP words that could be the sources of the PAL innovations. The sets are based on formal similarity among AP languages. Some forms have already been reconstructed to PAP in earlier publications (Holton et al. 2012; Robinson, 2015) and others are potentially reconstructable to PAP (these are indicated by a question mark). Forms that show the highest degree of similarity to the PAL forms are highlighted. The AP languages are sorted in geographical order from east to west.

<sup>30</sup> This loan has been discussed also in Klamer (2011); Moro (2018); and Robinson (2015)

Table 6.18: Possible AP sources for loanwords into PAL (table 1 of 3)

	‘ten; tens’	‘younger sibling’
PAP	*qar-	*kaku (?)
SW-Sawila	–	<b>nikaku</b>
KU-Lantoka	–	<b>kaku</b>
WS-Maritaing	–	<i>nekauk</i>
WS-Taramana	–	<b>nekaku</b>
KM-Atoitaa	<b>karnək</b>	<i>idika</i>
KG-Kiramang	<b>karnuku</b>	<i>ika</i>
SB-Atiibaai	<b>karnok</b>	<i>nekak</i>
AB-Fuimelang	<b>karnuku</b>	–
KB-Kabola	<b>karnu</b>	–
KF-Kafoa	<b>karnuku</b>	<i>nuka</i>
KL-Hopter	<b>karnuk</b>	<i>ninik</i>
KL-Bring	<b>karənuk</b>	–
KI-Labaing	<b>karnuku</b>	<i>ika</i>
HM-Moru	<i>airnu</i>	–
AD-Lawahing	<i>airnu</i>	–
AD-Otvai	<i>ʔernu</i>	–
RT-Ternate	–	<i>gakaku</i>
RT-Pura	<b>karanu</b>	–
BG-Pura	<i>arinu</i>	–
BG-Warsalelang	<i>xarnuk</i>	<i>pi kaw</i>
BG-Bakalang	<i>arnu</i>	<b>kaw</b>
BG-Kulijahi	<i>ar nu</i>	<b>kaw</b>
BG-Tuntuli	<i>qarnuk</i>	<i>pikaw weka</i>
BG-Nule	–	<i>ne kaw</i>
BG-Bama	<i>qarnuku</i>	–
KR-Kaera	<i>xar nuko</i>	<i>nekau kiki</i>
TW-Lebang	<i>qa:r nuk</i>	–
TW-Adiabang	<i>qarnuk</i>	<i>neʔa</i>
TW-Nule	<i>qarnuk</i>	<i>nakaʔaw</i>
KU-Klamu	<i>ka nuk</i>	–
DE-Deing	<i>qarnuk</i>	–
SR-Sar	<i>qarnuk</i>	<i>naʔi:k</i>
WP-Tubbe	<i>keanuku</i>	<i>iaku</i>
PAL	<b>*kar tou</b>	<b>*kaʔu</b>

The AP forms, highlighted in bold, show similarities to the reconstructed PAL forms. It is very likely that the lexical innovations in PAL are the result of lexical borrowing from AP sources. The PAP word \*qar- ‘tens’ has been reconstructed by Holton, et al. (2012:115). As described above, it seems that PAL only borrowed the part of the numeral that marks tens, *kar-*, but retained the PWL form \**tou* ‘one’.<sup>31</sup> Since the borrowing happened at an early stage (PAL), the donor language is not immediately evident. The donor is likely to be one which has initial *k* (and most likely one which has the exact syllable *kar*) because PAL also has initial \**kar-*. Among the AP languages that have *kar* (Kamang, Kiramang, Abui, Kabola, Klou, Kui, and Reta), the donor is most likely one which is spoken close to the coast or located around the Pantar Strait, such as Klou or Reta.

The PAL reconstruction \**kaʔu* ‘younger sibling’ shows similarities with several AP languages for which PAP \**kaku* (?) may be reconstructed. In Sawila, *ni-* is a possessive first singular pronoun (Kratochvíl, 2014:396). In Wersing, *ne-* is a first person singular prefix (Schapper, 2014:451). In Reta, *ga-* is a third person singular object prefix (Willemsen, 2021:47). In addition, *na-* in Teiwa is a first person singular possessive prefix (Klamer, 2010:55). The PAP initial \**k-* is retained unchanged in most of the languages, as expected. It seems that Teiwa has the most similar form to PAL because of the intervocalic glottal stop. The Teiwa *ʔ* as a reflex of PAP intervocalic \*-*k-* is uncertain, because no additional evidence in the regular reflexes of PAP intervocalic \**k* in Teiwa is attested.

Table 6.19 contains the next three AP loanwords in Alorese that can be reconstructed to PAL.

---

<sup>31</sup> In Alorese, the form *kar-* is also used in numerals higher than ten, such as *kartou ilaka rua* ‘twelve’ (lit. ‘tens-one more two’; cf. §4.3.1.4).

Table 6.19: Lexical innovations in PAL (table 2 of 3)

	‘heart’	‘to close’	‘angry’
PFL	*puhuŋ	[...]	[...]
PWL	*puho	#lətu	[...]
PAL	<b>*(təpo) kubaŋ</b>	<b>*teraʔ</b>	<b>*(onoŋ) kəlīkil</b>
AL-Kayang	(təpo) kubaŋ	taraʔ	(onoŋ) kəlīkil
AL-Beang Onong	(təpo) kubaŋ	tera	–
AL-Baranusa	–	tera	(onoŋ) kəlīkil
AL-Helangdohi	–	teraʔ	–
AL-Wailawar	(tapək) ubaŋ	tera	(ənoŋ) kəlīkil
AL-Pandai	(tapə) kubaŋ	tera	kəlīkil
AL-Bana	(tapo) kubaŋ	teraʔ	–
AL-Munaseli	(tap) kubaŋ	teraʔ	(onoŋ) kəlīkil
AL-Ternate	kubaŋ	–	kalaki
AL-Buaya	ubaŋ	[...]	kleki
AL-Alor Besar	kubaŋ	tera	kalaki
AL-Alor Kecil	kubaŋ	tera	kalaki
AL-Dulolong	kubaŋ	tera	kəlaki

PAL innovated \*(təpo) kubaŋ for the concept ‘heart’. The part *təpo* is possibly from PAL \*tapo (< Lamaholot-Kedang #tapu) ‘coconut’, while the part *kubaŋ* is suspected to be an AP loan.<sup>32</sup> For the concept ‘to close’, PAL innovated \*teraʔ ‘to close’ which is different from the form LH-KD #lətuʔ ‘to close’. No proto-forms are available for the concept ‘angry’. The PAL reconstruction \*(onoŋ) kəlīkil ‘angry’ is a compound consisting of an inherited root *onoŋ* ‘inside’ (< PFL \*una ‘house; inside; hole’) and an AP loan *kəlīkil*. Table 6.20 provides the possible AP sources for these PAL innovations.

<sup>32</sup> In Kedang, there is a compound *taʔ kubaŋ* ‘heart’ (Samely, 1991), which consists of the word *taʔ* ‘coconut’ and *kubaŋ*, which is also assumed to be of an AP loanword into Kedang via Alorese. In addition, Alorese and Kedang seem to have similar conceptions of the notion ‘heart’, with both languages forming a compound in which one of the roots has the meaning ‘coconut’.

Table 6.20: Possible AP sources for loanwords into PAL (table 2 of 3)

	‘heart’	‘to close’	‘angry’
PAP	*kVbaŋ (?)	*teri/tira(?)	*kV-likil(?)
SW-Sawila	–	<i>litira</i>	–
KU-Lantoka	–	<i>tira, letira</i>	–
WS-Maritaing	<i>ukabaŋ</i>	<i>leter</i>	–
WS-Taramana	<i>geukabaŋ</i>	<i>leter</i>	–
KM-Atoitaa	–	–	<i>kailaŋ</i>
KG-Kiramang	–	<i>uter</i>	–
SB-Atiibaai	–	–	<i>nalil maka:</i>
KB-Kabola	–	<i>whutele</i>	<i>ekeriʔiŋ</i>
KL-Hopter	<i>ta:kub</i>	<i>ʔute:r</i>	<i>gihəla kəlik</i>
KL-Bring	<i>ətakob</i>	–	–
KI-Labaing	<i>tabat kublai</i>	<b>uteri</b>	–
AD-Lawahing	–	<i>watele</i>	–
AD-Otvai	–	<i>utel</i>	–
RT-Ternate	–	<i>utieli</i>	<i>numi kalila</i>
RT-Pura	<i>takumba</i>	<i>utiali</i>	<i>go:mi kalila</i>
RT-Hula	<i>takumba</i>	–	<i>go:mi kalila</i>
BG-Pura	<b>kubaŋ</b>	<i>venteriŋ</i>	<i>alil</i>
BG-Warsalelang	<b>kubaŋ</b>	–	<b>kilikil</b>
BG-Bakalang	<i>e kubaŋ</i>	<i>venteriŋ</i>	<i>om ilil</i>
BG-Kulijahi	<b>kubaŋ</b>	–	<i>lil</i>
BG-Tuntuli	<b>kubaŋ</b>	<i>venteriŋ</i>	–
BG-Nule	<b>kubaŋ</b>	–	<i>tomilil</i>
BG-Bama	<b>kubaŋ</b>	<i>venteriŋ</i>	–
BG-Manatang	–	–	<i>tomi aliʔil</i>
KR-Kaera	–	<i>wanteriŋ</i>	<b>keʔlikil</b>
TW-Lebang	–	–	<i>om kəleʔel</i>
DE-Deing	–	<i>tiar</i>	–
SR-Sar	–	–	<i>om kaka</i>
WP-Tubbe	–	<i>tiariŋ</i>	<i>gaume kakiŋ</i>
PAL	<b>*(təpo) kubaŋ</b>	<b>*teraʔ</b>	<b>*kəlikil</b>

Based on the cognates presented in the table, PAP \*kVbaŋ ‘heart’ may be reconstructed. In Wersing, *ge-* is a third person prefix (Schapper, 2014:451). In Klon and Reta, *ta-/eta* is a reciprocal prefix (Baird, 2008:221; Willemsen, 2021).



The PAP initial \*k- is regularly retained as *k* in all languages. Even though the PAP intervocalic \*-b- is expected to be retained as *p* in Wersing, a similar retention of intervocalic \*-b- happens also in PAP \*-lebur > Wersing *jebur* ‘tongue’ (Holton et al. 2012:115). The PAL reconstruction \*(təpɔ) *kubaŋ* ‘heart’ is probably a loan from Blagar, as this language has the forms that are most similar to the PAL reconstruction. Robinson (2015:24) proposed that this form is an Alorese loanword into Blagar and Wersing. This proposal was based on the similar form *taʔ kubaŋ* ‘heart’ found in Kedang. However, with the collection of more AP forms, the evidence suggests that the form *kubaŋ* is likely of AP origin borrowed into PAL, while the Kedang word *kubaŋ* is a loan from Alorese.

For the concept ‘to close’ cognates are attested in several AP languages. The following AP languages have the most similar forms to the PAL \*teraʔ ‘to close’: Kui *uteri*, Blagar *venterij*, and Kaera *wanterij*. These languages could be the donors for PAL \*teraʔ because they are geographically close to the Straits and Northeast Pantar varieties of Alorese. In Kaera, *waŋ-* is an applicative verb which means ‘be; exist’ (Klamer, 2014:137), and in Kui, *u-* is also an applicative verb for inanimate arguments (Windschuttel & Shiohara, 2017:164). It seems that Alorese has borrowed the root *teri* > PAL *teraʔ* ‘to close’ from either Kui, Kaera, or Blagar. The change of the ultimate vowel from *i* to *a* in loans is also attested in other Blagar loanwords in the Straits Alorese varieties, such as Alorese *reha* ‘monitor lizard’ < Blagar *rihi* ‘monitor lizard’ (see §6.5.1.5).

The PAL reconstruction \*kəlilik ‘angry’ also appears to be an AP loanword, with similar words being attested in several AP languages as displayed in Table 6.20. From this word set, PAP \*kV-likil may be reconstructed. PAP initial and medial \*l is retained in all languages, with Western Pantar as an exception. PAP medial \*k is retained unchanged, but reflected as *ħ* in Teiwa. This correspondence is not regular, though, because Teiwa *ħ* normally corresponds to PAP \*g (Holton et al. 2012:93). The correspondence of Blagar *k* and Teiwa *ħ* is regular; it is also seen in pairs, such as Blagar *tekil* ~ Teiwa *taħal* ‘thin’ and Blagar *sokil* ~ Teiwa *soħai* ‘to dance’. Furthermore, the Blagar *k* and Kabola *ʔ* correspondence is regular, as seen in other pairs such as Blagar *trukinuk* ~ Kabola *tiʔinu* ‘nine’ and Blagar *tətoku* ~ Kabola *atoʔo* ‘stomach; belly’. However, the change of medial *l* and *r* in Blagar, Kaera, and Kabola on these words is not regular. Nevertheless, since no similar forms are attested in the other Flores-Lembata languages and the PAL form \*kəlilik is more similar to AP words, I propose that this is a loan from AP into Alorese.

Table 6.21 presents the remaining two lexical innovations in PAL that show indications of being AP loanwords.

Table 6.21: Lexical innovations in PAL (table 3 of 3)

	‘dirty’	‘taro’
PFL	#mila	[...]
PWL	*mila	[...]
PAL	<b>*kalita?</b>	<b>*golo</b>
AL-Kayang	<i>klita?</i>	–
AL-Beang Onong	<i>kalita</i>	–
AL-Baranusa	<i>klita?</i>	( <i>au</i> ) <i>golo</i>
AL-Helangdohi	<i>klita?</i>	–
AL-Wailawar	<i>klita?</i>	–
AL-Pandai	<i>klita</i>	–
AL-Bana	<i>klita?</i>	–
AL-Munaseli	<i>klita?</i>	–
AL-Ternate	<i>kalita</i>	–
AL-Buaya	<i>kalita</i>	–
AL-Alor Besar	<i>kalita</i>	<i>agol</i>
AL-Alor Kecil	<i>klita</i>	( <i>ai</i> ) <i>golo</i>
AL-Dulolong	<i>kalita</i>	( <i>kadžo</i> ) <i>golo</i>

For the concept ‘dirty’, PAL innovated \*kalita?; this is different from the other Flores-Lembata languages, which use a form that can be reconstructed to PWL \*mila ‘dirty’. The PAL \*golo ‘taro’ is reconstructed based on similar words found in Baranusa and varieties on the Alor Peninsula. The preceding word *au/ai* is possibly from PFL \*kayu ‘tree’ and the form *kadžo* is an Alorese word meaning ‘tree; wood’.

Table 6.22 lists AP forms that are presumably the sources of the PAL innovations.

Table 6.22: Possible AP sources for loanwords in PAL (table 3 of 3)

	'dirty'	'taro'
PAP	(?)	(?)
AB-Takalelang	-	<i>ähwo:l</i>
AB-Ulaga	-	<i>ago:</i>
HM-Moru	-	<i>akol</i>
AD-Otvai	-	<i>agol</i>
RT-Ternate	<i>karita</i>	<i>aigol</i>
RT-Pura	<i>karita</i>	-
BG-Pura	<i>karita</i>	<i>au gol</i>
BG-Bakalang	<b><i>klitak</i></b>	<i>awgol</i>
BG-Kulijahi	<i>kəlitah</i>	-
BG-Nule	<i>kəritak</i>	-
TW-Nule	<b><i>klita?</i></b>	-
DE-Deing	<i>quŋ qalit</i>	-
PAL	<b>*<i>kalita?</i></b>	<b>*<i>golo</i></b>

The comparison for the concept set 'dirty' in Table 6.22 shows regular sound correspondences between Blagar *l* and Reta *r* in intervocalic position. Blagar medial *l* corresponds to Reta medial *r*, which can also be seen in several other words, such as Blagar *bulaŋ* ~ Reta *burəŋ* 'sky' and Blagar *bulit* ~ Reta *kaburit* 'arrow'. A similar form for the concept 'dirty' *kila?ε* is attested in Fataluku (a Timor-Alor-Pantar language spoken in East Timor). Thus, these cognates are likely to be non-Austronesian. The Alorese form *kalita?* 'dirty' is also mentioned by Robinson (2015:24) who suggests that this is a loan with an uncertain direction of borrowing. However, evidence presented in Table 6.22 leads to the proposal that this set is of AP origin, borrowed into PAL. In addition, a phonologically similar cognate set with a different semantic meaning, 'old; elderly (people)', is attested across AP languages: Abui *kalieta/kaleita*, Kafoa *kalta*, Kiramang *kaleta*, and Kui *kakaleta* 'old; elderly (people)'.

For PAL *\*golo* 'taro', similar forms are found in several AP languages, as shown in Table 6.22. Within this cognate set, the words *agol* (Otvai), *ai gol* (RT-Ternate), *au gol* (Pura), and *awgol* (Bakalang) are most similar to PAL. Languages where these words are used are located close to the Straits Alorese varieties, except Abui, which is spoken in central Alor. The fact that Baranusa also uses a

similar form, *au golo* for ‘taro’ indicates that this word can be reconstructed to PAL.

In conclusion, in this section seven loanwords have been presented and identified as AP words borrowed into PAL. The donor AP languages seem mostly to be those that have access to the Strait of Pantar, such as Blagar, Reta, Adang, Klou, Kui, and Kaera. This suggests that PAL was in contact with these AP languages and thus supports the hypothesis that PAL was spoken around northeast Pantar (cf. §5.4.1.4). The loanwords relate to the semantic domains of body parts (‘heart’), quantity (‘ten’), kinship terms (‘younger sibling’), emotions (‘angry’), motion (‘to close’), and sense perception (‘dirty’, ‘angry’).

### 6.5.1.2 AP loanwords in the Pantar varieties

This section discusses two AP loanwords that are attested only in the Alorese varieties spoken on Pantar (see Figur 6.3). Table 6.23 contains Alorese words for the concepts ‘road’ and ‘to wash’.

Table 6.23: Lexical innovations in the Alorese varieties on Pantar

		‘road’		‘to wash’	
	PMP	*zalan		[...]	
	PFL	*lalan		[...]	
	PWL	*lara		[...]	
	PAL	*lara ŋ		*bema	
Geographic groups					
Pantar	Kayang	<i>laraŋ</i>	–	<i>bema</i>	–
Pantar	Beang Onong	–	<b>tor</b>	<i>bema</i>	–
Pantar	Baranusa	–	<b>toor</b>	<i>bema</i>	<b><i>lamiŋ</i></b>
Pantar	Helangdohi	<i>laraŋ</i>	–	<i>bema</i>	–
Pantar	Wailawar	<i>laraŋ</i>	–	<i>bema</i>	–
Pantar	Pandai	<i>laraŋ</i>	–	<i>bema</i>	<b><i>lamiŋ</i></b>
Pantar	Bana	<i>laraŋ</i>	–	<i>bema</i>	–
Pantar	Munaseli	<i>laraŋ</i>	<b>tor</b>	<i>bema</i>	<b><i>lamiŋ</i></b>
Straits	Ternate	<i>laraŋ</i>	–	<i>beme</i>	–
Straits	Alor Besar	[...]	–	<i>beme</i>	–
Straits	Dulolong	<i>laraŋ</i>	–	<i>beme</i>	–

The most widespread Alorese words for these concepts are inherited from PAL. They go back to PAL \*lara|ŋ ‘road’ (< PMP \*zalan) and PAL \*bema ‘wash’, an innovation of unknown origin at the level of PAL. In some Alorese varieties on Pantar, however, the AP loans *tor* ‘road’ and *lamiŋ* ‘to wash’ are found. These putative loanwords are spread among the varieties spoken on Pantar, but are not found in the Straits. The word *tor* ‘road’ is attested in Beang Onong, Baranusa, and Munaseli. The word *lamiŋ* ‘to wash’ is attested in Baranusa, Pandai and Munaseli. The possible AP sources for these lexical borrowings are listed in Table 6.24.

Table 6.24: Possible AP sources for loanwords in Pantar Alorese varieties

	‘road’	‘to wash’
PAP	*ya (tor)	#lamiN
AB-Takalelang	<i>ja</i> ( <i>foqa</i> )	–
KB-Kabola	–	<i>lam</i>
KF-Kafoa	<i>ya</i>	<i>ulam</i>
KI-Kui	<i>ya</i>	–
HM-Moru	–	<i>nalam</i>
AD-Lawahing	–	<i>la:m</i>
AD-Otvai	–	<i>lam</i>
Reta (from dictionary)	–	<b><i>laamiŋ</i></b>
KR-Kaera	<b><i>tor</i></b>	–
TW-Lebang	<i>yitar</i>	–
DE-Deing	<b><i>tor</i></b>	<i>lanaŋ</i>
WP-Tubbe	<i>ya tor</i>	<b><i>lamiŋ</i></b>
AL-Beang Onong	<i>tor</i>	–
AL-Baranusa	<i>to:r</i>	<i>lamiŋ</i>
AL-Pandai	–	<i>lamiŋ</i>
AL-Munaseli	<i>tor</i>	<i>lamiŋ</i>

The form *ya tor* ‘road’ is of AP origin because it is widespread among AP languages. The part *ya* is the AP word for ‘road’ and *tor/tar* is found in Kaera, Deing, Teiwa, and Western Pantar. The addition of *tor/tar* is a result of a semantic shift within the AP languages going back to PAP \*ora ‘tail’ with reflexes such as Teiwa *tor* ‘backbone tail; tailbone’ and Klon *tor* ‘bone’. Western Pantar is the only language where the compound is still complete. The other languages have either lost the *ya* part or the *tor* part. However, it is also possible

that the varieties that only have *ya*, like Kafoa, Abui and Kui, might never have had the compound *ya tor*. In Abui, *foqa* means big; thus *ja foqa* means ‘big road; highway’.

The item *tor* ‘road’ in Alorese has also been proposed as an AP loanword by Klamer (2011:64) and Robinson (2015:28), suggesting Western Pantar as the donor language. Table 6.24 shows that not only Western Pantar has the word *tor* ‘road’, but also Kaera and Deing (indicated in bold). Therefore, Deing and Kaera could have also been the donor languages; Deing is geographically close to Baranusa, while Kaera could have also been in contact with Munaseli due to their geographical proximity.

The Alorese word *lamij* ‘to wash’ in the varieties of Baranusa, Pandai, and Munaseli also appears to be a loanword from an AP source. This form is an inherited AP form, with cognates in several AP languages, as can be seen in Table 6.24. Reta and Western Pantar have the most similar forms to Alorese and both these languages are in contact with Alorese; Reta is close to Munaseli and Pandai, while Western Pantar is close to Baranusa. Therefore, these are the most likely donor languages. This AP loanword has also already been mentioned by Robinson (2015:28), who indicates Western Pantar as the donor language.

In summary, there are two AP loanwords attested only in the Alorese varieties spoken on Pantar. The donor language for the words ‘road’ and ‘to wash’ in Baranusa and Beang Onong is most likely Western Pantar. Kaera and Reta could be donor languages for the words in Munaseli and Pandai. However, since the Alorese communities are also in contact with each other, it is also possible that the varieties Pandai and Munaseli took the words from Baranusa and not directly from an AP source.

### 6.5.1.3 AP loanwords in the Northeast Pantar varieties

In this section, I discuss eight AP loanwords attested only in the varieties spoken in northeast Pantar (see map in Figure 6.3). This area includes the varieties Wailawar, Helangdohi, Pandai, Bana, and Munaseli. Table 6.25 provides the word sets for the first two concepts.

Table 6.25: Lexical innovation in the northeast Pantar varieties (table 1 of 3)

	‘rattan’	‘fish trap’
PMP	*quay	*pukət
PFL	*uay	*pukət
PWL	*ua	*puko?
PAL	*ue	*puko?
AL-Kayang	<i>uwe</i> –	<i>puko?</i> –
AL-Beang Onong	<i>uwee</i> –	<i>puko</i> –
AL-Baranusa	– –	– –
AL-Helangdohi	<i>uwe</i> –	<i>puko k</i> –
AL-Wailawar	<i>uwe</i> –	<i>puko</i> –
AL-Pandai	<i>ue lua</i>	<i>puko ker</i>
AL-Bana	<i>uwe</i> –	– –
AL-Munaseli	<i>uwe lua</i>	<i>puko?</i> –
AL-Ternate	<i>ufi</i> –	<i>puko</i> –
AL-Buaya	– –	– –
AL-Alor Besar	<i>ufi</i> –	– –
AL-Alor Kecil	<i>ufi</i> –	<i>puko</i> –
AL-Dulolong	– –	– –

The form *lua* ‘rattan’ in Pandai and Munaseli is suspected to come from an external source. This form is used alongside a different form, inherited from PAL \*ue (< PFL \*uay ‘rattan’). The Pandai word *ker* ‘fish trap’ is an innovation, different from the inherited form *puko?* < PFL \*pukət ‘fish trap’. The possible AP sources for these innovations are listed in Table 6.26.

Table 6.26: Possible AP sources for loanwords in the northeast Pantar varieties (table 1 of 3)

	'rattan'	'fish trap'
PAP	#lijag (?)	*Cer
KU-Lantoka	–	<i>gar</i>
WS-Maritaing	–	<i>ar</i>
KB-Kabola	<i>lojo?</i>	–
AD-Lawahing	<i>le?</i>	–
AD-Otvai	<i>le</i>	–
BG-Warsalelang	<i>le:g</i>	–
BG-Manatang	<i>leg, lia</i>	<i>ver</i>
BG-Kulijahi	<i>lia</i>	–
BG-Nule	<i>lija</i>	<b><i>ker</i></b>
BG-Pura	<i>lia</i>	–
BG-Bakalang	<i>lija</i>	<i>ver</i>
BG-Tuntuli	<i>leg</i>	<i>ver</i>
BG-Bama	<i>leg</i>	<i>wer</i>
RT-Ternate	<i>lijag</i>	–
RT-Pura	<i>liag</i>	–
RT-Hula	<i>liag</i>	–
KI-Labaing	<i>le</i>	–
DE-Deing	<i>liax</i>	–
KR-Kaera	<i>le:g</i>	–
TW-Nule	<i>lijag</i>	–
TW-Adiabang	<i>lijah</i>	–
TW-Lebang	<i>lijag</i>	<b><i>ke:r</i></b>
KR-Kaera	–	–
KU-Klamu	–	<i>t̪ar</i>
SR-Sar	<i>liag</i>	–
WP-Tubbe	–	–
AL-Pandai	<i>lua</i>	<i>ker</i>
AL-Munaseli	<i>lua</i>	–

In this concept set, a regular sound correspondence can be seen, namely PAP initial \*l- that is retained unchanged in all languages, as expected. The initial *l* is attested in the AP forms as well as in the Alorese innovation *lua*.



However, no AP language shows the vowel combination *ua*.

For the concept ‘fish trap’, PAP \*Car is reconstructed due to regular reflexes of final \*-r which is retained unchanged in all the AP languages, except Klamu. In Klamu, the PAP final \*-r is expected to be lost (Holton et al. 2012:94), but it is possibly irregular because a retention of PAP \*-r is also attested in PAP \*dur > Klamu *dur* ‘rat’. This cognate set is likely to be of AP origin. Pandai seems to have borrowed *ker* from Blagar or Teiwa, because they have the most similar forms and the varieties are located close to each other.

The next three candidate AP loanwords in the Alorese varieties of northeast Pantar are presented in Table 6.27.

Table 6.27: *Lexical innovation in the northeast Pantar varieties (table 2 of 3)*

	‘to fold’		‘to pull’		‘coral rock’
PMP	*lipət		[...]		[...]
PFL	*lɔpət		#vidu		[...]
PWL	*lɔpət		*vidu		[...]
PAL	*lɔpɛʔ		*wider		*wato kəraki
AL-Kayang	<i>lapeʔ</i>	–	<i>wider</i>	–	–
AL-Beang Onong	<i>lape</i>	–	–	–	<i>wato karaki</i> –
AL-Baranusa	<i>lape</i>	–	–	–	<i>wato kraki</i> –
AL-Helangdohi	<i>lapeʔ</i>	–	–	–	–
AL-Wailawar	<i>lapeʔ</i>	–	–	–	–
AL-Pandai	<i>lepe</i>	<b>lakuk</b>	<i>wider</i>	<b>wak</b>	–
AL-Bana	<i>lape</i>	–	–	–	–
AL-Munaseli	–	–	–	–	<b>koka</b>
AL-Ternate	<i>lape</i>	–	–	–	<i>fato kerakiki</i> –
AL-Buaya	<i>lape</i>	–	–	–	–
AL-Alor Besar	<i>lape</i>	–	–	–	–
AL-Alor Kecil	<i>lape</i>	–	–	–	–
AL-Dulolong	<i>lape</i>	–	–	–	–

For the concept ‘to fold’, Pandai uses both the inherited form *lepe* and an innovation *lakuk* ‘to fold’. Pandai also uses both the inherited form *wider* ‘to pull’ and an innovation *wak* ‘to pull’.<sup>33</sup> In addition, an innovation *koka* ‘coral rock’ is

<sup>33</sup> For this concept, the majority of Alorese varieties use a Malay loan *tarek* ‘to pull’

attested in Munaseli. Possible AP sources for these innovations are listed in Table 6.28 below.

Table 6.28: Possible AP sources for loanwords in the northeast Pantar varieties (table 2 of 3)

	'to fold'	'to pull'	'coral rock'
PAP	*(?)	*CVk(?)	#qoqVs(?)
SW-Sawila	<b>lakupi</b>	–	–
KU-Lantoka	<b>lakup</b>	–	–
KI-Labaing	–	<i>gabik</i>	–
KG-Kiramang	<i>galuk</i>	–	–
AB-Ulaga	<i>galuk</i>	<i>gafik, gavik</i>	–
AB-Takalelang	<i>ha-luq</i>	<i>hafik</i>	<i>koqai</i>
AB-Fuimelang	<i>ha-luk</i>	<i>hafik</i>	–
AB-Atimelang	<i>ha-luk</i>	–	–
HM-Moru	–	<i>abiʔij</i>	–
KB-Kabola	<i>napa liʔi</i>	<i>apiʔij</i>	<i>koʔoi</i>
AD-Lawahing	<i>paliʔi</i>	<i>ʔabiʔij</i>	–
AD-Otvai	<i>paliʔ</i>	–	<i>ʔoʔoi</i>
KL-Bring	<i>lu:s</i>	<i>gəbik</i>	–
KL-Hopter	–	<i>gəbik</i>	<b>kəka</b>
KF-Kafoa	–	<i>gafiki</i>	–
BG-Warsalelang	<b>piliku</b>	–	–
BG-Kulijahi	–	<b>awak</b>	–
BG-Nule	–	<b>avak</b>	–
BG-Bakalang	–	<b>avak</b>	<b>koka</b>
BG-Bama	–	–	<i>koqas</i>
BG-Tuntuli	<b>pəliku</b>	–	–
BG-Pura	–	–	<b>koka omi</b>
DE-Deing	<i>plik</i>	–	<i>qawa sis</i>
KR-Kaera	<i>piloko</i>	–	<i>qoʔqis</i>
TW-Teiwa	–	–	<i>qoqas</i>
SR-Sar	–	–	<i>qoqis</i>
WP-Tubbe	<i>luk:ij</i>	–	–
AL-Helangdohi	–	–	–
AL-Pandai	<i>lakuk</i>	<i>wak</i>	–
AL-Munaseli	–	–	<i>koka</i>

For the concept ‘to fold’, Blagar is among the AP languages that have similar forms to the Pandai word *lakuk* ‘to fold’. It is unclear whether these AP words for ‘to fold’ are all related. In Sawila, *kupi* means ‘to fold’ (Kratochvíl, 2014:408), but the additional syllable *la-* is of unclear origin. In Abui, *ha-* is a bound third person pronoun (Kratochvíl, 2007:78). In Blagar, *pi-* is an inalienable possessor for first person plural inclusive (Steinhauer, 2014:182).

The Pandai word *wak* ‘to pull’ is possibly a Blagar loan too, because a similar form *avak* ‘to pull’ is attested in Blagar. The initial vowel *a-* is a prefix in Blagar indicating causative (Steinhauer, 2014:160, 194). This Blagar word seems to be related to the other AP words listed in the table. The Blagar forms are formally the most similar, hence I identify it as the source.

The Munaseli innovation *koka* for the concept ‘coral rock’ is also a loanword from Blagar. A set of cognates is attested in several AP languages and an early AP form #qoqVs ‘coral rock’ may be reconstructed. The sound changes of PAP initial and intervocalic \*q > k are semi-regular in most of the AP languages. According to Holton et al. (2012:94), both PAP initial and intervocalic \*q are retained as *k* in Abui, as expected. In Adang, the change of PAP initial \*q into glottal stop is regular. In Teiwa, PAP \*q is retained unchanged in both positions, as expected. In addition, PAP \*q is changed into *x* in Kaera, as expected. Since cognates of this set are quite widespread in the AP languages, it is likely that the form is of AP origin and borrowed into Munaseli.

The remaining three lexical innovations in the Alorese varieties spoken in northeastern Pantar are presented in Table 6.29.

Table 6.29: Lexical innovations in the northeast Pantar varieties (table 3 of 3)

	‘digging stick’		‘to pray’		‘garden’
PFL	[...]		[...]		[...]
PWL	*nuaj		[...]		*eka
PAL	*Cuaŋ		[...]		*ekaŋ
AL-Kayang	<i>nuo?</i>	–	<i>sabeaŋ</i>	–	–
AL-Beang Onong	–	–	<i>sabeaŋ</i>	–	–
AL-Baranusa	<i>kuaŋ</i>	–	–	–	–
AL-Helangdohi	–	<b><i>noru?</i></b>	–	–	<i>ekaŋ</i>
AL-Wailawar	<i>buaŋ</i>	–	<i>sabeaŋ</i>	–	<i>ekaŋ</i>
AL-Pandai	–	–	<i>sebeaŋ</i>	–	<i>ekaŋ</i>
AL-Bana	–	<b><i>noru?</i></b>	<i>səbeaŋ</i>	–	<i>ekaŋ</i>
AL-Munaseli	–	–	<i>səbeaŋ</i>	<b><i>gamar (apa)</i></b>	<i>ekaŋ buta?</i>
AL-Ternate	–	–	<i>səbeaŋ</i>	–	<i>ekaŋ</i>
AL-Buaya	–	–	<i>səbeaŋ</i>	–	<i>ekaŋ</i>
AL-Alor Besar	–	–	<i>sambeaŋ</i>	–	<i>ekaŋ</i>
AL-Alor Kecil	<i>kuaŋ</i>	–	<i>səbeaŋ</i>	–	<i>ekaŋ</i>
AL-Dulolong	<i>kuaŋ</i>	–	<i>sabeaŋ</i>	–	<i>ekaŋ</i>

The table shows that some Alorese varieties in northeast Pantar have innovated *noru?* ‘digging stick’, *gamar apa* ‘to pray’, and *ekaŋ buta?* ‘garden’. The word *noru?* is used in the Helangdohi and Bana varieties for the concept ‘digging stick’. Other varieties use a word inherited from PWL. Furthermore, for the concept ‘to pray’, the word *gamar apa* is attested only in Munaseli, while the more widely used term for ‘to pray’ is *səbeaŋ* (< Malay loan *sambayang* [samba<sup>h</sup>iaŋ] ‘to pray; to worship God’). The Munaseli form *gamar apa* comprises *gamar* (external origin) and *apa* (Alorese ‘something’). For the concept ‘garden’, the general Alorese term that goes back to PWL is *ekaŋ* ‘garden’. However, the Munaseli variety uses a compound *ekaŋ buta?*, which comprises an inherited form *ekaŋ* (< PWL \**eka* ‘garden’) and the new form *buta?*, which is of external origin. In Table 6.30, the AP languages that could possibly be the sources of these lexical innovations are listed.

Table 6.30: Possible AP sources for loanwords in the northeast Pantar varieties (table 3 of 3)

	‘digging stick’	‘to pray’	‘garden’
PAP	#sVnoru(k)(?)	#ha(?)mar(?)	#butVq
KB-Kabola	–	–	<i>butu?</i>
AD-Lawahing	–	–	<i>butu</i>
AD-Otvai	–	–	<i>but</i>
BG-Pura	–	–	<i>buta</i>
BG-Warsalelang	–	–	<b><i>butax</i></b>
BG-Tuntuli	–	–	<b><i>butaq</i></b>
BG-Nule	<b><i>noruk</i></b>	–	–
BG-Tuntuli	<i>seʀonuk</i>	–	–
RT-Pura	<b><i>hano:ruk</i></b>	<i>amur</i>	–
RT-Hula	<b><i>hano:ruk</i></b>	–	–
KR-Kaera	–	<i>aʔmur</i>	–
TW-Lebang	–	<b><i>hamar</i></b>	–
KU-Klamu	<i>murū</i>	–	–
WP-Tubbe	<i>sorū</i> ‘stick; pole’	<i>hamur</i>	–
AL-Helangdohi	<i>noru?</i>	–	–
AL-Munaseli	<i>noru?</i>	<i>gamar (apa)</i>	<i>ekaŋ buta?</i>

Cognate forms for the concept ‘digging stick’ are attested in the AP languages Blagar, Reta, Klamu, and Western Pantar. In Western Pantar, it seems that there has been a semantic change to the relatively similar concept ‘stick; pole’. The initial \*s- is regularly reflected as *h* in Reta and retained unchanged in Blagar and Western Pantar (Holton et al. 2012:94). The intervocalic \*-n- is retained unchanged in all languages, as expected. However, the intervocalic \*-r- shows irregular reflexes in Western Pantar because it is expected to be retained as *l*. Even though the sound correspondences are only semi-regular, I consider the Alorese word *noru?* to be an AP borrowing because the other Alorese varieties use a different inherited form.

In the set for the concept ‘to pray’, it seems that Munaseli has borrowed *gamar* from a neighboring AP language, such as Teiwa, which has *hamar* for ‘pray’. Since cognates of this form for ‘to pray’ are attested across several AP languages, it is likely that this is an inherited AP form. Teiwa is very likely to be the donor because the vowels match with the Munaseli word *gamar*. The initial *g* in the Munaseli word may come from a compound in Teiwa *ga hamar* ‘pray for

someone' as *ga-* in Teiwa is a third person singular pronoun (Klamer, 2010:55).

The AP words meaning 'garden' in the table are clearly related and attested in AP languages spoken around the Pantar Strait. Possibly, a Proto-Nuclear-Alor-Pantar (Kaiping & Klamer, 2019:35) form \**butVq* 'garden' could be reconstructed based on this cognate set. Munaseli has borrowed the form *buta?* to form a compound *ekaj buta?* 'garden'. The donor language is most likely Blagar because it has the most similar forms and is geographically close to Munaseli. The lenition of final stop *x/q* in Blagar into a glottal stop in Munaseli is expected because Alorese does not allow final *x/q*.

In conclusion, this section has presented eight concepts for which there are putative AP loanwords in the northeastern Pantar varieties of Alorese. In most cases, the probable donor languages are Blagar, Reta, and Teiwa. The semantic domains involve agriculture ('rattan', 'garden', 'digging stick'); hunting ('fish trap'); the physical world ('coral rock') and several verbs ('to fold' 'to pull' 'to pray'). Among the varieties in northeast Pantar, Munaseli has the most loanwords from AP languages. Furthermore, several of these loanwords are only used in Munaseli.

#### 6.5.1.4 AP loanwords in Northeast Pantar and Alor Peninsula

In this section, I discuss two AP loanwords that are attested in at least one variety in northeast Pantar and in at least one variety on the Alor Peninsula. Table 6.31 shows AP loanwords attested in these geographic groups for the concepts 'raised platform' and 'adultery'.

Table 6.31: Lexical innovations in the Northeast Pantar and Alor Peninsula varieties

	'raised platform'		'adultery'
AL-Kayang	<i>kosa</i>	-	-
AL-Baranusa	<i>kolsa</i>	-	-
AL-Helangdohi	<i>kolsa</i>	-	-
AL-Wailawar	<i>woslak</i>	-	-
AL-Pandai	-	<b><i>deki</i></b>	-
AL-Bana	<i>boslak</i>	-	-
AL-Munaseli	-	<b><i>deki</i></b>	<b><i>buha</i></b>
AL-Buaya	-	-	-
AL-Ternate	<i>bosla</i>	-	-
AL-Alor Besar	-	<b><i>deki</i></b>	<b><i>buha</i></b>
AL-Alor Kecil	<i>kolosae</i>	-	-
AL-Dulolong	<i>kolosae</i>	-	-

No reconstructed proto-forms are available. Innovations in the Northeast Pantar and the Alor Peninsula varieties are highlighted. The Alorese words for ‘raised platform’ are forms related to a Dutch loan-word *bultzak* ‘mattress’ (Jones, 2007:41). For the concept ‘adultery’, no similar forms to the Munaseli and Alor Besar word *buha* ‘adultery’ are attested in the nearby Flores-Lembata languages and no proto-forms are available for this concept. In the following discussion, I show possible AP sources for these loans (see Table 6.32).

Table 6.32: Possible AP sources for loanwords in the Northeast Pantar and Alor Peninsula

	‘raised platform’	‘adultery’
PAP	#dek(i)	#bus (?)
KM-Atoitaa	-	-
AD-Otvai	<i>de?</i>	-
BG-Bama	<b><i>deki</i></b>	-
BG-Warsalelang	<b><i>deki</i></b>	-
BG-Tuntuli	<b><i>deki</i></b>	-
BG-Pura	<i>dei</i>	<b><i>buha</i></b>
BG-Kulijahi	<i>dei</i>	-
BG-Manatang	-	<i>vej buha</i>
BG-Bakalang	<i>dei</i>	-
BG-Nule	<i>dej</i>	-
RT-Pura	<b><i>deki</i></b>	<b><i>buha</i></b>
RT-Hula	-	<b><i>buha</i></b>
TW-Lebang	<i>de:k</i>	<i>bu:s</i>
KR-Kaera	<i>dɛ:ki</i>	<i>bus</i>
SR-Sar	-	<i>bu:s</i>
DE-Deing	-	-
WP-Tubbe	<b><i>deki</i></b>	-
AL-Helangdohi	-	-
AL-Bana	-	-
AL-Pandai	<i>deki</i>	-
AL-Munaseli	<i>deki</i>	<i>buha</i>
AL-Alor Besar	<i>deki</i>	<i>buha</i>
AL-Alor Kecil	-	-
AL-Dulolong	-	-

A cognate set reconstructable to an early AP form #deki ‘bed; raised platform’ is attested. In Adang, PAP medial \*k is retained as ʔ, as expected; and in Blagar, PAP final \*-k is lost, as expected (Holton et al. 2012:94). Therefore, it is likely that the form *deki* is of AP origin and borrowed into Alorese. Among the AP languages, Blagar, Reta, and Western Pantar have the most similar form because the medial *k* is retained. However, of these, Blagar or Reta are likely the donor language(s) given their geography.

An early AP form #bus ‘adultery’ can be reconstructed based on cognates in several AP languages spoken around the straits (Teiwa, Kaera, Blagar, Reta, and Sar). As seen in the examples, regular sound correspondences can be identified among the AP languages. The PAP initial \*b- is retained unchanged in all the languages, as expected. The PAP final \*-s is retained regularly as *s* in Teiwa, Kaera, and Sar, and changed regularly into *h* in intervocalic position in Blagar and in Reta, as expected. A similar sound change is attested in several Blagar words, such as PAP \*mis > Blagar *mihi* ‘sit’ and PAP \*bis > Blagar *bihi* ‘mat’. Thus, the AP cognate set for the concept ‘adultery’ is likely to be of AP origin, and not a borrowed form. Alorese Munaseli and Alor Besar likely borrowed *buha* from either Blagar or Reta.

In conclusion, in this section I have presented two candidates for AP loanwords in the Northeast Pantar and Alor Peninsula varieties. The loanwords relate to the semantic domains of the house (‘bed; raised platform’) and law (‘adultery’). The spread of the loanword encompasses the Northeast Pantar and Alor Peninsula varieties, but not the Islands varieties. This spread may suggest that the Island varieties are isolated in this respect.

#### 6.5.1.5 AP loanwords in the Straits varieties

In this section, I discuss five AP loanwords that are attested only in the varieties spoken in the Straits. The varieties are Ternate, Buaya, Alor Besar, Alor Kecil, and Dulolong. Table 6.33 contains the first three loans.



Table 6.33: *Lexical innovations in the Straits varieties (table 1 of 2)*

	‘monitor lizard’		‘to bury’		‘finished’	
PFL	[...]		*tanəm		[...]	
PWL	*eto		*tone		[...]	
PAL	*eto		*tono ŋ		[...]	
AL-Kayang	<i>eto</i>	–	<i>tono ŋ</i>	–	–	–
AL-Baranusa	<i>eto</i>	–	<i>tono ŋ</i>	–	<i>kapo</i>	–
AL-Helangdohi	<i>teto damar</i>	–	<i>tono ŋ</i>	–	<i>kapo</i>	–
AL-Wailawar	<i>teto damar</i>	–	<i>tənə ŋ</i>	–	–	–
AL-Pandai	<i>teto damar</i>	–	<i>tənə ŋ</i>	–	<i>kapə</i>	–
AL-Bana	<i>teto damar</i>	–	<i>tono ŋ</i>	–	<i>kapo?</i>	–
AL-Munaseli	<i>teto damar</i>	–	<i>tono ŋ</i>	–	–	–
AL-Buaya	–	–	–	<b><i>tou</i></b>	–	<b><i>kena</i></b>
AL-Ternate	–	<b><i>reha</i></b>	–	<b><i>tou</i></b>	–	<b><i>kenaj</i></b>
AL-Alor Besar	–	<b><i>reha</i></b>	–	<b><i>tou</i></b>	–	<b><i>kenaj</i></b>
AL-Alor Kecil	–	<b><i>reha</i></b>	–	<b><i>tohu</i></b>	–	<b><i>hena</i></b>
AL-Dulolong	–	<b><i>reha</i></b>	–	<b><i>tuho</i></b>	–	<b><i>kena</i></b>

In the table, the Alorese word *reha* ‘monitor lizard’ is contrasted with an inherited form *eto/teto damar* (< PWL \*eto ‘monitor lizard’; *damar* is of unknown origin). The PWL form is reconstructed as \*eto because both forms are attested in Alorese and several Western Lamaholot (WL) varieties, but not at a higher level. The Alorese word *tou* ‘to bury’ is likely to be an AP loanword borrowed into Straits Alorese. For the concept ‘finished’, Straits Alorese varieties have innovated *kenaj/hena*, while the rest of the varieties use *kapo* ‘finished’. Table 6.34 lists the possible AP sources for the Straits Alorese innovations for the concepts ‘monitor lizard’, ‘to bury’, and ‘finished’.

Table 6.34: AP sources for loanwords in the Straits varieties (table 1 of 2)

	‘monitor lizard’	‘to bury’	‘finished’
PAP	*GVrisi (?) *lVsi (Robinson, 2015:29)	#tVroqu (?)	*qana (?)
SW-Sawila	–	–	<i>lekana</i>
KM-Tiyei	–	<i>fo.ɹu</i>	–
AB-Takalelang	–	–	<i>känri</i>
AB-Ulaga	–	–	<i>känri</i>
KL-Hopter	<i>wərih</i>	–	–
KI-Kui	<i>ros</i>	–	–
BG-Manatang	–	<i>taroʔu</i>	–
BG-Bakalang	<b><i>rihi</i></b>	<b><i>tow</i></b>	–
BG-Kulijahi	<b><i>rihi</i></b>	<i>trou</i>	–
BG-Bama	<i>iris</i>	<i>troku</i>	–
BG-Nule	<i>ri</i>	<i>tərow</i>	–
BG-Tuntuli	<i>iris</i>	<i>toroku</i>	–
BG-Warsalelang	<i>iris</i>	<i>təroku</i>	–
BG-Pura	<i>ari</i>	<i>tarou</i>	–
Blagar	–	–	<b><i>kanak</i></b> ‘even’
KR-Kaera	<i>iʔris, tɛʔrɛs</i>	<i>traqo</i>	<i>qanap</i>
TW-Teiwa	<i>ris</i>	<i>taraʔaʔ</i>	–
KU-Klamu	<i>lisi</i>	–	–
DE-Deing	<i>yɛris</i>	–	–
SR-Sar	<i>yiris, ris</i>	–	–
WP-Tubbe	<i>hiddis</i>	–	<i>kan:a</i>
AL-Buaya	–	<i>tou</i>	<i>kena</i>
AL-Ternate	<i>reha</i>	<i>tou</i>	<i>kenarj</i>
AL-Alor Besar	<i>reha</i>	<i>tou</i>	<i>kenarj</i>
AL-Alor Kecil	<i>reha</i>	<i>tohu</i>	<i>hena</i>
AL-Dulolong	<i>reha</i>	–	<i>kena</i>

Robinson (2015:29) reconstructs PAP \*lVsi ‘monitor lizard’ and suggests that Alorese *reha* is a loanword from AP languages. With availability of more data, a new PAP form may be proposed: \*GVrisi ‘monitor lizard’ (G: glide; V: vowel). An initial glide may be reconstructed in PAP because Klon, Deing, and Sar have an initial glide. Further, PAP intervocalic \*-r- is changed into *l* in Klamu, as in *lisi* ‘monitor lizard’. In addition, the change of PAP intervocalic \*-s-

into Blagar *h* is also regular. Based on the evidence presented in Table 6.34, I conclude that the donor language for the Alorese word *reha* is probably Blagar (Bakalang and Kulijahi) because it has the form *rihi*, which is the most similar to Alorese *reha*. Reasons for the change of the non-final vowel *i* to *e* remain unclear, but the Alorese final *a* from Blagar *i* in loanwords seems regular, as seen earlier in the Alorese *tera* ‘to close’ ~ Blagar *teriŋ* ‘to close’.

PAP \*tVroqu ‘to bury’ may be reconstructed because PAP initial \*t- is attested regularly in most of the languages and the PAP intervocalic \*-r- is also expected to appear unchanged in most of the languages. In Kamang, PAP intervocalic \*-r- is expected to have changed into *l*, but in one of the varieties in the Kamang cluster, namely Tiyei, it has changed into *ɿ*. Among the AP languages that have a reflex of this form, Bakalang has the most similar form to Alorese, suggesting that Alorese borrowed *tou* ‘to bury’ from this Blagar variety. In Alor Kecil, the addition of intervocalic *h*, as seen in *tohu* ‘to bury’ is also seen in other words, such as Alor Besar *tafeuj* ~ Alor Kecil *təfihuj* ‘fog’.

For the concept ‘finished’, a PAP form \*qana may be reconstructed. In Sawila, the initial syllable *le-* is similar to the applicative prefix *li-* (Kratochvíl, 2014:401). The reflexes of PAP initial \*q- in the AP languages listed are regular, as it is retained as *q* in Kaera and changed into *k* in the remaining AP languages. In Abui, the word *kanri* is morphologically complex, with a stem *kan* meaning ‘be good’ (Kratochvíl, 2007:358). Among AP languages, the Blagar form *kanak* ‘even’ is the most similar to the Straits Alorese innovation *kanak* ‘finished’. The meanings of ‘even’ and ‘finished’ may be considered semantically close as the Malay word *genap* ‘even’ is sometimes used to say that something is ‘finished’. This Malay word, however, is not used in the Alor-Pantar region to express something that is complete; rather, the Malay form that is commonly used is *suda* ‘already’. Therefore, *genap* is not the source for the Alorese form.

The next two candidate AP loanwords in the Straits varieties are ‘small’ and ‘mud’, presented in Table 6.35.

Table 6.35: Lexical innovations in the Straits varieties (table 2 of 2)

	'small'				'mud'
PMP	*anak	[...]	*kædi	'small in size'	[...]
PFL	*anak	[...]	[...]	[...]	[...]
PWL	*ana	*kesi/*kisu	[...]	[...]	[...]
PAL	*ana ŋ	*kihu	*kari	[...]	[...]
AL-Kayang	<i>anaŋ</i>	-	-	-	<i>buta</i> -
AL-Baranusa	<i>anaŋ</i>	-	-	-	<i>buta</i> -
AL-Helangdohi	<i>anak</i>	<i>kihu?</i>	-	-	- -
AL-Wailawar	-	<i>kihu?</i>	-	-	<i>buta?</i> -
AL-Pandai	<i>anaŋ</i>	<i>kihu</i>	<i>kari</i>	-	<i>buta</i> -
AL-Bana	-	<i>kihu?</i>	-	-	- -
AL-Munaseli	<i>anaŋ</i>	<i>kihu</i>	-	-	- -
AL-Buaya	-	-	-	<b><i>kae</i></b>	- -
AL-Ternate	-	-	-	<b><i>kae</i></b>	- <b><i>bana</i></b>
AL-Alor Besar	-	-	-	<b><i>kae</i></b>	- -
AL-Alor Kecil	-	-	-	<b><i>kae</i></b>	- <b><i>bana</i></b>
AL-Dulolong	-	-	-	<b><i>kae</i></b>	- <b><i>bana</i></b>

The Alorese varieties on Pantar use three different inherited forms for the concept 'small'. There are two forms of PMP origin: *anaŋ* (< PMP \*anak) 'small' and *kari* (< PMP \*kædi 'small in size'), and one form which can only be traced back to PWL \*kesi/\*kisu 'small' > *kihu* 'small'. The sound changes \*s > \*h in PWL \*kisu > PAL \*kihu 'small' and \*d > \*r in PMP \*kædi > PAL \*kari 'small' are regular. The Straits Alorese varieties, however, have innovated a new form *kae* which suggests an external source. The reason that I do not put *kae* 'small' together with *kari* 'small' is that all the Straits varieties use the same form *kae*, and it differs from the conservative variety of Pandai which retains *kari* < PMP \*kædi 'small in size'. The word *bana* 'mud' shows no similar forms in the neighboring FL languages or in the proto languages.<sup>34</sup> These innovations are suspected to come from the AP sources listed in Table 6.36.

<sup>34</sup> Note that the word *bana* in Alorese also means 'forest'. Robinson (2015:22) proposes a relation between *bana* 'mud' and *bana* 'forest', which is an Austronesian form derived from PMP \*banua 'inhabited land'. However, as the semantic shift from 'forest' to 'mud' is not straightforward, I consider this similarity in form to be a coincidence.

Table 6.36: Possible AP sources for loanwords in the Straits varieties (table 2 of 2)

	‘small’	‘mud’
PAP	#kV <sub>k</sub> (V)in	*banaq (?)
SB-Suboo	–	fānāq
KL-Bring	keke <sub>i</sub> n	–
KB-Kabola	<b>kaʔai</b>	–
AD-Lawahing	<b>kaʔai</b>	–
AD-Otvai	<b>kaʔai</b>	–
HM-Moru	kaʔi	–
BG-Manatang	kiki	–
BG-Bama	kiki	–
BG-Tuntuli	kiki	–
BG-Warsalelang	kiki	–
BG-Pura	kiki	<b>banakuŋ</b>
RT-Ternate	–	<b>banakuŋ</b>
RT-Pura	–	<b>fana:kun</b>
KR-Kaera	kiki	–
TW-Adiabang	–	benaq
KU-Klamu	–	<b>banāqa</b>
SR-Sar	–	benaq
AL-Buaya	kae	–
AL-Ternate	kae	bana
AL-Alor Besar	kae	–
AL-Alor Kecil	kae	bana
AL-Dulolong	kae	bana

The Alorese word *kae* ‘small’ may have been borrowed from Adang *kaʔai* ‘small’. Several AP languages have similar words, and an early AP form #kV<sub>k</sub>(V)in ‘small’ may be reconstructed. The change of \*k into intervocalic -ʔ- in Adang is regular (Holton et al. 2012:94). However, the change in final -ai in Adang and Kabola remains unexplained.

For the concept ‘mud’, I propose the PAP reconstruction \*banaq because of the regular sound change of PAP initial \*b- into Abui *f* (Holton et al. 2012:93). The addition of a final syllable -uŋ in Blagar and Reta remains unclear, although similar additions of final syllables are found in the Straits Alorese varieties, where additional syllables *uŋ*, *iŋ*, and *aŋ* are attested (cf. §4.8). Straits Alorese varieties apparently borrowed *bana* ‘mud’ from either Blagar or Reta, as these

language have the most similar form.

In conclusion, in this section I have discussed five AP loanwords in the Straits varieties of Alorese. Adang, Blagar, and Reta are likely to be donor languages for the Alorese words *reha* ‘monitor lizard’, *tou* ‘to bury’, *kanaj* ‘finished’, *kae* ‘small’ and *bana* ‘mud’. These loanwords belong to the semantic domains of animals, the body, sense perception, and the physical world. These exclusively shared lexical innovations in the Straits varieties could also be taken as additional evidence for a lower level subgroup within Alorese, namely Straits Alorese (cf. § 5.7).

#### 6.5.1.6 AP loanwords in the Alor Peninsula varieties

There is only one AP loanword found in the Alor Peninsula varieties, namely the word for root, as displayed in Table 6.37.

Table 6.37: AP loanword in the Alor Peninsula varieties

	‘root’
PMP	*Ramut
PFL	*ramut
PWL	*ramut
PAL	*ramu?
AL-Kayang	<i>ramu</i>
AL-Beang	<i>ramu?</i>
AL-Baranusa	<i>ramu?</i>
AL-Helangdohi	<i>ramu?</i>
AL-Wailawar	<i>ramu?</i>
AL-Pandai	<i>ramu</i>
AL-Bana	<i>ramu?</i>
AL-Munaseli	<i>ramu?</i>
AL-Ternate	<i>rambuk uŋ</i>
AL-Buaya	<i>rambuk uŋ</i>
AL-Alor Besar	<i>rambuk uŋ</i>
AL-Alor Kecil	– <b><i>aliŋ</i></b>
AL-Dulolong	– <b><i>aliŋ</i></b>

The majority of the Alorese varieties use an inherited form *ramu?* (< PMP \*Ramut ‘root’). PFL final \*-t > ? in Alorese is regular. The highlighted form *aliŋ* is

an innovation in Alor Kecil and Dulolong. The possible AP sources for this loanword are listed in Table 6.38.

Table 6.38: Possible AP sources for the loanword in the Alor peninsula varieties

	'root'
PAP	*(h)ali(kaŋ)
SB-Suboo	<i>ali:</i>
PN-Papuna	<i>ali:</i>
KM-Atoitaa	<i>ali:</i>
KF-Kafoa	<i>ili:kaŋ</i>
AB-Fuimelang	<i>bata ai</i>
AB-Ulaga	<i>ai</i>
AD-Lawahing	<b><i>ali?iŋ</i></b>
AD-Otvai	<b><i>ali?aŋ</i></b>
KB-Kabola	<b><i>hali?iŋ</i></b>
HM-Moru	<b><i>aliaŋ</i></b>
KU-Klamu	<i>al:i</i>
AL-Alor Kecil	<i>aliŋ</i>
AL-Dulolong	<i>aliŋ</i>

The PAP reconstruction \*(h)ali(kaŋ) 'root' is proposed based on the cognate set given in the table. The PAP intervocalic \*-l- is retained unchanged in all modern-day AP languages, as expected (Holton et al. 2012:94). Here, however, an unexpected loss of intervocalic *l* is attested in Abui. It seems that Alorese borrowed the word *aliŋ* 'root' from Adang, Kabola, or Hamap. These languages are located close to the Alor Peninsula varieties. Among these languages, Adang is most likely to be the donor. The Lawahing word *ali?iŋ* is the most similar to Alorese *aliŋ* 'root'. It is likely that Alorese borrowed the word from Lawahing and dropped the ? in the process.

#### 6.5.1.7 Summary of AP loanwords in Alorese

To conclude this section, I summarize all AP loans in Alorese, aiming to additionally shed light on which group of Alorese varieties have borrowed the most AP forms and which group of varieties the least. In addition, this summary aims to identify out the main AP donor language(s) and whether this varies according to the group of Alorese varieties concerned (cf. Table 6.16). Table 6.39 provides an overview.

Table 6.39: Overview of the AP loanwords in Alorese

Alorese varieties	Concept	Likely AP source(s)
Loanwords reconstruct- able to Proto-Alorese (PAL)	‘ten’	Reta, Klon
	‘younger sibling’	Blagar, Teiwa, Kaera
	‘heart’	Blagar
	‘to close’	Blagar, Kui
	‘angry’	Blagar, Kaera
	‘dirty’	Blagar, Teiwa
	‘taro’	Blagar, Reta, Adang
Pantar	‘road’	Western Pantar, Kaera, Deing
	‘to wash’	Western Pantar, Reta
Northeast Pantar	‘rattan’	N/A (cf. §6.5.1.3)
	‘fish trap’	Blagar, Teiwa
	‘to fold’	Blagar
	‘to pull’	Blagar
	‘coral rock’	Blagar, Klon
	‘garden’	Blagar
	‘digging stick’	Blagar, Reta
Northeast Pantar and Alor Peninsula	‘bed, raised platform’	Blagar, Reta, Western Pantar
	‘adultery’	Blagar, Reta
Straits	‘monitor lizard’	Blagar
	‘to bury’	Blagar
	‘finish’	Blagar
	‘small’	Adang, Kabola
	‘mud’	Blagar, Reta, Klamu
Alor Peninsula	‘root’	Adang, Hamap

Based on the evidence provided in the table, I conclude that there are two groups that have the most AP loanwords: specifically, loanwords that can be reconstructed to PAL and loanwords attested in the geographic group of Northeast Pantar. The other subgroupings, such as Pantar, Straits, and the lower subgroup, Alor Peninsula, show relatively small numbers of AP loanwords. Two subgroupings, namely West Pantar and Islands, do not have any exclusive loanwords from AP languages. This AP loanword distribution offers support for the proposal that the Alorese homeland is the northeast Pantar area, and that



this is thus where Alorese first came into contact with (an) AP language(s).

The AP donor languages are mainly languages spoken around the Strait of Pantar. Many words come from Blagar, making it the main donor language of AP loans in Alorese. That Blagar is as the dominant donor comes as no surprise, since Alorese and Blagar have a close, historical relationship. Both communities are bound in a century-old sociopolitical alliance, called *Galiyao Watang Lema* (§1.4.3). The second-most common putative donor language is Reta. However, unlike Blagar, which has a straightforward role as a donor language to Alorese, the role of Reta is not as obvious. This is because the Retanese people live in almost inaccessible villages surrounded by thorny bushes for protection, resulting in isolation (Willemsen, 2020, 2021:54). It is likely that the similarities between Alorese and Reta are not a result of borrowing between the two languages. Thus, Reta is not likely the main source for loanwords in Alorese.

Other AP languages around the Straits that have also contributed AP loanwords to Alorese are Adang, Klön, and Kaera. The contribution of these languages varies according to the Alorese subgroup in question. Adang is more likely to be the donor of loanwords found in the Straits and Alor Peninsula varieties, while Klön is more likely the donor for loanwords found both in Northeast Pantar and Alor Peninsula varieties. Kaera probably had one of the earliest contacts with Alorese, because almost all loans from Kaera can be reconstructed to PAL.

A number of languages including Western Pantar and Deing are donors only for Alorese varieties spoken on Pantar. With regard to the role of Sar and Klamu, these are not primary donor languages but rather happened to have words similar to Alorese and another AP language that acted as a donor language to Alorese. The fact that none of loanwords can be reconstructed to PAL can be traced to languages spoken in the western part of Pantar adds further support for the view that PAL did not originate in west Pantar.

### 6.5.2 Loans from Malay

Malay loanwords in Alorese indicate contact with people from other parts of Indonesia. These could be people from Kupang who have had in contact with the Alorese, and who speak Bazaar Malay (Adelaar & Prentice, 1996: 675). They could also be people from the Moluccas (Indonesian: *Maluku*) who spread Islam through the coastal Alorese communities in the sixteenth century. The Malay language is presumed to have been the lingua franca in the Indonesian archipelago at that time (Paauw, 2009:2).

A market in Bana (located in northeastern Pantar) and a port in Alor Kecil (located on the Alor Peninsula) were gateways for traders from overseas to come into contact with the coastal Alorese people (cf. §3.4.3). The market in Bana existed since the times of the Munaseli Kingdom (around the fifteenth century). The traders from overseas may have brought Malay loanwords into Alorese. Furthermore, the Islamic preachers from the Moluccas may also have brought Malay words. In addition, the existence of an emerging Malay variety in the local Alor Regency, called Alor Malay, may have also influenced the Alorese lexicon. Table 6.40 contains examples of Malay loanwords in Alorese. The examples of Malay loans in Alorese that occur in at least one Alorese variety. The loanwords are presented by geographic subgroup, namely West, Northeast, Islands, and Peninsula.

Table 6.40: Examples of Malay loanwords in Alorese

Meaning in Malay	Malay words	Meaning in Alorese	West	Northeast	Islands	Peninsula
'(rice) field'	<i>sawah</i>		<i>sawa</i>	<i>sawa</i>	<i>safa</i>	<i>safa</i>
'a while'	<i>sebentar</i>		<i>səbəntar</i>	<i>sabantar</i>	–	–
'very'	<i>sekali</i>	'all'	<i>sakali</i>	<i>sakali</i>	<i>sakali</i>	<i>sakali</i>
'baby'	<i>bayi</i>	'child'	<i>bi-</i>	<i>bai</i>	–	–
'burden stick'	<i>lalepak</i>		–	<i>ləplepa?</i>	–	<i>kəlapaŋ</i>
'butterfly'	<i>kupu-kupu</i>		–	<i>kupu-kupu</i>	–	<i>pupu</i>
'canoe'	<i>sampan</i>		–	–	<i>sampa</i>	–
'clock'	<i>jam</i>		<i>dʒam</i>	<i>dʒam</i>	<i>dʒam</i>	<i>dʒam</i>
'clothes'	<i>pakaian</i>		<i>pakiaŋ</i>	<i>pakian</i>	<i>pakiaŋ</i>	<i>pakiaŋ</i>
'cup'	<i>cangkir</i>		–	<i>sangkir</i>	–	–
'dance'	<i>ronggeng</i>		–	<i>roŋge</i>	–	<i>roŋge</i>
'dawn'	<i>subuh</i>		<i>subuh</i>	<i>subuh</i>	<i>subuh</i>	<i>subuh</i>
'earring'	<i>anting</i>		<i>anti</i>	<i>anti</i>	<i>anti</i>	<i>anti</i>
'earth'	<i>bumi</i>		<i>bumi</i>	<i>bumi</i>	–	<i>bumi</i>
'enemy'	<i>musuh</i>		<i>musuh</i>	<i>musuh</i>	<i>mosu</i>	–
'front'	<i>muka</i>		–	<i>muka</i>	–	–
'glass cup'	<i>gelas</i>		–	<i>gelasa</i>	–	–
'guts'	<i>usus</i>		<i>usus</i>	–	–	–
'handsome'	<i>gagah</i>	'beautiful'	–	<i>gaga</i>	–	–
'human'	<i>manusia</i>	'person'	<i>mansia</i>	<i>mansia</i>	<i>mansia</i>	<i>mansia</i>
'if'	<i>kalau</i>		<i>kalaw</i>	<i>kalo</i>	<i>kalau</i>	<i>kalo</i>
'island'	<i>pulau</i>		–	<i>pulo</i>	<i>pulaw</i>	<i>pulaw</i>

Meaning in Malay	Malay words	Meaning in Alorese	West	Northeast	Islands	Peninsula
'law'	<i>hukum</i>		-	<i>hukuŋ</i>	-	<i>hukuŋ</i>
'lazy'	<i>malas</i>		<i>malas</i>	<i>malas</i>	<i>pəmalasa</i>	<i>pəmalasa</i>
'left (side)'	<i>kiri</i>		-	<i>kiri</i>	-	<i>kiri</i>
'magic'	<i>sihir</i>		-	<i>seher</i>	-	-
'mirror'	<i>kaca</i>		-	<i>kasa</i>	-	-
'older sibling'	<i>kakak</i>		-	<i>kakaŋ</i>	<i>kakaŋ</i>	<i>kakaŋ</i>
'peaceful'	<i>damai</i>		-	<i>dame</i>	-	-
'to bless'	<i>berkat</i>		-	<i>beraka</i>	-	-
'to breathe'	<i>napas</i>		<i>napas</i>	-	-	-
'to dance'	<i>joget</i>		-	<i>ɖʒoged</i>	-	-
'to forgive'	<i>ampun</i>		-	-	-	<i>ampo</i>
'to get'	<i>dapat</i>		-	<i>dapa</i>	-	-
'to help'	<i>bantu</i>		<i>bantu</i>	<i>bantu</i>	-	-
'to let go	<i>lepas</i>		<i>lepasa</i>	<i>lepas</i>	<i>lapasa</i>	<i>ləpasa</i>
'to lick'	<i>jilat</i>		-	<i>dila</i>	-	-
'to measure'	<i>ukur</i>		<i>ukur</i>	<i>ukur</i>	<i>ukur</i>	<i>ukur</i>
'to pray'	<i>sembayang</i>		<i>sabeaŋ</i>	<i>səbeaŋ</i>	<i>səbeaŋ</i>	<i>sə(m)beaŋ</i>
'to pull'	<i>tarik</i>		<i>tare(k)</i>	<i>təre(k)</i>	<i>tare</i>	<i>tare</i>
'to read'	<i>baca</i>		-	<i>basa</i>	-	-
'to remember'	<i>ingat</i>	'to think'	<i>iŋa</i>	-	<i>iŋa</i>	<i>iŋa</i>
'to teach'	<i>ajar</i>		-	-	-	<i>aɖʒara</i>
'to trade'	<i>dagang</i>		-	<i>dagang</i>	-	-
'to turn'	<i>belok</i>		<i>belok</i>	<i>belok</i>	<i>beloʔ</i>	<i>belo</i>
'treaty'	<i>belabaja</i>		-	<i>belabaɖʒa</i>	-	<i>belabaɖʒa</i>
'veil'	<i>tudung</i>		-	<i>tudung</i>	-	-
'spear'	<i>rapang</i>		-	<i>rapaŋ</i>	-	<i>rapaŋ</i>
'stupid'	<i>bodoh</i>		-	<i>bodoh</i>	-	-
'WC'	<i>jamban</i>		-	<i>jamba</i>	-	-

The Malay word for 'dawn', *subuh*, is possibly a recent loan, because PAL does not allow final *-h*. In the word *kalaw* 'if' found in the west group, the final *-w* (which may also be realized as voiced fricative [v]) comes from final *-u* > *-w*. The loanword for 'lazy' found in the Islands and Peninsula groups includes the Malay prefix *pe-* which indicates the person who carries out a certain action. When there is a voiceless palatal c [tʃ] in Malay, it always becomes *s* in Alorese, as in *sangkir* (< *cangkir*) 'cup' and *basa* (< *baca*) 'to read'.

### 6.5.3 Loans from Portuguese

Six Portuguese loanwords are attested in Alorese, which are listed in Table 6.41.

Table 6.41: Portuguese loanwords in Alorese

	Portuguese	West	Northeast	Islands	Peninsula
'hour'	<i>hora</i>	–	<i>oras</i>	–	–
'window'	<i>janela</i>	<i>ɖzenela</i>	<i>ɖzenela</i>	<i>ɖzenela</i>	<i>ɖʒanela</i>
'closet'	<i>armário</i>	<i>lɔmari</i>	<i>lɔmari</i>	<i>lɔmari</i>	<i>lɔmari</i>
'machete'	<i>espada</i>	<i>peda</i>	<i>pedaʔ</i>	–	<i>peda</i>
'tobacco'	<i>tabaco</i>	–	–	–	<i>tabako</i>
'chair'	<i>cadeira</i>	<i>kandera</i>	<i>kandera</i>	<i>kɔdera</i>	<i>kadera</i>

The Portuguese loanwords for 'window' and 'closet' look similar to the Malay equivalents, *jendela* 'window' and *lemari* 'closet'; it is possible that they entered Alorese through Malay.

### 6.5.4 Loans from Dutch

Five Dutch loanwords are attested in Alorese, shown in Table 6.42. The Dutch word *bultzak* refers to the type of bed made of the cloth usually found inside sailing ships ('ship mattress'). It is important to note, however, that these Dutch words may not have entered Alorese directly from Dutch; rather they may have entered Alorese through Malay or the local Alor Malay variety.

Table 6.42: Dutch loanwords in Alorese

	Dutch	West	Northeast	Islands	Peninsula
'to give/take over'	<i>over</i>	–	<i>oper</i>	–	–
'raised platform'	<i>bultzak</i>	<i>kolsa</i>	<i>boslak</i>	<i>bosla</i>	<i>kolosae</i>
'to count'	<i>rekenen</i>	<i>rekeng</i>	<i>rekeng</i>	<i>rekeng</i>	<i>rekeng</i>
'biscuit'	<i>beschuit</i>		<i>biskui</i>		
'free; detached'	<i>los</i>	–	<i>los</i>	–	–

## 6.6 Alorese as a donor language

In this section, I discuss the role of Alorese as donor to the AP languages. I have found evidence for twenty-seven loanwords that have entered the AP languages through contact with Alorese; these appear to have been borrowed by the AP languages after PAL split from WL, as will be shown below. Ancient Austronesian loanwords in AP languages that can be traced back to Proto-Alor-Pantar are not included, because the borrowing therefore did not involve Alorese.<sup>35</sup> Also excluded are loanwords from Flores-Lembata languages that entered AP languages before the split of Alorese from PWL.<sup>36</sup> The recipient AP languages are therefore mostly those spoken in proximity to Alorese varieties.

In the following sections, I present Alorese loanwords attested in more than one AP language (§6.6.1), followed by Alorese loanwords attested only in Blagar (§6.6.2), only in Reta (§6.6.3), and only in Teiwa (§6.6.4).

### 6.6.1 Alorese loanwords attested in more than one AP language

In this section, I discuss fourteen Alorese loanwords that are found in several AP languages. Below, I present examples and discuss the evidence that the forms are inherited in Alorese and are borrowed into AP. Table 6.43 contains the first three concepts.

Table 6.43: Alorese loanwords found in AP languages (table 1 of 5)

	PFL	PAL	AP languages
'breast'	*(t)usu	*tuho	AD-Lawahing <i>toʔ</i> , AD-Otvai <i>tə</i> , BG-Bama <i>tu.</i> , KR-Kaera <i>tu.</i>
'crocodile'	#bəpap	*bapa	BG-Bakalang <i>bapa</i> , BG-Manatang <i>bapa</i> , BG-Bama <i>bapa</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>bapaʔ</i> , BG-Nule <i>bapa</i> , BG-Tuntuli <i>bapa</i> , BG-Pura <i>bapa</i> , RT-Pura <i>bapa</i> , RT-Hula <i>bapa</i>
'to wipe'	*hapu	*hapo	BG-Bakalang <i>hapo</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>hapo</i> , BG-Nule <i>hapo</i> , RT-Pura <i>hapə</i> , RT-Hula <i>hapə</i> , KR-Kaera <i>apo</i>

<sup>35</sup> Examples are PAP \*is(i) 'fruit', \*bali 'axe' (Holton et al. 2012:115).

<sup>36</sup> Examples are PFL \*layar > Teiwa *yar* 'sail' (not from PAL \*ladza 'sail'; entered before PAL changed \*y > \*dʒ), PFL \*sala > Kabola *asala* 'wrong' (not from PAL \*hala 'wrong'; entered before PAL changed \*s > \*h), and Proto-Lamaholot (PLH) #dani 'to hit' > Sar, Teiwa, WP *dani* 'hour' (not from PAL \*dane 'hour'; entered before PAL changed \*i > \*e); Blagar *buraj*, Alorese *wuraj* 'lungs'; PMP \*baRaq 'lungs' entered Blagar before Alorese changed PMP initial \*b- into w.

PAL \*tuho ‘breast’ goes back to PFL \*(t)usu (< PMP \*susu ‘breast’). It seems that Adang, Blagar, and Kaera borrowed *to?*, *tu.*, and *tu.* ‘breast’ respectively from Alorese. The Adang addition of a final glottal stop (in *to?*) seems to be regular, as it also happens in other loanwords in Adang, such as *?ahala?* < PAL \*hala ‘wrong’ and *bihi?* < pre-Alorese \*bese (Robinson, 2015:23) < PAL \*behe ‘to hit’. In Blagar and Kaera, the PAL ultimate syllable is dropped which results in a lengthened final vowel.

The PAL reconstruction \*bapa ‘crocodile’ goes back to FL #bəpap ‘crocodile’. This form is attested across languages in Central Lembata, Kedang, and Western Lamaholot (Fricke, 2019:448). It seems that Blagar and Reta borrowed *bapa* from Alorese, since similar forms are attested across the Alorese varieties. In this case, no significant sound change has taken place, except an additional final glottal stop in Kulijahi *bapa?* ‘crocodile’ which is regular in the Blagar varieties, e.g. Bama *ele* ~ Kulijahi *le?* ‘big’ and Bama *we* ~ Kulijahi *uwe?* ‘blood’. This loanword has also been mentioned in Robinson (2015:24) as having of a less certain direction of borrowing. However, since the form *bapa* is not widespread in the AP languages, I propose that it is an Alorese loanword in Blagar and Reta.

The PAL reconstruction \*hapo (< PFL \*hapu) ‘to wipe’ is borrowed into Blagar, Reta, Teiwa, and Sar. In Blagar and Reta, no significant sound change is attested in the loanwords, except a change in the final back rounded vowel ə. In both Blagar and Reta, similar sound correspondences of o and ə are seen in other forms, such as Kulijahi *molo* ~ Reta *mələ* ‘correct’ and Kulijahi *moro* ~ Reta *mərə* ‘dust’.

Table 6.44 contains the next three Alorese loanwords in AP languages, which correspond to the concepts ‘whale’, ‘to blow’, and ‘to say’.

Table 6.44: Alorese loanwords found in AP languages (table 2 of 5)

	PFL	PAL	AP languages
‘whale’	#kəraru/ kəlaru	*kəlaru	KM-Kiramang <i>kalar</i> , KL-Hopter <i>kəlar</i> , BG-Bakalang <i>klaru</i> , BG-Bama <i>kalaru</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>klaru</i> , BG-Nule <i>kəlaru</i> , BG-Tuntuli <i>qalaru</i> , BG-Warsalelang <i>xalaru</i> , BG-Pura <i>kalaru</i>
‘to blow’	#puit (?)	*pui?	AD-Otvai <i>apu</i> , BG-Bakalang <i>opu</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>up:u?</i> , BG-Nule <i>upu</i> , DE-Deing <i>pui</i> , HM-Moru <i>apu</i> , KL-Hopter <i>pu</i> , BG-Pura <i>apu</i> , TW-Lebang <i>pui</i> , TW-Nule <i>puy</i> , SR-Sar <i>pu:i</i>
‘to say’	*tutur	*tutu	BG-Bakalang <i>tutuk</i> , BG-Manatang <i>tutuk</i> , BG-Bama <i>tutuk</i> , BG-Nule <i>tutuk</i> , BG-Warsalelang <i>tutuk</i> , BG-Pura <i>vej tutuk</i> , RT-Ternate <i>u tutuk</i> , RT-Hula <i>tutuk</i> , KR-Kaera <i>tutuk</i>

The lexeme *kəlaru* ‘whale’ is found across Alorese, and is attested in Lamalera (a coastal Western-Lamaholot variety), as well as several coastal AP languages, namely Kiramang, Klon, and Blagar. It is unlikely that the word *kəlaru* is of ancient Austronesian origin given that the majority of the Flores-Lembata languages do not have a form related to *kəlaru*; instead, they use the Malay word *paus* ‘whale’ or the Central Lamaholot form *tə'mus/təm'hu* ‘whale’. In Lamalera, *kəlaru* refers specifically to blue whale. According to local tradition, *kəlaru* is a type of whale that it is forbidden to hunt (Anonymous, 2015). Van Lynden (in Barnes, 1996:328) mentions the name *keraru* or *kəlaru* as a type of sea animal from which the Solorese people (possibly refer to the Lamalera people) took oil which they then sold to the people of Timor. This description leads to the conclusion that the term *kəlaru* ‘whale’ is of WL origin and inherited from PAL \**kəlaru*. This form is then borrowed into Blagar, Klon, and Kiramang from Alorese.

For the concept ‘to blow’, similar forms are attested in PAL \**pui?* (< Flores-Lembata; FL #*puit* ‘to blow’) and several AP languages. The direction of borrowing is likely from Alorese into AP languages, given that (1) the form is an inherited Flores-Lembata form, since similar words are found in Eastern Lamaholot (*pui*, *pu*), Western Lamaholot (*puit*, *puis*), and Kedang (*pui?*); and (2) the regular sound change \*-t > Alorese -ʔ is attested. All the AP languages that use forms from the lexeme set *pui* ‘to blow’ are located close to Alorese. Adang, Blagar, Klon, and Hamap are close to the Straits Alorese varieties, while Teiwa and Sar are close to the Alorese varieties spoken on Pantar.

The PAL reconstruction \*tutu ‘to say’ goes back to PFL \*tutur (< PMP \*tutuR ‘to speak’), while several AP languages have similar forms, including Blagar *vej tutuk*, Reta *u tutuk*, and Kaera *tutuk*. In Blagar, *vej-* means ‘about’; *vej-tutuk* ‘speak about’ (lit. ‘about speak’). The prefix *vej-* has been analyzed as indirect relationally or indirect relatedness prefix (Steinhauer, 2014:200). In addition, the *u=* in Reta has been analyzed as a productive applicative proclitic in the language (Willemsen, 2021). It is likely that these AP languages borrowed *tutu* from Alorese and added a final plosive *k* (giving *tutuk* ‘to say’). A similar addition of final *k* is also seen in another Alorese loanword in Blagar and Kaera, *kopok* < Alorese *kipe* < PAL \*kipe? ‘narrow’ (< PFL \*kiput < PMP \*kiput ‘narrow’).

Table 6.45 contains Alorese loanwords in AP languages corresponding to the concepts ‘tinea’, ‘rope’, and ‘narrow’.

Table 6.45: Alorese loanwords found in AP languages (table 3 of 5)

	PFL	PAL	AP languages
‘tinea’	*mpanau	*mənao	BG-Nule <i>mənaʷ</i> , BG-Tuntuli <i>banaw</i> , BG-Warsalelang <i>banau</i> , KM-Klamu <i>manu</i> , TW-Lebang <i>manai</i> , SR-Sar <i>manai</i> , RT-Hula <i>manau</i>
‘rope’	*tali	*tale	DE-Deing <i>tar</i> , TW-Teiwa <i>tar</i> , SR-Sar <i>tar</i>
‘narrow’	*kiput	*kipe?	BG-Bama <i>kopok</i> , KR-Kaera <i>kopok</i> , RT-Pura <i>kipe</i> , RT-Hula <i>kipe</i>

The PAL reconstruction \*mənao ‘tinea’ goes back to PFL \*mpanau (< PMP \*panaw ‘tinea’). It is very likely that the AP languages given in Table 6.45 borrowed the forms from Alorese because the forms cannot be reconstructed to PAP. The initial *m* and *b* correspondence in Blagar is irregular. In addition, AP languages that have a form similar to *mənao* are spoken close to Alorese. In Teiwa and Sar, the change of final vowel *u* into *i* is probably regular because a similar change is seen in another (possibly early) Austronesian loanword for ‘needle’, namely Alorese *batul* ~ Teiwa *bati* and Sar *bitai* ‘needle’.

Words going back to PAL \*tale (< PFL \*tali < PMP \*talih) ‘rope’ are also likely to have been borrowed into Teiwa, Deing and Sar. Robinson (2015:23) also suggests that this loanword has an Alorese origin. The other AP languages have different forms that can be reconstructed to Proto-Alor-Pantar \*sil ‘rope’.



The PAL reconstruction \*kipeʔ ‘narrow’ goes back to PFL \*kiput (< PMP \*kiput); PFL final \*-t > PAL final \*-ʔ is regular. PAL \*kipeʔ is borrowed into Blagar and Kaera as *kopok* and into Reta as *kipe* ‘narrow’. No significant sound change is found in the borrowing into Reta. However, the change of the front-unrounded vowels *i* and *e* into the back rounded vowel *o* in Blagar and Kaera is unexplained because no similar change is attested in other Alorese loanwords in these languages.

Table 6.46 contains the next three Alorese loanwords found in AP languages.

Table 6.46: Alorese loanwords found in AP languages (table 4 of 5)

	PFL	PAL	Alor-Pantar languages
‘tall’	#blolo	*balolo k	RT-Pura <i>balolu</i> , RT-Hula <i>balolu</i> BG-Manatang <i>balolu</i>
‘to push’	#tobaŋ	*tobaŋ	BG-Bakalang <i>tobaŋ</i> , BG-Bama <i>gotobaŋ</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>tobaŋ</i> , BG-Pura <i>atobaŋ</i> , KR-Kaera <i>gotobuŋ</i> , RT-Pura <i>tomba</i> , WP-Tubbe <i>dub:a</i> , DE-Deing <i>doba</i>
‘shy’	*meya	*maniaŋ	BG-Bakalang <i>miniaŋ</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>māniaŋ</i> , KI-Labaing <i>manian</i> , WP-Tubbe <i>maniaŋ</i> , TW-Lebang <i>manian</i> , TW-Nule <i>meniya:ŋ</i> , SR-Sar <i>maniaŋ</i> , RT-Pura <i>maniaŋ</i> , RT-Hula <i>maniaŋ</i>

The PAL reconstruction \*balolo|k ‘tall’ goes back to Lamaholot #blolo. Similar forms are found in AP languages, such as Reta *balolu* and Blagar *balolu* ‘tall’. Since Blagar and Reta are located close to the Straits Alorese varieties, it is very likely that these forms are of Alorese origin. No significant sound change is attested in these loanwords. Robinson (2015:23) also suggests that the Alorese word *balolo* is borrowed into Blagar and Reta.

For the concept ‘to push’, the PAL reconstruction \*tobaŋ ‘to push’ goes back to Lamaholot #tobaŋ ‘to push’ (Fricke, 2019:508; Robinson, 2015:23). There is a semantic shift within FL languages, whereby the form *tobaŋ* has the meaning ‘to fall (from above)’ in Central Lamaholot and two other WL varieties, namely Adonara and Lewoingu. Based on the data presented in the table, I conclude that several AP languages, namely Blagar, Kaera, Deing, and Western Pantar borrowed the form *tobaŋ/tobuŋ/tomba/doba* ‘to push’ from Alorese. Within these

AP languages, no regular sound correspondences are attested. Initial *d* in Deing and Western Pantar is unexpected because PAP initial \**t-* is retained unchanged in these languages. These irregularities indicate that the form is not inherited in the AP languages. Since the AP languages that have forms similar to Alorese *tobaj* are spoken in close proximity to Alorese, I suggest that that the forms are borrowed from Alorese *tobaj* ‘to push’.

The PAL reconstruction \**maniarj* ‘shy’ goes back to PWL \**mia* (< PFL \**meya* < PMP \**ma|həyaq* ‘shy; ashamed’). Since these forms are attested in the AP languages that are located close to Alorese, it is likely that the AP forms similar to PAL \**maniarj* are borrowed from Alorese.

Table 6.47 contains Alorese loanwords in AP languages for the concepts ‘field’ and ‘mosque’.

Table 6.47: Alorese loanwords found in AP languages (table 5 of 5)

	PFL	PAL	AP languages
‘field’	[...]	* <i>lata</i>	AD-Otvai <i>laʔ</i> , KI-Labaing <i>lat</i> , RT-Pura <i>la:t pare:hi</i> ,
‘mosque’	[...]	# <i>uma sigi</i>	AD-Otvai <i>?uma sigi</i> , RT-Pura <i>umasigi</i> , RT-Hula <i>umasigi</i>

The PAL reconstruction \**lata* ‘field’ does not go back to any ancestral forms nor is it attested in the sister Flores-Lembata languages. However, a similar word *latarj* ‘rice field’ is attested in Kambara (spoken on Sumba). This form is also similar to a Malay word *ladarj* ‘field’. The AP forms *laʔ* in Adang, *lat* in Kui, and *la:t* in Pura are more likely Alorese loanwords with a loss of final vowel *a* as they also do not go back to an AP ancestor.

The word for ‘mosque’ probably entered Alorese when Islam was introduced to the coastal Alorese community in the fifteenth century, brought by preachers from the Moluccas (Aizid, 2016; Karim, 2007). The form *uma sigi* is found in all Alorese varieties. Alorese uses an inherited form *uma* (< PFL \**?uma* < PMP \**Rumaq*) ‘house’ combined with the word *sigi* (from Arabic source via the Moluccan Islamic preachers).<sup>37</sup> The AP languages that have similar forms are Adang (*?uma sigi*) and Reta (*umasigi*). Therefore, Adang and Reta are likely to

<sup>37</sup> Similar words for ‘mosque’ are attested in several languages in eastern Indonesia, such as *sigi* in west Flores languages (Komodo, Manggarai, and Bima), *masigi* in Tolaki (Southeast Sulawesi) and *masikit* in Buru, Geser-Gorom, Batuley, Uruangnirin, Kalamang (spoken in southeast Maluku and West Papua; Kaiping et al. 2019).

have borrowed these forms from Alorese.<sup>38</sup>

In conclusion, in this section I have presented fourteen Alorese loanwords that are found in several Alor-Pantar languages. Among the recipient AP languages, the languages Blagar, Adang, Reta and Teiwa have borrowed the most Alorese words. These AP languages are located close to coastal areas and to the Alorese speaking communities. The loanwords comprise verbs ('to wipe', 'to blow', 'to say', and 'to push'); adjectives ('narrow' and 'shy'); nouns, related to cultural items ('rope' and 'mosque'); the body ('breast' and 'tinea'); animals ('crocodile' and 'whale'); and agriculture ('field').

### 6.6.2 Alorese loanwords attested only in Blagar

Historically, the speakers of Blagar have sociocultural ties with the speakers of Alorese due to a political alliance, named *Galiyao Watang Lema* (Gomang, 1993). The alliance involves three Alorese kingdoms (Pandai, Baranusa, and Bungabali) and two Alor-Pantar kingdoms (Blagar and Kui; cf. §3.4.4). This alliance may be several generations old, going back to the expansion of the Pandai Kingdom to Alor.

Here, I discuss Alorese loanwords attested only in Blagar, which is spoken in several pockets along the east coast of Pantar and on Pura Island (Figure 6.3). There are eight Blagar varieties documented, listed in

Table 6.5 (cf. §6.4.1). The majority of these varieties are spoken in the northeast Pantar area, with the exception of Pura, which is spoken on Pura Island, and of Nule, which is spoken in southeastern Pantar. Table 6.48 lists Alorese words that are borrowed exclusively into Blagar.

---

<sup>38</sup> Note that in Blagar, there is also a word for 'mosque' *masikit*. This word is possibly not from Alorese, but could have been borrowed directly from an external source because it has final *t* as seen in languages in southeast Maluku and West Papua. This scenario is possible given that several coastal Muslim communities are also found in Blagar (Gomang, 1993:50).

Table 6.48: Alorese loanwords attested only in Blagar

	PFL	PAL	Blagar varieties
‘flea’	*təməla	*tamela	BG-Nule <i>təmela</i> , BG-Bama <i>təpela</i>
	[...]	#məre	BG-Pura <i>məra</i>
‘to fold’	*ləpət	*ləpeʔ	BG-Bakalang <i>lepet</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>lepet</i> , BG-Nule <i>lepet</i>
‘frog’	LH #kəmətor	*mato	BG-Bakalang <i>moto</i> , BG-Nule <i>moto</i>
‘burden stick’	*leba	*kə ləpa ŋ	BG-Warsalelang <i>kəlepa</i> , BG-Bama <i>kaləŋ</i>
‘mud’	LH-KD #bota(n) ‘sand’	*butaʔ	BG-Bakalang <i>buta</i> , BG-Bama <i>buta</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>wutaʔ om</i>
	[...]	*kəlili	BG-Bakalang <i>kaliliŋ</i> , BG-Bama <i>qaqil</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>kaliliŋ</i> , BG-Nule <i>kaliliŋ</i> , BG-Tuntuli <i>kaliliŋ</i> , BG-Manatang <i>xaliliŋ</i>
‘branch’	[...]	*kəraŋak	BG-Kulijahi <i>tei kraŋga</i> , BG-Nule <i>tei kəraŋa</i>
‘deaf’	[...]	*kəmukek	BG-Nule <i>kmuke</i>

PAL \*tamela ‘flea’ goes back to PFL \*təməla ‘flea’ (< PMP \*qatiməla ‘flea’). Nule borrowed *təmela* from Alor Besar *tamela*. In Bama, the change of intervocalic *m* to *p* in *təpela* is sporadic because no similar sound change is attested within the Blagar varieties. In addition, a Blagar word *məra* ‘flea’ is also suspected to have been borrowed from Munaseli *məre* ‘flea’. This Munaseli form may also be related to other reflexes of PMP \*qatiməla though irregularly.

PAL forms for ‘to fold’ and ‘frog’ also go back to early forms, such as PAL \*ləpeʔ ‘to fold’ < PFL \*ləpət (PFL \*-t > PAL \*-ʔ is regular). The fact that Blagar retains the final *t* indicates that the borrowing took place at an early stage; possibly before Alorese changed the PFL sound into a glottal stop, or perhaps at an even earlier stage. PAL \*mato ‘frog’ goes back to LH #kəmətor ‘frog’. This form is borrowed into Blagar as *moto* ‘frog’. The change of the Alorese vowel *a* into Blagar *o* is also seen in other Alorese loans into Blagar, such as Blagar *bololu* < PAL \*balolu ‘tall’.

PAL \*kə|ləpa|ŋ ‘burden stick’ goes back to PFL \*leba (< Proto-Central-Malayo-Polynesian; PCMP \*ləmba). The Blagar words *kəlepa* and *kaləŋ* have initial *k* which come from PAL \*kə-. In addition, Blagar varieties that use these

forms are located in northeastern Pantar, close to the Straits varieties of Alorese. In Warsalelang, no phonemic change is attested, but in Bama, the intervocalic plosive *p* is dropped.

Blagar has also borrowed *buta* ‘mud’ from Alorese *buta* (< PAL \**buta*?), which goes back to Lamaholot-Kedang #*bota*(n) ‘sand’. The Blagar varieties Bakalang and Bama have not made any significant phonological changes to the word; meanwhile in Kulijahi the initial *b* has become *w*, as seen in *wuta? om* ‘mud’. This change is irregular within the Blagar language, suggesting that the word is indeed a borrowing. The suffix *-om* means ‘over there’ (Steinhauer & Gomang, 2016:219).

No higher-level reconstructions have yet been made for the PAL form \**kəlili* ‘butterfly’. However, similar forms are found in several Austronesian languages, namely Central Lamaholot *kəbu kal*, Manggarai *kakel* (spoken in west Flores), Waerana *kakel* (spoken in west Flores), Waima’a *lili baka* (spoken on Timor), and Naueti *liliboka* (spoken on Timor). Moreover, although no similar forms are attested in the other AP languages, but in Makasae (spoken on Timor) a form *lili baka* is attested, which is similar to the forms found in the Timor Austronesian languages, Waima’a and Naueti. Given that, of the AP languages, only Blagar uses this form, it is likely that Blagar borrowed *kaliliŋ* ‘butterfly’ from Alorese.

Although no higher-level reconstruction in Flores-Lembata languages has yet been made for PAL \**kəraŋak* ‘branch’, Proto-Western-Malayo-Polynesian (PWMP) \**raŋkaŋ* ‘forked, as a branch’ has been reconstructed. In addition, similar words with the same meaning ‘branch’ are attested across Central-Eastern-Malayo-Polynesian (CEMP) languages, such as *karaŋga* ‘branch’ in Kampera (spoken on Sumba) and *raŋ* ‘branch’ in Geser-Gorom (spoken on islands in southeast Maluku; Blust & Trussel, 2016; Klamer, 1998). In Blagar, word-medial consonant clusters are limited to onomatopoeic nouns (Steinhauer, 2014:153). Insertion of a nasal, as seen in the Blagar word *kraŋga* ‘branch’, marks a loanword. Therefore, since no similar form is attested in the other AP languages, besides Blagar, I propose that this form is also a loanword from Alorese.

Lastly, the PAL reconstruction \**kəmukek* ‘deaf’ does not go back to any available proto-forms. However, some rather similar words are attested across Lamaholot varieties; Central-Lamaholot *kəmoɦokə*, *kəmoɦok*, *kəmoso*, *kəmosol*, and Western-Lamaholot *kəmoŋo* ‘deaf’. In the AP languages, other similar words are also attested, namely *moki* in Kula, *muko* in Sawila, *moku/mokol* in Wersing, *mok* in Suboo, *mok* in Kamang, and *məki* in Papuna. It seems that these words are stem

from ancient contact. However, if we look at the reconstructed PAL \*kəmukek, which is possibly inherited from Lamaholot, the Blagar form *kmuke* ‘deaf’ is likely to be an Alorese loan due to the existence of the initial *k-* in Blagar. In addition, Blagar usually does not allow initial consonant clusters *km-* which also indicates borrowing (Steinhauer, 2014:153).

In sum, this section has presented eight Alorese loanwords attested only in Blagar. These loanwords correspond to the semantic domains of animals (‘flea’, ‘frog’), cultural items (‘burden stick’), the physical world (‘mud’, ‘branch’), the body (‘deaf’), and motion (‘to fold’).

### 6.6.3 Alorese loanwords attested only in Reta

In this section, I present Alorese loanwords in Reta. Reta is spoken mainly on two islands in the Pantar Straits, namely Ternate Island and Pura Island. On Pura, speakers of Reta (RT-Pura) share the island with speakers of Blagar (BG-Pura). On Ternate, speakers of Reta (RT-Ternate) share the island with speakers of Alorese (AL-Ternate; see map in Figure 6.2). In addition, one variety of Reta, namely Hula, is spoken on the Alor Peninsula.

There are two Alorese loanwords attested exclusively in Reta; these are displayed in Table 6.49.

Table 6.49: Alorese loanwords attested only in Reta

	PFL	PAL	Reta
‘traditional house’	#korke	#kokor	RT-Ternate <i>kokor</i>
‘to think’	<i>gənuan</i> (CL)	* <i>ganokun</i>	RT-Pura <i>ganukun</i> , RT-Hula <i>ganəkun</i>

In Alorese, the word *kokor* ‘traditional house’ is only found in Pandai. Similar words with a relatively similar meaning are found in several other WL varieties, such as *koke* ‘meeting house’ in the WL varieties of Lewoingu and Adonara. The word *korke* ‘village temple’ is also mentioned in a cultural-anthropological description of the Lamaholot area (Arndt, 1938:8). In addition, a locally published book about the oral history of the Baranusa Kingdom (Lelang, 2008:1), uses the term *kokor* to refer to a house used for reciting the Qur’an. Therefore, it is likely that this form is of Austronesian origin that got borrowed into RT-Ternate through Alorese.

The PAL reconstruction \**ganokun* ‘to think’ does not go back to any available proto-forms. However, a similar form *gənuan* ‘to think’ is attested in the Central Lamaholot variety of Painara. Since a similar form is attested in

Central Lamaholot and no similar form is used in other AP languages, it is likely that Reta borrowed *ganokuj* ‘to think’ from Alorese. For this loanword, no significant phonological change is found in Reta.

#### 6.6.4 Alorese loanwords attested only in Teiwa

Teiwa is spoken on Pantar, south of the Alorese community in the northeast Pantar area. Teiwa speakers interact with the Alorese in the context of trade and probably also through inter-marriage. A commercial center named Kabir is located in the Teiwa speaking area (see Figure 1.3 or 1.4), where the mixed community of Alorese and Alor-Pantar speakers meet regularly for trade.

In this section, I discuss two Alorese loanwords attested only in Teiwa, for the concepts ‘name’ and ‘children’. These are displayed in Table 6.50.

Table 6.50: Alorese loanwords attested only in Teiwa

	PFL	PAL	Teiwa
‘name’	*nadan	*naraj	TW-Lebang <i>nara?</i>
‘children’	[...]	*bai hire kari	TW-Teiwa <i>biar kariman</i>

The PAL reconstruction \*naraj ‘name’ goes back to PFL \*nadan (< PMP \*ŋajan) ‘name’. It is very likely that the Teiwa variety Lebang borrowed *nara?* ‘name’ from Alorese. Final glottal stop is phonemic in Teiwa (Klamer, 2010:511), but it is unclear whether its presence is due to the final velar nasal in the Alorese word *naraj* ‘name’.

Similar words for ‘children’ are found in several Alorese varieties: Beang Onong *bire*, Baranusa *bire kari*., Helangdohi *bai*, Wailawar *bahire*, and Pandai *bai*. These forms originate from a compound of the root *bai* ‘child’ with *hire* ‘PL’, and *kari* ‘small’, combined to give the form *bai hire kari* ‘children’ (lit. ‘child-PL-small’). The root *bai* is most likely a Malay loan *bayi* ‘newly born child’; the word *hire* is the Alorese plural word, and *kari* (< PMP \*kedi ‘small’) means ‘small’. Teiwa has a similar form *biar kariman* ‘children’. Teiwa has borrowed *biar kari* from Alorese with metathesis and a vowel change *bire* > *biar*, and the addition of the suffix *-man*. The suffix *-man* in Teiwa conveys plurality of a certain number of people in a group (Klamer, 2010:84). The Teiwa form is noted by Robinson (2015:22), who suggests that the direction of borrowing is from Alorese into Teiwa.

In sum, this section has shown how Alorese has influenced the AP languages spoken around the Strait of Pantar and east Pantar, such as Blagar,

Adang, Reta, Teiwa, and Kaera. Alorese loanwords that have been borrowed into these AP languages include basic vocabulary, such as verbs and nouns related to cultural items, body parts, and animals. Several AP-speaking communities, namely Blagar, Reta, and Teiwa have special bonds with the Alorese, as shown by the fact that there are several Alorese loanwords exclusive to the lexicon of each of these languages.

### 6.7 Loanwords of unknown origin and unclear direction

In this section, I present words that indicate contact between Alorese varieties and the Alor-Pantar languages and possibly a third language. The evidence for contact is seen in the similarity of words attested in Alorese and AP. However, these similar words do not have clear ancestors; they could be of Austronesian origin or non-Austronesian origin. The following tables contain loans of unknown origin and unclear direction.

The first three of these loans of unknown origin and unclear direction are presented in Table 6.51.

Table 6.51: Loans of unknown origin and unclear direction (table 1 of 7)

	Alorese varieties	AP languages
'to breathe'	AL-Munaseli <i>hopaŋ</i>	BG-Kulijahi <i>hopaŋ</i> , BG-Nule <i>hopaŋ</i> , BG-Pura <i>hopaŋ</i> , BG-Bama <i>sopaŋ</i> , RT-Ternate <i>hupaŋ</i> , DE-Deing <i>opaŋ</i> , KR-Kaera <i>supaŋ</i> , WP-Tubbe <i>hopaŋ</i>
'mountain'	AL-Alor Besar <i>dola</i> , AL-Dulolong <i>dola</i>	KL-Bring <i>dəl</i> , KL-Hopter <i>dəl</i> , KI-Labaing <i>dol</i> , BG-Pura <i>dəl</i>
'scabies; ringworm'	AL-Beang Onong <i>katu</i> , AL-Helangdohi <i>katu</i> , AL-Wailawar <i>katu</i> , AL-Pandai <i>katu</i> , AL-Bana <i>katu</i> , AL-Munaseli <i>katu</i> , AL-Ternate <i>katu</i> , AL-Buaya <i>katu</i> , AL-Alor Besar <i>katu</i>	KL-Hopter <i>kat</i> , RT-Ternate <i>katu</i> , RT-Pura <i>katu</i> , BG-Bakalang <i>katu</i> , KR-Kaera <i>qatu</i> , KU-Klamu <i>katu</i> , WP-Tubbe <i>kat:ur</i>

The Munaseli form *hopaŋ* 'to breathe' is similar to the forms attested in several AP languages, such as Blagar, Reta, Deing, Kaera, and West Pantar. An early AP form #sVpaN 'to breathe' may be reconstructed based on several sound correspondences; initial PAP \*s is retained as s in Kaera and changed into h in Blagar and Adang; in addition, the PAP intervocalic \*-p- is retained in all



languages. However, there is also a possibility that this form is an inherited Austronesian form that was borrowed into AP languages at an early stage, since a similar form *hopaŋ* ‘to be out of breath’ is also attested in Sika (Pareira & Lewis, 1998:78).

The Peninsula Alorese form *dola* is similar to the Kui and Blagar forms, with the addition of final *a*. The final *a* in the Alorese form may arise from the fact that these varieties do not allow words end in *l*. Robinson (2015:24) proposes that the Alorese word *dola* ‘mountain’ is a loanword from Alorese into the AP languages (Adang, Hamap, Klön, and Kui). This proposal is based on evidence that a similar word *doro* ‘mountain’ is found in Bima (spoken in the eastern part of Sumbawa Island). Robinson (2015:24) also states that the direction of borrowing is less certain and it is also possible that the direction is the other way around (AP into Alorese).

For the concept ‘scabies; ringworm’, there exist many similar forms across AP languages. However, the evidence that the AP forms for ‘scabies; ringworms’ go back to PAP is rather weak, because the sound correspondences are irregular in the AP languages. The Alorese form *katu* can actually be reconstructed to PAL \**katu* ‘scabies; ringworm’. However, no similar ancestral Austronesian form is attested. There is a similar word in Kotos Amarasi (spoken on Timor) *katu* ‘ringworm’ (Edwards & Bani, 2017 in Kaiping et al. 2019), possibly suggesting that the AP forms derive from early contact with an external source.

The following three examples are presented in Table 6.51 for the concepts ‘breadfruit’, ‘clothing’, and ‘coral rock’.

Table 6.52: Loans of unknown origin and unclear direction (table 2 of 7)

	Alorese varieties	AP languages
‘breadfruit’	AL-Alor Besar <i>kundzu</i> , AL-Buaya <i>kundzu</i> , AL-Dulolong <i>kundzu</i> , AL-Alor Kecil <i>kundzu</i> , AL-Ternate <i>kundzu</i>	BG-Bakalang <i>undur</i> , BG-Bama <i>kunur</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>undur</i> , BG-Nule <i>undur</i> , BG-Tuntuli <i>kunur</i> , DE-Deing <i>kulur</i> , KR-Kaera <i>kunur</i> , KI-Labaing <i>kulur</i>
‘clothing’	AL-Baranusa <i>kondzo/kondo</i> , AL-Pandai <i>kondö</i> , AL-Buaya <i>kondzo</i>	AB-Ulaga <i>konde</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>kondo</i> , BG-Warsalelang <i>kondo</i> , BG-Pura <i>kondo</i> , BG-Manatang <i>kondo</i>
‘coral rock’	AL-Alor Besar <i>fato manapa</i>	BG-Nule <i>mənapa</i>

The Alorese form *kundzu* ‘breadfruit’ may go back to PMP \**kulur* ‘breadfruit’ with irregular sound changes. Ro’is Amarasi (spoken on Timor) has

a rather similar form *kunum* ‘breadfruit’ which is also irregularly related to the PMP form. However, no similar form is attested in the FL languages. In AP, the similar forms *undur/kundul/kunur* ‘breadfruit’ are attested. On the one hand, this similarity among AP languages may indicate that the direction of borrowing is from AP into Alorese; in addition, Alorese does not allow medial consonant clusters, unlike Blagar. On the other hand, the similarity with the PMP form may indicate an early contact between AP languages and (an) Austronesian language(s). Overall, it seems that these terms for ‘breadfruit’ entered Alorese and AP languages at different stages.

The word *konɔzo* ‘clothing’ is included in this list because it is unclear where the form entered from. Klamer (2011) and Robinson (2015:33) have suggested that this form is of Makassarese origin, borrowed into Blagar, and subsequently borrowed from Blagar into Alorese. However, the evidence supporting this hypothesis is rather weak.

For the concept ‘coral rock’, the similarity between the Alor Besar and Nule forms points towards innovation, but the origin is unclear. In Alor Besar, the word for ‘coral rock’ is a compound, *fato manapa*, consisting of an inherited PMP form *fato* (< PMP \*batu ‘stone’) and the innovated form *manapa*.

Table 6.53: Loans of unknown origin and unclear direction (table 3 of 7)

	Alorese varieties	AP languages
‘dolphin’	AL-Alor Besar <i>ikaŋ kudzae</i> , AL-Munaseli <i>kudza</i> , AL-Pandai <i>udza</i> , AL-Buaya <i>udzae</i> , AL-Helangdohi <i>kudza</i> , AL-Alor Kecil <i>kudzai</i> , AL-Ternate <i>kudzae</i> , AL-Wailawar <i>kudza</i>	BG-Bakalang <i>kudza</i> , BG-Bama <i>kudza</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>kudza</i> , BG-Nule <i>kudza</i> , BG-Tuntuli <i>kudzah</i> , BG-Warsalelang <i>kudza</i> , BG-Pura <i>kuja</i> , Deing <i>kui</i> , KR-Kaera <i>xuja</i> , TW-Lebang <i>kuja?</i> , SR-Sar <i>kuja kla.r</i> , RT-Pura <i>kələl</i> , AD-Lawahing <i>usaha</i> , AD-Otvai <i>usah</i> , Abui <i>ku</i>
‘fish trap’	AL-Alor Besar <i>kanopaŋ</i> , AL-Pandai <i>knəpal</i>	WS-Taramana <i>knoporaŋ</i> , RT-Hula <i>pəkə</i>
‘fog’	AL-Dulolong <i>ekaŋ maru</i>	BG-Bama <i>ilmoro</i> , BG-Nule <i>bil moro</i> , BG-Warsalelang <i>ilməro</i> , RT-Ternate <i>moro</i> , RT-Pura <i>?il mərə</i> , RT-Hula <i>mamərə</i>

The word for ‘dolphin’ is widely attested both in Alorese varieties and in the AP languages. The Alorese word *kudzae/kudza* ‘dolphin’ may go back to an

early Austronesian form, since there is a Proto-Oceanic form \*kuriap ‘dolphin’. However, no similar form is attested in the FL languages. In other languages in the far north of Alor, several forms are attested; *uas* in Geser-Gorom (south Maluku); *kurap* in Kalamang (spoken on west Papua); and *kuraf* in Uruangnirin (spoken on west Papua). In the AP languages, there are similar forms showing regular sound correspondences (*kudza/xuja/kuja/kuja?*), which indicates shared ancestry. The sound correspondences enable the reconstruction of a possible early AP form \*kujasi ‘dolphin’. In Blagar, the approximant [j] only occurs in the interjection *jo* ‘yes’ and a few borrowings, such as the recently adopted Christian name *Yohan* [johan] and the word *rayat* [rajat], borrowed from Indonesian *rakyat* ‘the people’. In Adang, PAP medial \*s is regularly reflected as *h*, as seen in the Adang word *usaha* ‘dolphin’. These similarities may indicate an early contact. However, the similarity between the Alorese *kudzae* and the Blagar word *kudza* ‘dolphin’ may also indicate recent contact. Ultimately, there may be layers of contact, in which the form can be related to PCEMP \*kuriap, with Blagar then borrowing the Alorese form more recently. Nevertheless, there is no strong pattern that enables us to determine the borrowing direction of this word.

For the concept ‘fish trap’, the Alorese word *kanopaj/knopal* is similar to Wersing *knopaj* and Reta (AP) *poko*. Given the great distance between the two languages, this similarity may be a coincidence; however, it could also have arisen from contact, as Alorese and Wersing are both coastal communities. In sum, the origin of this form is unknown.

In Dulolong, only the word *ekaj maru* is used for the concept ‘fog’. The form is a compound consisting an inherited word *ekaj* ‘garden’ and the form *maru* ‘fog’. Similar forms to *maru* are attested in Kedang (*aruq* ‘foggy’) and Kambera (*mahu* ‘fog’; Klamer, 1998; Samely & Barnes, 2013). In the AP languages, the forms *moro/ilmero/manuruj* are widely attested in Blagar and Reta varieties. The similarity between Alorese and Blagar may indicate contact, but the origin of the word is unclear.

Table 6.54: Loans of unknown origin and unclear directions (table 4 of 7)

	Alorese varieties	AP languages
'knife'	AL-Kayang <i>duri</i> , AL-Beang Onong <i>duri</i> , AL-Baranusa <i>duri</i> , AL-Wailawar <i>durik</i> , AL-Helangdohi <i>duri</i> , AL-Pandai <i>duri</i> , AL-Bana <i>duri</i> ?, AL-Munaseli <i>durik</i> , AL-Ternate <i>duri</i> , AL-Buaya <i>duri</i> , AL-Alor Besar <i>duri</i> , AL-Alor Kecil <i>duri</i> , AL-Dulolong <i>duri</i>	AD-Lawahing <i>duir</i> , AD-Otvai <i>dir</i> , AD-Otvai <i>duir</i> , HM-Moru <i>duir</i> , KB-Monbang <i>dur</i> , KF-Kafoa <i>dor</i> , KL-Bring <i>dor</i> , KL-Hopter <i>dur</i> , KI-Labaing <i>dur</i>
'stick pole'	AL-Helangdohi <i>noru</i> ?	BG-Nule <i>noruk</i> , BG-Tuntuli <i>şenoruk</i>
'rack'	AL-Munaseli <i>here</i> ?, AL-Pandai <i>here</i> , AL-Kayang <i>here</i> , AL-Ternate <i>here</i>	RT-Pura <i>here</i>
	AL-Pandai <i>huruy</i>	AD-Otvai <i>huruy</i>

Regarding the set for *duri* 'knife', Klamer (2011:105) suggests that it is an AP loanword in Alorese sourced from Adang; and Robinson (2015:29) identifies this form as an Alorese loanword in the AP languages (cf. Tetun *tudik*, Ngadha *tudi*, Sika *tudi* 'knife'). However, between Alorese and Sika, the correspondence of initial *d* (Alorese *duri*) and *t* (Sika *tudi*) is irregular, indicating that the forms are probably not of PFL origin. In both Alorese and Sika, PFL medial \**d* is regularly retained as *r*; initial \**d*- and \**r*- are also retained unchanged. These irregular correspondences between the Alorese and Sika forms suggest that the forms *duri/tudi* come from external sources. A similar irregularity is seen among the AP languages: PAP \**r* would normally be retained in Adang as *l*, but the form in the table show a different pattern; this provides further indication that the AP forms for 'knife' are not inherited. However, there is similarity between the Alorese form *duri* and the nearby AP languages, for instance Blagar *duir*, which might indicate contact; however, the direction of borrowing remains unknown due to the unclear origin of the forms.

The Helangdohi word *noru*? 'stick pole' is similar to *noruk/şenoruk* in Blagar. However, there is minimal evidence to link this set to any particular proto-form. For the concept 'rack', two word sets are identified: *here* and *huruy*. These forms do not appear to go back to any available proto-forms. In Kotos-Amarasi (spoken on Timor) a form *harak* 'rack above hearth' is attested (Edwards & Bani, 2017 in Kaiping et al. 2019), and in Lio (Central Flores) another form *gara* 'rack above hearth' is also attested (Elias, 2017 in Kaiping et al. 2019).

Table 6.55: Loans of unknown origin and unclear direction (table 5 of 7)

	Alorese varieties	AP languages
'sweet'	AL-Kayang <i>tago</i> , AL-Beang Onong <i>təŋge</i> , AL-Baranusa <i>təŋge</i> , AL-Wailawar <i>təge</i> , AL- Helangdohi <i>təge</i> , AL-Pandai <i>təge</i> , AL-Bana <i>təge</i> , AL- Munaseli <i>təge</i> , AL-Ternate <i>təŋge</i> , AL-Buaya <i>təŋge</i> , AL-Alor Besar <i>təge</i> , AL-Alor Kecil <i>təŋge</i> , AL-Dulolong <i>təŋge</i>	BG-Bakalang <i>teŋge</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>teŋge</i> , BG-Nule <i>teŋge</i>
'to be silent'	AL-Munaseli <i>rama?</i> , AL-Pandai <i>rama</i> , LA-Bana <i>ramak</i> , AL- Baranusa <i>rama</i> , AL-Wailawar <i>ramak</i>	AB-Takalelang <i>rama</i> , AB-Ulaga <i>rama</i>
'to call out'	AL-Baranusa <i>garəŋ</i> , AL-Beang Onong <i>garəŋ</i> , AL-Kayang <i>garəŋ</i>	BG-Bakalang <i>gareŋ</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>gadeŋ</i> , BG-Nule <i>gareŋ</i>

PAL \**təŋge* 'sweet' may go back to an early Austronesian form, since \**tagek* 'tree sap; juice of fruit' has been reconstructed for proto-Phillippines (Blust and Trussel, 2016). However, no similar forms in the FL languages are attested. In the AP languages, the word *teŋge* 'sweet' is only attested in Blagar. Other AP languages use a form of either *marak* 'sweet' or *hub/wub* 'sweet'. In addition, although word-medial consonant clusters are rare in Blagar, they are possible; nonetheless, their rarity suggests that this particular form may originate from an external source.

The set *rama?/ramak/rama* 'to be silent' in Alorese and Abui potentially indicates contact, but at an early stage, as no similar forms are attested in Blagar, Reta, or Adang. However, the origin of this form is unclear. It may be connected to *ramak* 'night; black' in several WL varieties.

For the concept 'to call out', the Kulijahi form *gadeŋ* 'to call out' may have retained an early *-d-* sound as the sound change *d > r* is regular. However, since no similar early forms are attested, the direction of borrowing is unclear.

Table 6.56: Loans of unknown origin and unclear direction (table 6 of 7)

	Alorese varieties	AP languages
'stick pole'	AL-Alor Besar <i>doba</i> , AL-Buaya <i>doba</i> , AL-Dulolong <i>doba</i> , AL-Alor Kecil <i>ɖzoba</i>	AD-Lawahing <i>dopon</i> , AD-Otvai <i>dopon</i> , BG-Bakalang <i>doba</i> , Klön-Hopter <i>dob</i> , Klamu <i>do</i> , BG-Pura <i>doba</i>
'papaya'	AL-Alor Besar <i>kasi</i> , AL-Pandai <i>kasi</i> , AL-Baranusa <i>kasi</i> , AL-Beang Onong <i>kasi</i> , AL-Dulolong <i>kasi</i> , AL-Alor Kecil <i>kasi</i> , AL-Ternate <i>kasi</i>	BG-Bakalang <i>kasi</i> , BG-Bama <i>kasi</i> , BG-Kulijahi <i>kasi</i> , BG-Nule <i>kasi</i> , BG-Tuntuli <i>kasi</i> , BG-Warsalelang <i>kasi</i> , KR-Kaera <i>kasi</i> , BG-Pura <i>kasi</i> , TW-Lebang <i>kasi</i> , RT-Pura <i>kasi</i> , BG-Manatang <i>kasi</i> , RT-Hula <i>kasi</i> , PN-Papuna <i>mukusil</i>

For the concept 'stick pole', similar forms *doba/ɖzoba/dopon/dob/do* are attested in the Straits Alorese varieties and the AP languages spoken around the Strait of Pantar, namely Adang, Blagar, and Klön. This form is an innovation in Straits Alorese. In the AP languages, the correspondences of intervocalic *b* and *p* between Adang and Blagar are irregular, which may also indicate innovation.

Papaya is not native to Southeast Asia, but was introduced by the Spanish or Portuguese. Robinson (2015:22) suggests that the word *kasi* is an Alorese loanword in the AP languages because the form has an identifiable Austronesian etymology. However, since no similar forms are attested in the Flores-Lembata languages, it is unclear whether the Alorese word *kasi* is inherited. Moreover, the form is quite wide-spread in the AP languages.

Table 6.57: Loans of unknown origin and unclear direction (table 7 of 7)

	Alorese varieties	AP languages
'ritual mound'	AL-Pandai <i>doru</i> , AL-Alor Besar <i>dolu</i> , AL-Munaseli <i>doru</i> , AL-Bana <i>doru</i>	AD-Otvai <i>dor</i> , KR-Kaera <i>dor</i> , KL-Hopter <i>dur</i> , BG-Pura <i>doru</i> , SR-Sar <i>dor</i> , RT-Pura <i>doru</i> , BG-Manatang <i>doru</i> , RT-Hula <i>doru</i>
'whisper'	AL-Baranusa <i>kapi</i> , AL-Beang Onong <i>kapi~kapi</i>	WP-Tubbe <i>kap~kap biran</i>

For the concept 'ritual mound', the Alorese varieties and the AP languages both show regular sound correspondences in the word *doru*. The initial *d* is

regularly retained and the medial *l* ~ *r* correspondences are also regular. A form *dolu* ‘stone; stone wall; layers of stone’ is also attested in Kedang. However, there is insufficient evidence to establish whether this form is of Austronesian or non-Austronesian origin; thus it is not yet possible to determine the direction of borrowing.

The set for the concept ‘whisper’ is only attested in the western Alorese varieties and the AP language Western Pantar. The form *kapi/kapi~kapi* ‘whisper’ is an innovation in the western varieties of Alorese.<sup>39</sup> In Western Pantar, the compound *kap~kap biraj* comprises reduplication (*kap~kap*) and *biraj* ‘to say’, which could also be from Malay *bilang* ‘to say’. These forms are possibly contact-induced innovations in both languages, but the borrowing direction and origin are unclear.

## 6.8 Summary and conclusions

In this chapter, loanwords in Alorese from various sources have been presented, as well as loans from Alorese in the Alor-Pantar languages. In addition, I have discussed loans of unknown origin with an unclear direction of borrowing.

The data indicate that AP loanwords entered Alorese at different stages. An earlier stage of contact between the languages resulted in AP loanwords in Alorese that can be reconstructed to PAL (cf. §6.5.1.1). Moreover, some more recent contact scenarios are demonstrated by loanwords that are attested in varieties spoken over smaller areas, such as Pantar (cf. §6.5.1.2), northeast Pantar (cf. §6.5.1.3), northeast Pantar and the Alor Peninsula (cf. §6.5.1.4), the Straits (cf. §6.5.1.5), and the Alor Peninsula (cf. §6.5.1.6). In essence, the more widespread the AP loanwords, the earlier the borrowing took place in Alorese; likewise, the narrower the spread of the AP loanwords, the more recently the borrowing took place.

The geographic distribution of loans can also indicate donor languages and recipient varieties. Blagar is the main donor for AP loanwords in Alorese overall with most loanwords in PAL and northeast Pantar being borrowed from Blagar. For AP loanwords attested in the Pantar varieties of Alorese, the AP language Western Pantar is the most likely donor language and the Alorese varieties in the west (Kayang, Beang Onong, Baranusa) are the main recipients. The loanwords from this contact in the west were then adopted by speakers in northeast Pantar, but not by speakers in the Straits. With respect to AP loanwords attested only in the Northeast Pantar varieties, the most likely donor languages are Blagar, Teiwa, and Reta. In some cases, loanwords from these

---

<sup>39</sup> The other varieties use forms reconstructed to PAL \**tamaga* ‘to whisper’.

donors were brought also to the Peninsula varieties of Alorese. For the Straits varieties, Blagar is the main donor. In addition, the AP languages Adang and Hamap are among the main donors for AP loanwords attested only in the Peninsula varieties.

The semantic domains of borrowed lexemes may also indicate the intensity of contact. There is a crucial difference between the early AP loans borrowed into PAL and the more recent loans attested in, for instance, the Peninsula varieties. On the one hand, the early loans contain more basic vocabulary, such as a numeral (PAL \*kar- 'tens'), a kinship term (PAL \*kaʔu 'younger sibling') and verbs ('to hide', 'to cook', 'to close'). On the other hand, the more recent borrowings mainly concerns nouns, particularly relating to cultural items, such as 'rattan', 'fish trap', 'coral rock', 'digging stick', 'gravel', and 'bed; raised platform'. These findings may strengthen the hypothesis that different types of contact took place between the Alorese and the speakers of AP languages.

It has been argued that the Alorese went through two main stages of contact with AP speakers (cf. §6.2). The first stage is thought to have involved intensive contact (the stage relating to loanwords reconstructable to PAL); at this stage, the community was presumably bilingual, including the children. This may have been the time during which structural borrowings (e.g. the plural word, give constructions; cf. Moro, 2018; Moro & Fricke, 2020) and the borrowing of basic vocabulary took place, eventhough it is rather surprising to see that only small number of loanwords are attested. The second later stage is thought to have possibly involved a large amount of adult second-language learning, for example due to incoming spouses with a non-Alorese language background (cf. Moro, 2019). At this stage, morphological simplification may have taken place, and more cultural terms and general nouns may have been borrowed into Alorese.

There are a number of compounds among the AP loans in Alorese; however, no particular pattern is shown in these compounds. In some cases, Alorese borrowed the modifier instead of the head word, as seen in the AP form *ya tor* 'road' in which Alorese borrowed the modifier *tor* (< PAP \*ora 'tail; back bone tail; tailbone') instead of the head word *ya* (a common term for 'road') (Robinson, 2015:28). In most cases, however, Alorese borrowed the headword, instead of the modifier, as seen in the AP verb *venterij* 'to close', where Alorese borrowed the root *teraʔ* 'to close' without the applicative suffix *ven-*.

There are no AP loanwords in Alorese that are exclusively attested in West varieties (Kayang, Beang Onong, and Baranusa) or the Islands varieties (Ternate and Buaya). This confirms the hypothesis, based on oral history, that these Alorese-speaking groups were only recently separated from their respective



homelands (cf. §3.4.4 and §3.4.6).

The distribution of loanwords in the varieties of Alorese sheds light on the contact among speakers in the area where each Alorese variety is spoken. Blagar is the main donor for AP loanwords in Alorese not only because of its proximity within the Straits area, but also due to the historical ties this community has with the Alorese, enshrined in *Galiyao Watang Lema* sociopolitical alliance. In this sense, the Straits area likely to have been where the most intense contact took place. Moreover, the distribution of Alorese loanwords in the AP languages also confirms the geographical location of the contact, which appears to have been the Straits area, given that Blagar has the most Alorese loanwords. The presence of Alorese loanwords in the AP languages Reta and Teiwa also points toward contact in the Straits area. It is thus very likely that the area around the Strait of Pantar was a busy area where speakers of Alorese and AP languages had significant contact.

Loanwords from Alorese into AP languages are mainly attested in AP languages spoken around the Straits and northeast Pantar. This suggests that the earliest Alorese settlement was located in either the Straits or northeast Pantar. If the local oral tradition is also taken into account, it appears that the cultural center of the Alorese speaking community was indeed located in northeast Pantar. One of the oldest Alorese kingdoms, Pandai, expanded its territory to Alor Besar (which became the Kingdom of Bungabali), and to west Pantar (which became the Kingdom of Baranusa). Taken together, there is thus considerable evidence for the view that northeast Pantar is the homeland of Alorese.