# Wasambua word list, notes, and sample text

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#### LANGUAGES

Subject language : Cia-Cia Language of materials : English, Indonesian, Cia-Cia

### DESCRIPTION

This paper presents an 844-item word list of Wasambua, a divergent dialect of the Cia-Cia language of southern Buton Island, southeastern Sulawesi, Indonesia. Besides placing Wasambua in its sociolinguistic context, this paper includes notes on the sound system, person markers, deictics, and aspectual clitics. It concludes with a brief, 14-sentence personal narrative.

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## VERSION HISTORY

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# Wasambua word list, notes, and sample text <sup>1</sup>

by David Mead

## 1. Background and language environment

Wasambua is a dialect of Cia-Cia. It is spoken by the older members of about eighty households in the neighborhood (*kelingkungan*) of the same name in the village of Lakambau. Lakambau is a coastal village located in the southwestern quadrant of Buton Island in Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia.<sup>2</sup> The Wasambua dialect of Cia-Cia has not been mentioned in any of the previous literature.<sup>3</sup>

Formerly Wasambua was spoken in the interior, but in 1969 the government resettled the inhabitants to the coast. The former village site is an hour and a half by foot from where the Wasambua presently live, or about nine kilometers away. Reportedly the site is now part of a protected forest reserve, but Wasambua people still make return visits, for example to hunt for wild honey, or to clean the graves of the ancestors and offer prayers.

In 1969 when the Wasambua moved to the coast, the place where they were resettled was only sparsely inhabited. In the intervening years a number of outsiders have moved into the area, with the result that the original Wasambua village now comprises only a single neighborhood (out of five) in the village of Lakambau. By far the largest group of immigrants to Lakambau village have been Cia-Cia from Batu Atas Island. In the early 2000s the area received a further influx of people fleeing violence in the Maluku Islands (the so-called Ambon exodus), including 30 families who settled within the Wasambua neighborhood proper.

Speakers of Wasambua are in their thirties or older, and all indications suggest that their unique dialect will not survive the passing of this generation. Furthermore, even among the adults we interacted with there was an evident slippage in vocabulary: for a number of word list items people were more familiar with the Indonesian or local Cia-Cia term, and had to work at recalling the bona fide Wasambua term. Some word list items I was only able to fill in during a second session with different speakers (and a few items not at all).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This paper owes much to La Ode Abidin, scholar and compiler of the first Cia-Cia dictionary. It was only through him that I learned there was a divergent variety of Cia-Cia spoken in Lakambau village, and was induced to extend the Cia-Cia survey an extra day so that we could go to Lakambau together.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Pinpoint coordinates for the Wasambua neighborhood can be given as 5° 36' 15.6" S and 122° 35' 46.6" E. The village (*kelurahan*) of Lakambau is located within the Batauga district (*kecamatan*) of the South Buton regency (*kabupaten*) of Southeast Sulawesi province (*provinsi*).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Wasambua should not be confused with the Wasuamba dialect of Pancana, also spoken on Buton Island

The decline in the use of Wasambua must in fact be seen as part of the general decline in the use of Cia-Cia throughout Lakambau village, where a strong, nearly exclusive, use of Indonesian in the youngest generation was universally reported. At present there are no efforts to promote Cia-Cia (of any variety) in Lakambau village. The sole local language taught in schools is Wolio, the court language of the (former and present) sultanate in Baubau.

# 2. Timeline of research

As part of a broader survey of the entire Cia-Cia language area, I collected a 349-item word list for Wasambua on September 7th, 2015. At the end of the word list elicitation session, I also made a few, hurried recordings of a handful of Wasambua words, mostly ones containing the sound  $/\chi/$ .

The following year I was able to return and over the course of three days from August 30th to September 1st, 2016, collect a longer word list (844 items), a short text, and additional information as presented below.

I am indebted to the people who served as Wasambua respondents, principally Hasnia, Nurhaida, and Hafaruddin.





#### 3. Relationship to Cia-Cia

Cia-Cia comprises two main dialect areas: a western dialect chain spoken from Masiri to Mambulu, and a central-eastern dialect complex that includes the remainder of the Cia-Cia language area.

Wasambua, however, stands mostly apart from these two dialect areas, and must be considered the most divergent of Cia-Cia dialects. A recent lexicostatistical analysis found Wasambua to average only 72% lexically similar with all other Cia-Cia dialects and subdialects (range 77% to 69%). It scored highest with the western dialect of Cia-Cia (77% lexically similar with Mambulu; 77% with Bangun; 76% with Bola; 74% with Masiri); the western dialect is also the closest geographically. Not unsurprisingly it also scored 74% lexically similar with Batu Atas (Lakambau village is heavily settled with immigrants from Batu Atas). For the full lexicostatistical matrix and further information concerning Cia-Cia dialects, see Mead and Truong (In preparation).

While such low lexical similarity values *could* suggest that Wasambua be considered a separate language, we found no such sentiments among Wasambua people themselves. In their own eyes they place themselves clearly within the Cia-Cia fold. Whenever we spoke to them about the use, development, or steps to preserve the *bahasa daerah* 'local language,' to them that always meant the broader Cia-Cia community, of which Wasambua was a part.

## 4. Sound system

Wasambua has the following consonants and vowels:

voiceless stops and affricates: /p/, /t/, / $\mathfrak{g}$ /, /k/, /?/ voiced stops and affricates: /6/, /b/, /d/, /d/, /d/, /dʒ/, /g/ fricatives: /v/, /s/, / $\chi$ /, /h/ nasals; /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ resonants: /r/, /l/ vowels: /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/

Approximants have a tenuous status in the sound system. The sound y(/j/) appears in the borrowed word *bayara* 'to buy' (< Malay *bayar*). I transcribed the word for 'I' as *iya2u*, the word for 'sky' as both *laia* and *laya*, and the word for 'water' as both *ue2e* and *we2e*.

When not enclosed in phonemic or phonetic brackets, I use c to symbolize the voiceless affricate /tf/ and j to symbolize the voice affricate /dʒ/.

The contrast between /6/ and /b/ is neutralized following /m/ as well as preceding the vowel /u/, where only /b/ occurs. Outside of these two contexts /6/ predominates, and /b/ occurs but rarely, where its presence can usually be attributed to borrowing. Examples:

bada	'body'	cf. Malay <i>badan</i>
barani	'brave'	cf. Malay <i>berani</i>
bayara	'pay'	cf. Malay <i>bayar</i>
bebe	'duck'	cf. Malay <i>bebek</i>
oboro	'torch'	cf. Malay <i>obor</i>
belaŋa	'earthen pot'	cf. Malay <i>belanga</i>
kasubele	'rosary, prayer beads'	cf. Malay tasbih, Muna kasubeo
kasubia	'cassava'	cf. Ambonese Malay kasbi
sube	'pound (spices in mortar)'	cf. Malay <i>cobe</i> 'spice mortar'

We also recorded /b/ in the words *kabamba* 'cockroach,' *kaboro* 'grasshopper' and *taba* 'fat, fatty tissue' as unimploded.

The phonemes /d/ and /d/ are rare. In the corpus /d/ is known to occur only in only four words, all of which are of Arabic provenance:

do?a	'prayer'	cf. Malay <i>doa</i> < Arabic <i>du'ā'</i>
dunia	'world'	cf. Malay <i>dunia</i> < Arabic <i>dunyā</i>
bada	'body'	cf. Malay <i>badan</i> < Arabic <i>badan</i>
sahada	'index finger' <sup>4</sup>	cf. Malay syahadat 'testimony'
	-	< Arabic <i>shahāda</i>

In the corpus, /d/ is known to occur in the following three words, where its presence indicates borrowing:<sup>5</sup>

duria	'durian'	cf. Malay durian
doi	'money'	cf. Malay duit
daun panda	'fragrant screw pine'	cf. Malay daun pandan

The fricative /v/ alternates in articulation between labiodental [v] and bilabial [ $\beta$ ]. The basis or conditioning environment for this alternation requires further investigation. One possibility among others is that [v] is the original articulation, while [ $\beta$ ] represents influence from surrounding Cia-Cia dialects. This sound is written consistently in the word list responses as *v*. While we did little in terms of orthography development in this initial visit, it would seem that Wasambua speakers themselves would prefer a spelling system in which this sound is represented as *w*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The shift in meaning from 'testimony' to 'index finger' presumably is based on the use of the raised index finger as a silent agreement with the Islamic creed. According to Anceaux (1987:157), Wolio has a contrast between *sahada* 'index finger' and *sahada* 'profession of faith (in Islam).'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> I also transcribed /d/ in *bukuno adamu* 'tailbone,' but could this be dental? Cf. Malay *adam* 'earth, ground' < Arabic  $\bar{a}dam$ .

The sound which I regularly indicate in word list responses as a uvular fricative  $/\chi/$  also requires further investigation. In the mouths of some speakers it may in fact be articulated as a voiceless uvular trill [ $\Re$ ] (or possibly even a fricative trill?) Initially I had difficulty deciding whether this sound was voiceless or voiced. Upon detailed acoustic phonetic analysis, it turned out that what I had heard as (possible) voicing was in fact an interval of voicelessness, but short in duration (see Figure 1 and Figure 2 on the following page).

Wasambua speakers, aware that this sound corresponds to r in nearby Cia-Cia dialects, would prefer a spelling system in which this sound is represented as r. For consistency I have chosen to write this sound in the word list responses as  $\chi$ . A practical consideration guiding this decision is that there also exist in the corpus some words with a bone fide r sound, that is, an alveolar trill. Most if not all Wasambua words with r are to be ascribed to borrowing. The following is a list of Wasambua words transcribed with /r/.

bara	'goods'	cf. Malay <i>barang</i>
duria	'durian'	cf. Malay durian
embere	'bucket'	cf. Malay <i>ember</i>
kaboro	'grasshopper'	cf. Wolio kaboro
kamara	'room'	cf. Malay <i>kamar</i>
kapurakaka	'frog, toad'	cf. Malay katak pura 'toad'
mo?ana piara	'adopted child'	cf. Malay pelihara 'care for, tend'
oboro	'torch'	cf. Malay <i>obor</i>
pikiri	'to think'	cf. Malay <i>pikir</i>
sageru	'palm wine'	cf. Malay saguer

The phonemic status of glottal stop requires further investigation. It occurs primarily between like vowels, as in *cu2u* 'knee,' *yo2o* 'nose,' and *ku\chii2i* 'house post' and at some morpheme boundaries (or former morpheme boundaries), as in *ka2ina* 'here' (cf. *ina* 'this'), *leŋka2e* 'open it' and *kolo2uma* 'hermit crab.' However there are a handful of exceptions where only a long vowel is heard. Presumably long vowels can be analyzed underlyingly as sequences of two vowels.

dìidì ~ idì-idì	[diˈidi] ~ [ˌidiˈidi]	'small'
kalipopo ndooti	[ˌkaliˈpopo ndoˈoti]	'firefly'
osee	[o'se:]	'silver'
mandoo-ndoo	[ma_ndo:'ndo:]	'round'
kaxajaa	[kaxa'dʒaː]	'to work,' cf. Malay <i>kerja</i>
pekapatii	[pekapa'ti:]	'to turn around,' cf. Wolio patii
nosoom	[noˈsoːm]	'it has set (of the sun)'

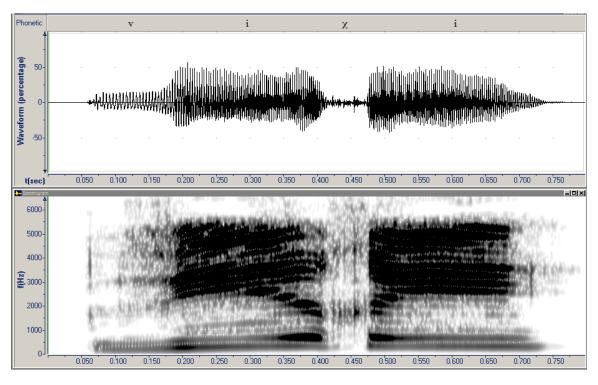


Figure 1. Waveform and spectrogram of Wasambua vixi 'mucus.'

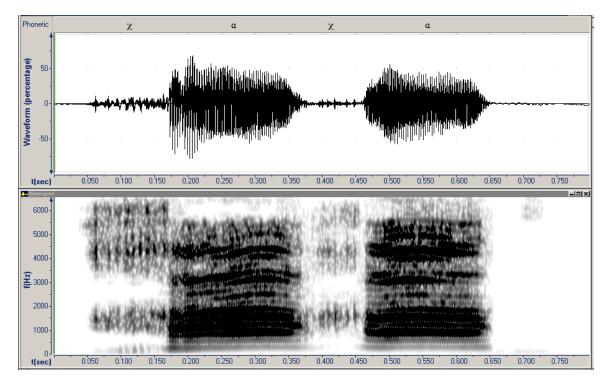


Figure 2. Waveform and spectrogram of Wasambua  $\chi a \chi a$  'branch.'

## 5. Word list

The word list used to collect data on the Wasambua dialect of Cia-Cia is the 844-item Sulawesi Long List (Mead 2017).

Responses are transcribed semi-orthographically. See the preceding section concerning Wasambua phonemes and their orthographic representation. Glottal stop is always represented between vowels, even though its occurrence may be automatic (non-phonemic) between like vowels and perhaps other environments. Glottal stop is not represented word initially; most words that are written as vowel initial can be assumed to begin with a glottal stop.

For most responses stress is not marked. In these cases one can assume that primary stress falls predictably on the penultimate syllable of the word. Only when stress was heard otherwise is it marked. This includes a number of responses where the *o* of the aspectual clitic *-mo* has elided; see the discussion of this phenomenon in § 8. I also mark primary and secondary stress on a few five- and six-syllable words.

In addition, hyphens are used for two purposes. First, a hyphen is used to indicate two syllable reduplication, as in *biku-biku* 'malleolus' and *kamia-mia* 'shadow.' In these cases it can be assumed the reduplicated portion receives secondary stress:

ŋili-ŋili	[ˌŋiliˈŋili]	'temple (of the head)'
kamia-mia	[ka mia mia]	'shadow'
pekaɗao-ɗaoa	[peka daoda oa]	'to play'

Hyphens are also used for separating a person marker from a stem. The most common inflectional affixes encountered in the data are the first person singular possessive suffix -2u, the third person possessive suffix -no, the third person realis subject prefix no- and the third person object suffix -2e (or -e). Although technically not part of the meaning being elicited, our respondents felt most comfortable citing the form with a person marker. Note that all the mentioned suffixes precipitate stress movement. Other affixation is discussed in the annotations.

As any linguist who has collected a word list knows, the first response to a word list item may not be the best or most appropriate response. For example when eliciting the term for 'blowgun' I was initially given the term *suli*, a word which actually refers to flutes. Upon further discussion it was discovered that *kasopu* refers to the weapon, and thus was the most appropriate response.

With the understanding that Wasambua is an endangered dialect, and in order to preserve as much information concerning Wasambua as possible, I have not discarded any data. Instead, information that might normally be discarded I have moved to the annotations.

SLL	English	Indonesian	Wasambua	Annotations
001	body	badan, tubuh	bada	
002	head	kepala	роси	
003	skull	tengkorak	koloŋkeno pocu	
004	fontanelle	ubun-ubun	kamunda	one can see it throbbing
005	brain	otak	ota	
006	hair (head)	rambut	vu?u	
007	hair whorl	unyeng-unyeng	tonuana	
008	hair bun	sanggul	kapoŋkolu	
009	gray hair	uban	kua	
010	face	muka, wajah	hula	
011	forehead	dahi	vusa	
012	eye	mata	mata	
013	eyeball	bola mata	koloŋkeno mata	
014	munil of the eve	biji mata, manik mata	mokito	lit. 'black' cf. 552
015	eyebrow	kening, alis mata	keye	
016	eyelashes	bulu mata	vuluno mata	
017	tear (from crying)	air mata	lu?uno mata	
018	temple	pelipis	ŋili-ŋili	
019	nose	hidung	ŋo?o	
020	nostril	lubang hidung	volovano ŋo?o	lit. 'hole of the nose' cf. 19, 368
021	mucus	ingus	momo / viχi	called $vi\chi i$ if there is a lot
022	cheek	pipi	баga	
023	cheekbone	tulang pipi, pasu-pasu	bukuno ɓaga	
024	mouth	mulut	боба	cf. <i>yuncu</i> 'exterior mouth area,' described as 'the part that speaks'
025	lip	bibir	vivi	
026	tongue	lidah	lela	
027	tooth	gigi	ŋiʔi	
028	molar tooth	geraham	vaŋka	
029	gums	gusi	guo	
030	palate	langit-langit mulut	ղаχս	final <i>u</i> is confirmed

031	saliva	ludah, air liur	elu	
032	chin	dagu	ɗaŋku	
033	ear	telinga	toliŋa	
034	earwax	tahi telinga	takino toliŋa	
035	neck	leher	vuku	also <i>la?ano vuku</i> 'stem of the neck' cf. also gonco front of the neck, probably 'windpipe'
036	throat (esophagus)	kerongkongan	kaɗokua	
037	nape (of neck)	tengkuk, kuduk	tozoku	
038	shoulder	bahu	баhu	
039	armpit	ketiak, kelek	kazapa	
040	arm	lengan	la?ano lima	
041	elbow	siku	siku	
042	hand, forearm	tangan	lima	
043	palm of hand	tapak tangan	χandano lima	
044	span (eight inches)	jengkal	acuɗa	with prefix <i>a</i> - 'one'
045	fathom	depa	ахора	with prefix <i>a</i> - 'one'
046	finger	jari	vuŋano lima	lit. 'flower (branching inflorescence) of the hand'
047	thumb	ibu jari	ka?ompu	
048	index finger	(jari) telunjuk	sahada	cf. ka?omalo 'middle finger'
049	pinky, little finger	jari kelingking	kancili	
050	fingernail	kuku jari	konosu	cf. 248
051	back (person)	punggung, belakang	bu?u	
052	spine, backbone	tulang punggung	bukuno kalembaŋu	
053	tailbone	tulang tongkeng	bukuno adamu	or <i>adamu</i> (?) cf. Malay <i>adam</i> 'earth, ground' < Arabic <i>ādam</i>
054	chest	dada	kaza	
055	breast	susu, buah dada	cici	
056	nipple, teat	puting susu	ŋuncuno cici	cf. 176, 246
057	belly	perut	hava	
058	navel	pusat	puhe	

059	waist	pinggang	toŋa	
060	leg, foot	kaki	kake	includes lower leg
061	thigh	paha	paha	
062	shin	tulang kering	bukuno kake	
063	calf of leg	betis	koisia	
064	knee	lutut	cu?u	
065	popliteal space	(pe)lipatan lutut	taku-taku	
066	malleolus	mata kaki	biku-biku	
067	ankle	pergelangan kaki	lolosua	probably meaning 'joint' in general, not the ankle specifically
068	sole of foot	tapak kaki	χandano kake	
069	heel	tumit	kozoncoŋo	
070	toe	jari kaki	vuŋano kake	
071	body hair	bulu (badan)	vulu	
072	skin (person)	kulit	kuli	
073	meat, flesh	(jaringan) daging	isi	
074	fat	lemak	taba	
075	bone	tulang	buku	
076	rib	tulang rusuk	bukuno kasupi	
077	heart	jantung	баke	
078	blood	darah	χea	
079	vein (blood)	urat darah	uva	or specifically: uvano koxea
080	liver	hati	hate	
081	gall, bile	empedu	pio	
082	lungs	paru-paru	kasupi	
083	intestines	usus	ŋkalu-ŋkalu	
084	kidney	ginjal	ginjala	
085	buttocks	pantat, bokong	buli-buli	
086	anus	dubur, pelepasan	volovano taki	lit. 'excrement hole' cf. 88, 368
087	urine	air kencing	lele?e	
088	excrement	tahi	taki	
089	penis	kemaluan laki-laki	tavu	
090	testicle	buah pelir	cikoluno	cf. 177

091	vagina	kemaluan perempuan	cile	initial response, <i>kabumbuno</i> , probably refers to mons veneris
092	clitoris	kelentit	<u> </u>	
093	womb	rahim, peranakan		cf. ko?ana 'have children, give birth'
094	afterbirth	tembuni	aka	aka also means 'older sibling' cf. 121, 122
095	umbilical cord	tali pusat	lolaino	
096	wound	luka	kabela	
097	scar	bekas luka	bucuano kaɓela	
098	callus	risa, belulang	ɓalula	cf. <i>koɓalula</i> 'callused'
099	boil	bisul	kaɓisu	
100	mole, nevus	tahi lalat	cula	
101	sweat (n)	keringat	hanci	
102	person	orang	mia	
103	man, male	laki-laki	mohane	cf. 105, 256
104	woman, female	perempuan	movine	cf. 106, 257
105	husband	suami	mohane	
106	wife	isteri	movine	
107	father	bapak, ayah	ama	
108	father (term of address)	bapak (panggilan)	uma	as in maimo uma 'come here, father'
109	mother	ibu	ina	
110	mother (term of address)	ibu (panggilan)	ina	as in <i>maimo ina</i> 'come here, mother'
111	child	anak	moha?ana	
112	baby	bayi	moha?ana ɗiiɗi	cf. dìidì 'small' (465)
113	first born child	anak sulung	cumpe / aka	aka means 'older sibling' cf. 121, 122
114	last born child	anak bungsu	ka?epu	
115	grandchild	сиси	ompu?ompu	
116	grandmother	nenek perempuan	ompu	
117	grandfather	nenek laki-laki, kakek	отри	
118	ancestor	nenek moyang		
119	offspring	keturunan	sivulua	
120	sibling	saudara	vicinai	also meaning 'cousin' cf. 131
121	older brother	kakak laki-laki	aka	

122	older sister	kakak perempuan	aka	
	younger brother	adik laki-laki	ai	
124	younger sister	adik perempuan	ai	
125	twins	anak kembar	moha?ana <b>xapi</b>	
126		saudara laki-laki dari ibu	posoamaho	with stem ama 'father'
127	father's brother	saudara laki-laki dari ayah	posoamaho	with stem ama 'father'
	mother's sister	saudara perempuan	posoinaho	with stem ina 'mother'
129		saudara perempuan dari ayah	posoinaho	with stem <i>ina</i> 'mother'
130	niece, nephew	kemenakan	posoanaho	with stem ana 'child'
131	cousin	sepupu	vicinai	also meaning 'sibling' cf. 120
132	parent-in-law	mortua	amamantu?u / inamantu?u	respectively father-in-law and mother-in- law
133	child-in-law	menantu	ko?ompu	
1154	co-parent-in- law	besan	samponi	
135	sibling-in-law	ipar	mania	
	spouse of sibling-in-law	biras		<i>ŋgalapa</i> is Cia-Cia Batu Atas
137	stepfather	ayah tiri	ama ve?e	
138	stepmother	ibu tiri	ina ve?e	
139	stepchild	anak tiri	ana ve?e	
140	stepsibling	saudara tiri		
141	co-wife	madu	samaxue	
142	slave	hamba, budak	басиа	
143	widow	janda	iaxo	
144	widower	duda	ίαχο	
145	orphan	anak yatim	ana ŋkaelu	
146	adopted child	anak angkat	ana niala	calque from Indonesian? also <i>moha?ana</i> <i>piara</i>
147	guest	tamu	mia umba	cf. 102, 816
148	companion	kawan, teman	saɓaŋka	
149	enemy	musuh	6ali	people here usually say musu

150	midwife	bidan	bisa	or specifically: bisa ko?ana
151	shaman	dukun, balian	bisa	
152	Ι	aku, saya	iya?u	
153	you (fam.)	engkau, kamu	iso?o	
154	he, she	dia, ia	o?ia	
155	we (excl.)	kami	isami	
156	we (incl.)	kita	iŋkita	
157	you (plural)	kalian	isimiu	
158	they	mereka	moho?ia	vowels are somewhat nasalized
159	animal	binatang	kaɗaɗi	
160	water buffalo	kerbau	kazambau	
161	anoa depressicornis	anoa	nua	
162	cow	sapi	sapi	
163	horn	tanduk	tandu	
164	tail	ekor	ka?esu	
165	hide, skin (of animals)	jangat, kulit binatang	kuli	cf. 72
166	leather	belulang	kulino mokele	lit. 'dry skin'
167	bird	burung	manu-manu	
168	crow	burung gagak	laɓoga	
169	owl	burung hantu	koa	
170	megapode	burung maleo	halo	probably refers to hornbill, not the megapode
171	lorikeet	burung nuri	vaozi	
172	cockatoo	burung kakatua	vela	
173	duck	bebek	bebe	
174	chicken	ayam	manu	
175	wing	sayap	pani	
176	beak	paruh	դսոշս	also 'snout' cf. 246
177	egg (chicken)	telur (ayam)	cikolu	cf. 90
178	nest	sarang	kampupu	
179	feather	bulu (ayam)	vulu	
180	louse (chicken)	kutu ayam	cucue manu	

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181	louse (head)	kutu (kepala)	cucu	
182	nit, louse egg	lisa, telur kutu	leuka	
183	louse (clothes)	tuma (pakaian)	cuma	
184	bedbug	kutu busuk	koloka	
185	tick	caplak	kopia	
186	flea	pinjal	_	
187	bat	kelelawar	kaloa	ponisi is from other Buton languages
188	fruit bat, flying fox	keluang, kalong	kaloa	
189	caterpillar	ulat	kule	
190	butterfly	кири-кири	kaɗiɗo	
191	sago grub	lundi	keɓo	cf. kule-kule 'maggots'
192	palm weevil	kumbang sagu	pondi	generic for (large) beetle (?)
193	coconut rhinoceros beetle	bangbung	pondi	generic for (large) beetle (?)
194	mosquito	nyamuk	buχuto	
195	fly	lalat	lale	
196	honey bee	lebah	vani / ka?inua	giant honey bee and Asian honey bee respectively
197	honey	madu	golano vani	cf. gola 'sugar' (370)
198	beeswax	lilin lebah	taχu	
199	wasp	tabuhan, penyengat	tovua	
200	ant	semut	sea	
201	termite	anai-anai	ane	
202	cockroach	lipas, kecoak	kabamba	
203	centipede	lipan	maŋkai	
204	luminous centipede	kelema(n)yar	honda	
205	millipede	kaki seribu		
206	firefly	kunang-kunang	kalipopo ndooti	cf. also <i>kaboro</i> 'grasshopper'
207	scorpion	kalajengking	supiganda	
208	cicada	tonggeret	ngia-ngia	
209	spider	labah-labah		people here usually say <i>laba-laba</i>
210	leech	lintah, pacet	punto	

211	earthworm	cacing tanah	hundelecu	
212	snake	ular	kule	
213	python	ular sawa	balu vasu laŋka	
214	fish	ikan	isa	
215	fish scales	sisik	hena	e in initial syllable confirmed
216	fish gills	insang	anca	
217	eel	ikan belut	vulelu	
218	shark	ikan hiu	moŋiva	
219	stingray	ikan pari	pagi	
220	whale	ikan paus		
221	dolphin	lumba-lumba	lumba-lumba	
222	dugong	duyung	vadiu-diu	
223	squid	cumi-cumi	kondovua	but usually cumi-cumi in everyday speech
224	octopus	gurita	guxita	the reference of the initial response, kamoχavu, could not be identified
225	shrimp	udang	melama	
226	lobster	udang karang	melama noloko	
227	crab	kepiting	buŋka	
228	pincher, claw (of crab)	jepitan (kepiting)	ganci	
229	hermit crab	umang-umang	kolo?uma	
230	frog	katak	kapurakaka	
231	toad	katak pura	kapurakaka	
232	turtle	kura-kura	kapoluka	
233	sea turtle	репуи	ponu	
234	crocodile	buaya	buea	
235	monitor lizard	biawak	simbou	
236	tokay gecko	tokek	toke	
237	house gecko	cicak	sasa	
238	deer	rusa	χusa	
239	monkey	monyet	ndoke	
240	rat, mouse	tikus	sibu	
241	shrew	celurut	sibu movilo	cf. <i>movilo</i> 'blind' (288)
242	pig	babi	vavi	

243	babirusa	babi rusa		unknown in southern Buton
244	tusk	taring	cimpa	
245	dog	anjing	mantoa	
246	snout	moncong	ŋuncu	also 'beak (of bird)' cf. 176
247	cat	kucing	mbuta	
248	claw	cakar	konosu	also 'fingernail' cf. 50
249	goat	kambing	<b>bembe</b>	
250	horse	kuda	lajaxa	
251	civet	musang	jina	
252	squirrel	tupai	kosimbu	
253	bear cuscus	kuskus beruang	kuse	
254	small cuscus	kuskus kecil	toŋali	
255	tarsier	tangkasi, binatang hantu	koa-koa	according to some just <i>koa</i> ; the name may be onomatopoetic
256	male (of animals)	jantan	mohane	identical to human male, cf. 103
257	female (of animals)	betina	movine	identical to human female, cf. 104
258	tree	pohon	asau	with prefix <i>a</i> - 'one'
259	leaf	daun	χο?ο	
260	branch	cabang	χαχα	
261	trunk	batang	la?a	
262	root	akar	kulese	<i>puχasa</i> is Cia-Cia Batu Atas
263	tree stump	tunggul (pohon)	kacumpu	
264	bark (tree)	kulit kayu	kulino sau	lit. 'skin of tree' cf. 72, 149
265	sap	getah	polo	
266	wood	kayu	sau	also <i>dopi</i> 'plank, board'
267	fruit	buah	vua	
268	flower	bunga	kamba	
269	stem	tangkai	polopa	includes the stems of palm fronds and papaya leaves; we went outside to confirm that it also refers to the stems of ordinary leaves; respondents struggled with this term, initially giving me $\chi a \chi a$ , the word for 'branch'
270	thorn	duri	χui	
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271	banana	pisang	kaɗese	
$(\mathcal{T})$	banana blossom	jantung pisang	kumbulia	
273	coconut (ripe)	kelapa tua	kunde mocuka	cf. 532
$\mathcal{T} \mathcal{T} \mathcal{T}$	coconut (unripe)	kelapa muda	kunde mo <b>zuŋa</b>	cf. 485
275	coconut husk	sabut kelapa	6enu	
276	coconut shell	tempurung	kabuluno kunde	
///	coconut apple, haustorium	tombong kelapa	homba	
278	copra	kopra	kilou	
1)/U	coconut frond stipule	tapas kelapa	banca	
280	oil	minyak	mina	cf. <i>minano kunde</i> 'coconut oil'
281	bamboo	bambu	ho?o / paxavata / ɗama / pacu / ɓalo	<i>ho?o</i> has short internodes (#7); <i>paҳavata</i> (#1); <i>dama</i> slender bamboo (#3); <i>pacu</i> (#5); <i>balo</i> used for cooking rice (#4) (numbers refer to pictures in the <i>Sulawesi Long List</i> <i>Annotations</i> )
282	internode (bamboo)	ruas (bambu)	la?a	cf. <i>buku</i> 'node'
283	bamboo shoot	rebung	χobu	
284	sago palm	rumbia	χumbia	
285	sago flour	tepung sagu	sagu	
286	nipa palm	nipah	panasa	
287	sugar palm	enau, aren	konau	
288	palm toddy	nira	we?eno konau	lit. 'sugar palm water' cf. 287, 371
289	ijuk fiber	ijuk	kampuga	
290	rattan	rotan	χαυχο	
291	sugarcane	tebu	tovu	
292	peanut	kacang tanah	kacaŋgore	
293	candlenut	kemiri	kumundi	
294	kapok	kapok	kapajava	
295	eggplant	terung	palola	
296	gourd	labu kendi	<u> </u>	
/ <b>y</b> /	squash, pumpkin	labu manis	pa, zacu' kala	

298	cucumber	ketimun	ɓaloŋka	
299	watermelon	semangka	kajava	
300	papaya	рерауа	kapaea	
301	chili pepper	cabe, lombok	saha	
302	garlic, onion	bawang	ɓava	also <i>bava mopute</i> 'garlic,' <i>bava modea</i> 'shallot'
303	tomato	tomat	kanu	
304	citrus fruit	jeruk	munte	
305	mango	mangga	po?o	
306	durian	durian	duria	
307	breadfruit	sukun	bokulu	people here also say suku
308	ginger	jahe	lokia	
309	turmeric	kunyit	suni	
310	cassava	ubi kayu	kasubia	
311	sweet potato	ubi jalar	kandoxa	
312	taro	talas, keladi	kaladi	
313	greater yam	ubi	santa	
314	lesser yam	ubi kembili	hopa	
315	bitter yam	gadung, ubi arak	hondo	
316	betel	sirih	kuχu	note also <i>bite</i> referring to betel fruits
317	areca nut	pinang	paŋana	
318	banyan	beringin	mexanca	
319	dammar	damar		
320	casuarina	eru		
321	ti plant	andong		
322	derris (fish poison)	tuba	cuvele	
323	mushroom	cendawan, jamur	ku?u	
324	short grass	rumput	χumpu	
325	cogon grass	alang-alang	ɗana	
326	pineapple	nenas	nanasi	
327	pandanus	pandan	ponda	
328	fragrant pandan	pandan wangi	daun panda	

329	seed	biji	ampole	with prefix <i>a</i> - 'one,' cf. χoampole 'two seeds'
330	(rice) seedling	bibit (padi)	vine	
331	field rice	padi	бае	
332	rice (cut, unhulled)	gabah	ompoleno ɓae	cf. 329
333	hull of rice	sekam (gabah)	heka	
334	straw	jerami	la?ano ɓae	
335	hulled rice	beras	бае	
336	cooked rice	nasi	nima?a	
337	corn	jagung	kahitela	
338	millet	jawawut, sekoi	voto	
339	Job's tears	enjelai		
340	sorghum	jawaras, cantel	kalame	
341	sun	matahari	holeo	
342	moon	bulan	vula	
343	star	bintang	kalipopo	
344	sky	langit	laia ~ laya	
345	cloud	awan	olu	
346	raincloud	awan hitam	olu mokito	cf. mokito 'black' (552)
347	fog	kabut	gavu	
348	dew	embun	alo	
349	thunder	guntur	χundu	
350	lightning	kilat	bibito	note also <i>bexese</i> 'thunderbolt'
351	rain	hujan	hise	
352	flood	banjir	va?a	
353	rainbow	pelangi	τοχοχε	
354	wind	angin	kavea	
355	sea, ocean	laut	mokahi	
356	wave	ombak	evo	
357	low tide	air surut	we?eno sampu	cf. sampu 'descend' (743)
358	high tide	air pasang	we?eno mone	cf. mone 'ascend' (742)
359	island	pulau	pulo	
360	cape, headland	tanjung	uju	

361	bay	teluk		
362	shore	pantai	vivino mokahi	
363	sand	pasir	hone	
364	mud	lumpur	кабехе	
365	earth, ground	tanah	vuta	
366	earthquake	gempa bumi	lindu	
367	cave	gua	goa	
368	hole	lubang	volova	
369	salt	garam	gaxa	
370	sugar	gula	gola	
371	water	air	u'e?e ~ we?e	
372	waterfall	air terjun	we?e mondawu	perhaps calqued from Indonesian
373	spring	mata air	matano we?e	
374	mountain	gunung	gunu	
375	summit	puncak	kabumbu	respondents initially gave <i>gunu maciŋgi</i> lit. 'tall mountain'; <i>kabumbu</i> may mean 'hill' or 'ridge'
376	plain	dataran	χete / vuta χete	cf. moxete 'flat' (537)
377	valley	lembah	po?aveta?aso	probably with stem <i>veta</i> 'divide, split in half'; cf. also <i>kabumbu</i> , referring to the slopes on either side of a valley
378	woods, forest	hutan	ponue	
379	river	sungai	va?axa	
380	current (of stream, river)	arus	va?a	
381	river mouth	muara, kuala		
382	lake	danau		
383	fire	api	api	
384	smoke (from fire)	asap	hau	
385	embers	bara api	veano api	
386	ashes	abu	habu	
387	dust	debu	gavu	
388	stone	batu	loko	
389	lime	kapur	hapu	

390	gold	emas	bulava	
391	silver	perak	osee	
392	bronze	tembaga	tambaga	
393	iron	besi	ase	
394	earthen	tembikar	vuta	cf. 365
395	shadow	bayang-bayang	kamia-mia	
396	house	rumah	ɓanua	
397	floor	lantai	ререа	
398	ladder	tangga	polaŋku	
399	wall (of house)	dinding	χindi	
400	door	pintu	kajoli / ɓoɓa	<i>kajoli</i> refers to the door leaf, <i>boba</i> the door opening
401	window	jendela	balo-balo	
402	roof	atap	hato	
403	ridge (of roof)	bubungan	bumbuŋa	
404	rafter	kasau	kaso	
405	storage shelf above hearth	para	gode-gode	questionable, cf. Kulisusu <i>gode-gode</i> 'sitting platform'
406	house post	tiang rumah	kuzi?i	
407	space under house	kolong	vava	
408	fence	pagar	pagala / tondo	
409	canoe, boat	perahu	ɓaŋka	
410	bow (of boat)	haluan	ve azoa	lit. 'in front'; <i>ve χοpe</i> is also known and used
411	stern	buritan	taliku	ve vana is also known and used
412	rudder	kemudi	oli	<i>oli</i> is the original term, but in everyday speech people use <i>kamudi</i>
413	sail	layar	paŋava	
414	canoe paddle	dayung	bose	
415	raft	rakit	χaki	
416	charcoal	arang	hio	
417	three-stone fireplace	tungku	ɗalika	
418	firewood	kayu api	sauno api	cf. 266, 383

419	tinder	rabuk	taɓaχo	in other Cia-Cia dialects <i>tabaro</i> refers to sago flour, but the respondent described the source and use of tinder exactly, using this term
420	torch	obor	oboro	
421	cooking pot	periuk, belanga	tave belaŋa	
422	water jar	tempayan	gusi	
423	bamboo water container	tempat air bambu	mbalo	
424	ladle of coconut shell	gayung	kasivu	
425	mortar	lesung	nosu	
426	pestle (rice)	penumbuk, alu	anano nosu	
427	winnowing basket	nyiru	katepi	
428	dibble	tugal	kapontasu	
429	rice harvest knife	ani-ani	pakato	
430	knife	pisau	piso	
431	machete	parang	kapulu	
432	sheath for machete	sarung parang	kasele	
433	chopping block	papan pemotong	sau	lit. 'wood' cf. 266
434	ax, hatchet	kapak, kampak	ndamu	
435	grub hoe	pacul, cangkul	viŋku	
436	blowgun	sumpitan	kasopu	note also <i>suli</i> 'flute'
437	pitfall spike	ranjau	_	
438	fish trap	bubu	bubu	
439	top (toy)	gasing	gasi	
440	staff, walking stick	tongkat	kacula	
441	ring (for finger)	cincin	siŋkaχu	
442	comb	sisir	suavi	
443	necklace	kalung	χanta	note also kasubele 'prayer beads, rosary'
444	beads	manik-manik		cf. kombena-mbena 'to shine' (Indonesian bersinar-sinar)

445	rope	tali (besar, pintal)	χambu	
446	string	benang, tali (kecil)	kaɓoke	<i>kaboke</i> instrumental of <i>boke</i> 'to tie' (cf. 726); also <i>kambaxi</i> , probably referring specifically to sewing thread
447	peg, nail	paku	paso	
448	needle	jarum	ɗeu	
449	sarong	sarung	kazike	
450	trousers	celana	sala	
451	mat	tikar	ampasi	
452	blanket	selimut		
453	pillow	bantal	polaŋu	
454	cradle	ayunan	kabue	
455	loincloth	cawat, kain pinggang	kagogoli	
456	bark cloth	jeluang	_	
457	wine	saguer	sageru	
458	medicine	obat	lancau	
459	swidden, dry rice/corn field	ladang	vuta	lit. 'earth, ground' cf. 365; also seami 'garden' vuta seami 'garden plot'
460	trail, road	jalanan	lala	
461	footbridge	titi, titian	kalelea	
462	village	kampung	kampo / livu	
463	market	pasar	'ɗaoa	
464	big	besar	to?ova	
465	small (object)	kecil	diidi ~ idi-idi	
466	good	baik	belo	cf. <i>belo lalono</i> 'good hearted'
467	bad, evil	jahat	mozikiu	
468	wet	basah	тохата	
469	dry	kering	mokele	
470	dark	gelap	moɗampa	
471	bright	terang	moinava	
472	wide	lebar	moleva / maeva	cf. Standard Muna <i>hewa</i> 'wide, broad (of house, field, road)'
473	broad	luas	to?ova	also meaning 'big' cf. 464
474	narrow	sempit	mo?ipi / mogimpi	

475	strong	kuat	mohosa	
476	weak	lemah	molute	
477	brave	berani	barani	
478	tame (animal)	jinak (binatang)	monea	
479	wild (animal)	liar (binatang)	moŋila	
480	far	jauh	mbelai	
481	near	dekat	taŋku	
482	new (objects)	baru	vukou	
483	old (objects)	lama	moleŋo	
484	old (persons)	tua	mancuana	
485	young	muda	тохиђа	
486	thick (object)	tebal	mokapa	
487	thin (object)	tipis	monipi	
488	skinny	kurus	moɗaŋka	
489	fat	gemuk	to?ova bukuno	lit. 'large boned' cf. 75, 464
490	hot (water)	panas (air)	mompana	
491	cold (water)	dingin (air)	moɗindi	
492	(luke)warm (water)	hangat (air)	mo <sub>,</sub> mpana'kuku	
493	clear (water)	jernih (air)	molino	
494	fresh (water)	tawar (air)	tembe	
495	dull (knife)	tumpul	cia nakoto	lit. 'it's not sharp' cf. 496, 557
496	sharp (knife)	tajam	no-koto	
497	slack (rope)	kendur (tali)	no-momalu	note also <i>pokolu6a</i> causative verb form meaning 'make it loose'
498	taut (rope)	kencang, berentang (tali)	no-mocuka	initial response <i>hela pokocuka?e</i> means 'pull it so that it is hard'
499	short (length)	pendek	molimbu	
500	short (height)	rendah	mopanda	
501	tall	tinggi	mociŋgi	
502	long (object)	panjang	ko?ata	
503	ripe	matang, masak (buah)	montaha	
504	unripe	mentah (buah)	momata	
505	rotten (fruit)	busuk	mobuto	

506	withered	layu	mokeŋku	
507	sour	masam, asam	mokolo	
508	bitter	pahit	mopaki	
509	sweet	manis	momeko	
510	salty	asin	тораха	
511	spicy	pedas	molala	
512	tasty, delicious	enak	mombaka	
513	fragrant	harum, wangi	movondu	
514	blind	buta	movilo	
515	deaf	tuli	тобођо	
516	drunk, intoxicated	mabuk	molaŋu	
517	healthy	sehat	seha	
518	pain, to be sick	sakit	mopanaki / mosoɗo	
519	feverish	demam	moɗindi	also meaning 'cold' cf. 491
520	lame	pincang	kempa	
521	thirsty	haus	mokele	
522	hungry	lapar	тохахо	
523	full (satiated)	kenyang	mokente	
524	other, different	lain (orang lain)	aga?ano	
525	all	semua	satatana?e	
526	many	banyak	to?axu	
527	few, little (quantity)	sedikit	aiɗe	
528	some	beberapa	po pia-po pia	reduplication of <i>popia</i> 'how many?' cf. 842
529	enough, sufficient	cukup	6o'lom	
530	heavy	berat	тобоа	
531	light (in weight)	ringan	mosape	
532	hard (substance)	keras	mocuka	
533	dirty	kotor	mozobu	
534	clean	bersih	moŋgilo	

535	straight	lurus	mola?a	
536	round (spherical)	bulat (seperti bola)	mandoo-ndoo	
537	flat	rata	moxete	
538	lonely	sunyi, sepi	molino	
539	difficult	sukar	sukaza	
540	easy	gampang, mudah	maximba	lit. 'fast' cf. 545
541	expensive	mahal	mohali	
542	cheap	murah	momuɗa	
543	smooth	halus, licin	halusu	
544	slippery	licin	mondolu	
545	fast	lekas, cepat	maximba	
546	deep	dalam (airnya)	kondalo	o in initial syllable is confirmed
547	shallow	dangkal	cia kondalo	lit. 'not deep' cf. 546, 557
548	full (container)	penuh	mompono	
549	true, correct	benar	kocuhu	
550	false, incorrect	salah	sala	
551	white	putih	mopute	
552	black	hitam	mokito	
553	yellow	kuning	moijo	
554	red	merah	moɗea	
555	green	hijau	moijo	
556	blue	biru	moŋkuχi	
557	not	tidak	cia	
558	no longer	tidak lagi	ciamo	
559	there is, there are	ada	ɗane?e	
560	none	tidak ada	cia ɗane?e	
561	no	bukan	muncuano	
562	don't	jangan	aike	
563	if	kalau, jika	ane	
564	because	karena	karena	
565	whatever you call it	anu	anu	

566	now, already	sudah	po?o'lim	
	(perfective)			
567	not yet	belum	ciaho	
568	and	dan	se	as in i <i>ya?u se movine?u</i> 'me and my wife'; cf. 631
569	this	ini	ina	also recorded with accent on final syllable: [i'na:]
570	that	itu	incu	also recorded as incu?e
571	that distant	itu yang jauh	ilo	also recorded with accent on final syllable [i'lo:]
572	here	di sini	ka?ina	
573	there	di situ	ka?incu	
574	way over there	di sana	ka?ilo	
575	one	satu	a?anu	
576	two	dua	бохиа	
577	three	tiga	totolu	
578	four	empat	popa?a	
579	five	lima	lolima	
580	six	enam	nono?o	
581	seven	tujuh	popicu	
582	eight	delapan	uvalu	
583	nine	sembilan	siua	
584	ten	sepuluh	ompulu	
585	eleven	sebelas	ompulu a?anu	
586	twelve	dua belas	ompulu đoχua	
587	thirteen	tiga belas	ompulu totolu	
588	fourteen	empat belas	ompulu popa?a	
589	fifteen	lima belas	ompulu lolima	
590	sixteen	enam belas	ompulu nono?o	
591	seventeen	tujuh belas	ompulu popicu	
592	eighteen	delapan belas	ompulu uvalu	
593	nineteen	sembilan belas	ompulu siua	
594	twenty	dua puluh	χoapulu	
595	twenty-one	dua puluh satu	χoapulu a?anu	
596	twenty-two	dua puluh dua	χoapulu doχua	

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597	twenty-three	dua puluh tiga	χoapulu totolu	
598	twenty-four	dua puluh empat	χoapulu popa?a	
599	twenty-five	dua puluh lima	χoapulu lolima	
600	twenty-six	dua puluh enam	χoapulu nono?o	
601	twenty-seven	dua puluh tujuh	χoapulu popicu	
602	twenty-eight	dua puluh delapan	χoapulu uvalu	
603	twenty-nine	dua puluh sembilan	χoapulu siua	
604	thirty	tiga puluh	tolopulu	
605	forty	empat puluh	patopulu	
606	fifty	lima puluh	limapulu	
607	sixty	enam puluh	nomopulu	
608	seventy	tujuh puluh	picupulu	
609	eighty	delapan puluh	valupulu	
610	ninety	sembilan puluh	siuapulu	
611	hundred	seratus	amohono	
612	two hundred	dua ratus	χoamohono	
613	thousand	seribu	axevu	
614	two thousand	dua ribu	хоахеvu	
615	at	di	ve	e.g. <i>ve banua</i> 'in the house' <i>ve oto</i> 'in the car'
616	left (hand/side)	kiri	ema	sumbali is Cia-Cia Batu Atas
617	right (hand/side)	kanan	suana	
618	west	barat	баха	
619	east	timur	cimbuχu	
620	north	utara	utara	
621	south	selatan	salata	
622	toward the sea	ke arah laut	minte mokahi	
673	toward the interior	ke arah (pe)dalam(an)	minte kondalo	
624	under	di bawah	ve vozu	
	on top of, above	di atas	ve bumbu	
626	behind	di belakang	ve taliku	
627	in front	di depan	ve axoa	

628	outside	di luar	iambali	
629	inside	di dalam	ve lalo	
630	edge	pinggir	рабаха	
631	with	dengan	se	as in <i>se?eno</i> 'with who?' <i>sesabaŋkau</i> 'with my friend'; cf. 568
632	day	hari	holeo	cf. 181
633	night	malam	mo?apu	
634	morning	pagi	χaneo	
635	midday	siang	toxo holeo	cf. <i>toχo</i> 'middle'
636	afternoon	sore	mo?apu holeo	cf. 633
637	yesterday	kemarin	hanuvia	
638	day before yesterday	kemarin dulu	ipu'am	
639	three days ago	tiga hari yang lalu	ito'lum	
640	today	hari ini	holeo ancu	
641	tomorrow	besok	na?ile	
642	day after tomorrow	lusa	naipua	
643	three days hence	tiga hari di depan	ve axoa ancu	
644	year	tahun	taku	
645	ashamed, shy	malu	maea	
646	angry	marah	amaya	
647	to fear, be afraid of	takut (kepada)	montehi	
648	to count	menghitung	pelencu	
649	to learn	belajar	pekampeaɗaχi	
650	to think	berpikir	pikiri	
651	to know (a thing)	tahu (sesuatu)	pande?e	
652	to know a person	kenal (orang)	pande?e	cf. <i>nopande?ea?u</i> 'he knows me'
653	to forget	lupa	moliŋuasine	expressed here with third person singular indirect object marker <i>-asine</i>
654	to remember	mengingat	uɗani-e	
655	to lie (untruth)	berbohong, mendusta	кораха	

656	to choose	memilih	pili-e	
657	to beckon with the hand	memanggil (dengan tangan)	бехо-?е	
658	to tell	memberitahu, kasi tahu	po?omba-?e	
659	to say, speak, utter	berkata	pogau	
660	to order, command	menyuruh	cindala-?e	
661	to repeat	mengulangi	ulaŋi-e	
662	to request	meminta	pemani	
663	to invite	mengundang	uŋku-e	
664	to ask, inquire	bertanya	реаба	
665	to answer	menjawab	lavani	
666	to accuse	menuduh	kona	lit. 'to name' cf. 827; in context: <i>nokona</i> <i>mohaneno noseliŋku</i> 'she accused her husband of dishonesty'
667	to deny	menyangkal	pehahae	
668	to sing	menyanyi	no-lagu	
669	to cry	menangis	no-ke?e	
670	to laugh	tertawa	no-bota?a	
671	to shout	berteriak	no-ɓa <b>xaole</b>	
672	to hear	mendengar	no-hogono	
673	to see	melihat	no-?ita-?e	
674	look up	melihat ke atas	ko?ita ve bumbu	
675	look down	melihat ke bawah	ko?ita ve vozu	
676	to smell, sniff	mencium	no-vondu-e	
677	to fell (tree)	menebang	ponea sau	
678	to cut (wood, across grain)	memotong (kayu)	no-kanda sau	
679	to split (wood)	membelah (kayu)	no-veta sau	
680	to slice	mengiris	реріхі	
681	to grate	memarut	pepagi	
682	to sharpen	mengasah	pekoza	
683	to fold	melipat	pelupi	
684	to roll up	menggulung	lulu-e	

685	to cook	memasak	pepocuko	
686	to (be) boil(ing) (of water)	mendidih	no-zende	
687	to open, uncover	membuka	leŋka-?e	
688	to cover	menutup	soŋkoɓi-e	note also <i>petaŋono</i> 'its (the pot's) lid'
689	to fry	menggoreng	hole-?e	
690	to eat	makan	ma?a	
691	to drink	minum	sumpu	
692	to bite	menggigit	papaki-e	
693	to taste (food)	mencicipi	penami-e	
694	to lick	menjilat	leaki-e	
695	to chew (not to swallow)	mengunyah	pemunta-?e	
696	to chew betelnut	makan pinang	ma?a paŋana	perhaps calqued from Indonesian
697	to swallow	menelan	tolo-?e / ɗoku-e	
698	to suck (not nurse)	mengisap	gomi-e	
699	to blow (on fire)	meniup	рохо-?е	
700	to flame, blaze	menyala	lela	
701	to point	menunjuk	susu-e	
702	to hold	memegang	pe?unta	
703	to use	memakai	pake	
704	to squeeze (in hand)	memeras	pio-?e	
705	to throw away	membuang	kaɓi-e	
706	to fall, drop (as fruit)	jatuh	mondavu / mokocibu	
707	to drop	menjatuhkan	tabuxa-?e	
708	to play	bermain	mogasia / pekaɗao-ɗaoa	with two-syllable reduplication of stem daoa 'market,' cf. 463
709	to work	bekerja	kaxajaa	
710	to rest	beristirahat	ontoho?uka	
711	to burn (field)	membakar (kebun)	pesula vuta	cf. 459

712	to plant	menanam	pembula	
713	to grow	tumbuh	cumbu	
714	to winnow	menampi	petepi (ɓae)	
715	to pound (rice)	menumbuk (padi)	ресиси	
716	to mill	menggiling	gili	
717	to crush spices (in mortar)	mengulek	sube-?e	discard <i>cobe-?e</i>
718	to crush	monimatran	pokovita / pohancuru-e	
719	to live, be alive	hidup	moku <u>y</u> i	
720	to die, dead	mati	mate	
721	to dig (hole)	menggali	galu-e	also <i>polaŋi</i> 'dig a hole'
722	to bury, inter	menguburkan	kubuzu-e	
723	to push	mendorong	jujula-?e	
724	to pull	menarik (sesuatu)	hela-?e	
725	to lift	mengangkat	aŋke-?e	
126		mengikat, menambatkan	boke-?e	
171	to turn (right/left)	berbelok	ɓalili	
728	to turn around	berputar	pekapa 'tii	
729	to stick to	melekat, berlekat	no-pika	
730	to wipe	mengelap	gigisi / lapu-e	
		=	metopa	
732	to dry (clothes) in sun	menjemur (pakaian)	pepohai	
733	to wash hands	mencuci tangan	pevaŋu lima	
734	to bathe	mandi	peɓaho	
735	to give someone a bath	memandikan	peɓaho-?e	
736	to swim	berenang	ponaŋo	
131	to dive, submerge	menyelam	pehomu	
738	to float	mengapung	pelanto-lanto	
739	to sink	tenggelam	kalobu	
740	to climb (tree)	memanjat (pohon)	pemone	

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741	to climb (mountain)	mendaki (gunung)	taga kabumbu	
742	to ascend	naik	mone	
743	to descend	turun	sampu	
744	to hide	bersembunyi	pehoko	
745	to hunt (for game)	berburu		
746	to set (traps)	memasang (jerat)	petaho ka?ela	also <i>peka?ela</i>
747	to catch	menangkap	xaso-?e	
748	to fly	terbang	hoho	
749	to brood	mengeram	no-hokovi	
750	to hatch	menetes	no-po'ham	
751	to shoot an arrow	memanah	pepana	
752	to stab	menikam	tobo-?e	cf. <i>no-cucu-e manu</i> 'stab a chicken (in order to kill it)'
753	to kill	membunuh (orang)	pokomate-?e	
754	to headhunt	mengayau		
755	to throw	melemparkan	pehampasi	
756	to hit (with a stick, club)	memukul (dengan sesuatu)	vesi-e	also <i>labe-?e</i> 'hit'
757	to kick (ball)	menendang (bola)	sepa-?e	
758	to fight	berkelahi	pocumbu	cf. <i>pogexa</i> 'quarrel'
759	to steal	mencuri	mbolaku	
760	to make	membuat	kaxaja-?e	cf. 709
761	to sew	menjahit	peɗeu	
762	to sew roofing thatch	menjahit atap	pecu?u hato	
763	to weave cloth	menenun	то?охи	
764	to plait (mat, basket)	menganyam (tikar, bakul)	pevasa	
765	to sweep	тепуари	pesambuxe	
766	to buy	membeli	peholi	
767	to sell	menjual	paxa?aso	
768	to pay	membayar	mobayara	
769	to borrow	meminjam	peaɗa	
	•	•	•	•

770	to take	mengambil	pe?ala	
771	to seek	mencari	pe?eta	
772	to get, obtain	mendapat	по-боха	
773	to store	menyimpan	ɗika-?e / pesencuvu	
774	to replace	mengganti	bolosi-e	
775	to send	mengirim	lamboko-?e	
776	to give	memberi	ɗavu-e	
777	to bring, carry	membawa	ato-?e	
778	to carry on the head	menjunjung	su?u-e	
779	shoulder	memikul	lemba-?e	
780	to load, take on cargo	memuat barang	ulea-?e	
781	to lose something, lost	hilang, kehilangan	cikabi	
782		memejamkan (mata)	pepixo-?e matano	
783	to smile	tersenyum	pemboi / peŋiχi	
784	to breathe	bernafas	pesina?a	
785	to cough	batuk	kabu	
786	to sneeze	bersin	aciho	
787	to belch	beserdawa	hontea	also <i>pokexe gonco</i> but the meaning of this phrase could not be determined
788	to hiccup	cegukan	koɗu	
789	to spit	berludah, meludah	pekacue	
790	to vomit (not to spit out)	muntah	polonai	
791	to fart	berkentut	pekohocu	
792	to defecate	membuang air besar, berak	ɓanaka	
793	to itch, be itchy	gatal	mohaito	
794	to scratch (an itch)	bergaruk	kusai-e	
795	to delouse	menghilangkan kutu	pekacucu	

796	to rub (massage)	menggosok (badan)	рерихо	
797	to pull out, extract	mencabut	pe?umao	
798		bergembung, membengkak	no-tente	
799	to flow	mengalir	no-va?a	
800	to go	pergi	no-vila	
801	to enter	masuk	pesua	
802	to exit	keluar	limba	
803	to follow	mengikut	hokolo	
804	to run	berlari	tođe	
805	to walk	berjalan	pevila-vila	
806	to stand	berdiri	taɗe / pentaɗe-ntaɗe	
807	to sit	duduk	pecuko-cuko	
808	to squat	berjongkot	peŋke-peŋke	
809	to lie down	berbaring	ndole-ndole	
XIO	to nod, be sleepy	mengantuk	mompau	
811	to yawn	menguap	moŋava	
812	to sleep	tidur	monoko	
813	to dream	(ber)mimpi	po?inipi	
814	to wake up	bangun	6a'ŋum	
815	to awaken someone	membangunkan	ɓaŋu-e-ho	
816	to come, arrive	datang, tiba	no-?umba	also mai 'come hither'
817	to depart	berangkat	no-vila	
818	to return home	pulang	no-mbule	
819	to live, dwell	tinggal	kotazu	
820	to wait	menunggu	antagi-e	
821	to help	menolong	culungi-e-ho	
822	to begin	mulai	pepuku	
823	to finish	selesai	po?o'lim	
824	to be pregnant	mengandung, hamil	kohava	

825	to rise (of sun)	terbit (matahari)	nobe'nam holeo	
826	to set (of sun)	terbenam (matahari)	no'soːm holeo	
827	name	nama	kona	
828	story	cerita	cula-cula	
829	word	kata	pogau	
830	language	bahasa	pogau	
831	riddle	teka-teki	taŋke-taŋke	
832	money	uang	doi	
833	debt	utang	ɗosa	
834	breakfast	sarapan pagi	ma?a <b>xaneo</b>	literally 'eat in the morning,' cf. 634, 690
835	bride price	mas kawin	kataŋkano kavia	
836	what?	apa?	ohae	
837	who?	siapa?	he?eno	
838	where?	di mana?	vehae	
839	whither?	ke mana?	vehae nointe	
840	whence?	dari mana?	vehae mina	
841	when?	kapan?	naipia	
842	how many?	berapa?	popia	
843	how?	bagaimana?	mbahae	vowels are nasalized
844	why?	mengapa?, kenapa?	mo?apa	
	world	dunia	dٍunia	
	vegetables	sayuran	χusau	
	lemon grass	serei	paɗamalala	
	tamarind	asam	sampalu	
	room	kamar	kamara	
	kitchen	dapur	habu	
	plate	piring	ріхі	
	bottle	botol	butolo	
	shoe	sepatu	kaosu	
	sandal	sandali	sandali	
	to pray	berdoa	pedo?a	
	to circumcize	menyunat	pokoŋgilo-?e	

### 6. Person markers

Wasambua person markers occur in six sets. These sets are presented in the following table.

	Independent	Subject (realis)	Subject (irrealis)	Object	Indirect Object	Possessive
1s	ia?u	0-	a-	-a?u	-sia?u, -sina?u	-?u
1pn	ingkita	to	to	-kita	-ikita	-nto
1px	isami	to-	ta-	-sami	-asami	-mami
2s	iso?o		Ø-	-SO	-iso	-mu
2p	isimiu	Ø-	ka-	-simiu	-isimiu, -asimiu	-miu
3s	ia, o?ia	***	na-	0		
3p	moho?ia	no-		-?e, -e	-asine	-no

Our expectation is that across pronoun sets one or more of the plural forms may be used to politely address or refer to an individual, but this aspect of Wasambua person markers was not investigated.

Apart from the independent pronouns, brief notes on each set follow, beginning with the two sets of subject markers and proceeding to the object, indirect object, and possessive sets.

## 6.1 Subject

Subject prefixes occur in two sets—a realis set, and an irrealis set. In addition to an irrealis subject marker, in irrealis mode most verbs assume a form beginning with m.

*To-?ita-?e.* 1PL.SBJ.REAL-see-3.OBJ 'We see it.' *Cia ta-m-ita-?e.* NEG 1PL.SBJ.IRR-IRR-see-3.OBJ 'We don't see it.'

Here follow similar sentences in all persons and numbers. The independent pronoun is included to demonstrate that there is zero marking for a second person singular subject.

Second person plural subject is similar—it has zero marking in realis, but is marked by *ka*-in irrealis. Apart from zero marking, markers in the realis set all contain the vowel *o*, while markers in the irrealis set contain the vowel *a*.

	Realis (I see it, etc.)	Irrealis (I don't see it, etc.)
1s	Ia?u o?ita?e.	Ia?u cia <b>a</b> mita?e.
1pn	Iŋkita to?ita?e.	Iŋkita cia <b>ta</b> mita?e.
1px	Isami to?ita?e.	Isami cia <b>ta</b> mita?e.
2s	Iso?o ita?e.	Iso?o cia mita?e.
2p	Isimiu ita?e.	Isimiu cia <b>ka</b> mita?e.
3s	O?ia no?ita?e.	O?ia cia <b>na</b> mita?e.
3p	Moho?ia no?ita?e.	Moho?ia cia <b>na</b> mita?e.

Besides negative contexts, just illustrated, irrealis markers are also used in future contexts. For example:

A-mo?omba-?e	iya?u.	( stem <i>po?omba</i> 'inform' )
1SG.SBJ.IRR-IRR:inform-3SG.OBJ	1sg.indep	
'I will let him know.'		

VehaeØ-m-inte?where2SG.SBJ.IRR-IRR-go'Where are you off to? Where will you go?'

( stem *inte* 'go' )

## 6.2 Object

Object markers follow the verb. They are suffixes that precipitate stress movement. The following paradigm, based on the verb *ita* 'see,' illustrates the object markers.

no?ita <b>a?u</b>	'he sees me'
no?ita <b>kita</b>	'he sees us (inclusive)'
no?ita <b>sami</b>	'he sees us (exclusive)'
no?ita <b>so</b>	'he sees you (singular)'
no?ita <b>simiu</b>	'he sees you all'
no?ita <b>?e</b>	'he sees him/her/it/them.'

The first person singular marker is attached to the verb stem without any glottal stop. The third person object marker has the form -e. Following verb stems ending in *i* or *u*, the marker is attached without glottal stop, but following verb stems ending in other vowels (e, o, a), it is attached with an intervening glottal stop. This is demonstrated by the following sets.

gomie	'suck it'	susue	'point to it'
pilie	'choose it'	ungkue	'call him'
kabie	'throw it away'	vondue	'smell it'
udanie	'remember it'	lulue	'roll it up'
hole?e	'fry it'	tolo?e	'swallow it'
aŋke?e	'lift it'	poxo?e	'blow on it'
boke?e	'tie it'	ato?e	'bring, carry it'
pokomate?e	'kill him/her/it'	xaso?e	'catch it'
hela?e leŋka?e tabuxa?e jujula?e	'pull it' 'open it' 'drop it' 'push it'		

#### 6.3 Indirect object

One use of indirect object person markers is to encode a beneficiary.

When an indirect object person marker encodes a beneficiary, marking of the (direct) object lapses. That is to say, in our corpus we have no examples of a verb followed by both an object and an indirect object marker. Compare:

*Ala-2e polaŋu.* take-3.0BJ pillow 'Fetch the pillow.'

Ala-sina?upolaŋu.take-1SG.IOpillow'Fetch the pillow for me.'

A-m-ala-isopolangu.1SG.SBJ.IRR-IRR-fetch-2SG.IOpillow'I will fetch you the pillow.''I

As a matter of course, some verbs may take an indirect object pronoun rather than object pronoun. The verb *molingu* 'forget' appears to be one such verb:

*Aike molingu-sina'u.* don't forget-1SG.IO 'Don't forget me.'

Ia?u,ciaa-molingu-iso.1SG.INDEPNEG1SG.SBJ.IRR-forget-2SG.IO'As for me, I won't forget you.'

The following paradigm illustrates the use of indirect object pronouns, based on the verb stem *peholi* (a detransitive form of the verb *holi* 'buy'). Vowel-initial indirect object pronouns are joined without any preceding glottal stop.

Nopeholi <b>sia?u</b> xusau.	'He bought vegetables for me.'
Nopeholi <b>ikita</b> xusau.	'He bought vegetables for us (inclusive).'
Nopeholi <b>asami</b> xusau.	'He bought vegetables for us (exclusive).'
Nopeholi <b>iso</b> xusau.	'He bought vegetables for you (singular).'
Nopeholi <b>isimiu</b> xusau.	'He bought vegetables for you all.'
Nopeholi <b>asine</b> xusau.	'He bought vegetables for him/her/them.'

Two forms of the first person singular indirect object pronoun occur in our corpus: -*sia2u* and -*sina2u*. The contexts in which one or the other form is used are presently unknown.

Similarly two forms of the second person plural indirect object pronoun occur in our corpus: *-isimiu* and *-asimiu*. Their difference in meaning or distribution is currently unknown.

#### 6.4 Possessive

The possessive markers are suffixes. When added to a stem they precipitate stress movement. The full set of possessive markers, illustrated with the stem banua 'house,' are as follows:

banua <b>?u</b>	'my house'
<i>banua</i> nto	'our (inclusive) house'
<i>banua</i> mami	'our (exclusive) house'
<i>banua</i> <b>mu</b>	'your (singular) house'
<i>banua</i> <b>miu</b>	'your (plural) house'
<i>banua</i> <b>no</b>	'his house, her house, their house'

The third person possessive marker *-no* is unmarked for plurality. To specifically indicate a third person plural possessor, *-no* may be followed by the independent pronoun.

banuano moho?ia 'their house'

The vowel u of the second person singular possessive marker *-mu* may elide, in which case the word ends in a consonant. Nonetheless the suffix still precipitates stress movement. For example:

*buto 'lom* 'your (singular) bottle'

Whether the nasal retains its normal length in this context or is compensatorily lengthened remains an open question.

#### 7. Deictics

	Demonstratives		Adverbial	Presentative
Proximal	ina, ana	na?ana	ka?ina	naia
Medial	incu, ancu	ncuancu	ka?incu	incu
Distal Level	ilo	la?ilo	ka?ilo	ilo
Distal Higher	ita	ta?ita	ka?ita	ita
Distal Lower	iwa	wa?iwa	ka?iwa	iwa

Deictic forms, in so far as they are known to me, are presented in the following table.

Demonstratives occur in two sets, unreduplcated and reduplicated. Furthermore the unreduplicated proximal and medial demonstratives both have two variants depending on whether the initial vowel is *i* or *a*. When one form is used over another requires further investigation. At this point I can only say that Wasambua speakers have, at times, preferences. For example I was told to say *tonde incu* 'that glass,' not *tonde ancu*. But *butolo ancu* 'that bottle' is preferable over *butolo incu*, while *butolo ilo* 'that bottle down there' works but *butolo la?ilo* does not. Leaving this issue aside for now, here are some examples of demonstratives in context.

pixi ana	'this plate'
butolo ana	'this bottle'
mia na?ana	'this person'
vani ancu	'those honey bees'
mia ancu	'that person'
mia ncuancu	'that person'
polaŋu ilo	'that pillow over there'
ndoke ilo	'that monkey over there'
mia la?ilo	'that person over there'
tonde ita	'that glass up there'
toke ita	'that gecko up there'
ndamu ta?ita	'that axe up there'
mia ta?ita	'that person up there'
tonde iwa	'that glass down there'
mia wa?iwa	'that person down there'

*Ina o=meja*. this ART=table 'This is a table.' *Incu butolo*. that bottle 'That is a bottle.'

In addition to the above forms, I also have in my notes *i* '*na*: 'this' and *i* '*lo*: 'that (distal)' (as in *ilo: mbelai* 'itu yang jauh') with accent on the final syllable accompanied by length on the final vowel. I also have in my notes *incu?e* 'that' and *iwae* 'that (distal, lower)' with added syllable -*e*. However when I wrote down *oto iwae* 'that car down there' I was told just to write *oto iwa*. I am uncertain what to make of these forms, and leave them as a matter for future investigation.

Provisionally I analyze the form *naia* as a proximal deictic used to present an object the hearer.

Naiabutolo-m.thisbottle-2SG.POSS'Here is your bottle.'

### 8. Aspectual clitics

Wasambua has two aspectual clitics, *-mo* and *-ho*. Both markers precipitate stress movement when added to a stem. Their functions can roughly be captured by the labels 'perfective' and 'imperfective.' Compare for example when combined to the negator *cia* 'no, not':

<i>cia</i> <b>mo</b>	'no longer, not any more'
<i>cia</i> <b>ho</b>	'not yet'

Elsewhere in the Cia-Cia language area the imperfective marker has the form *-po*. The shift of *-po* to *-ho* is a distinguishing characteristic of the Wasambua dialect.

Both markers are compatible with imperative contexts, where *-mo* encodes a more forceful command (immediate action requested), and *-ho* a less forceful command (delayed action is acceptable).

*Mai*-mo, *uma!* come\_hither-PFV father 'Come here, Father!' (strong command) Mai-hoka'ina.come\_hither-IPFVhere'Come over here.' (polite command)

*Bangu-e-***ho**. waken-3.OBJ-IPFV 'Wake him up.' (polite command)

*Culungi-e-***ho**. help-3.OBJ-IPFV 'Help her.' (polite command)

In Wasambua the perfective marker may reduce to -m. However it still precipitates stress movement. Compare:

<i>бо 'lo</i> <b>m</b>	'enough, sufficient'
po?o'li <b>m</b>	'finished; now, already
ipu 'a <b>m</b>	'two days ago'
ito 'lu <b>m</b>	'three days ago'
nopo 'ha <b>m</b>	'it hatched' (egg)
ba 'ngu <b>m</b>	'already woken'
no'soo <b>m</b> holeo	'the sun has set'
nombe 'na <b>m</b> holeo	'the sun has risen'

#### 9. Sample text

The following story was told by Hafaruddin on September 1st, 2016. It went through several revisions. On first telling he related the story primarily in Indonesian. We then worked together to write the story out in Wasambua. As he practiced reading it aloud, we made additional changes to arrive at the final text presented below. The recorded version presented here has been modified in order to remove instances of repaired speech.

To listen to the text in its entirety, click on the red speaker icon (play time is approximately one minute). Note: You may need to change security settings on your pdf viewer in order for embedded sound files to play.



To listen to an individual sentence, click the small speaker icon which appears below the sentence number.

 Isami, to-?inte i gunu
IPL.EXCL.INDEP 1PL.SBJ.REAL-go at mountain to-pe?eta o=vani. 1PL.SBJ.REAL-seek ART=honey\_bee

'We went into the mountains to look for honey bees.'

2. ◀)	To-po-boχa-?asodoχua.1PL.SBJ.REAL-RECP-encounter-APPLtwo'We found two (nests).'-
3. ◀)	To-?ala-?emo?apuvaniancu.1PL.REAL-take-3.OBJnighthoney_beethat'We got those honey bees at night.'
4. ◀)	Ia?umone-noihocu-nosau.1SG.INDEPclimb-3.POSSattop-3.POSStree'I was the one who climbed into the treetop.'
5. ◀)	Ia?usula-?eo=vani.1SG.INDEPburn-3.OBJART=honey_bee'I was the one who burned (smoked) the honey bees.'
6. <b>∢)</b>	Po'oli sula-?e finish burn-3.OBJ
	ala-?e-mgola-nodika-?eiembere.take-3.OBJ-PFVhoney-3.POSSstore-3.OBJatbucket
	'After I smoked the bees, I took the honeycomb and put it in a bucket.'
7. ◀)	Kata-moto-po-sampu-eivuta.finish-PFV1PL.SBJ.REAL-CAUS-descend-3.OBJatground'After that we lowered it to the ground.'
8. ◀)	To-pio-?eilalo-noembere.1PL.SBJ.REAL-squeeze-3.OBJatinside-3.POSSbucket'We squeezed it into a bucket.'
9. <b>∢</b> )	Kata-moto-dîka-?e-modukailalo-nojerigeni.finish-PFV1PL.SBJ.REAL-store-3.OBJ-PFValsoatinside-3.POSSjerry_can'After that we also stored it in a jerry can.'
10. ◀)	Kata-moto-mbuleibanua.finish-PFV1PL.SBJ.REAL-returnathouse'After that we returned home.'
11. ◀)	To-2umba-asineibanua.1PL.SBJ.REAL-arrive-3.IOathouse'We brought it into the house.''
12. ◀)	to-dika-2eibutolo.1PL.SBJ.REAL-store-3.OBJatbottle'We put it in bottles.'

13.	Kata-mo	to-?aso-?e	ompulu	butolo.
<b>1</b>	finish-PFV	1PL SBI REAL-sell-3 OBI	ten	bottle

▲) finish-PFV IPL.SBJ.REAL-sell-3.OBJ ten bottle 'After that we sold it, ten bottles.'

14.	A-mohono	a-butolo,	ompulu	butolo	a-juta.
∎)	one-hundred	one-bottle	ten	bottle	one-million
	'A hundred (tho	usand) for on	e bottle, (so)	ten bottles	(made us) one million.'

## 9.1 Annotations

1. *vani* 'honey bee,' specifically giant honey bees, *Apis dorsata*. Giant honey bees build single-comb nests that hang in the open below tree branches.

1, 5. *o*- is glossed here as an 'article' but there is insufficient information to say much about its distribution. Four occurrences within the Wasambua corpus show it occurring only with two-syllable independent nouns. See further Van den Berg (2012) among others.

2. *topoboxa?aso* with stem *boxa* 'encounter, find.' The prefix *po*- is reciprocal, compare also *pogexa* 'quarrel,' *pocumbu* 'fight.' The suffix -*?aso* is applicative, and its appearance here follows a well-known pattern with reciprocal verbs; see Mead (1998:238–239) regarding an identical use of -*ako* in Bungku-Tolaki languages.

2.  $do\chi ua$  'two,' namely two honey bee nests. Hafaruddin told me they always looked for two nests in order to make the trip suitably profitable.

4. *mone* 'climb,' *moneno* 'the one who climbs, the climbing one.' Van den Berg (1991:316) refers to *-no* in this context as an active participle marker. This clause is equative, hence the use of an independent pronoun and the absence of agent indexing on the stem *mone*.

5. This clause is also equative: *sula?e* 'the one who burns it.' Indexing of the object prohibits the occurrence of *-no*, a pattern also seen in Muna (Van den Berg 1989:233) and Wolio (Anceaux 1988:25).

6. *po'oli* 'finish' La Ode Abidin defines Cia-Cia *po?oli* as '1. able to, can (have the power to do something); 2. after that.' Apparently in Wasambua and elsewhere in the Cia-Cia language area it has come to mean 'complete, finish' via the pragmatic implicature that if one was able to do something, one in fact successfully did it.

6. gola 'sugar,' but in this context referring to honey.

11. *-asine*, with underlying *-?aso*, appearing here in its causative or 'confective' function, namely the jerry can is physically carried/brought into the house. See Mead (1998:217) regarding equivalent functions of *-ako* in Bungku-Tolaki languages.

13, 14. *ompulu* 'ten' could potentially be parsed as *o-m-pulu* 'one-LIG-ten' with nasal ligature, compare  $\chi oapulu$  'twenty,' *tolupulu* 'thirty.' The usual bound form for 'one' is *a*-, but *o*- (or *om*-) is an irregular bound form that occurs only with the base *pulu* 'ten.'

14. *amohono* 'one hundred,' that is one hundred thousand rupiah (IDR), approximately \$10 USD.

14. ajuta 'one million,' that is one million rupiah (IDR), approximately \$100 USD.

# 9.2 Notes about the speaker and text collection

Speaker	:	Hafaruddin
Age	:	51
Gender	:	male
Occupation	:	neighborhood captain (kepala kelingkungan)
Languages spoken	:	Cia-Cia (Wasambua), Indonesian, Wolio
Other biodata	:	born 1964 in 'Old Wasambua' (Wasambua Lama) to parents
		who were also born there, moved to Lakambau in 1969 and
		has never lived extensively outside of this village since
Date recorded	:	recorded September 1, 2016 using an Olympus DP-201 Voice
		Recorder, converted to mp3 format the following day
Location recorded	:	Wasambua neighborhood of Lakambau village
Context	:	this story was told by Hafaruddin in response to a request by
		David Mead for a folktale or personal narrative, no one else
		was present in the room; this story was prepared (written) in
		advance prior to its being recorded
Transcription	:	transcribed and glossed by David Mead with assistance from
		Hafaruddin; English translation by David Mead

## **10.** Abbreviations

The following grammatical abbreviations are used in this paper.

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
APPL	applicative
ART	article
CAUS	causative
EXCL	exclusive
INCL	inclusive
INDEP	independent
IO	indirect object
IPFV	imperfective

IRR	irrealis
LIG	ligature
OBJ	object
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
REAL	realis
RECP	reciprocal
SBJ	subject
SG	singular

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