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Preliminary notes on the Cia-Cia language
(South Buton)

1. Introduction[1]

In spite of its relative smallness, the southern part of the island of Buton is linguistically the most complex area of the entire province of Southeast Sulawesi. Although a detailed linguistic survey still remains to be carried out, on the basis of earlier (but rather superficial) work, it is clear that at least six languages are spoken here, and possibly more. The earlier work referred to here is primarily Anceaux (1978), Bhurhanuddin (1979), Kaseng et al. (1987) and Van den Berg (forthcoming a). The languages commonly recognized are Wolio, Cia-Cia, Pancana, Kamaru, Lasalimu, and Busoa. Notice that I exclude Muna dialects found in this area, and other languages on neighbouring islands. According to Bhurhanuddin (1979:51) Cia-Cia numbers approximately 60,000 speakers.

It is the purpose of this paper to contribute a little to our knowledge of Cia-Cia, spoken in the southernmost part of Buton (roughly speaking, south of the line Baubau–Pasarwajo). I will give some notes on the phonology and parts of its morphology, as well as an interlinearized text with translation. Apart from word lists contained in some of the sources mentioned above, the only information concerning this language is found in an unpublished government report, *Struktur Bahasa Cia-Cia* by Mustafa Abdullah et al. (1984). Hardly anything is known about the dialect situation in the Cia-Cia area, but Mustafa Abdullah et al. report the existence of nine different dialects, whereas Bhurhanuddin gives 100-word lists for six dialects. Since Cia-Cia is closely related to Muna, reference will sometimes be made to similarities and differences as compared with Muna, described in detail in *A Grammar of the Muna Language* (Van den Berg 1989).

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Data for this paper were obtained in May 1990 and in January 1991 from two Cia-Cia speakers studying in Ujung Pandang. La Jusu (21) is a native of Kaindea, desa Lapandewa in *kecamatan* Sampolawa. Murtaba Muru (21) is from desa Gonda in kecamatan Pasarwajo. Since their speeches represent two dialect areas, I will refer to them as A and B, respectively. Most of the differences are lexical, although some phonological and grammatical points of divergence were also noted. I have no information on the other Cia-Cia dialects.

The analysis which is presented here must be considered preliminary. The actual time spent gathering data (between ten and fifteen hours), the impossibility of checking with other native speakers, and the dialectal differences between A and B are all potential inroads for mistakes. However, I believe that what is presented below is fairly reliable and can serve to disclose somewhat this linguistically hopelessly understudied island and provide some incentive for other researchers.

2. Phonology

2.1. Phoneme inventory

The segmental phonemes of Cia-Cia are as follows:

Consonants (vl = voiceless; vd = voiced)					Vowels		
plosive vl	p	t	(c)	k	(ʔ)	i		u
plosive vd	b	d	j	g		ɛ	ɔ
implosive	ɓ	ɗ				a
nasal	m	n		ŋ	
prenasalized vl	mp	nt	nc	ŋk	
prenasalized vd	mb	nd		ŋg	
fricative		s			h
lateral		l	
trill		r	
semivowel	w		(y)	

The symbols have their expected phonetic value. In the remainder of this article I will use the following orthographic conventions:

/ʔ/	<'>
/ɓ/	<bh>
/ɗ/	<dh>
/ŋ/	<ng>
/ɛ/	<e>
/ɔ/	<o>

2.1.1. Notes on consonants

1. /t/ is realized as a palatal affricate [c] before high vowels /i,u/. Examples: *potu* [pocu] 'head', *titi* [cici] 'breast'. In accordance with native speaker preference, the allophone [c] will orthographically be represented by <c>.

2. In addition /c/ occurs in a number of recent loans from Indonesian: *coba* 'try', *cere* 'kettle', *paracaya* 'believe'. The sound is phonetically identical to the allophone described above. /c/ and also /y/ are treated as loan phonemes. /j/ is probably also originally a loan phoneme, but of older origin: *bhaju* 'shirt', *ajara* 'horse', *jangku* 'beard', and *jamani* 'era'.

3. The status of the glottal stop is probably non-phonemic. For more discussion see section 2.2 below.

4. /bh/ and /dh/, the voiced implosive stops, occur with much greater frequency than the plain voiced stops /b/ and /d/. As in the neighbouring language of Wolio, PAN *b and *d/D have usually become implosive stops in Cia-Cia, whereas /b/ and /d/ occur mostly in known or suspected loanwords. However, before the vowel /u/, /bh/ does not occur, a situation which is paralleled in Muna. Some examples of contrast:

bhangka	'boat'	bangka	'swollen' (< bengkak)
kolabha	'tell a lie'	laba	'reason'
dhosa	'debt'	dosa	'sin'

/d/ in Cia-Cia is dento-alveolar (not as clearly dental as *dh* is in Muna), whereas the implosive has post-alveolar articulation.

Other loanwords illustrating /b/ and /d/ are: *bada* 'body' (< *badan*); *belo* 'turn aside' (< *belok*); *uba* 'medicine' (< *obat*); *doi* 'money' (< *duit*); *doa* 'magic formula' (< *doa*) and *donia* 'world' (< *dunia*).

5. Prenasalized consonants are analysed as unit phonemes since there are no unambiguous consonant clusters and no word-final or syllable-final consonants. /nc/, a phoneme which is lacking in Standard Muna, is probably the prenasalized counterpart of /s/, as in southern Muna dialects and Pamona (= Bare'e, Central Sulawesi) but I have no clear examples of a morphophonemic alternation. Examples of medial /nc/ are *gonco* 'throat', *anca* 'fish gills', and *kancili* 'little finger'. Notice that before high vowels [nc] is ambiguously a realization of the phoneme /nc/ or an allophone of /nt/ (on the analogy of /t/ being realized as [c] before high vowels). I have chosen the former solution. All prenasalized consonants are found medially and initially, with the exception of /nc/, which was only recorded medially. Examples of prenasalized consonants in initial position:

mpana	'hot'
mbolaku	'steal'
mbule	'return'
ntorure	'rainbow'
ndoke	'monkey'
ngke'enomo	'that'
nggaa-nggaa	'crow'
mo-nggilo	'clean'
mo-ncuru	'sleep'

6. In dialect B, /r/ is phonetically realized as a voiced velar or uvular fricative [ɣ] ~ [ʁ]. This extends to loanwords as well: [kamaɣa] 'room' (< *kamar*).

7. /w/ is a bilabial approximant without lip-rounding but with light friction. There is therefore a noticeable contrast between the sequences /ua/ and /uwa/, as illustrated by *rua* 'two' and *uwa* 'vein'.

2.1.2. Notes on vowels

1. All vowels have their expected phonetic value. I am not aware of significant allophonic variation.

2. Sequences of two like vowels are broken up by an intervening glottal stop:

le'e	'urine'
ngo'o	'nose'
ngi'i	'tooth'
cu'u	'knee'
sa'a	'snake'

There are two cases where this glottal insertion does not occur, resulting in one long vowel. First of all in loanwords: *sanaa* [sana:] 'happy' (< *senang*), *karajaa* 'work' (< *kerja*), and *nawusuu* 'anger' (< *nafsu*). Stress on the phonetically long vowel shows that this element consists of two phonemic vowels, of which the first receives stress, in accordance with the rule of penultimate stress placement. In the second place, the first person direct object pronominal suffix *-aa'u* contains an otherwise irregular long vowel (see also section 3).

3. Sequences of two vowels are common. As in neighbouring languages, there are probably no constraints on the combinatory possibilities of vowels, though the data do not illustrate all patterns:

cia	'not'	rui	'thorn'
hae	'chin'	rua	'two'
rea	'blood'	ngoi	'wind'
hopiu	'gall'	sau	'wood'

4. Some sequences of three vowels were also found:

haeo	'charcoal'
loea	'water jar'
buea	'crocodile'
siua	'nine'

2.2. Status of the glottal stop

The status of the glottal stop is somewhat problematic in Cia-Cia. Consider the following facts about its distribution.

1. All word-initial vowels are pronounced with an obligatory glottal stop onset:

'isa	'fish'
'ela	'tongue'
'au	'dog'
'ompu	'grandchild'

Since there is never a contrast between its absence and its presence in word-initial position, the glottal stop is not phonemic here.

2. Sequences of like vowels are broken up. See section 2.1.2 (sub 2) and the exceptions mentioned there.

3. When unlike vowels meet across morpheme boundaries, the situation becomes more complex.

a. Prefixes attached to a vowel-initial base usually show a glottal stop, as do reduplications of such bases:

ka-'ine	'here'
no-'ita	'he sees'
mo-'ijo	'green'
'apu-'apu	'late afternoon'

b. Vowel-initial suffixes do not behave uniformly. The first person possessive -'u 'my' always has the glottal, as does the indirect object pronominal suffix series -'isa'u, -'iso, and so on (see 3.1.1). On the other hand, -aso (which marks nominal indirect objects, see 3.1.4) does not have it, unless the preceding vowel is also *a*. With the suffix -e (third person direct object pronominal suffix) a glottal is inserted when -e follows a non-high vowel, so that the resulting sequences are: *ie, e'e, a'e, o'e,* and *ue,* as in *no-'ita-'e* 'he saw it' as against *no-dhawu-e* 'he gave it'.

4. Some words appear to be monomorphemic but still show unexpected glottals:

| ka'opu | 'youngest child' |

kako'ata	'long'
kato'aru	'many'

Possibly these items contain some fossilized morphology that can account for the occurrence of the glottal. That is less likely in the following two cases:

inda'u	'I'
para'e	'what'

5. Finally, in faster or less careful speech the glottal is often weakly articulated or elided altogether. It is, however, never possible to insert glottals in careful speech when the rules outlined above do not allow this.

All in all, it seems that the occurrence of the glottal can to a large extent be predicted, especially initially, between like vowels, and when a prefix attaches to a vowel-initial base. The problematic cases are the loanwords, some vowel-initial suffixes, and the glottals in (seemingly) monomorphemic roots. In a rigidly generative approach, enough rules and exceptions can probably be formulated to fully account for its occurrence. Here I adopt a more pragmatic viewpoint: leaving aside the issue of whether the glottal is truly phonemic, I spell it everywhere except initially.

2.3. Syllable and word structure

Like all other languages in Southeast Sulawesi, Cia-Cia has only open syllables. Two syllable types therefore occur: V and CV. Roots show various combinations of these syllable types, of which the following patterns were found in the data. Syllable boundaries are marked by a dot (notice that I do not count the glottal stop as a C).

1	V	i	general preposition
2	V.V	ia	'he, she'
	V.CV	ina	'mother'
	CV.V	wua	'fruit'
	CV.CV	kangka	'spider'
3	V.V.CV	oalu	'eight'
	V.CV.CV	ajara	'horse'
	CV.V.V	buea	'crocodile'
	CV.V.CV	koila	'turtle'
	CV.CV.V	holeo	'sun'
	CV.CV.CV	tolinga	'ear'
4	CV.CV.V.CV	mancuana	'parent'
	CV.CV.CV.V	karambau	'buffalo'
	CV.CV.CV.CV	siwuluka	'offspring'

There is one apparent exception to the constraint on closed syllables: the back vowels /o/ and /u/ can optionally be dropped when following the bilabial nasal /m/. This was found to happen only in dialect B and did not seem to be limited to fast or less careful speech. This rule of vowel apocope must be ordered after stress placement, as the stress is not affected, but the number of surface syllables is. The most common examples are found with the perfective suffix -mo and the second person possessive suffix -mu/-mo. Examples:

mbulem	'return!'	< mbule-mo
nosampum	'he went down'	< no-sampu-mo
ka'anam	'your house'	< ka'ana-mu

Other examples were recorded in which the verbal prefix mo- was sometimes reduced to a syllabic nasal /m̩/ before stops, as in olu m-kito 'raincloud' (lit. 'black cloud'). In some cases the syllabic nature of the /m/ was virtually absent, so that in no-m-benci 'torn', it almost appears as if the root is mbenci. The existence of the variant no-mo-benci shows the true origin of the nasal (compare no-mbule 'he returns' without the corresponding *no-mo-bule. A similar pair is illustrated by no-m-pono ~ no-mo-pono 'full'. It is possible that some roots which now show initial prenasalized consonants are in fact the result of reanalysis.

2.4. Stress

Stress was invariably recorded on the penultimate syllable, with the exception of the examples mentioned above (2.3) and the trisyllabic word haeo 'charcoal' which has antepenultimate stress. Other roots containing sequences of three vowels showed the expected pattern. The word siua 'nine', which has irregular antepenultimate stress in Muna, is regular in Cia-Cia.

2.5. Historical note: Cia-Cia reflexes of PAN *q

In contrast to most Sulawesi languages, Muna and Cia-Cia show clear reflexes of PAN *q both in initial and in medial position. Whereas in Muna the reflex is invariably gh (a voiced uvular fricative), Cia-Cia shows a split reflex: k before high vowels and h elsewhere. These facts support the claim that PAN *q probably was a voiceless uvular stop; it seems that the sound retained this phonetic quality until a very late stage before the break-up of Muna and Cia-Cia. Examples:

PAN	gloss	Cia-Cia
a.		
*paqit	'bitter'	paki
*puqun	'tree'	puku
*qateluR	'egg'	cikolu (metathesis < kitolu)
*qitem	'black'	mo-kito
*qulej	'snake'	kule
*qulu	'head'	kulu (classifier for animals)
*quZan	'rain'	kia (with *u > i)
*taqi	'faeces'	taki
*taqun	'year'	taku
*tuqa	'old'	ka-cuka
b.		
*daqan	'branch'	raha
*ma-Ruqanay	'male'	mohane
*paqa	'thigh'	paha
*qajeŋ	'charcoal'	haeo
*qalejaw	'day, sun'	holeo
*qalipan	'centipede'	honipa (unexplained n)
*qapeju	'gall'	hopiu
*qatep	'roof'	hato
*qatey	'liver'	hate
*qazay	'chin'	hae
*taqen	'trap'	taho 'set trap'

Irregular:

*bituqen	'star'	wicuko
*qaqay	'leg, foot'	kake
*qe(n)tut	'fart'	kocu

3. Morphology

This section on morphology is rather sketchy, containing only the most important information on person deixis and some other affixes. In 3.1 the different pronominal affixes are presented and subsequently illustrated. The other affixes are discussed in 3.2.

3.1. Person marking

3.1.1. Forms

The following chart displays the free pronouns and four types of pronominal affixes. Usage and illustrative examples follow below. The following

abbreviations are used: DO = direct object; IO = indirect object; Poss = possessive suffix; s = singular; p = plural; ex = exclusive; in = inclusive.

	Free	Subject		DO	IO	Poss
		realis	irrealis			
s1	inda'u	o-	a-	-aa'u/-'u	-'isa'u	-'u
2	(i)so'o	mu-/mo-	cu-	-so	-'iso	-mu/-mo
3	ia	no-	na-	-'e/-e	-'isie	-no
plex	isami	to-	ta-	-sami	-'isami	-mami
1in	ingkita	to-	ta-	-kita	-'ikita	-nto
2	isimiu	ka-	cu-ka-	-simiu	-'isimiu	-miu
3	mo'ia	no(-ka)-	na(-ka)-	-'e/-e	-'isie	-no (mo'ia)

Notice the following points:

1. The distinction between third person singular and plural is only made in the free pronouns and optionally in the subject prefixes and the possessive.
2. The distinction between first person inclusive and exclusive is neutralized in the subject prefixes (both categories use to-/ta-).
3. The first person direct object suffix -'u occurs only after verb stems ending in the vowel /a/. The form -aa'u is used elsewhere.
4. The third person direct object -e occurs after verb stems ending in high vowels; the form -'e (with glottal) is used elsewhere.
5. The element ka- is possibly also optional in the second person plural.

3.1.2. Subject prefixes

The subject prefixes mark the subject of transitive and intransitive verbs. The realis set is used for past and present, whereas the irrealis set is employed for the future (or intentions) and after negatives. The irrealis subject markers are often (but not always) accompanied by the infix -um- (or one of its allomorphs, see 3.2) on the verb. Abbreviations used in the examples are listed at the end of this article.

(1)	a. no-sampu 3R-go.down	'he goes down; he went down'
	b. na-s[um]ampu 3I-go.down	'he will go down'
	c. cia na-s[um]ampu not 3I-go.down	'he did not go down'
(2)	a. o-mbule 1sR-return	'I return(ed)'
	b. a-mbule 1sI-return	'I will return'

(3)   ta-s[um]ampu   'we will go down'
      1pI-go.down

(4)   cu-mo-ncuru-mo?   'do you already want to sleep?'
      2sI-VM-sleep-PF

From the data available, it is clear that the subject prefixes are not always present. Especially for first and second person realis verb forms, examples were obtained without the subject prefixes. Most of these concern question-and-answer pairs. In some instances, the presence of a free pronoun serves to indicate the role of the participant. Examples:

(5)   a. impa'e mu-pi-karajaa?   'where do you work?'
         where   2sR-VM-work

      b. pi-karajaa i   ka'ana   'I work at home'
         VM-work   loc house

(6)   a. iso'o ma'a para'e?   'what are you eating?'
         you   eat   what

      b. ma'a kadhese   'I'm eating a banana'
         eat   banana

The absence of subject prefixes was more conspicuous in dialect B. Verbs taking the verbal marker *mo-* do not seem to take the second person realis prefix *mo-*, possibly to avoid two homophonous prefixes. The form **mo-mo-dhindi* 'you are cold' was therefore considered ungrammatical, the grammatical equivalent being *iso'o modhindi*, with a free pronoun.

A quick comparison with the subject marking system of Muna shows that Cia-Cia has generalized the realis–irrealis distinction to all subject prefixes. In Muna, distinct forms are only available for the third person singular and plural and for the first person plural. A further difference is the absence of a separate morphological set in Cia-Cia for the third person plural (Muna *do-/de-*). It is almost certain that Cia-Cia has lost this category.

Finally, the optionality of subject prefixes is not paralleled in Standard Muna, where they are always required.

3.1.3. Direct object suffixes

Direct object suffixes mark the semantic patient or goal of the transitive verb. Notice the two phonologically determined allomorphs of the third person (*-e* or *-'e*) and the first person singular (*-'u* or *-aa'u*). Examples:

(7)   a. no-bhebhe-aa'u   'he hit me'
         3R-hit-me

      b. no-pi-ndongo-aa'u   'they heard me'
         3R-VM-hear-me

      c. no-'ita-'u   'he saw me'
         3R-see-me

      d. no-laha-'u   'they chased me'
         3R-chase-me

(8)   a. o-'ita-'e   'I saw it'
         1sR-see-it

      b. o-poroku-e   'I drank it'
         1sR-drink-it

(9)   no-bhebhe-so   'they hit you'
      3R-hit-you

(10) na-pongko-sami   'they will kill us (ex)'
      3I-kill-us(ex)

The suffix *-ne'e* 'it' with the verb *ma'a* 'eat' is irregular:

(11) a-ma'a-ne'e   'I will eat it'
      1sI-eat-it

3.1.4. Indirect object suffixes

When a verb is followed by a nominal indirect object (signalling such functions as beneficiary, recipient, instrument, or cause), the verb is suffixed with *-aso* (corresponding to Muna *-ghoo*). Examples:

(12) no-pi-reru-aso   kia
      3R-VM-shelter-IO   rain
      'he took shelter against the rain'

(13) na-[m]i-lamboko-aso   ana-no   a-riwu
      3I-VM-send-IO   child-his   one-thousand
      'he will send his son 1000 rupiahs'

The forms listed in the chart under IO are used when the indirect object has pronominal reference. The form *-'isie* suggests a suffix *-'isi* which has merged with the direct object forms. Examples:

(14) ama-'u   pi-lamboko-'isa'u   doi
      father-my   VM-send-me   money
      'my father sent me money'

(15) inda'u   a-[m]i-lamboko-'iso   doi
      I   1sI-VM-send-you   money
      'I will send you money'

(16) o   au   o-bhebhe-'isie   sau
      ART   dog   1sR-hit-it/IO   wood
      'I hit the dog with a stick'

In the last example, the suffix *-'isie* signals both the presence of a preverbal direct object and a following indirect object; hence its gloss as 'it/IO'. In some

constructions both the pronominal form and a full nominal IO are found. An example is (17):

(17) o-mo-linga-'isie-mo   ngea-no
      1sR-VM-forget-it-PF   name-his
      'I have forgotten his name'

For similar constructions in Muna, where the corresponding morphemes are *-ghoo* and *-ane*, see Van den Berg 1989:7.9.

3.1.5. Possessives

The possessive suffixes are first of all found on nouns. Examples have already been given above (see (14) and (17)). In the second place, they also indicate agents on passive participles. Because of structural similarities with Muna, I use the same terminology for Cia-Cia. Passive participles are verb forms marked by *ni-* with an optional agent used in object relative clauses. Examples:

(18) samba-mbalie   ni-sawa-nto
      everything   P.PART-ask-our(in)
      'everything that we asked'

(19) isa   ni-pika-kabua-no   . haleo
      fish   P.PART-VM-angle-his   this
      'this fish that he had caught'

3.2. Other affixes

In this last section on morphology I will present information on some other affixes. I exclude those that seem to have perfect parallels in Muna (for instance perfective *-mo* and nominalizing *ka-*) and others due to lack of data (for instance, causatives and reciprocals).

1. Infix *-um-*

The infix *-um-* and its allomorphs mark irrealis, and also, in combination with the suffix *-no*, active participles. The allomorphs of *-um-* in Cia-Cia are a little different from Muna. Similar to Muna, vowel-initial verb roots are prefixed with *m-* (thereby presenting extra evidence that the initial glottal is not a real consonant). Most root-initial bilabial consonants trigger a zero allomorph, with the exception of initial /p/ in trisyllabic bases. In contrast to Muna, where every initial /p/ (and also /f/) changes to /m/, disyllabic bases are not affected in Cia-Cia. Consider the following pairs (only realis translations are given):

(20) no-hende   na-h[um]ende   'he goes up'
(21) ka-sampu   cu-ka-s[um]ampu   'you (pl) go down'

(22) o-'ala-'e   a-[m]ala-'e   'I take it'
(23) no-'ita'-e   na-[m]ita-'e   'he sees it'
(24) no-mbule   na-mbule   'he returns'
(25) no-pili   na-pili   'he chooses'
(26) no-pongko   na-pongko   'he kills'
(27) no-polai   na-[m]olai   'he vomits'
(28) no-po'oli   na-[m]o'oli   'he finishes'
(29) no-pi-ndongo   na-mi-ndongo   'he hears'

As mentioned above, the use of the infix does not seem to be obligatory in irrealis verb forms. The rules governing the choice are not clear.

2. Prefix *mo-*

The prefix *mo-* is found on stative and non-volitional verbs, and corresponds to the Muna ao-class. It is glossed as VM (verb marker). Examples:

(30) mo-dhindi   'cold'
      mo-ndawu   'fall'
      mo-ncuru   'sleep'

(31) a. no-mo-leu-mo   'it is already withered'
         3R-VM-withered-PF

      b. no-mo-ntaha-mo   'it is already ripe'
         3R-VM-ripe-PF

3. Prefix *pi-*

This prefix is very productive in Cia-Cia and seems to correspond to Muna *me-* (the suffix historically underlying the ae-class). It has a number of different functions.

a. On nominal bases:

(32) pi-karajaa   'work'(verb)   karajaa   'work'(noun)
      pi-lagu   'sing'   lagu   'song'
      pi-dheu   'sew'   dheu   'needle'

b. On bound verbal bases (possibly these have to be analysed as units):

(33) pi-cucu   'pound'
      pi-mbali   'become'
      pi-kudha   'cough'
      pi-ndongo   'hear'
      pi-tabu   'get'

c. In combination with reduplication (compare Muna, where all reduplicated verbs shift to the ae-class). As in other languages, reduplicated verbs often indicate continuous, durative states or actions:

(34) pi-hora-hora   'be seated'   hora   'sit (down)'
     pi-hangka-hangka   'take a stroll'   hangka   'walk, go'

d. On a verbal base with meaning difference:

(35) pi-'ita   'look for'   ita   'see'

With some verbs this prefix is combined with *ka-*, as in *pika-kabua* 'to fish (with hook)' and *pika-nangu* 'swim'. It is not clear whether this constitutes a separate formation. Also, it is unclear whether Cia-Cia shares the threefold word-class system with Muna, where every verb is a member of one of three classes: a-, ae-, or ao-. Historically these go back to mergers of the subject markers with zero, -me-, and -mo-. In Cia-Cia this could correspond to zero, *pi-*, and *mo-*.

4. The suffix *-aso*

This suffix, corresponding to Muna *-ghoo*, has the following meanings:

a. To indicate a following nominal indirect object (see 3.1.4 above).

b. Adhortative (in combination with first person plural realis):

(36) mai-mo   to-mbule-aso   'come on, let's go home'
     come-PF   1pR-return-ADH

(37) mai   to-pi-mbula-'aso   kadhese   'come, let's plant a banana tree'
     come   1pR-VM-plant-ADH   banana

c. Purpose:

(38) cia-'aso   'so that not'
     not-PURP

(39) po'oli-aso   'in order to finish'
     finish-PURP

(40) no-mate-aso   'that he may die'
     3R-die-PURP

3.3. Numerals

As in Muna (see Van den Berg 1989:5.7.1), Cia-Cia has three numeral sets: a free form (used in counting), a prefixed form (used before units of ten (*pulu*), hundred (*hacu*), thousand (*riwu*) and before classifiers and measure nouns), and a reduplicated form (used after units of ten in counting). The word *ompulu* 'ten' is irregular. The following chart shows these forms:

	Free	Prefixed	Reduplicated
1	ise	a-	amea
2	rua	rua-	dho-rua
3	tolu	tolu-	to-tolu

4	pa'a	pato-	po-pa'a
5	lima	lima-	lo-lima
6	no'o	nomo-	no-nomo
7	picu	picu-	po-picu
8	oalu	walu-	oalu
9	siua	siua-	siua

It is possible that 'eight' and 'nine' lack reduplicated forms because the roots are trisyllabic. For detailed information on the history of the corresponding sets in Muna, see Van den Berg (forthcoming b). In addition to these three sets, two other forms were recorded: *i roa-'alo-no* 'the second day' and *i tolo-'alo-no* 'the third day'.

4. Text

The following text was written by Murtaba Muru and represents dialect B. The presence of a car in this traditional folk tale may seem surprising, but is best viewed as the author's creative adaptation of the story to modern life.

LA-ISA-ISA

1. Rike'e longe,   dhane'e-mo   a-mia   pande   [m]ika-kabua-no   isa.
    long.time.ago   be-PF   one-person   clever   VM-angle-A.PART   fish

2. Ia   no-tara   i   hamota   mai   mowine-no.   3. Mo'ia   ana   no-miskini
    he   3R-live   loc   field   with   wife-his   they   this   3R-poor

pali.   4. Mohawite   ka-ma'a-no   a-alo-alo   mai   aga'a   cia-mo
very   while   NOM-eat-their   one-RED-day   be   sometimes   not-PF

nu-h[um]umbu-'isie.   5. A-mpalinga,   kabilanga-mo   uka   a-alo-alo-no,
3I-enough-them   one-time   like-PF   also   one-RED-day-his

ia   no-sampu-mo   uka   no-pika-kabua   isa   i   kambara.   6. Hawite   hake
he   3R-go.down-PF   again   3R-VM-angle   fish   loc   creek   after   that

no-pika-kabua-mo.   7. Hawali   no-mo-lengo-mo   no-'antagi,   cia-mo   mai   isa
3R-VM-angle-PF   but   3R-VM-long-PF   3R-wait   not-PF   be   fish

r[um]uncu-no   ka-kabua-no.   8. Na-kidhe-po   na-bhancule-mo   ane   cia-bhe
bite-A.PART   NOM-angle-his   3I-little-IMPF   3I-return-PF   if   not-?

na-[m]ita   ka-kabua-no   no-ma'a-ne'e-mo   isa.   9. Cia-mo   na-mo-lengo
3I-see   NOM-angle-his   3R-eat-it-PF   fish   not-PF   3I-VM-long

no-hela-'e-mo   ka-kabua-no.   10. Kapura'e   isa   mo-dhea,   mai   no-to'owa.
3R-pull-it-PF   NOM-angle-his   SURPRISE   fish   VM-red   with   3R-big

11. No-sanaa-mo   lalo-no   pande   [m]ika-kabua-no   isa   haleo.
     3R-happy-PF   heart-his   clever   VM-angle-A.PART   fish   this

12. Na-bhancule-mo   i   ka'ana-no.   13. Kapura'e   o   isa   ia   haleo
     3I-return-PF   loc   house-his   SURPRISE   ART   fish   he   this

no-pogau   kabilanga   uka   mia   14. Ngke'eno-m   laba   no-ko-ngea-m
3R-speak   like   also   person   that-PF   reason   3R-HAVE-name-PF

La-isa-isa.   15. "Koli-mo   bhawa-'u   i   ka'ana-mo,   dhapo   samba-mbalie
ART-RED-fish   DONT-PF   carry-me   loc   house-your   later   everything

ni-sawa-mo   a-dhawu-'iso".   16. Pande   [m]ika-kabua-no   isa   haleo
P.PART-ask-your   1sI-give-you   clever   VM-angle-A.PART   fish   this

no-tara-mo,   mai   no-talapa-'isie-mo   isa   ni-pika-kabua-no   haleo.
3R-stop-PF   with   3R-loose-it-PF   fish   P.PART-VM-angle-his   this

17. Po'oli   no-po-mbule-'e-mo   isa   i   kambara,   po'oli-m   ke'e
     finish   3R-CAUS-return-it-PF   fish   loc   creek   finish-PF   that

no-mbule-m   i   ka'ana-no.   18. No-rato   wite   no-po'omba-'e-mo   mowine-no.
3R-return-PF   loc   house-his   3R-arrive   after   3R-tell-it-PF   wife-his

19. "Inda'u   haleo,   potabu   isa.   20. Hawali   isa   ia   no-pogau   kabilanga
     I   this   get   fish   but   fish   he   3R-speak   like

mia.   21. Pogau-no,   koli-m   a-[m]ala-'e   ia,   samba-mbalie
person   speak-his   DONT-PF   1sI-take-it   he   everything

ni-sawa-nto   na-dhawu-'ikita".   22. Mowine-no   no-pogau: "Eh,
P.PART-ask-our(in)   3I-give-us(in)   wife-his   3R-speak   Hey

sawa-'ikita-po   ka'ana   to'owa   i   La-isa-isa".   23. No-sampu-m
ask-us(in)-IMPF   house   big   loc   ART-RED-fish   3R-go.down-PF

pande   [m]ika-kabua-no   isa   haleo.   24. No-rato   no-sawa-mo: "Oh
clever   VM-angle-A.PART   fish   this   3R-arrive   3R-ask-PF   O

La-isa-isa,   isami   to-sawa   ka'ana   to'owa".   25. La-isa-isa
ART-RED-fish   we(ex)   1pR-ask   house   big   ART-RED-fish

no-bhalo-m: 26. "Mbule-mo,   dhane'e-mo   ka'ana   ni-sawa-mo".
3R-answer-PF   return-PF   be-PF   house   P.PART-ask-your

27. Cia-po   na-[m]o'oli   na-[m]ogau   La-isa-isa,   pande   [m]ika-kabua
     not-IMPF   3I-finish   3I-speak   ART-RED-fish   clever   VM-angle

haleo   no-todhe-todhe-manu-mo   no-pangara   i   ka'ana-no.   28. No-maha
this   3R-RED-run-chicken-PF   3R-go.up   loc   house-his   3R-startled

lalo-no,   ka'ana-no   no-pi-mbali-mo   ka'ana   mo-kesa   mai   no-to'owa.
heart-his   house-his   3R-VM-become-PF   house   VM-beautiful   with   3R-big

29. Mbo-m   ke'e,   susuri   alo,   mowine-no   no-sawa-mo   torusu
     like-PF   that   every   day   wife-his   3R-ask-PF   continually

pato-pulu   bacua,   no-sawa-mo   oto,   no-sawa-mo...,   samba-mbalie
four-ten   slave   3R-ask-PF   car   3R-ask-PF   everything

ka-rangkaea-'a-no   donia   ana.
NOM-rich-LOC-POS   world   this

30. A-mpalinga   mowine-no   pande   [m]ika-kabua,   no-pulu-aso-mo
     one-time   wife-POS   clever   VM-angle   3R-tell-IO-PF

mohane-no: "Mpa'e-mpa'e   ane   cu-s[um]awa   i   La-isa-isa,
husband-her   RED-where   if   2sI-ask   loc   ART-RED-fish

pi-mbali-aso   cia   na-ko-kia   mai   cia   na-mpana   holeo   ane
VM-become-PURP   not   3I-HAVE-rain   with   not   3I-hot   sun   if

ta-[m]i-hangka-hangka   i   lala   mai   oto-nto".   31. Mohane-no
1pI-VM-RED-go   loc   road   with   car-our(in)   husband-her

no-sampu-mo   uka,   i   kambara.   32. No-sawa-mo   uka   i
3R-go.down-PF   again   loc   creek   3R-ask-PF   also   loc

La-isa-isa: "Oh,   La-isa-isa,   inda'u   a-s[um]awa-mo   uka
ART-RED-fish   O   ART-RED-fish   I   1sI-ask-PF   also

cia-aso   na-ko-kia   mai   cia   uka   na-mpana   holeo   ane   isami
not-PURP   3I-HAVE-rain   with   not   also   3I-hot   sun   if   we(ex)

ta-[mi]-hangka-hangka   mai   oto-mami".   33. Cia-po   na-[m]o'oli   pande
1pI-VM-RED-go   with   car-our(ex)   not-IMPF   3I-finish   clever

[m]i-ka'ela-no   isa   na-[m]ogau,   La-isa-isa   no-ko-nawusuu-mo
VM-snare-A.PART   fish   3I-speak   ART-RED-fish   3R-HAVE-anger-PF

lalo-no.   34. Cia   na-mo-lengo,   La-isa-isa   no-pogau-m   mba-'ina:
heart-his   not   3I-VM-long   ART-RED-fish   3R-speak-PF   like-this

35. "He,   iso'o   ancu   cia-mo   mai   ka-tompu-a'a-m   cu-s[um]awa
     Hey   you   that   not-PF   be   NOM-broken-?-your   2sI-ask

ni-sawa-mo,   ngke'eno-m   sababu-no   inda'u   mo-ndeu-mo   a-dhawu-'iso
P.PART-ask-your   that-PF   reason-its   I   VM-refuse-PF   1sI-give-you

para-para'e   ni-sawa-mo.   36. Mbule-m   i   ka'ana-mo".   37. Rato   wite,
RED-what   P.PART-ask-your   return-PF   loc   house-your   arrive   after

kapura'e   ka'ana   to'owa,   oto,   mai   bhacua   cia-mo   na-dhane'e.
SURPRISE   house   big   car   with   slave   not-PF   3I-be

38. Samba-mbalie   no-ci-kabhi-mo.   39. No-ita-'e   mowine-no,
     everything   3R-ACC-lose-PF   3R-see-her   wife-his

no-pi-hora-hora   i   losu.
3R-VM-RED-sit   loc   mortar

40. Cu-cula   ia   ana,   no-'adhari-'ikita.   41. Mia   mo-sibu-no
     RED-story   he   this   3R-teach-us(in)   person   VM-greedy-A.PART

mai   ka-rangkaea,   no-badhi-e   mia.
with   NOM-rich   3R-hate-him   person

Notes on the text (numbers refer to sentences)

2.   Notice the presence of both the free pronoun and a subject prefix. Also in 5.

4.   The function of *mai* 'with' here is probably comparable to the Muna existential preposition *bhe* (Van den Berg 1989:6.2.1). Also in 7. The verb form *nu-h[um]umbu-'isi-e* shows vowel assimilation (< *na-h[um]umbu*)

10. The surprise conjunction *kapura'e* probably functions similarly to Muna *garaa* (Van den Berg 1989:9.10).

13. Spatial and anaphoric deictics seem to be rather complicated in Cia-Cia. In this text the following anaphoric markers are used: *haleo* (11), *ia haleo* (13), *ia* (20) and *ia ana* (40), all of which mean 'this'.

14. Notice the final nasal consonants.

15. The absence of *-um-* in *a-dhawu-'iso* is unexplained. Addition of *-um-* is still grammatical.

16. The function of *-'isie* seems to be causative here.

19. Notice the absence of a subject prefix on *potabu*.

22. The function of *-po* in this construction is unclear.

29. The dots signal everything else that the woman asked.

30. The verb root *pulu* does not occur on its own, but always in combination with *-aso*.

35. The meaning of the suffix *-a'a* is not clear in *ka-tompu-a'a-m*.

Free translation

1. Once upon a time there was a fisherman. 2. He lived on his field together with his wife. 3. They were very poor. 4. Their daily food was sometimes not even sufficient for them. 5. Once he went down to fish in a creek, as was his daily custom. 6. He started fishing. 7. But after waiting for a long time, no fish had bitten at his line. 8. He planned to go home if he did not see a fish bite at his line. 9. Shortly he pulled up his line. 10. But oh surprise, there was a big, red fish. 11. The fisherman was very happy. 12. He wanted to go home. 13. But then the fish began to speak like a man. 14. That is the reason he is called Mr. Fish. 15. 'Don't take me home; later I will give you everything that you ask for.' 16. The fisherman stopped and freed the fish that he had just caught. 17. Then he put him back in the creek, after which he returned home. 18. After he had arrived, he told his wife. 19. 'I caught a fish. 20. But this fish spoke like a man. 21. He said that I should not take him, but that everything we ask he will give us.' 22. His wife said: 'Well, let's ask Mr. Fish for a big house.' 23. The fisherman went down again. 24. When he arrived, he asked: 'O Mr. Fish, we ask for a big house.' 25. Mr. Fish

answered: 26. 'Go home, the house you asked for is already there.' 27. Mr. Fish had not finished speaking yet when the fisherman ran home at a trot (lit. at-a-chicken-trot). 28. How startled he was: his house had become a big and beautiful house. 29. This went on every day; his wife kept asking: forty slaves, a car, this and that, every possible luxury in this world.

30. Once the fisherman's wife told her husband: 'What about asking Mr. Fish that it won't rain and that it won't be hot when we go riding in our car?' 31. Her husband went down again to the creek. 32. He asked Mr. Fish again: 'O Mr. Fish, I ask you that it won't rain and that it won't be hot when we go riding in our car.' 33. The fishcatcher had not yet finished speaking when Mr. Fish got very angry. 34. In a while he said the following. 35. 'Hey, you there, there is no end to what you ask, that's why I refuse to give you anything you ask for. 36. Go home!' 37. When he arrived, he found to his surprise that the big house, the car and the slaves were no longer there. 38. Everything had disappeared. 39. He saw his wife sitting on a mortar.

40-41. This story teaches us that someone who is too greedy for riches is hated by men.

Abbreviations

ACC	accidental passive
ADH	adhortative
A.PART	active participle
ART	article
CAUS	causative
DO	direct object
ex	exclusive
I	irrealis
in	inclusive
IMPF	imperfective
IO	indirect object
loc	locative preposition
LOC	locative
NOM	nominalizer
p	plural
PF	perfective
POS	possessive linker
POSS	possessive suffix
P.PART	passive participle
PURP	purpose
R	realis
RED	reduplication

s   singular
VM   verbal marker
1   first person
2   second person
3   third person

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