1. Introduction

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lists contained in some of the sources mentioned above, the only information concerning this language is found in an unpublished government report, *Struktur Bahasa Cia-Cia* by Mustafa Abdullah et al.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).
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 Mum (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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants (vl = voiceless; vd = voiced)</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosive vl</td>
<td>i, u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plosive vd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>implosive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prenasalized vl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prenasalized vd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semivowel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

/a/ <a>  
/b/ <bh>  
/d/ <dh>  
/g/ <ng>  
/e/ <e>  
/o/ <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 <<.  
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/bh/</th>
<th>/dh/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bhangka 'boat'</td>
<td>bangka 'swollen' (&lt; bengkak)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolabha 'tell a lie'</td>
<td>laha 'reason'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhosa 'debt'</td>
<td>dosa 'sin'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/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:
6. In dialect B, /h/ is phonetically realized as a voiced velar or uvular fricative [ɣ] – [ɣ]. This extends to loanwords as well: [kamaya] ‘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’
- nga’o ‘nose’
- ngi’ti ‘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 navusuu ‘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 -a’a/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 combinatorial possibilities of vowels, though the data do not illustrate all patterns:

- cia ‘not’
- hae ‘chin’
- rea ‘blood’
- hopiu ‘gall’
- rui ‘thorn’
- rua ‘two’
- ngoi ‘wind’
- 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-line ‘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 -’iso/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 u’e, 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’
There is one apparent exception to the constraint on closed syllables: the back vowels /ə/ 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 -mul-mo. Examples:

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

Other examples were recorded in which the verbal prefix mo- was sometimes reduced to a syllabic nasal /m/ 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 'storm', 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-mbale 'he returns' without the corresponding *no-mo-bale. A similar pair is illustrated by no-m-pono – no-mo-pono 'full'. It is possible that some roots which now show initial prnasalized 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 anapenultimate 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:
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Free</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>DO</th>
<th>IO</th>
<th>Poss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>realis</td>
<td>irreals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s1</td>
<td>inda’u</td>
<td>o-</td>
<td>-a-</td>
<td>-aa’u’u-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1(1)so’o</td>
<td>mu-mo-</td>
<td>cu-</td>
<td>-so-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ia</td>
<td>no-</td>
<td>na-</td>
<td>-ie- e-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl ex</td>
<td>isami</td>
<td>to-</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>-sani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 in</td>
<td>ingkita</td>
<td>to-</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>-kita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>isimi</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>cu-ka-</td>
<td>-siimu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mo’ia</td>
<td>no-(ka)-</td>
<td>na-(ka)-</td>
<td>-ie- e-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 irreals set is employed for the future (or intentions) and after negatives. The irreals 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
b. na-s[um]ampu
  3R-go.down
  3l-go.down

(2) a. o-mbule
b. a-mbule
  1R-return
  1S-return

‘he goes down; he went down’
‘he will go down’
‘he did not go down’
‘I return(ing)’
‘I will return’
The Cia-Cia language of South Buton

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-renu-aso kia
    3R-VM-shelter-IO rain
    'he took shelter against the rain'

(13) na-[m]-lamboko-aso ana-no e-riwu
    3R-VM-send-IO child-his one-thousand
    'he will send his son 1000 rupees'

The forms listed in the chart under IO are used when the indirect object has pronominal reference. The form -'isi 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]-lamboko-'iso doi
    1st-VM-send-you money
    'I will send you money'

(16) o a-[o]-bhebhe-'isi sau
    ART dog 1st-hit-it/IO wood
    'I hit the dog with a stick'

In the last example, the suffix -'isi 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-linda-lisie-mo agea-no
    '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-mo
everything P.PART-ask-our(in)
    'everything that we asked'
(19) sia ni-pika-kahua-no . haloe
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 reciproals).

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 /g/ (and also /k/) 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
    1-[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-puoli
    na-[m]o oli  'he finishes'
(29) no-pi-ndorgo
    na-mi-ndorgo  '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 static and non-volitional verbs, and corresponds to the Muna ao-class. It is glossed as VM (verb marker). Examples:

(30) mo-dhindi
    'cold'
    mo-dawu
    'fall'
    mo-ncura
    'sleep'
(31) a. no-mo-leu-mo
    3R-VM-withered-PF
    'it is already withered'
b. no-mo-naa-mo
    3R-VM-ripe-PF
    'it is already ripe'

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-kanja
    'work'(verb)
    karaja
    'work'(noun)
    pi-lagi
    'sing'
    lagu
    'song'
    pi-dheu
    'sew'
    dheu
    'medie'

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

(33) pi-cucu
    'pound'
    pi-mbali
    'become'
pi-kudha
    'cough'
pi-nondongo
    '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:
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-no to-mbule-aso come-PF 1PR-return-ADH 'come on, let's go home'
(37) mai to-to-mbule-aso kadthese come 1PR-VM-plant-ADH banana 'come, let's plant a banana tree'

4.3. 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 (haca), 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Free</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Reduplicated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ise</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>rua</td>
<td>rua-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tolu</td>
<td>tolu-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'-alono '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.

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. la no-tara i hamota mai movine-no. 3. Mo'ia ana no-miakini 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[j]umбу-siी. 5. A-mpalinge, kablanga-mo uka a-alo-alo-no, 31-enough-them one-time like-PF also one-RED-day-his
ia no-sampu-mo uka no-pika-kabua isak i kambara. 6. Hawite hake he 3R-go.down-PF again 3R-VM-angle fish loc creek after that
no-pika-kabua-mo. 7. Hawai 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
na-[m]iitia 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 isam-dheia, mai no-to'owa. 3R-pull-it-PF NOM-angle-his SURPRISE fish VM-red with 3R-big
11. No-anaa-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-m o ka'ana-no. 13. Kapura'e o isa ia haleo 3I-return-PF loc house-his SURPRISE ART fish he this
no-pogau-kilabalanga uka mia 14. Ngke'eno-m laba no-ko-ngce-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-'ino". 16. Pande [m]ika-kabua-no isa haleo
P.PART-ask-your 1st-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
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
1 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 DON'T-PF 1st-take-it he everything
ni-sawa-mo na-dhawu-'ikita". 22. Mowine-no no-pogau: "Eh, P.PART-ask-our(in) 3I-give-us(in) wife-his 3R-speak like
sawa-'ikita-po ka'ana to'owa i La-isa-isa". 23. No-sampu-m P.PART
ask-us(in)-IMPF house big loc ART-RED-fish 3R-go-down-PP
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, dbane'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
not-IMPF house big loc ART-RED-fish 3R-go-up loc house-his 3R-startled
haleo no-tode-tohe-manu-mo no-pangara i ka'ana-no. 28. No-maha this 3R-RED-run-chicken-PP 3R-go-up loc house-his 3R-startled
ka'ana-no no-pi-imbali-mo ka'ana mo-kesa mai no-to'owa. 29. Mio-m ke'e, susuri alo, mowine-no no-sawa-mo torusu
like-PF that every day wife-his 3R-ask-PF continually
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-hunjumbu-isi-e shows vowel assimilation (< na-hunjumbu)
10. The surprise conjunction kapura'e probably functions similarly to Muna garaa (Van den Berg 1989:9.10).
13. Spatial and anaphoric deixics 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-dhau-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 -da is not clear in ka-tompu-da-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
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