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Muna Dialects and Munic Languages: Towards a Reconstruction[1]

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0. Introduction

Our knowledge of the linguistic situation on the islands off the south-east coast of Sulawesi is still rudimentary. Adriani (1914) mentions two languages for the islands Muna and Buton. Esser (1938) coined the term 'Muna-Buton group' and included four languages in it. Fifty years later we still do not know exactly how many languages there are in this area: Anceaux (1978) and Bhurhanuddin (1979) both list seven, excluding the Bungku languages and Tolaki, in which they follow Esser. In Sneddon (1982) these seven are reduced to five, whereas Kaseng *et al.* (1983) reach a total of eight. The only language in this group about which adequate lexical and grammatical information is available is Wolio (Anceaux 1952, 1987). The question of internal subgrouping within the putative Muna-Buton group is hardly asked, nor do we know on what basis these languages are grouped together, and whether other languages should be included in this group.

During my stay on Muna in 1985 and 1986 for the purpose of writing a descriptive grammar of the Muna language, I was able to collect information and wordlists of Muna dialects and related languages and dialects on Buton[2]. It turned out that the existing literature does not adequately cover all the speech communities (isolects)[3] that are found on Buton. In other words, it is still possible to discover a hitherto unreported isolect, which may in fact turn out to be a separate language.

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[3]I follow Adelaar 1985 in using the term 'isolect' (from Hudson 1967), which is neutral in regard to language-dialect identification.

In this paper I will combine geo-linguistic data (where are the languages spoken?) with a historical-comparative approach. Starting from the Muna language, I will discuss its dialects and subsequently reconstruct the Proto-Muna sound system with some etyma, including pronouns. In section 6 I will briefly mention the closest relatives of Muna, which I call the Pancanic languages. I assume that Proto-Muna and the Pancanic languages are descendants from a common ancestor, Proto-Munic. The term 'Munic' may then be used to include both Muna and the Pancanic languages. The relationship of the Munic languages to other languages in the putative Muna-Buton group falls outside the scope of this paper. Cia-Cia (sometimes called South-Buton) seems to be the next closest. The position of Wolio, in many respects deviant from the neighbouring languages, is still an open question.

My sources are first of all my own field notes, supplemented by Professor Anceaux's unpublished field notes on the languages of Muna and Buton (Anceaux n.d.), which he very kindly put at my disposal. Bhurhanuddin (1979) also proved to contain valuable information, as does Kaseng *et al.* (1983). For the Muna dialects, wordlists were collected in the following locations (for which I will use abbreviations):

SM	Standard Muna
MAW	Mawasangka (desa Lasori)
SIO	Siompu (desa Tongali)
LOM	Lombe
LAK	Lakudo
WAK	Wakea-kea
KAD	Kadatua (desa Banabungi)
LAO	Laompo
KAT	Katobengke
BUR	Burukene

Anceaux (n.d.) gives information for the following locations; the numbers refer to his wordlists as published in Anceaux (1978):

KOL	Kolowa	(13)[4]
WAS	Wasilomata	(15)
KAT	Katobengke	(22)
LAK	Lakudo	(23)
MAW	Mawasangka	(24)
LOM	Lombe	(25)

MBOM	Mbombonawulu	(26)
SIO	Siompu	(27)
MOL	Siompu (desa Molona)	(28)
KAD	Kadatua	(29)

All the names of locations cited in this paper are found on the map in appendix 3.

1. Muna: language boundaries and dialects

The language boundaries and the dialects of the Muna language in Southeast Sulawesi are poorly known. Anceaux (1978:281) rightly observes: 'Because of the dialectal variations nobody has clear ideas of what belongs to it and what does not'. On the map presented in that article it can be seen that Muna is not only spoken on the whole island of Muna but also on northern Buton and some coastal areas in southern Buton. I will make these boundaries somewhat sharper and name specific villages in areas where more than one language is spoken.

Standard Muna is spoken with remarkably little dialectal variation in a large area on Muna comprising the four *kecamatans* that made up the old Muna kingdom: Tongkuno, Kabawo, Lawa and Katobu. It is also the language of Tobea Besar, an island between Muna and the mainland of Southeast Sulawesi. In Sneddon (1982) Tobea Besar is wrongly assigned to the Tolaki speaking area. The Muna population on Tobea Besar consists of recent immigrants from central Muna. There is also a Bajau settlement; Bajau's are also found on Tobea Kecil and Renda, two islands close to Tobea Besar.

The eastern boundary of Muna is on northern Buton[5] All along the western coast of Buton (*kecamatan* Wakorumba) there are Muna settlements, some of which are said to be founded by people from Loghia, a fishing village on Muna's east coast, a few miles south of the capital Raha. They all speak standard Muna. It is unclear whether the southern boundary of these settlements coincides with the *kecamatan* boundary between Wakorumba and Kapontori. However, there is one village on the Wakorumba coast, Maligano, northeast of Raha,

[5]In this article I use the names Buton and Muna to refer to the islands. Confusingly, the *kabupaten* boundaries are different: southern Muna (Gu and Mawasangka) is part of *kabupaten* Buton, whereas northern Buton (Wakorumba and Kulisusu) is part of *kabupaten* Muna.

where the original population speaks Taluki, a Bungku isolect which is 76% cognate with Kulisusu, the closest Bungku language. To my knowledge, the existence of this isolect has never been reported.

In north-west Muna a different dialect is found in *kecamatan* Tikep (Tiworo Kepulauan) on the Tiworo islands and around Kambara. The island population in the Tiworo archipelago is a mixture of Bajau's, Bugis, Muna and people from Kadatua (an island southwest of Baubau). Quite a few islands are uninhabited. On the mainland of Muna the dialect boundary between Tiworo and Standard Muna runs across Marobea (formerly Dandila), east of Kambara.

Moving south we encounter a very important bundle of isoglosses which roughly coincides with an administrative boundary. The two southernmost *kecamatans* of Muna, Gu and Mawasangka, belong to the southern group of Muna dialects. Following Indonesian usage I will use the term Gumas to refer to these dialects. Certain villages, however, are exceptional in that they are located in the 'wrong' area. Tampunawou in northwest Mawasangka is Standard Muna speaking, whereas a few villages in southern Tongkuno speak a Gumas dialect, such as Wale-ale and Lawama. The present dialect boundary runs right across Tongkuno's capital Wakuru and causes dialectal differences between generations. My impression is that the boundary is moving south, due to the influence of Standard Muna in Wakuru. Gu and Mawasangka are occupied by a number of closely related subdialects. Gu shows the biggest number of dialectal differences in the whole Muna speaking area; wordlists are available for Lombe (one by myself and one by Anceaux (A); the two are slightly different), Lakudo (again two different lists), Wakea-kea, Mbombonawulu (A) and Kolowa (A). The village Tolandona, located on the Buton Strait is Wolio-speaking.

Muna dialects are also found on two small islands southwest of Baubau, Kadatua and Siompu. Kadatua has a Gumas subdialect, but Siompu shows a different southern dialect. On Siompu another language is also found, Kaimbulawa, to be discussed in 6. The middle island, Liwuto ngkidi ('Small island'), is uninhabited.

Finally a number of Muna dialects are spoken on the west coast of Buton, just north and south of Baubau. North of Baubau there are the fishing villages Lowu-Lowu and Kalia-lia with slightly different Gumas dialects. South of Baubau we find Katobengke, Topa, Sulaa and Lawela, all speaking Gumas dialects. Moving further south we

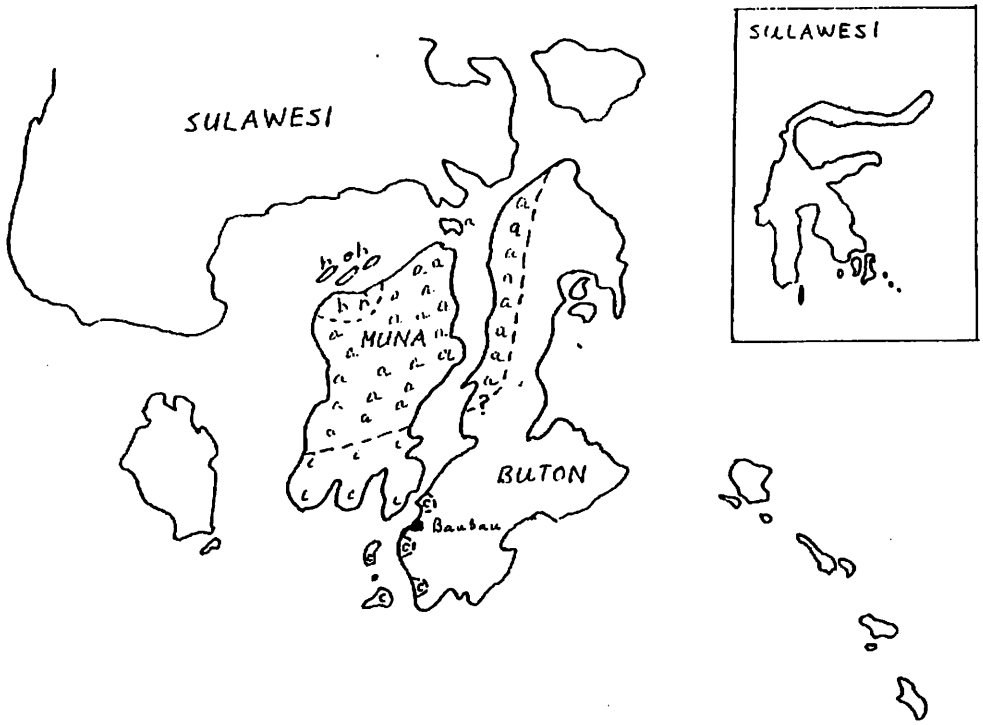
first run into a separate language, Busoa (cf. 6), after which follow Laompo (opposite Siompu) and Burukene. These two closely related dialects are also part of the Gumas dialect complex.

Our present knowledge of the Muna dialect situation is therefore as follows. The reasons for making this division will be discussed in 2. Population figures are estimated:

1. Standard Muna 150,000
2. Tiworo dialect 10,000?
3. Southern dialects
   a. Siompu 7,000?
   b. Gumas dialects 60,000?

The total number of Muna speakers is approximately 225,000. On Map 1 the boundaries of the Muna language have been indicated.

Map 1



Area where the Muna language is spoken:

a: Standard Muna
b: Tiworo dialect

c: Southern dialects

2. Standard Muna phonology

Before I consider the points on which the Muna dialects differ from each other I will present a short sketch of the phonology of standard Muna. The consonant inventory is presented in the following chart:

	bilabial	labio-dental	dental	alveo-lar	velar	uvular	glottal
vl stop	p			t	k		
vd	b		d̪	d	g		
vl prenas	mp			nt	ŋk		
vd prenas	mb			nd	ŋg		
implosive	ɓ						
nasal	m			n	ŋ		
vl fric.		f		s			h
vd						ʁ	
vl prenas				ns			
trill				r			
lateral				l			
approximant	w						

Vowels: i,e,a,o,u

The following points should be noted about Muna phonology:

1. I will use the following spellings:/ɓ/ = <bh>, /d̪/ = <dh>, /ʁ/ =<gh>, /ŋ/ = <ng>, /ŋk/ = <ngk>, /ŋg/ = <ngg>.
2. *bh* and *b* are neutralized to *b* before *u*; before all other vowels there is contrast, e.g.:
   baru 'happy' bharu 'fungus'
   bisa 'poison' bhisa 'midwife'
3. *d* may be realized as a weak implosive, especially in stressed syllables before *a*:
   dahu [ɗahu] ~ [dahu] 'dog'
4. *dh* is a lamino-dental stop; it occurs in clear or suspected loanwords, usually from Wolio or Malay, in which case it replaces the palatal stop/affricate *j*:

dhadhi	(Wolio: jaji)	'so, consequently'
dhaga	(Wolio/Malay: jaga)	'guard, watch'
dhanila	(Wolio: janila)	'roof window'
dhangku	(Wolio: jangku)	'beard'
dhepe	(Wolio: jepe)	'rice porridge'
dhulu	(Wolio: julu)	'begin to move, move up'
dhala	(Malay: jalan)	'run (e.g. an engine)'
dhamani	(Malay: jaman)	'era'

5. All syllables are open in Muna. There are no consonant clusters. The only syllable patterns are therefore V and CV. The prenasalized consonants are analysed as phonemic units; they occur both initially and medially. In the following examples the dot indicates a syllable boundary:
   la.mbu 'house'
   ndo.ke 'monkey'
6. Two consecutive identical vowels belong to different syllables. Phonetically such a combination is a long vowel:
   la.a [la:] 'river'
   ne.e [ne:] 'nose'
7. Stress is almost invariably penultimate in Muna. This is also true for the other dialects and languages to be discussed. Stress is therefore not marked.

3. Muna dialects: phonological differences

In this section I will discuss the phonological differences between the Muna dialects taking Standard Muna (henceforth SM) as my point of reference. Having discussed these differences, I will propose a reconstruction for Proto-Muna.

a) The laryngeal area

SM *gh* does not occur in Tiworo (for which I unfortunately do not have a full wordlist); Tiworo *h* corresponds to SM *gh* and *h*:

SM	Tiworo	
ghuse	huse	'rain'
ghai	hai	'coconut'
no-hali	no-hali	'expensive'
dahu	dahu	'dog'

All the southern dialects have a glottal stop (written with an apostrophe) corresponding to SM *gh* and *h*. I will only give a few examples:

SM	Southern dialects	
pughu	pu'u	'tree'
ghuse	'use	'rain'
ghue	'ue	'rattan'
gholeo	'oleo	'day, sun'
bughou	bu'ou	'new'
dahu	da'u	'dog'
tehi	te'i	'sea'
ihi	i'i	'flesh'
hula	'ula	'face'
lahae	la'ae	'who'

In some southern dialects the intervocallic glottal stop seems to be unstable, especially between a low and a high vowel. In SIO and KAD I recorded free variation between *da'u* and *dau* 'dog', and in KAD *tai* 'fæces', where other southern dialects have *ta'i*.

Southern dialects seem to have a three-way opposition to initiate a vowel: with glottal stop, with zero or with *h* (which still exists as a separate phoneme from other sources). The onset of *h* and glottal stop are phonetically straight forward, but the zero onset is more complex. In order maximally to distinguish this onset from the others, a very weak vocal onset is heard in some dialects, the identity of which I am not completely sure about. In MAW this zero onset is approximately a weak [y]-glide before the first vowel: [yifi] 'fire'; in LOM and SIO a weak voiceless onset is heard, to be sharply distinguished from *h*, where much more friction is heard:

[ˍolu] 'cloud'
[ˍai] 'younger sibling'

Unfortunately I do not have good examples of a three-way contrast; only of the contrast between initial zero and glottal stop:

ai 'younger sibling'
'ai 'coconut'

ue 'vein'
'ue 'rattan'

The question is whether SM illustrates a retention of an original contrast or an unconditioned split. From a wider Austronesian perspective it is clear that SM has retained PAN **q*, whereas the other Muna dialects have merged this reflex with *h*.

The following etyma illustrate the retention of PAN **q* as SM *gh*. Since Muna does not have word-final consonants, this retention only applies to initial and intervocalic **q*:

PAN	SM		PAN	SM	
*qatey	ghate	'liver'	*qajen	gheo	'charcoal'
*qatep	ghato	'roof'	*quey	ghue	'rattan'
*qe(n)tut	ghotu	'fart'	*quley	ghule	'snake'
*qaqay	ghaghe	'leg'	*taqun	taghu	'year'
*quZan	ghuse	'rain'	*daqan	ragha	'branch'
*qitem	ghito	'black'	*puqun	pughu	'tree'
*quDaŋ	ghura	'lobster'	*paqit	paghi	'bitter'

SM *h* is in many cases a reflex of PAN **s*:

PAN	SM		PAN	SM	
*salaq	hala	'wrong'	*pusej	puhe	'navel'
*tasik	tehi	'sea'	*kasaw	saho	'rafter'
*isi	ihi	'flesh'	*asu	dahu	'dog'
*baseq 'wet'	bhaho	'spray'			(*d* unexplained)

But PAN **s* is reflected as *s* in the following etyma, some of which may be loan words:

PAN	SM	
*siwa	siua	'nine'
*sepsep	soso	'suck'
*sakit	saki	'sick'
*beRsay	bhose	'canoe paddle'
*sabun	sawu	'cock fight'
*pisaw	piso	'knife'

I assume that the glottal stop of the southern dialects is a later change from *h*. For Proto-Muna I therefore reconstruct **q* (following

PAN) and **h*. Pending further evidence I take Proto-Muna **q* to have been what it is in Standard Muna, a voiced uvular fricative. For PAN, Dahl (1976) assumes **q* to have been a voiceless uvular stop on the basis of the reflexes *q*, *k*, *'*, *h* and zero in modern languages. Muna seems to be fairly exceptional in having a voiced reflex of PAN **q*.

b) SM *r*

Where SM has *r* (an alveolar trill), the southern dialects show other sounds. Only Siompu retains *r* (and reportedly the villages Waonu and Kapoa on Kadatua). This is the reason why Siompu is distinguished from the other southern dialects. The phonetic equivalent of *r* differs from dialect to dialect; most widespread is *h*. This sound is found in MAW, LOM, WAK, KOL, KAD (except for two villages), LAO and BUR. In LAK the equivalent is the voiceless uvular fricative [X] , spelled <kh> . A weak voiceless uvular fricative is heard in KAL and KAT. In Wongko, a village between Lakudo and Lombe there seemed to be variation between this weakly articulated uvular fricative and the glottal fricative *h*. A few examples of these correspondences:

SM/Siompu	LAK/KAL/KAT	others	
roo	khoo	hoo	'leaf'
rindi	khindi	hindi	'cold'
rea	khea	hea	'blood'
foroghu (SM)	fokho'u	foho'u	'drink'
bhari	bhakhi	bhahi	'many'
robhine	khobhine	hobhine	'woman'
gara (S)	gakha	gaha	'salt'
ere	ekhe	ehe	'stand (up)'
rato	khato	hato	'arrive'

On the basis of naturalness in phonological change and other Austronesian evidence (SM *r* from PAN **d/D*) I reconstruct Proto-Muna **r* in these etyma.

Examples of PAN **d/D* reflected as SM *r*:

PAN	SM	
*DaRaq	rea	'blood'
*daqan	ragha	'branch'
*quDip	ghuri	'live;alive'
*daSun	roo	'leaf'
*diŋdiŋ	rindi	'cold'
*quDaŋ	ghura	'lobster'
*Depah	rofa	'fathom'

PAN **d/D* is reflected as SM *l* when the root contains another *l* (assimilation of **r..l..* to *l..l..*):

*dilaq	lela	'tongue
*Dalem	lalo	'inside'

Occasionally **d/D* is reflected as SM *d*:

*Dikiq	kidi	'small' (metathesis; archaic in SM)
*DuSa	dua	'two' (free form)
but: rua-/raa-/ra-		'two' (pre-clitic form)

A short excursion on the numerals may be useful here. The pre-clitic forms, used before classifiers and measure nouns, are in several cases different from the free numerals. Other examples:

free	pre-clitic		PAN
ise	se-	'one'	*isa
paa	fato-	'foru'	*Sepat
noo	nomo-	'six'	*enem
pitu	fitu-	'seven'	*pitu

It does not seem likely that the free forms have been borrowed; Wolio has partly different free forms (*ise* 'one'; *jua* 'two'; *apa* 'four'; *ana* 'six'; *pitu* 'seven') and cannot be the source. The free forms seem to have been less subject to certain sound changes (**p* > *f*; **d/D* > *r*), although the pre-clitic forms retain final consonants. In any case the forms have developed independently.

c) Palatalization of *t*

In a number of Gumas dialects *t* is palatalized to *c* before *i* and *u*. In those dialects *t* and *c* are therefore in complementary distribution. This palatalization is notably strong in LOM and LAK. Moving east towards Mawasangka it becomes weaker. In Mone and Lolibu it is only

found in the speech of older people. MAW only has *t*. WAK also has a weakly palatalized *t* before *i* and *u*, but in southern Gu (KOL) plain *t* is found.

On Buton, this palatal *c* occurs in KAT and KAL. The other dialects on Buton retain *t* . Some examples:

LOM LAK KAT KAL	other dialects	
koncu	kontu	'stone'
cunu	tunu	'burn'
picu	pitu	'seven'
aicu	aitu	'that'
cimbu	timbu	'east' (?< Malay *timur*)
cici	titi	'breast'
cuu	tuu	'knee'

It should be mentioned that this palatalization of *t* also occurs in a few places in the area where Standard Muna is spoken, for example in the villages Mabodo and Bungi in Katobu. Here it is considered a feature of rustic and uneducated speech.

I reconstruct Proto-Muna **t* in these etyma.

d) The implosive stops

In all the Muna dialects an implosive *bh* is found, except before *u*, where plain *b* occurs. In all the southern dialects *d* is phonetically also an implosive. As said in section 2, in SM there is free variation between a plain alveolar stop and an implosive [ɗ] . Examples of [ɗ] in the southern dialects:

[ɗana] 'elephant grass'
[ɗa'u] 'dog'
[ɗea] 'red'
[loɗo] 'sleep'

There are no examples of *d* before *u* in the wordlist and consequently it is probable that there is no implosion before *u*, similar to the bilabial implosive. In MAW I recorded the alternative pronunciation [loʔdo] 'sleep'.

I reconstruct a plain **d* for Proto-Muna. The implosive character of this sound is probably an areal feature that has spread from Wolio, which has a strong implosive series (Anceaux 1952), but has not been

fully absorbed in SM. It is typologically well known that labials are more likely candidates for implosives than alveolars and velars, so that a phonetic shift towards implosion would reach *b* before *d*. Implosion seems to be fairly typical of the whole Muna-Buton area, since it is also found in the Pancanic languages and in Popalia on the Tukang Besi islands (cf. Blust 1980).

For the bilabial series I reconstruct Proto-Muna **b*, which may have had an implosive character, but not before *u*. Despite the minimal pairs in SM there is not (yet) enough evidence to reconstruct a contrast between **b* and **bh*.

e) SM *dh*

In Lombe I recorded two different sounds that correspond to SM *dh*. The first one is the same lamino-dental *dh*, and the second is the palatal plosive (affricate) *j*. Except for the word for 'green' these words were elicited in addition to the wordlist. As explained in 2.4, words containing *dh* in SM are all clear or suspected loanwords. Note the following examples:

Lombe	**SM**		
baju	badhu	'shirt'	(< Malay *baju*)
no-julu	no-dhulu	'cross eyed'	
no-jule	no-dhule	'uneasy, insecure'	
no-jubo	-	'short'	
no-idho	no-idho	'green'	(< Wolio *ijo*)
adhaha	adhara	'horse'	(< Wolio *ajara*
			?< JAV *jaran*)
dhangku	dhangku	'beard'	(< Wolio *jangku*)
dharabisi[6]	dharabisi	'moustache'	

It may be coincidence that all the examples of *j* in Lombe are before *u*.

The same phenomenon (*dh* and *j* corresponding to SM *dh*) occurs in Tiworo where *j* was found in the following etyma:

[6]The *r* is unexplained. Possibly borrowed after the shift of *r* → *h* took place.

Tiworo	SM	
jambata	dhambata	'bridge; harbour' (< Malay *jembatan*)
lamejawa	(la)medhawa	'k.o. cassava'

In the wordlist the only word containing *dh* in SM was 'green'. In contrast with Lombe I recorded the form *ijo* in MAW, KAD, LAO and BUR. It is not entirely clear whether this difference represents a difference in time of borrowing, the words retaining *j* being more recent borrowings and therefore less adapted. An alternative hypothesis is that Muna has merged two loan phonemes that have been kept apart in Lombe, or that a shift from *j* to *dh* is gradually taking place, having reached its final stage in SM and an intermediate stage in Lombe. The latter option seems the most plausible one but must remain a hypothesis until further information becomes available. Tentatively I therefore reconstruct the phoneme **j* for Proto-Muna, occurring only in loanwords.

f) *ns - nc*

There are two words in the wordlist in which two Muna dialects, KAD and BUR have *nc* for expected *ns*. Since SM has a non-cognate in one case and a reduced form in the other, I compare these forms to the southern dialect LAK:

KAD/BUR	LAK	
lenci	lensi	'tail'
incamoodi (B)	insawodi	'we (excl.)'
incawodi (K)		

The phoneme *ns* does not occur in the wordlists for these dialects; it seems likely therefore that *ns* does not exist and that the prenasalized counterpart of *s* is *nc* in these dialects. This is true for other languages in Sulawesi such as Wolio and Bare'e. The question is what came first. System symmetry would be a pushing factor towards *ns* . On the other hand, the presence of *nc* without its counterpart *c* (which does exist in Wolio, though not in Bare'e) would be a rather marked situation. An alternation *s - nc* may be the result of an earlier change of **c* > *s*, cf. Dempwolff's reconstruction of PAN **t'*, a palatal stop, on the basis of present-day *s* and its alternation with *ny* or *nc* in Malay and Javanese.

I therefore reconstruct Proto-Muna **nc*. It is to be noted that *ns*

carries a low functional load in SM and very rarely occurs initially.

g) Vocalic variation

In a number of words there is variation between the vowels *a*, *o* and *u* in the penultimate or the antepenultimate syllable.

I assume that in trisyllabic words antepenultimate *a* has regularly become *o* and occasionally *u* in SM:

PAN	SM	
*qalipan	gholifa	'centipede'
*qabaRa	ghowea	'shoulder'
*qasiRa	ghohia	'salt'
*qalejaw	gholeo	'sun; day'
*paniki	ponisi	'flying fox'
*baqeRu	bughou	'new'
*qateluR	ghunteli	'egg' (assimilation of *o-i* to *e-i*)

Where there is variation between *o* and *u* in the antipenult, I reconstruct **o* for Proto-Muna (PM):

1. PM **wolawo* 'mouse'. SM, KAT *wulawo*; all others *wolawo*. Pancanic: KAIM, KAMBE *wolawo*. PAN **balabaw*.
2. PM **kodoho* 'far'. MAW, BUR *kudo'o*; all others *kodoho/kodo'o*. Pancanic: KAIM, KAMB *kodoho*; LIA, KIO *kodo'o*.
3. PM **konisi* 'nail'. KAT *kunisi*; all others *konisi*. Pancanic: LIA, KAMBE, KAMBO, KIO *konisi*. ?< PAN **kanuku* (with unexplained change of *u* to *i*).
4. PM **fotaa* 'laugh'. SIO, LAK, KAD *fotaa*; LOM *fotaa* ~ *futaa*; others *futaa*. Pancanic: BUS *futaa*; KIO *fotaa*; KAIMB, KAMBE, KAMBO *potaa*. From **pa* + PAN **tawa* 'laugh'

The first syllable of the following tetrosyllablic word shows variation between *a*, *o* and *u*; I reconstruct **a*:

5. PM **kalipopo* 'star'. SIO *kulipopo*; LAO, KAT, BUR *kalipopo*; others *kolipopo*.

Variation is also found in certain disyllabic words with *o/u* in the penult and *a* in the final syllable; tentatively I reconstruct **o* in the penult:

6. PM **woba* 'mouth'. SM *wobha* ~ *wubha*; all others *wobha*
7. PM **wora* 'see'. KAT *wukha*; SM *wora* ~ *wura*; all others *wora*.

SM also shows variation in the following words (not part of the wordlist): *osa* ~ *usa* 'k.o. tree'; *ota* ~ *uta* 'pick (fruit)'; but not in e.g. *ghosa* 'strong'; *mpona* 'long'; *gola* 'sugar', all with *o-a*; neither in *wula* 'moon, month'; *lua* 'vomit' and *tugha* 'hard', all with *u-a*.

Other vowel variation:

8. PM **utu* 'louse'. MAW, SIO, LAK, KAD, LAO, KAT *utu/ucu*; others *otu/ocu*.
   Pancanic languages: LIA, KAIM, KIO *otu/ocu*. PAN **kutu* 'louse', with unexplained loss of *k*. cf. SM *boku* 'book', from Malay *buku*.
9. PM **buroto* 'mosquito'. LAO, KAT, BUR *buroto*; SM, MAW *buruto*.
   Pancanic: LIA, KAMB, but: BUS *bughuto*. Also Cia-Cia: *buroto*.
10. PM **ifi* 'fire'. All dialects *ifi*; Lombe *ifi* ~ *efi*.
11. PM **riwu* 'thousand'. SM, SIO *riwu*; LAK *khiwu*; KAT *khewu*; others *hewu*.

These two cases must be treated as spontaneous lowerings. Lombe *efi* could be considered closer to PAN **Sapuy*, but since all the Pancanic languages have *ifi* or *ipi* it seems to be a later secondary development (cf. on the pronouns 'I' and 'you' below).

12. PM **wite/wute* 'land'. SIO, LAO, KAT, BUR *wute*; others *wite*. cf. Kaledupa, Cia-Cia *wuta*.
13. PM **moinifi* 'dream'. BUR *moinifi*; WAK, KIO *menifi*; LAK *minifi*; others *monifi*.
   Pancanic: KAMBO *moinipi*; LIA *poinipi*.
14. PM **kahepu* 'youngest child'. SM *kahepu*; SIO *ka'ipu*; others *ka'epu*.
   Pancanic: KAIM, KAMBE *kaepu*; BUS *'aepu*.

h) Vowel contraction

In a few etyma two adjacent different vowels have assimilated to one long vowel, which in some cases has reduced to a single vowel.

1. PM **kaqua(bulu)* 'coconut shell'. LAK, KAD, BUR *ka'ua*; SIO *kaua* (loss of intervocallic glottal stop); MAW *ka'uabulu*; LOM *ka'abulu*; SM *kaghabulu*; LAO *ka'awulu*.
2. PM **rua-fulu* 'twenty'. SIO *ruafula*; LAK *khuafula*; KAT *khoafulu*; MAW, WAK, BUR *haafulu*; SM *ra(a)fulu*; LOM, KAD, LAO *hafulu*.
3. PM **ka-rui* 'thorn' (< *ka* + PAN **DuRi*). BUR *kahui*, SIO *karii*; LAK, KAT *kakhii*; MAW, KAD *kahii*; SM *kiri*; LOM *kihi*; LAO *kahi'i* (unexplained glottal stop).

i) Other differences

In this section a number of differences are treated that do not fall under the previous headings. For the numerals I have information only for the free forms; as noted before, SM has slightly diverging pre-clitic and reduplicated forms.

1. PM **dua* 'two'. KAT, BUR *jua* (loans from Wolio *jua*); all others *dua*.
2. PM **lima* 'five'. MAW, SIO, LAK, KAD *dima*; others *lima*. I suspect *dima* is a back formation from *lidima*, which is the usual reduplicated form in SM (*didima* also occurs, but not ***lilima*).
3. PM **walu* 'eight'. SIO, SM *alu*; all others *walu*.
4. PM **siua* 'nine'. KAD, LAO, KAT, BUR *sio* (either loans from Wolio *sio* or vowel contraction); others *siua*.
5. PM **bala(ga)* 'big'. SIO *bhalaga*; all others *bhala*.
6. PM **timbu(ru)* 'east'. KAD *timbuhu*; all others *timbu*. (?< Malay *timur*).

It is not clear in the last two cases whether SIO and KAD have retained a Proto-Muna extra syllable or created one. For 'east' Cia-Cia has *cimburu*, pointing to Proto-Muna **timburu*. It is even possible that the two forms have existed side by side; cf. SM *-pana* 'hot (of an object)' versus *-fancha* 'hot (of the atmosphere, either outside or inside), both from PAN **panas* 'hot'. I tentatively reconstruct Proto-Muna with the last syllable in both etyma.

7. PM **foko-ama-[hq]au* 'uncle'. KAD, BUR *fokoama'au*; MAW, LOM, LAK *fokoama'ao*; SIO, LAO, KAT *fokoama'o*; SM *fokoa-*

mau.

8. PM **foko-ina-[hq]au* 'aunt'. KAD, BUR *fokoina'au*; MAW, LOM, LAK *fokoina'ao*; SIO, LAO, KAT *fokoina'o*; SM *fokoinau*.

Since SM is the criterion language for PM **q* and **h* we cannot decide on the phoneme in brackets.

9. PM **fomaa* 'eat'. KAD, WAK *fomaa*; SM, MAW, BUR *fumaa*; WAK *homaa*; SIO, LOM, LAK, LAO *humaa*; KAT *khumaa* (unexplained *kh* or transcription error).
   This etymon shows the same alternation between *u* and *o* as discussed above. In addition the original *f* has weakened to *h* in a few dialects. This irregular change is probably connected with the high frequency character of the lexeme 'eat.
   It is tempting to analyze *fumaa* as *f-um-aa*, an analysis suggested by Adriani (1914:258). It is more likely however, that *fomaa* is the earlier form displaying a prefix *fo-* (Pancanic languages *po-*, from earlier **pa-*), which is also found in *fo-roghu* 'drink' and *fo-taa* 'laugh'. Cf. Cia-Cia *maa*, Kaledupa *maŋa* 'eat'.
10. PM **tingala/tilanga* 'ear'. BUR *tilanga*; MAW, SIO, LAK, KAD, KAT *tingala*; LAO *tinala*; LOM *tingala/tinala*.
    This etymon is clearly connected with PAN **taliŋa* 'ear' through metathesis of *a-i* to *tilanga*, and through metathesis of *al-ing* to *tingala*. Alternatively, *tingala* is the result of a second metathesis of *l-ng* in *tilanga*. The BUR form suggests that *tilanga* was still in use in Proto-Muna times, hence the doublet.
11. PM **langi* 'sky'. KAT *langi*; all others *lani*. PAN **laŋit* 'sky'

A list of reconstructed Proto-Muna etyma is found in appendix 2.

4. Muna dialects: the free pronouns

The free pronouns in the Muna dialects display a number of less regular sound correspondences. I will present the various forms, propose a reconstruction and discuss irregularities. Unfortunately 'you (plural)' was not part of my wordlist. For the free pronouns Anceaux's wordlist frequently differs from my own recordings; forms from his material are indicated by (A) when different from my own.

1) First person singular

inodi	SM, MAW, SIO, LOM, WAK, KAD, LAO, KAT, BUR
inidi	LAK
inedi	MAW(A)
inede	LAK(A)
nodi	KAD(A)
idi	SM, KOL(A)

PM **inodi* 'I'.

The forms *inedi* and *inede* must be viewed as later lowerings from *inidi*. Cf. LOM *ifi/efi* 'fire'. *Inidi* itself is an assimilation from *inodi*, cf. LAK *minifi*, SM *monifi* 'dream'.

The loss of *i* in KAD can be compared with similar variation between forms with and without *i* in the word for 'you'. It is clear that the prefix *i* (or *iN* before a consonant) plays a large role in the pronominal system of the languages of this area. Cf. Wolio *iaku* 'I'; *ingkoo/koo* 'you'; *incia* (< *iN-sia*) 'he, she'.

KOL *idi* is probably a weak form of the pronoun, as is SM *idi*. It is possibly a shortened form of the assimilated *inidi*, but that form does not exist in SM. It seems likely that KOL will have a full form besides *idi*.

The origin of **inodi* is somewhat obscure. The suffix *odi* is also found in the reconstructions for 'we' (**incamoodi* 'we (excl)', **intaodi* 'we (incl)'). *in* is no doubt a prefix, cf. Tolaki *inaku* 'I' (< **in* + **aku*). This leaves us with no base at all, unless we adapt Adriani's analysis of this form somewhat (1914:259): he treats *inodi* as *in-o-di*, in which *o* is the base, from earlier ***au* < **aku*. I suggest that the base is indeed *o*, but that the suffix is *odi*, rather than *di*, in which case the vowels have merged. Thus *inodi* < ***in-o-odi*.

2) Second person singular

ihintu/ihincu	SM, MAW, WAS, LOM, WAK, KAT, BUR
hintu/hincu	SM, KOL, SIO, KAT(A)
isintu/isincu	LAK
sintu	KAD
ehincu	LOM(A), MBOM
esencu	LAK(A)
ohintu	LAO

PM **(i)sintu* 'you (sg)'.

Ignoring the *t/c* variation discussed in 3.c, the main variation is between presence or absence of the prefix *i*, *s* or *h* and a few lowerings.

In SM both *hintu* and *ihintu* are found, with almost no difference in usage. The *i* was probably optionally present in Proto-Muna, with a possible difference in meaning. LAO uses the article *o* (a regular feature before nouns in SM) instead of the prefix *i*.

The change from *s* to *h* must be considered more natural than the reverse order. The *e* in the forms *ehincu* and *esencu* are later lowerings, to be compared with forms such as *inede*. Especially LAK (A) seems to show this feature.

The origin of **(i)sintu* is no doubt the demonstrative pronoun *situ*. The Pancanic language BUS in fact has *situ* 'you'. The Munic languages have replaced a form like *isoo* (Cia-Cia) or *ingkoo* (Wolio), both from earlier **kau*, by the demonstrative pronoun *situ*, which is typically used for something near the speaker and therefore suitable for a second person personal pronoun.

3) Third person singular

All dialects *anoa*, hence PM **anoa* 'he,she'.

The root of this form is *no*, found as the third person singular subject prefix in conjugated verbs (e.g. SM *no-kala* 'he/she goes') and the third person singular possessive suffix (e.g. SM *ama-no* 'his/her father). The final *a* in *anoa* is of unclear origin. Lawela, a Pancanic isolect, has *ano* 'he,she'.

The initial *a* is a person prefix, comparable to the *i(N)* of the first

and second person pronouns.

4) First person plural exclusive

insaidi	SM, MAW(A), LOM
insaodi	MAW, WAK, MBOM, KAT
insaadi	LAO
insoodi	WAS
insaide	LOM(A)
insawodi	LAK(A)
insawoodi	LAK
incawodi	KAD
insamodi	SIO
incamoodi	BUR
saodi	KOL

PM **incamoodi* 'we (excl)'

All dialects, except for KAD and BUR have changed *nc* to *ns* (cf.3.f). The latter part of the word has undergone extensive weakening and reduction, as is to be expected from such a long high-frequency word. The medial *m* has weakened to *w* and finally disappeared: *insamoodi* > *insawoodi* > *insaodi*. This form in turn has undergone assimilations in different directions to *insaidi*, *insaadi*, or *insoodi*. LOM (A) has lowered the final *i* to *e*. KOL seems to have dropped the initial *in*, though it is possible that a form *insaodi* exists next to *saodi*.

The root of **incamoodi* is ***sami* < **kami*, prefixed with the first/second person prefix *i(N)*. The nasalized counterpart of *s* is *nc* in Proto-Muna. **incamoodi* itself is an assimilated form of pre-Proto-Muna **incamiodi*.

5) First person plural inclusive

intaidi	SM, MBOM
intaadi	SIO, LAO
intoodi	WAS, BUR
ntaodi	KOL
intaodi	all others

PM **intaodi* 'we (incl)'.

The same assimilations have taken place as with *insaidi*, but the distribution over the dialects is different. Notice that KOL misses the initial *i* (but not *in*) again.

Ultimately the root of **intaodi* is **kita*. Through loss of the first syllable, prefixation with *i(N)* and suffixation with *odi* the form **intaodi* can be accounted for.

6) Third person plural

All dialects *andoa*, hence PM **andoa* 'they'. This form is completely comparable to the third person singular **anoa*. The root is *ndo*, found in SM as the third person plural possessive suffix (e.g. *ama-ndo* 'their father'), and as a general plural marker for animate nouns, e.g. *ndo Laamu* 'Laamu *et al.*'.

5. Muna dialects: lexical semantic differences

A glance at the lexicostatistical tables presented in Appendix 1 will show that Standard Muna scores relatively low with the other Muna dialects. (Standard) Muna never shares more than 88% with other dialects and with SIO and KAT this percentage even drops below 80.

A number of etyma are found in SM that are either exclusive SM innovations or alternatively, retentions from a higher subgroup. The following examples illustrate SM lexical innovations. I reconstruct the Proto-Muna form on the basis of the southern dialects and external witnesses. For the southern dialects *r* stands for the *r/hk/h* correspondence.

1. PM **lenci* 'tail'. KAD, BUR *lenci*; other Southern *lensi*; SM *punda* 'tail; jump'. cf. Wolio *lenci* 'tail'.
2. PM **tilanga/tingala* 'ear' (cf.4.i.10). SM *pongke* 'ear; deaf'
3. PM **taqi* 'fæces'. Southern *ta'i*; SM *kaedeha* 'fæces' (?< *dea* 'defecate'). SM *taghi* 'belly'. cf. PAN **Caqi* 'fæces', **Cinaqi* 'guts'.

The following examples illustrate retentions in SM:

1. PM **pae* '(unhusked) rice'. SM *pae*; Southern *bhae*. Cf. PAN **pajey* 'rice'. *bhae* is probably a loan from Wolio *bae*.

2. PM **qata* 'slave'. SM *ghata*; Southern *bhatua*. Cf. Bugis *ata* 'slave'; Proto-Ambon (Stresemann 1927) **ata* 'slave'. Wolio *batua* 'slave'.
3. PM **qohia* 'salt'. SM *ghohia*; Southern *gara* Cf. PAN **qasiRa* 'salt'; Wolio *gara* 'salt' (from Malay).

In a number of cases SM deviates from the southern dialects but there is not enough evidence to warrant a reconstruction of one or the other, or possibly both:

1. 'bamboo'. SM *patu*; Southern *parawata*. Cf. Wolio *paraawata* 'bamboo sp.'. Several words for bamboo species exist in SM (*koo, wulu* (PAN **buluq*), *tombula*) but not *parawata*. *patu* may have cognates in the southern dialects.
2. 'near'. SM *-maho*; Southern *-ko-maho*. cf. PM **kodoho* 'far'.
3. 'thirsty' SM *-aha*; Southern *-kele (wu'u)* 'thirsty (lit: a dry throat)'; KAT *kengke*; LAK *no'aa wu'u* (with metathesis of glottal stop).

6. Pancanic isolects

So far we have only dealt with Muna and its dialects. In this section, I want to go one step further and deal with the languages that are most closely related to Muna. As said in the Introduction, both Anceaux (1978) and Bhurhanuddin (1979) distinguish seven languages. I follow the latter's use of language names, followed by the capital letters used by Anceaux: Muna (J), Wolio (A), Cia-Cia (C), Kamaru (H), Lasalimu (E), Pancana (G) and Tukangbesi (B). The following chart shows the cognate percentages given for these seven languages by Anceaux (1978):

Muna						
45	Kamaru					
71	51	Pancana				
50	68	51	Lasalimu			
62	54	57	64	Cia-Cia		
47	49	47	57	59	Tukangbesi	
52	67	53	50	56	49	Wolio

Obviously the closest relative of Muna is Pancana. The question is: what is Pancana? Which speech communities belong to it? Anceaux's

Pancana (G) includes the following four isolects (numbers refer to the numbers in his wordlist): Palewata (10), Lawele (12), Kalende (20) and Lambusango (30), all located in central Buton. Bhurhanuddin's Pancana is made up of the following dialects: Kapontori, Kambowa, Kalende (subdialects Kalende and Lawele) and Labuandiri. Kambowa is located on the east coast of north central Buton, and Labuandiri on the east coast opposite Wangi-Wangi[7].

During my stay on Muna and Buton I collected wordlists in the following non-Muna speech communities:

1. Busoa (BUS) and Kambe-Kambero (KAMBE) on Buton's southwest coast. Busoa is now located south of the Katobengke-Topa-Sulaa-Lawela area; Kambe-Kambero is located opposite Siompu, between Burukene and Masiri, where Cia-Cia is spoken. I was told that most speakers in Kambe-Kambero are also fluent in Masiri.
2. Kaimbulawa (KAIM) on Siompu. Speakers of the Siompu dialect of Muna in Tongali drew my attention to a 'strange' language spoken in the village Kaimbulawa on the southeastern tip of the island. In the hamlet Lantoi (LANT) a separate dialect of Kaimbulawa is spoken.
3. Liabuku (LIA), about 10 km north of Baubau. This is the first non-Wolio speaking village on the road from Baubau towards Kapontori.
4. Kioko (KIO) and Kambowa (KAMBO) on the east coast of Buton, on roughly the same line as Raha. I did not visit these locations personally, but collected wordlists from speakers in Raha and Pure respectively.

Cognate percentages of these isolects are shown in Appendix 1. For the languages they have in common those figures show differences from those of Anceaux (1978), Bhurhanuddin (1979) and Kaseng *et al.* (1983) due to the fact that different wordlists were used. The percentage Muna-Wolio e.g. is 52 (Anceaux), 46 (Bhurhanuddin), 29.5 (Kaseng *et al.*) and 48 (myself). Kaseng *et al.* have considerably lower percentages for all the languages due to their deviant cognate decisions (e.g. Muna *rea*, Wolio *raa* and Wakatobi (= Tukangbesi) *raha* 'blood'

[7]Personal communication from Bhurhanuddin. As Labuandiri is not found on any of my maps, I have not indicated it on the map in the appendix.

are assigned to three different cognate sets). The question immediately arises as to how many languages have to be distinguished. Busoa is clearly not a Muna dialect, although it scores relatively high with neighbouring Muna dialects (BUR 78, LAO 79). This may be due to borrowing. Other features, such as the free pronouns, confirm Busoa's separate position. It is to be noted that Busoa is also recognized as a separate language in Kaseng *et al.* (1983).

Kaimbulawa (and Lantoi) never scores more than 76 with another isolect apart from Kambe-Kambero. I consider Kaimbulawa to be the nucleus of a separate language, which has not been reported so far. Both phonologically and lexically Kaimbulawa is quite divergent from neighbouring languages. The position of Kambe-Kambero is problematic. Although it scores highest with Busoa, I consider it part of the Kaimbulawa language complex, as it shares certain innovations with this group.

For Liabuku, Kioko and Kambowa it seems premature to decide on their status as language or dialect. Both Anceaux and Bhurhanuddin have extra material on the Pancana group which can not be adequately compared lexicostatistically with my own material due to the different wordlists used. Moreover, a number of areas have not yet been covered adequately by linguists, such as the west coast of Buton between Liabuku and Kapontori (reportedly more than one isolect) and the area north of Kapontori. This group of languages I will tentatively call the Pancanic languages. Minimally there are three languages in this group. The exact boundaries still have to be determined. Much more detailed research is needed to assess the value of the Muna-Buton group. For languages such as Kamaru and Lasalimu virtually nothing is available and extensive fieldwork is therefore of crucial importance in this part of the Austronesian world.

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Appendix 1: Cognate percentages[8]

Muna												
88	**Mawasangka**											
78	**86**	**Siompu**										
88	**94**	**86**	**Lombe**									
86	**92**	**87**	**94**	**Lakudo**								
86	**92**	**86**	**94**	**96**	**Wakea-kea**							
84	**92**	**87**	**88**	**90**	**88**	**Kadatua**						
83	**90**	**88**	**87**	**87**	**86**	**92**	**Laompo**					
79	**88**	**89**	**86**	**89**	**86**	**88**	**88**	**Katobengke**				
81	**88**	**84**	**84**	**85**	**84**	**90**	**90**	**85**	**Burukene**			
71	**76**	**70**	**74**	**74**	**72**	**76**	**79**	**76**	**78**	**Busoa**		
72	**78**	**73**	**76**	**74**	**74**	**78**	**81**	**74**	**80**	**84**	**Kambe-kambero**	
64	**70**	**69**	**68**	**70**	**70**	**72**	**74**	**70**	**74**	**75**	**80**	**Kaimbulawa**
66	**72**	**71**	**70**	**71**	**71**	**74**	**76**	**72**	**76**	**76**	**82**	**96** **Lantoi**

Kaledupa							
48	**Wolio**						
50	**60**	**Masiri**					
50	**61**	**93**	**Cia-Cia**				
41	**52**	**58**	**56**	**Kambowa**			
44	**54**	**62**	**62**	**82**	**Kioko**		
44	**56**	**68**	**66**	**71**	**75**	**Liabuku**	
45	**60**	**70**	**67**	**70**	**72**	**71**	**Lantoi**
45	**58**	**70**	**66**	**70**	**72**	**70**	**Kaimbulawa**
44	**58**	**78**	**74**	**70**	**75**	**76**	**Kambe-kambero**
43	**58**	**72**	**69**	**70**	**75**	**74**	**Busoa**
44	**56**	**69**	**67**	**72**	**78**	**82**	**Burukene**
44	**52**	**66**	**65**	**70**	**76**	**73**	**Katobengke**
44	**56**	**67**	**66**	**74**	**81**	**76**	**Laompo**
44	**57**	**66**	**67**	**72**	**78**	**76**	**Kadatua**
42	**52**	**62**	**64**	**68**	**74**	**72**	**Wakea-kea**
42	**52**	**62**	**64**	**69**	**75**	**72**	**Lakudo**
43	**52**	**64**	**64**	**69**	**76**	**74**	**Lombe**
44	**52**	**63**	**62**	**68**	**73**	**72**	**Siompu**
44	**54**	**64**	**67**	**72**	**77**	**76**	**Mawasangka**
42	**48**	**59**	**60**	**67**	**74**	**72**	**Muna**

[8]The editor apologises to the author and readers for the layout of this table. Typesetting constraints entail that it must be split in this manner.

Appendix 2: Proto-Muna etyma.

*ai	'younger sibling'	*ina	'mother'
*aini	'this'	*isa	'older sibling'
*aitu	'that'	*ise	'one'
*ama	'father'	*kadiu	'give/take a bath'
*ana	'child'	*kahepu	'youngest child'
*ana-no katumbu	'stamper'	*kala	'go'
*bake	'fruit, heart'	*kalei	'banana'
*bala(ga)	'big'	*kalipopo	'star'
*bangka	'boat'	*kambea	'flower'
*bara (L)	'west'	*kaquabulu	'coconut shell'
*bari	'many, much'	*karui	'thorn'
*bone	'sand'	*kapulu	'machete'
*buqou	'new'	*katumbu	'mortar'
*buku	'bone'	*kawea	'wind'
*dahu	'dog'	*kenta	'fish'
*dana	'elephant grass'	*kidi	'small'
*dea	'red'	*kodoho	'far'
*dua	'two'	*[ko,mo]ito	'itchy'
*ere	'stand (up)'	*konisi	'fingernail'
*feka-mate	'kill'	*kontu	'stone'
*fokoama[qh]au	'uncle'	*kuli	'skin'
*fokoina[qh]au	'aunt'	*kuni	'yellow'
*fomaa	'eat'	*lagu (L)	'sing'
*fo-ndawu	'drop'	*la-hae	'who'
*foroqu	'drink'	*lima	'five, hand'
*fotaa	'laugh'	*lela	'tongue'
*fo-wanu	'wake up (trans)'	*leni	'swim'
*fotu	'head'	*lodo	'sleep'
*gili	'betel leaf'	*mata	'eye'
*gola (L)	'sugar'	*mata-no oe	'spring'
*hae	'what'	*mate	'die, dead'
*hula	'face'	*mie	'person'
*ifi	'fire'	*miina	'no, not'
*ihi	'flesh'	*moqane	'man, male'
*ijo (L)	'green'	*moqono	'hundred'

*moinifi	'dream'	*qumbo	'smoke'
*mpau	'sleepy'	*qunteli	'egg'
*ndawu	'fall'	*quse	'rain'
*ndole	'lie down'	*randa	'belly'
*nea	'name'	*rea	'blood'
*n[ea]hamai	'where'	*rindi	'cold'
*nee	'nose'	*robine	'woman, female'
*noafa	'why'	*rondo	'dark'
*noo	'six'	*roo	'leaf'
*oe	'water'	*rua-fulu	'twenty'
*olu	'cloud'	*rubu	'small'
*ompulu	'ten'	*rumbia	'sago palm'
*paa	'four'	*sabangka	'friend'
*pae	'rice'	*sau	'wood'
*paraka	'root'	*se-hae	'how much/many'
*pitu	'seven'	*se-riwu	'one thousand'
*pogau	'speak'	*siua	'nine'
*ponda	'pandanus tree'	*taa	'good'
*pongke	'deaf'	*tae wawo	'on, on top of'
*pono	'full'	*taba	'fat'
*puqu	'tree'	*tabaro	'sago flour'
*pute	'white'	*taqi	'fæces'
*qabu	'ash'	*tandu	'horn'
*qae	'cry'	*tehi	'sea'
*qai	'coconut'	*timbu(ru) (L?)	'east'
*qaqe	'leg'	*titi	'breast'
*qaro	'hungry'	*tolu	'three'
*qate	'liver'	*tongka	'vomit'
*qito	'black'	*tumbu	'pound'
*qoleo	'sun, day'	*tunu	'burn'
*(qo)qora	'urinate'	*tuu	'knee'
*qonu	'seed'	*utu	'louse'
*qoti	'cooked rice'	*waa	'give'
*que	'rattan'	*wae kundo	'behind'
*qule	'snake'	*wae lalo	'inside'

***wae panda**	**'under'**	***wiwi**	**'lip'**
***wae sembali**	**'outside'**	***woba**	**'mouth'**
***walu**	**'eight'**	***wolawo**	**'mouse'**
***wangka**	**'tooth'**	***wulu**	**'hair'**
***wanta**	**'long'**	***wulu-no fotu**	**'head hair'**
***wanu**	**'get up'**	***wuqu**	**'neck'**
***wite/wute**	**'land'**		

Appendix 3: Map 2 Muna-Buton area