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FORESTRY, INJECTIONS AND CARDS: DUTCH LOANS IN MUNA

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0. Introduction

It is a well-known fact that Malay/Indonesian has borrowed extensively from Dutch. The list of loanwords compiled by Grijns, De Vries and Santa Maria (1983) comprises no less than 5,400 Dutch borrowings into Malay/Indonesian. This fact is somewhat sobering for the lexicographer of a regional language of Indonesia, where a corpus of 5,000 - 6,000 entries is believed to be a reasonable approximation of the vocabulary of the language. Only the best dictionaries surpass this number, such as Adriani (1928) for Bare'e (now Pamona), and Matthes (1874) for Bugis.

In spite of all the work done on identifying Dutch loans in Malay/Indonesian, there are to my knowledge no studies dealing exclusively with the Dutch loans in the hundreds of regional languages of Indonesia. Such a study would be interesting and rewarding, because it would show which loanwords were the most commonly used in the archipelago and what concepts and utensils were spread. It would also show interesting different phonetic adaptations and semantic shifts that have taken place in individual languages. In some cases one may even discover direct loans from Dutch in a regional language that have no counterpart in Malay.

A cursory search in the Sahu dictionary compiled by Visser and Voorhoeve (1983) does indeed yield a number of Dutch loans. I noticed the following:

<i>bak</i>	'water basin made of cement'	Du <i>bak</i>
<i>bui</i>	'blocks'	Du <i>boei(en)</i>
<i>disini</i>	'dozen'	Du <i>dozijn</i>
<i>dos</i>	'box'	Du <i>doos</i>
<i>fulúti</i>	'flute'	Du <i>fluit</i>
<i>'ember</i>	'bucket'	Du <i>emmer</i>
<i>'oto</i>	'car'	Du <i>auto</i>
<i>laci</i>	'open betelnut box with silver handles and corners'	?Du <i>laatje</i>
<i>mak</i>	'stomach'	Du <i>maag</i>
<i>nilon</i>	'nylon fishing line'	Du <i>nylon</i>
<i>panci</i>	'cooking pot'	Du <i>pan(netje)</i>

<i>pen</i>	‘wedge’	Du <i>pen</i>
<i>poci</i>	‘small kerosene lamp made of a can or bottle in which a wick is placed’	?Du <i>potje</i>
<i>sepéda</i>	‘bicycle’	Du (<i>velo</i>) <i>cipede</i>
<i>sinápan</i>	‘rifle’	Du <i>snaphaan</i>
<i>te</i>	‘tea’	Du <i>thee</i>
<i>tong</i>	‘oil drum’	Du <i>ton</i>

In my own lexicographical work on Muna, a regional language of southeast Sulawesi, I have identified some 150 borrowings from Dutch, a number which is remarkably high. Many, but not all of the ones listed above for Sahu also occur in Muna. With the exception of some eight, all of the Muna loans also occur in Malay/Indonesian, and one can safely assume that this was the intermediary through which these words entered the Muna language. The influence of Malay on Muna vocabulary has been enormous, and only a small portion of these loans are from Dutch. In my forthcoming Muna dictionary I have included all these Malay loans, such as *guda* ‘storehouse’, *goso* ‘to rub’, *gadhi* ‘salary’ etc. (from *gudang*, *gosok*, *gaji*). As is the case in all regional languages of Indonesian at the moment, growing bilingualism leads to increasing code switching and an ever larger influx of Indonesian loans into the vernaculars, often phonologically unadapted. In this article (and in the dictionary) I have discounted such recent unadapted Indonesian loans of Dutch origin in Muna (e.g. *amplop* ‘envelop’ and *perangko* ‘stamp’ from Du *enveloppe* and *franco*).

After sketching the historical language situation I will first present a list of the loans arranged according to semantic domain. Then I will cover phonetic, semantic and grammatical aspects of these borrowings. I will end with a discussion of the unique loans.

1. Background

Although Malay was widely used as a lingua franca in the Indonesian archipelago, even before the Dutch arrived at the end of the 16th century, there is little evidence that there was a general knowledge of Malay in Southeast Sulawesi. The obvious reason is that this part of the island world was of little commercial or political importance. With the exception of the Wolio sultanate centred on Buton, Southeast Sulawesi was terra incognita until the beginning of the 20th century. And even for the sultanate on Buton there is some evidence that Malay was not widely understood or spoken, since the interaction between the sultan’s court and the Dutch always happened through an interpreter. Apparently even the highest officials were unable to speak Malay (or possibly unwilling?) and had to resort to Malay-Wolio interpreters.

The earliest foreign influence on Muna probably came from Wolio (the court language of the sultanate), Bugis and Makasar. I assume that loans from these languages entered Muna before the influx from Malay. Unlike Makasar and Manado, eastern Sulawesi has never known a regional variety of Malay. Only very few typical Moluccan Malay words are currently encountered in the variety of Indonesian spoken on Muna (e.g. *hosa* ‘short-winded’, *kintal* ‘yard’, *riki* ‘reach’). Since Muna was a contested area between Buton and Ternate, it is possible that such words have come via Ternate. Other clues pointing in that direction are remarkable words such as Muna *dhoti* ‘black magic; powerful spell’ (also Wolio; Moluccan Malay, Sahu *doti*) and *kahitela* ‘corn’ (also Wolio *kaitela*, Ternate *kasitela* ~ *kastela*; Sahu *kaitéla*). This word, related to BI *ketela* ‘yam’ is derived from *Castilla*, although modern Port has *milho* for ‘maize’.

Other similarities that I noted between Sahu and Muna (just for the record) are *'adede* 'ouch (exclamation of pain); *butu* (Sahu) 'market; bargain'; (Muna) 'to barter'; *dadi* 'become, grow'; *hali* 'expensive'; Sahu *mia* 'monkey' and Muna *mie* 'person'. It is not clear what the implications of these facts are.

Direct colonial rule on Muna began around 1906, when a permanent military post was established in Raha, the capital. Some aspects of traditional life were abolished, such as slavery, the *Sarano Wuna* 'the Muna council', while other institutions were introduced, the most important of which were the colonial government system, schools, roads with houses in rows on the side, and the exploitation of the teakwood forests, for which Muna is still known in some areas.

Just as almost everywhere else in the then East Indies, Malay became the language of administration and instruction on Muna. To my knowledge there has never been a Dutch-language school on the island. Apart from the small contingency of Dutch military and administrators, teachers and civil servants were drawn from places such as Ambon and Manado, where educated people were available. This must have been the beginning of direct Malay influence on Muna.

Although I assume the above scenario to be correct, there is always the possibility that Bugis, Makasar or Wolio were the intermediary of particular words of Dutch origin. Just as for the Muna word *piri* 'plate', for instance, we cannot establish whether it is a direct loan from Malay *piring*, or indirect (from Bugis *piring* or Wolio *piri*), similarly *dobolo* 'to double; double card' (ultimately from Du *dubbel*) may have come from Malay *dobol*, or possibly through Wolio *dhobholo*. These caveats should be kept in mind when going through the lists. Also, in some cases it is not clear whether the source of a particular word is Dutch or Portuguese, the words being very similar (an example mentioned by Grijns et al. is Muna *hitari* 'guitar' from Du *gitaar* or Port *guitarra*).

2. Semantic domains

In this section I will give a brief overview of the semantic domains where Dutch loans are found in Muna. Some notes on pronunciation:

- stress is always penultimate;
- vowels have their expected Indonesian value (there is no schwa/pepet; <e> and <o> are mid-central vowels);
- double vowels are pronounced as long vowels;
- <bh> is an implosive /ɓ/;
- <dh> is a lamino-dental plosive;
- <gh> is a voiced velar/uvular fricative.

In cases of pronunciation variation in Muna, I have indicated this with a ~. For the Malay/Indonesian origin I have used the contemporary Indonesian spelling and the word form that corresponds most closely to the Muna word form.

1. Colonial administration:

<i>balasitei</i>	'tax'	BI <i>belasting</i>	Du <i>belasting</i>
<i>bote</i>	'fine'	BI <i>bute</i>	Du <i>boete</i>
<i>bisiloi</i>	'appointment letter'	BI <i>beslit</i>	Du <i>besluit</i>
<i>bosuwatere</i>	'forester'	BI -	Du <i>boswachter</i>
<i>buseese</i>	'forestry service'	BI -	Du <i>boswezen</i>

<i>densi</i>	‘service’	BI <i>dines ~ dinas</i>	Du <i>dienst</i>
<i>fono</i>	‘telephone’	BI <i>telpon</i>	Du <i>telefoon</i>
<i>harendesi</i>	‘statutory labour’	BI -	Du <i>herendienst</i>
<i>kantori</i>	‘office’	BI <i>kantor</i>	Du <i>kantoor</i>
<i>kode</i>	‘signal’	BI <i>kode</i>	Du <i>code</i>
<i>pansio</i>	‘retire’	BI <i>pensiun</i>	Du <i>pensioen</i>
<i>parasee</i>	‘gift, award’	BI <i>persen</i>	Du <i>percent</i>
<i>pasi</i>	‘pass, permit’	BI <i>pas</i>	Du <i>pas</i>
<i>ronda</i>	‘patrol, guard’	BI <i>ronda</i>	Du <i>ronde</i>
		[possibly from Port <i>ronda</i>]	
<i>takusere</i>	‘land tax’	BI <i>taksir</i>	Du <i>taxeren</i>
<i>taleharamu</i>	‘telegram’	BI <i>telegram</i>	Du <i>telegram</i>
<i>talifou</i>	‘telephone’	BI <i>telpon</i>	Du <i>telefoon</i>
<i>tampalasi</i>	‘storage place’	BI <i>stamplas</i>	Du <i>standplaats</i>
<i>teke</i>	‘sign’	BI <i>teken</i>	Du <i>tekenen</i>

2. Education:

<i>dose</i>	‘lecturer’	BI <i>dosen</i>	Du <i>docent</i>
<i>ferei</i>	‘have holidays’	BI <i>perai</i>	Du <i>vrij</i>
<i>folopeni ~ folopena</i>	‘ballpoint pen’	BI <i>pulpen</i>	Du <i>vulpen</i>
		[<i>pena</i> is from Port <i>pena</i>]	
<i>honoro</i>	‘honorarium’	BI <i>honor</i>	Du <i>honorarium</i>
<i>kalasi</i>	‘class’	BI <i>kelas</i>	Du <i>klas</i>
<i>putolo</i>	‘pencil’	BI <i>potlot</i>	Du <i>potlood</i>
<i>reke</i>	‘count’	BI <i>reken</i>	Du <i>rekenen</i>

N.B. The word *sikola* ‘school’ is from BI *sekolah*, Port *escola*.

3. Mechanics, machines, cars, bicycles:

<i>aki</i>	‘car battery’	BI <i>aki</i>	Du <i>accu</i>
<i>bani</i>	‘tyre’	BI <i>ban</i>	Du <i>band</i>
<i>bene</i>	‘inner tube’	BI -	Du <i>binnen(band)</i>
<i>bensi</i>	‘gasoline’	BI <i>bensin</i>	Du <i>benzine</i>
<i>busi</i>	‘sparkplug’	BI <i>busi</i>	Du <i>bougie</i>
<i>fabereki ~ faberiki</i>	‘factory’	BI <i>pabrik</i>	Du <i>fabriek</i>
<i>fele</i>	‘rim (of bicycle)’	BI <i>pelek</i>	Du <i>velg</i>
<i>fere ~ pere</i>	‘spring’	BI <i>per</i>	Du <i>veer</i>
<i>hagele</i>	‘ball-bearing’	BI <i>hagel</i>	Du <i>hagel</i>
<i>helemu</i>	‘helmet’	BI <i>helem</i>	Du <i>helm</i>
<i>lasi</i>	‘to weld’	BI <i>las</i>	Du <i>lassen</i>
<i>lede</i>	‘tap water’	BI <i>ledeng</i>	Du <i>leiding</i>
<i>motoro</i>	‘motorbike’	BI <i>motor</i>	Du <i>motor</i>
<i>oli</i>	‘oil’	BI <i>oli</i>	Du <i>olie</i>

<i>oto</i>	‘car’	BI <i>oto</i>	Du <i>auto</i>
<i>pompa</i>	‘pump’	BI <i>pompa</i>	Du <i>pomp</i>
<i>remu</i>	‘brake’	BI <i>rem</i>	Du <i>rem</i>
<i>sipeda</i>	‘bicycle’	BI <i>sepeda</i>	Du <i>(velo)cipede</i>
<i>sikoropu</i>	‘screw’	BI <i>sekrup</i>	Du <i>schroef</i>
<i>sitele</i>	‘sawing construction’	BI <i>seteling</i>	Du <i>stelling</i>

4. Medical care:

<i>boro</i>	‘give a shot’	BI <i>bor</i>	Du <i>boren</i>
<i>dotoro</i>	‘docter’	BI <i>dokter</i>	Du <i>docter</i>
<i>pele</i>	‘pill’	BI <i>pel</i>	Du <i>pil</i>

5. Commerce:

<i>bani</i>	‘money bank’	BI <i>bank</i>	Du <i>bank</i>
<i>bonu</i>	‘bill’	BI <i>bon</i>	Du <i>bon</i>
<i>bosu</i>	‘bundle (rattan)’	BI <i>bos</i>	Du <i>bos</i>
<i>doi</i>	‘money’	BI <i>duit ~ doit</i>	Du <i>duit</i>
<i>kado</i>	‘gift’	BI <i>kado</i>	Du <i>cadeau</i>
<i>kontara</i>	‘agreement’	BI <i>kontrak</i>	Du <i>contract</i>
<i>mudhala ~ modala</i>	‘financial capital’	BI <i>modal</i> [possibly from Tamil]	Du <i>modaal</i>
<i>ongkoso</i>	‘expenses’	BI <i>ongkos</i>	Du <i>onkosten</i>
<i>ransu</i>	‘ration’	BI <i>ransum</i>	Du <i>rantsoen</i>
<i>takoro</i>	‘have shortage’	BI <i>tekor</i>	Du <i>tekort</i>

6. Weights and measures:

<i>haramu ~ heramu</i>	‘gram’	BI <i>gram</i>	Du <i>gram</i>
<i>heto</i>	‘hectare’	BI <i>hektar</i>	Du <i>hectare</i>
<i>kubi</i>	‘cubic meter’	BI <i>kubik</i>	Du <i>kubiek</i>
<i>litere</i>	‘liter’	BI <i>liter</i>	Du <i>liter</i>
<i>meniti</i>	‘minute’	BI <i>menit</i>	Du <i>minuut</i>
<i>mitere</i>	‘meter’	BI <i>meter</i>	Du <i>meter</i>
<i>nolu</i>	‘zero’	BI <i>nol</i>	Du <i>nul</i>
<i>nomoro</i>	‘number’	BI <i>nomor</i>	Du <i>nummer</i>

7. Materials:

<i>alemoniu</i>	‘aluminium’	BI <i>aluminium</i>	Du <i>aluminium</i>
<i>asipalu</i>	‘asphalt’	BI <i>aspal</i>	Du <i>asfalt</i>
<i>esi</i>	‘ice’	BI <i>es</i>	Du <i>ijs</i>
<i>hafio</i>	‘raw opium’	BI <i>apiun</i>	Du <i>amfioen</i> (obsolete)
<i>lemu</i>	‘glue’	BI <i>lem</i>	Du <i>lijm</i>

<i>nikele</i>	‘nickel’	BI <i>nikel</i>	Du <i>nikkel</i>
<i>nilo</i>	‘nylon’	BI <i>nilon</i>	Du <i>nylon</i>
<i>palasiti</i>	‘plastics’	BI <i>plastik</i>	Du <i>plastic</i>
<i>reli</i>	‘rail iron’	BI <i>rel</i>	Du <i>rail</i>
<i>sume</i>	‘cement’	BI <i>semen</i>	Du <i>cement</i>
<i>wolu</i>	‘wool’	BI <i>wol</i>	Du <i>wol</i>

8. Household equipment, especially containers:

<i>baki</i>	‘basin’	BI <i>bak</i>	Du <i>bak</i>
<i>bhele</i>	‘tin can’	BI <i>belek</i>	Du <i>blik</i>
<i>bofe</i>	‘buffet’	BI <i>bufe</i>	Du <i>buffet</i>
<i>dhereke</i>	‘jerrycan’	BI <i>jeriken</i>	Du/Eng <i>jerrycan</i>
<i>doromu</i>	‘iron barrel’	BI <i>derom</i>	Du <i>drum</i>
<i>dosi</i>	‘cardboard box’	BI <i>dos</i>	Du <i>doos</i>
<i>embere</i>	‘bucket’	BI <i>ember</i>	Du <i>emmer</i>
<i>kakusu</i>	‘toilet’	BI <i>kakus</i>	Du <i>kakhuis</i> (obsolete)
<i>kamara</i>	‘room’	BI <i>kamar</i>	Du <i>kamer</i>
<i>lati</i>	‘drawer’	BI <i>laci</i>	Du <i>laatje</i>
<i>moo</i>	‘mug’	BI <i>mok</i>	Du <i>mok</i>
<i>panti</i>	‘pan’	BI <i>panci</i>	Du <i>pannetje</i>
<i>siloki</i>	‘liquor glass’	BI <i>seloki</i>	Du <i>slokje</i>
<i>tangki</i>	‘water tank’	BI <i>tangki</i>	Du <i>tank</i>
		[possibly from Port <i>tanque</i>]	
<i>tasi</i>	‘handbag’	BI <i>tas</i>	Du <i>tas</i>
<i>tongu</i>	‘barrel’	BI <i>tong</i>	Du <i>ton</i>
<i>topulesi</i>	‘stoppered glass jar’	BI <i>stoples ~ toples</i>	Du <i>stopfles</i>

9. Other utensils, including clothing and ornaments:

<i>arilodhi</i>	‘wristwatch’	BI <i>arloji</i>	Du <i>horloge</i>
<i>buronso</i>	‘brooch’	BI <i>bros</i>	Du <i>broche</i>
<i>dasi</i>	‘necktie’	BI <i>dasi</i>	Du <i>das</i>
<i>dhasi</i>	‘coat’	BI <i>jas</i>	Du <i>jas</i>
<i>foto</i>	‘photo’	BI <i>foto</i>	Du <i>foto</i>
<i>fuloi</i>	‘flute’	BI <i>peluit</i>	Du <i>fluit</i>
<i>handu</i>	‘towel’	BI <i>handuk</i>	Du <i>handdoek</i>
<i>hesi</i>	‘yeast’	BI <i>hes</i>	Du <i>gist</i>
<i>hitari</i>	‘guitar’	BI <i>hitar</i>	Du <i>gitaar</i>
		[possibly from Port <i>guitarra</i>]	
<i>lapu</i>	‘rag’	BI <i>lap</i>	Du <i>lap</i>
<i>mandalio</i>	‘medallion’	BI <i>medalion</i>	Du <i>medaillon</i>
<i>ndoro</i>	‘skirt’	BI <i>onderok</i>	Du <i>onderrok</i>
<i>sandali</i>	‘sandal’	BI <i>sandal</i>	Du <i>sandaal</i>
<i>silopu</i>	‘high-heeled shoe’	BI <i>selop</i>	Du <i>slof</i>

<i>tamburu</i>	‘European drum’	BI <i>tambur</i>	Du <i>tamboer</i>
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10. Games:

<i>arataa</i>	‘hearts’	BI <i>harten</i>	Du <i>harten</i>
<i>asa</i>	‘ace’	BI <i>as</i>	Du <i>aas</i>
<i>damu</i>	‘draughts’	BI <i>dam</i>	Du <i>dammen</i>
<i>deke</i>	‘protect’	BI <i>deking</i>	Du <i>dekking</i>
<i>dobolo</i>	‘double card’	BI <i>dobol</i>	Du <i>dubbel</i>
<i>dome</i>	‘dominoes’	BI <i>domino</i>	Du <i>domino</i>
<i>doru</i>	‘play on’	BI -	Du <i>door</i>
<i>foro</i>	‘lead’	BI -	Du <i>voor</i>
<i>hiri</i>	‘king (cards)’	BI -	Du <i>heer</i>
<i>kalawara</i>	‘clubs’	BI <i>klawar</i>	Du <i>klaver</i>
<i>karatapele</i>	‘catapult’	BI <i>katapel</i>	Du <i>catapult</i>
<i>kepere</i>	‘goal keeper’	BI <i>keper</i>	Du/Eng <i>keeper</i>
<i>peni</i>	‘point’	BI <i>pen</i>	Du <i>punt</i>
<i>pimpo</i>	‘ping-pong’	BI <i>pingpong</i>	Du <i>pingpong</i>
<i>sikupa</i>	‘spades (cards)’	BI <i>sekopong</i>	Du <i>schoppen</i>

11. Trees, plants, crops:

<i>akasia</i>	‘acacia’	BI <i>akasia</i>	Du <i>acasia</i>
<i>kolu</i>	‘cabbage’	BI <i>kol</i>	Du <i>kool</i>
<i>landibou</i>	‘k.o. cassava’	BI -	Du <i>landbouw</i>
<i>nanasi</i>	‘pineapple’	BI <i>nenas</i>	Du <i>ananas</i>
		[possibly from Port <i>nanas</i>]	
<i>pinusu</i>	‘pine tree’	BI <i>pinus</i>	Du <i>pinus</i>

12. Military functions and equipment:

<i>bomu</i>	‘bomb’	BI <i>bom</i>	Du <i>bom</i>
<i>firisi</i> ~ <i>firusu</i>	‘palace officer’	BI <i>opsir</i>	Du <i>officier</i>
<i>lopu</i>	‘gun barrel’	BI <i>lop</i>	Du <i>loop</i>
<i>pasi</i>	‘palace guard’	BI <i>opas</i>	Du <i>oppas(ser)</i>
<i>sinapa</i>	‘rifle’	BI <i>senapan</i>	Du <i>snaphaan</i>
<i>siriganti</i>	‘sergeant’	BI <i>sersan</i>	Du <i>sergeant</i>
<i>tunani</i>	‘lieutenant’	BI <i>letnan</i>	Du <i>luitenant</i>

13. Residue:

<i>boti</i>	‘k.o. boat’	BI <i>bot</i>	Du <i>boot</i>
<i>koki</i>	‘cook’	BI <i>koki</i>	Du <i>kok</i>
<i>pasitoro</i>	‘priest’	BI <i>pastor</i>	Du <i>pastoor</i>
<i>patoro</i>	‘pattern’	BI <i>patron</i>	Du <i>patroon</i>

<i>supu</i>	‘soup’	BI <i>sop</i>	Du <i>soep</i>
<i>te</i>	‘tea’	BI <i>teh</i>	Du <i>thee</i>

3. Phonetic adaptations

In *A grammar of the Muna language* (Van den Berg 1989) one can find a short section in the phonology chapter on the adaptation of loanwords. In this section I will present some refinements to the rules offered there, but I will illustrate only from Dutch material here.

The phonetic adaptations that Dutch loanwords undergo are all directly related to the phonological rules and constraints of the native vocabulary. The most conspicuous one emerging from the lists above is the absence of final consonants, since Muna has only open syllable structures.

The adaptations can be classified as follows:

- a) replacement of foreign sounds;
- b) avoidance of final consonants;
- c) breaking of clusters;
- d) other idiosyncratic changes;
- e) reanalysis;
- f) folk-etymologies.

Of course, similar adaptations have first applied when the words were borrowed into Malay. For a good summary of these adaptations, see Jones (1984). I will only mention the Dutch front vowels (e.g. <uu,eu,ui>) that merged with other vowels in Malay: e.g. Mal *stir* ‘handlebars’ from Du *stuur*, and the reduction of <ei,ij> to /e/, e.g. Mal *lem* from Du *lijm* ‘glue’. Breaking of clusters is also common, but avoidance of final consonants was not necessary in Malay, which allows for roughly the same set of final consonants as Dutch does. Adaptations have therefore gone through two stages, first Dutch-Malay, then Malay-Muna. In the following section I will only deal with the second stage.

3.1 Replacement of foreign sounds.

The sounds of Malay that are not shared with Muna are the central vowel /ə/ (schwa or pepet), and all the palatal consonants: <c,j,y,ny>. Schwa is usually replaced by /a/, as in the following examples:

<i>kalasi</i>	‘class’	BI <i>kelas</i>	Du <i>klas</i>
<i>masina</i>	‘machine’	BI <i>mesin</i>	Du <i>machine</i>

But in the environment of an *s*, schwa usually becomes *i*:

<i>bisiloi</i>	‘letter of government appointment’	BI <i>beslit</i> ~ <i>besluit</i>	Du <i>besluit</i> ‘decision’
<i>siloki</i>	‘liquor glass’	BI <i>seloki</i>	Du <i>slokkie</i>
<i>sipeda</i>	‘bicycle’	BI <i>sepeda</i>	Du <i>(velo)cipede</i>
but: <i>sume</i>	‘cement’	BI <i>semen</i>	Du <i>cement</i>

The voiced palatal stop <j> is usually replaced by <dh> in Muna, a lamino-dental plosive, while the voiceless palatal <c> is replaced by <t>:

<i>arilodhi</i>	‘wristwatch’	BI <i>arloji</i>	Du <i>horloge</i>
<i>lati</i>	‘drawer’	BI <i>laci</i>	Du <i>laatje</i>
<i>panti</i>	‘pan’	BI <i>panci</i>	Du <i>pannetje</i>

A striking non-adaptation is the retention of the sound /f/ in many borrowed words. Although /f/ is a rare phoneme in the languages of Sulawesi, it is a fully regular sound in Muna, occurring in native vocabulary. Since Malay does not have this sound in its native vocabulary, Dutch /f/ and /v/ are replaced by /p/, at least in the case of older borrowings. It is therefore somewhat of a surprise to discover that Muna often has /f/ in places where the original Dutch also has an /f/. Compare the following examples:

<i>fabereki</i> ~ <i>faberiki</i>	‘factory’	BI <i>pabrik</i>	Du <i>fabriek</i>
<i>fele</i>	‘rim’	BI <i>pelek</i>	Du <i>velg</i>
<i>fere</i> ~ <i>pere</i>	‘spring’	BI <i>per</i>	Du <i>veer</i>
<i>ferei</i>	‘have holidays’	BI <i>perai</i>	Du <i>vrij</i>
<i>fuloi</i>	‘whistle’	BI <i>peluit</i>	Du <i>fluit</i>

I’m not sure about the reason for this situation. Such words could have been borrowed directly, but this seems rather improbable. Alternatively, the Malay words may have had a *p*-alternation in pronunciation, with Muna picking the *f*-variant. Another possibility is that the *p*-pronunciation was locally corrected under direct Dutch influence. Or maybe hypercorrection has played a role, as in Indonesian, where /p/ in loans is sometimes replaced by /f/. The fact that Wolio (which only has /f/ in loanwords) also has several Dutch loans with /f/ points to the second possibility (e.g. *feru* ‘spring’; *fanile* ~ *fanili* ‘vanilla’; *farangko* ‘postage stamp’; data from Anceaux 1987).

3.2 Avoidance of final consonants

There are two strategies to achieve the absence of final consonants: deletion of the original consonant or addition of an extra vowel. In my dissertation I wrote about this choice (Van den Berg 1989:39): ‘The conditions specifying when the final consonant is deleted and when a vowel is added and which vowel that must be, cannot be given at present.’ I believe I can now offer some tentative rules. Although these are here only illustrated for loans from Dutch origin, they have also been checked for other loan material. The following patterns emerge.

A. Deletion occurs regularly with final /t,k,n,ng/ in words of more than one syllable.

<i>bensi</i>	‘gasoline’	BI <i>bensin</i>	Du <i>benzine</i>
<i>bhele</i>	‘tin, can’	BI <i>belek</i>	Du <i>blik</i>
<i>dose</i>	‘lecturer’	BI <i>dosen</i>	Du <i>docent</i>
<i>handu</i>	‘towel’	BI <i>handuk</i>	Du <i>handdoek</i>

<i>lede</i>	‘tap-water’	BI <i>ledeng</i>	Du <i>leiding</i>
<i>putolo</i>	‘pencil’	BI <i>potlot</i>	Du <i>potlood</i>

Exceptions: words where final /m/ is also dropped, and others where final /t/, /k/ or /n/ are retained:

<i>ransu</i>	‘ration’	BI <i>ransum</i>	Du <i>rantsoen</i>
	(final /m/ unexplained anyway in BI)		
<i>meniti</i>	‘minute’	BI <i>menit</i>	Du <i>minuut</i>
<i>fabereki</i>	‘factory’	BI <i>pabrik</i>	Du <i>fabriek</i>
<i>masina</i>	‘machine’	BI <i>mesin</i>	Du <i>machine</i>

(here the vowel was retained possibly because of the stress on the last syllable in BI).

B. The second strategy, addition of an extra or paragoge vowel, is more common. All five vowels of Muna are found as the extra or paragogic vowel. The rules seem to be as follows:

- /e/ is added after /er/ or /el/;
- /o/ is added after disyllabic words with /o/ in both syllables and after /or/;
- /a/ is added after /aCar/ and apparently also after /aCal/, although the examples come from non-Dutch material; the one Dutch case fulfilling this condition is an exception (*sandali* ‘sandal’);
- /u/ is added after /m,p/, /on, ol, os/ and /uC/;
- /i/ is added elsewhere, especially after /as, es, is, an, en, al, ar/. This vowel and /u/ appear to be the most unmarked of the paragogic vowels.

Examples (with exceptions):

/e/

	<i>nikele</i>	‘nickel’	BI <i>nikel</i>	Du <i>nikkel</i>
	<i>embere</i>	‘bucket’	BI <i>ember</i>	Du <i>emmer</i>
	<i>pele</i>	‘pill’	BI <i>pel</i>	Du <i>pil</i>
but:	<i>reli</i>	‘rail iron’	BI <i>rel</i>	Du <i>rail</i>

/o/

	<i>motoro</i>	‘motorbike’	BI <i>motor</i>	Du <i>motor</i>
	<i>ongkoso</i>	‘charge, cost’	BI <i>ongkos</i>	Du <i>onkosten</i>
	<i>pasitoro</i>	‘priest’	BI <i>pastor</i>	Du <i>pastoor</i>
but:	<i>kantori</i>	‘office’	BI <i>kantor</i>	Du <i>kantoor</i>

/u/

	<i>bomu</i>	‘bomb’	BI <i>bom</i>	Du <i>bom</i>
	<i>lapu</i>	‘wipe off’	BI <i>lap</i>	Du <i>lap</i>
	<i>kolu</i>	‘cabbage’	BI <i>kol</i>	Du <i>kool</i>
	<i>bosu</i>	‘bunch’	BI <i>bos</i>	Du <i>bos</i>
	<i>kakusu</i>	‘toilet’	BI <i>kakus</i>	Du <i>kakhuis</i>
but:	<i>dosi</i>	‘cardboard box’	BI <i>dos</i>	Du <i>doos</i>

(cf. Ambon Malay *dosi*, possibly loaned as a diminutive).

/a/

	<i>kamara</i>	‘room’	BI <i>kamar</i>	Du <i>kamer</i>
	<i>kalawara</i>	‘clubs’	BI <i>klawar</i>	Du <i>klaver</i>

/i/	<i>esi</i>	‘ice’	BI <i>es</i>	Du <i>ijs</i>
	<i>kalasi</i>	‘class’	BI <i>kelas</i>	Du <i>klas</i>
	<i>hitari</i>	‘guitar’	BI <i>hitar</i>	Du <i>gitaar</i>
	<i>boti</i>	‘k.o. boat’	BI <i>bot</i>	Du <i>boot</i>

There remain a few unexplained cases, but the majority clearly follows some regular patterns, although these are not so perspicuous at first sight.

3.3 Breaking of clusters

Apart from the prenasalized consonants *mp*, *mb*, *nt*, *nd*, *ns*, *ngk* and *ngg* (which function as unit phonemes), Muna has no consonant clusters. Consequently, all sequences of consonants are split up by means of an intervening vowel. The quality of the vowel is determined by similar factors as the paragogic vowel, although many cases appear to be idiosyncratic. Several examples have already been given (e.g. *kalasi*, *bisiloi*, *arilodhi*, *fabereki*, *pasitoro*). Here follow a few more:

<i>asipalu</i>	‘asphalt’	BI <i>aspal</i>	Du <i>asfalt</i>
<i>palasiti</i>	‘plastics’	BI <i>plastik</i>	Du <i>plastic</i>
<i>parasee</i>	‘gift, award’	BI <i>persen</i>	Du <i>percent</i>
<i>sikoropu</i>	‘screw’	BI <i>sekrup</i>	Du <i>schroef</i>

One consonant sequence is simply reduced to its last member: medial /kt/ adapts to /t/:

<i>dotoro</i>	‘doctor’	BI <i>doktor</i>	Du <i>docter</i>
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In one case the language has taken the very unusual step of creating a cluster by metathesising the final consonant word-internally; in addition vowel metathesis occurred. The overall outcome is again in line with Muna phonological rules:

<i>densi</i>	‘service’	BI <i>dinas ~ dines</i>	Du <i>dienst</i>
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3.4 Idiosyncratic changes

Other idiosyncratic changes concern:

- the replacement of a regular /b/ by the implosive /b/ in Muna, written as <bh>;
- spontaneous prenasalization;
- a variety of irregular adaptations.

a.	<i>bhele</i>	‘tin’	BI <i>belek</i>	Du <i>blik</i>
	<i>bhangkuru</i>	‘bankrupt’	BI <i>bangkrut</i>	Du <i>bankroet</i>
	<i>bhoru</i>	‘give a shot’	BI <i>bor</i>	Du <i>boor</i>
b.	<i>buronso</i>	‘brooch’	BI <i>bros</i>	Du <i>broche</i>

(possibly confusion with BI/Du *brons* ‘bronze’, although in Muna there is also *tumbaga*).

	<i>mandalio</i>	‘medallion’	BI <i>medalion</i>	Du <i>medaillon</i>
c.	<i>alemoniu</i>	‘aluminium’	BI <i>aluminium</i>	Du <i>aluminium</i>
		(irregular loss of final /m/, unexplained /e/ and /o/)		
	<i>bote</i>	‘fine’	BI <i>bute</i>	Du <i>boete</i>
		(unexplained /o/)		
	<i>hafio</i>	raw opium’	BI <i>afiun</i>	Du <i>amfioen</i>
		(unexplained /h/ and /o/; cf. Wolio <i>hafio</i>)		
	<i>heto</i>	‘hectare’	BI <i>hektar</i>	Du <i>hectare</i>
		(unexplained /o/ and loss of /r/; notice regular cluster reduction)		
	<i>karatapele</i>	‘catapult’	BI <i>katapel</i>	Du <i>katapult</i>
		(unexplained addition of /ra/; but cf. Jakarta Malay <i>kertepèl</i> ~ <i>kertepil</i> ; Kupang Malay <i>kartapel</i>)		
	<i>mitere</i>	‘meter’	BI <i>meter</i>	Du <i>meter</i>
		(unexplained /i/; possibly influenced by <i>litere</i> ‘liter’)		
	<i>putolo</i>	pencil’	BI <i>potlot</i>	Du <i>potlood</i>
		(unexplained /u/)		
	<i>sikupa</i>	‘clubs (cards)’	BI <i>sekopong</i>	Du <i>schoppen</i>
		(unexplained /a/; unless a direct loan from Du)		
	<i>siriganti</i>	‘sergeant’	BI <i>sersan</i>	Du <i>sergeant</i>
		(unexplained /g/; possibly through another language?)		
	<i>topulesi</i>	‘glass jar with stopper’	BI <i>stoples</i> ~ <i>toples</i>	Du <i>stopfles</i>
		(as in BI, unexplained loss of /s/)		
	<i>tunani</i>	‘lieutenant’	BI <i>letnan</i>	Du <i>luitenant</i>
		(unexplained loss of first syllable)		

3.5 Reanalysis

Some very interesting examples of reanalysis have been found. In three cases where a Dutch loan had an initial /o/, this sound has been lost. Since Muna has a kind of article before nouns that has the phonological shape /o/, it makes sense to interpret this loss as a reanalysis. The examples are:

firisi ‘officer’ BI *opsir* Du *officier*
 (notice also metathesis of /s/ and /r/. This word may also be a very old loan from Port through Wolio; cf. Wolio *alifirisi*)

ndoro ‘skirt’ BI *onderok* Du *onderrok*
 (notice the initial prenasalized consonant in Muna, a conspicuous feature of the phonological structure of the language. The meaning has also widened from Du ‘underskirt’ to Muna ‘(regular) skirt’)

pasi ‘palace guard’ BI *opas* Du *oppas(ser)*

Thus BI *onderok* was first borrowed as *ondoro* in Muna, and subsequently reanalyzed as *o ndoro*, with *ndoro* as the new noun. Cases of reanalysis involving articles are fairly common in the world's languages (cf. German *Natter* 'adder', with Dutch and English *adder*).

Another possible case of reanalysis is *dome* 'dominoes' (BI/Du *domino*). The /e/ instead of expected /i/ is unexplained, but the loss of the final syllable is possibly linked with the use of *-no* to form active participles: *po-dome-no* 'those playing dominoes', could have arisen from *po-domeno-no* by haplology or reanalysis.

3.6 Folk-etymologies

Some interesting cases seem to involve folk-etymologizing:

1. *tampalasi* 'storage place for sawn wood'
 BI *stanplat* ~ *stamplas* '(taxi) stand, (bus) stop' Du *standplaats*

Here I assume that the loss of the initial /s/ is motivated by the resulting initial part *tampa-* which is the regular Muna pronunciation of Malay *tempat* 'place'. The meaning of the word clearly supports this link.

2. *talifou* 'telephone' BI *telpon* ~ *telepon* Du *telefoon*

Here I assume a link with Malay *tali* 'cord'. In Indonesian/Malay there is also a variant *talipon* (in Grijns et al.), so that the folk etymology may not have arisen on Muna.

4. Semantic shifts

Apart from the phonetic adaptations that loanwords undergo, there may be changes of meaning involved during the process of borrowing. Again, in this case this process has gone in two stages (Dutch > Malay; Malay > Muna) with many changes already discernible in Malay/Indonesian. Some straightforward examples where Malay and Muna have shifted or narrowed the original meaning of the Dutch word:

<i>doi</i>	BI	<i>duit</i> ~ <i>doit</i>	'money'
	Du	<i>duit</i>	'1/2 cent coin'
<i>dose</i>	BI	<i>dosen</i>	'university lecturer'
	Du	<i>docent</i>	'teacher (secondary and higher education)
<i>hagele</i>	BI	<i>hagel</i>	'ball-bearing' [?] (Du <i>kogellager</i>)
	Du	<i>hagel</i>	1. 'hail' 2. 'ball-bearing' [?]
(I was unable to verify this meaning in Indonesian or Dutch dictionaries)			
<i>siloki</i>	BI	<i>sloki</i>	'small liquor glass'
	Du	<i>slokje</i>	'small draught'

In other cases the semantic innovation cannot be traced back to Malay, and must have happened locally. This is the case for *tampalasi* (discussed above) and for the following examples:

<i>boro</i>	1. (intr) ‘be given a shot/injection’ 2. (tr) ‘give a shot, inject’ BI <i>bor</i> , Du <i>boren</i> ‘to drill’
<i>deke</i>	‘secret helper, protector from behind’ BI <i>deking</i> , Du <i>deking</i> ‘protection’ (possibly this personalized meaning already existed in Malay)
<i>silopu</i>	‘high-heeled woman’s shoe’ BI <i>selop</i> , Du <i>slof</i> ‘slipper’ (this unusual change may have arisen under the influence of some compound, cf. BI <i>selop jengkek</i> ‘high-heeled slipper’)
<i>sitele</i>	‘construction for sawing beams’ BI <i>steling</i> ‘military position’ Du <i>stelling</i> ‘military position; scaffolding; platform’

5. Grammatical changes

Another interesting development is the word-class cross-over that occurs in borrowing. Words that are nouns in the donor language, are just as easily made into verbs in the receptor language. Compare the following:

<i>bomu</i>	1. (n) ‘bomb’ 2. (v) ‘to bomb’ BI <i>bom</i> (n,v) Du <i>bom</i> (n only)
<i>bonu</i>	(v) ‘to bill, buy and pay later’ BI <i>bon</i> (n,v) Du <i>bon</i> (n only)
<i>lapu</i>	1. (n) ‘rag, cloth’ 2. (v) ‘to wipe (with a rag)’ BI <i>lap</i> (n,v) Du <i>lap</i> (n only)

As verbs such borrowings may show all the richness of Muna verbal morphology, including subject and object inflection, aspectual marking, imperative formation and valency-changing affixes. Some of these processes are illustrated in the following example sentences:

- (1) *Kapala-ndo Dhapa no-bomu-e Amerika.*
ship-POSS Japan 3sR-bomb-it America
‘The Japanese ship was bombed by the Americans.’
- (2) *Kala me-bonu-kanau deki tabhako, miinaho a-ko-doi.*

Go IMP-bill-me first tobacco not.yet 1sI-HAVE-money
 ‘Go and bill me for some tobacco, I don’t have any money yet.’

(3) *Medha mo-meme-no ini a-l[um]apu-e-mo.*
 table -wet-A.PART this 1sI-wipe-it-PF
 ‘I’ll wipe this wet table.’

(4) *O mantiri no-lili no-fo-boro.*
 ART medical.aid 3sR-go.around 3sR-DETR-give.shot
 ‘The hospital’s medical aid goes around giving people shots.’

(5) *O sikola-hi da-[m]erei naewine.*
 ART pupil-PL 3pI-holiday tomorrow
 ‘The pupils will have a holiday tomorrow.’

In (1) the transitive verb *bomu* has both subject and object inflection in an inverse construction (translated as a passive). (2) shows an imperative on *bonu* with the indirect object suffix *-kanau* signalling the beneficiary. Notice also the verbal derivation *a-ko-doi* on the basis of *doi* ‘money’ (Du *duit*). (3) shows the irrealis form of *lapu*, which is formed by means of the infix *-um-*. Again the verb has subject and object inflection, plus the perfective suffix *-mo*. (4) displays the root *boro* ‘give a shot’ with the detransitivizing suffix *fo-*, making it into an intransitive verb. Finally, (5) shows the irrealis form of *ferei* as *merei* with nasal substitution of roots with initial /p,f/.

Another matter which is of some interest is the verb class membership of borrowed material. Both in my dissertation and in a recent paper (Van den Berg 1995) I have shown that there are strong correlations between the morphological verb classes (which I call class *a-*, *ae-* and *ao-* following the first person prefixes), and the syntactic-semantic characteristics of their member verbs. These correlations can be stated as follows:

- transitive verbs are *ae-*verbs;
- stative intransitive verbs (corresponding to adjectives in English and Indonesian) are predominantly *ao-*, while some are *a-*verbs;
- dynamic intransitive verbs are usually *a-*verbs.

The reader is referred to these publications for more information. The question then is: do borrowed verbs correspond to these patterns?

For transitive verbs this is undoubtedly true; all the transitive verbs in the material are *ae-*verbs, e.g. *bomu* ‘to bomb’, *bosu* ‘to bundle’, *deke* ‘to protect’, *lapu* ‘to wipe’. Only seven verbs in the material are intransitive, five of which are dynamic (with the possible exception of *bhangkuru* ‘bankrupt’ which may be stative), and all of these are *a-*verbs, conforming to the expected pattern:

<i>bhangkuru</i>	‘bankrupt’	BI <i>bangkrut</i>	Du <i>bankroet</i>
<i>ferei</i>	‘have holidays’	BI <i>perai</i>	Du <i>vrij</i>
<i>pansio</i>	‘to retire’	BI <i>pansion</i>	Du <i>pensioen</i>
<i>ronda</i>	‘to patrol’	BI <i>ronda</i>	Du <i>ronde</i>
<i>takoro</i>	‘have a shortage’	BI <i>tekor</i>	Du <i>tekort</i>

Two verbs deserve some special attention, *boro* and *teke*. The first is from Du *boor* ‘drill’, but in Muna it has acquired two senses. As a transitive *ae*-verb it means ‘to give a shot to; inject’, but as an intransitive *ae*-verb it means ‘to be given a shot; take/get a shot’, as in the following example:

- (6) *A-k[um]ala ae-boro we Raha.*
 1sI-go 1sI-give.shot loc Raha
 ‘I’m going to Raha to get a shot.’

Such cases of transitive *ae*- and intransitive *ae*- interaction are not uncommon in native vocabulary (e.g. *kadiu* ‘give a bath’ and ‘take a bath’). As for the second verb *teke* (BI *teken*, Du *tekenen*), as a transitive *ae*-verb it means ‘to sign s.t., put one’s signature on s.t.’, but as an intransitive *a*-verb it means ‘to sign up for s.t., enroll’, as illustrated in the following examples:

- (7) *Sura aini miinaho na-ti-teke.*
 letter this not.yet 3sI-PASS-sign
 ‘This letter hasn’t been signed yet.’
- (8) *Ana-ku no-teke tantara.*
 child-my 3sR-sign soldier
 ‘My son has enrolled as a soldier.’

All in all one can say that the Dutch loans have been firmly incorporated into the existing grammatical structures of the language, showing no signs of their foreign origin.

6. Unique loans?

From the material that can be identified as Dutch in origin, there are some eight words that cannot be traced in any of the existing sources on Dutch loans (e.g. Indonesian dictionaries, the list compiled by Grijns et al.). It appears that these words have come directly from Dutch into Muna. Of course it is always possible that they also exist in other regional languages of Eastern Indonesia, and I must admit that I have not done a thorough search. I propose the following eight items as candidates for unique loans:

1. *bene* ‘tube of tyre or football’.
 From Du *binnen(band)*. The form is a shortening and the extension to the football is semantically transparent. It seems likely that this word existed in regional varieties of Malay. There is an Indonesian word *binen/binnen* from Dutch, but it means ‘elite, established, rich’.
2. *bosuwatere* ‘forester, forest-keeper’.
 From Du *boswachter*. A new word for a new function on Muna during the colonial period, closely related to the exploitation of the teakwood forests begun under Dutch rule.
3. *buseese* 1. ‘forestry service’ 2. ‘government-owned forest’.

From Du *boswezen*. The first meaning is primary, for which nowadays the Indonesian term *dinas kehutanan* is used. The second meaning is a local development and more widely used today. A few years ago, farmers were allowed to work on a large area of *buseese*, which was divided up between them, and then burnt and planted with maize. Notice that the loss of final /n/ is regular, but the vowels show irregularities. This loan and the previous one show the importance of the forestry service during the colonial period.

4. *harendesi* (variant: *harindesi*) ‘forced labour during colonial times’.

From Du *herendienst* ‘statute labour’. A typical colonial word that also exemplifies folk-etymology: the first part should have come out as *heren-*, but was probably linked with Malay *hari* ‘day’, since forced labour was counted in days per year. The word is also used as an intransitive *a*-verb: ‘be engaged in forced labour’.

5. *doro* (variant: *doru*) ‘pass on (e.g. marbles in a game, because s.t. was hit)’.

From Du *door* ‘through, further’, possibly a shortening of *doorspelen* ‘play on’ or a similar compound with *door*. The Dutch preposition has become a transitive verb in Muna, as shown in the following example:

- (9) *Bhaguli-no no-tompalo ne ghaghe-ku, dadi a-doro-e.*
 marble-his 3sR-hit loc foot-my so 1sR-pass.on-it
 ‘His marble hit my foot, so I passed it on.’

There is also a derived verb *po-doro* (with the prefix *po-* marking games) meaning ‘play marbles with three holes’. The exact rules of this game are not clear to me, but supposedly the marbles are passed on from one hole to another during the course of the game.

6. *foro* ‘front, lead (in games)’.

From Du *voor(sprong)*. Again a shortening (I assume), which has retained its nominal character. Like the previous one, this is from the games sphere. An example is:

- (10) *Da-po-golo da-t[um]ende, madaho a-ma-angko foro na lima mitere.*
 1pI-REC-compete 1pI-run later 1sI-give-youlead FUT five meter
 ‘We’ll run a race and I’ll give you a five-meter lead.’

7. *hiri* ‘king (cards)’.

From Du *heer* ‘sir, lord, king (cards)’. Again a word from a game. Surprisingly the Dutch loans *asa* ‘ace’ and *kalawara* ‘clubs’ also occur in Malay as *as* and *klawar* ~ *klaver*, but for ‘king’ Indonesian uses the English term. Unfortunately, my information on card terms in Muna is far from complete.

8. *landibou* ‘k.o. cassava’. From Du *landbouw*. Phonologically the final /ou/ of Muna is irregular; from the Dutch pronunciation one would have expected **landibau*; maybe it is a spelling pronunciation. As for its meaning, it is a shortening of *mafu sau landibou*, where *landibou* modifies the regular word for cassava (lit: ‘wood yam’; itself possibly a calque from Malay *ubi kayu*). This particular variety was - according to local information -

introduced by the Dutch and is characterized by a white yam that is bigger than the regular *mafu sau*.

Finally there are two words that closely resemble Dutch words related in meaning. *Fekelei* ‘change into dry clothes’, looks and sounds remarkably like a borrowing from Du *verkleeden* ‘change clothes’ but is more likely a derivation on the basis of *kele* ‘dry’. Also *tui* ‘k.o. card game in which one tries to obtain double cards’, could be related to Dutch *twee* ‘two’. There is an Indonesian word *tui*, but it means (according to the Kamus Besar) ‘to stake with a gambler’, which seems only remotely related.

Note

It is a pleasure to contribute this short study to a Festschrift for Dr Voorhoeve. My thanks are due to Dr C.D. Grijns and to Dr H. Steinhauer for some helpful comments and suggestions.

Abbreviations

A.PART	active participle
ART	article
BI	Bahasa Indonesia
DETR	detransitivizer
Du	Dutch
Eng	English
FUT	future
I	irrealis
IMP	imperative
loc	locative
n	noun
p	plural
PASS	passive
PF	perfective
PL	plural
Port	Portuguese
POSS	possessive
R	realis
REC	reciprocal
s	singular
v	verb

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