

A SAMALAN WORDLIST FROM SOUTH-EAST SULAWESI

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The wordlist presented here was collected during a short stay in Baubau, the capital of the Island of Buton, from a man living there. Originally he came from one of the small Samalan communities living on both sides of the narrow channel which separates the islands of Muna and Buton from the main island. Although he had cut off relationships with his relatives and lived in town under a new name (Efendi!), he claimed to have still a reasonable knowledge of the Bajau language. The results proved that he was right.

THE WORDLIST

The lexical material will be given first, in the order in which the words came, during the two sessions the writer had with the informant.

<i>one</i>	sɛ'ti	<i>enough</i>	'ginnaʔ
<i>two</i>	'dua	<i>sun</i>	il'lau
<i>three</i>	'tolu	<i>moon</i>	'bulan
<i>four</i>	mpaʔ	<i>star</i>	kara'ginte
<i>five</i>	'lima	<i>sky</i>	'laneʔ
<i>six</i>	ə'naŋ	<i>cloud</i>	'amboŋ
<i>seven</i>	'pitu	<i>wind</i>	'saŋai
<i>eight</i>	'walu	<i>rain</i>	'uraŋ
<i>nine</i>	'saŋa	<i>thunder</i>	'guntor
<i>ten</i>	sə'pulu	<i>lightning</i>	'dalaʔ
<i>hundred</i>	dʌ'ʔatus	<i>earth</i>	'tanaʔ
<i>thousand</i>	dʌsʌ'bu	<i>stone</i>	'batu
<i>many</i>	'para	<i>sand</i>	'guso
<i>few</i>	dʌ'ŋkisi	<i>river</i>	lu'baŋan
<i>all</i>	mɛ'mona	<i>water</i>	'boeʔ

<i>sea</i>	di'law?	<i>sweetpotato</i>	ka'ndora
<i>cape</i>	'təɔh	<i>manioc</i>	kono'kayu
<i>mountain</i>	'mbulu?	<i>betelnut</i>	'bua?
<i>night</i>	səŋa'ndia	<i>tobacco</i>	ta'mbako
<i>house</i>	'ruma?	<i>citrus</i>	'limau
<i>door</i>	bua'lawa	<i>seed</i>	'bigi
<i>window</i>	tə'ntɔŋa	<i>corn</i>	'dərɔŋ
<i>stairway</i>	'tanga	<i>sugarcane</i>	'təbu
<i>floor</i>	'dasar	<i>fence</i>	'sampa?
<i>roof</i>	'doda	<i>animal</i>	a'lolo
<i>fire</i>	'api	<i>horse</i>	'jarəŋ
<i>to burn</i>	'rikka	<i>waterbuffalo</i>	ka'ribau
<i>smoke</i>	'umbu	<i>tail</i>	'iŋko
<i>I</i>	'aku	<i>dog</i>	'asu
<i>you (sg.)</i>	'kau	<i>cat</i>	meoh
<i>he</i>	'dia	<i>crocodile</i>	bu'aya
<i>we (incl.)</i>	'kita	<i>tortoise</i>	'mondo
<i>(excl.)</i>	'kami	<i>turtle</i>	'boko,
<i>they</i>	di'si'ore		ku'litaŋ
<i>this</i>	'ini	<i>snake</i>	lla
<i>that</i>	'itu	<i>bird</i>	ma'maŋ?
<i>here</i>	ma'nditu	<i>feather</i>	'bulu
<i>there</i>	ma'ndore	<i>nest</i>	'sarəh
<i>what?</i>	'ai	<i>rat</i>	'tikɔs
<i>who?</i>	'sai	<i>flying fox</i>	'kalo
<i>how many?</i>	'da'ŋey	<i>bat</i>	'sisel
<i>where?</i>	'manga	<i>pig</i>	ŋgɔ?
<i>in, at</i>	ma	<i>duck</i>	'bembe
<i>to</i>	ke	<i>lori</i>	bur'nori
<i>from</i>	mo	<i>cockatoo</i>	kaka'tua
<i>wood</i>	'kayu	<i>spider</i>	'bobo
<i>tree</i>	'pɔ?ɔŋ	<i>centipede</i>	ba'lipan
<i>branch</i>	'ɛŋas	<i>fly</i>	'lala
<i>leaf</i>	'daɔŋ	<i>mosquito</i>	'sisel
<i>root</i>	'ragʌ?	<i>butterfly</i>	pe'pedo
<i>fruit</i>	'bua?	<i>louse</i>	'kutu
<i>flower</i>	'buŋa	<i>egg</i>	ɔ'ncilo
<i>coconut</i>	sa'loka	<i>fish</i>	'dayəh
<i>sagopalms</i>	ru'mbla	<i>eel</i>	timba'loa
<i>bamboo</i>	'bolo?	<i>shark</i>	ka'reo
<i>banana</i>	'pisəh	<i>rayfish</i>	'pai

<i>to fly</i>	lu'meah	<i>bone</i>	'bakas
<i>shrimp</i>	'doah	<i>blood</i>	'laha
<i>head</i>	ti'kolo?	<i>vein</i>	'ua?
<i>hair</i>	'bulu ti'kolo?	<i>sweat</i>	'θɔɔ
<i>forehead</i>	'lendo?	<i>heart</i>	'tubɔ?
<i>eye</i>	'mata	<i>liver</i>	'hatai
<i>tears</i>	'boe'mata	<i>wound</i>	'ba:ka
<i>brow</i>	'bulu:ki-ndɛn	<i>to eat</i>	'ŋinta
<i>cheek</i>	'papa	<i>full (after eating)</i>	θɔ
<i>ear</i>	ta'liŋa	<i>to drink</i>	'ni:nɔŋ
<i>nose</i>	'uroh	<i>to see</i>	'nita
<i>mucus</i>	'supɔŋ	<i>to cry</i>	'na:ŋis
<i>mouth</i>	bo'a?	<i>to hear</i>	ma'kale
<i>lip</i>	ku'lɛɛɐ	<i>to walk</i>	du'malaŋ
<i>tooth</i>	'gigi	<i>path, road</i>	'lalaŋ
<i>tongue</i>	'dela?	<i>to come</i>	'tikka
<i>saliva</i>	'ruja?	<i>to go</i>	'pore
<i>to spit</i>	'ruja?	<i>to swim</i>	ru'maŋi
<i>chin</i>	'jɔŋɐr	<i>to give</i>	'munəŋ
<i>face</i>	'rua	<i>to lie down</i>	pa'lea
<i>neck</i>	'kilo	<i>to sit</i>	ni'ŋkolo?
<i>brains</i>	'tɔtɔ?	<i>to stand</i>	'ninge
<i>shoulder</i>	'ba?a	<i>dead</i>	'matay
<i>breast</i>	ka'rika	<i>to speak</i>	'baɔŋ
<i>female breast</i>	'susu	<i>to shout</i>	'ŋoya
<i>arm</i>	'liŋan	<i>to blow</i>	'tiu?
<i>elbow</i>	'siku	<i>name</i>	'araŋ
<i>hand</i>	'taŋan	<i>person</i>	manu'sia
<i>fingernail</i>	'kuku	<i>man, male</i>	'llila
<i>finger</i>	ta'lanke	<i>woman</i>	'dinda
<i>thumb</i>	indu'taŋan	<i>child</i>	'ana?
<i>back</i>	'buku	<i>mother</i>	mma?
<i>belly</i>	'bitta	<i>father</i>	'uwa?
<i>buttocks</i>	'buli	<i>black</i>	'lɔ?ɔŋ
<i>foot, leg</i>	'nae?	<i>white</i>	'pote
<i>thigh</i>	pɔ'mpa:	<i>red</i>	'mira
<i>knee</i>	'tuhu?	<i>yellow</i>	'kuneh
<i>ankle</i>	ta'liko	<i>green</i>	'ijo
<i>heel</i>	indu'nae?	<i>blue</i>	'biru
<i>skin</i>	'kuli?	<i>hot</i>	'panas
<i>body hair</i>	'bulu	<i>cold</i>	ja'rini

<i>dry</i>	'təhɔʔ	<i>new</i>	ba'bau
<i>wet</i>	'ba:seʔ	<i>good, beautiful</i>	ma'laso
<i>big</i>	'basar	<i>bad, ugly</i>	'raha
<i>small</i>	di'di:ki	<i>high</i>	'laŋkau
<i>long</i>	'taha	<i>low</i>	ki'tina
<i>short</i>	pi'pindaʔ	<i>heavy</i>	'bʌraʔ
<i>round</i>	'buntar	<i>light</i>	ri'riŋan
<i>old</i>	'tua	<i>ant</i>	'sɔmmuʔ
<i>young</i>	'ŋura	<i>flesh</i>	'isi

Although the list contains quite a number of words not found in those of other Samalan dialects, e.g. sɛ'ti 'one', 'sisɛl 'mosquito', ta'laŋke 'finger', these lexical differences cannot be ascribed to the influence of neighbouring languages. The only case of a probable borrowing is 'θɔɔ 'sweat', which is found as 'sɔɔ in the Tomia dialect of the language of the Tukang Besi Islands.

Another question is that of possible influence on the sound system. There are two features which look as if they might be caused by foreign influence: the doubling of consonants and the changes which must have taken place in the final consonants.

Double consonants occur in those words which originally had *ə: 'ginnaʔ 'enough' (from *gənəp), 'tikka 'to come' (from *təka). This is parallel to the doubling of consonants following *ə in languages like Makasarese, Buginese, etc. Therefore, one might think of Buginese influence on this Bajau dialect. But this is far from certain, as there are more languages showing this feature and, furthermore, there are cases of double consonants which cannot be explained by a preceding *ə and have no parallel in Buginese: mmaʔ 'mother', lla 'snake', 'lila 'man'.¹

The treatment of final consonants also shows some parallelism to what is found in Buginese. The Samalan development is:

stops are replaced by ʔ: mpaʔ 'four' (from *əmpat)
 'laŋeʔ 'sky' (from *laŋit)
 ma'manɔʔ 'bird' (from *manuk)
 'ginnaʔ 'enough' (from *gənəp);

q is replaced by ʔ: 'rumaʔ 'house', 'tanaʔ 'earth', but there are some exceptions in which it was dropped like sə'pulu 'ten';

ŋ changed into h: 'sarah 'nest' (from *saraŋ),
 'pisah 'banana' (from *pisaŋ);

m changed into ŋ: ə'naŋ 'six' (from *ənəm),
 'ninɔŋ 'drink' (from *inum);

n changed into ŋ: 'pɔʔɔŋ 'tree' (from *puhun)
 'uraŋ 'rain' (from *uZan),
 but remained unchanged after ŋV: 'liŋan (from *liŋan) 'arm',
 'taŋan 'hand'
 other consonants remained unchanged: 'basar 'big',
 da'ʔatus 'hundred'

In Buginese the final q was dropped, all nasals became ŋ and all other consonants changed into ʔ.

Although there is a striking parallelism in the two cases, the differences are great enough to regard the development of sounds in Samalan as mainly independent.²

So we find little reason to ascribe the differences between this Samal dialect and others to influence from outside.

N O T E S

1. There is always a possibility of these having come from reduplicated forms, as was suggested at the symposium.
2. My thanks to H. Kähler and R.A. Blust for interesting comments.



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