

3 *The pretenders to the Muna–Buton group*

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1 Introduction¹

This paper deals with a set of languages that have been assumed to be members of the so-called Muna–Buton group. I propose a separate subgrouping for some of these languages, linking them to Laiyolo and Kalao spoken on the islands in the far south of South Sulawesi, and Wotu in that province’s far north-east; in a sense, this paper presents a case for a position that was noted by Sirk (1988) as a probable solution for the subgrouping puzzle surrounding Wotu, but goes further in defining the ways in which the old Muna–Buton group fails to stand up to scrutiny. Although this paper addresses the question of what does not belong to the Muna–Buton group, it does not attempt to list exhaustively the extent of the group, nor to address the question of subgrouping of the Tukang Besi languages, spoken on the nearby Tukangbesi islands, or Kulisusu, spoken in northern Buton, both of which have been asserted to belong to a subgroup with the other languages of Muna and Buton.

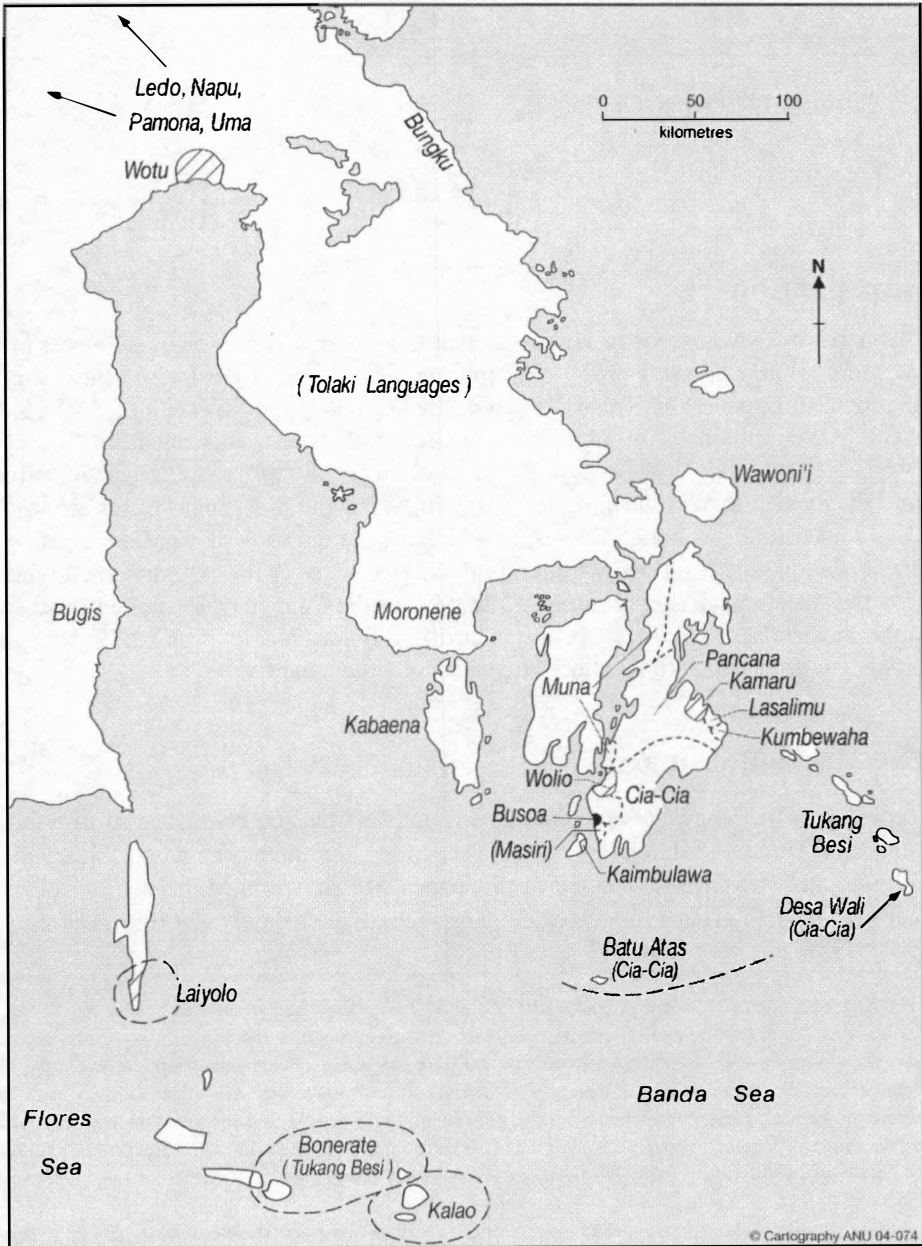
2 The Muna–Buton area

Traditionally the languages spoken on the islands off the southeastern part of Sulawesi on the islands of Muna and Buton have been grouped together under the name ‘Muna–Butung’.² The region, and languages discussed in this paper, are shown in Map 1. Esser (1938) and Salzner (1960) both grouped together the languages of the islands of Muna, Buton, and the

¹ The help of Cathryn Donohue, Chuck Grimes and Malcolm Ross has greatly improved the content of this paper, through either their proof-reading skills or through comments and suggestions on the methodology and how to improve it. In addition, René van den Berg, who shares with me a deep interest in the linguistic prehistory of Southeast Sulawesi, deserves my thanks for encouragement and suggestions before this paper was even begun. I have benefited from the help of all these people, but the analysis and any faults in it, either direct or implied, rest with myself. This is particularly apparent in the bibliography, which reflects the state of the literature in 1996, when this manuscript was accepted for publication. It has not been updated.

² ‘Butung’ is the Bugis pronunciation of the name. The local pronunciation is usually [bʉtʉn], stressed on the second syllable.

Tukang Besi islands (in Southeast Sulawesi) with the languages in the far south of Sulawesi, namely the southern half of Selayar island and the smaller islands in the Sea of Flores (Kalaotoa, Bonerate, Kalao, Tanahjampea, Kayuadi). Whilst showing some differences in their subgrouping, the borders of Esser's and Salzner's groups are comparable. Esser's classification is given in Figure 1 and Salzner's in Figure 2.



Map 1: Languages and language groups referred to in the text

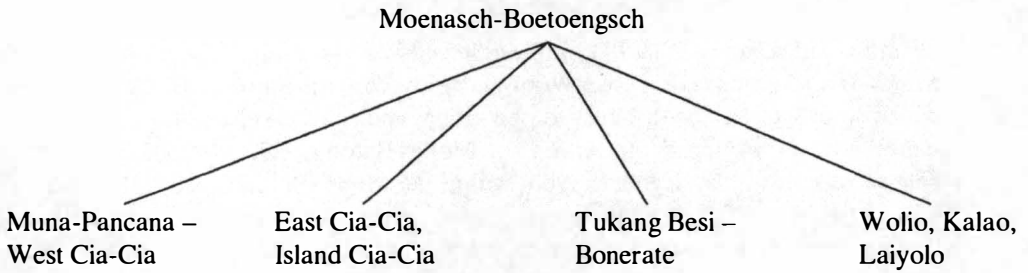


Figure 1: Esser's (1938) subgrouping

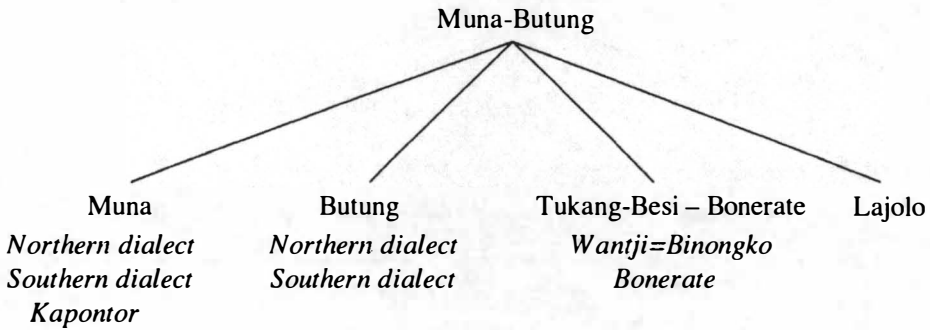


Figure 2: Salzner's (1960) subgrouping

The other subgrouping hypotheses that have been proposed are outlined below; in all cases, the subgrouping is by assertion or declaration, with no evidence or methodology presented to enable us to evaluate the proposal.

- Anceaux (1978:281) stated his conviction that ‘... Adriani’s Muna–Buton group has to be reformulated’, and recognised subgroupings consisting of Wolio, Lasalimu and Kamaru on the one hand and Cia-Cia, Pancana and Muna on the other. Writing about Tukang Besi, he noted that it ‘... scores relatively low with all the others’. Nevertheless, he writes in the same paragraph that ‘... there is reason to believe that all the languages of this area [including Tolaki and Bungku — MD] belong to one subgroup ...’. His subgrouping is given in Figure 3.
- Bhurhanuddin (1979) did not challenge this grouping, and appears to have implicitly divided the languages into five groups, separating Wakatobi (=Tukang Besi), Wolio, Kamaru and Lasalimu from his Muna–Pancana–Cia-Cia group. Bhurhanuddin speculated (as did Salzner (1960)) that Tukang Besi forms a subgroup with Bonerate in the Sea of Flores, but had no data from the language from which to draw conclusions.

- Kaseng et al. (1987) grouped Wolio and Kamaru together, but failed to subgroup any of the other languages that they surveyed in the Muna–Buton area.
- Grimes and Grimes (1987), although only incidentally concerned with the Muna–Buton group, compared Wotu and Laiyolo with Buton [=Wolio (C. Grimes, pers. comm.)] of Salzner’s Muna–Buton group, and found evidence to ‘... substantiate tentatively classifying Wotu within the Muna–Buton Stock’ (1987:63), and to ‘... follow Salzner in classifying Laiyolo within the Muna–Buton Stock’ (1987:60). The idea of the Muna–Buton group now extended northwards to include Wotu, a language that has been the source of much disagreement as to its genetic classification amongst scholars.

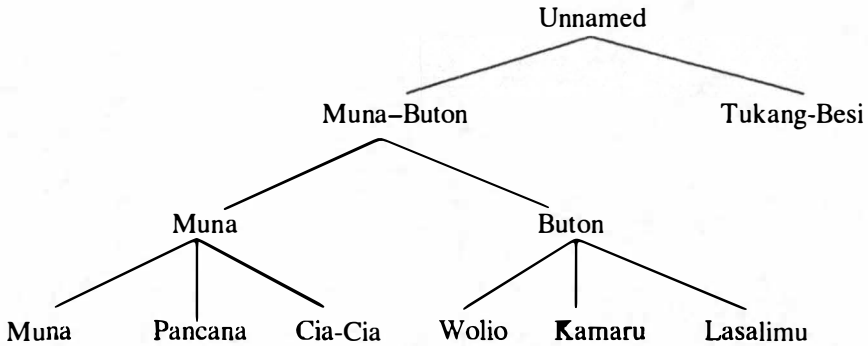


Figure 3: Anceau’s (1978) subgrouping

The subgrouping claims made about the Muna–Buton group can be tabulated as in Table 1, where the same numeral in a column refers to an author placing all the languages bearing that notation in the same subgroup.

Table 1: The Muna–Buton group

	Esser	Salzner	Anceaux	Bhurhanuddin	Kaseng	Grimes & Grimes	This paper
Wotu	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Laiyolo	1	1, 4	—	1	—	1	1
Wolio	1	(2a)	1	2	1	1	1
Kamaru	(2)	(2b)	1	3	1	—	1
Tukang Besi	3	3	2	1	2	1	—
Muna	4	1	3	4	3	—	2a
Kaimbulawa	(4)	(2a)	—	—	—	—	2a
Pancana	(4)	(2a)	3	4	4	—	2a
Cia-Cia	2	(2a, 2b)	3	4	5	—	2b
Lasalimu	(2)	(2b)	1	5	6	—	2b
Kumbewaha	(2)	(2b)	—	—	—	—	2b

3 The Wotu language

Wotu is grouped by Esser in his Toradja (=Kaili-Pamona³) group, but according to Noorduyn (1991a:144) ‘... he [Esser] changed his opinion ... and concluded that it belonged to the Buginese group’. Salzner (1960) followed this tack and classified Wotu in his Makassar-Bugis subgroup of South Sulawesi languages.

Mills (1975:604–612) implied that he considered Wotu to belong to the Toraja family rather than with the South Sulawesi languages when he wrote that ‘... on balance we find the points in common between Wo[tu] and Tor[aja] languages not only more numerous, but weightier’ and discounted its putative connection with the South Sulawesi languages, later writing ‘... in my opinion, Wotu cannot claim a direct genetic affiliation with PSS [Proto South Sulawesi]’.

Finally, as mentioned above, in their lexicostatistic survey Grimes and Grimes (1987: 62–63) included Wotu in an extended Muna-Buton group, a move described by Noorduyn (1991a:144) as being ‘The best solution to the problem ...’ This solution is also favoured by Sirk (1988:11), who writes that ‘What seems much more likely is that Wotu, Layolo and Wolio, possibly with some unknown dialects of Buton, etc., constitute a separate group which does not embrace Muna’.

A more detailed summary of the history of the debate surrounding the position of Wotu can be found in Noorduyn (1991b), but the main features of the hypotheses concerning the extent of Muna-Buton and the position of Wotu are summarised in Table 2:

Table 2: The subgrouping of Wotu

	Esser	Salzner	Mills	Grimes & Grimes	Sirk (1988)	This paper
S. Sulawesi	1	1	1	1	1	1
Kaili-Pamona	2	2	2	2	2	2a ⁴
Wotu	1, 2	1	2	3	3	2b
Laiyolo	3a	3a	3	3	3	2b
Wolio	3a	(3b)	—	3	3	2b
Kamaru	(3b)	(3c)	—	—	(implied: 3)	2b
Tukang Besi	3c	3d	—	3	—	—
Muna-Buton	3b, d	3b, 3c	—	3	4	3a, b

The presence of the same number in the entry for two languages in a column implies that the author in question considered the two languages to belong to the same grouping; Grimes and Grimes, for example, grouped Wotu, Laiyolo and Wolio together, but all apart from the South Sulawesi languages or the Kaili-Pamona languages. Numbers in different columns are not comparable. ‘Tukang Besi’ indicates both the languages of the Tukang Besi islands in Southeast Sulawesi, and the geographically remote Bonerate speech community. A dash (—)

³ The genetic unity of the Kaili-Pamona family has been demonstrated by Martens (1989).

⁴ Although not explicitly the subject of this paper, the Kaili-Pamona group (for references see Martens 1989), but some data are given in Table 1: Ledo, Napu, Pamona and Uma are all Kaili-Pamona languages) does share many sound changes with the Wotu-Wolio group, such as *e > a, *q > Ø, *R > Ø, *uy > o or u, and *Z > d.

shows that the language was not considered by the author, and a number in brackets shows that the area of the language would indicate its placement in that subgroup, even though it was not explicitly mentioned by that author.

It is the aim of this paper to present evidence supporting the conclusion that Wotu can be grouped with Laiyolo, Wolio and Kamaru, and that these languages can be better thought of as not belonging to the Muna–Buton group. The question of the internal relationships of the Muna–Buton group is not specifically addressed in this paper.

4 Issues

As can be seen from the brief summary presented, quite a lot of speculation has focused on the position of the Wotu language, and the genetic unity of the Muna–Buton group has not been challenged since Esser declared its existence. The assumption that all the languages of Muna, Buton and the *Tukang Besi* islands in Southeast Sulawesi, and the languages of southern Selayar (including the islands to the south) belong to one subgroup has only been questioned in any manner at all by Bhurhanuddin and by Sirk, and then only speculatively. The respective positions of Wolio and Wotu, and the question of which languages can be considered to be subgrouped with them, is therefore primary in an investigation of the extent of the ‘Muna–Buton’ group.

The questions addressed here are the following:

- 1a. Does Wolio show genetic unity with the other languages of Muna and Buton?
- 1b. If not, with what language(s) is Wolio affiliated?
2. What is the extent of the proposed language group that contains Wotu?

In answering these I present data from two previously known and two previously undescribed languages typical of the languages from the islands of Muna and southern Buton⁵ — Muna, Cia-Cia, Kumbewaha⁶ and Kaimbulawa⁷ — and compare these with the languages of the putative Wotu–Wolio group that includes the Wolio, Kalao/Laiyolo,⁸ and Wotu languages, as well as the previously undescribed Kamaru language of eastern Buton. Not addressed here is the question of the internal relationships of the subgroup that contains the remaining languages of the old Muna–Buton subgroup.

5 Approach and methods

I adopt the comparative method, specifically the examination of sound changes in the languages concerned, with the aim of adequately subgrouping through a body of shared innovations displayed by one or other of the groups.

Data were obtained from the following sources:

5 In addition to Muna along the west coast, the Kulisusu and Taloki languages of the Bungku language are found in the north of Buton island. These are not part of the Muna–Buton group, although clearly closely related, and are not considered here.

6 Located on the east coast of Buton, closely related to Lasalimu and Cia-Cia.

7 Spoken on the east coast of the island of Siompu off southwest Buton; closely related to Muna.

8 Dialects of the same language.

	'stone' *batu	'hair' *buluq	'flower' *buŋa	'lip' *bibiR
Wotu	<u>b</u> atu	<u>b</u> ulu	<u>b</u> uŋa	<i>sumba</i>
Laiyolo	<u>b</u> atu	<u>b</u> ulu	<u>b</u> uŋa	<i>ŋinsu</i>
Kalao	<u>b</u> atu	<u>b</u> ulu	<u>b</u> uŋa	<i>mĩnsu</i>
Wolio	<u>b</u> atu	<u>b</u> ulu	<u>b</u> uŋa	<i>biβi</i>
Kamaru	atu	<i>potu</i>	<u>b</u> uŋa	<i>biβi</i>

Note that although all the languages lenite /b/ to *w* intervocalically, only the Muna–Buton languages do so initially. Muna also uses *kambea* for 'flower'.

The lenition of *b to β is not without its problems. Van den Berg (1991c:10–12) discusses the sound changes applying to certain etyma containing *b in seven Sulawesi languages, from the Kaili area in Central Sulawesi to the Muna–Buton area. Rearranging his table, and adding the languages relevant to this paper, produces the following chart of selected widespread etyma that reflect PAN *b, with non-lenited forms highlighted:

Table 4: Reflexes of PAN *b in languages of Central and Southern Sulawesi

	Wol	K/L	Kam	Wot	Led	Kai	Mun	Kum	C-C	Nap	Pam	Uma
*be(R)say	b	–	b	–	w	b	b	b	b	b	w	w
*beŋel	b	b	[p]	?	b	b	b	[p]	–	b	w	w
*baqeRu	b	b	b	b	–	b	b	β	β	w	b	b
*benaqi	b	b	–	b	b	–	b	–	–†	(w)	b	w
*b-in-ahi	b/β	b	b/β	b/w	(m) b	–/b	–/b	β/β	β	–/β	–	b
*babuy	b/β	b/v	b/β	?	b	β/β	β/β	β/β	β/β	–	w	w
*bulan	b	–	–	b	b	b	β	β	β	w	w	w
*bibiR	b	b	b	b	b	β	β	β	β	w	w	w
*buluq	b	b	b	b	b	β	β	β	β	w	w	w
*buŋa	b	b	b	b	b	–	β	–	b~β	b	–	w
*babaw	b	–	b	?	b	β	β	β	β	–	w	–
*batu	b	b	b	b	β	β	β	β	β	w	w	w

Key: Wol: Wolio; K/L: Kalao/Laiyolo; Kam: Kamaru; Led: Ledo; Wot: Wotu; Kai: Kaimbulawa; Mun: Muna; Nap: Napu; Kum: Kumbewaha; C-C: Cia-Cia; Pam: Pamona; Uma: Uma. Translations: paddle, deaf, new, sand, woman, pig, moon, lips, body hair, flower, above, stone (respectively). ? = not found in sources; – = no cognate in lists consulted; / separates twin reflexes in the same word; ~ shows alternation in different morphemes; Cia-Cia has *buŋa* 'flower' but *wuŋga* 'finger' (lit. 'flower-(of-hand)'). †Van den Berg cites *b* as the Cia-Cia reflex of *benaqi, but my lists all show *h* reflecting PAN *qenay. () Napu *wuŋgi* 'sand' is possibly not cognate with *benaqi (van den Berg 1991c:12). [] unexpected devoicing in these two (geographically close) languages.

Table 4 again shows a clear split in reflexes between Wolio, Kalao, Laiyolo and Kamaru (and in most cases Ledo also), which consistently reflect *b as *b* (and as β, in at least the cases of Wolio and Kamaru, for which I have collected the data myself) on the one hand and the other languages, which show various degrees of lenition in their treatment of *b. The reflexes of *be(R)say and *beŋel show particular resistance to this lenition in most languages outside Central Sulawesi, and *baqeRu, *binaqi and *b-in-ahi also show retention of *b as *b*

in the Muna languages (represented here by Muna and Kaimbulawa), and Central Sulawesi (excluding Napu). The reflexes for PAN *b-in-ahi 'woman' often show a reduplication of the first syllable, thus reflecting *(ba)-b-in-ahi, and the reflexes are given as for this form; a dash (-) shows that the language in question does not reflect the reduplicated form. The data in Table 1 are clear support for the idea that a sound change proceeds lexically through a language; the *b > β sound change is most advanced in Kumbewaha, but even there it has not spread to the reflex of *be(R)say. On the other hand, it appears that the sound change *b > β has just started in Ledo, beginning with the reflex of *batu.

Table 5: Reflexes of PAN *e
(see also 'new' under *q in Table 7)

	'three' *telu	'black' *ma-qitem	'six' *enem
Kaimbulawa	tot <u>o</u> lu	mo/hit <u>o</u>	no <u>o</u> noo
Muna	tolu	yit <u>o</u>	no <u>o</u>
Kumbewaha	tot <u>o</u> lu	mo/kit <u>o</u>	no <u>o</u> no'o
Cia-Cia	tot <u>o</u> lu	mo/kit <u>o</u>	no <u>o</u> no'o
Wotu	ta <u>l</u> u/a <u>ŋ</u> o	ma/eta <u>a</u>	a <u>a</u> na
Laiyolo	ta <u>l</u> u	etta <u>a</u>	a <u>a</u> na
Kalao	ta <u>l</u> u	etta <u>a</u>	a <u>a</u> naŋ
Wolio	ta <u>l</u> u	ma/eta <u>a</u>	a <u>a</u> na
Kamaru	ta <u>l</u> u/a <u>ŋ</u> o	ma/eta <u>a</u>	a <u>a</u> na

Here it is clear that whilst Kumbewaha, Kaimbulawa, Muna and Cia-Cia regularly reflect *e as o, the other languages show a reflexes.

Table 6: Reflexes of PAN *j

	'name' *ŋajan	'sun' *qale jaw	'gall' *qapeju
Kaimbulawa	kona	holeo	—
Muna	nea	yoleo	yufe <u>i</u>
Kumbewah	nea	holeo	—
Cia-Cia	nea	holeo	hop <u>i</u>
Wotu	sana	mata/jyo	—
Laiyolo	sana	mata'ad <u>ž</u> o	—
Kalao	sana	matanaa <u>j</u> o	pidu
Wolio	saro	eo	—
Kamaru	saro	mata na/eu	ma/pai

All the languages show *j > *y, which has affected the quality of the preceding vowel before disappearing. *Sana* in Wotu, Laiyolo and Kalao probably reflects a borrowing from a South Sulawesi language (compare Mandar, Mamuju, Toraja *sana*, Bugis *asiŋ*). Kalao and Kamaru forms for 'gall' are irregular; *pidu* probably being the result of borrowing, and *mapai* likely to reflect *ma-paqit 'bitter'.

Table 7: Reflexes of PAN *q
(see also 'snake' under *R and 'rain' under *Z)

	'new' *baqRu	'leg' *qaqay	'white' *putiq	'ten' *puluq
Kaimbulawa	bo <u>h</u> ou	ha <u>h</u> e	mo/put <u>e</u>	ompul <u>u</u>
Muna	bu <u>y</u> ou	ya <u>y</u> e	put <u>e</u>	ompul <u>u</u>
Kumbewaha	βu <u>k</u> ou	ka <u>k</u> e	mo/put <u>e</u>	ompul <u>u</u>
Cia-Cia	βu <u>k</u> ou	ka <u>k</u> e	mo/put <u>e</u>	ompul <u>u</u>
Wotu	ku/ba	ad <u>z</u> e	ma/put <u>i</u>	sapul <u>u</u>
Laiyolo	bao	bi <u>ŋ</u> ki <u>ŋ</u>	put <u>i</u>	spul <u>u</u>
Kalao	be <u>ʔ</u> eru	bi <u>ŋ</u> ki <u>ŋ</u>	put <u>i</u>	sapul <u>u</u>
Wolio	ba <u>a</u> u	ae	ma/put <u>i</u>	sapul <u>u</u>
Kamaru	ba <u>a</u> u	ae	ma/put <u>i</u>	sapul <u>a</u> ŋu

PAN *q is preserved as *k/h* in Kumbewaha, Cia-Cia and Kaimbulawa, as *γ* in Muna, but dropped unconditionally in the other languages. Note the effect on a preceding *-i-* in *putiq. Kalao *beʔeru* 'new' is likely to be the result of the influence from a South Sulawesi language; compare with Makasar *beru*, Rongkong *baʔru*.

Table 8: Reflexes of PAN *R

	'blood' *DaRa <u>q</u>	'thorn' *Du <u>R</u> i	'snake' *qula <u>R</u>	'egg' *qatelu <u>R</u>	'wash' *Di <u>R</u> uq
Kaimbulawa	ʃ <u>e</u> a	ki/ʃ <u>i</u>	hul <u>e</u>	hintel <u>i</u>	<i>baho</i>
Muna	re <u>a</u>	ki/ri	yu <u>l</u> e	yuntel <u>i</u>	ka/diu
Kumbewaha	x <u>e</u> a	xui	kul <u>e</u>	cikolu	<u>h</u> aho
Cia-Cia	re <u>a</u>	ru <u>i</u>	sa <u>ʔ</u> a	cikolu	pi <u>h</u> aho
Wotu	ra <u>a</u>	ru <u>i</u>	ulo	<i>burau</i>	man/riyu
Laiyolo	ra <u>ʔ</u> a	ru <u>w</u> i	ulo	<i>girau</i>	pin/riyu
Kalao	ra <u>ʔ</u> a	ru <u>i</u>	ulo	<i>korau</i>	pan/diu
Wolio	ra <u>a</u>	ru <u>i</u>	ulo	ontolu	<u>h</u> aho
Kamaru	ra <u>a</u>	ru <u>i</u>	ulo	ntolu	<i>petambusi</i>

Note the non-phonemic glottal stop between like vowels in Laiyolo, Kalao *raʔa* 'blood'. PAN *R > *y in Kaimbulawa, Kumbewaha, Muna and Cia-Cia, which has affected the quality of the preceding vowel before disappearing. *R is lost without trace in the Woyu-Wolio languages. Note the divergent reflexes of **r (< *D) in Kaimbulawa and Kumbewaha.

Table 9: Reflexes of PAN *uy

	'fire' *Sapuy	'swim' *[l/n]aŋuy	'pig' *babuy
Kaimbulawa	ipi	leni	βeβi
Muna	ifi	leni	βeβi
Kumbewaha	api	leŋu	βeβi
Cia-Cia	api	pika/naŋu	βaβi

	'fire' *Sapuy	'swim' *[l/n]aŋuy	'pig' *babuy
Wotu	apu	mi/naŋo	—
Laiyolo	apu	pi/naŋo	—
Kalao	apu	pa/naŋo	bavu
Wolio	βaa	po/ŋano	baβu
Kamaru	apu	po/naŋu	baβu

Apart from Kumbewaha and Cia-Cia *leŋu* and *pikanaŋu*, which irregularly reflect the *uy of *[n/l]aŋuy as *u*, the different reflexes are clearly split into two groups.

Table 10: Reflexes of PAN *w

	'eight' *walu	'nine' *siwa	'right' *wanan
Kaimbulawa	oalu	si/siua	s/ua
Muna	oalu	siua	s/ua
Kumbewaha	oalu	so ^s sia	mo/ua
Cia-Cia	oalu	siua	s/ua
Wotu	walu	sasio	—
Laiyolo	falu	siyo	—
Kalao	valu	sio	kaana
Wolio	βalu	sio	—
Kamaru	alu	sioaŋu	ka/antamo

The *w is retained in all the languages, as a phonemic vowel in the Muna-Buton languages, and sporadically as a rounding of a following vowel or as a labial continuant amongst the Wotu-Wolio languages. See van den Berg (1991c:10–12) for a discussion of the problems associated with reflexes of *w in Muna and other Sulawesi languages.

Table 11: Reflexes of PAN *z/Z

	'chin' *qaZay	'path' *Zalan	'rain' *quZan
Kaimbulawa	ase	ṣala	hiṣe
Muna	yaṣe	ṣala [†]	yuṣe
Kumbewaha	ase	ṣala	kia
Cia-Cia	hae	lala	kia
Wotu	—	ḍala	uḍa
Laiyolo	—	ḍala	uḍa
Kalao	aḍe	ḍala	uḍa
Wolio	aḍe	ḷala	βao
Kamaru	aḍe	ḷala	monda

[†] *sala* is the South Muna form; North (standard) Muna has *kaŋkaha* for 'road'.

PAn *Z > d is clear in the Wotu-Wolio languages, whilst Kaimbulawa, Kumbewaha, Muna and Cia-Cia all show *Z > s. The loss of s in Kumbewaha *kia* 'rain' is unexplained. Kamaru *monda* is probably a borrowing from *Tukang Besi monda* 'rain'.

The sound changes relevant to the subgrouping of the Muna-Buton and Wotu-Wolio languages exemplified in the data sets above are summarised in Table 12.

Table 12: Muna-Buton vs Wotu-Woliu sound changes

*PAn	*b	*e	*j	*q	*-iq#	*R	*uy	*w	*Z
Kaimbulawa	β	o	*y	h	e	*y	i	o,u	s
Muna	β	o	*y	ɣ	e	*y	i	o,u	s
Kumbewaha	β	o	*y	k	e	*y	i	o,u	s
Cia-Cia	β	o	*y	k, h	e	*y	i	o,u	s
Wotu	b	a	*y	∅	i	∅	o, u	__o, w†	d
Laiyolo	b	a	dʒ	∅	i	∅	o, u	__o, f	d
Kalao	b	a	j	∅	i	∅	o, u	__∅, o, v	d
Wolio	b	a	*y	∅	i	∅	o, u	__o, β	d
Kamaru	b	a	*y	∅	i	∅	u	__∅, o	d

† A PMP *w is not always directly reflected in Wotu, Laiyolo, Kalao, Wolio or Kamaru, but is apparent in the rounding of the following vowel, such as Wolio *sio* 'nine', where the *o* reflects the rounding of the original *a under the influence of the w.

7 The Wotu-Woliu languages

There are two languages on Buton that do not conform to the expected patterns of sound changes in that area, Wolio (the language of the Sultanate capital in Baubau) and Kamaru, a small language in eastern Buton. When these languages are compared with Laiyolo/Kalao and Wotu from South Sulawesi, their relationship with the other Muna-Buton languages can be seen to be significantly less close than with the languages exained from South Sulawesi.

The emergence of two different subgroups in the remaining languages of Muna and Buton is obvious, with Kaimbulawa, Muna, Kumbewaha and Cia-Cia forming one group, and the Wotu, Laiyolo, Kalao, Wolio and Kamaru languages forming the second. Convincing sound changes outlining these two groups are the treatment of PAn *b, *e, *-iq#, *R, *uy, and *z/Z. The effect of a final *q on a preceding vowel is interesting, in the light of Sirk's (1989:57) comment that 'The lowering of high vowels before final -q unites the SSul [South Sulawesi] languages' (as against Kaili-Pamona, Wolio, Laiyolo and Wotu). The data presented here have validated this statement with respect to the languages under question, and shown that in the Muna-Buton languages, while a *u* is unaffected by a final *-q, the sequence *-iq lowers to -e, different to the pattern found in the Wotu-Wolio languages, in which both high vowels are unaffected by a following *q. The proposed subgrouping for these languages is as shown in Figure 4.

Not all the languages in Figure 4 have been discussed in this paper, nor all the evidence used to subgroup them, such as the presence of verb classes in the languages of the Munan subgroup, or the innovations found in different groups in terms of pronominal indexing on the verb; these remain as topics for a later, more detailed discussion of the Muna-Buton languages.

The data show that the Wolio language does not belong to a sensible low-level subgrouping that includes these other languages of Muna and Buton, apart from its relationship with Kamaru. These two languages are at the end of a very spread-out language family ranging from Wotu at the northern end of the Gulf of Bone, down to Kalao island in the Sea of Flores, and up to Buton. This family of languages cannot be closely linked with the other (presumed original) languages of Muna and Buton. In support of the claim that Wolio and Kamaru are not indigenous to the area, Bhurhanuddin reports that the Wolio tradition is that they are immigrants to the area;¹⁰ the name of the sultanate capital city, Baubau (< Wolio *baau-baau* < *baau* 'new'), also supports this claim.¹¹

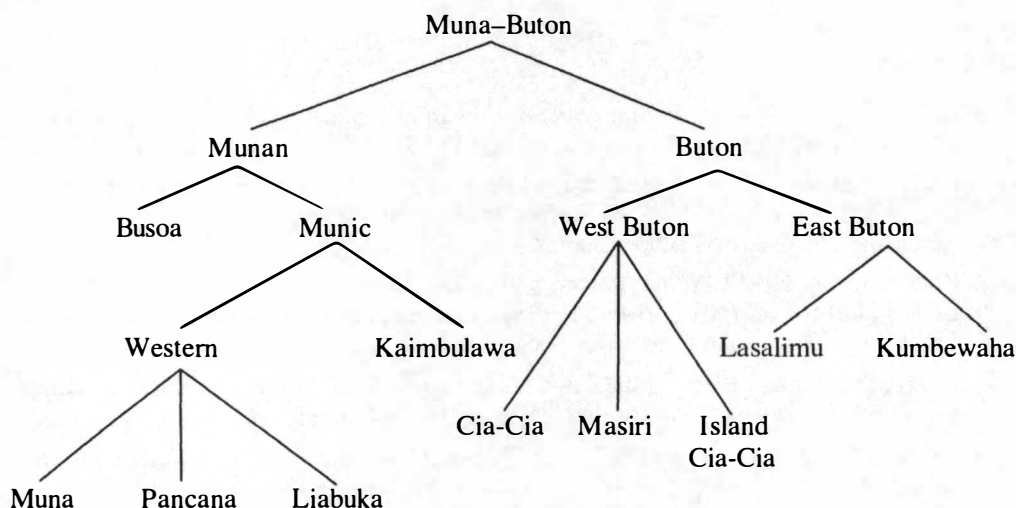


Figure 4: Proposed subgrouping

On the other hand, the evidence linking Wotu to Wolio is compelling. Friberg and Laskowske (1989:14) report that Kalao is said to be the original language of its area, writing '... in deference to folk history which makes Kalao original, followed by Barang-barang and Laiyolo, in turn followed by Wotu', and Wolio people in Ujung Pandang have reported to me the belief that the ancestors of the Wolio people came from the western side of the Gulf of Bone, affirming the belief that they are not indigenous to Southeast Sulawesi. The speakers of the Kamaru language in eastern Buton acknowledge that their origin is in the Wolio area, making them a later movement from the Wolio area to the east of the island. Despite the evidence that these languages do subgroup together, we cannot at this stage propose subgrouping within the family.

¹⁰ Bhurhanuddin (1979:48): 'Tradisi Wolio menang mengungkapan bahwa nenek moyang mereka adalah pendatang di Buton'.

¹¹ Mike Southon (pers. comm.) reports that members of the palace nobility in Baubau are proud that they are immigrants to the area, in contradiction to the popular sentiment.

8 Conclusions

While the unity of the Wotu-Wolio group has been demonstrated, reducing the size of the old Muna–Buton group, the extent of the languages in the new Muna–Buton group remains to be determined, though the evidence points to there being two subgroups (see fn.8). Subgrouping within the Wotu-Wolio group, and the question of the affiliations of this group in the larger Sulawesi linguistic picture, remain to be addressed. A genetic relationship between all the languages discussed here at a higher level is likely in view of the sound changes that they do share, such as the loss of final consonants, and the development of PAN *D > **r,¹² and the treatment of *w and *j, but a detailed examination of this hypothesis is outside the scope of this paper.

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¹² With certain exceptions, such as Muna *ka/diu* < *DiRuq 'wash'. The majority of cases, however, do illustrate a *D > r correspondence.

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