Oceanic Linguistics was created at the request of the Panel on Research Needs in Pacific Languages of the Tenth Pacific Science Congress. Its object is to provide competent information and better communication across national boundaries on current research bearing on the languages of the Oceanic area.

"Oceanic" languages for the purposes of the periodical are defined as including Malayo-Polynesian (Austronesian), Papuan, and Australian languages.

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Contents

1 Austronesian Etymologies—III
   Robert Blust

124 Possession in Mangap-Mbula:
   Its Syntax and Semantics
   Robert D. Bugenhagen

167 Linear and Metrical Analyses of
   Manam Stress
   Carole E. Chaski

210 The Phonology of Selayarese
   Marianne Mithun and Hasan Basri

255 Index to Volume XXV
THE PHONOLOGY OF SELAYARESE

0. INTRODUCTION. Selayarese is an Austronesian language spoken on the island of Selayar, South Sulawesi Province, Indonesia. It has perhaps 100,000 speakers. The language is one of a group known collectively as Macassarese. Also in this group are Turatea, Bantaeng, Konjo, and Lakiung. They are closely related, but their speakers refer to them as separate languages: Bahasa Selayar, Bahasa Turatea (also called Bahasa Jeknekponto), Bahasa Bantaeng, Bahasa Konjo, and Bahasa Makassar (also called Lakiung or Standard Macassarese). Speakers of the different languages meeting for the first time might just barely understand each other, but not at all well. Imran (1984:2) estimates that Selayarese and Lakiung differ phonologically, morphologically, and lexically by about 20 percent. In any case, it is clear that each should be studied in its own right, because they differ in all areas of structure in interesting ways.

We know of no previous description of Selayarese. Lakiung has been documented in several works, in particular Kern 1940, Matthes 1858, Palengkahu et al. 1971, Ngewa 1972, Manyambeang et al 1978, Omar 1979, Syarif et al. 1980, Mursalin et al. 1981, and Imran 1984. Although the phonology of Selayarese is relatively straightforward, several aspects of it are of special interest, in particular, a distinctive set of prenasalized voiced stops and a process of nondistinctive lowering harmony involving mid vowels.

In the first section below, the consonants are listed and described, and in the second, the vowels. In the third section, automatic phonological processes are presented, including stress assignment, epenthesis, initial pretonic vowel deletion, and the assimilation of glottal stops and nasals to following consonants. Finally, in the fourth section, several nonautomatic alternations are discussed that should be pertinent to the reconstruction of Proto-Austronesian phonology and morphology.

1. THE CONSONANTS. Selayarese has eight plain stops, four prenasalized stops, four nasals, two fricatives, and two liquids. There are no affricates or glides.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental/Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plain Stops</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prenasalized Stops</td>
<td>m_b</td>
<td>n_d</td>
<td>n_j</td>
<td>b_g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquids</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Single consonants are distinct from geminates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[sā:po]</td>
<td>'house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sā:p'o]</td>
<td>'missing front teeth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bā:tu]</td>
<td>'rock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bā:k'tu]</td>
<td>'come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[jū:kaq]</td>
<td>'workman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[jū:k'kaq]</td>
<td>'walking stick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kā:si]</td>
<td>'white cloth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kā:s'i]</td>
<td>'sour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pā:la]</td>
<td>'mango'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pā:la]</td>
<td>'nutmeg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pē:kaq]</td>
<td>'hook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pē:so]</td>
<td>'knife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pē:ke]</td>
<td>'spear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pū:la]</td>
<td>'island'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pū:e]</td>
<td>'grandfather'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is unreleased before another /p/.

/b/ is a lax, slightly prevoiced, bilabial stop. It occurs alone or preceded by glottal stop or /m/, both initially and medially. Initially, it tends to be mildly implosive.

Like the other voiced stops, it normally does not occur geminated. A few words do contain geminate /b/, however.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geminant</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[sā:pa]</td>
<td>'cow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sā:p'o]</td>
<td>'house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[lām:pa]</td>
<td>'go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sō:m:po]</td>
<td>'carry over shoulder'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sā:pi]</td>
<td>'ten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pē:kaq]</td>
<td>'hook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tō:pa]</td>
<td>'find'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[lārā:ba]</td>
<td>'he hit me'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[mū:ba]</td>
<td>'you do it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tīm:bo]</td>
<td>'grow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tō:bā:ka]</td>
<td>'be surprised'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sā:ba]</td>
<td>'reason'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tō:ba]</td>
<td>'stab'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[mū:ba]</td>
<td>'you do it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tīm:bo]</td>
<td>'grow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[tō:bā:ka]</td>
<td>'be surprised'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sā:ba]</td>
<td>'kind of drink made of palm sugar, ginger, coconut milk, and water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[sā:b'bara]</td>
<td>'to be patient'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bā:b'bara]</td>
<td>'to be extremely stupid'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(This last word may be a sound-symbolic adaptation of pappala 'blunt'.)
/t/ is a tense, voiceless, apico-dental stop. It occurs alone, geminated, or preceded by /n/, both initially and medially.

[iˈlul] 'three' [ʔaːts] 'roof'
[iˈaːu] 'person' [biːɡ:ɡəq] 'hold'
[iˈdədɔq] 'buffalo' [ʔaːnəq] 'stand'
[iˈznəro] 'sleep' [kaːɡ:ɡiŋ] 'thorn'
[iˈoːbo] 'stab' [ɡə,ɡəːnə] 'his/her parents'
[iˈɛnːu] 'burn' [ɡuːtəu] 'slip, fall'
[iˈɛnːal] 'cross' (intr) [bʊːɡa] 'blind'

It is unreleased before another /t/.

[iˈtʃu:nǐ] '(s)he burned' [ʔaːtʃi] 'drop (of liquid)'

On occasion, it is slightly aspirated before high vowels.

[iˈbíaːnːaɡ] 'pregnant' [iˈbʊju] 'seven'

/d/ is a lax, slightly prevoiced, apico-alveolar stop. It occurs alone or preceded by glottal stop or /n/, both initially and medially. Initially, it is mildly implosive.

[daːɾeʔ] 'monkey' [ʔaːdąppeʔ] 'fall' (intr)
[dəːpaʔ] 'flat' [giːdeʔ] 'there is not'
[diiːdiʔ] 'yellow' [sʊʔdiʔ] 'a little'
[dəːdɔŋ] 'sick' [dʊːdəq] 'cut'
[dʊːlaq] 'brass tray' [pʊndəq] 'monkey'
[ʔədęŋka] 'pound with mortar' [ʔonːdaq] 'invite'
[ndəːta] 'pursue' (intr) [ʔandęŋka] 'throw'

/j/ is a lax, voiced, palatal stop. It occurs alone or preceded by glottal stop or /n/, initially and medially. It is somewhat implosive initially.

[jiˈlaː] 'net' [ɣaːjaq] 'wait for'
[jeːʔeʔ] 'water' [sɪjəpjaq] 'see each other'
[jiːmaʔ] 'medicine' [ʔaːjɪ] 'to read'
[joːjoʔ] 'point' [kʊjo] 'catch (as fish)'
[jɪːː] 'only' [bəːju] 'shirt'
[jiˈaːtʃi] 'become' (intr) [pəʔja] 'salty'
[jiˈoːjoʔ] 'vote' (intr) [pənja] 'long fishing net'

/j/ contrasts with /d/, but interestingly, minimal pairs are relatively rare.

[bəːjaʔ] 'steel', 'plow' [ʔaːdəjoʔ] 'be elected'
[bəːdaʔ] 'rhinoceros' [ʔaːdədəʔ] 'sleepy'

('Steel', 'plow', and 'rhinoceros' were probably borrowed from Indonesian bajə 'steel', bajak 'plow', and badak 'rhinoceros', respectively.)

There is no voiceless counterpart to /j/ in Selayarese itself, although some Selayarese speakers who know Indonesian or Standard Macassarese sometimes incorporate loanwords containing a [c] into their speech. The Selayarese equivalents of these words contain /s/ corresponding to the [c].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selayarese</th>
<th>Indonesian</th>
<th>Laktung</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[səq:kiɾi]</td>
<td>caqkir</td>
<td>caqkir? 'cup'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ləːsi]</td>
<td>laci</td>
<td>laci 'drawer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[pəːsi]</td>
<td>poci</td>
<td>poci 'teapot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[əsəɾəmmeq]</td>
<td>acarameq</td>
<td>'to mirror'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Evidence of the earlier existence of a voiceless palatal in the language comes from alternations in the form of an intransitive prefix (a)\textsubscript{n}-, described in Section 4.2.

/k/ is a tense, voiceless, velar stop. Initially, it occurs alone or geminated. Medially, it occurs alone, geminated, or following /g/.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{[k\textsubscript{a}:ruq]} 'sack'
  \item \texttt{[k\textsubscript{a}:le\textsubscript{y}]} 'body'
  \item \texttt{[k\textsubscript{\textdagger}n:do\textsubscript{y}]} 'species of bird'
  \item \texttt{[kus\textsubscript{\textdagger}rei]} 'I gave him'
  \item \texttt{[k\textsubscript{\textdagger}ra]} 'small turtle'
\end{itemize}

It is fronted before front vowels. Compare the following words.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{[k\textsubscript{\textdagger}ki}\textsubscript{\textdagger}r\textsubscript{\textdagger}]} 'to dig'
  \item \texttt{[k\textsubscript{\textdagger}o:ko\textsubscript{\textdagger}]} 'to garden'
  \item \texttt{[k\textsubscript{\textdagger}k\textsubscript{\textdagger}iri]} 'metal file (tool)'
  \item \texttt{[k\textsubscript{\textdagger}k\textsubscript{\textdagger}k\textsubscript{\textdagger}ru\textsubscript{\textdagger}]} 'cut off all hair'
\end{itemize}

It is sometimes slightly aspirated before high vowels.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{[k\textsubscript{\textdagger}di\textsubscript{\textdagger}]} 'small'
  \item \texttt{[k\textsubscript{\textdagger}u:ko\textsubscript{\textdagger}]} 'angry'
\end{itemize}

It is unreleased before another /k/.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{[k\textsubscript{\textdagger}k\textsubscript{\textdagger}:ke\textsubscript{\textdagger}]} 'you (hon) dig'
  \item \texttt{[bak\textsubscript{\textdagger}kar\textsubscript{\textdagger}k\textsubscript{\textdagger}ku]} 'my bakkara (fruit)'
\end{itemize}

/g/ is a voiced velar stop. It appears alone or preceded by glottal stop initially, and alone, geminated, or preceded by glottal stop or /g/, medially.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{[g\textsubscript{\textdagger}ja]} 'elephant'
  \item \texttt{[g\textsubscript{\textdagger}qa\textsubscript{\textdagger}]} 'vegetable'
  \item \texttt{[g\textsubscript{\textdagger}lla]} 'sugar'
  \item \texttt{[g\textsubscript{\textdagger}t\textsubscript{\textdagger}q]} 'scissors'
  \item \texttt{[g\textsubscript{\textdagger}u\textsubscript{\textdagger}a]} 'large, earthen water jug with small mouth;
  \item \texttt{[g\textsubscript{\textdagger}ku\textsubscript{\textdagger}]} 'body'
  \item \texttt{[g\textsubscript{\textdagger}na\textsubscript{\textdagger}]} 'species of bird'
  \item \texttt{[g\textsubscript{\textdagger}k\textsubscript{\textdagger}ri]} 'I gave him'
  \item \texttt{[g\textsubscript{\textdagger}u\textsubscript{\textdagger}a]} 'small turtle'
\end{itemize}

Like \(/k/\), it is fronted before front vowels.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{[g\textsubscript{\textdagger}qi]} 'tooth'
  \item \texttt{[g\textsubscript{\textdagger}ge\textsubscript{\textdagger}]} 'to laugh'
  \item \texttt{[g\textsubscript{\textdagger}o\textsubscript{\textdagger}]} 'sway, shake'
\end{itemize}

Like the other voiced stops, it generally does not appear geminated, although the word below, perhaps onomatopoietic, does contain a clear geminate /g/.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{[h\textsubscript{\textdagger}g\textsubscript{\textdagger}a]} 'a kind of insect' (a very small insect that lives in a small hole it makes in dry ground)
\end{itemize}

/\textsubscript{\textdagger}/ appears initially, intervocally, before voiced consonants, and finally. Its presence can be contrastive in all of these positions.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \texttt{[l\textsubscript{\textdagger}m:pa]} 'go' (root)
  \item \texttt{[?l\textsubscript{\textdagger}m:pa]} 'go' (intr stem)
  \item \texttt{[s\textsubscript{\textdagger}la]} 'saddle'
  \item \texttt{[s\textsubscript{\textdagger}la]} 'salt'
  \item \texttt{[?\textsubscript{\textdagger}a\textsubscript{\textdagger}]} 'slave'
  \item \texttt{[?\textsubscript{\textdagger}a\textsubscript{\textdagger}]} 'roof'
\end{itemize}
It contrasts with /h/.

The glottal stop also contrasts with the other voiceless stops.

For further discussion of alternations involving /?/, see sections 3.3, 3.4, and 4.1.

1.2 Prenasalized stops. Most varieties of Selayarese contain an additional set of distinctive prenasalized voiced stops, that appear only inter-vocally. They contrast with the plain voiced stops, as below.

These also contrast with a sequence of nasal plus homorganic voiced stop.
1.3 Nasals. Selayarese has four distinctive voiced nasal consonants: bilabial, dental/alveolar, palatal, and velar.

All of the nasals are slightly lengthened at the end of stressed syllables.

Compare:

- [sá:m:baq] 'trip, catch the foot'
- [lúm:pa?] 'jump'
- [pín:tu] 'that (close to you)'
- [bén:teq] 'pole'
- [tín:ro:] 'sleep'
- [pí:jo:] 'that'
- [láo:kasa] 'tall'
- [lám:n6] 'to lift'

/m/ is a bilabial nasal. It appears alone, before other bilabials, geminated, or following glottal stop, both initially and medially.

- [mái:mm6] 'it is finished'
- [mé:nā] 'urine'
- [míp:3ara] 'tomorrow'
- [mó:n6?] 'stop'
- [múp:llui] 'you cooked it'
- [múísse?] 'you know him'
- [mnái:ri] 'stop' (intr)

/n/ is a dental/alveolar nasal. It appears alone, before other apicals, geminated, or following glottal stop, both initially and medially. Its point of articulation depends upon context. Before vowels, /d/, /n/, and /s/, it is alveolar.

- [ná:ǔg] 'down'
- [ná:ba] 'correct'
- [ník:ka] 'marry' (intr)
- [nó:bo?] 'stab' (intr)
- [nó:ba] 'sand'
- [o6bo?la] 'knife'
- [nsó:lu?] 'get out' (intr)
- [nsó:n6] 'thread'
- [nsó:lu?] 'get out' (intr)
- [nsó:n6] 'thread'

Before /t/, which is dental, it is also dental.

- [bílg:n6] 'hold'
- [bó:n:ru] 'broad, groom'

Before /t/, it is lamino-alveolar.

- [urí:o] 'hold'
- [mrá:] 'bind coconuts together with their outer skin' (intr)

/mbá:n6] 'stretch'
/[ka?m6:ru] 'nose'
/[má:ru] 'share a husband'
/[mái:e?] 'breathe'
/n/ is a lamino-palatal nasal. It occurs alone, before /h/, or following glottal stop initially, and alone, before /j/, geminated, or following glottal stop medially.

/s/ is a velar nasal. Initially, it occurs alone, before /g/ or /h/, or after glottal stop. Medially, it occurs alone, before other velars or /h/, geminated, or after glottal stop. It also appears finally after vowels.

/h/ is a laryngeal fricative. It appears alone, geminated, or preceded by /ŋ/, both initially and medially.

1.4 Fricatives. There are two voiceless fricatives in Selayarese, /s/ and /ŋ/. /s/ is an alveolar groove fricative. It appears alone, geminated, or preceded by /n/, both initially and medially.

Imran (1984:43-45) notes that h appears only in loan-words in Lakiung (Standard Macassarese). This is not the case in Selayarese, where it appears frequently in indigenous words. Selayarese h often corresponds to Lakiung bilabials, b initially and v medially.
Alternations in the form of the intransitive prefix an- indicate that many instances of modern /h/ are in fact descended from earlier bilabials. (For further discussion of these alternations, see Section 4.2.) All bilabials did not simply shift to /h/ in Selayarese, however. Compare the initial consonants of the forms below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selayarese</th>
<th>Lakiung</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[baːba]</td>
<td>bawa</td>
<td>'mouth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[baːhi]</td>
<td>bawi</td>
<td>'pig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[baːjaŋ]</td>
<td>bayaŋ</td>
<td>'a kind of wood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[bɔːjo?]</td>
<td>boyok</td>
<td>'watermelon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[boːja]</td>
<td>boya</td>
<td>'look for'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.5 Liquids. There are two voiced liquids in Selayarese, /l/ and /r/.

| [laːɭa] | 'ginger' |
| [leːsaŋ] | 'move'   |
| [liːmä]  | 'five'   |
| [loːka]  | 'banana' |
| [liːtara] | 'wide'    |
| [laːri]  | 'run' (intr) |
| [ʔlæ:ɡa] | 'fight' (intr) |

/r/ is an alveolar approximant. It occurs alone or preceded by glottal stop or /n/, both initially and medially. It also occurs geminated medially.

| [ræːɡa]   | 'ball of rattan' |
| [reːeq]   | 'brake'         |
| [ɾi]      | 'to, at, etc.'  |
| [ɾoːlaŋ]  | 'first'         |
| [ɾuːa]    | 'two'           |
| [ʔɾæːɡa]  | 'play rattan ball' |
| [niːoŋ]   | 'bathe' (intr)  |

2. VOWELS. There are five distinct vowels in Selayarese: /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, and /u/. All of the vowels appear in initial, medial, and final position in the word. (As noted in Section 3.3, utterance-initial vowels are automatically preceded by glottal stop.) Nasalization is assimilated progressively from a nasal consonant to all following adjacent vowels within the same intonation unit.

| [nɔːɭ]   | '(s)he is greedy' |
| [tamːaː++] | 'it/he/she/they urinated on me' |
2.1 High vowels. There are two high vowels, /i/ and /u/.

/i/ is a high, tense, unrounded front vowel.

- [nōːs] 'Mr. Baso is greedy.'
- [ləməːən?i ə:su] 'A dog urinated on him'

As can be seen in the sentence below, the nasalization is not assimilated across intonation breaks.

- [sā:ssə? ləməːən?i ə: su ləatai?i?] 'A lizard urinated on him, and a dog defecated on him.'

Nasalization is not assimilated regressively.

- [se?ləlaːm:pai] 'add more salt to it'

All vowels are automatically lengthened in open, stressed syllables. (See Section 3.1 for a discussion of stress.)

Vowel Lengthening

\[
V \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \ Quad
2.3 Mid vowels. The mid vowels /e/ and /o/ exhibit interesting alternations. They are basically tense. (Phonetically tense vowels are transcribed here without a special diacritic.)

They show the same alternations as other vowels. Like other vowels, the mid vowels are long in open, stressed syllables.

Long tense mid vowels often have a trace of an offglide.

In addition to these alternations, the mid vowels are subject to an interesting type of assimilation. It operates as follows.

Mid vowels anywhere in a word are lowered before an immediately following /a/.

(Mid vowels are unaffected by an immediately preceding high vowel: [ɾíː:oː] 'bathe'.)

Posttonic mid vowels before a syllable containing /a/ are also lowered. Compare the posttonic vowels of the verbs below.

**Lowered Mid Vowels**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[q̃ː:rə]</td>
<td>'we (excl) eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[q̃ː:rə:kaŋ]</td>
<td>'we (excl) sleep'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Unaffected Mid Vowels**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[q̃ː:rə]</td>
<td>'we (incl) eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[q̃ː:rə]</td>
<td>'(s)he eats'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Formalization of this process presents an interesting problem. Many models of phonology would automatically classify the lowered mid vowels as lax. A laxing process initiated by the low vowel does not seem highly motivated, however, unless the low vowel is also lax. Yet the classification of /a/ as inherently lax is neither conventional nor phonetically motivated in this language. The process is clearly more an assimilation of lowness.

If the assimilation of mid vowels is to be described in terms of lowness instead of laxness, however, the two features [high, low] are not
sufficient to differentiate the occurring vowels; there is no way to distinguish the lowered mid vowels from the low vowel. A feature [+mid] solves this problem neatly, and assigns a positive feature to an important natural class in the language.

Adjacent Lowering Assimilation

\[
V \rightarrow [\text{+mid}] \rightarrow [\text{+low}] / \_ \_ [\text{+low}]
\]

Posttonic Lowering

\[
V \rightarrow [\text{+mid}] \rightarrow [\text{+low}] / [\text{+stress}] X \_ [\text{+low}]
\]

Mid vowels are lowered in a third context. Word-final mid vowels, which are unstressed, are lowered just as they are before the low vowel.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[gán:re\_]} & \quad \text{'eat' (intr)} & \quad \text{[tún:ro\_]} & \quad \text{'sleep'} \\
\text{[?á:le\_]} & \quad \text{'take'} & \quad \text{[bál:lo\_]} & \quad \text{'beautiful'} \\
\text{[mái:te\_]} & \quad \text{'die'} & \quad \text{[ná:i:po\_]} & \quad \text{'house'} \\
\text{[sá:re\_]} & \quad \text{'give'} & \quad \text{[pí:so\_]} & \quad \text{'knife'} \\
\text{[sú:g:ke\_]} & \quad \text{'open'} & \quad \text{[bá:ho\_]} & \quad \text{'over'} \\
\text{[kán:re\_]} & \quad \text{'food'} & \quad \text{[pá:lo\_]} & \quad \text{'mango'}
\end{align*}
\]

Compare the final vowels above to the last (but nonfinal) vowels in the words below.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[pú:o\_]} & \quad \text{'grandfather'} & \quad \text{[só:g:ko\_]} & \quad \text{'hat, cap'} \\
\text{[ré:te?]} & \quad \text{'brake'} & \quad \text{[tó:lo\_]} & \quad \text{'sit'}
\end{align*}
\]

Formalizing this rule presents no problem.

Final Lowering

\[
V
[\text{+mid}] \rightarrow [\text{+low}] / \_ \_ [\text{+low}]
\]

Mid vowels are thus lowered before /a/, posttonically before a syllable containing /a/, and wordfinally. This lowering has a profound effect on the entire shapes of words. Once a mid vowel has been lowered, the lowness is assimilated regressively to any other mid vowels in the word. In the words below, either all of the mid vowels are lowered, or none of them are.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[ká:ke\_]} & \quad \text{''dig''} & \quad \text{[gá:lo\_]} & \quad \text{''ball''} \\
\text{[ké:kíe\_]} & \quad \text{''to tear''} & \quad \text{[gó:lo\_]} & \quad \text{''dagger''} \\
\text{[sé?re\_]} & \quad \text{''one''} & \quad \text{[pó:to:lo\_]} & \quad \text{''pencil''} \\
\text{[sé?la\_]} & \quad \text{''salt''} & \quad \text{[pótóló:k'ku\_]} & \quad \text{''my pencil''} \\
\text{[pó:ká:ja\_]} & \quad \text{''stab it for him''} & \quad \text{[pó:i:te\_]} & \quad \text{''again''}
\end{align*}
\]

The lowering harmony can be formalized as below.

Lowering Harmony

\[
V
[\text{+mid}] \rightarrow [\text{+low}] / \_ X \_ \_ [\text{+mid}] \_ \_ [\text{+low}]
\]

All mid vowels in a word are subject to the harmony, whether they are the same or not. In each pair below, the first word contains the necessary conditions to trigger lowering, while the second
An interesting effect is produced by the third person absolutive clitic -i, which is frequently deleted in normal speech under specific conditions of recoverability. The lowering process is sensitive to its influence even when it is deleted. Thus a mid vowel may appear superficially in word-final position due to the late deletion of the -i, but it is not lowered.

The word below has the same surface ending as that above, but since it never contained an absolutive, the (oral) mid vowels are lowered.

Nasalized mid vowels remain phonetically relatively high, even in a lowering environment, but they do not interrupt the harmony.

Unlike other processes of assimilation, the lowering harmony does not operate throughout intonation units. It is restricted to the domain of the root plus associated affixes and clitics. The effect of clitics can be seen by comparing the forms of the verb porous 'skillful' with different absolutive clitics.

The fact that lowering does not harmonize across major word boundaries can be seen in the sentences below.

The lowering also does not cross constituent boundaries of compounds. If the words areinaq, aremata, and tinrobahi were monomorphemic, they would contain no lowered vowels, since they contain no posttonic
mid vowels to initiate the lowering. Since they are compounds, however, each constituent is lowered as a separate unit.

[?e:re?i:nûg] 'drinkable water'  [?e:re] 'water'
[?e:re?i:nûg] 'drink'
[?e:re?mâ:tâ] 'tears'
[mâ:tâ] 'eye'
[?i:nûg] 'one who snores'
[?i:nûrâ] 'sleep'
[bâ:hî] 'pig'

Several types of morphemes behave like the constituents of compounds in this respect. The demonstrative/definite article (i)jîj 'the' is one. Like other constituents of compounds, it combines with the final word of a noun phrase to yield a word with a single primary stress. Its presence has no effect on the height of mid vowels in the roots with which it is associated. The other demonstratives, however, do affect height.

Lowered Mid Vowels

[rô:re] 'edible leaves'
[?ô:ka] 'banana'
[ro:re] 'the edible leaves'
[lokâp:jô] 'the banana'

Unaffected Mid Vowels

[ro:nî] 'these edible leaves'
[lokâ:nî] 'this banana'

The human relative clitic to-, 'the one who', and the homophonous ergative marker to- 'we (exclusive)' also act like separate units with respect to lowering. Their vowels are always lowered, as if they were word-final, no matter what they are combined with.

3. AUTOMATIC PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES. The basic syllable structure of Selayarese is (C)V(C). Each vowel always functions as a separate syllable; there are no diphthongs. Speakers naturally syllabify according to this pattern when asked to pronounce words very slowly.

ti:nîro 'sleep'
?al-laq-ce-re-a
pap-pal-uaq 'place for cooking'

nalanganrema?a 'when I will start to eat' na-la-gan-re-ma?-a

They also syllabify according to this pattern across word boundaries.

lama:eko nrim 'you (familiar) will bathe' la-ma-ce-kon-rî-o

Due to several simple but pervasive processes of epenthesis, loss, and assimilation, the actual shapes of syllables often depart considerably from their canonical base forms.

3.1 Stress and vowel epenthesis. Stress in Selayarese is basically penultimate. As noted above, each vowel counts as a separate syllable.

âlîlo 'day'
pâo 'mango'
alô:ni 'this day'
pâoku 'my mango'
ji:ma 'work'
ri lassipapjama?ânba 'when we were about to work for each other'
Several circumstances yield antepenultimate or even preantepenultimate stress, however.

Suffixes are counted in the determination of stress, but clitics are not. Compare the position of stress in the verbs with various absolutive clitics, below on the left, and in the nouns with possessive suffixes, on the right.

### Verbs

- **á?góló** 'play soccer'
- **góló** 'ball'
- **gólóa** 'I play soccer'
- **gólóko** 'you (familiar) ...'
- **gólóki** 'you (hon)/we (incl) ...'
- **gólókaq** 'we (excl) ...'
- **gólóloí** '(s)he/they ...'

An aspect marker -mo/-ma is also not counted in the determination of stress.

- **totóa** 'one who is old'
- **tctóamo** 'one who has become old'

The combination of the aspect and absolutive clitics yields surface preantepenultimate stress.

- **nalaqónremakaq** 'when we start eating'
- **lalaqaráammoko** 'he will have given it to you'

Surface antepenultimate stress can also be due to a third circumstance. Many monomorphemic words have antepenultimate stress.

### Nouns

- **kátala** 'itch'
- **sámbala** 'vegetable dish'
- **kasisslí** 'mosquito'
- **maqákassara** 'Macassar'
- **míntrara** 'tomorrow'
- **lámberere** 'long'
- **bérasa** 'rice'
- **rámmasa** 'dirty'
- **nó?noso** 'shake liquid'

This pattern is common, and, as can be seen from the sample above, such words do not fit into a single semantic or grammatical category. There are common nouns ('metal file'), proper nouns ('Macassar'), stative verbs ('long'), intransitive active verbs ('go straight'), transitive verbs ('hit'), and adverbs ('tomorrow'). A few might be considered onomatopoeic ('mosquito'), but the majority clearly are not. Some are loanwords ('bottle'), but others are indigenous ('vegetable dish').

They do share a common phonological structure, however. They may end in any vowel, but in each word, both posttonic vowels are the same. The consonant separating the identical vowels is always l, r, or s, consonants that never appear finally in an intonation unit. The borrowed word bótolo provides a clue to their base forms. If bótolo, lámber, párísis, and so forth are considered basic, and penultimate stress is assigned to these forms by regular rule, the stress falls on the correct syllable.
A predictable epenthetic echo vowel, suffixed after stress assignment, yields the occurring, utterable form.

Vowel Epenthesis

\[
\emptyset \rightarrow V_1 / V_1 \left\{ \begin{array}{c} 1 \\ r \\ s \end{array} \right\} 
\]

(Of course not all words ending in two identical vowels separated by \( \bar{\imath}, \bar{r}, \) or \( \bar{s} \) contain epenthetic vowels, as shown by words like \( \text{ka} \text{mùru} \) 'nose'.)

The special status of the epenthetic vowels is further substantiated by their absence before vowel-initial suffixes, like the locative nominalizer -\( \bar{\alpha} \bar{g} \).

\begin{align*}
\text{a?bótoro} & \quad \text{gamble'} & \text{Compare:} & \quad \text{tíno} & \quad \text{sleep'} \\
\text{pa?botóraq} & \quad \text{casino'} & \quad \text{patinróaq} & \quad \text{bed, bedroom'}
\end{align*}

The epenthetic vowels do not appear before the comparative suffix -\( \bar{a} \bar{g} \) either.

\begin{align*}
\text{lámbera} & \quad \text{long'} & \text{Compare:} & \quad \text{lóhe} & \quad \text{many'} \\
\text{lambéraq} & \quad \text{longer'} & \quad \text{lohéa̱q} & \quad \text{more'} \\
\text{lúara} & \quad \text{wide'} & \text{Compare:} & \quad \text{pá?ja} & \quad \text{salty'} \\
\text{luáraq} & \quad \text{wider'} & \quad \text{pa?já̱a̱q} & \quad \text{saltier'}
\end{align*}

Nor do they appear before the transitivizing suffix -\( \bar{i} \).

\begin{align*}
\text{hállassa} & \quad \text{suffer'} & \text{Compare:} & \quad \text{ruppa} & \quad \text{face, meet' (intr)} \\
\text{hallási} & \quad \text{make suffer'} & \quad \text{ruppai} & \quad \text{confront'}
\end{align*}

The epenthetic vowels do occur before clitics as well as word-finally. Note the /\( o / before each person clitic in the verbs below.

\begin{align*}
a?bótoroa & \quad \text{'I gamble'} \\
a?bótoroko & \quad \text{'you gamble'} \\
a?bótoroki & \quad \text{'you (honorific)/we (inclusive) gamble'} \\
a?bótoroka & \quad \text{'we (exclusive) gamble'} \\
a?bótoroi & \quad \text{'he/she/they gamble'}
\end{align*}

The epenthetic vowels do not appear under reduplication, and the root-final consonants \( \bar{l}, \bar{r}, \) and \( \bar{s} \), are replaced by glottal stop. This is in accord with the regular reduplication process, however, by which only the first two syllables of trisyllabic roots are repeated, then closed only with a glottal stop.

\begin{align*}
\text{botor} & \quad \text{'gamble'} \\
\text{boto?bótoro} & \quad \text{'gamble without serious intent' (root)} \\
a?boto?bótoro & \quad \text{'gamble without serious intent' (intransitive stem)} \\
\text{lámbera} & \quad \text{'long'} \\
lambe?lámbera & \quad \text{'somewhat long'} \\
rámmasa & \quad \text{'dirty'} \\
ramma?rámmasa & \quad \text{'somewhat dirty'}
\end{align*}

Finally, the epenthetic vowels exhibit one other idiosyncrasy. In a context where vowels would normally be lengthened, in stressed open syllables, glottal stops are inserted after epenthetic vowels, closing the syllables and preventing lengthening. The situation arises when a stem ending in an epenthetic vowel is followed by a possessive suffix. Compare the possessed forms of the nouns \( \text{sákala} \).
'profit, benefit', and sahāla 'sea cucumber' below. The final /a/ of sahala is epenthetic, so it is not lengthened under stress. Instead, the stressed syllable is closed by a glottal stop (which assimilates to a following voiceless stop). The final /a/ of sahala on the other hand, is not epenthetic, so it is long.

säbala 'profit'
sahalākku 'my profit'
sahalā?mu 'your (familiar) profit'
sahalā?ta 'your (honorific)/our (inclusive) profit'
sahalā?ba 'our (exclusive) profit'
sahalā?na 'his/her/its/their profit'

Compare:
sahāla 'sea cucumber'
sahalā:ku 'my sea cucumber'
sahalā:mu 'your (familiar) sea cucumber'
sahalā:ta 'your (honorific)/our (inclusive) sea cucumber'
sahalā:ba 'our (exclusive) sea cucumber'
sahalā:na 'his/her/its/their sea cucumber'.

Within intonation units, all primary stresses may be reduced slightly except on the final word. As stress is reduced, so is length.

[†allumpū:lo] 'thirty'
[†allumpulo, jaqānna] 'he has thirty chickens'

3.2 Initial pretonic vowel deletion. A phonologically minor process has a significant effect on syllable structure. Initial pretonic vowels are normally deleted in natural speech, provided no triple consonant clusters result. This deletion can result in initial homorganic consonant clusters or sequences of glottal stop plus voiced consonant.

śidîte or diṭe 'me' (emphatic)
śkāu or kāu 'you' (emphatic)
śajjōro or njōro 'coconut'
śsimbākkakaq or ssimbākkakaq 'we (exclusive) are the same size'
śa?lāmpai or ?lāmpai 'he left'
śnampai a lámpa or nampai ?lāmpa 'and then he left'

but only:
śnampakan a?lāmpa 'and then we left'

Because the vast majority of noun and verb roots are disyllabic, and receive penultimate stress, the deletion affects relatively few morphemes. It has a pervasive effect, however, because among the morphemes it does affect are the intransitive prefixes a?- and aq-. Recall that certain particles like to 'the one who' function like the constituents of compounds or separate words with respect to mid vowel lowering. They function the same way with respect to this vowel deletion. Pretonic vowels are always deleted after to- and na- 'when'.

3.3 Glottal epenthesis. Glottal stops are inserted in modern Selayarese in two contexts. They appear automatically at the beginning of vowel-initial intonation units.

∅ → ? /##V (## = intonation unit boundary)

Compare the forms of the words below.
They are also automatically inserted between two identical vowels anywhere within an intonation unit.

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow ?/\nu \_\nu \_\nu \_\nu \]

Compare the verbs below with the first person absolutely marker -a and the third person absolutely marker -i. Where the absolutely marker is the same as the last vowel of the root, a glottal stop is inserted between them. (Third person is marked for neither number nor gender, so all verbs translated with 'he' could as well be translated with 'she', 'they', or, where appropriate, 'it'.)

hali 'buy' liigka 'walk'
amali 'I bought' a?liigka'a 'I walked'
amali?'i '(s)he bought' a?liigka'i '(s)he walked'

Compare:
mate 'die'
lamatea 'I will die'
lamateel '(s)he will die'

Compare the verbs uraq 'accompany' and inaq 'drink' with different ergative prefixes below. When the ergative marker ends in the same vowel as the beginning of the verb root, a glottal stop appears between them.

ku?uraqi 'I accompany him' kuinuqi 'I drink it'
mu?uraqi 'you (fam) acc him' muinuqi 'You (fam) drink it'

The sentence below shows the glottal stop at a word boundary.

[?amuhn?ah ?a:so] 'I killed a dog'
amunoa 'I kill(ed)'
asa 'dog'

3.4 Glottal assimilation. Glottal stops also undergo pervasive assimilation. They assimilate completely to following voiceless consonants in the same intonation unit, yielding the voiceless geminates described in Section 1. This assimilation can be seen in the shifting shape of the prefix ta?-., which indicates that the absolutely argument is a semantic patient. Its basic form can be seen in the verb stems below, formed from vowel-initial verb roots.

ta?ata? 'to be roofed' (a house, etc.) (ata? 'roof')
ta?enteq 'to be erected' (enteq 'stand')
ta?inuq 'to be drunk (liquid)' (inuq 'drink')

Before voiceless consonants, the glottal assimilates fully. Before voiced sounds, it remains glottal stop.

tappela? 'get lost' ta?bessolo 'slip'
tattuda 'bump against' ta?do?do? 'be sleepy'
takka?luppa 'faint' ta?jai 'be stunned'
tassambaq 'stumble, trip' ta?garaq 'get stained'
The assimilation also occurs across word boundaries within intonation units. Compare the final sound of the word appa? 'four' before the voiceless consonants on the left, and the voiced consonants on the right.

appa? 'four'
appa? pao '4 mangoes'
appa? taju? '4 flowers'
appa? kura '4 small turtles'
appa? hugga '4 insects'
appa? balo '4 holes'
appa? dare? '4 monkeys'
appa? golo '4 balls'
appa? mata '4 eyes'
appa? zono '4 zeroes'
appa? naha '4 souls'
appa? loka '4 bananas'
appa? raga '4 rattan balls'
appa? tau '4 flowers'
appa? sapo '4 houses'
appa? kura '4 small turtles'
appa? golo '4 balls'
appa? hugga '4 insects'
appa? balo '4 holes'
appa? dare? '4 monkeys'
appa? golo '4 balls'
appa? mata '4 eyes'
appa? zono '4 zeroes'
appa? naha '4 souls'
appa? loka '4 bananas'
appa? raga '4 rattan balls'

(Classifiers may or may not be used in enumeration.)

The assimilation of glottal stop to following voiceless consonants can be formalized as follows:

Assimilation of Glottals

\[ ? \rightarrow C_1 / \underline{C}_1 \]

[\[-voice\]]

3.5 Nasal assimilation. Nasals assimilate to the point of articulation of any following consonant,
and completely to \( l \). Like glottal assimilation, the nasal assimilation operates throughout intonation units. The effect of the assimilation can be seen in reduplicated forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Reduplicated Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pekaq</td>
<td>'hook'</td>
<td>pekaq pekaq</td>
<td>'hook-like object'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hambaq</td>
<td>'hot'</td>
<td>hambaq hambaq</td>
<td>'sort of hot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maggaq</td>
<td>'tired'</td>
<td>maggaq maggaq</td>
<td>'sort of tired'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tunruq</td>
<td>'hit'</td>
<td>tunruq tunruq</td>
<td>'hit lightly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soronruq</td>
<td>'drawer'</td>
<td>soronruq soronruq</td>
<td>'sort of drawer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dodoq</td>
<td>'sick'</td>
<td>dodoq dodoq</td>
<td>'hit lightly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nunruq</td>
<td>'hit'</td>
<td>nunruq nunruq</td>
<td>'hit lightly' (intransitives)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rookaq</td>
<td>'loose'</td>
<td>rookaq rookaq</td>
<td>'rather loose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jagaq</td>
<td>'chicken'</td>
<td>jagaq jagaq</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namaq</td>
<td>'delicious'</td>
<td>namaq namaq</td>
<td>'rather delicious'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keloaq</td>
<td>'sing'</td>
<td>keloaq keloaq</td>
<td>'sort of sing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gintaq</td>
<td>'chili'</td>
<td>gintaq gintaq</td>
<td>'chili-like object'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hukkuq</td>
<td>'punish'</td>
<td>hukkuq hukkuq</td>
<td>'punish lightly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamuuq</td>
<td>'grow'</td>
<td>lamuuq lamuuq</td>
<td>'plantation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luguq</td>
<td>'pillow'</td>
<td>luguq luguq</td>
<td>'small pillow'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Assimilation across a word boundary can be seen in the changing form of the number anna4 'six' in the different contexts below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anna4</td>
<td>'six'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anna4 poke</td>
<td>'6 spears'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anna4 tau</td>
<td>'6 persons'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anna4 sapo</td>
<td>'6 houses'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anna4 koko</td>
<td>'6 gardens'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This assimilation can be formalized as follows:

**Nasal Assimilation**

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
C & \text{1} & \text{1} \\
\text{ [+nasal] } & \text{[a anterior]} & \text{[a anterior]} \\
\end{array}
\]

4. NONAUTOMATIC ALTERNATIONS. Several alternations in modern Selayarese are not automatic, but they do have pervasive effects on the language, and in some cases, point to earlier stages in its development.

4.1 Morphologically conditioned alternations involving glottal stop. Imran (1984) notes that in Lakiung (Standard Macassarese), [?] is an allophone of /k/. This is no longer the case in Selayarese, as can be seen from the pairs of words below (and in 1.1).

re?eg 'brake' sa?e 'snake'
rekeg 'count' saka 'hoof'

Modern alternations in the shapes of particular morphemes do indicate that at an earlier stage in the language, there was an automatic alternation between prevocalic k and preconsonantal or final ?. Root-final glottal stop alternates with k before suffixes like the transitivizer -i, or the comparative marker -aq. The roots in words on the left below end in glottal stops that alternate with k. The roots on the right simply end in vowels; since they never contained a glottal stop, their transitive derivatives show no k.

**Transitive -i**

lumpa? 'jump' Compare: saqe 'swim'
lumpaki 'jump across' saqe 'swim across'

**Comparative -a**

bakka? 'big' ballo 'beautiful'
bakkakaq 'bigger' balloaq 'more beautiful'

Note that the absolutive clitic -i is phonetically identical to the transitivizer, but it does not trigger the alternation.

?lumpa?i 'he jumped'
bakka?i 'it is big'

It is not the case, however, that all modern medial instances of ? either once appeared before word boundaries, or are the result of automatic glottal insertion between identical vowels (as described in 3.3). Glottal stop also occurs between dissimilar vowels within morphemes.

ra?e? woman's name ba?o 'corn dish'
rai? 'to go east' pao 'mango'

4.2 Assimilation of the intransitive prefix. Prefixes of the form aq- or a?- occur with active intransitive verbs, occupying the position filled
by the ergative marker in transitive verbs. (Indefinite objects are not considered primary arguments in Selayarese, so verbs associated with them are formally intransitive.) The intransitive prefixes exhibit several interesting alternations.

Whether a given verb root will appear with an- or a?- is generally not predictable on phonological, syntactic, or semantic grounds. Homophonous roots kanre 'to eat' and kanre 'to burn', for example, use different intransitivizers.

A few roots show both forms, with no apparent difference in meaning, such as (a)n-jari/(a)?-jari 'become'. A few others, like jojo? 'point', show alternate forms differing simply in usage: both (a)?-jojo? and (a)n-jojo? mean 'vote', but the first is now rarely used, while the second is more current. A third, somewhat larger set of verbs, differ in an interesting way: forms with a?- are used with no object at all, while forms with an- are used with indefinite objects, although both are formally intransitive. Verbs of this type include (a)?-beso? 'pull' / (a)m-beso? 'pull something'. Such pairs often differ somewhat idiomatically as well, like (a)n-bannao 'stretched, tight' / (a)m-bannao 'stretch something', or (a)?-deqka 'pound with a mortar' / (a)n-deqka 'throw something', or (a)?-ganraq 'play a drum' / (a)n-ganraq 'hit something intensely so that it produces a loud sound'.

The markers themselves show interesting alternations. The form a?- generally remains constant before vowel-initial stems.

---

\begin{tabular}{lll}
alle & (a)galle & 'take' \\
erase & (a)gera? & 'bring' \\
inu? & (a)ginu? & 'drink' \\
ond? & (a)gondaq & 'invite' \\
uppa & (a)guppa & 'get' \\
\end{tabular}

Before stems beginning with voiced consonants, the nasal assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant by regular rule, as described in Section 3.5.

\begin{tabular}{lll}
bannao & (a)m-bannao & 'stretch' \\
mari & (a)m-mari & 'stop' \\
dodo & (a)n-dodo & 'cut' \\
r?o & (a)n-r?o & 'bathe' \\
jama & (a)n-jama & 'work' \\
geo? & (a)ggeo? & 'sway, shake' \\
lari & (a)n-lari & 'run' \\
\end{tabular}

Before roots beginning with voiceless consonants, however, the prefix assimilates in a special way. The nasal of the prefix merges with the initial consonant of the verb root to yield a single nasal with the point of articulation of the root-initial consonant.

\begin{tabular}{lll}
poke & (a)moke & 'wear' \\
tobo? & (a)nobo? & 'stab' \\
kanre & (a)gare & 'eat' \\
soba & (a)poba & 'try' \\
halli & (a)malli & 'buy' \\
\end{tabular}

It is clear that the merger is complete. Normally when verbs are reduplicated, only the root is repeated. Affixes are then added to the resulting
form: rio/(a)n-rio 'bathe', riotorio/(a)riotorio 'bathe for pleasure'. When verbs like those above are re-
duplicated, however, the nasalization is carried
along as part of the (intransitive) root: pelat?/
(a)melat 'throw away', pelapat/(a)melat'mela'
'throw away a little, or repeatedly'; tobo?/(a)nobo?
'stab', tobo?tobo?/(a)nobo'nobo? 'stab repeatedly';
kanre/(a)kanre 'eat', kanrekannre/(a)kanrekanre
'taste'.

Two of the mergers are especially interesting.

 Nasals before /s/ are usually alveolar, as in sinsto
'ring'. Verb roots beginning with /s/, however,
generally show the palatal nasal in their intransi-
tive stems: sombala/(a)sombala 'sail', sunke/(a)punkse
'open', sasala/(a)sasala 'regret', sasa/(a)pala
'miss (a target)'. Recall that Selayarese now lacks
a voiceless counterpart /c/ to its voiced palatal /j/,
and Indonesian and Macassarese /c/ often correspond
to modern Selayarese /s/ (I., M. coba, S. soba 'try').
It appears that this merger of the nasal and sibilant
took place at a time when the sibilant had a palatal
articulation.

 The second interesting merger involves /h/-inici-
tal roots, like aq + halli → (a)malli 'buy'.

 Nasals are normally velar before /h/, as in the
reduplicated (a)ghukukughukug 'punish lightly'. A
number of other verbs beginning with /h/, however,
show a bilabial in their intransitive stems just
like 'buy', including huno/(a)nuno 'kill', ha?ji/
(a)ma?ji 'beat', and hera?/(a)mera? 'chop'. Since
these and other instances of /h/ correspond to
bilabials in Indonesian and Macassarese (I. bali, M. bali, S. halli), it appears that this unusual
merger of the nasal occurred at a time when the
source of the /h/ was still bilabial.²

The other intransitive prefix, a?-, is perfectly
regular. Its glottal stop, like all glottals, assim-
ilates completely to a following voiceless consonant
according to the automatic rule discussed in 3.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selayarese</th>
<th>Indonesian/Macassarese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p alloy</td>
<td>'cook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dappe?</td>
<td>'fall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dappe?</td>
<td>'fall'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maq?</td>
<td>'breathe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leo</td>
<td>'mix'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruppa</td>
<td>'face'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oto</td>
<td>'to travel by car'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sikola</td>
<td>'to go to school'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>domni</td>
<td>'to play dominoes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>golo</td>
<td>'to play soccer'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This form is a very productive device in modern
Selayarese for deriving intransitive verb stems, not
only from verb roots, but also from nouns.

5. CONCLUSION. The phonology of Selayarese is thus
essentially straightforward, with several pervasive
automatic alternations, and a few morphologically
conditioned ones. The various automatic processes
operate over different domains. The length of vowels
and nasals is determined by stress and syllable
boundaries. Stress depends upon syllable count
backwards from clitic or word boundaries. Epenthetic
vowels are inserted before clitic or word boundaries.
Lowering harmony operates regressively from word
boundaries, over both clitic and morpheme boundaries,
but not across boundaries between the constituents of
compounds. Pretonic vowels are deleted adjacent to
the same boundaries. Finally, the insertion of
glottal stops, and the progressive assimilation of nasalization across vowels and of glottals and nasals to following consonants, operate over entire intonation units.

NOTES

1 We are grateful to Mark Aronoff for his helpful comments. All of the data presented here were supplied by Mr. Basri, who was born in Polebungin, on Selayar, in 1952. Selayarese is his first language. At the age of 9, he began to learn Indonesian; at 10, Macassarese; and at 16, English.

2 In modern Selayarese, all intransitive stems formed from /s/-initial roots with this zg- prefix show the palatal nasal. Many of these roots do have Macassarese cognates beginning with /c/, such as Selayarese soba / Macassarese soba 'try'. Others, however, have Macassarese cognates beginning with /s/, such as Selayarese/Macassarese soroq 'push'. A generalization seems to have taken place at some point.

In contrast, not all Selayarese /h/-initial roots show the bilabial assimilation. While many do show a bilabial, such as hakka/(a)makka 'split (coconuts)', or ha?ji/(a)ma?ji 'beat (a person)', many others show the regular velar nasal before /h/: hau/(a)ghau 'kiss (someone)' or hallasi/(a)ghallasi 'make suffer'. Both types correspond to Macassarese labials: ba?ji 'beat', ballasa 'suffer'. No generalization equivalent to that involving the palatais seems to have taken place.

A few Selayarese intransitive stems show assimilation to voiceless apicals not by merger, but according to the more general automatic processes.

tama? (a)ntama? 'enter'
ta?le (a)nta?le 'cross over'
sulu? (a)nsulu? 'get out'

These stems share a significant syntactic characteristic: all must occur with locative phrases:

antama?a ri sapo. 'I entered (into) a house'
INTR-enter-1 to house

Although this prefix superficially resembles the general intransitiivizer, its behavior indicates a separate origin.

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INDEX

The entries represent languages or groups (either linguistic or geographic) as referred to in the text.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Page Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bikol</td>
<td>11, 17, 27, 28, 30, 32, 35, 42, 43, 48, 50, 51, 53, 54, 59, 64, 65, 71, 81, 82, 93, 96, 97, 106, 109-112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilaan, Koronadal dialect</td>
<td>12, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilaan, Sarangani dialect</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bima</td>
<td>34, 54, 65, 76, 92, 101, 107, 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bimarines, 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bintulu</td>
<td>11, 13, 32, 56, 57, 66, 73, 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binukid</td>
<td>21, 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bisaya Bukit</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolano, Mongondow</td>
<td>12, 13, 15, 19, 21, 24, 26, 32, 33, 35, 39, 44, 46, 50, 54, 57, 64, 69, 71, 79, 81, 83, 89, 93, 102, 104, 106, 109, 111, 113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolongan</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonfia</td>
<td>8, 113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bontok</td>
<td>10-13, 15, 17, 24, 28, 33, 41, 47, 48, 51, 60, 74, 76, 77, 82, 85-88, 91, 100, 109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botolol Sambal</td>
<td>48, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buginese</td>
<td>8, 21, 23, 62, 75, 92, 98-100, 110, 120, 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bugotu</td>
<td>25, 27, 34, 51, 62, 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buli</td>
<td>37, 47, 57, 59, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buma</td>
<td>8, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunun</td>
<td>39, 47, 112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buru</td>
<td>15, 16, 21, 22, 24, 25, 29, 57, 77, 82, 99, 113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casiguran Dumagat</td>
<td>5, 16, 37, 40, 45, 50, 56, 57, 60, 61, 63, 65, 66, 68, 77, 79, 81-83, 85, 94, 98, 102, 103, 109, 113, 118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

OCeanIC Linguistics, Vol. XXV, Nos. 1-2