



RESEARCH ARTICLE

THE SOUND CHANGE OF THE WAKATOBI LANGUAGE

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ABSTRACT

This study aims at investigating the sound change of Wakatobi Language. Wakatobi is a language used in Wakatobi Regency, Southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia. The data collecting was done through interviewing method. Interview was carried out by visiting all of the research locations and did the interview through the question lists provided. The Interview was done by using noting and recording techniques. It was analyzed synchronically using apportioned and interlingua equal methods. There two kinds of phonological processes of Wakatobi language investigated in this paper, namely assimilation and the structure of syllable. The assimilation process of Wakatobi occurs mostly on vowels, particularly for vowel harmony. Besides, it includes progressive and regressive assimilation. Based on structure of syllable, this paper only focuses on addition and losing of segment. Based on the data, the addition of segment covers 1) addition of vowel, particularly for vowel [a], 2) addition of glottal [ʔ], and 3) addition of semi-vowel [ʰ,ʷ]. Subdialects of Wakatobi language have three kinds of losing segment, namely (1) losing of vowel, (2) losing of consonant, and (3) losing of syllable. Losing of vowel covers losing of vowels /i, e, a/. Losing of consonant can be divided into four parts, namely (1) losing of plosive, (2) losing of trill, (3) losing of fricative, and (4) losing of semivowel. Last, losing of syllable can be occurs in all position either in the preantepenultimate, antepenultimate, penultimate, or ultimate.

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INTRODUCTION

Language is one of community signers that is very crucial because it constitutes a tool to know the changing and give description about the activity in the past. In this case, languages in Southeast Sulawesi have become the interesting object for the researchers since it is very unique and various. Moreover, there are some languages in Southeast Sulawesi that have not been investigated yet, mainly the phonology of Wakatobi language in Wakatobi island. Wakatobi island or regency is enlargement of Buton regency that has four small islands. Although those islands are separated by the sea, they use the similar language, Wakatobi. Wakatobi is a language used in Wakatobi Regency (Tukang Besi Island). However, Wakatobi language is not investigated yet deeply by the previous researchers and one of the reasons is the Wakatobi Island is very difficult to be reached. Wakatobi language is sometimes called as Tukang Besi language (Keraf, 1991, p. 212; Donohue, 1995). Besides, Donohue (1995, p. 8) tends to use "Tukang Besi language" in his research since it has been known by the people at the time. Further, this language is categorized as language family of *Suai* that consists of Wanci, Kaledupa, Tomia, and Binongko dialects (Taalami, 2008, p. 5). Therefore, the name of Wakatobi as an abbreviation of Wangi-Wangi, Kaledupa, Tomia, and Binongko islands that constitutes four small islands in Wakatobi Island. Now days, the name of Wakatobi is very popular or famous in the society either in or out of Wakatobi's society. Like other languages in the world, Wakatobi language undergoes changing, either in grammatical, lexical, or phonological aspects. The phonological aspect is a sound change of Wakatobi that is very interesting to be investigated. Further, the sound change of Wakatobi language has not been written or investigated by any researcher. This paper thus studies the sound change of the language. The language change, particularly for sound change shows that the language is changing or undergoes development from each group. To know the sound change can be done by several ways. One of the purposes is to group the language in terms of the dialect, subdialect, or smaller groups. This paper investigates the sound change of Wakatobi language based on the processes and principles of phonological aspect.

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Theoretical framework

The sound of language mainly divided into two parts, namely phone and phoneme (Lapoliwa, 1980, p. 1; Wijana, 2004, p. 129). Phone is studied in phonetics, while phoneme is investigated in phonemic study. There are several aspects that have important role of creating language sound, namely air current, articulators, and articulation point. From those aspects, it will create either segmental sounds (vocooid and contoid) or suprasegmental sounds (stress, tone, long, and intonation). Suprasegmental sounds may be stress sound that is symbolized with [ˈ] in the right above from the sound; and suprasegmental sound may be long sound that often found on vowels that is symbolized with [ː] in the right of the vowel sound. Related to the sound change, there are several kinds of the change that often occurs in the languages of the world, such as assimilation, dissimilation, structure of syllable, raising and lowering of vowel, lenition or weaking, fortition, substitution, and others. To investigate the sound change, the first thing that must be decided is looking for the morphemes having same meaning with identic or rather similar form. The morphological aspect can be ignored in this case. In studying sound change, it uses the source form and integral form. The change starts from the source to integral form. There are several criteria used to know the source form as suggested by Ahmad (1993, pp. 68-71), as follow (a) pattern symmetric, (b) simplicity, (c) predicted, (d) natural, and (e) frequency.

Shortly, the five aspects can be explained as follow. Pattern symmetric aspect is a clear pattern to interpretate the unclear pattern. The simplicity refers to the economical concept, a less of principle used to explain the gloss, it is as source form. The predicted aspect refers to choosing the principle that can predict appropriately the sound change of the gloss. A principle used to explain the sound change should be naturally is called as natural criteria. Last, the frequency means that the source form is used widely. Besides, the determining of source form also uses the criteria suggested by Schane (1992, p. 63) that most of phonological processes can be explained from articulatoric and perceptual aspects. Articulatoric aspect refers to the easiness in the articulation. Related to the perceptual aspect, the stress vowel is stronger than unstress vowel, and the changes tend to from the stress vowel to unstress vowel (Schane, 1992, p. 63). Further, this study also considers the strength and the weakness of language sound. The change usually occurs from the strong to weak sound. It is based on the fact that shows most languages in the world is changing from the strong to weak sounds of their phonological aspect (Crowley, 1992, p. 39). The lenition process is based on the level of sound strength and weakness of Wakatobi dialects, referring to the criteria given by Crowley (1992, p. 39) and Lass (1984, p. 178) as follow: (a) voiceless consonant are stronger than voiced consonants; (b) plosive consonants are stronger than other consonants; (c) consonant is stronger than semivowel; (d) oral consonants are stronger than glottal; (e) consonants articulated by the front organs are stronger than consonants articulated by the back organs; (f) front vowels are stronger than back vowels; and (g) high and low vowels are stronger than center vowels.

Method of study

This study focuses on the phonology of Wakatobi language in Southeast Sulawesi. It was conducted in four islands of Wakatobi, namely Wangi-Wangi, Kaledupa, Tomia, and Binongko islands with 8 districts. It was mainly conducted in 25 villages as the place of data collection, namely (1) Waha, (2) Maleko, (3) Wandoka, (4) Numana, (5) Matahora, (6) Kapota, and (7) Lia Bahari Indah in Wangi-Wangi island; (8) Sombano, (9) Luluo, (10) Buranga, (11) Lagiwai, (12) Tanjung, (13) Pajam, (14) Horuo, (15) Darawa, and (16) Kasuwari in Kaledupa island; (17) Onemay, (18) Patua, (19) Waitii, (20) Kulati, and (21) Bahari in Tomia island; (22) Rukuwa, (23) Palahidu Barat, (24) Taipabu, and (25) Popaliha in Binongko island. The instrument used in this study is 978 words and 30 phrases of Wakatobi language. The words and phrases come from the question lists arranged by Lauder (1993, pp. 311--368), Bawa (1983), and Putra (2007), and then modified based on the characteristics of study object (Wakatobi). The data collecting was done through interviewing method (Sudaryanto, 1993:131; Mahsun, 1995: 94-101). Interview was carried out by visiting all of the research locations and did the interview through the question lists provided. The collected data was then tabulated and analyzed based on the sequences of these study objectives. It was analyzed synchronically using apportioned and interlingua equal methods (Sudaryanto, 1993, pp. 21-30). The study investigates firstly the processes of sound change, then continued by principles of phonology in Wakatobi language.

To make this paper well understood, several abbreviations or terms used in the discussion section were presented first, as follows, as follow: V = Vowel; P = Principle; # = border of word; \$ = border of syllable; + = with feature; - = without feature; cor = coronal; cons = consonant; fric = fricative; lat = lateral; mal = malar; nas = nasal; son = sonorant; syls = syllabic; C = consonant; dan V = vowel.

DISCUSSION

The discussion covers (1) assimilation dan (2) the structure of syllable of sound change of Wakatobi language. Those aspects are described below.

Assimilation

The assimilation occurs when a segment gets the features from other closed segments (Schane, 1992, p. 51). If it occurs from the left to right, it is called as progressive. While, if it occurs from the right to left, it is called as regressive. In the assimilation process, the consonants may get the features from the vowels, or the vowels from the consonants, or consonants influence one another and vowels influence one another (Schane, 1992, p. 51). The assimilation process of Wakatobi occurs mostly on vowels, particularly for vowel harmony. Vowel harmony is a phenomenon of vowels that have similar certain features (Schane, 1992: 53; Crowley, 1992: 55).

Progressive assimilation

Based on the Wakatobi language data, the examples that show the progressive assimilation are limited, as in the following examples.

Example (1)

tɪ^hkɔɛ: 4,10-12,14-20,22-24 → *tikiɛ*:2 ‘pick’

ɔta:1,3,6,9-,11,14-16,20,22-24 → *utɔ*:4,5,8 ‘brain’

The example (1) above shows that the influences from the left to the right, namely vowel /i/ assimilates vowel /o/, so vowel /o/ becomes /i/; and vowel /ɔ/ assimilates vowel /a/, so vowel /a/ becomes vowel /ɔ/. Based on the phenomena can be formulated the simple principle as follow.

a. V V → V V
[i] [ɔ] [i] [i]

b. V V → V V
[ɔ] [a] [u] [ɔ]

The process of progressive assimilation above can be formulated in the next principle as follow.

[P1a]: Progressive assimilation /i,ɔ/ → /i,i/

$$\begin{pmatrix} \text{V} \\ +\text{high} \\ -\text{back} \\ -\text{round} \end{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} \text{V} \\ -\text{high} \\ +\text{back} \\ +\text{round} \end{pmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{pmatrix} \text{V} \\ +\text{high} \\ -\text{back} \\ -\text{round} \end{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} \text{V} \\ +\text{high} \\ -\text{back} \\ -\text{round} \end{pmatrix}$$

[P1b]: Progressive assimilation /ɔ,a/ → /u,ɔ/

$$\begin{pmatrix} \text{V} \\ -\text{high} \\ +\text{back} \\ +\text{round} \end{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} \text{V} \\ +\text{low} \\ -\text{back} \\ -\text{round} \end{pmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{pmatrix} \text{V} \\ +\text{high} \\ +\text{back} \\ +\text{round} \end{pmatrix} \begin{pmatrix} \text{V} \\ -\text{high} \\ +\text{back} \\ +\text{round} \end{pmatrix}$$

The principle (1a) shows that a word or a gloss that has two syllables with different features of the vowels [+high, -back, -round]: /i/ and [-high, +back, +round]: /ɔ/ become vowels with similar features [+ high, -back, -round]: /i/ and [+ high, -back, -round]: /i/ by following the first or vowel in the front. The principle (1b) shows that a word or a gloss that has two syllables with different features of the vowels [+back, +round]: /ɔ/ and [-back, -round]: /a/ become vowels with similar features [+back, +round]: /u/ and [+back, +round]: /o/ by following the first or or vowel in the front.

Regressive Assimilation

Based on the Wakatobi language data, the examples that show the regressive assimilation are also limited, as in the following examples.

Example (2)

tɔki-tɔki: 2,5-8,10-18, → *tiki-tiki*: 1,3,4,9, 20-25 ‘knock’

ⁿdudi: 8-11,14 → *ⁿdili*: 2-7 ‘cockroach’

kanɔkau: 9-19,21,22,25 → *kɔhɔkau*: 23 ‘cassava’

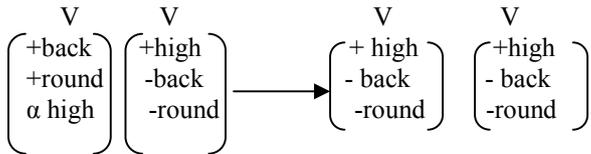
The example (2) above shows that the influences from the right to the left, namely vowel /i/ assimilates vowel /ɔ/ dan /u/, so vowel /ɔ/ and /u/ becomes /i/; and vowel /ɔ/ assimilates vowel /a/, so vowel /a/ becomes vowel /ɔ/. Based on the phenomena can be formulated the simple principle as follow.

a. V V → V V
[ɔ,u] [i] [i] [i]

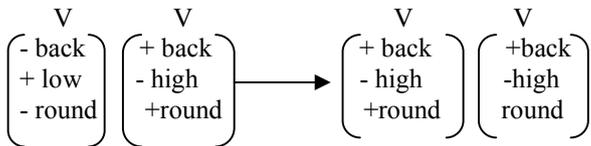
b. V V → V V
[a] [ɔ] [ɔ] [ɔ]

The process of regressive assimilation above can be formulated in the next principle as follow.

[P2a]: Regressive assimilation /ɔ-i/ → /i-i/ and /u-i/ → /i-i/



[P2b]: Regressive assimilation /a-ɔ/ → /ɔ-ɔ/



The principle (2a) shows that a word or a gloss that has two syllables with different features of the vowels [+high, +back, +round]: /i/ or [+back, +round, -low]: /ɔ/, and [+high, -back, -round]: /i/ become vowels with similar features [+high, -back, -round]: /i/ and [+high, -back, -round]: /i/ by following the second or vowel in the following. The principle (2b) shows that a word or a gloss that has two syllables with different features of the vowels [-back, +low, -round]: /a/ and [+back, -high, +round]: /ɔ/ become vowels with similar features [+back, -high, +round]: /ɔ/ and [+back, -high, +round]: /ɔ/ by following the second or vowel in the following.

Structure of Syllable

Structure of syllable is a sound change process that influence relative distribution between consonant and vowel in a word (Schane, 1992, p. 54). Consonant and vowel can be deleted or added, two segments become one segment, a segment has changing of features, or two segments can change position each other in a word. This paper only focuses on losing segment and addition of segment.

Addition of Segment

Based on the data, the addition of segment covers 1) addition of vowel, 2) addition of glottal, and 3) addition of semivowel. Those addition processes are described below.

1) Addition of Vowel

It is found addition of vowel [+low]: /a/ after vowel [-low] that suitable with features of front and unround: /i, ε/, so it forms the sequence vowels /i^ya/ or /i^yε/ and suitable with features of back and round: /u, ɔ/, so it forms the sequence vowel /u^wa/, as in the following example.

Example (3):

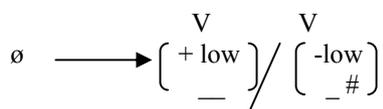
tuuki: 2,6,10,12 → *tuuki^ya*: 4,5,7,14,16-20,22-25 ‘fireplace’
gɔti: 21,24,25 → *gɔti^ya*: 8,10,11 ‘drain’
pagi: 2,7,10,15,18,20,25 → *pagi^ya*: 3-6,17,24 ‘ladder’
lelei: 17,20 → *lelei^ya*: 12,13,16 ‘invitation’
mate: 1-7,16-25 → *mate^ya*: 8-15 ‘dead’
li^yku: 5,9,25 → *li^yku^βa*: 10 ‘hole’
amɔ: 21,22 → *amɔ^βa*: 22-25 ‘plant rice’

Based on the example (3) can be formulated in simple principle below.

- a. /i, ε/ + /a/ → *i^ya* / *ε^ya* / /V__#
 b. /u, ɔ/ + /a/ → *u^wa*, *ɔ^βa* / /V__#

The formulation can be formulated in the next principle as follow.

[P 3]: Addition of vowel /a/



The principle of (3) shows that the addition of vowel [+ low] /a/ on final after vowel [-low] that suitable with features of front and unround: /i, ε/, so it forms the sequence vowel /i^ya/ or /i^yε/, and that suitable with features of back and round: /u, ɔ/, so it forms the sequence vowel /u^βa/. The sound of [i^y] is only phonetics or as glide (not phonemic).

2) Addition of Glottal

Addition of glottal is a phonological process related to the meeting of two similar phoneme, as in the examples below.

Example (4) :

karaja: :1-7,17-25 → *karajaʔa*:8-16 'work'
ɔlɔ: :1,2,4-7 → *ɔlɔʔɔ*: 8-24 'sun'
"dudi: 8-11,14 → *duʔuli*: 1 'cockroach'
ηɔηɔʔ ɔ: 10,16-23,25 → *ηɔʔɔ-ηɔʔɔ*:2,4-6,8,9,11,12 'suffer from nosebleed'
pihiɔ: 10-16 → *piʔihɔ*: 8,9 'mole'
pajere: 8-17 → *pajereʔe*: 18-21,24,25 'chase'
tende:1,3,6,7,17-25 → *tendeʔe*:2,4,5 'raise'

Based on the example (4) can be made simple principle as follow.

∅ → /ʔ/ / V₁__V₁

The principle of addition of glottal above can be formulated in good principle.

[P 4] : Addition of Glottal /ʔ/

$$\emptyset \longrightarrow \left(\begin{array}{l} - \text{ cons} \\ - \text{ sils} \\ - \text{ mal} \\ + \text{ low} \end{array} \right) / \left(\begin{array}{l} - \text{ cons} \\ + \text{ sils} \end{array} \right) \text{---} \left(\begin{array}{l} - \text{ cons} \\ + \text{ sils} \end{array} \right)$$

The principle (4) states that glottal (ʔ) exists between two similar vowels.

3) Addition of Semivowel Glide

Addition of semivowel /^y/ and /^β/ occurs on morphemes having vowel sequence /i/ and /u/ that is followed by other vowels. The addition of glide /^y/ occurs when vowel sequence /i/ that is followed by other vowels and addition of glide /^β/ occurs when vowel sequence /u/ that is followed by other vowels. Besides, it is found the addition of glide /^y/ between vowel /ε/ and /a/, and addition of glide /^β/ between vowel /ɔ/ and /a/. The addition of the semivowel glides /^y/ occurs because semivowel /^y/ and vowel /i/ have similar features /-cons, +high, -round, -back/. Likewise, the addition of the semivowel glides /^β/ occurs because semivowel /^β/ and vowel /u/ have similar features, namely /-cons, +high, +round, +back/. Semivowel /^y/ and vowel /ε/ have identical features /-cons, -round, -back/, and semivowel /^β/ and /o/ also have identical features /-cons, +round, +back/. The following data shows that semivowel /^y/ appears between vowel /i/ and other vowels or between vowel /ε/ and /a/; while semivowel /^β/ appears between vowel /u/ and other vowels and between vowel /ɔ/ and /a/. the phonemata called as epenthesis, addition of semivowel glide in the medial of morpheme.

Example (5a):

tuukia → *tuuki^ya*: 4,5,7,14,16-20,22-25 'fireplace'
gɔtia → *gɔti^ya*: 8,10,11 'drain'
pagia → *pagi^ya*: 3-6,17,24 'rasp'
leleia → *lele^ya*: 12,13,16 'invitation'
bolɔsie → *bolɔsi^βe*:1-3,9,11,14 'change'
kaliu → *kali^yu*: 8-16 'because'
pihiɔ → *pihi^yɔ*: 10-16 'mole'
matea → *mate^ya*: 8-15 'die'

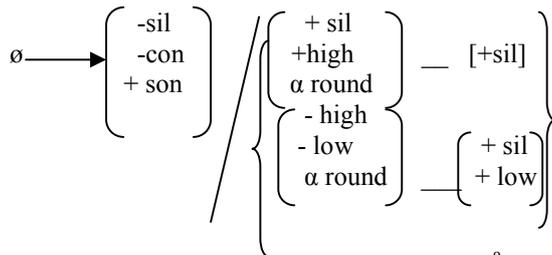
Example (5b):

li^ykua → *li^yku^βa*:10 'Lahad'
βetuɔ → *βetu^βɔ*: 1-7 'animal'
balue → *balu^βε*:8-15 'buy'
hesuβui → *hesuβu^βi*: 1,3,5,6 'take a bath'
hɔari → *hɔ^βari*:8-25 'locust'
helo → *helo^βa*: 1,3-7 'cook'

$$\emptyset \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /^y/ \\ /^β/ \end{array} \right\} / \begin{array}{l} V_{i,u} \text{---} V \\ V_{\varepsilon,\varepsilon} \text{---} V_a \end{array}$$

The simple principle above can be formulated in the next principle below.

K 5] : Addition of Semivowel /ʸ/ and /β/



The principle (5) states that semivowel /ʸ/ and /β/ appears between two vowels with features of roundness, namely between /i/ or /u/ and other vowels, and between vowel /e/ or /ɔ/ and vowel /a/.

4.2.2 Lossing of Segment

Subdialects of Wakatobi language have three kinds of lossing og segment, namely (1) lossing of vowel, (2) lossing of consonant, and (3) lossing of syllable. The three kinds of lossing can be described as follow.

1) Lossing of Vowel

It is found the lossing of vowels /i, a, e/ on penultimate and antepenultimate syllables before consonant with very limited data, as in the following examples.

(1) Lossing of Vowel /i/

Vowel /i-/ on initial position or antepenultimate syllable before consonant losses /Ø-/, as in the following example.

Example (6a) :

ilajɛ: 2-4,7,9-12,14,16-21 → *lajɛ*: 5,6,15, 22-25 `tomorrow`

Based on the example (6a) can be formulated in simple principle below.

/i-/ → /Ø-/ / # __ C

(2) Lossing of Vowel /a/

Vowel /a/ on initial position before consonant also losses /-Ø/, as in the following example.

Example (6b) :

asahatu: 17-22 → *sahatu*: 1-16,23-25 `a hundred`

asariɕu : 17-22 → *sariɕu*: 23-25 `a thousand`

asatəŋa: 17-22 → *satəŋa*: 1-16,23-25 `half`

Based on data (6b) can be formulated in simple principle below.

/a/ → /-Ø/ / # __ C

(3) Lossing of Vowel /ɛ/

Vowel /ɛ/ on antepenultimate syllable before consonant losses /Ø-/, as in the following example.

Example (6c) :

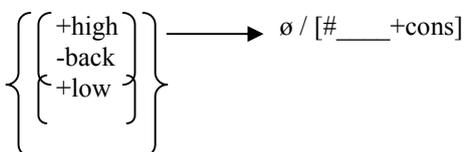
tɛʔemaŋa : 17-21 → *temaŋa*: 8-16 `food`

Based on data (6c) can be formulated in simple principle below.

/ɛ/Ø-/ → /V __ C

Based on the simple principles (6a, 6b, 6c) above can be formulated in the next principle.

[K 6a] : Lossing of Vowel /i, a/



[K 6b] : Lossing of Vowel /ε/

$$\left(\begin{array}{l} \text{-high} \\ \text{-low} \\ \text{-back} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow [+sils ___ +cons]$$

The principle (6a) states that vowels /i, a/ loss on initial position before consonant. The principle of (6b) states that vowel /ε/ loss on antepenultimate syllable.

2) Lossing of Consonant

Lossing of consonant can be divided into four parts, namely (1) lossing of plossive, (2) losing of trill, (3) lossing of fricative, and (4) lossing of pelesapan semivowel. Those kinds of lossing of consonants can be described below.

(1) Lossing of Plossive

Lossing plossive covers lossing of consonants /k, d/.

(1a) /k/ \longrightarrow /Ø/

Consonant /-k-/ on ultimate syllable before vowel losses /-Ø-/. The phonemenon can be seen in the example below.

Example (7a)

kaluku:1-16,22-25 \rightarrow *kuɔu*:17-21 'coconut'

mətika:2-4,6,7,9-12,14,16,22-24 \rightarrow *mətua*: 17-21 'old'

/k-/ \longrightarrow /Ø-/V__V#

(1b) /d/ \longrightarrow /Ø/

Consonant /-d-/ on ultimate and penultimate syllable before vowel /i/ losses /-Ø-/. The phonemenon can be seen in the example below.

Example (7b)

akodia:8,10-16,20-23,25 \rightarrow *akɔia*:17,19 'often'

dihua: 8,10-12,14,16-18 \rightarrow *ihua*:19,20,24,25 'two days ago'

/d-/ \longrightarrow /Ø-/ $\left/ \begin{array}{l} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{V} ___ \text{V} \\ \# ___ \text{V} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right.$

Based on data (7a) and (7b) can be formulated in the simple principle below.

$$\left(\begin{array}{l} /k/ \\ /d/ \end{array} \right) \xrightarrow{\# ___ \text{V}} \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{V} ___ \text{V}\# \\ \text{V} ___ \text{V} \end{array} \right\}$$

The simple principle can be formulated as follow.

[K 7] : Lossing of Plossive /k, d/

$$\left(\begin{array}{l} + \text{cons} \\ - \text{son} \\ - \text{mal} \\ - \text{fric} \\ \alpha \text{ cor} \\ \alpha \text{ voiced} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} + \text{sils} ___ \text{sils}\# \\ + \text{sils} ___ + \text{sils} \\ \# ___ + \text{sils} \end{array} \right\}$$

The principle (7) states that plossive consonants /k, d/ with the above features (+cons, -son, -mal, -fric, α cor, α voiced) can be lossed on ultimate and penultimate syllable.

(2) Lossing of Trill

Consonant of trill /r-/ is lossed /-Ø-/ on penultimate syllable before vowel. The phenomenon can be seen in the example below. Example (8):

kurapu:2-16,22-24 → *kuahu*:17-19 'kind of fish'

/r-/ → /-Ø-/V__V

Based on data (8) can be formulated in simple principle below.

/r/ → Ø / { V__V }

The principle above can be formulated in the next principle below.

[K 8] : Lossing of Trill Segment /r/

$\left(\begin{array}{l} +\text{cons} \\ +\text{sons} \\ -\text{lat} \end{array} \right) \text{Ø} \longrightarrow / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{sils} \text{ ___ } +\text{sils} \end{array} \right\}$

The principle (8) states that trill segment /r/ can be lossed on penultimate syllable.

(3) Lossing of Fricative

Consonant /h/ on initial position or antepenultimate syllable before vowel is lossed /Ø-/. It is called as aphaeresis, as in the following example.

Example (9)

heləppɔ:16-24 → *eləppɔ*: 11-13,15 'wall'

Based on data (9) can be formulated in simple principle below.

/h/ → /Ø/ /#__V

The principle above can be formulated formally as follow.

[K9] : Lossing of Fricative Segment /h/

$\left(\begin{array}{l} \text{C} \\ -\text{sils} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{son} \\ +\text{mal} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow \text{Ø} / \# \text{ ___ } +\text{sils}$

The principle (9) states that fricative segment /h/ is lossed in the initial position or antepenultimate syllable before vowel.

(4) Lossing of Semivowel

Lossing of semivowel /y/ occurs in the initial position or antepenultimate syllable before vowel, as in the following example. Example (10):

yimaŋa: 1,5 → *imaŋa*: 2-4,6,7 'food'

/y-/-Ø-/ → /#__V

Based on data (10) can be formulated in simple principle below.

/y/ /Ø/ → / { #__V } /

The principle above can be formulated formally as follow

[K 10] : Lossing of Semivowel /y/

$$\left(\begin{array}{l} - \text{ cons} \\ - \text{ sil} \\ + \text{ son} \\ + \text{ high} \\ - \text{ nas} \end{array} \right) \longrightarrow [\emptyset] / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \# \text{ ___ } + \text{sil} \end{array} \right\}$$

The principle (10) states that semivowel /y/ is lossed in the initial of word or morpheme.

3) Lossing of Syllable

The number of lossing of syllable is very limited. Based on the data, it is found lossing of syllable in the preantepenultimate, antepenultimate, penultimate, and ultimate syllables, as in the following example:

Example (11a): preantepenultimate syllable

məkəluluɟ:23 → *məluluɟ*: 7,11,14,15,25 'slick'
məkəluluɟ:22 → *məluluɟ*:1-6,8-10, 12,13,16,24 'slick'

Example (11b): antepenultimate syllable

ləlabi : 2,5,21,22,24 → *ladi*: 4,10,12,13, 17-20 'a place to put food'

Example (11c): penultimate syllable

həri:8-25 → *aria*:1-4,6,7 'locust'

Example (11d): ultimate syllable

saⁿdu kaʔaβulu: 2,7 → *saⁿdu kauβa*:8,9, 11-15 'coconut spoon'
sidu kaʔaβulu:1,3-6 → *sidu kauβa*: 10,16-25 'coconut spoon'

Based on data (11a-11d) can be formulated in simple principle below.

$$KV \longrightarrow / \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \$ \text{ ___ } \$ \\ \# \text{ ___ } \$ \\ \$ \text{ ___ } \# \end{array} \right\}$$

The principle above can be formulated formally as follow.

[K 11] : Lossing of Syllable

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} [+ \text{cons}] [+ \text{sil}] \\ \# \text{ ___ } \$ \\ \$ \text{ ___ } \# \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow / \emptyset / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \$ \text{ ___ } \$ \end{array} \right\}$$

The principle (11) states that a syllable can be lossed on preantepenultimate, antepenultimate, penultimate, and ultimate syllables.

V Closing

Based on the result of this study can be concluded as follow. This paper describes two kinds of phonological processes of Wakatobi language, namely assimilation and the structure of syllable. The assimilation process of Wakatobi occurs mostly on vowels, particularly for vowel harmony. Besides, it includes progressive and regressive assimilation. For progressive, it can be seen from the the principle (1a) that a word or a gloss that has two syllables with different features of the vowels [+high, -back, -round]: /i/ and [-high, +back, +round]: /ɔ/ become vowels with similar features [+ high, -back, -round] : /i/ and [+ high, -back, -round] : /i/ by following the first or vowel in the front. For regressive, it can be seen from the principle (2a) that a word or a gloss that has two syllables with different features of the vowels [+high, +back, +round]: /i/ or [+back, +round, -low): /ɔ/, and [+high, -back, -round]: /i/ become vowels with similar features [+high, -back, -round] : /i/ and [+high, -back, -round] : /i/ by following the second or vowel in the following. Based on structure of syllable, this paper only focuses on addition and lossing of segment. Based on the data, the addition of segment covers 1) addition of vowel, particularly for vowel [a], 2) addition of glottal [ʔ], and 3) addition of semivowel [w, y]. Subdialects of Wakatobi language have three kinds of lossing og segment, namely (1) lossing of vowel, (2) lossing of consonant, and (3) lossing of syllable. Lossing of vowel covers lossing of vowels /i, ε, a/. Lossing of consonant can be divided into four parts, namely (1) lossing of plosive, (2) losing of trill, (3) lossing of fricative, and (4) lossing

of pelesapan semivowel. Last, lossing of syllable can be occurs in all possition either in the preantepenultimate, antepenultimate, penultimate, or ultimate.

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