

# Bitter or Sweet? The Vital Role of Sociolinguistic Survey in Lampungic Dialectology

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## 1. Abstract

Many previous studies have described various linguistic aspects of individual speech varieties within the Lampungic language cluster of southern Sumatra, listed as a group of nine separate languages in the 15<sup>th</sup> edition of the *Ethnologue* (Gordon 2005). This paper seeks to clarify the number of languages and the internal grouping of the various flavors of speech within the cluster in light of previous research such as Walker (1975) and Mitani (1980). The sociolinguistic survey methods used during three language survey trips among the Lampungic peoples are described and compared, including the use of interviews, sociolinguistic questionnaires and a Rapid Appraisal Recorded Text Test (Stalder 1996 and O'Leary 1994). The conclusions of this sociolinguistic analysis are then briefly compared with the results of other linguistic survey techniques used to study the Lampungic cluster. The author examines the divergent conclusions that can be drawn from one survey method over against another and argues that drawing broader conclusions from the whole corpus of available information is preferable and possible. Finally, the implications of this sociolinguistic 'taste test' to enumerating and mapping out the languages of these descendants of *Si Pahit Lidah* 'Bitter Tongue' are presented.

## 2. Background

Previous research among the Lampungic speech varieties of southern Sumatra has yielded a significant variety of conclusions regarding the number of languages and dialects within the cluster and the relationship among those speech varieties. Most of this research, however, has focused not on the Lampungic cluster as a whole, but on one or more speech varieties within the cluster. Consequently, the research done in each area has used neither the same methods of investigating language identity nor the same criteria for defining languages, clusters or groups of dialects. Furthermore, works that have looked at the whole Lampungic cluster or large parts of it have normally used an approach that measures similarities and differences among speech varieties according to one set of criteria only, such as lexicostatistics or clan histories.

Without a clear, overall understanding of the relationships between speech varieties, governmental authorities and other institutions interested in local language development and education will be unable to maximize the existing similarities to save time and resources. Likewise, it will be nearly impossible to minimize difficulties in language development resulting from differences between the various speech varieties within the cluster if a comprehensive overview of the cluster's internal similarities and differences is not conducted beforehand.

Toward this end, a broad linguistic and sociolinguistic survey of the entire Lampungic cluster was conducted between 2003 and 2005 by SIL International Indonesia Branch in cooperation with the Center for the Study of Humanities and Cultures of the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (PMB-LIPI). This research was designed to holistically answer questions about language identity and dialect clustering, as well as to train members of SIL and LIPI in various language survey methods. These language surveys have employed a number of language survey tools, as described below.

By looking at the relationships between speech varieties from a number of angles, a more complete picture of the linguistic and sociolinguistic situation of the Lampungic cluster has emerged. This paper will support the argument that studies leading toward language identification will yield more complete results if a number of sociolinguistic factors are combined with linguistic factors in comparing speech varieties.

Rapid Appraisal research constituted the overall framework of this survey. Rapid Appraisal research is limited in scope and depth, mainly because it is limited in time. The goal is to gain a broad and basic understanding of large areas in short amounts of time. This research is foundational and is meant to be followed by more focused, in depth research and analysis.

This paper attempts to explain the Lampungic speech varieties in light of sociolinguistic data gathered during the field investigation mentioned above. The current paper expands upon sociolinguistic data and analysis presented in brief in Anderbeck et al. (2005), which gives a treatment of the cluster more in the light of historical comparative and lexicostatistical analyses. A full treatment of the LIPI-SIL survey of the Lampungic speech varieties will be available in Hanawalt et al. (forthcoming).

In this investigation, our definition for LANGUAGE will be borrowed from the 15<sup>th</sup> edition of the *Ethnologue*:

Not all scholars share the same set of criteria for what constitutes a ‘language’ and what features define a ‘dialect’. The *Ethnologue* applies the following basic criteria:

- Two related varieties are normally considered varieties of the same language if speakers of each variety have inherent understanding of the other variety at a functional level (that is, can understand based on knowledge of their own variety without needing to learn the other variety).
  - Where spoken intelligibility between varieties is marginal, the existence of a common literature or of a common ethnolinguistic identity with a central variety that both understand can be a strong indicator that they should nevertheless be considered varieties of the same language.
  - Where there is enough intelligibility between varieties to enable communication, the existence of well-established distinct ethnolinguistic identities can be a strong indicator that they should nevertheless be considered to be different languages.
- (Gordon 2005:8)

### 3. Previous Lampungic research

A work that has contributed on a higher level to studies of the Lampungic varieties is Dyen (1965). On the basis of shared lexical items he classifies the Lampung group as a member of the MALAYIC subfamily, which was in turn under the SUNDIC family. It was in his work that the term Sundic was first used to describe the Malayic and Lampungic families.

Ross (1995) gives 24 groups for the Western-Malayo-Polynesian languages. Ross notes, “Group 18 contains only Lampung, of extreme south-east Sumatra. Although it has been suggested in the past that it belongs to the Malayic group, current opinion regards it as not yet classified (Blust, pers. comm., Nothofer 1985)” (1995:78).

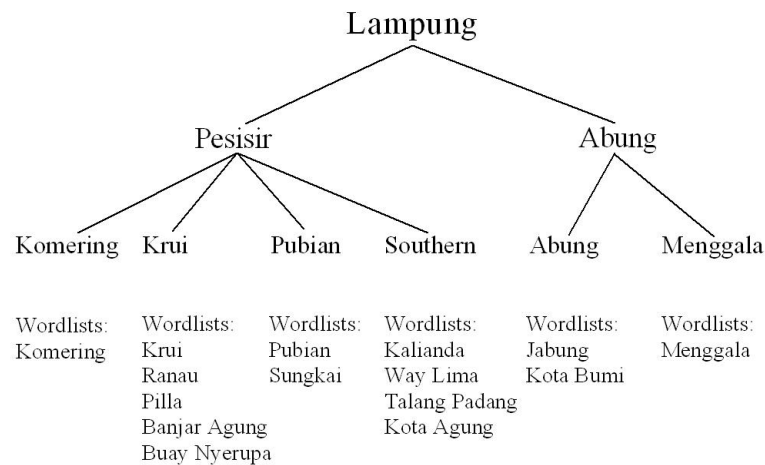
Adelaar (2005) uses Ross’s (1995) internal classification of the Western-Malayo-Polynesian branch and makes several adjustments to it to come up with an internal configuration of West-

Malayo-Polynesian which also places Lampung in its own branch, parallel to Javanese and Malayo-Sumbawan, among many others.

Anderbeck (2006) delineates a list of phonological innovations that establishes Lampungic as a distinct subgroup vis-à-vis other Western Malayo-Polynesian languages, such as geographically contiguous Malay dialects. He demonstrates that Ranau and Kayu Agung, both of whose status has been disputed in the past, should be considered Lampungic.

Walker (1975) approaches the entire Lampungic cluster from a lexicostatistical perspective. Mitani (1980) classifies the cluster's internal relationships through some degree of historical comparative investigation. Figure 1 illustrates the internal classification of the Lampungic speech varieties according to Walker's lexicostatistical analysis.

**Figure 1 Walker's classification of Lampungic subgroups and dialects**



Udin et al. (1990:xiv) give a map of the dialects of the Lampungic group, after quoting the general consensus that the Lampung language consists of two main dialects, Api (Pesisir) and Nyo (Abung and Tulangbawang). Their map groups the Lampungic subdialects in this way, noting that these subdialects share more similarities than differences:

1. Kayu Agung and Komerling Ilir
2. Komerling Ulu and Ranau
3. Way Kanan (Jelma Daya)
4. Sungkai
5. Pesisir Krui and Belalau
6. Pesisir: Semangka, Pesisir Teluk, Meninting, and Melinting
7. Pubian
8. Abung
9. Tulangbawang

The classification of Komering as a separate language or as a dialect of a larger Lampung language has been disputed by various sources. For example, Foley (1983) lists Komering as a language distinct from Lampung, whereas Fernandes and Sudirman (2002) take issue with this decision and claim that Komering should be listed as a dialect of equal status to the other Lampungic speech varieties.

According to the 15th edition of the *Ethnologue*, the Lampungic cluster consists of nine languages subdivided into two groups: Abung and Pesisir (Gordon 2005:435-7). The *Ethnologue* listing attempts to synthesize the conclusions of several researchers including Walker (1975) and Mitani (1980) to create the language inventory they have published. Their reason for placing Ranau in the Abung group is unclear. Gordon (2005), however, removes Ranau from the list of Malay dialects, as was the case in previous editions. Gordon's (2005) classification is shown in Table 1.

**Table 1** *Ethnologue* 15th edition entries for the Lampungic cluster (Gordon 2005)

Grouping		Variety	Eth Code
Lampungic		Komering	KGE
		Krui	KRQ
	Pesisir	Lampung	LJP
		Pesisir, Southern	PEC
		Pubian	PUN
		Sungkai	SUU
	Abung	Kayu Agung	VKY
		Abung	ABL
		Ranau	RAE

Works dealing with individual isolects include Walker's (1976) description of the Way Lima dialect of southern Lampung Province and Abdurrahman and Yallop (1979) on Komering. Since 1985, almost twenty articles and monographs have been published on what the authors call Lampung dialects in conjunction with the Indonesian government's Center for the Establishment and Development of Language (Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa [PPPBB]). Of these, Aliana et al. (1986) describe thirteen speech varieties within Lampung Province. This work includes estimated population data and Swadesh 100 wordlists for all thirteen varieties. They perform a type of lexicostatistical analysis on the data which reports the number of Swadesh 100 words in each speech variety which hold basically the same form across most or all of the varieties. The percentage of such items that have a similar or identical form across the different varieties is given for each speech variety. Though they suggest possible subgroupings or lexical similarity based upon this data, we see it as being more useful in pointing toward the most central variety in Lampung Province. Their results demonstrated that Talang Padang had the highest number of such similar words at 76 percent, while the variety they call Jabung had the least percent of such words at 41 percent, followed closely by the Nyo varieties (1986:65).

A sociolinguistic study on language shift in Lampung may be found in Gunarwan (1994). Gunarwan concludes that language shift to Indonesian is taking place in some of the domestic domains of life in Lampung communities.

Lampungic-Indonesian dictionaries include Noeh et al. (1979), Hadikusuma (1994) and Juniayah (2001).

#### **4. Research sites**

Our research teams visited twenty-seven Lampungic sites in the provinces of South Sumatra and Lampung. This included sites along the Komering River in South Sumatra Province, in the Lake Ranau region around the border of South Sumatra and Lampung, and throughout most of Lampung Province. The locations of these research sites are shown below in Map 1 and in Table 2. The codes listed on the map and in the table will be used throughout this paper in referring to specific LIPI-SIL research sites. These codes are designed to follow the name of the local speech variety, as opposed to the village name.

Map 1 LIPI-SIL Lampung research sites

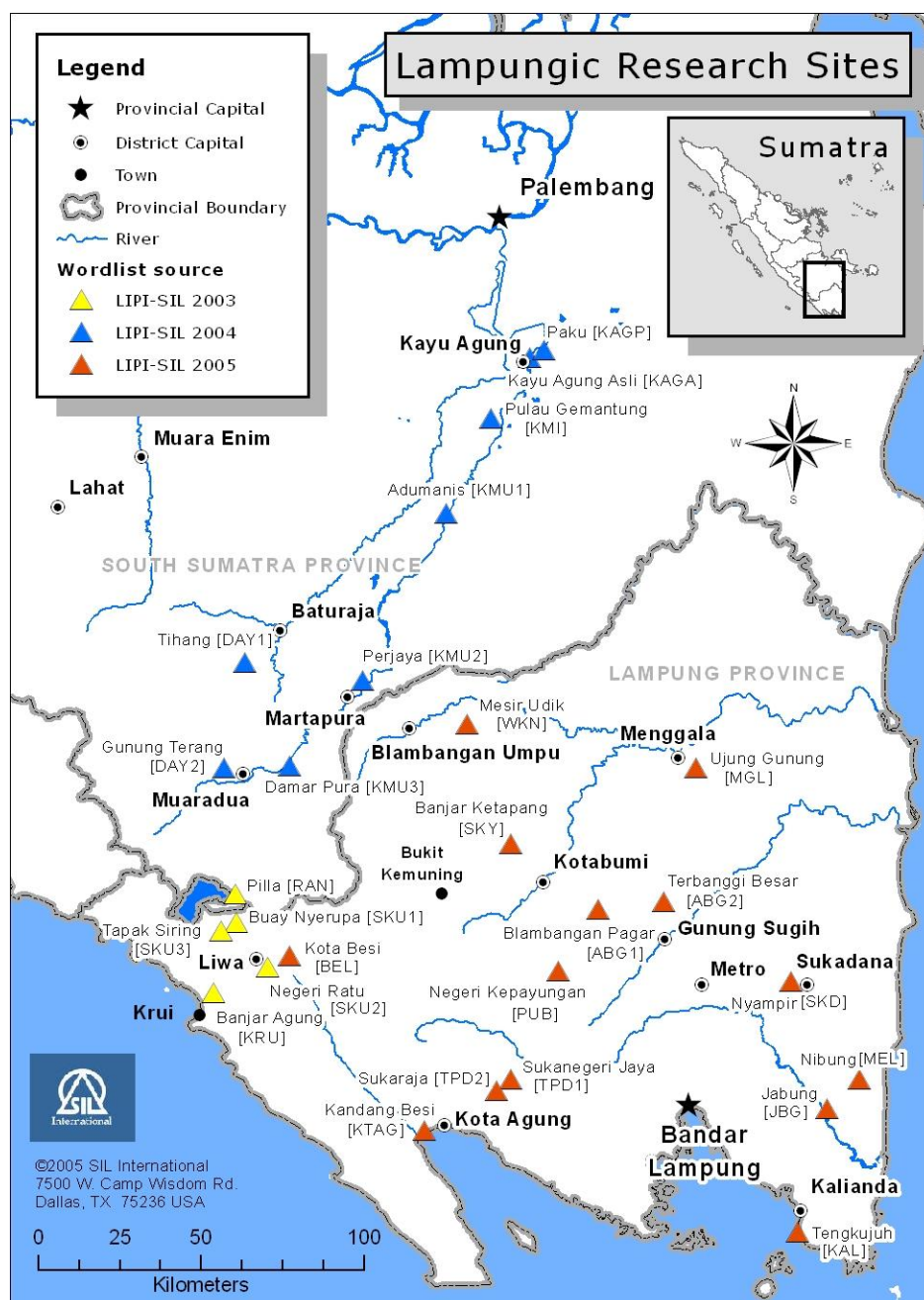


Table 2 LIPI-SIL Lampungic research sites and codes

Code	Village	Speech variety <sup>1</sup>	Kecamatan <sup>2</sup>	Kabupaten <sup>3</sup>
KAGA	Kayu Agung Asli	Kayu Agung Asli	Kota Kayu Agung	Ogan Komering Ilir
KAGP	Paku	Kayu Agung/Kayu Agung Pasar	Kota Kayu Agung	Ogan Komering Ilir
KMI	Pulau Gemantung	Komering Ilir	Tanjung Lubuk	Ogan Komering Ilir
KMU1	Adumanis	Komering Ulu	Cempaka	Ogan Komering Ulu Timur
KMU2	Perjaya	Komering Ulu	Martapura	Ogan Komering Ulu Timur
KMU3	Damarpura	Komering Ulu	Simpang	Ogan Komering Ulu Selatan
DAY1	Tihang	Daya	Lengkiti	Ogan Komering Ulu
DAY2	Gunung Terang	Daya	Buay Sandang Aji	Ogan Komering Ulu Selatan
RAN	Pilla	Ranau	Banding Agung	Ogan Komering Ulu Selatan
SKU3	Tapak Siring	Lampung Pesisir/Sukau	Sukau	Lampung Barat
SKU2	Negeri Ratu	Lampung Pesisir/Sukau	Sukau	Lampung Barat
SKU1	Buay Nyerupa	Lampung Pesisir/Sukau	Sukau	Lampung Barat
KRU	Banjar Agung	Lampung Pesisir/Krui	Pesisir Tengah	Lampung Barat
BEL	Kota Besi	Lampung Peminggir/Belalau	Batu Brak	Lampung Barat
WKN	Mesir Udik	Lampung Api/Way Kanan	Bahuga	Way Kanan
SKY	Banjar Ketapang	Lampung Api/Sungkai	Sungkai Selatan	Lampung Utara
PUB	Negeri Kepayungan	Lampung Api/Pubian	Pubian	Lampung Tengah
TPD2	Sukaraja	Lampung Pesisir/Talang Padang	Talang Padang	Tanggamus
TPD1	Sukanegeri Jaya	Lampung Pesisir/Talang Padang	Talang Padang	Tanggamus
KTAG	Kandang Besi	Lampung Pesisir/Kota Agung/Semangka	Kota Agung	Tanggamus
KAL	Tengkujuh	Lampung Pesisir/Kalianda/Rajabasa	Kalianda	Lampung Selatan
JBG	Jabung	Lampung Jabung	Jabung	Lampung Timur
MEL	Nibung	Lampung Nyo/Melinting	Gunung Pelindung	Lampung Timur
SKD	Nyampir	Lampung Nyo/Abung/Sukadana	Bumi Agung	Lampung Timur
ABG2	Terbanggi Besar	Lampung Nyo/Abung	Terbanggi Besar	Lampung Tengah

<sup>1</sup> Most general but local name used.

<sup>2</sup> *Kecamatan* is an official administrative division one step lower than a *kabupaten*. It will be translated as ‘subdistrict’ in this report.

<sup>3</sup> *Kabupaten* is an official administrative division one step lower than the province. It will be translated as ‘district’ in this report.

ABG1	Blambangan Pagar	Lampung Nyo/Abung/Kotabumi (?)	Abung Selatan	Lampung Utara
MGL	Ujung Gunung	Lampung Menggala (Nyo)	Menggala	Tulang Bawang

## 5. Sociolinguistic survey tools used

In order to more completely and accurately understand the complexities of inter-dialectal relationships within the Lampungic cluster, we have employed a number of different sociolinguistic and linguistic research tools within a Rapid Appraisal survey framework. The aspects of these tools that relate to language identity and dialectology are discussed here; in addition, these tools also seek to gain a basic grasp of language use in specific domains and language attitudes. Katubi (2006) investigates some of the aspects of language shift and language vitality found through this research. A fuller explanation together with templates for each tool listed here may be found in Hanawalt et al. (forthcoming).

As will be demonstrated below, the use of multiple tools to gain an understanding of the language and dialect distribution within an area is more desirable than simply relying on the results of a single tool.

### 5.1. Sociolinguistic questionnaires

#### 5.1.1. Procedure

Sociolinguistic questionnaires help answer questions regarding language use and vitality, language shift, dialectology, and language attitudes.

Administering these questionnaires in a group format allows the researchers to gather the opinions of several people at once, as well as gather the group consensus—which is a good indicator of popular sentiments and attitudes. It also reduces the need for a rigorous screening process of informants, as would be necessary for questionnaires given to individuals. Some questionnaires, however, effectually represent the responses of one individual who may have been the most vocal or most respected member of the group. We asked that volunteers for this questionnaire be native to the village and speak the vernacular as their first language.

We also used maps of the area as a reference during questionnaire sessions. The groups pointed out where the same, similar or different language varieties are spoken on the maps, or in response to place names mentioned by the researcher. Not all questions were asked in all locations; some questions were added during later stages of the survey.

#### 5.1.2. Presentation of results

##### 5.1.2.1. Language choice

Table 3 through Table 5 display the results obtained for the question of what language people from the site surveyed use when they meet a stranger who speaks the dialect in question.



**Table 3 Language choice in inter-ethnic or inter-dialectal situations: South Sumatra**

Sites surveyed ↓	Kayu Agung Asli	Kayu Agung	Komerling Ilir	Komerling Ulu	Daya	Ranau	Lampung Pesisir
KAGA	--	--	PM <sup>4</sup>	PM	PM	--	BI <sup>5</sup>
KAGP	Kayu Agung	--	PM	PM or BI	--	--	BI
KMI	½= BI or Kom/KAA	BI	½=PM	½= BI or Kom 1/2=PM/Kom	1/2=PM 1/2=BI or Kom/Daya	--	2/2=BI ½ =Kom/BL <sup>6</sup>
KMU <sup>7</sup>	--	PM or BI	Komerling	Komerling	3/4= Kom/Daya ¼ =BI or PM	--	2/3 = BI 1/3 = Kom
Daya	BI	BI or PM	Daya/ Kom	3/3=Daya/ Kom 1/3=or BI	--	Daya/ Ranau	3/3=BI 2/3=Daya/BL
RAN	--	--	--	Ranau/ Kom	1/3=Ranau; 2/3= BI	--	Ranau

**Table 4 Language choice in inter-ethnic or inter-dialectal situations: Lampung Province**

Sites surveyed ↓	Way Kanan	Pesisir Barat	Sungkai	Pubian	Pesisir Tang.	Pesisir Selat.	Jabung	Suka-dana	Abung	Menggala
WKN	BL	BI	--	--	--	BI	--	BI	BL	Meng
Pesisir Barat	--	BL	--	BL	--	--	--	--	--	2/3= BI 1/3=BL
SKY	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	BL
PUB	--	BI	BL	--	BI	--	--	--	BI	--
Pesisir Tang-gamus	--	BL	BL	BL	BL	BL	BI	BI	BI	2/3= BI 1/3=BL
Pesisir Selatan	--	--	BI	BI	--	--	BI	--	BI	--
JBG	BI	--	--	BI	--	BL	--	BI	BL	Meng
MEL	--	BI	--	--	BI	BI	--	BL	BL	BI
ABG1	2/3=BI 1/3=BL	BI	BI	BI	BI	BI	BL	2/3=BL 1/3=BI	2/3=BL 1/3=BI	BL
MGL	--	BL	--	--	--	BL	--	BL	--	--

<sup>4</sup> Palembang Malay.<sup>5</sup> Indonesian (*Bahasa Indonesia*).<sup>6</sup> Lampung (*Bahasa Lampung*); refers to the dialect of that locale.<sup>7</sup> Mitani mentions a fourth sub-dialect, Komerling Buay; however, our research did not confirm its existence. The word *buay* is the local word for Indonesian *marga* 'clan'.

Table 5 unites the responses from several areas into single categories and reports the broad patterns in responses found throughout the groups.

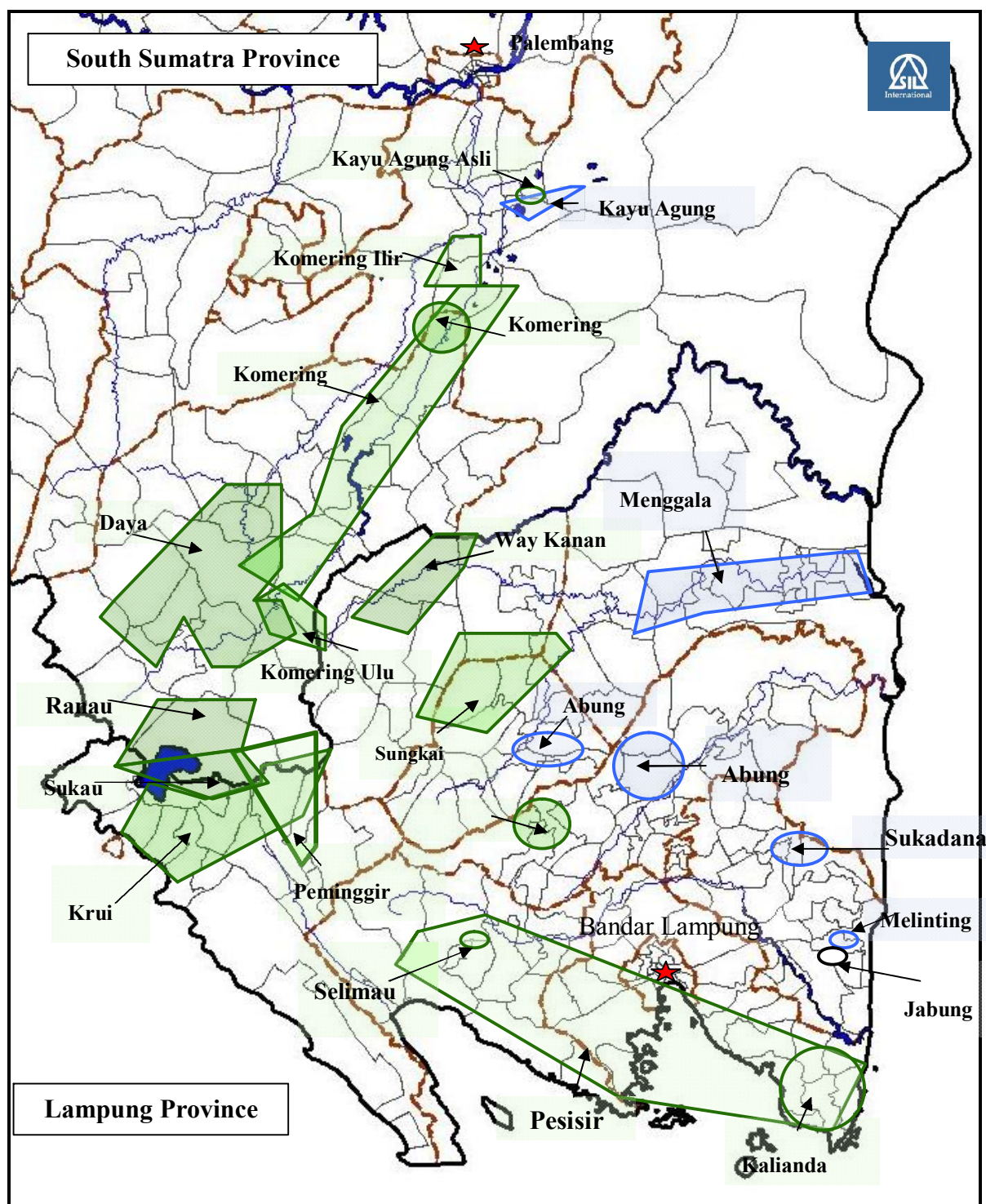
**Table 5 Language choice in inter-ethnic or inter-dialectal situations: between provinces**

Sites surveyed ↓	Ranau	Komering/Daya	Lampung Pesisir (Api)	Lampung Nyo
RAN	Ranau	2/4=Ranau/Komering 2/4=BI	BL	2/3= BL 1/3=BI
Komering/Daya	Daya/Ranau	12/19=Kom or Daya 4/19=LWC and/or own language 3/19=LWC-BI or BP	4/8=BI 3/8=BI and/or own language 1/8=own language	--
Lampung Pesisir (Api)	BI	$\frac{3}{4}$ = BI $\frac{1}{4}$ = BL	14/20 situations=BL 6/20=BI	12/17 situations=BI 5/17=BL
Lampung Nyo	BI	3/6= BL 3/6 = BI	25/30 situations=BI 5/30=BL	15/19 situations=BL 4/19= BI

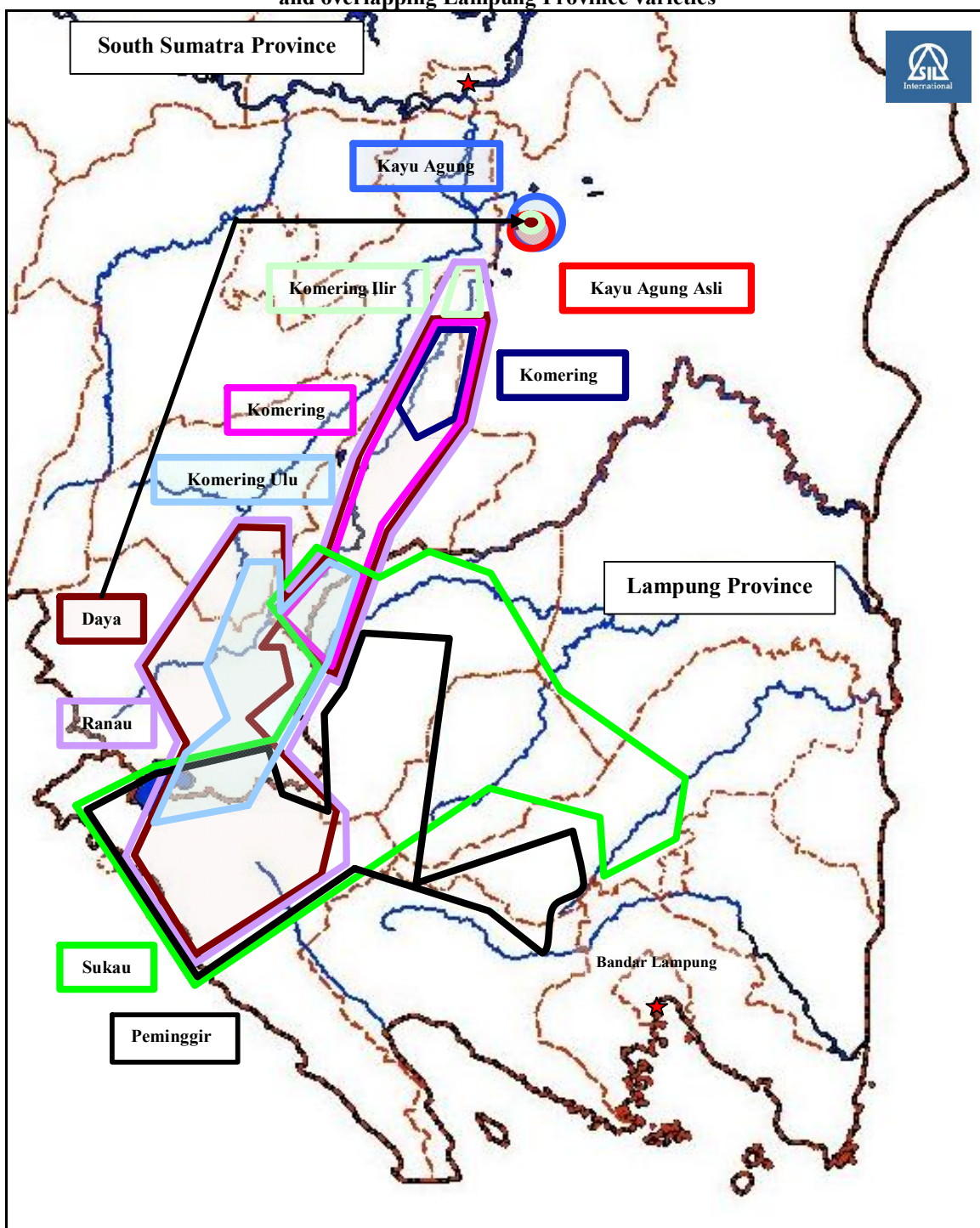
#### 5.1.2.2. Language similarity mapping

Boone and Stalder (2003) note that any two speakers of the same or related varieties may delineate either a wide or narrow area where their speech variety is spoken, based on their personal language and ethnic attitudes. Linguistic and social awareness also vary between speakers, and influence their perspective on linguistic boundaries. Keeping the above principle in mind, the emic mapping of dialects below cannot be considered a quantitative description of where these varieties are spoken. Emic understanding of dialectology in this area is probably also connected to clan distinctions. The following maps describe the emic perspective of the respondents, in response to two questions: “Where is the language and dialect spoken exactly the same as yours?” and “Where do the people speak a dialect that is a little different from yours, but still easily understood?”

Map 2 Areas where the speech variety is reported to be exactly the same

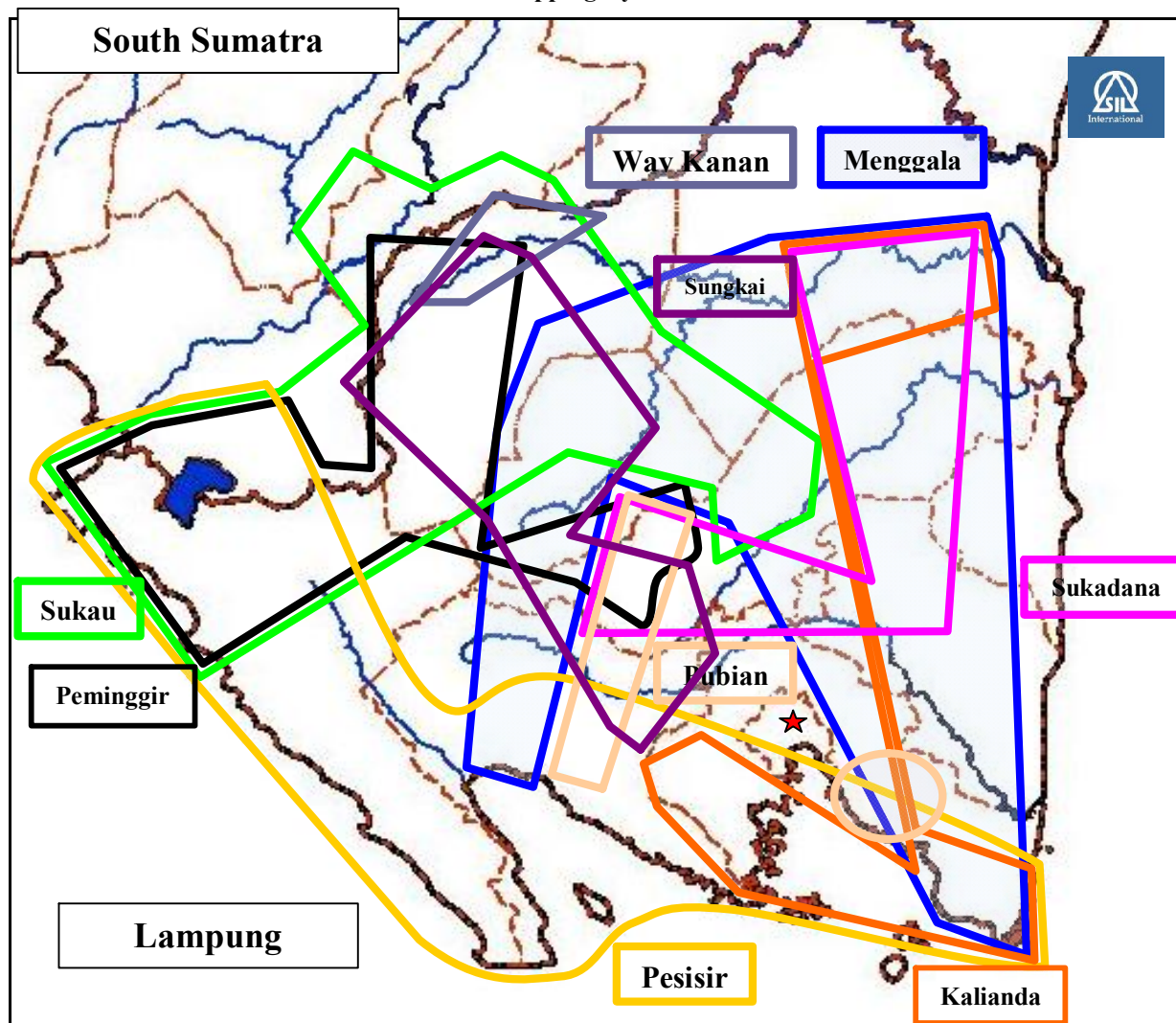


**Map 3 Areas where the speech variety is reported to be similar and understandable: South Sumatra Province and overlapping Lampung Province varieties**

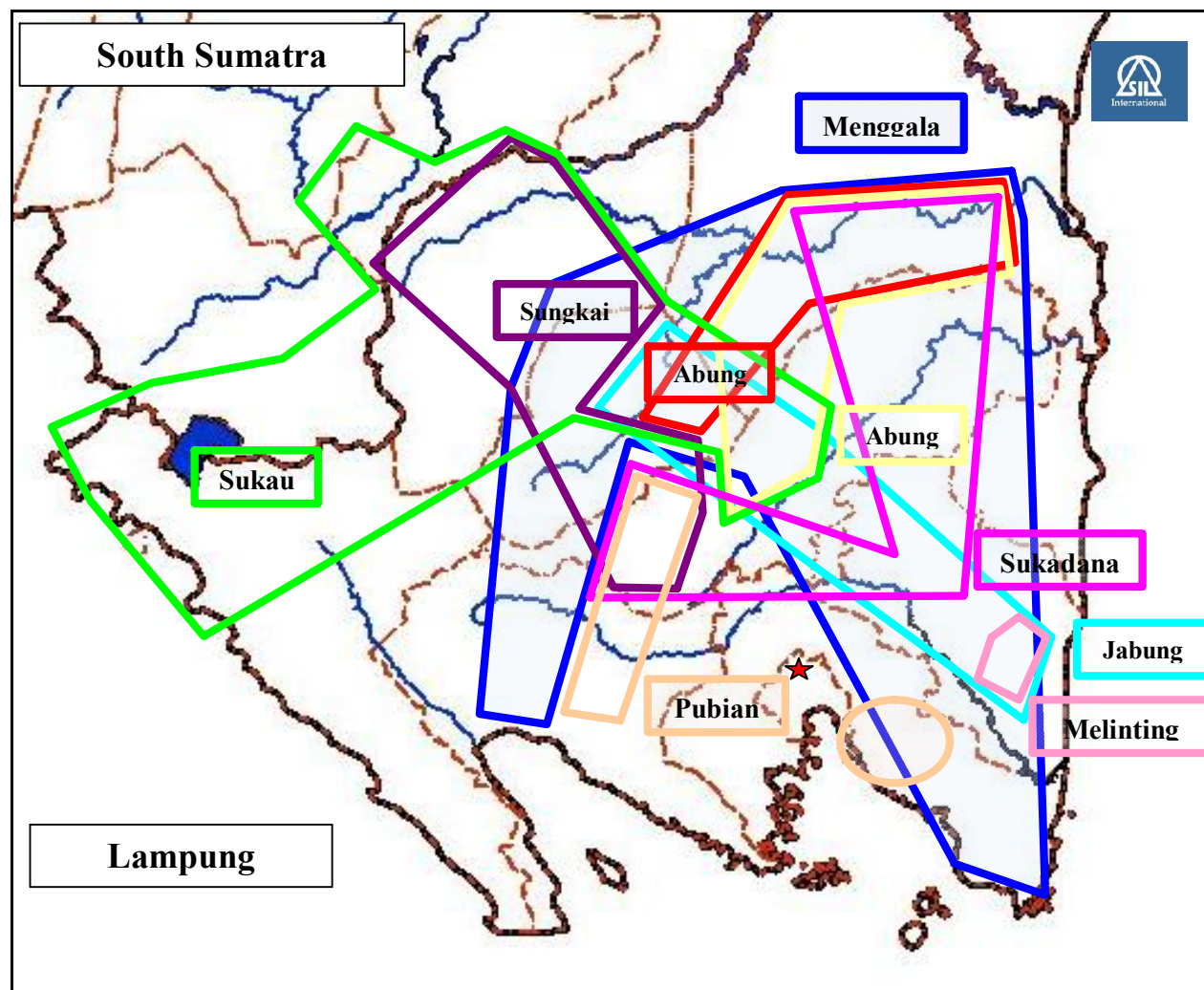




Map 4 Areas where the speech variety is reported to be similar and understandable: Lampung Api and overlapping Nyo varieties



**Map 5 Areas where the speech variety is reported to be similar and understandable: Lampung Nyo and overlapping Api varieties**



### 5.1.2.3. Ethnic identity

Understanding emic ethnic identification can give clues to dialect and language boundaries. Respondents were asked the question: “Do you originate from the same ethnic group as group \_\_\_\_\_?” or the variant, “Did your ancestors originate from the same ethnic group as group \_\_\_\_\_?”

In general the Lampungic groups of South Sumatra identify ethnically with each other and with the Pesisir people in Lampung Province. The scope of ethnic inclusion varied from the all-inclusive KMI, to those in KMI1, who only identified ethnically with other Komering.

The group interviewed in KMI showed the most perspicuous understanding of ethnic relations, claiming relation to the Kayu Agung Asli, all Komering, Daya and Lampung Pesisir. They did not include Kayu Agung in the list, which lines up with the theory that the Kayu Agung people originally migrated from a Nyo area of Lampung, and are therefore more distinct from the Api dialect chain to which Komering and Kayu Agung Asli link.

However, those interviewed in Kayu Agung Asli and Kayu Agung identified ethnically with each other. This could be explained by their long history of interaction, and the fact that they have been geographically cut off from other Lampungic groups by interjecting Malay groups. The Kayu Agung only identified ethnically with Kayu Agung Asli. Some Kayu Agung Asli interviewed also identified ethnically with Komering.

Those in Ranau identified with Lampung Pesisir, but not with Abung or Menggala, and not with any groups down the Komering River.

The Daya didn't connect with anyone downriver from them, either; only with the Ranau and Lampung Pesisir.

In Lampung Province, there is general ethnic solidarity across the two main dialect and *adat* ('tradition') divisions. They all consider themselves Lampungese, and, therefore, related; except that an apparent degree of exclusivity causes those in MEL and SKD to only identify with Sukadana. JBG's choice to identify with Way Kanan and Kota Bumi, but not with Kalianda, could be explained in terms of shared *adat* with those more western groups and JBG's claim that they originally came from the Way Kanan area.

Those interviewed in PUB were strong to assert that the Komering people are ethnically related to the Lampungese.

In this case, the most distinct lines are drawn around Kayu Agung. There are vague ties between Kayu Agung Asli and Komering; but the Kayu Agung people do not connect with anyone outside their subdistrict. One piece of information that we failed to ask concerned any ethnic connection between the peoples along the Komering River and the Nyo groups in Lampung. It should be noted that answers to a questionnaire like this vary sometimes even within one group, depending upon the knowledge and opinions of those present.

### 5.1.3. Interpretation of results

Sociolinguistic questionnaire results, though considerably varied from place to place, demonstrate some general responses that can assist us in confirming the subgrouping of the Lampungic cluster presented thus far. First, data relating to language choice in inter-variety contact situations (cf. Table 3) point to the general existence of an internally related chain in the western part of Lampung Province, extending down the Komering River in South Sumatra Province. Likewise, evidence for a subgrouping of varieties in eastern Lampung Province is also present.

The maps above based upon informants responses regarding what areas' speech is similar and understandable to them shows us that the eastern Lampungic varieties do not consider the South Sumatra Province varieties and most of the western Lampung Province varieties to be similar. The case is the same in the other direction, with the exceptions being two groups of this western Lampungic chain that are located most near the geographic center of the chain, i.e., Sukau and Peminggir; Menggala also named two of the southern groups in the western Lampungic area as having a similar dialect (but cf. §5.2.2 below). With a couple exceptions, the notion of the two Kayu Agung groups perceiving themselves and being perceived as distinct (except by Daya and one Komering group) is also supported by the responses elicited for these questions (cf. Map 3). Finally, it is significant to note that the groups in the center of the western Lampungic area—Sukau and Peminggir—named both Komering River varieties as well as southern Lampung Province varieties as being similar. The Komering River varieties and the

southern Lampung Province sites on the other hand did not consider each other's speech to be all that similar.

Ethnic identity responses were mixed from one place to another and even within one village, but some general patterns can also be seen here. Informants in most of the Komering varieties identified ethnically within their clans only, but a few included Kayu Agung Asli (not Kayu Agung), Daya and Lampung Pesisir. This supports the existence of a chain of speech varieties in the western Lampungic area, as mentioned above, together with the exclusion of the eastern Lampungic varieties from that chain. Regarding Kayu Agung, those in Kayu Agung Asli and Kayu Agung identified ethnically with each other, but only the Kayu Agung Asli identified with the Komering. This still leaves us with a more loose relationship between Kayu Agung and the rest of the western Lampungic chain. Some informants pointed out that the Kayu Agung people are thought by many to have migrated some time ago from somewhere in the Lampung Nyo area, which is also attested by Mitani (1980).

## **5.2. Rapid Appraisal Recorded Text Test**

### **5.2.1. Procedure**

The Recorded Text Test (RTT) is based on the assumption that a person's ability to retell a story heard in another speech variety corresponds to his or her ability to comprehend that speech variety. The original methodology for the RTT is described in Casad (1974). In practice, this tool can differentiate between very low levels of comprehension in the second language (L2) and moderate/high levels of comprehension. It cannot reliably distinguish between and within moderate and high levels of comprehension of the second language. O'Leary (1994) describes various aspects of the limitations of use of the RTT in language research and language program planning.

For the purposes of our Rapid Appraisal survey of the Lampungic cluster, the original RTT was modified significantly (cf. Stalder (1996)). This modification was done in order to make the test more efficient for our purposes; we were simply trying to gain a preliminary understanding of whether speakers of the main, reported dialect groups could in fact comprehend the other main dialects or not. Thus, the collection of texts was done on a less rigorous scale, and a group setting was used instead of testing individuals. In brief, the Rapid Appraisal RTT (RA-RTT) requires a group of subjects to listen to a recorded story in another speech variety and retell it segment by segment, paraphrasing it in their mother tongue or into a language of wider communication (LWC).

Three stories were tested. One story was told in the Menggala dialect (Nyo, or eastern Lampungic). Two stories were told by speakers from Talang Padang (Api, or western Lampungic in Lampung Province), though from slightly different sub-varieties. One of these Api stories was in a high register, the other in mid to low register (everyday speech).

These stories were then tested in nine Api villages and in three Nyo villages, using the results of previous research and personal interviews to determine which varieties were of the Api group and which were of the Nyo group. Respondents heard the stories in the vernacular and retold the stories in Indonesian. This method of RA-RTT test taking shows the respondents' general ability to understanding the text given.



### 5.2.2. Presentation of results

The RA-RTT is not designed to be a quantitative test. We have determined in many instances that the variation seen in the results and the appearance of unpredictably high scores in certain areas was most likely the result of two main factors. First, most of the informants for this test were men who were in positions of leadership, almost all of whom had fairly frequent contact now or in the past with speakers of the speech variety in question. The second major uncontrolled factor affecting these test results was the less-than-desirable quality of the fast-speech RTT from the Api area. Based upon many informants' comments, we believe that the poor quality of the recording greatly affected their comprehension of the text.

Table 6 presents a summary of the results of the RA-RTT in terms of a qualitative evaluation of observed and reported comprehension of the texts. The blue background corresponds to low comprehension of the recorded text. Areas with high comprehension of the respective text are given a clear background. Gray backgrounding shows the areas where the comprehension was somewhere in between.

**Table 6 Summary of RA-RTT results**

	<b>RA-RTT version</b>			
	<b>Talang Padang (TPD1)</b>		<b>Menggala (MGL)</b>	
<b>Test site</b>	<b>Researcher's observations</b>	<b>Informants' self-evaluation</b>	<b>Researcher's observations</b>	<b>Informants' self-evaluation</b>
<b>SKU1 (Sukau)</b>	Got the main points; missed many details <sup>8</sup>	Said they understood all of it	Got many main points of the story; missed some details	Claimed a wide range of comprehension depending on person
<b>KRU (Krui)</b>	Got some main points but missed others	Said they understood all of it	Missed a great deal of the main points	Some said they understood it all, some women said they didn't understand any of it
<b>BEL (Liwa)</b>	Got the main points but missed many details	Said they understood all of it, but that there were some slang words they didn't know	Got the main points of the story; missed some important details	Said they could understand about 75 percent of the story
<b>WKN (Way Kanan)</b>	Got the main points and all the details	Said they understood all of it	Got the main points and most details, but several informants had more difficulty than others	Said they understood the whole story but that it was significantly different speech; older people wouldn't be able to understand very much
<b>SKY (Sungkai)</b>	Got most of the main points; many people seemed confused with certain sections	Said they understood most of the story	Got the main points of the story and most details	Said they understood everything except one word

<sup>8</sup> Some segments of the Talang Padang text recording contained significant background noise and fast speech, possibly affecting the informants' ability to hear all the words.

<b>PUB (Pubian)</b>	Got the main points but missed some details	Said they understood it but that the recording was unclear	Got the main points of the story and most details	Men said they understood all of it, but that older women would only get half of it
<b>KTAG (Kota Agung)</b>	Got most of the main points of the story	Said they understood all of it	Got most of the main points; had trouble with some details.	Said they understood about half of it
<b>TPD1 (Talang Padang)</b>	Home town test		Got most of the main points; missed a few important details	Said that those who had never left the village would only understand a little bit
<b>KAL (Kalianda)</b>	Got all the main points but missed some details	Said they understood most of the story	Understand most elements of the story (possibly tied to acquired intelligibility)	Said they understood the whole story
<b>JBG (Jabung)</b>	Got the main points but missed many details, after two or three hearings	Said they understood most of it but that there were many words they didn't know	Understood every detail of the story	Said that the speech is different from their own, though they understood all of it
<b>MEL (Melinting)</b>	Got the main points only after hearing it four or five times	Said they understood only a little, only a few words they recognized	Understood every detail of the story	Said they understood it all and that children would also understand it
<b>SKD (Sukadana)</b>	Got the main points but very few details	Said they understood only a little	Understood every detail of the story	Said it was easy for them to understand
<b>ABG1 (Abung)</b>	Got the main points, but with difficulty	Said they understood some scattered words in the story	Understood every detail of the story	Said they understood it all and that less-traveled people would get all of it
<b>MGL (Menggala)</b>	Got the main points, but very few details	Said they understood about half of it	Home town test	

### 5.2.3. Interpretation of results

The results displayed in Table 6 demonstrate wide variation in the groups' ability to comprehend the texts. Some general and useful statements can be made, however. The most striking piece of evidence for comprehension and lack of comprehension may be seen in the results for the Nyo groups plus Jabung. They were able to understand the Menggala (Nyo) text very well, but they all had great difficulty with the Api text. This points to a high degree of uniformity in the level of comprehension of at least that one Api variety, and it points to the fact that at least Menggala is understood well throughout the whole Nyo area, plus Jabung.

The results in the Api areas were less homogenous. Comprehension of the Menggala text was good in some areas, and poor in others, not corresponding in any apparent way to geography. Information gathered in interviews, however, points to the likelihood that this high comprehension results from acquired intelligibility, as the Menggala people are well-known throughout the province and have established entire villages in other parts of the Lampungic region.

Most notable of the comprehension abilities within the Api area is that the various Api speakers overall did not perform as well at comprehending one of the Api speech varieties as the Nyo people did at comprehending the Nyo variety Menggala.

In the Api case, this could be simply due to lack of close contact between many of the ethnic groups and the fact that they are separated by significant geographical distance. In the Nyo case, this could be due to much greater contact between the groups, or at least between Menggala people and other groups. On the other hand, it could be the result of the relatively higher number of shared linguistic and lexical features briefly described below.

## 6. Linguistic survey tools used (briefly)

As mentioned above, not only sociolinguistic elements were taken into consideration in this language survey. A historical comparative analysis and lexicostatistical analysis were also done on wordlists collected during the survey. These two aspects of our analysis of the Lampungic cluster will only be mentioned in broad outline below. A complete treatment of the data leading to the conclusions presented here may be found in Anderbeck et al. (2005) and in Hanawalt et al. (forthcoming). An initial reconstruction of Proto-Lampungic is postulated in Anderbeck (2006).

Although wordlists were available for some sites from other researchers, the quality of these wordlists and purpose for their collection varied. Thus we found it necessary to collect wordlists in some locations in order to fill in missing data for our analysis.

### 6.1. Historical comparative phonological analysis

A historical comparative analysis allows for the grouping of speech varieties based on shared phonological innovations; the mutual absence of a particular innovation, however, does not constitute grounds for grouping two speech varieties together. We will not attempt to construct a lower-order subgrouping of Lampungic varieties but rather demonstrate the most likely similarities that emerge from our analysis. The findings in this section are an outgrowth of comparative studies done by White (n.d.) and Anderbeck (2006).<sup>9</sup>

First, we posit a western Lampungic subgroup which exhibits the innovation of ultimate *\*ə > o*—those groups along the Komering River in South Sumatra, the western mountains and western coast of Lampung Province and the southern and western inland sections of Lampung Province (including Jabung), possibly also including Menggala and Sukadana from the Lampung Nyo area. Thus only the Abung and Melinting varieties are excluded from this subgroup.

Fortunately, the uncertainty regarding whether Abung and Melinting fit into this first subgroup can be sufficiently answered by looking at a combination of other innovations. A second subgrouping of the four varieties in the Lampung Nyo area can be made based upon several innovations which have been discovered. First, the case of nasal deletion in nasal consonant clusters at syllable boundaries supports this subgroup, plus Jabung (though more evidence is needed in the case of Melinting). Secondly, the nearly consistent deletion of word-initial *\*h* is another phonological change that is found only in these four eastern Lampungic varieties, plus Jabung again. A fourth phonological innovation that corresponds very clearly to the four Nyo varieties plus Jabung is the change of *\*a > o*. Building off of that change, this

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<sup>9</sup> An in depth analysis and comparison of morphology and syntax are not typically included in a Rapid Appraisal survey, simply because collecting the data for such comparisons would involve spending much more time than is available.

subgrouping's new *\*o* together with *\*i* and *\*u* then became diphthongs. This change to final diphthongs is not the case in Jabung, however.

Within this subgroup, the evidence in Menggala related to the innovation of slightly higher realizations of the diphthongs discussed above helps us to possibly separate out Menggala as a subgroup of its own.

The phonological changes presented above point to the existence of a subgroup consisting of the four varieties of the Nyo group, together with Jabung.

The historical comparative evidence that penultimate *\*ə > o* helps us group Kayu Agung, Kayu Agung Asli and the Komering River varieties together.

A separate innovation which may allow Kayu Agung to effectively stand by itself separate from all other varieties is the innovation in all varieties except Kayu Agung of debuccalization. Subgroupings are not made based upon retentions (or the absence of an innovation), but in this case the fact that Kayu Agung is the lone retainer of these final voiceless consonants is nevertheless very interesting.

One further subgrouping can potentially be made, though the evidence for this is not as strong. The western mountain and coastal varieties Krui, Ranau and Sukau all exhibit the fortition of final *\*h* and the present though less systematic deletion of initial *\*h*. This is deemed not as strong of a basis for labeling them as a separate subgroup, but it is at least a clue calling for further investigation into that possibility.

## 6.2. Lexicostatistical analysis

Our lexicostatistical analysis allows us to make some statements about the synchronic situation among the Lampungic dialects. First, we see that it is possible to state that lexically, there are two general subgroups within the Lampungic cluster which internally share higher degrees of lexical similarity between varieties. One of those is an eastern subgroup. This corresponds to what is referred to locally as the Lampung Nyo speech varieties—Menggala, Kotabumi, Sukadana and Melinting.

The second subgroup will be referred to as the western subgroup, although it stretches from north to south in the shape of an arc, as described above. This includes all the other varieties not included under the eastern subgroup—from Kalianda and Jabung in the south to Kayu Agung and Kayu Agung Asli in the north.

In general, we find a loose chain of dialects running from Kalianda in the south, through central and western Lampung and down the Komering River. It is beyond the scope of lexicostatistics, however, to make any lower-level dialect divisions within this chain.

One very interesting case, though, is that of Jabung, which does not display this same high degree of lexical similarity with its immediate neighbors in the western subgroup. Instead, it shares the highest degrees of similarity with speech varieties located much further north in that subgroup—corresponding nicely with local reports that the Jabung people had migrated from that interior western area some time ago.

Overall, our lexicostatistical analysis agrees with Walker (1975), except that it appears his site 'Jabung' corresponds to our site 'Nibung/MEL' (Melinting dialect) a few kilometers away

from Jabung, whereas our ‘Jabung/JBG’ and ‘Jabung dialect’ correspond to a significantly divergent group of three villages centered in the town Jabung.

## 7. Synthesis of results

Three sets of evidence suggest that the Nyo, or eastern Lampungic subgroup, is much more homogenous than the remaining groups are with each other. First, the historical comparative analysis yields a number of innovations that link the Nyo varieties together. Next, the lexicostatistical analysis also links them more closely together lexically than many areas are to each other in the remainder of the speech varieties. Finally, the Nyo RA-RTT text comprehension for the Nyo speakers was much higher and more consistent than the Api speakers’ comprehension of the Api text. This subgroup is further attested by the language similarity maps presented above, where the majority of Nyo sites named other Nyo sites as being very similar in speech, but excluded for the most part the remainder of the speech varieties.

The Nyo varieties aside, the homogeneity and interrelatedness of the remainder of the Lampungic varieties is much more at issue. Above we stated that it is far more desirable to use a number of tools to determine the language and dialect situation in a given area, as opposed to using one tool only. A number of examples from this western side of the Lampungic cluster will suitably illustrate and support this claim.

While lexicostatistics may provide some idea that these western groups somehow ‘belong together’, nothing firm can be concluded from lexicostatistics about whether this constitutes one language or not. (Again, in this paper the definition of language found in Gordon (2005) is being used.)

Next, the historical comparative method permits us to nicely group together the Nyo varieties along a number of shared innovations; however, this does not hold true at all for the remainder of the varieties. We are left with only one solid subgrouping (Kayu Agung and Kayu Agung Asli with the Komering River varieties) and a small number of other more tenuous possibilities.

If we simply stop there, using either one or both of the linguistic methods of analysis, we will fall far short of both answering all the points in our adopted definition of what is a language and completely ignoring a wealth of information provided by the native speakers’ own perception of their languages.

In turning to our interpretations of results for the non-Nyo varieties, we see some conflicting conclusions. On the one hand, these non-Nyo speakers in Lampung Province see themselves as all speaking something called Api, which they consider by and large to be a single language (*bahasa*); and for the most part they claim that the local varieties are mutually intelligible. When faced with a real-life example of such a variety in the form of a brief, recorded story, however, many of these same individuals who claimed to be able to understand all the other Api varieties really could understand only a part or very little of the example given.

Such a discrepancy points out two important issues related to language identification and other aspects of sociolinguistic survey. First, how do we know that the respondent has the same thing in mind when we ask him or her questions about a particular speech variety? It is possible that he or she is thinking of something completely other than what the researcher has in mind; or that the respondent has never had any real exposure to the variety in question, but answers based on a desire to please the researcher or to avoid losing face.

Secondly, we must be aware that answers given about how many distinct languages there are in a cluster may be the product of generations of passive knowledge rather than active experience. Such knowledge may not always reflect reality; the answer may be found to be quite different if the person is asked about the same speech variety a week after living in that other variety's homeland for the first time.

For this reason a battery of tools or tests is needed, preferably including something like the RA-RTT, which places a real example in front of the respondent, allowing him or her to give a response that corresponds to his new, though somewhat artificial, firsthand experience with the speech variety in question.

Unfortunately, the RA-RTT has not yet been employed for the South Sumatra Province part of the survey. Thus, a significant piece of information about intelligibility between the speech varieties there and elsewhere is still missing. Looking at the evidence in hand, however, does help us come to a better understanding of these groups' relationship to the whole. Our historical comparative analysis leads us to group together all the varieties labeled Komering, plus the two Kayu Agung varieties. Further, our language similarity maps help us see that the groups at the 'ends' of these non-Nyo areas (the Komering River groups and the southern Lampung Province groups) do not consider themselves to be all that similar in language—though they are aware of some ethnic ties. By contrast, the non-Nyo groups in the geographic center (such as Peminggir and Sukau) consider the groups to both the north and south of them to be similar. Such evidences point to a sort of chain existing among the non-Nyo varieties. Based on the evidences presented here, though, this chain seems to have two sections that overlap in the middle, namely a southern section (southern, central and western Lampung Province) and a northern section (central and western Lampung Province and the South Sumatra Province varieties).

Our ethnic identity questions together with interviews with native speakers must be compared with the facts presented above. As far as language identity is concerned, both the Daya and Kayu Agung groups assert a more separate ethnolinguistic identity which must be weighed into the equation.

## **8. Conclusion (and call for further research)**

### **8.1. Comparison with previous research**

The general consensus of most researchers is that the entire Lampungic cluster can be divided into two large subgroups—Lampung Api (Pesisir) and Lampung Nyo.

The Lampung Api subgroup contains many speech varieties or more local clusters of speech varieties, which for the purposes of this paper have been termed local speech varieties. Most past research, including Walker (1975) and Mitani (1980), agree that the Komering varieties are linguistically a part of the Lampung Api subgroup. A few other researchers, such as Foley (1983), treat Komering as a separate language parallel to Lampung. Our research confirms the existence of two or three main subgroups within the Lampungic cluster.

Within the Lampung Api subgroup, most researchers recognize bundles of speech varieties of different sorts, usually referring to these regional clusters as 'dialects'. The most clearly distinct of these dialects seem to be Komering, Sungkai and Pubian. Other groups seem to be less clear in terms of a locally accepted name and delineation of the extent of their dialect, with most

of these being centered around a particular town or region (e.g., Krui and Kalianda). Other researchers obtained names related to clan (*marga*) backgrounds (e.g., Bengkulah, Meninting).

Within the Lampung Nyo group, two groups noted as dialects are Abung and Tulangbawang (Menggala). Our research also confirms the existence of two such dialect groups, both in linguistic terms as well as sociolinguistic.

Our findings differ considerably with those of Aliana et al. (1986) as to the areas inhabited by some speech varieties. For instance, Aliana et al. (1986:48) claim that the Jabung ‘subdialect’ is spoken in eleven subdistricts, while village leaders in Jabung claim that their speech variety is only spoken in three villages. We postulate that this and similar discrepancies may be due to a difference in how dialect names were elicited.

## 8.2. Language mapping<sup>10</sup>

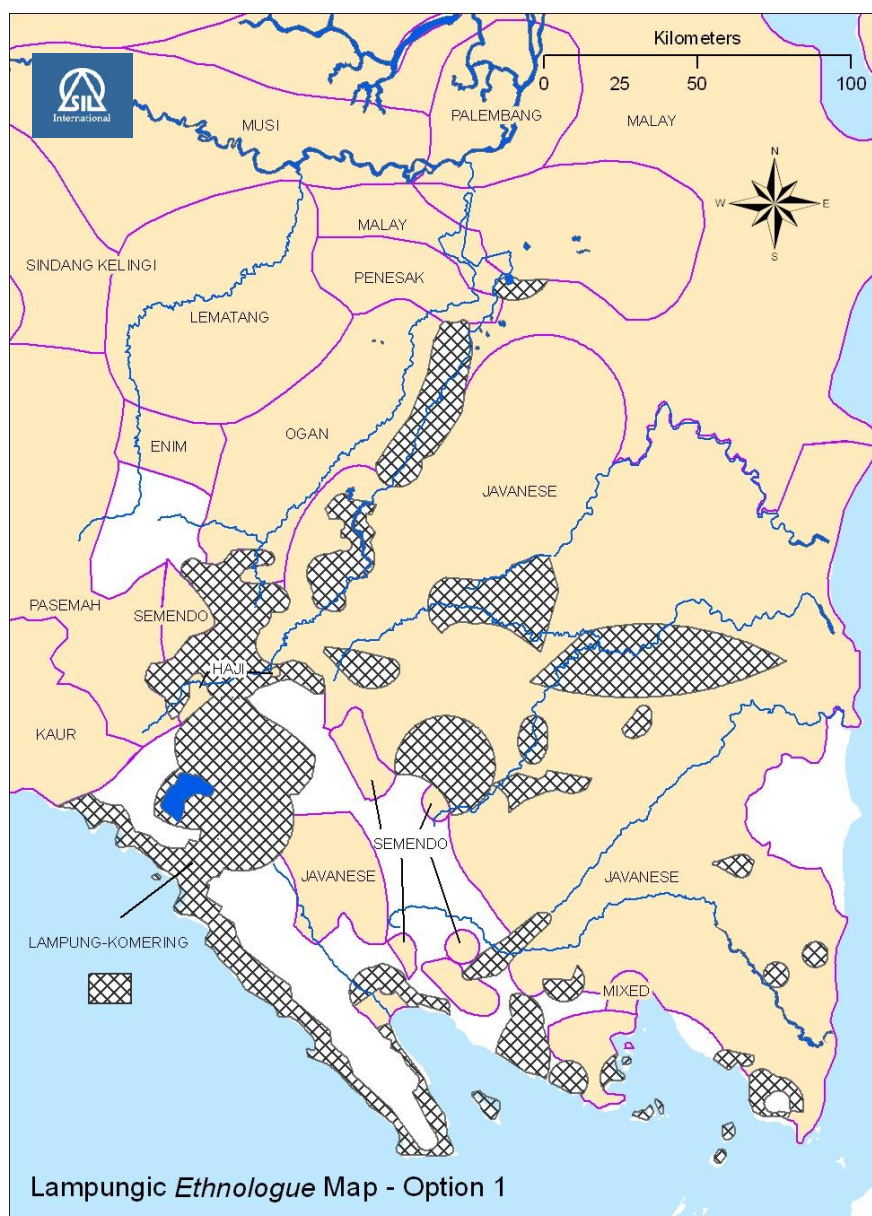
The evidence presented in this paper leads us to three main possibilities for presentation of the Lampungic speech varieties, in light of the three criteria found in our definition of language (cf. §2).

In Option 1, the Lampungic cluster could be listed simply as one language—a large, interconnected cluster of dialects with some clear subgroupings. This option would be based primarily on the view that the Lampungic varieties are structured in two dialect subgroups. Though low, there is some level of comprehension between the two clusters. Additionally, there is a clear sense, especially among speakers in Lampung Province, that all Lampungic speakers speak the same language, albeit with significant regional differences. Calling this language ‘Lampung’ would lead to several problems, however. First, this would immediately suggest to the hearer that this language is confined to Lampung Province, which is clearly not the case. Secondly, we anticipate that there would be local resistance to the use of the term ‘Lampung’ in areas outside Lampung Province to refer to local speech varieties, such as in the Komering River valley. Nevertheless, there is some understanding among Komering and Kayu Agung leaders that they are ethnically related to the Lampung people of Lampung Province. As the Kayu Agung people are located along the Komering River, we submit that it would be sufficient to list them as a dialect under a broader name that encompasses Komering. In this option, we suggest the name LAMPUNG-KOMERING to refer to the entire language cluster. Map 6 displays how Option 1 would look.

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<sup>10</sup> The language maps displayed in this paper make no claim as to real or imagined ethnic or political boundaries. Maps in this paper were created using ArcGIS software, which was kindly donated by Environmental Systems Research Institute (ESRI). Permission to reproduce these maps in any print, electronic or other media must be obtained in writing from SIL International.



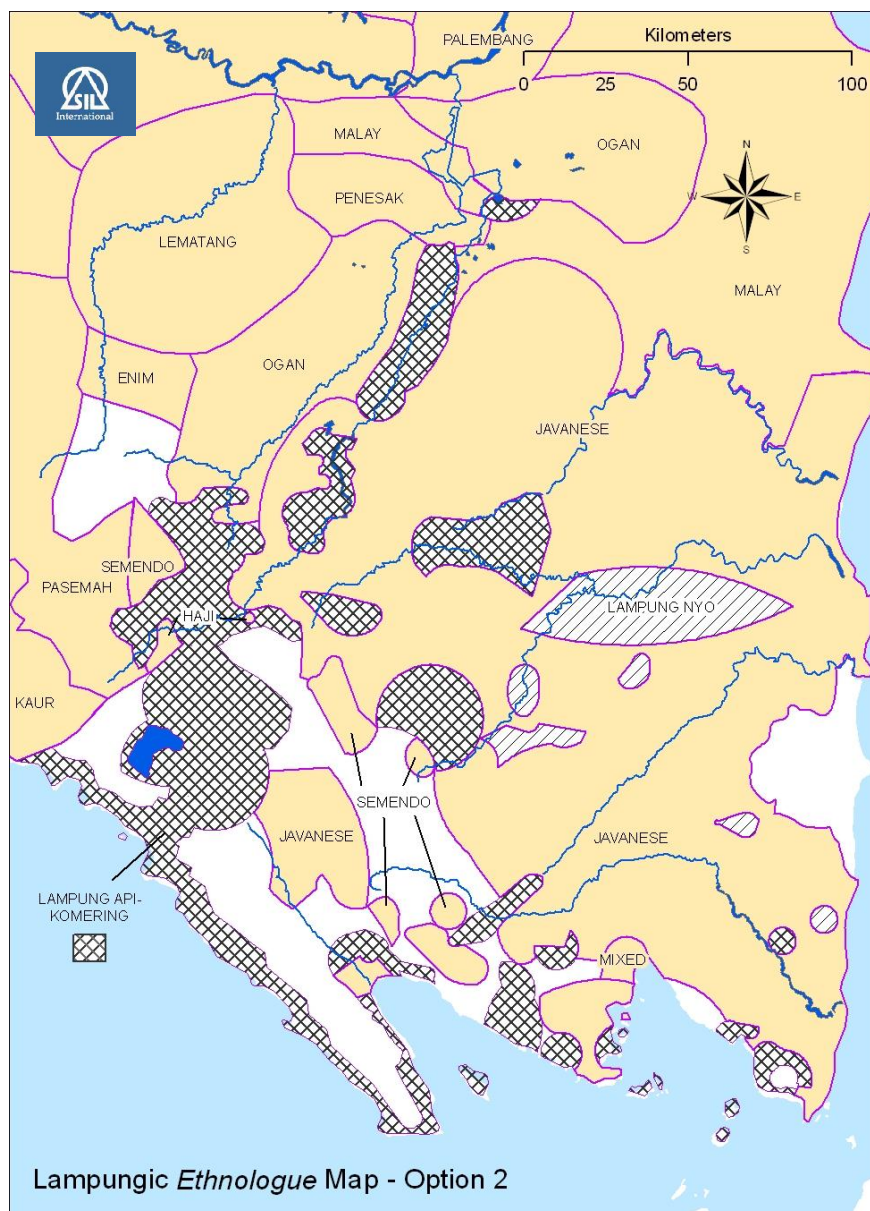
Map 6 Lampung *Ethnologue* Map - Option 1

Option 2 is to list the cluster as two main languages—an eastern Lampungic cluster (LAMPUNG NYO) and a western Lampungic chain (LAMPUNG API-KOMERING), with each main speech variety listed as a dialect underneath one of those two language entries. In this terminology, CLUSTER refers to a groups of dialects that share a very similar degree of intelligibility and other similarities with each other; whereas a CHAIN is defined as a group of dialects that are connected but in a more linear fashion—a given variety is most closely related to its immediate neighbor, but less so to another variety further away. This option would see the clear distinction and low intelligibility between the eastern and western sections of the Lampungic cluster as significant enough to label them as two separate languages (groups of dialects). In this scenario, Kayu Agung would be listed as part of the Lampung Api-Komering language due to its ethnic affinity to the Kayu Agung Asli, which is a variety very closely related to Komering. Jabung would also be grouped with the Lampung Api-Komering group because of



historical-comparative similarities and ethnic affinity with the interior western Lampungic chain—places such as Sungkai and Way Kanan. A visualization of Option 2 is shown in Map 7. This option would not go so far, though, as taking into consideration many of the inter-variety attitudes and other ethnic identity statements of the informants in some of the groups, as called for in the *Ethnologue*'s third criterion for labeling a group of speech varieties as a language.

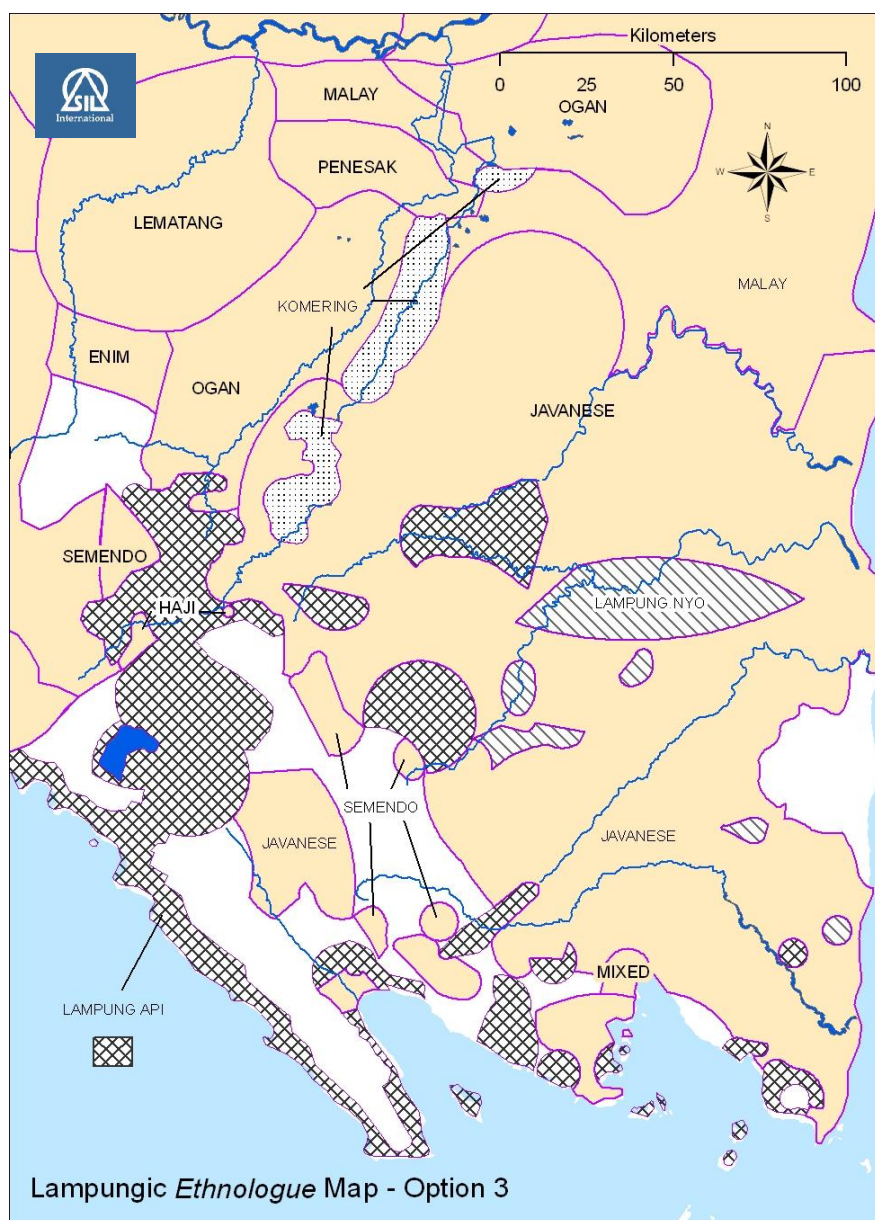
**Map 7 Lampung *Ethnologue* Map - Option 2**



Such attitude and affinity statements would be taken into account in Option 3, where the Lampungic cluster would be listed as three, four, or five languages. The eastern Lampungic cluster would still be listed as the LAMPUNG NYO language, with its dialects of Abung, Tulangbawang, Sukadana and Melinting. The western Lampungic chain could be broken down into two or three languages—chains of dialects—beginning with the distinction above of one large chain in Lampung Province, but including Ranau and probably Daya, which we could call LAMPUNG API. The Daya seem to relate more to the Lampung Pesisir groups south of them than

to the Komerling right beside them—though they do appear to have intelligibility in both. Thus Daya would probably be best grouped with the Lampung Api rather than as a part of the Komerling dialect chain. Then a separate dialect chain called KOMERING could be posited to refer to the closely related speech varieties along the Komerling River—all the Komerling varieties, Kayu Agung Asli and Kayu Agung. Kayu Agung Asli should be included in the Komerling dialect chain based upon historical-comparative and ethnic affinity ties to the Komerling. However, the Kayu Agung people are more difficult to place in the Komerling chain on the grounds of a lack of ethnic affinity. Ethnic affinity is a major criterion for grouping varieties together into languages, thus it may be necessary to consider Kayu Agung a separate language possibly originating in the eastern Lampungic cluster, with close ties now to Kayu Agung Asli due to a long period of proximity. In that case, it may be best to keep it as one language but label this chain ‘Komerling-Kayu Agung’; alternately, we could separate them out as two languages: ‘Komerling’ with a dialect Kayu Agung Asli, and ‘Kayu Agung’. In this approach Kayu Agung Asli would specifically need to be mentioned in order to avoid confusion with what is meant by the label ‘Kayu Agung’. The final speech variety that is difficult to place is Jabung. It seems clear that Jabung is more comparable to the interior western Lampungic groups linguistically (Way Kanan, Sungkai and Pubian); the sociolinguistic analysis regarding Jabung is divided, however. The RA-RTT comprehension data and sociolinguistic questionnaires points to Jabung’s much greater ability to understand Lampung Nyo speech. However, the interviews also reveal that the Jabung people did come from Way Kanan in interior western Lampung at some time in the past. Long contact with their present Nyo neighbor has made them more accustomed to Nyo speech than to the western Api speech. As far as classification as a separate language or as a dialect of one of the other groups, it may be best to list Jabung within the Lampung Api cluster as a more distant variety which has incorporated many features found in the Lampung Nyo cluster. However, on the basis of the Jabung informants’ statements that they speak Lampung Jabung (as opposed to Nyo or Api), it could be argued that they are sufficiently different linguistically from both groups to warrant listing them as a separate language on language identity grounds. A display of Option 3 with three Lampungic languages may be seen in Map 8.

**Map 8 Lampung *Ethnologue* Map - Option 3**



This survey also included an investigation of the Haji/Aji people of South Sumatra Province, listed in Gordon (2005:436) as a dialect of Malay. Anderbeck (2005) uses the comparative method to determine the origin of lexical stock and phonological innovations and retentions in Haji, concluding that Haji originated from a Malay parent language but has since undergone significant Lampungic borrowings. Anderbeck (2005) thus argues that Haji should be listed as a separate language.

### 8.3. Call for further research

Further research into intelligibility is necessary within the western Lampungic chain. The varieties within South Sumatra Province were not included in the RA-RTT testing, thus no direct testing of their comprehension of each other or of varieties in Lampung Province has yet been carried out. Also, there were some quality problems with the text used in the RA-RTT recording,

which may or may not have affected comprehension of the RA-RTT text. It would be desirable to test intelligibility of other speech varieties within the western Lampungic chain, as well. Within the eastern Lampungic cluster research should be done to determine whether there is reciprocal intelligibility of the other speech varieties, as only Menggala was used in the RA-RTT testing.

A better understanding of how the setting, question ordering and methodology of administering sociolinguistic questionnaires would potentially allow us and other researchers to enhance our ability to obtain good, emic responses from local participants. Minimizing the effect of the instrument while at the same time obtaining useful information must be pursued further.

Language mapping in Sumatra and elsewhere should be considered critically in terms of how best to represent the language inventory. Finding a balance between a useful way to display languages on a map and accurately representing current sociolinguistic realities presents an ongoing challenge. Further study into the possibilities and benefits of various ways of representing the linguistic and sociolinguistic diversity within Sumatra is necessary. Of particular concern is how best to map areas of heavy transmigration and areas where there is a significant mixing of ethnic groups in alternating villages.

Some investigations into specific aspects of some of the Lampungic varieties have been done, as summarized in §3. Further investigation should be undertaken to unearth aspects of the phonology, grammar, discourse, semantics, sociolinguistics and other domains among the varieties of Lampungic spoken in the two provinces.

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