

WORKPAPERS IN INDONESIAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

Volume 11



THE SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS
IN COOPERATION WITH
THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

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UNHAS-SIL

MORE SULAWESI SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEYS

1987-1991

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FOREWORD

An earlier volume of this *Workpapers in Indonesian Languages and Cultures*, Volume 5, reported on 'UNHAS-SIL South Sulawesi Sociolinguistic Surveys, 1983-1987'. The current volume reports on several more such surveys. Whereas the former volume was entirely devoted to languages of South Sulawesi, the present report encompasses languages from both South and Central Sulawesi. The 'Tae' language reported here alone is found entirely in South Sulawesi. The report on Padoe and Mori Bawah and Mori Atas represents languages spoken on both sides of the common border. The remaining four reports, those of Tajio, Balantak, Pamona, and Dondo, represent languages spoken in Central Sulawesi.

As before, the reports contained herein represent uneven quality and depth of research. Yet all of them represent a significant step forward with respect to our knowledge of the languages and the peoples that speak them. As this format is that of working papers, no real effort has been made to make the individual papers conform to a single format.

It seems good to summarize here the current state of language survey for the island of Sulawesi. The foundational work on Central Sulawesi is that of Barr, Barr and Salombe, *Languages of Central Sulawesi* (1979). It is our hope that additional followup surveys like those reported for South Sulawesi in Volume 5 will yet be undertaken to supplement our knowledge of Central Sulawesi.

South Sulawesi was surveyed by Charles and Barbara Grimes in their *Languages of South Sulawesi* (1987). Followup surveys were reported in Volume 5 as noted above. The deficiencies therein observed were summarized by Friberg and Laskowske in *South Sulawesi Languages* (1989). The Makasar language survey has been completed. Hopefully it will appear in both a dialect geography and a reconstruction of proto-Makasar. Bugis has been reported on as a dialect geography and may soon be subject to an extensive internal reconstruction. There remain three island subdistricts of Pangkajene Kepulauan district in the province that have yet to be surveyed in any form by UNHAS-SIL teams.

Southeast Sulawesi has been largely surveyed by UNHAS-SIL teams with the island of Buton still to be done. The exact form of the report for those surveys remains to be determined. Possibly a provincewide report like those for Central and South Sulawesi will be appropriate.

North Sulawesi at this writing is being surveyed by a UNHAS-SIL team cooperating with the University of Sam Ratulangi in Manado. One of the strengths of that survey is that it is being done at a level of thoroughness that hopefully will obviate the need for any followup surveys. Another strength is that it had excellent linguistic forerunners in such men as Sneddon and Maryott. We look forward to a provincewide report of the languages of North Sulawesi.

Islandwide, the language called Bajau (Bajao, Bajo) is found in widely separated villages in all four provinces. The survey of Bajau is still in process. Hopefully its completion will not only tell us about the relatedness of the language(s?) of that name in scattered Sulawesi settlements, but will also relate to peoples of that same name in Sabah (Malaysia) and in the Philippines.

The sociolinguistic surveys of Sulawesi, both completed and in process, will form a milestone in our understanding of the linguistic situation of the island. There remains in some areas the need for rigorous intelligibility testing. Unfortunately, this has been all too easy to put off. The fullest understanding of this island will not be forthcoming until such testing has been undertaken. It is this level of linguistic awareness that will most profitably impact the peoples of this insular and kaleidoscopic treasury of languages.

The work reported here was done under three successive coordinators of academic affairs: Barbara Friberg, David Andersen, and Ian Vail. The formatting, layout and printing supervision of this volume was the work of Joanne Newell.

We finally and most significantly thank our sponsors, the Department of Education and Hasanuddin University, Ujung Pandang, and note the cooperation of Tadulako University, Palu, with gratitude.

Timothy Friberg
Ujung Pandang
September 1991

PRAKATA

Pada cetakan terdahulu dari *Workpapers in Indonesian languages and cultures*, Volume 5, telah dilaporkan pada survei-survei sosiolinguistik 1983-1987 oleh UNHAS-SIL. Cetakan terbaru ini juga melaporkan hasil dari beberapa survei lainnya. Sedangkan cetakan yang lalu seluruhnya melaporkan tentang bahasa-bahasa di Sulawesi Selatan, cetakan ini meliputi bahasa-bahasa dari Sulawesi Selatan dan Sulawesi Tengah. Hanya bahasa "Tae" yang dilaporkan di sini adalah seluruhnya yang terletak di Sulawesi Selatan. Laporan mengenai bahasa Padoe, Mori Bawah dan Mori Atas mewakili bahasa-bahasa yang digunakan pada kedua sisi perbatasan Sulawesi Selatan dan Sulawesi Tengah itu. Empat laporan yang lain, yaitu Tajio, Balantak, Pamona, dan Dondo, mewakili bahasa-bahasa yang digunakan di Sulawesi Tengah.

Sebagaimana yang lalu, laporan ini menunjukkan kualitas dan kedalaman penelitian yang tidak sama. Meskipun demikian semuanya mempersembahkan suatu langkah maju yang penting terhadap pengetahuan kebahasaan kita dan masyarakat yang menggunakan bahasa-bahasa itu. Oleh karena format cetakan ini "sedang dalam proses kerja," maka tidak memungkinkan untuk membuat laporan-laporan untuk dijadikan format tunggal.

Kelihatannya perlu diringkaskan di sini situasi survei bahasa pulau Sulawesi. Tulisan yang mendasar tentang Sulawesi Tengah oleh Barr, Barr dan Salombe adalah *Languages of Central Sulawesi* (1979). Kami berharap agar survei-survei selanjutnya seperti yang dilaporkan tentang Sulawesi Selatan dalam cetakan kelima akan dilaksanakan untuk melengkapi pengetahuan kita tentang Sulawesi Tengah.

Bahasa-bahasa di Sulawesi Selatan telah disurvei oleh Charles dan Barbara Grimes dengan karyanya *Languages of South Sulawesi* (1987). Hasil survei-survei lanjutannya telah dilaporkan dalam cetakan kelima sebagaimana tersebut di atas. Kekurangan-kekurangannya telah diteliti dan diringkaskan oleh Friberg dan Laskowske dalam *South Sulawesi Languages* (1989). Survei bahasa Makasar telah diselesaikan. Diharapkan akan muncul baik dalam penerbitan geografi dialek dan juga dalam rekonstruksi bahasa proto Makasar. Bahasa Bugis telah dilaporkan dalam bahasan geografi dialek dan diharapkan segera ada rekonstruksi secara ekstensif dalam bahasa tersebut. Masih tiga kecamatan (kepulauan) di kabupaten Pangkajene Kepulauan, Sulawesi Selatan yang belum disurvei oleh tim-tim dari UNHAS-SIL.

Sulawesi Tenggara sebagian besar telah disurvei oleh tim-tim dari UNHAS-SIL. Tetapi survei di pulau Buton masih harus dilaksanakan. Bentuk laporan dari survei-survei itu belum ditentukan. Kemungkinan lebih baik bentuknya berupa sebuah laporan yang meliputi propinsi, sebagaimana laporan tentang Sulawesi Tengah dan Sulawesi Selatan.

Sulawesi Utara pada saat penulisan ini, sedang disurvei oleh sebuah tim dari UNHAS-SIL yang bekerja sama dengan Universitas Sam Ratulangi di Manado. Salah satu keistimewaan survei itu adalah bahwa sedang dilaksanakan upaya secara saksama sehingga mungkin tidak harus diikuti dengan survei-survei lanjutan. Keistimewaan yang lain ialah bahwa survei itu telah didahului oleh dua linguist yang terkenal, yaitu, Sneddon dan Maryott. Kita nantikan laporan yang meliputi propinsi dari bahasa-bahasa di Sulawesi Utara itu.

Sebuah bahasa (atau mungkin meliputi lebih dari satu), yaitu bahasa yang disebut 'Bajau' (Bajao, Bajo), terdapat di masing-masing kampung di empat propinsi pulau Sulawesi. Survei mengenai Bajau ini sementara dalam proses. Diharapkan penyelesaiannya tidak hanya akan menjelaskan kepada kita saling keterkaitan dari bahasa itu dengan namanya, yang tersebar di pemukiman-pemukiman di Sulawesi, tetapi juga akan menjelaskan hubungannya dengan orang-orang yang bernama demikian yang terdapat di Sabah (Malaysia) dan di Pilipina.

Survei-survei sosiolinguistik dari Sulawesi, baik yang sudah rampung maupun yang masih dalam proses, akan merupakan tonggak pengertian kita terhadap situasi linguistik di daerah tersebut. Masih beberapa daerah lain yang perlu diteliti dengan test saling pengertian (antar bahasa). Sayangnya hal yang demikian ini sangat mudah terlalaikan. Kesempurnaan pengertian dari pulau ini akan dicapai bila penelitian seperti itu sudah dilaksanakan. Pada tingkat kesadaran linguistik yang demikian inilah yang akan membawa dampak yang sangat berfaedah bagi masyarakat di pulau yang perbendaharaan bahasanya sangat beraneka ragam ini.

Hasil-hasil kerja yang dilaporkan di sini telah dikerjakan secara berurutan di bawah pimpinan tiga orang koordinator urusan akademik, yaitu Barbara Friberg, David Andersen, dan Ian Vail. Pengaturan format, tata ruang dan cetak dilakukan oleh Joanne Newell.

Akhirnya kami sangat berterima kasih kepada sponsor, yaitu Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, dan Universitas Hasanuddin, Ujung Pandang, serta terima kasih atas kerja sama yang baik dengan Universitas Tadulako, Palu.

Ujung Pandang, September 1991

Timothy Friberg

**MORE SULAWESI SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEYS
1987-1991**

Timothy Friberg, Editor
September 1991

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LEXICOSTATISTIC AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF BALANTAK AND ANDIO

Robert L. Busenitz

Cooperative Program of Hasanuddin University
and
The Summer Institute of Linguistics

0. INTRODUCTION¹

The UNHAS-SIL Cooperative Program initiated work in Central Sulawesi with a survey of the languages of this province; this resulted in the publication in 1979 of *Languages of Central Sulawesi* by Donald F. Barr, Sharon G. Barr, and C. Salombe. This survey used the Swadesh 100-item wordlist to compare lexical similarity among twenty-two of some twenty-four languages of Central Sulawesi. An appendix of the publication contains the wordlists used in that study, and includes single wordlists for Balantak, Andio, and Saluan, three languages spoken in the Banggai *kabupaten* 'district'. Based on their lexical similarity, these three languages are classified as belonging to the Saluan subgroup of the eastern group of Central Sulawesi languages (1979:22f).

After beginning a field program and an indepth study of the Balantak language in the village of Dolom, 'Balantak *kecamatan* 'subdistrict', we saw the need to investigate further the dialect variation within the Balantak language as spoken in Balantak and Lamala, the two subdistricts which are the homeland of the Balantak people, as well as its relationship to the neighboring languages of Andio and Saluan. We also wanted to know more about language use and language attitudes throughout the region and the implications for vernacular literature. This paper reports some of our initial efforts to investigate these areas.

The Andio language area, like a beachhead on the coastline of the Lamala subdistrict, is located near some fertile rice plains and surrounded by Balantak-speaking people. Though small in size, relatively speaking, some 1700 speakers in the two villages of Tangeban and Tauge' preserve and propagate this language. No dialect variation was reported and only one wordlist was elicited in Tangeban.

Data were also obtained from four locations in the eastern and central Saluan language area, the area nearest the Balantak and Andio language areas. This information in particular is preliminary and incomplete for the Saluan language. No data have yet been obtained from the western Saluan

and Kahumamahon areas. Nevertheless, these four Saluan wordlists are compared with Balantak and Andio and give us further indication of lexical similarity of these two languages with Saluan. We do not, however, include Saluan in the discussion of sociolinguistic factors.

Eight different Balantak villages representing the breadth of the Balantak language area were selected and visited during the survey (cf. map, Appendix I). Tangeban represented Andio. The four Saluan language datapoints are in the subdistricts of Kintom, Luwuk, and Pagimana, three of the five subdistricts which make up the Saluan language area. All thirteen villages are accessible by road, and were visited during August, 1988.

1. METHODOLOGY

The Sulawesi Umbrella Wordlist (SUW) with 488 items was used for a lexicostatistic survey.² All wordlists except one, Bahingan, were recorded by the author.³ In most instances, two or more people served as informants; if a larger group was present, one or two people usually served as spokesmen. The language of elicitation was Indonesian.

Of the 488 items, sixty were disqualified for comparison purposes in this study. The items disqualified can be grouped into several categories and are further analyzed in Appendix II.⁴ This left 428 items eligible for comparison in all thirteen wordlists.

Of the disqualified items, six were on the Swadesh 100-item wordlist (S100), a subset of SUW. These are listed separately in Appendix III. This left ninety-four items of S100 eligible for comparison. A comparison of the percentage of lexical similarity as based on both SUW and S100 is made and discussed later in this paper. The results are also briefly compared to Barr, Barr, and Salombe, 1979 (BBS).

In order to compare the thirteen wordlists, all responses from the thirteen locations for each item on the umbrella wordlist were listed together. This procedure (discussed in Sanders 1977:36-37) greatly facilitates forming lexical similarity sets and also results in more consistent decisions about similar and dissimilar items.

The inspection method (Sanders 1977:33-34) was used to determine lexical similarity sets. Words which are phonetically similar and have the same meaning generally cover the same semantic domain and are considered to be lexically similar. We follow here Grimes and Grimes' suggestion (1987:9) that the term 'cognate' be reserved for items that can be shown by the comparative method to have a similar origin and follow regular sound changes. In most instances, lexically similar words should also prove to be cognate; however, for this study no attempt has been made to determine and eliminate borrowings.

Where synonyms were elicited, they were considered fully similar if only one of the synonyms was lexically similar.

To compare lexical similarity sets and produce a matrix of percentage figures between different wordlists, the computer program described in *Penyelidikan Persamaan Bahasa Dengan Menggunakan Mikrokomputer* by Edgar W. Travis was used. After the 428 items from SUW had been compared, the lexical similarity sets for the ninety-four items from S100 were extracted and recomputed to make a second matrix based on those items alone.

The degree of similarity between any two wordlists is expressed as a percentage figure. The degree of reliability for this figure or, in other words, the range of error that should be associated with this figure will depend on at least two things:

- 1) the reliability of the wordlist in giving words with the same meaning as the words from the wordlist with which it is being compared (This has to do with eliciting the wordlist and the skill and familiarity of the investigator with the languages.) and
- 2) the manner and consistency of the analyst in determining which words are similar and which are not (This has to do with determining lexical similarity sets--among other things, whether the analyst/inspector is a 'joiner' or 'splitter'.).

The greater the range of error associated with a percentage figure, the less useful that particular figure will be in comparing with other percentages.⁵

The two factors mentioned above have always created potential for decreasing the reliability of lexicostatistics.⁶ However, the potential is minimized when the same linguist performs all of either or both of the tasks; the probability of internal consistency, at least, is much greater. Except for one wordlist mentioned previously, the author elicited all of the data for this study and determined all of the lexical similarity sets. No attempt is made in this report, however, to give a range of error figure for the percentages of lexical similarity between two wordlists.

A sociolinguistic questionnaire was the primary instrument used to investigate language use and language attitudes. The questionnaire in various forms has been used by UNHAS-SIL for sociolinguistic surveys in South Sulawesi and covers areas such as livelihood and commercial orientation, education, social interaction, and the domain of various languages in a multilingual society. Usually the same people who assisted with the wordlists also answered these questions. Responses throughout the region were remarkably similar; these results are also discussed below.

2. LEXICOSTATISTIC RESULTS

2.1 Sulawesi Umbrella Wordlist

Table 1 is a matrix showing the percentage of lexical similarity based on SUW between all thirteen locations visited; the similarity with Indonesian is also included. Table 2 summarizes the highest and lowest percentages of any of the eight Balantak dialects with the other languages/dialects, including other Balantak dialects; Table 3 does the same for the four Saluan dialects.

LANGUAGE	VILLAGE											
Balantak	Tokuu											
"	97	Kota										
"	95	94	Dolom									
"	93	92	96	Tombos								
"	91	90	96	95	Sulu'bombong							
"	89	88	91	91	94	Sobol						
"	89	88	89	88	89	93	Poror'an					
"	89	89	93	92	94	95	91	Eteng				
Andio	66	65	66	65	65	67	70	66	Tangeban			
Saluan	49	48	48	47	48	48	49	47	57	Lumpo'nyo		
"	51	50	50	49	50	50	52	49	60	89	Sampaka'	
"	49	48	48	47	48	48	49	47	57	84	90	Bahingan
"	51	49	49	48	49	50	51	49	60	88	94	89 Kintom
Indonesian	24	25	24	23	24	24	24	23	25	26	25	26 26

Table 1
Percentage of lexical similarity based on SUW

	Balantak	Andio	Saluan	Indonesian
Highest	97	70	52	25
Lowest	88	65	47	23

Table 2
Lexical similarity of BALANTAK dialects
with other dialects/languages based on SUW

	Saluan	Andio	Balantak	Indonesian
Highest	94	60	52	26
Lowest	84	57	47	25

Table 3
Lexical similarity of SALUAN dialects
with other dialects/languages based on SUW

We can make several observations from this data:

- 1) Lexical similarity among all Balantak dialects varies from 88-97% (3-12 percentage points variation); from the perspective of lexical similarity and the commonly held 80% threshold, these speech communities representing the breadth of the Balantak language area should all be viewed as dialects of one Balantak language.
- 2) We see some expected chaining among the 'Balantak dialects. Dolom figures with respect to other Balantak points seem higher than expected in some instances, but may reflect a greater number of synonyms. If we follow the coast, Poro'an lies between Sobol and Eteng, but Sobol and Eteng have greater lexical similarity than either has to Poro'an. On the other hand, Eteng is geographically closest to Andio, but Poro'an stands several percentage points above all Balantak dialects in similarity with Andio.
- 3) Andio in this data is lexically more similar to Balantak (5-13 points higher) than to the Saluan dialects listed. It is certainly closer geographically to Balantak and these figures may also reflect significant borrowing, but this needs further investigation.⁷
- 4) Again, from the perspective of lexical similarity, the four speech communities in the Saluan area are dialects of one Saluan language, though variation is slightly greater than within Balantak, from 6-16 points. However, these data do not cover the full scope of the Saluan area, so the results are tentative.
- 5) We would not expect the Saluan dialects of Sampaka' and Kintom, which are the greatest distance from each other, to have the highest percentage of lexical similarity.
- 6) From this data, Balantak and Saluan only share a lexical similarity of around 50%.
- 7) All three languages of the subgroup are different only three percentage points or less in their lexical similarity with Indonesian.

2.2 Swadesh 100-item wordlist

Table 4 is similar to Table 1 except that the percentages are based on ninety-four items from S100. These ninety-four items are a subset of the 428 items used from SUW. In Tables 5 and 6 are summarized the highest and lowest percentages for Balantak and Saluan, respectively, as in Tables 2 and 3.

LANGUAGE	VILLAGE											
Balantak	Tokuu											
"	99	Kota										
"	93	94	Dolom									
"	91	93	99	Tombos								
"	93	94	100	99	Sulu'bombong							
"	91	93	98	97	99	Sobol						
"	93	95	93	91	94	94	Poror'an					
"	91	93	98	97	99	98	93	Eteng				
Andio	66	65	63	61	63	63	68	62	Tangeban			
Saluan	48	47	48	48	48	48	48	47	59	Lumpo'nyo		
"	52	51	50	50	50	50	52	49	63	90	Sampaka'	
"	52	51	51	51	51	51	52	50	63	86	98	Bahingan
"	54	53	51	51	51	51	54	50	65	88	99	97 Kintom
Indonesian	33	32	31	31	31	32	30	31	33	34	35	36 37

Table 4
Percentage of lexical similarity based on S100

	Balantak	Andio	Saluan	Indonesian
Highest	100	68	54	33
Lowest	91	61	47	30

Table 5
Lexical similarity of BALANTAK dialects
with other dialects/languages based on S100

	Saluan	Andio	Balantak	Indonesian
Highest	99	65	54	37
Lowest	86	59	47	34

Table 6
Lexical similarity of SALUAN dialects
with other dialects/languages based on S100

We can make some additional observations and raise some questions by comparing these tables with those based on the larger wordlist:

- 1) NonIndonesian comparisons except Balantak-Andio are 0-5% higher, while those with Indonesian are 7-11% higher.⁸

- 2) Why are Balantak-Andio comparisons for S100 2-4% lower instead of higher like the rest? Why does exclusion of noncore vocabulary show Saluan to be closer to the same lexical relationship with Andio than Balantak is, or, conversely, why does exclusion of core vocabulary show Andio to be significantly closer to Balantak than Saluan?⁹
- 3) Now the variation of lexical similarity among the three languages with Indonesian is as great as seven percentage points.

Whatever we conclude for 1) and 2), it is clear that, in this case at least, lexical items are not random in their probability to be similar with another word.¹⁰ Certain items are more likely to be similar than others, and the items chosen or eliminated from a wordlist will affect the percentage of similarity. We can not arbitrarily disqualify items without skewing results to some degree and making comparisons with other wordlists which do not have the same items less valid.¹¹

Finally, we compare these results with the study that was done earlier.

2.3 Comparison with Barr, Barr, and Salombe, 1979

Tables 7 through 10 attempt to present a summary of our results for Balantak, Andio, and Saluan in such a way that they can be compared with the results from BBS.

Table 7 shows the highest and lowest percentages for any Balantak dialect with any Saluan dialect, and both with Andio as based on 428 items from SUW. Table 8 does the same, based on ninety-four items from S100. Table 9 shows the results of the author's own comparison of the wordlists in BBS (1979:102-4), using the same ninety-two items which they used. Table 10 shows BBS (1979:26) results for the ninety-two items they selected from S100.

<u>Balantak</u>	<u>Balantak</u>	<u>Balantak</u>	<u>Balantak</u>
70 <u>Andio</u>	65 <u>Andio</u>	68 <u>Andio</u>	61 <u>Andio</u>
52 60 <u>Saluan</u>	47 57 <u>Saluan</u>	54 65 <u>Saluan</u>	47 59 <u>Saluan</u>

Table 7
Highest and Lowest Percentages,
428 items (SUW)

Table 8
Highest and Lowest Percentages,
94 items (S100)

<u>Balantak</u>
74 <u>Andio</u>
61 71 <u>Saluan</u>

Table 9
My Percentages, 92 items (S100)
Data in BBS (1979:102-4)

<u>Balantak</u>
78 <u>Andio</u>
66 74 <u>Saluan</u>

Table 10
Percentages on 92 items (S100)
from BBS (1979:26)

Perhaps the most obvious observation to be seen from these tables is that the results vary to a fair degree, dependent at least on the length of the wordlist, the analyst, and, in the case of Balantak and Saluan, the dialect which is being compared (reflected by highest and lowest scores). It is clear that the difference between Tables 7 and 8 is because of data. The same is true to some extent for Tables 8 and 10. (Eighty-seven items selected from S100 were identical for the two studies; cf. Appendix III.) The difference between Tables 9 and 10 is because of the analyst. We expect language variation in the Balantak and Saluan language areas (shown by the highest and lowest percentages for both Tables 7 and 8) which is not reflected by the earlier study, but even if we consider only the highest percentages from Table 8 the results of this study are 9-12 points below the earlier study. The differences between Tables 9 and 10 are 3-5 points.¹²

3. SOCIOLINGUISTIC FACTORS

We were particularly interested in language use and language attitudes because of the implications for vernacular literature. We knew that language variation was present and viewed lexicostatistics as a first attempt to predict intelligibility; intelligibility is the first prerequisite, of course, for the intelligent use of literature. However, as Cooper (1976) has noted, the acceptance of literature may not correlate directly with the intelligibility of oral speech. We felt reasonably certain, based on lexical similarity and general public opinion, that a high level of intelligibility existed among all Balantak dialects, but, if they were present, we wanted to uncover any other factors that might otherwise influence the acceptability of vernacular literature based on any of the various dialects of the language.¹³

The questionnaire used covered a variety of areas, but here we only attempt to summarize the information most closely related to language use and language attitudes.¹⁴ Most of the information that we gathered was reported to us and not what we directly observed. The discussion here is limited to Balantak and Andio.

Education. Approximately one-half of the places visited reported using the vernacular as well as Indonesian in the first year of elementary school. This is to assist those new students who do not yet know Indonesian. Other places reported using only Indonesian.

There are two or three state and private junior high schools (SMP) in both subdistricts. If students go on to senior high school (SMA), they must go to Luwuk, the district capital, where they will encounter high contact with Indonesian as well as other vernacular languages. There are plans to begin a senior high school in the town of Balantak (Balantak Kota), and there is a private senior high school in Tangeban.

We did not collect information on the background of schoolteachers which I now regret; however, my informal observation is that well over half of them in the Balantak area were themselves Balantak.

Social Interaction. The large majority of Balantak marriages were with other Balantaks; Andio reported more mixed marriages. Outsiders residing in the Balantak language area, an estimated 10-20% of the population, include those from the most closely located language groups as well as Gorontalo, Bugis, Balinese, Javanese, and Chinese people.¹⁵

Social interaction for economic or government purposes may or may not be conducted in the vernacular (cf. 'Language Situation' below). Village leaders and heads of households would be most likely to engage in interaction with outsiders where Indonesian is required.

Radio and more recently television, particularly in coastal locations, while not providing direct social interaction, do provide a growing exposure to Indonesian.

Reported Dialect Differences. Apart from linguistic evidence, what were popularly held opinions about Balantak dialects? No clear pattern emerged except for a consensus that there are differences between the Balantak and Lamala subdistricts; however, everyone considered them one language. We heard no dissent on this, and felt this showed significant cultural unity and solidarity among Balantaks.

Various places reported Batubiring, the Dolom-Talima area and our field residence, to be the place of origin for the Balantak culture and language, and that the dialect used there was the *halus* 'proper' Balantak language. It is not clear to me whether these remarks were made in deference to those on the survey team who reside there. The Dolom-Talima area is more culturally conservative and traditional in outlook than coastal areas of Balantak, but it does not seem to otherwise enjoy social or economic prestige.

Coastal vs. Noncoastal. This distinction did not grow out of our questionnaire results since only one location, Dolom, was noncoastal; nevertheless, some points seem worth making here. All interior villages, which make up about a fifth of the total, are less than a day's walk from the coast, and only a few are not yet accessible by road. However, as noted above for Dolom-Talima, these people tend to be more culturally conservative and traditional in outlook. For a handful of people found mostly in isolated places, Balantak is their only language. Coastal people could be characterized as having greater cultural assimilation and are generally better educated. Most outsiders to the Balantak area live in coastal communities.

The implication of this feature of Balantak society for the language variety of prestige, particularly with regard to vernacular literature, is not known. Does any cultural prestige that might exist in noncoastal locations as noted above outweigh or balance lack of economic or social prestige? What is the relative significance of these factors for the prestige of any particular dialect? These factors in particular should be further observed and studied, and may, in the case of vernacular literature, only become apparent as actual literature is produced and used.

Language Situation. This was probably the most interesting part of the questionnaire, showing the domains of three languages in use: the vernacular, Indonesian, and, in Muslim communities, Arabic.

Four broad domains of language use emerge here:

- 1) home, work, and traditional cultural events; the vernacular was usually used,
- 2) religious activities in the church or mosque; Indonesian or Indonesian and Arabic were primarily used,
- 3) government functions; Indonesian was used almost exclusively for formal occasions, but informal activities in offices, etc., might transpire in the vernacular, and
- 4) health clinics, businesses, shops; the language used here depended on the personnel involved. If the shopkeeper or health attendant was native to the area or had learned the vernacular, the vernacular was used; otherwise, Indonesian.

There were indications that the use of Indonesian is increasing. Several places reported that the parents spoke Indonesian to their children in the home in order to prepare the children for attending school, and that the children used Indonesian when playing with each other. Most places did not report this, and our observations agree with this.

To summarize the language situation, we found vigorous use of the vernacular in the daily life of the people throughout the region. It is the first language for the majority of the children as well as adults, and social interaction and work activities are clearly the domain of the vernacular. Indonesian is used in the domain of formal education, government affairs, and religious activities. Arabic is used in Muslim contexts.

4. SUMMARY

Our lexicostatistic results show a high level of lexical similarity among Balantak dialects. They show Andio to be more similar to Balantak than

Saluan, but this is only based on a comparison of the lexicon; further grammatical comparisons and reconstruction are necessary to establish genetic relationships.

In support of our conclusions from lexical similarity, Balantak people consider their ethnic group to have only one language: Balantak. This cohesion would support the acceptance of vernacular literature from anywhere in the language area, but it may be the case that certain dialects would enjoy more prestige than others; in this case, a clear consensus as to preference may emerge. We would expect 'standard' Balantak to evolve if vernacular literature continues to develop.

Among some community leaders and educators there appears to be a growing interest in vernacular literature for various reasons:

- 1) the language is viewed as an important expression of their culture;
- 2) vernacular literature is viewed as an appropriate way to record and preserve the language and culture; and
- 3) vernacular literature is seen as an important tool for the development of the people and the region, particularly in educational aspects.

The degree of this interest and support, both locally and nationally, will likely prove to be a key factor in the further development of vernacular literature by the Balantak and Andio people.

ENDNOTES

¹This paper was written under the auspices of the Hasanuddin University-Summer Institute of Linguistics Cooperative Program, and the Balantak Language Field Program.

I am grateful to numerous local officials who facilitated this survey. Mr. H. M. Yunus, *bupati* 'district chief' for the Banggai district, together with his staff provided letters of introduction for all *camat-camat* 'subdistrict chiefs'. The subdistrict chiefs from the five subdistricts of Balantak, Lamala, Luwuk, Kintom, and Pagimana which were visited in this survey were also very helpful. Finally, the village leaders for each of the thirteen villages often hosted us on our overnight visits and either helped us themselves or secured help for obtaining the information we needed. We made many new acquaintances and friendships during these few short weeks. I am grateful for the kind help we received, and I trust that our interaction for this study has also been of some benefit to them and the people they represent.

I also wish to thank colleagues Donald Barr, Timothy Friberg, Michael Martens, Philip Quick, Ronald Snell, and Roland Walker for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

²The Sulawesi Umbrella Wordlist is a composite of various other wordlists: Reid's 372-item Philippine wordlist less two items not relevant to Sulawesi; Blust's 200-item Proto-Malayo-Polynesian wordlist; various South and Central Sulawesi SIL survey wordlists, including the Swadesh 100-item and Swadesh 200-item wordlist; and several additional items.

³The Bahingan Saluan wordlist was recorded by Mr. Dago Molintas, a native of Bahingan, and resident school teacher in Dolom, Balantak.

⁴Martens and Hanna (1988:5) disqualified forty-four items from SUW for their study of the Badaic languages, but they did not detail the items eliminated.

⁵Cf. Simons (1977) for a full discussion of range of error and applying significance decisions to lexicostatistic data. He suggests grading the reliability of data according to five levels, ranging from data as a result of many years of field work down to survey data obtained by monolingual elicitation. Also, 'the greater the number of words compared, the greater the significance between different values' (1977:81). Based on these assumptions, he sets up tables of significance.

⁶Noorduyn's essay (pp. 9f) on Sulawesi languages also includes an interesting discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of lexicostatistics. Martens (1985) discusses potential error on survey wordlists.

⁷From a cursory overview of the data, Andio also appears to be closer phonologically to Balantak than Saluan: it also has the voiced alveolar trill /r/ which is absent in Saluan; Saluan, on the other hand, has the voiced alveopalatal affricate /j/, the alveopalatal nasal /ñ/, and the voiceless laryngeal fricative /h/, none of which occur in Balantak and Andio. All three languages have long vowel phones; they also have nasal plus consonant phones, but it is not clear how they function in Andio and Saluan. The relationship of stress to long vowels in Saluan appears different in some instances from the Balantak pattern. (Cf. Busenitz and Busenitz (1990), for further details on Balantak phonology.)

⁸Martens and Hanna (1988:5-6) also found higher percentages for S100 as compared to 444 items from SUW and suggested that this was because S100 contains core vocabulary, items that tend to remain stable and resist change/borrowing. Perhaps the significantly higher percentage with Indonesian in particular, as noted here, supports their view.

⁹Michael Martens via personal communication has suggested that a higher percentage of similarity on noncore vocabulary may reflect significant

social interaction and borrowing--the core vocabulary still resisting change and therefore showing greater dissimilarity.

In this case, a historical period of divergence when both core and noncore vocabulary become dissimilar from neighboring language varieties--noncore vocabulary more quickly so--is followed by a historical period of convergence when noncore vocabulary more quickly becomes similar with neighboring languages.

¹⁰Perhaps these findings provide as good support as any for the distinction of 'core' and 'noncore' vocabulary. Note, however, as mentioned in endnote 9, that factors of divergence and convergence still might make things difficult to sort out. Lexicostatistic studies should deal with the same lexical items to be fully comparable. The subsets of SUW allow for these wordlists to be extracted and compared with other studies.

¹¹We attempt to avoid this by comparing only items which exist for all 14 dialects/languages in this study; nevertheless, note that the number of synonyms for any particular list could have a significant effect on the comparisons. I have not tabulated the synonyms in the wordlists.

¹²Martens (1990:55-6) compares some of his Kaili-Pamona data with Barr, Barr, and Salombe and notes differing results. Noorduynd (p. 15) also notes lower percentages for his own comparison of Barr, Barr, and Salombe data; in his case, Buol and Toli-Toli. This underscores the problem behind the question, how much phonetic similarity is 'enough' to establish lexical similarity? Others have tried to answer this problem with phonostatistics.

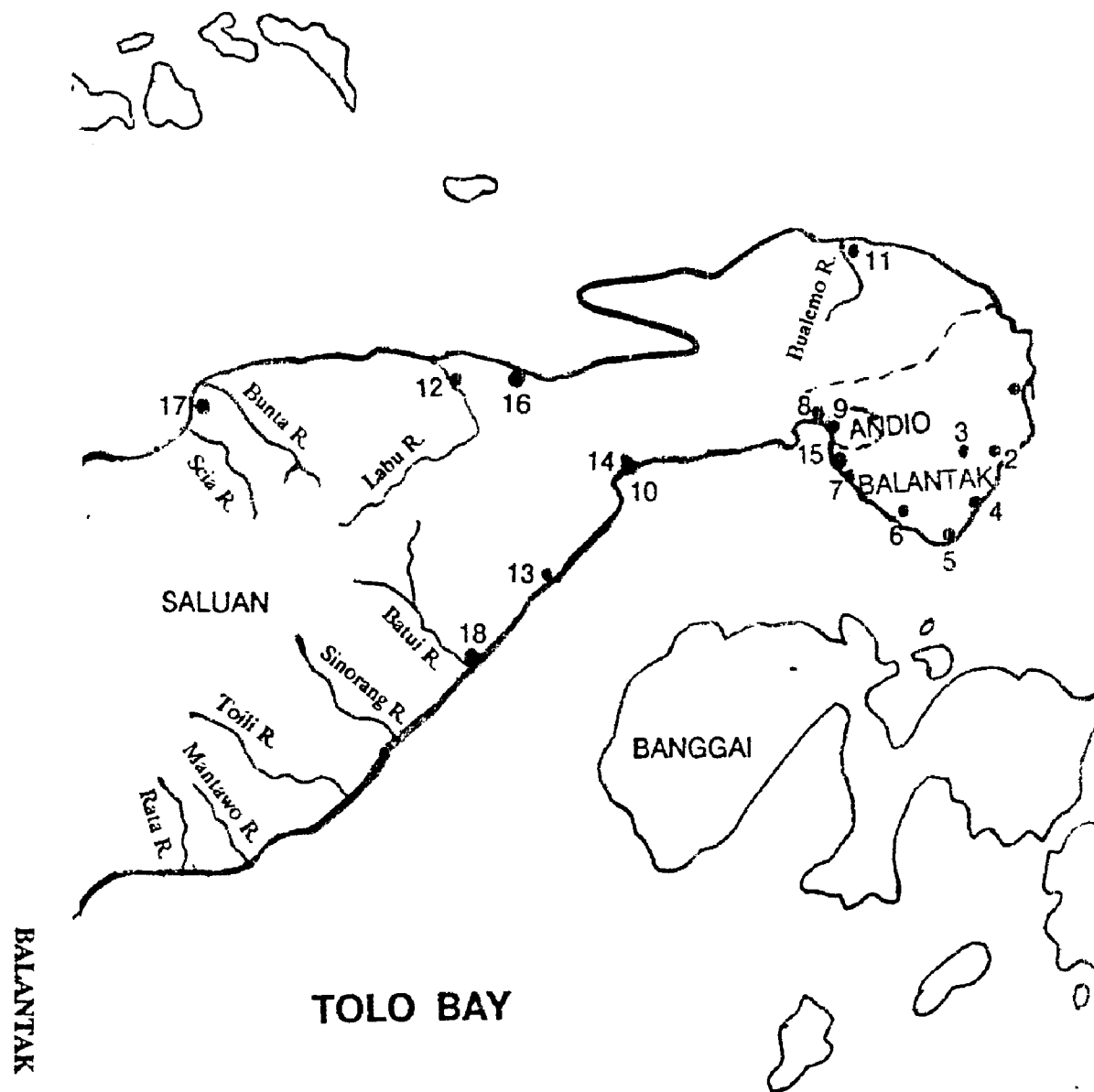
Barr, Barr, and Salombe did not detail how they determined lexical similarity. If the procedure described above (Sanders 1977:36-37) was used where all words for one item are listed together, it is sometimes possible to see 'cognate chains' (Sanders 1977:34) where intermediate words clearly show a progression so that words quite dissimilar phonetically can be considered lexically similar. This, then, has the effect of increasing lexical similarity percentages.

This dissimilarity of results underscores the validity of the Simons (1977) discussion of tables of significance for lexicostatistics (see endnote 5).

¹³By 'acceptability' we do not mean anything having to do with the content or format of the literature, but rather, the linguistic form or language variety in which it is presented.

¹⁴Cf. Busenitz and Martens (1979:14f) for further discussion of acceptability of literature and sociolinguistic surveys.

¹⁵Cf. Busenitz, M. (1989), for a more complete overview of Balantak society.



APPENDIX I

Survey Locations

BALANTAK

1. Tokuu, Balantak subdistrict
2. Kota Balantak, Balantak subdistrict capital
3. Dolom, Balantak subdistrict
4. Tombos, Balantak subdistrict
5. Sulu'bombong, Lamala subdistrict
6. Sobol, Lamala subdistrict
7. Poro'an, Lamala subdistrict
8. Eteng, Lamala subdistrict

ANDIO

9. Tangeban, Lamala subdistrict

SALUAN

10. Lumbo'nyo, Luwuk subdistrict
11. Sampaka', Pagimana subdistrict
12. Bahingan, Pagimana subdistrict
13. Kintom, Kintom subdistrict capital

OTHER

14. Luwuk, Luwuk-Banggai district capital
15. Bonebobakal, Lamala subdistrict capital
16. Pagimana, Pagimana subdistrict capital
17. Bunta, Bunta subdistrict capital
18. Batui, Batui subdistrict capital

APPENDIX II

The items disqualified from the Sulawesi Umbrella Wordlist for this study can be categorized as follows:

1. The elicitation of the item was inadequate, either because it became clear that the responses did not all cover the same semantic domain or because, for one reason or another, no response was obtained in some locations. With careful analysis and rechecking, this category could probably be reduced substantially. The following twenty-eight items fell in this category: 13, 16, 52, 117, 118, 119, 157, 174, 186, 202, 208, 262, 263, 264, 290, 302, 304, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 374, 376, 377, 438, and 458.

2. The elicited response in some locations was a descriptive phrase, not a single word. This criterion was not used to eliminate Indonesian items, e.g. 233, 394, 455. The following fifteen items fell in this category: 3, 9, 11, 59, 77, 78, 85, 86, 87, 88, 203, 315, 345, 346, and 360.

3. An item was the same word or had the same root in all instances of the dialects/languages compared as another item. Where one set of dialects was the same as a previous item, but another set was not, the item was not eliminated. Note that including these items would raise percentages. The following thirteen items fell in this category: 44 (cf. 28), 90 (cf. 89), 92 (cf. 91), 113 (cf. 97), 148 (cf. 48), 176 (cf. 175), 178 (cf. 175), 179 (cf. 175), 370 (cf. 369), 410 (cf. 407), 434 (cf. 411), 440 (cf. 244), 452 (cf. 63).

4. No generic word exists in some locations. Conceivably this could overlap with 1. above in that respondents may not give a word because it does not exist in their dialect, though one would expect it if it exists in a closely related dialect. The two items in this category are 136 and 225.

5. The survey context was inappropriate for elicitation. The two items are 64 and 65.

The total number of disqualified items is sixty.

APPENDIX III

The following six items are from the Swadesh 100-item wordlist and are included in the sixty disqualified items as listed in Appendix II. This reduces the items eligible for comparison from that list to ninety-four.

113,	'feather'	322,	'that'
148,	'bark'	376,	'to say'
321,	'this'	334,	'to kill'

Barr, Barr, and Salombe disqualified eight items from the Swadesh list for their study, leaving ninety-two eligible for comparison (1979:21-22). Only one of these overlaps with the six above. They disqualified:

5,	'hair'	295,	'all'
70,	'man'	376,	'to say'
144,	'tree'	460,	'to walk'
173,	'seed'	463,	'to lie down'

This leaves only eighty-seven items that are the same for the Swadesh list in this study and the Swadesh list in Barr, Barr, and Salombe. This may account for some of the discrepancy in percentages between the two studies.

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SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF THE TAJIO LANGUAGE

Robin McKenzie

Cooperative Program of Hasanuddin University
and
The Summer Institute of Linguistics

0. INTRODUCTION

This preliminary survey of the Tajio language was conducted in three phases corresponding to (1) Ampibabo subdistrict, (2) Sindue and Sirenja subdistricts, and (3) Tinombo subdistrict, between 11th and 21st July 1988. Team members were Don Barr, Phil Quick, Roger Hanna and Robin McKenzie for the first two phases and Phil Quick and Robin McKenzie for phase 3.

The name *Tajio* seemed widely recognised as referring to the language being surveyed. Suggested alternate names for the language, such as *Ajio* and *Kasimbar* were not encountered by us in our travels. As *ajio* is the word for 'no', it is likely that the language name, *Tajio* is a contraction of *to* and *ajio* 'the no-people', i.e. the people who use the term *ajio* for their negative.

Our aims in conducting this survey were first to establish just where various groups of Tajio speakers were located. From Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979) we already knew of four villages where Tajio was spoken, and talks with various people in Palu had given other leads as well. Second, we wanted to compare the Tajio spoken at any given location with that spoken at other places and with closely related languages in the vicinity. To this end we took eleven wordlists for later comparison. Third, we aimed to get an overall sociological picture of the region. For this we filled in comment charts based on observation and casual questioning rather than a more detailed study through sociological questionnaires.

The overall linguistic pattern of this part of Central Sulawesi is rather fragmented. Factors such as the narrowness of the isthmus, ease of travel, number of languages and dialects spoken, and the presence of many immigrant groups from other parts of Sulawesi and from other islands of Indonesia have combined to create a linguistic mosaic in this part of the island.

1. SURVEY ITINERARY

Phase 1: Ampibabo subdistrict

11 July. We left Palu late morning and headed for Ampibabo. On the way we called on the GKST pastor at Parigi who had apparently worked in the Tinombo region for a number of years. He was out, but his wife aided us in our inquiries. At Ampibabo we found that the *camat* 'head of the subdistrict' was also out of town, but an assistant from his office provided us with some helpful information on the languages of the area.

12 July. After reporting to the police we returned to the *camat*'s office seeking population figures. We also took a wordlist of the Lauje dialect as spoken at Ampibabo.

From there we drove seven kilometers inland to Tombi with some officials from the *camat*'s office. Tombi turned out to be a settlement of Bada, Poso, Lauje and Toraja people, with reports of Taje speakers further inland. We also heard of Taje speakers at Tanampedagi, so decided to check on them on our return south.

Late in the morning we travelled north to Toribulu. The *kepala desa* 'head of the village' was not there so we went on to Sienjo and took a wordlist from the *kepala tua* 'village elder' who was also responsible for the establishment of the resettlement project at Sipotara.

From Sienjo we drove to Kasimbar, a town of over 5,000 people. The *kepala desa* provided us with accomodation for the night and informants for a wordlist.

13 July. After waiting all morning for the rain to abate, we left Kasimbar in the early afternoon and headed for Ranang, a resettlement project of Pendau and Tajio people several kilometers inland from Kasimbar. Being assured that the Tajio spoken there was the same as that in Kasimbar, we took only a Pendau wordlist there.

From Ranang we returned to Kasimbar and then headed north to look for the groups reportedly in Tinombo subdistrict. However, when we reached Siney, trucks had been waiting all day to get through and the prospect of us getting past within two days was slight. We returned to Ampibabo for the night, intending to survey the west coast villages with our remaining time.

14 July. We set out in the morning for Tanampedagi, a resettlement village of Taje and Lauje speakers several kilometers inland from Toga. The village head of Sidole sent a representative with us who proved very helpful at both directing us through trackless fields and pushing when we got stuck in mudholes. The *kepala dusun* 'head of the hamlet' was a Lauje speaker so we

took the Tanampedagi variations on Ampibabo Lauje for comparison with our previous wordlist. We also took a Taje wordlist and were told that most of the 300-400 speakers of Taje are located here.

In the afternoon we travelled south, west and north to Toaya, the main town of Sindue subdistrict. The *camat* wanted documentation from the *bupati* 'head of the district' before we went on, so we returned to Palu for the night.

Phase 2: Sindue and Sirenja subdistricts

15 July. After visiting the *bupati*, we left late morning on motorcycles, crossed a number of rivers and arrived at Tompe, the main town of Sirenja subdistrict, at 3:30 pm. The *camat* was in Palu, so we reported to the police and *kepala desa*. They were both very helpful, the latter sending a representative with us to Sibado, three kilometers inland.

At Sibado we met with the *kepala desa* who took us on to a small settlement with a church, about another three kilometers inland with several river crossings. The people were not Tajio as expected, but rather Pendau speakers. It was almost dark when we reached the *kepala desa*'s house again, where we were given accomodation for the night.

16 July. We checked out at the police station and *camat*'s office in Tompe and then headed back south, stopping at Sikara. From there we went inland one or two kilometers to a resettlement project, Tobata Sikara, where about 100 Tajio families reside. After taking a wordlist we went on to Batusuya.

Above Batusuya we met with a GPID pastor and found out about the mixed language group a little farther inland which included a few Tajio speakers. From there we went down to Tibo and inland a few kilometers on a very good road to Saloya, a resettlement project populated by Kori speakers. As with Taje, Kori was a language new to all of us. While taking a wordlist there it became evident that it was in fact a Kaili dialect, very close to Da'a.

After reporting to the *camat* at Toaya, we reached Palu at about 6:30 pm.

Phase 3: Tinombo subdistrict

19 July. Again on motorcycles, we left Palu early in the morning with the intention of skirting the Siney mudhole and reaching Tinombo in good time. However, we were delayed at Kebun Kopi when slippery roads precipitated some bruising and slight skin loss. At Siney the areas of mud had been somewhat extended, but were still passable with motorcycles. We arrived in Tinombo at 6:30 pm.

20 July. We began our day by meeting with the *camat*. He was from Moutong, a Tialo speaker, so we elicited a wordlist from him for comparison. We travelled from there to Sidoan and met with the *kepala desa*. Upon our expressing interest in visiting Sija, he sent a representative from his office and a resident of Sija with us. The road was quite good for four kilometers up to an irrigation project. From there we walked about three kilometers with ten river crossings to reach Sija. The majority of residents speak Tajio and we were able to take a wordlist.

We got back to Sidoan midafternoon and headed for Sigenti, stopping briefly at Bondoyong and Sipayo to ask a few questions. Malanggo, rather than Sigenti, turned out to be the location of the *kepala desa*'s house and office. He wrote us a letter of introduction to take to the *kepala dusun* at Sigega. We spent the night at Sigega, taking a wordlist and getting some useful church statistics for the area as well.

21 July. Our only port of call on the return journey was at Maninili. The *kepala desa* was away, but his wife answered our questions and also gave us a partial wordlist as a rough guide to see whether Tajio as spoken at Maninili was closer to that spoken at Kasimbar or at Sienjo. The mud was yet worse at Siney, but we managed to get through with assistance and arrived back in Palu at 4:30 pm.

2. DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

In order to establish some degree of comparison between the languages encountered on the survey, we elicited eleven wordlists at ten locations. For this purpose the SIL 'Wordlist for South Sulawesi Languages' (Revised Sept. '85) was utilised. This gives 210 words or phrases, almost all of which are commonly used in this part of Central Sulawesi as well. Those which were regularly stumbled over or obviously only rarely used were discounted from the reckoning, leaving a total of 201 words for comparison. We further eliminated individual entries where the informant had considerable trouble with the word, or where obvious synonymy or circumlocution was offered. This brought the number of possible entries for comparison down to between 190 and 200, still a sufficiently large number to ensure valid findings.

Decisions on lexical similarity were made according to the inspection method, a synchronic approach based on 50% phonetic similarity, and including consideration of regular correspondences as per Bugenhagen (1981:12-14). We are using the terms 'lexically similar' and 'lexical similarity set' in this context following Strømme and Valkama (1987:79) rather than 'cognate' and 'cognate set' which are more appropriate to a diachronic study. The elicited words for each entry on the list were grouped into lexical similarity sets and calculations based on these numerical groupings gave the results (see Table 1).

At this point it may be helpful to give some comments on the reliability of the findings. Though all informants were mother-tongue speakers, not all were regular users of the language being elicited. In all but one case the informants were currently resident in a place which used the language, but of these ten instances, six were in places of mixed language usage. Also in two or three cases, the onlookers offered their opinions; sometimes helpfully correcting the informant, sometimes all speaking at once, impeding the linguist's hearing and in one place repeatedly offering the answers in a North Sulawesi language also. Nevertheless, despite these negative factors, eight of the wordlists were marked 'good' in reliability and two of the remaining three between 'fair' and 'good'. As for those doing the eliciting, each of the team members was involved in taking wordlists so 100% consistency in the phonetic record was not possible.

During the process of grouping into lexical similarity sets, we tried to achieve as high a degree of objectivity as possible based on the 50% rule, but not every decision was clear cut, particularly where chaining relationships were evident. For example, #163 *lesung* produced the words *nenju* and *lonsune* among others. On the grounds of phonetic similarity these are clearly not members of the same similarity set. Yet when examined in the light of other #163's elicited, *nenju*, *nonjun*, *loncun*, *lonsun*, *lonsune*, they clearly are set members.

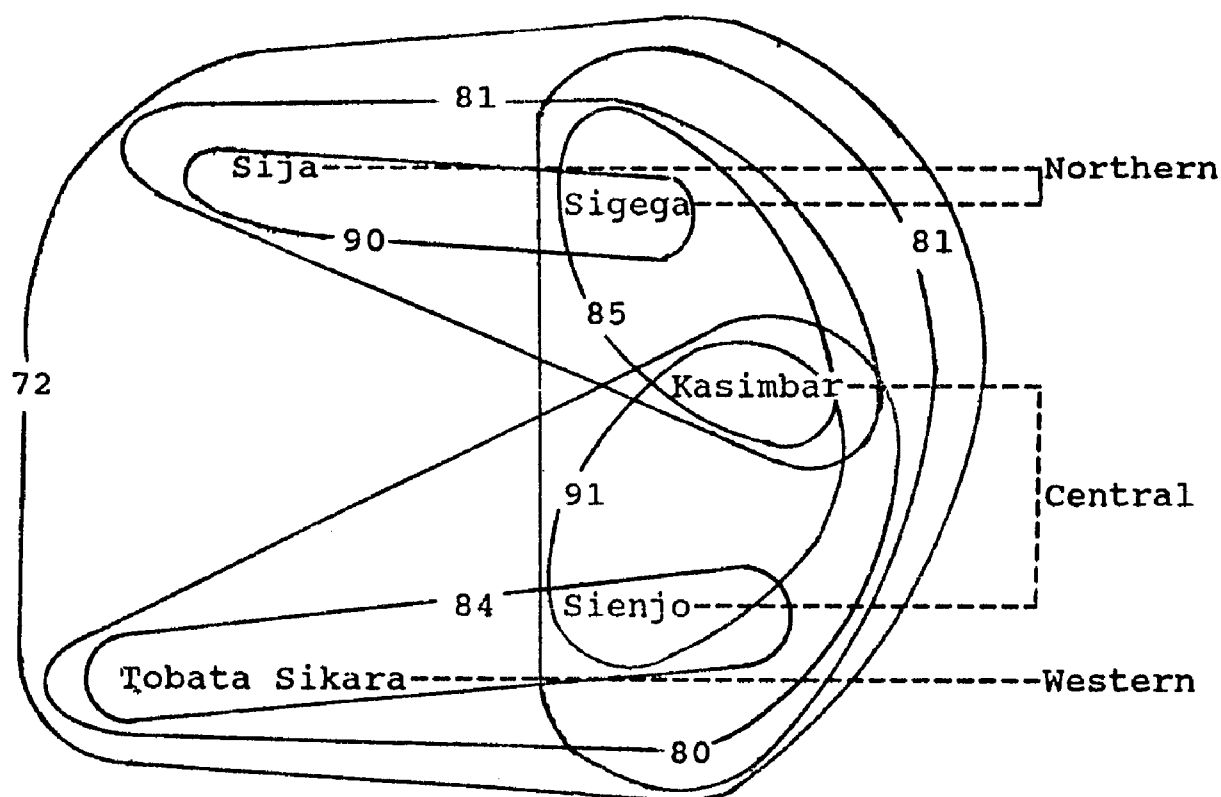
In general our figures came out lower than expected. That is, they appear to reflect greater distinctiveness between the dialects and languages spoken than we anticipated. With eleven wordlists, each being compared with each other, 55 complete comparisons were made. Six of these 55 comparisons were also made using another wordlist by Barr, Barr & Salombe (1979:26). Our present findings over these six comparison sets average 8.3% lower than those of Barr, Barr & Salombe. This is no doubt in part due to our use of a longer wordlist. I suspect that if we were able to recheck all of our wordlists with speakers each fluently bilingual in at least two of the languages, we would further eliminate some discrepancies with a resulting increase in lexical similarity percentages.

Table 1: Percentages of lexical similarity

Language/ Dialect	Town/ Village										
Tialo	Tinombo										
Lauje	70	Ampibabo									
	65	91	Tanampedagi								
Pendau	61	69	70	Ranang							
Tajio	63	71	73	75	Sija						
	62	72	73	81	90	Sigega					
	58	71	72	71	81	85	Kasimbar				
	55	67	68	69	77	81	91	Sienjo			
	50	61	64	64	72	75	80	84	Tobata Sikara		
Taje	49	62	69	61	68	71	74	74	73	Tanampedagi	
Kori	33	40	45	43	43	45	46	47	50	57	Saloya

However, regardless of numerical imprecision, our findings have been helpful in showing trends in language/location correlates. There are indeed differences between Tajio spoken at different locations and, as would be expected, these differences are least where proximity is greatest. It seems there is a dialect chain reflecting the geographic spread of the language group (see Figure 2). This runs north to south and then east to west, along traffic routes. Before commencing this survey we were anticipating some differences, especially, between Kasimbar and Sienjo/Toribulu. We found that although there was a difference here (91% lexically similar; cf Barr, Barr & Salombe 94%), these two were lexically closer than any other pair we surveyed. Within the groups calling their language *Tajio*, the greatest difference exists between the version spoken on the west coast, as represented by the Tobata Sikara wordlist, and that spoken at Sija, in north kecamatan Tinombo, 72% lexically similar. According to Grimes & Grimes' (1987) classification, these two groups would be speaking separate languages related at less than subfamily level but within the same family. However, when chaining is taken into account it becomes apparent that both of these relate to the more central Kasimbar speech group as separate dialects of the same language, 80% and 81% respectively. We would therefore propose that Tajio comprises three dialects: Northern, including Sija and Sigega; Central, including Kasimbar and Sienjo; and Western as exemplified by Tobata Sikara. It must be noted that subdialectal differences are evident within these proposed dialects and that there are likely differences between any two locations within the language group.

Figure 2. Tajio Dialect Chain



Our findings agree with Barr, Barr & Salombe (1979) that Tajio is part of the Tomini subfamily, contrary to the classification of Wumbu, et al. (1986), which links Tajio with Kaili. Kaseng, et al (1979:9) splits the western dialect of Tajio from the other two, labeling it a Kaili dialect, while leaving the northern and central Tajio dialects as a single dialect of Tomini. This conclusion is also quite incongruous with our analysis. Within the Tomini subfamily Tajio finds its closest linguistic relationship with Pendau, averaging 72% lexical similarity. This is closer than Lauje, which on average is 69% lexically similar to Tajio. Tialo, the least reliable of our wordlists, averages 58% lexically similar.

Table 2: Summary of main languages spoken in subdistricts Ampibabo, Tinombo and Sindue

LANGUAGE	DIALECT	TOWN/VILLAGE/RESETTLEMENT PROJECT		
		Ampibabo	Tinombo	Sindue
Kaili	Ledo	Pinotu	Malanggo	
	Ledo/Rai?	Silangaa Ampibabo Lemo Buranga Tomoli Donggulu	Sigenti Dongkalan	
	Rai	Kasimbar		Tibo, Oti Tamarenja Sipeso
	Kori	Sumpa?		Taripa Saloya
	Unde			Tibo
Taje		Tanampedagi above Tombi?		above Sipeso

Continued on page 26

LANGUAGE	DIALECT	TOWN/VILLAGE/RESETTLEMENT PROJECT		
Tajio	Western			Anoi? Tolomalo? Sibomba Tamarenja? Tobata Sikara
	Central	Toribulu Sienjo Sipotara Donggulu Laemanta Kasimbar Ranang Posona	Siney Maninili	
	Northern		Sigenti Sigega Dongkalan Sipayo Bondoyong Bangkalang Sija	
Pendau		Kasimbar Ranang Posona	Tada Silutung	
Lauje		Sidole Tanampedagi Ampibabo Tombi, Lemo Buranga Tomoli	Sigenti Malanggo Dongkalan Sipayo Sidoan Bainaa Tibu Dongkas Tinombo Dusun	

Note: Other languages spoken within these subdistricts include Bugis, Bali, Mandar, Bada, Poso, Rampi, Toraja, Moma, Sangir, Minahasa and Tialo.

Though Kori has been listed as a separate language from Kaili (Wumbu, et al. 1986:191), we calculated it at 90% lexically similar to the Sindue-Tawaeli (Rai) dialect of Kaili. Furthermore, 76% of words compared were identical. From this we deduce that Kori is in fact a dialect of Kaili. The average count of lexical similarity between Tajio and Kori (Kaili) was 46%

which puts them in different families of the same stock by Grimes & Grimes' (1987) classification.

Taje (Petapa) is listed by Barr, Barr & Salombe (1979:19) as a subdialect of Kaili. Yet we hesitate to reaffirm this classification because our findings show a closer relationship with the Tomini subfamily (average 67% lexically similar), and particularly with Tajio (average 72% lexically similar). We would rather view Taje as a language of the Tomini subfamily, which is also how Salzner (1960) classified Petapa.

3. LANGUAGE USAGE

We did not fill in questionnaires pertaining to language usage, so the following subjective remarks are based only on casual observation.

Everywhere we visited, Indonesian was clearly used for administrative purposes. We met no one who could not converse to some degree in this, the national language. Our informants were all male with ages ranging from early thirties to mid seventies and averaging fifty-one years. Four were either retired or current administrative officials, so a good command of Indonesian was expected and observed. The remainder were farmers, but their ability in Indonesian was very good in every case. The women and children we met were likewise proficient in Indonesian. However, we would suspect that among the newcomers to the several resettlement projects, especially those who have moved down from the hills, there would be less proficiency.

Bilingualism in other languages of the area seemed very common. Mixed marriages and relocation are factors fostering this. Mixed marriages seemed particularly common in the towns and villages along the main road, though they were also not unusual in inland villages. Migrants from other parts of the peninsula, as well as from various other places in Indonesia, have made many towns and villages quite cosmopolitan with many citizens claiming to know several languages.

We undertook no intelligibility testing during the survey, something that remains a need both within the Tajio language and between Tajio and close linguistic relatives such as Pendau. We cannot comment then on mutual intelligibility other than to say that some claims were made to the effect that speakers of Tajio from other parts could understand and be understood by speakers of Tajio at any particular place.

Another area that remains a need for future enquiry is the extent of usage of Tajio in the home, village life, commerce, etc. Where both or all parties are Tajio speakers, it would be fair to expect that this would be the medium of expression; but inter-language commerce, mixed-population villages and mixed-language marriages are sufficiently common to necessitate investigation of their effects on language usage.

4. NONLINGUISTIC INFORMATION

Geography. The part of the peninsula concerning this survey is quite narrow, ranging from forty-five kilometers between Tinombo and Pesik to only eighteen kilometers between Tada and Meli. A single ridge of hills with few peaks over 1,000 meters runs north to south and closer to the east coast than the west. At intervals on the west coast there are also smaller secondary ridges.

The largest groups of Tajio speakers are located in coastal towns and villages in the north of Ampibabo subdistrict and the south of Tinombo subdistrict, along the edge of Tomini bay. The fairly narrow coastal plain at several points is wide enough to allow extensive wet-rice fields. At other places the hills forming the backbone of the peninsula project spurs almost to the beach. However, the main road is flat all the way between Toboli and Tinombo, following the coast closely. Those groups not on the coast are almost all in resettlement projects just a few kilometers inland. Mostly the roads to such projects follow rivers between forested hills or are over the coastal plain so the elevation is still quite low, less than 100 meters. Because of the relative newness of the area in terms of population and agriculture, much of the natural forest remains. But with the trend of migrants to the area in search of new land the future promises a reduction in area of natural forest in favour of crops.

On the west coast the geography is similar, except in that there is no real coastal plain and the hills rise less steeply to the main ridge. Like its eastern counterpart the west coast road follows the coast closely and is mostly flat. There are, however, several more rivers to ford in the west.

Economy. At several points along the east coast wet-rice cultivation is practiced, particularly in the southern part of Tinombo subdistrict. Some inland locations with wide valleys, such as Ranang, also grow wet-rice. This forms the main staple in people's diet and is eaten with small fish which abound in the tranquil waters of Tomini bay.

The main cash crop is copra. Coconut trees are ubiquitous in the area, not only in the many small-scale plantations, but also along the roadside. Cocoa and cloves are also grown at several places, although the recent slump in the price of cloves may hinder future planting.

Rattan is the main natural commodity boosting the area's economy. Near Sija, large tractors and trailers are driven up the river to bring out rattan which is then trucked to Palu and shipped elsewhere for use in the furniture industry. The west coast is involved in cutting rattan, too, and also in the ebony trade.

Demography. No attempt was made to make a detailed demographic study of the four subdistricts visited. We did seek population figures for villages and towns in Ampibabo subdistrict, and at various other points more localised figures were given to us. These figures, along with extrapolated estimates for the few places we do not have figures for, are summarised below.

Table 3: Populations of places where Tajio is spoken

SUBDISTRICT	TOWN/VILLAGE	POPULATION	%TAJIO	TAJIO POPn
Ampibabo	Toribulu	2916 (86)	75	2187
	Sienjo	1333 (86)	100	1333
	Sipotara	[750]	100	[750]
	Donggulu	2080 (86)	50	1040
	Laemanta	1131 (86)	100	1131
	Kasimbar	6378 (88)	68	4337
	Ranang	[750]	50	[375]
	Posona	667 (86)	60	400
Tinombo	Siney	2000 (est)	100	2000
	Maninili	2217 (88)	100	2217
	Sigenti	1000 (est)	25	250
	Sigega	400 (est)	75	300
	Dongkalan	800 (est)	25	200
	Sipayo	2500 (88)	20	500
	Bangkalang	500 (est)	100	500
	Sija	200 (est)	100	200
Sindue	Anoi	75 (88)	100	75
	Tolomalo	?	?	15 (88)
	Sibomba	43 (88)	100	43
	Tamarenja	?	?	27 (88)
	Tobata Sikara	500 (88)	100	500
TOTAL				17255

Notes: 1. [] indicates figures already counted under previous town/village figures.

2. () indicates year figures taken or estimates.

Since over 35% of the total is taken from 1986 figures, it would be reasonable to assume a total of over 18,000 Tajio speakers.

Education. In general we found people relatively well educated. When we enquired at government offices about the schooling situation, we were informed that every village and resettlement project had its own elementary school to grade 6. Our observation backed this up. In fact many towns had more than one, and even more remote hamlets had such schools. Only the subdistrict capitals had senior high schools run by the state, but junior high schools were found in several of the larger towns, sometimes state run but more commonly private/religious based.

Religion. Although there possibly remain some small groups in the hills who have not yet embraced one of the major religions, such as Islam or Christianity, the vast majority of Tajio speakers already consider themselves members of one or the other. The language group is predominately Muslim, in Ampibabo subdistrict almost exclusively so. We observed mosques in almost every village we passed through and only a few churches, mostly in the northern part of Tinombo subdistrict. Our estimates show the proportions following these religions as: Islam 97%; Christianity 3%.

GPID congregations including Tajio speakers are located at Sigega, Bangkalang and Sija in Tinimbo subdistrict and at Batusuya in Sindue subdistrict. There is also an SDA congregation at Sigega which probably includes Tajio speakers. Other denominations also operate in Tinombo subdistrict, but their congregations are composed mainly of Lauje and/or migrant groups, especially from North Sulawesi.

Other religions of the area include Hinduism. Several Balinese settlements are to be found in Ampibabo subdistrict; some are reportedly Christian, while others are observably Hindu.

Health care. All of the major towns have a *puskesmas* 'health center'. Those living in smaller villages would not have too far to travel to reach one of these. Some of the smaller villages, for example dusun Sigega, have a *pengobatan* 'medical aid post' with a health worker in attendance. The general state of health in the area appeared good.

Communication. Almost everywhere we went could be reached by a two-wheel drive vehicle under normal conditions. The road is sealed and very good to just north of Ampibabo and sealed but narrower on the west coast to beyond Tompe, our northernmost point of travel. Beyond Ampibabo the road is unsealed but still very good, apart from occasional mudholes which tend to slow down traffic. Access roads to inland locations are mostly passable by two-wheel drive vehicles, though some are more suited to motorcycles or foot traffic. Communication between the two coasts is also not a problem. The people at Ranang claimed that it was only another two-to-three-hour walk to the west coast. Several tracks between the two sides exist; one between Tada and Tambu used to be vehicular apparently but is somewhat overgrown now.

Because of such accessibility between the coastal towns and also to other centers such as Palu, people are free to travel for trade or social purposes. It seems likely that inter-group communication has long been a hallmark of the area since before Indonesian was widely spoken. Many people have learned each other's languages, at least to a sufficient level to be able to communicate basic needs.

5. ALLOCATION FACTORS

In order to determine the right place to begin a language study programme, factors such as prestige dialect and linguistic centrality need to be weighed as well as pragmatic details like accessibility. In the case of Tajio, the whole area is very accessible so this is not a problem.

Regarding centrality, Kasimbar is both geographically and linguistically most central. It is also the largest population center of Tajio speakers (over 4,000). It is, however, a town of mixed language, including speakers of Bugis, Mandar, Pendau, Rai and Balinese.

Sienjo, on the other hand, is exclusively Tajio, but only separated from the mixed-language town of Toribulu by a small river. We came across only two people who pointed to Sienjo/Toribulu as the original homeland of the Tajio people (also the king was seated there before the Dutch came), but we found no other sources contradicting this. If this is true, then there has been a northward drift of population over the years. Relatively few Tajio speakers have gone west to settle. No testing was done to determine a prestige dialect.

6. FURTHER RESEARCH

The nature of this survey has been general and, although we believe it has met its stated goals, has not been exhaustive. The main areas that need future attention are: First, a further clarification of the dialect situation within the Tajio language boundaries. Only five of our eleven wordlists were of Tajio, so many Tajio speech communities have yet to be tested. Second, mutual intelligibility testing needs to be carried out. Lexicostatistic studies are very helpful at this preliminary stage, but language has communication as its motivating force, and studies of commonalities of understanding are really of more benefit in the long run than comparisons of lexical similarities outside of the flow of speech. It may well be that speakers of the three proposed dialects understand each other quite adequately, or at least understand the adjacent one(s). Third, it would be beneficial also to conduct some mutual intelligibility tests between Pendau and Tajio speakers. Though Pendau is centered on the west coast north of the area we surveyed, there are also groups on the east coast very close to Tajio groups; for example, Ranang's population is 50% Pendau and 50% Tajio. This would be helpful for a future language program in Pendau as well as for the Tajio situation.

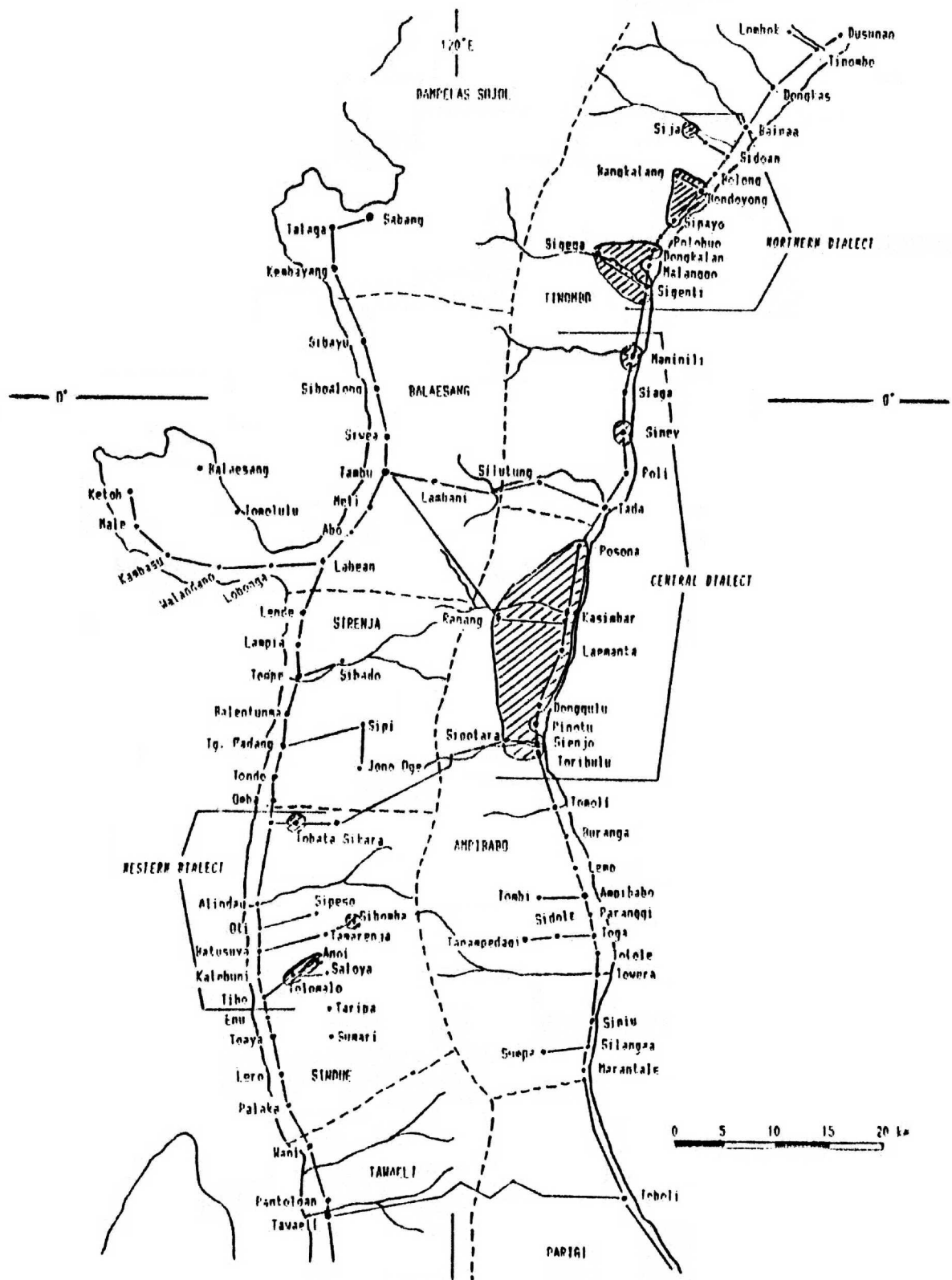
7. CONCLUSION

We set out to find exactly where Tajio was spoken and compare various versions of it with others and with other languages spoken in the vicinity. We also aimed at gleaning an impression of the overall sociological makeup of the area, and more specifically within the Tajio context. We believe these objectives have been met, but there is also room and need for further research to be undertaken.

Our findings show that there are something like 18,000 speakers of Tajio located in Ampibabo, Tinombo and Sindue subdistricts within Donggala district. They are found in several groups, more than half of which contain other language speakers as well. The differences between the Tajio wordlists taken are such that we are proposing three dialects of the language, Northern, Central, and Western.

Beyond looking at Tajio itself, we encountered Taje, a close relative which we are considering a language of the Tomini subfamily, and Kori, which is almost certainly a dialect of Kaili.

Figure 1. Map of Area Surveyed
(Shaded areas indicate groups of Tajo speakers.)



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SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY

Mori and Padoe Area

(Kecamatan Nuha in South Sulawesi, Kecamatans Mori Atas, Lembo and Petasia in Central Sulawesi)

Marjo Karhunen and Paula Vuorinen

**Cooperative Program of Hasanuddin University
and**

The Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc.

0. INTRODUCTION

The survey of Mori and Padoe languages in three subdistricts in Central Sulawesi and in one subdistrict in South Sulawesi was conducted as a follow-up to the surveys by Charles E. Grimes and Barbara D. Grimes, *Languages of South Sulawesi* (1987); Donald F. Barr, Sharon G. Barr and C. Salombe, *Languages of Central Sulawesi* (1979); and the UNHAS-SIL South Sulawesi Sociolinguistic Surveys (Friberg, ed. 1987).

Our purpose was to find out how many dialects of Mori and Padoe there actually were in the surveyed area. We had gotten information that the Mori people are divided into more than 20 *anak suku* 'subgroups' and that almost every Mori village speaks a different variant of Mori. For that reason, we first studied one distinct variant for several weeks, and only after that did we travel collecting word and sentence lists for comparison. These lists represent the villages of different subgroups or dialects of Mori. Most of the lists were filled out in the villages themselves, but a few were obtained from people outside their home village. Altogether we visited 19 villages and collected 24 wordlists and 22 sentence lists. Sociolinguistic data were collected in a few villages.

The villages we visited were situated in three *kecamatan* 'subdistricts' in *kabupaten* 'district' Poso in the province of Central Sulawesi, and in one *kecamatan* in kabupaten Luwu in the province of South Sulawesi. The *kecamatan*s in kabupaten Poso were Mori Atas, Lembo and Petasia, and kecamatan Nuha was in kabupaten Luwu.

The survey was conducted by Paula Vuorinen and Marjo Karhunen. In the last part of the survey Marjo Karhunen was accompanied by Anna-Leena Saikkonen.

We are grateful to Mr. Jan Ruru, our counterpart from UNHAS, for the interest he has shown in our work and for the insight he has been able to give as a speaker of a Mori dialect.

2. SURVEY ACCOUNT

On the basis of previous surveys and other information we knew that the Mori area was divided into three main areas linguistically, Mori Atas, Mori Bawah and Mori Selatan (or Padoe). In order to have more basis for comparison later, we decided to first study Padoe in a little more depth. For this purpose we started from Ujung Pandang on 8 March 1988 moving towards Luwu. After having reported in Palopo, the capital of kabupaten Luwu, we continued to Wasuponda, the capital of kecamatan Nuha. We reported in at the offices of the police and the *camat* 'administrative head of *kecamatan*' and later visited four Padoe hamlets, Togo, Tabarano, Ranteloka, and Kawata, in order to decide the best allocation for language learning. On 11 March we settled in *desa* 'administrative unit comprising several hamlets or *dusuns*' Kawata close to the border of kecamatan Malili. There we were kindly received into the house of a pastor in dusun Kawata.

We spent five weeks in Kawata collecting linguistic and sociolinguistic data and started to communicate a little in the Padoe language. While in Kawata we visited a small Padoe hamlet called Lasulawai getting a wordlist there, and we elicited a wordlist from a Tambee man from the village of Landangi. On 15 April we left Kawata in order to return to Ujung Pandang.

About two weeks passed before we received permission to start our survey in Central Sulawesi. On 3 May we left Ujung Pandang for Palu, and after reporting in we proceeded by bus to Poso, the *kabupaten* capital. There we were delayed several days by sickness but finally arrived in Mori Atas on 9 May. We were given introductory letters by the *camat* to the *kepala desas* 'heads of *desas*' of four villages, three of them representing different subgroups of Mori Atas (Tomata, capital of *kecamatan*, Ensa, and Kolaka) and one being a Padoe village (Taliwan, actually consisting of two *desas*, Wawondula and Tabarano). Transportation between the villages was arranged by the *kepala desas* so that we were usually taken on motorbike from place to place. Sometimes we had to wait for the transportation longer than we had planned.

From Mori Atas we continued to Lembo which is considered linguistically to be part of the Mori Bawah area. But before we started the survey in Lembo, we returned to Ujung Pandang for six days via Soroako and went back to Lembo the same way. We had originally planned to stay one or two weeks in one of the Mori Bawah villages in order to study that variant of Mori in a little more depth. However, we found that there were nine different dialects or subgroups of Mori Bawah in Lembo. Because of that we decided to visit only briefly each of those subgroups so as to cover the language variants as completely as possible in the time span available for the survey. As in Mori Atas, the *camat* of Lembo also wrote introductory letters to the *kepala desas*.

Having visited nine villages in that *kecamatan*; i.e., Tinompo, Korompeli, Korowou, Uluanso, Mora, Wara'a, Wawopada, Ronta, and Beteleme, the capital of *kecamatan* Lembo, we moved to *kecamatan* Petasia, also considered to be part of the Mori Bawah area. The information we had received earlier in Lembo of the great diversity of Mori dialects proved to be true in Petasia, too. The *camat* and the officials at the office of the Department of Education and Culture pointed out to us the names of several villages and their dialects. However, because our physical and mental resources were almost exhausted at that point of the survey, we decided not to visit the villages which were reachable only by foot, horse or boat. Instead, we were helped by the officials in the Department of Education and Culture, who either themselves acted as informants or showed us persons in Kolonodale, capital of *kecamatan* Petasia, who represented the dialects needed. We visited only two villages which we could reach by car from Kolonodale, *desa* Bunta and *desa* Mohoni. The lists we filled out in Kolonodale represented the dialects spoken in the villages of Sampalowo, Tontowe, Moleono, and Tiu.

We started our journey back to Ujung Pandang on 26 June, travelling via Poso to Palu and then by aeroplane from there to Ujung Pandang on 27 June.

The last and shortest part of the Mori/Padoe survey was carried out 23-30 August 1988. This time lists were taken in the town of Soroako, *kecamatan* Nuha, for the dialects of Soroako and Karonsi'e.

3. NONLINGUISTIC INFORMATION

History. According to the little we know of the history of the Mori people, it seems that from very early on the different subgroups fought with each other. The groups usually lived in the mountains or other locations which were easy to defend, and people were often at war with neighbouring groups. During one of these fights against the neighbouring Pamona people, Padoe people left their homes to settle in the south beside the great lakes of what today is known as *kecamatan* Nuha.

A major change in the history of the Moris came in the early 20th century when the Dutch forced the fighting mountain people to descend to the lowlands in order to enforce their colonial rule among them. First, different subgroups of Mori people united their forces to resist the common enemy, but the fall of the fort of Wulanderi meant victory for the Dutch in 1907. (Tamalagi, 1985, p.76.) Thus, many of the villages in the present Mori Atas area moved eastwards to Mori Bawah to what are now the western parts of *kecamatan* Lembo and Petasia. The governmental centre of the Dutch regime was in *desa* Tinompo close by Beteleme and probably chosen as such because of its being the dwelling place of the Mori royalty. Tinompo came to be an educational centre for the Mori people as well, as Dutch

missionaries lived there and set up a school. One of the missionaries, German K. Riedel, reduced the Ngusumbatu dialect of the Mori language--that of Tinompo--to writing and translated the whole of the New Testament into that dialect in the 1930's. It was printed by the Dutch Bible Society in Java in 1941. (Kruyt, 1977, pp. 312-313.) The Mori language was then used at church and at schools in the area along with the Malay language.

The next big move in the history of the Mori people came in the 1950's and early 1960's when the Darul Islam movement started becoming stronger in the northern parts of South Sulawesi and even across the border of Central Sulawesi. Several of the Padoe villages in Nuha were destroyed and people fled either west to Malili and Mangkutana or north to the Mori Atas or Pamona Utara areas. Thus, nowadays there are several Padoe villages in these *kecamatans*. Also, several of the Mori villages were moved from the area north of Lake Matano further north to get them away from the approaching rebels.

Geography. Mori people live in the area that reaches from Matano Lake in the south to the area that lies north of the Laa River. In the east, Tambusisi and some other mountains form a natural border, while in the west Moris inhabit areas as far as the beginning of the Laa River. Basically, the area is covered with forest except in the west where there are grassy plains split by rugged and mountainous country in some places, bigger or smaller rivers in others. The altitude in Tomata in Mori Atas is about 350 meters above sea level, in Beteleme in Lembo about 400 meters, getting lower all the time as one approaches the sea.

Kecamatan Nuha in South Sulawesi is marked by two big lakes in the east, Matano and Towuti, the former reputedly one of the deepest lakes in the world and having very few fish, the latter being the largest in Sulawesi, 48 kilometres wide. Otherwise the area is covered by forest. There is a lot of nickel in the southern side of Matano which gives the ground its distinctive red colour.

Economy, Livelihood. Subsistence farming is the livelihood of most Mori and Padoe people, rice being the most important crop. Both wet and dry field rice cultivation is used. In addition, different vegetables and fruits are grown in the area, as well as coffee, cocoa, and cloves as cash crops.

Apart from farming, Mori people find their living working as school teachers or in the offices of the *kecamatans*, particularly in Central Sulawesi. In Soroako, Nuha, P T. INCO, a Canadian company, began its operations in 1968 with the design and construction of nickel processing facilities and has given work to hundreds of people of the area as well as to many others who have moved from other parts of the country.

Religion. The majority of Mori and Padoe people are adherents of Christianity. In Central Sulawesi, a few Mori and Padoe villages are 100% Christian while in others there are Muslim newcomers from other parts of Indonesia. Some villages closer to the east, in kecamatan Petasia, are reportedly Muslim. In South Sulawesi in kecamatan Nuha, Mori and Padoe villages and hamlets are divided between Christianity and Islam, a few being predominantly Christian, Tabarano, Ranteloka, and, Togo, and others predominantly Muslim, Nuha, Matano, and Matompi. A third group consists of villages sharing a more equal distribution of Muslims and Christians, Soroako area and the village of Kawata. Some of the Padoe hamlets in kecamatan Malili are Christian and some are Muslim, while those in kecamatan Mangkutana are predominantly Christian.

The churches in the three *kecamatan*s in Central Sulawesi are mainly of Gereja Kristen Sulawesi Tengah (GKST) affiliation and look to Tentena for direction. There are also several *Sidang Jemaat Allah* 'Assemblies of God' churches in the area, and their centre is in Palu. Most churches in kecamatan Nuha in South Sulawesi are of GKST or Gereja Protestan Indonesia Luwu (GPIL) affiliation and look to Tentena or Palopo, respectively, for their direction. The Muslim community in kecamatan Nuha has its head in Palopo.

Education. In the Mori area in Central Sulawesi all the villages have their own primary schools. There are SMPs in each of the capitals of the three *kecamatan*s, both government sponsored and private. Moreover, there are private SMPs at least in Ensa and Taliwan, Mori Atas. Students from all three *kecamatan*s attend an SMA in Kolonodale, Petasia, but many leave for Poso, Palu or Tentena for their SMA or other post-SMP schooling, often depending on where the students have relatives to stay with. Most of the teachers are themselves from the Mori area, and we got the impression that it was quite usual for young people who had finished their SMP to go into a teacher training school either in Kolonodale, Tentena, or Poso and then come back home to wait for a teaching post. Education seems to be highly valued among the Mori people, and we heard about several people who had received a degree at a university. Also, the *camats* of the three *kecamatan*s were all born in the area and are ethnically Mori.

In South Sulawesi in kecamatan Nuha most of the villages have a primary school, although from some small, more remote, hamlets like Tabarano and Lasulawai pupils walk to nearby bigger hamlets like Togo and Kawata, respectively. There are private schools, SMP and SMA, in Soroako which are owned by P.T. INCO and mainly meant for the children of its workers, and there is a private SMP in Wasuponda. Wawondula has a government SMP and SMA. Many students from Kawata attend SMP and SMA in Malili, and some of them go to Wasuponda. Moreover, there is a private school for teachers of religion, Christian, in Wasuponda.

Health Facilities. In the Mori area in Central Sulawesi, the health facilities seem to be good. There are hospitals in Tomata, Beteleme and Kolonodale. The hospital of Tentena is only about 60 kilometres from Tomata, Mori Atas. Moreover, there are health centres in the *desas*, though some of the smaller and more remote ones may have health posts which are open only on a weekly basis with a health worker coming from a nearby *desa* to work there.

In Wasuponda in South Sulawesi there is a health centre which serves the needs of kecamatan Nuha. Moreover, P.T. INCO operates a clinic in Wasuponda and a hospital in Soroako, but they are meant for the workers of the company only. People in the western part of the *kecamatan* may use the health centre in Malili, too. In most larger villages there is a health post.

Communication. The main communication centres in the Mori area are Kolonodale and Beteleme and, to a lesser extent, Tomata. There are markets in the first two, besides which they are the governmental and educational centres of the area. Also Tentena, Poso, and Palu, to some degree, seem to be where people travel to from the *kecamatan*s.

Most of the villages in Mori Atas are accessible by a four-wheel vehicle as are most of the villages in Lembo. In Petasia, though, the country is more rugged and split by rivers. Several of the villages can be reached only by boat, on horse or by foot. In Kolonodale there is a harbour with regular passenger ships going as far as Kendari and Ujung Pandang, and connections over the Tomori Bay are good. Beteleme is serviced by the MAF plane which flies from there to Soroako and Tentena once a week, several flights between Beteleme and Soroako in one day, if necessary.

In Nuha, the markets in Soroako, Wawondula and Malili serve the needs of the inhabitants of the area. Wasuponda is a government centre, so people often travel there, while Wawondula and Malili are the main centres for education, the latter particularly for the western part of the *kecamatan*. Many people seem to travel to Palopo, too.

The roads in Nuha are in good repair and the paved road from Palopo to Soroako is excellent. There are buses going daily from Soroako and Malili to Palopo and Ujung Pandang. From Soroako one can also take a boat across Lake Matano to go north to Central Sulawesi, but it means several hours of walking before reaching a vehicular road in Lembo. Soroako is serviced by aeroplanes, too, as there is a small private airport there owned by P.T. INCO. P.T. INCO's planes fly three times a week to Ujung Pandang. The airstrip is used by other planes like MAF, which usually flies one day a week to and from Tentena and Beteleme in Central Sulawesi.

4. LANGUAGE ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Language Analysis. The main method used for determining language and dialect differences and boundaries between languages was the taking of wordlists in representative villages and then the comparison of those lists for lexical similarities. Sociolinguistic data were also gathered in some villages in order to understand better the language situation. Sentence lists were also taken with approximately 40 sentences first prepared by Timothy Friberg for the Konjo survey in South Sulawesi. However, because of our very limited knowledge of the grammatical structures of the languages in the Mori group, the information gathered through those lists has had little use in this survey report.

Only 214 of the 226 words on the wordlist were included in the comparison. Twelve words were eliminated¹ for different reasons: 1) there was not a one-to-one lexical correspondence between the Mori languages and Indonesian; 2) an item would bias the results because of lexical repetition; and, 3) the meaning of the Indonesian word was not clear. In comparing the lists, the decisions for lexical similarity were made according to the principle of phonetic similarity based on inspection as described by Bugenhagen (1982). Thus, if the words showed correspondence between fifty percent or more of the phonemes, consonant similarity being considered more important than vowel, the words were counted as lexically similar. In grouping the languages we followed Grimes and Grimes' (1987) method of classification where cognate percentages above 80 are considered to indicate one language. Percentages between 75 and 80 indicate the same subfamily of languages. We did not apply the class called family, between 60 and 75 percent, because of overall high figures on our matrix.

In doing some comparative study on the words we found some regular sound correspondences between the dialects. Although our material for this comparison was very limited, the findings seemed to confirm the grouping we had previously made on the basis of lexicostatistics only.

Results. The previous surveys (Barr, Barr and Salombe 1979; Grimes and Grimes 1987; Valkama 1987) named three languages among the Mori subfamily, Mori Atas, Mori Bawah and Padoe. Our survey results indicate three groups of Mori languages, too, but the boundaries between the groups are not always clear-cut. What surprised us was that some of the dialects² spoken in the area called Mori Bawah (Lembo and Petasia); i.e., Molongkuni, Wulanderi, Impo, Lolonggoio, Olota, Kolokolo, and Ulu'uwoi, as well as Tambee from the South (Nuha), show considerably higher lexical correspondence to the dialects spoken in the area called Mori Atas; i.e., Molio'a and Doule, than they do to other dialects in the so-called Mori Bawah area. The lists from the Mori Atas area correspond at over 80 percent to those dialects mentioned above. We have named all of the dialects in this group 'Mori Atas'. The rest of the Mori Bawah area dialects; i.e., Ngusumbatu, Petasia, Kangua, Bahano, Mo'iki, Roda, Watu (kecamatan

Lembo and Petasia), as well as the dialects called Soroako and Karonsi'e (kecamatan Nuha), relate at only 71 to 78 percent cognate rate to the two Mori Atas dialects mentioned above (Molio'a and Doule) and at an average of 85 percent amongst themselves. The dialects in this group we have called 'Mori Bawah'. The fact that some of the dialects in the so-called Mori Bawah area actually are Mori Atas dialects may explain why Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979) give an 86 percent cognate relationship between Mori Atas and Mori Bawah, whereas Valkama (1987) reports only 75-79 percent correspondence between those two.

The three Padoe lists have an average cognate correspondence of 95 percent between themselves and 77 and 76 percent average correspondence to the Mori Bawah and Mori Atas groups, respectively. 'Mori Atas' and 'Mori Bawah' hereafter refer to language designation as we have described it rather than geographical areas. It is appropriate to point out here that historical factors have had an important role in the distribution of dialects and languages in the Mori area. Besides the migration of thousands of Padoes from the South to Central Sulawesi during the Muslim rebellion, Mori speakers in Central Sulawesi moved as whole villages several times in history. As a result, the dialects do not form a geographically continuous chain but instead constitute a more complicated distribution.

As indicated above, there are three Mori dialects spoken in kecamatan Nuha, South Sulawesi, one of which from the point of view of lexical similarity can be considered a Mori Atas dialect (Tambee) and two Mori Bawah dialects (Karonsi'e and Soroako). This finding contradicts Grimes and Grimes (1987) who concluded that the Mori language family is represented only by Padoe in South Sulawesi. The names 'Karonsi' (sic.), 'Tambee' and 'Soroako' were only given as alternate names for 'Padoe'. At the same time, our results agree with Valkama (1987) who also counted the dialect of Soroako to be one of the Mori Bawah dialects. Valkama, however, grouped the dialect of Karonsi'e in the same group with Padoe, which can be easily done if one only compares Karonsi'e and Padoe alone (in our lists 79 to 81 percent lexical similarity). Also Tambee and Soroako have a rather high lexical correspondence to Padoe (77 to 81 percent). If we look at the data from the point of view of sound change correspondences, Soroako and Karonsi'e share some features with Padoe in some cases, as does Tambee in other cases. Soroako and Karonsi'e never seem to share the same change with Tambee. Besides lexicostatistic figures, this would seem to indicate that Padoe, Tambee, Karonsi'e, and Soroako cannot all be regarded as dialects of the same language.

One case of convergence in the grouping of languages that we have made on a lexicostatistical basis is the dialect called Ngusumbatu spoken in the village of Tinompo, kecamatan Lembo, and in two villages in kecamatan Petasia. That it corresponds at 80 percent or more with 13 of the Mori dialects can probably be explained by the fact that Ngusumbatu was the unifying language of the whole Mori area during the Dutch regime.

Ngusumbatu, with Malay, was the language of education in primary schools and in the church. The translation of the New Testament into Ngusumbatu in the 1930's must have increased the influence of that dialect on the other Mori dialects. However, our grouping of Ngusumbatu with the Mori Bawah dialects on lexical grounds in the first place is confirmed by the study of regular sound changes between the dialects.

We have refrained from grouping the different Mori languages in different language families because there were only a few cases of 70 percent in the matrix and no percentage lower than that. Instead, we consider all of the Mori dialects and languages as belonging to a Mori subfamily.

On the basis of this survey we have not been able to make conclusions about comprehension between the languages. It is probable, however, that comprehension is fairly good because of the historical factors mentioned above but needs to be demonstrated with intelligibility testing.

We have the impression that most of the data obtained in the wordlists is fairly reliable. There may be some doubt, however, about the reliability of the lists of Lolonggoio, Olota and Kangua, all from kecamatan Petasia, because they were taken outside the villages where those dialects are primarily spoken. The same can be said of the Tambee list. The Karonsi'e list was obtained in Soroako, because there evidently is no longer one village in Nuha where only Karonsi'e is spoken. After returning to Ujung Pandang we heard that the inhabitants of desa Tiwaa, Mori Atas, were Karonsi'e speakers, but we never went there during our survey.

Whether this survey really covers all of the dialects of Mori, we cannot say with certainty. We visited those villages which we were told would represent the different subgroups or dialects of Mori. When we were in Petasia, we got the impression that there were at least three more dialects, those of Pa'alanggoe, Wawonsetu, and Pomuaia, which we did not have a chance to check.

According to Datlin Tamalagi from the University of Tadulako (UNTAD 1985), the *anak suku* 'subgroups' of Mori number 25. Whether this number reflects the situation only during the Dutch period or whether it still is valid today, we do not know. As already indicated, our survey found 20 subgroups with their respective dialects.

5. LANGUAGE USAGE

Throughout the area surveyed people seemed to know Indonesian well, and that seemed to be the case from early childhood to old age. Although the language used in families was predominantly Mori or Padoe, parents often talked to their younger children in Indonesian in order to prepare them to enter school. Only in one village in Lembo the *kepala desa* claimed that

their youngest child, about 5-6 years of age, did not know Indonesian yet. Most of the villages we visited, however, were easy to reach by road, so the state of bilingualism might be somewhat different in the few villages that are not so easily accessible. Also, a Javanese church trainee who had been in a village in Nuha for nine months was surprised as all the people there, even elderly, knew Indonesian, unlike in villages in Java.

Besides in homes, Mori and Padoe were widely used among the people in the villages when visiting each other or working together in fields and gardens. The only exception was perhaps children who quite frequently talked to each other in Indonesian when playing together. Also, most of the village affairs were discussed in the local language with the *kepala desa* if he was of the same ethnic group. In governmental offices Indonesian was generally used even though the office workers in the three Mori *kecamatan*s were mostly Mori themselves. We were told that using Indonesian was more appropriate as the relationship was so formal. Most shopkeepers were from 'outside' (Bugis) so Indonesian was used with them. School teachers were reported to teach in Indonesian from the first grade on, but it was once mentioned that they may use the local language as an intermediate language in their teaching, which suggests that not every child knows Indonesian well enough when starting school. Church services and gatherings at homes were conducted predominantly in Indonesian, though occasionally Mori or Padoe was used in preaching, singing, or announcements. Free conversation before and after such gatherings was always in the local language.

6. CONCLUSION

The survey found that the Mori and Padoe people speak three different languages among them, Mori Atas, Mori Bawah, and Padoe, all of them consisting of various dialects. We still remain uncertain about how extensively they understand each other's languages, but we would assume they do relatively well because of their continual contact with each other over a span of a few decades, particularly in Central Sulawesi, and also because of the Ngusumbatu dialect being a unifying language in the Mori area until the 1950's. It may also be that comprehension between the languages is higher among older people than among youngsters as some of the elderly were educated in Ngusumbatu and the youth in Indonesian only. Intelligibility testing will be needed to ascertain these things.

Also, the knowledge of Indonesian seemed to be good throughout the area, but as we did not visit villages that were not easily accessible, our results may not reflect the real state of bilingualism in the area, especially in Lembo and Petasia. Therefore, more sociolinguistic surveys are needed. Moreover, the reliability of the lexicostatistic survey would increase if more wordlists were taken in actual villages in kecamatan Petasia; i.e., the dialects of Lolonggoio, Olot and Kangua, and if the dialects of Pa'alanggoe, Wawonseru and Pomuaia, and perhaps some others which we do not know

of, were also surveyed. Reportedly, there are some Mori villages in kecamatans Bungku Utara and Bungku Tengah, and a further survey is needed to establish their linguistic identity. A sociolinguistic survey should be carried out in order to gain information on whether and how extensively Padoe is still used in Padoe villages in kecamatans Malili and Mangkutana in South Sulawesi, and in Mayakeli, a Padoe village in kecamatan Pamona Utara, kabupaten Poso, in Central Sulawesi.

ENDNOTES

¹ The items eliminated were as follows: *suami, isteri, nenek moyang, kakak perempuan, saudara laki-laki dari ayah, kelapa muda, pandan, itu, di situ, di sana*, and *mas kawin*.

² The dialects with the villages where they are spoken are found in Table 2.

**Table 1: Government and Population Figures
for Mori and Padoe**

<u>Prop.</u>	<u>Kab.</u>	<u>Kec.</u>	<u>Pop.</u>	<u>Desa</u>	<u>Pop.</u>	<u>Village surveyed</u>	<u>Pop.</u> ¹
Central Sulawesi	Poso	Mori					
		Atas	9,629*/ 10,119 (Moris 6,413*)	Lembontonara	554		
				Tomata	1,882	Tomata	?
				Era	456		
				Saemba	443		
				Kolaka	275	Kolaka	280
				Gontara	293		
				Wawondula	660	Wawondula	713
				Tabarano	537	Tabarano	534
				Taende	370		
				Kasingoli	231		
				Lanumor	581		
				Lee	316		
				Mayumba	340		
				Tamonjengi	302		
				Peonea	413		
				Peleru	1,036		
				Ensa	843	Ensa	1,052
				Tiwaa	300		
				Londi	287		
		Lembo	7,740	Petumbea	321		
		(Moris ?)		Korowalelo	278		
		(see		Lembobaru	150		
		below)		Ronta	631	Ronta	626
				Korompeli	255	Korompeli	225
				Beteleme	1,754	Beteleme	1,725 ²
				Kumpi	293		
				Lembobelala	381		
				Tingkeao	322		
				Wara'a	233	Wara'a	300
				Lemboroma	298		
				Uluanso	434	Uluanso	329
				Wawopada	543	Wawopada	543
				Korowou	611	Korowou	478
				Po'ona	349		
				Mora	251	Mora	280
				Tinompo	636	Tinompo	462

Table 1 (Continued)

Prop.	Kab.	Kec.	Pop.	Desa	Pop.	Village surveyed	Pop. ¹
Central Sulawesi	Poso	Petasia		Bau	302		
			15,349	Towara	625		
		(Moris 12,000*)		Koromatantu	605		
				Mondowe	361		
				Mohoni	937	Mohoni	577
				Keuno	305		
				Ganda-Ganda	722		
				Moleono	449	Moleono	400
				Korololaki	496		
				Maralee	274		
				Tambayoli	334		
				Kolonodale	2,368		
				Korololama	378		
				Koya	378		
				Bunta	314	Bunta	378
				Tiu	970	Tiu	900
				Tontowea	209	Tontowea	320
				Bahontula	1,791		
				Gililana	693		
				Tompira	459		
				Tandoyondo	455		
				Malino	179		
				Tamainusi	288		
				Bahoue	407		
				Onepute	457		
				Sampalowo	638	Sampalowo	1,000
				Bungintimbe	260		
South Sulawesi	Luwu	Nuha		Ledu-Ledu	4,643*		
			29,331*	Laeha	2,834*		
		(Moris?)		Mahalona	828*		
		(see below)		L.Raya	3,678*		
				Kawata	1,055*	dusun Kawata	400
				Timampu	2,249*		
				Wawondula	2,435*		
				Matano	1,419*		
				Nikkel	4,866*	(-Soroako Lama)	
				Tabarano	2,136*		
				Magani	3,078*		

¹ Figures obtained from village leaders or informants

² 25% of the people are Mori Roda people

* Figures obtained through the camat's office

? Figures not obtained

The rest of the figures were obtained from *Biro Pusat Statistik* in Palu.

Comments on Table 1

According to the information from the office of the *camat* in Mori Atas, speakers of Mori there total 6,413 as already marked in Table 1. As for Lembo, we do not have figures from the *camat's* office, but we got the impression that in all of the villages a majority of the people are Moris, except in the capital Beteleme and in a large transmigration area close to desa Ronta. So we may conclude that the total of Mori speakers in Lembo is about 6,000. In Petasia, the *camat* told us that about 80% of the population in that *kecamatan* are Moris, or about 12,000 (see Table 1). These figures may be lower in reality, however, because it seems that the statistics we obtained from Palu are somewhat out of date. This can be seen if one compares them with the population figures given by the *kepala desas*.

When it comes to *kecamatan* Nuha in kabupaten Luwu, South Sulawesi, we have even less knowledge of the total population of speakers of Mori and Padoe. Because of the presence of the Canadian mining company, P.T. Inco, there are many people who have come from other regions in Indonesia to work for the company. Also Nuha has a considerable Bugis and Torajan population. However, from our knowledge of the Mori and Padoe villages in the area, we could presume their population to be around 8,000.

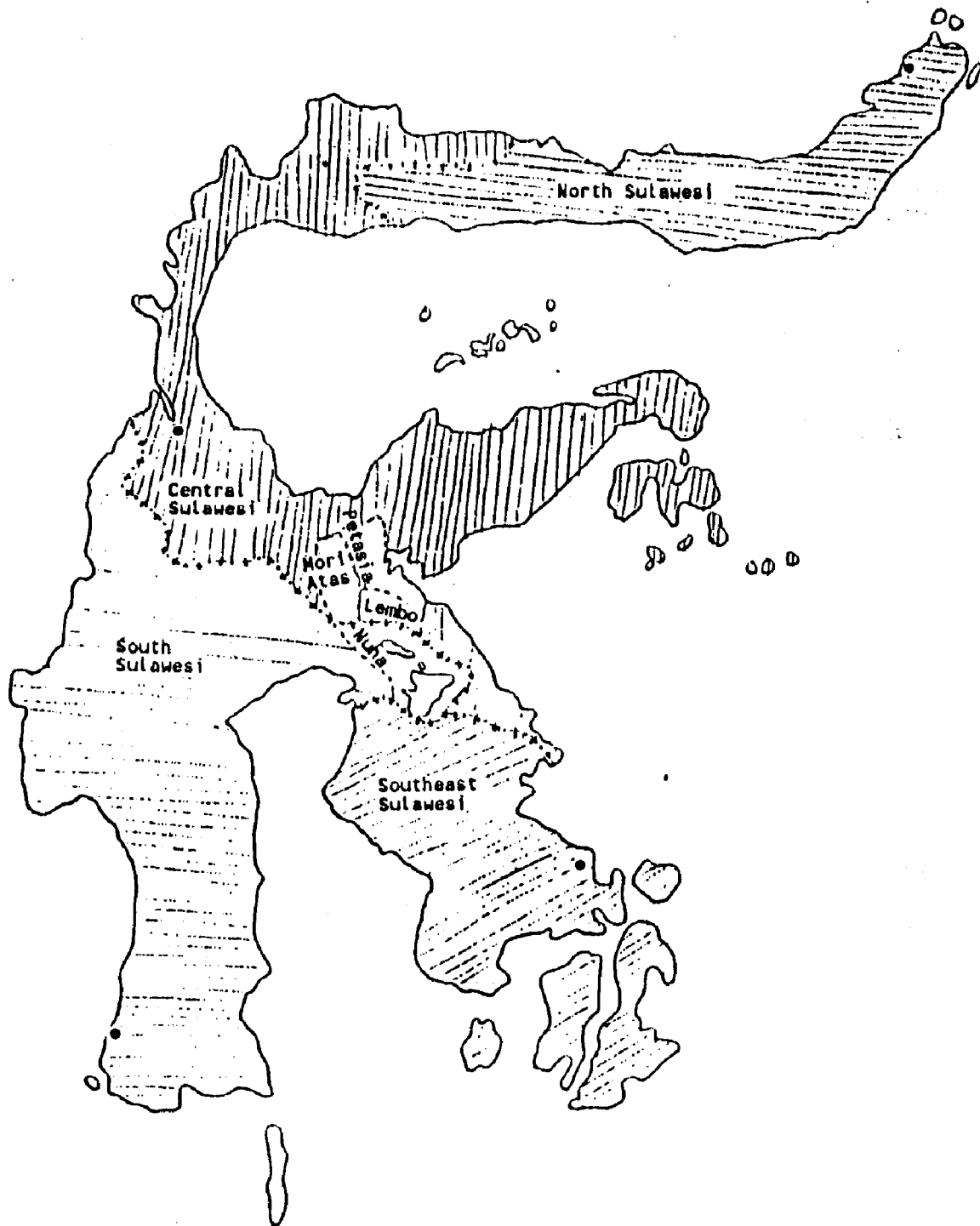
In total, the speakers of Mori and Padoe in those four *kecamatan*s would be approximately 32,000. There are some Padoe villages in *kecamatan*s Malili and Mangkutana, and the approximate number of Padoes there would be 1,500 altogether. The Padoe population of desa Mayakeli in *kecamatan* Pamona Utara is about 400. In *kecamatan*s Bungku Utara and Bungku Tengah in Central Sulawesi there are also some Mori villages.

Table 2: Lexicostatistic Matrix

Lexicostatistic Matrix

Language	Dialect	Village	Legend:	
			—	Language boundary
			⌈ ⌋	Cases of convergence
Mori Atas	Molio'a	Tomata		
		97 Ens		
	Doule	94 95 Kolakaa		
	Molongkuni	82 82 85 Wawopada		
	Wulanderi	90 91 94 87 Bunta		
	Impo	81 83 85 88 89 Korompeli		
	Lolonggoio	88 90 92 92 86 87 Moleono		
	Olota	86 89 92 93 90 88 93 Tontowea		
	Kolokolo	83 85 85 88 92 90 87 92 Wara'a		
	Ulu'uwoi	82 83 82 83 85 85 84 86 84 Mora		
	Tambee	79 79 77 78 78 80 81 81 82 91 Landangi		
Mori Bawah	Ngusumbatu	78 77 88 79 79 80 81 83 83 79 76		Tinompo
	Petasia	76 76 76 76 77 78 80 81 79 93 78		94 Sampalowo
	Kangua	77 78 78 78 76 78 82 83 79 79 76		90 88 Tiu
	Roda	74 74 74 76 79 78 79 80 81 78 74		95 95 87 Betelene
	Mo'iki	74 74 74 77 78 78 78 78 79 78 75		92 90 88 92 Korowou
	Karonsi'e	73 73 72 73 74 75 72 75 76 79 75		82 75 77 81 82 Soroako
	Watu	72 72 73 74 73 76 75 77 74 77 73		84 83 83 83 89 79 Mohoni
		73 75 73 75 75 77 78 77 76 77 72		84 83 83 84 89 80 94 Ronta
	Bahano	71 73 71 75 76 78 76 78 78 79 75		85 83 79 83 88 84 88 90 Uluanso
	Soroako	70 71 70 70 72 71 71 72 73 76 72		88 88 81 89 86 87 79 78 80 Soroako (Desa Nikkel)
Padoe	Padoe	75 74 74 74 74 75 75 76 77 82 78		78 77 75 78 77 81 75 73 75 79 Taliwan
		74 74 74 74 73 77 77 76 77 82 80		78 78 75 77 77 79 78 72 76 79 94 Lasulawai
		73 73 73 73 72 74 74 75 76 79 77		78 77 73 77 74 81 73 72 75 79 96 96 Kawata

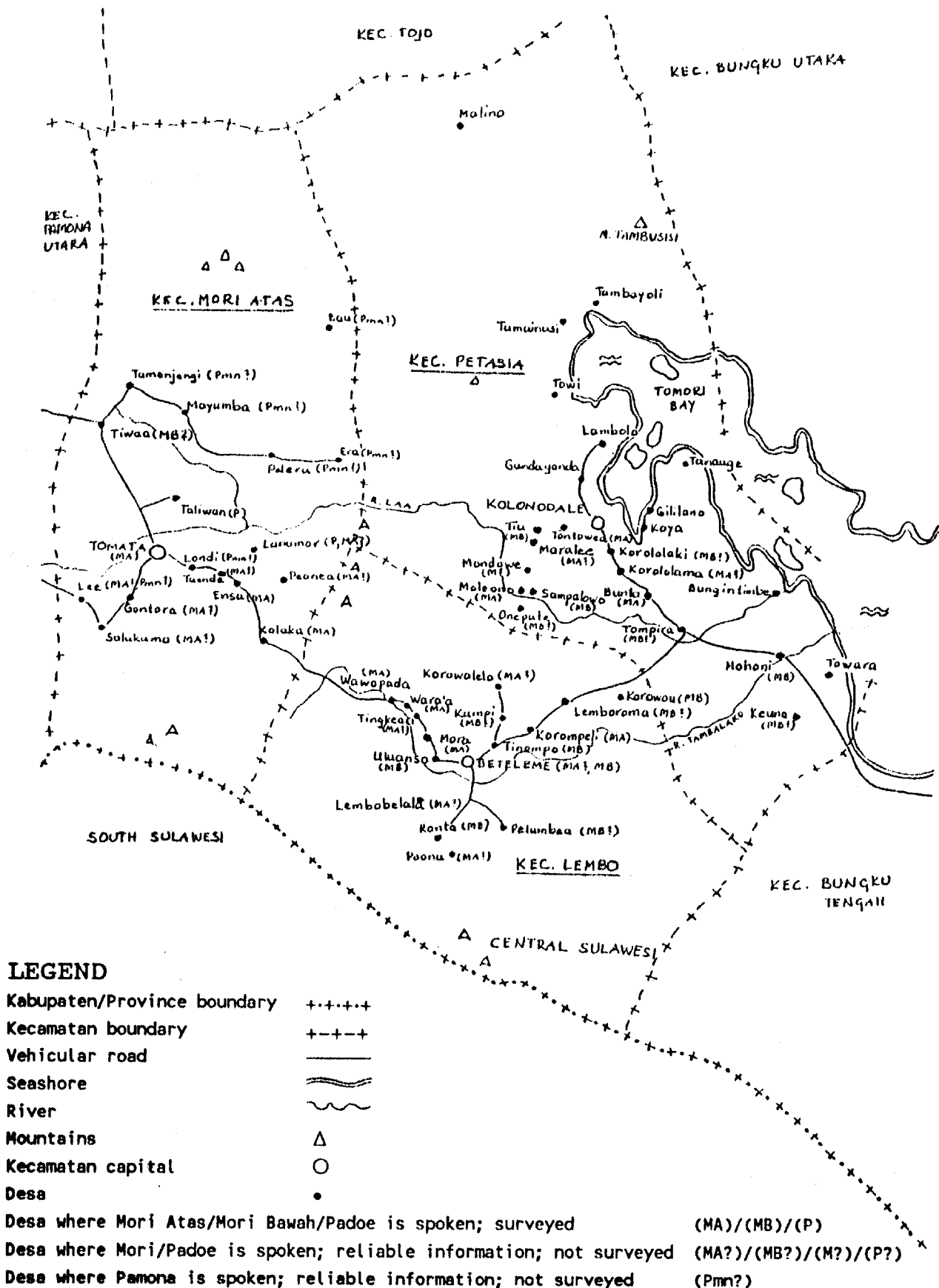
Map 1: Sulawesi
with the surveyed area noted



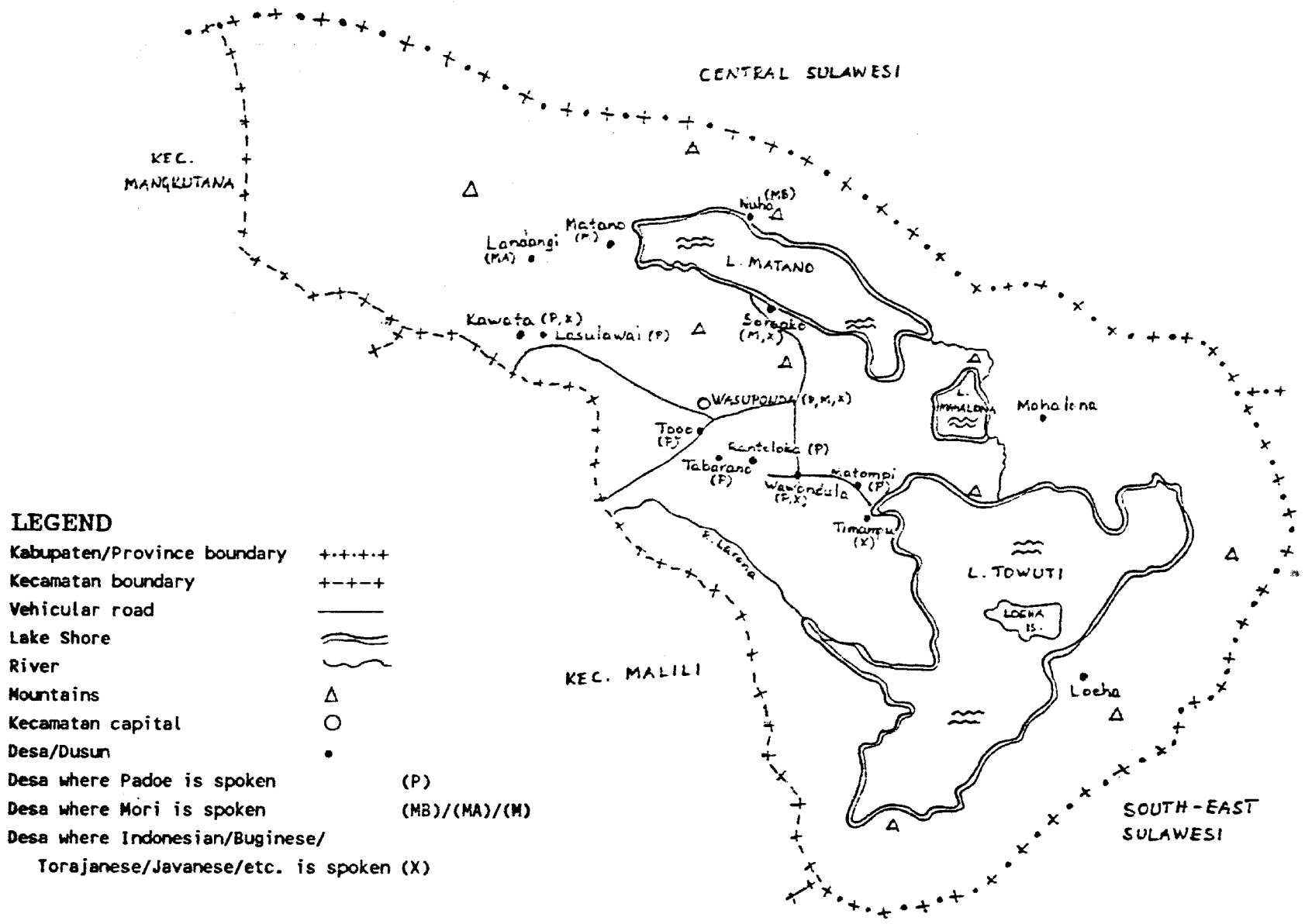
LEGEND

Province boundary +++
Kecamatan boundary ---
Province capital •

Map 2: Kecamatan Mori Atas, Lembo and Petasia



Map 3: Kecamatan Nuha



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SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY REPORT KABUPATEN LUWU REPORT ON THE RONGKONG-LUWU LANGUAGES

I. W. Vail

Cooperative Program of Hasanuddin University
and
The Summer Institute of Linguistics, Inc.

0. INTRODUCTION

This survey was conducted during 1988 from February through December. The trips were undertaken by the Vail family; namely Ian, Tania, Marissa and Natalia. While living in five different villages in kabupaten Luwu, South Sulawesi, a survey of the *kabupaten* 'district' was made to determine the extent and nature of the Rongkong/Luwu/Tae' language(s). Because questions remained relating to the nature of the Luwu and Rongkong languages¹, the purpose of this survey was to investigate the relationship of those languages in more detail while also beginning to learn and study the same languages in each area. It was also the purpose to map the extent of the abovementioned languages.

Apart from the questions which remained as noted in the linguistic literature, that this was the land of Sawerigading and the Lontara scripts² meant that it held interest from a historical perspective as well. It appears that kabupaten Luwu has been the centre of a previous kingdom(s).

1. METHODOLOGY

The elicitation of the data used as the basis for this report was in the form of wordlists, sample sentences, and comparative stories, as well as statistical and sociolinguistic questionnaires.

1.1 WORDLISTS

The wordlist used to calculate the lexicostatistics was a 200-item list. Additionally that list was used to determine where the strategic places were to take a longer (488-word) list. The 200-word list was made up of the Swadesh 200 list with the following exclusions: animal, because, few, float, freeze, ice, snow, and some.

The following words were also excluded by reason of either being doublets with other words or there being some confusion during elicitation: intestines, they, you(pl), bark, here, there, foot, and with.

The following words were then substituted to provide a wordlist of 200 words: above, banana, dirty, excrement, face, go, grandchild, lungs, mosquito, rattan, scar, skinny, stay, sweat, thunder, under.

1.2 SAMPLE SENTENCES

A list of the sentences used can be found in APPENDIX A. These sentences were not for the purpose of comparing lexical items but were rather gathered in an attempt to compare the structure of the languages/dialects involved. The sentences were elicited by means of Indonesian from at least two people within a language/dialect group. The sentences were recorded on tape and then later transcribed with 'local' help. A full treatment is included in 5.2.1.

1.3 COMPARATIVE STORIES

A number of stories were selected for testing and indeed were recorded and transcribed from a number of places. Several of these stories were recorded in each place with a view to applying some Intelligibility Testing methods (see Casad 1974) at a later date. However, the two stories used most consistently throughout this study were those taken from Sande & Sikki 1984:37,62. At this point in the study of the 'Tae' language and its dialects a rather crude comparison has been made on the basis of using the typed transcripts of the two stories, *Narang Sola Lalin* and *Tokupiq, Tobuta na Totaru*. These were taken to different areas and normally teachers who were born and bred in the area were asked to make corrective notes on the stories.

2. DEFINITION OF 'TAE'

It is appropriate at this stage to define the term *tae'* and related terms as they are used in this report.

The term *tae'* or the *Tae'* language refers to the form of language as spoken throughout the *kabupaten*. The terms *Rongkong* and *Luwu* are dialectal terms of reference relating to certain areas. The Rongkong language is that dialect of 'Tae' spoken in the Rongkong River valley. This includes both Upper Rongkong (RkgA) and Lower Rongkong (RkgB). Whereas the Luwu language refers to that dialect of 'Tae' spoken in the southern part of the kabupaten south of Palopo. The term *NE Luwu* is used to refer to the dialect of 'Tae' as spoken east of Masamba.

This requires further explanation. The name usually used by the Rongkong people for their language, which is related to Torajan, is *Tae'*.

Others refer to the Rongkong language as bahasa Rongkong, but the people themselves don't use it as a term as such. *Tae'* as a general referent for the language is used right across to Malili. However, let me make it clear that there are other terms used east of Masamba to refer to the language. These are: *Toraja*, *Luwu*, *Rongkong*. However, no other single term has the widespread usage of *Tae'* (contrary to Mills 1975:92-93).

In the southern part of the *kabupaten*, the predominant term is *Luwu*. There is no negative reaction there to the term *Tae'*. Indeed it is used there too, although not as widespread as it is in the north. Further, the people in the southern area seem to like to reduplicate it such that it becomes *Tae'-Tae'*.

This contrast between *Tae'* and *Luwu* is further confused by the referent terms for Bugis as used in kabupaten Luwu. The term used in the northern part of the *kabupaten* is *Luwu* while the term generally used in the south is either *Bugis* or *Bugis-Luwu*. Thus to choose *Tae'* as the overall term for the dialect group seems appropriate.

Furthermore, there is a tendency to name the languages of Central Sulawesi after the negative term found in the language. As *tae'* in the Luwu area is the general negating particle used in the language, in addition to the more specific factors outlined above this brings the nomenclature in line with that used in the central province. However, it must be stated here that the naming of languages after the negative is not prevalent in South Sulawesi. This is merely a means of getting around a hodge-podge of terminology and confusion.

Some linguists may argue that using the term *tae'* further complicates the issue by adding confusion between Torajan and *Tae'*. The term *Tae'* distinguishes the language found in kabupaten Luwu from that of the Torajan while preserving the link between them in the form of the common negative. The term *tae'* seems more appropriate to use as referent for the language as found in Luwu as it is used by the speakers themselves there, whereas it does not appear to be used as a referent to the Torajan language.

3. A BRIEF GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

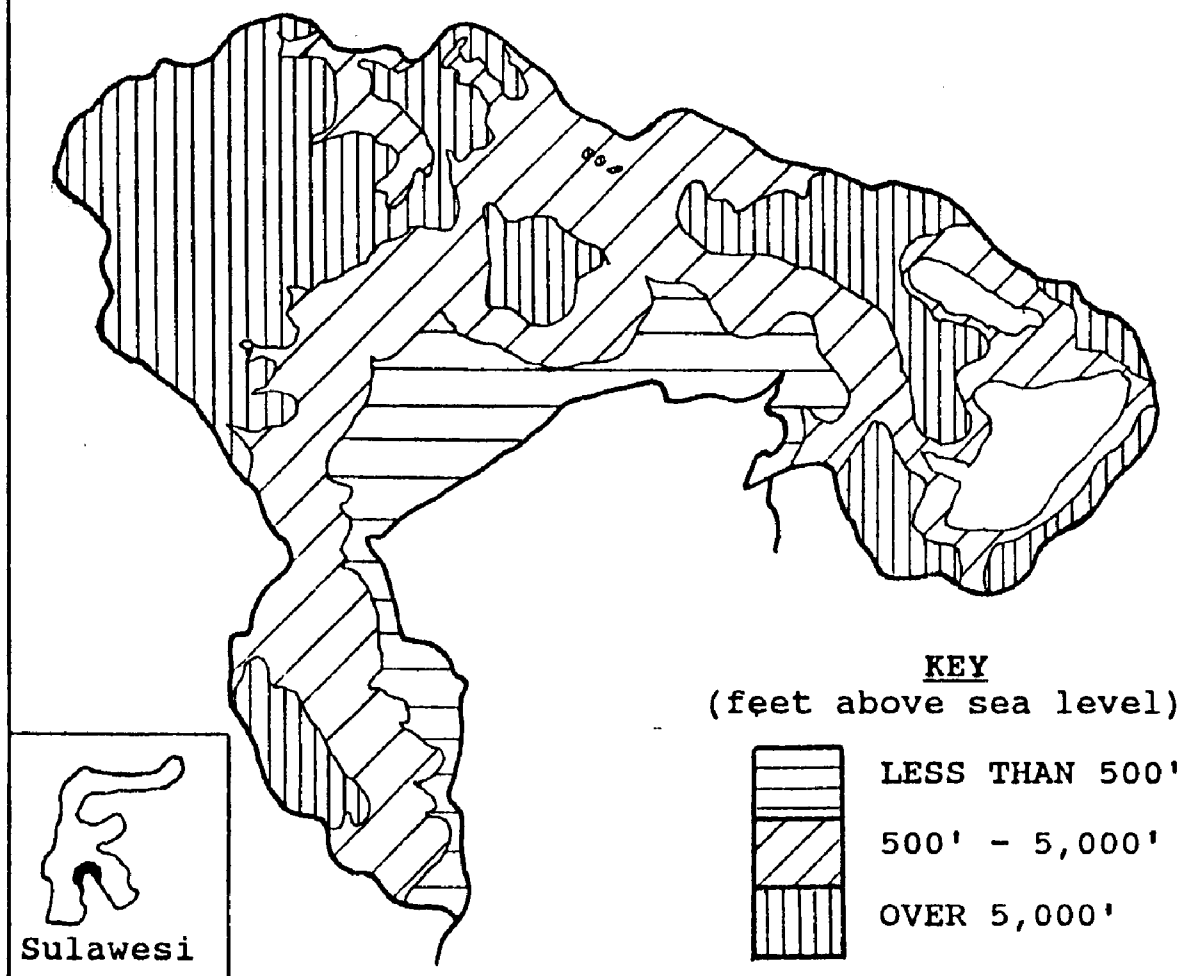
3.1 THE RELIEF STRUCTURE

Map 1: Kabupaten Luwu: Physical

(After ONC M-11 Edition 3.

Defense Mapping Agency, St Louis Air Force. USA.

Contour Overprint 1963)



As can be seen in Map 1, the area of kabupaten Luwu is extensive, covering 25,149 km.² The greater part of the area lies over 500' above sea level, much of it rising to 6,000' or more. As a result there are many parts of the *kabupaten* which are isolated. Included in such areas are *kecamatan*s Bastem, Limbong, Masamba, Mangkutana and Nuha (see Map 2). These constitute the *kecamatan*s which are most isolated, yet a glance at the map will show that other *kecamatan*s have large parts of their area which could be also classified as isolated.

The single access route to kecamatan Limbong lies along the Rongkong River valley. Kecamatan Bastem has two main access routes as indicated on

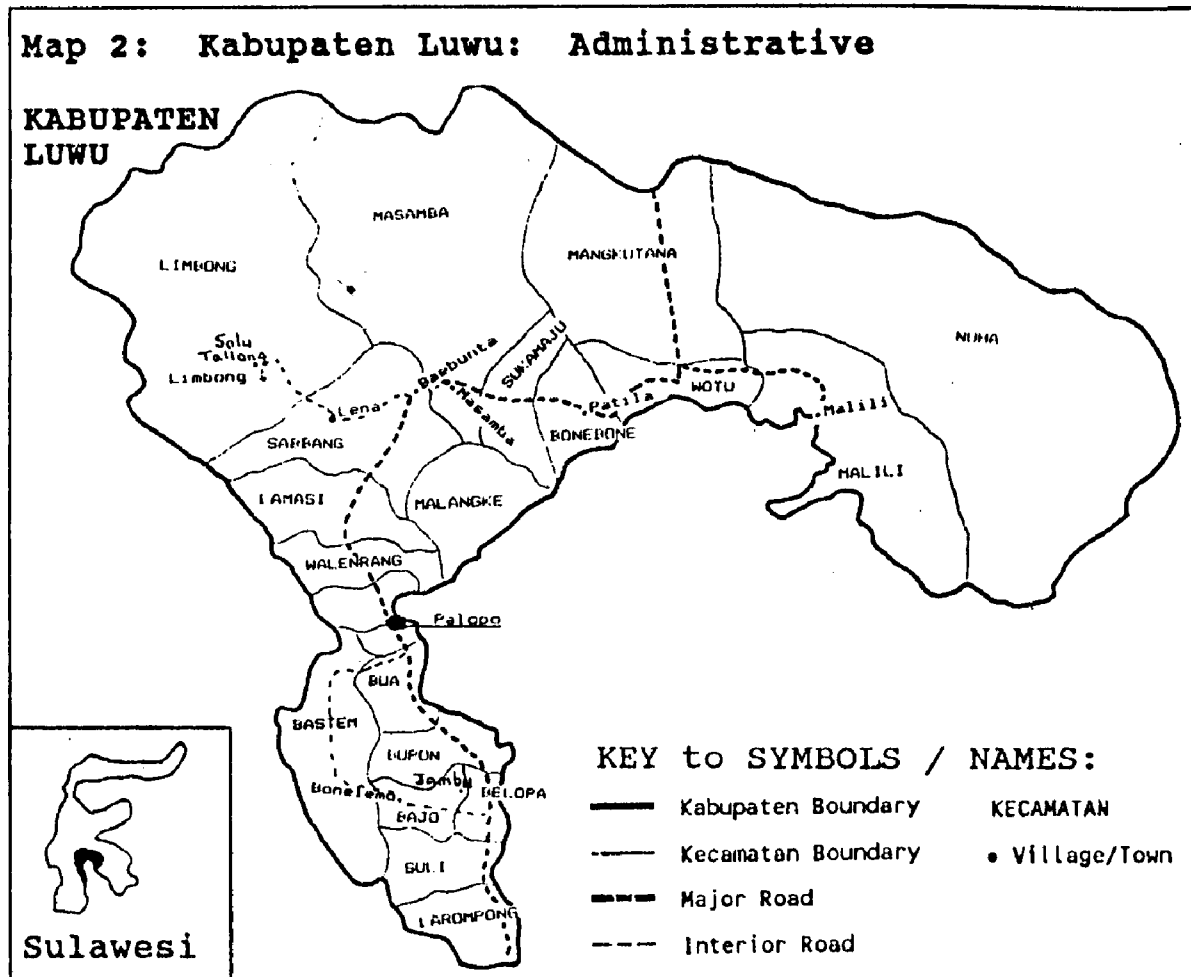
the map. Neither of these routes to kecamatan Limbong or kecamatan Bastem is passable by 4-wheel drive vehicle.³ Although it is possible at most times of the year to reach the interior by motorbike, most inhabitants of these areas come and go on foot with the assistance of horses to carry supplies.

Where kecamatan Masamba is concerned, it is possible to reach the interior and therefore the Rampi area by plane as is also now possible in the Seko area, the northern part of kecamatan Limbong. Kecamatan Mangkutana is split by the road which gives access to Central Sulawesi while parts of kecamatan Nuha have been opened as a result of the infrastructure associated with the INCO nickel mining project.

The lower coastal plain, although lying below 500', is subject to flooding especially on the flood plains of the major rivers. The Rongkong River as it winds its way through kecamatan Malangke floods over a wide area during the peak rainy periods.

The physical relief structure of the area is a major factor which influences the language situation. Use of the local language by speakers of almost all of the languages found in this area is strong. The isolation of many of these groups both at this present time and over past development has resulted in a pride in the use of the local language. The possible exception to this can be found in kecamatan Sabbang in the case of the Limolang language. The youth of this language group have lost interest in using their language, much preferring to use the national language, Indonesian, or using the surrounding dialect of Tae'.

Map 2 gives the general layout of the administrative nature of kabupaten Luwu as well as providing a reference point within this paper for place names used.



3.2 THE POPULATION

The population of kabupaten Luwu as recorded in the 1986 yearbook is 592,831 people. This yields a population density overall of 23.5 persons/km.² However, this is very misleading because over 80% of the population lives under 500' above sea level. Not only are the rural densities of people high in such areas but there are some significant towns: Palopo (the administrative capital), Masamba, Sanggalang, Wotu, and Malili, among others.

The population is largely made up of the original inhabitants who, although they may have moved from their original locations, have remained within the area. There are also those who have come to the region from other areas. Rather than record them here, case studies of these may be found within the sociolinguistic results. There are significant groups of transmigrants living within all *kecamatan*s of kabupaten Luwu. However, the concentrations of these folk are found in kecamatan Wotu, Mangkutana, and Malili. The distribution of some of these groups can be seen from the language distribution maps.

In terms of the population size of the various languages, previously published sources⁴ would put the populations as follows:

Tae'	103,000
Seko	7,500
Rampi	7,000
Wotu	4,000
Languages of transmigrants ⁵	3,150
Limolang	2,000

However, it must be noted at this point that for some of the language groups with a discrete population the figures are reasonably accurate, e.g. Limolang, Wotu, et al. Whereas for the Tae', Bugis, Torajan, or Pamona the task is more difficult. The reasons for such difficulty are obvious and it would be pedantic to state them here. However, the author considers the figure of 103,000 as given for Tae' (the combination of Luwu/Rongkong) as being in error on the side of underestimation irrespective of what language terminology is chosen.

An estimate by the author desa-by-desa in the areas where Tae' is strong yields a figure on the higher side of 250,000. That is not including the urban area of Palopo and areas where the numbers of Tae' speakers are vague.

It is worth noting at this point that the numbers of Bugis within the *kabupaten* is based on subjective estimates from government leaders at local level, given the fact that no recorded statistics are available.

Furthermore, figures for *kecamatan*s Nuha, Wara and Wara Utara have not been included in the totals. Those for *kecamatan* Nuha have not been included, given the fact that this *kecamatan* lies outside of the Tae' language area. *Kecamatan*s Wara and Wara Utara incorporate the regional capital, Palopo, and its periphery where an urban study of language distribution and use would be time consuming.

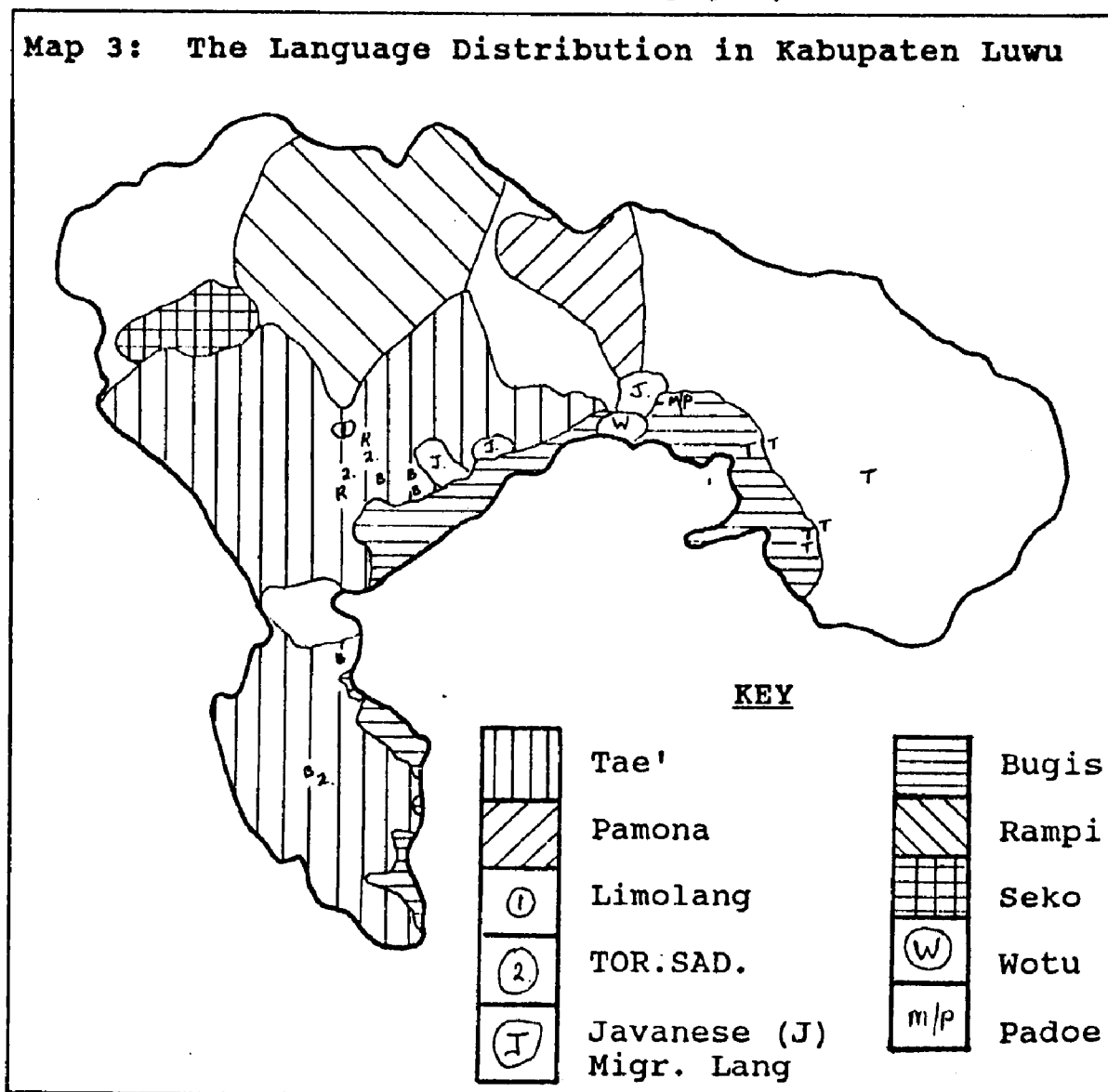
A more realistic table of population of language groups in *kabupaten* Luwu (excluding Palopo city and *kecamatan* Nuha) would be as follows:

Tae'	265,000
Seko	7,500
Rampi	7,000
Wotu	4,000
Languages of transmigrants	40,000
Limolang	2,000
Bugis	110,000
Torajan	20,000
Pamona	20,000
Padoe	5,000

3.3 THE DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGES

Map 3 gives the general distribution of languages within kabupaten Luwu. It is held by the general populace that there are an abundance of languages within the area (many claim more than 20). That may well be if we include all of the languages of the cosmopolitan urban populations. For the purposes of this survey and therefore this map the distributions have been based on the language situation in the rural areas. For that reason the rather complex nature of language found within Palopo, Sabbang or Wotu has not been included. The extent of the coverage is related more to mapping the boundaries of the Tae' language than to give a thorough distribution of languages over the *kabupaten*. For that reason kecamatan Nuha has not been included as another UNHAS-SIL team has been working in that area surveying the Mori/Padoe language group.

Map 3: The Language Distribution in Kabupaten Luwu



Apart from data gathered from the field area much of the information for the spread of language has come from asking the inhabitants whether there are other groups who speak:

- i) exactly the same language;
- ii) the same language but a different dialect;
- iii) a different language but one the person interviewed can understand;
- iv) a totally different language.

These questions were then followed up to find out where the speakers of these languages were located. There are some gaps; for example, the largest being in kecamatan Mangkutana. The reason for this is that the people asked are aware that the people in the hills speak Pamona, but they don't know just where it is that those speakers live.

Likewise there are some entire *kecamatans* which have been categorised as being populated with Tae' speakers, e.g., kecamatan Lamasi. The point is not that the area up in the mountains is thickly populated with Tae' speakers but rather where there are villages the inhabitants of which speak Tae'.

In Appendix D are found more detailed maps of each *kecamatan* to provide a clearer idea of the distribution of languages within the area. In an attempt to include the minority languages on Map 3 the size and distribution may be misleading. Many times the extent of the distribution is limited to one or two villages only. Therefore care must be taken to check the maps in Appendix D.

One would be likely to find all of the languages of South Sulawesi within this *kabupaten* but unless they are present in significant clusters they have not been taken into account. This relates especially to the presence of the Torajan migrants!

For purposes of this paper the boundary of the Tae' language in the northeast is considered to be up to and including Lamberese and Pepura Utara in kecamatan Wotu. While there are other villages farther east where the Tae' language is spoken, it is not used as the prime language of communication by all of the inhabitants. Thus to include, for example, Wasuponda in kecamatan Nuha because there are Tae' speakers there would give a false impression of the limits of the language. The other boundaries, however, were more easily delineated.

There are significant groups of transmigration villages found in the northern area. There has been no attempt to differentiate these according to whether they are Javanese, Balinese or from Lombok. For purposes of this study they are merely *pendatang* 'immigrants'. The languages which are *asli* 'original' to the area are Rampi, Seko, Limolang, Wotu, and Mori-Padoe. Bugis and Pamona have moved in from neighbouring regions. So too has the Torajan language, but there are some significant similarities between Torajan and the Tae' language to warrant further study.

Many times we have heard comments on the strength of Bugis in the south of the *kabupaten*. Yet a glance at the map would indicate that the northern region evidences stronger Bugis presence than does the south. More will be said on this topic later (see Section 5.1 of this report).

4. PREVIOUS LINGUISTIC WORK

Much has been written on the nature and distribution of the languages of South Sulawesi in particular. However in the published literature there is but fleeting reference to the Tae', Rongkong, or Luwu languages. Most commentators include these languages as dialects of the major surrounding languages, e.g. Torajan, Bugis, Massenrempulu, or Makasar. It would be appropriate now to give a brief survey of the historical treatment of what we are now calling the Tae' language group, what has been diversely called in the literature Rongkong, Luwu, Toala', Torajan, Massenrempulu, etc.

4.1 ADRIANI & KRUYT (1898-1920)

According to Adriani Luwu is a divergent dialect of Torajan which includes the Rongkong language. Adriani worked from Kruyt's wordlists. Kruyt goes further and suggests where the Rongkong group are concerned that they are merely a relatively new group of immigrants to the area of the upper Rongkong valley having moved from their origin in Toraja. (Kruyt 1920:368). He and Adriani are aligned together on the position of the Luwu language, viewing it as a subset of Toraja Sa'dan.

4.2 VAN DER VEEN (1929)

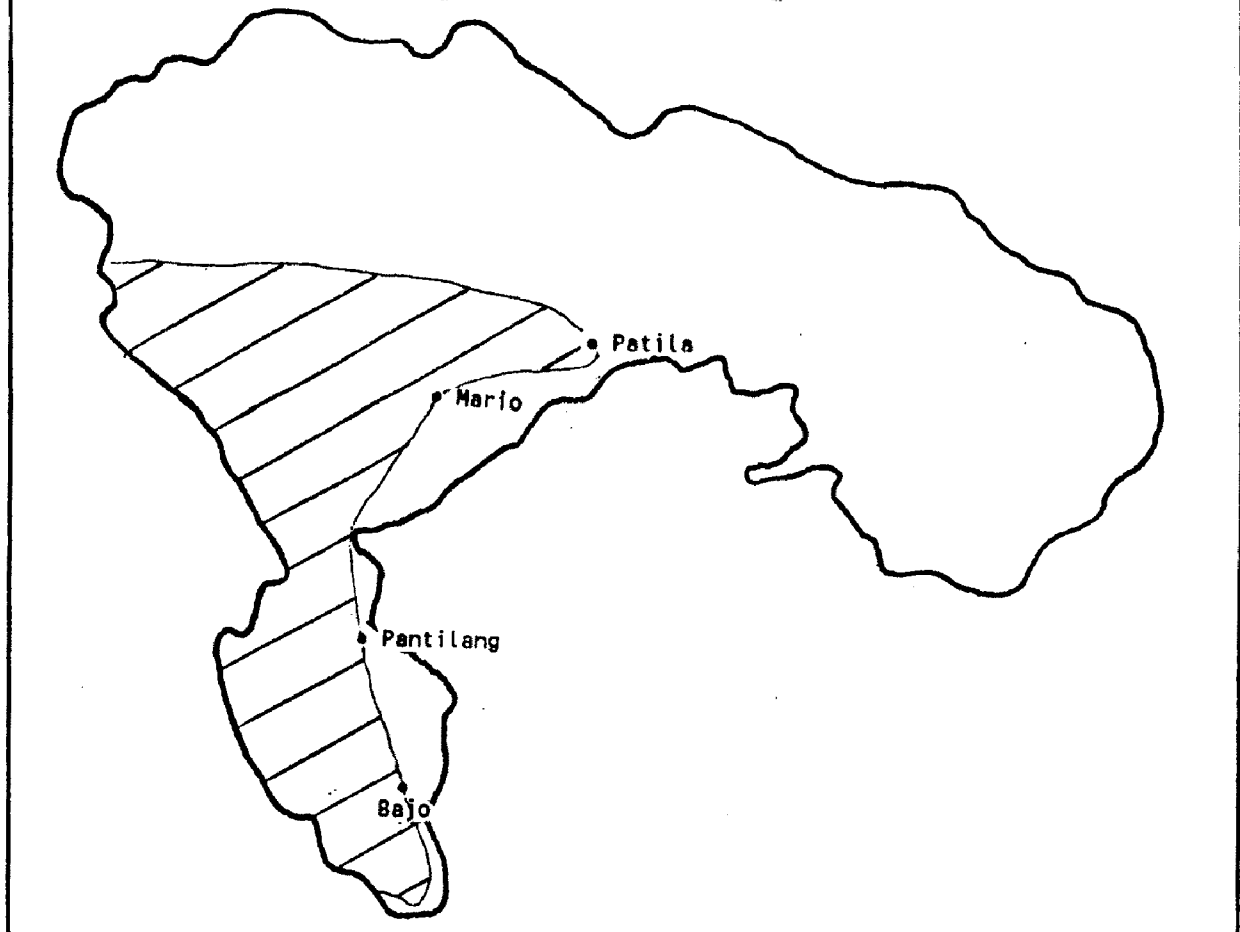
Van der Veen viewed the groups in question in much the same way as did Adriani and Kruyt. He proposed extending the area delineated on the language map of Adriani and Kruyt as the Toraja Sa'dan group in the north:

'further east to Mario, Pantai Teluk Bone, and to Patila' (kecamatan BoneBone).

in the south:

'to Pantilang, Bajo, and to the Siwa River.'

Map 4: The Language Delineated by van der Veen



The area which lay to the east side of that boundary line throughout the *kabupaten* was seen by van der Veen as being Bugis, the form of which he saw as being different from standard Bugis in that the structure and lexicon were more closely related to Torajan. The lexicon in his opinion was almost exactly the same, the only variance from Torajan being near the border with Bugis.

East of Masamba as far as Munte and Tamuku on the coastal plain he delineated as Luwu, i.e., Tae'. He also noted a concentration of Bugis speakers in kecamatan Wara and in some villages of kecamatan Walenrang. He considered that Luwu was used on the coast where Bugis was not known. However, he considered this Luwu language to be closer to Bugis than Torajan.

4.3 ESSER (1938)

Esser in compiling his language map for Sulawesi included Rongkong with the Toraja Sa'dan group while categorizing Luwu as a subgroup within the South Celebes group together with such languages as Bugis, Makasar and Toraja Sa'dan. Esser relied heavily on the data and perhaps conclusions of those who had gone before him where Rongkong and Luwu were concerned.

4.4 SALZNER (1960)

While there is no indication as to why or how Salzner chose the categories for his *Sprachenatlas des Indopazifischen Raumes*, he groups Luwu with Makasar-Bugis under a separate subgroup termed *Toala*. The term likely comes from *To-ala*, a local term meaning 'the people of the forest'. This term is not used by the local inhabitants for the language and seems to have a somewhat indistinct background.⁶ As in previous literature Rongkong is included with Torajan.

4.5 MILLS (1975)

Mills tended to follow the way of Esser, indeed reproducing his map. Thus once more Luwu is grouped as a separate subgroup (after Esser) while Rongkong is included with Torajan.

It seems the situation is more complicated than that. Allow me to reproduce the situation as Mills sees it.

The language situation turned out to be much more complex than is indicated by Esser's concise list so that there remain some gaps and vague areas. One of these is the 'Luwu Group'...according to informants this group should be divided up into a Buginese area in the far north (around Palopo), with the band of languages stretching across the north-central part of the peninsula classed apart as (at least) one separate group, to which the traditional name Massenrempulu has been assigned. These languages appear to be transitional between Bugis and Sa'dan, and while I was able to gather data from Massenrempulu, it was impossible to locate informants from Luwu. That is unfortunate, for I was frequently told that the language differs from 'standard' Bugis--mainly in vocabulary and intonation--as well as being considered more 'elegant' and also 'old fashioned'. Mills 1975:16

In his discussion on Rongkong, Mills comments on the use of *Tae'* as a term for the language saying that it is not appropriate to use in this area because the Central Sulawesi practice of using the negative term to define the language 'has not caught on' here.⁷

4.6 GRIMES & GRIMES (1987)

In the first of the UNHAS/SIL surveys, Grimes & Grimes stuck with Salzner's nomenclature and used the term *Toala'*. However, they further subdivide this group into:

- a) *Toala'* speakers inhabit the mountain area of southern kabupaten Luwu from the foothills up to the mountain divide.

b) Palili' speakers inhabit the narrow coastal plain which overlaps with the Luwu dialect of Bugis. Grimes 1987:49

Where Rongkong is concerned Grimes & Grimes regard it as part of the Torajan subfamily but as a separate entity. Most previous sources group Rongkong as a dialect of Toraja Sa'dan. However, Rongkong speakers perceive themselves to be distinct from Toraja Sa'dan and lexicostatistically Rongkong is distinct from Toraja Sa'dan within the Toraja Sa'dan subfamily language chain.

4.7 VALKAMA (1987)

According to Valkama's report the Luwu language situation is a hard one to define. He delineates three dialects, Rongkong, Luwu Utara, and Luwu Selatan. Again he reiterates the fact that Rongkong people see themselves as separate from other groups surrounding them. As a result of Valkama's lexicostatistical analysis Rongkong is seen as being 'closer to Luwu Utara than Luwu Utara is with Luwu Selatan.' Friberg 1987:125.

Perhaps the latest comment on the Rongkong/Luwu situation before this paper comes from Friberg and Laskowske 1988:5,6.

The data available to LOSS (Grimes and Grimes 1987) showed the Luwu and Rongkong languages more than 80% lexically similar and yet they chose to separate them as two languages each with two dialects...Our surveys group them as one language with three major dialects...The whole linguistic spread will have to be more closely examined by intelligibility testing to see precisely how the linguistic facts and the sociological perceptions interplay.

5. THE LINGUISTIC RESULTS

A major part of the work in lexicostatistics where this survey was concerned was to attempt to sort out the questions that many have posed. As lexicostatistics lay at the heart of past decisions it was considered that a new direction in terms of the statistical base be followed. At the time of writing this report the task is not finished because a more definitive statement needs to be made on the basis of intelligibility testing, hence the reason for us learning the 'Tae' language.

Thus rather than simply redoing the lexicostatistics for this area, the approach has been to attempt to sort out the discrepancies in past results and to eliminate those lexical items considered as not cognate in the count yet in reality merely synonymous terms present in both areas in question.

Thus we did much checking beforehand to eliminate such items before the final count took place. It is for this reason that the wordlists we have used have been arrived at by sifting through a number of different lists and asking questions which would allow for possible synonyms to be removed.

5.1 THE LEXICON: WORD LEVEL

Table 1: Kabupaten Luwu Lexicostatistics
(Adjusted for Synonyms)

RKGA											
94	RKGB										
86	89	BONE2									
78	78	80	BAJO								
72	71	75	84	BUA							
82	82	81	83	74	TOR						
82	81	77	84	76	88	ENRKG					
42	42	44	49	53	49	53	BUGIS				
45	47	45	42	42	43	43	33	SEKO			
44	42	42	40	38	42	44	28	36	RAMPI		
37	38	39	39	41	37	34	33	41	31	WOTU	
30	30	30	29	29	29	30	24	31	30	25	LMG

Some explanation is necessary to allow proper interpretation of Table 1. Rkg refers to Rongkong. A is an abbreviation for Atas or Upper Rongkong; B is an abbreviation for Bawah or Lower Rongkong. LMG is an abbreviation for Limolang. The label of Bone2 is being used as referent more for NE Luwu from Masamba across to Wotu than merely for kecamatan Bone-Bone. So too the use of Bajo does not merely refer to kecamatan Bajo but signifies a wide dialect group spread over the six southernmost *kecamatan*s of kabupaten Luwu. Other abbreviations follow the standard usage of past linguistic work in this area.

A glance at Table 1 will show the general relationship of these languages to one another. Clearly there is a line of demarcation drawn between Enrekang and Bugis separating the groups above that line into a family more related to Torajan than any other. Limolang and Wotu are clearly separate from all other languages in the list. More will be said about them in a later section.

According to established limits [see Valkama (Friberg 1987:25)], the group comprised of RkgA, RkgB and Bone-Bone should be considered a part of the Torajan language. Many previous studies (see above) have commented on the feeling of distinctiveness of the Rongkong group, in particular the feeling they have for their own language. There are more factors involved than what is apparent at the present time.

Another piece of evidence in this rather complicated question can be found in the fact that over the Rongkong region as a whole there are very few Christian folk who use the Torajan (Toraja Sa'dan) Scriptures, saying, 'We can't really understand it.' Further intelligibility testing needs to be done here. Does the problem lie with the nature of the language or the nature of the translation?

What is significant in the lexicostatistical data is the lower scores for Southern Luwu (Bajo & Bua) when compared with the others in the Tae' group. It seems even just listening to the language in that area that this 'dialect' is even further removed from Torajan than its counterpart in the north. In the case of Bua, at 74% it is the furthest removed from Torajan.

Noteworthy also is the strong relationship between RkgA and RkgB. There is no question in my mind that these two groups make up one dialect which also includes Seko Lemo. Once variations in usage are removed from a lexicostatistical count these groups are virtually the same, except where some phonologically conditioned changes are taking place. Any question as to whether RkgA and RkgB should be separated as different dialects may be laid to rest, not only on the basis of the lexicostatistics above and the additional evidence given below but also historically. The folk who live in the lower Rongkong valley (RkgB) are largely folk who have family in RkgA or themselves came down during the time of the Islamic uprising in the 1950's. Thus they constitute one stock.

An aspect that has bothered me personally relates to the nature of Sulawesi languages and the chaining effect that is found all over the southern and central provinces. As a result it is possible to find languages which are far apart geographically yet share many similarities linguistically.

What then is the relationship between the languages after taking this chaining effect into account? Much has been made of the transitional nature of Tae' with respect to Torajan (TOR) and/or Massenrempulu (ENRKG) and Bugis. But how does one distinguish this or test for it, apart from merely drawing a lexicostatistical table and seeing cognate percentages displayed? Cognate with what? What relationships are being unearthed when we draw these tables?

It is with that in mind that I have come up with Table 2.

Table 2: Testing Some Fundamental Language Relationships

	UNIQUE		FOLLOWS TORAJA		FOLLOWS BUGIS		FOLLOWS PSS	
	ALL	VBL	ALL	VBL	ALL	VBL	ALL	VBL
RkgA	10.7	13.3	42.8	39.2	0.0	0.0	46.6	47.4
RkgB	10.1	14.0	42.3	37.2	0.9	1.3	46.6	47.4
NE Luwu	9.1	12.6	42.8	37.9	1.4	2.1	46.6	47.4
Bua	12.0	14.0	37.0	34.3	4.3	4.4	46.6	47.4
Bajo	8.7	12.0	41.3	36.6	3.3	3.9	46.6	47.4

This table was initially designed to test the relationship between Tae' and its dialects with that of Torajan and Bugis. Past work has sometimes classified Luwu languages as transitional with Torajan. Other times the link is said to be with Bugis. Which is it to be? If both, then in what proportions?

In starting with such analysis, I soon noticed that it was hard to determine because there were too many occurrences where both relationships were applicable. It was for that reason that I included the category of Proto South Sulawesi (PSS). In order to determine this category I used the work done by Mills, especially his published lists found in volume 2 (Mills 1975:614ff). But in addition I worked from a wide range of languages including Pamona, Padoe, Wotu, Limolang, Seko, Rampi, Torajan, Bugis, and Massenrempulu, as well as the lists gathered from the dialects of Tae', in short, all the known input to this particular area. In addition to these I included Dyen's material on Proto Malayo-Polynesian (Language 27) and what little I know of New Zealand Maori. These words were all added at the bottom of the lists of words with which I was working.

To determine if the word I was analysing should be included in the PSS category, it had to have a cognate form across the whole *kabupaten* over the major groups of languages and at least over 70% of the minor variants. This meant that I could place a word in the PSS category even if there were no proto forms (after Mills or Dyen) available as long as it was clear that the occurrence was South Sulawesiwide as described above.

Another aspect of Table 2 which needs explanation is the columns ALL and VBL. ALL refers to the complete wordlists while VBL stands for a 'verbless' wordlist. I noticed while living in several of the villages that there seemed to be a difference between these languages and Torajan which did not show in the statistics as much as I thought. It wasn't until I was working on the list for this paper that it occurred to me 'something was different' in the verbal system, hence the reason for displaying the data separately.

Without the verbs, the percentages vary significantly. For instances without verbs, the degree to which these dialects follow Torajan diminishes. Generally it seems that verb roots have tended to maintain a close relationship with Torajan, whereas the nouns, etc. have tended to diverge. It should also be noted that primarily the difference the Tae' dialects show in their verbless vocabulary with Torajan is unique. That is, very little can be accounted for by their borrowing from Bugis or even PSS.

The most significant aspect of the Table 2, however, is that the nature of the influence of a widespread proto language can be more clearly seen. It is not necessarily that Tae' follows Torajan or Bugis, although clearly it is much closer to Torajan, but that the relationship of many of these languages stems from PSS and therefore masks the relationship of these Tae' dialects with either Bugis or Torajan. Clearly the degree of relationship with Bugis is far less than many have posited.

Another interesting factor is the location of that small influence from Bugis. While Map 3 shows the more significant distributions of Bugis to be in the northern area, Table 2 indicates that the 'significant' areas of Bugis borrowing occur in the south. I would tentatively suggest at this stage that

the reason for this may be found in the fact that the earlier center of the Luwu Kingdom was in the region of Bua-Ponrang as well as Palopo, while the influence of Bugis in the north is perhaps a relatively more recent trend and as such has not substantially affected the 'Tae' language. Yet it is also fair to say that the extent of this borrowing even in the south is not as significant as first thought.

In addition to the analysis displayed in Table 2 each of the frequency counts for the Unique category on the table were further analysed to determine whether these were shared features or present only in a given area. Of the occurrences of unique⁸ terms in each area, the breakdown as to whether those terms are indeed unique to one dialect or shared with other dialects of 'Tae' is as follows:

Table 3: The Uniqueness of 'Tae' Dialects Analysed

	<u>INDEED UNIQUE</u>	<u>SHARED WITH OTHER TAE' DIALECTS</u>
RKGA	46%	54%
RKGB	36%	64%
BONE ²	25%	75%
BUA	56%	44%
BAJO	56%	44%

In terms of shared features, the significant groupings were as follows: RkgA with RkgB; RkgA, RkgB and Bone²; Bua with Bajo. These were as expected. However, Table 3 gives indication as to the strength of individual dialects, Bua, Bajo and RkgA being the strongest. Although the percentages are the same for Bua and Bajo in Table 3, it does not signify that these are the same dialects. It is merely a quirk of the statistics. Both are individually unique 56% of the time with respect to their uniqueness rating on Table 2.

5.2 BEYOND WORD LEVEL

Another area attempted at a rudimentary level in this study was to survey beyond the word level. To date the decisions made as to the relationship between the languages in question have been made on the basis of word level only. Thus the sample sentences and stories are an attempt to give recognition to factors beyond the word level. The basis of analysis for both sentences and stories has been drawn from Weber & Mann (1980:38).

5.2.1 Sentences

The set of test sentences as found in Appendix A was gathered as a result of the process of language learning. Other more complex sentences were added to test various grammatical constructions. These sentences were then elicited using Indonesian in the following places: Limbong (RkgA), Kanandede (RkgA), Lena (RkgB), Baebunta (RkgB), Patila (NE Luwu),

Bua, Bonelemono (Sth Luwu) and Bastem (Sth Luwu). Data were also gathered from Torajan as well as Limolang and Bugis. However, the latter two posed problems in analysis. As I am not familiar with these languages any subtleties of sentence structure escaped me. It was therefore decided to leave such data out of this report.

These sentences were used to test variables of language beyond the lexical level alone: grammatical constructions, transform features, implicit information in the context of connected sentences, among others.

Because there were a number of variables operating which could not necessarily be isolated, it was decided to search the data for frequency occurrences and only select those which were significantly high. The suggested parameters of Weber & Mann were used as the starting point and then these were further subdivided and made more specific to handle the data, resulting in the following significant categories:

- a) frequency of clitic usage (-*mi*, -*pi*);
- b) morphological adjustment (occurrence of locative -*i*);
- c) additions (frequency of *ia to'o* or its variants).

The following categories were added to Weber & Mann's list in order to fully describe the data.⁹

- a) double pronoun usage (use of free pronoun with bound form);
- b) word order.

Stylistic Differences. Over the range of sentences tested, Torajan evidenced a significant recurrence of stylistic elements such as *ia to'o* listed above. In 12% of the sentences these elements appeared in Torajan examples while either not in others, or in 4.3% of examples in Limbong and Bastem. It seems then that there is a tendency to endow speech flow with stylistic elements in Torajan which is copied to a lesser degree in kecamatans Limbong and Bastem, both of which border the Torajan area in remote places.

Morphological Adjustments. While there were other examples found throughout the sentences, the only usage to stand out in any given area was that of the use of the locative suffix -*i* in the area of Bupon (10.0%) and Torajan (4.3%). Although these percentages can be considered to be low, remember that the sentences were designed to test a range of constructions. Of course, testing a series of sentences such as these where not all sentences would necessitate the use of such elements, it could be expected that the comparative statistics would be low. To test this further the items mentioned in this section would have to be specifically sought and tested.

The following examples will suffice to illustrate the nature of this usage¹⁰. For all of the examples a free translation may be found in Appendix A. The comparative examples (cf) are the sum of the other readings.

Sentence No. 23. One place where one may expect to find the presence of *-i* is in service as the inflectional 3rd-person marker.

BUPON: *Ma-tindo-i jiong sali*
VI-sleep-he on floor

TOR: *Mamma-i diong sali*
sleep-he on floor

cf *Mamma <dio> sali.*
sleep on floor

In these examples the inflectional *-i* may be present or the unmarked form may be used.

This is not to be confused with the locative use of *-i*.

Sentence No. 29.

BUPON: *Biasa-n -na men-dio'-kang-ng-i jio salu.*
usual-DBC-it VI -wash-we- DBC-LOC at river

TOR: *Biasa-n-na men-dio'-kan-n-i diong salu*

cf *Biasa-n -na men-dio'-kan <diong> salu*
usual-DBC-it VI- wash-we at river

In the case of Bupon, there are many examples where one would definitely not expect *-i*, even Torajan leaves it out.

Sentence No. 28.

BUPON: *Ung-inu- kang-ng-i kopi.*
VT- drink-we- DBC-LOC? coffee

cf TOR: *Mang-iru- kan kopi.*
VT- drink-we coffee

Others: *Um-m- inu- kan kopi.*
VT-DBC-drink-we coffee

It is possible that this *-i* suffix is operating in a totally different manner, for example to indicate a repetitive or habitual action. The distinction between these possibilities remains to be tested here.

Additions. Among other additions, at the present time it is hard to distinguish between a choice of the various sentence patterns available to the speaker and that speaker's idiolect. However, one that did stand out above the rest was the occurrence of *ia to'o* and its variants. That is, in situations where such a construction would not be expected, there was a tendency toward making unnecessary additions (see the examples in Sentence No. 46). Over the range of sentences used the tendency to add *ia to'* occurred as follows: for the Torajan (Rantepao) examples, 4.3%; while Limbong/Kanandede recorded 14.3%, Bonelemono (8.6%); and Bua (5.7%).

It can be seen from the standard example that the initial *ia to'* in the sentences cited below is an abbreviation derived from *ia tonna* and standing in reference to the time. The other examples however are emphatic forms of the determiner *to'*. The regions cited below therefore seem to have a tendency to slip extra *ia to's* into the sentence a significant number of times. It appears that it is working as a form of redundancy on a higher level. But at this stage, that is a tentative suggestion.

Sentence No. 46 is the epitomy of this type.

KAN: Ia to' mu- tiro ia to' nyarang, apa mu- pogau?
when you see emph the horse what you do

LIM: Ia to' mu-tiro ia to' nyarang ia to', apa
mu-pogau?

TOR: Ia to' mu- tiro-i to' narang ia to', apa tu'
when you see it the horse emph the what that
mu- pogau?
you-do

Whereas the standard form seems to be

Wa'tu-n -na mu- tiro-i to' nyarang, apa
it time -DBC it you-see- it the horse what
mu- pogau?
you-do

or Ia tonna mu-tiro-i to' nyarang, apa mu-pogau?

It is interesting that a similar feature occurs when many native speakers of Tae' from the Rongkong valley use Indonesian. Unfortunately the observed patterns do not correspond exactly with Sentence No. 46. The feature noticed is that of 'like this', 'like that'. As Rongkong speakers use this construction they repeat the element similar to the pattern of *ia to'* above.

The end result in Indonesian is then *begini ini* where the final *ini* is redundant.

For example, a statement overheard in the Limbong dialect of Indonesian with reference to a meal:

A: *Apa lagi Bapak mau makan?*
What else father want eat

B: *Begini ini!*
Like this this.

It is interesting that I have only heard this form with *begini* 'like this', never with its corresponding *begini* 'like that'.

Double Pronoun Usage. The area of Bua was the only one evidencing this pattern consistently (12.8%).

Sentence No. 6.

BUA: *Aku la- lako-na' Ujung Pandang masiang.*
I want to I Ujung Pandang tomorrow

cf *<La-wale-na'> <lako> Ujung Pandang masiang*
go

The inflectional suffix *-na* is a bound form of the first person pronoun. Rarely, it seems, is this used in conjunction with the free form *aku* except in Bua. Mostly the bound form seems to be the first choice; if not that, then the free form on its own! This is the general rule, which does not seem to be followed in Bua.

Word Order. Limbong (8.6%) is alone in this feature when compared with the other areas. There are some normal word order changes which are to be expected.

Sentence No. 8.

LIM: *Sule- na' diomai Ujung Pandang sangmai.*
return I from Ujung Pandang yesterday

cf *Sangmai sule-na' diomai Ujung Pandang.*

Where *sangmai* 'yesterday' switches position in the sentence, this is normal variation in word order for many languages.

what is reputed to be archaic Torajan as well as dialectal differences. The author is now waiting for the opportunity to work with a recently published contemporary version of the New Testament in the Torajan dialect, *Basse Ba'ru*.

The analysis of the comparative stories was not applied to Bua as some difficulties arose with the text gathered from there. At some stage in the future when dialect intelligibility testing is undertaken this group will be included.

**Table 4: Comparative Story - Text One (518 Words)
Frequency Count of Deviations from Torajan**

<u>NATURE OF DIFFERENCES</u>	<u>RKGA</u>	<u>RKGB</u>	<u>NE</u>	<u>Sth</u>
ORTHOGRAPHIC	62	56	40	48
MORPHOPHONEMIC	4	7	5	2
AFFIXATION	2	5	3	1
ROOT SUBSTITUTION	53	56	74	71
ADDITIONS	2	9	5	1
DELETIONS	1	0	4	2
STYLISTIC/STRUCTURE	2	2	5	2
OTHER	0	2	4	6

The category 'Other' primarily refers to instances where the word or construction was not understood at all in the receptor language/dialect. Eliminating multiple occurrences of nonintelligibility was considered as giving a false impression of the difficulties encountered in understanding recurring words in a body of speech.

Clearly the predominant difference in Tae' dialects in terms of comparison with Torajan occurs at the lexical level. However, as Tables 4 and 5 show in a relatively short text, the presence of differences at a deeper level can be clearly seen. Most significantly in NE and Sth Luwu stylistic and misunderstood items 'Other' were highest. Indeed, of the six occurrences of misunderstood items in the south, four involved structural changes to the sentences which 'lost' the readers.

**Table 5: Comparative Story - Text Two (243 Words)
Frequency Count of Deviations from Torajan**

<u>NATURE OF DIFFERENCES</u>	<u>RKGA</u>	<u>RKGB</u>	<u>NE</u>	<u>Sth</u>
ORTHOGRAPHIC	63	62	50	66
MORPHOPHONEMIC	3	6	2	2
AFFIXATION	0	0	1	0
ROOT SUBSTITUTION	27	32	37	38
INSERTIONS	0	1	1	1
DELETIONS	1	0	0	0
STYLISTIC/STRUCTURE	1	4	3	3
OTHER	0	0	0	0

However, it is fair to say that at the level at which testing took place, the Torajan text was adequately understood. More needs to be done in this area.

It seems that many of the lexical differences are understood or at least recognised as coming from Torajan, or Rongkong, etc. Many times in our village-living experience we have heard the comment, 'They say that in Rongkong. We don't say that here.'

There seems to be a conscious awareness of the dialectal differences which separate particular language groups or subgroups. The Rongkong people generally cling to Rongkong expressions. However, when asked about their language some will answer, 'It's bahasa Toraja.'

Taking into account all of the above factors the following areal divisions have been made, delineating dialect sets of Tae'. Interestingly enough, these match perfectly the terms for the verb *pergi* 'to go', which thus seems to be acting as an indicator.

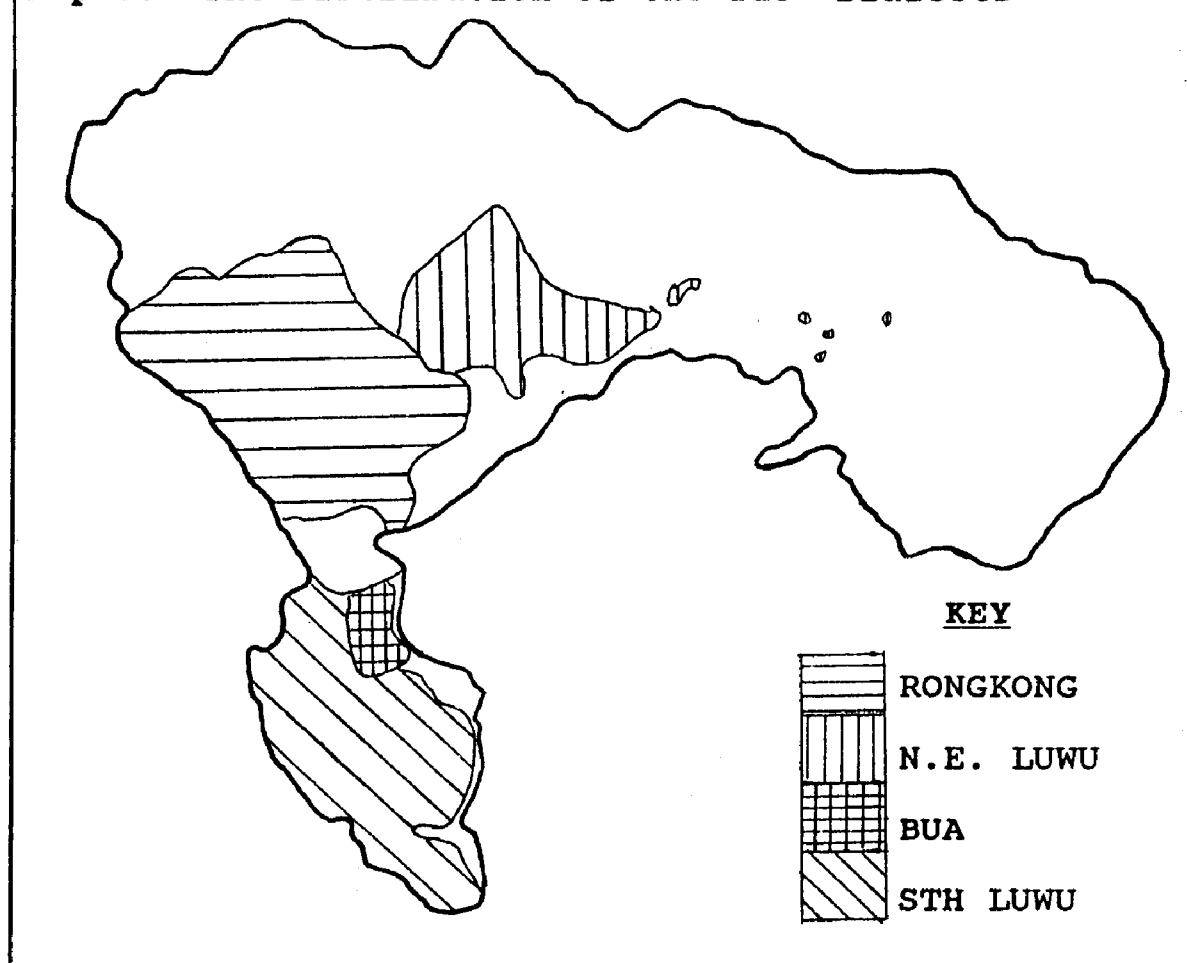
Using these terms then groups the Rongkong subdialects together, while differentiating them from the other three groups. The use of the term *lao* for NE Luwu at least indicates the Bugis population strength there, while not necessarily being the best indication of the strength of language influence. Where Bugis is concerned, the strength of the language appears to be more in the southern area, although a glance at Table 2 shows that it is not to be taken as significant.

Table 6: Dialect Indicator - The Verb 'To Go'

<u>DIALECTS OF TAE'</u>	<u>INDICATOR</u>
RKGA/RKGB	<i>vale/wale</i>
NE LUWU	<i>lao</i>
BUA	<i>i'ngka</i>
STH LUWU	<i>manjo</i>

Also the indication from Table 2 is that Sth Luwu (and Bua) are a few percentage points less than the others in following Torajan. While this is not significant in and of itself, interestingly the use of *wale/vale* in the Rongkong group is closer to the Torajan *male*. While nothing is contingent upon this observation, the use of the verb 'to go' serves as a convenient dialect indicator.

Map 5: The Distribution of the Tae' Dialects



On the basis of the analysis Map 5 has been produced to attempt a delineation of the Tae' dialects. It by no means is the definitive statement. Further it recognises the general tendencies rather than the specifics. To thoroughly map the Tae' dialects one would need to visit every village within the *kabupaten*. What complicates the language situation even further is the tendency for languages to chain throughout Central and South Sulawesi.¹¹ Add to that the rather confused patterns of language intrusion into the area and the result is a complicated linguistic nightmare.

6. SOCIOLINGUISTIC RESULTS

At the same time as conducting the above sampling and analysis, a database was being built to determine some of the sociolinguistic features involved within kabupaten Luwu. Also it was meant to provide a basis for choosing an appropriate base for future work. The questionnaire used to build this data base can be found in Appendix B.

The questionnaire concerned was not administered as a written questionnaire; rather, it was administered orally in each household in every village where the survey was taken. The questions were put as tactfully as possible within the framework of a conversation, yet with the knowledge of the person that this was being used to gather data of a linguistic nature.

6.1 POPULATION STRUCTURE

The following series of age/sex pyramids are an attempt to determine the demographic patterns around the area. While the data is not comprehensive in its coverage, the assumption has been that if these areas are representative as they appear to be, then they will provide a means of sampling the demographic patterns within the area of study, thus providing possible areas of future focus. The basis for choice has been subject to the suggestions of local Indonesians as to where 'centres' are located. The sampling method has been to take data from villages along a transect which then provides information from the varying types of demographic situations and villages in varying degrees of isolation.

Some General Features. The following population structures have some features in common which require comment before looking at some of the distinctive features of each area. The pyramids do not have the broad base normally associated with population structures of developing nations. It can be inferred from this that the national family planning programme is having some degree of success. There are some individual differences between areas which will be discussed later.

The pyramids also evidence some degree of irregularity at the top in the older age groups. Some such as Limbong and Salu Tallang show gaps in the age groups while others, Baebunta, Jambu, and Bonelemo, have an abnormally large group of 'over 70'. This is to be expected when the figures are gathered from folk who tend to generalise their ages rather than having a specific birthdate in mind.

The third general feature is that of the dominance of males in the younger age groups and the dominance of females in the older age groups. The slight dominance of male babies being born as compared to female babies holds true to theory but the female dominance in the elderly years follows more the western developed pattern than that of an emerging nation. Perhaps a reason for this is the effect of the Islamic uprising in the 1950's over all of this area.

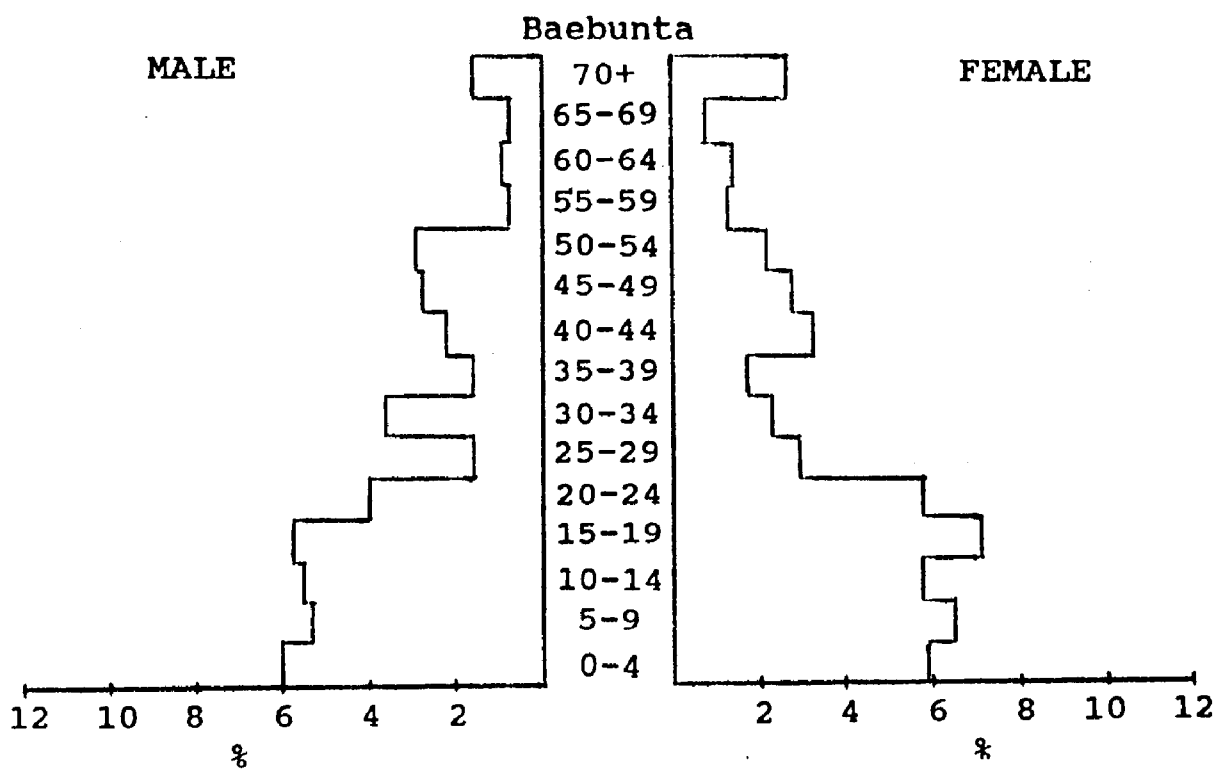
The last general feature worthy of note at this point is the tendency to wasting on the male side of the pyramid in the age groups 20-24 or 25-29. The reason for this is that all of the villages surveyed did not have significant employment opportunities for the young married male and so most villages depart from the normal structure as their young males leave to find work or educational opportunities. Although this is a general feature, it is more

notable in the male than female, despite the fact that females also leave the village for the city.

The Population Structure of Baebunta. There are two features immediately apparent in this pyramid. The first is the increase in girls 15-19 (to a lesser degree the boys in the same age group). This is by virtue of the fact that Baebunta is on the coast and serviced by two upper secondary schools and a lower secondary school. For this reason there are many relatives of secondary school age who have come to live in Baebunta or other parts of Sabbang while they go to school there. Most, however, have come from other parts of the Tae' language area.

The other apparent feature is the increase in girls 20-24 and men 30-34. The reason for this is the presence of a rattan processing works in Baebunta. This has resulted in a number of immigrants into the area from other language groups; the most notable being Makasar and Bugis. Although these folk have joined the Baebunta community it is fair to say that they are not fully integrated. They tend to live together in one or two houses which are contracted and use their own language among themselves. They do not relate to the local folk in a strong way, but when they do they use Indonesian.

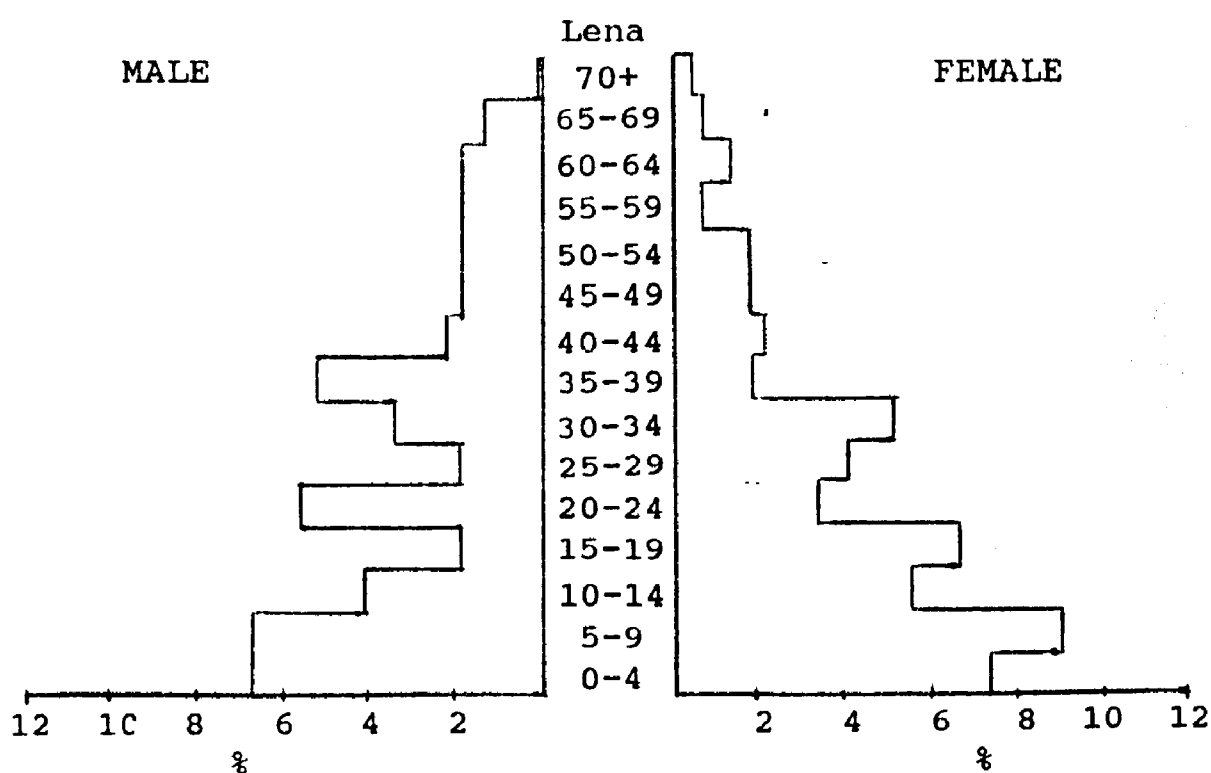
Figure 1: The Population Structure of Baebunta



The Population Structure of Lena. The most notable feature of this village in terms of population structure is the predominance of females throughout the age groups with a few exceptions. Apart from the 'over 70' group the males outnumber the females significantly in the older age groups, which is contrary to the other examples. The reason remains a mystery. The only other age groups where the female dominance is broken is in that of the 35-39 and 20-24 categories. The reason for this is that there appear to be a significant proportion of young married men who have settled in the lower reaches of the Rongkong valley to establish themselves on the land. It is not necessarily that they have come from outside the district; most are local people returned from 'training' of one form or another and seeking to establish themselves 'back home'. There is also talk of a number of Bugis people who were looking to buy land around Lena in order to establish cocoa gardens. It is not that this particular area is extra fertile, but rather that the development of cocoa and other forms of agriculture have been late in getting started compared with other areas, resulting in present opportunities still being available in Lena.

While the above is true, it is necessary to put that in perspective with the general trend previously stated regarding wasting in the 25-29 category. In the example of Lena this is very marked on both sides of the pyramid as both young male and female tend to leave to gain training and/or employment.

Figure 2: The Population Structure of Lena

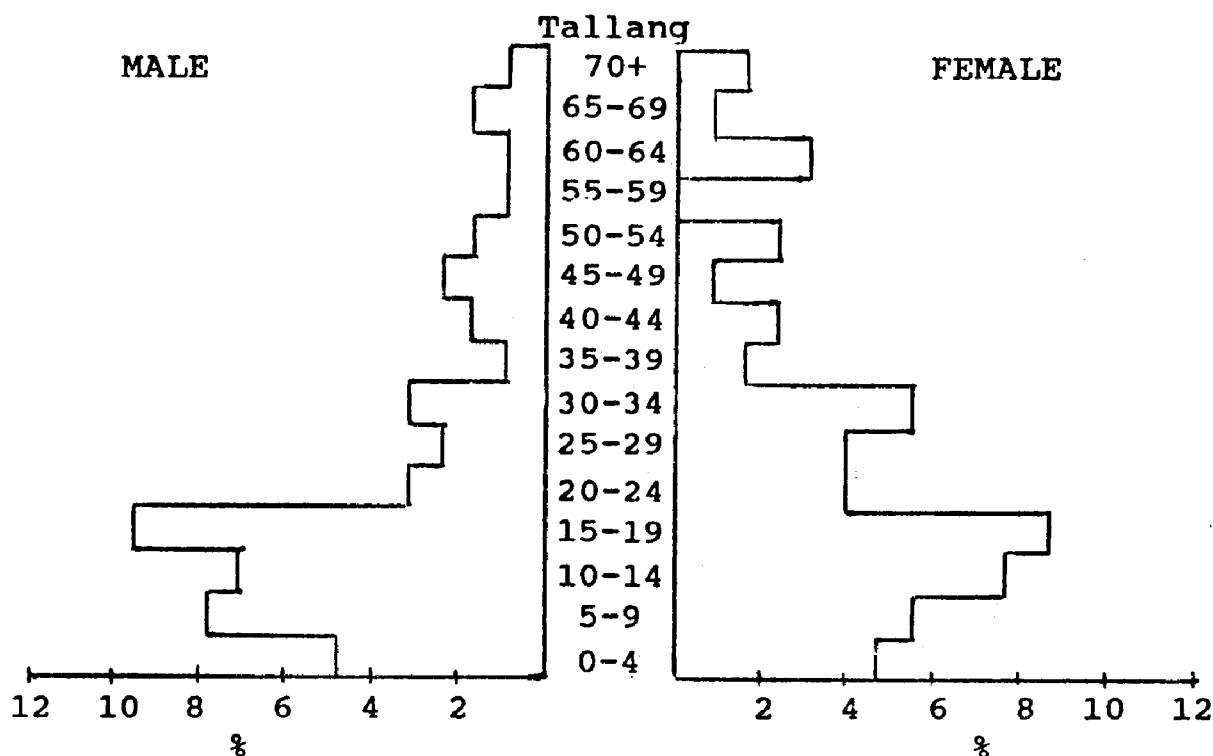


The Population Structure of Salu Tallang. The statistics for Salu Tallang proved to be rather anomalous. It was for that reason that data was also gathered for Limbong as well (see Figure 4).

There is more marked wasting at the base of the Salu Tallang pyramid. This is a result of the kind of village Salu Tallang is, rather than any anomaly in birth rates. Salu Tallang seems to be an administrative village per se, rather than a typical Indonesian village with a balanced population. It is not that Salu Tallang has been planned as an administrative centre, rather it is one of the villages which has been resettled in the last 20-30 years after the rebellion. Many of the folk have government jobs or administrative roles of one sort or another. Many are single and merely working up there to serve their initial years of teaching or as civil servants. Thus they are not the sort of people who populate the village with the normal number of children.

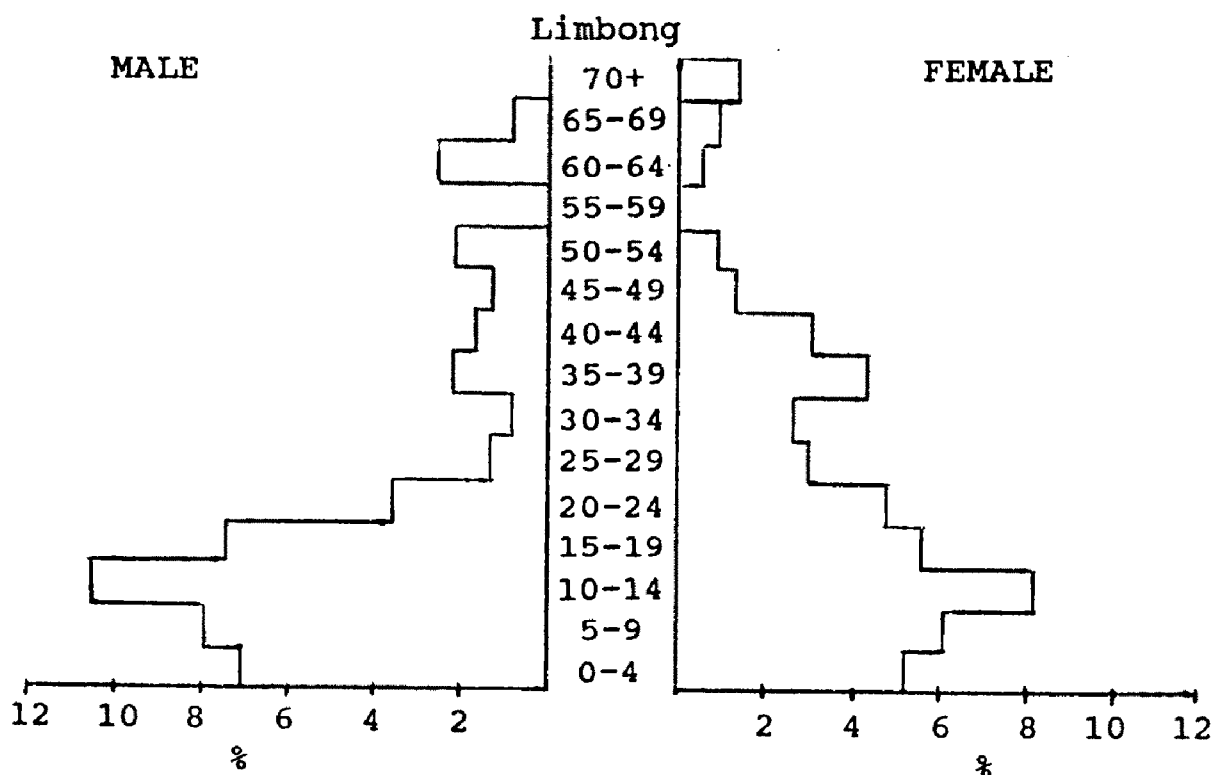
Also apparent is an abnormal balance of male and female in the 15-19 category. Like Baebunta, Limbong has a lower secondary school to which teenagers are attracted from as far afield as Seko Lemo, thus swelling the numbers abnormally. The imbalance in the females 30-34 is predominantly caused by the presence of the teachers of the above students, most coming from outside the region. There are some civil servants in this count.

Figure 3: The Population Structure of Salu Tallang



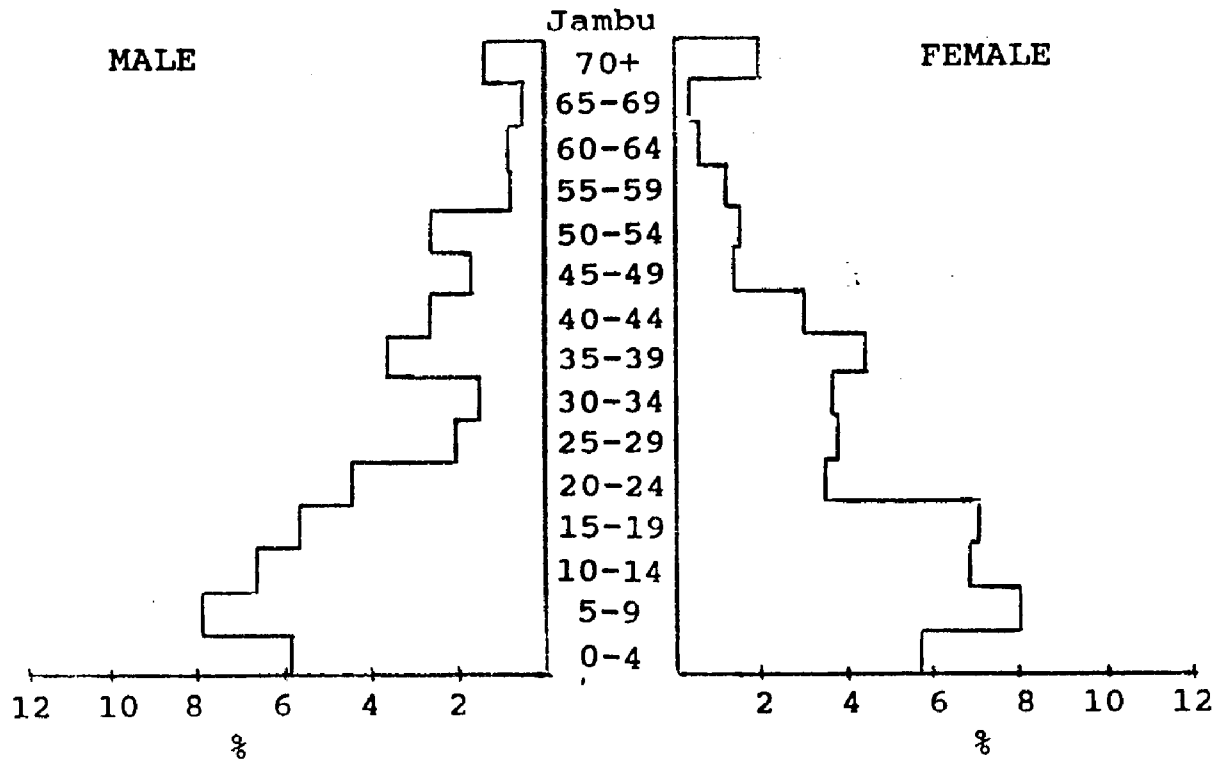
The Population Structure of Limbong. The previous comment made drawing attention to the wasting at the base of the Salu Tallang pyramid is also true of Limbong, for different reasons. It is possible that the abnormality a little higher up (10-14) causes some adjustment in the percentages of younger children. It is also true that there are some families whose little children are with relatives down on the coast in Sabbang. There appears no other obvious reason for such an occurrence. The rest of the pyramid follows the general trends.

Figure 4: The Population Structure of Limbong



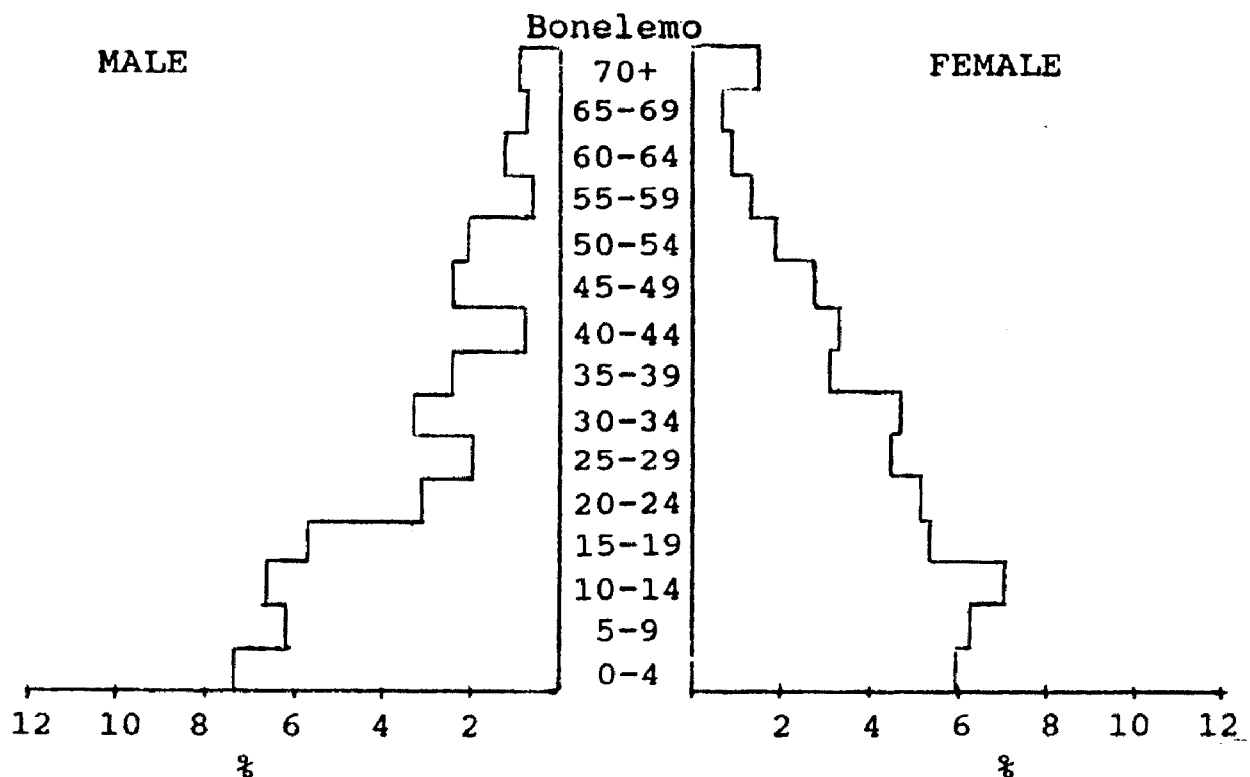
The Population Structure of Jambu. This follows the general trends with few exceptions, one of which is the slight increase in women 25-34 years of age. The main reason for this is again the presence of employment, rattan primarily. However, there are also a number of families whose husbands/fathers are working as builders in the area. All of them are either Bugis or Makasar.

Figure 5: The Population Structure of Jambu



The Population Structure of Bonelemono. The female side of the pyramid either follows the theoretical structure of what a village population should look like or includes features which have been dealt with adequately above. However, there is a marked female imbalance in most age groups with the exception of males 15-19. This female imbalance is likely to be for the reason stated above: the tendency for the male to move out of the interior villages in search of employment or training. In Bonelemono, however, the phenomenon appears to take place at almost all levels and not just the young working age. The most notable age groups where imbalance takes place are 20-29, 35-44.

Figure 6: The Population Structure of Bonelemono



6.2 CONTACT WITH OTHERS

Having seen the general nature of the population structure in these villages, what is the extent of the contact and influence of other neighbouring languages on the Tae' dialects? In this case it necessary to take into account language contact by virtue of the presence of immigrants, termed here *contact from within the village*. The other language influence is that of regular contact with speakers of other languages from other villages, termed here *contact from outside the village*.

6.2.1 Contact from Within the Village

Figures 7, 8, 9 & 10: Language Contact from Within

Key:

R	RONGKONG	NE	NE LUWU	B	BUA
SL	STH LUWU	T	TORAJA-SA'DAN	S	SEKO
M	MAKASAR	EN	ENREKANG	BG	BUGIS
SE	SE SULAWESI	SS	OTHER SS LANG.	J	JAVANESE

SCALE: 2mm represents 1 person

Figure 7: BAEBUNTA

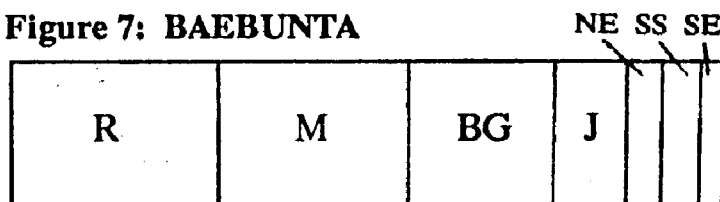


Figure 8: SALU TALLANG

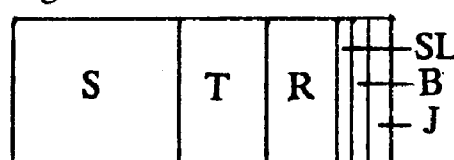


Figure 9: JAMBU

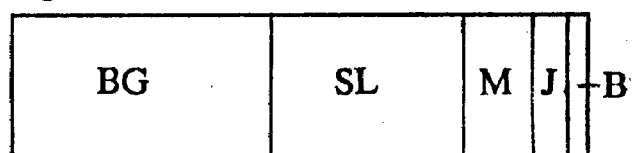
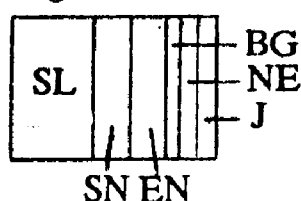


Figure 10: BONELEMO



The above figures show the subdivision of immigrants according to language groups. The references to a village's own dialect area (i.e., 'R' in the case of Baebunta and Salu Tallang, or 'SL' in the case of Jambu and Bonelemo) signify speakers of the same dialect from neighbouring villages who have moved in by reason of marriage, among others.

As expected, the more remote villages have fewer immigrants than those on the coast. Furthermore, the examples of Lena and Limbong were not shown in Figures 7 through 10 because there were no inhabitants who had moved in to live there from outside the Tae' language group. While there were five present in Lena from other villages within the Rongkong valley, there were none recorded in Limbong who were not born there.

The example of Salu Tallang as previously stated is atypical and thus slightly higher than the norm in terms of the numbers of other language speakers, the bulk of those recorded being Seko students and Torajan teachers. Apart from these, the numbers are considerably smaller. One can

see clearly the presence of Bugis speakers in the villages closer to the coast. However, apart from the Bugis and Makasar people previously mentioned, the influence is minimal. These Bugis and Makasar people have not come from a nearby group, rather they have arrived from afar seeking job opportunities. For that reason, they either stick closely to themselves or, if they have attempted to integrate, they have learned the local language.

6.2.2 Contact from Outside the Village

The diagrams in Figures 11-15 represent graphically the social linkages between folk within representative 'Tae' areas. The figures presented are an attempt to symbolise the normal patterns of social contact rather than those atypical individuals like one Rongkong Tomokaka¹² who travels to Seko at least once a month to arrange business affairs.

Figures 11-15: The Frequency of Social Contacts

The thickness of each line represents the frequency of contact.

Scale: 1mm = 1 social contact / month.

4mm = 1 contact / week.

Figure 11: LIMBONG

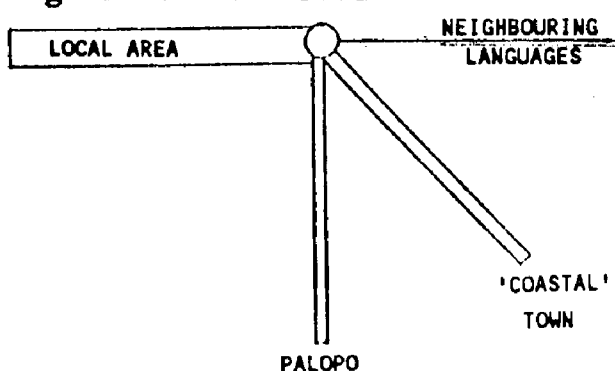


Figure 12: LENA

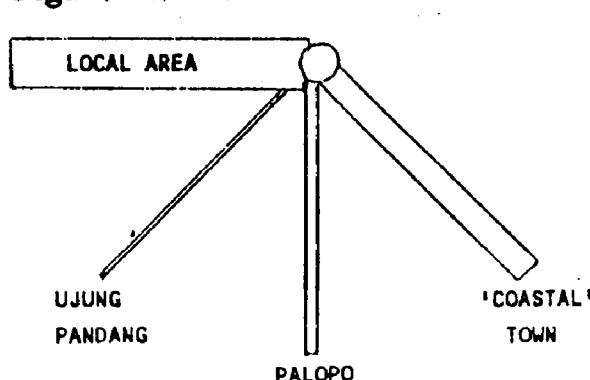


Figure 13: BAEBUNTA

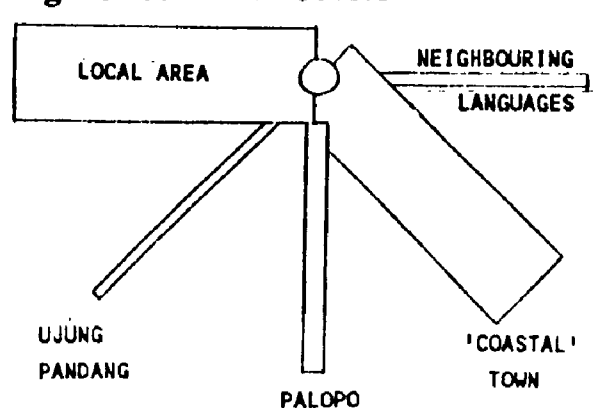


Figure 14: JAMBU

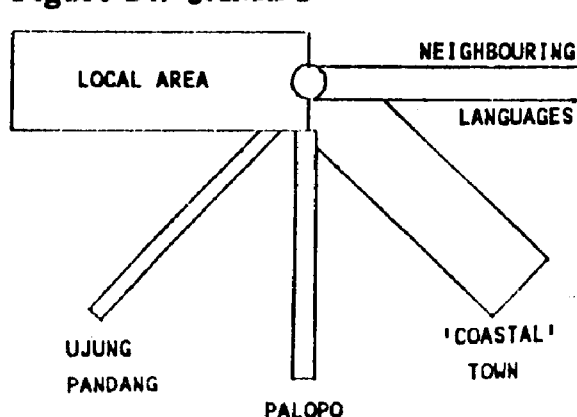
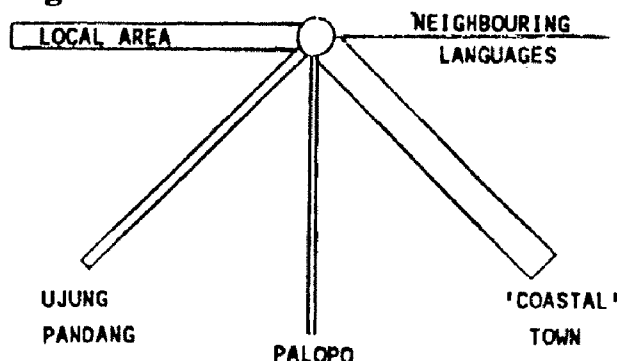


Figure 15: BONELEMO



What is noticeable in all of these examples is the infrequency of deliberate contact¹³ with other language groups who live in close proximity. This is evidenced by the negligible contact between the Rongkong people and those from Seko, Bonelemo with those migrant groups around them, and Baebunta with Limolang and Rampi speakers. Although, it is fair to say that in the latter case there is more contact between Tae' and Limolang in the area around Baebunta and Sabbang. Similarly there is more contact between the Rongkong and the Seko people than the figure implies. The difference is that it is 'initiated' from the Seko end more frequently, only because the Seko people up until now have always come through the Rongkong area in order to descend to the coast. The only other contacts are on special occasions such as the national Independence Day or when Rongkong people go to Seko to buy coffee about once a year.

The most frequent contact is as expected within the local area amongst those of the same dialect. Outside of this contact, the frequency is limited to that collective kind of contact at the coastal markets or in the regional capital of Palopo. This latter kind of contact does not necessarily aid the assimilation of other languages when usually either Tae' is used or, if the addressee does not know Tae', Indonesian is used.

The frequency of contact between the interior villages and the coast is less the farther inland one lives; that is, the farther the distance to travel, the less frequent the contact. A notable discrepancy in this regard can be found in the example of Limbong where the frequency of contact with the coastal town of Sabbang is about the same as that of Palopo, 50 kms away to the south. The reason is that the effort to come down from the hills to Sabbang is such that to not avail oneself of the opportunity to go a little farther to Palopo would be foolish.

Villages like Limbong and Bonelemo which are farther from the centres of population have less social contact with others outside the area as a general rule, rather sticking to themselves, more so than those villages closer to the coast. The reason for more contact with the respective coastal centre from Bonelemo than from Lena is possibly by reason of the condition of the road which links the respective areas. The link between Bonelemo and the coast is better than its counterpart in the north.

Most noteworthy in all of this data is the absence of direct contact between the Tae' language and Torajan. Despite the fact that Torajan is 'just over the hills' from the Tae' areas virtually no regular contact is made.¹⁴

6.3 LANGUAGE USE

Now that the presence of other languages and the contact with them has been examined, what are the resulting language-use patterns? What are the implications for Tae' and/or other languages in the area?

For the statistical data on this subject refer to Appendix C. The category of language ability is based on more than the ability to recall one or two words. Rather some degree of fluency was required. Thus the gradual dissemination of lexical items has been eliminated from this database. Likewise, the inability to use everyday Indonesian was based either on the unsolicited response of people in saying 'he can't use Indonesian' or in the difficulty encountered with some folk working through the questions using Indonesian.

A careful study of the tables in Appendix C will indicate some of the following generalizations.

1. Apart from Bugis, Makasar, Limolang, Seko and Javanese, there are no other languages where more than 1% of the Tae' population can use that language.

2. The following languages are the only ones to show any sign of dissemination: Bugis, Makasar and Seko. The others are only spoken by the native speakers who live in the area.

3. The division of multiple language ability across the sexes is relatively even, whereas most language inability where Indonesian is concerned lies more with the female group than the male.

4. The same comment (No. 3) may be applied to the area of literacy, more through the lack of opportunity than any inherent lack of ability.

5. Fluency in another language seems to be limited to the 30+ age group. However, there is some degree of language dissemination in the school age group.

Further Comment. In the case of Seko the dissemination is limited to only seven persons in the village of Limbong and two males aged 40-44, 50-54 in the village of Salu Tallang. The other people with ability in the Seko language are the native Seko-Lemo students going to school in Salu Tallang.

The dissemination of the Limolang language is limited to a very tight radius around the prime two villages of Limolang speakers, Sassa and

Salassa. However, Limolang is spoken by 11.2% of the population of Baebunta. The prime group involved, though, are adults aged 35 and over. Like the Limolang villages of Sassa and Salassa, the interest in the present generation of young people to learn and/or use that language is minimal. They prefer instead to use the neighbouring Tae' language or Indonesian. The prime contributing factor leading to this current situation was the effect that the period of the Islamic uprising had on the transient population. The more dominant Rongkong/Tae' group was moved down from the hills to settle amongst the Limolang speakers after they returned from a period of fleeing. Thus the use of Limolang language has become subordinated to that of the more dominant Tae' group. This occurred after a period when time to actively teach the younger generation their language had been lacking.

In the case of Makasar the dissemination is also negligible. The number of speakers outside of native 'immigrants' being only ones and twos, with the exception of Jambu where only 4 of the 18 speakers use Makasar as their first language.

The most significant example of language dissemination is found in Bugis where in the villages of Baebunta, Jambu and Bonelemono there are only 26 out of 256 people with ability beyond the odd word who use Bugis as their first language. However, the bulk of these are adults over the age of 20, although there are some school-age speakers. This could imply that it is a slow process limited to the amount of contact one has with Bugis speakers. Still whatever the underlying factors, the dissemination of the Bugis language is significant in that it is found in these examples outside of the recognised Bugis areas.

The Use of Indonesian. As stated above concerning the use of Indonesian, the dominant group with a problem in the use of Indonesian is that of women (76%). The other notable factor is that of age with 45% of folk with an inability in Indonesian being over 60 years of age. However, data from Lena, Bonelemono and Jambu suggests that the problem is a little more widespread. Bonelemono has the highest percentages of adults whose ability in the national language is less than fluent. These are spread over the age groups 25-70, but again mostly women.

Literacy. Again literacy rates are lower for women with 70% of the total of 234 who cannot read or write spread over all villages. In this area only 35% are over 60 years of age. There seems to be a greater problem of literacy in the southern area evidenced by the data from Bonelemono and Jambu. Whether this is a fair indication or not cannot be determined at this stage.

7. CONCLUSIONS

In the light of the above data the following conclusions can be drawn. There exist four dialects of Tae' spread throughout kabupaten Luwu which are distinct from Torajan but certainly belong to the Torajan group of languages. These dialects are not only lexically distinct from Torajan, but there is some superficial evidence to suggest that higher-level distinctions set them apart also. However, further work needs to be focused in this area.

The results of this study show the four dialects as dialects of Tae' distinct from Torajan, yet indicate a basal relationship with all four dialects linked together as one unit rather than, as has been previously been suggested, divided into two different groups, Toala' and Luwu. Although they can be considered as four different dialects the degree of similarity is strong. It is really only a small percentage of lexical items which distinguishes them.

Lexically there appear to be complicated patterns of borrowing as well some distinctly original items which set these dialects apart. Many linguists have superficially suggested these dialects are merely transitional forms between Torajan as the language of the upland plateau and Bugis as the language of the coastal plain. While Tae' is certainly closer to Torajan than Bugis, there is also evidence to suggest there are other factors at work here, not the least of which is the underlying strata of a common language (PSS) linking these languages together. Tae' as such shares more elements with this proto language than it does with modern day Torajan. However, that is not as significant as it may sound; so too do many of the languages of South Sulawesi.

Sociolinguistically Tae' is relatively unaffected by the neighbouring languages in this present period of time. In fact there seems to be a strong pride in the language which emphasises its difference in certain regions, not the least of which is in the upper Rongkong valley. I have a feeling that this pride goes further than simply pride in one's language. Rather there seems to be often a conscious effort on behalf of the speakers to want to set Tae' apart. More work needs to be carried out in the analysis of the verbal system as it compares with that of Torajan. On a superficial level it seems that Tae' follows Torajan more closely in the verbal system than other lexical items. Is this a conscious effort to differentiate the language from Torajan by consciously or subconsciously choosing particular lexical items above others, even if the alternative item is also known?

Everywhere this survey was conducted Tae' was the prime language used in the home and the local community. This of course contrasted with the situation related to Limolang where the language appears to be dying in that fewer and fewer of the young people in Limolang-speaking villages are using it.

Although this paper tends to emphasise the factors which bind the dialects of 'Tae' together, it must be stated that it is not quite so simplistic. As others have said before this report the Luwu language situation is complex. There is a tendency within the region to recognise the Rongkong dialect as being different from the southern dialects. However, that is not to suggest that the local people group Rongkong with NE Luwu, as Valkama has stated. Rather Rongkong is seen as being separate from the other dialects, but no more so than any of the four dialects can be separated or combined. Rather I suspect that any tendency to separate Rongkong in the minds of either Rongkong speakers or others is more a result of sociolinguistic factors than purely linguistic factors.

8. FURTHER RESEARCH

There remain a number of foci for future study, not the least of which is to sort out the intelligibility of these dialects to one another. While there are certainly elements which are not understood or recognisable it seems that there is a general basis of understanding, possibly derived through the degree of contact over a long period of time and also by virtue of shared lexical items and similar sentence structure (similar also with Torajan). Still this area needs some indepth testing.

There is talk of a specific subdialect around Masamba, although data gathered for this report did not uncover such a subgroup. Also further testing needs to be done in the area of kecamatan Bastem related to links with Torajan, as well as more text analysis and comparison.

Further work is also necessary to probe the historical roots of 'Tae' and its surrounding neighbours. What of the differentiation between verbs and other words? Is there any basis to that? The language must be understood at a higher level to be able to effectively determine the truth of this aspect. Further to enable intelligibility testing to take place adequately an indepth knowledge is a prerequisite. For that reason further work will depend on learning one of the dialects of 'Tae'.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS SURVEY REPORT

DBC	=	Doubled Consonant
LOC	=	Locative
VI	=	Verb Intransitive
VT	=	Verb Transitive

ENDNOTES

¹See Friberg 1987:125, 128.

²See Mills 1975:28f.

³The present *bupati* is working hard to open the interior to access by 4-wheel-drive vehicles. At the time of writing this report access is only as far as Kanandede (kecamatan Limbong) and Makalu (kecamatan Bajo).

⁴See Grimes & Grimes 1987.

⁵See Bappeda dan Kantor Statistik 1987.

⁶See Mills 1975:19f.

⁷Rather, *Tae'* and/or *Tae'-Tae'* was the most widespread term of reference we came across. See also the discussion under Section 3.

⁸Unique in the sense of the lexical item being common only to that dialect group.

⁹There were many other features which appeared in the data but an attempt has been made here to be conservative and not include a series of differences which may be purely constructional choice or idiolectic.

¹⁰Where the <marks> are used, they symbolise the choice of the predominant variant of a series of variants.

¹¹The extent of UNHAS/Summer Institute of Linguistic surveys thus far has covered only the south and central provinces, although some work has been done in Southeast Sulawesi and is currently being conducted in North Sulawesi.

¹²A Tomokaka' is a local leader amongst the Rongkong people in aspects of tradition and culture.

¹³*Deliberate contact* as opposed to *chance contact* at the market or in the major town.

¹⁴At this point more work needs to be done on the position and relationship of kecamatan Bastem to this aspect of the study. I suspect that there is a greater degree of relationship than was first supposed.

APPENDIX A: SAMPLE SENTENCES

(Compiled from a personal list and additions from lists prepared by Thomas V. Laskowske and Timothy Friberg.) The present list has undergone a number of revisions and has decreased from 90 to 70 sentences.

1. I don't know.
2. Where are you going?
3. Where have you come from?
4. What's your name?
5. Say that again, please.
6. I'm going to Ujung Pandang tomorrow.
7. I'm going to Ujung Pandang (now).
8. I returned from Ujung Pandang yesterday.
9. Are you tired?
10. What did you just say?
11. What's the meaning of X ?
12. Excuse me, I want to go.
13. Take the banana from the table.
14. I want to go and get water from the river.
15. What are you writing?
16. What time is it?
17. How many people live in this house?
18. Help me! (colloquial)
19. Could you please help me? (formal)
20. What's the price of that?
21. I want to learn the Tae' language.
22. Yesterday I saw people playing football
23. She sleeps on the floor.
24. Mother has already gone to the market.
25. We've just come home from school.
26. I usually walk to the office.
27. She's sewing clothing.
28. We're drinking coffee.
29. We usually bathe there in the river.
30. Father is planting 'vegetables' in the garden.
31. Mother washes clothes in the river.
32. People are fighting each other over there.
33. I gave food to lots of people.
34. I bought my mother something at the market.
35. What are you doing? I'm eating.
36. What are you eating?
37. I'm eating a banana.
38. Where is my banana that was here a while ago?
39. I ate it.
40. I have already given his bag back to him.
41. I want to meet my friend tomorrow if there's a chance.
42. He went to his uncle's house because he was called.
43. We will go to Palopo tomorrow if the hired vehicle arrives.
44. I came from Kariango yesterday; there was a dead horse in the middle of the road.
45. I went around the horse.
46. When you saw the horse, what did you do?

Sample Sentences (Continued)

47. I went around it.
48. Don't go!
49. Don't hit me!
50. Go and get it.
51. He doesn't want to go.
52. May I overnight here?
53. I will be here only one night.
54. He's lazy (about working).
55. Eat first; then go.
56. They work hard.
57. He really went.
58. I see him; I see you, too.
59. We see each other.
60. I can read and write.
61. He chased the dog and hit it.
62. He is a teacher.
63. He is a good teacher.
64. I'm tired.
65. I'm very tired.
66. I'm not very tired.
67. I'm not tired.
68. Whether that's true or not, I don't know for sure.
69. Which is tastier, carp or pike?
70. He wanted to give me some sweets but there weren't any.

APPENDIX B: SOCIOLINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRE

A: Demographic Profile

Name: _____ Age: _____ Sex: _____

Name of Spouse: _____ Age: _____

Each of the following includes a response for the spouse where appropriate.

Education: What was the last educational institution you attended?
(Whether or not you graduated).

Present Occupation? _____

Previous Occupation? (if there's been a change) _____

Religious Affiliation? _____

Place of birth? _____

Where you have lived most of your life? _____

Marital Status? _____

Number of Children? _____ at present living at home? _____ at present living elsewhere? _____

Names: _____ Age: _____ Sex: _____

B: Language Usage

Mother tongue of the head of the household? _____

What language is spoken in the household from day to day? _____

What other languages are spoken? _____

Who by and when? _____

With what degree of competence? _____

C: Literacy

Can you read and write? _____

Competency? _____

Who else in the family can read/write? _____

In what languages? _____

APPENDIX C: LANGUAGE USE STATISTICAL CHARTS

BAEBUNTA (448)

AGE/SEX DISTRIBUTIONS.

	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70+	TOTAL	%
Unable to use Everyday Indonesian												1	1		6	8	1.8
Unable to read and write Indonesian												1	1	2	6	19	2.2

OTHER LANGUAGE ABILITY:

BUGIS					4	3	-	3	2	1	3	3	1	4	4	7	7	5	9	4	3	2	1	3	1	1	4	3	39	39	17.4
LIMOLANG				2	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	2	1	3	5	7	3	4	6	1	1	2	3	2	-	1	3	24	26	11.2	
MAKASSANESE					-	4	-	2	-	2	1	-	-	1			1	-										2	9	2.4	
JAVANESE				-	1		-	1	1	-	1	-		-	1	1	-		-		1	1	3					4	4	1.8	
KAILI											1	-																	1	-	0.2
BALINESE																	1	-											1	-	0.2
TIMORESE											1	-																	1	-	0.2

LENA: (267)

AGE/SEX DISTRIBUTIONS.

	0-4 M/F	5-9 M/F	10-14 M/F	15-19 M/F	20-24 M/F	25-29 M/F	30-34 M/F	35-39 M/F	40-44 M/F	45-49 M/F	50-54 M/F	55-59 M/F	60-64 M/F	65-69 M/F	70+ M/F	TOTAL M/F	X
unable to use Everyday Indonesian					- 1	- 1	1 -	- 1	- -	- 1	1 1			1 -	- 4	3 9	4.5
unable to read and write Indonesian					-	- 2	1 1	- 1	- 4	- 4	1 5		2 -	3 2	1 5	8 26	12.7

OTHER LANGUAGE ABILITY:

BUGIS																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																					</
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BONELEMO: (422)

AGE/SEX DISTRIBUTIONS.

	0-4 M/F	5-9 M/F	10-14 M/F	15-19 M/F	20-24 M/F	25-29 M/F	30-34 M/F	35-39 M/F	40-44 M/F	45-49 M/F	50-54 M/F	55-59 M/F	60-64 M/F	65-69 M/F	70+ M/F	TOTAL M/F	%
Unable to use Everyday Indonesian						3	1	1	3	1	3	5	2	7	1	4	10.2
Unable to read and write Indonesian					1	4	2	6	2	4	1	8	4	11	2	6	15.6

OTHER LANGUAGE ABILITY:

BUGIS			1	-	1	-	3	3	6	5	3	10	8	13	6	5	1	5	5	4	7	4	-	3	2	1	2	-	2	1	48	54	24.2
MAKASSARESE										1	-	1	2																	2	2	0.9	
MANDAR					-	1	1	-																		1	-				2	1	0.7
JAVANESE													1	1																	1	1	0.5

Appendix C: Language Use Statistical Charts (Continued)

LIMBONG: (230)

AGE/SEX DISTRIBUTIONS.

	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70+	TOTAL	X
M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	
Unable to use Everyday Indonesian														- 2	- 2	- 4	1.7
Unable to read and write Indonesian								- 1					1 1	- 2	- 2	1 6	3.0

OTHER LANGUAGE ABILITY:

SEKO				- 2	2	-					1	-	1		1	-					4	3	3.0
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JAMBU: (661)

AGE/SEX DISTRIBUTIONS.

	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70+	TOTAL	X													
	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F														
Unable to use Everyday Indonesian				-	-	1	-	1	-	-	3	2	3	1	1	1	3	2	5	-	-	1	1	6	10	16	26	6.3		
Unable to read and write Indonesian				2	1	3	1	1	2	2	-	3	11	4	9	4	5	2	7	6	6	4	4	1	2	7	11	39	59	14.8

OTHER LANGUAGE ABILITY:

BUGIS			1	1	-	3	2	5	6	7	3	12	5	8	16	10	12	7	7	5	10	13	5	1	4	2	2	2	6	4	79	88	20.7
MAKASSARESE					-	1	-	1	-	2	-	3	-	1	3	-	2	-	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	9	9	2.7
JAVANESE									-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-													2	2	0.6
TONINI													1	-																	1	-	0.15
ENGLISH																	1	-													1	-	0.15

SALUTALLANG: (128)

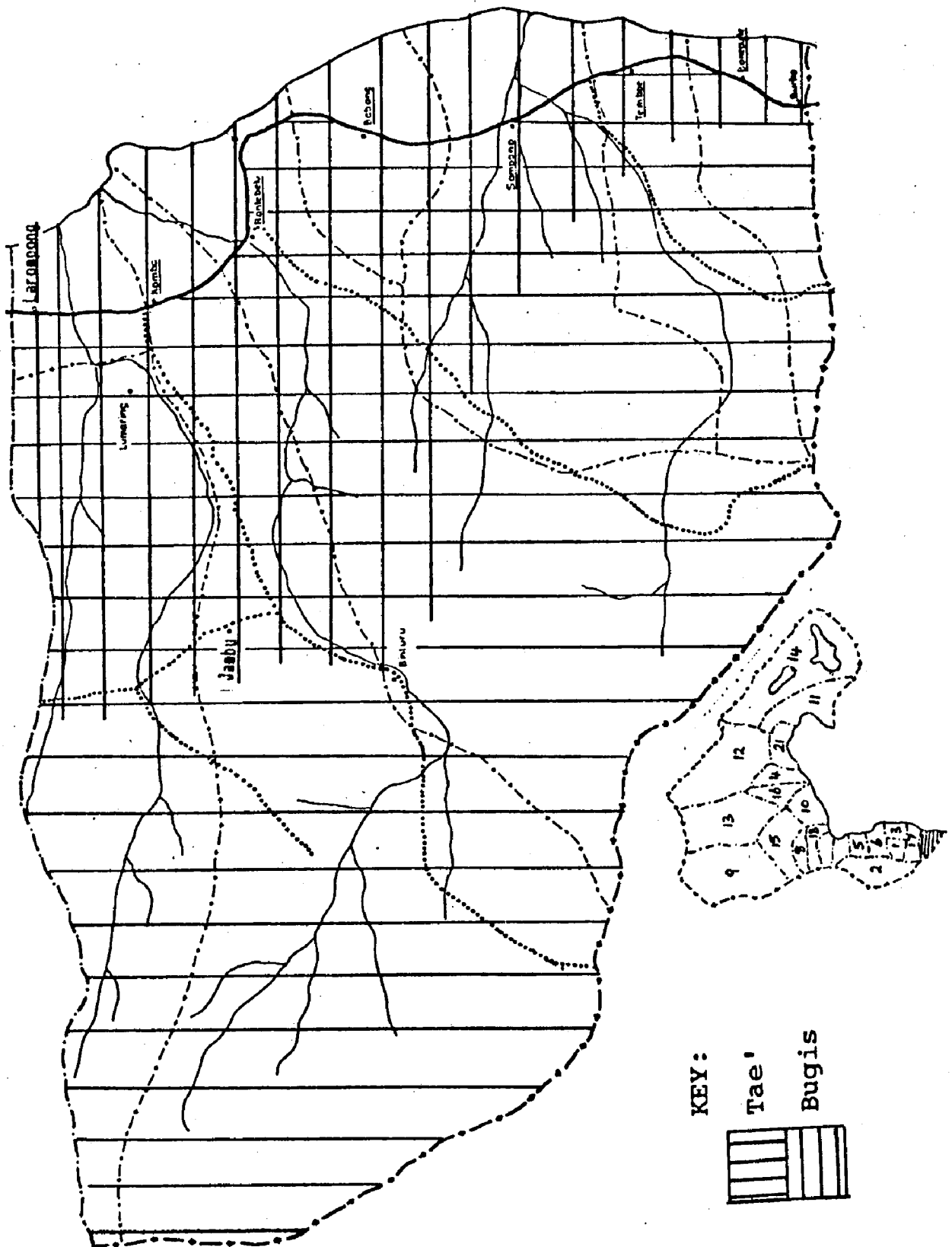
AGE/SEX DISTRIBUTIONS.

	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	70+	TOTAL	X
	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	M/F	
Unable to use Everyday Indonesian													- 1	1 1	1 2	2 4	4.7
Unable to read and write Indonesian				- 1	- 1	1 1	- 2		- 1	1 1			1 3	2 1	1 2	6 13	14.8

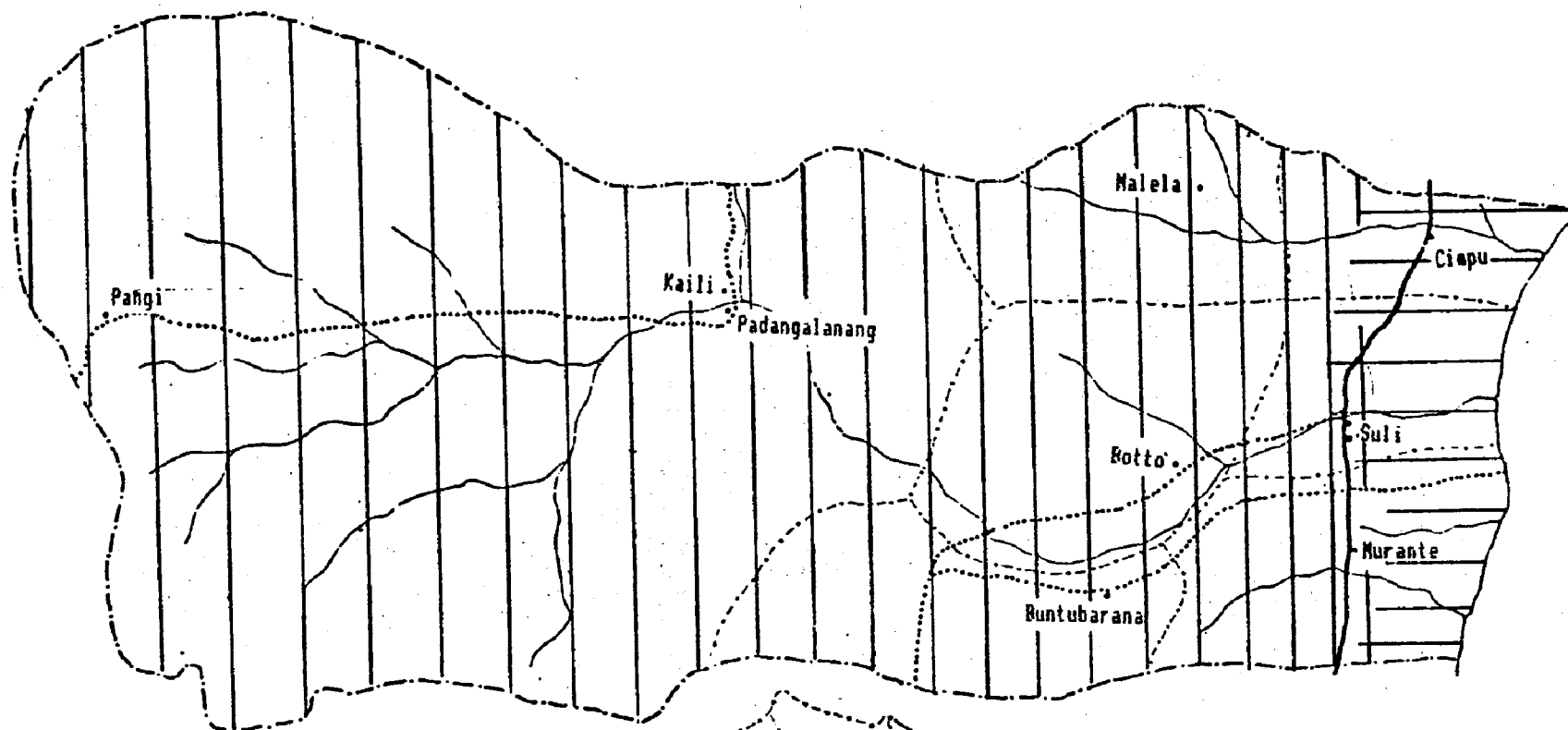
OTHER LANGUAGE ABILITY:

BUGIS										1	-			1	-			1	-											3	-	2.3	
SEKO						6	4							1	-			1	-											8	4	7.3	
MAKASSARESE																															-	1	0.8
MAHJJI														1	-																1	-	0.8
ENGLISH														1	-																1	-	0.8

KECAMATAN LAROMPONG



KECAMATAN SULI



KEY:

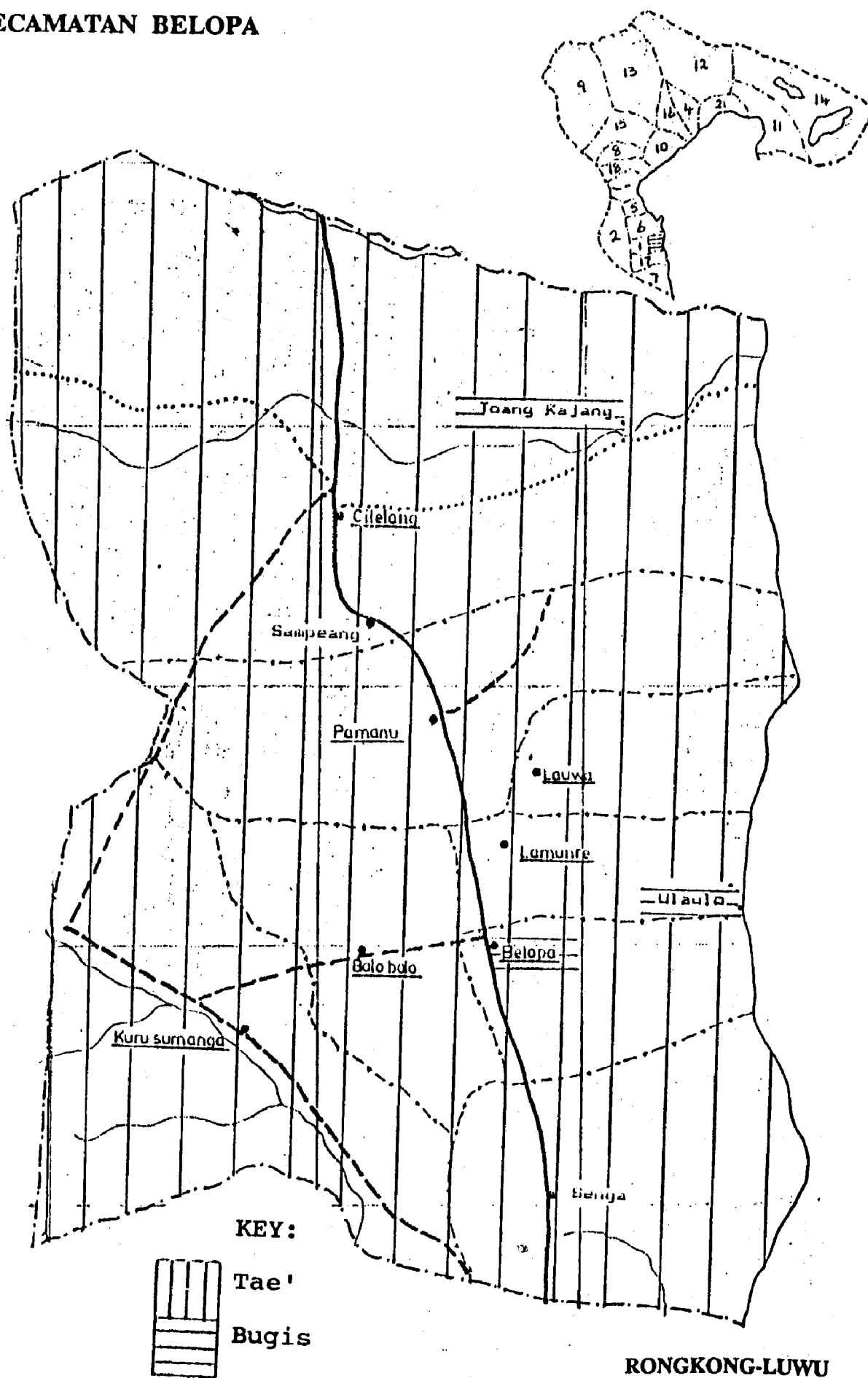


Tae'

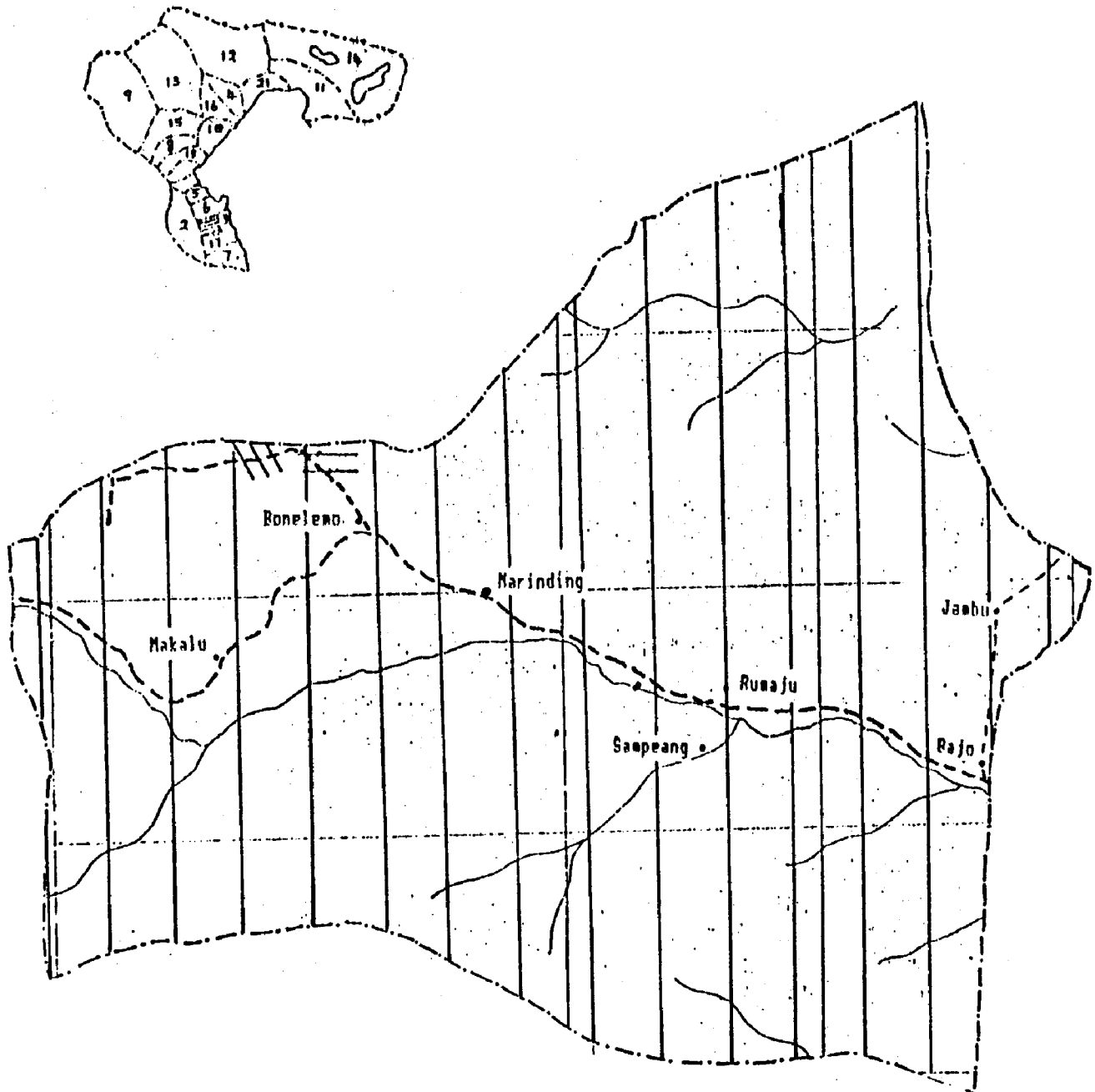
Bugis



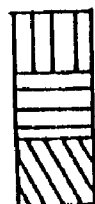
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KECAMATAN BAJO



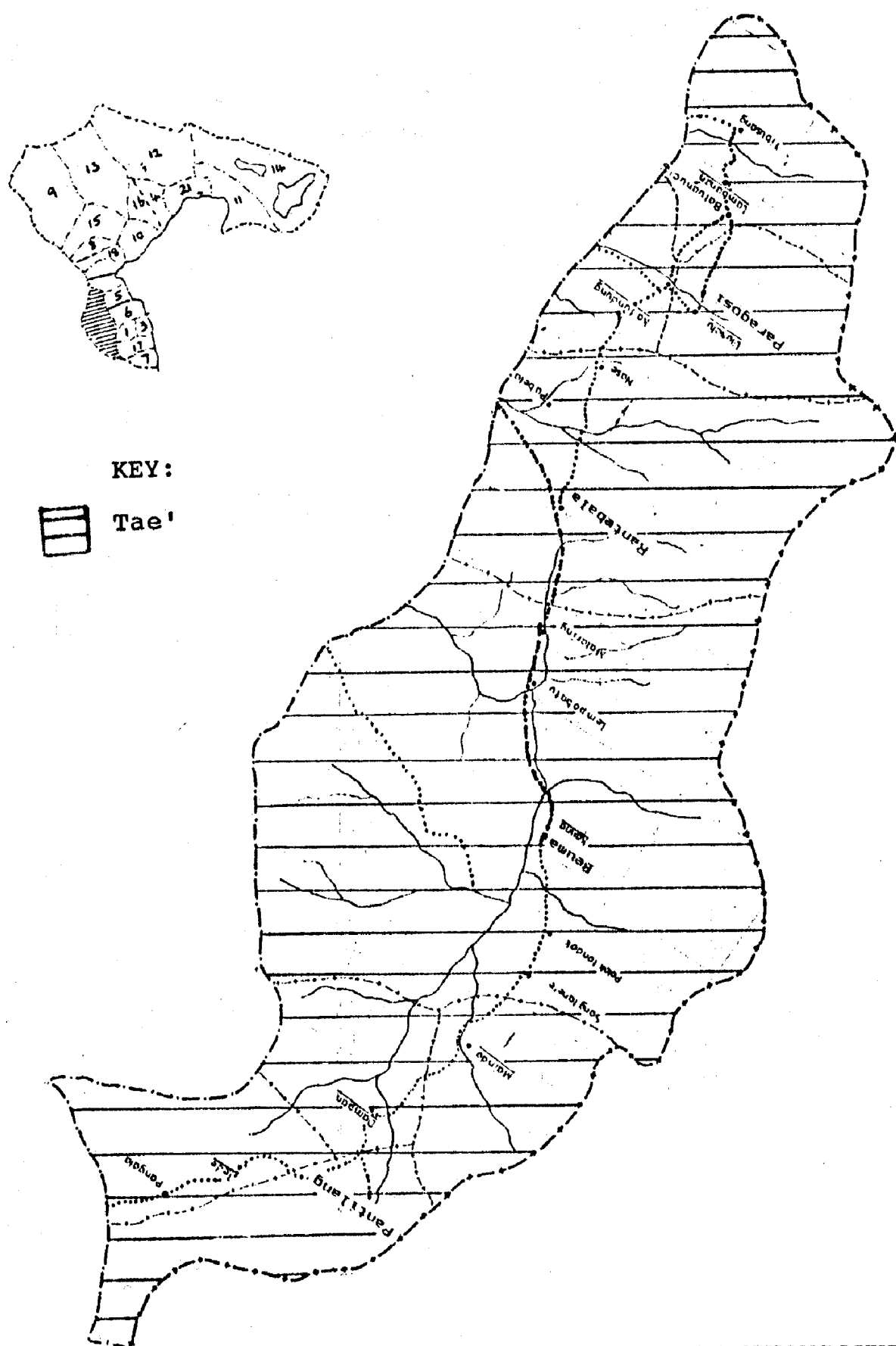
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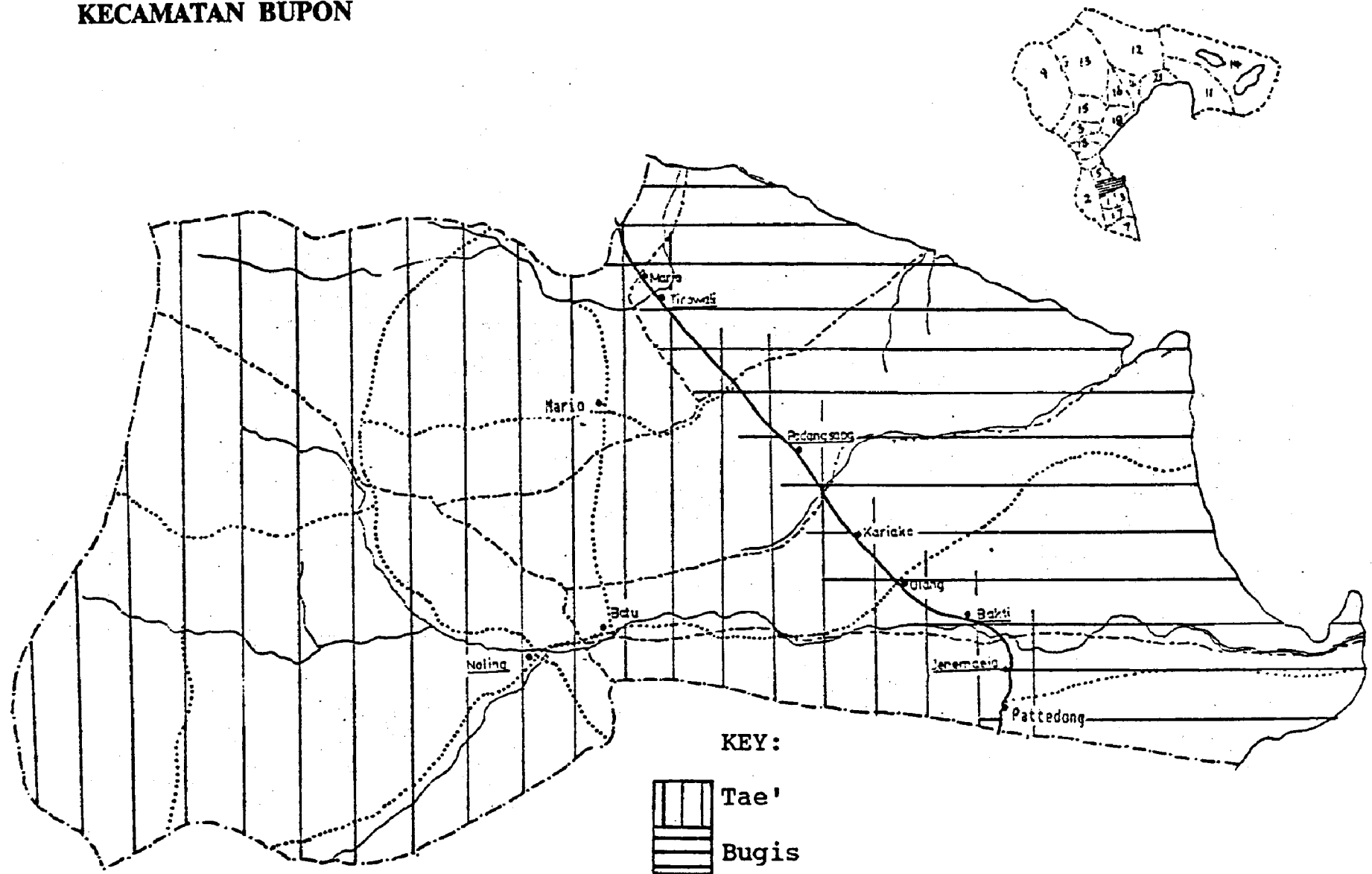
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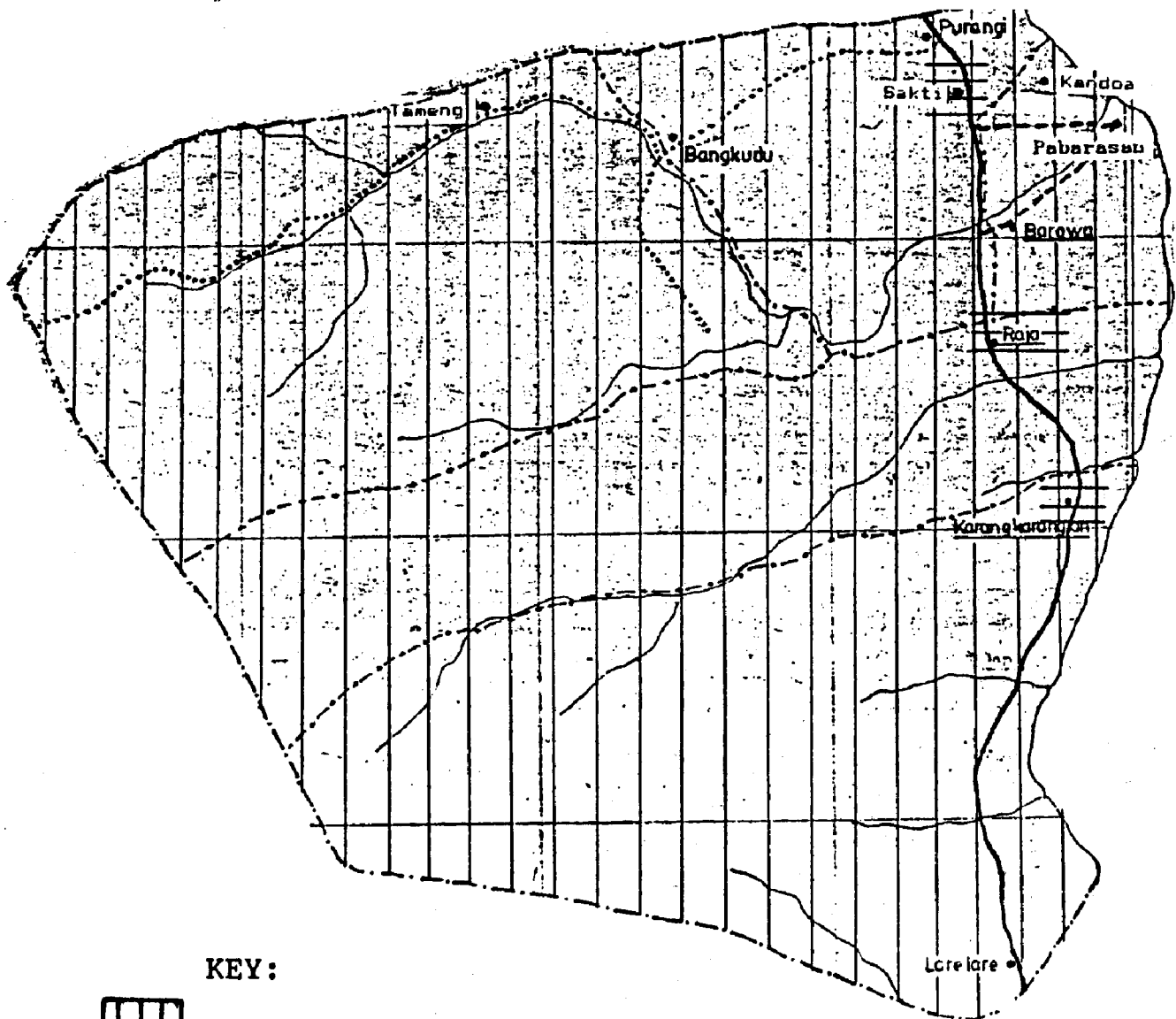
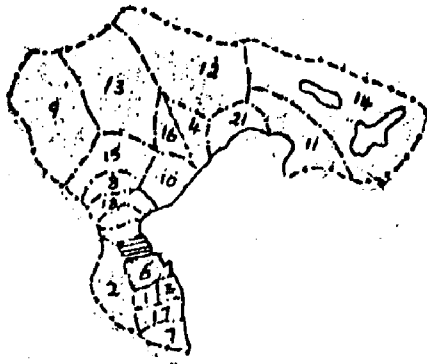
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KECAMATAN BUPON



KECAMATAN BUA



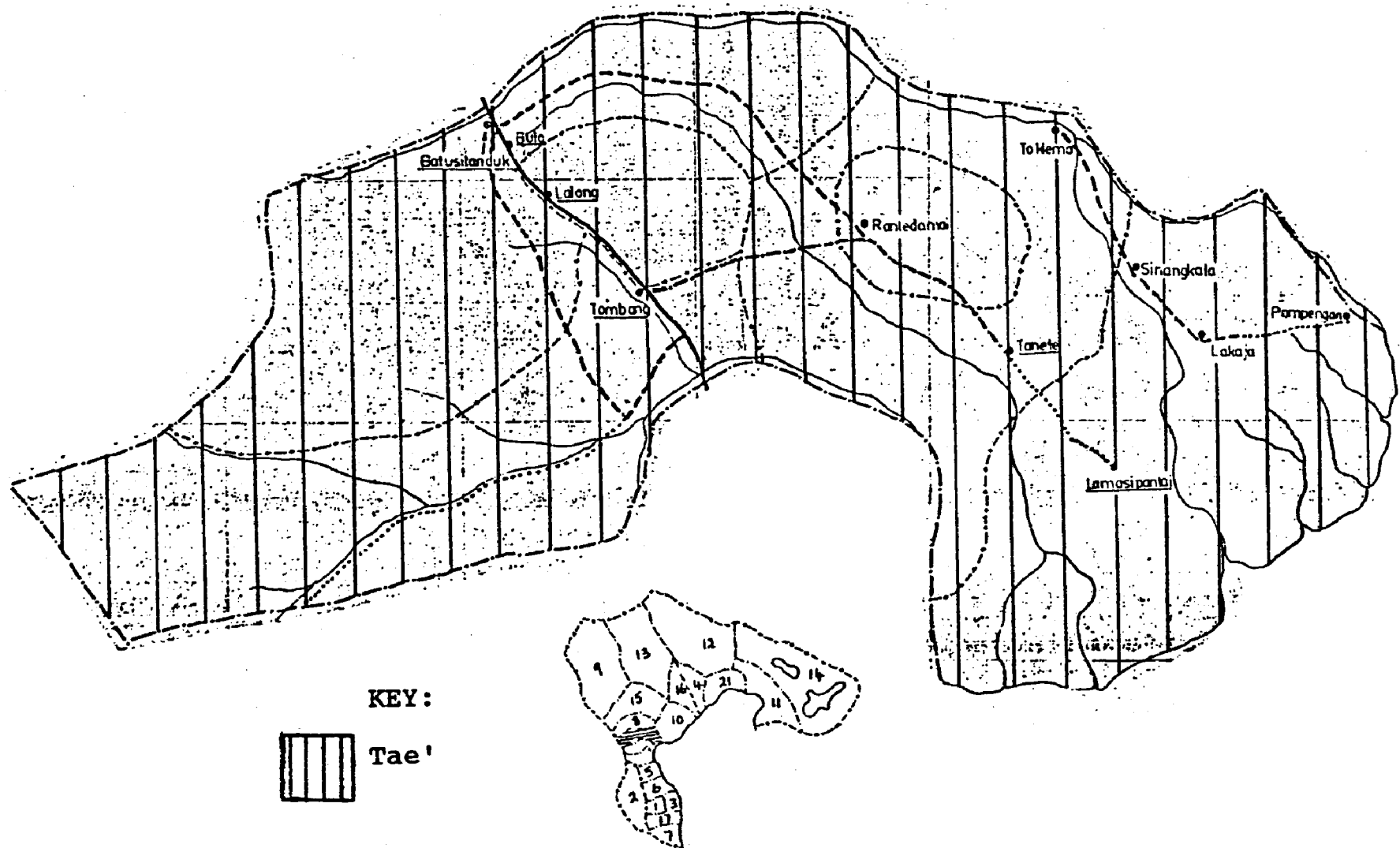
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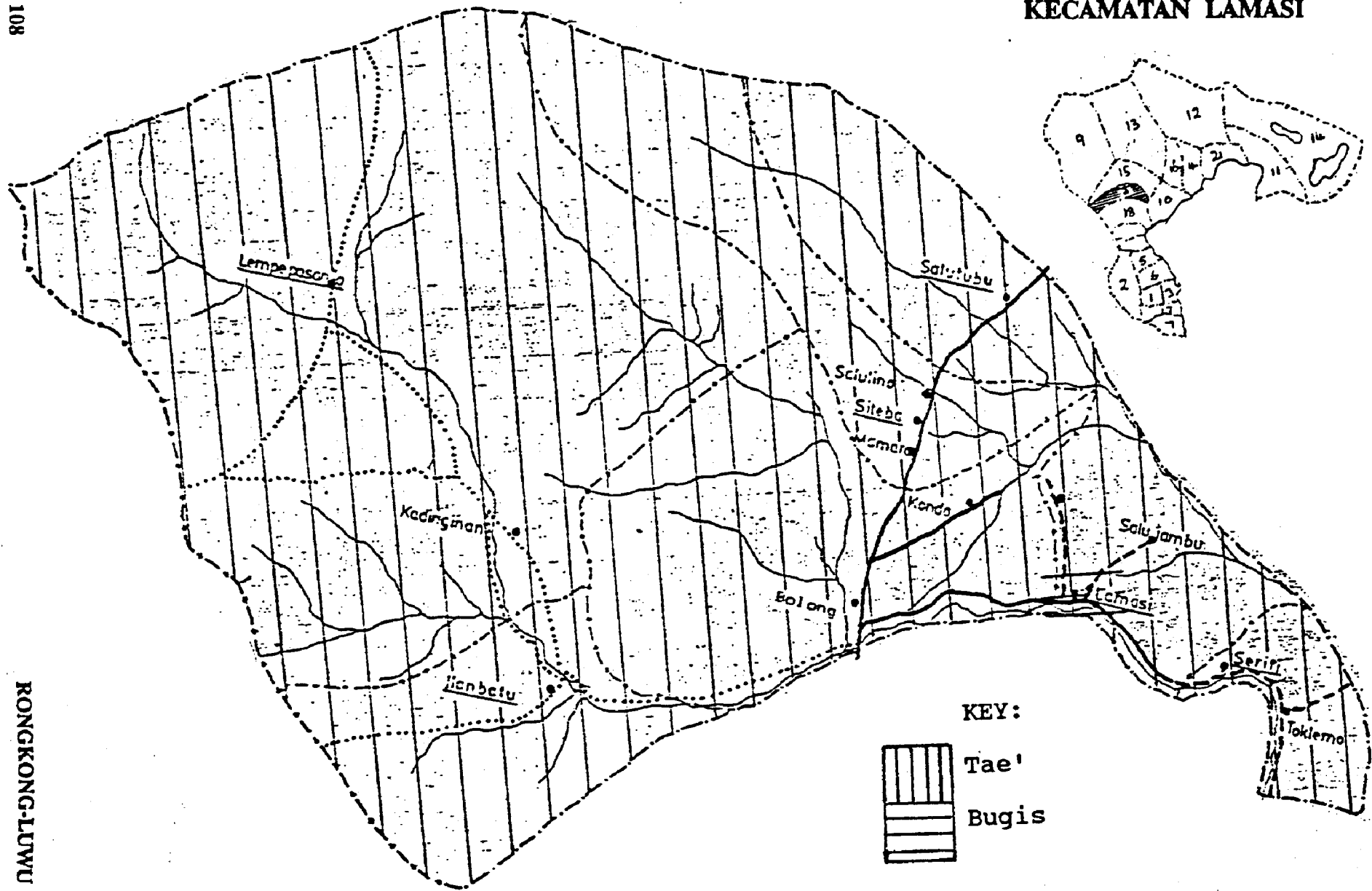
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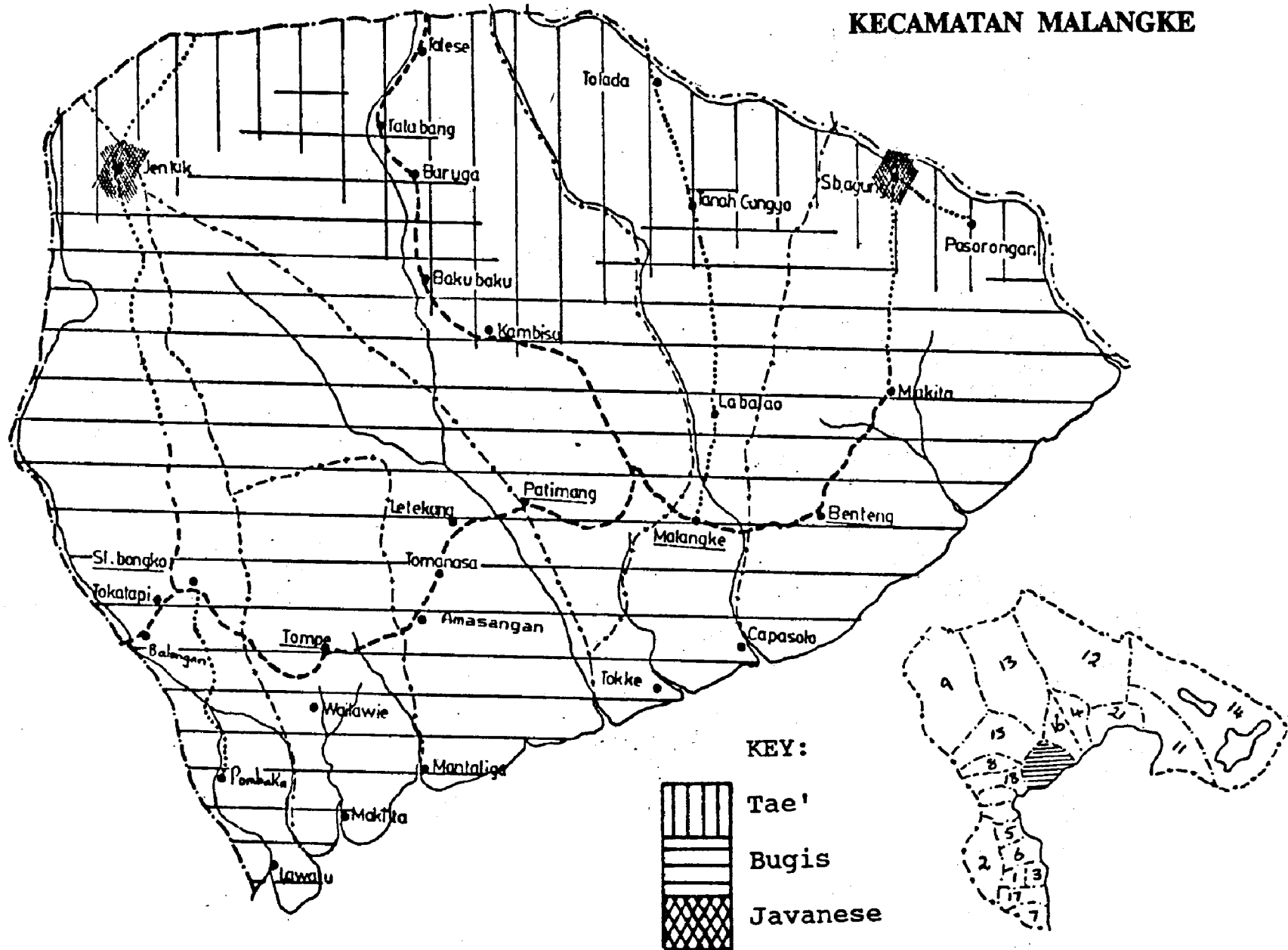
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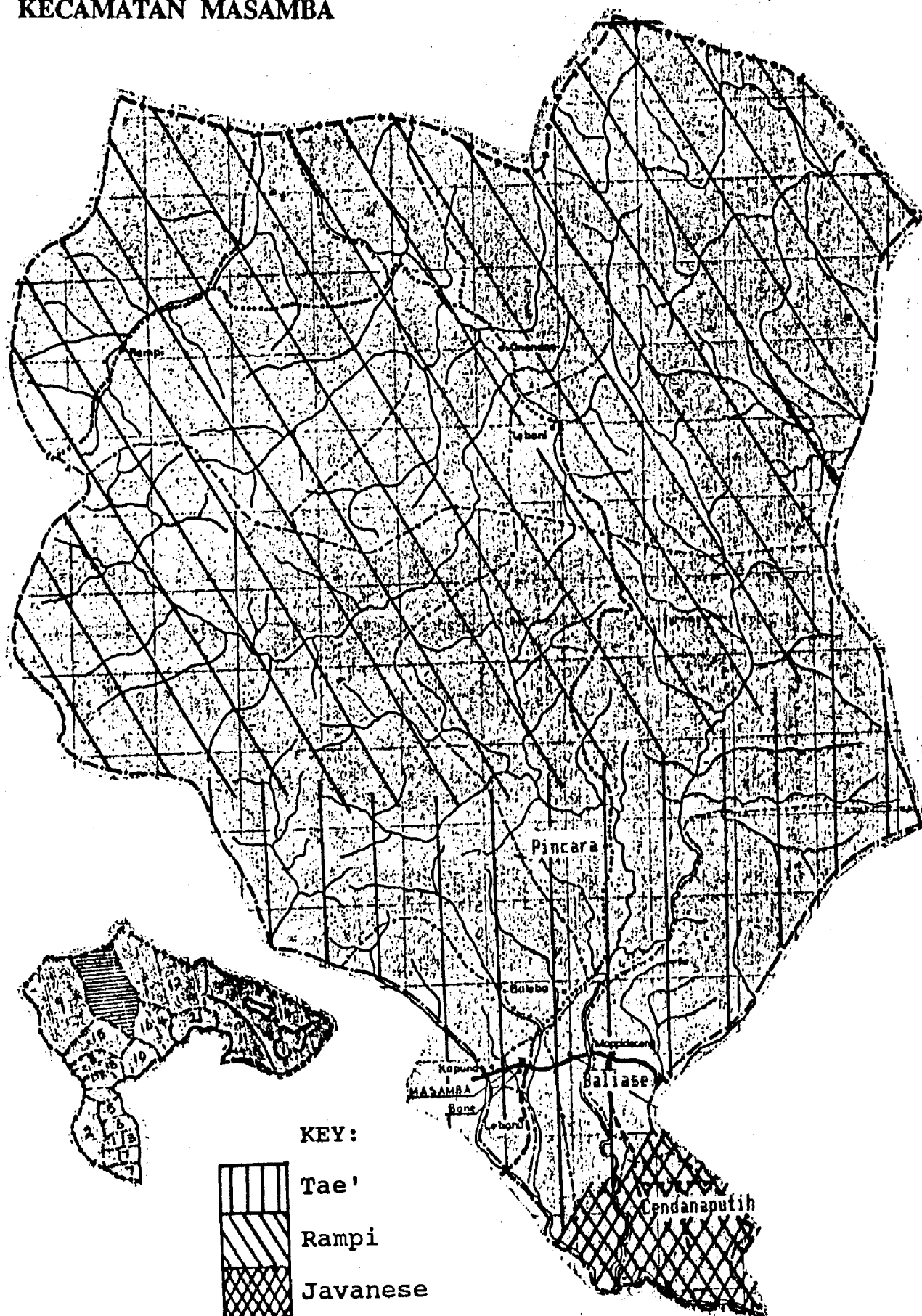
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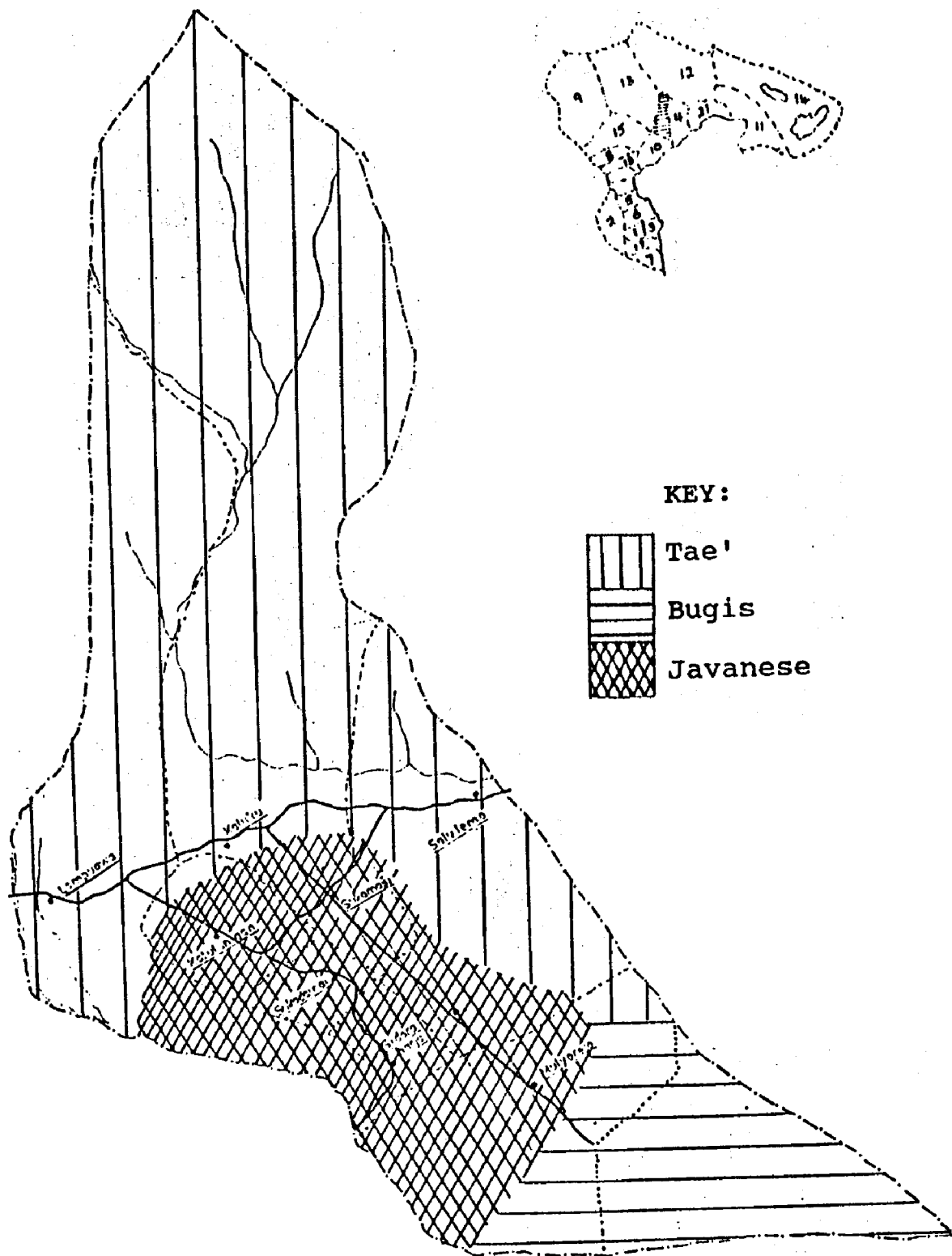
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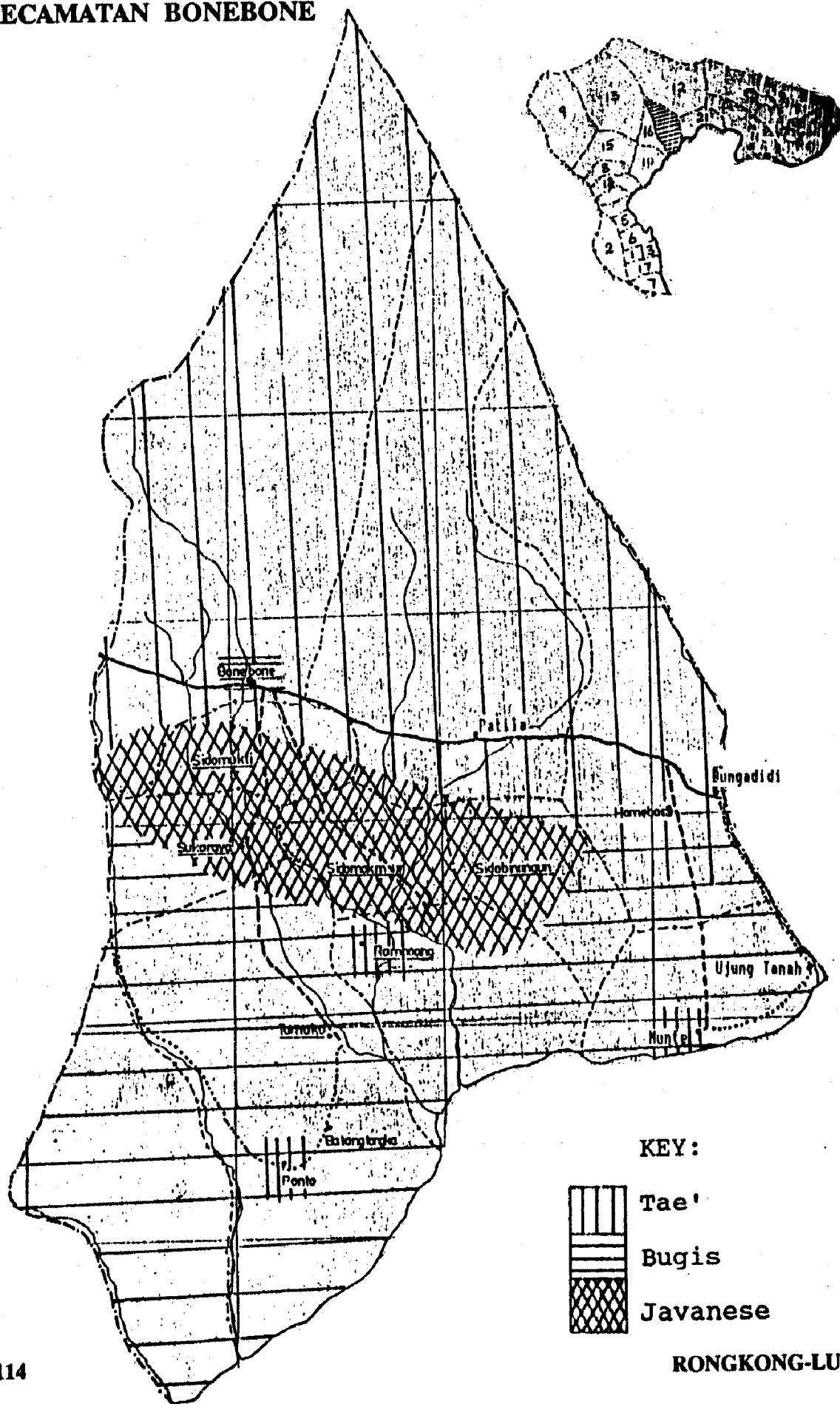
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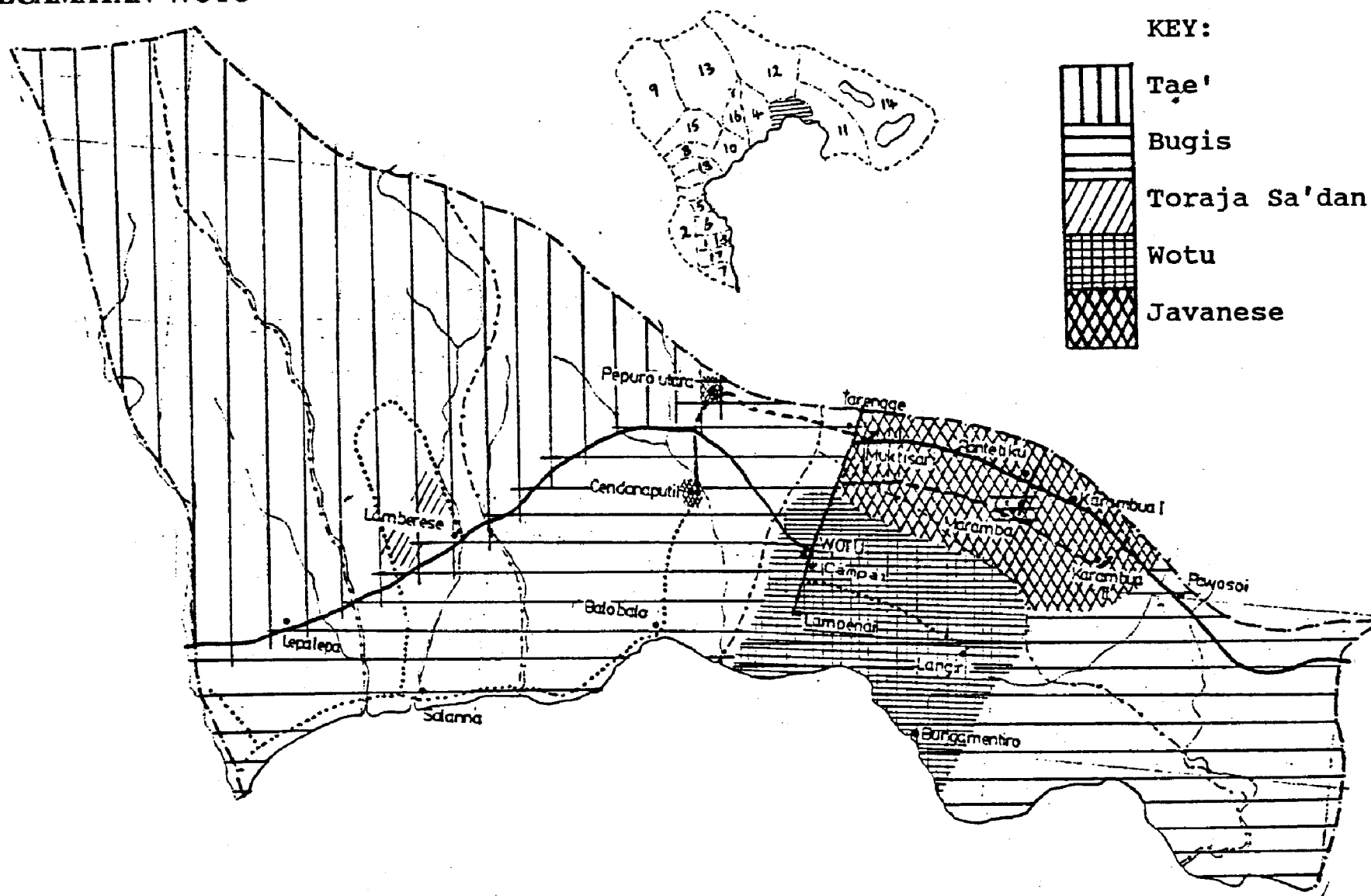
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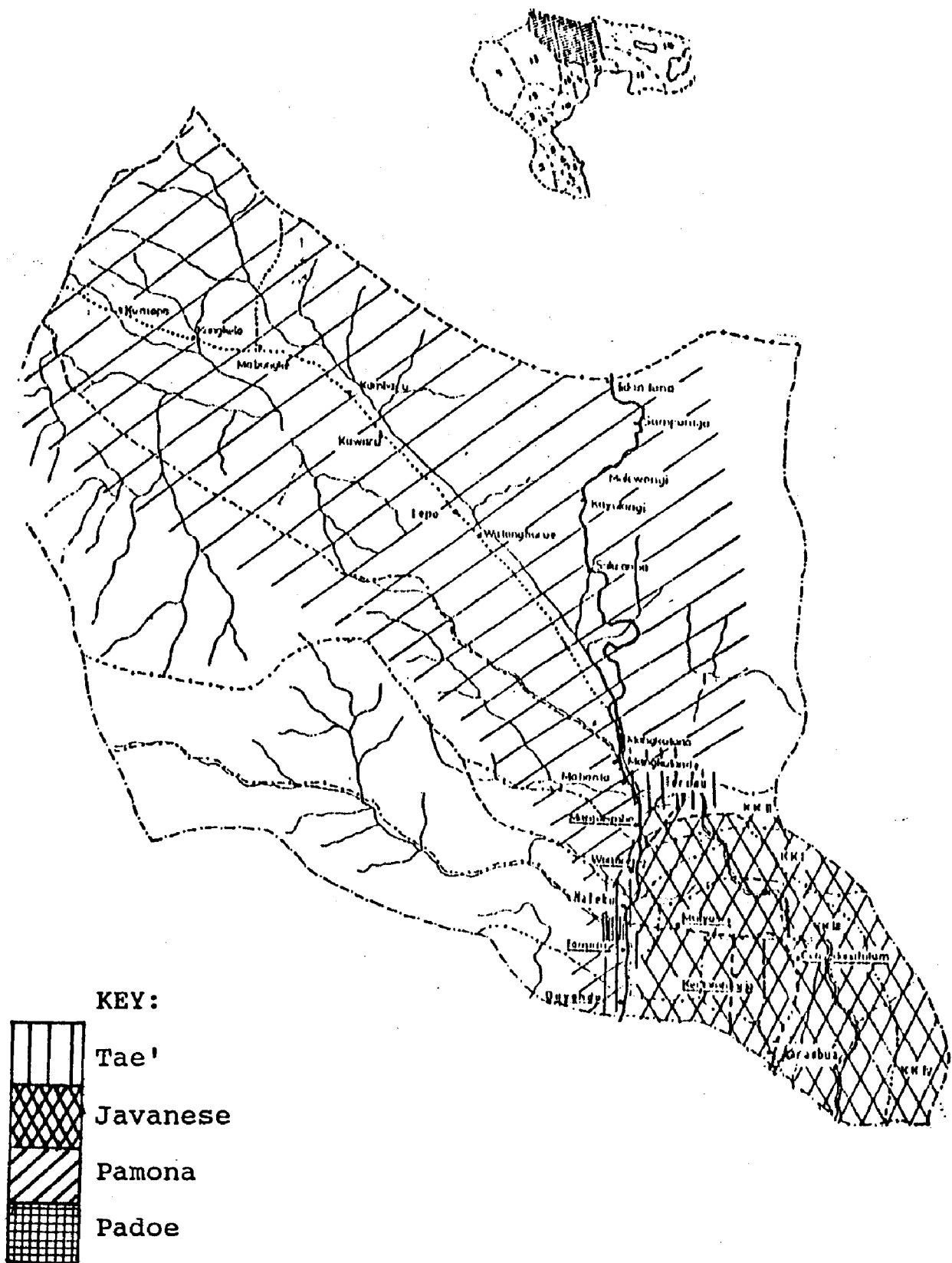
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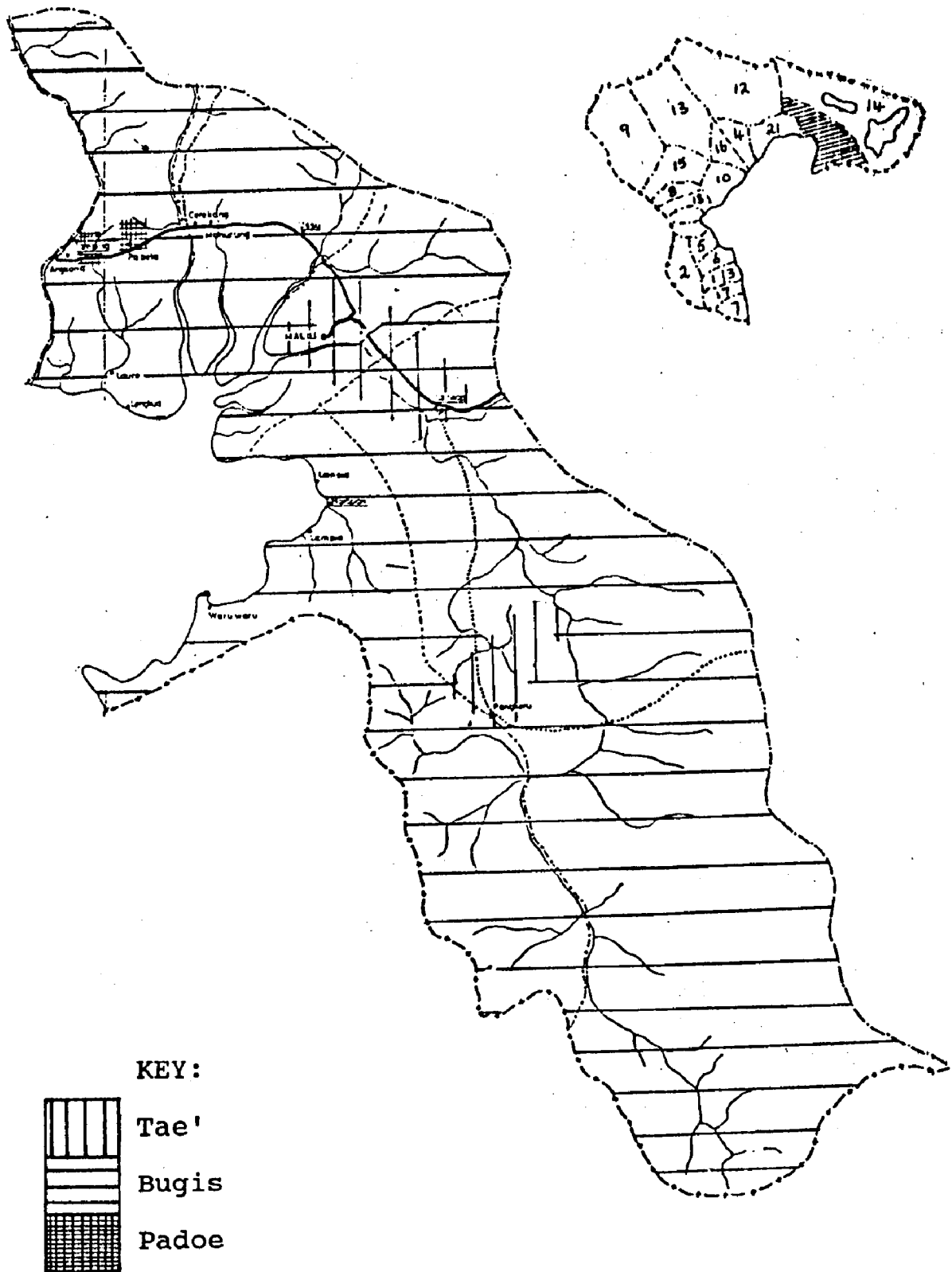
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KECAMATAN MALILI



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SURVEY OF THE PAMONA DIALECTS OF KECAMATAN BUNGKU TENGAH

David Mead and Melanie Mead

Cooperative Program of Hasanuddin University
and
The Summer Institute of Linguistics

TERMS

The following are Indonesian terms used in this report:

- kecamatan*: subdistrict; administrative level immediately below the kabupaten (district) level;
- desa*: village, administrative level immediately below the kecamatan level;
- kelurahan*: village, as above, but usually has a more urban character;
- utara*: north;
- tengah*: central;
- selatan*: south.

0. INTRODUCTION

The Pamona communities found in *kecamatan* 'subdistrict' Bungku Tengah of Central Sulawesi compose the southeastern limit of the Pamona language. Although no recent detailed language study has been undertaken for the whole Pamona-speaking region, an analysis of these southern dialects sheds light on the linguistic relationships within this language and whether or not Pamona should be considered one or several languages.

Data for this paper were collected by David Mead and Scott Youngman from January 6 to 11, 1989, in three *kecamatan*s of the Poso *kabupaten* 'district' of Central Sulawesi. We conducted this portion of our field work as part of a larger survey the main goal of which was to collect and analyze data from the Bungku-Tolaki languages of Central and Southeast Sulawesi. Our procedure in *kecamatan* Bungku Tengah was to visit each linguistic community reported to us by officials in the subdistrict capital, whether these

communities were broadly grouped under the headings Bungku,¹ Mori or Pamona, and provided that they were recognized as not being recent migrants (within the past thirty years). Four of these communities spoke Pamona dialects. We were able to spend about two hours in each community, collecting wordlists and recording responses to sociolinguistic questionnaires.

During the course of our survey we also spent a day in each of kecamatan Petasia and Bungku Utara, collecting a wordlist and sociolinguistic information in the capital town of the latter. We did not extensively research the Pamona situation in these two subdistricts because of the considerable time and travel it would have involved for a language not our primary focus.

1. BACKGROUND

1.1. General

The Pamona language area is located in Central Sulawesi. It is bordered on the west by Kaili, on the south by Mori, on the east by Saluan, and on the north by the Tomini Bay. It was formerly classified as Poso or East Toradjan by Dutch linguists, and the language called Bare'e, after the negative term of the central dialect (Adriani and Kruyt 1912, 1914; Adriani 1931; Esser 1938; cf. also Kaudern 1925). Masyhuda in 1971 argued that the term Toraja was inappropriate and suggested it be replaced with Pamona.² Others have followed his recommendation (Wumbu 1973; Barr and Barr 1979; Sneddon 1983a).

The dialect situation is complex. Salzner (1960) lists six dialects, with several subdialects; Sneddon (1983a) gives eight. To date, there has been little clarification as to whether these represent mutually intelligible dialects, or separate but very closely related languages.

1.2. Pamona Dialects in the Survey Area

According to one informant in Baturube, the Pamona inhabitants of kecamatan Bungku Utara recognize five divisions among themselves, into five *suku bangsa* 'ethnic groups'. These are: the Pusangke, the Kaju-morangka, the Tokasiala, the Burangas, and the Topotaa. The first four are mountain dwellers, living in the interior. The Topotaa live along the coast. However, all of them reportedly speak the same language with only minor dialectal variations. This language is referred to as Taa or more generally as Wana by the people themselves.³

The situation in kecamatan Bungku Tengah is similar. Here we encountered five Pamona communities.⁴ One of these comprises two villages of Topotaa, who are recent migrants from Bungku Utara and whose language

is the same as that found to the north. The other four are the Tobau (also called Tobao or Tobalo), the Tokondindi, the Topada and the Tombelala. In this case we have pinpointed in Map 1 the location of each of these communities. The Tobau refer to their language as Bare'e, following the older Dutch convention. The other three communities each refer to their language by the same name they use for themselves as an ethnic group.⁵

Of these four communities, three can be identified in the work of Adriani and Kruyt. Around the turn of the century, the main Topada and Tobau settlements lay in the interior to the west and the northwest respectively. The Tobau currently in kecamatan Bungku Tengah probably originated from near the site of the presentday village of Bau in kecamatan Petasia. The Tombelala were already located in their present situation. Based on the similarity of the Tombelala negative term with that of a Kaili dialect, Kaudern speculates they migrated to the Bungku area from north of Lake Poso (1925:157). It seems Adriani would dispute this (1914:14).

2. NONLINGUISTIC INFORMATION

Village locations in the three *kecamatan*s of Bungku Tengah, Petasia, and Bungku Utara are depicted on Map 2. Our most complete information is for kecamatan Bungku Tengah.

All settlements in Bungku Tengah lie along the coastal plain; no village is more than four kilometers inland. Although reportedly impassible by car to the south of Sakita, the road northward traverses completely flat terrain through all the Pamona-speaking areas to the border of kecamatan Petasia. The majority of inhabitants of Petasia live in a broad expanse southward and westward from Kolodale and are predominantly Mori speakers.

Kolonodale is the only major sheltered port in the region. However, more competitive prices elsewhere have attracted the people of Bungku Tengah and Bungku Utara to carry on more active trade with the ports of Kendari and Luwuk, respectively. Thus, Kolondale plays a relatively small role in the economy of the three *kecamatan*s. Farming and harvesting forest products are primary means of livelihood for Pamona speakers in these areas.

Because of the economic decentralization, there is a corresponding lack of regular transportation between Bungku Tengah, Petasia, and Bungku Utara, whether by vehicle or boat. For all practical purposes, there is no contact between Pamona speakers of Bungku Utara and those of Bungku Tengah. Similarly, these communities report no significant or regular communication with the major, widespread Pamona-speaking areas to the northwest, or even with each other.

3. LEXICOSTATISTIC ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

3.1. General

Lexicostatistics provides a relatively easy and quick means of data collection and analysis. Although not as precise as other methods of predicting intelligibility, it yields information which may be used to make tentative conclusions concerning intelligibility between speech communities. Lexicostatistics is the 'process of quantifying lexical similarity' (Grimes and Grimes 1987:9). The results of lexicostatistic analyses are expressed as cognate percentages or percentages of lexical similarity. Gary Simons aptly describes the significance of these percentages in the following statement:

When a linguist says that two languages are 75% cognate, he is really saying that the true percentage of cognates lies somewhere within a range defined by a statistical distribution centered on 75%. Stated another way, it is probable that the true percentage of cognates is not significantly different from 75%, the observed percentage of cognates. (1977b:75)

Elsewhere Simons states:

No language survey results can be divorced from the purpose for which they were obtained and the perspective through which they were analyzed. (1977a:9)

This study approaches lexicostatistics from a synchronic perspective; that is, we are interested in the language situation as perceived by presentday speakers. Therefore we use the terms lexically similar, lexical similarity and apparent cognates rather than the terms (true) cognates and cognate set. Lexical similarity is used as a barometer of mutual intelligibility between language groups. In contrast, a diachronic approach is taken in determining historical or genetic relationships between languages.

The determination of apparent cognates is an important first step in lexicostatistic analysis. Because of the significance of this step, more will be said in a separate section.

Once percentages of lexical similarity are calculated, a question remains of where to draw the boundaries between languages. The cut-off percentage in a synchronic study is more clearly determinable than in a diachronic study. In a synchronic study, the boundary must lie at the point where intelligibility between speech groups begins and ends, and is usually best determined by means outside of lexicostatistics (Simons 1977a:16). In this study, we have followed the grouping of wordlists presented and used by Grimes and Grimes (1987:12-13):

under 15%:	belong to different phyla
over 15%:	" " the same phylum
" 25%:	" " " " superstock
" 45%:	" " " " stock
" 60%:	" " " " family
" 75%:	" " " " subfamily
" 80%:	" " " " language

We have, however, made use of extralexical information, for example how the people themselves view the relatedness of their language to those around them. In some cases, intelligibility testing may be needed to provide a definitive answer.

3.2. Data Elicitation

The wordlist used in this survey is the 226-Word Sulawesi Combined Survey Wordlist. This wordlist comprises the Swadesh 100-word list in its entirety, additional portions from the Swadesh 200-word list, and some items culturally relevant to Austronesian societies. This list is essentially the same as the one used by Grimes and Grimes (1987), and is now used as the standard shorter wordlist for SIL surveys in Sulawesi.

Additional information was obtained using a sociolinguistic questionnaire, also a Sulawesi-SIL standard. Questions pertain to community accessibility/isolation, livelihood/commercial orientation, religion, education, reported centers of social activity, dynamics of social interaction between communities, perceived dialect differences, and language use. Questions were asked directly to informants. No formal verification of their responses was made, but answers from adjacent communities often served as a form of cross-check.

The language of elicitation for both the wordlist and the sociolinguistic questionnaires was Indonesian, the official and national language of Indonesia. This proved suitable because Indonesian is widely known in the survey area and allowed for consistent elicitation of the desired semantic domains.

Photographs were used for clarity in cases where the wordlist item was concrete and picturable.

In order to qualify as a wordlist informant, the person had to be a native speaker of the language being elicited, as well as the offspring of native speakers of that language. Preferably the respondent had not lived outside of his native area for a long duration of time.

Five Pamona wordlists were collected:⁶ four in kecamatan Bungku Tengah and one in kecamatan Bungku Utara. In addition, one Bungku language wordlist which was collected in this survey as well as the Bungku and Pamona wordlists from Barr and Barr (1979) were included in the lexicostatistic analysis.

3.3. Comparisons and Decisions

Decisions of lexical similarity were made by inspection, generally using two criteria. The first was that of 50% phoneme correspondence as used by McElhanon. According to these criteria, two forms are considered lexically similar if fifty percent or more of their phonemes are similar (McElhanon 1967:8, in Sanders 1977:34). In addition, consonant agreement was given greater weight than vowel agreement in making cognate decisions (Z'graggen 1971:6). The reasoning behind this is that 'vowels may tend to be more variable in pronunciation and are more difficult to hear consistently in elicitation' (Sanders 1977:34).

It is important to note that unlike diachronic lexicostatistics, two forms can be considered apparent cognates even if one form is a recognized loan, provided the criteria of phonetic similarity are met.

For example, consider the following three forms for 'heart': *sule*, Pamona; *hule*, Bungku; and *hule*, Tombelala. The first two are genetically related, as attested by the many s:h correspondences found between Pamona and Bungku words. In Tombelala, a Pamona community, their word for heart has no doubt been borrowed from Bungku, and therefore shares no genetic relationship with *sule*; however, the two are still considered lexically similar.

On the other hand, two forms may share a genetic relationship, but have diverged to such an extent as to be no longer considered phonetically similar. For example, the roots *koni* and *kaa* may both originate from a single etymon **ka?en* 'eat', but have had such different developments that they are no longer considered lexically similar.

In two cases, forms were assigned to the same apparent cognate set even when they did not meet the previously mentioned criteria. These exceptions are: *kodi*, *kokidi*, and *gigidi*, 'small'; and *riade*, *riate*, *rade*, and *rota*, 'long'. Two forms, *kaøao* and *laøa*, 'far', were considered not lexically similar because of the great dissimilarity of k with l.

3.4. Disqualifications

Eight items were eliminated from consideration because of the difficulty of eliciting a consistent response. These are: 'ancestor', 'that', 'there', 'way over there', 'speak', 'repeat', 'bite' and 'wake up'.

In addition, the first member of the following twenty-one pairs (or triplets) was disqualified because the items frequently, if not always, shared the same root. Retaining them would have falsely elevated the cognate percentages. If one of the members of a pair was a phrase or compound, that

member was eliminated. Otherwise decisions were made by the flip of a coin.

grandmother	grandfather
older brother	older sister
mother's brother	father's brother
father's sister	mother's sister
feather	body hair
husband	male, also father
wife	female, also mother
firstborn child	child
lastborn child	child
louse (chicken)	louse (head)
(tree) bark	wood and skin
coconut (unripe)	coconut (ripe)
seed	bone, also round
spring	water and eye
here	this
to fall, drop	to drop (intentionally)
to give s.o. a bath	to bathe
to kill	to die
to nod, be sleepy	to sleep
how many?	what?
how?	where?

After these disqualifications, the full wordlist contained 197 items; and considering just the Swadesh-100 items, ninety-five.

3.5. Matrix

A matrix containing the twenty-eight comparisons between the eight wordlists was computed twice, using first the full-length wordlist and then just those items corresponding to the Swadesh-100 list. Computations of percentages were made using Wimbish's (1989) WORDSURV program. Results are presented here in terms of the Swadesh-100 list, although the same conclusions could be drawn from either matrix.⁷

Because each percentage value represents a possible range within which the true percentage would fall if it could ever truly be known, we have reduced the matrix to its significant differences following the method outlined by Simons (1977b:75-105). We used the table for 100 words and confidence level .10, which Simons recommends be used in average survey situations with good bilingual respondents. In the reduction,

percentages between 36 and 40 were reduced to 38,
 " " 75 " 78 " " 76,
 " " 80 " 85 " " 82, and
 " " 88 " 92 " " 90.

The resulting matrix is as follows:

Bungku* (BNG)						
97	Bungku (BNG)					
38	38	Tombelala (TOM)				
38	38	76	Tokondindi (TOK)			
38	38	76	90	Topada (TOP)		
38	38	76	90	90	Tobau (TOB)	
38	38	76	82	82	90	Pamona* (PAM)
38	38	66	76	82	82	82 Taa (TAA)

*from Barr and Barr 1979

Matrix 1: Percentages of Lexical Similarity Reduced to Their Significant Differences

3.6. Results

As evidenced by the matrix pattern, the Pamona communities exhibit a mixture of divergence with a secondary pattern of dialect chaining.

Presumably, the Tombelala as a people group left the main Pamona area the earliest, as shown by consistently low percentages in the Tombelala column. The other Pamona dialects of kecamatan Bungku Tengah, that is Tokondindi, Topada and Tobau, are marked by considerable convergence with standard Pamona and with Taa. There is also convergence between Pamona and Taa.

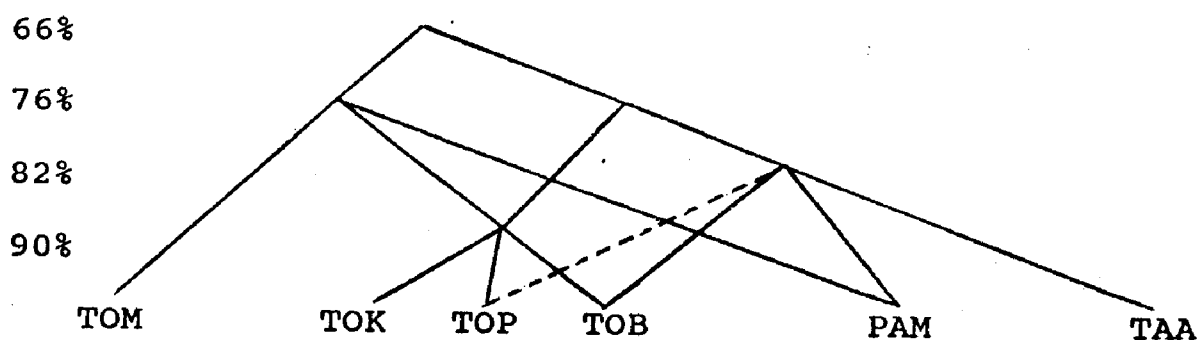


Figure 1: Patterns of Divergence and Convergence among the Pamona Dialects

Because of the low percentages between Tombelala and the other dialects (all below 80%), Tombelala is considered to be a separate language. The conclusion that Tombelala should be classified as a separate branch

from Pamona was also reached by Adriani (cf. Kaudern 1925:157). The other dialects relate to each other in a complex dialect chain.

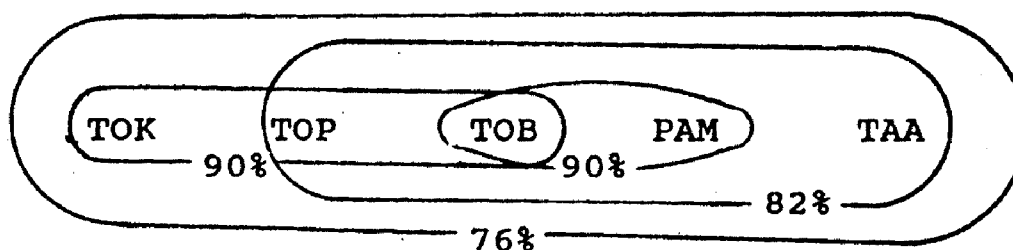


Figure 2: Pamona Dialect Chaining

Note that if Tombelala were included in Figure 2, it would appear in another 76% circle encompassing Tombelala and all the other dialects except Taa.

Even if the lexicostatistic cutoff point for a language is dropped from 80% to 75% to account for the reported intelligibility between Tombelala and other Pamona communities of Bungku Tengah, we must still face the fact that Tombelala and Taa (located in kecamatan Bungku Utara) share an apparant cognate percentage of 66%. At different ends of a dialect chain, these must be considered to represent different languages.

4. LANGUAGE USE PATTERNS

Because of the preliminary nature of this survey, we did not undertake intelligibility or bilingualism testing or make extensive observations of language use. Therefore our comments are limited to what was reported to us and what we gleaned through casual observation.

Within the Pamona communities, use of the local language remains strong, and must in part be ascribed to the geographical continuity of the Pamona communities; i.e., villages settled by Pamona speakers tend to be 100% Pamona, although the adjoining village may be, say, 100% Bungku.

A high degree of bilingualism with the Indonesian language is reported, and we never encountered any problems in using Indonesian as the language of elicitation. Pamona, however, is definitely the language of the home domain.

Officials from the *kecamatan* capital told us that Pamona speakers also know the Bungku language, although this was seldom mentioned to us by the people themselves. The strong position Bungku must have held as a language of wider communication before World War II appears to be giving way to Indonesian.

Speakers in the Tombelala, Tokondindi, Topada and Tobau communities report a high degree of intelligibility with one another, despite recognized differences. Because there is little evidence to suggest regular intercommunity contact, this may tentatively be interpreted as mutual intelligibility rather than bilingualism.

5. PHONOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Phonologically, very few changes have occurred in these dialects and none (in these scant data⁸) can be used to subgroup dialects according to regular sound change or shared innovations.

In Tombelala, the nonsyllabic vocoid *y* has been lost in the very specific context between two low vowels:

Tombelala	other Pamona data	
<i>raa</i>	<i>raya</i>	'inside'
<i>jaa</i>	<i>jaya</i>	'trail'

In Tokondindi, in some contexts the back vowel *u* has been lost, with the subsequent change of *y* from nonsyllabic to syllabic:

Tokondindi	other Pamona data	
<i>kaipa</i>	<i>kayupa</i>	'fingernail'
<i>kaiku</i>	<i>kayuku</i>	'coconut'

The only change shared by all of the Pamona communities of Bungku Tengah (with the possible exception of the Topotaa for which we have no data) is actually subphonemic and concerns the bilabial fricative. Throughout the Pamona area, there is only one bilabial fricative and in most areas it is pronounced with a voiced quality. According to our knowledge, only in these communities has it taken on a voiceless quality so that the bilabial fricative in actual pronunciation is in free variation between voiced and voiceless.

The voiceless variant is most pronounced among the Tombelala and the Tokondindi (above 80% of the time) and less so among the Topada and the Tobau (above 50%). This is undoubtedly a borrowing from Bungku, the center of this innovation, from which it has spread outward not only to the Pamona communities but into other surrounding languages as well.

One other change bears mentioning, and it is rather striking: in Tombelala, word-initial bilabial nasal has been lost from all verbal prefixes where it previously occurred. Compare the following forms:

Tombelala	other Pamona data	
<i>atu'a</i>	<i>matu'a</i>	'old'
<i>aŋkoni</i>	<i>maŋkoni</i>	'to eat'
<i>onaŋu</i>	<i>monaŋu</i>	'to swim'
<i>elinja</i>	<i>melinja</i>	'to walk'
<i>ompepate</i>	<i>mompepate</i>	'to kill'

There is no evidence, however, to suggest that loss of initial consonant has spread to prefix forms other than those beginning with *m*; that it has caused a coalescing of prefix forms; or that it has caused a restructuring of the verbal prefix system in any way.

We can conclude, therefore, that phonologically Tombelala is the most different from standard Pamona of any of the dialects found in Bungku Tengah; however, the changes which have occurred have tended to be nonmerging, and therefore of the type not likely to impede communication.

6. CONCLUSIONS

There are four longstanding communities of supposed Pamona speakers in kecamatan Bungku Tengah. Based on the evidence from lexicostatistics, we consider one of these, Tombelala, to be a separate language from Pamona, although clearly within a Pamona subfamily. Of all these communities, Tombelala also shows the most phonological deviation from standard Pamona, although these phonological changes in themselves would not likely impede communication. The Taa (or Wana) language of kecamatan Bungku Utara, based on one wordlist, is tentatively classified as a dialect of Pamona. The Tokondindi, Topada and Tobau wordlists relate closely to one another (around 90%); we consider them to be a Pamona dialect also.

A survey canvassing the entire Pamona area would be needed to account for patterns of convergence and divergence between dialects of Pamona, and to correlate them with reports or inferences of past migrations. Testing beyond lexicostatistic analyses may be required to answer definitively questions about intelligibility between dialects; even in these data a number of lexical similarity percentages fall in the grey area around 80%, a traditional cutoff point between language and dialect.

NOTES

¹Four meanings of the term 'Bungku' need to be kept clear: 1) the Bungku people who comprise the majority of the coastal inhabitants from a few kilometers south of Kolonodale to Salabangka, 2) their language, 3) the former kingdom that they ruled, which included presentday *kecamatan*s of Bungku Utara, Bungku Tengah, Bungku Selatan and Kepulauan Menui, and 4) the town which was the capital of that kingdom and which is the current capital of kecamatan Bungku Tengah. Officially there is no town by the name of Bungku, but by common usage it refers collectively to the six *kelurahan* of Bungi, Matano, Marsaoleh, Tofoiso, Lamberea and Mendui, and often appears on maps as such.

²Pamona, according to Kaudern (1925:126), is the name of the mythical village from which a number of tribes originated. Thus it is a term connoting unity. This myth may have significance for historical and comparative linguistic work, but it says little about presentday intelligibility between dialects.

³Taa is the negative term. Wana is an outsider's term meaning 'forest', i.e. To Wana means 'people of the forest'.

⁴Again, these communities could be called *suku* or *suku bangsa* but in this case the rough translation as 'ethnic group' would be overly broad. Therefore, we have chosen most often to translate this term as 'community', and by this we primarily mean a community according to the emic view of the inhabitants of an area. We assume that the members of a particular community speak the same dialect, which may or may not be the same as another community. Other, perhaps more important, ties which cause a group to view themselves cohesively may include a common area of geographical settlement, a common history, patterns of marriage and similiar belief systems, material cultures, and means of livelihood.

⁵Overdifferentiation of language names by equating the language name with a place name or with the name of an ethnic group is a common occurrence in Sulawesi linguistics, as has been noted by Grimes and Grimes (1987:201).

⁶Wordlists have been made available through the Pacific and Asian Language Databank at the University of Hawaii.

⁷The two matrices, with raw (unreduced) percentages, are shown below. Note that the two wordlists from Barr and Barr (1979) have been left out of the second matrix. This is because these lists contained only 100 words, and could not be compared with results using the full-length wordlist.

Bungku*						
97	Bungku					
40	40	Tombelala				
40	40	75	Tokondindi			
38	38	78	89	Topada		
38	36	75	92	92	Tobau	
38	38	66	78	83	83	Taa
37	36	75	81	85	88	80 Pamona*

*from Barr and Barr 1979

Matrix 2: Percentages Using Swadesh-100 Wordlist

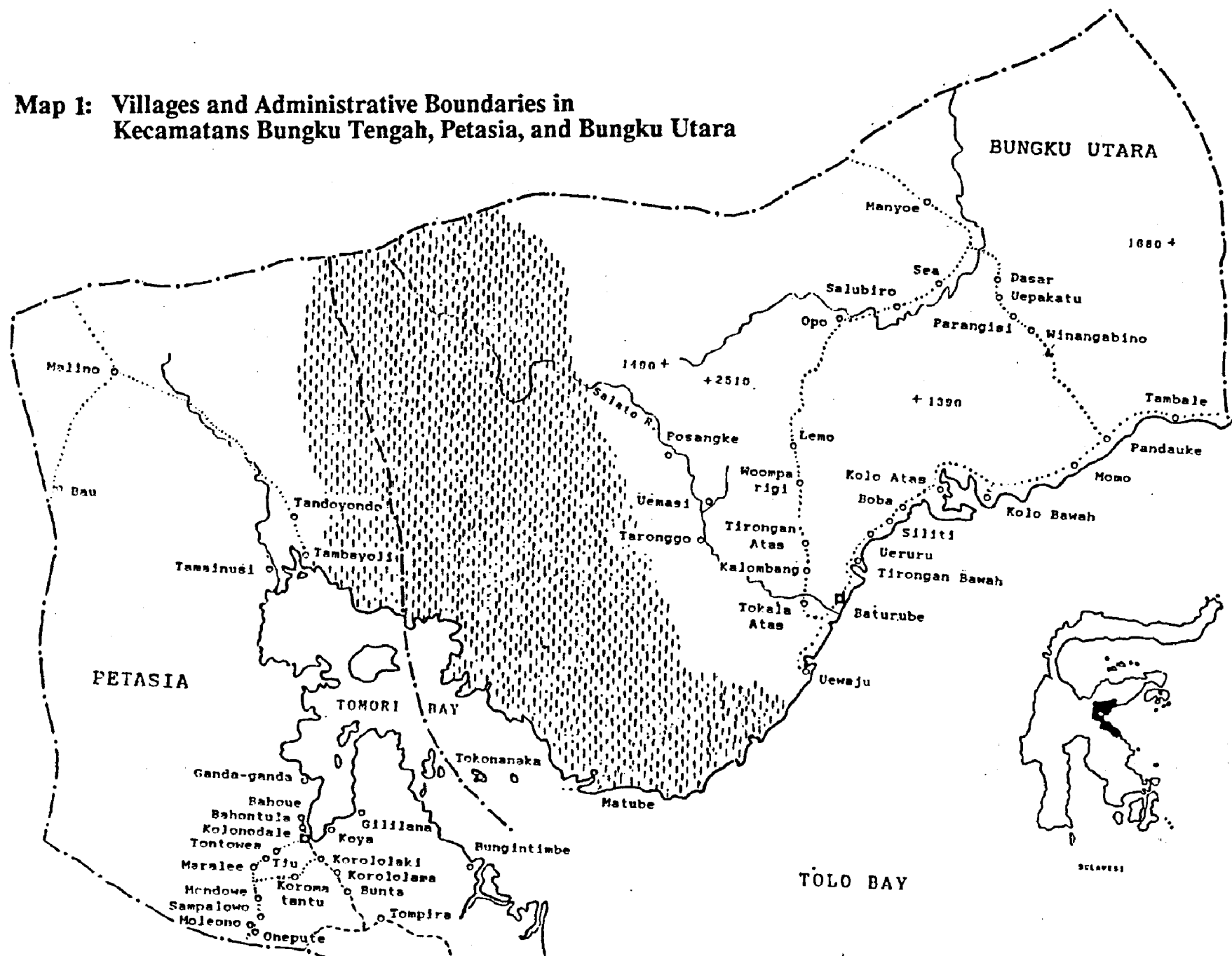
Bungku					
48	Tombelala				
44	69	Tokondindi			
41	70	88	Topada		
40	67	90	89	Tobau	
38	58	74	77	77	Taa

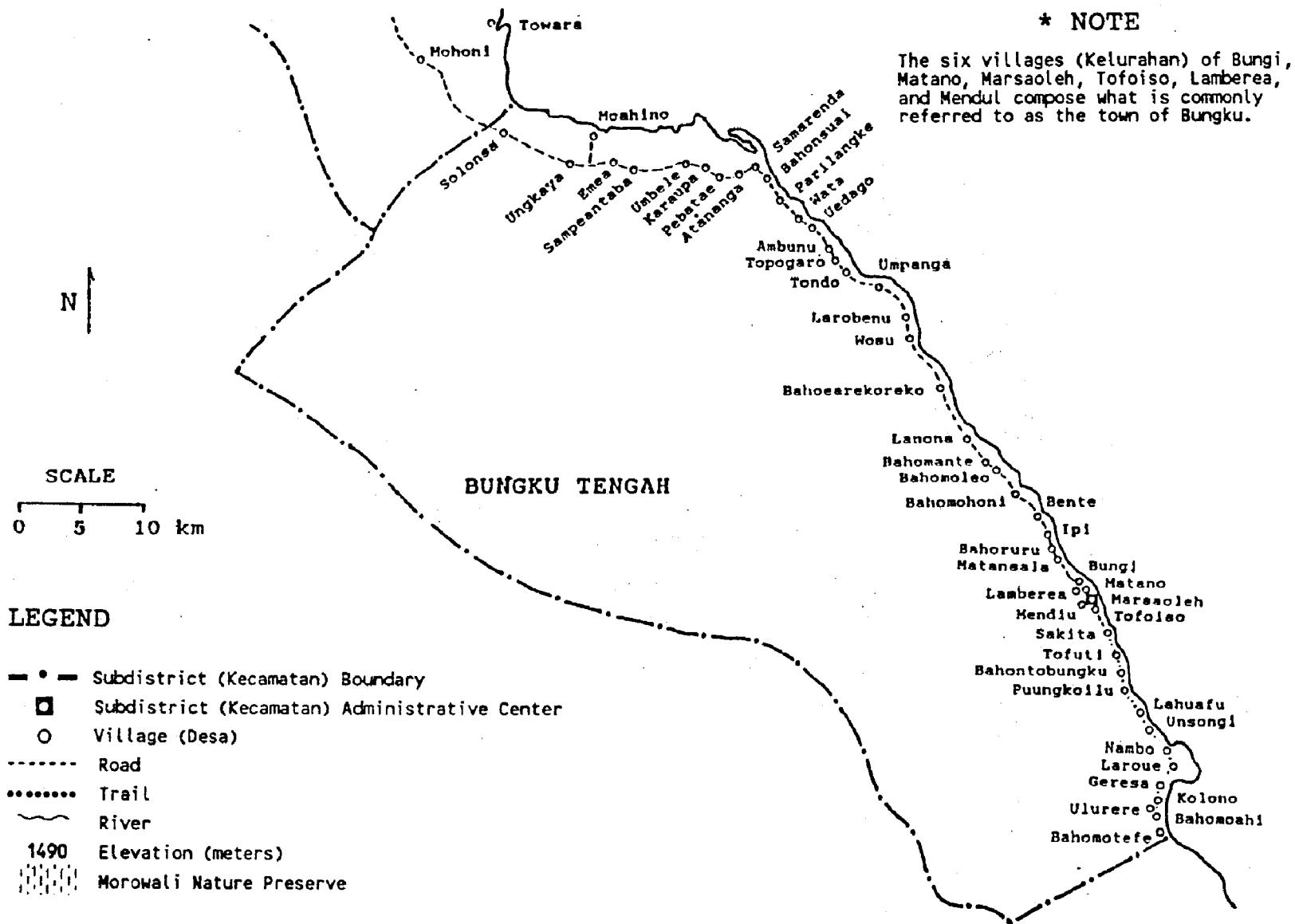
Matrix 3: Percentages Using the 226-Word Sulawesi Combined Survey Wordlist

When the results of the second matrix are compared with the corresponding values of the first (outlined area), and for the moment ignoring what is statistically significant, one striking feature is that the percentage of apparent cognates rises between Bungku and any Pamona dialect when the longer wordlist is used, but falls when the comparison is between any two Pamona dialects. In fact, some of these differences are statistically significant, for example the pairs 40%/48%, 66%/58%, and 75%/67%. Bearing in mind that this was a synchronic analysis and that borrowed words were counted in the final tally, we conclude that the words on the longer wordlist, as a whole, have a significantly higher rate of replacement than do the words of the Swadesh-100 wordlist, at least in this particular situation. (An alternative explanation is that the whole process of data collection and analysis was subject to more error than we assumed.)

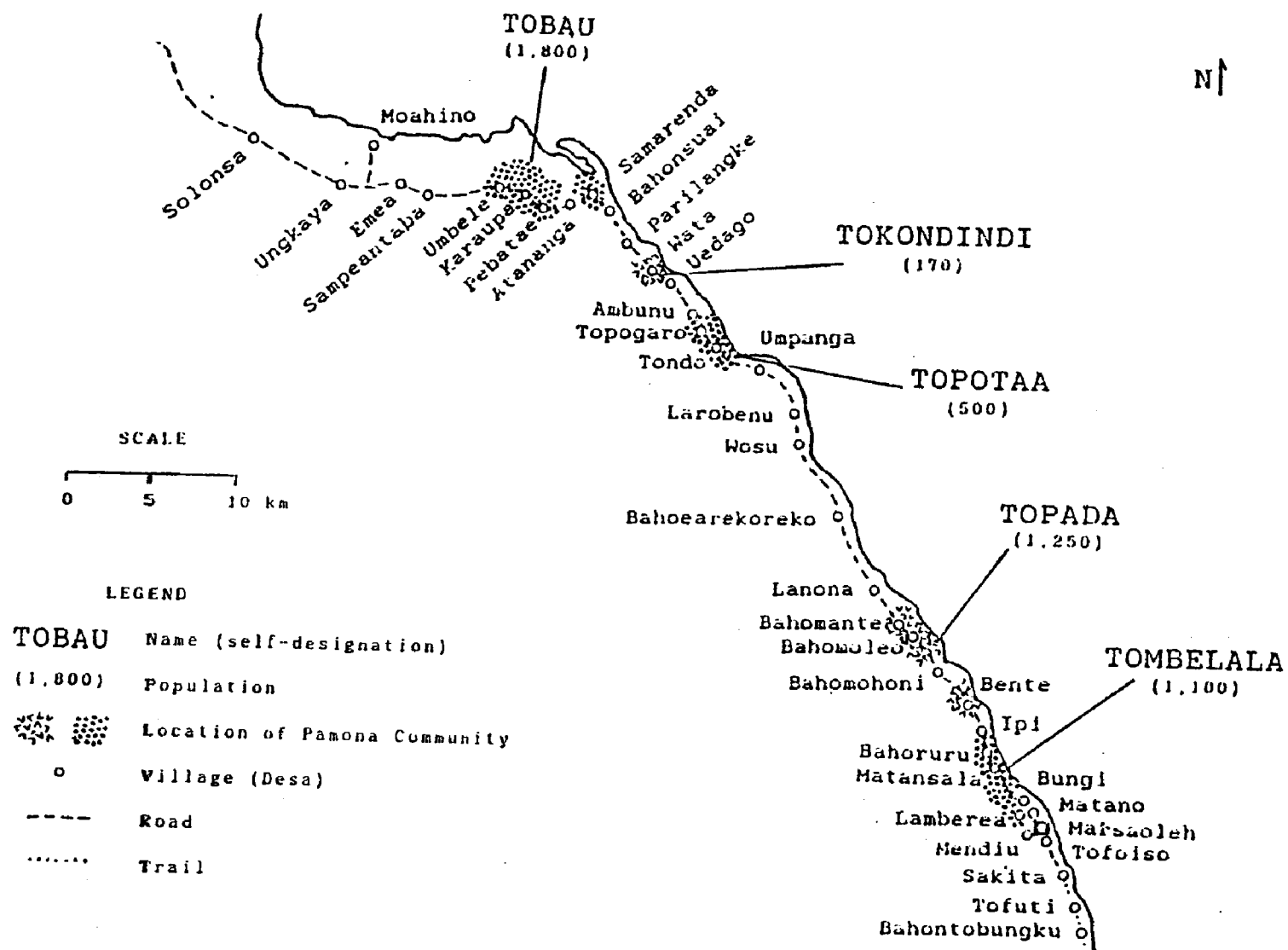
⁸Sound changes attested in only one item were ignored because of the difficulty of assigning an environment, the possibility of free variation (for example j versus g before high front vowel), and/or the possibility of phonetic error during transcription.

**Map 1: Villages and Administrative Boundaries in
Kecamatans Bungku Tengah, Petasia, and Bungku Utara**





Map 2: Pamona Communities in Bungku Tengah



Map 3: Sulawesi and the Survey Area

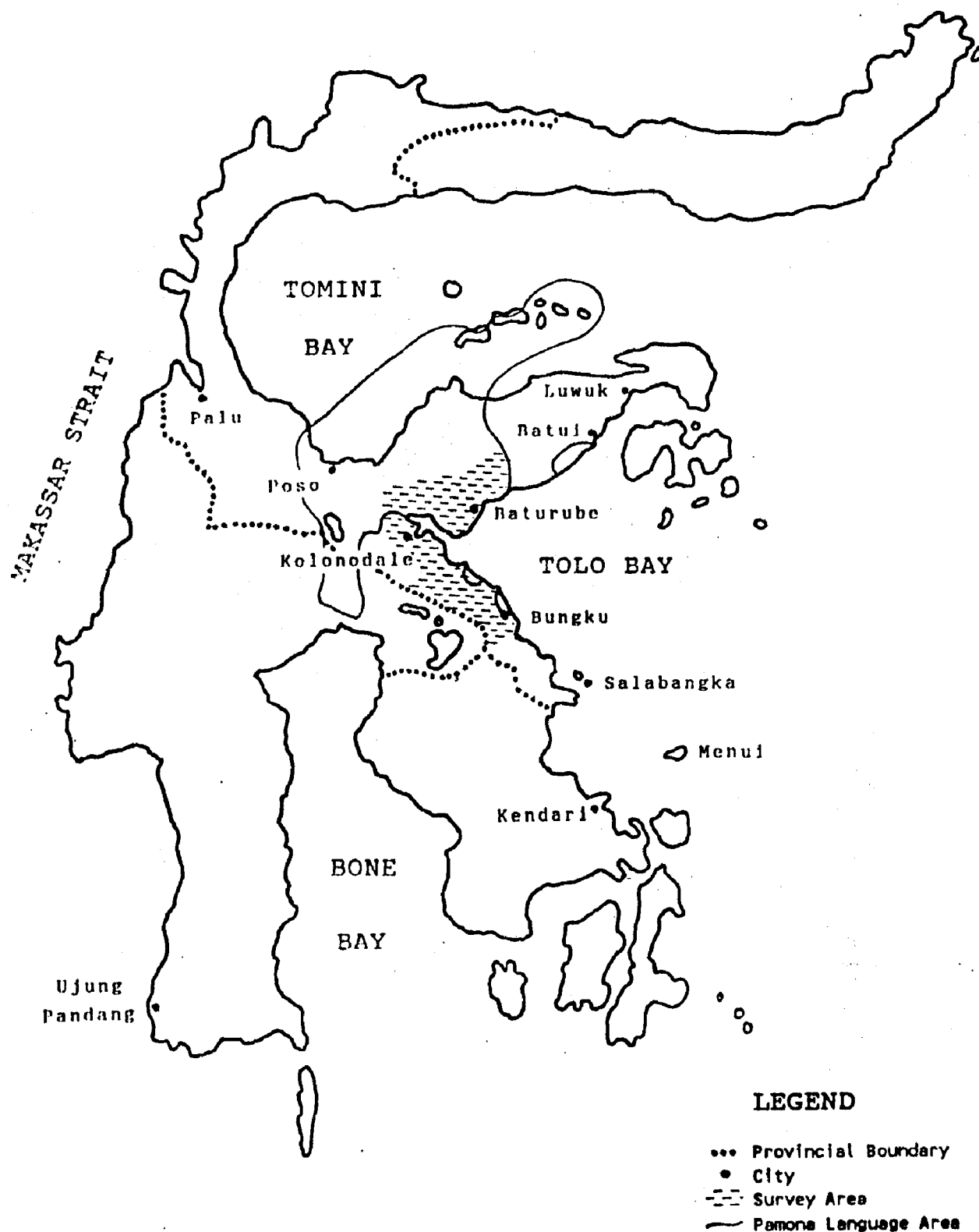


Table 1: Population Figures for Kecamatan Petasia

Desa/Kelurahan	Populationby ethnic group (estimated).....					
	TOTAL*	PAM	BNG	MOR	TOL	BAJ	BUG
Kel. Kolonodale	2,286	-	-	460	-	-	1,830
Kel. Bahontula	1,760	-	-	???	-	-	???
Kel. Bahoae	397	-	40	100	260	-	-
Korololaki	450	-	-	450	-	-	-
Korololama	394	-	-	400	-	-	-
Koromatantu	615	-	-	615	-	-	-
Mondowe	307	-	-	300	-	-	-
Maralee	246	-	-	250	-	-	-
Tiu	924	-	-	925	-	-	-
Tontowea	206	-	-	200	-	-	-
Sampalowo	657	-	-	650	-	-	-
Moleono	428	-	-	430	-	-	-
Onepute	458	-	-	450	-	-	-
Bunta	292	-	-	300	-	-	-
Tompira	447	-	50	400	-	-	-
Bungintimbe	225	-	25	200	-	-	-
Towara	793	-	-	-	-	80	710
Mohoni	1,002	-	-	1,000	-	-	-
Koya	559	-	-	375	190	-	-
Gililana	939	-	50	-	160	60	-
Ganda-ganda	700	-	80	-	390	160	70
Tamainusi	254	-	-	-	-	-	250
Tandoyondo	450	???	-	-	-	-	???
Tambayoli	305	-	-	-	-	-	305
Malino	179	180	-	-	-	-	-
Bau	<u>280</u>	280	-	-	-	-	-
	15,553						

*Population figures were obtained from the Camat's office.

PAM=Pamona BNG=Bungku MOR=Mori TOL=Tolaki BAJ=Bajo BUG=Bugis

Table 2: Population Figures for Kecamatan Bungku Tengah

Desa/Kelurahan	Population	by ethnic group (estimated).....								
	TOTAL*	PAM	BNG	MOR	TOL	KUL	BAJ	BUG	BUT	TOR	JAW
Solonsa	607	-	-	550	60	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unkaya	666	-	70	270	330	-	-	-	-	-	-
Moahino	653	-	550	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Emea	362	-	-	270	90	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sampeantaba	297	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	300	-
Karaupa	558	280	60	-	-	-	60	50	-	110	-
Umbele	538	375	50	-	-	-	-	60	-	-	-
Pebatae	491	490	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Atananga	304	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	300	-
Samarenda	639	640	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bahonsuai	555	-	-	225	-	-	-	-	330	-	-
Parilangke	318	-	130	-	190	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wata	168	170	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Uedago	169	-	-	-	170	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ambunu	424	-	420	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Topogaro	295	300	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tondo	192	190	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Umpanga	167	-	170	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Larobenu	396	-	400	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wosu	1,112	-	1,110	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bahoearekoreko	263	-	260	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lanona	173	-	170	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bahomante	540	220	320	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bahomoleo	541	20	430	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bahomohoni	155	155	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bente	661	165	500	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ipi	282	280	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bahoruru	637	450	190	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Matansala	313	220	90	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kel. Bungu	223	-	220	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kel. Matano	447	-	450	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kel. Lamberea	496	450	-	-	-	-	-	50	-	-	-
Kel. Marsaoleh	821	-	820	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kel. Mendui	257	-	260	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kel. Tofoiso	264	-	260	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sakita	857	-	260	600	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tofuti	405	-	405	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bahontobungku	331	-	330	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Puungkoilu	821	-	820	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lahuafu	472	-	470	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unsongi	489	-	-	-	-	490	-	-	-	-	-
Nambo	470	-	470	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Laroue	464	-	-	-	-	460	-	-	-	-	-
Geresa	638	-	640	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kolono	702	-	700	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ulurere	395	-	280	-	120	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bahomoahi	404	-	325	-	40	-	-	40	-	-	-
Bahomotefe	812	-	650	-	80	-	-	80	-	-	-
UPT BT I	1,666	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,670
UPT BT II	1,133	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,130
UPT BT III	1,092	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,090
UPT BT IV	1,955	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,950
UPT BT V	680	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	680
UPT BT VI	959	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	960
	29,639										

*Population figures were obtained from the Camat's office.

PAM=Pamona BNG=Bungku MOR=Mori TOL=Tolaki KUL=Kulisusu
BAJ=Bajo BUG=Bugis BUT=Buton TOR=Toraja JAW=Jawa/Bali

Table 3: Population Figures for Kecamatan Bungku Utara

Desa/Kelurahan	Population						
	TOTAL*	PAM	BNG	MOR	BAJ	BUG	JAW
Matube	499	-	-	-	200	300	-
Uewaju	407	-	-	-	400	10	-
Tokala Atas	1,097	880	-	-	-	220	-
Taronggo	159	160	-	-	-	-	-
Uemasi	294	300	-	-	-	-	-
Posangke	256	250	-	-	-	-	-
Kel. Baturube	871	600	20	250	-	-	-
Tirongan Bawah	454	-	-	-	320	140	-
Tirongan Atas	350	350	-	-	-	-	-
Kalombang	337	340	-	-	-	-	-
Ueruru	253	125	-	-	100	25	-
Siliti	298	60	-	-	-	240	-
Boba	236	120	-	-	-	120	-
Kolo Atas	442	190	220	-	-	30	-
Kolo Bawah	952	-	10	-	940	-	-
Momo	536	540	-	-	-	-	-
Pandauke	358	280	10	-	-	70	-
Tambale	204	120	-	-	80	-	-
Woomparigi	508	500	-	-	-	-	-
Lemo	345	350	-	-	-	-	-
Opo	423	425	-	-	-	-	-
Salubiro	578	575	-	-	-	-	-
Sea	366	370	-	-	-	-	-
Manyo-e	1,070	1,070	-	-	-	-	-
Dasar	171	170	-	-	-	-	-
Uepakatu	101	100	-	-	-	-	-
Parangisi	498	500	-	-	-	-	-
Winangabino	199	200	-	-	-	-	-
Tokonanaka	355	-	175	-	90	90	-
SPA (Pandauke)	1,452	-	-	-	-	-	1,450
SPB (Pandauke)	1,010	-	-	-	-	-	1,010
SPA Wompangi	1,081	-	-	-	-	-	1,080
SPC (Opo)	<u>693</u>	-	-	-	-	-	700
	16,853						

*Population figures were obtained from the Camat's office.

PAM=Pamona BNG=Bungku MOR=Mori BAJ=Bajo BUG=Bugis JAW=Jawa

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SURVEI SOSIOLINGUISTIK BAHASA DONDO

T. David Andersen

**Program Kerja Sama Universitas Hasanuddin
dan
The Summer Institute of Linguistics**

0. PRAKATA

Laporan ini berdasarkan survei sosiolinguistik di Kecamatan Baolan dan Kecamatan Dondo, Kabupaten Buol-Tolitoli selama sepuluh hari pada bulan April-Mei tahun 1991. Survei ini disponsori oleh Fakultas Sastra, Universitas Hasanuddin. Kami banyak berterima kasih kepada semua instansi dan pejabat yang memberi izin beserta petunjuk sehingga survei ini bisa terlaksana, termasuk Dekan Fakultas Sastra Universitas Hasanuddin, Kantor Bupati Buol-Tolitoli, Bagian Sospol Buol-Tolitoli, Polres Buol-Tolitoli, Kantor Camat Baolan, Kantor Camat Dondo, dan Polsek Dondo. Kami juga berterima kasih kepada Kepala Desa Oyom, Kecamatan Baolan dan Kepala Desa Lais, Kecamatan Dondo yang sudi menerima kami menginap di rumahnya beserta memberi banyak informasi. Ada juga banyak orang yang memberi informasi tentang masyarakat dan bahasa Dondo, antara lain, Bpk. Basri Husain, Sekwilcam Baolan, Bpk. Juha Sale, Kepala Suku Desa Oyom, Pdt. Petrus, Desa Oyom, Kepala Sekolah Dasar, Desa Oyom, Bpk. Idris Arsyad, Camat Dondo, Bpk. Ahmad Dino, Kantor Camat Dondo, Bpk. Kalipo Kaliha, Kepala Tua Desa Lais. Kepada semuanya kami sampaikan banyak terima kasih.

1. TINJAUAN PUSTAKA

Bahasa Dondo merupakan bahasa dari kelompok bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli di Sulawesi Tengah. Penuturnya yang berjumlah hampir 15.000 orang terdapat di lima kecamatan di Kabupaten Buol-Tolitoli, terutama di Kecamatan Dondo dan Kecamatan Baolan.

Bahasa Dondo belum banyak diteliti sehingga baru beberapa buku yang mengandung informasi tentang bahasa tersebut. Dalam Barr, Barr & Salombe (1979) *Languages of Central Sulawesi*, ada daftar kata Swadesh (100 kata) untuk bahasa Dondo beserta daftar 18 desa di mana bahasa Dondo dipakai. Buku ini merupakan sumber informasi bagi catatan singkat yang terdapat di Grimes (1988) tentang bahasa Dondo. Dua buku lain yang memberi tinjauan tentang bahasa-bahasa daerah ini beserta daftar kata singkat adalah Masyuda dkk (1975/1981) dan Wumbu dkk. (1983).

Satu-satunya buku khusus tentang bahasa Dondo adalah Garantjang dkk. (1984/1985) *Struktur Bahasa Dondo*. Selain itu peneliti Jerman Nikolaus. Himmelmann telah mengadakan penelitian di daerah bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli selama tujuh bulan pada tahun 1989. Dalam Himmelmann (1990) terdapat daftar kata enam bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli termasuk bahasa Dondo dengan lebih dari 1300 kata. Ada juga informasi tentang bahasa yang dipakai dalam semua desa di daerah itu dan informasi lain-lain. Himmelmann juga menulis makalah tentang fonologi bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli (Himmelmann, akan terbit) yang sedikit menyinggung fonologi bahasa Dondo.

2. METODE PENELITIAN

Penelitian ini menggunakan tiga metode, yaitu metode pustaka, metode lapangan, dan metode statistik. Metode lapangan dapat dibagi tiga, yaitu metode observasi, metode wawancara, dan metode evaluasi yang memakai tes pengulangan kalimat.

Metode observasi diarahkan pada hal pola pemakaian bahasa. Selama peneliti ada di desa-desa masyarakat Dondo diperhatikan dan dicatat bahasa mana dipakai oleh dewasa, remaja dan anak-anak di situasi yang berbeda-beda.

Wawancara dibagi dua macam. Pertama diadakan wawancara latar belakang dengan pejabat pemerintah dan tokoh masyarakat. Wawancara ini menyinggung hal kependudukan, sejarah, pendidikan, kesehatan, dll. Selain itu diadakan wawancara dengan sampel masyarakat biasa. Untuk wawancara ini dipakai formulir pertanyaan mengenai bahasa, pendidikan, media massa, dll.

Metode evaluasi yang memakai tes pengulangan kalimat bermaksud mengukur kemampuan lisan bahasa Indonesia dari responden yang dites. Sampel masyarakat yang dites adalah sama dengan orang yang diwawancarai. Tes pengulangan kalimat terdiri atas 15 kalimat bahasa Indonesia yang diseleksi sehingga tingkat kesulitan kalimat tersebut berbeda-beda sesuai dengan petunjuk Radloff (1988) yang telah pelopori instrumen jenis ini. Responden mendengar kalimat yang direkam pada kaset satu per satu lalu diminta mengulangnya. Pengulangan responden direkam pada kaset yang lain dan kemudian diskor. Berdasarkan skor, maka responden dapat digolongkan pada salah satu tingkat kemampuan (lihat Lampiran A).

Metode statistik dipakai untuk menganalisa hasil kwesioner wawancara dan hasil tes pengulangan kalimat. Untuk itu dipakai program komputer STAT 1 (Brennan dan Nitz, 1986).

3. KEPENDUDUKAN

Menurut Himmelmann (1990), penutur bahasa Dondo terdapat di lima kecamatan di Kabupaten Buol-Tolitoli. Dia mendaftarkan setiap desa di setiap kecamatan dengan perkiraan tentang persentase penutur masing-masing bahasa. Daftar yang tercantum di bawah berdasarkan daftar Himmelmann dengan sejumlah tambahan dan perbaikan berdasarkan informasi dari Kantor Camat Baolan dan Kantor Camat Dondo.

Secara geografis, daerah yang diduduki penutur bahasa Dondo dapat dibagi empat. Daerah yang paling luas dan di mana terdapat kebanyakan penutur bahasa Dondo adalah daerah pesisir Teluk Dondo di Kecamatan Dondo. Ada sepuluh desa Dondo di daerah ini. Sebagian desa terletak di pinggir laut dan sebagian sedikit masuk ke pedalaman tetapi masih tidak jauh dari pantai. Hampir semua kampung dapat dicapai dengan kendaraan.

Daerah kedua adalah di sekitar muara Sungai Maraja di Kecamatan Dondo bagian timur. Ada lima desa Dondo di daerah ini. Daerah ini tidak dapat dicapai lewat jalan darat sehingga perhubungan biasanya lewat laut.

Daerah ketiga adalah dataran tinggi Tinading di Kecamatan Baolan. Daerah ini merupakan daerah hilir Sungai Maraja. Ada empat desa Dondo di daerah ini. Daerah ini dapat dicapai lewat jalan darat dari kota Tolitoli. Jalan tersebut baru diperbaiki tahun 1990 sehingga perhubungan lebih baik daripada sebelumnya. Karena banyaknya sungai di dataran tersebut maka sering mengalami banjir pada musim hujan.

Daerah keempat adalah daerah pedalaman Kecamatan Galang dan Tolitoli Utara. Daerah ini merupakan daerah bahasa Tolitoli tetapi ada beberapa pemukiman orang Dondo dekat daerah pegunungan di pinggir desa-desa orang Tolitoli.

Berikut ini diberi daftar setiap desa di mana dilaporkan terdapat penutur bahasa Dondo, mulai dari sebelah barat menuju ke sebelah timur laut. Untuk setiap desa diberi jumlah penduduk yang diambil dari Himmelmann (1990) berdasarkan statistik tahun 1987. (Karena Sibeia merupakan desa baru tidak ada jumlah penduduk dari Himmelmann.) Kemudian diberikan daftar bahasa yang dipakai di setiap desa dengan urutan mulai dari yang paling banyak jumlah penuturnya sampai kepada yang paling sedikit. Untuk beberapa desa ditambahkan nama kampung di mana terdapat orang Dondo dengan jumlah kepala keluarga Dondo di sana. Untuk Kecamatan Dondo semua desa definitif terdaftar di bawah ini, tetapi untuk kecamatan lain, hanya desa di mana terdapat orang Dondo terdaftar.

Kecamatan Dampal Utara

Desa Bambapula	2165	Bugis, Kaili, Pendau, Bajo, Dondo (3KK)
Desa Banagan	1657	Bugis, Pendau (5%), Dondo (5%)
Lemba Harapan	Dondo 40	KK.
Boangin	Dondo hampir 20	KK.

Kecamatan Dondo

Desa Luok Manipi	857	Dondo (60%), Bugis, Lauje (3%)
Desa Salumbia	2583	Bugis, Dondo (1%)
Desa Bambapun	1584	Bugis, Dondo (1%)
Lagon	Dondo 3	KK.

Desa Ogoweale	1428	Dondo (50%), Bugis, Lauje (10%)
Desa Lais	1078	Dondo (90%), Bugis, Buol
Desa Ogogasang	922	Dondo (95%)
Desa Malomba	2883	Dondo (70%), Lauje (10%), Bugis
Janja	Dondo 50	KK., Lauje 50 KK.

Desa Ogogili	756	Dondo (>50%), Bugis, Mandar
Desa Tinabogan	3954	Dondo (<50%), Bugis, Tolitoli
Desa Malulu	1921	Bugis, Dondo (1%)
Ogolalu	Dondo 7	KK.

Desa Malala	2455	Bajo, Dondo, Bugis, Minahasa
Desa Sibaluton	945	Dondo (50%), Bugis (50%)
Desa Buga	856	Dondo (75%), Bugis, Buol, Selayar
Desa Batuilo	293	Dondo (99%), Bugis (1%)
Desa Kamalu	802	Dondo (75%), Bugis (25%)
Desa Muara Besar	352	Dondo (60%), Minahasa, Bugis, Buol
Desa Bilo	1390	Bugis, Dondo (30%), Buol

Kecamatan Baolan

Desa Lampasio	1709	Dondo (60%)
Desa Salugan	443	Dondo (90%)
Desa Oyom	705	Dondo (80%), Bugis
Desa Sibeia	1500?	Bali, Jawa, Lombok, Bugis, Dondo (5 KK)
Desa Janja	396	Dondo (90%)

Kecamatan Galang

Desa Ogomoli	2363	Bugis (80%), Dondo
Desa Lakatan	3337	Bugis (80%), Dondo (10%)
Desa Tinigi	3146	Bugis, Tolitoli (15%), Dondo
Desa Lalos	2310	Tolitoli (60%), ?Dondo
Desa Bajugan	4161	Tolitoli (50%), Bugis, Dondo (5%)
Bonto' Buaya	Dondo 20	KK.

Kecamatan Tolitoli Utara

Desa Binontoan	2573	Tolitoli (90%), Dondo (5%)
Gio	Dondo 30	KK.

Dari daftar di atas ternyata ada 15 desa di mana terdapat mayoritas penutur bahasa Dondo, 10 desa di mana penutur bahasa Dondo merupakan minoritas yang berarti dan 5 desa di mana penutur bahasa Dondo hanya beberapa keluarga saja.

Dari jumlah penduduk dan perkiraan persentase orang Dondo dapat diperkirakan jumlah penutur bahasa Dondo di masing-masing kecamatan. Hasil perkiraan sebagai berikut:

Kecamatan Dampal Utara	200
Kecamatan Dondo	10.000
Kecamatan Baolan	3.500
Kecamatan Galang	800?
Kecamatan Tolitoli Utara	150
JUMLAH	hampir 15.000

4. SEJARAH

Salah satu peristiwa sejarah yang berdampak besar terhadap masyarakat Dondo adalah masuknya agama Islam. Menurut catatan sejarah yang ada pada Kepala Tua Desa Lais, pada tahun 1769, Sultan Ternate di Bacan, yang didampingi Gubernur Portugis Do Broege, menobatkan Sultan Imbasuag, Sultan Djamalul Alam dan Sultan Mirfasah menjadi tokoh agama Islam sekaligus sultan berkuasa di kerajaan Tolitoli dan Dondo. Nama Sultan Ternate tersebut adalah Assultaan ibnu Sultaan Almafdud bifabdilatil Malikil Wahhab Syirajil Mukti Wahuma Fatra Muhammad Said Usman Syah.

Pada zaman itu ada beberapa raja di wilayah yang sekarang menjadi Kabupaten Buol Tolitoli. Raja Tolitoli pernah berkuasa di atas wilayah yang tersebar dari Ogoamas (sekarang perbatasan dengan Kabupaten Donggala) sampai Lakuan (sekarang perbatasan Kecamatan Tolitoli Utara). Di Buol ada kerajaan tersendiri. Di daerah Dondo juga ada raja. Ada penguasa besar suku Dondo yang disebut Olongian yang bertempat tinggal di Lais. Selain itu di Silondoung ada batu hitam yang disebut Tando Kulon yang merupakan tempat kuburan raja Dondo.

Zaman Belanda. Kuasa Belanda terasa di daerah Dondo dan Tolitoli sejak abad ke-19. Pihak Belanda bekerja sama dengan Raja Tolitoli untuk menguasai kawasan tersebut. Secara administratif dibentuk keresidenan Buol dan keresidenan Tolitoli. Peristiwa yang paling diingat selama zaman Belanda ada peristiwa Salumpaga pada tahun 1919. Salumpaga merupakan desa mayoritas suku Bajo di Kecamatan Tolitoli Utara. Pada waktu itu terjadi pemberontakan karena masyarakat dipaksa kerja bakti pada bulan puasa. Pemberontak membunuh satu orang Belanda beserta Raja Tolitoli, yang dianggap mendukung pihak Belanda. Sebagai akibatnya tokoh-tokoh masyarakat seperti penghulu agama diasingkan oleh pihak Belanda.

Sebagai Raja Tolitoli baru diangkat seorang Bugis, Dg. Masese dari Bone. Dia menganjurkan masyarakat untuk membuka sawah dan mengembangkan pertanian. Dia mengangkat dua Raja Muda, satu di Dampal dan satu di Muara Besar. Kedua Raja Muda itu dilantik oleh Olongian di Lais.

Zaman Jepang. Penguasaan Belanda beserta Raja Dg. Masese diakhiri dengan datangnya Jepang pada tanggal 11 Januari 1942. Tentara Jepang datang naik kapal menyerang polisi pribumi yang memberi perlawanan singkat. Tidak ada tentara Belanda di Tolitoli pada waktu itu. Orang Belanda yang ada diangkut ke Manado. Raja Dg. Masese diganti oleh H. Mohamed Saleh, keturunan raja Tolitoli yang dulu. Nasib Dg. Masese tidak jelas. Sesudah perang, anaknya, M. Idris Masese, datang mencari kuburan ayahnya tetapi tidak pernah menemukannya.

Orang Jepang telah memerintah dengan cukup ketat. Kalau ada rakyat yang dianggap bersalah pasti diberi sanksi. Ada penduduk yang dipenjarakan, antara lain anggota PSII (Partai Sarikat Islam Indonesia). Pihak Jepang juga telah berusaha mempengaruhi masyarakat melalui pendidikan. Mereka telah membuka sekolah di Tolitoli di mana diajar bahasa Jepang dan mata pelajaran lain.

Menjelang akhir perang para sekutu telah beberapa kali mengebom kota Tolitoli. Biasanya ada sampai 7 atau 10 pesawat datang. Lalu sesudah beberapa hari datang lagi. Sasaran termasuk gudang kapas dan gudang kopra di Tolitoli beserta kapal Jepang di Teluk Dondo. Rumah Dg. Masese juga dihancurkan, mungkin secara tidak sengaja.

Dengan adanya tanda-tanda Jepang akan kalah, maka semangat lawan masyarakat Dondo bergolak. Pada waktu ada berita bahwa tentara Jepang di Kalimantan sudah menyerah maka masyarakat di Desa Malomba melawan pakai parang. Tentara Jepang datang untuk mengamankan Desa Malomba sehingga penduduk takut mereka mau dibunuh. Dalam perlawanan yang terjadi seorang panglima Jepang dan tiga penduduk Malomba tewas.

Pihak sekutu tidak pernah mendarat di daerah Tolitoli. Tentara Jepang di Tolitoli menyerah sesudah diberitakan dari Manado bahwa 'Tenoheka' Jepang menyerah di pusat. Sesudah Jepang menyerah, polisi dari NIKA masuk. Daerah Tolitoli dan Dondo termasuk Negara Indonesia Timur di bawah Presiden Sukawati. Gambarnya dipasang di rumah para kepala desa. Sesudah beberapa tahun, kuasa dialihkan kepada Republik Indonesia.

Masa Gerombolan. Pada akhir tahun 1957 Kabupaten Buol-Tolitoli menjadi sasaran serangan gerombolan DI/TII. Banyak desa dibakar gerombolan dan terjadi pengungsian besar-besaran ke kota Tolitoli. Semua penduduk Kecamatan Dondo diungsikan, kecuali beberapa yang bergabung dengan gerombolan di pegunungan. Gerombolan ada dua basis: satu di Dondo dan satu di Dampal Selatan. Seluruh Kecamatan Dondo

dibumihanguskan. Diungsikan juga sebagian Kecamatan Dampal Selatan dan Dampal Utara, empat desa Dondo di Kecamatan Baolan, dan sebagian penduduk dari Desa Binantoan, Lakuan, dan Pinjan di Kecamatan Tolitoli Utara. Semua penduduk itu tinggal di kota Tolitoli selama hampir empat tahun.

Pada awal tahun 1962 pengungsi mulai kembali ke daerah. Yang pertama kembali adalah ke Desa Lais dan desa-desa lain menyusul. Pembangunan harus dimulai lagi dari nol. Waktu lama dibutuhkan untuk memulihkan sarana yang dihancurkan.

5. KEBUDAYAAN

Karena singkatnya penelitian ini, maka tidak sempat mencari informasi tentang kebudayaan masyarakat Dondo. Maka hanya beberapa hal yang akan disebut di sini.

Dalam hal ini orang Dondo mungkin dapat dibagi dua. Ada yang sudah lama bermukim di desa-desa (misalnya menurut Kepala Tua Desa Lais orang di sana sudah tujuh keturunan turun dari gunung). Mereka juga sudah lama masuk agama Islam yang banyak berpengaruh terhadap kebudayaannya.

Ada pula yang telah lama tetap mempertahankan pola hidup tradisional di mana rumah-rumah tersebar masing-masing dekat kebunnya. Kelompok kedua ini kadang-kadang disebut orang Dayak atau Batai', suatu istilah yang berkonotasi kurang baik. Mereka juga mungkin baru masuk agama pada tahun 60-an atau 70-an. Kebanyakan masuk agama Islam, tetapi di Desa Oyom juga ada yang masuk agama Kristen (sekitar 170 orang). Orang Dondo yang telah lebih lama mempertahankan gaya hidup tradisional termasuk yang terdapat di Desa Banagan, Kecamatan Dampal Utara, Desa Oyom, Kecamatan Baolan, dan di beberapa desa di Kecamatan Galang.

Satu unsur kebudayaan Dondo yang masih kuat adalah lagu-lagu bahasa Dondo. Baik remaja maupun orang dewasa terdengar menyanyi lagu daerah dan ada yang masih mengarang lagu baru.

6. EKONOMI

Hampir semua orang Dondo adalah petani. Dulunya lebih banyak menanam padi ladang tetapi sekarang banyak yang sudah bersawah. Di Kecamatan Dondo sudah ada swasembada beras dengan surplus sedikit.

Hasil bumi yang lain adalah cengkih, cokelat, kopra, dan rotan. Cengkih mulai ditanam sekitar 20 tahun yang lalu di Kabupaten Buol-Tolitoli. Di Kecamatan Dondo, cengkih mulai produksi sejak tahun 1977. Panen cengkih setahun sekali, dari bulan April sampai dengan bulan Juli.

Cokelat merupakan hasil bumi yang belum lama diusahakan. Di Kecamatan Dondo, baru sejak tahun 1988. Di dataran tinggi Tinading, cokelat banyak diupayakan karena daerah itu tidak cocok untuk cengkih.

Kebanyakan hasil bumi ini didagangkan lewat Tolitoli. Dari sana dikirim ke Ujung Pandang atau Surabaya. Maka pendapatan petani banyak tergantung pada harga yang ditawarkan di Tolitoli.

Sedikit sekali orang Dondo yang bekerja di bidang lain, baik sebagai pedagang, maupun sebagai guru atau pegawai. Hal ini mungkin disebabkan tingkat pendidikan yang masih agak rendah.

7. PENDIDIKAN

Tingkat pendidikan antara masyarakat Dondo masih agak rendah. Tetapi semakin banyak sekolah didirikan di desa-desa Dondo dan semakin banyak generasi mudah sempat memperoleh pendidikan yang lebih tinggi.

Di Kecamatan Baolan ada SD negeri di Desa Lampasio, Salugan, Oyom, Sibe, dan Janja. Tetapi sekolah tersebut kekurangan guru; hanya 3 atau 4 guru di masing-masing SD, kecuali di Sibe (desa transmigrasi) di mana ada 6 guru. SMP yang paling dekat ada di Tinading, sekitar 6 km dari Salugan.

Di Kecamatan Dondo ada 36 SD negeri, yaitu sekitar dua SD untuk setiap desa. Ada dua SMP negeri, satu di Tinabogan dan satu di Lais.

Di seluruh Kabupaten Buol-Tolitoli, termasuk di desa-desa Dondo, kebanyakan guru adalah orang Buol. Diperkirakan biasanya 4 dari 6 guru dalam sebuah SD adalah orang Buol. Hal ini terjadi karena penempatan SPG. Di Propinsi Sulawesi Tengah terdapat 4 SPG, masing-masing di Palu, Poso, Banggai dan Buol. Dan semua siswa SPG Buol adalah orang Buol. Di Tolitoli terdapat kursus pendidikan guru 6 bulan untuk tamatan SLTA. Maka orang Tolitoli atau orang Dondo yang menjadi guru ikut kursus tersebut. Ada juga guru orang Bugis tamatan dari Sulawesi Selatan. Jumlah orang Dondo yang menjadi guru sedikit.

Gambaran yang lebih terinci mengenai tingkat pendidikan orang Dondo terlihat dari data yang dikumpul dari dua desa yang dikunjungi, yaitu Oyom dan Lais. Di Desa Oyom, ada SD swasta sejak tahun 1967 yang menjadi SD negeri sejak tahun 1976. Pada saat ini hanya sekitar 50% anak usia sekolah yang masuk sekolah secara teratur. Antara lain, ini karena banyak yang keluar sebelum menyelesaikan kelas 6. Hal ini dapat dilihat kalau dibandingkan jumlah murid yang ada di kelas 2 dibandingkan dengan jumlah yang kemudian tamat kelas 6. Dari tahun 1977 s/d 1984 yang duduk di kelas 2 rata-rata 18 orang murid. Tetapi yang tamat empat tahun kemudian, yaitu dari tahun 1981 s/d 1989 rata-rata hanya 3 orang per tahun. Jadi masih sedikit orang Dondo di Oyom yang pernah tamat SD. Yang pernah ke SMP

(di Tolitoli) hanya empat orang dan tidak ada yang tamat. Berdasarkan sampel yang diwawancarai, rata-rata orang dewasa di Oyom pernah sekolah tiga tahun saja.

Di Desa Lais tingkat pendidikan lebih tinggi. Dalam desa yang berpenduduk 1078 orang ada 13 orang yang pernah ke SMA dan sekitar 30 yang pernah ke SMP. Yang tidak pernah sekolah sedikit, kecuali bagi yang berumur 50 tahun ke atas. Tetapi bagi yang tua itu pun, lebih banyak yang pernah sekolah daripada yang tidak. Memang pernah ada sekolah dasar (dulu sekolah rakyat) di Desa Lais sejak tahun 1935. Ada SMP sejak tahun 1981. Ada tiga orang dari Desa Lais yang pernah kuliah di Palu dan pada saat ini ada 10 yang sedang sekolah di SLTA di Tolitoli. Rata-rata orang Lais yang diwawancarai pernah sekolah lima tahun.

Perbedaan dalam hal pendidikan antara Oyom dan Lais dapat juga dilihat dari perbedaan dalam hal membaca. Di Oyom 30% dari sampel buta huruf tetapi di Lais hanya 12%. Orang dewasa di Oyom membaca rata-rata 2 kali per minggu; di Lais 3,5 kali per minggu. Jumlah buku di rumah di Oyom rata-rata 5 buku; di Lais 15 buku.

Mungkin kebanyakan desa Dondo mempunyai tingkat pendidikan yang lebih tinggi dari Oyom dan lebih rendah dari Lais, tapi kepastiannya menunggu penelitian yang lebih terinci. Perbedaan yang cukup menyolok antara Oyom dan Lais, mungkin disebabkan perbedaan jangka waktu di mana sudah ada sekolah di masing-masing desa. Mungkin juga disebabkan perbedaan sikap masyarakat terhadap pendidikan.

8. KESEHATAN

Di Kecamatan Dondo, ada Puskesmas Plus di Tinabogan di mana ada sepuluh tempat tidur untuk pasien. Ada Puskesmas Pembantu dengan seorang mantri di Malomba, Salumbia, Bambapun, Sibaluton, Lobonu, Buga, dan Bilo.

Di desa-desa di sekitar muara Sungai Maraja terdapat masalah kesehatan yang cukup parah yaitu penyakit kusta. Desa yang paling gawat adalah Batuilo di mana sekitar 50% penduduk kena penyakit tersebut. Sejak empat tahun yang lalu sudah ada program pengobatan teratur dengan dana dari luar negeri. Ada tim dari Puskesmas Tinabogan yang biasanya ke sana sebulan sekali. Ada dokter Belanda di Palu yang sering datang juga. Tersebarnya penyakit kusta itu merupakan salah satu sebab pendaratan agak enggan pindah ke desa-desa itu. Desa Batuilo masih hampir 100% orang Dondo.

Di Kecamatan Baolan, Puskesmas yang paling dekat ke desa-desa Dondo di pedalaman terdapat di Nalu. Ada Puskesmas Pembantu di Tinading dan Sibe. Di Desa Oyom, Lampasio dan Salugan, yaitu yang

bermayoritas Dondo, ada pos pengobatan. Masalah-masalah kesehatan masih cukup memprihatinkan. Di Desa Oyom angka kematian bayi masih tinggi. Malaria merajalela. Ada juga yang sakit perut karena makan sagu yang tidak disaring dengan baik sehingga masih ada sisa-sisa yang tajam di dalamnya.

9. BAHASA DAN DIALEK

Bahasa Dondo merupakan salah satu dari 10 bahasa yang merupakan kelompok bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli. Kesepuluh bahasa tersebut adalah Taje, Tajio, Lauje, Tialo, Boano, Pendau, Dampelas, Dampal, Dondo, dan Tolitoli (Himmelmann, 1990:1). Dari semua bahasa ini, mungkin yang paling erat hubungannya dengan Dondo adalah bahasa Tialo.

Bahasa Dondo dapat dibagi dalam beberapa dialek. Dialek yang paling besar dipakai di Dondo timur dan sekitarnya. Menurut laporan dari orang Dondo di Lais dan Oyom, dialek tersebut dipakai di desa berikut: Malomba, Odogili, Tinabogan, Malala, Sibaluton, Muara Besar, Kamalu, Batuilo, Buga, Bilo, Lambasio, Salugan dan Janja. Dialek ini akan kami sebut sebagai dialek pusat.

Kemudian di Lais dan Ogowe, ada dialek yang sedikit berbeda. Menurut Himmelmann (1990:6) batas dialek terletak antara Lais dan Ogogasang. Tetapi penduduk Lais melaporkan bahwa Ogogasang memakai dialek sama dengan Lais. Hal ini perlu diteliti lebih banyak. Antara dialek pusat dan dialek ini tidak ada kesulitan untuk saling mengerti.

Dialek yang dipakai di Oyom agak berbeda dengan dialek pusat. Penutur dialek pusat belum tentu mengerti dialek ini. Dialek di Lakatan, Tinigi, dan Bajugan (Kecamatan Galang) mungkin tidak terlalu berbeda dari dialek Oyom, karena menurut Kepala Suku di Oyom, orang Dondo di desa-desa tersebut masih ada hubungan keluarga dengan Oyom. Menurut Himmelmann, daftar kata yang dikumpulkannya di Oyom, Lakatan, Bajugan, dan Binontoan cukup bervariasi satu dari yang lain. Mudah-mudahan gambaran situasi dialek akan lebih jelas kalau Himmelmann sudah menyelesaikan analisisnya terhadap data yang dikumpul.

Satu dialek lain yang sedikit sukar dimengerti oleh penutur dialek pusat adalah dialek yang dipakai di Boangin dan Lemba Harapan (dekat perbatasan Kecamatan Dampal Utara). Rupanya perbedaan dialek antar dialek pusat dan dialek-dialek yang di sebelah timur (Oyom dan Kecamatan Galang) dan sebelah barat (Lemba Harapan) dapat dijelaskan karena perbedaan kebudayaan yang disinggung di atas antara yang telah lama mempertahankan gaya hidup tradisional dengan yang sudah lama bermukim di desa-desa. Kedua kelompok ini telah lama agak terpisah sehingga bahasa masing-masing berkembang secara berbeda.

10. KEMAMPUAN BAHASA

Informasi tentang kemampuan bahasa diperoleh dengan dua cara, yaitu melalui wawancara dan melalui tes pengulangan kalimat. Dalam wawancara orang diminta menilai kemampuan sendiri secara kasar dengan ditanya bahasa apa saja yang mereka bisa pakai berbicara dengan lancar, bahasa apa saja yang mereka bisa pakai untuk berbicara sedikit, dan bahasa apa saja yang mereka bisa mengerti sebagian tetapi tidak bisa berbicara. Bagi responden yang mempunyai anak, maka informasi yang sama diminta mengenai anak mereka. Jadi dari pertanyaan ini kita mendapat gambaran tentang jumlah bahasa yang dikuasai oleh dewasa maupun anak.

Kemampuan bahasa anak-anak di Oyom terlihat di tabel berikut. Jumlah anak dicatat sesuai dengan kemampuan dalam bahasa Indonesia dan bahasa Dondo.

Desa Oyom: Kemampuan Bahasa Anak-anak
N=30

		Bahasa Indonesia		
		Lancar	Sedikit	Tidak tahu
Bahasa Dondo	Lancar	19 (=)	4 (D)	2 (D)
	Sedikit	2 (I)	1 (=)	2 (D)

Sesudah setiap angka di tabel di atas diberi kode yang menunjukkan bahasa mana yang lebih lancar. Misalnya ada empat anak yang lancar bahasa Dondo dan bisa berbicara bahasa Indonesia sedikit, lalu diberi kode (D) yang menunjukkan bahwa bahasa Dondo yang lebih lancar bagi mereka. Tanda (=) menunjukkan bahwa kedua bahasa sama-sama lancar. Jadi kalau angka di atas dijumlahkan kita mendapat hasil berikut:

Dondo lebih lancar : 27%
Indonesia lebih lancar : 7%
Sama-sama lancar : 67%

Kalau diperinci lagi menurut umur anak maka ternyata bahwa semua anak yang berumur 10 tahun ke atas lancar dalam kedua bahasa. Bagi anak yang berumur 3 s/d 9 tahun ada yang kemampuan bahasanya belum seimbang, biasanya bahasa Dondo yang lebih lancar, atau sebaliknya. Tetapi semakin tua, semakin seimbang kemampuannya. Tetapi harus diingat walaupun dilaporkan lancar dalam kedua bahasa, belum tentu kemampuannya sama. Kemungkinan besar kelancaran dalam bahasa ibu masih lebih fasih daripada bahasa Indonesia.

Kita dapat membandingkan hasil kemampuan anak dengan hasil kemampuan dewasa yang diperoleh dari wawancara. Dari tabel di bawah kita dapat lihat bahwa persentase dewasa yang lancar kedua bahasa sedikit lebih tinggi daripada anak-anak (78% > 67%).

Desa Oyom: Kemampuan Bahasa Orang Dewasa
N=27

		Bahasa Indonesia		
		Lancar	Sedikit	Tidak tahu
Bahasa Dondo	Lancar	21 (78%)	5 (18%)	1 (4%)

Rata-rata orang dewasa di Oyom dapat memakai dua bahasa dengan lancar (biasanya Indonesia dan Dondo), dapat juga memakai satu bahasa lagi untuk berbicara sedikit, dan satu bahasa lagi yang dapat dimengerti sebagian, sehingga ada kemampuan dalam rata-rata empat bahasa. Dari 27 orang yang diwawancarai, 63% mengaku mempunyai kemampuan dalam bahasa-bahasa daerah yang lain. Perinciannya terlihat di tabel berikut:

Desa Oyom: Kemampuan Orang Dewasa Dalam Bahasa Daerah Lain
N=27

	Lancar	Sedikit	Mengerti
Bhs. Tolitoli	7%	22%	26%
Bhs. Bugis	-	15%	41%
Bhs. Buol	7%	11%	15%
Bhs. Lauje	-	4%	15%
Bhs. Kaili	-	4%	7%
Bhs. Jawa	-	4%	4%
Bhs. Gorontalo	-	4%	-
Bhs. Bali	-	-	4%

Sebagian data yang di atas dapat dijelaskan sebagai berikut. Penduduk Oyom sempat belajar bahasa Tolitoli waktu ke kota. Rata-rata orang dalam sampel pergi ke kota 8 kali dalam setahun. Juga ada 7 orang yang pernah tinggal di Tolitoli selama beberapa tahun waktu gerombolan atau waktu mereka sekolah. Dari 7 orang itu, 5 dapat berbicara bahasa Tolitoli. Bahasa

Bugis dapat dipelajari dari pendatang di Desa Oyom sendiri. Ada sekitar 90 orang Bugis tinggal di Desa Oyom, kebanyakan datang bercocok tanam. Bahasa Buol dapat dipelajari dari pendatang juga, yaitu guru. Bahasa Jawa dan Bali dapat dipelajari dari orang transmigrasi di desa terdekat, yaitu Desa Sibe. Bahasa Lauje merupakan bahasa serumpun dengan bahasa Dondo, sehingga tidak terlalu sulit untuk dimengerti.

Kemampuan bahasa anak-anak Desa Lais terlihat di tabel berikut:

**Desa Lais: Kemampuan Bahasa Anak-anak
N=23**

		Bahasa Indonesia: Semua lancar			
		Bahasa Bugis			
		Lancar	Sedikit	Mengerti	Tidak tahu
Bahasa Dondo	Lancar	6 (=)	10 (DI)		
	Sedikit			1 (I)	1 (I)
	Mengerti	1 (IB)		4 (I)	

Semua anak dalam sampel di Lais dilaporkan lancar dalam bahasa Indonesia. Hampir semua juga dilaporkan mempunyai kemampuan bahasa Bugis. Kalau angka tabel di atas dijumlahkan maka kita mendapat hasil berikut:

Dondo dan Indonesia lebih lancar :	43%
Bugis dan Indonesia lebih lancar :	4%
Indonesia lebih lancar :	26%
Ketiga bahasa lancar :	26%

Karena situasi bahasa di Lais agak rumit padahal sampel yang diperoleh tidak terlalu besar, maka hasil di atas kemungkinan besar agak meleset dari persentase yang sebenarnya.

Ada 14 anak-anak Lais (dari sampel 23) yang dilaporkan mempunyai kemampuan sedikit dalam bahasa-bahasa lain. Jumlah untuk masing-masing bahasa sebagai berikut: Bhs. Tolitoli: 5; Bhs. Kaili: 5; Bhs. Lauje: 4; Bhs. Tialo: 4; Bhs. Buol: 1. Keadaan ini agak berbeda dari Desa Oyom di mana hanya 3 anak (dari sampel 30) yang dilaporkan mempunyai kemampuan dalam bahasa lain selain bahasa Dondo dan bahasa Indonesia.

Berdasarkan sampel 16 orang dari Lais, rata-rata orang dewasa di sana dapat memakai tiga bahasa dengan lancar, dua lagi untuk berbicara sedikit, dan dua lagi yang dapat dimengerti sebagian, sehingga ada kemampuan

dalam rata-rata tujuh bahasa. Dari sampel, 100% mempunyai kemampuan dalam bahasa daerah lain. Jadi Lais sungguh-sungguh merupakan desa yang multilingual. Perinciannya dilihat di tabel berikut:

Desa Lais: Kemampuan Orang Dewasa Dalam Bahasa Daerah Lain
N=16

	Lancar	Sedikit	Mengerti
Bhs. Bugis	56%	38%	6%
Bhs. Tolitoli	38%	44%	12%
Bhs. Lauje	6%	44%	44%
Bhs. Kaili	19%	19%	44%
Bhs. Buol	-	25%	44%
Bhs. Tialo	6%	-	-
Bhs. Selayar	-	-	6%

Ternyata dari tabel di atas bahwa kemampuan orang Lais dalam bahasa daerah lain jauh lebih tinggi daripada orang di Oyom. Hal ini mungkin dapat dijelaskan sebagai berikut. Penduduk Lais lebih banyak bergaul dengan orang Bugis daripada penduduk Oyom. Walaupun jumlah orang Bugis yang tinggal di Desa Lais (43 orang) tidak sebanyak yang di Oyom (90 orang), tetapi orang Dondo yang di Oyom dilaporkan tidak terlalu banyak bergaul dengan pendatang karena kebanyakan rumah orang Dondo terletak di luar pusat desa. Pendatang Bugis juga jauh lebih lama tinggal di Lais, ada yang sudah beranak cucu. Lebih banyak orang Lais tahu bahasa Tolitoli mungkin disebabkan semua penduduk Lais pernah mengunjungi ke Tolitoli selama empat tahun waktu gerombolan. Rata-rata orang dalam sampel pergi ke kota hanya 3 kali dalam setahun, tetapi pernah tinggal di luar (biasanya di Tolitoli) rata-rata 3,6 tahun. Bahasa Buol dapat dipelajari dari pendatang juga, karena ada 32 orang Buol yang tinggal di Lais, kebanyakan keluarga guru. Bahasa Kaili dulu berfungsi sebagai *lingua franca* di daerah Dondo sehingga masih ada cukup banyak yang tahu. Ada 7 orang Kaili tinggal di Lais. Banyak yang tahu bahasa Lauje yang mirip bahasa Dondo mungkin karena ada kampung-kampung orang Lauje dalam desa-desa yang berbatasan dengan Lais, yaitu Ogoweale dan Malomba. Tidak ada yang tahu bahasa Jawa atau Bali karena tidak ada tempat transmigrasi yang dekat.

Walaupun kemampuan bahasa dilaporkan lancar, sebenarnya yang dianggap lancar bisa macam-macam, dari kelancaran yang cukup terbatas sampai kepada kefasihan yang sangat tinggi. Oleh karena itu maka dipakai tes pengulangan kalimat untuk memperoleh data yang lebih tepat tentang tingkat kelancaran. Dalam hal ini skor tes pengulangan kalimat dapat

dipakai untuk menggolongkan responden pada tingkat kemampuan bahasa sesuai dengan skala yang disadurkan dari skala Foreign Service Institute (FSI). Tingkat kemampuan yang dipakai sebagai berikut:

Tingkat 0	Tidak ada kemampuan
Tingkat 0+	Kemampuan yang dihafal
Tingkat 1	Kemampuan dasar
Tingkat 1+	Kemampuan dasar plus
Tingkat 2	Kemampuan terbatas
Tingkat 2+	Kemampuan terbatas plus
Tingkat 3	Kemampuan umum
Tingkat 3+	Kemampuan umum plus
Tingkat 4	Kemampuan maju
Tingkat 4+	Kemampuan maju plus
Tingkat 5	Kemampuan setara dengan penutur asli

Uraian terinci masing-masing tingkat kemampuan terdapat di Lampiran A.

Tes pengulangan kalimat yang dikembangkan untuk bahasa Indonesia dapat membedakan antara tingkat 2 sampai dengan tingkat 4+. Oleh karena hal-hal teknis, maka tes ini belum dapat membedakan antara yang tingkat 0 sampai dengan tingkat 2. Tes hanya menunjukkan bahwa orang tersebut berada pada tingkat 0-2. Maka untuk responden yang berkemampuan rendah tersebut, peneliti coba memperkirakan tingkatnya dari penampilannya selama wawancara. Misalnya kalau wawancara harus melalui seorang alih bahasa maka kemungkinan orang itu pada tingkat 0 atau 0+. Sebaliknya, kalau wawancara berjalan mulus dengan bahasa Indonesia maka responden tersebut akan dianggap sebagai tingkat 2.

Ada sampel 24 orang dewasa (umur 17 tahun ke atas) di Desa Oyom yang dievaluasi kemampuan bahasa Indonesiannya dengan cara ini. Sampel dipilih untuk sesuai dengan komposisi masyarakat dalam hal umur dan jenis kelamin (sampel yang distratifikasi). Di tabel berikut diberi persentase yang terdapat untuk masing-masing tingkat, pertama untuk seluruh sampel, dan kemudian diperincikan sesuai jenis kelamin, umur, dan pendidikan.

Desa Oyom: Tingkat kemampuan BI
N=24

	Tingkat kemampuan BI					
	0/0+	1/1+	2	2+	3	Rata-rata
Seluruh sampel	8%	17%	38%	25%	12%	2,0
Laki-laki	-	8%	38%	31%	23%	2,35
Perempuan	18%	27%	36%	18%	-	1,59
Umur 17-29	-	18%	27%	27%	27%	2,27
Umur 30 lebih	15%	15%	46%	23%	-	1,77
Tidak sekolah	29%	43%	29%	-	-	1,21
Pernah sekolah	-	6%	41%	35%	18%	2,32

Rata-rata penduduk Oyom mempunyai kemampuan bahasa Indonesia tingkat 2, yaitu kemampuan dasar. Kemampuan dasar ini berarti mereka dapat memenuhi tuntutan-tuntutan sosial rutin dan melakukan interaksi rutin yang berhubungan dengan pekerjaan yang sifatnya terbatas cakupannya, tetapi struktur linguistik biasanya tidak begitu terinci dan belum dikuasai secara tuntas; kesalahan-kesalahan sering terjadi (lihat Lampiran A). Ada 25% yang kemampuannya lebih rendah lagi; ada juga yang kemampuan lebih tinggi sedikit tetapi tidak ada yang berkemampuan tingkat 3+ ke atas.

Kalau data menurut kelompok diperhatikan, ternyata laki-laki berkemampuan lebih tinggi daripada perempuan, orang muda berkemampuan lebih tinggi daripada orang tua, dan orang yang pernah sekolah berkemampuan lebih tinggi daripada yang tidak. Hal yang sama dapat juga dilihat kalau diukur korelasi antara variabel tersebut yang terdapat di tabel berikut:

Desa Oyom: Korelasi dengan kemampuan BI
N=24

Umur	-,47
Tahun pendidikan	,73
Jenis kelamin	,51
Berapa kali ke kota	,25
Berapa kali dengar radio	,17
Jumlah buku BI di rumah	-,04
Berapa kali membaca	,31
Berapa kali tulis surat	,36
Berapa kali terima surat	,22

Dari tabel di atas ternyata bahwa ada hubungan yang cukup berarti antara variabel tahun pendidikan dan variabel tingkat BI, yaitu ,73. Ada juga korelasi yang lumayan dengan jenis kelamin, yaitu ,51. Ada korelasi negatif dengan umur, yaitu -,47. Itu berarti ada kecenderungan (walaupun tidak terlalu kuat) bahwa semakin tua seseorang, semakin rendah kemampuan bahasa Indonesianya. Faktor-faktor lain yang mungkin diduga akan memperkuat kemampuan bahasa Indonesia, antara lain, berapa kali ke kota, berapa kali mendengar radio, jumlah buku BI di rumah, berapa kali membaca, berapa kali menulis atau menerima surat, semuanya ternyata tidak mempunyai korelasi yang tinggi dengan variabel kemampuan BI.

11. PEMAKAIAN BAHASA

Pola pemakaian bahasa antara masyarakat Dondo diteliti lewat observasi dan juga melalui pertanyaan yang diajukan dalam wawancara. Ada satu kuesioner yang khusus menanyakan tentang bahasa yang dipakai oleh anak-anak, yang berumur 3 s/d 17 tahun. Itu karena tingkah laku anak-anak dalam hal bahasa akan menentukan masa depan bahasa tersebut. Berdasarkan kuesioner tersebut, maka diperoleh data tentang sampel 30 orang anak di Desa Oyom dan 23 orang anak di Desa Lais. Data ini menurut laporan dari orang tua anak tersebut. Ditanyakan bahasa apa anak memakai waktu berbicara kepada orang tua, kakak/adik, tetangga dan teman. Hasilnya terlihat di tabel berikut:

Desa Oyom: Pemakaian Bahasa oleh Anak-anak
N=30

Dipakai dengan:	Bhs Dondo	Bhs Dondo & BI	BI
Orang tua	80%	20%	0%
Kakak/adik	76%	21%	3%
Tetangga	68%	21%	11%
Teman	18%	79%	3%

Dari tabel di atas terlihat bahwa bahasa Dondo masih sangat dominan. Dalam lingkungan keluarga, kebanyakan anak dilaporkan hanya pakai bahasa Dondo, tetapi ada sebagian yang memakai dua bahasa. Hal memakai dua bahasa menjadi umum dalam hubungan dengan teman. Anak yang hanya memakai bahasa Indonesia sangat sedikit.

Laporan tentang pemakaian bahasa diperkuat oleh observasi langsung dari peneliti. Selama dua hari di Oyom, waktu sempat mendengar orang Dondo, baik dewasa maupun anak, berbicara satu dengan yang lain, hampir

selalu dipakai bahasa Dondo yang dipakai. Hanya beberapa kali terdengar bahasa Indonesia dipakai. Tetapi kalau mereka berbicara dengan orang yang bukan orang Dondo, maka bahasa Indonesia yang dipakai.

Di Desa Lais, pola pemakaian bahasa jauh lebih rumit. Itu disebabkan adanya tiga bahasa yang biasa digunakan oleh anak-anak di sana, yaitu bahasa Dondo, bahasa Indonesia, dan bahasa Bugis. Sebenarnya untuk mengetahui pola pemakaian yang sesungguhnya semestinya diperoleh sampel yang lebih besar daripada 23 orang. Jadi di tabel berikut persentase tidak dipakai agar tidak memberi kesan bahwa data tersebut dapat diandalkan padahal sebenarnya pasti meleset. Hanya diberi jumlah orang yang dilaporkan memakai masing-masing bahasa untuk memberi gambaran kasar tentang keanekaragaman pola pemakaian.

Desa Lais: Pemakaian Bahasa oleh Anak-anak

Dipakai dengan:	Bhs Dondo	BI	Dondo & BI	Dondo & Bugis	Bugis & BI	BD, BB & BI
Orang tua	14	8	-	-	1	-
Kakak/adik	11	9	3	-	-	-
Tetangga	4	7	1	1	1	-
Teman	8	12	3	1	3	4

Tabel di atas memberi kesan bahwa bahasa Dondo masih dominan dalam lingkungan keluarga, tetapi di luar rumah (dengan teman dan tetangga) bahasa Indonesia yang lebih dominan. Kesimpulan lain adalah bahwa Desa Lais merupakan tempat di mana tiga bahasa dipakai dalam kehidupan sehari-hari oleh kalangan anak.

12. SIKAP BAHASA

Sikap bahasa tidak dapat diukur dengan mudah karena berhubungan dengan perasaan yang mungkin tidak biasa dinyatakan secara jelas. Tetapi sikap bahasa menyatakan diri dalam tingkah laku, yaitu pola pemakaian bahasa. Kalau seseorang sering memakai suatu bahasa, kemungkinan besar dia bersikap positif terhadap bahasa itu, kecuali dia memakainya karena terpaksa. Jadi dari data yang di atas, kita dapat berkesimpulan bahwa orang Dondo bersikap positif terhadap bahasa Dondo dan juga terhadap bahasa Indonesia. Orang di Lais kelihatan juga bersikap positif terhadap bahasa Bugis. Mungkin juga ada sikap positif terhadap bahasa daerah yang lain, walaupun tidak sekuat sikap positif terhadap bahasa sendiri dan bahasa nasional.

Dalam wawancara ada beberapa pertanyaan yang menyinggung hal sikap bahasa terhadap bahasa sendiri. Ditanyakan apakah mereka pernah coba menulis bahasa daerah. Di Oyom 22% pernah dan di Lais 25% pernah. Ini cukup banyak kalau diingat bahwa tidak pernah ada naskah atau buku ditulis dalam bahasa Dondo dan belum ada pedoman ejaan. Yang paling sering ditulis adalah nyanyian bahasa daerah. Ditanya juga apakah mau membaca tulisan-tulisan dalam bahasa Dondo kalau ada. Di Oyom 67% mau dan di Lais 93% mau. Yang tidak mau biasanya yang buta huruf. Ditanya apakah mereka setuju kalau guru memakai bahasa Dondo di sekolah dasar. Di Oyom 67% setuju dan di Lais 87% setuju. Jadi rupanya seandainya ada usaha untuk mengembangkan bahasa Dondo menjadi bahasa tertulis serta menggunakannya untuk menolong murid di kelas-kelas pemula di sekolah dasar, maka kebanyakan masyarakat Dondo akan mendukung usaha tersebut.

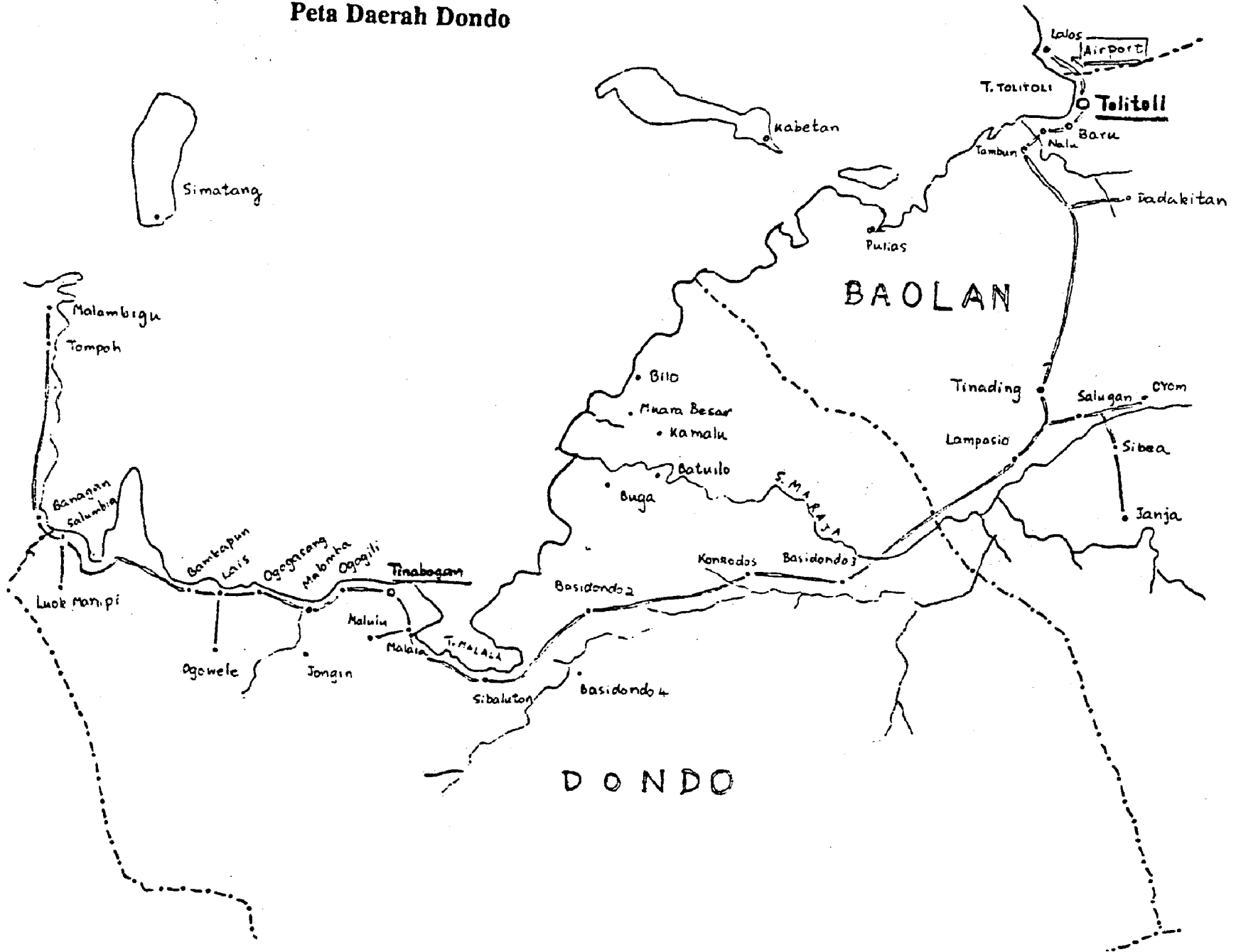
13. KESIMPULAN DAN SARAN

Bahasa Dondo merupakan bahasa yang masih dipakai dan dipelihara dengan baik oleh penuturnya sehingga menjadi alat komunikasi dan wadah kelestarian kebudayaan di Kabupaten Buol-Tolitoli. Kebanyakan masyarakat Dondo mampu dalam bahasa nasional, walaupun kemampuan itu sering masih agak terbatas. Dengan datangnya semakin banyak pendatang dari pelbagai suku maka masyarakat Dondo cenderung semakin menguasai bahasa daerah lain. Walaupun demikian keberadaan bahasa Dondo sebagai bahasa ibu belum terancam.

Masyarakat Dondo masih menghadapi masalah di bidang pendidikan dan kesehatan. Sudah banyak usaha pemerintah untuk meningkatkan kesejahteraan rakyat dalam hal ini. Kendala yang masih ada mungkin karena sikap masyarakat sendiri beserta fasilitas atau dana yang masih agak kekurangan. Dalam hal pendidikan, seandainya ada lebih banyak guru Dondo, mungkin mereka bisa menjadi teladan dan memberi semangat kepada para murid Dondo agar mengejar pendidikan yang lebih tinggi.

Dalam usaha perkembangan dan pelestarian bahasa, bahasa Dondo merupakan bahasa yang patut diperhatikan. Perlu diadakan lebih banyak penelitian dalam hal tata bunyi dan tata bahasa. Penelitian yang demikian dapat menjadi dasar untuk suatu pedoman ejaan bagi masyarakat yang mau menulis bahasanya. Dengan demikian kesusasteraan lisan masyarakat Dondo dapat ditulis dan dilestarikan, termasuk nyanyian-nyanyian daerah. Diharapkan juga bahwa kemampuan masyarakat Dondo dalam bahasa nasional dapat ditingkatkan.

Peta Daerah Dondo



LAMPIRAN A

URAIAN TINGKAT KEMAMPUAN BAHASA LISAN

Uraian berikut diterjemahkan dan disingkat dari Summer Institute of Linguistics (1987).

Tingkat 0 (Tidak ada Kemampuan)

Yang termasuk ke dalam tingkat ini ialah orang yang tidak dapat berfungsi dalam bahasa lisan. Kemampuan bicaranya terbatas pada kata-kata lepas yang tertentu saja. Pada dasarnya ia tidak mempunyai kemampuan komunikatif.

Tingkat 0+ (Kemampuan yang dihafal)

Yang termasuk ke dalam tingkat ini dapat memenuhi kebutuhan-kebutuhan, mendesak dengan menggunakan ujaran-ujaran yang telah dilatihkan, atau yang sangat umum sekali. Biasanya ia tidak berhasil dalam menciptakan ujaran. Walaupun dengan pengulangan, komunikasi sangat terbatas.

Tingkat 1 (Kemampuan Dasar)

Yang tergolong ke dalam tingkat ini dapat memenuhi persyaratan-persyaratan minimal kesopan-santunan dan mempertahankan percakapan-percakapan langsung secara sederhana mengenai topik-topik yang biasa. Kesalahfahaman sering terjadi. Ia sering mengalami kesulitan besar dalam berbicara. Penggunaan struktur dan kosa kata sangat tidak teliti.

Tingkat 1+ (Kemampuan Dasar Plus)

Yang tergolong dalam tingkat ini dapat memulai dan mempertahankan percakapan-percakapan langsung yang dapat diramalkan, dan memenuhi tuntutan-tuntutan sosial terbatas. Kemampuan berbicara mungkin dapat menjangkau lebih jauh daripada hanya kebutuhan-kebutuhan mendesak untuk mempertahankan hidup. Ujaran sebahagian besar terdiri atas rentetan ujaran-ujaran singkat dan terpisah. Ketepatan di dalam aturan tata bahasa dasar sering ada, namun tidak konsisten. Sementara beberapa struktur sudah mapan, kesalahan-kesalahan terjadi pada pola-pola yang lebih kompleks. Ia sering harus mengulangi ujaran-ujarannya agar ia dapat difahami oleh umum.

Tingkat 2 (Kemampuan Terbatas)

Yang tergolong pada tingkat ini dapat memenuhi tuntutan-tuntutan sosial rutin dan melakukan interaksi rutin yang berhubungan dengan pekerjaan yang sifatnya terbatas cakupannya. Di dalam tugas-tugas bahasa

yang lebih kompleks dan rumit, penggunaan bahasanya pada umumnya mengganggu lawan bicara. Ia dapat memperoleh inti dari hampir semua percakapan sehari-hari, tetapi ia sulit untuk memahami penutur asli dalam situasi-situasi yang menuntut pengetahuan khusus dan yang bersifat rumit. Struktur linguistik biasanya tidak begitu terinci dan belum dikuasai secara tuntas; kesalahan-kesalahan sering terjadi. Penggunaan kosa kata tepat bagi ujaran-ujaran yang berfrekuensi tinggi, tetapi terdapat kejanggalan-kejanggalan atau ketidaktepatan pada ujaran yang lain.

Tingkat 2+ (Kemampuan Terbatas Plus)

Yang tergolong pada tingkat ini dapat memenuhi hampir semua persyaratan dengan penggunaan bahasa yang sering, tetapi tidak selalu, efektif dan dapat diterima. Ia sering memperlihatkan kefasihan yang tinggi dan kemudahan berbicara, namun bila dalam keadaan tegang atau mengalami tekanan, kemampuannya menggunakan bahasa secara efektif mungkin memburuk. Pemahaman terhadap pembicaraan penutur asli dengan kecepatan normal pada umumnya hampir lengkap. Penutur asli sering menemukan dalam ujaran orang tersebut pengalimatan ide secara kaku atau tidak tepat, kesalahan penunjukan waktu, tempat dan persona atau kejanggalan lain yang walaupun tidak salah, masih kurang tepat. Pada umumnya yang tergolong pada tingkat ini dapat berpartisipasi dalam kebanyakan interaksi sosial, formal dan informal; tetapi keterbatasan-keterbatasan, apakah dalam jangkauan konteks dan tipe tugas yang dikuasai atau dalam tingkat ketepatan, menghalangi efektivitas. Kosa kata umum biasanya dikuasainya, tetapi tidak selalu dapat dihasilkan dengan mudah.

Tingkat 3 (Kemampuan Umum)

Yang tergolong pada tingkat ini dapat berbicara dengan ketepatan struktural dan kosa kata yang memadai untuk berpartisipasi secara efektif di dalam kebanyakan percakapan-percakapan formal dan informal mengenai topik-topik praktis, sosial, dan yang berhubungan dengan pekerjaan/jabatan. Namun demikian, dalam hal penggunaan bahasa untuk konteks-konteks minat khusus maka keterbatasan-keterbatasan orang tersebut pada umumnya membatasi pembicaraan kepada konteks-konteks minat khusus di mana ada pengetahuan yang diketahui bersama. Ia dapat secara efektif menggabung struktur dan kosa kata untuk menyampaikan makna secara tepat. Ia berbicara dengan mudah dan mengisi jeda-jeda dengan tepat. Di dalam percakapan langsung dengan penutur asli dialek baku dengan kecepatan yang normal, pemahaman cukup lengkap. Kesalahan terjadi pada struktur yang berfrekuensi rendah dan yang sangat kompleks.

Tingkat 3+ (Kemampuan Umum Plus)

Yang tergolong pada tingkat ini sering dapat menggunakan bahasa untuk memenuhi kebutuhan-kebutuhan di dalam banyak tugas-tugas rumit dan cukup berat. Meskipun dengan kemampuan yang jelas, ia mungkin masih

memperlihatkan keraguan, ketidakpastian, usaha, atau kesalahan-kesalahan yang membatasi jangkauan tugas-tugas penggunaan bahasa yang dapat dilakukannya dengan meyakinkan. Kesalahan terpola yang bersifat sepintas terjadi pada struktur yang berfrekuensi rendah dan yang sangat kompleks.

Tingkat 4 (Kemampuan Maju)

Yang tergolong pada tingkat ini dapat menggunakan bahasa secara lancar dan tepat dalam semua tingkatan yang biasanya berhubungan dengan kebutuhan-kebutuhan. Kemampuan bahasa jarang menghambat dia di dalam melaksanakan tugas apa pun yang memerlukan bahasa; namun akan jarang dianggap sebagai penutur asli. Ia dapat melaksanakan tugas-tugas bahasa yang luas dan rumit, yang mencakup hampir semua hal-hal yang menarik minat penutur asli yang terdidik termasuk tugas-tugas yang tidak berkaitan langsung dengan keahlian dalam pekerjaan tertentu. Ia dapat mengatur suasana dalam pembicaraan interpersonal dengan pelbagai kalangan penutur asli yang berstatus tinggi dan rendah dengan berbagai khalayak, tugas, situasi, dan dengan berbagai tujuan. Hampir tanpa kecuali, ia dapat memahami penutur asli dari dialek baku dan dialek utama lainnya di dalam interaksi langsung apa pun.

Tingkat 4+ (Kemampuan Maju Plus)

Yang tergolong pada tingkat ini memiliki kemampuan berbicara dalam semua hal secara tetap unggul dan biasanya sepadan dengan kemampuan berbicara penutur asli yang fasih dan terdidik. Kemampuan bahasa tidak menghalangi penampilan tugas penggunaan bahasa dalam hal apa pun. Namun demikian, dari segi budaya, ia belum tentu dianggap sebagai penutur asli. Kendatipun ia memiliki penguasaan dan jangkauan yang luas mengenai struktur bahasa sasaran, kesilapan yang tidak akan dilakukan seorang penutur asli mungkin masih terjadi. Ia memiliki penguasaan yang baik mengenai kosa kata, dan pengalimatan yang jarang tidak tepat, namun masih kadang-kadang ada kelemahan-kelemahan di dalam idiom, ungkapan bahasa percakapan, pelafalan, rujukan budaya, atau mungkin masih terdapat kegagalan kecil untuk berinteraksi secara paling tepat.

Tingkat 5 (Kemampuan Setara Dengan Penutur Asli)

Yang tergolong pada tingkat ini memiliki kemampuan berbicara yang secara fungsional sepadan dengan kemampuan penutur asli yang sangat fasih dan terdidik, dan yang mencerminkan norma budaya dari negara tempat bahasa tersebut digunakan. Ia menggunakan bahasa sasaran dengan fleksibilitas dan intuisi yang tinggi, sehingga semua ujarannya dalam segala tingkatan sepenuhnya diterima oleh penutur asli yang terdidik di dalam segala aspek bahasa sasaran, yang meliputi keluasan kosa kata dan idiom, ungkapan bahasa percakapan dan rujukan-rujukan budaya yang tepat.

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