

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

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## **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 languages<sup>1</sup>, 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 scripts<sup>2</sup> 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

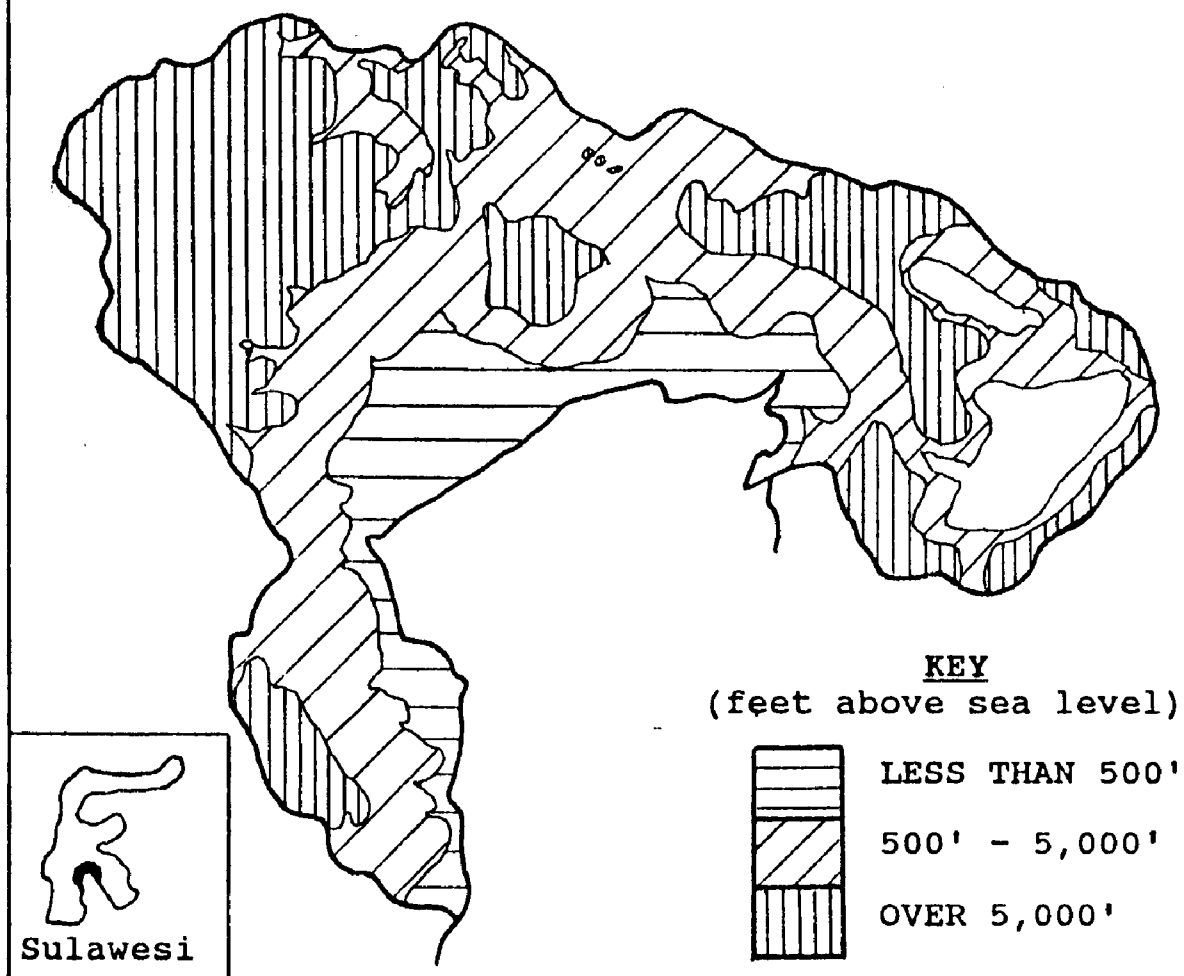
#### 3.1 THE RELIEF STRUCTURE

**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.<sup>2</sup> 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

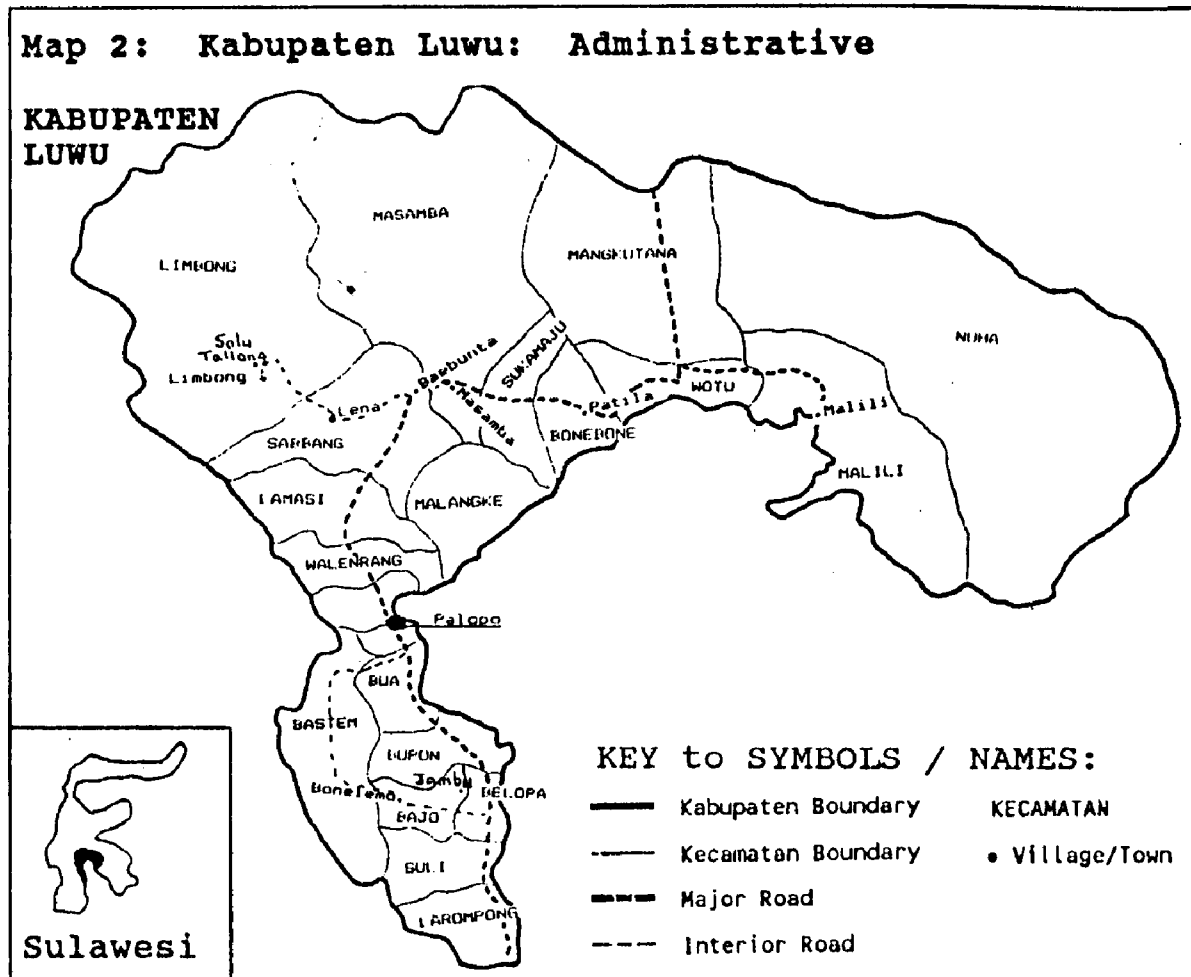
the map. Neither of these routes to kecamatan Limbong or kecamatan Bastem is passable by 4-wheel drive vehicle.<sup>3</sup> Although it is possible at most times of the year to reach the interior by motorbike, most inhabitants of these areas come and go on foot with the assistance of horses to carry 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.<sup>2</sup> 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 sources<sup>4</sup> would put the populations as follows:

Tae'	103,000
Seko	7,500
Rampi	7,000
Wotu	4,000
Languages of transmigrants <sup>5</sup>	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.

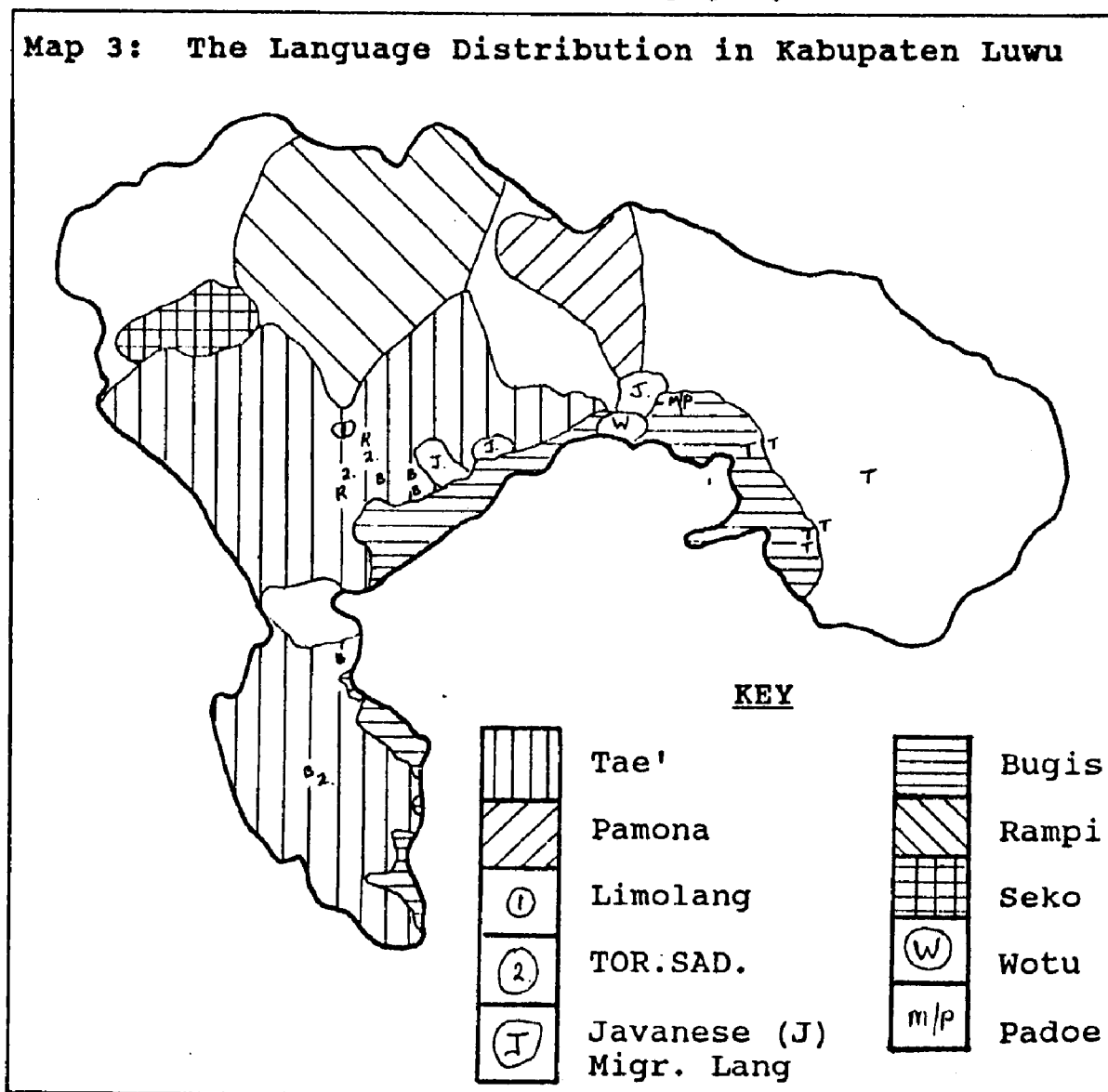
A more realistic table of population of language groups in *kabupaten* Luwu (excluding Palopo city and *kecamatan* Nuha) would be as follows:

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)

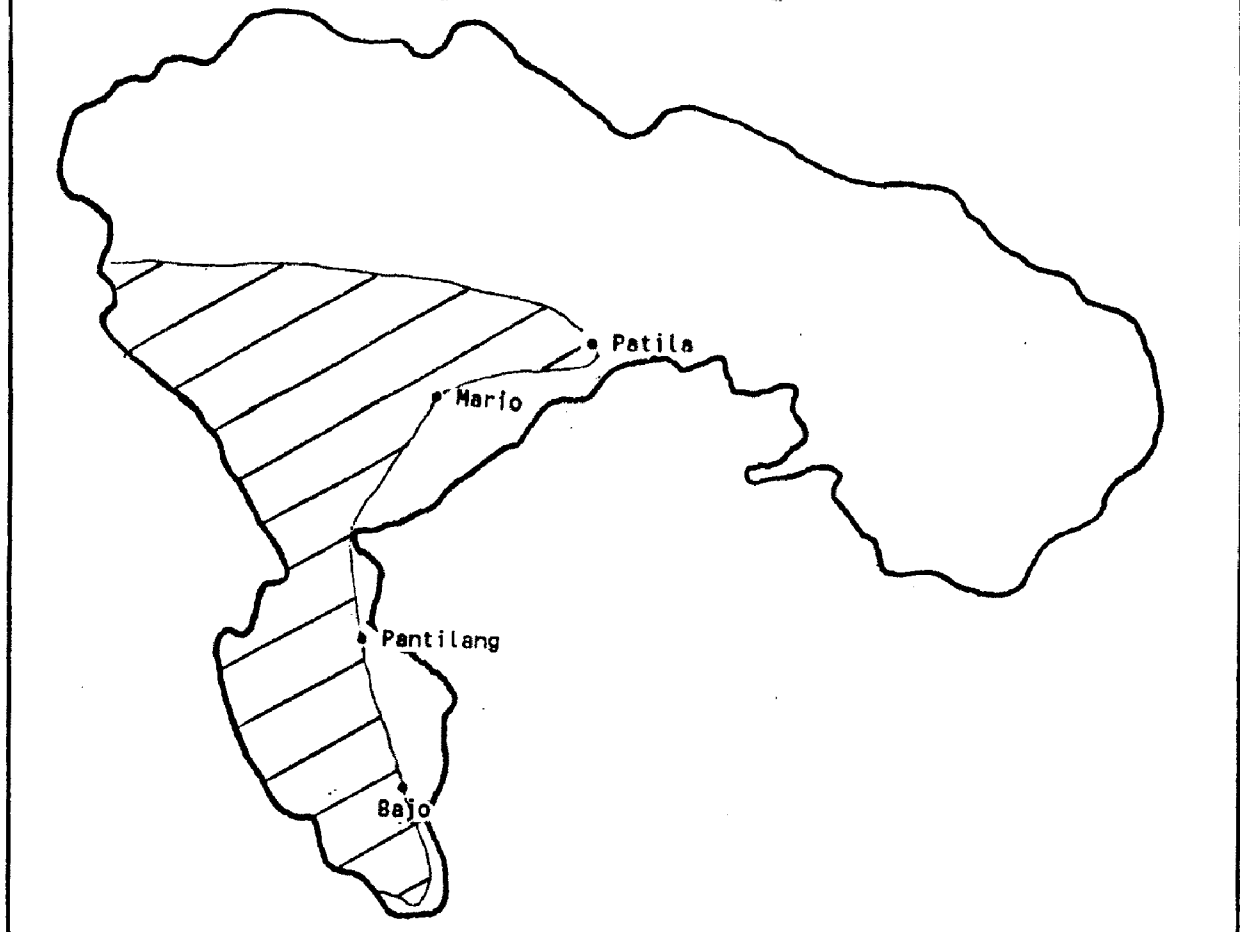
Van der Veen viewed the groups in question in much the same way as did Adriani and Kruyt. He proposed extending the area delineated on the language map of Adriani and Kruyt as the Toraja Sa'dan group in the north:

'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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup>

#### 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	IMG

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 *kecamatans* 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 Valkema (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 unique<sup>8</sup> 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 <sup>2</sup>	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 Bone<sup>2</sup>; 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.<sup>9</sup>

- 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 usage<sup>10</sup>. 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.

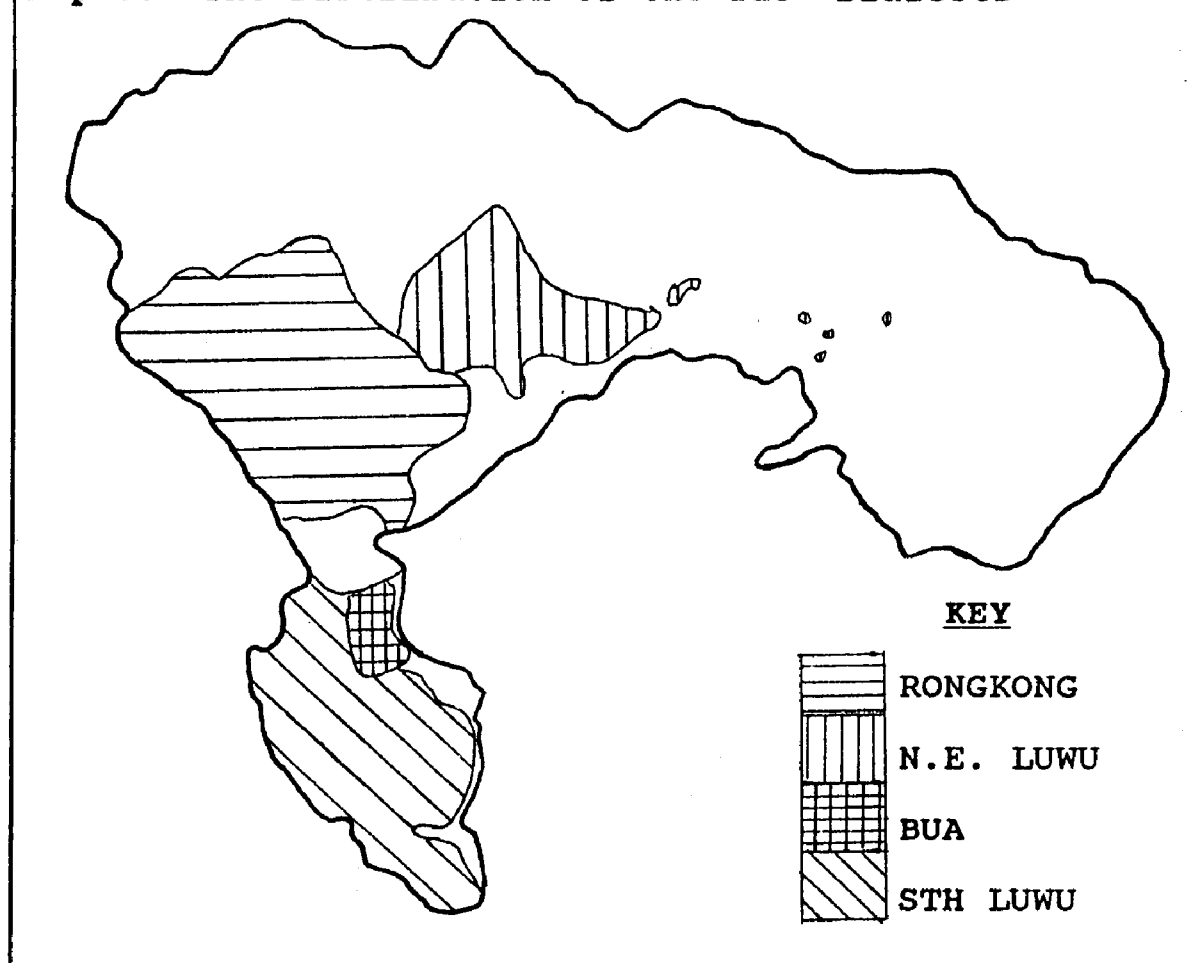
Using these terms then groups the Rongkong subdialects together, while differentiating them from the other three groups. The use of the term *lao* for NE Luwu at least indicates the Bugis population strength there, while not necessarily being the best indication of the strength of language influence. 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.<sup>11</sup> 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.

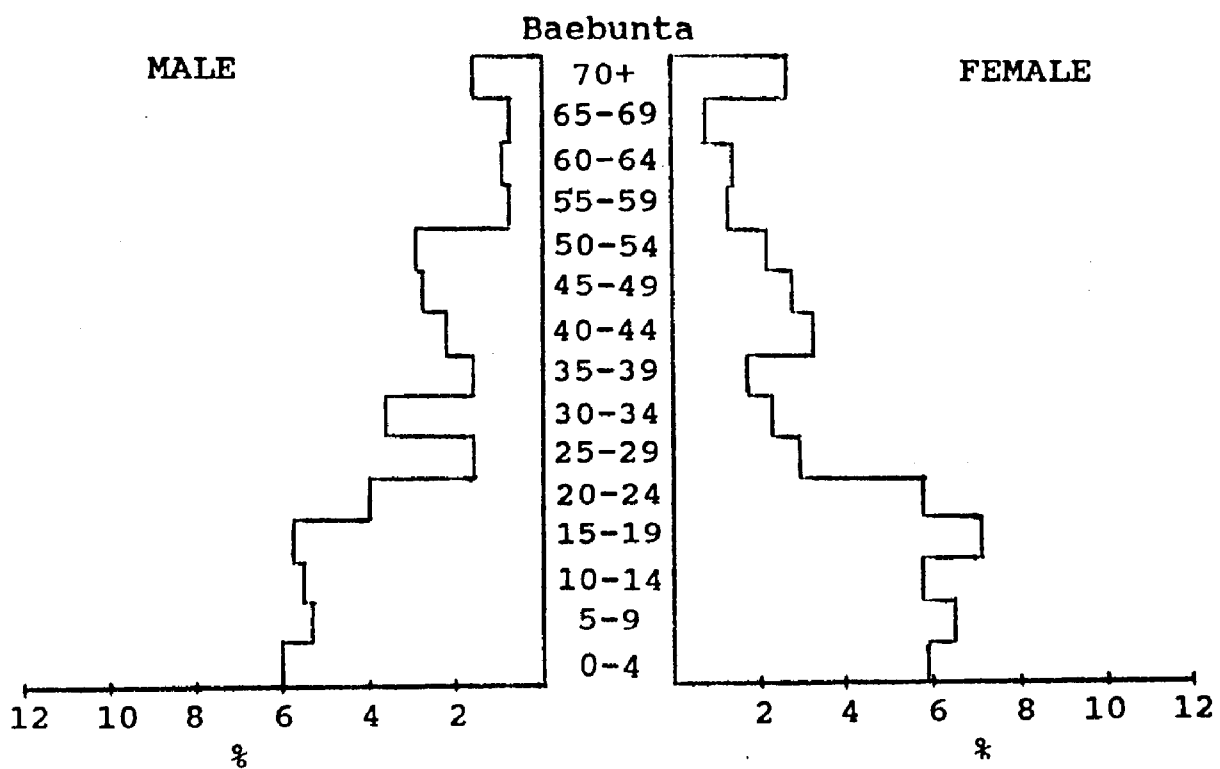
The last general feature worthy of note at this point is the tendency to wasting on the male side of the pyramid in the age groups 20-24 or 25-29. The reason for this is that all of the villages surveyed did not have significant employment opportunities for the young married male and so most villages 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.

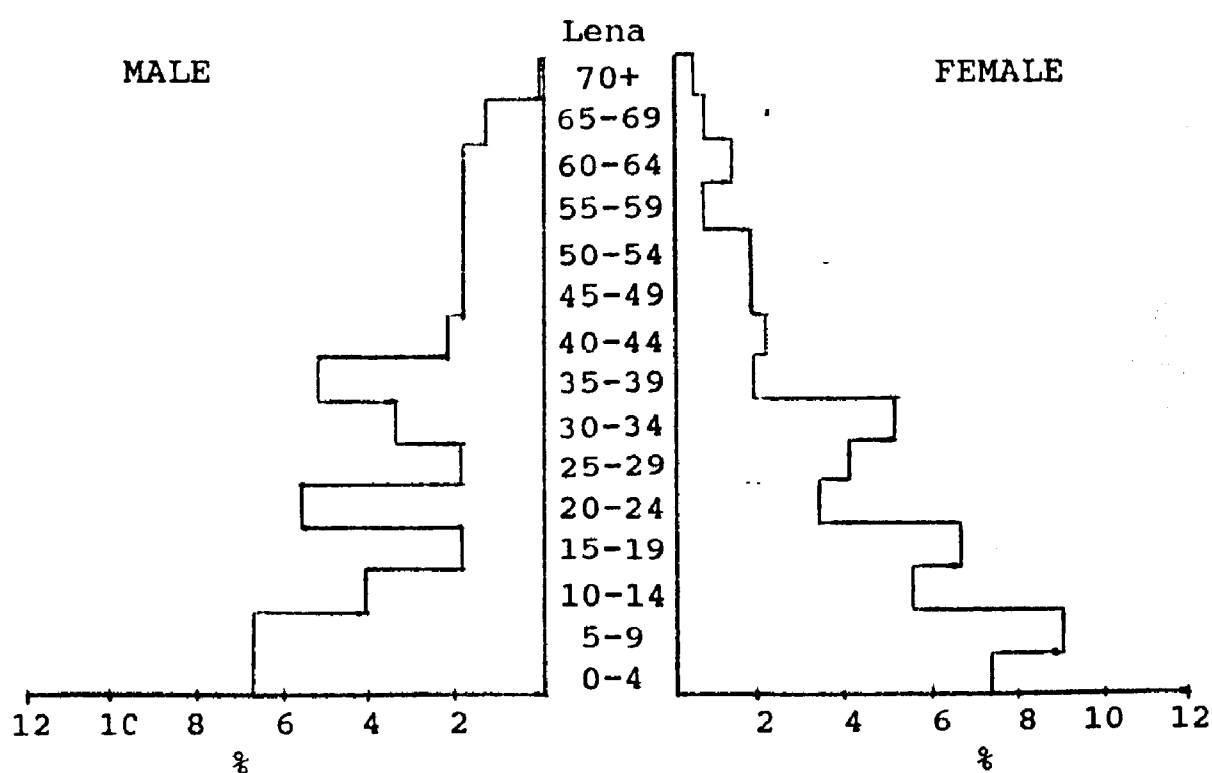
**Figure 1: The Population Structure of Baebunta**



**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**

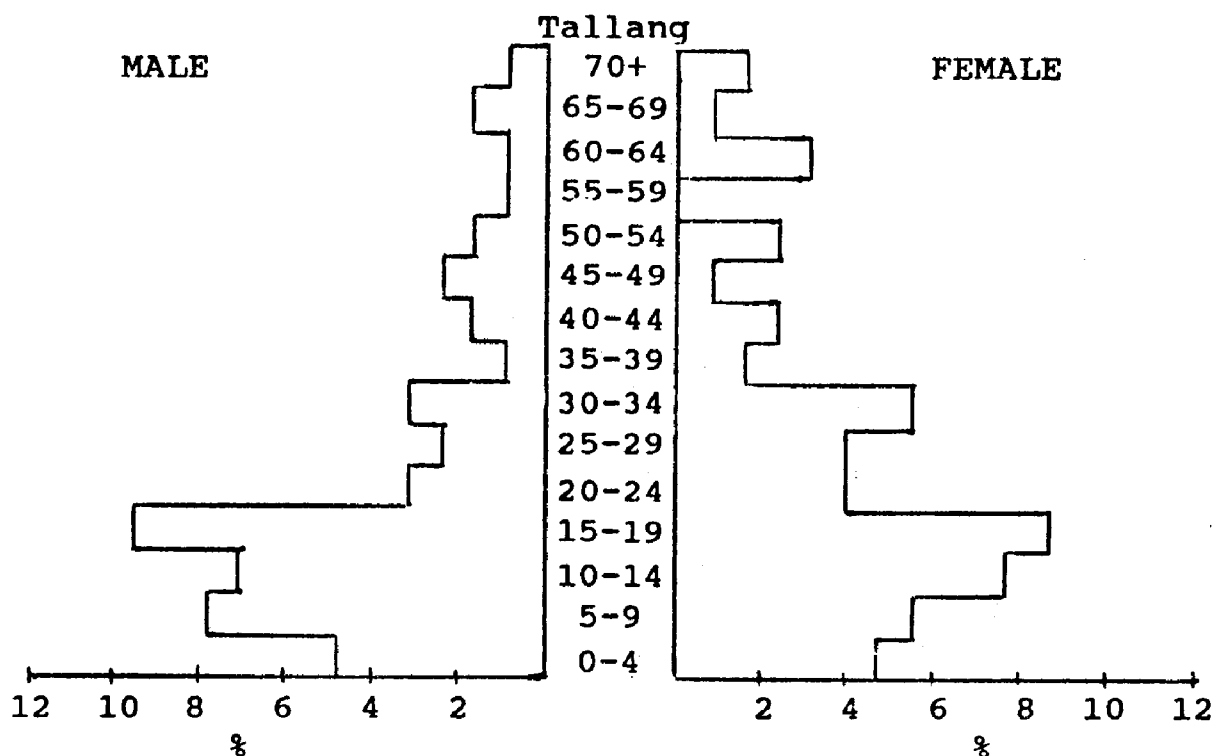


**The Population Structure of Salu Tallang.** The statistics for Salu Tallang proved to be rather anomalous. It was for that reason that data was also gathered for Limbong as well (see Figure 4).

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.

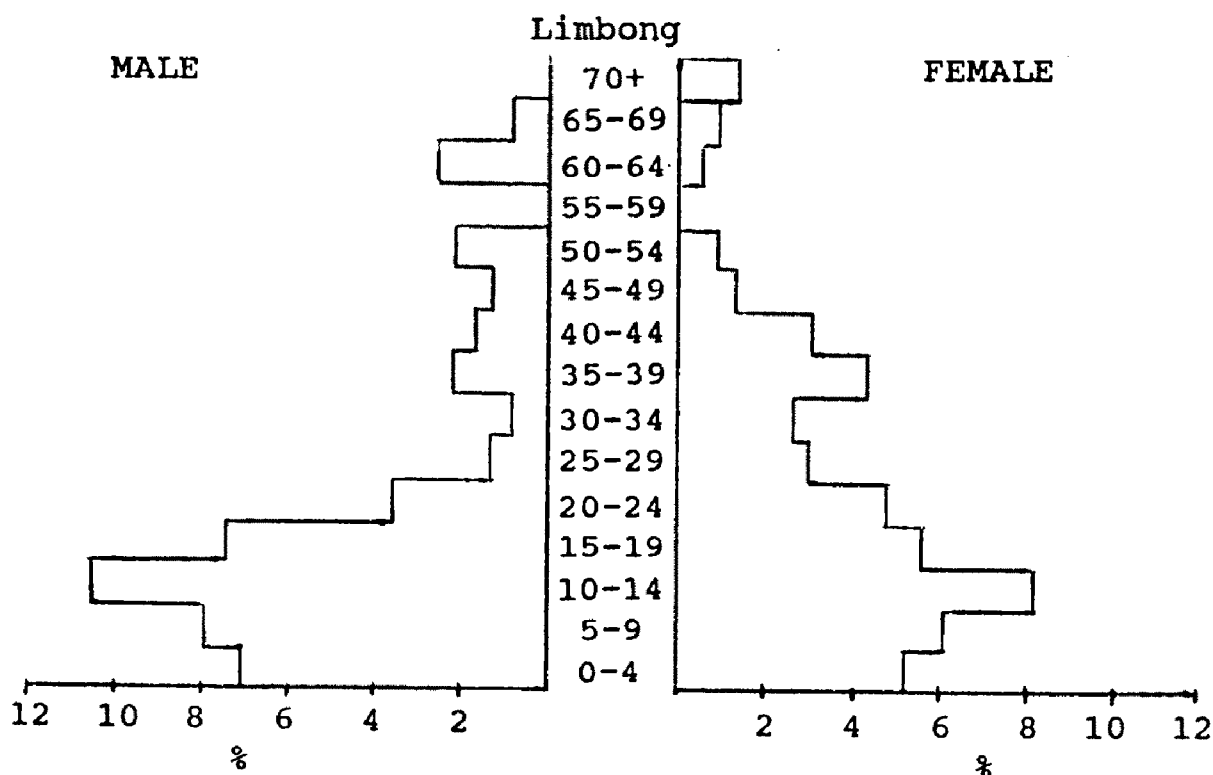
Also apparent is an abnormal balance of male and female in the 15-19 category. Like Baebunta, Limbong has a lower secondary school to which teenagers are attracted from as far afield as Seko Lemo, thus swelling the numbers abnormally. The imbalance in the females 30-34 is predominantly caused by the 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**



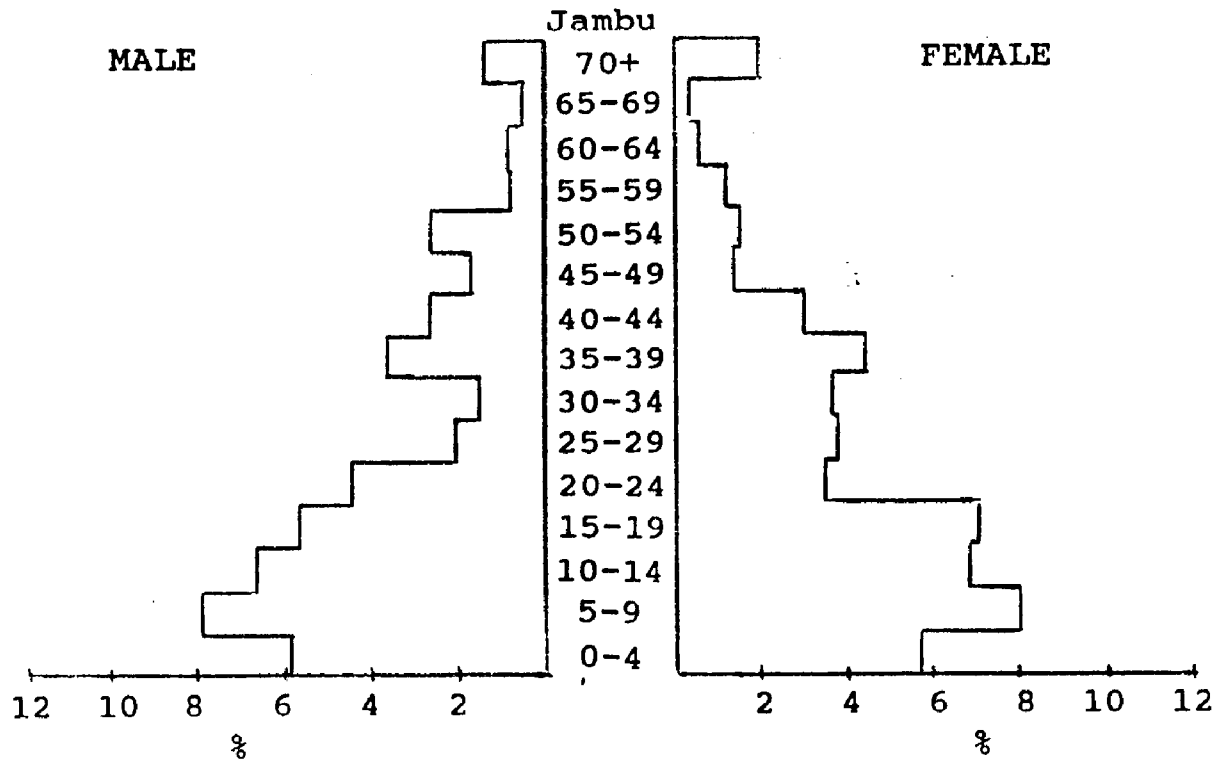
**The Population Structure of Limbong.** The previous comment made drawing attention to the wasting at the base of the Salu Tallang pyramid is also true of Limbong, for different reasons. It is possible that the abnormality a little higher up (10-14) causes some adjustment in the percentages of younger 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**



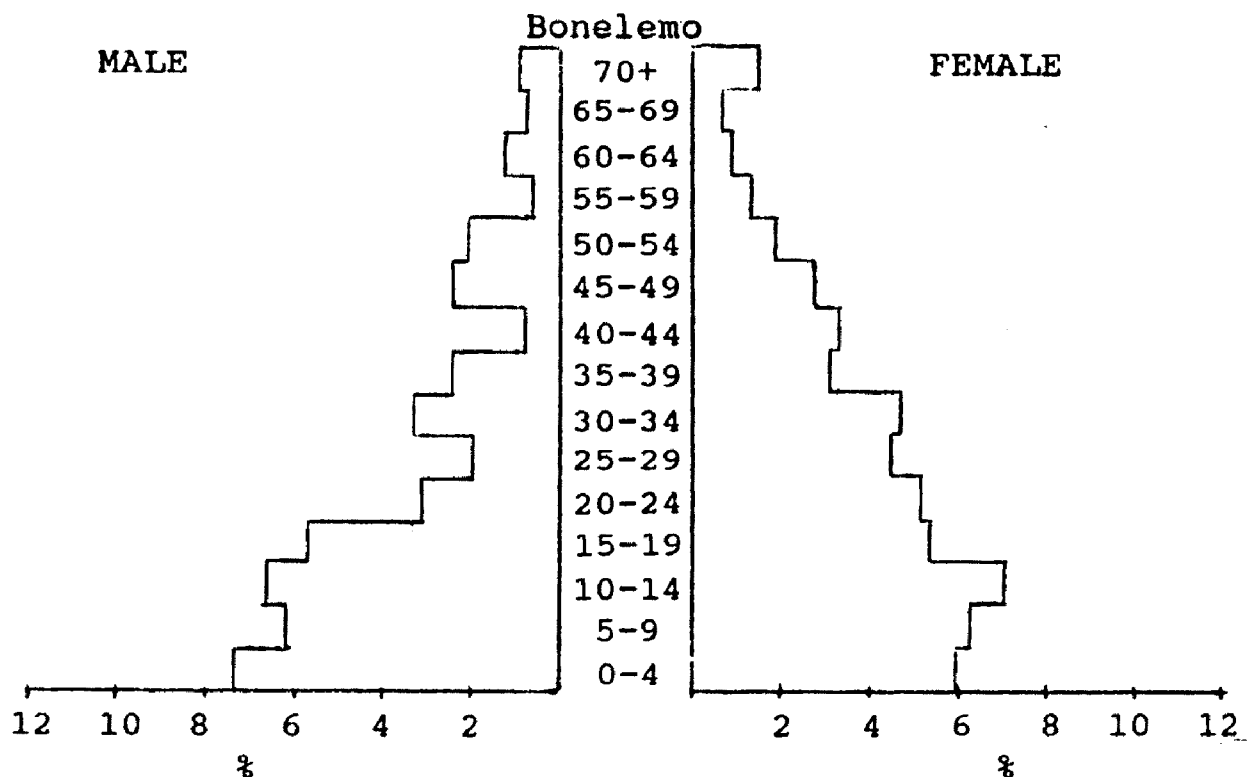
**The Population Structure of Jambu.** This follows the general trends with few exceptions, one of which is the slight increase in women 25-34 years of age. The main reason for this is again the presence of employment, rattan primarily. However, there are also a number of families whose husbands/fathers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

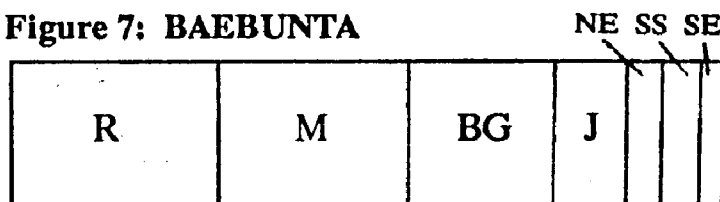


Figure 8: SALU TALLANG

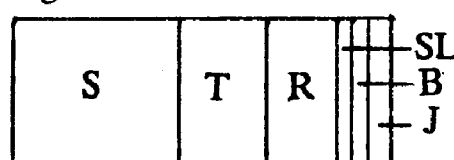


Figure 9: JAMBU

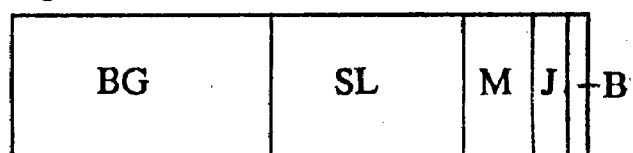
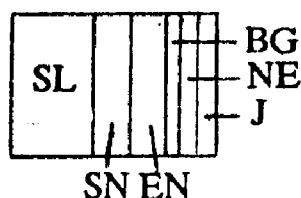


Figure 10: BONELEMO



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 Tomokaka<sup>12</sup> who travels to Seko at least once a month to arrange business affairs.

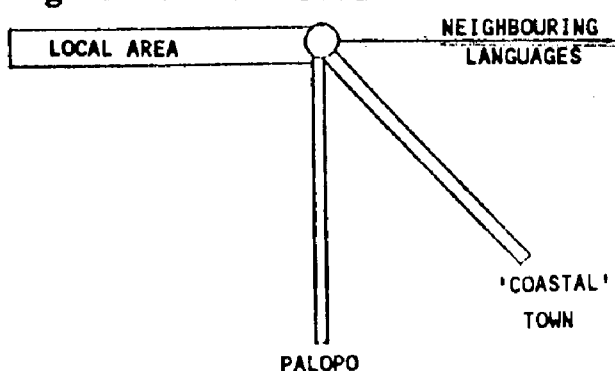
**Figures 11-15: The Frequency of Social Contacts**

The thickness of each line represents the frequency of contact.

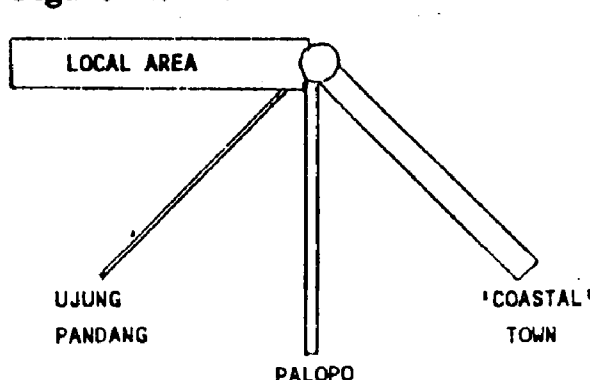
Scale: 1mm = 1 social contact / month.

4mm = 1 contact / week.

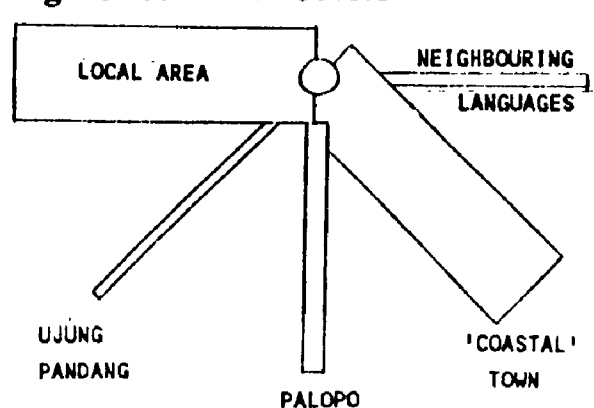
**Figure 11: LIMBONG**



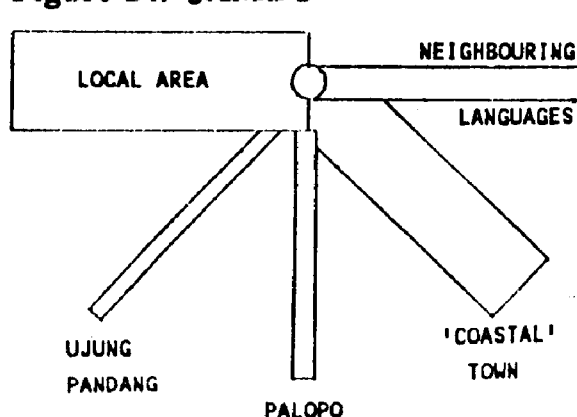
**Figure 12: LENA**



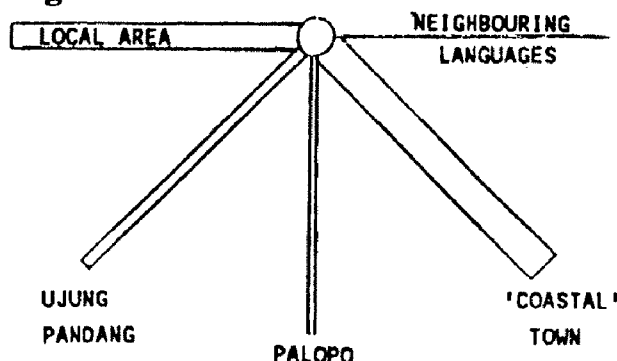
**Figure 13: BAEBUNTA**



**Figure 14: JAMBU**



**Figure 15: BONELEMO**



What is noticeable in all of these examples is the infrequency of deliberate contact<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup>

### 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

<sup>1</sup>See Friberg 1987:125, 128.

<sup>2</sup>See Mills 1975:28f.

<sup>3</sup>The 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).

<sup>4</sup>See Grimes & Grimes 1987.

<sup>5</sup>See Bappeda dan Kantor Statistik 1987.

<sup>6</sup>See Mills 1975:19f.

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

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

<sup>9</sup>There 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.

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

<sup>11</sup>The 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.

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

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

<sup>14</sup>At 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																	
Unable to read and write Indonesian																	

#### 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	-	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	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																	
Unable to read and write Indonesian																	

#### OTHER LANGUAGE ABILITY:

BUGIS																														1	-	0.4
MAKASSARESE																														-	1	0.4

BONELEMO: (422)

### 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																	
Unable to read and write Indonesian																	

#### 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	6	3.0

OTHER LANGUAGE ABILITY:

SEKO																	
			2	2					1		1		1			4	3.0

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
TONIHI													1	-																	1	-	0.15
ENGLISH																	1	-													1	-	0.15

SALUTALLANG: (128)

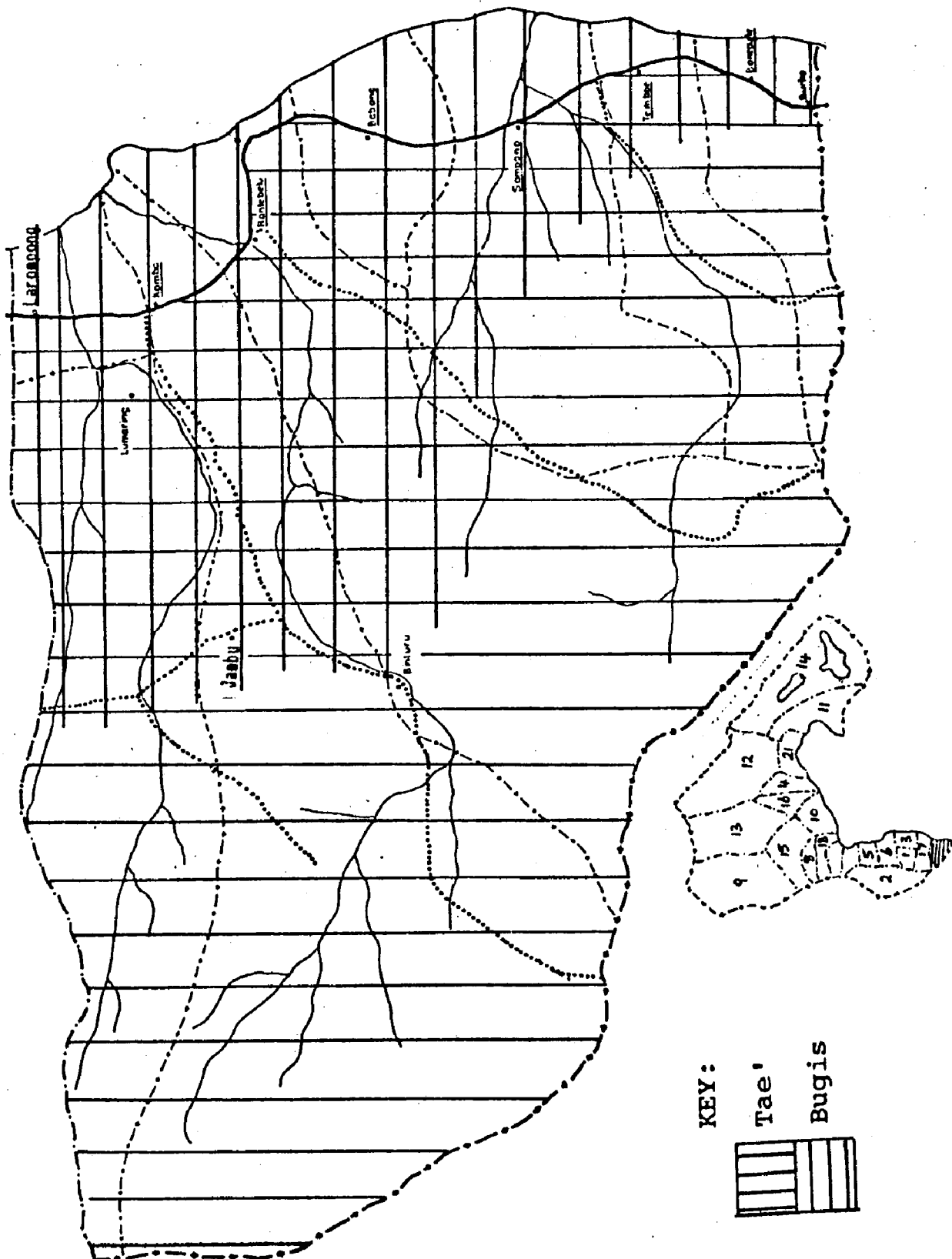
### AGE/SEX DISTRIBUTIONS.

	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	2	4.7
Unable to read and write Indonesian				1	1	1	1	2	1	1			1	3	2	1	14.8

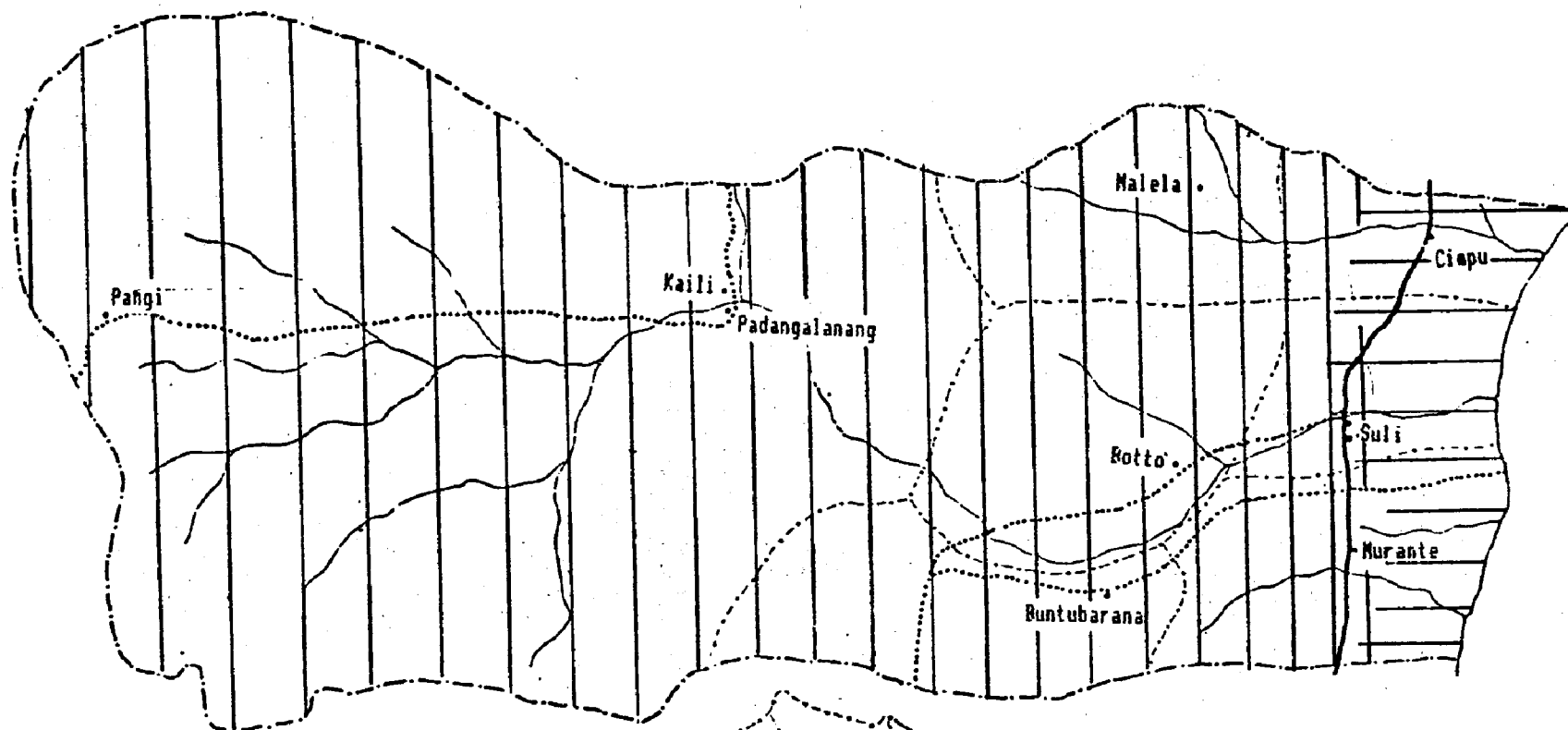
OTHER LANGUAGE ABILITY:

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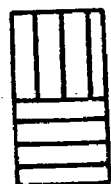
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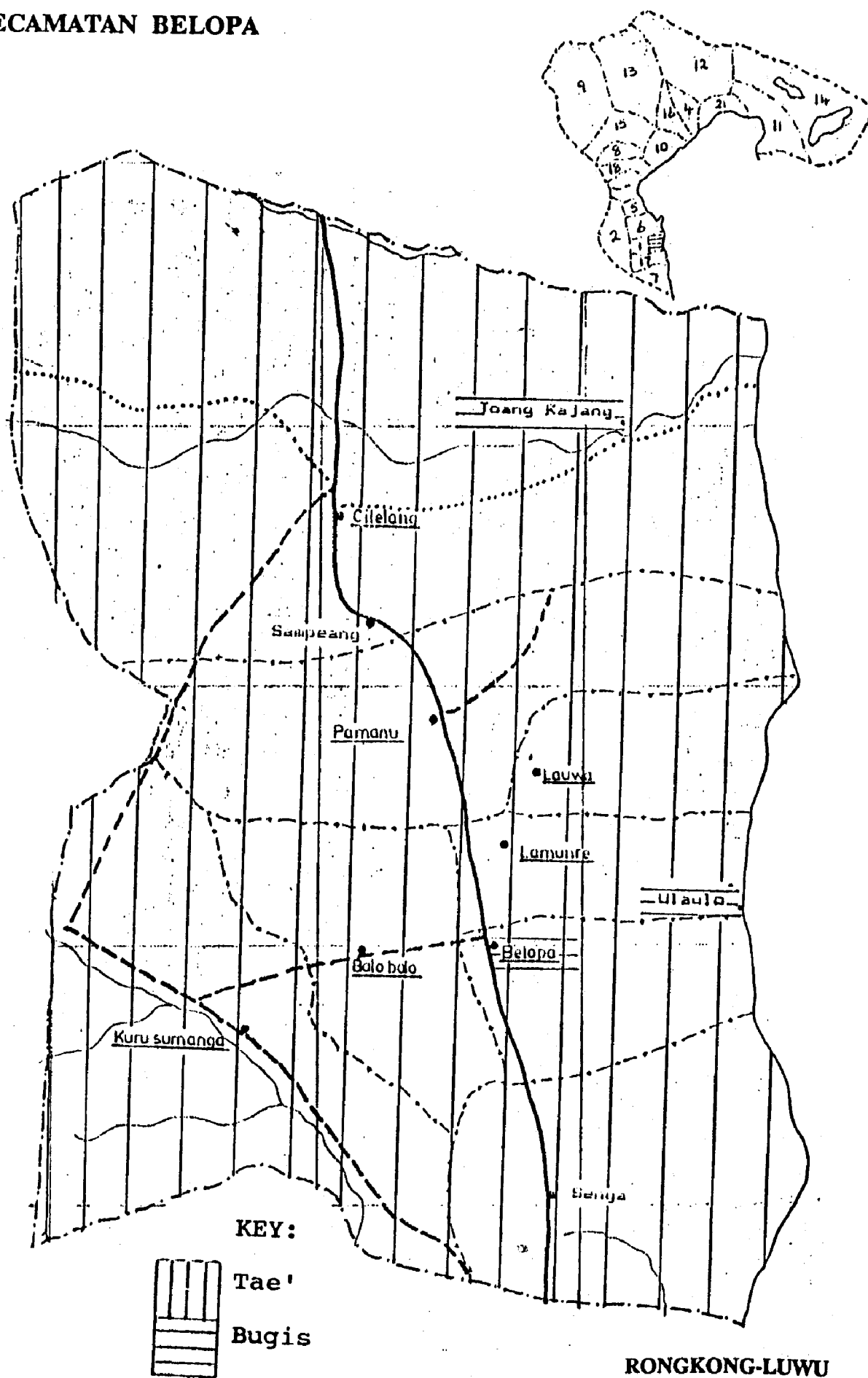


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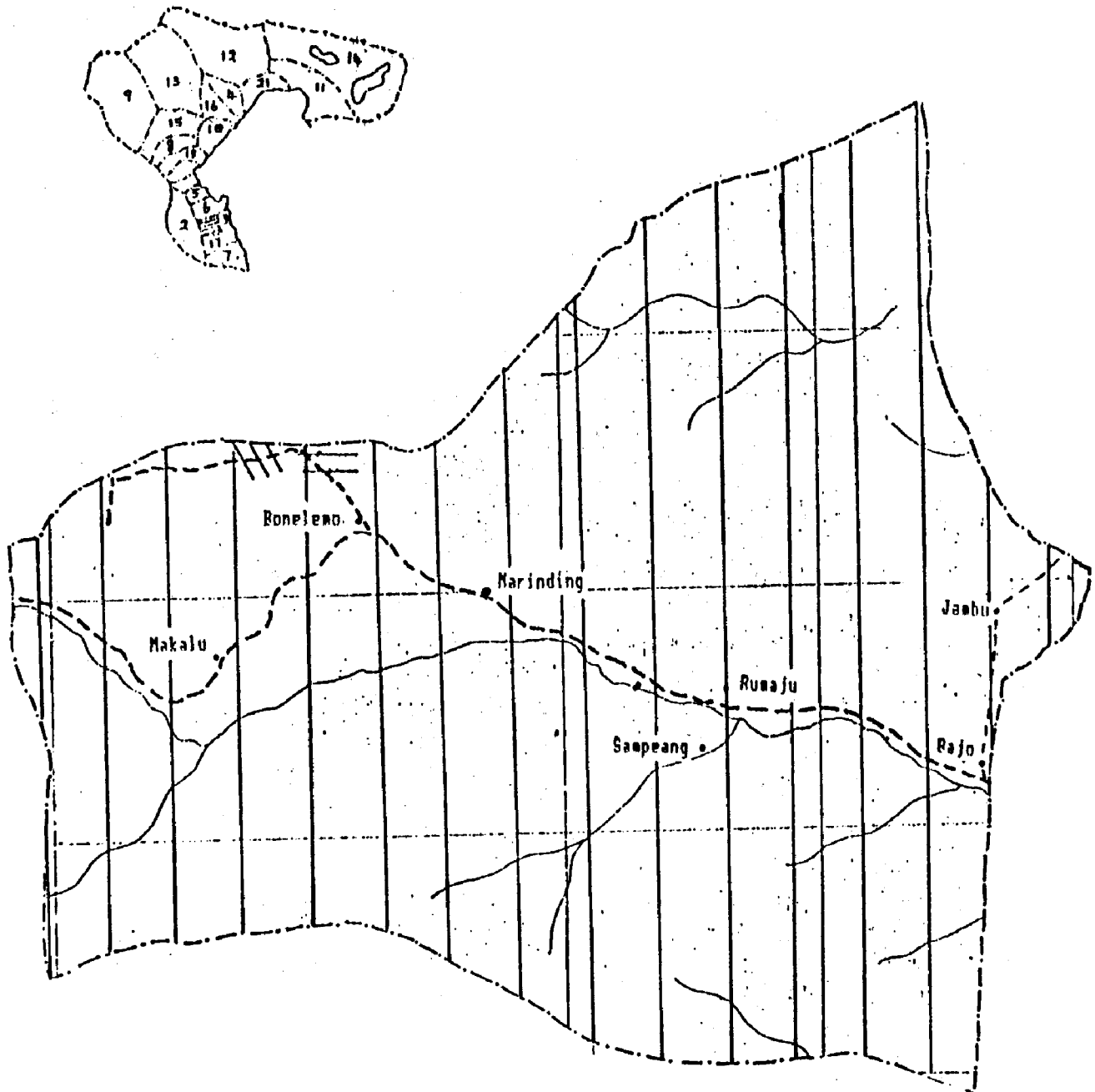
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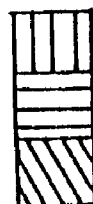
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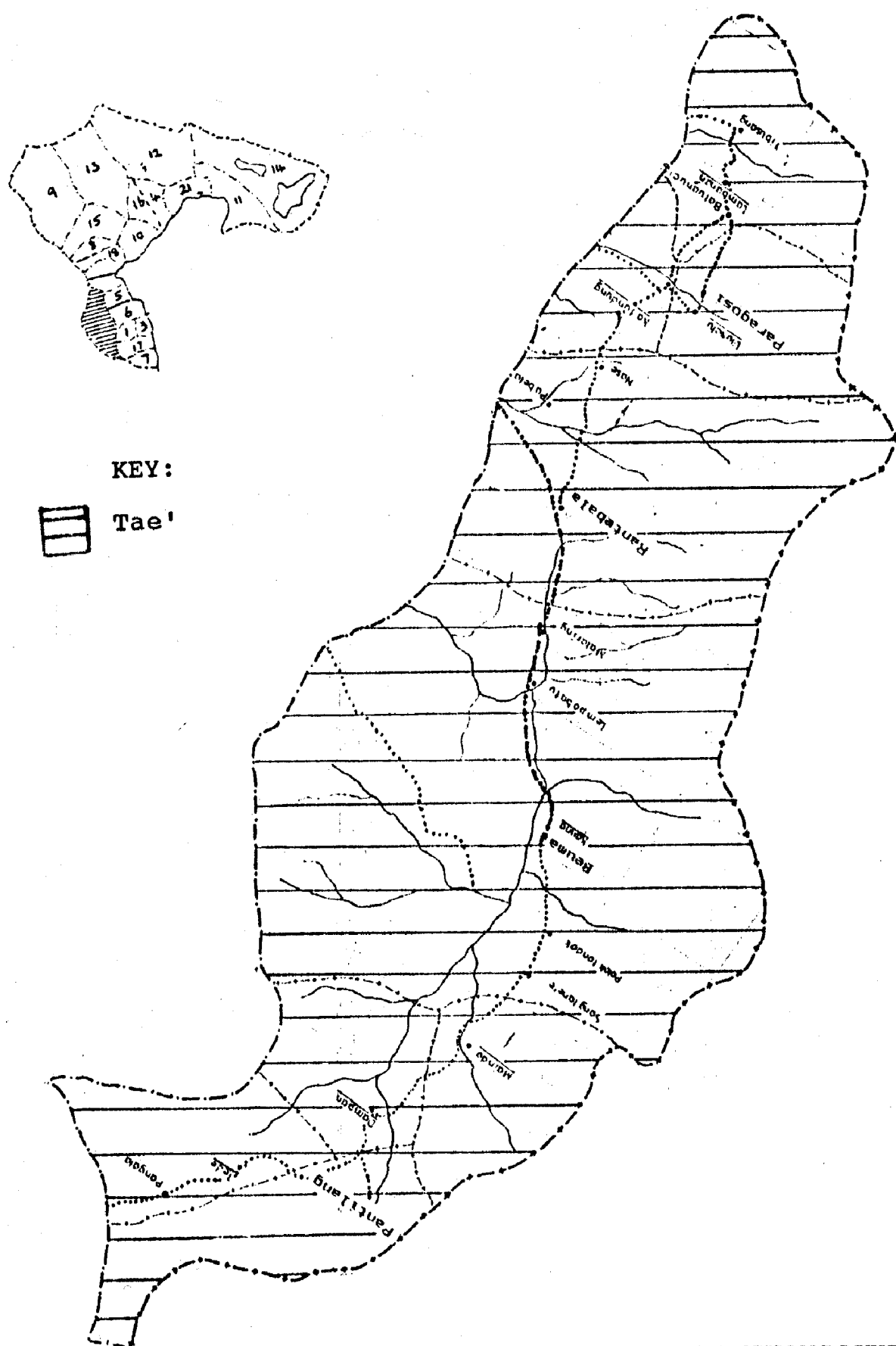
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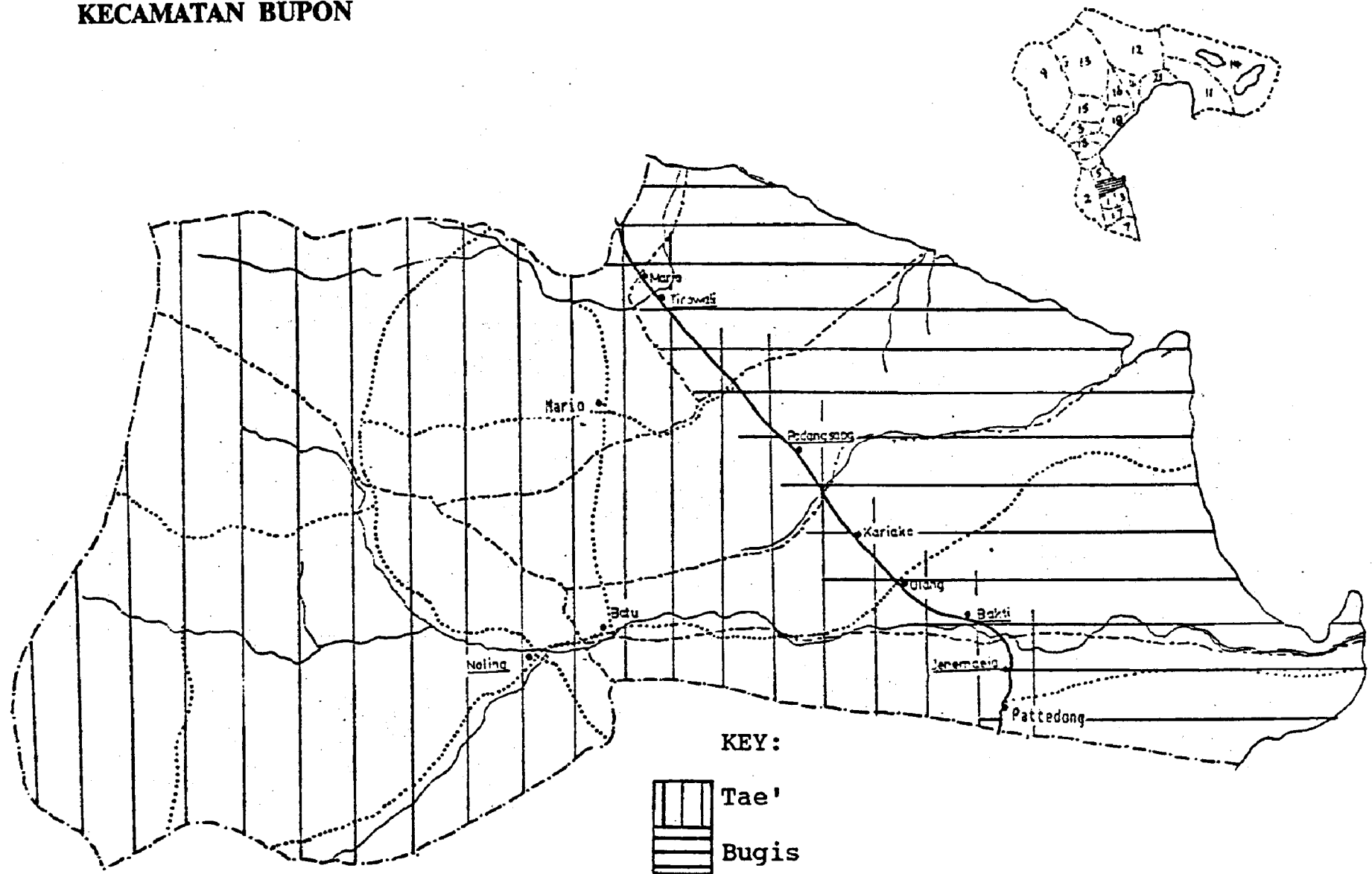
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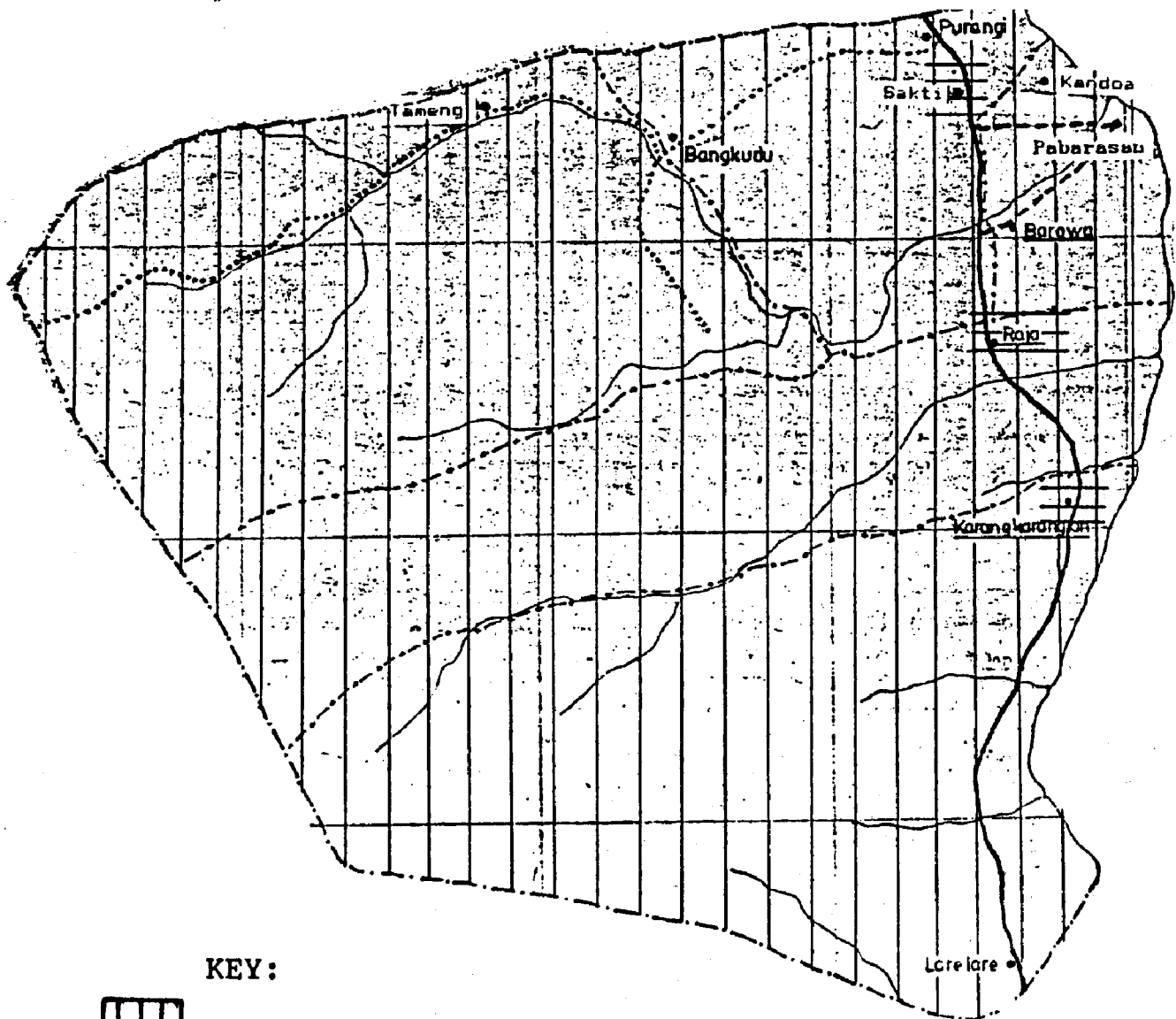
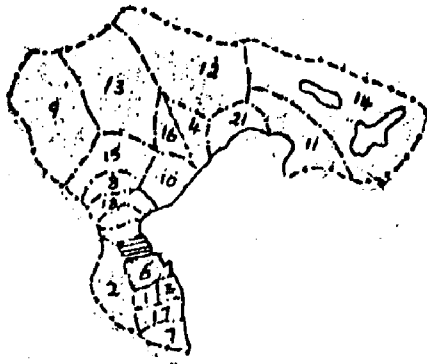
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# KECAMATAN BUPON



# KECAMATAN BUA



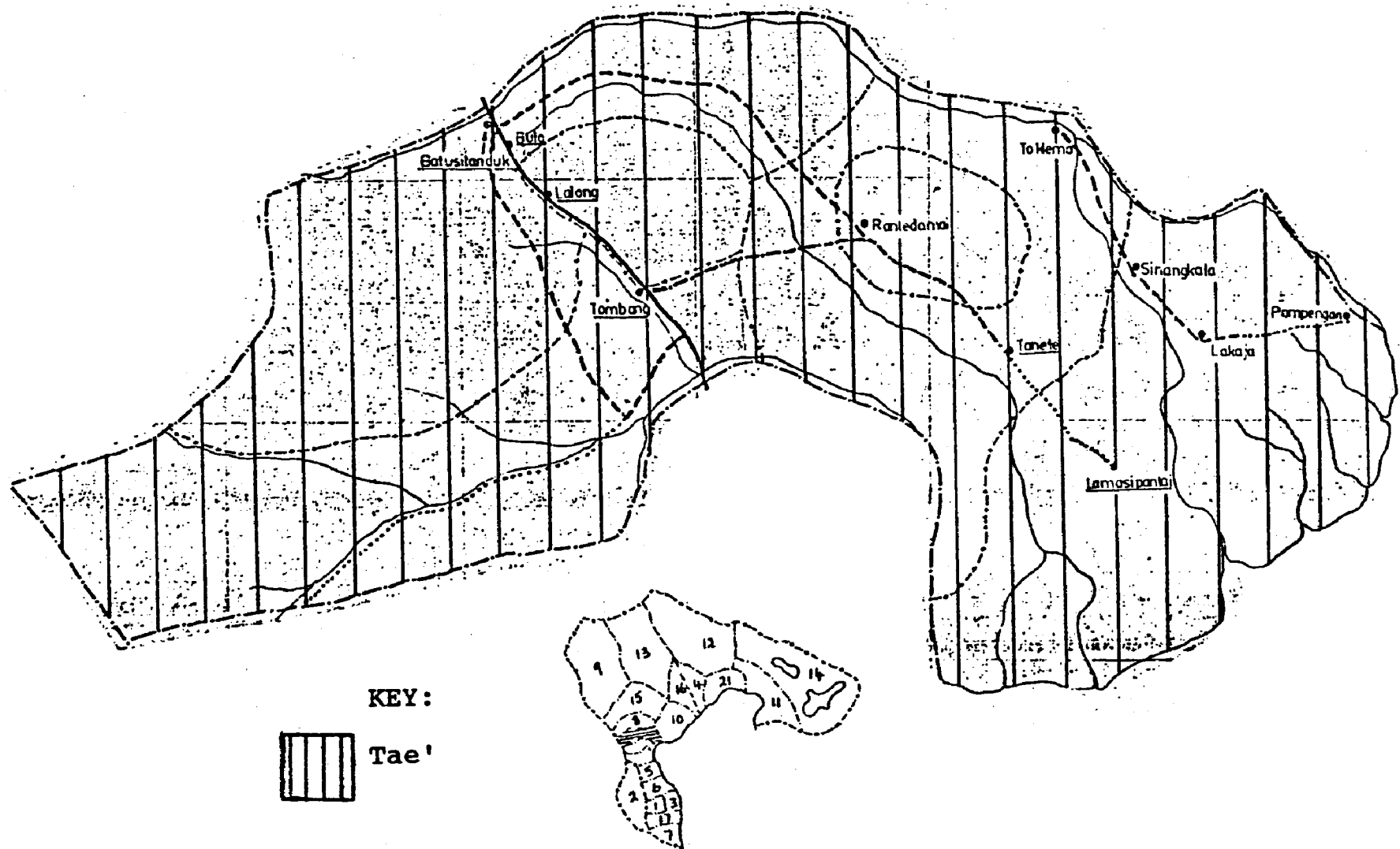
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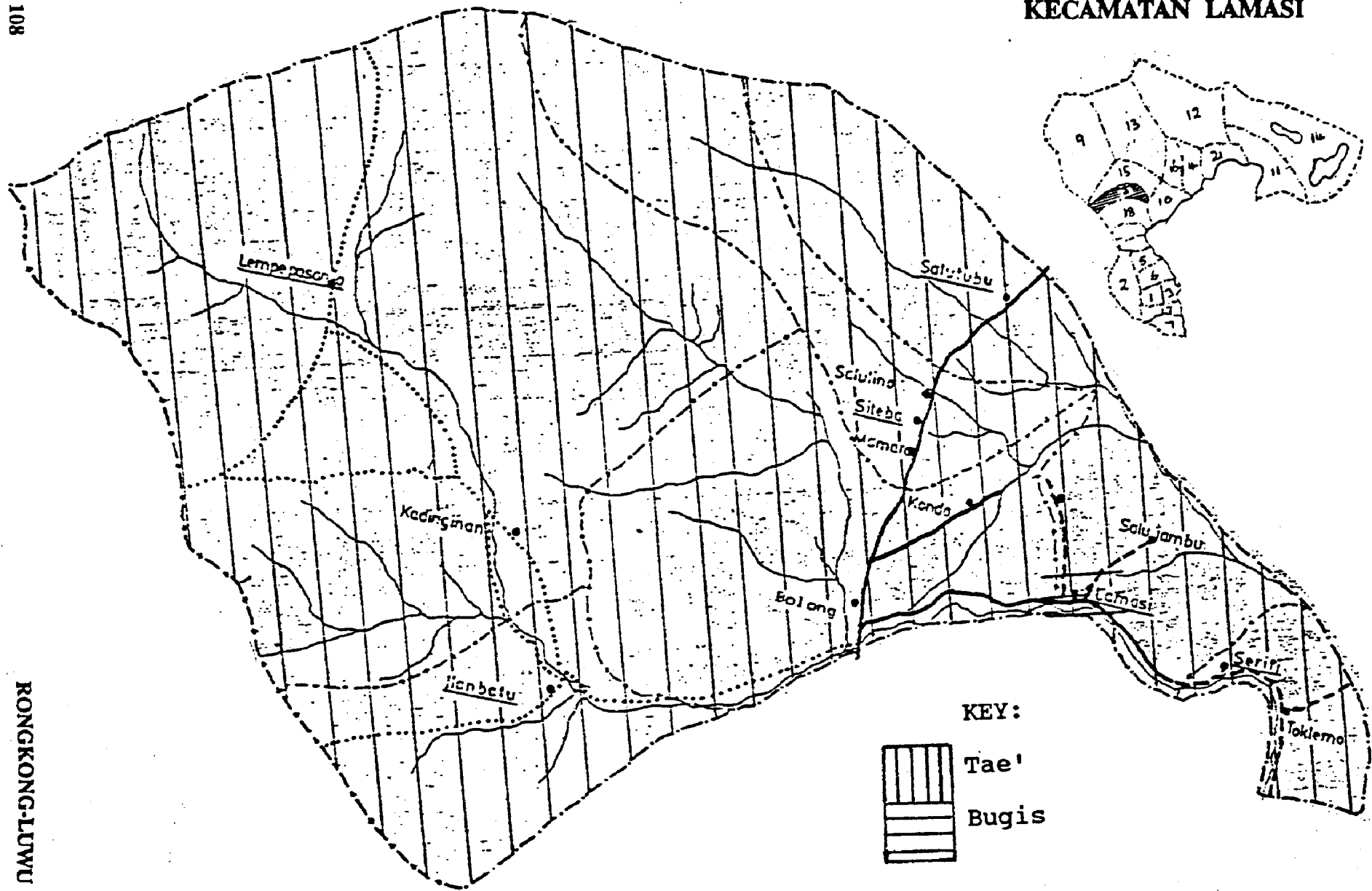
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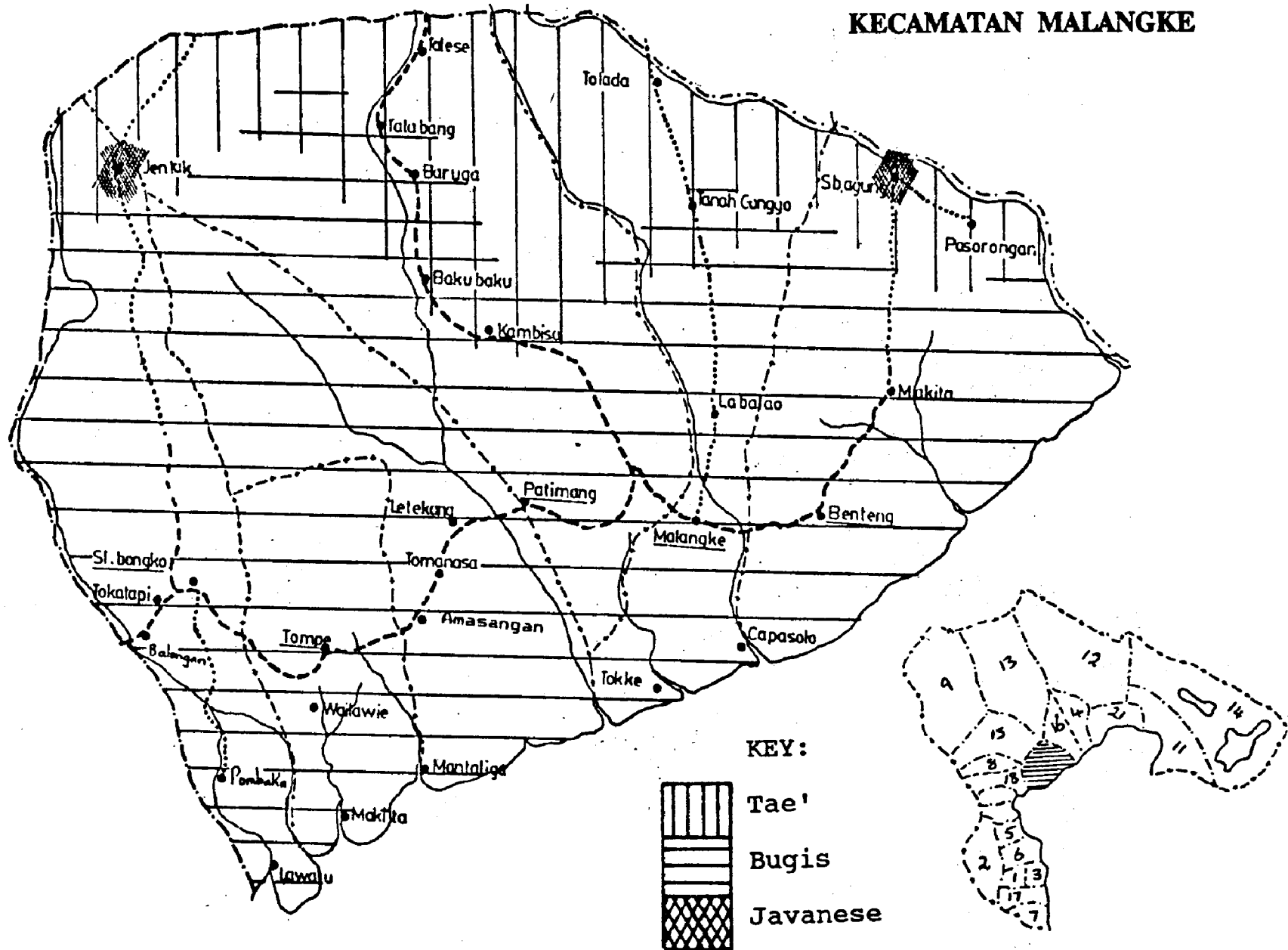
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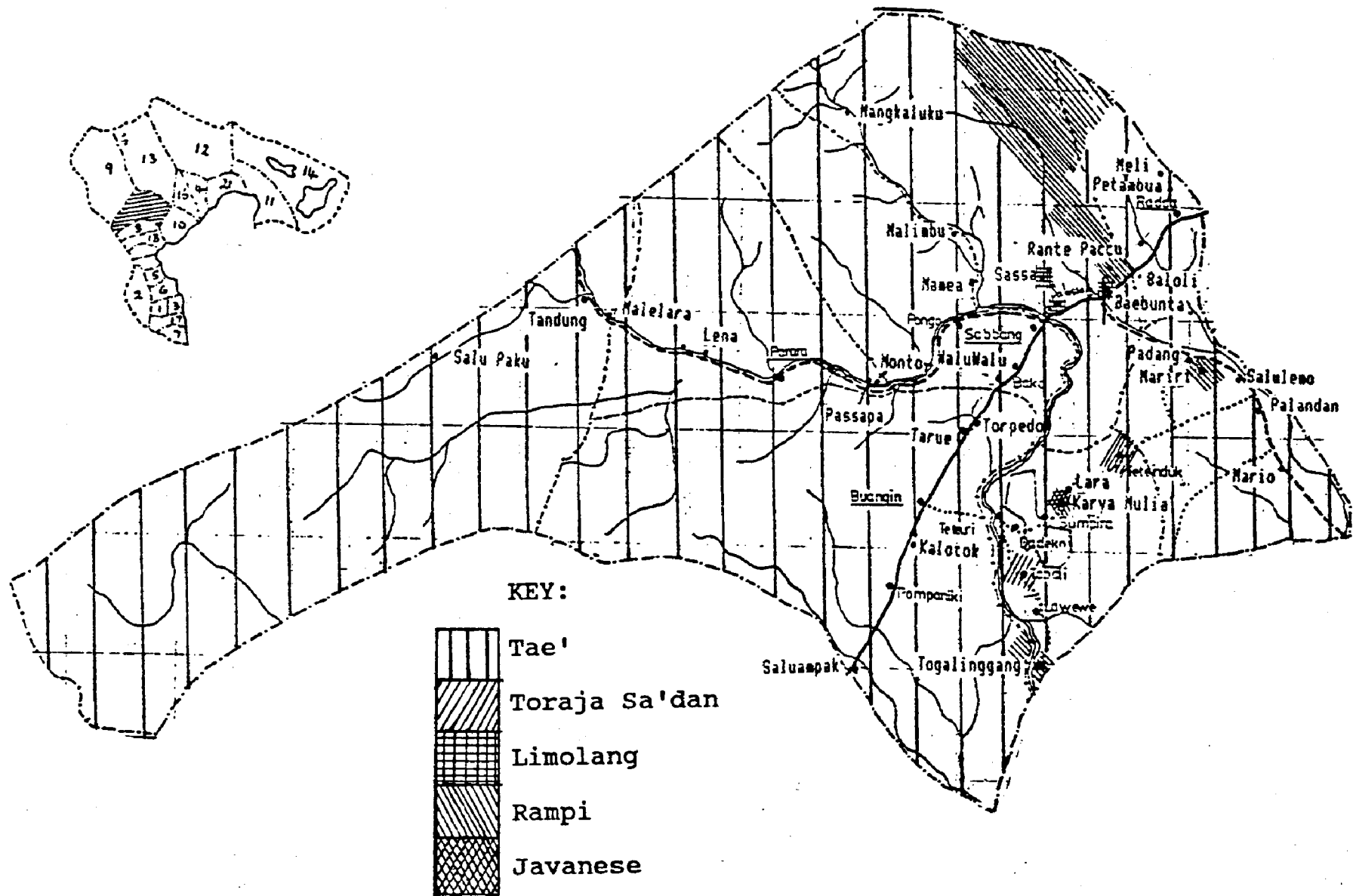
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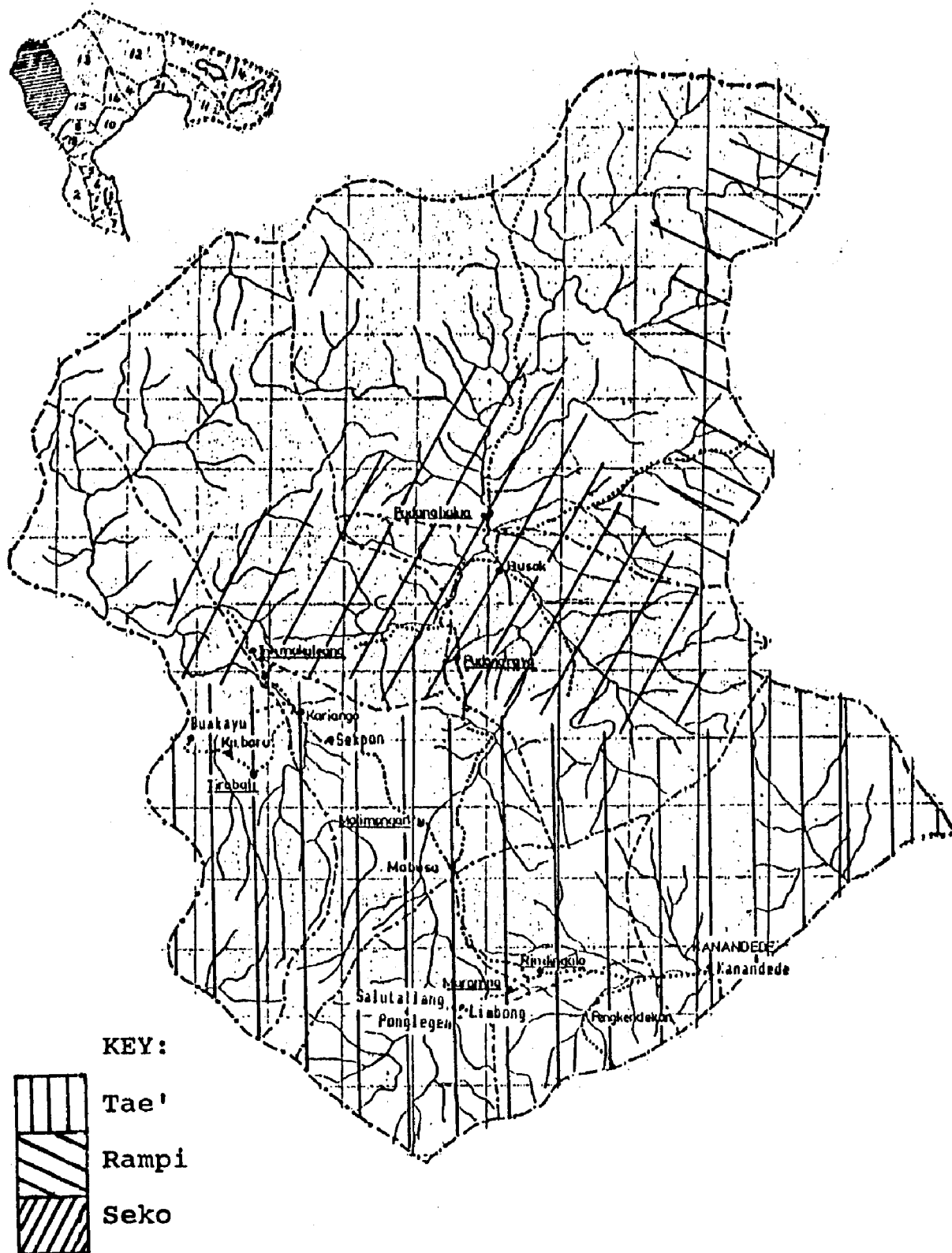
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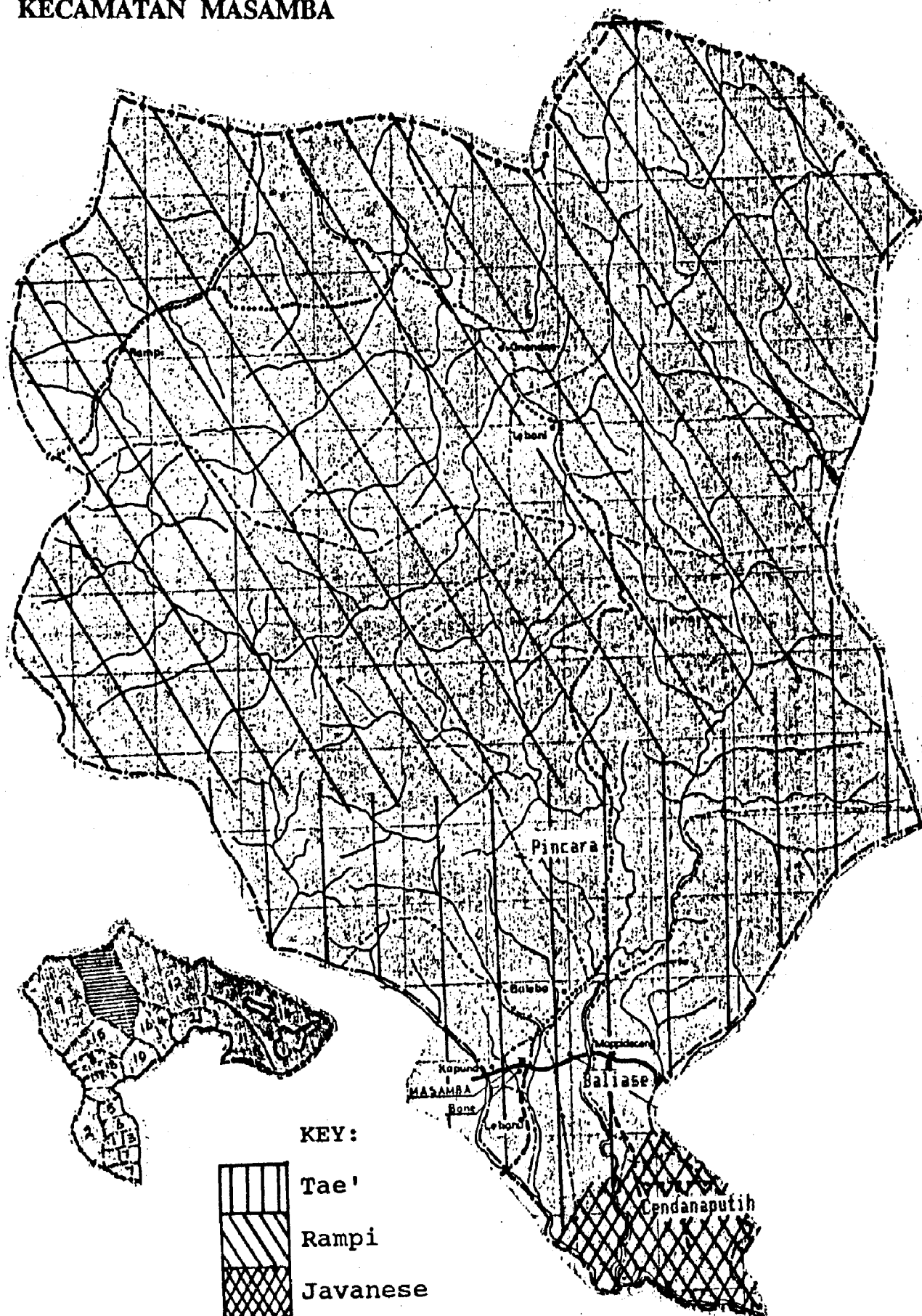
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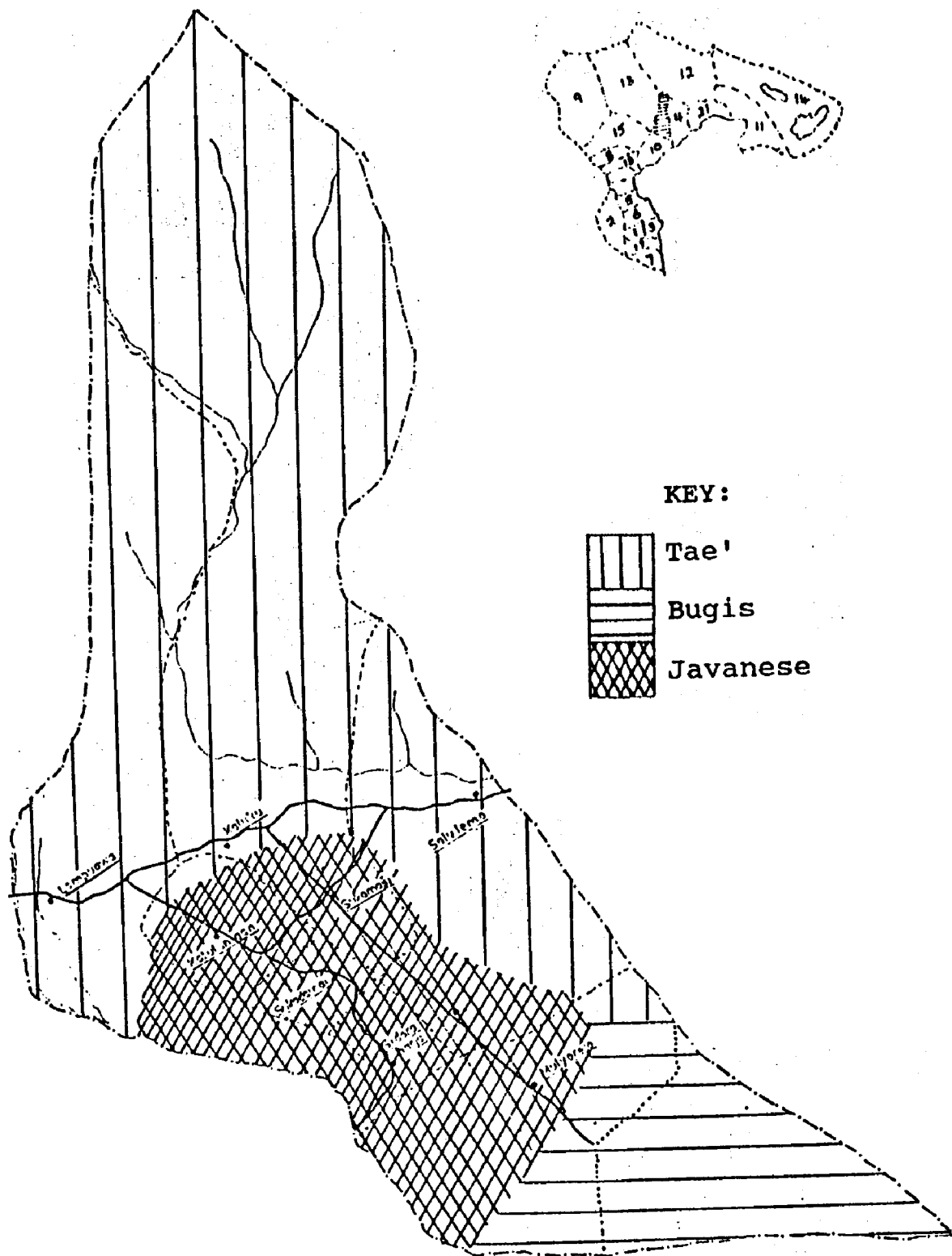


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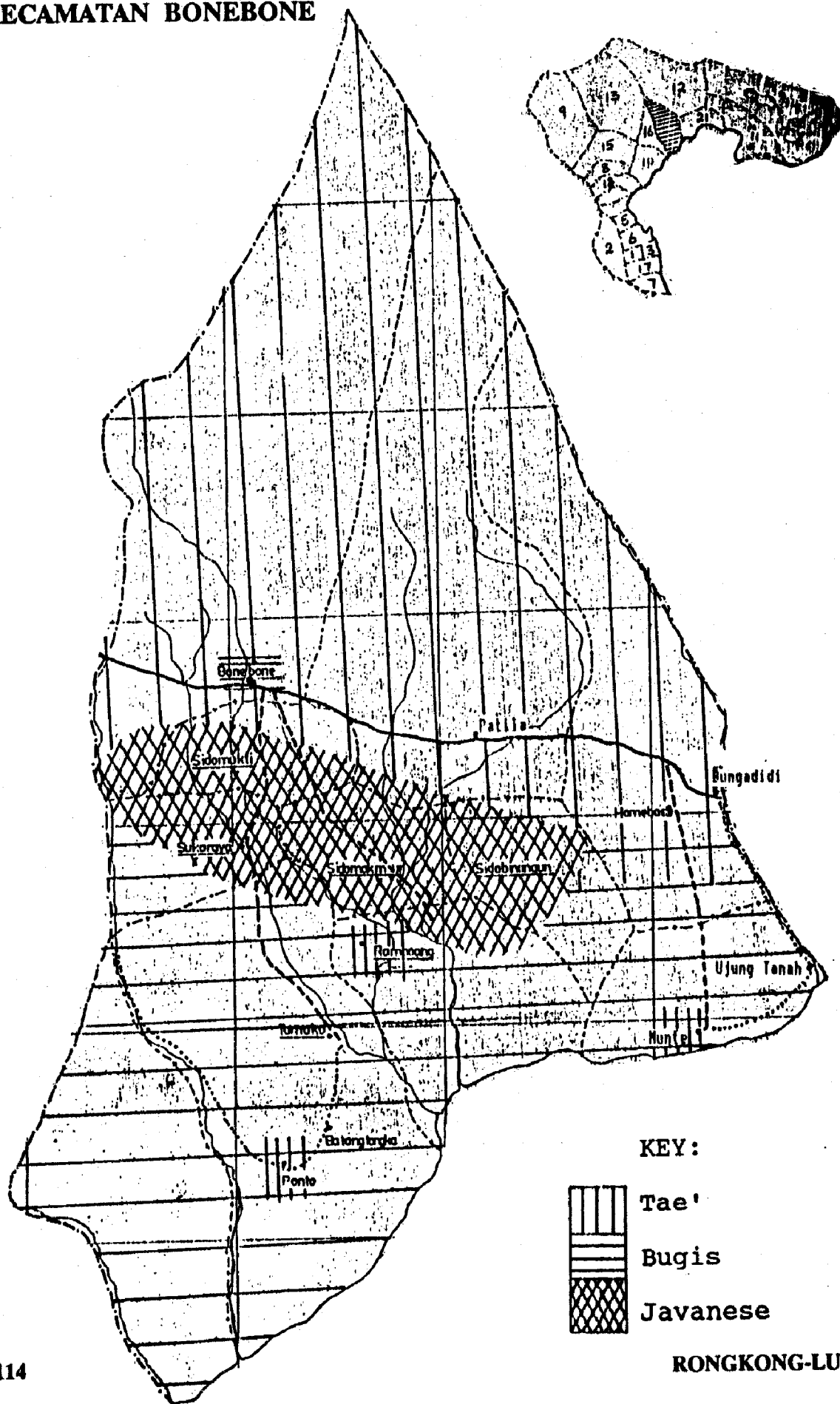


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**KECAMATAN SUKAMAJU**

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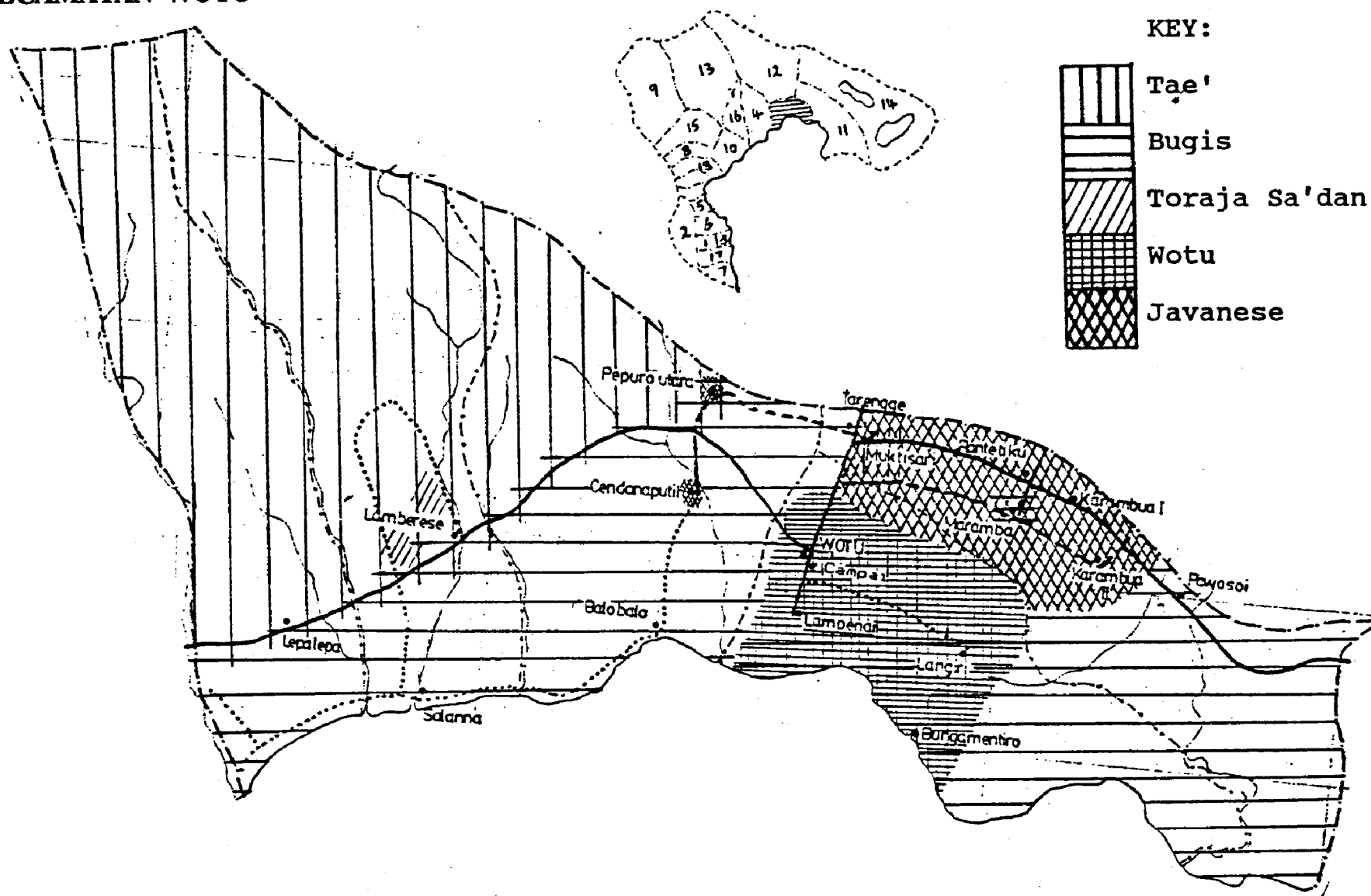
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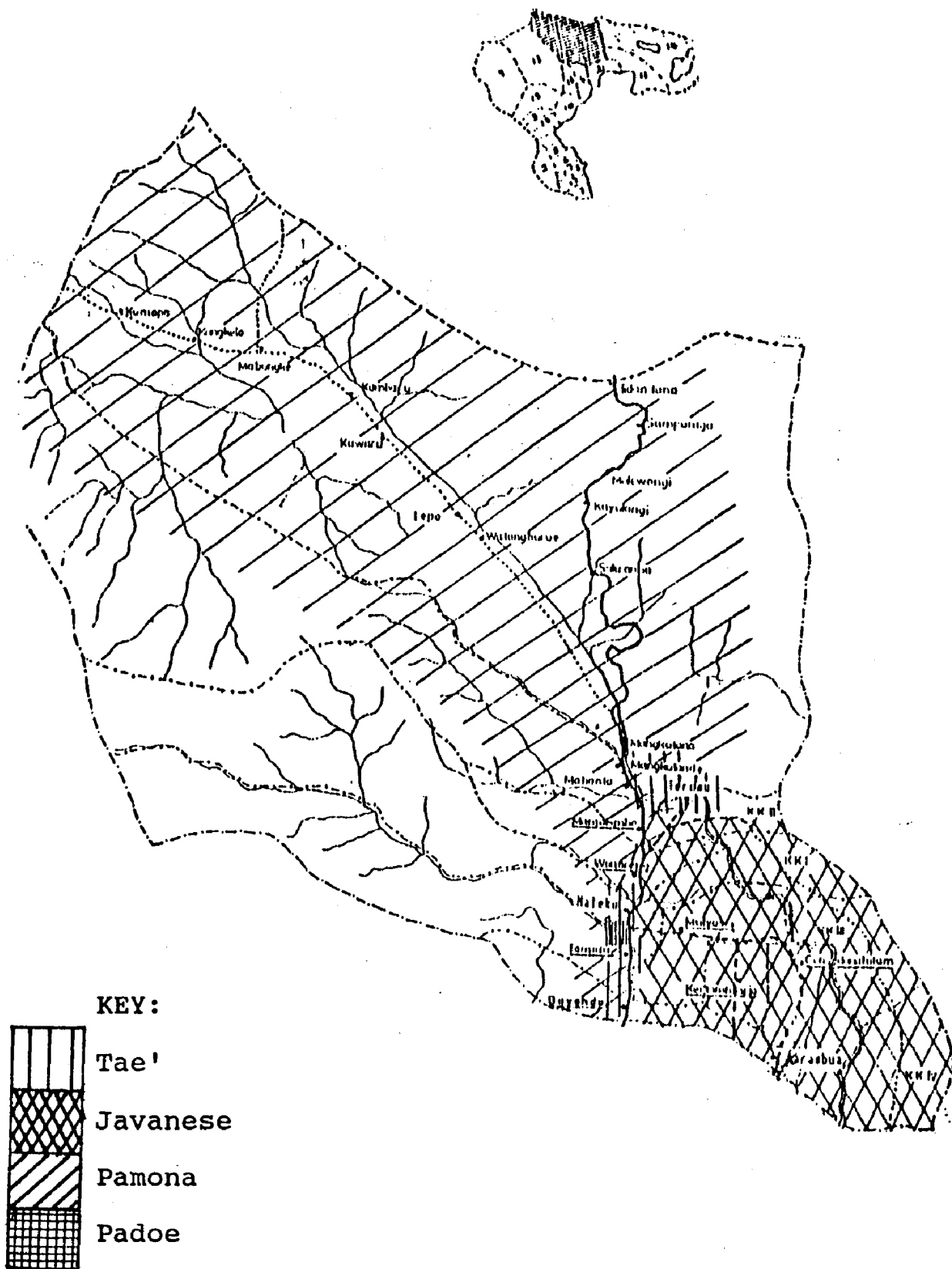
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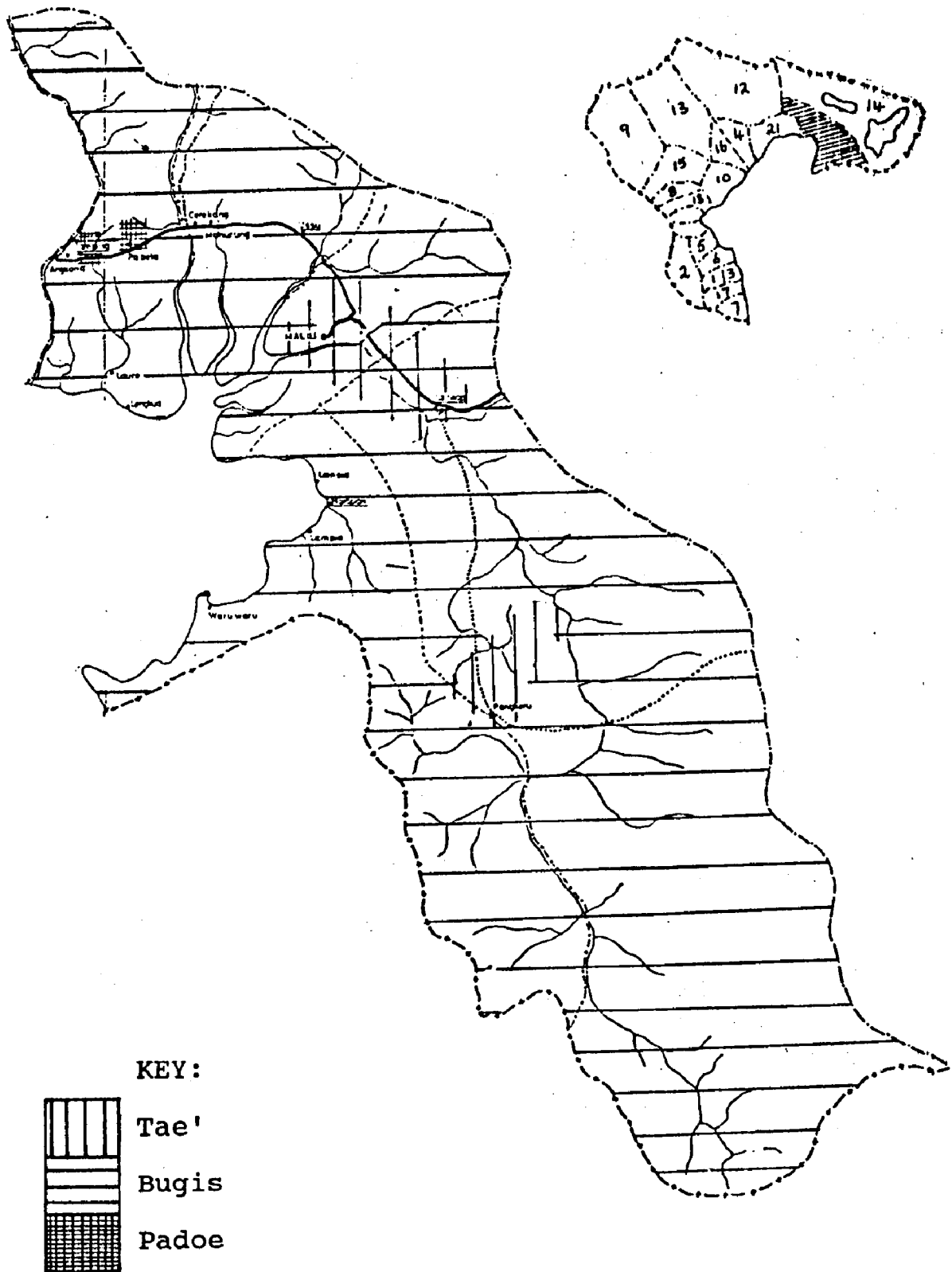
# KECAMATAN WOTU



**KECAMATAN MANGKUTANA**



# KECAMATAN MALILI



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