

SOUTH SULAWESI LANGUAGES, 1989¹

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With six years to follow up Charles and Barbara Grimes' survey of the languages of the province of South Sulawesi, we have greatly expanded our knowledge of the situation. Our paper is intended to update their Pacific Linguistics publication, Languages of South Sulawesi, and should be read with their work in hand. Our identification of languages is still based on statistics of lexical similarity and supplementary sociolinguistic information, but we have covered the territory more thoroughly now, paying more attention to language boundaries among other things. We also present an amended set of priorities for further investigation.

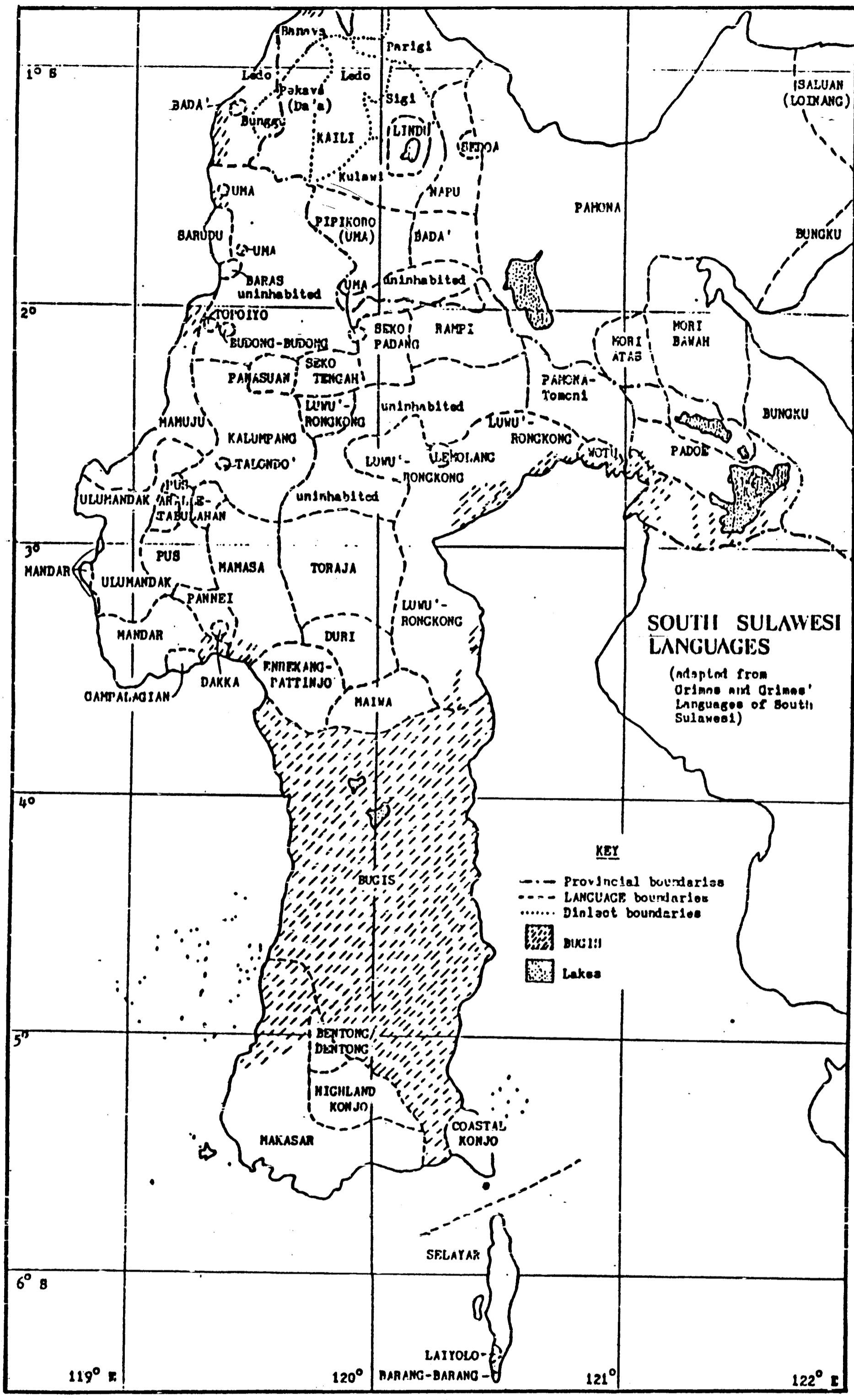
In 1982-1983 Charles and Barbara Grimes undertook a survey of the languages of the province of South Sulawesi as part of the cooperative agreement between Hasanuddin University, Ujung Pandang, and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. This work was published in 1987 as Languages of South Sulawesi (hereafter LOSS). It is notable for its overview of the province's languages and for the review given to the work of previous scholars in the field.

Taking the Grimeses' work as guide, members of the UnHas-SIL cooperative agreement undertook a series of sociolinguistic surveys in South Sulawesi to augment our knowledge of those same languages. Those surveys were made in 1983-1988. Those surveys are for the most part reported in Friberg (1987). The survey of the Bugis language has been published (Friberg and Friberg 1988). The Makasar family survey² and an updated Padoe'-Mori survey, first reported here, will be published elsewhere. These subsequent surveys have produced a wealth of information, resulting in over 300 wordlists and scores of sociolinguistic questionnaires.

The sociolinguistic surveys, though very much still surveys, have greatly expanded our knowledge of the present situation in South Sulawesi. And it is also clear to us that they have shown other areas that further need to be investigated. It seems appropriate at the present time, then, that something be said of the current state of our knowledge. For though LOSS will surely stand as the reference in the field, it is in need of supplementary update. The present paper will summarize their own statements of what needed further investigation³, the findings of those subsequent surveys and what remains to be done³. Furthermore, it will also show developments that Grimes and Grimes did not anticipate, deficiencies in the overall picture that can now be filled in, as well as our own set of priorities for further investigation.

Our approach will be to follow the outline of languages given in chapter three of their work, correcting and elaborating where appropriate.

Dialects face the field linguist wherever he goes in South Sulawesi. Even if the language has distinct borders with its neighbors, it is sure to have internal variation. But more often than not a language merges with its neighbors in a complex chaining relationship. Where there is some question of where to draw such language borders, we have frequently fallen back on sociolinguistic considerations. Both Grimes and Grimes and the follow-up surveys were faced with dialect relations and in general tried to make some statement of those relationships. However, it seems to us less than useful to try to name the dialects and map out their boundaries based on statistics of shared lexical similarity without supplementary information. Our surveys have gone much further than that of LOSS in delineating dialects, but for the most part fall short of the greater indepth knowledge of specific languages needed to support them. Let the interested



Map 1: South Sulawesi Languages

reader compare LOSS and our follow-up surveys for the dialect information he seeks. We have greatly limited the discussion of dialects in this paper.

1 SOUTH SULAWESI STOCK

1.A MAKASAR FAMILY: Makasar, Bentong-Dentong, Highland Konjo, Lowland Konjo, Selayar

A Makasar survey has recently been completed. It will ultimately report on dialects within the languages of the Makasar family. At this point, however, we may report a language situation more complicated than that reported by the Grimeses. To the three member-languages of their subfamily, Makasar, Konjo and Selayar, we may now add another two. The first is a division of the Konjo dialects, highland and lowland or mountain and coastal, into separate languages. Both linguistically (79%) and sociologically the languages are separate. Lowland Konjo represents a dialect chain extending from the tiny but culturally significant Tana Toa enclave in the north southward to the Ara and Bira varieties that show strong affinities with Selayar to the south. Highland Konjo represents a series of dialects made more distinct by the geography of mountain and valley.

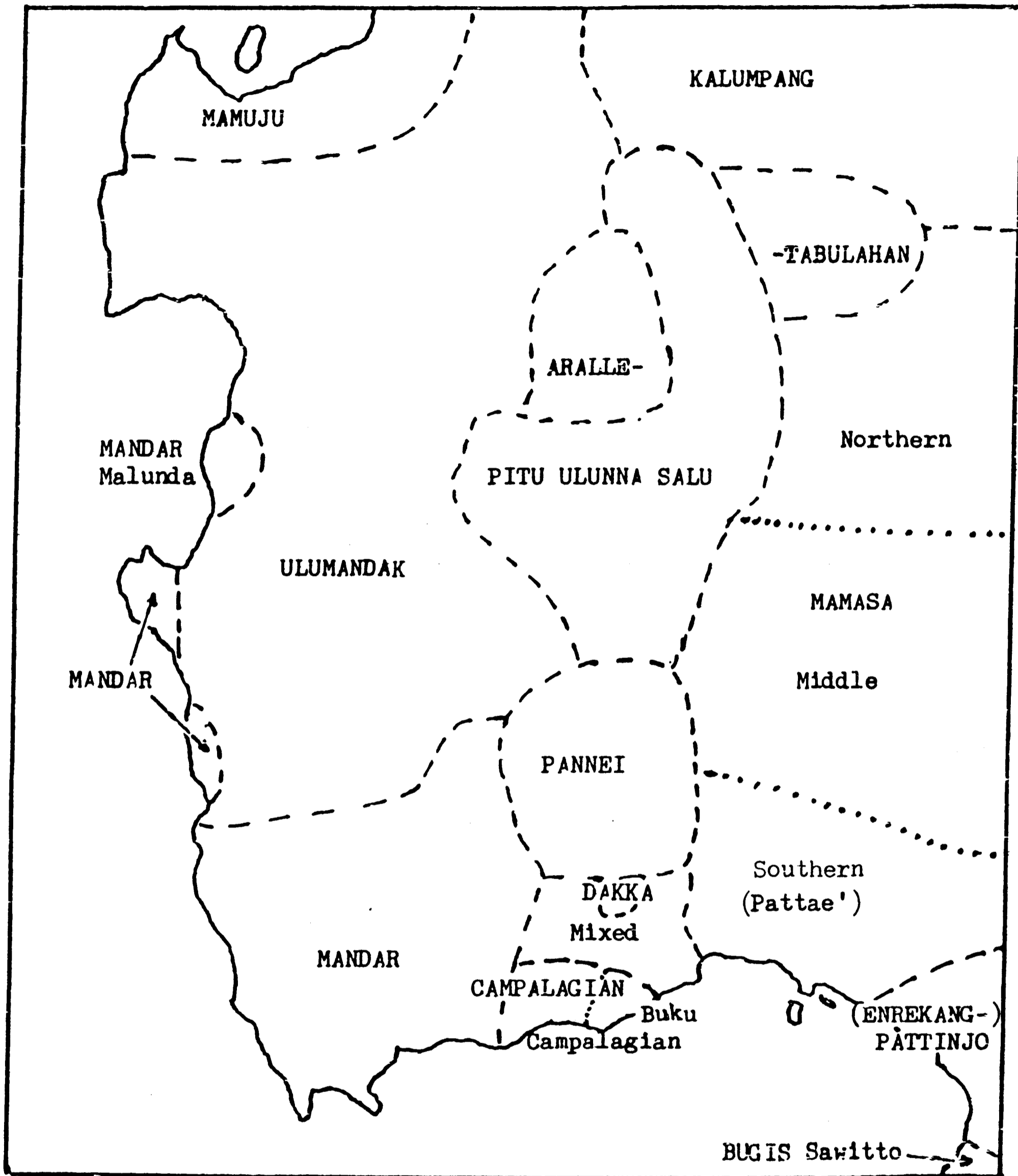
The second addition to the family is the language variously known as Bentong or Dentong found in the northwest area identified as Konjo in Grimes and Grimes' Map 3 (LOSS p.20). This is a distinct sociolinguistic grouping found where Makasar, Bugis and Highland Konjo meet. The names are derived from Bugis and Makasar words for 'nonfluent', but have no negative connotations to the speakers themselves.

LOSS Map 3 shows two overlaps that deserve comment. First, the Bugis and Makasar overlap in Maros and Pangkep districts is of interest because though there is a crosshatching of the two languages, each remains distinct. Our census of the area remains only to be put in map form to show historical movements that have not resulted in the convergence of the two languages. Though many in the area speak both languages, it is the regular case for a speaker to identify himself clearly as one or the other. (Incidentally, LOSS Map 6, Dialects of Bugis, Makasar and Konjo, obscures the fact that where the dialect of Makasar, there given as Maros-Pangkep, is spoken, the Bugis dialect known as Pangkep is also spoken.) The second overlap is that shown between Highland Konjo and Makasar. Our village by village survey in the area has shown this not to be the case. Whereas there is a definite chaining in the area, there is no occurrence of Konjo and Makasar overlap.

The following matrix gives the relationship among the five Makasar family members. (We now call it the Makasar family, rather than subfamily, because much of the spread is below 75%.)

1. Makasar (Lakiung)	M̄			
2. Bentong-Dentong	75	B-D		
3. Highland Konjo	68	77	HK	
4. Lowland Konjo	70	73	79	LK
5. Selayar	63	65	71	79 S

The low figure of lexical similarity given in this matrix between Makasar and Selayar, 63%, compared to the higher figure given in LOSS, 69%, may be generally attributable to the Selayar speech form elicited. The Grimeses' wordlist was apparently elicited in the northern quarter of the island. Ours included here was elicited in the southern third. Of the Selayar forms on our wordlist not lexically similar to Makasar, a great number are in fact lexically similar to Laiyolo. Both lexical and phonological (e.g., prenasalized stops) similarities between Selayar and the Kalao family languages point to an influence of the latter far out of proportion to current size and status. (We have in fact collected multi-



LANGUAGE NAME
 Dialect Name

Key
 --- Language boundary
 Dialect boundary

Map 2: Mandar, Pitu Ulunna Salu subfamily, and surrounding languages

ple wordlists for the Makasar family member languages and will report on chaining relationships at a different time.)

1.B BUGIS FAMILY: Bugis, Campalagian

LOSS gives Bugis and Campalagian as members of the Bugis family. The Bugis dialect survey found another language identified as Malimpung, with 5000 speakers, nestled between Bugis and Enrekang. Investigation subsequent to the Bugis survey (Kari Valkana, personal communication) has shown that both by retaking the wordlist and plotting shared innovations, Malimpung is linguistically clearly a Masenrempulic speech form, the perceptions of its speakers notwithstanding.

Within Bugis itself much more could be hoped for, not only beyond LOSS but also beyond our own dialect investigations. The dialect that needs the most ongoing investigation is Sawitto, not only because Bugis speakers identify it as the most divergent, but also because it is adjacent to Pattinjo of the Masenrempulu family. A precise village-by-village identification of Pattinjo and Sawitto speakers, as done for Bugis and Makasar in Maros and Pangkep districts, will prove helpful. We also suggest the attractiveness of an internal reconstruction of the spread of Bugis dialects, guided by external studies such as Mills (1975) and LOSS. Further, Bugis speech forms outside of South Sulawesi, for example, that found in Donggala of Central Sulawesi and the various forms found in Sabah, Malaysia, should be brought into the larger picture. Finally we see the need for an intelligibility testing of the peripheral Bugis dialects against the center, at very least, to demonstrate whether the comprehension claimed by Bugis speakers is as extensive as that.

Campalagian has been shown in our surveys to be spoken by many more people (30,000 versus 12,000 in LOSS) and to consist of two dialects, the second in the village of Buku. The Grimeses suggest that there is convergence between Mandar and Campalagian. We would like to investigate the possibility that there is also convergence between Bugis and Campalagian and that perhaps the latter may be a family-level isolate in the South Sulawesi Stock.

1.C NORTHERN SOUTH SULAWESI FAMILY

1.C.1 Mandar

Mandar requires some border adjustments. The area shown east of Campalagian (LOSS Map 7) has actually been found to have a mixed population with many immigrants. Any Mandar presence in this area in the past has given way to a very complicated situation (see Map 2 and comments for Dakka and Pannei below.) Malunda (see comments on Ulumandak below) is found to stand quite by itself. Further testing will have to show whether Malunda is really an independent Mandar enclave in Ulumandak territory or an Ulumandak dialect with heavy borrowing from Mandar. Awo' Sumakuyu, identified in LOSS as a Mandar dialect, is really a dialect of Ulumandak. We see the need for dialect location and intelligibility testing to be done in the mixed area east of Campalagian as well as intelligibility testing among the Mandar speech forms as a whole.

1.C.2 Dakka

A language unknown to the Grimeses is Dakka. We classify it as South Sulawesi Stock, Northern South Sulawesi Family. Its speakers number 1500

and live in Wonomulyo subdistrict of Polmas district north of the administrative capital of Wonomulyo. This is on the southern fringes of the Pannei-speaking area. Their religion is Islam. Of sociolinguistic interest is the observation that Dakka children may not be using Dakka, though they have an understanding of it. In the younger generation Dakka is being replaced with Indonesian. This is unusual in South Sulawesi, where language attitudes are so very strong, but may be explained both by the small size of the language and the mixed language situation of the larger area. Further research is called for here.

1.C.3 Mamuju

The Mamuju language is trimmed considerably by our survey findings. Of nine dialects in LOSS, four are lost to other languages. Specifically, Budong-budong is identified as a member of the Seko family (see below), and Sondoang, Tappalang and Botteng are grouped as dialects of Ulumandak. LOSS makes the claim of strong sociolinguistic ties within particular dialects. Further investigation should be done to demonstrate this for Mamuju dialects as over against a general claim for South Sulawesi languages.

1.C.4 Pitu Ulunna Salu Subfamily: Aralle-Tabulahan, Pitu Ulunna Salu (PUS), Pannei, Ulumandak

The Grimeses identify Pitu Ulunna Salu as an independent language of the Northern South Sulawesi Stock. The surveys subsequently undertaken have shown that there are a number of languages in the area forming a subfamily of languages by the same name: Aralle-Tabulahan, Pitu Ulunna Salu, Pannei and Ulumandak. The Grimeses identified seven dialects of PUS, providing wordlists for five of them. The two they did not document turn out to be separate languages, Pannei and Ulumandak. To their credit, they anticipated the possibility of their dialects representing a subfamily of languages. Our dialect findings indicate complex chaining networks even at very localized levels within languages, creating, for example in the PUS language, more dialects than are described in LOSS.

Aralle-Tabulahan is a language which Grimeses' data supported splitting off as separate, but they did not do so out of consideration for the chaining relationship with the Mambi dialect. Both SIL and non-SIL field researchers in the area (Ken George, personal communication) support the sociolinguistic separation of Aralle-Tabulahan, along with Mambi, from other speech forms. Our data show the following relation among the three:

1. Tabulahan	T		
2. Aralle	89	A	
3. Mambi	82	86	M

The PUS language itself numbers an estimated 22,000 speakers. The dialect situation is difficult, showing not only lexical variation but also phonological. An intelligibility testing is planned for PUS, both internally and in its relationship with Mamasa. Of the PUS dialects remaining after adjusting LOSS for the new languages as mentioned above and/or discovered in our surveys of the area, Matangnga is the most divergent. It should be tested against Pannei.

The relationship of PUS to its neighbors Mamasa, Mamuju, Ulumandak and Mandar, needs to be carefully looked into. The occurrence of transitional dialects makes this whole area one large linguistic continuum. Our decisions on where to draw language boundaries have largely been based on sociolinguistic factors.

Pannei is situated at the southern reaches of PUS. Its speakers

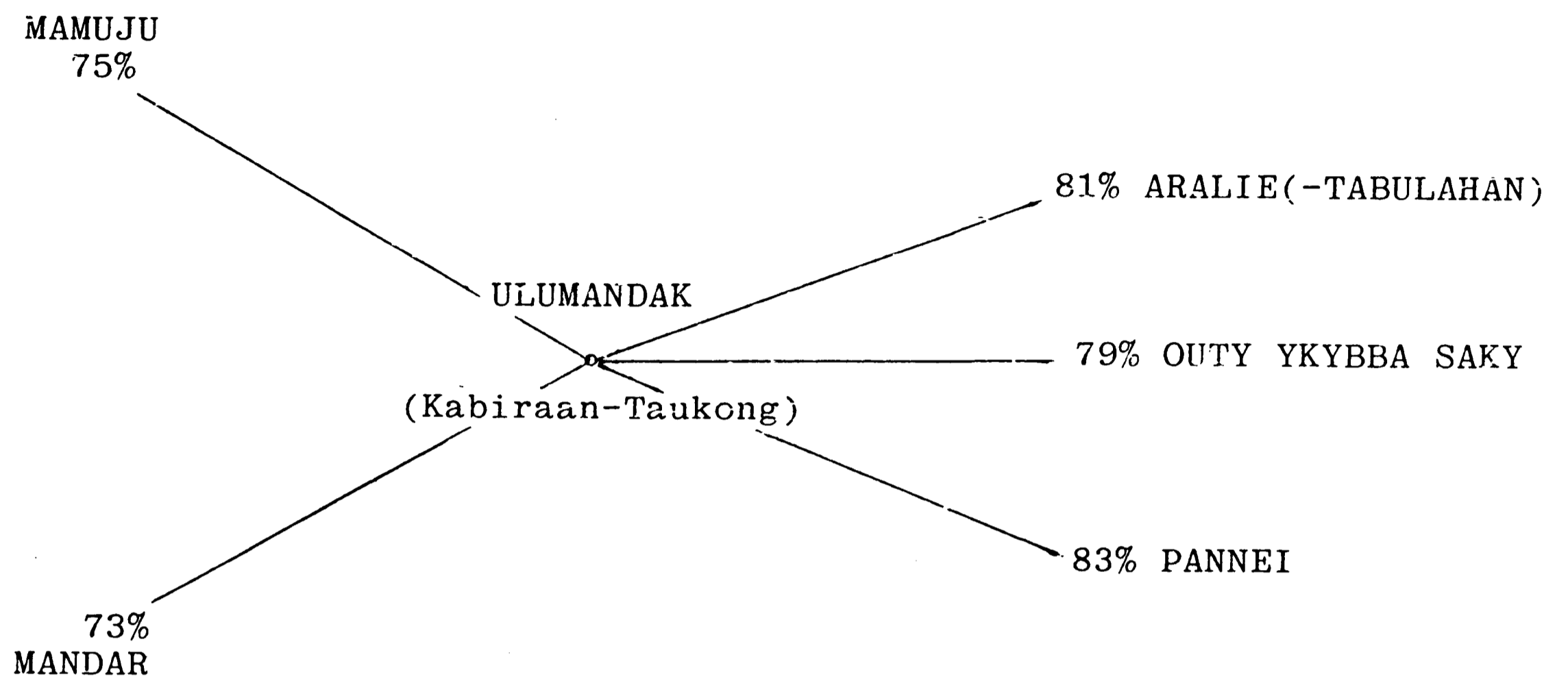


Diagram 1:

Relationship of central dialect of Ulumandak to surrounding languages, percent lexical similarity

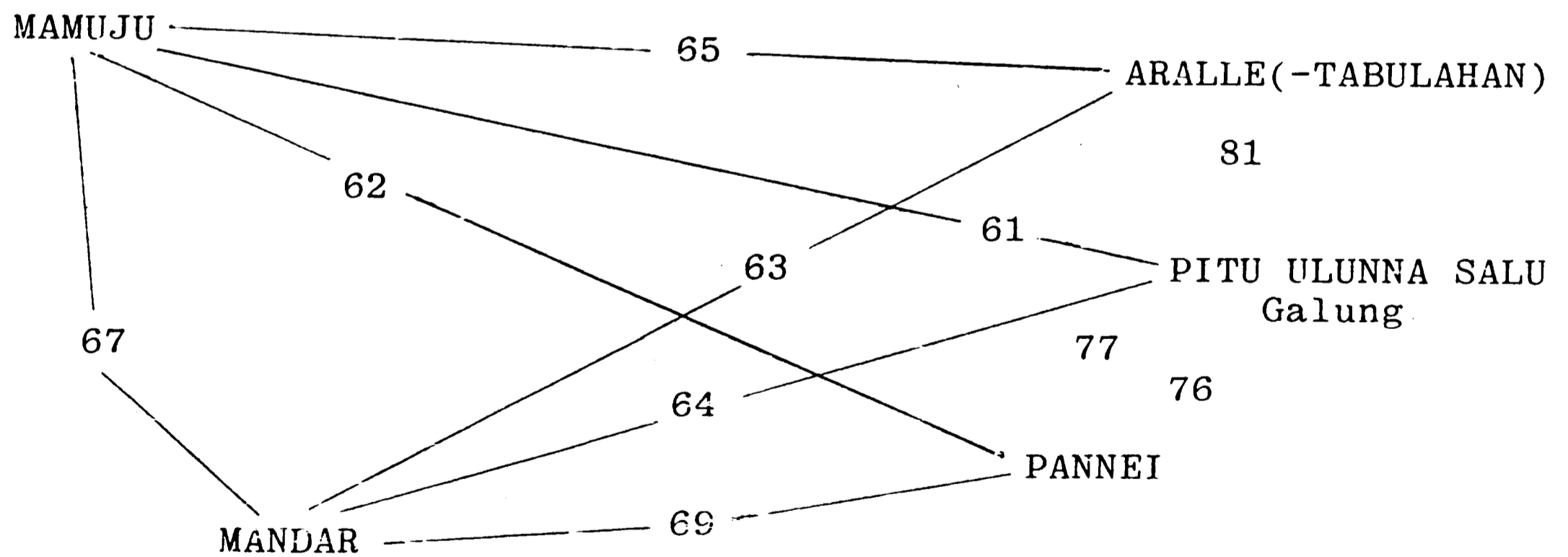


Diagram 2:

Lexical distance (percent similarity) between languages surrounding Ulumandak

number an estimated 9000. Its religion is Islam. Whereas Pannei's status as a separate language is taken as a given, internal dialect and external relation studies should be carried out. Pannei roughly occupies the location of the untested PUS dialect of Tapango in LOSS.

Ulumandak [ulumanda?] is the largest language to be discovered by these follow-up surveys. It is spoken by approximately 30,000 people in Mandar, Polmas and Mamuju districts. Ulumandak is placed at the convergence of, as well as at the expense of PUS, Mamuju and Mandar. The precise borders of the language need to be further investigated, especially its intelligibility with Aralle-Tabulahan, the Padang dialect of Mamuju, the Malunda and Lenggo dialects of Mandar, and with Pannei. Ulumandak is the untested PUS dialect of Ulunda in LOSS.

We include two diagrams to show the linguistic position of Ulumandak with respect to the surrounding languages and the position of the surrounding languages with respect to themselves apart from Ulumandak.

1.C.5 Toraja Subfamily: Kalumpang, Talondo', Mamasa, Toraja,
Luwu'-Rongkong

The Pattae' language given in LOSS as an independent language in the Northern South Sulawesi family of languages has been reclassified as a member of the Toraja subfamily of languages (see below).

The Toraja-Sa'dan subfamily of LOSS we are more usually referring to as simply Toraja.

Kalumpang shows quite a bit of dialectical variation. Suffice it to say here that among various reported dialects and subdialects, the language may be divided into two major dialect groups, Bone Hau and Karataun (Makki). We see the need for intelligibility testing of Kalumpang with Talondo', Mamasa, Rongkong and Toraja. Interestingly, there do not appear to be any transitional dialects between Kalumpang and these languages.

A language unknown to Grimes and Grimes is Talondo'. In terms of lexical similarity with the closest dialects of Kalumpang, it could at most be considered a divergent speech form. (Talondo' is 80% lexically similar with Kalumpang on average.) But sociolinguistically the language must be considered separate. Kalumpang speakers interviewed on the whole reported no comprehension of it. This seems to be in part due to phonological differences, e.g. h versus r, between the two languages. With what language family shall it be grouped? Initial comparative investigation indicates the possibility of a genetic relationship to Panasuan of the Seko family, with heavy borrowing from Kalumpang, even to the extent of grammatical patterns.

Mamasa between PUS and Toraja needs intelligibility testing to demonstrate its relationship with its neighbors. What LOSS identified as a separate Pattae' language distinct from Mamasa, we have included as the southernmost of three Mamasa dialects. Our team in the area found that the LOSS wordlist for Pattae' was not representative of the speech form as a whole, but rather heavily weighted in favor of Bugis. (The area of their wordlist, Binuang, is heavily influenced by Bugis, not least because of purported significant royal intermarriage during the kingdom period.) Our placement of Pattae' within Mamasa is in agreement with Veen (1929) and Pelenkahu et al (1974). The Northern, Central and Southern (Pattae') dialects of Mamasa are quite divergent and should be studied for mutual intelligibility.

The data available to LOSS 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:

Rongkong	Luwu'
Atas (=upper)	Toala' (upland)
Bawah (=lower)	Palili' (coastal)

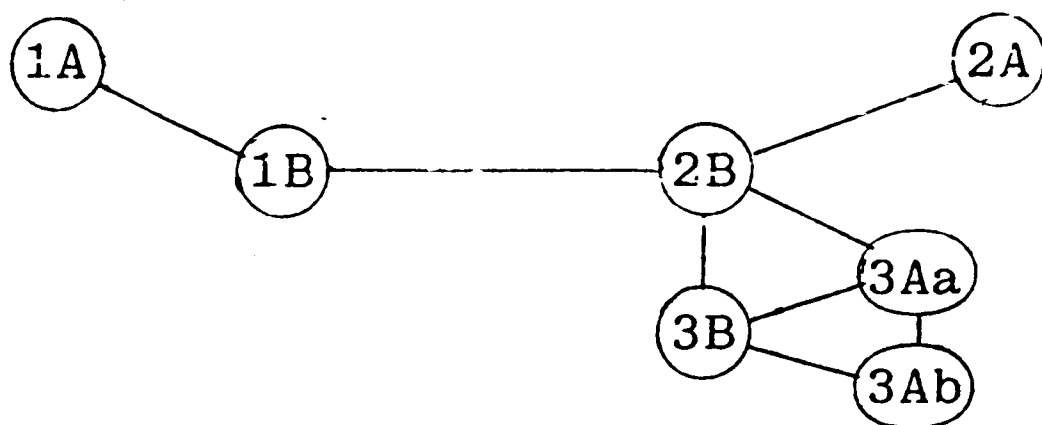
Our surveys group them as one language with three major dialects:

Rongkong-Luwu'

1. Rongkong
2. Luwu' Utara (=northern)
3. Luwu' Selatan (=southern)

This whole linguistic spread will have to be more closely examined by intelligibility testing to see precisely how the linguistic facts and the sociolinguistic perceptions interplay. The linguistic and geographic positions seem to look like the following:

- 1A. Seko Lemo
- 1B. Rongkong
- 2A. Masamba
- 2B. Luwu' Utara
- 3A. Luwu' Selatan Palili' (possibly two dialects, a. and b.)
- 3B. Luwu' Selatan Toala'



(Politically, the area of 2B was once called Rongkong Bawah. Hence the name that the Grimeses used fits there, from that point of view. Having decided to call Rongkong and Luwu' (Palili' and Toala') separate languages, it would have been more accurate to have expanded the Rongkong Bawah dialect to include all the Toala' area north of Palopo.)

We have used Luwu' (rather than Palili' and Toala') as the name for this language in keeping with the predominant use in the district. There seems to be little chance of confusion with the Luwu dialect of Bugis. Though the latter is used to identify the dialect of Bugis spoken in the district, the relatively few Bugis speakers in the district would be loathe to be identified as Luwu'; the most they would accept would be Bugis-Luwu. This district should be mapped carefully for the location of Bugis speakers amongst the more numerous Luwu' speakers. Interestingly, this is one of the few places where Bugis as a language seems to have given way to another language in the area of its contiguous homeland.

Ian Vail (personal communication), having just spent a year living in numerous villages over the wide-spread Rongkong-Luwu' area, will publish separately a definitive statement on the dialect situation in this area. Here suffice it to say that he reports Tae' as the preferred language name. (The corrections to the locations of the Bugis settlements in Luwu district accompanying this paper are also his contribution).

1.C.6 Masenrempulu Subfamily: Enrekang-Pattinjo, Maiwa, Duri

The Masenrempulu subfamily shows some changes based on our surveys. According to lexical similarity counts, we have three languages, Maiwa, Duri and Enrekang. Pattinjo is found to be a dialect of Enrekang, relative to the distance separating the other three, though there is sociolinguistic reason for giving it language status. Duri is midway between Enrekang (75% on average) and Toraja (77% on average). Its speakers overwhelmingly prefer identity with Enrekang, largely for religious reasons, though it is linguistically distinct.

Our data need to be supplemented by a wordlist from the Ranga dialect in Enrekang subdistrict and by a wordlist of the Maiwa language spoken in Sidrap district.

Grimes quoted Mills' data that Cakke and Kalosi villages of Duri have

only 85% shared cognates. Mills was mistaken. They are the same dialect, 95%.

1.C.7 Seko Family: Seko Tengah, Seko Padang, Panasuan, Budong-budong

The Seko family needs only a few corrections. The location of Seko Tengah should read: The entire Seko area includes the northern two-thirds of Limbong subdistrict in Luwu district. Seko Tengah is spoken in the western part of this area along the Betue river. The area called "Seko Lemo" in Limbong subdistrict is inhabited by speakers of Rongkong-Luwu'. Seko Padang is not prestigious over Seko Tengah. Seko Padang is spoken in the eastern part of the Seko area. The religion of Seko Padang is 75% Christian and 25% Muslim. Panasuan is spoken to the northeast of the Kalumpang area, and not, as in LOSS, north of it.

The Budong-budong language (the village and language have been referred to as Tongkou) was misidentified in LOSS as the Budong-budong dialect of Mamuju. It is closely related to Panasuan at 72%. We tentatively place it in the Seko language family, though lexical similarity with Seko Tengah and Seko Padang is not so close, at 61% and 57%, respectively. (Budong-budong is closer lexically to Ulumandak and Aralle-Tabulahan than with these latter two.) The language is small, spoken in only eleven households (less than 100 people). Indeed only five households remain where both husband and wife are native speakers. Factors such as intermarriage and proximity to Topoiyo make language use unstable. It appears to be giving way to Topoiyo.

2 CENTRAL SULAWESI STOCK

We are beginning to see hard evidence emerge that points to the Kaili-Pamona family of LOSS really being two separate families, Kaili and Pamona. The Grimeses simply followed the classification of Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979) and appealed to their numbers of lexical similarity to justify the oneness of the family when their own figures read counter to that. For example, their Figure 6 gives

Topoiyo			
69	Sarudu		
48	56	Pamona (Tomoni)	
34	44	42	Rampi

If 60% is used as the cut-off point, Topoiyo and Sarudu would be members of one family, whereas Pamona would be part of another family. Rampi is perhaps an isolate in the Central Sulawesi Stock, although with further investigation, it may emerge as closer to either Kaili or Pamona.

In our follow-up surveys in Seko, Mamuju and Toraja, our encounters with Central Sulawesi languages all point in the same direction. From the Seko survey:

Bana Uma	
44	Singkalong Rampi

From the Mamuju survey:

Ako' Bada'		Pamona family
52	Uma dialects	} Kaili family
51	75 Sarudu dialects	
50	66 76 Kaili dialects	
41	61 66 65 Topoiyo	

Thus we propose two separate families, Kaili and Pamona, three if Rampi is later shown to be an isolate. For our purposes here we include Rampi with

Pamona. Its member languages are thus Pamona, Bada' and Rampi. Kaili encompasses Uma, Sarudu, Baras, Kaili and Topoiyo.

2.A PAMONA FAMILY: Pamona, Bada', Rampi

We have nothing to add about Pamona, except that further testing is necessary between Pamona Tomoni and the other forms of the language in Central Sulawesi.

The Bada' language identified in LOSS as being at the headwaters of the Budong-budong river is known to only two speakers, who have not had occasion to use it in twenty years. Enough words were remembered by the speaker interviewed to show that this language is the same Bada' as that found in Central Sulawesi. It is also the same as Ako' (see below). Inter-marriage with Kalumpang speakers has been the chief cause of language death. The current Kalumpang-speaking village is near the Topoiyo and Budong-budong languages, on the Budong-budong river, but not at its headwaters.

It may be appropriate to comment on settlement patterns of the Mamuju coast here. From Sampaga to Pasangkayu the coast is only sparsely settled by "original" inhabitants. Apart from three one-village groups not far up-river, it is only the Sarudu and Baras ethnic groups that have lived there for as long as they can remember. The great majority of villages along the coast have been established by immigrants to the area, including Mamuju; Mandar, Ulumandak, Bugis-Donggala, Kaili and Uma as well as Javanese and Balinese transmigrants.

There is a Bada'-speaking village called Ako' in Pasangkayu subdistrict, Mamuju district. These are the same as the Central Sulawesi Bada', having migrated from there three to four generations ago. We find a 90% lexical similarity with the 100-item wordlist given in Barr, Barr and Salombe.

The LOSS wordlist for Rampi was only 82% lexically similar with that given in Barr, Barr and Salombe. It may be that the Grimeses' wordlist was from the Rato dialect. Lebni is not the prestige dialect, unless it is used as a cover term for Rampi which excludes Rato. Only between 1500 and 2000 Rampi speakers live in their original homeland. The rest live in widely scattered, though homogeneous, villages in South and Central Sulawesi, a dispersion resulting from the rebellion in the 1950-1960's.

2.B KAILI FAMILY: Uma, Sarudu, Baras, Kaili, Topoiyo

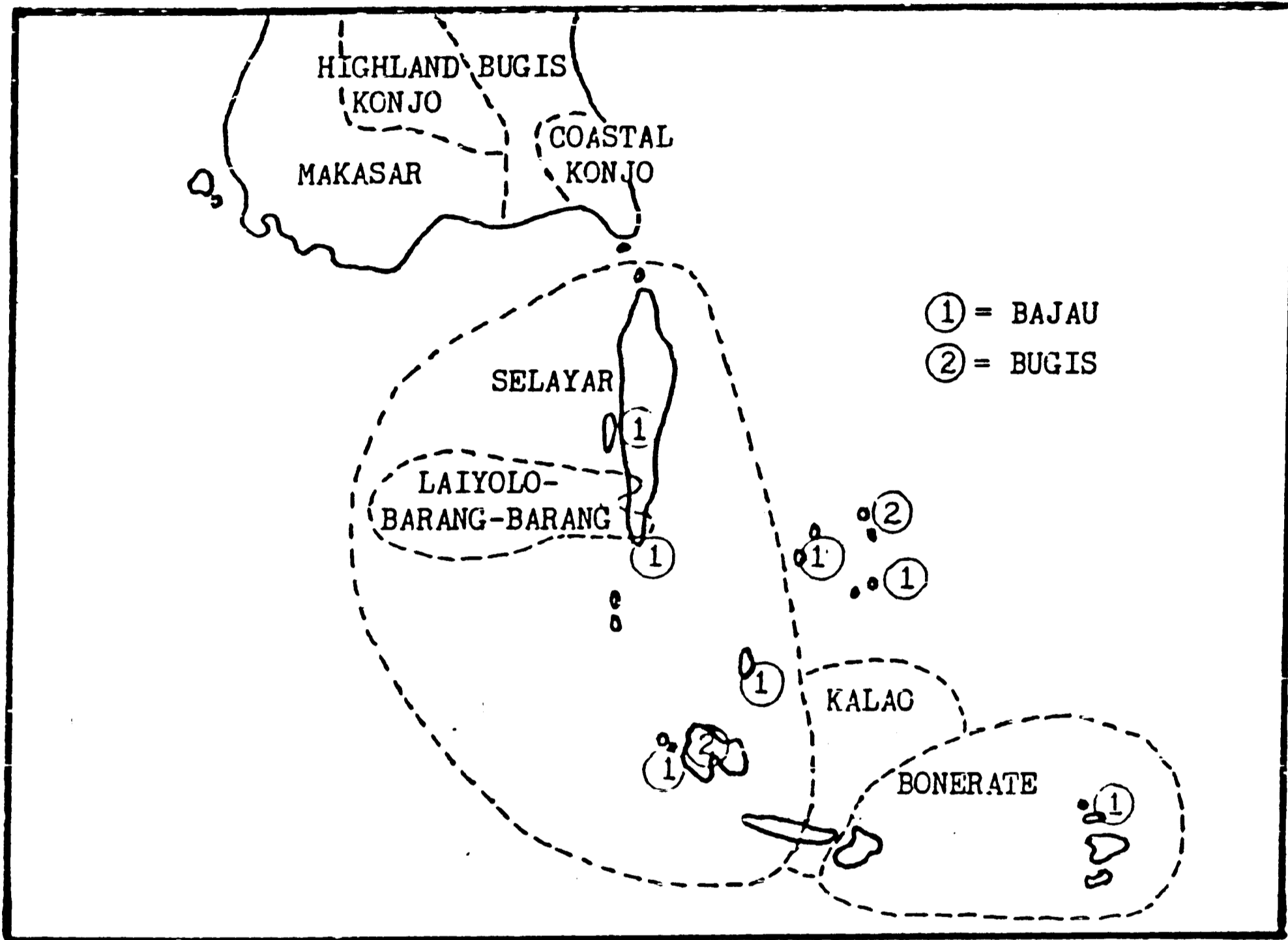
The language identified by the Grimeses as Benggaulu is Uma. The people migrated from Kantevu village of Uma just over 100 years ago. These people in their coastal location have become Muslim.

Although the Grimeses acknowledged the similarity of Sarudu with Uma, they did not allow for the possibility of its being a dialect of Uma. Michael Martens (personal communication) claims intelligibility between Uma and Sarudu. Our investigation shows quite a bit of variation among the dialects of Sarudu as follows:

Sarudu (Grimeses)
86 Nunu' Sarudu
82 84 Kulu (Lariang)

More study is surely called for, especially among the three listed and each of them with Uma. Because of its sociolinguistic separation from Uma (mainly in the Muslim-Christian difference), we follow LOSS here in maintaining its separate identity until further study is done.

The estimate of 4000 speakers for Baras was clearly overly generous. There are approximately 50 households speaking Baras today, perhaps 250



Map 3: Languages of the southern islands

people. Lexicostatistical calculations indicate that Baras is a dialect of Kaili related to Da'a, whereas sociolinguistic factors indicate a separate language, perhaps related to Sarudu. Intelligibility testing with Da'a and Sarudu is called for.

Bunggu as a dialect of Kaili was thought in LOSS to be a variation of Pekava (Da'a). Indeed, it is 98% lexically similar with Da'a. We have identified the following as dialects of Kaili. Indigenous to South Sulawesi are Da'a-Inde, Tado, Baras (Ende) (notice that Baras is described as a separate language above); spoken by immigrants from Central Sulawesi are Ledo, Unde, Rai, Doi. We recommend intelligibility testing between Da'a and Ledo and each of them with Tado, Baras and Doi.

LOSS calls for further study regarding the classification of Topoiyo within the Kaili family. Our studies verify its placement in the Kaili family (average lexical similarity, 65%), but without close or clear-cut connection with any of the other members. The closest is Baras at 68%. Though small (1000 speakers), Topoiyo is vigorous.

3 BUNGKU-MORI STOCK

The Bungku-Mori stock is represented by Padoe in South Sulawesi according to Grimes and Grimes. We have found additionally that Mori Bawah (Soroako and Karonsie dialects) and Mori Atas (Tambe'e dialect) are spoken by native inhabitants of South Sulawesi. We plan to do further study of these languages, to determine their relationship with each other as well as other Bungku-Mori languages.

The Grimeses question whether the Bungku-Mori family should be included in the Central Sulawesi Stock. Our surveys have shown that Pamona-Tomoni is far enough from the Bungku-Mori languages (average 45%) that they should be classified as separate stocks. This agrees with Esser's conclusions and those of Salzner. We tentatively (pending research results in Southeast Sulawesi) follow them as to stock affiliation (their groups). Furthermore, because of the low percentage of lexical similarity between Padoe, Mori Bawah and Mori Atas, on the one hand, and Bungku, on the other, it may be that Mori and Bungku will be shown to be separate families, a tack we tentatively take here.

4 MUNA-BUTON STOCK

Laiyolo and Barang-barang relate at 86%. (In conjunction with the Grimeses' finding that Barang-barang and Wotu relate at 53%, there is an interesting folk history in Barang-barang that two princes were faced with an invasion from the king of Seram. The younger was for war, but the older for peace. The older brother won out over his younger sibling, after which the younger prince and his followers, because of their great loss of face, sailed away to settle in a place called Wotu in Luwu.) The two dialects are not nearly as populous as the Grimeses report. Laiyolo has 600 speakers and Barang-barang 450 speakers. The population figure given for Barang-barang represents only those living in the area. Barang-barang speakers are known to be aggressive in seeking new alternatives. As a result perhaps as many live outside the area, mostly in Ujung Pandang. Laiyolo is under pressure from Selayar in the younger generation but this does not seem to be the case for more isolated Barang-barang.

The LOSS material for the islands south of Selayar needs some adjustment. The eastern half of Kalao Island (just west of Bonerate) does not have Bonerate speakers at all, but another language called by the name of the island. These people number some 500. Their language is related according to them to Barang-barang and Laiyolo and was alternatively said to have come from Seram or Buton. Our figures for the three are as follows:

Barang-barang
86 Laiyolo
77 76 Kalao

(Barang-barang speakers do not identify their language as the same as Laiyolo, only similar. They call their language Lowa [lowi].) We tentatively identify these three languages and Wotu as the Kalao Family within the Muna-Buton stock, the name in deference to folk history which makes Kalao original, followed by Barang-barang and Laiyolo, in turn followed by Wotu.

Bonerate represents a vigorous language. Folk histories tie this people to Buton. We were told that their language was "identical" to Binongko of the Tukang Besi islands. Bonerate ("long beach" in Kalao which claims to be first comer to the area) is also spoken in the three easternmost inhabited islands of the district, Madu, Kalaotoa (old Kalao, from which the Kalao people claimed to have come, having yet earlier left places farther east) and Karompa. The dialect spoken there is claimed to be the same on all three islands. Our wordlist was taken on Madu and is 94% lexically similar with Bonerate of Bonerate island. Whereas Madu is fully populated by Bonerate speakers, Kalaotoa is populated by several languages, Selayar, having come since Indonesian independence, Bajau, Konjo (from Bontotiro subdistrict of Bulukumba district) while Karompa is populated by Bonerate speakers and Bajau speakers as well as a few recent immigrants from Batuatas island in the Buton area.

Bonerate relates to Kalao, Barang-barang and Laiyolo at 31%, 26%, 25%, respectively. This clearly suggests different stocks for Bonerate and the Kalao family, but we refrain until we have compared the disparate two with languages in Southeast Sulawesi.

5 BAJAU

LOSS calls for further investigation and classification of Bajau. We are just beginning to undertake that very investigation, to include sample wordlists from Bajau communities in all four provinces of Sulawesi, their locations in Maluku, Sabah, the southern Philippines and possibly Kalimantan. Recent wordlists from two Bajau communities in distant places in South Sulawesi, Bone (Same') and Selayar (Jampea-Kayuadi), show an 84% relationship. It may also be noted now that the Bajau located in Pulau Sembilan (Sinjai district) have become Bugis speakers in the younger generation.

6 RESIDUE: Lapaso, Topembuni, Latimojong, Baliase, Bali

The Grimeses reported the possible existence of five languages they could not verify or substantiate. We vigorously looked for Lapaso in Barru district. The report is either about the southernmost village in the district which is the northernmost village of Bentong-Dentong speakers (see above), or a small group of people whose folk history has them exiled as Duri slaves in service to the banished daughter of the Bugis Barru king. Interviews with some of them who have been resettled by the government out of their forest caves indicate that even in the time of their parents (one interviewee was in his seventies) there was no other language in use but what they use today, Bugis. The difficulty in knowing which of these two groups fits the description in Palenkahu et al (1974), quoted by LOSS, is that local officials were unable to identify any landmark as Lapaso mountain.

The description of Topembuni in Mamuju district perfectly fits an enclave of the Uma (Bana) people in Seko Padang.

We have not yet been able to confirm or deny two other groups listed

by LOSS: the Latimojong of southwest Luwu district and the Baliase in central Luwu district.

The speakers of Bali on Sailus island of Pangkep district do not exist according to government sources. Perhaps the report originated from the name of the last island in that group, Kapoposang Bali, the end of Bali. The preliminary village-by-village survey done by mail thus shows no Balinese speakers at all in Pangkep (there are Balinese transmigrants in several locations in northern South Sulawesi). However, that same survey showed speakers of Tubo Mamuju. This unknown group has yet to be visited.

ANNOUNCEMENT

We are happy with the finer tuning that these sociolinguistic surveys have been able to give the classification of the languages of South Sulawesi. But we hope for much more. Specifically the sociolinguistic surveys, though working with recognized linguistic field instruments, have done little more than speak about synchronic relationships obtaining between languages. Thus we have usually been careful to speak about lexical similarity rather than cognate relationships. However, we want to see diachronic relationships established, both internally within South Sulawesi and externally with the wider Austronesian world. To this end we have taken two steps.

First, we have developed a Sulawesi Wordbook, a 488-item wordlist, coded for its various subsets. These subsets include all culturally relevant items from Reid's (1971) Philippine wordlist, the entirety of Blust's Proto-Malayo-Polynesian wordlist and the known Sulawesi survey wordlists. In addition to this we have tightened the elicitation process, especially annotating more than a third of the total items to assure that individual instantiations will have a high degree of correlation with the intended meanings. This has given a higher confidence level to subsequently elicited wordlists.

Second, we have found at the University of Hawaii an archival home for the Sulawesi Wordbook, now containing over 400 wordlists from South and Central Sulawesi languages and expected eventually to represent all four of the island's provinces with more than 750 lists. This database will be available to the linguistic public on generous terms as set forth by the Department of Linguistics, University of Hawaii. We hope that similar wordbook projects in the Indonesian provinces of Maluku and Irian Jaya will similarly become available.

NOTES

¹ This paper was first presented to the Fifth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics (VICAL) in January, 1988 as "South Sulawesi Languages, 1988".

² This survey includes the languages of the islands of Selayar and Pangkep districts.

³ LOSS contains a number of errors of a nonlinguistic nature. Thus there are misspellings and errors of information with respect to religion, population, geography and livelihood. We have not thought it our mandate to correct this information, though some of it will be noted correctly below. We have, however, chosen to follow local spellings and pronunciations wherever possible. Thus a number of language names are different from those found in LOSS. These will be given without comment, an example of which is Makasar, spelled with a single 's'.

Summary Classification of South Sulawesi Languages

Phylum	Super-Stock	Stock	Family	Subfamily	Language
A u s t r o n e s i a n	W e s t e r n	South Sulawesi Stock	Makasar Family		1. Makasar 2. Bentong-Dentong 3. Highland Konjo 4. Lowland Konjo 5. Selayar
					6. Bugis 7. Malimpung 8. Campalagian*
		Northern South Sulawesi Family	Pitu Ulunna Salu Subfamily		9. Mandar 10. Dakka 11. Mamuju
					12. Pitu Ulunna Salu 13. Aralle-Tabulahan 14. Pannei 15. Ulumandak
					16. Kalumpang 17. Talondo'** 18. Mamasa 19. Toraja 20. Luwu'-Rongkong
		Toraja Subfamily	Masenrempulu Subfamily		21. Enrekang-Pattinjo 22. Maiwa 23. Duri
					24. Seko Padang 25. Seko Tengah 26. Panasuan 27. Budong-budong
	Seko Family			28. Lemolang	
				29. Rampi* 30. Bada'*** 31. Pamona*** 32. Uma*** 33. Sarudu 34. Baras 35. Kaili*** 36. Topoiyo	
	S u p e r s t o c k	Central Sulawesi Stock	Kaili Family		37. Mori Bawah*** 38. Padoe 39. Mori Atas***
					40. Laiyolo/Barang-barang 41. Kalao 42. Wotu
		Bungku-Mori Stock	Mori Family		43. Bonerate
		Muna-Buton Stock****	Kalao Family		44. Bajau***
			?		

* Possibly Family-level isolate

** Tentative placement

*** Bada', Pamona, Uma, Kaili, Mori Bawah, Mori Atas and Bajau are demographically centered outside of South Sulawesi

**** Possibly two stocks for South Sulawesi languages alone

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