

THE LINGUISTIC POSITION OF SOUTH-EAST SULAWESI: A PRELIMINARY OUTLINE

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1. INTRODUCTION

About the linguistic map of south-eastern Sulawesi relatively little is known. What is found in the existent publications all goes back - mainly via Esser's language map of Indonesia - to Adriani's work (volume 3 of Adriani and Kruijt 1914). Adriani was able to make only some preliminary, cautious remarks, based on insufficient materials: scanty data in short wordlists jotted down by non-linguists, which gave occasion only for some observations on sound-changes.

Worse still was the lack of knowledge about the number of languages and their geographical distribution, shown (to give one example only) by the fact that Adriani thought that the islands of Muna and Buton had only one language each! That the real facts were much less simple was found out by the government linguist E.J. van den Berg, who worked in the area for several years, just before World War II. Unfortunately, he was killed in the war, and all his materials were lost, so that we will never know how much he found out (see Cense, ed. 1954).

The data presented here were collected during a short stay in the area in July 1975. There was no opportunity then to do much more than elicit some lexical data and find out about the geographical distribution of the various languages and dialects.

The main results are presented here. The original plan of comparing the languages not only with each other but also with those of the rest of Sulawesi has had to be postponed, as it has turned out that in spite of all the work done before, especially by Adriani, we still have a long way to go before any comprehensive picture of the grouping of the Celebes languages can be given.

2. THE WORDLISTS

All the wordlists will be used here but not in full. A selection will be made of those items which could be used for a lexicostatistical classification as a first sorting out of dialects versus languages. Later correction will always be possible, if necessary, e.g. if working out the sound-changes marking the differences offers important alternative solutions.

To show how the dialect-versus-language decisions were made merely on the strength of the materials themselves, without reference to any pertinent statements of the speakers, the lists are given here in the order and with the numbers they were allotted as they came in. The only exception is given under 14, a list of Wolio, already studied before (Anceaux 1952).

The languages are probably representative of the whole linguistic picture of the province of Sulawesi Tenggara, covering the main part of the south-western peninsula of the island and all the adjacent smaller islands, of which Muna, Buton, and Kabaena are the most important.

Of the lexical materials only a few samples can be given here. They were taken at random from the lists. Only for the first six items are all the lists represented; for the other items one list was chosen from each group of what was decided to represent a single language. As to the spelling in the lists: b and d are glottalised ('implosive'), c and j have the Indonesian (EYD) value.

	'One'	'Two'	'Three'
1.	'asa	' <u>d</u> ua	'tolu
2.	'asa	' <u>d</u> ua	'tolu
3.	sa'ʔasa	' <u>d</u> ua	(to)'to:lu
4.	'ʔasa	' <u>d</u> ua	'tolu
5.	'ʔise	lo'rua	to'tolu
6.	'ʔasa	ʔo'rua	ʔo'tolu
7.	me'ʔasa	ʔo'rua	ʔo'tolu
8.	ra'ʔanu, ra'ʔoŋ	'rua(oŋ)	'tolu
9.	'ise, 'sa:de	ʔo'rua	ʔo'tolu
10.	'ise	'rua	'tolu
11.	'satu	'dua	'tiga
12.	'ise	'dua	'tolu
13.	'ise	'dua	'talu
14.	'ise	'jua (-rua)	'talu
15.	di'seʔ	'dua	'tolu

	'One'	'Two'	'Three'
16.	'diseʔ	do'rua	'tɔlu
17.	'ʔise	'rua	'tɔlu
18.	'ʔise	'rua	'tɔlu
19.	me'ʔasa	o'rua	ʔo'tɔlu
20.	se'ise	ru'dua	to'tolu
21.	'ʔise	do'rua	to'tolu
22.	'satu	'dua	'tiga
23.	se'ahu	hu'ahu	tolo'ahu
24.	'ʔise	'dua	'tɔlu
25.	'satu	'dua	tolu'anu
26.	'ʔise	'dua	'tɔlu
27.	'ʔise	' <u>dua</u>	'tɔlu
28.	'ʔise	' <u>dua</u>	'tɔlu
29.	'dise	'jua	'tɔlu
30.	'ise	'jua	'tɔlu
31.	'ʔaso	ʔo'ruo	ʔo'tolu
32.	'ʔaso	ʔo'ruo	ʔo'tolu

	'Four'	'Five'	'Six'
1.	'paʔa	'lima	'nɔ'ɔ
2.	'ngana	'lima	'nɔ'ɔ
3.	'nganna	lɔ'lima	no'nɔ'ɔ
4.	'paʔa	'lima	'nɔ'ɔ
5.	'paʔa	lo'lima	no'nɔ'ɔ
6.	ʔo'pa:	ʔo'lima	ʔo'nɔ:
7.	ʔo'pa:	ʔo'lima	ʔɔ'nɔ:
8.	'pata, pa'ton	lo:'lima	no'nɔ'ɔ
9.	ʔo'pa:	ʔo'lima	ʔon'o:
10.	'ʔampa	'lima	'ʔana
11.	'ʔampat	'lima	'ʔana
12.	'ʔapa	'lima	'ʔana
13.	'ʔapa	'lima	'ana
14.	'apa (pata)	'lima	'ʔana
15.	pa:	' <u>dima</u>	nɔ'ʔɔ
16.	'paʔa	'lima	'nɔ'ɔ
17.	'paʔa	'lima	'nɔ'ɔ
18.	'paʔa	'lima	'nɔ'ɔ
19.	ʔo'pa:	ʔo'lima	ʔo'no:
20.	ʔo'pa	li'dima	no'no:
21.	po'paʔa	lo'lima	no'no:

	'Four'	'Five'	'Six'
22.	'ampat	'lima	'ʔanam
23.	pa'tahu	li'mahu	nomu'ahu
24.	'paa	'dima	no:
25.	pato'ʔonu	lima'ʔonu	nomo'ʔonu
26.	'ʔapa	'lima	no:
27.	pa:	' <u>d</u> ima	no:
28.	'ʔapa	'lima	no:
29.	'paa	'lima	'ʔana
30.	'wapa	'lima	'ʔana
31.	ʔo'ʔoma	ʔo'limo	ʔo'ʔono
32.	ʔo'ʔomba	ʔo'limo	ʔo'ʔono

	'Many'	'I'	'You' (sg.)	'He'
1.	ko'ruo	i'aku	i'koʔo	i'ʔia
5.	to'ʔaru	i'ndaʔ	isu'miu	i'ʔia
6.	me'ʔaru	'ʔaku	'coʔo	i'a
8.	go'ruo	i'aʔu	i'soʔo	'ia
9.	ʔo'mpole	u'ŋkude	i'ŋkoʔo	i'nade
10.	no'baxe	i'no'i	i'ncucu	'a'noa
11.	' <u>b</u> ari	i'aku	i'koʔo	si'ia
13.	' <u>b</u> ahi	i'idi	'hintu	a'noa
14.	'bari	i'aku	i'ŋko:	i'ncia
31.	da'dio	i'naku	i'ñoʔo	i'ε

	'We' (excl.)	'We' (incl.)	'Who?'	'Sun'
1.	i'kami	i'kita	i'εʔε	ʔo'low
5.	i'sami	i'ŋkita	i'ndeʔe	ho'leo
6.	i'cami	'kita	'ŋai	o'leo
8.	i'sami	'kita	hie'ʔeno	o'leo
9.	i'ŋkami	i'ŋkita	i'naio	o'leo
10.	i'nsami	i'ntano	la'p̄ae	o'leoo'leo
11.	'kami	i'kita	i'semi	'ʔeo
13.	sa'odi	nta'odi	la'ʔae	o'leo
14.	i'ŋkami	i'ŋkita	i'ncema	'eo
31.	i'ŋgami	i'ŋgito	i'naε	o'leo

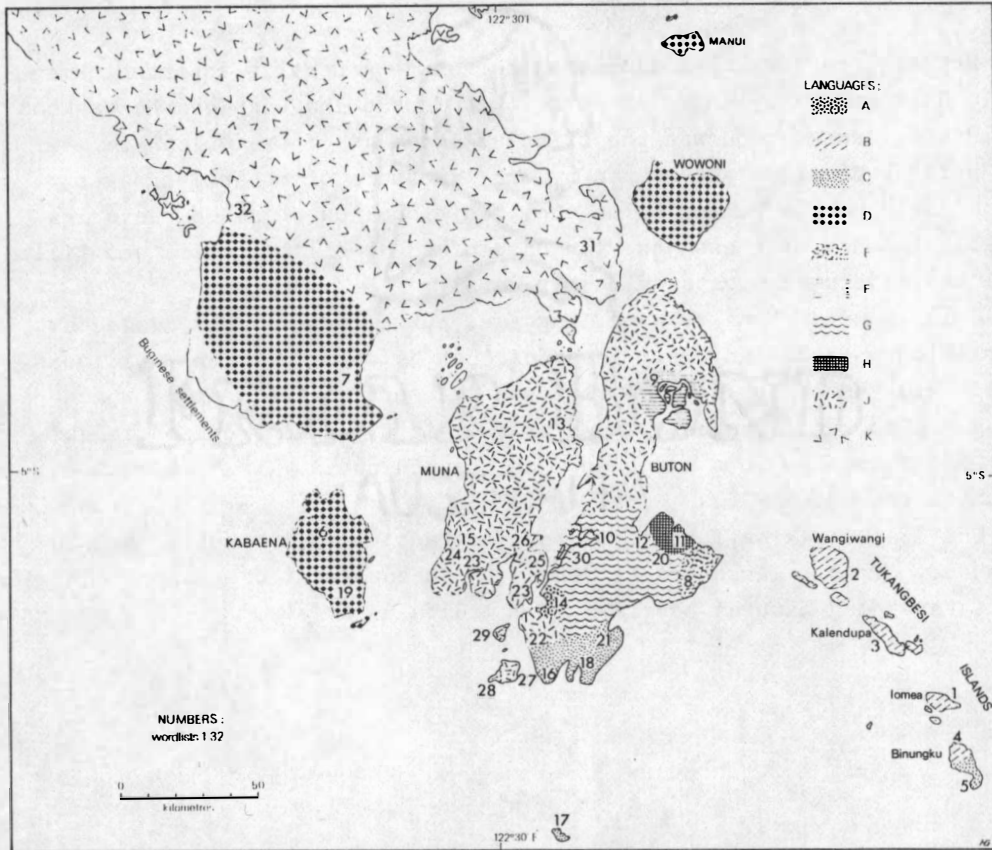
	'Moon'	'Star'	'Stone'	'Water'
1.	'komba	bi'tuʔo	'batu	'teʔe
5.	'bula	bi'cuko	'loko	'heʔe
6.	ra'moa	ʔoli'mpopo	'watu	'ʔeʔe
8.	'budɔ	mpio'mpio	tɔ'nduri	'uwe
9.	'wula	bi'cuʔo	'wacu	'ʔeʔe
10.	'wula	kambea'mbea	'wacu	'ʔoʔe
11.	'bulo	kampio'mpio	' <u>b</u> atu	'ʔue
13.	'wula	kali'popo	'kɔntu	'ʔoe
14.	'bula	kali'mpopo	'batu	'uwe
31.	ʔo'bula	ʔana'bula	ʔo'watu	i'boi
	'Wood'	'Leaf'	'Banana'	'Tail'
1.	'kau	'rɔʔo	'loka	'hiku
5.	'sau	'rɔʔo	ka'dese	ka'ʔisu
6.	'keu	'riri	'punti	'iki
8.	'kau	'roʔo	'ŋane	ka'ʔisu
9.	'keu	'lebe	'punci	'iki
10.	'sau	xo'nɔno	ka'lei	'lɛsi
11.	'kau	so'leu	'loka	ka'ʔeso
13.	'sau	'honu	ka'lei	'lɛnsi
14.	'kau	'tawa	'loka	'lenci
31.	'kasu	'tawa	'pundi	'ʔiku
	'Fish'	'Mouth'	'Nose'	'Mouth'
1.	'kenta	'saʔa	'nɔʔo	'nusu
5.	'ʔisa	'saʔa	'ŋɔʔo	'ŋara
6.	'ica	la'ŋeido	'ʔeŋe	'ŋaŋa
8.	'ise	'kule	' <u>b</u> obo	'ŋunsu
9.	'ika	'ʔule	'ʔeŋe	'ŋaŋa
10.	'kenta	'ʔule	ne	' <u>b</u> oba
11.	pe'sue	'owɔ	' <u>b</u> obo	'ŋaŋa
13.	'kenta	'ʔule	ne	'woba
14.	i'kane	'ulo	'aŋo	'muncu, 'ŋaŋa
31.	'ʔika	saw	'ʔeŋe	'pɔndu

On account of these percentages it was possible to group languages A, E, and H together as their mutual relationship was somewhat closer than their relationships with other languages. In the same way D, F and K go together, and also C, G and J. Only B scores relatively low with all the others. Still there is reason to believe that all the languages of this area belong to one subgroup, but it is only through further comparison that the truth of this hypothesis can be tested. It might well be that, if such a subgroup exists, other languages must be added to it. Anyhow, it is clear that Adriani's Muna-Buton group has to be reformulated.

Not all the languages discussed here have generally accepted names. Only A is generally known as Wolio. It is the language of the capital of Buton, Baubau, and was the official language of the Sultanate. It is still understood and spoken by many speakers of other languages, especially people belonging to the traditional upper class, as originally it must have been the language of the nobility, those who filled all the government posts in former days.

J is known as Muna or Wuna language, but because of the dialectal variations nobody has clear ideas of what belongs to it and what does not. All the others have little prestige outside the area in which they are spoken. The best known of them is K, usually called Tolaki or Lalaki, spoken in a large area on the peninsula. Next comes D (Rumbia or Moronene).

The most striking feature of the geographical distribution is the tendency of some languages to spread in an east-west direction regardless of intervening natural barriers like mountains or sea.



LANGUAGE MAP OF SOUTH-EAST SULAWESI
SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGES AND DISTRIBUTION OF WORDLISTS

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