Sourcebook on Tomini-Tolitoli languages

General information and word lists

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General information and word lists

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[1] The format of the entries in the following list is as follows: name, tugas (duty) or occupation, Dusun (hamlet – Dusun names are given only if somewhat distant from the village centre)/Desa (village), Kecamatan.

Pendau

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Bapak Saulang, Petani, Ou/Pangalaseang, Sojol
Bapak Kun, Petani, Ou/Pangalaseang, Sojol
Bapak Kindu, Petani, Agisolo/Bambapula, Dampal Utara
Bapak Hadi Tenggo, Petani, Bigalo/Bambapula, Dampal Utara
Bapak Dursi Ajiluda, Petani, Bigalo/Bambapula, Dampal Utara
Bapak Hadar Kandua, Petani, Bigalo/Bambapula, Dampal Utara
Bapak Kun, Petani, Koni/Tompoh, Dampal Utara
Bapak Salawatu, Petani, Boangin/Banagan, Dampal Utara
Bapak Bogokeng, Petani, Ogo Kaasi/Banagan, Dampal Utara
Bapak Sonde, Petani, Ogo Kaasi/Banagan, Dampal Utara
Bapak Haeruddin, Petani, Ogo Kaasi/Banagan, Dampal Utara
Bapak Nurdin, Petani, Sitadong/Banagan, Dampal Utara
Bapak Titung, Petani, Sitadong/Banagan, Dampal Utara

Taje

Taje (Tanampedagi)

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Bapak Tanda Bayo, Kepala Dusun I, Sidole, Ampibabo
Bapak Lavencani, Petani, Tanampedagi/Sidole, Ampibabo
Bapak Raga, Petani, Tanampedagi/Sidole, Ampibabo
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Lauje

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Bapak Intunia, Petani, Bambanong/Luok Manipi, Dondo
Bapak Kuntaha, Petani, Bambanong/Luok Manipi, Dondo
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Dondo

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Totoli

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Bapak Alui, Petani, Binontoan, Tolitoli-Utara
Bapak Kalung P., Petani, Binontoan, Tolitoli-Utara
Bapak Haji Bandi Suhirman, Petani, Binontoan, Tolitoli-Utara

Boano

Bapak Rustam, Kepala Desa, Bolano, Moutong
Bapak H. Tombage, Kepala Tua, Bolano, Moutong
Bapak Tale Angila, Guru SDN, Bolano, Moutong

Bapak Abung L., Petani, Bolano, Moutong
Bapak Haidir A. Salihu, Petani, Bolano, Moutong
Bapak Talib Yoto, Petani, Bolano, Moutong
Bapak Zainuddin B., Petani, Bolano, Moutong
Bapak Ambo Tawa, Petani, Bolano, Moutong
Bapak Masran, Petani, Bolano, Moutong

Abbreviations and special symbols – Daftar Singkatan dan Lambang

Language names – Nama-nama bahasa

AMP	Ampibabo-Lauje	PEN	Pendau
BAL	Balaesang	TAJ	Tajio
BOA	Boano	TIA	Tialo
BUG	Buginese	TJE	Taje
DAM	Dampelas	TJP	Petapa Taje
DON	Dondo	TJT	Tanampedagi Taje
LAU	Lauje	TOL	Totoli

Place names[1] – Nama-nama tempat

AGS	Agisolo (Pendau)	LBH	Lemba Harapan (Dondo)
BBA	Bonto' Buaya (Dondo)	LBN	Lambunu (Tialo)
BBG	Bambanong (Lauje)	MLI	Maninili (Tajio)
BGI	Boangin (Pendau, Dondo)	OKS	Ogo Kaasi (Pendau)
BGL	Bigalo (Pendau)	ONK	Ongka (Tialo)
BNT	Binontoan (Totoli)	OU	Ou (Dampelas, Pendau)
BOU	Bou (Lauje)	OYM	Oyom (Dondo)
DIU	Diule (Totoli)	SBG	Sigumbang (Lauje)
DLU	Dulu/Lakatan (Dondo)	SDL	Sidole (Ampibabo-Lauje)
DMB	Dampal in Bangkir (Dampelas)	SGA	Singura (part of Sienjo (Taje))
DMO	Dampal in Ogoamas (Dampelas)	SKT	Sikotong/Muara Besar (Dondo)
GIO	Gio (Dondo)	SLG	Salugan (Dondo)
GLJ	Inner Hill (Gunung) Lauje (Lauje)	SRU	Siraru (Pendau)
IPG	'Inapasang (Lauje)	STD	Sitadong (Pendau)
JJA	Janja (Lauje)	SYG	Sioyong (Dampelas)
KAL	Koala Lais (Lauje)	TPD	Tanampedagi (Ampibabo-Lauje)
KNI	Koni (Pendau)		
KPG	Kinapasan/Lakatan (Dondo)		
LAI	Lais (Dondo)		

[1] Used in word list to indicate which location a given item comes from.

Grammatical categories – Kategori-kategori gramatikal

AV	actor voice	bentuk pelaku
DET	determiner	kata penyandang
DIST	distal	jauh (kata penunjuk)
EX	exclusive	eksklusif
GEN	genitive	kasus genitif
GER	gerund	partisip
IN	inclusive	inklusif
LOC	locative	lokatif
MED	medial	dekat dgn pendengar (kata penunjuk)
PL	plural	jamak
PROX	proximal	dekat dgn pembicara (kata penunjuk)
POSS	possessor	pemilik
RDP	reduplication, see §3.5.10	réduplikasi, lih. §3.5.10
REAL	realis	realis
SG	singular	tunggal
UG	undergoer	penderita

Orthographic conventions – Bentuk tulisan ortografis

<'>	glottal stop	konsonan hambat glotal
<ß>	voiced bilabial fricative	konsonan frikatif bilabial bersuara
<c>	palatal voiceless stop	konsonan hambat palatal tak bersuara
<f>	voiceless bilabial fricative	konsonan frikatif bilabial tak bersuara
<j>	palatal voiced stop	konsonan hambat palatal bersuara
<ng>	velar nasal	konsonan nasal velar (***angin***)
<ny>	palatal nasal	konsonan nasal palatal (***nyanyi***)
<v>	voiced labio-dental fricative	konsonan frikatif labio-dental bersuara
<y>	palatal glide	semivokal palatal
`	secondary stress	tekanan kedua
´	primary stress	tekanan utama
E (A,O,U,I)	paragogic vowel (typically [e], but also echo vowels, copying the vowel of the preceding syllable); see §3.4.7	vokal paragogis (biasanya [e], tapi juga menyalin vokal di suku yg terdahulu); lih. §1.4 dan §3.4.7
<!>	high tone, overlong vowel (allophone of word-final /l/); see §3.4.2	vokal dgn tekanan tinggi dan panjang sekali (alofon dari /l/ di posisi terakhir); lih. §1.4 dan §3.4.2
VV	(phonetically) long vowel	vokal panjang (secara fonetik)

Special symbols and conventions – Simbol-simbol khusus

[ ]	phonetic transcription (according to IPA standard)	mengapit transkripsi fonetis
[']	optional final glottal stop	konsonan hambat glotal di posisi terakhir yg tak baku
[h] [w]	optional onsets for vowel-initial words	awal tak baku untuk kata yang dimulai dgn vokal
[ß] [b] [ɸ] [h]	allophones of /b/; see §3.4.1	alofon dari /b/, lih. §1.4 dan §3.4.1
/ /	phonemes	mengapit transkripsi fonologis
< >	graphemes	mengapit grafem
<	'derived from'	berasal dari
/	variants (at any level (phonetic, semantic, etc.))	memisahkan pilihan
-	morpheme boundary	menandai batas morfem
=	clitic boundary	menandai batas klitik
si=, te=, u=	proclitics; see §3.4.10 and §3.6	kata sandang, lih. §3.4.10 dan §3.6
~	item not tape-recorded	menandai kata yg tidak direkam
(?)	uncertain, doubtful (form, gloss, etc.)	tak jelas, ragu-ragu (pembentukan, terjemahan dsb.)
V	vowel	vokal
C	consonant	konsonan
(H)	formal/polite register	halus (tingkat bahasa)
(K)	informal/colloquial register	kasar (tingkat bahasa)
(l-l)	pertaining to males	laki-laki
(per)	pertaining to females	perempuan

For the conventions and symbols used in the word lists, also see §§3.3-3.7, in particular §3.3.3. and §3.5.11.

What is in this sourcebook?

This sourcebook presents an edited version of the fieldnotes gathered during an extensive linguistic survey of the Tomini-Tolitoli languages, a group of languages spoken in northern Central Sulawesi, Indonesia. The editing of fieldnotes involves certain analytical decisions with regard to the orthographic representation and morphological analysis of the items presented here, as further discussed in §§3.4–3.6. However, no in-depth analysis is attempted for these data on any level of linguistic analysis. Instead, this book is intended to be part of an extensive collection of primary data on which anyone interested in working on Tomini-Tolitoli languages may draw.[1]

The survey documented here was carried out from August 1988 to January 1989 and from February 1993 to April 1993. It was extensive in that an attempt was made to visit several villages per language, to elicit substantial lexical material (between 700 and 1,400 lexemes per language) as well as the basic morphosyntactic patterns, and to record as many texts as possible in the relatively brief amount of time spent on each language. The present book contains the elicited lexical material and general information on the Tomini-Tolitoli languages and the survey. It is intended to make the grammatical materials (elicited clauses) and texts available in the not too distant future.

The chapter containing background information discusses a variety of topics in §2.4, (geographical, historical, sociological, etc.) which may be of use when interpreting and further analysing the linguistic data presented here. The information is drawn, in part, from other sources. However, since not many sources of information for this area exist, the compiler dares to include some non-linguistic observations of his own in spite of their evident inadequateness with regard to scientific standards (as none of the topics has been studied in a systematic way).

There is also an introductory section in Indonesian which explains the purpose and make-up of this documentation and addresses some of the issues raised by the contributors during fieldwork (problems of the orthography for 'strange' sounds, the interrelation of the Tomini-Tolitoli languages, etc.).

As for the selection and presentation of the lexical material, the following points highlight major characteristics of the word list in chapter 4 (most of these points are discussed in more detail in chapter 3):

- All lexical items recorded have been included, provided that their phonological form and their meaning could be determined with a reasonable degree of certainty and precision. That is, many items which did not appear on the list used as the elicitation tool (see §3.1 on the make-up of this list) but were added spontaneously by the contributors are documented here. Consequently, the materials for each language

[1] See Himmelmann (1993, 1998) for further discussion regarding the make-up of, and rationale for, primary data collections.

differ from one another. However, there is a core of about 700 items for which lexemes from all Tomini-Tolitoli languages are documented.

- About eighty per cent of all elicited items were tape-recorded, the same item generally being repeated two or more times. Allophonic variation occurring during these recordings is documented in the relevant entries. The major problem regarding the phonological shape of the lexemes pertains to word-initial and word-final glottal stops. This problem has only partially been solved, as further discussed in §3.4.9.
- The lexemes are presented in semantic fields, following the organisation and numbering system employed in the *Comparative Austronesian Dictionary* (Tryon 1994). Indices list the base-forms (see §3.3.2) for each language in alphabetical order. There are also indices which provide for cross-references with other word lists used in Indonesian linguistics. In addition to the alphabetical indices, a substantial number of cross-references between items allows one to recover some of the polysemy not revealed by the English glosses accompanying each entry.
- No attempt has been made to provide comprehensive definitions of the meaning of the Tomini-Tolitoli lexemes. Paraphrases and comments provided by the contributors such as 'coconut: water not yet slushing' have been added in some instances where a more precise definition of the meaning of the item in question would have required a substantial amount of research.
- Indonesian glosses (and sometimes also Indonesian paraphrases) are given in addition to English ones. Indonesian was the language used in collecting the items, and thus the Indonesian glosses are often more accurate than the English ones.
- For each semantic field, there is a brief discussion of items that repeatedly proved difficult to elicit and 'negative responses', i.e. items which have been checked but for which no native term could be found (see §3.8).
- For every base-form, the affixes which were used with these base-forms during elicitation are listed. No attempt was made to elicit a full set of compatible affixes for each base-form. Further details on the representation of affixes and the extent to which they were elicited may be found in §3.5.
- A major effort has been made to be as explicit as possible in assessing the reliability of the data documented here. Section 3.2 summarises the factors which affect the overall reliability of the word lists and provides information as to the particular circumstances influencing the reliability of the material for each language. Furthermore, items which are questionable and items which have not been tape-recorded (and hence could not be checked again) are marked as such.

Finally, note that this publication supersedes the earlier draft versions of the sourcebook which have been circulated between 1990 and 1998. It is more comprehensive and, one would hope, more accurate than any of the earlier versions.

1 *Pendahuluan*

Dalam bagian ini akan disajikan beberapa informasi tentang isi dan tujuan penelitian yang didokumentasikan dalam buku ini. Dalam penyajian informasi tersebut, diusahakan sedemikian rupa sehingga mudah dipahami oleh pembaca yang tidak memperoleh pendidikan khusus dalam bidang linguistik. Namun demikian, tidaklah mungkin di sini bisa menerangkan prinsip-prinsip serta metode-metode yang mendasari pengamatan serta usulan-usulan berikut ini. Pembaca yang berkeinginan untuk memahami sedikit lebih banyak tentang metode-metode Linguistik disarankan untuk membaca bagian 2 dan 3 dari buku *Tata Bahasa Baku Bahasa Indonesia.*[1]

1.1 Apa isi buku ini?

Buku acuan ini mendokumentasikan sebagian dari data yang dikumpulkan selama survei linguistik secara ekstensif tentang bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli, yaitu suatu kelompok bahasa yang dipakai di Sulawesi Tengah bagian utara, di Indonesia. Yang dimaksud dengan penelitian linguistik secara ekstensif adalah mengunjungi beberapa desa untuk setiap bahasa yang diteliti untuk mendapatkan kosa kata yang memadai (yaitu sekitar 1,300 kata atau lebih untuk setiap bahasa), dan juga untuk mendapatkan bentuk-bentuk tata bahasa dasar yang berdasarkan daftar dari sekitar seratus klausa, dan membuat rekaman, transkripsi dan menerjemahkan naskah tulisan sebanyak-banyaknya dalam waktu yang relatif singkat untuk setiap bahasa yang diteliti. Buku ini berisi kosa kata yang berhasil dihimpun dan informasi umum tentang bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli serta survei yang dilakukan. Dalam waktu yang tidak terlalu lama lagi diharapkan dapat disajikan materi-materi ketatabahasaan yang terdiri dari klausa-klausa yang berhasil dihimpun serta naskah tulisan yang ada.

Dalam bab 2, yaitu tentang latar belakang, akan dibicarakan jumlah dan lokasi bahasa Tomini -Tolitoli serta keadaan alam dan kevokalan masyarakat di daerah tersebut. Informasi penting tentang jumlah bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli disarikan pada bagian 1.3 di bawah ini.

Bagian terbesar dari buku ini berisi daftar kata yang disusun berdasarkan bidang-bidang semantik, dan secara garis besar penyajiannya mengikuti sistem penyajian yang belakangan ini dipakai dalam *Comparative Austronesian Dictionary* yang disusun oleh Tryon (1994). Dalam sistem tersebut, setiap kata masukan diberi nomor dan nomor tersebut menandakan bidang semantik dari kata yang disebutkan. Misalnya, semua kata yang dimulai dengan nomor 01 berhubungan dengan alam semesta beserta isinya, kata yang dimulai dengan nomor 03

[1] Anton M. Moeliono, Soenjono Dardjowidjojo, dkk.,1998, *Tata Bahasa Baku Bahasa Indonesia,* Jakarta: Balai Pustaka (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan), hal. 21-44.

berhubungan dengan binatang, sedangkan kata yang dimulai dengan nomor 22 berhubungan dengan sistem agama dan kepercayaan.

Dengan sistem penyajian tersebut, kosa kata tidak disusun berdasarkan huruf abjad tetapi berdasarkan kelompok semantik, seperti yang disebutkan di atas. Untuk dapat memudahkan mencari kata-kata tertentu baik dalam bahasa Inggris, bahasa Indonesia maupun bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli, dalam indeks di bagian akhir buku ini diberikan semua kosa kata dalam semua bahasa yang disusun berdasarkan huruf abjad. Indeks-indeks tersebut merujuk silang nomor dari kata yang dicari seperti yang tercantum dalam daftar kata.

Setiap kata masukan dari daftar kata terdiri dari nomor, terjemahan bahasa Inggris dan bahasa Indonesia, serta kata-kata yang dimaksud dalam satu atau lebih bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli. Jumlah bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli yang terwakili dalam setiap kata masukan sangat bervariasi karena untuk mencari kata yang cocok atau sesuai dalam suatu bahasa yang diinginkan tidaklah selalu mungkin dilakukan. Jika ada kata yang tidak terdaftar dalam suatu bahasa yang diinginkan, hal ini tidak berarti bahwa kata tersebut tidak ada dalam bahasa tersebut, tetapi hanyalah karena ketidakmungkinan untuk mencari kata tersebut dalam waktu yang relatif singkat yang tersedia untuk meneliti setiap bahasa dan dialek utama.

Perlu dicatat bahwa terjemahan bahasa Inggris dan bahasa Indonesia hanyalah memberikan idé kasar dari arti suatu kata yang diinginkan. Sebagian besar contoh menunjukkan bahwa tidaklah mungkin untuk menyatakan atau mendefinisikan arti suatu kata bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli hanya dalam satu atau dua kata dalam bahasa Inggris atau bahasa Indonesia. Dengan demikian, untuk menjelaskan secara menyeluruh arti suatu kata bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli diperlukan definisi dan pemberian contoh yang panjang, misalnya dengan memberikan contoh-contoh tentang bagaimana kata tersebut digunakan dalam berbagai macam bentuk klausa. Dalam hal ini, suatu daftar kata yang sederhana berbeda dari kamus lengkap yang tidak hanya memuat lebih banyak kosa kata tetapi juga memberikan definisi-definisi yang eksplisit dan contoh-contoh yang mendetail. Untuk menyusun kamus yang baik dari satu bahasa saja diperlukan waktu paling tidak sepuluh tahun kerja secara mantap dan teratur. Daftar kata yang disajikan di sini mungkin merupakan suatu langkah awal yang baik bagi penyusunan kamus bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli. Bagi mereka yang memberikan kontribusi dan mereka yang tertarik pada bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli sangat diharapkan untuk dapat mengembangkan materi-materi yang disajikan di sini menjadi kamus-kamus lengkap dengan menambahkan kata masukan baru dan memberikan contoh-contoh yang cukup untuk masing-masing kata masukan.

Untuk menyajikan data-data kosa kata dilibatkan sejumlah keputusan-keputusan analisis sehubungan dengan bentuk ortografi (tulisan) serta analisis morfem dari suatu kata yang diinginkan. Keputusan-keputusan ini lebih jauh diterangkan dalam bab 1.4 dan 1.5 di bawah ini. Namun demikian, tidak dilakukan analisis yang mendalam pada setiap tataran analisis linguistik. Hal ini dikarenakan buku ini dimaksudkan sebagai bagian dari kumpulan besar data primer yang mungkin dapat dimanfaatkan oleh siapa saja yang tertarik meneliti bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli.

Beberapa hal yang memiliki relevansi dengan ketatabahasaan dan yang paling tepat dilihat dalam bentuk tabel, disajikan di bagian sebelum kelompok daftar kata. Dengan demikian, kata ganti orang disajikan dalam bab 3.8.2.2 sedangkan kata bilangan (numeral) dalam bab 3.8.13.1.

1.2 Mengapa meneliti dan mendokumentasikan bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli

Penelitian bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli ini dilakukan karena, sebelum proyek penelitian ini dimulai pada tahun 1988, hampir tidak ada penelitian yang telah dilakukan terhadap bahasa-bahasa tersebut sehingga praktis dapat dikatakan bahwa tidak ada yang diketahui tentang bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli. Sepanjang pengetahuan saya, sumber-sumber yang ada tentang bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli sampai tahun 1988, adalah sebagai berikut:[2]

- sebuah naskah Tialo dan beberapa lagu pendek oleh Riedel (1871).
- sebuah daftar kata Holle dari tahun 1894 tentang bahasa Tontoli (Totoli) yang dicetak ulang dalam Stokhof (1983).
- sebuah komentar singkat oleh Adriani dan Kruyt (1914:169-183, 348-350), yang mendirikan kelompok Tomini dengan memisahkannya dari kelompok Kaili-Pamona.
- Barr dkk. (1979) memberikan daftar nama tentang Sulawesi Tengah yang berisi peta daerah serta daftar lokasi menurut Kecamatan, dan seratus kata bahasa Totoli, Boano, Dondo, Dampelas, Tajio, Lauje dan Tialo.
- Kaseng dkk. (1979) memberikan survei umum secara kasar tentang Propinsi Sulawesi Tengah, yang meliputi sketsa singkat tentang daerah Taje dan 23 kata dari lima bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli lainnya. Survei yang agak mendetail tentang bahasa-bahasa di Sulawesi Tengah dapat ditemukan dalam Wumbu dkk. (1986) yang meliputi seratus kata dari kelima bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli seperti di atas.
- Satu seri buku tentang bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli yang ditulis oleh para pengarang Indonesia yang tinggal di Palu. Buku-buku ini sebagian besar membahas secara rinci fonologi dan morfologi, ditambah dengan beberapa sintaksis abstrak. Ada dua buku tentang bahasa Totoli (Inghuong dkk. 1983 dan 1985/86b), dua buku tentang bahasa Tialo (id. 1982 dan 1985/86a), satu buku tentang bahasa Boano (id. 1986/87), satu buku bahasa Dampelas (Hente dkk. 1986), satu buku bahasa Balaesang (Garantjang dkk. 1985) serta satu buku bahasa Dondo (Garantjang dkk. 1984).
- Peta-peta bahasa untuk Indonesia, seperti Salzner, 1960, Lembaga Bahasa Nasional 1972 dan Sneddon dalam Wurm & Hattori (1983). Peta-peta ini intinya menyajikan jumlah serta lokasi yang sama tentang bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli, yang semua merujuk ke peta dalam Adriani & Kruyt (1914).

Dalam sebagian besar dari sumber-sumber yang terdaftar di atas, informasi tentang bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli sangat langka dan jarang melebihi seratus kata. Tidak ada satupun penulis berkeliling di daerah secara ekstensif sehingga sering sekali daftar kata tidak diperoleh dari lokasi. Tulisan tentang bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli secara terpisah yang dikarang oleh para penulis yang tinggal di Palu merupakan langkah awal yang bagus bagi penelitian yang lebih rinci tentang bidang yang ditulis, tetapi materi yang dikumpulkan masih jauh dari cukup,

[2] Yang terbaru, bersamaan dengan proses pendokumentasian projek ini, ada projek lain tentang bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli yang melengkapi dan menjelaskan lebih lanjut proyek ini. Pada tahun 1988 Phil dan Becky Quick (SIL) mulai bekerja di Pendau. Mereka berencana melakukan suatu deskripsi 'lengkap' tentang bahasa tersebut baik tatabahasa, kamus, maupun koleksi teks. Lihat Quick (1991), (1999) dan (forthcoming). McKenzie (1991) yang membahas survei sosiolinguistik tentang bahasa Taijo dan Andersen (1991) tentang bahasa Dondo. Pada tahun 1993 Chikao Yoshimura, seorang mahasiswa tingkat doktoral pada Universitas Nasional Australia memulai menulis tesisnya tentang gramatika deskriptif bahasa Tialo (Yoshimura, forthcoming).

khususnya di bidang leksikon dan wacana ('discourse'). Tidak satupun tulisan yang dipublikasikan tersebut menyebutkan secara tepat jumlah serta lokasi dari bahasa-bahasa serta dialek-dialek Tomini-Tolitoli.

Perlu dicatat bahwa untuk kelompok-kelompok bahasa lain di Sulawesi, seperti bahasa-bahasa Minahasa, Gorontalo-Mongondow, Kaili-Pamona, Sulawesi Selatan dsb., penelitian yang telah dilakukan jauh lebih banyak, dengan koleksi tulisan, tata bahasa serta kamus lengkap yang sangat memadai, paling tidak untuk satu bahasa tiap satu kelompok. Kalau dibandingkan dengan keadaan dari kelompok-kelompok bahasa lain ini, kurangnya dokumentasi dari bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli agak mengherankan serta menyedihkan.

Sangatlah menyedihkan terutama karena beberapa atau mungkin semua bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli terancam punah dalam waktu yang tidak terlalu lama lagi. Kenyataan menunjukkan bahwa paling tidak ada dua bahasa atau dialek yang mendekati kepunahan. Bahasa Dampal, yaitu dialek bahasa Dampelas yang dipakai di Ogoamas dan Bangkir disekitar perbatasan antara Sojol dan Dampal Selatan, terlihat sudah tidak lagi memiliki penutur yang menggunakan bahasa tersebut dalam tuturan sehari-hari. Penutur bahasa Taje, yaitu bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli yang dipakai di Petapa, dekat dengan Parigi, tinggal para orang tua di atas usia enam puluh tahun. Generasi muda di sana biasanya hanya berbicara bahasa Tara/Rai dan bahasa Indonesia.

Dari sudut pandang linguistik, penelitian tentang bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli menarik karena:

- Diperlukan adanya informasi untuk mendapatkan gambaran yang lebih lengkap tentang situasi linguistik di Sulawesi, yang mungkin paling kompleks di Indonesia selain Irian Jaya.
- Bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli terletak tepat di perbatasan dari apa yang dikenal dalam linguistik sebagai bahasa-bahasa dalam rumpun tipe Filipina, yaitu bahasa-bahasa yang dipakai di Filipina, Sabah, Serawak dan di Propinsi Sulawesi Utara. Bahasa-bahasa yang terletak jauh ke selatan dan barat dari daerah Tomini-Tolitoli dikenal dengan bahasa-bahasa tipe Indonesia. Tentu saja sangat menarik untuk mengetahui apakah bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli termasuk dalam tipe Filipina atau Indonesia, atau apakah mereka menunjukkan ciri-ciri transisi, yang mungkin dapat mengarahkan kita ke pemahaman yang lebih baik tentang bagaimana bahasa tipe Filipina dan Indonesia saling terkait satu sama lain.
- Setiap usaha yang dilakukan untuk menguraikan hubungan sejarah antara bermukimnya bermacam-macam orang di daerah itu, khususnya di Sulawesi Utara, Sabah/Sarawak dan Filipina bagian selatan, memerlukan data dari daerah Tomini-Tolitoli.

Pendokumentasian ini merupakan permulaan dari dokumentasi yang memadai dari bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli. Penelitian yang jauh lebih mendalam perlu dilakukan pada masing-masing bahasa sebelum catatan untuk masa depan tentang bahasa tersebut dibuat yang memungkinkan generasi mendatang mengetahui seperti apakah bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli pada akhir abad 20. Penelitian yang mendalam seperti itu juga diperlukan untuk membicarakan topik-topik seperti yang tertulis di atas, dalam bentuk yang memadai.

1.3 Apa yang disebut dengan bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli

Dalam literatur, bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli umumnya dikenal sebagai *Bahasa-bahasa Tomini*. Istilah *Kelompok Tomini* pertama kali dipakai oleh Adriani & Kruyt (1914), dan memakai Teluk Tomini sebagai penanda geografis secara kasar dari lokasi bahasa-bahasa tersebut

(separuh dari jumlah bahasa tersebut ternyata tidak dipakai di Teluk Tomini). Namun demikian, istilah *Tomini* banyak dipakai dan sekarang ini dipakai terutama untuk nama *Kecamatan Tomini* dan *Desa Tomini*. Walaupun ada gambaran yang jelas di antara penutur bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli untuk membentuk satu kelompok yang saling berhubungan di Sulawesi Tengah, tidak ada istilah yang dipakai untuk menunjukkan identitas kesukuan secara keseluruhan, seperti misalnya bahasa Kaili yang mencakup sub-kelompok yang bermacam-macam. Istilah *Tomini-Tolitoli* diperkenalkan oleh Masyhuda (1975/81) untuk menunjukkan suatu bagian pengelompokan tertentu di antara bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli, dan juga sebagai alternatif dari istilah Pantai Timur yang memusat, yaitu 'Tomini'. Karena tidak adanya pilihan yang meyakinkan, istilah *Tomini-Tolitoli* juga dipakai dalam tulisan ini.

Sejauh ini, salah satu hasil utama dari penelitian ini adalah bahwa kita sekarang dapat memastikan adanya suatu kelompok yang terdiri dari 11 bahasa berikut ini (urutan dari penyajian ini mengikuti urutan geografis secara kasar mulai dari barat daya dan memusat ke daerah tengah, lihat juga peta 1 sampai 7)

- **Bahasa Taje** (juga dinamakan Petapa) dipakai di Petapa (Kecamatan Parigi), Sidole (Tanampedagi, Kecamatan Ampibabo) dan Sienjo (Dusun Sipotara, Kecamatan Ampibabo). Menutur data statistik dari Pemerintah, ada sekitar 350 penutur Taje, dimana banyak di antara mereka yang tidak lagi berbicara bahasa Taje.
- **Bahasa Ampibabo Lauje** (juga dinamakan Lauje) dipakai oleh sekitar 6,000 penutur di daerah Ampibabo dan sekitarnya (yaitu Sidole, Lemo, Buranga dan Tomoli). Bahasa ini memiliki banyak persamaan dengan bahasa Lauje sehingga bahasa Ampibabo Lauje disebut juga bahasa Lauje oleh penuturnya. Namun demikian, bahasa Ampibabo Lauje memiliki banyak ciri yang berbeda dengan bahasa Lauje dan tampaknya bahasa Ampibabo Lauje dan bahasa Lauje tidak lagi dapat saling dimengerti. Dengan demikian, dari sudut pandang linguistik, Ampibabo Lauje dianggap sebagai suatu bahasa yang berbeda, bukan merupakan dialek dari bahasa Lauje.
- **Bahasa Tajio** (juga dinamakan Kasimbar) dipakai di antara Toribulu (Kecamatan Ampibabo) dan Sipayo (Kecamatan Tinombo), oleh sekitar 12,000 penutur.[3]
- **Bahasa Lauje** (juga dinamakan Tinombo) dipakai dari Sipayo (Kecamatan Tinombo) ke Palasa (Kecamatan Tomini) di Pantai Timur, dan antara Siboang (Kecamatan Sojol) dan Bangkir (Kecamatan Dampal Selatan) dan juga di sekitar Ogowele (Kecamatan Dondo) di Pantai Barat. Dari sekitar 38,000 penutur bahasa ini, banyak sekali di antara mereka yang tinggal di pegunungan sekitar Gunung Ogoamas.
- **Bahasa Tialo** (juga dinamakan Tomini) dipakai oleh sekitar 30,000 penutur di daerah Tingkulang (Kecamatan Tomini) dan Moutong (Kecamatan Moutong) dan juga jauh ke daerah selatan di Sigenti dan Malanggo (Kecamatan Tinombo).
- **Bahasa Boano** (juga dinamakan Bolano) dipakai oleh sekitar 2,700 penutur hanya di satu desa, yaitu Bolano (Kecamatan Moutong).
- **Bahasa Balaesang** dipakai di tiga desa, yaitu Kamonji, Ketong dan Rano, di semenanjung Balaesang (Kecamatan Balaesang), oleh sekitar 3,200 penutur.
- **Bahasa Pendau** (juga dinamakan Ndau) dipakai oleh masyarakat pedalaman dari Sibayu (Kecamatan Balaesang) sampai ke Banagan (Kecamatan Dampal Utara) oleh sekitar 3,200 penutur.

[3] McKenzie (1991:29) memperkirakan jumlah penutur bahasa Taijo lebih dari 18.000 orang.

- **Bahasa Dampelas** dipakai di Kecamatan Dampelas, antara Kembayang sampai sekitar Tonggolobibi, oleh sekitar 10,000 penutur (jumlah penutur yang fasih menurun drastis). Pernah ada satu dialek bahasa Dampelas, yaitu dialek Dampal, yang dipakai di sekitar daerah Ogoamas (Kecamatan Sojol) dan Bangkir (Kecamatan Dampal Selatan). Dari sekitar 300 penutur dialek Dampal yang tinggal di daerah tersebut, hanya tinggal beberapa saja yang tahu tentang bahasa tersebut.
- **Bahasa Dondo** dipakai di semua daerah di Kecamatan Dondo, baik di dataran pantai (dari Louk Manipi ke Muara Besar) maupun jauh di pedalaman sepanjang Sungai Salugan dan di dataran Tinading (Lampasio, Janja, Salugan dan Oyom). Penutur bahasa Dondo juga tinggal di perkampungan-perkampungan di pedalaman di daerah Totoli di Kecamatan Galang dan Kecamatan Tolitoli Utara, dari Ogomoli ke Binontoan. Jumlah penutur secara keseluruhan sekitar 13,000 orang.
- **Bahasa Totoli** (juga dinamakan Tolitoli) dipakai di sepanjang pantai dari Dadakitan (Kecamatan Baolan) ke Lakuan (Kecamatan Tolitoli Utara), walaupun sebagian besar dari desa di Kecamatan Galang dan di Kecamatan Tolitoli Utara dihuni oleh orang dari Sulawesi Selatan. Dari sekitar 25,000 penutur bahasa Totoli, banyak di antara mereka yang tidak lagi fasih berbicara bahasa tersebut, khususnya mereka yang tinggal di Kota Tolitoli dan sekitarnya.

Gambaran yang lengkap tentang pembagian geografis bahasa-bahasa tersebut di atas, yang kadang-kadang agak kompleks, dapat dilihat di bab 2.2, di mana dapat kita lihat daftar dari semua desa di daerah itu. Perkiraan dari jumlah penutur masing-masing bahasa didasarkan pada data statistik yang ada di daerah tersebut.

Istilah *rumpun bahasa* dalam linguistik dipergunakan untuk sekelompok bahasa yang diyakini berasal dari bahasa yang memiliki keturunan yang sama. Mungkin rumpun bahasa yang terbesar dan paling luas di dunia adalah rumpun bahasa Austronesia, yang membentang dari Madagaskar di Afrika bagian timur ke Easter Island di lepas pantai Chili. Jelaslah bahwa bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli, seperti juga bahasa-bahasa asli di Indonesia bagian barat, termasuk dalam rumpun bahasa Austronesia ini.

Dalam rumpun-rumpun bahasa yang besar, seperti rumpun bahasa Austronesia, beberapa bahasa biasanya lebih saling berdekatan dibanding bahasa-bahasa lainnya, sehingga membentuk sub-rumpun bahasa atau sub-kelompok di berbagai tingkatan. Semua bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli mungkin bersama-sama membentuk sub-kelompok yang lebih rendah seperti itu. Bahasa-bahasa tersebut lebih berkaitan erat satu sama lainnya dibandingkan dengan bahasa-bahasa Austronesia lainnya seperti bahasa Kaili atau Makasar atau Gorontalo.

Bahasa Totoli dan Boano agak terpisah dari 9 bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli lainnya. Kedua bahasa tersebut memiliki banyak persamaan antara keduanya tetapi tidak dengan bahasa-bahasa lainnya, yaitu mereka memiliki banyak ciri-ciri struktural dan kata yang penting yang tidak ditemukan dalam bahasa lainnya. Misalnya, dalam bahasa Totoli dan Boano diperbolehkan adanya konsonan rangkap, seperti juga yang terdapat dalam bahasa-bahasa Sulawesi Selatan misalnya bahasa Bugis dan bahasa Makasar. Bandingkan kata *ttolu* 'tiga' dalam bahasa Totoli/Boano dengan kata *totolu* 'tiga' dalam bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli lainnya. Bandingkan juga contoh-contoh perbedaan leksikal di Tabel 1.

Tabel 1: Perbedaan leksikal di antara bahasa Totoli/Boano dan bahasa-bahasa lainnya

Totoli/Boano	Bahasa-bahasa lainnya	
suang	*isi*	'daging'
dile/dila'	*oyo*	'lidah'
tian	*'ompong/kompong*	'perut'
kode/kode'	*'ana/'ono*	'kena'
akat/uakat	*lali/rari/dali*	'akar'

Karena perbedaan-perbedaan yang cenderung meluas ini, penelitian yang lebih mendalam mungkin dapat menunjukkan bahwa bahasa Totoli dan Boano ternyata memang bukan anggota dari kelompok bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli tetapi mereka membentuk kelompok tersendiri. Jika dapat dipastikan bahwa bahasa Totoli dan Boano merupakan bagian dari kelompok bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli, bahasa tersebut jelas membentuk cabang terpisah di dalam kelompok bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli (yaitu bahasa Totoli dan Boano lebih berkaitan satu sama lainnya dibandingkan dengan bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli lainnya). Bandingkan Table 1 di bab 2.1.2 dimana terlihat bahwa pembagian utama dalam kelompok bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli adalah antara Totoli/Boano di satu sisi, dengan semua bahasa lainnya di lain sisi. Sebagai nama umum untuk kesembilan bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli lainnya, di sini dipakai istilah *Tomini Languages* (Bahasa-bahasa Tomini).

Untuk kesembilan bahasa tersebut di atas, beberapa di antaranya saling berkaitan erat. Dengan demikian, bahasa Tialo dan Dondo tampak lebih dekat satu sama lain dan saling dapat dimengerti. Dari sudut pandang linguistik, mungkin susah dijelaskan apakah Tialo dan Dondo merupakan dua bahasa yang berbeda tetapi berhubungan erat (seperti Bugis dan Makasar) atau kedua bahasa tersebut seharusnya dianggap dialek-dialek dari satu bahasa. Terlepas dari kenyataan bahwa bahasa Dondo memiliki banyak kosa kata pinjaman yang berasal dari Totoli, tampaknya kedua bahasa tersebut belakangan ini berkembang ke arah yang berbeda. Dengan demikian, jika Tialo dan Dondo belum menjadi dua bahasa yang berbeda, tampaknya mereka pasti akan segera menjadi dua bahasa yang berbeda.

Bahasa Tialo dan Dondo pada gilirannya memiliki banyak persamaan dengan bahasa Ampibabo Lauje dan Lauje dan mungkin dapat dikelompokkan bersama sebagai bahasa-bahasa Tomini bagian utara. Bahasa-bahasa lainnya, yaitu Dampelas, Pendau, Taje, Tajio dan mungkin Balaesang[4] kemudian membentuk suatu kelompok yang lain, yaitu bahasa-bahasa Tomini bagian selatan. Mungkin juga beberapa dari bahasa ini saling berkaitan erat (misalnya Dampelas dengan Pendau dan Taje dengan Tajio). Hal ini tentunya memerlukan penelitian lebih lanjut. Table 1 di bab 2.1.2 memberikan simpulan tentang perincian singkat dari kelompok bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli ini.

Pertanyaan yang berkaitan (dengan hal tersebut di atas) adalah apakah bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli secara keseluruhan memiliki hubungan sejarah secara khusus dengan kelompok-kelompok bahasa lain di Sulawesi, Borneo atau Filipina (dimana semuanya adalah bahasa-bahasa Austronesia Barat). Metode untuk menentukan hubungan sejarah antara bahasa adalah mencari persamaan dan perbedaan (yang menyangkut kata, bunyi bahasa dan tata bahasa) antara bahasa tersebut. Persamaaan antara bahasa mungkin timbul melalui dua cara, yaitu: 1) dua bahasa atau lebih mungkin berasal dari sumber bahasa (atau keturunan)

[4] Untuk mengetahui posisi yang tepat dari bahasa Balaesang perlu penelitian lebih lanjut.

yang sama. Dalam hal ini persamaan-persamaan disebabkan karena bahasa-bahasa tersebut berbagi tinggalan bahasa yang sama. 2) Penutur dari dua bahasa atau lebih mungkin saling berhubungan secara agak teratur, dengan saling mendengar, dan kadang-kadang berbicara dalam bahasa masing-masing. Dalam hal ini, persamaan-persamaan antara bahasa-bahasa tersebut mungkin timbul melalui kontak bahasa, yaitu saling mempengaruhi dan saling meminjam.

Semua bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli, khususnya yang di bagian selatan, memiliki ciri-ciri yang sama dengan bahasa Kaili. Bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli bagian utara memiliki ciri-ciri yang sama dengan bahasa Gorontalo. Dalam berbagai bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli, khususnya yang dipakai di Pantai Barat sering juga ditemukan kata-kata yang dimiliki juga oleh bahasa-bahasa Filipina. Namun demikian, selama ini tampaknya semua ciri-ciri yang dimiliki bersama-sama oleh bahasa-bahasa tersebut telah muncul melalui kontak secara langsung (yaitu dengan cara peminjaman) ketimbang melalui hubungan genetik langsung dengan bahasa dari kelompok-kelompok bahasa lain.

1.4 Sistem bunyi dan tulisan

Secara umum, bunyi-bunyi yang ada dalam bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli sangat mirip dengan bunyi-bunyi yang dimiliki oleh bahasa Indonesia, sehingga bunyi-bunyi tersebut dapat ditulis dengan huruf yang sama. Ada satu bunyi yang juga dimiliki oleh bahasa Indonesia tetapi biasanya tidak ditulis dalam bahasa Indonesia. Bunyi tersebut adalah hambat glotal tak bersuara atau 'hamzah', yang ditulis oleh para ahli bahasa dengan simbol [ʔ]. Bunyi ini ada dalam bahasa Indonesia, misalnya antara dua bunyi <a> dari kata *maaf* (dalam transkripsi fonetis ditulis [maʔaf][5]). Dalam bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli, bunyi tersebut sangat umum dan penting. Kalau tidak menuliskan bunyi tersebut dalam sistem tulisan, kita akan menghadapi masalah yang serius dalam membaca kata-kata bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli secara benar. Sehingga, bunyi ini ditulis di sini secara sistematis dengan huruf <'>, seperti dalam bahasa Dampelas adanya kata *ba'i* 'kepala', *gito'* 'otak' dan *'ongkong* 'lengan'.

Mengenai bunyi-bunyi dalam bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli yang tidak terdapat dalam bahasa Indonesia, ejaan yang dipakai di sini mengikuti apa yang disebut dengan prinsip fonemik. Menurut prinsip fonemik ini, kita hanya memakai satu huruf yang berbeda untuk menulis satu bunyi yang berbeda jika perbedaan dari bunyi tersebut tidak dapat diprediksi dari konteks dimana bunyi itu muncul. Misalnya, dalam beberapa bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli, seperti bahasa Lauje, Dondo dan Tialo, terdapat satu bunyi yang sepertinya mirip dengan bunyi <f> dalam bahasa Inggris dan bahasa Belanda. Bunyi tersebut mirip karena bunyi tersebut adalah apa yang dinamakan dengan bunyi frikatif (bunyi geser), tetapi bunyi tersebut berbeda dengan <f>, karena bunyi itu dihasilkan oleh bibir atas dan bawah, bukan oleh bibir bawah dan gigi. Perbedaan kedua berkenaan dengan kenyataan bahwa bunyi tersebut adalah bersuara sedangkan bunyi <f> tidak bersuara. Singkatnya, bunyi <f> dalam linguistik dikenal sebagai bunyi geser 'labio-dental' tidak bersuara sedangkan dalam bahasa Lauje/Tialo bunyi tersebut dekenal sebagai bunyi geser bilabial bersuara dan secara fonetis ditulis dengan simbol [ß].

[5] Transkripsi fonetis menggunakan huruf khusus yang dapat mewakili bunyi ucapan yang sebenarnya dengan lebih tepat dibandingkan huruf abjad yang dipakai dalam sistem tulisan bahasa apapun. Huruf fonetis ini meliputi semua huruf yang biasa digunakan, seperti <a, b, c, d, e, f> dan sebagainya. Di samping itu, banyak lagi huruf-huruf fonetis yang biasanya bukan merupakan bagian dari tulisan ortografis umum, seperti misalnya [ʔ], [ʃ], dan sebagainya. Transkripsi fonetis diapit oleh [ ].

Hal yang menarik dalam bahasa Lauje dan Tialo adalah bahwa bunyi [ß] hanya muncul di depan bunyi [u], dan bunyi [b] tidak pernah muncul sebelum bunyi [u]. Hal ini dalam linguistik dikenal dengan istilah *complementary distribution* (distribusi saling melengkapi). Bunyi-bunyi yang termasuk dalam *complementary distribution* tidak perlu ditulis dengan huruf-huruf yang berbeda. Dengan demikian, dari pada menulis kata *ßu'u*, yang artinya 'tulang' dalam bahasa Lauje, kita cukup menulisnya dengan kata *bu'u* dan menyatakannya dalam bab tentang tulisan (bab 3.4) bahwa dalam bahasa Lauje, bunyi <b> diucapkan [ß] jika muncul sebelum bunyi [u], sehingga kata *bu'u* diucapkan [ßuʔu][6]. Contoh-contoh yang lain untuk bunyi [b] dan [ß] adalah: kata *leba* 'panggil' diucapkan [leba], *sibengkel* 'nenek' diucapkan [sibeŋkel], *labia* 'sagu' diucapkan [labia] dan *tinibo* 'tebu' diucapkan [tinibo], tetapi kata *abu* 'abu' diucapkan [aßu] dan kata *robung* 'rebung' diucapkan [roßuŋ].

Bunyi yang sama, yaitu [ß], juga terdapat dalam bahasa Balaesang dan Taje. Akan tetapi dalam kedua bahasa ini, bunyi tersebut tidak hanya terjadi sebelum [u] tetapi juga sebelum bunyi-bunyi vokal lainnya seperti contohnya dalam bahasa Balaesang [**ß**ani] 'lebah', [a**ß**ok] 'aur', [to**ß**u] 'tebu', [be**ß**ine] 'perempuan', dsb. Selanjutnya, bunyi [b] dalam bahasa Balaesang muncul juga sebelum semua bunyi vokal, termasuk [u], misalnya [**bu**lur] 'gunung' atau [ka**bu**] 'debu'. Oleh karena itu, dalam balaesang Balaesang, [ß] dan [b] tidak memiliki 'distribusi yang saling melengkapi' dan harus ditulis secara terpisah, sehingga orang mengetahui apakah itu bunyi [ß] atau [b]. Oleh karena itu, [ßani] ditulis *ßani*, [aßok] ditulis *aßok*, [toßu] ditulis *toßu*, [beßine] ditulis *beßine*, dsb. Akan tetapi [bulur] hanya ditulis *bulur* dan [kabu] ditulis *kabu*.

Dalam bahasa Tajio ada juga bunyi frikatif bilabial yang berbeda dari frikatif bilabial yang telah dibicarakan di atas, karena bunyi ini **tidak** bersuara dan mempunyai simbol fonetis [ɸ]. Dalam bahasa Tajio, distribusi bunyi ini sangat mirip dengan bunyi [ß] dalam bahasa Balaesang dan Taje, yaitu bunyi tersebut tidak mempunyai 'distribusi yang saling melengkapi' dengan bunyi [b]. Karena huruf <ɸ> biasanya tidak digunakan dalam sistem penulisan Bahasa Indonesia dan juga karena sulit menuliskannya dengan mesin ketik, maka huruf lainnya, yaitu <f>, dipergunakan disini untuk mewakili bunyi [ɸ]. Bunyi ini muncul dengan semua bunyi vokal seperti terlihat pada contoh-contoh berikut ini: *te **afu*** 'debu', *o**f**ong* 'sarang', *fa'i* 'kepala', *safe* 'naik', dan *fifi* 'bibir'.

Bunyi lain yang memiliki beberapa kemampuan bervariasi dalam pengucapannya ialah bunyi lateral alveolar bersuara yang dalam Bahasa Indonesia diwakili dengan bunyi <l>. Walaupun dalam sebagian besar bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli bunyi ini agak mirip dengan bunyi <l> dalam Bahasa Indonesia, dalam bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli bagian utara terdapat dua pengucapan yang sangat berbeda. Yang pertama, dalam bahasa Totoli dan juga dalam bahasa Dondo meskipun tidak seajeg dalam bahasa Totoli terdapat bunyi flap lateral retroflex bersuara [ɭ] yang muncul pada awal kata-kata sebelum bunyi-bunyi vokal, yaitu <a>, <o>, dan <u>, dan pada tempat lain sesudah bunyi-bunyi vokal tersebut. Bandingkan contoh-contoh dari bahasa Totoli berikut ini: *tulik* [tuɭik] 'telinga', *losu* [ɭosu] 'telanjang', *bale* [baɭe] 'rumah', dsb. Dalam bahasa Totoli <l> yang muncul sesudah bunyi-bunyi vokal <e> dan <i> diucapkan sama seperti dalam bahasa Indonesia, contohnya *dile* 'lidah' diucapkan [dile] dan *elat* 'teriak' diucapkan [elat]. Ini merupakan sebuah contoh lain dari distribusi yang saling

[6] Kenyataannya, aturannya agak sedikit rumit dari itu karena bila bunyi *b* didahului oleh *m* maka diucapkan [b], tidak diucapkan sebagai [ß]. Dengan demikian, kata *lumbus* 'lapar' diucapkan [lumbus], dan bukan [lumßus] (yang terakhir ini agak sulit pengucapannya).

melengkapi. Oleh karena itu, kita tidak perlu menuliskan kedua bunyi *l* yang berbeda itu secara berbeda.

Kedua, dalam bahasa Totoli dan Boano, bunyi *l* yang terdapat pada akhir kata biasanya hilang dan bunyi vokal yang mendahuluinya diperpanjang dan menjadi suatu bunyi vokal dengan tekanan tinggi yang sangat panjang (yang diwakili oleh *˥ː* dalam contoh-contoh berikut ini). Jadi kata bahasa Totoli *takol* 'daki' diucapkan [takoˀ˥ː] dan *bukil* 'gunung' menjadi [bukiˀ˥ː]. Perlu dicatat bahwa di bahasa Totoli <l> muncul kembali seperti biasanya bila sebuah akhiran ditambahkan pada sebuah akar kata yang berakhir dengan <l>. Oleh karena itu, bila akhiran *-an* ditambahkan pada kata *takol* seperti dalam bentuk *nitakolan* 'didaki' maka <l> diucapkan seperti kata lainnya yang muncul sesudah bunyi vokal *o*, contohnya [nitakoˡan]. Untuk menunjukkan pengucapan khusus bagi <l> dalam posisi akhir kata, di sini akan dituliskan dengan simbol naik <ˡ> seperti contohnya *takoˡ* dan *bukiˡ*.[7]

Bunyi-bunyi vokal yang panjang muncul secara teratur dalam semua bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli dan di sini mereka diwakili dengan menuliskan dua bunyi vokal yang memiliki kualitas sama secara berdampingan satu sama lain. Contoh-contoh berikut berasal dari Pendau: *buut* 'gunung' mewakili [bu:t], *roong* 'daun' [ro:ŋ], *gaat* 'pisah' [ga:t], *pee* 'sakit' [pe:], dan *riing* 'mandi' [ri:ŋ].

Secara teratur penekanan dalam bahasa-bahasa Tomini Tolitoli muncul pada suku kata kedua dari akhir, contohnya: Dampelas *polu* 'batu' diucapkan [pólu] dan bukan [polú], *betuong* 'bintang' [betúoŋ] dan bukan [bétuoŋ], dsb. Umumnya penekanan tidak diwakili dalam sistem penulisan. Hanya kadang-kadang simbol < > dipergunakan untuk menunjukkan penekanan bila penekanan muncul pada tempat lain selain suku kata kedua dari akhir. Oleh sebab itu, seringkali dalam suatu rangkaian VVKV[8], bunyi vokal yang pertama dan bukan yang kedua yang mendapat tekanan, seperti misalnya dalam bahasa Dampelas adanya *kangkáula* 'labah-labah' bukan *kangkaúla*, *ndóupo* 'belum' bukan *ndoúpo* dan seterusnya.

Dalam beberapa bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli terutama dalam bahasa Lauje, Dondo, dan Tialo, bunyi vokal [e] seringkali ditambahkan pada akhir suatu kata bila kata itu berakhir dengan sebuah konsonan. Karena itu, dalam bahasa Tialo kata *'ungkul* 'kulit' biasanya diucapkan sebagai ['úŋkule]. Perlu dicatat bahwa penambahan bunyi vokal tidak merubah pola dasar penekanan: penekanan tetap pada suku kata kedua dari akhir pada sebuah akar kata. Karena alasan inilah dan beberapa alasan lainnya maka penambahan bunyi vokal yang disebut *bunyi vokal paragogis*, dianggap sebagai suatu penambahan yang benar-benar superfisial terhadap kata dasar. Bunyi vokal paragogis ditulis dengan huruf besar dalam buku ini. Jadi ['úŋkule] ditulis sebagai *'ungkulE*.

Bunyi vokal paragogis juga terdapat dalam bahasa Dampelas. Hanya bila dalam bahasa Lauje, Dondo, dan Tialo bunyi vokal paragogis selalu [e], maka dalam bahasa Dampelas bunyi itu merupakan pengulangan bunyi vokal yang terakhir dalam kata dimana bunyi itu ditambahkan. Sebagai contoh adalah *bunta'A* 'apung', *aogO* 'aur', *mopudu'U* 'pendek', *bese'E* 'gusi' dan *tasi'I* 'laut'.

[7] Perlu dicatat bahwa ini hanya merupakan suatu cara praktis untuk mengingatkan pembaca bahwa akhiran <l> sebenarnya tidak diucapkan sebagai lateral. Berdasarkan hanya pada prinsip fonemis tidak diperlukan pengejaan yang berbeda bagi <l> dalam posisi akhir kata karena <l> dalam posisi ini selalu hilang.

[8] Di sini V mewakili semua bunyi vokal (a, e, i, o, u) dan K semua konsonan (b, c, d, f, g, dsb.).

1.5 Akar kata dan imbuhan

Dalam bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli kata-kata mungkin terdiri dari bermacam-macam imbuhan, seperti misalnya dalam bahasa Ampibabo Lauje kata untuk 'makan' dapat muncul dalam bentuk-bentuk berikut ini yaitu *monginang/menginang, ni'inang, pa'inang, moma'inang, moma'inanga'* dan *pa'inanga'*. Semua bentuk ini berasal dari suatu akar kata *'inang*. Di dalam daftar kata yang merupakan bagian terbesar isi buku ini, kata-kata bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli disajikan dalam bentuk akar katanya, dan diikuti oleh sebuah daftar dari sebagian imbuhan yang dapat muncul dengan akar kata tersebut. Imbuhan tersebut biasanya dituliskan dalam bentuk singkatnya. Karena itu dalam kata masukan 'makan' pada bahasa Ampibabo Lauje tidak semua kata-kata yang berasal dari *'inang* terdapat pada daftar kata. Maksudnya, daftar kata tersebut tidak akan terlihat sebagai berikut:

(1) 'inang, monginang/menginang, ni'inang, pa'inang, moma'inang, moma'inanga', pa'inanga'

Sebaliknya seperti terlihat pada nomor 05.110 daftar kata itu akan terlihat seperti berikut:

(2) 'inang moN-/meN- ni- pa- moma- moma-a' pa-a'

Untuk menyingkat bentuk-bentuk kata yang berimbuhan, dipakai konvensi berikut:

- *ni-, pa-, noma-, mo-, me-*, dsb. merupakan awalan yang hanya diletakkan di depan suatu akar kata.
- *moN-, meN-* dan awalan-awalan lain yang memiliki sebuah *N* merupakan awalan jenis khusus karena bunyi *N* berubah sesuai dengan bunyi pertama dari akar kata. Dan bunyi pertama dari akar kata tersebut mungkin juga mengalami perubahan (misalnya dengan penghilangan) apabila digabung dengan sebuah *N*. Pola-pola dan contoh-contoh di Tabel 2 memperlihatkan adanya interaksi antara *N* dan bunyi-bunyi awal suatu akar kata.[9]

[9] Patut dicatat bahwa gejala serupa banyak juga terjadi dalam bahasa Indonesia dengan awalan *meN-* seperti contohnya *panggil memanggil, guru mengguru, sambung menyambung*, dsb. Dalam Tabel beberapa bunyi yang terdapat pada awal akar kata dalam hampir semua bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli – terutama bunyi <r>, <l> dan bunyi nasal <m>, <n>, <ng> – tidak terlihat. Meskipun mungkin juga bahwa *moN-* dan beberapa awalan yang mirip muncul bersama-sama akar kata ini, namun bentuk yang dihasilkan sangatlah membingungkan. Contohnya suatu kata seperti kata *molambotE* 'mengingat' dalam bahasa Dondo mungkin diambil dari akar kata *lambot* dengan cara-cara yang sangat berbeda, termasuk awalan *mo-, moN-*, dan gabungan awalan *M+ po-*. Untuk memutuskan antara alternatif-alternatif ini akan membutuhkan suatu tingkat analisis yang lebih tinggi dari yang dipakai di buku ini. Karena itu kasus-kasus seperti ini tidak dibahas lebih lanjut.

Tabel 2: Awalan dengan *N*

	Contoh (dari Ampibabo Lauje)
N + ' → ng	moN+'inang → *monginang* 'memakan'
N + k → ng	moN+kiki → *mongiki* 'monggigit'
N + t → n	moN+tapa → *monapa* 'memanggang'
N + p → m	moN+papi → *momapi* 'membakar'
N + b → mb	moN+bee → *mombee* 'memberi'
N + d → nd	moN+dodo' → *mondodo'* 'memecah'
N + g → ngg	moN+galot → *monggalot* 'mencampur'
N + j → nj	moN+jilo'i → *monjilo'i* 'menjilati'
N + s → ny	moN+salag → *monyalag* 'menggoreng'
N + V → ngV	moN+alo → *mongalo* 'mengambil'

Pola-pola yang terdapat pada Tabel 2 hanya menyajikan kasus-kasus khusus. Selalu ada perkecualian. Perkecualian-perkecualian termasuk ketiga jenis berikut ini:

(a) bunyi awal akar kata digantikan oleh suatu bunyi yang tidak terdapat dalam Tabel 2. Dalam hal ini, format berikut ini yang dipakai yaitu: Apabila bunyi awal <s> digantikan oleh <n> (dan bukan <ny>) maka bentuk awalan yang dipergunakan ialah *moN%n-*. Oleh karena itu kata masukan untuk bahasa Lauje *susu moN%n-* berarti bahwa bentuk *monusu* 'menyusu' dapat diambil dari akar kata *susu*. Sebuah contoh lain yang lazim untuk jenis ini ialah penggantian <'> dengan <k> seperti terdapat pada *'aug moN%k-* untuk *mongkaug* 'mengayuh'.

(b) berlawanan dengan kaidah umum seperti terdapat pada Tabel 2, suatu bunyi awal akar kata tidak dihilangkan. Karena itu dalam Lauje *montunu* 'membakar' bunyi awal <t> dari *tunu* tidak dihilangkan. Hal ini ditulis dengan menyingkat awalan menjadi *moN%t*. Contoh-contoh lain termasuk *sau monN%s-* untuk kata *monsau* 'menggosok' dan Taje *pamula moN%p-* untuk kata *mompamula* 'memulai'.

(c) suatu bunyi awal akar kata dihilangkan meskipun sesuai dengan kaidah umum diharapkan bunyi tersebut tetap sesudah N. Hal ini ditulis seperti *moN%0-*. Contoh-contoh yang ada termasuk (dalam bahasa Lauje) *bambal moN%0-* untuk *momambal* 'memberitahu' dan *bondang moN%O-* untuk *momondang* 'memukul'.

- *M-* mewakili penggantian bunyi awal <p> oleh <m>. Sebagai contoh dalam bahasa Dondo *pengkiong M-* berarti bahwa kata *mengkiong* 'mencari' berasal dari akar kata *pengkiong*.
- awalan-awalan yang memiliki huruf <V> mewakili awalan-awalan yang bunyi vokalnya berasimilasi dengan bunyi vokal dari akar kata (disebut *keselarasan bunyi vokal*). Bandingkan dengan contoh-contoh dari bahasa Lauje berikut ini:

(3)

mV-itong	meitong	'hitam'
mV-meas	memeas	'putih'
mV-tuug	motuug	'kering'
mV-jolo	mojolo	'dingin'
mV-basag	mabasag	'besar'

- *-in-* dan *-um-* mewakili sisipan yang diselipkan langsung sesudah konsonan pertama dari akar kata. Contoh-contoh dari bahasa Tialo: *samo -in-* untuk *sinamo* 'digendong', *'ano -in-* untuk *'inano* 'dimakan', *'ano -um-* untuk *'umano* 'makan', *tubu -um-* untuk *tumubu* 'hidup', dan sebagainya.
- *-an, -i, -a'a, -ao,* dsb. mewakili akhiran-akhiran. Akhiran-akhiran itu hanya ditambahkan saja pada akhir suatu akar kata, seperti dalam Balaesang *bagi -ao* untuk *bagiao* 'berikan', *inak -ao* untuk *inakao* 'ingatkan', *simbat -i* untuk *simbati* 'menjawabi', dsb.
- awalan, sisipan, dan akhiran mungkin muncul bersama-sama pada satu akar kata. Perpaduan imbuhan seperti itu dimungkinkan dengan menuliskan imbuhan-imbuhan berdekatan satu dengan yang lain tanpa ada ruang yang memisahkan mereka. Oleh karena itu kata Balaesang *lindok I-ao* mewakili *ilindokao* 'ditinggalkan', *ntonok mo--ao* mewakili *montonokao* 'meluruskan', *sangit me-um-* mewakili *mesumangit* 'menangis', dsb.

Selain imbuhan, akar kata dapat juga diperluas dengan proses reduplikasi. Dalam bahasa-bahasa Tomini-Tolitoli ada berbagai-bagai jenis reduplikasi, termasuk reduplikasi sederhana (disingkat RDP dalam daftar kata), yaitu pengulangan konsonan dan bunyi vokal pertama seperti dalam Tialo ***'ampit 'a'ampit*** 'melekat'. Dalam jenis reduplikasi lainnya (disingkat RDP1 dalam daftar kata), tidak saja terjadi suatu pengulangan dari suku kata pertama tetapi juga perpanjangan bunyi vokal dari suku kata yang diulang dan diberi tanda <`>. Coba bandingkan Tialo *lantap* ***là***lantap 'terapung' di mana *làlantap* diucapkan [la:lantap]. Akhirnya, suatu jenis reduplikasi lainnya (disingkat RDP2 dalam daftar kata) ialah pengulangan dua suku kata pertama dari suatu kata. Contoh-contoh berikut ini dari Lauje

(4)

na-**ale**-alenda	'agak panjang'
me-**ito**-itong	'agak hitam'
'e-**inu**-inung	'minum tanpa pilih-pilih'
me-**ogo**-ogob-an	'saling mengeram'

Seperti terlihat pada contoh-contoh ini, dalam jenis pengulangan ini suatu konsonan akan dihilangkan bila suku kata kedua berakhir pada suatu konsonan seperti pada ***i.tong***, ***i.nung*** dan ***o.gob*** (bentuk pengulangan dari *itong* ialah *itoitong* dan bukan **itongitong*).

2 General introduction

2.1 The Tomini-Tolitoli group

The Tomini-Tolitoli languages are a group of eleven languages spoken by some 145.000 people on Sulawesi, a major island in eastern Indonesia. They are located in the northern parts of Central Sulawesi, more precisely in the northern end of Kabupaten (district) Donggala and the Kabupaten Tolitoli. The area comprises the following nine Kecamatan (subdistricts) on the West Coast (beginning in the south-west): Balaesang, Dampelas and Sojol in Kabupaten Donggala; Dampal Selatan, Dampal Utara, Dondo, Baolan, Galang and Tolitoli Utara in Kabupaten Tolitoli (see Map 1).[1] On the East Coast it comprises the following four Kecamatan: Ampibabo, Tinombo, Tomini and Moutong, all in Kabupaten Donggala. There are also some isolated settlements of speakers of a Tomini-Tolitoli language in Kecamatan Sirenja and Sindue (West Coast) and one village, Petapa, in Kecamatan Parigi (East Coast), where a Taje dialect is spoken.

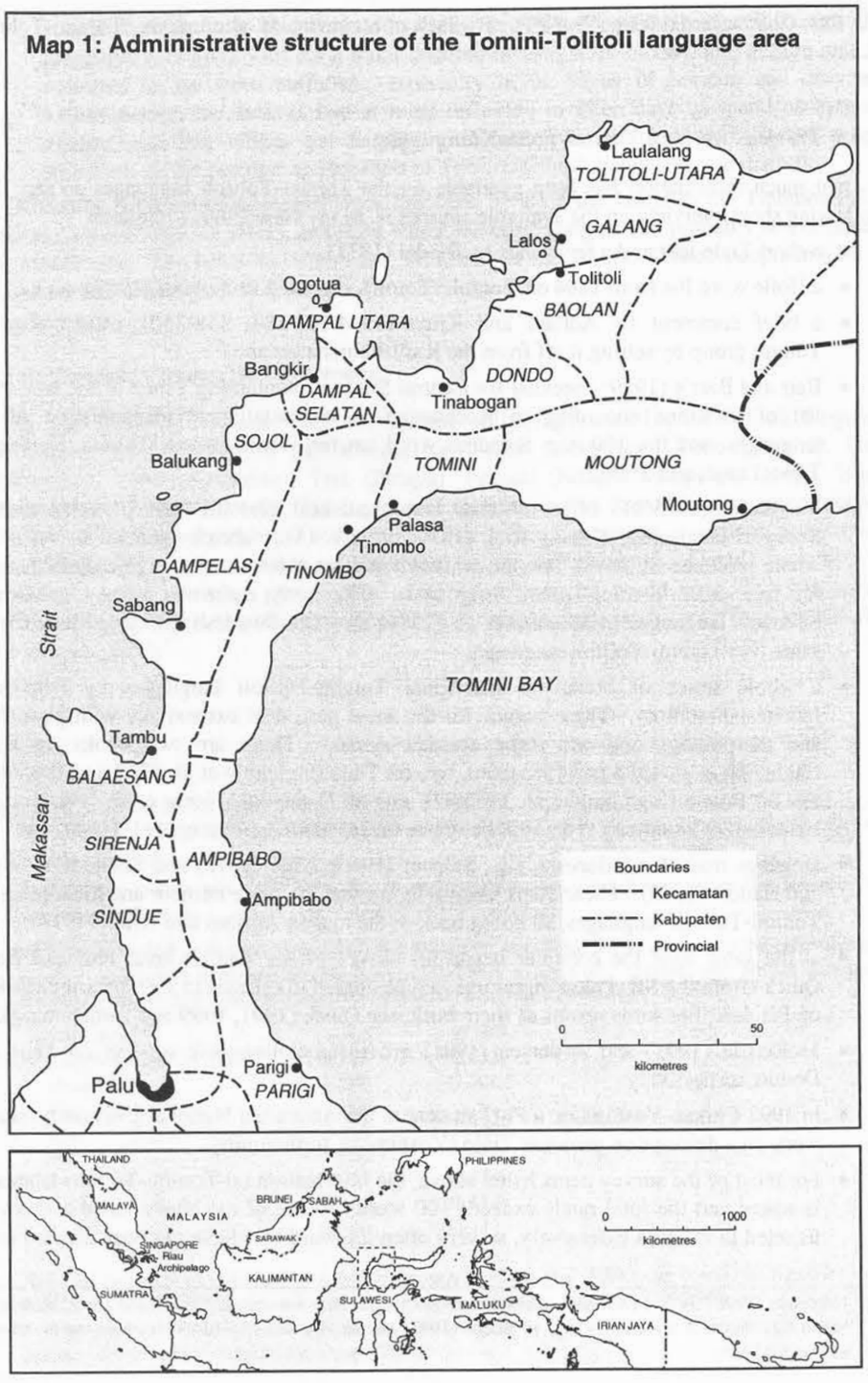
Furthermore, some contributors said that small enclaves of speakers of Tomini-Tolitoli languages exist in Kabupaten Poso and Banggai (eastern Central Sulawesi) and in the Gorontalo area of North Sulawesi. It was not possible to check these reports.

Neighbouring languages are, in the north-east, Buol (West Coast) and Gorontalo (East Coast), in the south, various Kaili dialects (or languages?), in particular Ledo (the major language of the Palu area), Tawaeli and Rai in Kecamatan Tawaeli and Sindue, and Rai and Tara in Kecamatan Parigi and Ampibabo.

The term 'Tomini-Group' was first used by Adriani and Kruyt (1914), making the Tomini Bay a somewhat crude geographical indicator. 'Tomini', however, is not accepted by the speakers of these languages because, in their opinion, it refers to just one Kecamatan and one village. Although there is a clear conception of forming one interrelated group within Sulawesi Tengah, there is no term in use which denotes overall tribal identity (as, for example, *Kaili* which covers various subgroups). 'Tomini-Tolitoli' was introduced by Masyhuda (1975/81) in order to indicate a certain subgrouping, and also as an alternative to

[1] There have been two important changes to the administrative structure of the area since the last fieldwork trip for this sourcebook in 1993. First, the former Kecamatan Dampelas-Sojol was split into two Kecamatan (Dampelas and Sojol, respectively) in 1996. Second, in 1999 the former Kabupaten Buol-Tolitoli was split into two Kabupaten (Buol and Tolitoli, respectively). Unfortunately, it was not possible to determine the geographic boundaries of these new units precisely. Therefore, on the maps neither the boundary separating Dampelas and Sojol nor the eastern boundary of Kabupaten Tolitoli are indicated. And in the village list in §2.2.2, the villages of Dampelas and Sojol are listed together in a single table.

Map 1: Administrative structure of the Tomini-Tolitoli language area



the East Coast-centred term 'Tomini'. For lack of a convincing alternative, 'Tomini-Tolitoli' is also used in this work.

2.1.1 Previous work on Tomini-Tolitoli languages

Not much information has been available on the Tomini-Tolitoli languages so far. The following short overview on the available sources is, to my knowledge, complete:

- a short Tialo text and a few songs by Riedel (1871).
- a Holle word list from 1894 on Tontoli (Totoli), reprinted in Stokhof (1983).
- a brief comment by Adriani and Kruyt (1914:169-183, 348-350), establishing the Tomini group by setting it off from the Kaili-Pamona group.
- Barr and Barr's (1979) checklist for Central Sulawesi containing a map of the area and a list of locations according to Kecamatan, a lexicostatistical classification of the languages, and the 100-item Swadesh word list for Totoli, Boano, Dondo, Dampelas, Tajio, Lauje, and Tialo.
- Masyhuda (1975/81) offers another lexicostatistical classification of some Central Sulawesi languages. Kaseng et al. (1979) provide a very sketchy general survey of the whole province Sulawesi Tengah, which includes a short sketch of Taje and 23 words for five other Tomini-Tolitoli languages. The fairly extensive survey on Central Sulawesi languages in Wumbu et al. (1986) includes Swadesh 100-word lists for the same five Tomini-Tolitoli languages.
- a whole series of books on individual Tomini-Tolitoli languages by Palu-based Indonesian authors. These books, for the most part, deal extensively with phonology and morphology and add some abstract syntax. There are two books on Totoli (Inghuong et al. 1983 and 1985/86b), two on Tialo (Inghuong et al. 1982 and 1985/86a), one on Boano (Inghuong et al. 1986/87), one on Dampelas (Hente et al. 1986), one on Balaesang (Garantjang et al. 1985) and one on Dondo (Garantjang et al. 1984).[2]
- language maps for Indonesia, e.g., Salzner (1960), LBN (1972) and Sneddon in Wurm and Hattori (1983). These maps essentially present the same number and location of the Tomini-Tolitoli languages, all going back to the map in Adriani and Kruyt (1914).
- at the same time the compiler began his survey of the Tomini area, Phil and Becky Quick (from the SIL Palu Programme, which ceased to operate in 1992) started working on Pendau. For some results of their work, see Quick (1991, 1999 and forthcoming).
- McKenzie (1991) and Andersen (1991) provide sociolinguistic surveys on Tajio and Dondo, respectively.
- in 1993 Chikao Yoshimura, a PhD student at the Australian National University, started work on a descriptive grammar Tialo (Yoshimura, forthcoming).
- For most of the survey items listed above, the information on Tomini-Tolitoli languages is scarce and the total rarely exceeds 100 words. None of the above-listed authors has traveled in the area extensively, so very often the word lists have not been elicited in the speech communities. The work done within the PPPB-sponsored projects[3] on individual languages is a good start for a more detailed investigation of the area, but the material collected is far from sufficient, especially in the areas of lexicon and discourse. Unfortunately, the authors had at most only two to three days to spend on location, visiting just one village per language. None of the publications offers a precise statement on the number and location of Tomini-Tolitoli languages and dialects.

Recently, some anthropological work has been done on the Lauje in the Tinombo/Palasa region (Nourse 1989, Li 1991), and from which the basic insights can probably be extended to the whole area. The notes on culture and livelihood of the Tomini-Tolitoli people in §2.4 are based on this work.

[2] Noorduyn (1991:73) lists two more works which the compiler has not seen so far. These are a BA thesis by Sartin Dg. Paliwa on the morphology of Boano (1982) and an MA thesis by Idrus Halim on the morphology of Dondo (1984).

2.1.2. Language names and subgroups

In the literature to date (see above), the following nine Tomini-Tolitoli languages (alternative names given in parentheses) have been recognised:[4] Tialo (Tomini), Lauje (Tinombo), Tajio (Kasimbar), Taje (Petapa), Pendau (Ndau), Dampelas, Dondo, Boano (Bolano) and Totoli (Tolitoli). During present research, it was found that the group probably consists of eleven languages. These are listed in Table 1, arranged in a rough geographical order beginning in the south-west and focusing on central areas. Details regarding the sometimes quite complex geographical distribution may be found in §2.2. The figures indicate the approximate number of speakers for each language or dialect. They are based on the data in §2.2.2:[5]

[3] Most of which, unfortunately, has still not been published and of which the compiler only became aware after his arrival in Palu.

[4] I will adhere to the names used by the speakers themselves, thus using Boano rather than Bolano, Totoli rather than Tolitoli, etc.

[5] As further detailed in those sections, these figures are far from reliable. In computing the percentages and additions, the results have generally (and generously) been rounded off. Overall, they are not dramatically different from the ones given in Barr et al. (1979:37ff) which are as follows:

Balaesang	4.000	(16.780)
Tomini (= Lauje + Tialo)	68.000	(68.633)
Bolano	1.600	(11.500)
Kasimbar (= Tajio)	7.000	
Petapa (= Taje)	1.000	(400)
Ndau	2.000	
Dampelasa	9.500	(27.836)
Dondo	9.000	(38.816)
Totoli	19.000	(51.113)

Note that these are also the figures on which the ones in Wurm et al. (1983) are based (the figure for Petapa is from that source). The figures in brackets are those from Kaseng et al. (1979:9ff) who seem to confuse number of inhabitants in a given area with number of speakers. Their figure for Balaesang includes Pendau and the one for Tomini includes Kasimbar (Tajio).

Table 1: Tomini-Tolitoli languages

WEST COAST		EAST COAST	
Balaesang	ca. 3,200	Taje (Petapa)	ca. 350
Pendau (Ndau)[6]	ca. 3,200	Ampibabo-Lauje	ca. 6,000
Dampelas (Dampal)	ca. 10,300	Tajio (Kasimbar)[7]	ca. 12,000
Dondo	ca. 13,000	Lauje (Tinombo)	ca. 38,000
Totoli (Tolitoli)[8]	ca. 25,000	Tialo (Tomini)[9]	ca. 30,000
		Boano (Bolano)	ca. 2,700
TOTAL: ca.145,000			

Although the number and names of the languages listed in Table 1 are based on a fairly detailed survey of the whole area, two issues remain to be investigated before this list may be considered definitive (cf. also §2.2.3): First, the dialect situation has been investigated only on a very superficial level. Thus it may turn out upon closer inspection that some of the varieties considered dialects here should better be considered languages (this is a possibility in particular with regard to the two major Taje varieties, cf. §2.2.1.7 and the word list entries). Conversely, it could also emerge that some of the varieties considered languages here should better be considered dialects of one language (cf. the comments on Dondo and Tialo below).

Second, it was reported by several contributors in Kecamatan Tinombo that above the village of Sidoan lives a very small group of inner hill people whose language was said to be clearly different from Lauje, the dominant Tomini-Tolitoli language of the area. These people, and their language, were called *Dampelau*. This word, however, is a Lauje nickname for people wearing loincloth (the Lauje word for 'naked' is *laulau*). It may thus very well be the case that the group in question, if it indeed exists, is just an inner hill group which strongly avoids contact with other groups and speaks an unfamiliar variety of Lauje or some other Tomini-Tolitoli language. Unfortunately, it was not possible to check this report on location during the present survey.

Some of the language names (i.e. Taje, Tajio, Lauje, and Pendau) are identical or related to the word for 'no' in these languages (cf. entries 17.560f in the word list).[10] This quite remarkable feature is also found in the Kaili-Pamona group where most of the language and dialect names such as Ledo, Tara, Ta'a, Da'a, Rai, Uma, etc. are negative polarity items as well.

[6] This figure does not include the Pendau living on the East Coast mentioned by McKenzie (1991).

[7] McKenzie (1991:29) estimates over 18,000 Tajio speakers.

[8] This figure represents the number of Tolitoli people. Many of these no longer have a full command of the language (see §2.3). A fair guess would be that today only about 30% of them (i.e. ca. 7,500 people) may be considered fully competent speakers.

[9] The figure for Tialo is probably the most unreliable in the whole set. This is due to the fact that the statistics data for Kecamatan Moutong, where most of the Tialo live, are difficult to interpret. Most importantly, it remains unclear whether and how the quite numerous transmigrants are counted. Furthermore, for the majority of the villages in this Kecamatan, the compiler was unable to get hold of the crude percentage-estimates on which the figures in this list are based. Thus, there might well be 10,000 more speakers of Tialo or 10,000 less.

[10] Tialo probably also belongs to this group, although the word for 'no' today is *tiaaje* or *taje*.

Ampibabo is an adverbial deictic expression occurring in Lauje and meaning 'far down there'. *Bolano* is the word for 'lake' in Totoli and Dondo (cf. 01.330). *Ttoli* means 'closely related' in Totoli, *tau ttoli* means 'people, tribe' (*tau* 'person').

As for the historical relationships between the Tomini-Tolitoli languages identified so far, it is still unclear whether these languages form in fact a genetic group or whether they are just geographically related. A rigorous determination of the historical relationships would presuppose an in-depth study and delimitation of borrowed items. This task is not easy to carry out since comprehensive lexical resources for some of the major neighbouring languages and potential donors (Tara, Rai, Ledo, Buol) are missing.[11] One can expect that the Tomini-Tolitoli languages would be heavy borrowers and that they would hardly have contributed items to the neighbouring languages for the following reasons:

- the number of speakers is fairly small compared to those of the neighbouring groups: Kaili-Pamona languages are spoken by some 450,000 people (Kaili alone has some 300,000 speakers), Gorontalo has close to 400,000 speakers, and Buol close to 65,000.
- the area has been in the sphere of influence of foreign rulers for at least 450 years and been the target of substantial immigration for at least 100 years (see §2.4.3).
- at present, most speakers of Tomini-Tolitoli languages are fluent in one or more languages of their neighbours, but not the other way around (see §2.3).
- present-day cultural as well as agricultural practices have been adopted to a considerable extent from neighbours and immigrants. Linguistically, this is reflected by the fact that whole areas of the lexicon seem to be loans (see §3.8) and that in songs and, to a lesser extent, in narratives as well, whole clauses occur which have been borrowed from a different language and whose literal meaning is unknown to the singer or speaker and the audience.

Although for these reasons a rigorous determination of the membership and a subgrouping of the Tomini-Tolitoli group is not possible at this point, it is useful to establish some kind of preliminary subgrouping in order to present some details of the survey data in an efficient way (in general, however, the eleven languages listed above provide the scheme for the presentation). The following subgrouping is based on some preliminary observations concerning phonological and grammatical similarities and dissimilarities between Tomini-Tolitoli languages,[12] and on remarks by the contributors regarding the mutual intelligibility of the various varieties. As the terms used in naming the subgroups suggest, this subgrouping[13] is to be understood primarily as a geographical one rather than a genealogical one:

(5) Tentative subgrouping of Tomini-Tolitoli languages

Tolitoli Subgroup
  Totoli
  Boano

[11] For Gorontalo some materials are available. Other, reasonably well-documented potential donors include the South Sulawesi languages, in particular Bugis and Mandar, and the Minahasan languages.

[12] See Himmelmann (1991) for some of the phonological details.

[13] The subgrouping hinted at in Adriani and Kruyt (1914) and the one proposed by Barr and Barr (1979) – based on lexicostatistical evidence – are fairly similar.

Tomini Subgroup
- Northern Tomini
  - Ampibabo-Lauje
  - Lauje
  - Tialo
  - Dondo
- Southern Tomini
  - Balaesang
  - Pendau
  - Dampelas
  - Taje
  - Tajio

No in-depth discussion of this practical subgrouping is possible here. The following points, however, should be noted. To begin with, it remains to be established that all these languages together in fact form a genetic group (i.e. that there is any reality to the construct *Tomini-Tolitoli group*). Adriani and Kruyt (1914:169-183, 348-350) grouped nine of these languages together based on a very small and uneven sample of data. Their evidence consisted in some grammatical features, the fact that (almost) all Tomini-Tolitoli languages allow closed syllables word-finally, and a number of conspicuous lexical items, in particular *ogo* for 'water'. They take great care in pointing out that all the features they discuss, apart from *ogo*, are very unevenly distributed across the group. In fact, none of the features they discuss (with the possible exception of *ogo*) can be considered an unequivocal innovation. Therefore, the subgroup status is still in need of explicit proof.

For three of the eleven languages it is not at all clear that they in fact form a low-order subgroup with the remaining eight languages. On the one hand, the two northern languages Totoli and Boano, which without doubt are closely related to each other, differ considerably from the other languages with respect to phonology, lexicon and grammar. It is possible that upon closer inspection they will turn out to be Tomini-Tolitoli languages heavily influenced by Gorontalic and, more recently, South Sulawesi languages (Bugis, Makassar). However, at this point the possibility cannot be excluded that the Tomini languages are in fact not their next of kin.

Another problem is Balaesang, which is tentatively included in the Tomini group by Adriani and Kruyt (1914:350), but there was very little information on this language available to them. In Kaseng et al. (1979:22) it is claimed that Balaesang developed from a dialect of Dampelas, thus clearly being a Tomini language. Barr and Barr (1979:30f), however, classify it – based on a lexicostatistical argument – as a group level isolate of the West Central Sulawesi group, ranking on the same level as the Tomini-Tolitoli, Kaili-Pamona, and Bungku-Mori subgroups.[14] In the present sourcebook, Balaesang is included in the Tomini-Tolitoli group because it shares many relevant grammatical features with the other Tomini-Tolitoli languages. Furthermore, it is also considered a closely related language by speakers of Taje, Tajio, Pendau, and Dampelas. One feature that clearly distinguishes Balaesang from all the other languages is the fact that the Balaesang word for 'water' is *ßalu* (with an initial voiced bilabial fricative).

As for the remaining languages, it may be noted that Dondo and Tialo are very similar indeed and a close inspection of the dialect chain covering the area between them will probably show that there is no clear cut-off point for distinguishing one language from the other. However, in their central areas Dondo and Tialo form clearly distinct units, geographically as well as sociolinguistically. Therefore, they are treated here (as in all preceding work) as two different languages.

[14] Interestingly, in Table 1 of Barr and Barr (1979:26) as well as in their word lists (1979:79ff) Balaesang is presented as a Tomini-Tolitoli language.

Finally, Ampibabo-Lauje has so far not been recognised as an independent language. The speakers call this language Lauje and it clearly is very closely related to Lauje,[15] which is spoken about one hundred kilometers further north (the area in between Ampibabo-Lauje and Lauje is inhabited mostly by Tajio). However, in its current form Ampibabo-Lauje is lexically and phonologically quite distinct from present-day Lauje and both Lauje and Ampibabo-Lauje speakers do not consider their speech varieties mutually intelligible. In fact, despite their relative closeness, there is very little contact between the two areas in which these languages are spoken and, judging by the differences between them, they have not been in close contact for quite some time. Instead, Ampibabo-Lauje has been in close contact with another Tomini-Tolitoli language, i.e. Taje, and with Kaili languages, in particular Rai.

2.2 Language distribution

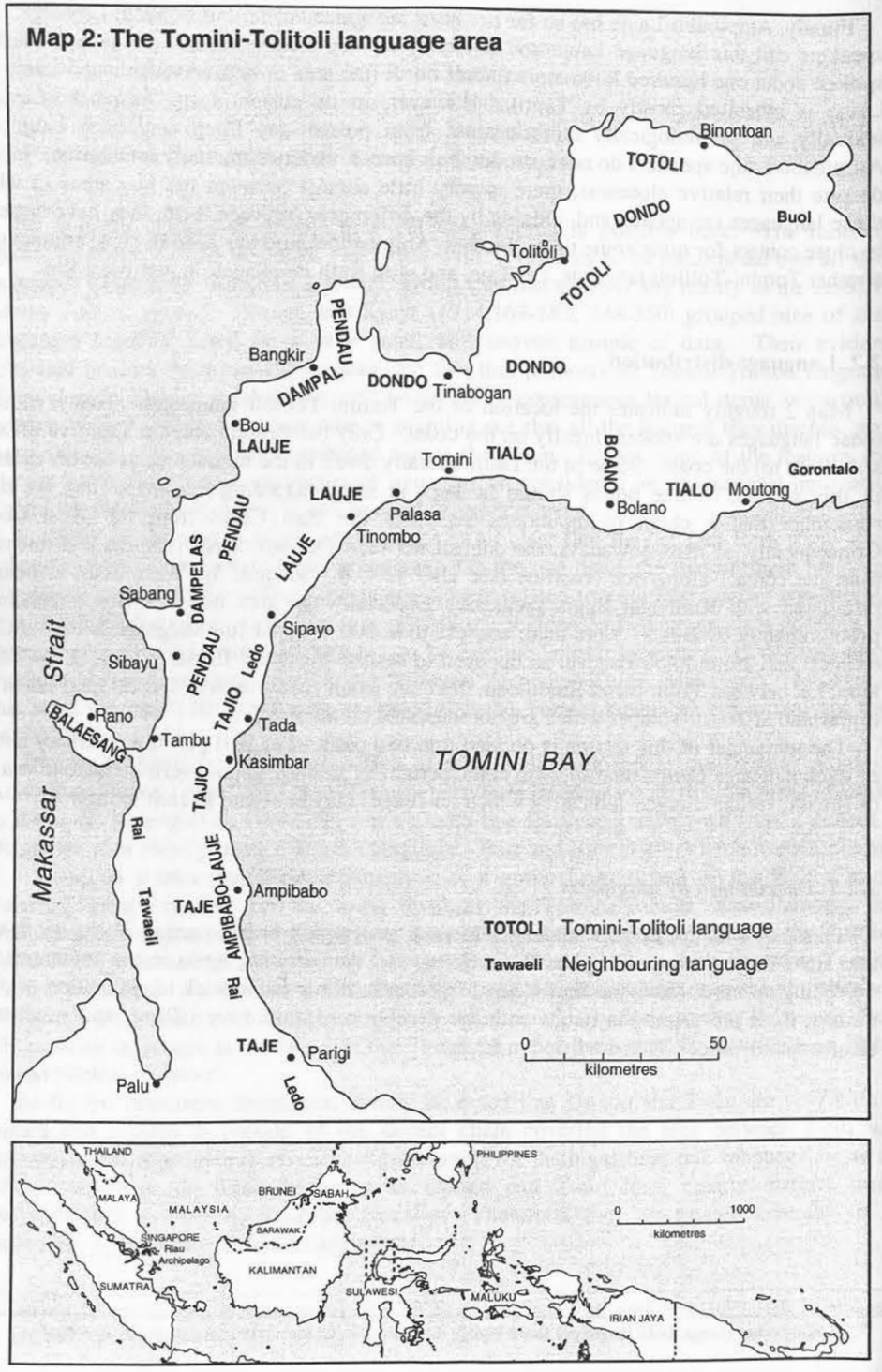
Map 2 roughly indicates the location of the Tomini-Tolitoli languages. Today, most of these languages are spoken directly on the coast. Only the Pendau and the Taje live off (but still close to) the coast. Some of the Lauje actually dwell in the mountains, as further detailed in this section. Three points should be kept in mind regarding this map: first, we must remember that a chain of mountains separates the East Coast from the West Coast. Consequently, at least nowadays, the contact between the two coasts is much less intensive than the contact along one coastline (see also §2.4.6). Second, the West Coast is densely populated with Kaili and Bugis speakers. Especially the area north of Bou is inhabited predominantly by Bugis. Here there are less than 300 Dampal (the language being virtually extinct) and around 450 Pendau, as opposed to several thousand Bugis. Third, in the Totoli area, i.e. between Tolitoli and Binontoan, there are small settlements of Dondo speakers in the hinterland of Totoli villages which are not indicated on the map.

The remainder of this section is divided into two parts. The first part is a summary review of each language (with some specific notes pertaining to the Dusun-level), the second is a list of the individual villages, indicating which languages may be found in each village.

2.2.1 Distribution by languages

This part will discuss the languages in their geographic order, starting in the south-west and travelling up north along the West Coast, and then starting again in the south-east and travelling up north along the East Coast. In order to allow for a quick identification of place names, these are printed in italics with the exception of names for villages and subdistricts (Kecamatan), all of which are listed in §2.2.2.

[15] Among other things, both languages share highly idiosyncratic lexical items such as *golau* for 'egg'.



2.2.1.1 Balaesang (Map 3)

Balaesang is spoken in three villages – Kamonji, Ketong, and Rano – on the peninsula bearing the same name. Ketong and Rano are still fairly isolated villages (in 1993, Ketong could still be reached only by boat). Kamonji is located close to the southern coast of the peninsula ca. 20 km off the main coast line. Malei is the coastal village, a large village with a Bugis and Ledo population (and 5 KK[16] Balaesang). Rano is located some 10 km north-west of Kamonji on the shores of an inland lake completely surrounded by hills. From Rano it is a one hour walk to Pomolulu on the northern coast of the peninsula, a village where Bajau have been settling for quite a long time. Ketong lies west of Rano (ca. two hours walk), on the very tip of the peninsula. Despite the relative isolation, the villagers seem to be rather well-to-do, many of the middle-aged generation having gone to school in Palu and the first concrete houses having already been built in the seventies (the majority of houses in Rano, however, are still of the traditional type, i.e. houses on stilts).

In Rano, at least (the compiler did not visit the other locations), Balaesang is still very much the everyday language of communication, though most people also appear to have an excellent command of Indonesian. Furthermore, almost everyone seems to know Kaili and some Bajau (due to the Bajau in Pomolulu who cater sea fish to the village). The contributors easily recognised words from other Tomini-Tolitoli languages and had a relatively precise knowledge of the southern part of the Tomini-Tolitoli area.

2.2.1.2 Pendau (Map 3)

The situation for Pendau is much more complex than that for most of the other languages, since the Pendau live in small, often isolated communities all the way up between Balaesang and Dampal Utara. There are no Pendau *villages*, thus the list of villages given in the next section is not very informative. Here is some more specific information as to where Pendau speakers live:

- in Kecamatan Balaesang, which seems to be the stronghold of the Pendau people. Quick (pers.comm.) reports that the Camat of this Kecamatan estimates that about ten per cent of Balaesang's 22,000 inhabitants are Pendau. In the PKMT hamlet of Dusun *Pinayor* (Desa Sibayu) there are roughly 400 Pendau which Quick considers to be the largest population of Pendau in one geographic area. No precise information is available as to where the other Pendau in this Kecamatan live. A few families live on the Balaesang peninsula, in Malei and Ketong.
- in Dusun *Parisan*, 8 km south-east of Sioyong, ca. 100 KK, not in the actual Dusun, but 1 km off the main road (Sioyong-Sibayu). About 30 KK are members of a Pentecostal church community bordering on the main road (the mission reportedly started in 1971).
- in three mainland Dusuns of Pangalaseang (some 80 KK altogether), i.e.
  - *Siraru*, reportedly founded by Kaili in 1928, with the first Pendau settling down in 1929; 75% Pendau.
  - *Ou*, a fairly new settlement (1978), 1 km off the main road and the centre of this Dusun; ca. 20 KK.

[16] KK is an abbreviation of *Kepala Keluarga* 'household head'. Population figures gathered in personal communication are usually given in this way. On the average, a KK consists of 4 people.

- *Munte*, reportedly since 1930.

It is claimed that there are also some individual Pendau settlers on the Pangalaseang island.

- reportedly between Bou and Pesik, close to the coast; in earlier times also above Lenju; no informed guesses on their number were obtained.
- in a rather wide and hilly area between Mimbala (Dampal-Selatan), Bambapula, and Banagan (Dampal Utara):
  - uphill from Mimbala, a fairly steep 3 km hike, in 3 valleys: *Kampung Baru* (6 KK), *Tengah* (4 KK), *Ujung* (2 KK).
  - close to *Sese* (coastal border Dampal Selatan/Dampal Utara, 500 meters off the main road (2 KK?).
  - in *Agisolo*, border Ogotua/Bambapula, 100 meters off the main road, 2 KK (together with 3 KK Mandar).
  - on the coast in Bambapula (*Tj. Dongi*); some individuals intermarried with speakers of other languages.
  - on the island *Simatang*, reportedly all intermarried with Bajau speakers.
  - in Dusun *Bigalo*, 4 km south of Bambapula (flat gerobak-trail); status as RK since 1973 (?) with a Totoli as Kepala. 5 km further south and uphill (getting closer to Koni) is a place called *Toreang*. In the Bigalo/Toreang area are said to live 40 KK Pendau.
  - in *Koni* (Dusun of Tompoh), 5 km south-east of Bambapula, 2km west of Tompoh, within the actual Dusun (= along the main road); 5 KK.
  - in the Wilayah of Banagan in several small groups, one close to the coast at the northern end of the village, in *Poluom* (= *Leboran*?) 4 KK, the others in several valleys west of Banagan, all parallel to each other and about 1-2 km off the main road. The two northern settlements are called *Ogo Kaasi* (6 KK), the two southern ones *Bua nu 'Ayu* (= *Sitadong*?; 11 KK). All these locations are about 500-700 meters from each other with low hills in between. One hour's walk north of Ogo Kaasi there is supposed to be another valley named *Ganean* (4 KK).
  - between Banagan and Mimbala several valleys seem to be inhabited. One KK sits right on the inland border between Dampal Selatan and Dampal Utara. They claimed that there are another 8 KK settling west of them and that further north, but still south of *Toreang*, approximately in the middle of the peninsula, are more Pendau, whom they called 'asli'. Crossing the peninsula between Banagan and Mimbala seems to be quite common and takes about an hour (for a Pendau; the compiler needed four hours). The Pendau on both sides and in between are all relatives of each other.
  - in the project *Boangin* (5 km west of Banagan, southern end), which was originally a project for Pendau (but is now inhabited almost exclusively by Dondo); 3 KK?

For this whole area, the following holds: most Pendau know each other, marriages between the two 'centres' (Banagan/Mimbala and Bigalo/Toreang) are quite common. Almost all of them, however, claim to never have heard about the Pendau living down south in Dampelas and Balaesang. Pendau in Dampal Utara live and intermarry with the (relatively few) Lauje and Dondo who live in the area and who all know some Pendau (e.g., the Dondo in the project Boangin). Many Pendau claim to have Bajau and/or Bada in their genealogies.

- McKenzie (1991:26) reports that some Pendau also live in resettlement projects on the East Coast (in Kecamatan Ampibabo and in Kecamatan Tinombo). No numbers are given.
- The compiler has heard reports of Pendau in Kasimbar (Kec. Ampibabo), Tada and Sidoan (Kec. Tinombo), but has not visited their settlements. The Pendau in Sidoan are said to be in the majority Christians, having been missionised by the Poso Protestant Church. Reportedly, there have been quite a few Kulawi-Pendau intermarriages.

2.2.1.3 Dampelas and Dampal (Map 3)

Dampelas is the main language of Kecamatan Dampelas (from Kembayang up to about Tonggolobibi), with its main centre in Talaga (99%), and with decreasing percentages the farther north one travels. There are also some Dampelas living in northern Balaesang. The compiler did not meet Dampelas speakers outside this area, except for a very small number of individuals intermarried in the area further north and a group of speakers of a dialect of Dampelas which is called *Dampal*.

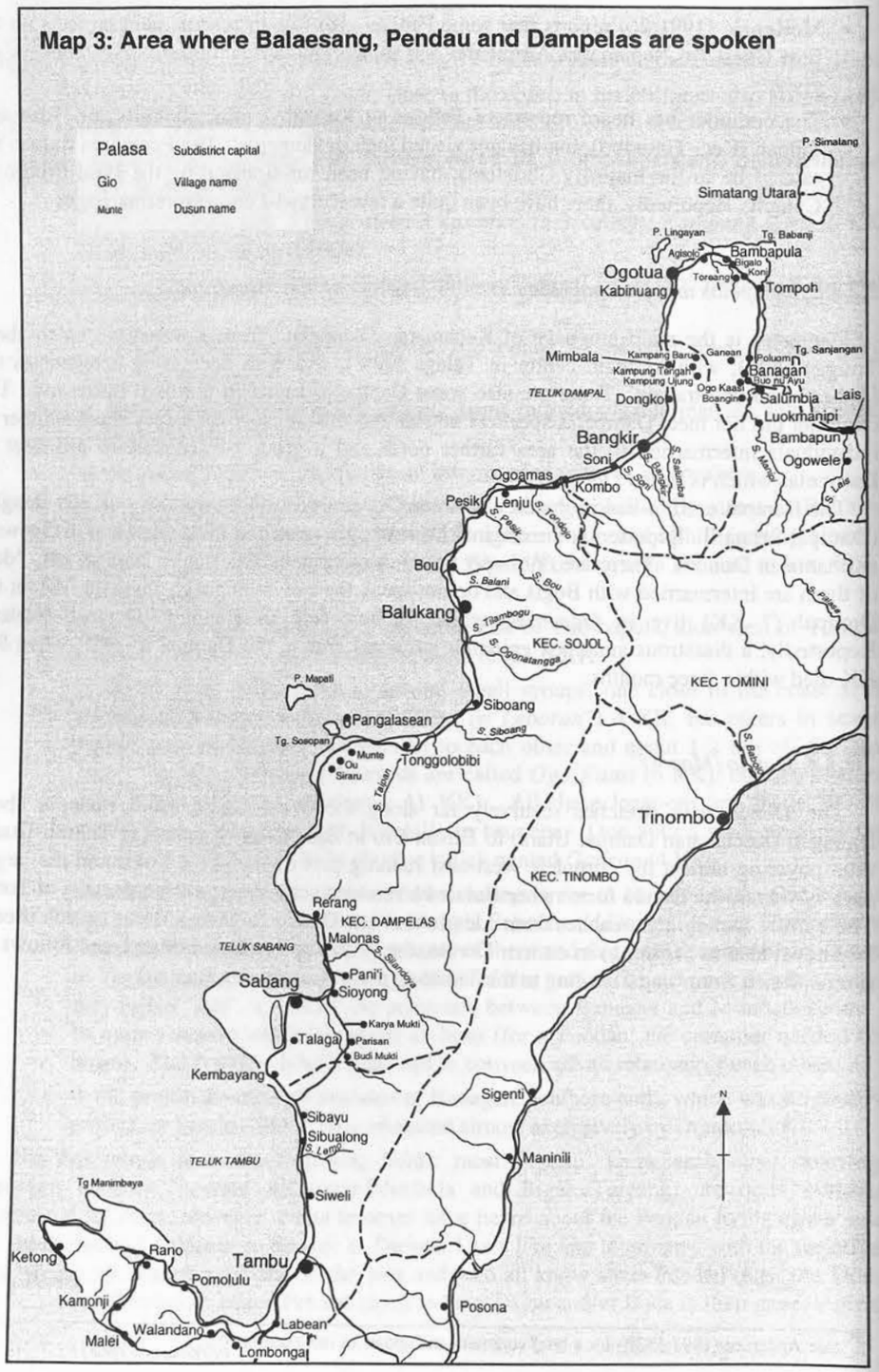
The Dampal used to live in the area between Ogoamas (northern tip of Sojol) and Bangkir (Dampal Selatan). Reportedly, the original Dampal area stretched from Ogoamas to Ogowele (Kecamatan Dondo). There are only very few, not more than 300, native Dampal left. Most of them are intermarried with Bugis and do not speak their own language anymore. About ten Dampal (7 KK) live in Ogoamas, while the rest live in Bangkir (Dampal Selatan). Reportedly, a disastrous smallpox epidemic occurred among the Dampal in 1919, when 800 KK died within three months.

2.2.1.4 Dondo (Map 4)[17]

The Dondo area stretches relatively far along the West Coast, from Boangin above Banagan (Kecamatan Dampal Utara) to Dusun *Gio* in Binontoan (Kecamatan Tolitoli-Utara), thus covering almost the complete west-east running part of the West Coast. In the largest part, however, the Dondo form rather isolated hinterland settlements within the area of Totoli. The central Dondo area reaches from Lais in western Dondo to Muara Besar (which used to be known also as *Sikotong*) in eastern Dondo, then turns upwards and inland, and follows the rivers *Muara Besar* and *Tinading* to the Tinading plain (Kecamatan Baolan).

[17] See Andersen (1991:152ff) for a brief comment and update of this section.

Map 3: Area where Balaesang, Pendau and Dampelas are spoken



In the Tinading plain, Lampasio, Salugan, and Janja (not to be confused with the project *Janja* in Dondo) are original Dondo settlements. Despite the fact that these villages are fairly isolated,[18] the language seems to be identical to the one used in the Muara Besar river valley or in the central Dondo area. The situation in Oyom (6 km east of Salugan; 137 KK, 30 of which are Bugis) is somewhat more complex since there are two kinds of Dondo living there: those who came from Salugan, and the original settlers of Oyom who are called *Dayak* or *Bata'* by the new settlers and who followed a traditional way of life until very recently (Muslim and Christian missions entered the area only in 1967).[19] The language of the original settlers, however, appears to be very similar to other Dondo dialects. Of the 256 items elicited in Oyom 248 correspond exactly to forms found in other Dondo dialects. Of the remaining 8 items, seven have clear cognates in other, mostly neighbouring Tomini-Tolitoli languages. Among these, the only item which involves a possibly significant semantic shift is *anggasan* 'beach' (01.270). The same form is also found in Boano where it means 'sand' (01.215). The Oyom form for 'sand' is *bayas*. Only the form *kadali* for 'coconut shell' (08.832) is unique to Oyom (but this is, in all likelihood, a loan).[20] It should be noted, however, that it was possible to stay and work in Oyom for only a couple of hours. Therefore it may well be that a more thorough investigation of the linguistic situation in Oyom will show different results.

Indonesian government agencies have been present in the Tinading plain only since 1981. The four villages, in particular Oyom, were not considered proper villages in 1988, since only about 30%-50% of the population lived in the village centre. The Tinading plain is also an official transmigration site. In 1988 approximately 300 KK Balinese and 70 KK Javanese lived there, a number which was claimed to have tripled in 1993.

On the coastal part of the central Dondo area, a minor dialect boundary exists between Ogogasang and Lais (on the western end of the central area), dividing central Dondo into Lais (and Ogowele, which is a newly cut-off part of Lais) and the remaining area. There is no geographic boundary discernible which could 'motivate' such a dialect split. But the speakers are very much aware of this dialect boundary and repeatedly drew the compiler's attention to it.

Turning now to the borders of the Dondo area, there are three locations close to each other on the western end, right on the border between the Kecamatan Dondo and Dampal Utara. One is the Desa Luok Manipi (Kecamatan Dondo), the other two are new settlements above Desa Banagan (Dampal Utara). The first one of these, *Lemba Harapan*, lies just across the river from Luok Manipi but belongs to the Wilayah of Banagan. This settlement (4 km off the coastal road via Luok Manipi, 6 km directly from Banagan) was founded by private initiative in 1981 and presently has a population of 70 KK, 40 of which are supposed to be

[18] The road from Tinading to Tolitoli is relatively new (the earliest construction attempts date from the late 1980s). Before it was built, a walk down to the Tolitoli plain took about a day. Salugan lies about 6 km off this main road, and Janja is a further 7 km from Salugan. Traffic to and from Salugan, Janja, and Oyom was mostly pedestrian in 1988.

[19] *Bata'* used to be a fairly common derogative name for inner hill people at least in the Dondo and Lauje areas. Literally it means 'stupid', cf. entry 17,220 of the word list. This word is hardly used anymore, though the general attitude to those people has not changed very much. In the Lauje area today *bela* 'companion, comrade' is used instead. Despite its original friendly meaning, it is now clearly derogative too.

[20] Interestingly, despite the apparent close lexical similarities between Oyom Dondo and other varieties of Dondo, coastal Dondo were unable to help transcribe a short conversation taped in Oyom, although they clearly understood what the conversation was about.

Dondo who formerly lived isolated in their gardens. About 3 km north of Lemba Harapan *Boangin* (originally *Naboa*) is a government project founded in 1975 for the Pendau in the area. The original population of 70 KK has since dropped to 20 KK, mostly Dondo. It may be noted on the side that the compiler met 3 Dondo families in Bambapula (further north) who seemed to be doing occasional jobs between Boangin, Bambapula, and the Bangkir area. The coastal village below Luok Manipi, Salumbia, seems to have been a Dondo village as well, but is nowadays almost exclusively Bugis.

On the eastern end of the Dondo area, in the Kecamatan Galang and Tolitoli-Utara, there are several small Dondo settlements close to the mountains 'at the back' of Totoli villages. In the Wilayah of the villages Lakatan and Ogomoli, about 100 KK Dondo are claimed to be living in small groups on the fringes of the village (Dusun *Kinapasan* and Dusun *Dulu*) or even in the mountains. There are also reports of Dondo above Tinigi (between Lakatan and Bajugan). At about 4 km inland from Bajugan (still Galang), there is a settlement called *Bonto' Buaya*, with a population of about 60 KK, but only about 20 of these are Dondo, the others having migrated from South Sulawesi. Five kilometers south of Binontoan (Tolitoli-Utara), at the easternmost end of the area of the Tomini-Tolitoli languages, there are 30 KK Dondo settled in a place called *Gio* (the Tolitoli in the main village call them *Tialo*!). This list is probably not complete. There may be several more of these small settlements in Galang and Tolitoli-Utara.

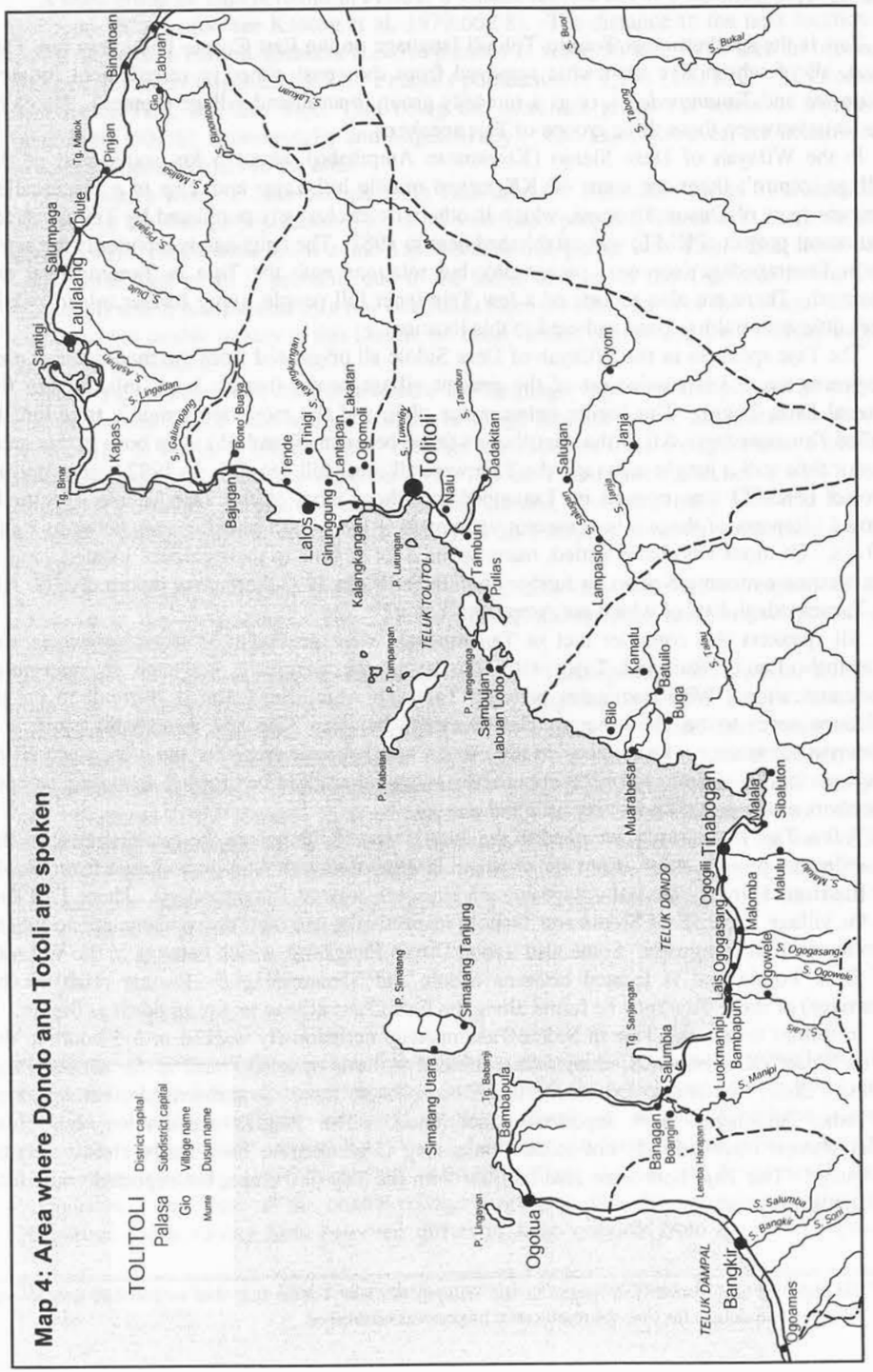
I have called all these eastern settlers Dondo, as they themselves do. Their languages, however, are not identical to central Dondo nor are they identical to each other. Quite a significant amount of variation exists already in the rather short word lists collected during this survey (200 words). There is no doubt, however, that these linguistic varieties are closely related to Dondo (and Tialo).

2.2.1.5 Totoli (Map 4)

The Totoli live in one coastal stretch, between Dadakitan (Baolan) in the south-west and Lakuan (Tolitoli-Utara) in the north-east. In the area between Dadakitan and Lalos, Totoli are still in the majority, but probably not much longer due to the many migrants from both South and North Sulawesi (in fact, a hundred years ago already the current centre of Tolitoli Kota was a settlement of migrants from South Sulawesi). In Nalu, the former centre of the group, more Indonesian can be heard than Totoli.[21] East of Lalos follows an area that is nearly completely inhabited by speakers of non-Tomini-Tolitoli languages. At the very eastern end of the Totoli area we find the actual present-day stronghold of Totoli, the four villages Diule, Pinjan, Binontoan, and Lakuan. There are no inland Totoli, although some villages like Dadakitan are somewhat removed from the coast. It is reported, however, that in the 1940s there was still a sizable population of *tau penek* 'mountain/interior people/person' in some parts of the Tolitoli area, for example in the surroundings of Lakatan (where today a number of Dondo speakers are found, cf. the preceding section).[22]

[21] The village Nalu, it is said, has been moved inland already several times because of the ongoing erosion of the shore line (a similar problem exists in Binontoan).

[22] The term *tau penek* is said to be a relatively polite designation for middle/inner hill people. As in most other languages, the most usual and clearly derogatory term in Tolitoli is *tau batak* "stupid people/person".



2.2.1.6 Taje (Map 5)

Taje is the southernmost Tomini-Tolitoli language on the East Coast. Only very few Taje exist, all of whom live somewhat removed from the coast either in resettlement projects (*Sipotara* and *Tanampedagi*), or as a minority group in an inland village (Petapa). No close ties exist between these three groups of Taje speakers.

In the Wilayah of Desa Sienjo (Kecamatan Ampibabo), about 5 km south-west of the village 'centre', there are some 40 KK mixed middle hill Tajio and Taje in a place called *Singura* (part of Dusun *Sipotara*, which is otherwise exclusively populated by Tajio). A resettlement project (PKMT) was established here in 1982. The language is reportedly the same as in Tanampedagi (see next paragraph), but relations with the Taje in Tanampedagi are reserved. There are also reports of a few Taje inner hill people living further inland. Only very little material has been gathered in this location.

The Taje speakers in the Wilayah of Desa Sidole all originated from the mountainous area beginning ca. 3 km south-west of the present village centre (hardly 1 km inland from the coastal Desa Toga). The border between the plain and the mountain range is traditionally called *Tanampedagi*. All of the contributors (aged between 40 and 65) were born in this area, at that time still a jungle area (and the Taje were all inner hill people). In 1982 a resettlement project (PKMT) was opened in Tanampedagi, where most of the Taje people eventually settled. Reports of those who have not yet moved to the project housing vary between 2 and 20 KK. Of those who have settled, many spend a lot of time in their gardens located some 2 km west on a mountain plain, or further up in the hills. In 1993 there were reportedly 100 KK in Tanampedagi, half of which are Ampibabo-Lauje.

All speakers the compiler met in Tanampedagi were proficient in three languages, i.e. Ampibabo-Lauje, Rai and Taje, with Rai being the dominant language in intergroup communication. Who dominates between Taje and Ampibabo-Lauje is difficult to judge; relations seem to be about equal. Intermarriage between Taje and Ampibabo-Lauje is a common occurrence. Proficiency in Indonesian was below average for the area, since all of the contributors did not have the opportunity to attend any kind of formal schooling. Older members of the group knew very little Indonesian.

A few Taje had already switched to the coastal way of life before the establishment of the resettlement project, most, if not all, of whom intermarried with Ampibabo-Lauje from Sidole or Rai from Tolole (a coastal village some 5 km south-west of Tanampedagi). These Taje live in the village 'centres' of Sidole and Tomoli, respectively, and their descendants are no longer proficient in the language. Some also live in Dusun *Pangkung*, which belongs to the Wilayah of Desa Tolole and is located between Sidole and Tanampedagi.[23] Distant relatives (by marriage) of these Taje may be found along the East Coast at least as far up north as Sienjo.

In former times, the Taje in Sidole/Tanampedagi occasionally walked in 3-5 hours to the West Coast (Kecamatan Sindue). One claimed to have traveled south as far as *Gumbasa* (Desa Pakuli, Kecamatan Dolo), meeting Da'a speakers there. Intermarriages with speakers of other languages were reportedly uncommon. The Pendau are known, but close relationships obviously do not exist. Balaesang is claimed to be a fairly closely related language. The Taje here were also familiar with the Taje in Petapa, but reportedly no close relationships exist.

[23] Tanampedagi also formerly belonged to the Wilayah of Desa Tolole, but (due to political reason) was relocated to Sidole at the time the resettlement project was established.

A third group of Taje is found in Petapa, a village located about 1 km west inland of Lebo (for more information see Kaseng et al. 1979:66-68). The distance to the next location of a group of Tomini-Tolitoli speakers (i.e. Ampibabo) is some 50 km. The area in between is almost exclusively inhabited by Rai. Petapa's population of 1,568 (270 KK) – 1992 census – consists of Tara, Rai and Taje, Tara being the dominant group (in terms of numbers of inhabitants (50+%), economically and linguistically). The Taje, however, are acknowledged to be the original settlers in the area.

Truly native Taje, i.e. both parents being Taje, are few. Estimates varied by around fifteen per cent of the village population (i.e. ca. two hundred people). There are, however, considerably more people who know some Taje because one parent was Taje. That these people know some Taje at all is probably due to the fact that most of the Taje live in one Dusun (*Kamonji*) which is separated by a few rice fields from the other parts of the village. Since the compiler was unable to stay in this Dusun, no observations concerning the everyday language usage can be offered.

Most Taje claimed that they didn't know the language very well and pointed to one older man as the one person who really knew the language (and the one to ask questions about the language). In eliciting lexical items, the four contributors from Petapa made a conscious effort to find words that are different from Rai or Tara (which did not always produce satisfactory results). In eliciting and recording clauses, however, many Tara and Rai items surfaced, bearing witness to the fact that Taje in Petapa is heavily influenced by these languages.

All contributors and their ancestors were born here (i.e. there are no reports of living formerly in the mountains). The Taje in Sidole/Tanampedagi are known, but no close relationships seem to exist.[24]

The two varieties of Taje documented here, i.e. Tanampedagi and Petapa, differ with regard to a number of conspicuous features. Most importantly, in the Petapa variety most final consonants have been eliminated in one of two ways: either word-final consonants have simply been dropped (these may reappear in affixation, see §3.5.4) or a vowel (usually /i/) has been added at the end of a consonant-final word. It is an open issue whether this change and the differences in the lexicon, most of which are due to the close interaction with differing neighbouring languages, are sufficient to consider the two varieties of Taje two different languages rather than two different dialects. In fact, not nearly enough materials have been collected for either variety so that an empirically well-supported decision of this issue does not appear to be possible at this point.

2.2.1.7 Ampibabo-Lauje (Map 5)

Ampibabo-Lauje's centre is located in Ampibabo (capital of Kecamatan Ampibabo), from where Ampibabo-Lauje speakers appear to have spread north to Lemo (formerly the garden location of the Ampibabo villagers), Buranga (with a mixed Ampibabo-Lauje/Bali population) and Tomoli (mixed Rai/ Ampibabo-Lauje) in fairly recent times. Ampibabo-Lauje were probably also the original settlers in Desa Sidole, ca. 6 km south-west of Ampibabo, 2 km west of the coastal village Toga (see also the preceding section). The Ampibabo-Lauje variety here, however, differs in some respects from the variety spoken in

[24] One contributor claimed to have several relatives in Sidole who are, however, Ampibabo-Lauje rather than Taje.

Ampibabo, and no close ties appear to exist between this inland location and the coastal locations. The present population of Sidole is composed of Rai, Ampibabo-Lauje, and Taje. The Ampibabo-Lauje in Sidole are middle hill people in the process of rapidly adapting themselves to coastal standards.

2.2.1.8 Tajio (Map 5)

The Tajio area is situated in between Lauje and Ampibabo, extending from Toribulu in Kecamatan Ampibabo to Sipayo in Kecamatan Tinombo. For a more detailed description, see McKenzie (1991).

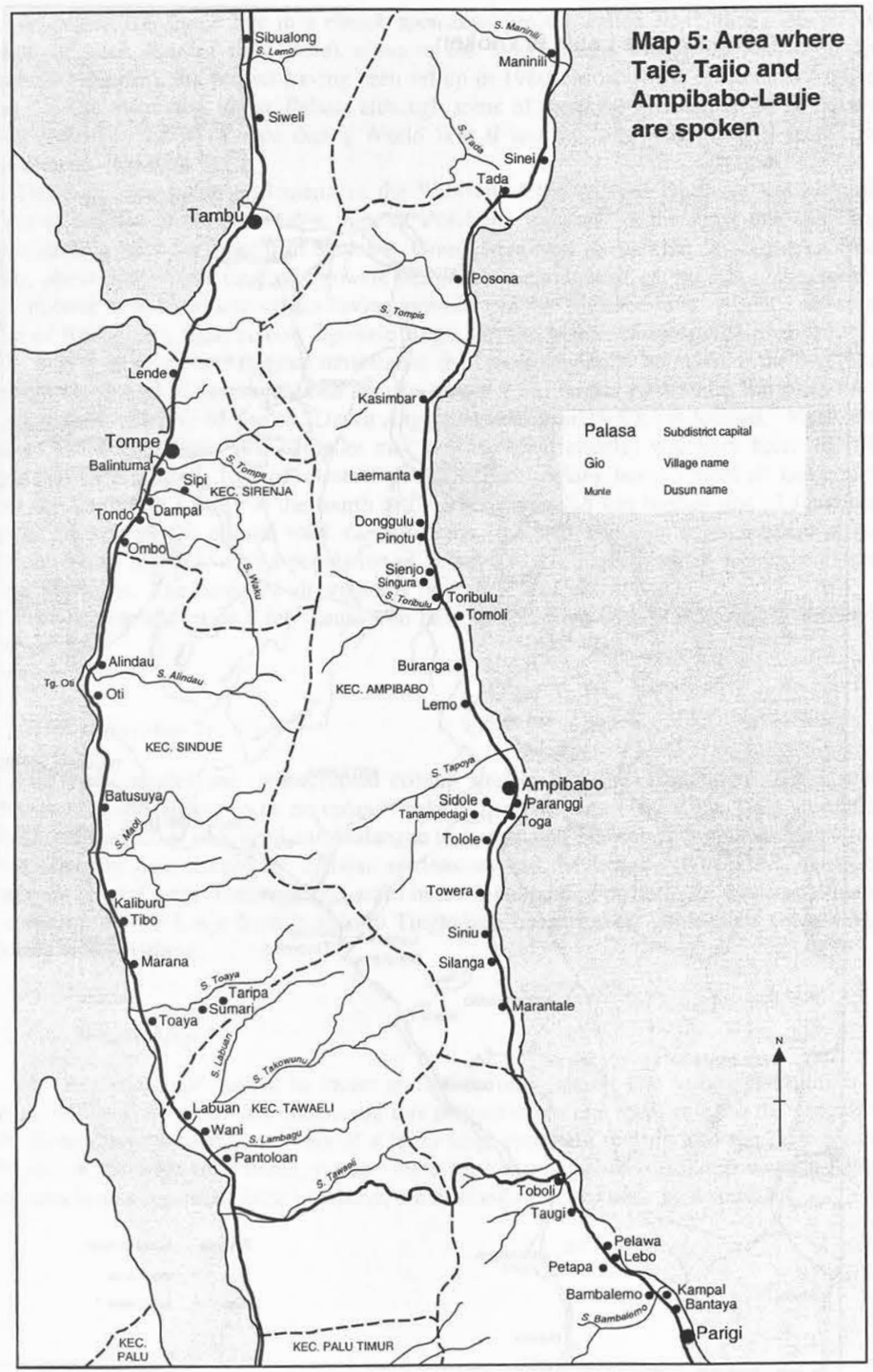
2.2.1.9 Lauje (Map 6)

The Lauje inhabit the largest contiguous area within the Tomini-Tolitoli group, located directly in the centre, at the turn of the peninsula, on both coastal sides. The area stretches from Siboang in the southern part of the West Coast to Ogowele (in Kecamatan Dondo), which is the north-easternmost location on this coast. Palasa is the north-easternmost location on the East Coast (nearly on the same longitude as Ogowele). Sipayo in Kecamatan Tinombo makes up the southern end of the East Coast. At the turn of the peninsula, Lauje thus forms a sort of square around the two highest mountains (*Ogoamas* and *Sojol*).

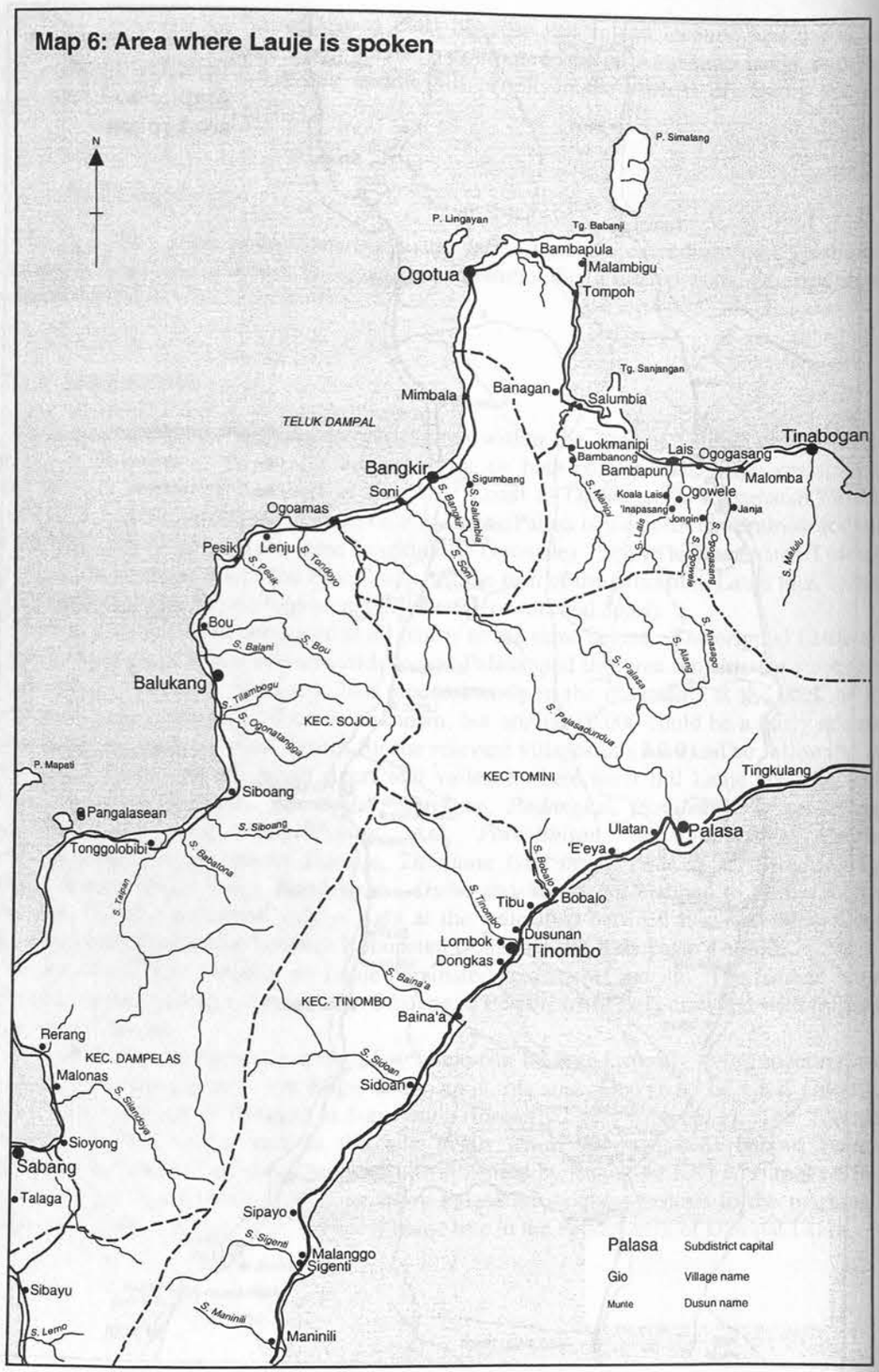
The Lauje square is not populated at all places to the same degree. The original Lauje area is said to be the East Coast between Sidoan and Palasa, and this area remains the stronghold of this group. The inner hill Lauje live predominantly in the mountains at the back of this stretch. The exact number of them is unknown, but around 10,000 could be a fairly accurate guess (compare the population figures for the relevant villages in §2.2.2). The following is a list of place names (mostly small rivers and valleys) where inner hill Lauje are said to be found: *Anasagon, Taansam, Sibanimbil, Sengkean, Padangkal, Ponuleang, Osom, Mingo, Bubulusan, Obulusang, Pengimbonan, Asa, Pomolibisan, Sinimpis, Polu Melelas, Paladunduang, Sibagis, Bamba Sidaoga, Titindana Gio, Balal, Polu Ba'al, Tongkou, Ogo 'Etetee, Bamba Siang, Siang, Bandongan. Osom* and *Mingo* are claimed to be particularly large and 'densely' populated valleys right at the watershed between East and West Coast, which also marks the border between Kabupaten Donggala and Kabupaten Tolitoli.

On the West Coast virtually no Lauje-dominated settlements remain. The former centre, Bou, and the surrounding villages (from Siboang to Pesik), are heavily crowded with migrants from South Sulawesi.

Between Pesik and Ogowele, only a few Lauje can be found, mostly living together with speakers of other languages. The Bugis dominate in this area. One group of 4 KK Lauje has settled 6 km north-east of Bangkir, in *Sigumbang* (formerly *Ngees Giombang*). The 'founder' reportedly arrived in this area in the late 1950s (from the mountains behind Palasa). Nowadays, the actual Kampung Sigumbang is inhabited by Bugis (40 KK) who moved in in the late 1970s. Lauje originating from above Palasa are frequent visitors to the markets in Bangkir and Soni. Further north, very few Lauje live in the Pendau area of Dampal Utara.



Map 6: Area where Lauje is spoken



Seventeen KK Lauje live in a church sponsored project, called *Bambanong*, about 2 km south of Luok Manipi (in Dondo), close to the Dondo/Bugis settlement Lemba Harapan (behind Banagan), the project having been set up in 1980. Most of the inhabitants originally lived in the mountains above Palasa, although some of them are in fact natives of Ogowele who moved to the mountains during World War II and the following years of secessionist movements (see §2.4.3).

There are four Lauje settlements in the Wilayah of the villages Ogowele and Malomba, close to the foot of the mountains, three of which are 'original' in the sense that Lauje have been settling there for more than 80 years. Going from west to east, the first hamlet is *Koala Lais*, about 500 meters west of Ogowele Tengah, a settlement of ca. 40 KK Lauje, some of whom have been born here, others having moved from the Tinombo area. About 1 km south-east of Koala Lais, right behind Ogowele Buga, lies the hamlet *'Inapasang*, inhabited by 22 KK, only 4 of whom are original inhabitants, the others originally being from the two inland valleys *Osom* and *Mingo* mentioned above. About 2 km further east and 6 km south of the coastal road, entering Malomba (Dusun *Anggasan*), *Jongin* (28 KK) is located. Most of the rather young population (the compiler met just one older couple) was born here. In 1976, members of a Manado-based Protestant church began working here; almost all Lauje in the area are Christians. Only in the fourth settlement, *Janja*, 2.5 km further east of Jongin and about 3.5 km off the coastal road, can Moslems be found. This is a government project, which opened in 1981, with a population of about 100 KK, half of which seem to be Dondo from Malomba. The Lauje are all originally from the East Coast (Palasa).

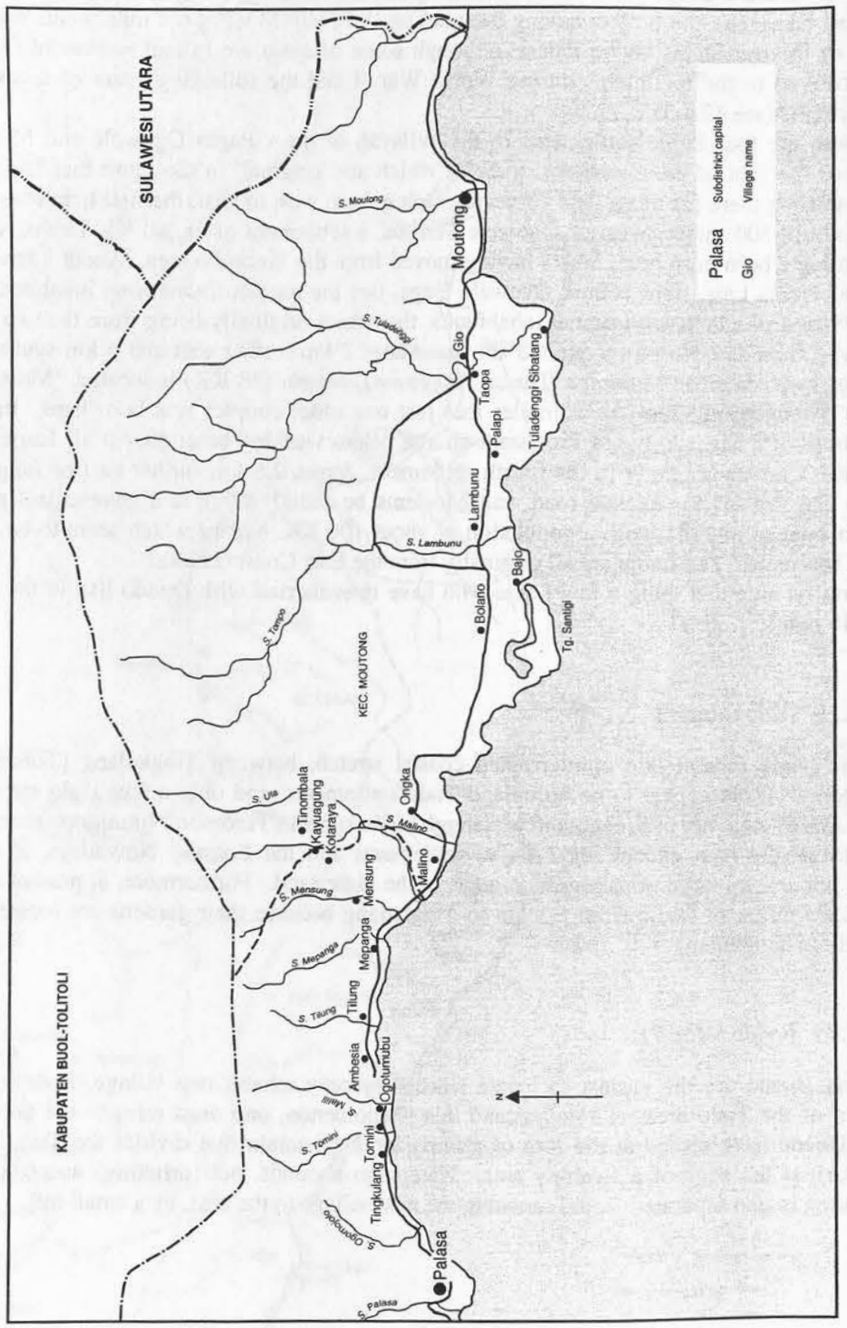
Finally, note that quite a few Lauje who have intermarried with Dondo live in the central Dondo plain.

2.2.1.10 Tialo (Map 7)

The Tialo inhabit one uninterrupted coastal stretch, between Tingkulang (Tomini) and Moutong. There appear to be no upland Tialo settlements, and only a few Tialo are settling outside this area, i.e. in Sigenti and Malanggo in Kecamatan Tinombo. Immigrants used to be comparatively rare, except for 2 Bajau settlements and the Boano. Nowadays, of course, there are several large transmigration areas in the hinterland. Furthermore, at present there is a certain influx of Lauje from Bobalo to Tingkulang because their gardens are located more closely to Tingkulang.

2.2.1.11 Boano (Map 7)

The Boano are the easiest to locate since they only inhabit one village, Bolano, in the centre of the Tialo area. To understand this phenomenon, one must refer to the geography. The Boano have settled at the foot of a fairly large mountain that divides the Tialo area (at Ongka), at the edge of a swampy area. Here sago abounds, but (drinking) water is scarce. The area is also separated from Lambunu, the next village to the east, by a small hill.



Map 7: Area where Tialo and Boano are spoken

2.2.2 Distribution by villages

The following list includes all of the administrative villages (Desa) in the Tomini-Tolitoli area[25] according to Kecamatan, going from south to north or west to east, respectively. Note that an administrative village may consist of several settlements, called Kampung or Dusun (cf. §2.4.4 below). The inland location of a village is indicated by indenting. For Kabupaten Tolitoli, numbers have been taken from the statistics yearbook (edition of 1987). These numbers generally tend to be slightly too high since they are projections from the 1980 census. The data for Kabupaten Donggala, with the exception of Kecamatan Tomini, are from the 1991 pre-election census and thus are more up-to-date and reliable.[26]

For several Kecamatan in Kabupaten Donggala, population figures were available for both 1987 and 1991. Overall, the population seems to have increased about ten per cent throughout the area during that period. In Tinombo, for example, there was an increase of about 12%, in Dampelas and Sojol ca. 9.5%, in Ampibabo ca. 11%, and in Tomini and Parigi ca. 12.5%. Balaesang was below average (ca. 5%) while Moutong was quite an exception with an increase of more than 50%. The increase in general seems not due to natural population growth alone, but is also due to migration from other areas (especially in transmigration projects), and to more rigorous procedures in collecting the data. In the 1991 pre-election census, for the first time a lot of effort was given to registering middle and inner hill people and inhabitants of transmigration projects. In Moutong, earlier statistics appear not to have included some of the transmigration areas (there are several new villages in the more recent statistics). There was also a substantive increase of transmigrants in between 1987 and 1991.

The languages used in a village have been listed in the order of their relative importance. These listings are incomplete and rather subjective. If a language is used by only a few individuals, it is not included (often local officials, police, military, etc. are from the Poso or the Minahasan/Sangir area). Percentages are given for speakers of Tomini-Tolitoli languages, but these are only rough estimates given by local officials or based on the compiler's own observations.[27]

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[25] As general background information the following figures may be of interest: In the late 1980s the whole province of Central Sulawesi was inhabited by about 1.5 million people. Kabupaten Donggala had 801,280 and the former Kabupaten Buol-Tolitoli had 220,473 inhabitants in 1987. In 1991 Palu (the provincial capital, but administratively part of Donggala) had about 180,000 inhabitants (living in two Kecamatan, i.e. Palu Timur and Palu Barat). The two West Coast Kecamatan of Donggala not inhabited by Tomini-Tolitoli speakers, Sirenja and Sindue, had a population of 15,260 and 27,246, respectively.

[26] In a few instances, more accurate numbers could be obtained from the Kepala Desa. This are indicated in a second column (separated by a slash).

[27] These should be read with regard to the following:
1% = absolutely minimal population (1-3KK)
10% = more than a handful KK (for more precise information, refer to §2.2.1. above)
< 50% = clearly less than 50%
50% = perhaps half of the population
60% = slightly more than half
70% = close to three quarters of the population, other groups still prominent
80% = perhaps slightly more than three quarters, other groups still present
90% = other groups hardly visible, tend to use the majority language.

West Coast

Kabupaten Donggala

Balaesang (22,581 – 1991 pre-election census)

Lombonga	1,369	
Labean	2,558	
Walandano	628[28]	
Malei	1,526	
Kamonji	693	Balaesang (95%)
Rano	827	Balaesang (95%)
Ketong	1,825	Balaesang (95%), Pendau
Pomolulu	1,673	Bajau
Meli	1,229	
Tambu	3,789	
Siweli	1,998	
Siboalong	1,763	
Sibayu	2,703	Pendau (15%)

The villages for which no languages are indicated are predominantly populated by Bugis and Ledo.

Dampelas and Sojol (47,378 – 1991 pre-election census)

Kembayang	765	Dampelas (60%), Kaili, ?
Talaga	2,012	Dampelas (99%)
Sabang	1,397	Dampelas (75%), Kaili, Bugis
Budi Mukti	1,658	Jawa/Bali-Transmigration
Karya Mukti	2,711	Jawa/Bali-Transmigration
Sioyong	3,818	Dampelas (70%), Kaili, Pendau (10%)
Pani'i	1,855	Kulawi, Minahasa
Ponggerang	2,465	Dampelas (??%)
Malonas	1,915	Dampelas (70%)
Rerang	2,451	Dampelas (70%)
Lembah Mukti	1,712	Jawa/Bali-Transmigration
Pangalaseang	2,416	Dampelas (50%), Pendau (<15%), Kaili
Tonggolobibi	3,673	Kaili, Bugis, Dampelas, Lauje
Siboang	2,928	Lauje (<50%), Kaili, Bugis
Siwalempu	2,117	Lauje (<50%), Kaili, Bugis
Balukang	3,431	Bugis, Kaili, Lauje
Bou	2,047	Lauje (<50%), Kaili, Pendau?
Pesik	781	Lauje (<50%), Kaili, Bugis

[28] This and the following 5 villages are located on the Balaesang Peninsula. A road starting in Labean and circling this peninsula was under construction in February 1993.

Lenju	1,157	Bugis, Pendau?
Ogoamas I	1,837	Bugis, Mandar, Dampal
Ogoamas II	4,232	Bugis, Mandar, Dampal, Jawa/Bali

Kabupaten Tolitoli

Dampal Selatan (18,446 – 1987 statistics yearbook)

Kombo	2,283	Bugis
Tampiala	3,138	Bugis, Mandar
Soni	5,239	Bugis, Mandar
Bangkir	5,202	Bugis, Kaili, Dampal(<5%), Lauje(<1%)
Dongko	1,336	Bugis
Mimbala	1,248	Kaili, Bugis, Pendau (<5%)

Dampal Utara (12,447 – 1987 statistics yearbook)

Kabinuang	1,474	Kaili, Pendau (1%)
Ogotua	3,538	Bugis, Mandar, Selayar
Bambapula	2,216/2,165	Kaili, Bugis, Mandar, Pendau (10%), Bajau
Simatang Ut	823	Bajau
Simatang Tj	1,043	Bajau
Malambigu	553	Bajau, Bugis
Tompoh	1,143	Kaili, Bugis, Mandar, Pendau (2%)
Banagan	1,657	Bugis, Dondo (10%), Pendau (6%)

Dondo (25,569[29] – 1987 statistics yearbook)[30]

Luok Manipi	857	Dondo (60%), Bugis, Lauje (3%)
Salumbia	2,583	Bugis, Dondo (1%)
Bambapun	1,584	Bugis
Ogowele	1,428	Dondo (50%), Bugis, Lauje (<20%)
Lais	1,518	Dondo (80%)
Ogogasang	922	Dondo (80%)
Malomba	2,883	Dondo (70%), Lauje (<20%)
Ogogili	756	Dondo (>50%), Bugis, Mandar
Tinabogan	3,964	Dondo (<50%), Bugis, Totoli
Malulu	1,921	Bugis
Malala	2,455	Bajau, Bugis, Dondo, Minahasa
Sibaluton	945	Dondo, Bugis
Buga	856	Dondo
Batuilo	293	Dondo (90%)
Kamalu	802	Dondo (90%)

[29] For unknown reasons, the yearbook gives the total as 25,642.

[30] For Dondo, see also the numbers and percentages given in Andersen (1991:145f).

Muara Besar	412/352	Dondo (80%)
Bilo	1,390	Bugis
Baolan (50,976 – 1987 statistics yearbook)[31]		
Janja	306	Dondo (90%)
Oyom	1,978[32]	Bugis, Dondo
Salugan	443	Dondo (90%)
Lampasio	1,709	Dondo (80%)
Labuan Lobo	1,071	Bugis, Bajau
Sambujan	688	Bajau, Bugis
Pulias	2,038	Bajau, Bugis
Kabetan	566	Bajau, Bugis, Totoli
Tambun	3,951	Totoli (<50%)
Dadakitan	2,263	Totoli (<50%)
Nalu	3,705	Totoli (60%)
Tuwelei	5,348	Totoli (<50%)
Baru	12,940	Totoli (<30%), Buol
Panasakan	9,033	Totoli (<50%) Buol
Sidoarjo	4,937	Sangir, Bugis, Buol
Galang (24,962 – 1987 statistics yearbook)		
Ogomoli	2,363	Bugis (80%), Dondo
Sandana	1,621	Bugis (80%), Totoli (15%)
Kalangkangan	3,289	Totoli (70%), Bugis
Lantapan	1,143	Bugis (80%), Totoli (10%)
Lakatan	3,337	Bugis (80%), Dondo
Tinigi	3,146	Bugis, Totoli (15%), Dondo
Ginunggung	1,214	Totoli (95%)
Lalos	2,310	Totoli (60%), ?Dondo
Tende	1,554	Bugis, Totoli (20%)
Sabang	824	Bugis, Totoli (5%)
Bajugan	4,161	Totoli (50%), Bugis, Dondo
Tolitoli-Utara (17,874 – 1987 statistics yearbook)		
Galumpang	1,918	Bugis, Bajau, Totoli
Dungingis	1,683	Bugis
Kapas	993	Bugis, Bajau
Lingadan	1,843	Bajau, Bugis

[31] The population of the first four (inland) villages has probably doubled or tripled by 1993 since a large transmigration area surfaced in between 1988 and 1993, with settlements along the entire Muara Besar river.

[32] This number differs substantially from the one given to the compiler by the Kepala Desa in 1988 who claimed that the population of Oyom numbered 137 KK (which could be at most 1,000 people).

Santigi	1,242	Bajau
Laulalang	2,586	Totoli, Buol, Bugis, Mandar, Bajau
Salumpaga	2,354	Bajau, Bugis, Kaili
Diule	697/651	Totoli (80%)
Pinjan	987	Totoli (90%)
Binontoan	2,573	Totoli (90%), Dondo
Lakuan	998	Totoli (80%)

East Coast

Kabupaten Donggala

Parigi (79,548 – 1991 pre-election census)

Petapa	1,568	Tara, Rai, Taje (15%)

The remaining villages in Kecamatan Parigi are inhabited by Kaili, who are mostly Tara.

Ampibabo (35,044 – 1992 edition of Ampibabo Dalam Angka)[33]

Marantale	1,907	Rai
Silanga	1,814	Rai
Siniu	1,236	Rai
Towera	879	Rai
Tolole	1,130	Rai, Taje
Toga	805	Rai
Sidole	1,969	Ampibabo-Lauje (70%), Rai (20%), Taje
Paranggi	1,758	Rai
Ampibabo	3,181	Ampibabo-Lauje (70%), Rai (15%), Bada (10%), Kulawi, Toraja
Lemo	1,857	Ampibabo-Lauje (95%)
Buranga	767	Ampibabo-Lauje (50%), Bali
Tomoli	1,683	Rai (70%), Ampibabo-Lauje (30%)
Toribulu	3,651	Tajio (60%), Ledo/Rai
Sienjo	1,457	Tajio (75%), Ledo/Rai, Bugis, Bali, Taje
Pinotu	1,025	Ledo/Rai
Donggulu	2,229	Ledo/Rai, Tajio (10%)
Laemanta	1,362	Tajio (75%), Bali, Bugis
Kasimbar	4,897	Tajio (60%), Pendau, Bali, Rai, Bugis
Posona	1,537	Tajio (50%), Java, Bali, Bugis
Tinombo (38,399 – 1992 edition of Tinombo Dalam Angka)		
Tada	4,265	Ledo, Bugis, Pendau (in Dusun Silutung)
Sinei	2,563	Ledo, Rai, Bugis, Tajio (10%)
Maninili	2,640	Tajio (95%)

[33] The 1991 pre-election census gives the total as 34,912.

Sigenti	2,978	Ledo, Tialo, Tajio (10%), Lauje, Bugis
Malanggo	1,960	Tialo (75%), Ledo
Sipayo	2,767	Lauje (60%), Tajio (20%), Sangir
Sidoan	5,801	Lauje (70%), Kaili (10%), Pendau (8%), Gorontalo (8%), Tajio (3%), Kulawi, Dampelau?
Baina'a	2,781	Lauje (90%)
Dongkas	1,131	Lauje (90%)
Tinombo	3,040	Lauje (60%), Ledo, Gorontalo
Lombok	5,641	Lauje (99%)[34]
Dusunan	1,759	Lauje (99%)
Tibu	1,073	Lauje (90%)
Tomini (40,472 – 1987 statistics yearbook)[35]		
Bobalo	4,097	Lauje (90%)
'E'eya	1,800	Lauje (90%)
Ulatan	2,567	Lauje (90%)
Palasa	7,201	Lauje (80%)
Tingkulang	1,631	Tialo (90%)
Tomini	2,139	Tialo (80%)
Ogotumubu	2,152	Tialo (90%)
Ambesia	2,995	Tialo
Tilung	3,009	Tialo
Mepanga	2,149	Tialo
Mensung	3,211	Tialo
Kota Raya	4,156	Jawa/Bali-Transmigration
Kayu Agung	3,365	Jawa/Bali-Transmigration
Moutong (58,545 – 1991 pre-election census)		
UPT Bomban	874	Jawa/Bali-Transmigration
UPT Beringinjaya	1,743	Jawa/Bali-Transmigration
UPT Sritabaang	1,431	Jawa/Bali-Transmigration
UPT Nunurantai	1,030	Jawa/Bali-Transmigration
UPT Karyaagung	1,628	Jawa/Bali-Transmigration
Wanagading	2,866	Jawa/Bali-Transmigration
Kotanagaya	2,477	Jawa/Bali-Transmigration
Margapura	1,938	Jawa/Bali-Transmigration
Petunasugi	1,484	Jawa/Bali-Transmigration
Wanamukti	3,242	Jawa/Bali-Transmigration
Tinombala	4,015	Jawa/Bali-Transmigration
Malino	2,189	Tialo, Bugis?
Ongka	4,329	Tialo (75%)
Bajo	1,123	Bajau, Bugis
Bolano	2,777	Boano (95%)
Lambunu	3,694	Tialo, Transmigration?
Palapi	1,479	Tialo (90%)
Taopa	2,903	Tialo (90%)
Gio	3,090	Tialo (90%)
Tuladenggi Sibatang	3132	Tialo (90%)
Tuladenggi Pantai	426	Bajau
Moutong Barat	1,993	Tialo (80%)
Moutong Tengah	4,968	Tialo (60%), Gorontalo
Moutong Timur	3,714	Gorontalo, Tialo, Mandar

[34] The Kepala Desa claimed that, as of February 1993, there were 5,660 inhabitants (1,039 KK).

[35] In 1991 the total population of Kecamatan Tomini was 45,645. Unfortunately, up-to-date information pertaining to the village level was not available.

2.2.3 Areal completeness of the present survey

The survey of the West Coast may be considered to be fairly 'complete'[36] apart from the southernmost Kecamatan, Balaesang, which was visited all too briefly. On the East Coast several desiderata remain:

- for Lauje, Tialo and Tajio, the dialect situation has hardly been investigated at all. For Tajio in particular, data have been collected only in one location (Sienjo). Apart from that, a very brief visit was paid to Maninili in order to confirm the fact that the language spoken there is indeed a variant of Tajio and not some other language.
- apart from the Taje settlements in Tanampedagi and Sienjo, no hinterland settlements have been visited (for a brief discussion of some of these settlements, see McKenzie 1991). In particular, the very populous Lauje settlements in the middle and inner hills (cf. §2.2.1.10 above) remain to be explored.
- in Kecamatan Moutong only a few locations have been visited. No data were gathered in the town of Moutong and its immediate surrounds. Thus, the situation at the north-eastern border of the Tomini-Tolitoli group remains inadequately documented.

2.3 Language usage

Although the native languages of the area all belong to the Tomini-Tolitoli group, they still suffer a lack of prestige. Many people are ashamed to use their native language in the

[36] 'Complete' of course only with respect to the level of detail intended here. No aspect of the documentation is complete in the sense that any one of the languages has been comprehensively documented.

presence of members of speakers of other languages. Several times the compiler met people who tried to hide their linguistic and cultural identity, claiming to be Bugis.[37]

Almost all speakers are multilingual. Almost everybody knows at least some Indonesian, except for some older people and those inner hill people who rarely (if ever) come down to markets on the coast. Kaili seems to have been the lingua franca in the area before Soeharto's New Order government was established and is thus still relatively well-known by many of the middle-aged and older speakers. Nowadays, Indonesian clearly is the most widely understood and used lingua franca. On the West Coast, most native inhabitants also know some Bugis and/or Bajau. Hardly any of the newcomers to the area learn the indigenous languages but use Indonesian or their own language instead, particularly the Bugis and the Kaili. The Tomini-Tolitoli among themselves tend to learn the standard of the area, i.e. a Lauje in Dondo knows Dondo, a Dondo in Lauje territory knows Lauje, etc.

Only in villages in which a Tomini-Tolitoli language is spoken by eighty per cent or more of the inhabitants will this language be used as an overall means of communication and can be overheard 'in the streets'. Otherwise, Indonesian is commonly used in public. The trend towards Indonesian is, of course, further strengthened by the now nearly completed network of elementary schools and the increasing impact of television. It is remarkable that just about everybody, even if their command of Indonesian is extremely limited, uses Indonesian with babies. There is also a tendency to use Indonesian with school children, though not very consistently in the 'hard-core' villages. Children among themselves tend to use Indonesian with occasional inserts from the local language (this was more strongly observed in 1993 than in 1988).

Lauje, Tialo, Tajio and Boano on the East Coast are still very much the languages of everyday communication in their central areas. The younger generation appears to have a reasonably full command of these languages. On the West Coast, the same holds true for Balaesang, Dondo,[38] and Pendau (provided the speakers stay in their settlements). Taje (East Coast) may become extinct in the next decades or two, since the younger generation in Petapa hardly has a command of the language at all and in Tanampedagi and Singura there is a strong convergence with the other local Tomini-Tolitoli language, i.e. Lauje and Tajio, respectively.[39] For Dampelas (West Coast) there are just one or two 'strongholds', i.e. Talaga and to a certain extent Sioyong, but even here Indonesian can frequently be heard in the conversations of younger people. Totoli is rarely heard in public in most of its area, except in Ginunggung and Kalangkangan (Galang) and the four easternmost villages, which nowadays are actually the heart of the Totoli area. This seems to be a fairly new development since the compiler met with families in the city of Tolitoli where the parents had a complete and very sensitive command of the language, while their children hardly knew any Totoli at all. The command of Lauje in the Bou area has already strongly diminished among younger people. In Ogowele, it is still fairly extensively used, but there Dondo and Lauje are quite often mixed since Dondo is the standard local language of the area. Dampal has nearly disappeared, the older generation hardly being able to give basic lexical information. Most of the Dampal have intermarried with speakers of other languages.

[37] See Himmelmann (in press a) for a more elaborate discussion of language endangerment in the Tomini-Tolitoli area.

[38] See Andersen (1991:153-160) for a detailed discussion of language usage and language proficiency in two Dondo villages (Oyom and Lais).

[39] But note that Taje was already declared to be nearly extinct by Adriani, who made a voyage along the Tomini coast in 1902 (cf. Noorduyn 1991:71)!

2.4 Non-linguistic background information

2.4.1 Geography

The part of the peninsula inhabited by the Tomini-Tolitoli people is located roughly between the equator and 1° north latitude (the extreme north-eastern end reaching 2° north latitude) and around 120° east longitude, the eastern part reaching 121° east longitude. It is bordered on the West Coast by the Makassar Strait, and on the East Coast by the Tomini Bay.

The peninsula is quite narrow in this part, with only 18 km between Meli and Tada (close to the southern border), and with the largest extension stretching about 100 km from Laulalang (Tolitoli-Utara) to Bajo (Moutong), the average being 50-60 km. A chain of mountains runs south to north, later turning west to east. Rather substantial heights are reached at the turning point with the top peaks being at about 2500 meters, the south-north chain otherwise hardly reaching 1000 meters. East of the turning point, the chain descends to about 1000 meters, and rises again to well above 2000 meters at the north-eastern end of the area. In general, this chain runs closer to the East Coast. Occasionally, the mountains and hills project almost to the coast, so that the coastal line consists of both plains and mountainous parts. For the following more detailed description of the topography please also refer to maps 3-7 in §2.2.1.

Starting in the south of the West Coast (Kecamatan Balaesang), the Balaesang peninsula is nearly completely covered with small, but steep hill chains. Only very narrow stretches of flat land exist on the sea shore as well as the shores of lake Rano, which is located close to the north-western end of the peninsula. The southern end of the mainland area of Kecamatan Balaesang consists of several small coastal plains, separated from each other by hill chains which project right to the coastline. Beginning in Tambu, a large and deep coastal plain opens up which stretches north up to Kembayang, the southernmost village of Kecamatan Dampelas. In Sibayu (Kecamatan Balaesang) this plain gives way to a large, easternbound inland plain that later on turns west again and extends via Rerang up to Sabang, the capital of Dampelas.

Talaga (south of Sabang) is situated in a valley that is formed by a small hill chain closely following the coast line. An eastern hill chain separates it from the large inland plain just mentioned. This valley is largely covered by Lake Talaga.

Going north from Rerang, a hilly elevation follows with only tiny flat areas in between. Some small settlements (Dusuns of Pangalaseang) are located there. The centre of the village Pangalaseang is (used to be?) situated on a small island about 300 meters off the shore. At the time when ships were the main means of transportation, this was quite an important harbouring place on the way from Palu to Tolitoli. But today, with improving roads, there is a tendency to move inland and upward to Dusun Ou in order to be closer to the gardens and the road.

North of Pangalaseang follows a fairly long, but not too deep coastal plain (from Tonggolobibi to Balukang). The next three flat areas (Bou, Pesik, Lenju) are rather small and separated from each other and the southern plain by increasingly steep elevations, the steepest separating Pesik from Lenju. The highest mountains in the area (Sojol and Ogoamas, above 2500 meters) are quite close. It is also here that the south-north chain turns into a west-east chain (on the border between Kecamatan Sojol and Kecamatan Dampal Selatan).

North of Lenju is a slight elevation followed by a long stretch of nearly flat coastal line from Ogoamas to Ogotua. While the plain reaches a depth of 2-7 km in the southern parts (especially between Bangkir and Dongko), it markedly narrows upon entering Kecamatan