

A DIALECT GEOGRAPHY OF BUGIS¹

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INTRODUCTION

The Bugis people of South Sulawesi are the most numerous and progressive of its inhabitants. Population figures put their current number at more than 2,500,000. In addition to the Bugis in their homeland in South Sulawesi, their history of sailing has brought them throughout insular South-east Asia. Today significant enclaves of Bugis are found in Sumatra, Kalimantan and Sabah (East Malaysia).

It is natural that a traditional language like Bugis, spoken by so many people, should show dialect variation. Indeed, the *Language atlas of South Sulawesi* (Peta Bahasa Sulawesi Selatan 1974) lists ten dialects of Bugis. Grimes and Grimes (1987), following our lead, lists eleven.

In order to account for the possible range of speech variation within each dialect area, we decided to take one wordlist in each Bugis subdistrict. We also sampled border areas where the language situation was unclear to us. Though the subdistricts show considerable variation in area and population, we felt that one wordlist per subdistrict would yield a fairly accurate picture of the dialects, especially since the subdistrict boundaries generally follow those of former kingdoms or clan groupings.

Our procedure was to elicit the necessary information from a wide spectrum of society. Our respondents ranged in age from 13 to 80, 82 men and eight women. We tried hard to find respondents who weren't highly influenced by Indonesian or other Bugis dialects, as is natural among civil servants who are well trained in Indonesian and freely transferred between dialect areas. We did not find that transfers affected civil servants at the village and hamlet levels, so freely accepted them as respondents. Each candidate for respondent had to use Bugis as his native language and had to be born in the village (and his parents in the subdistrict) where the information was gathered.

Wordlists were gathered from the following 13 districts: Luwu (7 of 16 sub-districts), Wajo, Mamuju (1 of 6), Bone, Soppeng, Sinjai, Bulukumba (2 of 7), Polewali-Mamasa (2 of 9), Pinrang, Sidenreng-Rappang, Barru, Pangkajene-Kepulauan (from the six non-island subdistricts) and Maros. See Map 1 and Appendix A for locations and lists of data collection sites.

The wordlists were taken in phonetic notation so that phonetic form in addition to lexical form would be represented in the data. A large majority of respondents knew Indonesian well enough to respond directly without help. We permitted other local people to advise the respondent where he hesitated or so desired. However, we required that the respondent himself pronounce the word so uniformity of pronunciation could be maintained for a given location.

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Ninety wordlists, each containing 216 items, were elicited and later transferred to a wordbook where each page contained one item in all its 90 varieties. (See Appendix B for a sample wordbook page.) The items were entered on the wordbook page in groups representing cognate sets. Each item was also numbered as an identification of its source wordlist.

It is possible to identify a number of problems in connection with eliciting data of this kind. For example: (1) the respondent's word for a given item may not be representative of his community; (2) he did not understand the meaning of the Indonesian word; (3) some words on the wordlist caused confusion; (4) there is always the problem of synonyms for a given item. Taking into account these types of errors in the data, it was very evident that the data collected in the 90 locations was overall accurate and presented a valid picture of the Bugis dialect situation.

In figuring the cognate percentages between wordlists, words were assigned to cognate sets (that is they were considered the same word or different) as they were transferred from wordlist to wordbook. When the wordbook was complete, these assignments were re-evaluated in light of the total picture. Words with no response (not known or not remembered) were assigned to their own empty cognate set. The differing parts of multiple responses were assigned to their own respective cognate sets and counted once for each cognate set in which they had membership. Thus, wordlist 39 with the word for month bulan in cognate set a ([ul+ŋ]), wordlist 49 with the same item in cognate set b ([ket+ŋ]) and wordlist 32 showing a multiple response (both [ul+ŋ] and [ket+ŋ]), means that dialect 32 is cognate with both dialect 39 and dialect 49 with respect to the item bulan. Whereas, for the same item, dialects 39 and 49 are not cognate.

In order to assure accuracy in figuring the cognate percentages between pairs of wordlists, we disqualified 16 of the 216 wordlist items. Thus, the final number of words compared was 200. The 16 words were disqualified for various reasons: (1) ambiguity due to the Indonesian forms; (2) redundancy with other items; (3) unfamiliarity with the forms in Bugis (especially with the pronouns).

IDENTIFYING THE DIALECTS

Dialects of a language may be discrete, usually showing geographically defined boundaries, or they may be chained, where each settlement is most like its nearest neighbours and least like those most distant from it. Of course, dialects also display cultural, political and other influences. In Bugis there is found a mixture of all of these.

There are a number of ways that dialects may be identified. For our purposes we have worked with three means of identification: percentages of shared cognates, individual and composite lexical distribution and individual and composite phonetic distribution. The first method takes each pair of wordlists (90 wordlists yield 4005 pairs) and determines the percentage of shared cognates between them. High values are taken to demonstrate close dialect fit, lower values more distant fit. One would expect that relatedness is a function of distance, but that only holds in the most general sense. Historical factors play interesting games with expectations.

The second method is actually to plot the occurrences of individual reflexes on a map. Drawing the isoglosses to take in cognate sets will show potential dialect borders. When this is repeated for successive wordlist items, a bundling of isoglosses should lead to demonstrable borders. The more lines there are

coming together the more definite the border. The fewer the lines the less definite the border.

The third method is to plot the occurrences of phonetic differences on a map and draw the isoglosses as for the lexical differences. Again, individual and composite levels of inquiry may be pursued.

We have used all three methods in trying to determine the boundaries of the dialects of Bugis. In our discussion they will be presented in the order given above. Based on an analysis of the percentage of shared cognates, various dialects of Bugis will be posited. Then these will be revised as necessary in light of individual and composite lexical distribution. Finally these revised borders will again be submitted to the results of phonetic distribution and revised as necessary.

Our efforts at trying to establish dialect areas on paper for what is really spoken across Bugis territory encountered some discrete borders and some continua. Whether one takes 78%, 80% or 85% as the outer limits of a single language, the question has to be asked all over again with respect to dialect limits. Our rule of thumb has been to consider contiguous speech forms of less than 90% to be members of different dialects. But much more than a specified cut-off point, we have looked for natural breaks as we have plotted each of about 25 of the 90 wordlists as homebase (100%) against all others which were relevant. Thus, for example, when a given wordlist (such as Palakka, for which see Map 2) relates to its near neighbours at 94% to 97% but all others relate at 90% or 91% (or less), it is the natural break between 92% and 94% inclusive that speaks loudly for some sort of dialect boundary.

We would have liked to have identified four or five dialect areas and found that to be sufficient. However, the very interesting history of the Bugis people makes for a more complicated picture. Not only did numerous smaller kingdoms originate from one central area in ancient times, but also since 1670 the Bugis rulers have controlled much of South Sulawesi. This has resulted in an arrest of the process of language split among the smaller groups in South Sulawesi. It is likely that many small languages would have been formed by now had there not been the extensive Bugis influence in the area. But instead, the Bugis language now covers a vast area and includes many small subdialects (especially those groups that live in the mountains), along with the original large Bugis dialects.

The *Language atlas of South Sulawesi* lists ten dialects of Bugis. Because this is an important statement (although admittedly not meant to be definitive) of the languages of South Sulawesi, we shall list the ten Bugis dialects defined in it here:

- | | | |
|-------------------|--------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Luwu | 5. Soppeng | 8. Sawitto (Pinrang) |
| 2. Wajo | 6. Sidenreng | 9. Tallupanuae (Campalagian) |
| 3. Palakka (Bone) | 7. Pare-pare | 10. Ugi Riawa (Pasangkayu) |
| 4. Enna' (Sinjai) | | |

This statement of Bugis dialects includes a number of areas where the boundaries are very unclear, especially in Barru, Pangkep and Maros, as well as in Soppeng, in Bulukumba and in Luwu.

Following, we first identify 23 smaller subdialects, then a discussion follows in which these are grouped into more inclusive dialects. The following 11 dialects will be described (see Map 3):

Sawitto	Sidrap	Barru
Pangkep	Camba	Soppeng
Wajo	Luwu	Bone
Sinjai	Pasangkayu	

Campalagian - in Polmas:

The dialect called Tallumpanuae or Campalagian in the *Language atlas* relates to other dialects of Bugis as another language. The atlas authors quote Abdul Muthalib (1973) as saying that Campalagian is a variant of Palakka (Bone Bugis). Our own wordlist for Campalagian relates to that of Palakka at 55% and to that of Pangkajene, Sidrap at 62%. The atlas statement that Campalagian is a dialect of the Bugis language is unfounded, since their own criterion for dialects of the same language is a relationship of 85% or higher. In response to our questions about mutual intelligibility between Campalagian, Mandar and Bugis, the local Campalagian people said they could understand Bugis better than Mandar but that Campalagian could not be understood by either of those two languages. Based on the preceding discussion, we disqualify Campalagian as a dialect of Bugis and do not mention it further.

Ugi Riawa - Pasangkayu, Mamuju:

We have included a wordlist of the Ugi Riawa dialect (as called in the *Language atlas*) in our study (located in Pasangkayu, Mamuju). According to our figures, Ugi Riawa as a dialect relates to the other dialects with a high of 91% to five locations in Wajo, Soppeng and Polmas. Without historical records by which to check our guesses, it seems that Ugi Riawa was probably colonised by immigrants from the Wajo-Soppeng area.

Locations in Southern Polmas and Northern Pinrang:

It is not easy to understand how the subdistricts of Wonomulyo (wordlist number 33) and Polewali (35), both in Polmas district, and Lembang (36), Duampanua (37) and Patampanua (38), in Pinrang district fit into the dialect picture. Each of these five relates to another at 93% or 94%. This indicates relative homogeneity of this north-western set of wordlists and yet shows their unique character too. This is more pointedly demonstrated by reference to the highest percentage of relatedness each of these holds to any other wordlist. Wordlist 33 of Wonomulyo and 35 of Polewali relate to sites in Sidrap more highly than they relate to their neighbours. The same can be said of Lembang. Duampanua (37) relates highest of all (95%) to Suppa in southern Pinrang district, and relates to a number of locations in Sidrap and Pare-pare as high or higher than it relates to its contiguous neighbours of Lembang and Patampanua. Finally, Patampanua shows its highest relatedness with Sidrap and not with intervening Sawitto (Pinrang) as might be expected.

The preceding comments clearly indicate that these five north-west samplings do not have a linguistic and/or historical tie with each other, but rather with some other area. That area is by and large Sidenreng-Rappang. Even Patampanua and Duampanua were settled by Bugis coming from Sidrap who leapfrogged the Sawitto dialect. Later another wave or two from Sidrap and other locations accounted for the current immigrant Bugis populations now found in Polewali and Wonomulyo.

Locations in Central Pinrang:

Again and again in our data, wordlists 39, 40 and 41 share a relationship. They are Malimpung (Patampanua), Watan Sawitto and (Langa) Mattirosombe, respectively. Malimpung actually claims to be a separate language, neither Bugis nor Masenrempulu. Our computations show it to be 86% cognate with Watan Sawitto, clearly within the range of the same language. But since it is only 82, 86, 78 and 80 percent related to its nearest Bugis neighbours, something must be made of its distinctive character. Malimpung is 76% cognate with the Enrekang dialect of Masenrempulu given in Grimes and Grimes (1987) and 72% cognate with Bugis-Bone. Clearly Malimpung is somehow transitional between Bugis and Masenrempulu. If we consider the lexical items in which Malimpung differs from Bugis-Sidrap, 60% of them are cognate with Masenrempulu.

Langa relates to Watan Sawitto at 94% and to the rest of its contiguous neighbours at 83% and 85%. Watan Sawitto, of long history and currently the administrative and economic centre of Pinrang district, relates to its neighbours at 86%, 90%, 88% and 88%. Formerly, Sawitto belonged to a confederation consisting of Sidenreng and Rappang. Because of this, although Sawitto was clearly a separate kingdom, it has been greatly influenced by both Bugis and Enrekang. Malimpung could well be considered a separate language, which was formed from a mixture of Bugis and Enrekang. However, it seems more reasonable at this stage to consider it a member of the Sawitto dialect, which includes Langa, Sawitto and Malimpung and is somewhat distant from the other Bugis dialects.

Locations in Southern Pinrang, Pare-pare and Sidenreng-Rappang:

Moving down from Sawitto, we find Alitta (Mattirabulu, 44) to be distinct enough from its neighbours or from any place else to be its own subdialect. Its closest percentage is 92% with Pare-pare immediately to the south.

Suppa (43), the most southerly subdistrict of Pinrang district, is likewise without close neighbour. Adjacent Allita relates at 90%; Pare-pare relates to Suppa at 94%. Its highest relationship is with Duampanua north of Sawitto at 95%. These two may have found some continuing contact by way of the sea, or it may be that Duampanua originated out of Suppa.

Sidrap with its seven subdistricts forms a relatively natural and homogeneous area. The range of relatedness of the outer subdistricts to central Pangkajene is from 93% to 96%. Since Pare-pare (42) is 95% cognate with Pangkajene and 92% with Suppa, it seems reasonable to include them too within a Sidrap dialect area.

Locations in Barru:

The subdistricts of Mallusetasi (Nepo, 45), Soppeng Riaja (46), Barru (47) and Tanete Rilau (31) are all distinct enough from their neighbours to be called separate subdialects. (Refer to Map 3 again.) This clearly reflects the separate kingdoms of these areas in centuries past. Soppeng Riaja (Soppeng west) relates to two Soppeng wordlists (3 and 4) at 92%, the second highest figures in the area. Tanete Rilau and Tanete Riaja (32) reflect their shared name in showing a relatedness of 93%, the highest in the area. Thus we identify four dialects in five subdistricts: Nepo, Soppeng Riaja, Tompo and Tanete.

Locations in Pangkajene-Kepulauan and Maros:

In the district of Pangkep, we discover a dialect unity quite opposite the Barru diversity. If we take Pangkajene subdistrict as a test centre (wordlist taken at Kabba, 62), the surrounding subdistricts (29, 30, 48, 49, 51) relate to it at 94% to 97%. Even northernmost Segeri subdistrict is 95%. Looking south into Maros district, we discover that even Bantimurung (50) and Maros Baru (63) relate northward with a healthy 96%. The most southerly west coast wordlist from Mandai (90) is a bit more distant, 93%, but still fits well with a larger Pangkep dialect.

Eastern Maros is represented by Camba subdistrict where we took two wordlists (52 and 53). These two are only 93% cognate, but both because of the distances and the other low figures involved (the closest of either to a third is Camba to Bontocani (Bone) at 89%), they appear to stand alone as their own Camba dialect.

Locations in Soppeng:

The Soppeng dialect is represented by wordlists 1, 3, 5 and 65. Marioriawa (4) shows closer relatedness to Wajo across Lake Tempe than it does with the rest of Soppeng to the south. Marioriwawo (2) shows independence of its own (91% with Watansoppeng and even lower with its Barru neighbours just over the mountain) and is thus accorded its own subdialect identity. The wordlist was taken at Kessi up in the mountains at the western limits of the subdistrict; it is likely that the eastern part of Marioriwawo (especially around Takkalalla) belongs to the Soppeng dialect.

The western extension of Bone district between Camba and Soppeng is represented by our wordlist 65 taken at interior Gaya Baru in Lamuru subdistrict. It relates northward to Soppeng at 94% better than it relates to its nearer eastern Bone neighbours (64 and 71) at 92% and 91%, respectively. (Perhaps a wordlist taken at the district centre of Lalabatu might show greater affinity for Bone.) There is historical evidence that Soppeng used this area as a route to the south, as well. We include it with the Soppeng dialect.

Locations in Wajo:

Wajo shows the greatest homogeneity over the greatest area of any dialect area in our study. If Sengkang is taken as a centre, we find all nine other subdistricts (as well as Marioriawa, Soppeng as already noted) to be related in the range of 95% to 98%. Lake Tempe probably acts more as a unifier than as a barrier. We also tentatively add Pompanua (67) and Cenrana (Pallime - 68), which historically related to Wajo via the Watanae River, which drains Lake Tempe, and which were ruled by either Bone or Wajo depending on the victorious kingdom at a given time.

North along the east coast from Wajo, Suli (11) and Larompong (12), both in Luwu district, show affinities both north and south. Each of them relate more closely to Wajo (95% and 94%, respectively) than they do to each other (92%). There is historical evidence that these southern Luwu kingdoms were linked to those in northern Wajo rather than to the northern Luwu kingdoms. Therefore, Suli and Larompong can be included in the larger Wajo dialect.

Locations in Luwu:

We had expected to find a greater unity in Luwu than we did. In addition to Suli and Larompong, we took wordlists at Bua Ponrang (10), Ware (Palopo, 7), Bone-bone (9), Malili (8) and Malangke (6). At Bone-bone the respondent was from a Bugis family and spoke Bugis, but his first language was Tae' (or bahasa Luwu, as is characteristic of the coastal Luwu area). The Bugis in Luwu who can be termed original are relatively few. Earlier strong Bugis centres in Luwu (three larger kingdoms can be identified) have been depleted, perhaps both through gradual assimilation by the more numerous Tae' people and by flight or death during the wars with Palakka (1670s) and at the time of the Rebellion (1950-1960s).

We roughly find three subdialects in Luwu. Malangke, Bone-bone and Malili comprise one loose dialect. They relate to each other at 92% and 93%. Wara is a second dialect, whose closest affinity is with Malangke (90%). Finally Bua Pondrang represents the third dialect. It is only 85% cognate with Wara to the north, and 89% with Malangke.

Locations in Bone:

Invariably reference was made to Bone as a major Bugis centre and most areas related to it in some way, whether indirectly as a place of their origins or directly as the home of their rulers. Indeed, the Bone kingdom has had widespread influence in South Sulawesi both before Goa's supremacy in the 16th and 17th centuries and even more so after the overthrow of Goa in 1667.

For purposes of determining the extent of the Bone dialect we first looked at Palakka as a centre. At first glance we would include in such a dialect Awangpone (55), Tellusiatinge (57), Sibulue (58), Tanete Riattang (59), Barebbo (60), Ulaweng (61), Leppangen (Lappariaja, 64), Pallime (Cenrana, 68), Koppe (Lappariaja, 71), Tassippi (Ajangale, 72), Ponre (73) and Cina (74). However, if we take Pallime as the centre, to which Arung Palakka moved the kingdom in the late 1600s, we may also include Dua Boccoe (56), Pompanua (67) and Pacubbe (Cenrana, 69). We earlier commented that Pompanua and Pallime might have had to look both to Wajo and to Bone (whether Pallime or Palakka) at various times. Under the discussion of Wajo we grouped them with Wajo. Here we may want to bring them back into Bone where they fit according to current administrative boundaries. We may take Dua Boccoe and Pacubbe to be their own subdialect at the northern end of Bone; indeed, speakers of this subdialect and those outside recognised its unique identity.

Mare (75), Tonra (76) and Camming (70) may be taken as transitional between Bone to the north and Sinjai to the south. Actually Mare is more closely related to Camming across the mountains (96%) than it is to Tonra (95%). The three locations relate to their northern four neighbours more closely than they do to their southern four, but here they are separated as transitional, for when viewed in relation to the whole of what lies to the north, they are different.

Locations in Southern Bone, Sinjai and Bulukumba:

From the point of view of Salomekko (80) to the south, the Sinjai dialect situation is rather complex. However, when the centre for testing is moved to Sinjai Tengah, all of Sinjai, including Tanete (84) and the three locations in southernmost Bone (Bontocani, 78, Salomekko, 80, and Kajuara, 81), can be

considered one rather homogeneous dialect. Both Palattae (79) to the north and Bulukumba city (83) to the south are given separate subdialect status. (See Map 3.)

LARGER DIALECT AREAS

These 23 dialects and subdialects of Bugis group together to form several larger dialects. Clearly there is less homogeneity within these larger dialects, but a relatedness exists that cannot be overlooked. (See Map 4.) Following are the larger dialects: 1. Sawitto (number [2] on Map 3) retains its separate identity; it is not further related to any other subdialect. 2. Pinrang Utara [1] and Alitta [3] may be joined with Sidrap [4] to form a greater Sidrap dialect form. 3. Nepo [5], Soppeng Riaja [6], Tompo [7] and Tanete [8] may be placed together quite loosely as a Barru dialect. 4. Pangkep [9] is left as Pangkep. 5. Camba [10] also remains intact. 6. Kessi [12] and Soppeng [11] become larger Soppeng. 7. Wajo [13] remains as is, including the two southernmost Luwu areas. 8. The rest of Luwu, Bua Ponrang [14], Wara [15] and Malangke-Ussu [16] fall together as a greater Luwu dialect. 9. Dua Boccoe [18] now clearly falls in with Bone [17]. Mare [19] may also be included in a larger Bone dialect. 10. Palattae [20] and Bulukumba [22] fall together with the rest of Sinjai [21] to form a Sinjai dialect. 11. Pasangkayu [23] is left as a separate dialect.

DIALECTS AS SEEN IN LEXICAL ISOGLOSSES

The second method of identifying dialect boundaries is to plot the changing reflexes for given semantic (wordlist) items on a map. Where a number of isoglosses bundle together the border should become clear. There are a number of factors that may muddy an expected clear situation. First, the changes may come from different sources. A change initiated from the east and moving north, west and south will not look the same as one that began in the north and is spreading southward. A newly subjugated area may take on certain vocabulary change from the conquering area even though the two are not contiguous. A change begun in the centre of the speech area may leave the margins separated and retaining the older form. Mountains will frequently be conservative compared to valleys containing the trade routes that carry the innovation. Second, changes may be initiated at different times from the same source. As ripples spread from a disturbed point in water, so wave of change follows wave.

In order to look at lexical isoglosses, we chose the 56 most interesting items showing difference, took the maps of their plotted reflexes and compared the composite for bundles. The result of this composite of isoglosses is shown on Map 5.

A few comments are in order on what this isogloss map says about dialect differences. It confirms the three subdialect areas of Luwu. It shows Sawitto to be a distinct area. Map 5 also shows a rather distinct boundary between the southern sector of the Wajo-Sidrap area.

The differences between the subdialects of Barru district are confirmed. The mountains between the Barru dialects and Soppeng and farther south are reflected in the border beginning between 4 and 45 and continuing southerly until that between 89 and 90. The Camba dialect is also well demarcated, again related to the mountain terrain.

The border is clear between the eastern sector of the Wajo-Bone dialects. This gives weight to the inclusion of Cenrana with Bone. As to Pompanua (67), though its border with Takkalalla (66) is definite, its border with Pammana (16) is less certain. This reflects the double influence Pompanua received, sometimes from Wajo, sometimes from Palakka-Cenrana. (The border between 16 and 67, 66 and 67, 66 and 68 is geographically the Watanae River.)

The subdialect area of Palattae (79) is evident. The border between 79 and 80 and 70 and 76 is also a mountain chain. The mountains continuing north do not seem to divide dialect from dialect. Clearly this was an area of great communication historically.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF INDIVIDUAL WORDS

The individual wordlist items and their variance across the 90 Bugis locations were very interesting. Where minority reflexes relate to other languages, one can see clearly how neighbouring languages influenced change in the Bugis language from one area to the other. A few of the more interesting items will be mentioned here. The rest are found in the expanded English version of this writeup.

1. pohon, *tree*. [poŋ], [batəŋ], [kəŋəŋ], [toʔ] and [pokoʔ]. The distribution looks authentic and not due to semantic confusion, though we expect that there is some interchange possible between [poŋ] and [batəŋ]. [toʔ] is shared by the Mamasa and Enrekang languages. [pokoʔ] is also found in the Konjo and Makassar languages. Makassar is found mixed with Bugis at the subdistrict level and in some cases down through the hamlet level in the Maros district and southern Pangkep. [pokoʔ] is the reflex used in the area just north of there. Surprisingly, where this mixture of peoples is found, the Bugis response for tree is never shared [pokoʔ], but always [poŋ]. Clearly the era of the introduction of [pokoʔ] was not the near present.

7. Tempurung kelapa, *half a coconut shell*. (See Map 6.) The response in Luwu was [baŋəʔ], which is also used in the adjacent Wotu language. This was found as an alternative reflex in the two Cenrana wordlists, 68 and 69, and is interesting in light of some military adventures Luwu is recorded to have had in Cenrana. [baŋəʔ] was also noted at Mare (75). The larger Bone and Sinjai area, from Dua Boccoe south to Bulukumba and as far west as Camba (52) uses the word [capɪŋ]. The Bugis word in all other Bugis areas is [kaʔdaro], also the reflex in the Makassar and Mandar languages.

12. pisang, *banana*. The general Bugis word is [uʔti], but [loka], the Mandar language word, is used in the Sidrap dialect area as well as in Nepo (45) and Tompo (47) to the south in Barru district. The Sawitto dialect area uses [uʔti], but the continuation of the Sidrap dialect area to the north uses [loka] as do the recent Bugis immigrant areas of Polmas.

15. bambu, *bamboo*. A potential problem with the reflexes of bamboo, that they may only reflect different kinds of bamboo, does not seem to be borne out by the distribution on Map 7. That is, although these are clearly generalised from specific kinds, there is no randomness to the distribution of the forms given.

27. *mereka, they*. The majority of responses for this item represent [iyaʔ] in combination with various other morphemes ([iyaman+ŋ], [iyaro], [iyanman+ŋro], [pada?iya], etc.). Other responses were [idi] (or [pada idiʔ] or [idiman+ŋ]) in 11 locations; [alena], either alone or pluralised in 13 places; [ikoman+ŋ] at Ma'rang (29) and Salomekko (80); [iyatuʔ] at Pancarijang (23); [ikk+ŋ] at Suli (11); [tauwero] (*that/those person(s)*) in seven places; [kita manaq] at Malimpung (39); [mənna+ŋro] in Lamuru (65); and [maegako] at Balocci (51). The wide variety of responses given and the usual great hesitation before a response indicates that the Bugis usually use descriptive phrases and/or an affix to handle this item (and other pronouns).

55. *anjing, dog*. Overwhelmingly [asu] is the Bugis word. In most of Luwu (6, 7, 9, 10) and in Lembang (36), Sawitto (40), Langa (41) and Alitta (44) in the north-west, [bo^kka] is found. This latter reflex is also found in the neighbouring (to Luwu) Wotu language. Mills (1979) represents this word as meaning bark.

66. *kuning, yellow*. Bugis has two words in use. [maridi] is dominant and central. It is also found in Konjo, Mandar, Mamuju, Mamasa and Toraja Sa'dan. [maʔuññiʔ] is used at the margins: in Luwu, most of Wajo, Sawitto and Alitta and the bulk of Sinjai. It is common also to Makassar and Wotu.

106. *timur, east*. The majority Bugis response is [alauʔ] whose distribution is seen on Map 8. This reflex, cognate with Indonesian laut *sea*, means seaward originally. Since the Bugis people are found on both sides of the peninsula, it speaks for an east coast beginning for the Bugis, whether in Luwu or Bone. [timor+ŋ] or a shorter [timoʔ] is the reflex of Sidrap and points north-west and parts of Luwu. Whatever the multiple origins of the speakers of the Ugi Riawa dialect of Pasangkayu, this item helps confirm a Sidrap origin. It shares the same form with Campalagian, Enrekang and Konjo. [manoraŋ] recorded in Bonebone (9) is apparently the Bugis word for north. Finally, at Tanete Rilau (31), Tanete Riaja (32) and Barru (47), we found the form [iaja]. This small enclave is very interesting. There [alauʔ] means west. Likely because this area had from early times been a separate kingdom whose westward view was the sea and whose eastward path was hindered by mountains, it uniquely reflects the difference in directional words.

114. *rambut, hair*. The Bugis reflexes, [gəmmiʔ] and [weluaʔ], seem rather evenly divided. See Map 9 for actual distribution. [weluaʔ] is common to languages to the north of Bugis.

148. *nenek laki-laki, grandfather*. As Map 10 indicates [neneʔ burane] (or [oroane]) is used north and south, being split by an area of [latoʔ] usage very nearly equal to the Bone and Pangkep dialect areas. A reflex including [pa^ttoa] is found at Salomekko (80) and Perwakilan Sinjai Utara (82). [latoʔ] is shared with Makassar and [pa^ttoa] with Wotu and Selayar.

181. *lapar, hungry*. The Bugis terms are [malupu] and [maliwas+ŋ], the former in common with Enrekang, the latter with Campalagian and Wotu. As Map 11 indicates, there is a split in the distribution of [maliwas+ŋ]. It is found in Sidrap, Sawitto and adjoining subdistricts and in Camba, Sinjai and adjoining subdistricts. As frequently observed, Bulukumba city has the same reflex as Bone.

198. duduk, *sit down*; [tudaŋ], [cadoʔ]. [tudaŋ] is the general term used in Bugis. But again Sawitto (including Alitta) stands apart from the rest and also shows a relationship with Sinjai. Sawitto and Sinjai use the reflex [cadoʔ], which shares a common origin with Konjo and Campalagian.

DIALECTS AS SEEN IN PHONETIC ISOGLOSSES

The third method of identifying dialect boundaries is to plot the phonetic differences for given wordlist items on a map. Again, the isoglosses separating these differences are dialect boundaries. A bundling of isoglosses indicates stronger dialect boundaries; where only one or two isoglosses occur, there the boundary is weak.

With phonetic differences a relatively small number of phonemes or phonetic features recur potentially many times through a large lexicon. Thus it is possible to compare the distribution of a phonetic feature such as [u] in lexical item [uli] (*skin*) with that of the same feature in lexical item [ulu] (*head*). Where the distribution of separate items is similar, though clearly different, it may indicate a phonetic change in progress as the change of phonetic feature diffuses through the lexicon, item by item.

The phonetic isoglosses for Bugis do very little to change the dialect picture as already established by comparing percentages of shared cognates under the first method and confirmed by the lexical isoglosses of the second method. The two most striking conclusions are the confirmation of the Sawitto dialect area and the establishment of a Camba-Sinjai dialect area, combining the earlier-determined Camba and Sinjai dialects. These two conclusions will be evident in the discussion of individual phonetic differences to follow.

We may summarise the kinds of phonetic differences noted before the individual differences are sampled. First, there is the [+a] type. In this case one is known everywhere [a] while the other is restricted [+]. This is clearly a case of either phonemic split or merger; which will wait a reconstruction of proto-Bugis to determine the individual cases. Second, there is the [u/o] type where both phonemes are known everywhere, but for certain items there is a contrast. Third, there is the [č/s] type where one [č] is standard and the other [s] is innovating.

Not all differences observed in our wordlists will be discussed below, but only enough of the interesting cases to represent the variation generally.

[u/o] variation:

There are Bugis reflexes that everywhere show [u], for example [tuluʔ] (*rope*, *tali*). There are also reflexes that are consistently [o], for example [lopi] (*boat*, *perahu*). There are also reflexes that are overwhelmingly [u], but with occasional instances of [o], for example [ina.ure]/[ama.ure] (*aunt/uncle*, *bibi/paman*). Similarly there are reflexes overridingly with [o], but with occasional replacement by [u], for example, [mapoŋčoʔ] (*short*, *pendek*). Map 12 for [duri] versus [dori] is included as an example of this phonetic shift.

[i/a] variation:

All in all there are 72 reflexes where this variation is evident, of which at most ten may perhaps be due to a reduction of another vowel to [ə] ([ə] is an

allophone of [ɨ]). In this variation the Sawitto dialect stands unique in its resistance to [ɨ]. Where other dialects regularly have [ɨ], Sawitto usually shows [a], for example, [urɨʔ] versus [uraʔ] (although sometimes Sawitto varies by replacing the [ɨ] with [o/e/i]).

In the next several variations, it will be seen how closely Camba and Sinjai pattern with respect to phonetics.

[r/d] variation:

Two different isoglosses are noted. For *leaf*, daun, we observe [rauŋ] versus [dauŋ] with [rauŋ] occurring in southern Bone from Mare (75) and Camming (70) south throughout Sinjai and continuing on to Bulukumba city (83). It also includes both Camba data-collection points.

[b/w/h/θ] variation:

The last variation in which Camba-Sinjai so clearly pattern together is with this set. About 40 reflexes show variation with respect to some or all of [b/w/h/θ], but the pattern is very complex. A few other variations are only listed here: [ʒ/s], [l/n], [n^dr/t^d], [t/ʒ], [p/θ]. These along with others are described in the longer version of this English writeup.

CONCLUSION

Working backwards from the unity of Bugis as a language, largely unified through common culture, geography and history, we have identified 11 larger dialects of the language. One, Sawitto, is distinct enough almost to be another language, especially when viewed through the perceptions of speakers farthest removed from it, whether from Luwu or Sinjai. At the other extreme is Soppeng, so central and basic that it might be said not to have an existence of its own, but rather to merge into adjacent dialects, especially Wajo.

Focusing on greater detail, we see that these 11 dialects consist of 23 (or more) yet more localised subdialects. These have their own identity, though the number of bundled isoglosses between them is less. Of course, beyond the scope of this dialect geography, but presupposed by it, are numerous village speech traits and yet more numerous idiolects representing the entire Bugis population, one by one.

Somewhere between language as a whole social communication form and idiolect as a building block of the larger comes the difficult to define, yet psychologically real, unit of dialect. This presentation has tried to establish the dialects of Bugis based on extensive fieldwork and a rigorous analysis thereof. What we have said here can and hopefully will be refined by additional research as well as by native-speaker interaction with these materials.

Finally, we present in closing a matrix giving the percentage of shared cognates between the ten dialects (Camba and Sinjai here are taken together), each represented by its linguistic centre (and so identified by its wordlist number).

LUWU (06)

86	SINJAI-CAMBA (85)						
85	85	PASANGKAYU (34)					
89	91	91	WAJO (14)				
83	87	88	89	BARRU (31)			
84	90	85	89	91	PANGKEP (62)		
87	91	86	91	89	92	BONE (55)	
83	90	91	85	90	91	91	SOPPING (3)
79	81	83	84	82	78	79	84 PINRANG (44)
77	78	79	79	77	72	74	78 85 SAWITTO (41)

NOTE

¹An Indonesian version of this paper has been published in *Lontara*. The complete study behind this abridged version is held on microfiche by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Dallas, Texas.

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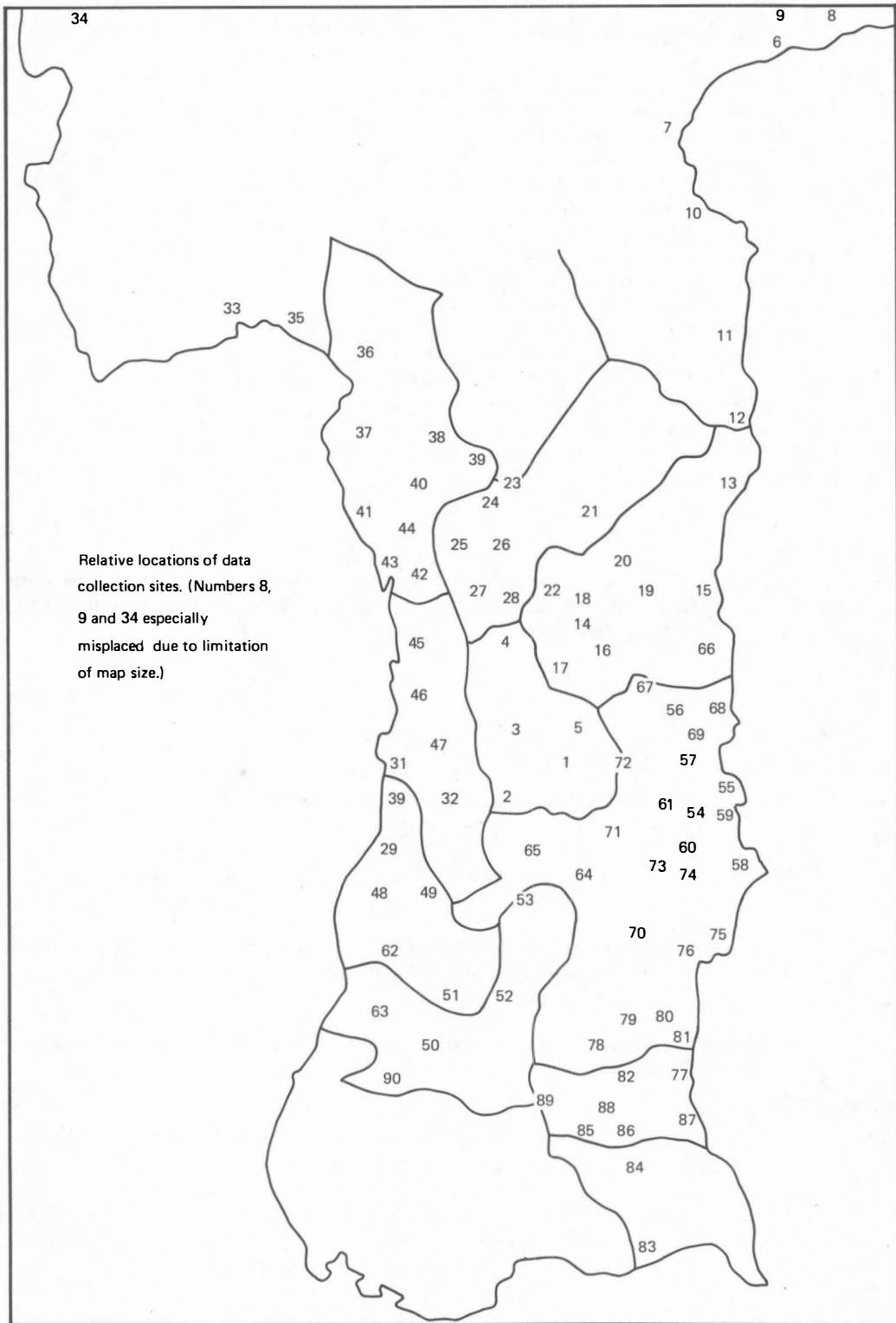
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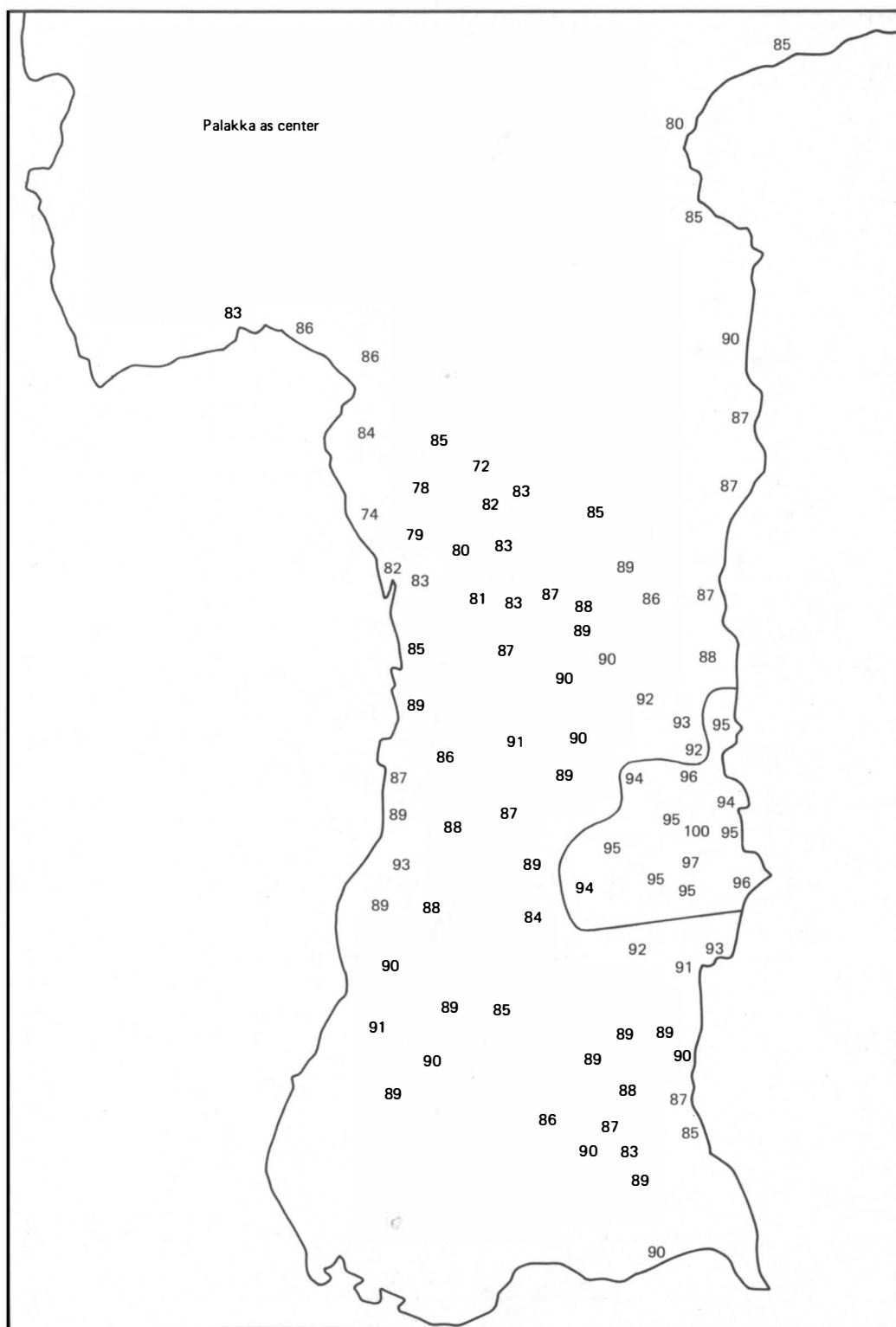
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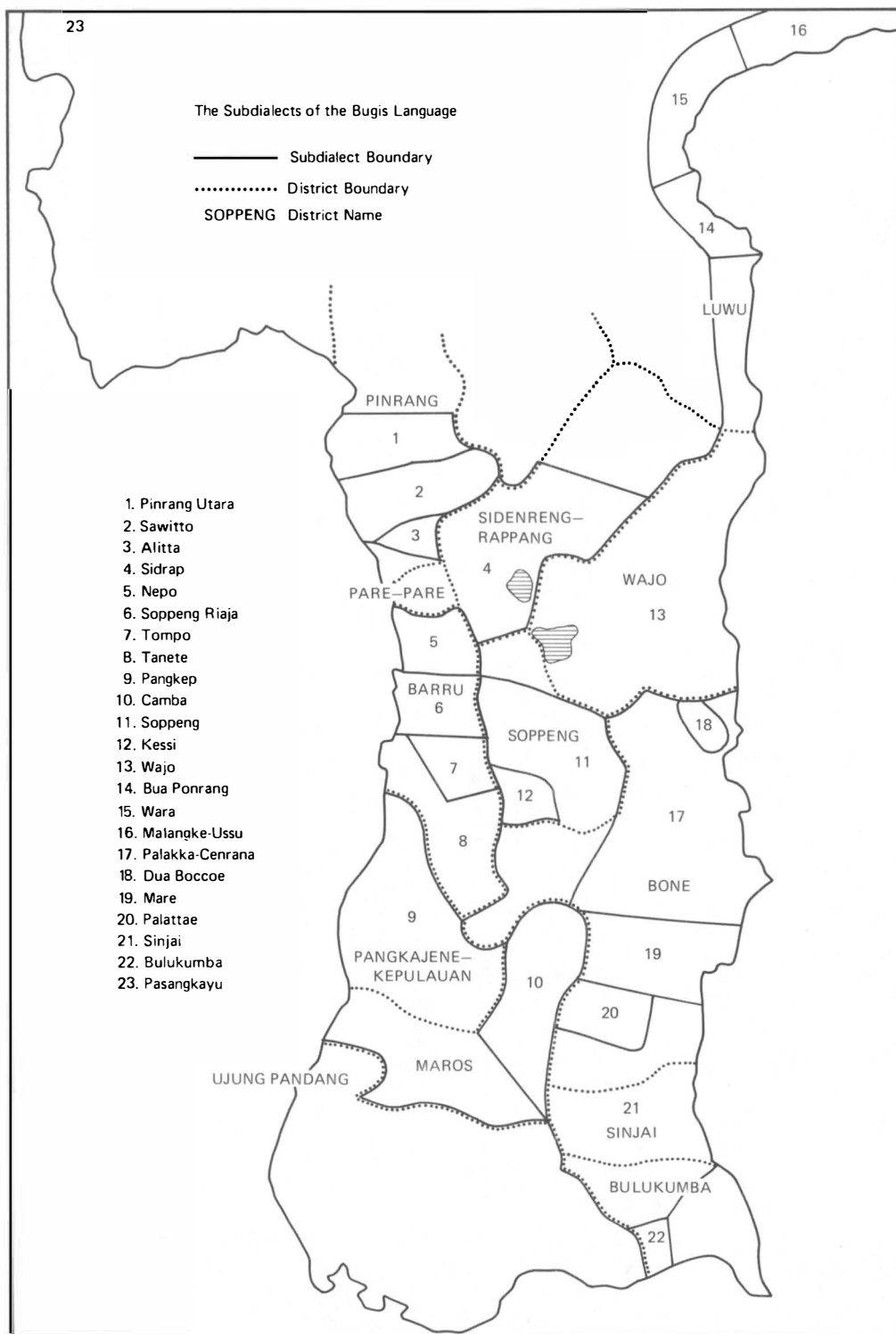
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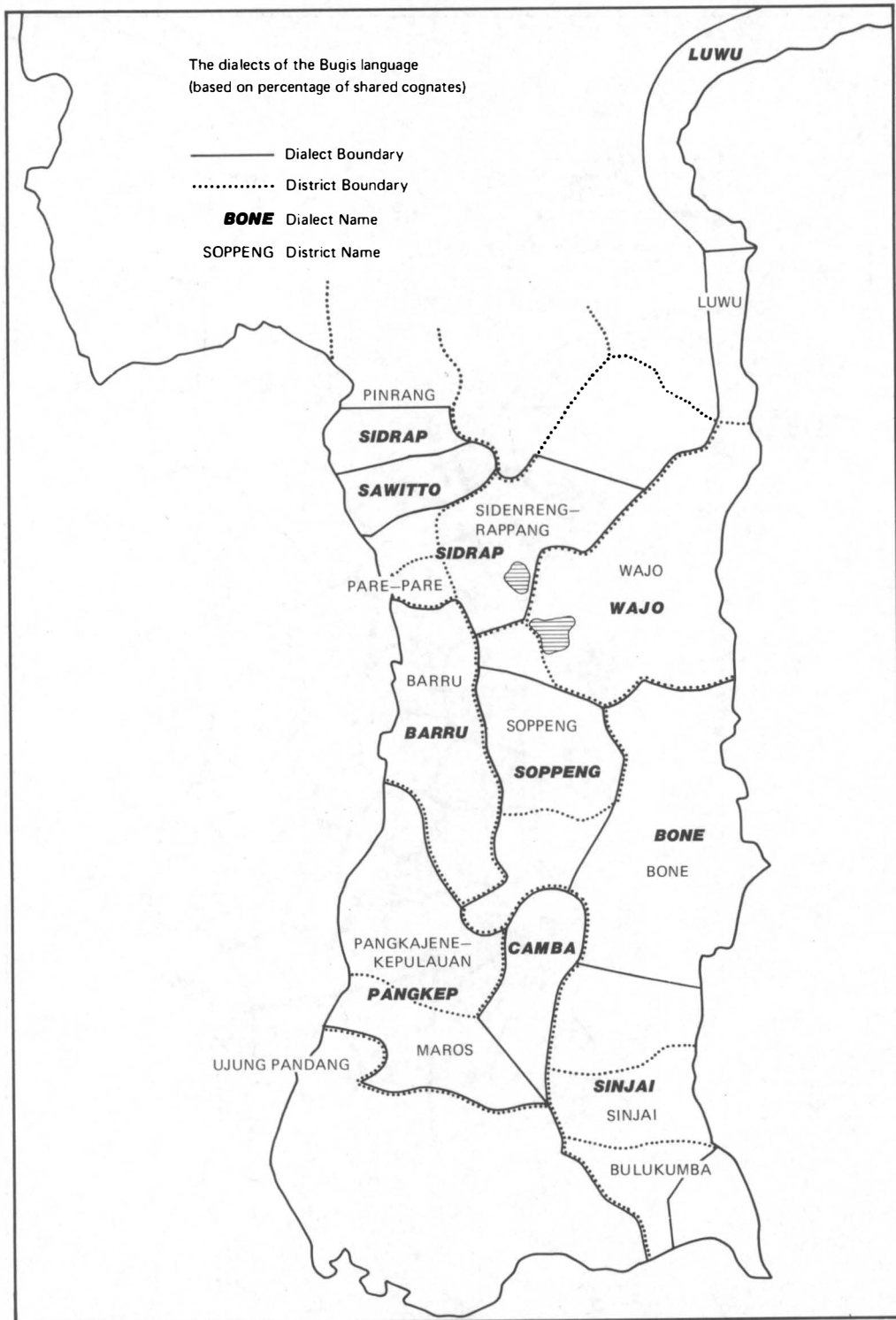
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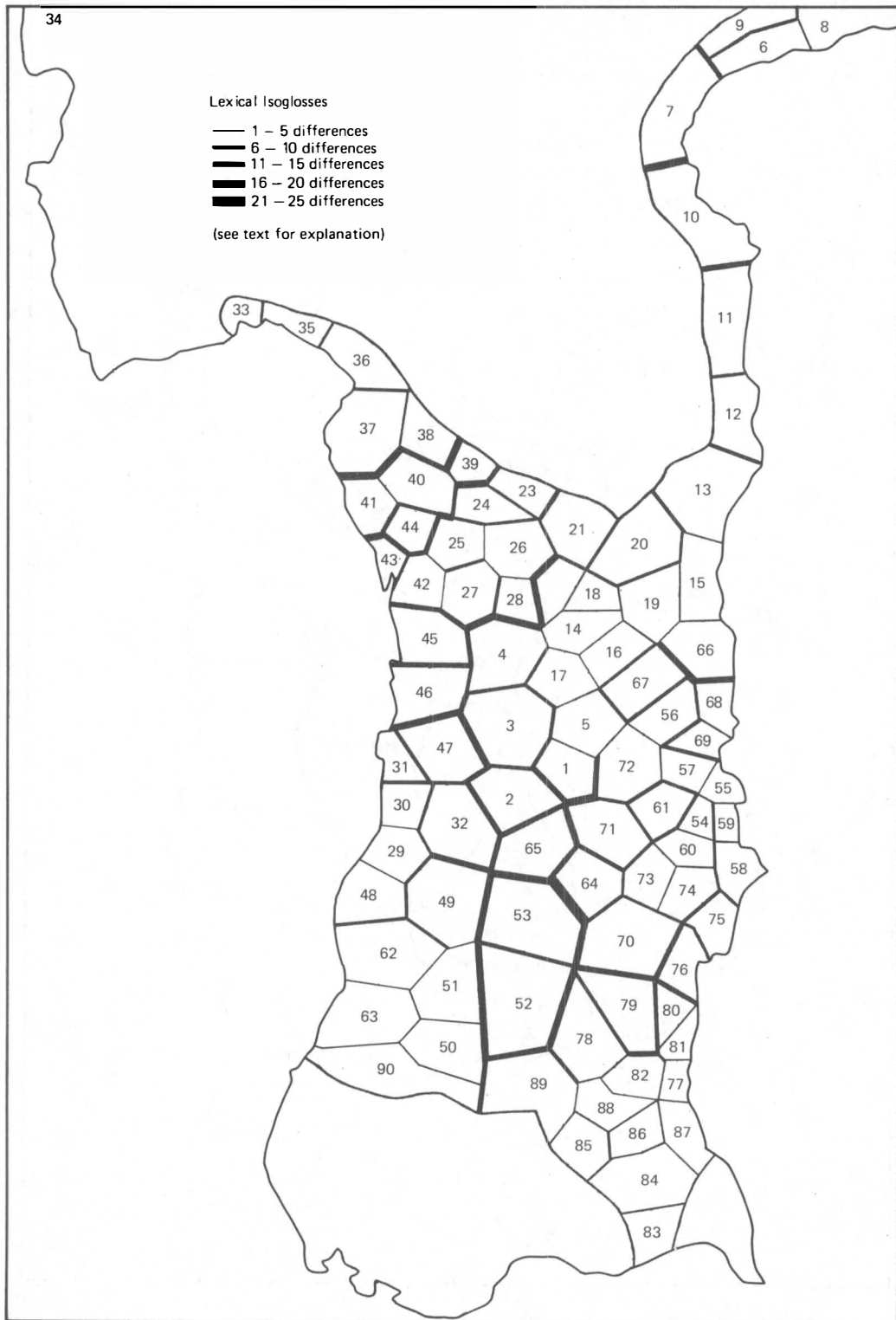
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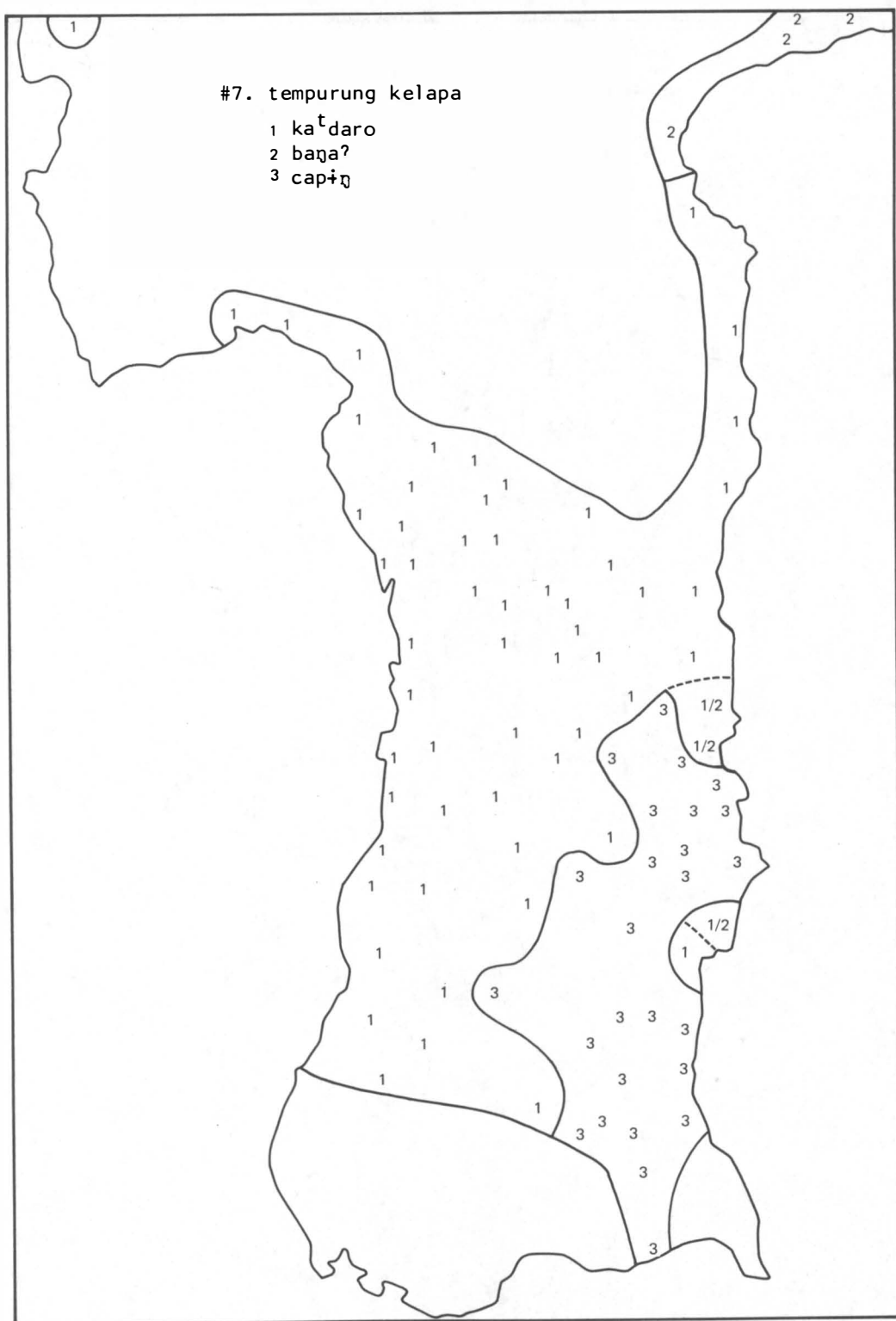
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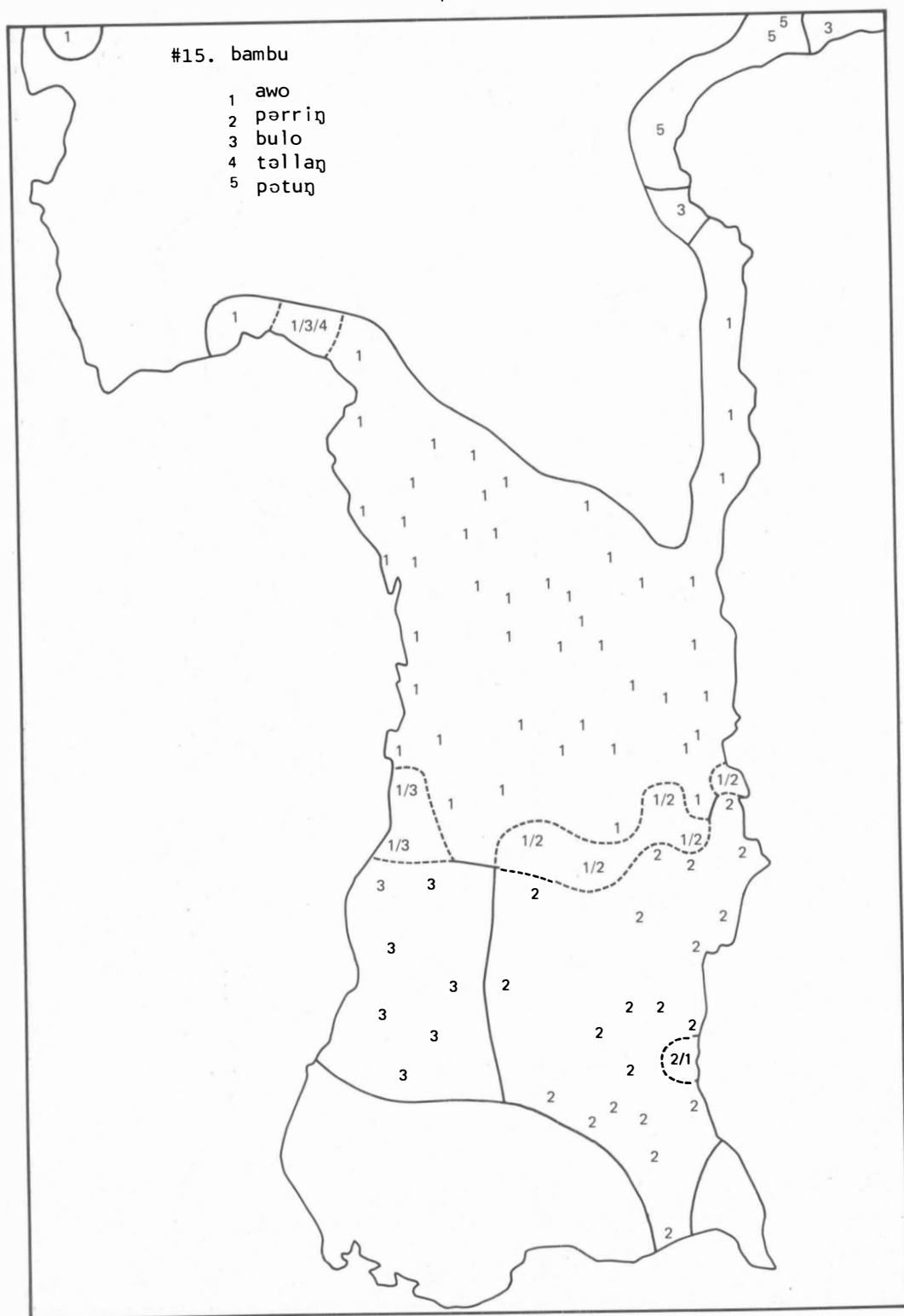
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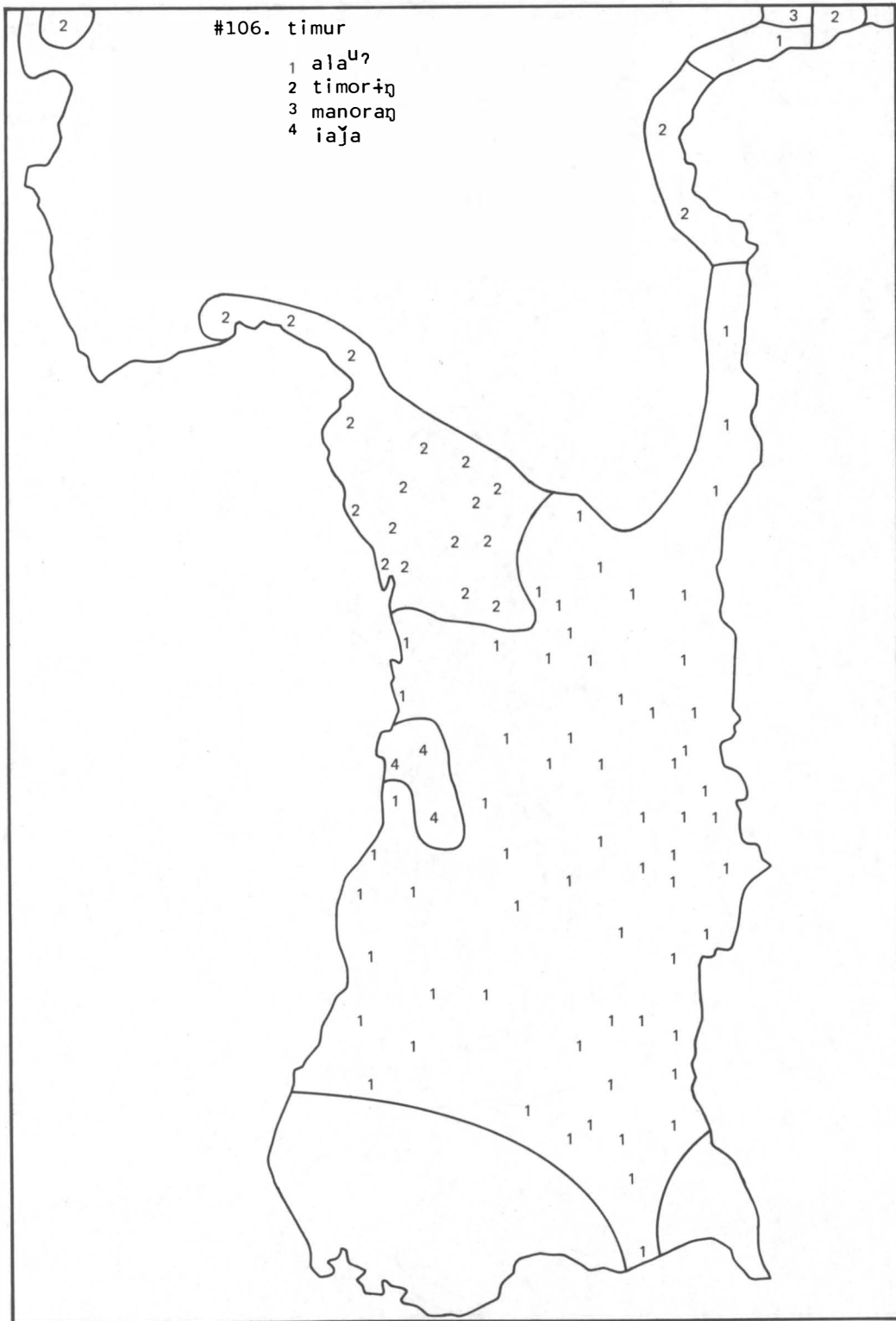
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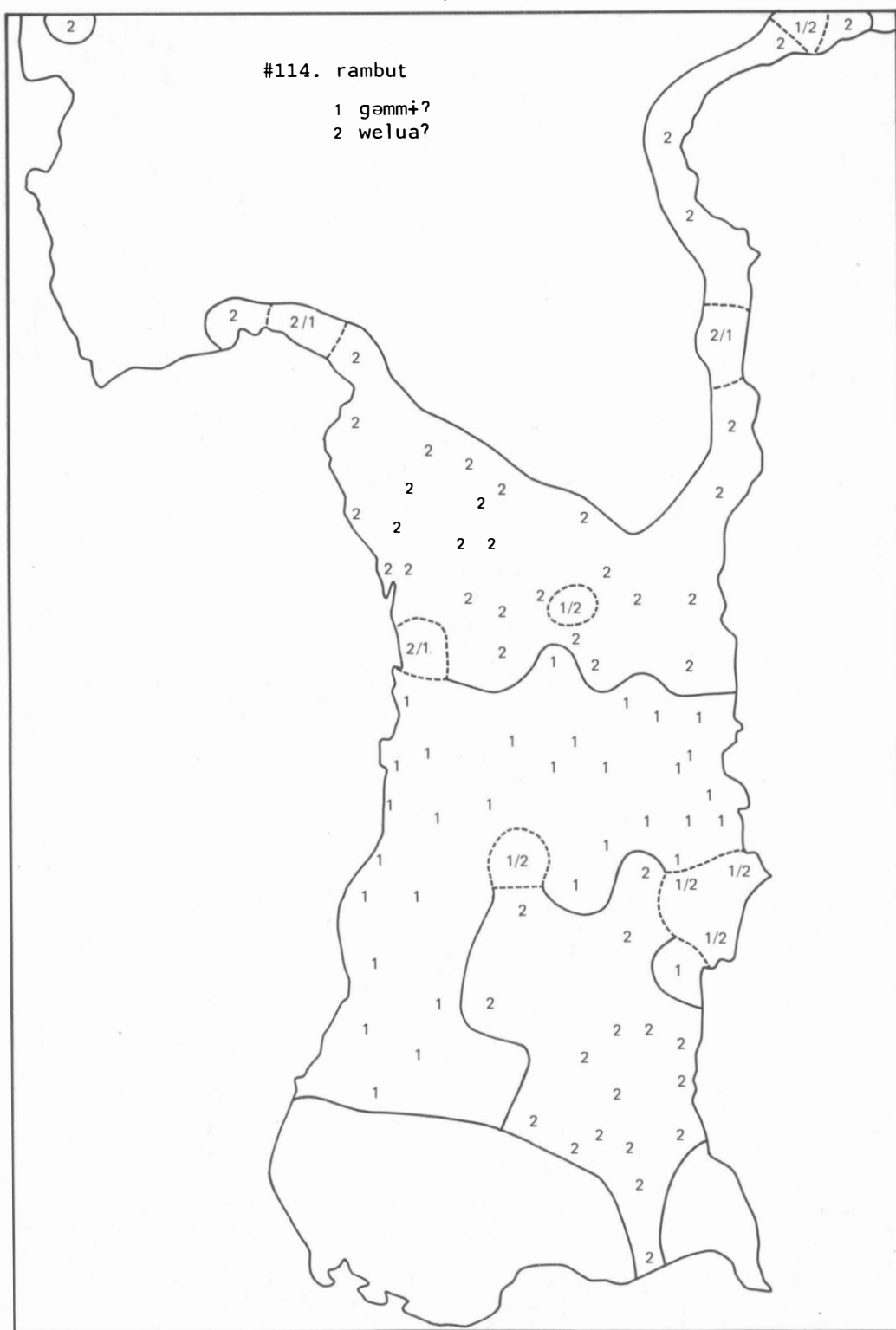
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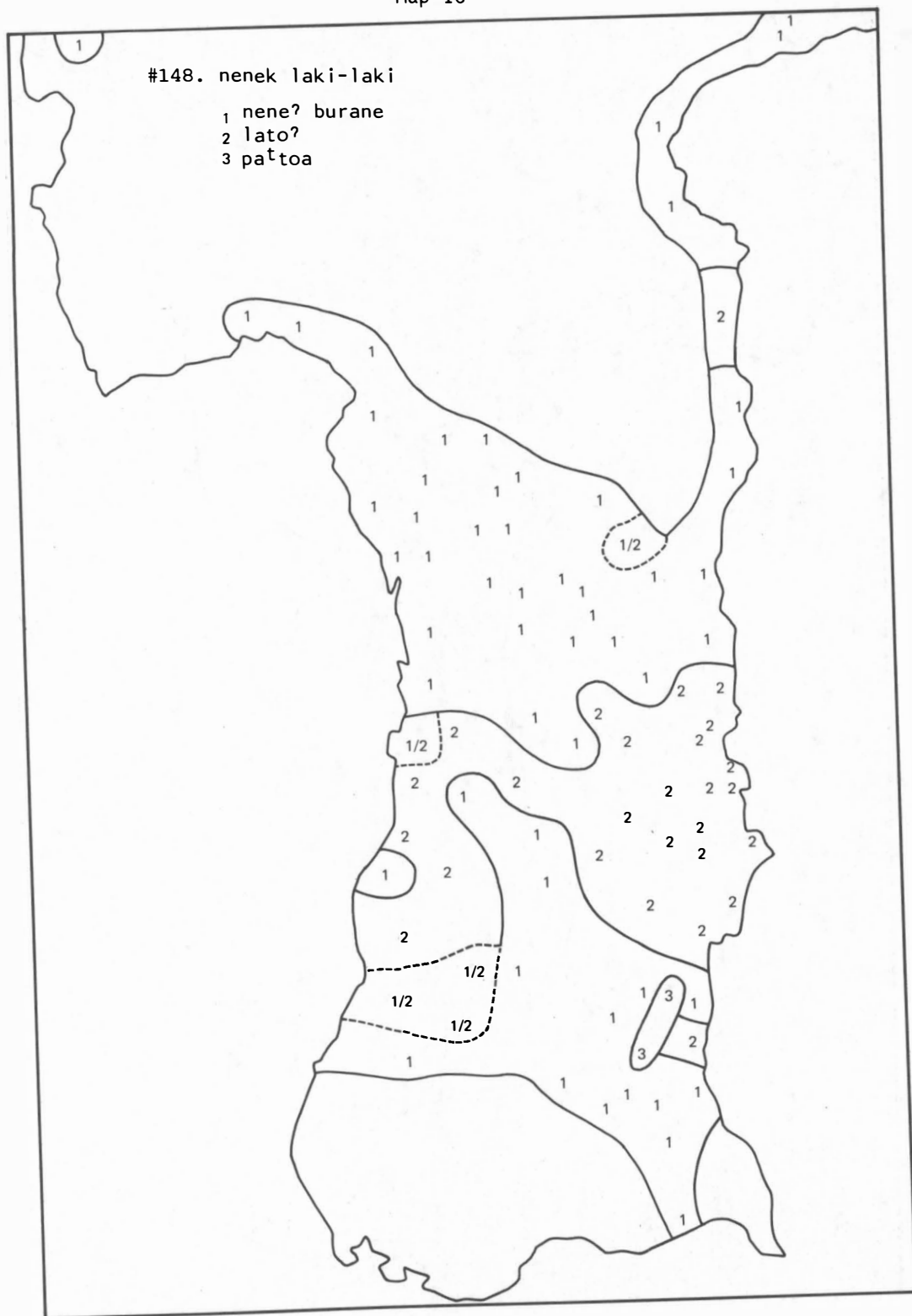
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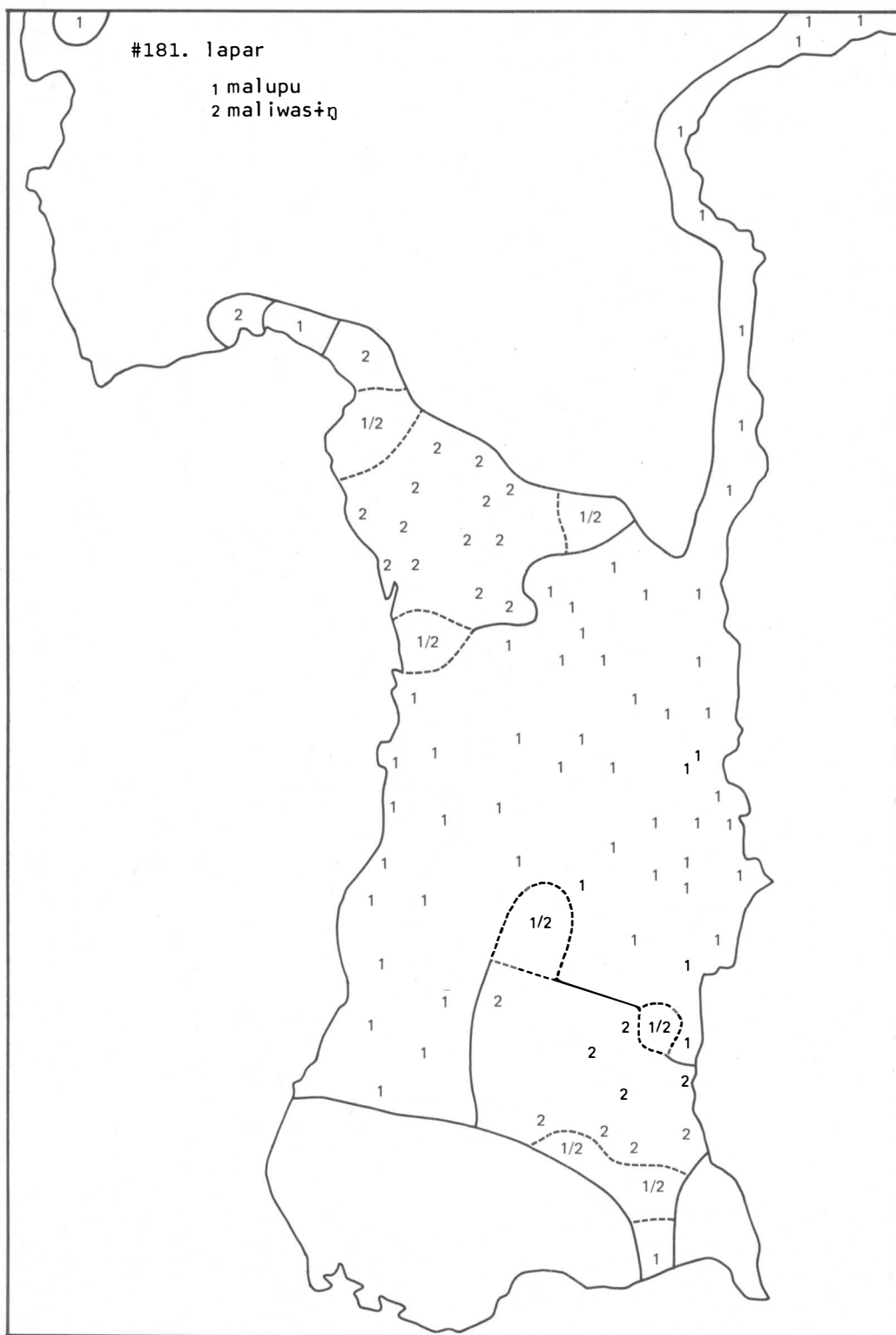
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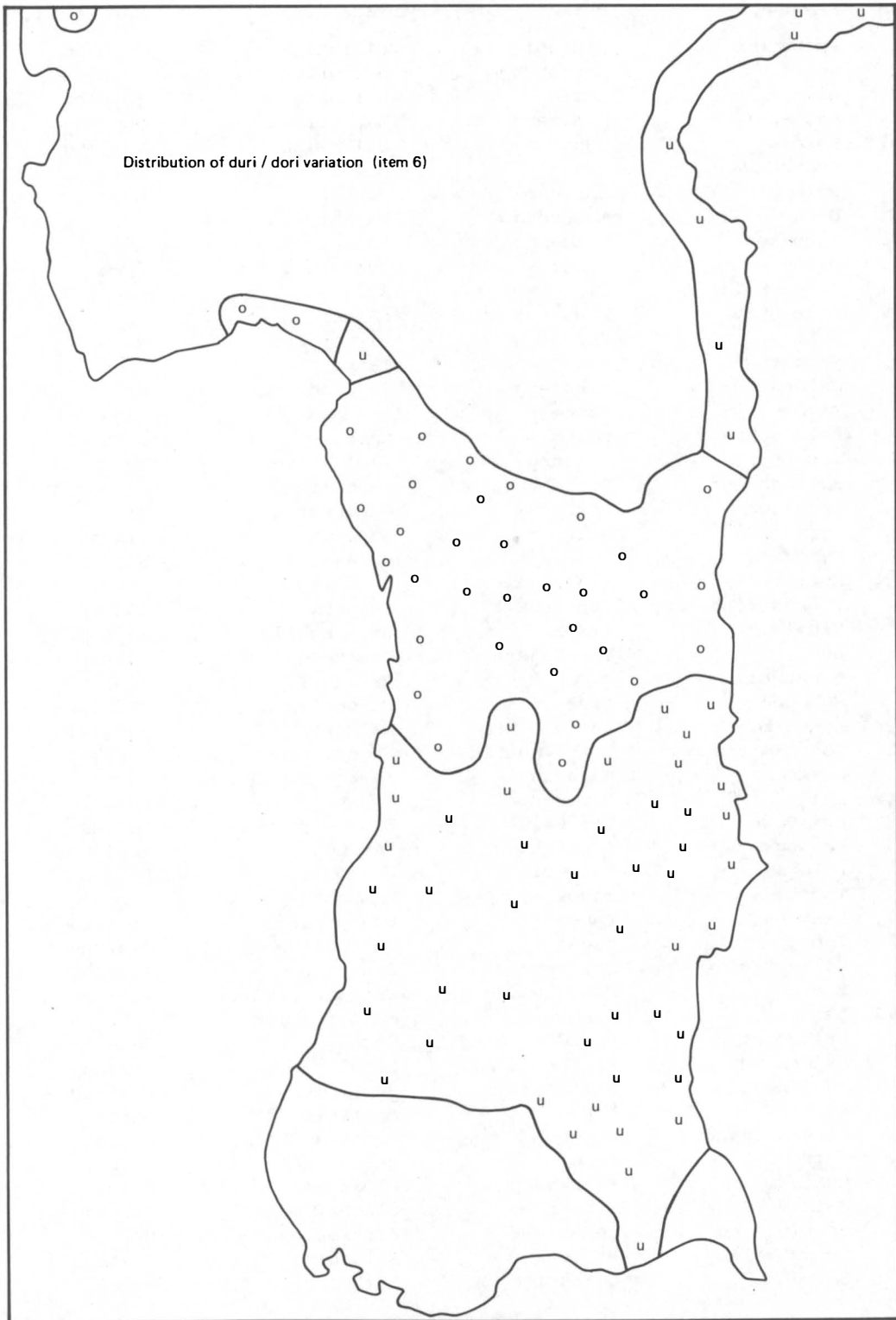
Map 10



Map 11



Map 12



APPENDIX A

WL#	KAMPUNG	DESA	KECAMATAN	KABUPATEN
01.	Apanang	Cangadi	Liliriaja	Soppeng
02.	Kessi	Gattareng	Marioriwawo	Soppeng
03.	Bila	Bila	Lalabata	Soppeng
04.	Batu-batu	Manorang Salo	Marioriawa	Soppeng
05.	Marosa	Ujung	Lilirilau	Soppeng
06.	Amassangan	Pau	Malangke	Luwu
07.	Palopo	Sabbamparu	Wara	Luwu
08.	Ussu	Manurung	Malili	Luwu
09.	Bone-bone	Bone-bone	Bone-bone	Luwu
10.	Olang	Bakti	Bua Ponrang	Luwu
11.	Cimpo Selatan	Cimpo	Suli	Luwu
12.	Bone Pute	Bone Pute	Larompong	Luwu
13.	Kera	Kera	Pitumpanua	Wajo
14.	Sengkang	Siengkang	Tempe	Wajo
15.	Jalang	Akkajeng	Sajoanging	Wajo
16.	Pammana	Pammana	Pammana	Wajo
17.	Kota Baru	Sompe	Sabbangparu	Wajo
18.	Tancung	Tancung	Tanasitolo	Wajo
19.	Bottodongga	Bottobenteng	Majauleng	Wajo
20.	Anabanua	Anabanua	Maniangpajo	Wajo
21.	Dua	Bila	Duapitue	Sidrap
22.	Menge	Belawa	Belawa	Wajo
23.	Mario	Rijangpanua	Pancarijang	Sidrap
24.	Tonronge Lautang	Tonronge	Baranti	Sidrap
25.	Uluale	Arawa	Wattangpalu	Sidrap
26.	Dua	Pangkajene	Maritengae	Sidrap
27.	Amparita	Amparita	Tellu Limpoe	Sidrap
28.	Sukeppe	Lise	Panca Lautang	Sidrap
29.	Bonto-bonto	Bonto-bonto	Ma'rang	Pangkep
30.	Bonto-mattene	Bonto-mattene	Segeeri-mandalle	Pangkep
31.	Pekkae	Lalolang	Tanete Rilau	Barru
32.	Ralla	Lompo Riaja	Tanete Riaja	Barru
33.	Ugi Baru	Ugi Baru	Wonomulyo	Polmas
34.	Pasangkayu	Pasangkayu	Pasangkayu	Mamuju
35.	Polewali	Polewali	Polewali	Polmas
36.	Tuppu	Tadokkong	Lembang	Pinrang
37.	Pekkabata	Lampa	Duampanua	Pinrang
38.	Teppo	Teppo	Patampanua	Pinrang
39.	Malimpung	Malimpung	Patampanua	Pinrang
40.	Rubae	Macorawalie	Wattang Sawitto	Pinrang
41.	Langnga	Langnga	Mattirosompe	Pinrang
42.	Bulusogae	Lapadde	Ujung	Pare-pare
43.	Majennang	Wattang Suppa	Suppa	Pinrang
44.	Kariango	Alitta	Mattirobulu	Pinrang
45.	Lanrae	Nepo	Mallusetasi	Barru
46.	Lapasu/Buludua	Balusu	Soppeng Riaja	Barru
47.	Tompo	Tompo	Barru	Barru
48.	Bontowo	Labakkang	Labakkang	Pangkep
49.	Salo Metie	Tabo-tabo	Bungoro	Pangkep
50.	Bantimurung	Jenetaesa	Bantimurung	Maros
51.	Tompo Balang	Balleanging	Balocci	Pangkep
52.	Camba	Cempaniga	Camba	Maros

WL#	KAMPUNG	DESA	KECAMATAN	KABUPATEN
53.	Realolo	Samaenre	Camba	Maros
54.	Palakka	Bulutempe	Palakka	Bone
55.	Pekae	Kading	Awangpone	Bone
56.	Polejiwa	Cabbeng	Dua Boccoe	Bone
57.	Tokaseng	Otting	Tellusiattinge	Bone
58.	Pattirobajo	Cinnong	Sibulue	Bone
59.	Benteng	Bajoe	Tanete Riattang	Bone
60.	Bakke	Wollangi	Barebbo	Bone
61.	Taccipi	Ulaweng Cinnong	Ulaweng	Bone
62.	Galung Boko	Kabba	Pangkajene	Pangkep
63.	Kassi	Pettuadade	Maros Baru	Maros
64.	Leppangeng	Patangkai	Lappariaja	Bone
65.	Tujue	Gaya Baru	Lamuru	Bone
66.	Watampeneki	Peneki	Takkalalla	Wajo
67.	Pompanua	Pompanua	Ajangale	Bone
68.	Pallime	Pallime	Cenrana	Bone
69.	Pacubbe	Pacubbe	Cenrana	Bone
70.	Camming	Ceppaga	Libureng	Bone
71.	Koppe	Liliriaawang	Lappariaja	Bone
72.	Maccope	Tassipi	Ajangale	Bone
73.	Lonrong	Pattimpa	Ponre	Bone
74.	Barangmamase	Lompu	Cina	Bone
75.	Kadai	Talluboccoe	Mare	Bone
76.	Bulubulu	Bulubulu	Tonra	Bone
77.	Lappa	Lappa	Sinjai Utara	Sinjai
78.	Pammusureng	Pammusureng	Bontocani	Bone
79.	Palattae	Balle	Kahu	Bone
80.	Tana Lappa	Gattareng	Salomekko	Bone
81.	Lahua	Tarasu	Kajuara	Bone
82.	Bulupoddo	Lamatiriattang	Perw Sinjai Utara	Sinjai
83.	Bulukumba	Terang-terang	Ujung Bulu	Bulukumba
84.	Tanete	Tanete	Bulukumpa	Bulukumba
85.	Jennae	Pasir Putih	Perw Sinjai Barat	Sinjai
86.	Bikeru	Sangiasseri	Sinjai Selatan	Sinjai
87.	Takkalalla	Sanjai	Sinjai Timur	Sinjai
88.	Manimpahoi	Saotengnga	Sinjai Tengah	Sinjai
89.	Manipi	Tassililu	Sinjai Barat	Sinjai
90.	Makkarae	Tenrigangkae	Mandai	Maros

APPENDIX B: Sample wordbook page

barat, west

1	2	3	4
1. oʃa ⁱ ʔ	7. baʃi ^ʔ	9. maniyaŋ	23. wa ^t taŋ
2. oʃaeʔ	8. baʃaʔ		24. iwattaŋ
3. oʃəi ^ʔ	10. baʃaʔ		25. wattaŋ
4. oʃae	34. ba ^ʔ i ^ʔ		26. iwa ^t taŋ
5. oʃaeʔ			27.
6. ora ⁱ ʔ			28.
11.			33. iwattaŋ
12.			35. wa ^t taŋ
13. uʃa ⁱ ʔ			36.
14. ora ⁱ ʔ			37.
15.			38.
16.		89.	39. iwa ^t taŋ
17.		88.	40.
18.		87.	41.
19.		86.	42.
20.		85.+	43.
21.		84. diaja	44. iwattaŋ
22.		83. riaja	
29.		82.	
30.		81. diaja	
45.		80.	
46.		79. riaja	
48.		78.	
49.		77.	
50. ara ⁱ ʔ		76.	
51. ora ⁱ ʔ		75. diaja	
52. ara ⁱ ʔ		74. diaja ^h	
54. ora ⁱ ʔ		73. diajaʔ	
55.+		70.	
56.+		65.	
57.		64. riaja	
58.+		61. diaja ^h	
62. ara ⁱ ʔ		60.	
63. ora ⁱ ʔ		59.	
66.	90. ara ⁱ ʔ	58.+ riaja	
67.	85.+ hura ⁱ ʔ	56.+	47. ila ^u ʔ
68.	72.	55.+	32. rila ^u ʔ
69.	71. ora ⁱ ʔ	53. diaja	31. ila ^u ʔ
		6	5