

**How do you slice the pie?
Ways of looking at the Kaili language
area of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia**

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ABSTRACT

The Kaili language area of Central Sulawesi comprises several speech varieties which are more or less closely related to each other, and which various researchers have parceled into from one to up to four or more languages. Beginning with Adriani's 1898 overview of the languages of Central Celebes, through the 2009 edition of the *Ethnologue*, this armchair study compares and contrasts the differing views which researchers have taken toward the classification of Kaili languages, which has sometimes included the related Kulawi (Moma) language.

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VERSION HISTORY

Version 1 [24 December 2010]

Version 2 [27 June 2014] In version 1 it was incorrectly stated that the *Ethnologue* listed Tado as a dialect of Da'a Kaili. The present version corrects that error and also updates certain conventions regarding how language names are cited.

How do you slice the pie? Ways of looking at the Kaili language area of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia

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1 Introduction

Kaili is spoken in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia. In terms of both size and prestige, Kaili must be considered one of the principal indigenous languages of the province. Present estimates place the number of Kaili at around four hundred thousand speakers.

In many ways, the heartland of the Kaili area is the broad Palu River valley. From its origin at the confluence of the Miu and Gumbasa rivers, this relatively short watercourse flows almost due north until emptying into the Palu Bay. At its mouth lies the port city of the same name, which has served as the provincial capital since the formation of Central Sulawesi Province in 1964. Kaili is also spoken in the mountains which rise on both sides of this valley, including in the adjacent Palolo valley (Gumbasa watershed), and in

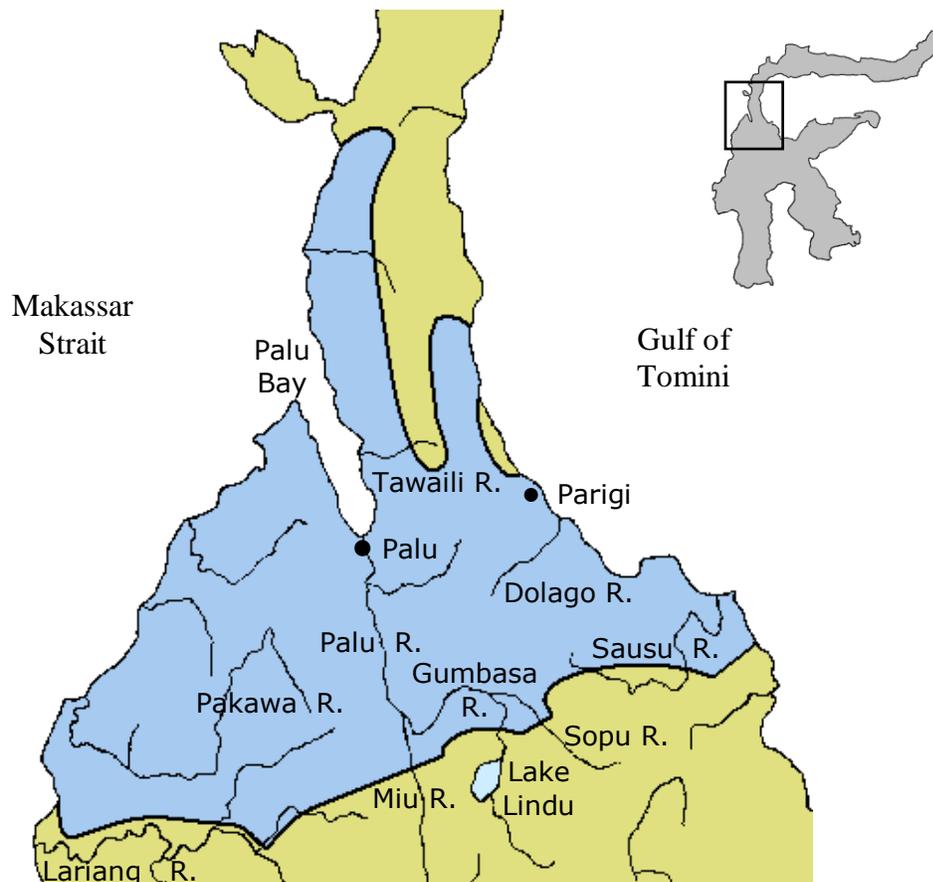


Figure 1. Location of the Kaili language area (blue) in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia

coastal stretches both east and west. In fact Adriani and Kruyt (1914:350) noted that Kaili, particularly the Ledo variety, served as a trade language in coastal areas along the Makassar Strait as far north as the Buol language area, and along the Gulf of Tomini as far north as the Gorontalo language area.

Any linguistically minded traveler who would cross this region would soon discover that Kaili is spoken in several local flavors or varieties. Because these varieties are more or less closely related to each other, researchers have differed as to how many Kaili languages and dialects should be recognized.

2 Kaili isolects

In order to reach for a neutral term which is unbiased toward ‘language’ or ‘dialect,’ in this paper I use the term ‘isolect’ to refer to any local variety of Kaili, whether others have granted that variety language, dialect or merely subdialect status. Specifically, in the view adopted here an isolect is any lowest-level linguistic group within Kaili which no one has found need to subdivide further. Thus, one could also say that these isolects are the basic building blocks, the agreed-upon starting point, upon which a classification of Kaili is to be constructed—and in fact have been variously constructed.

Defined in this manner, we must recognize at least sixteen Kaili isolects. Gradually, these isolects became known to and were described by the early Dutch missionaries, administrators and scholars who explored this region, beginning with Adriani (1898). Certainly by 1938, they could all—with only a single exception—be found on the maps which accompanied J. Kruyt’s voluminous *De West-Toradjas op Midden-Celebes*.

The lone exception is the so-called Kori or Raio isolect, spoken in two interior villages in Sindue District, in the northwest of the Kaili region. This isolect was unrecognized until only about twenty-five years ago. It was first reported by Wumbu, et al. (1986:20), and confirmed as Kaili by McKenzie (1991:26).

Indeed, the possibility exists that upon further research yet another Kaili isolect may need to be recognized—Nyedu. As S. J. Esser wrote in a 1933 report:

Mr. Veenbaas, the local candidate-comptroller in Tawaili, has uncovered a language called Nyedu, which has nearly died out, and which shall perhaps turn out to be a dialect of Tawaili. Owing to the presence of a Nyedu speaker in the local jail, I am supplied with a short word list of this language. (Esser, cited in Noorduyt 1963:339) (translation mine)

Despite predictions of its demise, fifty years later Wumbu et al. (1986:20) reported two hundred Nyedu speakers in Sindue District. Unfortunately, solid language data on Nyedu has yet to become available.¹

¹ Similarly, Wumbu et al. (1986) also report a ‘Talau’ language spoken by 400 people in Sindue district, and a ‘Tombatu’ language spoken by 1550 people in Parigi district, again without providing language data.

Finally, the reader should be aware from the outset that every Kaili isolect has at least two names. One name is derived from the word for ‘no’ in that isolect. The other name is usually a geographic term, for example the name of a principal village, or a region, or a river where that isolect is spoken (in a few cases the name appears to be a preferred self-designation, which does not have a geographical denotation). To give an example, in a particular stretch of coastline on the east side of the Palu Bay, there is a Kaili isolect where the speakers use *rai* as their word for ‘no.’ Consequently this isolect is known as Rai or Kaili-Rai.² Because the general region where people use *rai* as negator is called Tawaili (after one of its principal rivers, after the name of a tree abundant at the river’s mouth), this isolect has also been known in the literature as ‘Tawaili.’³ While the practice of adopting a negator as the name for a language or dialect has died out in most parts of Sulawesi—in truth, in many places it probably never caught on, being used only in Dutch academic or administrative circles—it is alive and well in the Kaili area.

As a first step in sorting out Kaili languages and dialects, I present in Figure 2 a list of all the words for ‘no’ which have been used to designate one or another Kaili isolect, along with the other name or names most often used to refer to that isolect. This table represents the entire pie, so to speak. As the reader shall soon see, people have chosen very different ways of dividing it.

negator	other name(s)	negator	other name(s)
<i>ende</i>	ToriBara, Baras	<i>ija</i>	Sigi
<i>tado</i>	To ri Io, Torio, Toriu ^(a)	<i>ado</i>	Sibalaya
<i>inde</i>	To Kanggone, Banja	<i>edo</i>	Sidondo
<i>da’a</i>	Dombu, To Dombu	<i>taa</i>	Palolo
<i>unde</i>	Loli, Lole	<i>rai</i>	Tawaili, Tawaili-Sindue ^(c)
<i>ndepuu</i>	Ganti	<i>raio</i>	Kori
<i>ledo</i>	Palu, Palu and Dolo ^(b)	<i>tara</i>	Parigi, Pahigi, Topotara ^(d)
<i>doi</i>	Mamboro, Kayu Malue	<i>ta’a</i>	Sausu, Dolago-Sausu ^(e)

(a) Not to be confused with the Lindu people of Central Sulawesi, who coincidentally employ the negator *tado*.

(b) Usually Palu when referring to the speech variety, Palu and Dolo when referring to districts where it is spoken.

(c) As emerges in § 3.2, within Tawaili (*rai*), Adriani and Kruyt (1914:5) in fact distinguish *raii*, a northern dialect, from the principal dialect which they designate as *torai*.

(d) Topotara means ‘the people who say/use *tara*.’ Kruyt (1938) locates the Topotara on the western side, and the Parigi on the eastern side, of the mountain divide which separates the Palu Bay from the Gulf of Tomini.

(e) Within Sausu (*ta’a*), Adriani and Kruyt (1914:351) distinguish between Sausu proper (*ta’a dolo*) and Dolago (*ta’a doe*), where *dolo* and *doe* are the respective words for ‘go, depart’ (Adriani 1898:557).

Figure 2. Kaili isolects identified by negator and by other names

² In the Indonesian context. In English contexts the name is better cited as Rai Kaili.

³ But never, for some reason, as Kaili-Tawaili.

3 Kaili classifications, past and present

In the following subsections, I cover nine different classification schemes which have been proposed for the Kaili language area. They are arranged in chronological order from when they first appeared in print. In order to make better sense of these discussions, the reader may wish to keep a finger on Figure 11 ahead, which is a chart summarizing and contrasting the various classification schemes.

3.1 Adriani (1898)

In his 1898 article, “Overzicht over de Talen van Midden Celebes” (Overview of the Languages of Central Celebes), Adriani listed twenty-one languages, of which eleven (numbers 8 through 18) fell within his Group II, the Parigi-Kaili languages. I have intentionally arranged these languages into three columns, corresponding to the three subdivisions (*onderdeelen*) which Adriani himself recognized (1898:579).

8. Baria	11. Tawaeli ⁴	16. Kulawi
9. Sausu	12. Loli	17. Pobatua ⁵
10. Parigi	13. Palu	18. Lindu
	14. Sigi	
	15. Pakuli	
Parigi	Lower Kaili	Upper Kaili

Leaving aside Baria,⁶ it should be noted that the *first two columns*—not the last two columns—correspond to what most people today would recognize as ‘Kaili.’ Adriani based his subdivisions on sound correspondences and other factors, an adequate treatment of which lies beyond the scope of this work.⁷ Because of the preliminary nature of Adriani’s report, very little dialect information is given, although Adriani indicated that his fifteenth language, Pakuli, divided into 15a *ado*, and 15b *edo*—that is to say, two varieties, one in which *ado* is the word for ‘no,’ and another in which *edo* is the word for ‘no.’

⁴ Also spelled Tawaili. According to Adriani and Kruyt (1914:8, footnote 1), although Tawaeli often appeared on maps of that day, it is in fact a Bugis corruption of correct Tawaili.

⁵ Pobatua (= Powatua = Winatu) is an Uma dialect—apparently the only one then known to Adriani—spoken in the area of Kulawi and Lindu.

⁶ Baria is better known today as Sedoa. With improved data, it is clear that this language is closely related to Kulawi and Lindu (see e.g. Adriani and Esser 1939:viii). In this early work, Adriani viewed Baria (Sedoa) as transitional between the Poso-Tojo languages (Pamona) and the Parigi-Kaili languages (Adriani 1898:555), doubtless in part owing to the influence which Pamona has had upon the wordstock of Sedoa.

⁷ For the record, sound changes considered by Adriani which embrace more than one language include the shift of /ɕ/ > /d/, /ntʃ/ > /nɕ/, /ɲ/ > /n/, and /s/ > /h/; voicing of /ŋk/ > /ŋg/; retroflexed articulation of the lateral phoneme; and loss of glottal stop and /y/. Other considerations included prefixes, pronominal clitics, shape of the perfective marker (whether *-mo* or *-mi*), and shape of the preposition (whether *ri* or *i*). In concert these changes mostly present a conflicting picture, suggesting that many changes spread areally. Some changes, such as /s/ > /h/, may have been innovated on separate occasions in different areas.

3.2 Adriani and Kruyt (1914)

Sixteen years later, Adriani and Kruyt (1914) had renamed this entire set of languages the West Toraja Group. Essentially the same languages are recognized in the Kaili area, with only one addition: Ganti (also Tawaeli was now correctly spelled Tawaili,⁸ and Loli is spelled Lole). Adriani's 1898 subdivisions (see the preceding section), however, were not carried over into this new work. The authors also give greater information in regard both to dialects as well as to the negative words in these languages and dialects. I quote at length the descriptions which accompanied Adriani's language map of the Celebes (Adriani and Kruyt 1914:350–351). The translation from the Dutch is my own. I have also bolded the names of languages which today would be considered 'Kaili.'

D. West Toraja Group

- 1. Tawaili** (Torai) spoken on the neck of the northern peninsula of Celebes, on both coasts. The chief dialect (*torai*) is indicated by 1, the subdialect (*raili*) with 1a. See page 5. Number of speakers: 7000.
- 2. Palu** (Ledo) the most widespread of the West Torajan languages, also rightly called Kaili. There are, however, still other languages spoken in Kaili, so that we find this designation to be less clear. The dialect of Mamboro (*doi*) is indicated by 2a. Number of speakers: 1800. Outside its own area, Palu is used as a trade language on the coast of the Strait of Makassar to the area of Buol, on the Tomini Bay to the area of Gorontalo. See further pages 5, 6. Number of speakers: 25000.
- 3 Lole** (Unde) a small language, on the west coast of the Palu Bay. See pages 6, 7. Number of speakers: 2000.
- 4. Ganti** (Ndepuu) a small language, whose area lies to the west of Lole. Number of speakers: 1000.
- 5. Sigi** (Ija) spoken on the west bank of the Palu River, in the drainage area of the Wuno. See page 7. Number of speakers: 2000.
- 6. Pakuli** (Ado) spoken in Pakuli, Sibalaya and Sidondo. The Sidondo dialect (*edo*) is indicated by 6a. See further page 7. Number of speakers: 2000.
7. Lindu (Tado) spoken on the banks of Lake Lindu. See further pages 7, 8. Number of speakers: 600.
8. Kulawi (Moma) spoken by the inhabitants of the Kulawi region. See page 8. Number of speakers: 3000.
9. Pipikoro (Uma) spoken in the regions Gimpu, Tolee, Kantewu, Banasu and Tobaku. We have named this language Pipikoro, because To Pipikoro is an adequate cover name for these people. See pages 8, 9, 112–116. Number of speakers: 4500.

⁸ Not to be confused with Tawailia or Tawaelia, a region north of Napu and also used as a name for the Sedoa language.

10. Parigi (Tara). Concerning this language, see page 10 and pages 95–102. Number of speakers: 6000.

11. Sausu (Ta'a) This language falls into two dialects: the Sausu (*ta'a dolo*) indicated by 11, and the Dolago (*ta'a doe*), indicated by 11a. Number of speakers: 1000.

12. Tawaelia (Baria) spoken in the Tawaelia region to the north of Napu, and in a small settlement at the mouth of the Tambarana River. See pages 10, 108–112. Number of speakers: 300.

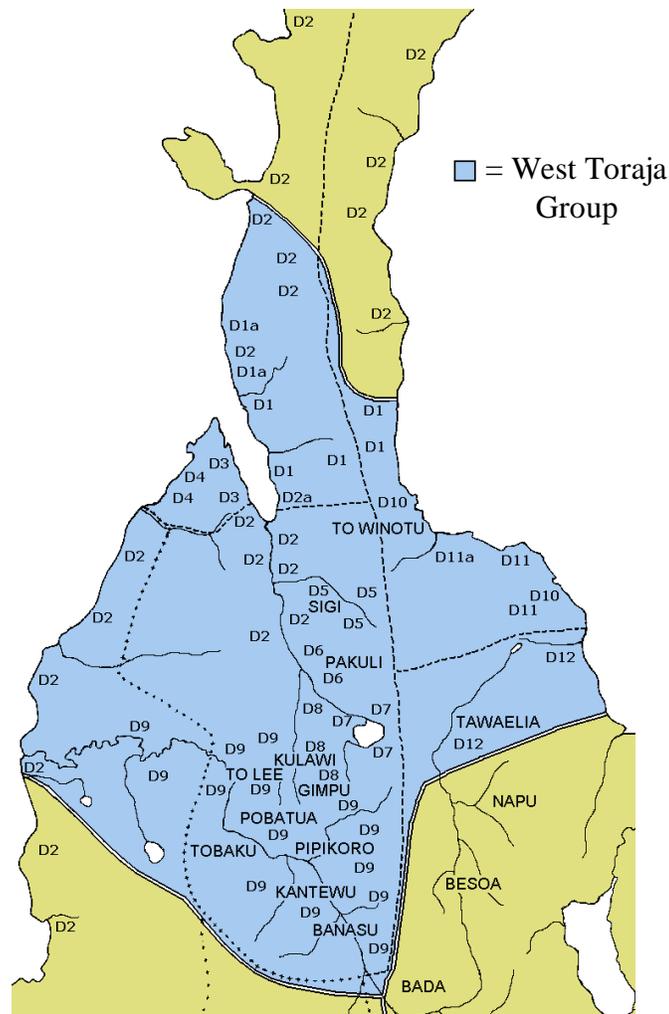


Figure 3. Location of languages in Adriani and Kruyt's (1914) West Toraja Group⁹

⁹ A high-quality scan of Adriani's original color map can be viewed online at the website of the Royal Tropical Institute. Visit <http://www.kit.nl/> and follow the link Information Services > Dutch Colonial Maps.

3.3 Kruyt (1938) ‘linguistic classification’

In Adriani and Kruyt’s prior work (1914), their list of West Toraja peoples had more the feel of a simple enumeration: this is the group, and these are the languages which belong to this group. In his new, four-volume treatise, Kruyt departs from this ‘flat’ approach and attempts an internal classification of the Kaili people and languages. In fact Kruyt reports two different classification schemes.

The first scheme which I consider was clearly intended to be a linguistic classification. We know this because Kruyt attributed it to his compatriot, S. J. Esser, who studied these languages in his official capacity as language officer (Dutch *taalambtenaar*) for the Celebes. With careful attention to detail, Esser identified fourteen Kaili varieties both by negative term and by geographic location. These he grouped into three divisions as follows (Kruyt 1938:46):

West Kaili

the Ndepuu of Ganti
 the Unde of Loli
 the Inde-Da’a } of the entire Pakawa group
 the Tado
 the Ende of the lower Lariang River

Central Kaili

the Ledo of Palu
 the Doi of Kayu Malue and Towale
 the Ija of Sigi
 the Taa of Palolo
 the Ado of Sibalaya
 the Edo of Sidondo

East Kaili

the Torai of Tawaili
 the Tara of Parigi
 the Ta’a of Dolago-Sausu

According to my knowledge, Esser’s list is nearly complete as far as including all Kaili varieties. However, he is ambivalent about whether his divisions represent languages or dialects. Reading between the lines, it would seem that at least the lowest level divisions (Ndepuu, Unde, etc.) are to be granted only dialect status, despite the fact that they are sometimes termed ‘languages’ (Dutch *talén*). Note the following statement, where comparison is made to the nearby Pamona language with its standard-dialect negator *bare’e*.

There are various words for ‘not,’ but among these people [of the Palu Bay and Palu valley] the indication of a language [Dutch *taal*] using the negator does not have the same meaning as when we speak of the Bare’e language [Dutch *Bare’e-taal*], which unites several dialects within itself. (Kruyt 1938:45) (translation mine).

Noorduyn (1991:76) discusses this classification and concludes that Esser intended even his West, Central and East Kaili groups to be regarded as dialects. Noorduyn reached this conclusion after studying Esser's unpublished quarterly reports (extracts of which have been published in Noorduyn 1963). He also notes that on Esser's language map of Indonesia, published in the *Atlas van Tropisch Nederland* the same year as Kruyt's monograph, Esser listed only a 'Kaili' language without further subdivisions.

Tangentially, note that from the outset Esser treated Inde and Da'a as a single variety, because he had come to the conclusion they did not represent different languages. As he reported, almost wryly, "one can hardly call Da'a and Inde dialects; it is one language with local differences, of which one happens to be the negative" (Esser, quoted in Kruyt 1938:111) (translation mine). In fact, the author went on to say, *inde* gave every indication of being the old negator, which was in process of being replaced by the newer (and presumably more emphatic) negator *da'a*, which originated in the northern (Dombu) area and had since been diffusing outward geographically. SIL linguist Donald Barr, who has researched the language situation in this area, confirms the subdialect status of Inde, noting that Inde and Da'a are upwards of 98% lexically similar (Donald Barr 2002:pers.comm.).

3.4 Kruyt (1938) 'anthropological classification'

Leaving Esser's classification for the time being, I must also mention Kruyt's own classification scheme, if for no other reason than that he employs it so extensively throughout his work (e.g. in the presentation of material, and the organization of subchapters within chapters). This classification is based on the notion of 'rings' or 'circles' (Dutch *kringen*), and is best considered an anthropological classification. As Kruyt himself explained:

Now and then the differences in customs and practices of the tribes are too striking among themselves to allow us to treat the entire West Toraja Group as a homogeneous people. Through studying this group, I feel the need for a division into rings [Dutch *kringen*], in which people live, who stand mutually closer to each other than with the people of another ring. Thus I draw the following rings: the Kaili ring, the Sigi ring, the Pakawa ring, the Kulawi ring, the Koro ring ... (Kruyt 1938:12) (translation mine).

The peoples included in the first three rings mentioned are as follows (Kruyt 1938:13):

the Kaili group, comprising the regions and inhabitants of Banawa, Tawaili, Palu, Dolo, Topotara, Parigi and Sausu

the Sigi group, comprising the regions and inhabitants of Sigi, Palolo, Biromaru, Raranggonau, Bangga, Pakuli, Sibalaya and Sidondo

the Pakawa group, to which belong the To Pakawa, the To Dombu, the To Kanggone and the To ri Io

A shorthand way of thinking about these groups is to say that Kruyt's first group comprises the 'lowlanders,' that is, all the Kaili people living along the coast and in the low-lying, broad Palu valley. The Sigi are 'highlanders' living to the east of the Palu River, while the Pakawa are 'highlanders' living in the mountains west of the Palu River. As Kruyt demonstrates throughout his volumes, there are numerous customs, traditions and other cultural factors which support these groupings.

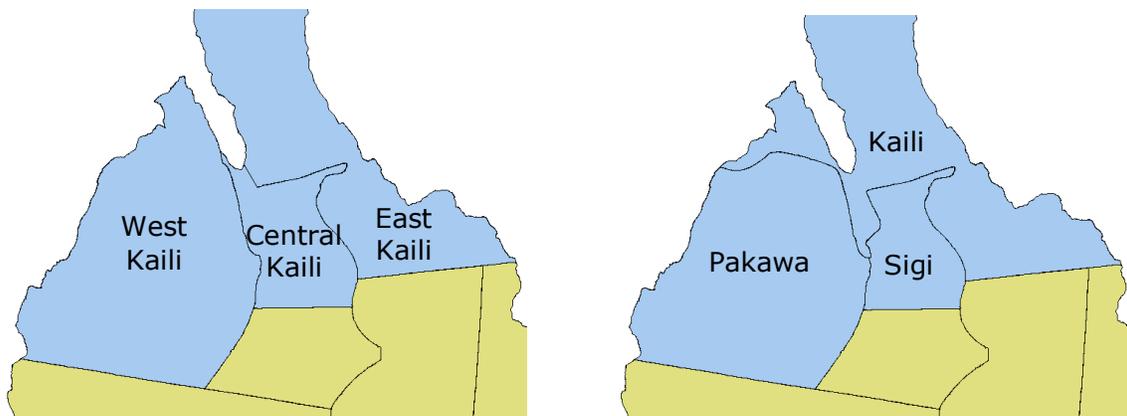


Figure 4. Linguistic (left) and anthropological (right) classifications of the Kaili area (Kruyt 1938).¹⁰

3.5 Wumbu et al. (1973)

The authors of *Kekerabatan Bahasa-Bahasa di Sulawesi Tengah* (Language Relationships in Central Sulawesi) recognize only one language in the Kaili area, with dialects as follow (Wumbu, et al. 1973:13). In order to facilitate the comparison of their groupings with those of other researchers, I have also looked up the response for 'no' in the accompanying wordlists, and have listed this term in parentheses following the dialect name.

Banava (*unde*)
 Tavaeli-Sindue (*rai*)
 Pekava (*da'a*)
 Palu (*ledo*)
 Sigi (*inja*)
 Kulavi-Lindu (*moma*)
 Parigi (*tara*)

In reaching their conclusions, these authors followed the standard that if two speech varieties are mutually intelligible, then they belong to the same language. Apparently they did not test their conclusions but rather relied on a general consensus among the

¹⁰ High-quality scans of Kruyt's original color maps can be viewed online at the website of the Royal Tropical Institute. Visit <http://www.kit.nl/> and follow the link Information Services > Dutch Colonial Maps.

people whom they talked to. Based on this approach, even Kulawi and Lindu were considered a dialect of Kaili. Subdialects are not discussed.

Figure 5 shows the locations which these authors assigned to their Kaili dialects. Given that there are no empty spaces on their map, we may presume that they intended their classification to completely cover the Kaili area.

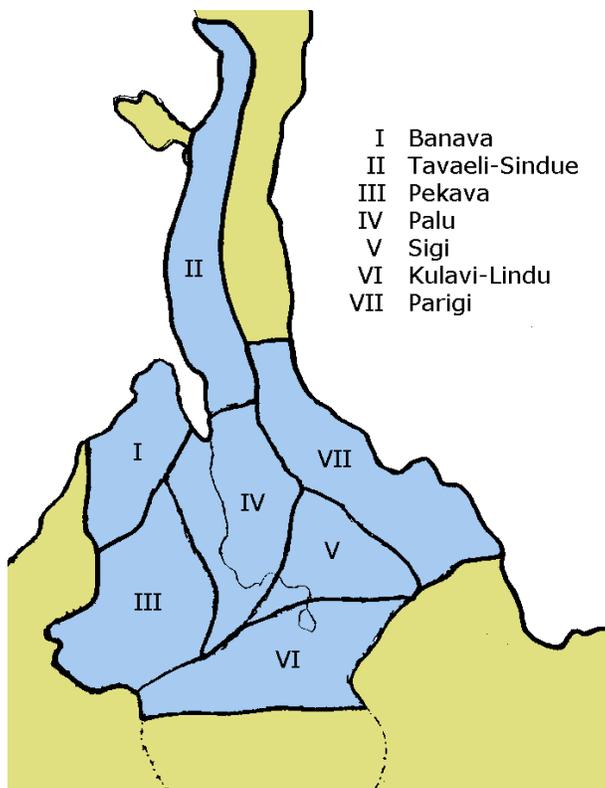


Figure 5. Kaili dialects following Wumbu et al. (1973:63)

3.6 Barr and Barr (1979)

In their 1979 report, *Languages of Central Sulawesi*, the Barrs took the word lists which had previously been collected by Indra Wumbu and his colleagues and performed a lexicostatistical analysis on them. I have extracted the relevant portion of their similarity matrix (Barr and Barr 1979:26) and present it below (in this figure, rows have been permuted from the original).

Banava						
88	Pekava					
86	90	Palu				
87	87	91	Tawaili-Sindue			
80	83	86	91	Parigi		
86	89	90	87	83	Sigi	
82	85	86	84	82	87	Kulawi

Figure 6. Barr and Barr's (1979) lexical similarity scores for Kaili (including Kulawi)

Because all the values are above eighty percent lexically similar—these authors used eighty percent as a threshold value, above which two speech varieties can be considered a single language—the Barrs also came to the conclusion that Kaili is a single language with seven dialects.¹¹ In fact the Barrs made only one modification to Wumbu et al.'s conclusions. Based on the opinions of Kulawi people with whom they spoke, they chose to regard Lindu as a separate language (Barr and Barr 1979:33). No word list data for Lindu was collected.

Using these same similarity scores, Figure 7 presents the relationship among these dialects in a maximal spanning tree (Grimes 1995:76).

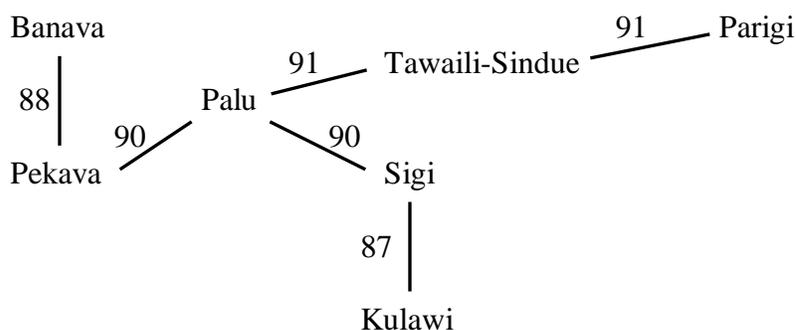


Figure 7. Maximal spanning tree for Kaili dialects (including Kulawi)

A limiting factor of the Barr's survey is that they did not collect any Kaili data in the field themselves, but relied upon material collected by others.

¹¹ Regarding classificatory terms and lexical similarity cutoff points used in SIL Sulawesi surveys, see especially Grimes and Grimes (1987:12-13).

3.7 Sneddon (1983)

In all respects, even down to population estimates, Sneddon follows the classification scheme given by Barr & Barr (1979) for the Kaili area. However, Sneddon turned to Adriani and Kruyt (1914) in order to give subdialectal information. Namely, he lists Ganti and Lole as subdialects of the Banawa dialect, Dolago and Sausu as subdialects of the Parigi dialect, and Pakuli as a subdialect of the Sigi dialect. Dialect boundaries closely match those given in Barr and Barr (1979), except that Sneddon shows the Banawa dialect area extending far to the south along the coast of the Makassar Strait. A subsequent survey of the Mamuju Regency showed this to be incorrect. This area in fact is only sparsely inhabited by a mixture of Kaili peoples (Da'a/Inde, Tado, Baras,

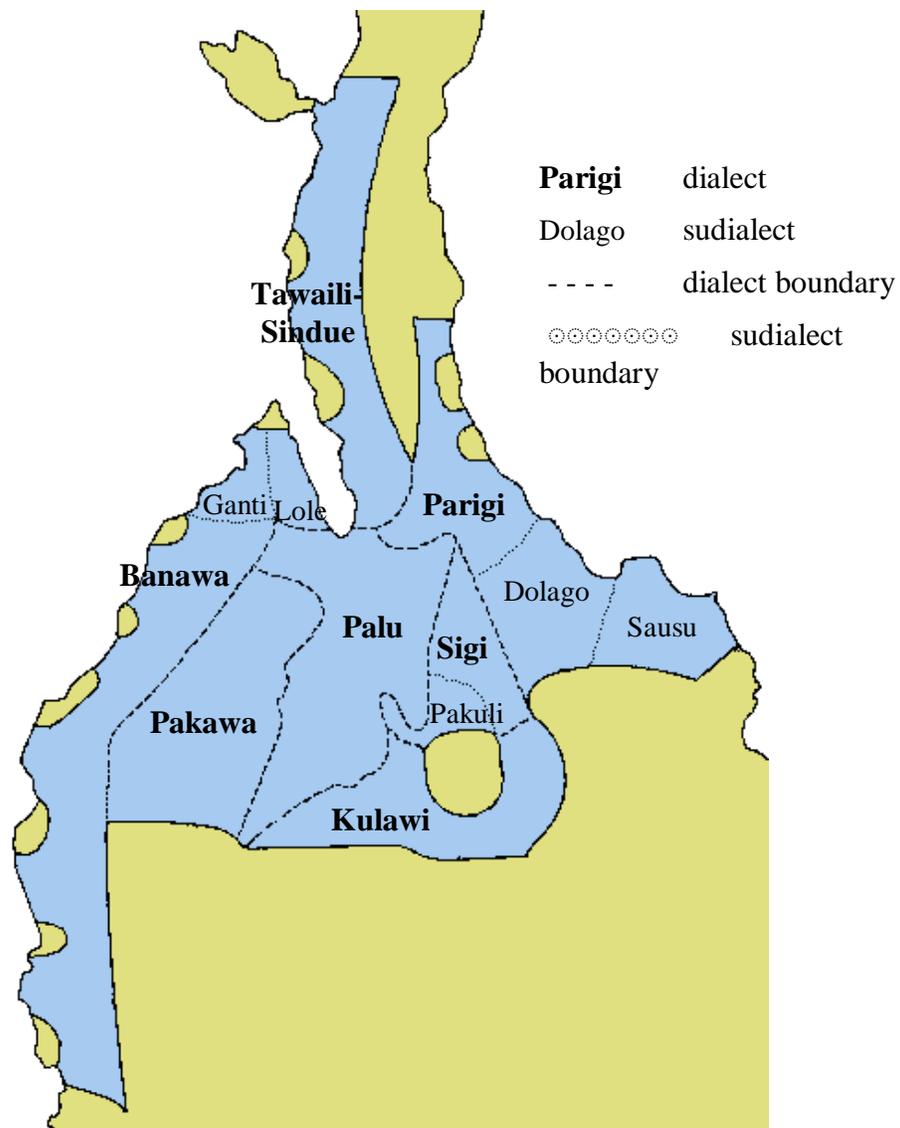


Figure 8. Kaili dialects and subdialects following Sneddon (1983)

Doi, also Ledo, Unde and Rai dialects), Bada, Sarudu (closely related to Uma), Topoiyo, Budong-budong (closely related to Seko), and recent immigrants (Valkama 1987:106–107).

3.8 Wumbu, et al. (1986)

The focus of Wumbu et al.'s 1986 *Inventarisasi Bahasa Daerah di Propinsi Sulawesi Tengah* (Inventory of Local Languages in Central Sulawesi Province) is (a) to locate those districts where each language is spoken, and by how many people; and (b) to provide a sample 100-item word list for the major languages.¹² Neither dialects of languages, nor how languages relate to each other, is considered.

It remains a curiosity, then, how these researchers decided that there were four languages in the Kaili area: the 'Kaili' language as had been defined previously, two other languages which both go by the name of 'Taa,' and a fourth language named 'Kori,' spoken in Sindue District. One gets the impression that these researchers already had in mind an inventory of languages spoken in Central Sulawesi, and at the last minute added several small 'new' languages, without properly investigating how they related to their established languages.

Word lists are not provided for their two 'Taa' languages or their 'Kori' language. However, based on the locations given for these languages, it seems safe to make the following equations. These authors' first 'Taa' (their language no. 6) is an egregious conflation of the Kaili isolect which Adriani and Kruyt identified as Sausu (*ta'a*) with areas in Pamona which use *taa* as a negator. The second 'Taa' (their language no. 15) is to be equated with Kruyt's Palolo (*taa*). Teasing things apart, I suggest their district-by-district data (Wumbu et al. 1986:8–17) be interpreted as follows:¹³

220 Taa in Sigi-Biromaru	=	Taa dialect of Kaili = Palolo
3100 Taa in Parigi	=	Ta'a dialect of Kaili = Sausu
2115 Taa in Bungku Utara	=	Wana dialect of Pamona
10,056 Taa in Ampana Tete	=	Ampana dialect of Pamona
6340 Taa in Ampana Kota	=	Ampana dialect of Pamona
9000 Taa in Ulubongka	=	Ampana dialect of Pamona
1490 Taa in Una-una	=	Ampana dialect of Pamona
100 Kori in Sindue	=	Raio dialect of Kaili = Kori

3.9 The *Ethnologue* (2009)

In the sixteenth edition of the *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009), the Kaili area is viewed as comprising four languages. However, these divisions do not match any previous

¹² While the word lists presented in Wumbu et al. (1986) consist of 100 items, they are not Swadesh 100 lists. Rather, the lists consist of 100 items drawn somewhat randomly from the Swadesh 200 list, giving greater weight to items at the beginning when ordering the list alphabetically according to English.

¹³ There are slight, unexplained discrepancies between the district-by-district figures reported by Wumbu et al. (1986) on pp. 8–17 and the totals per language reported on pages 18–25 (and also below in Figure 12).

classifications of the Kaili language area. In order to understand how this classification emerged, I begin with a comparison of the *Ethnologue*'s four languages with Esser's West, Central and East Kaili groups (previously discussed § 3.3 above).

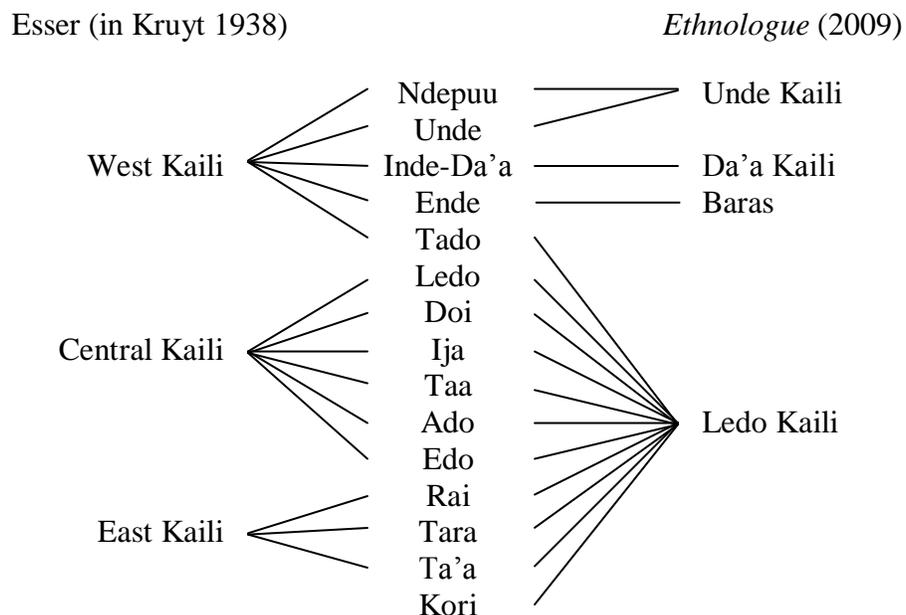


Figure 9. Esser's versus the *Ethnologue*'s classification of Kaili languages

The most striking feature of Figure 9 is that one of Esser's groups, his West Kaili division, corresponds to three languages in the *Ethnologue*, while the *Ethnologue*'s fourth language covers both of Esser's remaining two groups. Here I attempt to elucidate some of the reasoning behind the *Ethnologue*'s classification. The reader should not take my explanation to mean that I endorse this viewpoint.

The first thing to note is that Baras is spoken not in Central Sulawesi but across the border in what is now the province of West Sulawesi (up until 2004, the province of South Sulawesi). Indeed, of all the Kaili isolects, Baras (negator *ende*) and, reportedly, that of the To ri Io (negator *tado*) are the only ones to be spoken primarily outside the province of Central Sulawesi,¹⁴ and doubtless the presence of a provincial boundary played a role in Baras being considered a separate language. Even without word-list data, Chuck and Barbara Grimes in *Languages of South Sulawesi* were willing to grant Baras 'language' status (1987:59). Their decision was based solely on the fact that, preceding them, Baras had also been listed separately as a 'dialek tersebar' by Pelenkahu and others in their *Peta Bahasa Sulawesi Selatan* (Language Map of South Sulawesi) (1974:30). Even when word list data had become available and a lexicostatistical analysis conducted, Baras was still accorded language status, lexical similarity scores not

¹⁴ Valkama writes, "according to our information, this dialect [Tado] is spoken only in desa Pasangkayu" (1987:106). Besides Baras (Ende) and Tado, Valkama also notes that the Da'a/Inde, Unde, Ledo, Doi and Rai dialects are also spoken in the extreme northwestern district (Pasangkayu) of this province.

withstanding. Figure 10 reproduces the relevant portion of the lexical similarity matrix which appears in Valkama (1987:105) (except for the Dombu list, data was collected in South Sulawesi). Note that most similarity scores are above eighty percent, the threshold at which two varieties can be considered to represent the same language.

Salubiro (Baras)			
93	Bambaloka (Baras)		
83	84	Tosonde I (Inde)	
84	85	98	Dombu (Da'a)
78	80	86	88 Kabuyu (Tado)

Figure 10. Lexical similarity scores as presented in Valkama (1987:105)

Had these surveyors wanted, they certainly had ample basis for considering Baras to be a dialect of Inde/Da'a. The 'South Sulawesi heritage' of this language is also to be seen in that fact that to this day it is still named Baras, rather than being called Ende Kaili. The latter would certainly be more in line with how the other Kaili languages have been named.

The splitting off of Unde Kaili (including Ndepuu) from Da'a Kaili is a fairly recent innovation in the *Ethnologue*, having been proposed and adopted circa 2001. This split was made on scant linguistic evidence. As Esser noted (through the pen of his compatriot Kruyt):

According to Esser, Da'a-Inde is most closely related to the neighboring language Unde (Loli). These languages are so closely related that the difference is not more than the difference of a dialect. Also the language Ndepuu of Ganti is related to Unde, and therefore we can regard these three languages as one. (Kruyt 1938:112) (translation mine)

Rather, the divide is sociolinguistic in nature. Compare also Kruyt, who, in his anthropological classification (see § 3.4), likewise split off Unde/Ndepuu and grouped these people culturally with Ledo and other lowland/coastal varieties, rather than with the upland Pakawa (Da'a/Inde).

That besides these three languages only *one* other Kaili language is recognized in the *Ethnologue*, encompassing all the other Kaili varieties—including Tado¹⁵—is more the result of caution than anything else. SIL's plan was to research the Ledo variety first, with the goal of later seeing whether and how far materials in this prestige variety could be extended into other Kaili areas. Such studies have yet to be conducted.

¹⁵ As seen in Figure 10, Tado is 88% lexically similar with Da'a, and Esser as well included Tado with Da'a in his West Kaili group. The grouping of Tado with Ledo in the *Ethnologue* is arguably another demonstration of 'Ledo' serving as a catch-all category.

4 Summary

Above I have discussed nine different approaches that various researchers have taken to classifying the Kaili language area. Figure 11 summarizes and contrasts eight of these approaches. Sneddon (1983) is omitted because it follows Barr and Barr (1979) in all respects. A shaded cell in Figure 11 means that that isolect was unknown to—or at least not mentioned by—the researcher(s) in question. However, sometimes by inspecting an accompanying map, we can guess to which group they might have assigned it. Nonetheless, such decisions remain my interpretation.

4.1 Kaili population estimates

Some of the researchers who have reported on the Kaili language situation have also included population estimates in their reports. Population values are summarized in Figure 12. Notably, Kruyt (1938) is the only researcher to have given population estimates at the lowest level—and even then not in all cases.

Figure 12 also reveals a minor duplicity in the Barrs' *Languages of Central Sulawesi* report. In their Finder List of Language Names, they clearly indicate that 'Pakuli' is to be regarded as a subdialect of Sigi (Barr and Barr 1979:17). This sounds fine, and in fact matches what others have said about Pakuli (*ado* and *edo*) (see Figure 11). However, the Barrs' population figure for the Sigi dialect, 7500, is too low for Pakuli (*ado* + *edo*) to have been included in it. Comparing with the population figures given in Kruyt (1938), this means Sigi would have been the only group to have shrunk in population from the 1930s to the 1970s, while all the others grew, anywhere from nearly doubling to quadrupling in size. The conclusion must be that—at least as far as reporting population figures go—the Barrs really intended for Ado and Edo to be included as part of Ledo instead. At any rate, the situation is clarified in recent editions of the *Ethnologue*.

4.2 Kaili: The next steps

Among the language surveyor's methods, lexicostatistics remains an important tool for gaining an initial overview or appreciation of a language area. The input data (word lists) are generally easy to collect, and the method for computing lexical similarity scores is well understood and documented. If the method has a fault, it is that researchers have sometimes put too much stock in the results of lexicostatistical analyses without taking other factors into account.

However, despite the known diversity in the Kaili language area, to date no published study has included more than six Kaili word lists in a lexicostatistical analysis. For example, Kruyt's claim that Ndepuu and Unde can be regarded as dialects of the same language (Kruyt 1938:112) remains just that—a claim, an impressionistic statement, which has no hard data to back it up. I suggest that any future lexicostatistical analysis of the Kaili language area should include data from all sixteen of the identified Kaili 'isolects' (see Figure 2 above). In fact ideally the Rai Kaili and Ta'a Kaili isolects should be represented by at least two word lists each, seeing as how Adriani and Kruyt (1914) recognized dialectal variations in both these areas (see Figure 2, notes c and e).

	Adriani (1898)	Adriani & Kruyt (1914)	Esser (in Kruyt 1938)	Kruyt (1938)	Wumbu et al. (1973)	Barr & Barr (1979)	Ethnologue (2009)	Wumbu et al. (1983)	
Ende			West Kaili	Pakawa Group			Baras		
Tado							Ledo Kaili		
Inde							Pekava		Pekava
Da'a									
Unde	Lower Kaili	Lole			Banava	Banava	Unde Kaili	K	
Ndepuu		Ganti							
Raio								Kori	
Rai	Lower Kaili	Tawaili	East Kaili	Kaili Group	Tavaeli-Sindue	Tawaili-Sindue	Ledo Kaili	A	
Tara	Parigi	Parigi			Parigi	Parigi			
Ta'a		Sausu							Taa
Doi	Lower Kaili	Palu	Central Kaili	Sigi Group	Palu	Palu		I	
Ledo		Pakuli			Sigi	Sigi		Sigi	L
Ado									
Edo									
Ija									
Taa							Taa		
Moma	Upper Kaili	Kulawi	Kulawi	Kulawi Group	Kulawi-Lindu	Kulawi	Moma	I	
Tado		Lindu				Lindu	Lindu	Pipikoro	
Uma		Pipikoro	Pipikoro	Koro Group	Pipikoro	Pipikoro	Uma		
Baria	Parigi	Tawaelia	Kulawi	Lore Group		Sedoa	Sedoa	Sedoa	

Figure 11. Comparison of how different researchers have classified the Kaili area

	Adriani & Kruyt (1914)	Kruyt (1938)	Barr & Barr (1979)	Wumbu et al. (1983:18–25)	Ethnologue (2009)	Badan Pusat Statistik (2000)		
Ende		<i>ende</i> (no popl. given)			Baras 250 (1987)	Kaili 438,000 ^(b)		
Tado		<i>tado</i> 534						
Inde		<i>da'a</i> and <i>inde</i> 14500			Pekava 32,000		K 322,600	Da'a Kaili 35,000 ^(a) (1985)
Da'a								Unde Kaili 20,000 (1979)
Unde	Lole 2000	<i>unde, ndepuu, pu'u</i> 10710	Banava 20,000					
Ndepuu	Ganti 1000							
Raio				Kori 100	Raio + Rai 55,000 (1979)			
Rai	Tawaili 7000	<i>rai</i> 19300	Tawaili-Sindue 55,000	A				
Tara	Parigi 6000	<i>tara</i> 8300	Parigi 43,000				Tara 43,000 (1979)	
Ta'a	Sausu 1000	<i>ta'a</i> 1000			Taa 3380			
Doi	Palu 25000	<i>doi</i> 5150	Palu 128,000	I	Ledo, Doi, Ado, Edo 128,000 (1979)			
Ledo		<i>ledo</i> 33100						
Ado	Pakuli 2000	<i>ado</i> 4700	Sigi 7500	L				
Edo		<i>edo</i> 2000						
Ija	Sigi 2000	<i>ija</i> 3000			Ija + Taa 7,500 (1979)			
Taa		<i>taa</i> 1000			Taa 210			
Moma	Kulawi 3000	<i>moma</i> 3087	Kulavi 5500	I	Moma 5,500 (1985)	Kulawi 18,400 ^(c)		
Tado	Lindu 600	<i>lindu</i> 900	Lindu 1700	Pipikoro 10,000	Lindu 2,000 (1990)	Lindu 2,360		
Uma	Pipikoro 4500	<i>uma</i> 6100	Pipikoro 15,000		Uma 20,000 (1990)	Uma 9,300		
Baria	Tawaelia 300	<i>baria</i> 362	Sedoa 600	Sedoa 370	Sedoa 600 (1979)			

(a) 32,000 in Central Sulawesi plus an estimated 3,000 in present-day West Sulawesi.

(b) This figure is a combination of 428,000 Kaili + 9,000 Ledo + 700 Tosigi.

(c) One must suspect that the 18,400 figure given for Kulawi includes many Uma speakers.

Figure 12. Some reported population estimates for the Kaili area and nearby groups

In addition, effort should also be made to bring to light solid information on the Nyedu isolect, spoken in Sindue District (see § 2),¹⁶ so that its position relative to other Kaili isolects can finally be established.

It should also be noted from Figure 12 that even our best population estimates mostly lump two or more lowest-level Kaili groups together. We do not have fine-grade values which report population estimates isolect by isolect.

Beyond a lexicostatistical analysis and isolect-by-isolect population estimates, the entire Kaili area is of course ripe for a dialect geography study that builds on the work of Kadir and Kawatu (1999), who focused on the city of Palu. I hate to venture how many locations ('data points') should be used, because there is always a trade-off between more in-depth, better quality data from fewer locations, and less (or lesser quality) data from more locations. Of course, sixteen or seventeen data points would be the absolute minimum. All other things being equal, a dialect geography of Kaili should include data from Kulawi and Lindu, since some researchers have included these as dialects of Kaili.

A dialect geography of Kaili should include not only lexical isoglosses, but also phonological isoglosses (patterns of sound correspondences from parent language to daughter languages and dialects) and grammatical isoglosses (including morphological isoglosses), particularly as the latter are said to stratify speech communities more sharply than lexical or phonological isoglosses (Trudgill and Chambers 1998:98–99). Pertinent phonological and lexical isoglosses should emerge out of word-list data. As for which morphological or grammatical features are likely to be significant for dialectology in the Kaili area, my own experience is too limited for me even to speculate. Thought must be given to this before a dialect geography study is carried out.

In the end, however, even a dialect geography won't be the final word, because there will still remain questions as to how strongly people identify with their local isolect. Would people who speak, say, the Ndepuu isolect of Kaili be willing to accept speech recordings, literature or classroom materials in Ledo? In Da'a? In Unde? If they demand their own local materials, who will produce them? Overall, how many local efforts would the provincial government or regional authorities be willing (or able) to support in the Kaili area? These are significant questions, and answering them will require more than armchair, theoretical knowledge of dialectal differences. It will require feet on the ground and practical experience, and perhaps even a measure of diplomacy.

Postscript: The original reference of the term 'Kaili'

There are two theories regarding the origin of the word 'Kaili,' both reported by Kruyt (1938:47, 48). According to oral tradition, *kaili* was the name of a legendary tree.

¹⁶ And perhaps at the same time the 'Talau' language spoken by 400 people in Sindue district, and the 'Tombatu' language spoken by 1550 people in Parigi district, as reported in Wumbu et al. (1986). Could these be outposts of North Sulawesi languages? The name Talau looks suspiciously like Talaud, and Tombatu is a known alternate name for the Tonsawang language.

Following information provided by Evans, this grand tree is said to have stood on the eastern slopes, and could be seen from far away across the bay. People in Raranggonau of the Sigi area even say they can point out where it grew, although there are no trees like it around today (Donna Evans 2009:pers.comm.). In partial support of this theory, note that in the neighboring Pamona language the term *kaili* refers to the tall forest tree *Dracontomelon dao* (Blanco) Merr. & Rolfe (Adriani 1928:s.v.).¹⁷

Kruyt also set forth his own hypothesis, that the name Kaili contains the root *ili* ‘downstream,’¹⁸ thus in origin referring to ‘those who descended downstream’ from the mountains and settled the low-lying Palu valley. This theory will need to be held in balance with the results of studies by sedimentologists and archaeologists concerning the former (deeper) extent of the Palu Bay and when the alluvial plains which constitute the present-day Palu Valley were formed and later settled.

Whatever its ultimate origin, when the term is used to designate a people group, I have used ‘Kaili’ throughout this paper in its current and broad sense—though I don’t consider it to include Kulawi or Lindu, as some have. However, there are indications that a century ago the term Kaili had a narrower reference. Consider evidence such as the following:

- (a) In an early report of the area, Riedel (1886) included the Sigi along with other highland peoples such as Kulawi, Lindu, Bada, Besoa, Napu and Pamona in his Topantunuasu (literally, ‘the dog roasters’), a group which he clearly opposed to Kaili.
- (b) Kruyt likewise reported that neither the Sigi nor the Pakawa designated themselves as Kaili, but used this term to refer only to certain peoples of the coast and the Palu valley (1938:46–47).
- (c) To this day, Da’a speakers do not perceive of themselves as ‘Kaili,’ unless perhaps they have learned this at school in Palu. For most Da’a, the term Kaili refers to the Ledo people (Don Barr 2009:pers.comm.).
- (d) In his initial report about the languages of this area, Adriani (1898) named the superordinate group ‘Kaili-Parigi’—that is to say, he used Kaili and Parigi as coordinate terms, and did not subsume Parigi under Kaili.
- (e) Adriani and Kruyt suggested naming the Ledo variety as ‘Kaili,’ but hesitated and settle on the name ‘Palu’ instead, saying (somewhat obliquely) that “there are, however, still other languages spoken in Kaili, so that we find this designation to be less clear” (1914:350) (translation mine). One must wonder exactly which other languages they had in mind.

¹⁷ In the Kaili area *Dracontomelon dao*, the so-called New Guinea walnut, goes by the names *ra’u*, *rau*, *wirau*, and the like.

¹⁸ Compare the reconstructed Proto-Malayo-Polynesian stem *qiliR ‘flow downstream.’ In the present-day language, the stem *ili* means ‘flow’ (as rivers, streams, and tears).

Perhaps the best definition of what constitutes the core of the designation ‘Kaili’ comes in a statement by Kruyt (1938:46). Carefully distinguishing between his ‘Kaili group’ (see § 3.4) and the ‘To Kaili’ (Kaili people), he notes that the latter designation is generally used for the inhabitants of the districts of Banawa, Tawaili, Palu and Dolo—that is to say, his Kaili group minus the Parigi/Topotara (who use *tara*) and the Sausu (who use *ta’a*).

Whatever have been the troubling aspects about the denotation of ‘Kaili,’ however, today we have reached a state where not only has the term ‘Kaili’ expanded in its application but, at least as a linguistic term, it has also reached a fairly stable state where its boundaries are understood and agreed upon, with perhaps the exception of whether or not Kulawi is to be included. My opinion is that Kulawi should be excluded, among other reasons because Kulawi people do not designate themselves as Kaili, and consider themselves to have a separate origin (Janet Oruh 2009:pers.comm.). To return to an older, more restricted definition of Kaili would likely only be confusing.

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