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**Universitas Tadulako, Palu, Indonesia**  
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**Field trip to Toro and Kaduwaa**  
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*Preliminary report*

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**A tourist's view on language use and its implications for sustainable development in Central Sulawesi<sup>1</sup>**

*Introduction*

The third annual meeting of the LAGSUS research project was held from Sept. 5 to Sept. 9, 2006, in Palu, the political, economical and educational capital of Central Sulawesi (Indonesia), with an extension to the rural area south of Palu, dominated by the impressive mountain range known today under the name of the Lore Lindu National Park (LLNP).<sup>1</sup> The area surrounding the Park is the home of a number of small ethnic groups,<sup>2</sup> each of which draws, apart from invasive Bahasa Indonesia (BI), on its own local language as a resource for daily communication.

The location of the meeting thus provided a natural setting favorable to contextualizing the main theme of the LAGSUS project, i.e. language, and in particular local language, in its potential role as a factor contributing to development, and, more specifically, towards making development ecologically sustainable. From the perspective of our hosts in the rural area, this latter question might have to be phrased in a slightly different way, i.e. how to make socio-economically sustainable the burden imposed on them in terms of ecological priorities as materialized in the LLNP.

Local constituencies of the Lore Lindu area have been facing for some time the double challenge of (i) reconciling the new burden of a dual perspective, which adds ecological sustainability as an overriding goal in its own right to socio-economic pressures, needs and aspirations inherited from a basically symbiotic relation of man and nature in a presumed prior state of ecological innocence; (ii) coping with a steady afflux of migrants if not outright colonization modifying the demographic equilibrium of their habitat, and increasing the

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<sup>1</sup> For a map of the park area and its location south of Palu, see <http://www.storma.de/forschungsprogramm/region/karte.htm>. See also Shohibuddin (2006, Figure 1).

<sup>2</sup> Basri (2006:1) mentions seven distinct language groups. I still do not know whether this is a complete inventory of traditional resident groups along the LLNP circumference, or whether it is just meant to be a sample. Unfortunately none of the maps I got hold of, including the Ethnologue's language site overviews, are precise enough to get a clearer picture of the ethnic and language diversity in the sensitive periphery of the LLNP.

competition over land and other primary resources. As a side-effect, an increasing degree of sociolinguistic complexity calls for new strategies of accommodation to a multiply multilingual environment.

Topics relating to the role of local languages (LL) in negotiating mainly the first of these two issues, and to strategies used for negotiation of these issues, constituted the thread woven through the program and encounters of this year's annual conference, both the academic part at the university of Tadulako during the first two days (Sept. 5-6), and the encounters in the villages of Toro and Kaduwaa during the second half of the week (Sept. 7-9), as well as casual discussions which took place at Tadulako and during the roundtrip.<sup>3</sup>

In writing this report, I was motivated by the question *What insights can be gained from the situation in Indonesia in general, and in the Lore Lindu area in particular, for the LAGSUS project?*, and the more pretentious one: *What difference could a LAGSUS type approach have made or still make to the LLNP project?*

Of course, this raises the more basic question as to how, if at all, linguistic complexity relates to the complexities of the socio-cultural and socio-economic situation outlined above. One cannot deduce from a glance at a language map which shows language diversity for a given research area that all languages spoken in that area are indeed put to use as resources for its development, except perhaps in a very trivial, non-unique way. As both language uses and language attitudes may vary not only across but also within language areas, the question as to their specific impact on development issues needs to be examined in detail for each community within a given area. The typology of extroverted vs. introverted language communities as we propose it for distinguishing basic explicit attitudes of speaker collectives is a case in point. *A fortiori*, the stronger claim that a given language resource is an irreplaceable link in the chain of communicative and practical interactions leading to an in-depth understanding of at least some issues relevant to areal development, and/or contributing in a unique way to a lasting commitment to a course of action by the local population, cannot simply be taken for granted.

#### *A glimpse of the language situation*

The rise of Bahasa Indonesia (BI) parallel to (or as part of) independence and political unification, as a key element of cohesion and nation building,<sup>4</sup> has resulted in its broad acceptance and its dominant position as the common language of the inhabitants of the archipelago.<sup>5</sup> The use of BI is not limited to its role as a lingua franca or as a bridge medium to which people resort when there is no alternative, but it seems to have become the preferred alternative in many situations where other choices would be possible. In urban centers such as Palu, it is on the way to become the only medium used in everyday communication for everyday matters by the ordinary language user (Basri 2006:1). Just how much this is the case, and to what extent it interferes indeed with LL residual use, or is even resisted as a deliberate expression of LL preference, is an issue debated among specialist audiences. An even more burning issue is the relationship between what some would call standard BI and regional varieties. But granted that there are regional differences in usage – Sulawesi is not Java -,<sup>6</sup> BI is the language used exclusively for writing, and almost exclusively for media

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<sup>3</sup> I want to thank Dr. Frank D. Wickl and Ms. Sabine Miehla, as well as Mr. and Mrs. Rolex and Mila Lameanda, for the excellent organization of the round trip, as well as the village authorities of Toro and Kaduwaa who arranged their schedule of meetings so as to fit ours and made us feel at home. I also thank the rector of the University, and Dr. Hasri Basan. for his willingness to share his knowledge of multilingual stratification in the area.

<sup>4</sup> "The development of Indonesian as a new national language is closely linked to the development of Indonesia as a new nation." (Errington 1986:329).

<sup>5</sup> References see Wickl (2002:1f.).

<sup>6</sup> For the „inhomogeneity“ of BI, and the discussion triggered by premature assumptions about its level of standardization, see Wickl (2002:2ff.).

communication throughout Indonesia. Some variety of BI is also, in the two villages visited, the language preferentially and deliberately used by parents in talking to their children, according to what parents themselves assert.<sup>7</sup>

Yet, despite the overwhelming influence of BI and its apparently pervasive acceptance as a privileged means of communication across the country and right down to grassroots level, it would be a mistake to sweep the significance of the LL under the carpet. The thesis that local languages maintain a significant though not undisputed place in the village context is supported by a number of casual observations which I will briefly discuss in the following section. What „significant“ means here, and what it means for development, depends to a large extent on the way in which the intersection between „local context“ (including what tends to be subsumed under “local culture”), local language, and development is viewed and defined in its relation to development policy and communication in the broader national context.

The overwhelming impression I took back from Sulawesi – as a novice I cannot say less but I cannot say more either – is that of a dynamic multilingual situation in which people seem to be alert to choices in matters of language use and conscious of being actors in the language arena, and in which not so much the status of languages but their mutually defined roles and functions in close-knit societies at the village level are some of the relevant issues in public life.

#### *Scanty data*

In this section, I want to briefly report on a few encounters which I felt were revealing to me in respect to patterns of language use, language switch and the significance of language for development issues in relation to the Park. First I would like to report a short interview which I had with Rukmini Pahaata Toheke, the chairwoman of OPANT (*Organisasi Perempuan Adat Ngata Toro*), the women’s organization in the village of Toro. It was about language use of her three children.

Rukmini (transl. Dr. Hasan Basri).

Subject: Language use in Toro.

Focus: their 3 children.

Competences: Kulawi Moma (KM, LL), Kaili, BI.

<b>Children’s patterns of language use</b>	<b>KM</b>	<b>BI</b>	<b>Kaili</b>
Playground	√		
Neighbours	√		
Allogenes		√	
Parents to children		√	
At school, grade 1 + 2 (oral only)	√		
School, other		√	
Local plants	√		

Adding a touch of empathy, I mentioned that I am coming from a minority people myself - Rhaeto-Romansh – and, as a Swiss, from a multilingual background. When I mentioned the Romansh word picture and spelling dictionary for children produced by the Ligia

<sup>7</sup> This seems to be a general trend: „Viele Eltern erkannten die Wichtigkeit, ihren Kindern frühzeitig die Kenntnis der Nationalsprache zu vermitteln, um ihnen den Einstieg in die schulische Ausbildung zu erleichtern – ohne jedoch auf die Regionalsprache im häuslichen Kontext gänzlich zu verzichten.“ (Wickl 2005f)

Romontscha, which gives common words in five dialects and in the common variety, I noticed that her face lit up. I did not extend the interview as it was more of an informal chat. But I regret not having asked about Kaili.<sup>8</sup>

According to an *ex tempore* comment made to me by Rolex Lameanda when I touched on the subject, the diglossic relation between KM and BI (I am using diglossia here in the extended sense, see Fishman 1967)<sup>9</sup> has to do with „intimacy“ (my term). According to Mr. Rolex, BI is for the outside world, KM for talking about „secrets“ and for expressing „feelings“. This falls in line with the observation in the women’s musywarah (PKK) in Kaduwaa which alternated between BI and the local Napu language.<sup>10</sup> But as we shall see, it is crucial that reversion to Napu regularly occurred for emphasis and for bringing one’s point home.<sup>11</sup> The only meeting which was mainly conducted in KM was the reception by the *Adat* council on our arrival, on Sept. 7. There was translation into BI first and then into English. A consultation arranged by the village leadership later that day about the way foreign research is being perceived by the villagers was run in BI throughout, if I am right. At least I was not aware of any translation from KM to BI or vice versa taking place during that meeting. Besides, I think the meeting was announced as a musywarah type of performance. From what I got from various comments, it was more of a discussion forum than a problem-solving exercise.

The two encounters in Kaduwaa, the women’s meeting in the evening of Sept. 8, and the local committee in charge of regulations regarding the Park which we were invited to attend on Sept. 9 before noon, apparently were scheduled meetings whose timing had been pre-arranged so as to fit the time of our visit.

The latter meeting was conducted in BI because its chairman, we were told, is not native from the area and therefore is not conversant in Napu. On the periphery of the meeting, Dr. Basri kindly inquired for me into the language being used by the children playing around the *Adat* house and by the women who were catering for everybody. The general impression from this was that LL is the default means of local communication. At the same time, women were always careful to point out that they are using BI when talking to their children.

#### *Analysis*

All this anecdotic and mostly accidental evidence is too weak to serve as proof of anything, let alone for making a substantial claim regarding the connection between language choice and development. But on the other hand, it is too strong to be dismissed off-hand. Therefore the following tentative comments are to be considered as a set of working hypotheses which will hopefully fuel further thinking and, if opportunities arise, further research. In the absence of solid evidence for particular hypotheses, I felt free to develop a few theoretical concepts which may be useful otherwise.

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<sup>8</sup> According to the *Ethnologue* (15<sup>th</sup> ed., Gordon 2005), Moma is „historically a 'dialect' of Kaili, but strong influences from Uma. Lexically similar to Uma, but grammatically similar to Lindu.“ The *Ethnologue* does not provide a detailed map of the area. For a general overview, see the Language map of Northern Sulawesi <[http://www.ethnologue.com/show\\_map.asp?name=IDL&seq=140](http://www.ethnologue.com/show_map.asp?name=IDL&seq=140)>., where both Moma and Napu appear at the bottom of the map; adjacent areas are shown on the Language map of Southern Sulawesi.

<sup>9</sup> For various acceptions of the term “diglossia” see <<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diglossia>>.

<sup>10</sup> 60% of parents pass it on to the children. Some or most domains. Napu hymns, work announcements. Napu people are at least mildly supportive of the Napu language. Nearly all speakers use Indonesian as second language with varying proficiency. Indonesian is used for writing, at government offices, for town meetings, for religious services, but Napu is also used for these purposes. *Language development* Interest in Napu literature is high. NT: 2000

<sup>11</sup> Thanks to Sabine Michlau for pointing this out to me.

1. In terms of a general typology of multilingualism, we have (a) a diglossic situation (in the extended sense of Fishman 1967) between BI (as H = High language variety) and the locally dominant LL as (L = Low language variety), and (b), embedded in it, co-existing LLs of variable number and varying demographic importance.
2. Multilingualism as it obtains in the visited area appears to be in a state of transition, where the relations between the languages involved, as well as their status, their roles and their functions, are underdetermined to variable extent. There are numerous factors which play in favor of BI (education, socio-economic promotion, the media), but this may not be the only factor. It cannot be excluded that the dynamics is complex and involves contradictory or even conflicting vectors as in other parts of the world (e.g. Uganda).<sup>12</sup>
3. This not yet stabilized multilingual situation probably accounts for the remarkable level of awareness which can be observed in villagers' discourse on matters of language choice, and of the implications of this choice, as it is evident e.g. in the repeated insistence on parents' determination to use BI in their daily interaction with their children. Lest such statements are taken to reflect the reality on the ground, one has to hear them as a policy choice: they reflect the recognition of the fact that proficiency in BI is tantamount to being in the running, while deficiency means to remain outside. The practice – as against policy - of language use may be found to be different in some cases, as responses to Basri's questionnaire and other sources suggest.<sup>13</sup>
4. With all this, nothing is said about variation within BI itself, nor about the question of diglossia between L-varieties and those varieties which are considered to be H-forms of BI – „standard BI“. Even less than for other questions, I am qualified to address this one, which is a central topic in Wickl (2002). However, the question as to how, where and by whom competence in standard BI is imparted is a critical one. The mothers' determination may be an asset, or it may defeat its purpose. See Wickl (2002:11f.) for the discrepancy between speaker's positive self-appreciation of their mastery of standard BI, as compared to their measurable performance.<sup>14</sup>
5. If LL and BI fulfil complementary functions, the question is in which way they are complementary.<sup>15</sup> Is KM, for instance, the preferred medium used by speakers of KM talking among themselves – in-group language –, and BI the language used for communication outside the KM community? What can be said is that the correlation between exoglossic and endoglossic audience-type on the one hand and language choice on the other only holds unilaterally. BI is used where no other language can

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<sup>12</sup> The dynamics in Uganda seems to play both in favor of an international lingua franca (Swahili) and also in favor of LL, at least in the case of Ruruuli. See the recent decision of the government to introduce Swahili as a compulsory subject matter in the secondary cycle. Ruruuli is presently being launched as a local teaching medium in the first grades of the primary cycle in the Baluuli area (cf. TB, forthcoming report on a recent visit to Uganda).

<sup>13</sup> Wickl, F.D. Zur Sprachenwahl in Indonesien: Nationalsprache versus Lokalsprache. Submitted to Asienforum. Freiburg .

<sup>14</sup> Es gibt derzeit jedoch noch keine wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnisse bezüglich des Grades der Beherrschung der *Bahasa Indonesia*. Das bedeutet, dass auch Aussagen bezüglich einer domänenbezogenen Auswahl der Sprachen und einem kontextabhängigen Wechsel von einer Regionalsprache in die *Bahasa Indonesia* und umgekehrt nicht getroffen werden können. Wickl, Sprachenwahl, p. 12

<sup>15</sup> . Die Regionalsprachen wurden/werden in der Regel im familiären Umfeld, im Freundeskreis und in informellen Gesprächssituationen verwendet. Die indonesische Nationalsprache wurde/wird hingegen in erster Linie als Verwaltungssprache und für offizielle Gesprächssituationen (Schule, Universität, Ansprachen u.ä.) oder als interethnisches Kommunikationsmittel eingesetzt.

serve as a common language. Accommodation of language use as a rule seems to work in favor of the outside person (language extroversion), and the usual means of accommodation is BI. But the inverse correlation does not hold.

6. To take the reflexion a step closer to the complex reality of language use, communication in the local community may be divided into formal and informal. According to Basri (2006:5), some villages at least use BI in meetings where village affairs are discussed. This is not true in two villages, among them Toro, where, according to Basri, LL is given preference over BI in official meetings. On the other hand, all villages are said to use both languages in the private sphere and in informal interaction, e.g. with neighbours. Basri (2006, p. 6) concludes: „Given that the villagers in general speak BI and LL on a regular basis in different domains, and that the children in general are bilingual in BI and LL, it is reasonable to predict that BI and LL will coexist for quite a long time.“
7. In the rural areas visited, BI's encroachment on traditional LL domains seems to be motivated by the importance of BI as a prerequisite to social promotion and by its role for communication with other ethnic groups and with the administration, not by a trend towards abandoning LL as appears to be the case in the urban population.<sup>16</sup> The tendency towards preserving LL is also reflected in its use as an oral teaching medium in first and second grade primary school. LL is not just a relic on the way out; there are indications that its transmission to the next generation may be seen as a means (i) of co-asserting<sup>17</sup> ethnic identity in the face of increasing pan-Indonesian identity, and (ii) of conveying and discussing matters pertaining to local knowledge (Shohibuddin 2006).
8. Taking into account the ambitions of parents for their children to gain access to English as the globally dominant language (Basri 2006), a possible long-term scenario may be socialization through functional triglossia (Gfeller 2000), LL serving as language of local anchorage (mainly in rural areas), BI for wider communication at a regional or national level, and English for international communication. English ranks highest on the list of languages people want their children to learn (apart from BI; see H. Basri 2006: 3), but in the villages visited, for the time being, BI would have been required to enter in direct conversation with anyone, including the leadership.<sup>18</sup>
9. While the preceding items are of primary interest to language planning and policy, the spontaneous hint contained in Rukmini's comment (above) on the use of KM for reference to the natural environment (plants) takes us back to an issue that is central to LAGSUS. One could infer from the remark that specific knowledge of the natural environment is one of the domains in which LL cannot be readily replaced by BI terminology. This is plausible to the extent that so-called folk taxonomies, among them plant vocabulary, seldom match even between related languages. It is therefore unlikely that BI terms corresponding to the local plant vocabulary would be readily available in comparable depth and detail, yet alone would easily be substituted to familiar local terms, not to mention classificatory and associative information relative to botany and pharmacopoeia, nor philopical reasoning based on analogies taken from observation of the environment, proverbs, and ethiological tales explaining the origin of natural phenomena and of taboos. (I am speculating on this last point from an African background.)

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<sup>16</sup> See Basri (2006:1) with respect to Palu.

<sup>17</sup> Not counter-asserting!

<sup>18</sup> Recent dictionary work in the area may reflect primarily the fact that their compilers are mostly of anglophone origin (SIL), but it could also anticipate on future developments towards trilingualism; e.g. the recently published small dictionary for Besoa, a language closely related to Napu: Sura kósita □ básá alo-alona: Behóá - Indonesia - Anggaresi = Buku saku, Bahasa Sehari-hari: Besoa - Indonesia - Inggris = Pocket phrasebook, everyday language: Behoa - Indonesian - English. 2004. 1st ed. SIL International. v, 53 p.

**Digression 1: the lexicon/local knowledge consubstantiation hypothesis.** Beyond the problem of cross-linguistic lexical divergence, there is a correlation between ownership and naming on the one hand, and between ownership and protection or preservation on the other. The hypothesis underlying this seemingly tenuous connection is that **if the vocabulary of domain-specific local knowledge acquired via LL is lost** – in the process of LL attrition for instance, or in case of failure to transmit the language to the next generation - **the knowledge itself is lost**. If this „consubstantiation hypothesis“ regarding the link between lexical knowledge and domain-specific object knowledge is correct, it follows by abduction that language conservatism is not just a rejection of linguistic change affecting the inventory of linguistic forms, but may also be an expression of one’s desire to preserve specific knowledge including the protection of the familiar environment represented in a given language.

10. **Digression 2: LL as a resource in dealing with the trauma of expropriation.** The most difficult part in adhering to the principle of the Park is coming to grips with the trauma of expropriation (as was well illustrated, e.g., in the women’s discussion about where to get the raw materials for practicing their crafts, a source of additional income, at the PKK meeting in Kaduwaa). How deal with this successfully without naming the things over which you are forced to relinquish ownership? The habit of naming is not only a necessary precondition of ownership, *it is also a key resource in relinquishing ownership* and, eventually, in reinterpreting it. Note that this dialectical process may extend over one or two generations. Unless the process of negotiation of a new relationship is allowed to take place in its own terms and in its time, reconciliation with the new state of affairs created by the Park is difficult as the latter remains a source of constant frustration and contestation
11. From a local viewpoint, and perceived through the prism of LL taxonomies, biodiversity is not an abstract concept to be defended but relates to a set of naming tools (words) and known facts about tangible, edible and teachable things. Thus preserving the language is preserving the nature which it denotes. In terms of „mind mapping“ (Fremerey 2005:255), if the name is lost, the link by which this knowledge is accessed is lost. In positive terms, LL provides a natural, and, if the consubstantiation hypothesis is true even in its weakest form, an irreplaceable link between society and its environment.
12. The consubstantiation of lexicon and domain-specific knowledge, if confirmed, lends substance to the frequently invoked<sup>19</sup> but hitherto elusive link between biodiversity and language diversity. A claim could then safely be made that LL-based ownership provides a guarantee against reckless exploitation and even destruction of those objects of nature that fall in the scope of ownership mediated through LL. The idea that the LL lexical interface might constitute a vital link in the man-environment hermeneutic cycle receives further direct and indirect support from at least two sources to which I have access:
  - Wickl (2005i) reports an inquiry into the ability of a seizable sample of village people to explain the notion of sustainability, comparing in this respect the BI and the KM terms currently in use for environmental management of the Park periphery. He

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<sup>19</sup> „People who lose their linguistic and cultural identity may lose an essential element in a social process that commonly teaches respect for nature and understanding of the natural environment and its processes.“ (quoted from <http://www.terralingua.org/>)

observes that whereas the BI term functions as a mere place-holder, the LL term spontaneously elicits meaningful contexts in which the term would be used.<sup>20</sup>

- Shohibuddin (2006). (I will deal with this in the broader context of the Toro story.)
- **Digression 3: The story of Toro, and its unpretentious Kulawi Momo bottom line.**<sup>21</sup> An example of particular, though at first indirect relevance to this question is the negotiation of LLNP borders between the village of Toro and the Park Authority as reported in Fremerey (2005:256ff.).<sup>22</sup> The captivating story tells how an *a priori* lost case was won by bringing to bear traditional environmental knowledge on the revision of decisions previously imposed by an outside agency (the Park Authority), overcoming at the same time through synthesis the false opposition between “modern” and “traditional” knowledge. In my reading of the story in Fremerey’s version, it documents a clear case of local knowledge overruling the monopoly of external criteria for delimiting the park which had been applied on the basis of technically speaking „superior’ imperatives of nature conservation and ecological knowledge” (op.cit.:256). In the terminology of LAGSUS-2, the point of departure could be described as an instance of „parallel discourses“ carrying at least partially incompatible claims. Moreover, I submit that it could not be assumed at the outset that perception of each other’s parallel discourse would be mutual. In the process, not only the border was rectified in accordance with local perception, but the status and participation of the Toro community with regard to the management of the Park was redefined, assigning them an active and central role in defining and implementing park regulations and contributing to guarantee its security even beyond the limits of their traditional sphere of ownership of the park area (which already was almost a tenth of its surface). The paper shows how external and local knowledge combine to bring this result about, together with a sustained involvement of village institutions in the process.<sup>23</sup> As a preliminary outcome, one may speculate that the parallel discourses may maintain their autonomy but there is mutual perception, and there is common ground.

In this line of argument, the drawing of a detailed map of the village and the forest surrounding it (with professional help from a NGO) as an essential prerequisite for renegotiating the precincts of the Park (op.cit.:266) is of particular interest in terms of making local knowledge relevant to a specific non-local audience.<sup>24</sup> If my understanding is correct, this step was a major factor in accrediting the local community to government appointed Park Authorities as a serious and knowledgeable partner in the task of managing the rain forest resources under the new park regulations.

From my reading of the paper, however, I dare hypothesize that local environmental knowledge *per se*, even if it had brought to the attention of the authorities in charge of the park, and granted the latter’s „basically ,human’ orientation“ (loc.cit.), would not have carried the effect it did, had it not been associated with a considerable investment

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<sup>20</sup> Wickl/Miehla (2006): „Durch Interviews und Haushaltsbefragungen wurde deutlich, dass die lokale Bevölkerung die Bedeutung des indonesischen Begriffs für Nachhaltigkeit *Pelestarian* nicht definieren und erläutern konnte. Spontane Antworten konnten jedoch sofort aufgezeichnet werden, wenn die Respondenten nach der Bedeutung von *Katuvua* gefragt wurden.“

<sup>21</sup> For the following, the maps in Shohibuddin (2006:2) will be helpful: *Figure 1*. Toro Village and its Biogeographic and Conservation Context.

<sup>22</sup> Some of the facts have also been reported in other sources, notably Wickl (2005?), Shohibuddin (?). I will follow Fremerey (2005) because of its depth of theoretical problematization.

<sup>23</sup> I am alerted to the fact that more recent research might throw some shade on this bright picture. For the time being and pending update stories, my comment is that even if this story had been invented – which of course, is not what I am saying -, its paradigmatic value for illustrating basic principles of communicative sustainability is such that it should have been told.

<sup>24</sup> To me this is the challenge facing us in the Documentation part of LAGSUS-2.



in another type of traditional local knowledge, which we might subsume under the general label of communicative knowledge (C-knowledge). The public validation of the local environmental knowledge was achieved through several cycles of public negotiation at the village level, including the risky relaunching of a traditional „communicative infrastructure“ (Lembaga Adat) at a time when it was still outlawed by the centralistic administration under the Suharto government.

Reading the story under any of its various disguises for one thing provides an excellent argument for the claim that cultural factors must not be underestimated as prerequisites to development. The revitalisation of the traditional body of consultation and decision-taking at the village level in Toro is a case in point (op. cit.: 267). What seems decisive, however, is the “quality of participation” which in turn is based on what Fremerey calls an “organizational learning” process involving all stakeholders in the elaboration of a local park policy (op.cit.: 270ff.) over a protracted period of time with – presumably – all its ups and downs. Counting from the official act of interfering with free access to the park in 1982 until the recognition of Toro as a partner in the management of the park’s resources in 2001 this collective learning process took two decades.

It is not my ambition to attempt to recast the Toro story into the categories of communicative sustainability. The reason for me dwelling on it, is that in the context of LAGSUS, it appears to me to be a reference which can hardly be omitted. It illustrates, among other things, the claim that a primary goal of development communication is communication. In other words, communicative sustainability itself is not only a prerequisite to sustainability but is also itself a goal of development. But what makes communicative sustainability sustainable? If I may use this terminology to “translate” a concern which pops up as a constant epilogue to the Toro narrative (op.cit., passim), it is at this point that my question regarding language choice and language use comes also in a most irresistible way.<sup>25</sup>

Semi-technically speaking,<sup>26</sup> the result may be summarized as a partial merger of two disconnected parallel discourses. Not much is said about how this merger came about, the evidence at hand focuses on what happens at the local level; the interface with the government agencies is less prominent in the various narratives. If one could retrace this story through its different phases of negotiation, one could probably get a fair idea of the complementary roles of the languages in defining and arguing the issues at each stage. There is some indication that at certain points resorting to LL rather than using

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<sup>25</sup> Eigene Wege" gehen bedeutet in Toro, dass die gesellschaftliche Einbindung des Dorfabkommens, das eben nicht einfach *Kesepakatan*, sondern *Kesepakatan Konservasi Masyarakat Ngata Toro* genannt wurde, mit einer bewussten Rückbesinnung auf lokales Wissen und traditionelle Strukturen durch die Dorfelite vorgenommen wurde. Auch die indonesische Bezeichnung für Dorf (*Desa*) wurde kurzerhand durch den Begriff *Ngata*, dem Wort “Dorf” in der Lokalsprache Kulawi Moma ersetzt. Opposition und Abgrenzung durch den bewusst gewählten symbolischen Einsatz der lokalen Sprache, um der Dorfbevölkerung die Gewährleistung ihrer traditionellen Landrechte zu versichern. This highly evocative use of linguistic terminology is confirmed by Shohubiddin (1999) : From the beginning of their struggle, Toro people have been emphasizing the claim over their indigenosity using cultural identity and their “native” governmental structure in the past as an argument. The “native” governmental structure refers to “Ngata” institution that has been claimed as an autonomous community unit in sosio-cultural, political and economic aspects. Hence, “return to Ngata” becomes the main project run by Toro people with the aim of stressing that their community was a unique unit of ethnic and ecological identity, from which an indivisible unity of “culture-territory” originated.

<sup>26</sup> In a more technical way, we would introduce further distinction, e.g. between theme and rheme. Agreeing to speak about some common topic initiates thematic merger, agreeing on what is said about that topic, exemplifies thematic merger. The merging metaphor may not be ideally suited, as discourses may remain distinct and yet consensus may be attained.

BI terminology may have played a role, at least symbolically. As a case in point, Wickl & Miehlau (2006) mention the use of the KM term *ngata* instead of the official *desa* for naming the administrative unit of the village. One could take this as empirical evidence in support of the hypothesis that choice of language, even if uncontroversial, was a major factor in the story. The crucial argument, in our sense, would be that full negotiating capacity would have been curtailed if BI had been used, and hence the purpose of the collective learning process could not have been attained without drawing on all available communicative resources, not only in institutional terms, but also in terms of language resources.

Compared to the master stratageme of drawing the map, the part played by the language issue may appear less significant. The question might be asked, however, if even drawing the map would have been possible without local knowledge uniquely coded in the local language, and whether the specific competence to do so was available in a language-neutral form (whatever this could mean).<sup>27</sup> Specific local knowledge of natural “ecological zones”, a key element of “environmental monitoring” (Fremerey 2005:270), involves a number of fairly specific terms which obviously form a pragmatically structured semantic field. The terms are not earmarked for their source language by any of the authors. However, their juxtaposition with other terms including *ngata*, and the general emphasis of cultural revitalization in which Shohibuddin’s paper is framed makes it almost certain that the terminology is not BI but local. Shohibuddin (2006), although emphasizing cultural, social and institutional aspects of the Toro transformation, carries with it enough evidence that shows that the Kulawi Momo language is at the bottom of what he calls the “hermeneutics of authenticity”. All the necessary steps, including the mapping of spatial knowledge, must have included conceptualization through verbal means, by naming things and procedures, and by argumentation and relational work resulting in the alignment of divergent viewpoints and interests. The reliance on KM for these purposes seems to be both crucial and most probable, but nothing being said about language, there remains an uncertainty as to the extent to which it was (and is) the case, whether it was adopted as a matter of policy and principle, or on a pragmatic basis, KM and BI complementing each other depending on the source and type of knowledge.

As an aside, I should point out that the ecological zones are described and illustrated by photographs in Toheke (Rukmini) & Pelea (2005:17-24). The presentation of the terminology - pending confirmation by someone who knows Indonesian - is clearly that of an embedded object language, which in that case could only be KM. Where is the interest of this, apart from perhaps opening another window on the functioning of Fishman type diglossia? Indeed, our question above was how communicative sustainability can become sustainable. If the assumption of consubstantiality between local knowledge and local language has some truth to it, rendering the former durable would be best guaranteed by maintaining the latter alive, i.e. giving it formal status and enhancing its functionality. Introducing (or revitalizing) it as a written language (as suggested in Basri 2006) and other matters, would then not be a mere concession to local culture to satisfy folklorists, but a practical step towards making the Toro story last more than the generation who wrote its first chapter. But all I am saying at this point is that the hypothesis of LL being a vital conceptual link to understanding and endorsing ecological sustainability by local people needs to be further explored and documented. If, however, at the end of the day it turns out that the hypothesis can be substantiated, the integration of LL in the elaboration of a

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<sup>27</sup> Native terms for ecological zones defined with Toro participation

locally adjusted strategy of preservation and protection of LLNP involving the local population is a consequence which might have to be seriously considered.<sup>28</sup>

13. Another perspective of inquiry is opened by R. Lameanda's remark about LL as resource for the expression of feelings. As said above, language switch in the Kaduwaa women's meeting points in the same direction. If some generalization is possible from these observations, the implication would be that language alternation co-varies with contextual constraints on discourse topics and arguments, as well as possibly with certain genres associated with emotionally sensitive topics.<sup>29</sup> As a parallel, one might quote the shunning of the H variety as an expression of emotion in Swiss German by native speakers of the L variety.<sup>30</sup>
14. Implications of such constraints on language use vary greatly from one speech community to another. It is more likely than not that they give rise to extensive parallel discourse, including different types of arguments and even contradictory argumentation between a context of LL resonance and a context where BI provides the meta-communicative context. But even where there is no overt contradiction, argumentation in favor of the same thing will differ in non-trivial ways if produced for a LL audience from what it would be in a BI setting. (See Robinson 1996:168 for test cases.)
15. Talk with Carsten ... (STORMA, Göttingen) in Toro about „Schimmelpilz“ – a fungus affecting the cacao plant to which C. and his colleague are called to develop a locally applicable set of remedies. Chatting about some of the challenges this kind of applied research encounters in trying to explain the theory to local farmers, and what is more, to get an adequate understanding of their response or lack of response makes me realize that a concomitant analysis even of the relevant lexicon<sup>31</sup> in the various languages along the intricate path of communication could have been useful, not to say a necessity, in a case like this. Having had no access to relevant data neither from BI nor from KM on the particular phenomenon at stake, I have to fall back on the languages of metacommunication to illustrate my point. The German „(Schimmel)Pilz“ illustrates a typically idiosyncratic folk classification which is in no way reflected in English, since English would never use „mushroom“ where „fungus“ is meant. Such examples of idiosyncratic lexification are common, and no inference is to be drawn from this for the case at hand. But Tura provides an illustration of the kind of difficulty which could arise at a very superficial level in trying to reconstruct the key concepts in any LL: the same phenomena would in Tura be described as a process, not

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<sup>28</sup> It would fall under measures of the kind outlined in the conclusion of Rolex Lameanda's conference paper (Lameanda 2006): „Actions for ... involvement to create a sense of belonging and ownership to ensure the sustainability.“

<sup>29</sup> I am aware of F. Wickl's note of caution: Der [durch] Sprachdomänen ausgelöste Wechsel von der Lokalsprache in die *Bahasa Indonesia* oder zwischen der standard- und substandardlichen Variante der *Bahasa Indonesia*, einer der wesentlichen Voraussetzungen für eine diglossische oder triglossische Verteilung unterschiedlicher Sprachen bzw. Sprachformen, lässt sich nicht generell verifizieren.

<sup>30</sup> See M. Sigg, Schaffhauser Nachrichten, quoted in Marco Schütz, Parlez-vous schwyzerdütsch? *Courrier international*, 12 January 2006. *Revue de presse*. Declaring one's love might be expressed if at all by “X, I ha dy gärn” but never by the standard “X, ich lieb(e) dich”, unless the English repertoire is being tapped and one says: “X, I love you.”

<sup>31</sup> My talk about lexicon is to be taken in the most inclusive sense. Assuming a relational view of lexicon along the lines of Cruse and Pustejowski – which in fact goes back to Saussure – a lexical item is defined differentially in terms of its place in a paradigm, its networking properties in a field, and the associative relationships it entertains with an accumulated body of local knowledge.

as an object: *a fíin*, it has become mouldy', or, using no specialized vocabulary at all, *yi' à zε*, water has killed it'.<sup>32</sup>

16. Just what exactly happens in communicative terms along the path of transmission from this denotative conundrum to the target is hard to guess and even harder to control. Assuming that the working language of the end users is KM, there is BI in between, and at least one translator who has to manage at least two different language interfaces. Each interface constitutes a zone of increased risk of miscarriage of information, with mechanisms of control being recursively subject to the same proviso.<sup>33</sup>

Underlying this review of mostly casual encounters and observations were two questions:

1. *What insights can be gained from the situation in the Lore Lindua area from the standpoint of the LAGSUS project?* 2. *What difference could a LAGSUS type approach have made to the LLNP project?* Summarizing the preceding discussion, I can see three areas of inquiry as possible entry points to an interesting research module and at the same time as a useful contribution to a comparative LAGSUS study:

1. the local knowledge junction, with a special focus on the assumed symbiotic relationship between LL and domain-specific local knowledge, including the latter's metaphorical use, gives credence to an understanding of LL as a pre-designed factor of cognitive mediation between human ecology and physical ecology;
2. the interrelation between language choice and discourse topic, and its consequences for argumentation and negotiation in the context of indigenization of park management (essentially, this amounts to a call for an empirical study of diglossia in a LLNP environment, generalizable as a type of interaction still to be defined);
3. monitoring the expert/actor interface in agricultural extension (research) work with a general view of improving production and nutritional security.

## COMPARISON-1

### Mushayawarah and Kono

I now come back to the question that we – those of us working in Africa and particularly those involved with the Tura subproject – had taken in our baggage to the archipelago: We were curious to know if Musyawarah<sup>34</sup>, hailed as a consensus-driven procedure for decision-taking and problem-solving in Indonesia and beyond, particularly the revitalized Musyawarah following the demise of the centralistic Orde Baru, (a) played a similar role in local societies in Indonesia as traditional forms of the African palaver in rural Africa, and (b) if and how Musyawarah could be compared to Kono, the Tura protocol for public debate.

A special discussion time was devoted to the latter question in the last part of the conference at Tadulako University. The discussion, to the extent that it took place, showed that the similarities if any were to be found at the most general level of purpose and scope rather than in terms of procedure. The discussion was, however, short-circuited, among other things by

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<sup>32</sup> I thank Diomandé Fan (Uganda/Ivory Coast) for providing the Tura expressions and ascertaining the fact that it is the same sickness which befalls cacao plantations in this way in Indonesia and in Western Ivory Coast. For completeness' sake, I should like to add that using a term which suggests a parallel with „mushroom“ would be quite misleading and counter-intuitive. According to Mr. Fan, it might prevent local partners from taking the topic seriously.

<sup>33</sup> My upcoming report on Uganda contains some case studies of the hazards involved in dependency on the translational link.

<sup>34</sup> I borrow the following definition for what it is worth:  
“*musyawarah/mufakat* process of deliberation and compromise used in village government that eventually leads to *mufakat* (unanimous consensus), and then becomes binding to the community.”  
(Papuaweb: The West New Guinea Debacle – Glossary)

the controversy as to whether Musyawarah could still be considered as an instrument of village democracy after having been perverted under Orde Baru, where it had been used as an instrument of dictatorship.

The Toro leadership, on the other hand, when confronted with this kind of questioning, was formal: Musyawarah is alive and functioning. Ignorance of this fact was attributed to the aloofness of urban dwellers in regard to realities on the ground (I. Rukmini).

On the basis of our observations in Toro and Kaduwaa, our – Diomandé Fan’s, Joseph Baya’s and the undersigned’s – conclusion was unanimous: Musyawarah, or a currently accepted version of it, is functional, but Musyawarah and Kono are quite different. The following observations were decisive for this latter conclusion:

<b>Macro-phase</b>	<b><i>Musyawarah</i></b>	<b><i>Kono</i></b>
Initiation	Bound to formally recognized institutions at community level, initiated by office holders within the given institutional frame	May be initiated at any level of societal organization, and even by ad hoc constituted groups
Turn-taking	Free (at the surface)  Open-floor mentality, in deference (probably) to generally accepted rules of conversational behavior  Topic-controlled coherence	Strongly formalized according to e.g. (inverse) seniority  Deviance from prescribed procedure is sanctioned  Mediation-controlled coherence
Termination	When consensus is reached  [democratic principle]	The final word is with the elders [gerontocratic principle]
Gender	Both male and female	Male Female participation upon special licensing under male control

This is just a rough, „etic“ comparison. Details are open to review and amendment.

For an „emic“ inquiry correlating interaction with social function at the micro- as well as the macro-discursive level, fully transcribed recordings of sessions with sufficient background information are an indispensable prerequisite.

A few more observations:

*Comparing Kono and Musyawarah:*

1. The Musyawarah just as the Kono is a multi-purpose institution. It is used for decision-making, judicial affairs and debate of current issues.
2. Kono but not Musyawarah is used to enhance the social value of any kind of transaction (gift, payment, etc.).
3. The Musyawarah just as the Kono is motivated by the overriding concerns of inclusiveness, or better, avoidance of exclusion, and a primary interest in social cohesion. If one admits that in many parts of (West?) Africa, *social cohesion is the supreme prerequisite to development, including ecological sustainability (inverse*

*order of priorities compared to other parts of the world?*) (quote from my paper at Tadulako), could a similar claim be made for M-driven processes of decision-taking and problem-solving, given their ethos of inclusiveness?

4. To illustrate this concern about social equality and cohesion from Pak Neftali's words: The purpose of the Musyawarah is to convince a wrong-doer that he is wrong and make him admit it, and to deal with the one who is right so that he will not become proud.
5. The Musyawarah just as the Kono makes provision for ensuring that every person gets his (or her) turn. In order to allow for uninhibited participation and freedom of expression, the leaders may quit the ongoing Musyawarah and return later to learn about the decision taken by the remaining participants.
6. In judicial matters, the Musyawarah is subsidiary to the legal authorities of the state. Those who commit crimes are handed over to the police. (Comparison on this point with the Tura is difficult, as the judicial system in the rebel-held areas is rudimentary and unreliable at best. The traditional system in the Tura village, which was revived following the breakdown of the judiciary, involves chiefs, elders, traditional priests and, traditionally, the masks.)
7. Is majority vote an option with Musyawarah? I am not sure if M. is moving in this direction or is sticking to the strict tradition *mufakat* principle.
8. There are two types of Musyawarah meetings, a more restricted one called *Luba* in KM - proceedings normally in KM - and a more open one, called *Gombo* in which BI may be used. I have no clear understanding of the difference, except that *Luba* is dubbed "minor", according to my notes. But what does this mean?
9. Differences of meeting organization should not prevent us from looking at interesting parallels in specific domains of what is said. One of the two best-analyzed Kono revolves around a deal which is clearly and outspokenly geared towards bridging what has been identified in the STORMA context as "security gap". It illustrates how problems of this kind can be dealt with through the land leasing system operative within an extended clan framework in West Africa, and it also illustrates how the increasing significance of perennial crops as main income sources takes this traditional system to its limits and endangers its function as a means of regulating social inequality.<sup>35</sup>

## COMPARISON-2

### *Local populations facing the consequences of the Park*

Of all possible aspects of comparison between the Indonesian and the West African Tura subproject, the one of obvious and immediate interest, apart from Musyawarah, are the communicative processes generated by the reset of local agendas to the hour of the world-wide establishment of national parks carving out vast parts from territory traditionally considered their resource by the local population, i.e. the Lore Lindu National Park (LLNP) in Sulawesi on the one hand, and its Western Ivorian counterpart, the Parc National du Mont Sangbé (PNMS) on the other.

LLNP: 230'000 ha. PNMS: 95'000 ha.

#### *The basis for comparison*

Their prehistory and their histories differ, but their official purpose and basic setup are similar. Their impact as a fundamental and irreversible change on the local populations and their way of life dates from the early 80-ies in the case of the LLNP, and from the 90-ies in the case of PNMS. The Ivorian civil war broke out in 2002 a few months before PNMS was going to be opened to tourists.

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<sup>35</sup> See Bearth (2006).

In both cases also, measures for ensuring the cooperation of the resident population included development and diversification of the peripheral areas adjacent to the Park.

In both areas, we observe an indigenous determination to take on the role of actors rather than adopting attitudes of resignation or of passive resistance. In Western Ivory Coast, the prolonged absence of the Park authorities due to the political stalemate appears to have strengthened this determination in favor of the Park (a case for communicative sustainability!).

From the LAGSUS research perspective, procedures, arguments and concepts coming into play in this process of coping with a host of claims imposed on traditional communities from the outside, with enforced innovation and with an ecological dictate in which the local people concerned have a priori no say, are at the intersection of global, local and intermediary interests, and touch on the sharp edge of the dilemma between development and conservation. The generally admitted fact that sustainability can only be obtained at the cost of freely negotiated agreements between all parties puts communicative, including linguistic resources to highest demand, and adds to the paradigmatic value of the research focusing on this particular kind of setting.

The prerequisite for comparable results are video-taped and transcribed interactions, interviews as well as spontaneous data if possible. (See RECOMMENDATIONS.)

*Taking into account differences*

Comparison only makes sense if differences are taken into account first. A few examples of discrepancies with a clear relevance to the Park-Population-Government triangle in the two areas in focus can be seen from the following chart:

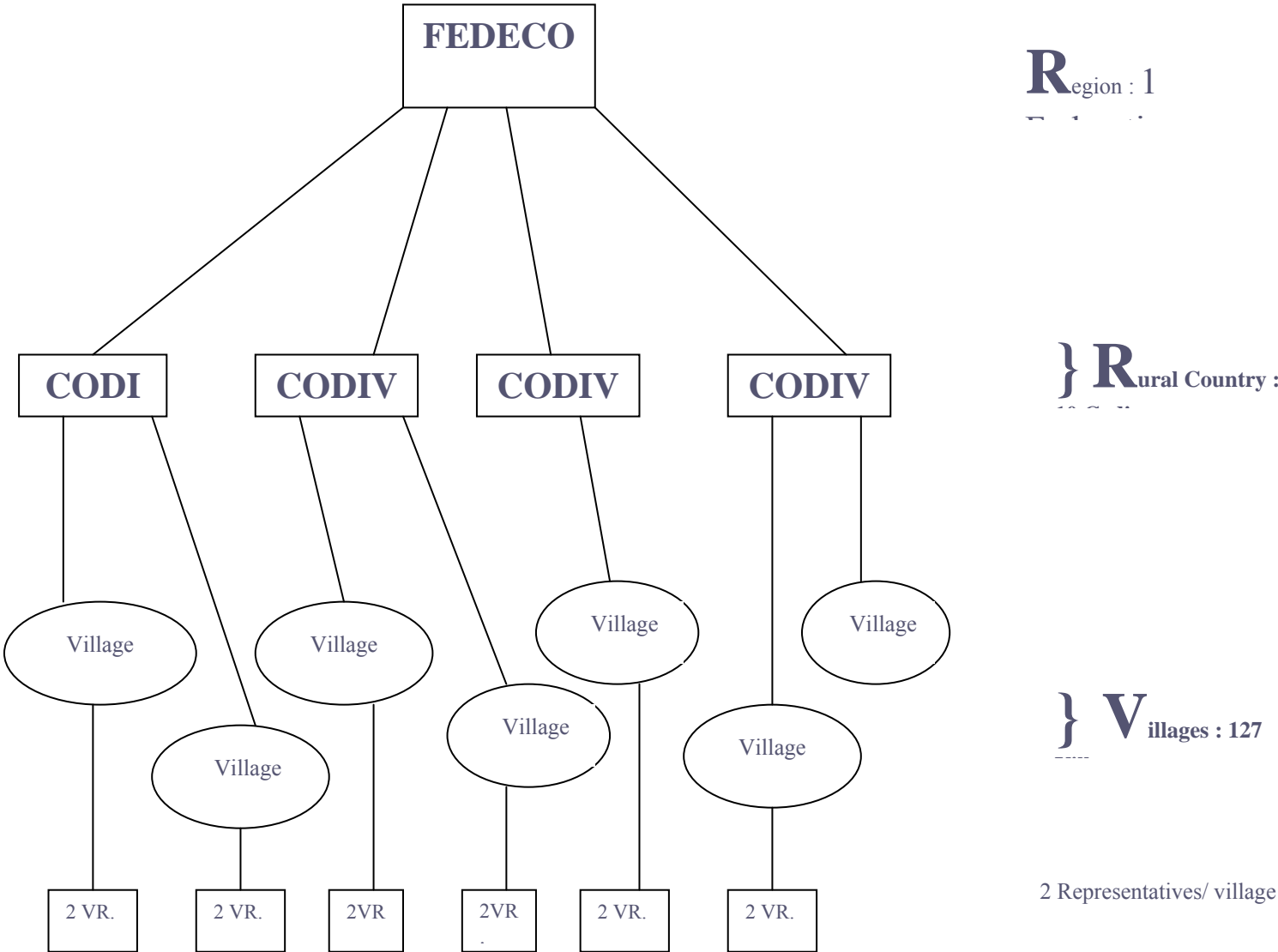
<b>Domain</b>	<b>LLNP periphery</b>	<b>PNMS periphery (Tura)</b>
Nutritional security Decline of - (1-3) acc. to Burkard (2002) qu. in Fremerey (2004)	(1) in-migration	Not significant, may become more so as a consequence of the war (former refugees)
	2) increasing importance of perennial crops (particularly cacao)	Same
	(3) the market penetration	slowly (bad roads)
Model of participation  Strategy of mobilization of the local population	Village-centered  Village associations Adat meetings Village agreements	Inter-village co-operatives (CODIV)  FEDECO: Federation of CODIVs <sup>36</sup>
Local government organigram	Centralized leadership structure. Lines of command and of reporting converge towards the village chief.	Decentralized (clan-centered)
Gender	Gender equality-based?	Male licensing of female activities

<sup>36</sup> From the organizational viewpoint, the development of the areas surrounding PNMS is controlled by CODIV (Co-opératives de développement intervillageois), which tie together all the villages from a certain area speaking the same language, each village being represented by two delegates. CODIV in turn is accountable to FEDECO, which is a superstructure overseeing the development of the park border area, but not the park itself.

In Indonesia, the strategy of local mobilization is bottom-up, the bottom being identified with the village. It materializes in village agreements. Village agreements may provide a basis for inter-village understandings and co-operation, but this comes second.

In Western Ivory Coast, the strategy is the reverse. It starts at the top. The institutional framework can be seen from an organigram in J. Baya’s paper read at Tadulako University (Baya 2006):

The organigramme of FEDECO



*The same may not be the same*

In Tura society, the “gender contract” requires explicit male backing for female activities outside the regular chores. Even urban Tura women still stick to this principle which they consider to be the guarantee of their (conditional) autonomy.



This is a rule which is both observed and also explicitly stated by our women interlocutors. Compare now “the same thing” happening in Indonesia.

In the evening of Sept. 8., in Kaduwaa (Central Sulawesi), 17 mostly younger women take part in the PKK meeting moderated by the chairwoman, the village head’s wife. **The meeting is opened by the kepala desa (the village head).**

It resembles strikingly the Tura practice of putting female collective activities under male authority. But while it *seems* to be the same, *it is probably not*.

In Kaduwaa also, the meeting of the Park regulations committee, which took place the next morning, consisted of men only, but **was also initiated by the kepala desa**. After opening the meeting, the K.d. left the meeting.

My preliminary analysis of these two instances of “the same thing” is that in the LLNP context, the presence of the K.d. reflects something a more centralized notion of village organization, NOT so much (or not at all?) gender asymmetry.

In the Tura context, on the other hand, the same gesture serves to confirm the dependency of the women in all they do as a fundamental order of society.

Things are further complicated by generalized female reluctance of Tura women to appear in public. But this is another matter.

<My understanding of the gender in the Sulawesi area may be mistaken, and the interpretation may eventually be different again. I am looking forward to comments. My concern here was methodological, and I took my first hypothesis as a point of departure.>

#### *Through African eyes*

Tjeripio Mutsutua and Joseph Baya, according to echoes I had from the latter, feel that part of the ongoing struggle in the LLNP communities is related to a state of “communicative dependency” (my term) as a means of hijacking ownership of the Park by the appointed authorities at the expense of the designated ultimate owners and protectors. Communicative dependency here implies that certain informations are deliberately withheld from the basis with a view of monopolizing certain functions and above all of monopolizing communication.

### **RECOMMENDATIONS**

I will make a few recommendations, independently of the situation which has resulted from the Volkswagen Foundation’s decision to discontinue the Indonesian part. In the immediate:

1. Identify all LL of the LLNP area to the extent that this has not been done.
2. Update the bibliography on the Kaili group and on other languages spoken on the periphery of LLNP. Titles shown below are just a small sample of existing literature. For more, see [www.ethnologue.com](http://www.ethnologue.com), Wohlgemut (2004), etc. Some recent research has been undertaken under the auspices of SIL<sup>37</sup>.
3. Study community agreements from a discourse-analytical viewpoint.
4. Produce full transcripts and step-by-step analysis of the following:
  - a. musyawarah at Toro Adat house in the afternoon of Sept. 7, 2006.
  - b. musyawarah of PKK at Kaduwaa in the evening of Sept. 8, 2006.
5. LL as a bridge factor between human ecology and environment – almost trivial but it needs to be taken seriously.
6. Language use and cultural ownership
7. The language profile of Toro and Kaduwaa (building on Basri 2006).

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<sup>37</sup> A translation of the New Testament was published in Napu in the year 2000 (Ethnologue 15, web edition). This is hardly conceivable without linguistic groundwork which in turn should have given rise to some descriptive if not didactic work as well.

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<sup>i</sup> I owe some necessary amendments to Dr. Reinald Döbel. He also provided a number of comments destined to shed a somewhat less idealistic light on local socio-political organization. See Döbel (in press).