

LANGUAGE CHANGE IN BUGIS SOCIETY

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Abstract

Makalah ini membahas kemungkinan peralihan bahasa dalam masyarakat Bugis, bagaimana prospek pemakaian bahasa Bugis dan bahasa Indonesia di masa yang akan datang, dan kemungkinan punahnya bahasa Bugis yang disebabkan oleh semakin banyaknya pemakaian bahasa Indonesia, terutama bagi generasi muda.

Makalah ini didasarkan pada penelitian yang dilakukan pada tahun 2005 sebagai bagian dari studi tentang kesopanan dalam masyarakat Bugis. Penelitian dilakukan pada dua komunitas Bugis. Yang pertama di daerah pedesaan di kecamatan Awangpone, Bone dan yang kedua adalah di daerah perkotaan yaitu Parepare. Pada kedua komunitas itu, terdapat pola pemakaian bahasa yang berbeda. Bahasa Bugis lebih banyak dipakai di daerah pedesaan sedangkan di daerah perkotaan, bahasa Indonesian lebih dominan. Meskipun demikian, kepunahan bahasa Bugis tidak akan terjadi di masa yang akan datang. Fakta menunjukkan bahwa masyarakat Bugis masih memilih menggunakan bahasa Bugis daripada bahasa Indonesia untuk kepentingan tertentu, misalnya untuk memperlihatkan kesopanan mereka.

Kata kunci: kepunahan bahasa, peralihan bahasa, bahasa Bugis, bahasa Indonesia, bahasa Bugis-Indonesia, kesopanan

INTRODUCTION

The Bugis is one of the largest ethnic groups in Eastern Indonesia. Nowadays, the Bugis population totals approximately three million people. The Bugis homeland is the south-western peninsula of Celebes island—or Sulawesi. However, the Bugis people can be found in other areas in Indonesia such as Kalimantan, Southeast Sulawesi, Maluku, East Nusa Tenggara, Irian (New Guinea), Jambi (eastern Sumatra), and even in Java (especially Jakarta) (Hugo, 1982:65).

The Bugis have a rich cultural, religious, and social system. Their cultural norms are concepts of *ade* 'culture' or *pangngaderreng* 'system of conduct', *siri* 'na *pešé* 'shame and compassion', and the symbolism of *sarung sutra* 'silk sarong' that should be followed by the Bugis to maintain a real Bugis identity. Another important aspect is religion, which is unique as it blends the Bugis cultural and religious systems. Other important facets of the Bugis social system are social status, age, and gender differences.

One important issue regarding Bugis people is the ways they communicate. Bugis people are bilingual. They use two dominant languages. The first one is Bugis, their traditional language, and the second one is Indonesian, their national language. In both of the areas of my fieldwork, Bugis is the main local language. In addition, residents use Indonesian.

The issue can threaten the future of Bugis language, in which Bugis people prefer to use Indonesian rather than Bugis language. This paper explores this possibility. What are the reasons for Bugis people to use Indonesian over Bugis language? And how can Bugis people maintain their communicative ways in order that their Bugis language will not extinct in the future?

METHOD

The data for this paper were partly taken from my Ph.D thesis, which was based on the fieldwork that I conducted for one year in 2005 in two different Bugis communities; one is in the rural area, Awangpone, Kabupaten Bone, and another in the urban area, Parepare.

To collect data, I employed ethnography of communication using some strategies such as participant observation, informal interview, and recording conversations. Two groups of respondents were involved in this research. The first group was interviewed about the concept of politeness. They included *adat* 'cultural' leaders, religious leaders, and professional workers aged from 23 to 73 years old, both men and women. The second group of respondents was those whose conversations were recorded. There were 241 respondents: 136 respondents from Awangpone and 105 from Parepare

To obtain spoken Bugis language, I recorded a variety of conversations between men and women using tape recorders. Conversations were recorded in three contexts: single-sex settings (male and male or female and female) and mixed-sex settings (female and male) in a variety of both in formal and informal settings. Aspects like age and social status were examined in both similar and different age groups. In each setting, conversations were recorded among informants of similar age and status, similar age but different status, different age but similar status and different age and status. Most conversations were recorded naturally; however, informants were informed in advance. Therefore, most of them already knew my research purpose beforehand.

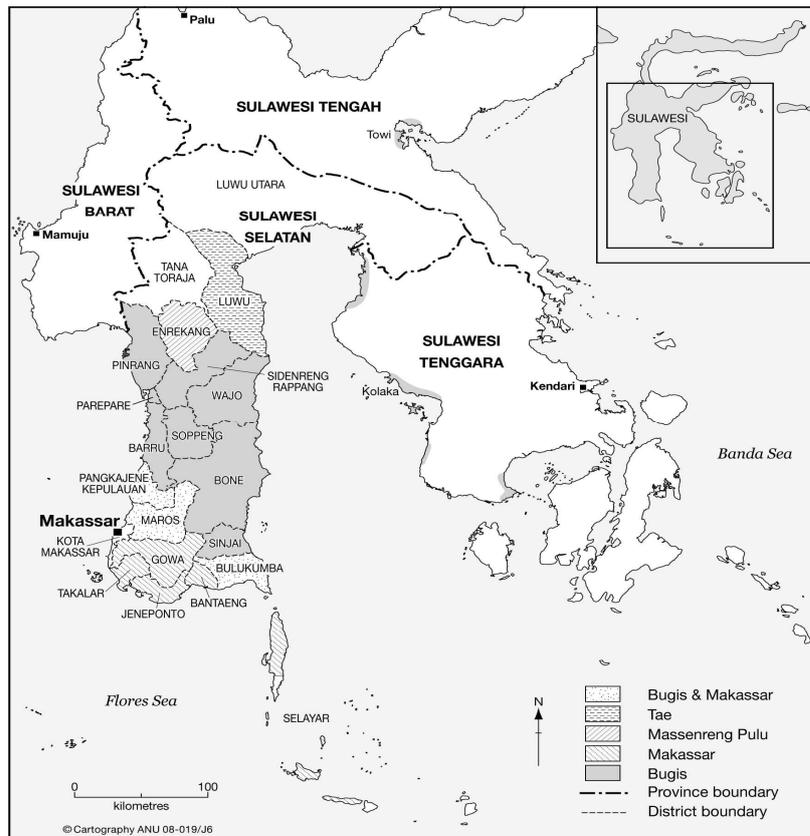
The conversations were recorded in formal settings such as in offices and schools and in informal settings such as in families and neighborhood. In informal settings, for examples, conversations were between parents and children, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, and between people in the neighborhood. The topics they discussed included family matters, family relations, daily activities, careers and jobs, and talking about other people. In formal settings, conversations were between teachers, between headmasters and teachers, and between office workers. The topics included school activities, family matters, careers and jobs, hobbies, and other people. People recorded were from different status levels. Participants included housewives, graduate students, office workers, teachers ranging from 15 to 50 years old.

BUGIS LANGUAGE

The Bugis belong to the great family of Austronesian peoples (Pelras, 1996:1). Their language is one of the four major language groups in South Sulawesi, the other three being Mandar, Toraja, and Makassar, which are all western Austronesian languages.

Most *kabupaten* 'districts' in South Sulawesi are dominated by Bugis speakers: Bone, Soppeng, Wajo, Sidrap, Pinrang, Barru, Sinjai, and Parepare. People in some districts such as Bulukumba, Pangkep, and Maros speak both Bugis and Makassar. Although there are some differences in dialects and expressions, most Bugis speakers can understand each other. Pelras (1996:12) notes that the Bugis still distinguish themselves according to their former major states (Bone, Wajo, Soppeng, Sidenreng) or a group of petty states (those around Parepare and Suppa' on the west coast and those around Sinjai in the South). The languages of these areas, with their relatively minor differences from one another, have been largely recognized by linguists as the constituting dialects. Grimes and Grimes (1987:31) lists ten dialects of Bugis: Luwu, Wajo, palakka (Bone), Enna (Sinjai), Soppeng, Sidenreng, Parepara, Sawitto (Pinrang), Tallumpanua (Campalagian) and *ugi' riawa* (pasangkayu).

Bahasa Makassar is spoken in other districts in South Sulawesi such as Jeneponto, Gowa, Takalar, Bantaeng, and Selayar. There are other languages spoken in other districts such as *bahasa massénréng pulu'* spoken in Enrekang and *bahasa Taé'* spoken in Luwu (map 1). In the provincial capital of Makassar, language use is varied.



Map 1: Languages spoken in South Sulawesi

LANGUAGES USED BY BUGIS SPEAKERS

Grosjean (1982:vii) estimates that ‘half the world’s population is bilingual and that bilingualism is present in practically every country of the world’. Bugis people are also bilingual. They use two dominant languages, either Bugis or Indonesian in different communicative situations. Interestingly, Indonesian used by Bugis speakers is not usually the standard formal Indonesian, identified by Sneddon (2003:121) as:

[T]he language of government and administration, and of formal situations (such as speeches, lectures and writing. It is the language of the mass media (television and radio, newspapers, and magazines) and of most novels. It is the medium of education at all levels and is expected to be mastered by educated Indonesians.

Indonesian used is usually mixed with words or phrases or dialects from regional languages. This is a type of informal Indonesian that is referred to as *bahasa sehari-hari* ‘everyday language’ (Sneddon, 2003:10). Quinn (2006:6) notes that this informal Indonesian is used in conversation and is characterized by the dropping of certain affixes, especially the prefix *ber-*, and the liberal borrowing of idioms from local languages. Errington (1998:98) refers to it as *bahasa gado-gado*, a phrase translated as ‘language salad’, a mixed bilingual Javanese-Indonesian whereas Buchori (1994:26) translates it as ‘hybrid language’, a phrase refers to the mixture of the use of Indonesian with some other terms from other foreign languages, such as Arab, English, Dutch, or German.

The Bugis people also typically use a mixed language, either Bugis with Indonesian, in which Bugis is the main language with some additional Indonesian, or Indonesian with Bugis in which speakers mostly use Indonesian but add some Bugis expressions. In other words, the

Indonesian used here is influenced by the local Bugis dialect and is specifically used in South Sulawesi. This can be easily recognized by the use of Bugis affixes such as *-ki*, *-ko*, *na-*, *-ji*, *-mi*, etc. This Bugis-Indonesian is not only found in Bugis communities in South Sulawesi, but also in other parts of Indonesia which have Bugis residents. Other ethnic groups in South Sulawesi, such as the Makassar, Mandar, or Toraja also use this mixed-Indonesian.

I observed there was a different pattern of use in Bugis and Indonesian in my two fieldwork areas. In Awangpone, the rural area, Bugis was preferred over Indonesian. Only in certain situations was Indonesian used. In Parepare, the urban area, Indonesian was chosen more frequently than Bugis, although Bugis was also used in certain situations.

In both areas, Awangpone and Parepare, the Bugis speakers mostly used Bugis-Indonesian in both informal and formal settings. In Awangpone, Bugis was used in both informal and formal situation, although it was mostly used in informal situations. A standard Indonesian was mostly used in formal settings, but such occurrences were quite rare. An interesting aspect to note in Awangpone is that the Bugis Indonesian was predominated by the Bugis language, with some Indonesian phrases or terms added. In Parepare, the Bugis speakers used Indonesian or Bugis-Indonesian in both formal and informal settings. Bugis was used mostly in informal settings whereas in formal settings, speakers use Indonesian or Bugis-Indonesian. In contrast to Awangpone, Bugis-Indonesian in this area was predominantly influenced by the Indonesian language. Examples can be seen in the following four extracts:

Extract 1: Marwiah and her sister

Marwiah (M, 27) was asking her sister, Amna (A, 22), why she had forgotten to reheat the soup for their dinner.

A: (pointing to the pan in the kitchen) *keró dé'pa. Uwallupai patoppo'i'*
'that is over there. Not yet. I forgot to reheat it'

M: *mai dé' mupatoppo'i? aa?*
'why didn't you reheat it?'

Extract 2: Asking for information in a school

Marwiah was asking questions to Ibu Salma (S, 40), a newly-met teacher from another school about the activities in that school.

W: *masih semester orang?* (Indonesian is identified with Comics Sans font).
'are people [students] still in semester?'

S: *iya*
'yes'

W: *oh, sampai kapan?*
'oh, until when?'

S: *sampai Kamis*
'till Thursday'

The above two extracts were recorded in two different settings in Parepare. Marwiah's choice of language was influenced by the settings. In extract 1, she was speaking in Bugis to her sister, Amna, at home in the kitchen whereas in extract 2, she was speaking Indonesian to her fellow teacher, Ibu Salma, at one of the schools in Parepare. Marwiah spoke Bugis in the family and Indonesian in the setting of the school.

Urban Bugis speakers like Marwiah tended to speak formal Indonesian in formal settings. Conversely, rural Bugis speakers were much more likely to choose Bugis. The following two extracts in the conversations of Aslinah (A, 30) with different interlocutors in different settings show as follows:

Extract 3: Aslinah and her mother

Aslinah was talking to her mother, Hatijah (H, 52) in the kitchen. Her mother asked her who had finished eating the cooked rice.

A: *cappu'ni*

'Is it finished'

H: *hm, cappu'ni? Iga manréi?*

'hm, it is finished? Who ate that?'

Extract 4: Aslinah and her female school principal

Aslinah was talking about the school plans to her school principal, Haji Yuni (HY, 55) in the school, about the school plans for *Isra' Mi'raj* 'an Islamic festival celebrating the journey of the Prophet Muhammad to receive pray regulation'.

HY: *jadi..yé..rencana yaé lo'ki' no' kuro pa' ka pangngobbi' no' mammiraje' di anu..Rapika*

'So, this plan here, we [i.e. you] want to go there because there was an invitation for *Isra' Mi'raj* there, Rapika [their friend]'

A: *iyé'*

'yes'

HY: *ku di bolaé hari Jumat. Tanggal dua dua*

'at home on Friday. On the 22nd,

A: *macella' to tanggala'é*

'the date is red [it is on holiday]'

In extract 3, like Marwiah in extract 1 above, Aslinah used Bugis at home to communicate with a family member. In extract 4, where she was talking to her school principal, she did not use formal Indonesian like Marwiah in extract 2 above. Rather, she used mixed Bugis-Indonesian, predominated by Bugis language.

The above four extracts show that the setting or the context influences language choice. Speaking at home and speaking at office require different language choices. Bugis in this case is more suitable to be used in family setting whereas in an official setting, Indonesian, though still very influenced by Bugis in the rural setting, is preferred. Wei observed (1998:156) that:

Only one of the co-available languages or language varieties was appropriate for a particular situation and that speakers needed to change their choice of language to keep up with the changes in situational factors in order to maintain that appropriateness.

Therefore, it can be stated that choice of which language to use in the two Bugis communities I studied, Awangpone and Parepare, is influenced by setting. In general, Bugis is used in informal settings, such as in families or neighborhoods, whereas Indonesian is used mostly in formal settings such as in schools or offices. As observed, there are also several settings in which Bugis is preferable than Indonesian. Wedding party and any kinds of traditional activities demand the use of the Bugis language rather than Indonesian. Setting alone is not enough however. Within setting, other factors may become reasons to switch their languages from Bugis to Indonesian or vice versa, such as the topics discussed, the type of the activity within the settings, or the need to emphasize ideas (Mahmud, 2008:91).

LANGUAGE CHOICES AND IDENTITY

Speaking Bugis can be used to show the Bugis identity of the Bugis speakers, so that those who speak Bugis are those who are identified as Bugis speakers whereas those who speak Indonesian are those who are not Bugis. This is in relation to Errington's (1986:330) statements that native languages (and their dialects) can be salient symbols of ethnic identity and community membership, primary means for mediating social relations, and indispensable vehicles for (or obstacles to) effective, efficient communication.

This may also influence interaction in the Bugis community. This aspect is stressed by Marwiah (27), another female informant in Parepare, who commented:

Tadi di pasar, kenapa saya cenderung pake bahasa Bugis, kalau kita pake bahasa Indonesia, dia akan berpikir, penjual akan berpikir, tania naseng tau Parepare yaé. Dipatolo-toloimaki' apa to.

Just now in the market, why I tended to use Bugis, if we use Indonesian, they will think, the seller will think, I am not originally from Parepare. I will be treated badly later.

By using Bugis, she wanted to show her identity as a person who was originally from Parepare, which was useful in bargaining with the sellers in the market.

In the Bugis society, regional origins of Bugis speakers can be easily recognized by their *logat* 'dialects' and vocabulary choice. Bugis speakers from Bone, for example, are commonly known to *mallagu-lagu* (having very dramatic intonation and stress). When the Bugis speakers in Bone speak, other listeners can easily identify them as *orang Bone* or *to-Bone* 'Bone people'. This can also be seen by the choice of words that are not present in the Bugis used by Bugis speakers from other regions in South Sulawesi. In this way, speaking Bugis can show one's overall identity as Bugis, while regional differences can indicate home area. To some extent, however, there is a current tendency for urban Bugis speakers to mostly speak Indonesian, especially standard Indonesian, without the influence of local Bugis dialects. In this way, Bugis speakers are trying to show their national identity as Indonesian.

TO BE MAJU

As discussed above, most Bugis speakers in the urban area choose to speak Indonesian rather than Bugis. One of the reasons is the desire not to be left behind or the need to be *maju* 'modern'. Haji Ros (43), an informant in Parepare, mainly uses Bugis when speaking to her mother and grandmother, but she stresses the importance of using Indonesian with her children in order that they are not left behind. She states '*Kapan trus-trus memakai bahasa Bugis, anak-anak di sekolah ketinggalan*' 'When I always use Bugis, my children at the school will be left behind'.

Therefore, she mostly speaks Indonesian at work and at home with her children. The same phenomenon can be seen in Bone. Although Bugis people in the rural area mostly use Bugis in many situations, children are often addressed in Indonesian, at home as well as at school. An example is seen in extract 5 below:

Extract 5: Wahyuni and son

Ibu Wahyuni (W, 36) was talking to her son at home. Her son, Alif (A, 10) wanted to be recorded too.

A: *mauka' bicara!*
'I want to talk'

W: *bicarami. Menyanyiki' palé' kudengari'.*
'Just talk. We [i.e. you] sing anyway. I will listen to it'

Although Ibu Wahyuni usually speaks in Bugis in informal situations, in the above extract, she used Indonesian to her son, although it was a type of informal Indonesian.

Therefore, with the growth of education in Bugis society, the need to use Indonesian is also increasing. This is particularly noticeable in Parepare, an urban area with much recent development, especially in education. In Awangpone, this need is greater in formal settings such as in schools or offices, where education has an important role. Therefore, Indonesian is much more used in formal settings in both areas of my fieldwork.

TO BE POLITE

Although there is a strong tendency for Bugis speakers in both areas to use Indonesian for the sake of being *maju*, the need to be polite by using Bugis or Indonesian become their reasons for speaking both languages. To some extent, speaking either Bugis or Indonesian can become a way to be polite to talk to different interlocutors in different situations (Mahmud, 2008:87-89).

Another reason to maintain the use of Bugis language is the need to be polite and respectful towards older people in Bugis society. In Awangpone, Bugis is used to speak to older people in both formal and informal settings. Only if there are some important reasons, such as a need to emphasize ideas or the topics discussed, do they use Indonesian. The same is true in Parepare. Haji Mariani (45), a female informant in Parepare, commented on her choice of language as follows:

Kalau dengan orang-orang tua gitu, orang-orang tua yang saya anggap, bahwa itu lebih sopan kalau dengan berbahasa Bugis. Kalau berbahasa Indonesia, kadang-kadang dia tidak pahami.

If I talk to older people, people whom I respect, it will be more polite to speak Bugis. If I talk in Indonesian, they sometimes do not understand.

The older generation may also not be very fluent in Indonesian. Therefore, to younger people, speakers sometimes use Indonesian whereas to older people, Bugis is a good choice. This is based on the idea that younger people are more exposed to urban life-styles and accustomed to use the national language rather than using their mother tongue or traditional language. Speaking Indonesian to older people is sometimes regarded as impolite. Older people may feel self offended due to the use of Indonesian, as they may not be able to use or understand Indonesian well. In order to avoid being misleading or misjudging over these different interlocutors, Bugis language is preferable than Indonesian. Older people are undoubtedly familiar with Bugis language.

Due to Bugis hierarchical nature, aspects of social status of speakers and addressee are also taken into consideration in the choice of language. In Awangpone, Bugis is usually chosen when talking to people who have a high traditional status, such as noble or religious status, whereas for those who have educational or occupational status, Indonesian is preferable. In Parepare, Indonesian is usually chosen when speaking to a person of any type of social status. Nevertheless, the above tendencies interact with other factors, such as the need to emphasize ideas, or the topics, which also influence choice of code.

The most common influence on language choice is the educational and occupational status of speakers and addressees. Speaking to the educated people, especially to those who hold prestigious/professional occupations may encourage Bugis speakers to use Indonesian whereas speaking to non-educated people usually leads to Bugis being chosen. This is based on the idea that educated people are mostly exposed to Indonesian, such as in their schools or offices, whereas those who are non-educated are mostly exposed to traditional life where traditional language is used. In an urban setting such as Parepare, Indonesian is typically used in informal

as well as formal settings due to the great exposure of Bugis speakers in Parepare in general modern life, which is characterized by the growth of education and professional occupations.

In Awangpone, the rural area, speaking Indonesian is also common in formal settings but in informal settings, which are mostly dominated by non-educated speakers, or people with low education or occupational status, the use of Bugis is more common than Indonesian. An example of this is the language switch of the participants when speaking to me as the researcher. During my fieldwork, Bugis speakers preferred speaking Indonesian to me. An example is in extract 6 below:

Extract 6: Asking about earrings

Ibu Wahyuni (W, 36) was talking to Puang Aji Masi (PAM, 50) on the veranda about PAM's experience when she performed hajj. Ibu Wahyuni was asking about the earrings PAM had bought in Mecca which she was wearing at the time.

W: *siyaga gerang yétu giwatta', Daéng?*

'how many grams are your earrings, Daéng?'

PAM: *duwa gerang aruwa kaca*

'two grams and eight [carats]'

W: *na duwa?*

'for both? [for left and right earrings]'

PAM: *iyé'*

'yes'

W: *gello' dita!*

'they look nice!'

PAM: (trying to remember the price) *masuli', siyagaro?*

'[they are] expensive. How much are they?'

W: *yakko' Afiah lo' ménré' matu', anu lo' wassuro melli*

'if Afiah wants to go later [to perform hajj in Mecca], I want to ask [her] to buy [something]'

PAM: *siyanu kennana yédé, lebbi telluratu'*

'these are about three hundred thousand [rupiah]'

W: (asking me) *ada kita beli?*

'did you buy any [earrings]? [when you performed hajj]'

Ibu Wahyuni spoke Bugis to PAM. However, when she addressed me, the researcher, she shifted into Indonesian. She asked me, *ada kita beli?* 'Did we [i.e. you] buy anything? [earrings]'. She chose Bugis-Indonesian since she knew my educational background as the researcher and my hajj status. The use of the Indonesian pronoun *kita* is a typical characteristic of Bugis speakers using Indonesian. In Bugis society, the use of *kita*, instead of other Indonesian pronouns such as *kau*, *kamu*, or *kami* is widely used to refer to the first, second, and the first plural exclusive categories and these can become a means of politeness.

In the above extract, the use of either Bugis or Indonesian can become a strategy to be polite to each different speaker. It is more polite to use Bugis language to older people with traditional status, especially if they are still relatives and talking in the very informal situation. The use of Indonesian by Wahyuli to Puang Aji Masi conversely will not cause any problems as both speakers know Indonesian. In fact, it is a way of showing respect to another speaker.

Below are some extracts of conversations by one speaker in Parepare, Haji Erna (HE, 29), which show the tendency of choosing Indonesian or Bugis for the sake of respecting different interlocutors.

Extract 7: Asking a becak driver

In this extract, Haji Erna was speaking to an older *becak* ‘pedicab’ driver, Sanu (S, 55) in Bugis. She was bargaining about the price to get to Lasinrang street.

- HE: *tassiaga lokka di Lasinrang?*
 ‘How much to pay to go to *Lasinrang* [a name of street]’
 S: *tellusse’bu*
 ‘Three thousand rupiah’
 HE: *dua se’bbuna di’?*
 ‘just two thousand, okay?’

HE used Bugis, *tassiaga lokka di Lasinrang?* ‘how much to pay to go to Lasinrang?’ to ask the driver. When they agreed on the price, she turned to me and said in Indonesian, *dua ribu kak* ‘two thousand, kak’. When I asked why she used Bugis with the driver, she stated that it was mainly because she was talking to an older person whom she had to respect, despite her high status as a teacher and a hajj.

Extract 8: A mother and a daughter

The daughter, Haji Erna (HE, 29) is a teacher and has high educational background was talking to her mother, Haji Samsidar (HS, 59).

- HE: *tajenni sinring, tajenni @@*
 ‘Wait for Sinring, just wait@@’
 HS: *nengka makkeda tajenni Sinring*
 ‘Why [did he] say wait for Sinring?’
 HE: *dé, ku karo siruntu’ ku warung sé’dié riolona sikolaé makkedaka maga ngaré’toi oroané ta’pa...*
 ‘No. there is one there. I met at the shop in front of my house I said what happened to that man so he becomes...’

The important thing to note in the above extract is the use of Bugis language, although HE uses Indonesian, most of the time both in formal and informal situations. This is influenced by her need to signal her respect to her mother and the informality of the situation.

Extract 9: Talking about jobs at home

Marwiah (W, 27) and Haji Erna (HE, 29) were talking at Pak Haris’s house about the requirements for teachers to get further promotion. Pak Haris (H, 52) is a supervisor of the school in Parepare. Marwiah and HE are teachers who will have to get further promotion and will be supervised by Pak Haris.

- H: *itu di- disana itu di..SMK itu banyak kenal saya*
 ‘there at..at *SMK* [*Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan*—Vocational School], many people know me’
 HE: *hm..*
 H: *termasuk kepala sendiri, Pak Fatahuddin, Saya yang memegang kunci*
 ‘Including the school principal, *Pak Fatahuddin*. I hold the key’
 W: *Pak Fatahuddin? Iya..*
 ‘*Pak Fatahuddin?* Yes..’
 H: *sekarang sudah diampira itu!*
 ‘Now [the promotion form] has been scheduled’
 HE: *sudah dibuatmi Pak? Nama saya termasuk diantaranya kemarin. Ada sedikit masalah dengan ijazah S2-nya*
 ‘It is already done *Pak*. My name was included yesterday. There was a little problem with my *S2* [master] certificate’
 H: *oh, iya*
 ‘Oh yes’

HE: *belum di.. apa? Dilegalisir. Persoalannya, kalau mau dilegalisir mesti di Australia @@, jama-jamang*
'the certificate] has not been..umm.. legalized. The problem if I want to legalize it, it should be in Australia. It causes too much work'

The extract above was an example of a conversation in an informal setting in Parepare. Besides the influence of the topic, the choice of Indonesian in the whole conversation was much influenced by the social status of the speakers. Both speakers, Haji Erna and Pak Haris, despite their age differences, have similar backgrounds in terms of education and occupation, and Indonesian is certainly known by both of them.

As explained before, Bugis people use a typical informal Indonesian, a mixture of Bugis and Indonesian or the inclusion of Bugis words or expressions in Indonesian. The other characteristics is the use of Bugis pronouns, in which the Bugis pronouns added to Indonesian can encode more polite language. See the two examples below:

Extract 10: A research assistant

HE was talking to Marwiah (W, 27) about my need for a research assistant. They are both high school teachers and close friends. HE asked Marwiah if she was available to become my research assistant and discussed the payment for her.

HE: *ajukanki' bédéng penawaran brapa mau dibayar^{ki}'?*
'we [i.e. you] make a request anyway, how much are we [i.e. you] going to be paid?'

W: (to Haji Erna and me) *wéé, kak! Janganmi..*
'*kak* [older sister!]! there is no need [to be paid]'

HE asked Marwiah to say how much salary she wanted for each month as my research assistant. She used the Bugis pronoun *ki'* in *ajukanki'* and *dibayar^{ki}'* in her mainly Indonesian. Although both speakers are friends, and HE was senior in age and status, she used distant pronouns. This was influenced by my presence as a researcher; the conversation was directed to me. In the above extract, the Bugis pronoun *-ki'* was added to HE's Indonesian, which made her speech more polite. Compare, for example, when HE said *kamu ajukan* or *kamu dibayar*, in which Indonesian pronoun *kamu* was used. The use of *kamu*, the Indonesian pronoun is not polite in that context. The use of Bugis pronoun *-ki'* could make HE's utterance was more polite than when she used Indonesian at all. As explained before this is a typical Bugis Indonesian used in daily conversation. Even in more formal settings, Bugis pronouns can be mixed with Indonesian to make speech more polite. See extract 10 below:

Extract 11: Agreeing to swap classes

HE was talking to Pak Bakri (B, 37), her male colleague, in the school about the need to swap their classes. Pak Bakri asked if he could teach in the first section because his subject was sport which may be dangerous for students to conduct in later hours.

B: *saya mau bawa ke (lapangan)*
'I want to take [the students] to the field [for sport]'

HE: *(oh boleh-boleh)*
'yes, okay, okay'

B: *karena atletik kalau dengan lari jam-jam sembilan bah- resikonya besar, (bisa-bisa dia..)*
'because [for] athletics, running at nine o'clock carries a huge risk, they can [get hurt]'

HE: *(éh, iya-iya), oh, jadi pariwisata dua olahraga, jam olahraga itu?*
'yes, yes! oh, so, class two tourism has sport class, is it time for sport?'

B: *iya jam pertama*
'yes, the first hour'

HE: *bisa-bisa*
'okay'

- B: *supaya langsung saja, lagi pula materinya ndak (terlalu anu)*
'so it can be done directly [I can teach them sport directly], and also the materials are not too much'
- HE: *(oh iya), udah selesaimaki'*
'oh, yes, have you finished it?'
- B: *iyé' saya tinggal itu*
'yes. I have left [the students] there'
- HE: *kalau mauki' ambil waktu agak lama bisaji*
'if we [i.e. you] are going to take more time, it is okay too'

In the above extract, HE could have used Indonesian pronouns as a whole showing her standard Indonesian by saying *kamu udah selesai?* or *kalau kamu mau?* However, these latter expressions sounded less polite and in order to make it more polite, the speaker HE added Bugis pronoun *-ki* to her Indonesian. This can be seen in *udah selesaimaki'* 'Have you finished it?' and in *kalau mauki'* 'If we [i.e. you] are going'.

The use of Bugis pronouns in addition to Indonesian that can be seen in extract 10 and 11 above is a strategy of to be polite by Bugis people. Therefore, Bugis people who need to be polite may choose this Bugis-Indonesian to talk.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have explored the tendency of using Bugis language and Indonesian by Bugis people and its relation to the possibility of language change in Bugis society. This is based on the fact that in today's Bugis society, Indonesian is mostly used rather than Bugis languages in their daily conversations. This phenomenon particularly happened among the younger generations in the urban area of my fieldwork.

In the two different Bugis communities I observed, there is a different pattern of their language use. Bugis is mostly used in rural area whereas Indonesian is mostly used in urban area. However, influenced by some reasons, they may switch to either Bugis or Indonesian. Some of those reasons are the type of activity, the need to emphasize ideas, and the topics being discussed, and some aspects of the speakers' background such as their level of familiarity, their age, profession, and social status.

These language choices may question about the future of Indonesian and Bugis language among Bugis people. In the urban area, Indonesian is mostly used whereas in the rural area where Bugis language is dominant, Bugis speakers also preferred using Indonesian in several situations. One of the reasons for using Indonesian is the need to be *maju* 'modern'. It is important for them to keep track on modern development. The use of Indonesian in this case is an important media for not being left behind, which is influenced by recent development of information, education, and technology. Therefore, in both observed areas, Indonesian is mostly used in the conversations between children and parents or among younger generations in order to keep track on those modern development.

These phenomena may trigger the possibility of language change in Bugis society. It is questioned whether Bugis language will become an endangered language and possibly will extinct in the future. Based on the result of the research, however, it is found that although Indonesian is mostly used among younger generations. Bugis will not be endangered. Bugis language is still used by many speakers to be polite and respectful. In the urban area, for example, where Bugis speakers mostly use Indonesian, the need to be polite and to preserve the Bugis identity encourage Bugis speakers to use Bugis instead of Indonesian. In several situations in the rural and urban area, the use of Bugis is more acceptable than Indonesian. Speaking to different interlocutors, familiarity, and context of the conversations may lead to the use of Bugis rather than Indonesian. Even if they have to use Indonesian, the use of Bugis dialects or Bugis words (e.g. Bugis pronouns) in addition to their Indonesian is still noticeable in order to be polite. In fact, the use of Indonesian, Bugis or mixed Bugis-Indonesian can

become a symbol of national and regional identity of Indonesian people which contributes to the rich and unique characteristics of Indonesian society.

NOTE

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