

Language Interaction, Maintenance, and Loss in Makassar: A Sociolinguistic Study

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LANGUAGE INTERACTION, MAINTENANCE, AND LOSS IN MAKASSAR: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY

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Abstract: *Makassar, the capital of South Sulawesi, contains a rare set of language contact and sociolinguistic language interaction occurrences. Although the Indonesian government has nationalized Bahasa Indonesia, several ethnic languages are still spoken. Nationalism is a “superordinate” and “ideologized” statement that aims to define a socio-ethnic identity. Nationalism unites and ideologizes multiethnic nations. Thus, Bahasa Indonesia is used to unite and shape the ideas of people from many different ethnic groups across Indonesia. However, in Makassar, ethnic languages are used to identify ethnic group membership. The city’s inhabitants often speak Makassarese, Makassar Malay, Bugis, and Selayarese languages. This study will highlight the sociolinguistic consequences of language contact in Makassar, such as language maintenance and loss, code-switching and code-mixing, as well as the phenomena of bilingualism and multilingualism. This work assumes that the adoption of Bahasa Indonesia as a national language did not consider the cultural conservatism of other ethnic languages.*

Keywords: *Indonesia, Makassar, Language Interaction, sociolinguistic language.*

Introduction

The language problem is more than just the problem of the expression of human thought in sound or written symbols, which give man an extensive means of communication. Language is intertwined with the

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culture of a society and its people¹. Every word represents a concept in that culture. Thus, the totality of the vocabulary of a language realizes, the totality of the concepts of that culture—concepts that are related to each other in an interlocked structure, expressing the value configuration of that culture with its richness of feelings, ideas, and ambitions. Therefore, we can say that every language is the complete expression of the life or, as is often said, the soul of the people. The problem of national languages and linguistic minorities has especially arisen with the creation of the new nation states in Asia and Africa after the Second World War². The colonial territories of the European powers, which became independent, were often populated by various peoples and tribes, each with their own language and culture, which in many ways differed from each other, so no adequate communication could or could not take place between the different groups. During the colonial era, the language of the colonial power was the most common way for people from different groups to talk to each other³.

Indonesia is a good example of such a country. About six hundred languages and dialects are spoken in the Indonesian archipelago, which consists of thousands of islands. The largest of which is the Javanese language, spoken by more than ninety-eight million people. Sundanese is spoken by over forty-two million people. Madurese is spoken by over thirteen million people, while some of the other languages are spoken by only a few hundred thousand people⁴. During the colonial period, the dominant language was, of course, Dutch. Indonesia was in a favourable situation since its youth discovered very early that the Indonesian people would only be successful in their struggle against the Dutch colonial power if they could be united into a single social, cultural, and especially political force. That was the decisive meaning of the oath taken by the Indonesian youth in 1928 (*Sumpah Pemuda*) for one country, one nation, and one language, called Indonesian⁵. Even now, Bahasa Indonesia is attaining a special privilege because it is constitutionally nationalised by the government and regarded as the depository of the Indonesian composite.

¹ E.N. Nwobu, "Ludwig Wittgenstein: Language and Culture". *GNOSI: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Human Theory and Praxis*, vol. 2, no. 1, Jan. 2019, pp. 104-19.

² A. Takdir. "The problem of minority languages in the overall linguistic problems of our time." *Linguistic Minorities and Literacy (Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs 26)*. Berlin: Mouton, 1984, 47-55.

³ T. Alfred, and J. Cornassel. "Being Indigenous: Resurgences against contemporary colonialism." *Government and opposition* 40.4 (2005): 597-614.

⁴ P.W.J. Nababan, "Bilingualism in Indonesia: Ethnic language maintenance and the spread of the national language." *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science* (1985): 1-18.

⁵ H.B. Siong, "Sukarno-Hatta versus the pemuda in the first months after the surrender of Japan (August-November 1945)." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* 156.2 (2000): 233-273.

There is, of course, a striking fact that, despite the effort of the government to nationalise Bahasa Indonesia, there exist enormous numbers of ethnic languages that live side by side throughout the country. One may ask how the Javanese population, consisting of about ninety-eight million people, and the Sundanese population of forty-two million people, gave up their language in favour of the national language, which was for them a foreign language. The preservation of the aspects of the cultural heritage of particular ethnic groups, on the one hand, and its modification in the light of influences emanating from other cultural sources, on the other hand, may be regarded as processes that are mutually complementary. In an ethnically plural society such as Indonesia, the cultures of both the majority and minority groups constitute pools of cultural values from which members can draw to formulate their own personal cultural systems. In the case of language, individuals are in a position to construct dual systems of linguistic values and achieve in society a state of “internal cultural pluralism” (as opposed to a situation where society as a whole exhibits pluralism while individuals retain a monistic system).

In this way, the heritage of the whole ethnic group may be reshaped and revalued through its contact with the cultural values of other groups, especially those of the dominant one. This flexible approach to ethnic heritage as a living tradition may ensure its continued survival through the conscious nurturing of certain ethno-specific values, such as language, while at the same time introducing new forms in order to meet the demands of the day. This may involve a variety of solutions, such as accepting bilingualism as the most satisfactory outcome at group and individual level while making adjustments to family structure through the use of more than one group’s heritage.

However, attempts to homogenise society by whole-sale enforcement of the values of the majority upon all groups, regardless of their internal state of development, unbalances the process of tradition, adaptation, and retards, rather than enhances, social resilience. In Indonesia, pressure imposed by the government to use *Bahasa Indonesia* upon its people has resulted in the alienation of some ethnic languages, not to mention the death of some. The result has been a decrease in resilience, which the current generation is trying to overcome. The results of imposing *Bahasa Indonesia* as a national language and as a symbol of nationalism and how ethnic languages are used to define the ethnic group identity of their speakers and whether ethnicity has an impact on nationalism in Indonesia, especially in Makassar, are the basic principles of research in this study. In other words, this work, will focus on the linguistic consequences of ethnicity and nationalism in Makassar.

This work acknowledges that language maintenance and language loss in a given country cannot be explained or attributed solely to one factor. There are various social, political, economic, and socio-psychological reasons for language maintenance and language loss in a society. This study only attempts to explain the role of ethnicity and nationalism in the processes of language loss or language maintenance, but does not pretend to offer this as the sole explanation for the current language situations in Indonesia especially in the province of South Sulawesi where Makassar is situated. Consequently, the analysis of factors such as attitude towards the national language i.e. *Bahasa Indonesia* at an individual or personal level were not considered but may well have contributed to language choice at a group level. It is necessary to mention here, that this work also uses the term 'language loss' and not 'language death', because he realizes that the phenomena of language contact in Makassar has resulted in a situation in which there is a gradual loss in using ethnic language among younger generation though they have ability to understand it.

Theoretical Perspectives on Language Contact, Change, and Language Obsolescence

Every normal human being learns at least one language⁶. Learning a second language is learned either simultaneously or later in life, which duplicates in many ways the functions of the former. When the bilingual is not able to keep the two languages apart, there is linguistic interference, defined as "deviations from the norm of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language"⁷. The linguists' task is to identify and describe all cases of interference and tabulate their frequency. This can be done from small samples of bilinguals' speech. The linguist is also concerned with the problem of whether some language structures are more resistant to interference than others. Sarah G. Thomason and T. Kaufman, in attempting to provide a framework for contact-induced language change, say, "The starting point for our theory of linguistic interference is this: it is the socio-linguistic history of the speakers, and not the structures of their languages, that is the primary determinant of the linguistic outcome of language contact."⁸ Purely linguistic considerations are relevant but strictly secondary overall. The intensity of contact in a borrowing situation

⁶ N.P. Pongsapan, and A.A. Patak, "Improving Content, Organization, Vocabulary, Language Use, and Mechanics Using Movie Trailer Media". *International Journal of Evaluation and Research in Education*, Vol.10, No. 2, 2021, 728-737.

⁷ Ibid, p. 23.

⁸ S.G. Thomason, and T. Kaufman. *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics*. Univ of California Press, 1992, p. 89.

crucially involves factors of time and levels of bilingualism. Most inhabitant of Makassar city are bilingual speakers of their native language and the national language *Bahasa Indonesia*. If there is extensive bilingualism on the part of the borrowing language speakers and if this bilingualism persists over a long period of time, then sustainable structural borrowing is a probability.

In a comparably intense borrowing situation, whole sub-systems or even entire grammars may be borrowed along with a large number of words; or alternatively, the phenomenon known as language death might occur. Furthermore, cultural pressure so intense that all the pressured speakers must learn the dominant language of the community usually leads to one of three linguistic outcomes. First, a subordinate population may shift fairly rapidly to the dominant language, abandoning its native language so that the abandoned language (at least as spoken by that group) dies a sudden death. Second, a shift may take place over many generations, in which case the language of the shifting population may (as long as it is maintained) undergo the slow attrition known as language death. The third possibility is that, for reasons of stubborn language and cultural loyalty, the pressured group may borrow such large portions of the dominant language's grammar that they replace all, or at least a sizeable portion of the original grammar. Interference in literature is defined as deviations from the norms of either language that occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language. Interference can be found at all levels: phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and lexis⁹. The problem of phonic interference concerns the manner in which a speaker perceives and reproduces the sounds of one language, which might be designated secondary in terms of another to be called primary. Interference happens when a bilingual person confuses a phoneme in the secondary system with a phoneme in the primary system and then uses the phonetic rules of the primary language to say the phoneme in the secondary system. Andersen (1982) proposes three hypotheses for language-contact situations¹⁰:

1. A bilingual speaker of a threatened language will make fewer phonological distinctions in his or language would.
2. He or she will, however, keep distinctions that are shared by his or her language and the threatened language, while making fewer distinctions that are unique to the threatened language.

⁹ M.J. Ball, "The rhaeadr effect in clinical phonology." *Clinical linguistics & phonetics*, 28.7-8 (2014): 453-462.

¹⁰ P. Muysken. "Language contact outcomes as the result of bilingual optimization strategies." *Bilingualism: Language and cognition* 16.4 (2013): 709-730.

3. Distinctions with a functional load that is high (in terms of phonology and morphology) will survive longer in the speaker's use of his/her weaker language than distinctions that have a low functional load.

Interference takes place when elements of language B enter language A and are gradually grammatically integrated, or when a speaker of language A starts to speak language B and carries over elements of A into B. Given the contact of two languages, A and B, the following types of grammatical interference of A with B are to be expected:

1. Making use of A-morphemes in a spoken (or written) language
2. The application of a grammatical relationship from language A to B-morphemes in B or the omission of a relation from B that has no prototype in A.
3. A change (extension, reduction) in the functions of the B morphemes on the grammar model of language A by associating a specific B-morpheme with a specific A-morpheme.

Languages are seldom learned in a vacuum. They are learned along with other cultural factors and are constantly intertwined with them. External factors cited as significant in various studies of language maintenance, shift, and death include: numerical strength of the group in comparison to other minorities and majorities; social class; religious and educational groups in comparison to other minorities and majorities; settlement patterns; ties with the homeland in the case of migrant communities; and degrees of similarity between the groups.

Bahasa Indonesia as a National Language: Contact, Influence and Shift

The Republic of Indonesia, the world's largest archipelago, is located between the South East Asian peninsula and Australia, between the Indian and Pacific Oceans¹¹. Indonesia borders Malaysia on the island of Borneo; Papua New Guinea on the island of New Guinea; and East Timor on the island of Timor. Under the influence of Buddhism, several kingdoms formed on the islands of Sumatra and Java from the 7th to the 14th. The arrival of Arab traders later brought Islam, which became the dominant religion.

When the Europeans came in the early 16th century, they found a multitude of small states. These were vulnerable to the Europeans, who were in pursuit of dominating the spice trade. In the 17th century, the Dutch emerged as the most powerful of the Europeans, ousting the British

¹¹ D.F. Anwar. "Indonesia and the ASEAN outlook on the Indo-Pacific." *International Affairs*, 96.1 (2020): 111-129.

and Portuguese (except for Timor). After the Dutch East India Company was liquidated, its possessions in Indonesia were taken over by the Dutch government. During World War II, Japan invaded and occupied most of the important islands¹². After the Japanese occupation ended in 1945, the Indonesians declared independence, led by Sukarno. The Indonesian population can be roughly divided into two groups. In the west of the country, the people are mostly Malay, while the people of the east are Papuan. However, the ethnic structure is rather diverse, with several traditional tribes still living in the inlands of Borneo and Irian Jaya. Islam is Indonesia's main religion, with almost 87% of the population adhering to it. The remainder of the population is Christian (9%), Buddhist (2%), and Hindu (1%), the latter mainly on the island of Bali¹³. The official language, Bahasa Indonesia (a dialect of Malay), is spoken by almost everybody, although local dialects are usually the primary language. Such is the diversity of tongues in Indonesia (200 indigenous speech forms, each with its own regional dialects) that often the inhabitants of the same island don't speak the same native language. On the tiny island of Alor, there are some 70 dialects. On the island of Sulawesi, 62 languages have been found, and Irian Jaya has an amazing 10% of the world's languages¹⁴.

One language, Bahasa Indonesia, is taught in all schools to all students from age five; it is estimated that about 70% of the population is literate in Bahasa Indonesia¹⁵. This language is the only cultural element unifying the entire geographically splintered population. It was first used as a political tool in 1927 with the cry "One Nation, One Country, One Language!" and it is the only language used in radio and TV broadcasting, in official and popular publications, in advertisements, and on traffic signs. Films shown in Indonesia are required by law to be dubbed in standardized, modern Indonesian. Bahasa Indonesia (literally, *language of Indonesia*), also called *Indonesian*, is a remarkable language in several ways. To begin with, only a tiny fraction of the inhabitants of Indonesia speak it as a mother tongue; for most people, it is a second language. It is, in some ways, very modern; it was officially established in 1945, and it is a dynamic language that is constantly absorbing new loanwords. Learning Indonesian can be a

¹² F. Nieuwenhof, "Japanese film propaganda in world war II: Indonesia and Australia." *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 4.2 (1984): 161-177.

¹³ L.F. Brakel, "Islam and local traditions: syncretic ideas and practices." *Indonesia and the Malay world* 32.92 (2004): 5-20.

¹⁴ J.C. Kuipers, *Language, identity, and marginality in Indonesia: The changing nature of ritual speech on the island of Sumba*. No. 18. Cambridge University Press, 1998.

¹⁵ I. Solikhah, and T. Budiharso, "Exploring cultural inclusion in the curriculum and practices for teaching bahasa indonesia to speakers of other languages." *Journal of Social Studies Education Research* 11.3 (2020): 177-197.

rewarding experience for a foreigner, as phonology and grammar are relatively simple.

Bahasa Indonesia is based on Malay, an Austronesian (or Malayo-Polynesian) language that has been used as a lingua franca in the Indonesian archipelago for centuries and was elevated to the status of official language with the declaration of independence by Indonesia in 1945. It is essentially the same language as Bahasa Malaysia, the official language of Malaysia. It is spoken as a mother tongue only by 7% of the population of Indonesia and 45% of the population of Malaysia, but all together, almost 200 million people speak it as a second language with varying degrees of proficiency; it is an essential means of communication in a region with more than 300 native languages, used for business and administrative purposes, at all levels of education, and in all mass media.

Modern Bahasa Indonesia began as a trader's language, used throughout the archipelago. The prototype of present-day Indonesian was spread by the 12th-century Sriwijaya Empire of Sumatra. This archaic language, called Old Melayu ('Malay'), is still spoken in almost pure form in the small Riau and Lingga archipelagos off eastern Sumatra¹⁶. During colonial times, the Dutch used Malay as the official language of administration. In the early part of the 20th century, Indonesian nationalists realised the need for a national language when they found themselves addressing their revolutionary meetings in Dutch. Because it features no feudalistic levels of speech and was not used by any major ethnic group. Bahasa Indonesia was adopted as the future national language at the Second Indonesian Youth Congress in 1928¹⁷. When the Japanese army occupied Indonesia in 1942-45, they banned Dutch but found it impossible to impose their own language. To disseminate propaganda, they encouraged the use of Bahasa Indonesia. When the war ended, the Proclamation of Independence was written and broadcast to the world in Indonesian. When Indonesia achieved nation-status in the 1950s, a modern version of the language was quickly developed and expanded to apply to all the higher requirements of a fully modernizing, developing country.

Bahasa Indonesia is perhaps humanity's most highly evolved pidgin language, devouring thousands of words from Indonesia's local languages, as well as Arabic, Chinese, Dutch, Portuguese, Sanskrit, Tamil, French, English, and American. Many words of Western origin found in Bahasa Indonesian have obvious roots: hotel, doctor, polisi, cigaret, musik, paspor, revolusi, subversif, demokrasi. Some 7,000 words in Indonesian

¹⁶ B. Dalton, *Indonesia handbook*. Bill Dalton, 1995.

¹⁷ F.A. Hamied, and B. Musthafa, "Policies on language education in Indonesia." *Indonesian Journal of Applied Linguistics* 9.2 (2019): 308-315.

can be traced to Dutch¹⁸. New words generally begin in colloquial usage or among intellectuals and scientists. Many newly adopted words come from sports, economics, military science, or some advanced technological field. Although Javanese and Sundanese, spoken by over 110 million people, have also had a significant impact on the development of the lingua franca of the country, Indonesian has become so important and sophisticated that regional languages have not been able to grow into modern languages, serving as vehicles of communication for complex contemporary issues. The Dutch colonization left an imprint on the language¹⁹ that can be seen in words such as polisi (police), kualitas (quality), telpon (telephone), bis (bus), kopi (coffee), rokok (smoke) or universitas (university). There are also some words derived from Portuguese {sabun, soap; jendela, window}, Chinese {pisau, knife or dagger; loteng, [upper] floor}, Hindi [meja, table; kaca, mirror] and from Arabic {khusus, special; maaf, sorry}, etc. Indonesian is written in Latin script and is phonetic, especially since the spelling reform of 1972, which changed spellings based on the Dutch language, such as 'tj' for the sound 'ch'. Another spelling convention that goes back to the Dutch, the use of 'oe' for the sound 'u', had already been eliminated in 1947, but still survives in proper names, for example Soeharto.

Since Indonesian draws many of its words from foreign sources, there can be no doubt about the existence of many doublets. For example, Indonesian has three words for book, i.e., pustaka (from Sanskrit), kitab (from Arabic) and buku (from Dutch). Below are some words in Bahasa Indonesia with foreign origin.

Some foreign words in Bahasa Indonesian Language		
Words	Meaning	Origin
akal	Reason	Arabic
Akhir	End	Arabic
Akhlak	Moral	Arabic
Badan	Body	Arabic
Kitab	Book	Arabic
Waktu	Time	Arabic
langgar	Fencing	Dutch
Arde	Ground	Dutch
Ban	Tyre	Dutch

¹⁸ S. Paauw, "One land, one nation, one language: An analysis of Indonesia's national language policy." *University of Rochester Working Papers in the Language Sciences*, 5.1 (2009): 2-16.

¹⁹ C.L. Penders, *The West New Guinea Debacle: Dutch Decolonisation and Indonesia, 1945-1962*. Brill, 2021.

Baskom	Washbasin	Dutch
Bioskop	Cinema	Dutch
Tante	Aunt	Dutch
bakmie	Noodle	Chinese
Bakso	Meatball	Chinese
Dacin	Balance Scale	Chinese
Hoki	Luck, Lucky	Chinese
The	Tea	Chinese
Beranda	Veranda	Portuguese
Biola	Violin	Portuguese
gardu	To Guard, Watch Post	Portuguese
Gereja	Church	Portuguese
kemeja	Shirt	Portuguese

The phenomenon of foreign loan words is not generally known by many Indonesian speakers. To them, any one of those foreign words is just like any other common word. Sometimes, ethnic leaders use foreign loan words or speak foreign languages just to show that they are educated people.

Ethnicity in Makassar: Language Contact

Makassar, sometimes called Macassar or Makasar, is the capital of Indonesia's South Sulawesi province in Indonesia. In English and many other European languages, the name Makassar was long spelt Macassar, but the Portuguese named it Macáçar during their tenure in the 17th century. During their reign over the city as part of the Dutch East Indies, the Dutch spelt both Makasser and Makassar²⁰. On September 1, 1971 (until 1999), the city was renamed Ujung Pandang, a variation of the pre-colonial name of the city's Fort Rotterdam²¹. It runs along the southwestern half of Celebes' southwestern peninsula. The Makassarese, who make up the bulk of the population, are a Malay group closely connected to the Bugis. Makassar, which was already a bustling port when the Portuguese arrived in the 16th century, was later taken over by the Dutch, who established a trade post in 1607 and eventually ousted the Sultan in 1669. It was the capital of the Dutch-sponsored state of East Indonesia for a short while (1946–49)²². Makassar has long been an

²⁰ Z. Greksakova, *Tetun in Timor-Leste: The role of language contact in its development*. Diss. 00500: Universidade de Coimbra, 2018.

²¹ Y. Iwatsk, and A. I. Branddin. "Makassar (= Ujung Pandang), South Sulawesi, Indonesia." *Bulletin of the Faculty of Agriculture, Miyazaki University*, 47.1-2 (2000): 95-114.

²² A. Reid, "Sixteenth century Turkish influence in western Indonesia." *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, 10.3 (1969): 395-414.

important commercial port, serving as the center of the Gowa Sultanate and a Portuguese naval base until being conquered by the Dutch East India Company in the 17th century. It remained an important Dutch East Indies port, supplying the eastern Indonesian areas and sending Makassarese fishermen as far south as the Australian coast. After Indonesia became independent, Makassar was the capital of the State of East Indonesia for a short time.

Makassar is the largest city in Eastern Indonesia and the fifth-largest metropolitan area in Indonesia. The city is situated on the island of Sulawesi's southwest coast, overlooking the Makassar Strait. Makassar is not only the entrance to Eastern Indonesia but also the meeting point between West and East Indonesia, as well as Australia and Asia. The majority of its residents are Makassarers, often known as "Makassarese."²³ Within Makassar City's fifteen administrative districts, the city has a population of roughly 1.424 million in 2020. Its formal metropolitan area, known as Mamminasata, has an area of and has a population of about 2,698,915 according to the 2020 Census, with the inclusion of thirty-three more districts from neighbouring regencies.

Mangkasara is the native *Makassarese* name for the city. It is written in the Lontara script, which has previously been used to write Makassarese and Buginese, both of which are extensively spoken in the city. This project will investigate Makassarese language interaction.

Ethnic Makassar and Makassarese Language

Makassarese is an Austronesian great family language spoken by the Makassar people of South Sulawesi²⁴. The Makassar people dwell in the southern half of the island of Sulawesi, with Makassar serving as the capital of South Sulawesi, as well as Gowa, Takalar, and Jeneponto. People from Maros, Pangkep, and Bantaeng also speak Makassarese. Makassar is usually used to describe the term that comes after it, for example, Makassar people, Makassar land, and Makassar Harbour City²⁵. As a result, Polinggomang adds that the Makassar are one of the ethnic groups that inhabit the southern and western regions of Sulawesi island. The Makassar people are found in the following locations in South Sulawesi:

²³ A. Abbas, and M. Hasyim. "The Organization of Personal Pronouns in Sentence Structure Construction of Makassarese Language." *Journal of Language Teaching and Research* 13.1 (2022): 161-171.

²⁴ K. Daeng, and S. Weda, "Contrastive Analysis of Makassarese, Indonesian, and English Syntax." *Asian EFL Journal*, 25.5.2 (2019): 111-129.

²⁵ Surya, Batara, et al. "Environmental pollution control and sustainability management of slum settlements in Makassar City, South Sulawesi, Indonesia." *Land* 9.9 (2020): 279.

Maros, Gowa, Galesong, Takalar, Topejawa, Laikang, Cikoang, Jeneponto, and Bangkala (Mattulada, 2011). The Makassar and Bugis people are descendants of the Toraja family and live on the south peninsula of Sulawesi island²⁶. Makassarese is now spoken by 2.130.000 people²⁷.

The Makassar language has served as a local identity and interacts with Bahasa Indonesia in formal and non-formal communication. Furthermore, Bahasa Indonesia developed from the Malay language embryo, which was elevated to the status of national language. Thus, cohabitation of the Makassar language and the Bahasa Indonesia language causes reciprocal impact, both phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically, as well as via vocabulary influence. The fact that the two languages influence one another demonstrates that they may alter each other and cause language loss. More often than not, the Makassar language serves as a method of expressing Makassar culture, as a sign of Makassar ethnic identity, as part of the cultural mosaic, as a bridge between generations, and as a supporter of the national language. Following the 1945 Constitution, Bahasa Indonesia has two positions: national language and state language. Furthermore, Bahasa Indonesia serves as a source of knowledge. Bahasa Indonesia is used in two forms in Makassar, namely casual and formal. In informal contexts, the existence of regional languages, particularly the Makassar language, might act as a messenger, although in formal situations, Bahasa Indonesia has been standardised as the foundation for standardising the Bahasa Indonesia language in informal communication. These two kinds compete in their respective niches.

It should be understood that in this age of globalisation, the Indonesian people are in a precarious position, particularly in terms of language. Language interaction is caused by the Makassar language, which coexists alongside Indonesian. Furthermore, any communication between Bahasa Indonesia and Makassarese will result in code-switching repercussions. Gardner-Chloros describes code-switching as a symptom of shifting language usage in response to changing circumstances²⁸. According to Moyer, interference will develop from a linguistic scenario like this, which is a mistake that happens as a consequence of bringing the speech patterns of the mother tongue or dialect into a second language or

²⁶ A. Razak, S. Sarpan, and R. Ramlan, "Effect of leadership style, motivation and work discipline on employee performance in PT. ABC Makassar." *International Review of Management and Marketing*, 8.6 (2018): 67.

²⁷ N. Natsir, "The Compliment Responses Used By Makassarese Native Speaker." *Journal of Advanced English Studies*, 3.2 (2020): 124-130.

²⁸ P. Gardner-Chloros, *Code-switching*. Cambridge university press, 2009.

dialect²⁹. Interference, according to Spolsky, is classified into two types: internal interference and external interference³⁰. Internal interference occurs when individuals speak Makassarese and Bahasa Indonesia at the same time, for example. External interference occurs when individuals speak both Indonesian and English.

Language Contact that Occurred in Ethnic Makassar

As a capital city, Makassar experienced a rapid growth of since the 1990s. Migration, in one way or another, is one of the cause of language contact phenomenon in Makassar. The ways of life of people in urban areas and easy access to jobs and money attract people in rural areas to migrate and try to seek a better life in big cities like Makassar. Migration relates to language contact of different ethnic groups, which finally results in two important language processes, namely language maintenance and language shift. Makassar, with its heterogeneous population, accelerates the process of language shift that creates the crisis of ethnic identity. Language and identity are strongly related. Identity may be at the level of the group or the individual, hence language is seen as an integral part of a group's identity and of the identity of the individuals within the group³¹. Loiskandl states that "if a group is to maintain its ethnic identity and social cohesion, it must retain its language." Once a group has lost its language, it will generally lose its separate identity and will, within a few generations, be indistinguishably assimilated into another, more dominant group³².

Maintaining an ethnic language to identify ethnicity will result in code switching and code mixing, especially in situations where multiple ethnic groups come into contact. Code switching and code mixing will not happen if ethnic groups start shifting to a common lingua franca, as experienced by the younger and middle-aged generations in Makassar who started using Bahasa Indonesia in all domains. There are two possible processes in order to maintain ethnic identity in urban areas. First, migration to urban areas will create a heterogeneous society. Therefore, an acceptable means of communication is needed in order to enable all members of society with different ethnic language backgrounds to communicate. The diversity of Indonesian society's socio-cultural background is not only a valuable

²⁹ A. Moyer, *Foreign accent: The phenomenon of non-native speech*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.

³⁰ K. Sithamparanathan, and A. Giorgetti. *Cognitive radio techniques: spectrum sensing, interference mitigation, and localization*. Artech house, 2012.

³¹ M.I. Ali, et al., "Information Technology Literacy Impact on Research Results Publication". *International Journal on Advanced Science, Engineering and Information Technology*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 2022. 137-143.

³² H. Loiskandl, *Australia and Her Neighbours: Ethnic Relations and the Nation State*. Vol. 11. Anthropology Museum University of Queensland, 1984, p. 68.

heritage that should be preserved, but it is also a source of creating heterogeneous societies.

We can assume, then, that a heterogeneous society in Makassar is different in one way or another from other heterogeneous societies in other cities on the basis of several factors. Politically, an acceptable means of communication that is used to unite all ethnic groups has been achieved by officiating Bahasa Indonesia and by the establishment of Bahasa Indonesia communities. The second process is that, in urban areas, ethnic languages experience redefinition in functions and roles. Traditionally, ethnic languages are used in all aspects of life and are the only means that are suitable to articulate various ethnic expressions. But, in urban areas like Makassar, ethnic languages stand side by side and compete with Bahasa Indonesia in functions, roles, and domains. If ethnic languages are used exclusively in some domains and Bahasa Indonesia in other domains, we will have ethnic languages' maintenance. But, if Bahasa Indonesia replaces ethnic languages in all domains, a language shift will occur. Some problems should be overlooked as the results of a language shift.

1. Traditional values are shifting, and they are better expressed through ethnic language.

2. The rise of new values and norms are the consequences of using new language as a means of communication.

3. The disappearance of an ethnic language's functions and roles in its domains and.

4. New language varieties are emerging.

Ethnically, someone's status will be determined by his or her position in the group. But, nowadays in urban society, someone's status is determined by his/her social and economic achievements. Similarly, various ethnic kinship addresses are now being replaced by simple Bahasa Indonesian addresses, which lack the zest of meaning. In analysing language maintenance and language shift in Makassar, we need to add two other related processes: language spread and language loss. Language spread is a process where there is an increase, over time, in the proportion of a communication network that adopts a given language or language variety for a given communicative function³³. Most language spread probably takes place as a lingua franca, as a language of wider communication (LWC), and English is a good example. But languages also spread for purposes of within-nation communication, and when they do so, not as an additional language like English in Nigeria, but as a new mother tongue like Bahasa Indonesia, then language spread becomes a

³³ R.L. Cooper, *Language spread: Studies in diffusion and social change*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Ind., US, 1982.

case of language shift. When such language spreads through shifts that take place within groups, we have a case of language loss.

While the question of shift is mainly related to the group, the question of loss is basically one that relates to the individual. It is the individual losing the ability to use the language. As much as language loss within ethnic groups is discussed, this loss no longer refers to a change in norms characteristic of a group, but to an aggregate of losses that occur within each individual in the group. In its simplest form, loss occurs when an ethnic group member or future generations cannot do things with the ethnic language he was able to do earlier. For example, they used to discuss things with their friends or read ethnic literature without the aid of a dictionary, but now they encounter some form of difficulty doing these things. Some of the proficiency they used to have is no longer accessible. This phenomenon is now being experienced by many ethnic group members in Makassar.

Schmidt (1990) noted that recognition of language loss is often delayed; that is, speakers feel that their language is healthy enough within the in-group network until the remaining fluent speakers are all old, even if younger people are all semi-speakers, passive understanders, or have no knowledge of the traditional language, and normal transmission stopped long ago³⁴. By the time a community becomes aware of impending language loss, it may be very difficult to reverse. Another kind of problem often confronts communities in which the younger speakers of the language speak something radically different from what is spoken by fluent elders. If the younger people's speech is regarded by the elderly as inadequate because of puristic attitudes, the younger people may be discouraged from continuing to speak. Conversely, if the semi-spoken version of the language is accepted within the community, even by the elders, the changed version may persist or rapid change may continue.

The problem of maintaining an ethnic language in one language nation relates to nationality and ethnicity. Fishman (1968) has argued for a distinction between nationalism and nationalism in his "Nationality-Nationalism and Nation-Nationism", where he attempted to sort out some of the terminological confusion accompanying nationalism³⁵. He suggested that "the transformation... of tradition-bound ethnicity to a unifying and ideologized nationality... be called nationalism"³⁶. An ethnic group is a reference group invoked by people who share a common historical style (which may be only assumed) based on overt features and values and who,

³⁴ R.L., Annette, *The loss of Australia's Aboriginal language heritage*. Aboriginal Studies Press, 1990.

³⁵ J.A. Fishman, "Nationality-nationalism and nation-nationism." Wiley, 1968.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 41.

through the process of interaction with others, identify themselves as sharing that style. Ethnic identity is the sum total of feelings on the part of group members about those values, symbols, and common histories that identify them as a distinct group. Ethnicity is simply ethnic-based action³⁷.

The resurgence of ethnic awareness in one nation brings into question the goal of complete assimilation for all ethnic groups. Ethnic identity has often been seen as a problem that must be overcome. Social scientists have often considered religious and ethnic groups as “vestiges of a primitive past that are destined to disappear”. But the writers of New Pluralism have argued that racial, religious, and ethnic groups are basic components of our social structure that affect our institutions and are at times more powerful than economic forces in their influence. The major difference between ethnicity and ethnic movement is that ethnicity as an unconscious source of identity turns into a conscious strategy, usually in competition for scarce resources. An ethnic movement is ethnicity turned militant, consisting of ethnic discontents who perceive the world as against them, an adversity along ethnic boundaries. While ethnicity stresses the content of the culture, ethnic movements will be concerned with boundary maintenance. Ethnic movements, by themselves, are unlikely to sustain a language, but they will influence the rate of shift, making it much slower and spanning many more generations. Fortunately, ethnic movements in the sense of militancy did not occur in Makassar.

Apart from the extent of linguistic assimilation, intergenerational differences can also be seen in terms of language choice, i.e., the functional reallocation of languages in everyday interaction. The younger generations of Batak Karo and Chinese preserve their ethnic languages, while for the younger generations of Makassar, Bahasa Indonesia is increasingly replacing ethnic languages in all domains. The argument that ethnic languages are part of the nation’s resources appeals to the notion of preservation of the national treasure and to the idea that languages are resources like minerals, technical skills, or numbers of workers. In other words, ethnic languages should be regarded as national treasures, part of our national heritage and so deserving of protection.

Fishman (1972) points out that a nation’s political and cultural foundations are weakened when large parts of the population do not feel encouraged to express behavioural patterns that are traditionally meaningful to them³⁸. The wealth of knowledge that is there in ethnic languages cannot be conveyed if ethnic languages are not maintained. This

³⁷ T.H. Eriksen, “Ethnic identity, national identity, and intergroup conflict.” *Social identity, intergroup conflict, and conflict reduction* 3 (2001): 42-68.

³⁸ J.A. Fishman, *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Vol. 76. *Multilingual matters*, 1991.

knowledge is usually made accessible through language maintenance work, both to descendants of members of the speech community and to the nation.

Conclusion

Language behaviour of social groups is generally determined by societal socio-cultural and linguistic norms. In a society where a number of ethnic languages come into contact, the forces which contribute to language maintenance, bilingualism, language shift, and linguistic consequences, i.e., ethnicity and nationalism, will vary depending on the focus of social mobilization. A major problem in the accurate prediction of such linguistic consequences lies in identifying the salient factors which contribute to language maintenance or shift, i.e., answering the question “under what condition”³⁹. One can even argue that the most important factor influencing the language choice of ethnic groups is economic, specifically one of access to jobs⁴⁰. Migration is one major cause of language contact and language shift. The ways of life of people in urban areas and easy access to jobs and money attract people in rural areas to migrate and try to seek a better life in big cities like Makassar. Migration relates to language contact of different ethnic groups, which finally results in two important language processes, namely language maintenance and language shift. Makassar, with its heterogeneous population, accelerates the process of language shift that creates the crisis of ethnic identity. Language and identity are strongly related. Identity may be at the level of the group or the individual, hence language is seen as an integral part of a group’s identity and of the identity of the individuals within the group.

Dixon says that a group must keep its language if it wants to keep its ethnic identity and stay together as a group. Once a group has lost its language, it will generally lose its separate identity and will, within a few generations, be indistinguishably assimilated into another, more dominant group⁴¹. Identifying ethnicity by maintaining an ethnic language will result in code switching and code mixing, especially in a situation where a number of ethnic groups come into contact. Code switching and code mixing will not happen if ethnic groups start shifting to a common lingua franca, as experienced by the younger and middle-aged generations in Makassar who started using Bahasa Indonesia in all domains.

³⁹³⁹ J. Eisenstein, *Introduction to natural language processing*. MIT press, 2019.

⁴⁰⁴⁰ R. Ruiz, “Orientations in language planning.” *NABE journal* 8.2 (1984): 15-34.

⁴¹ R. Dixon, *The Languages of Australia*. Cambridge: CUP, 1980.

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