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Language Choice in the Bilingual Bugis Community in Peninsular Malaysia

Abstract

The Bugis community in Malaysia has to adapt to a more dominant local language, namely Malay language, for survival. The objective of this study is, (1) to identify the languages used by the community, (2) to analyse the language choice used in the primary domains that have been identified, namely family and employment domains, and (3) to discuss the factors involved in the language choice used in this community. The research methods utilized in this study are fieldworks, questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, and observations. Data collection was carried out in Pontian and Pasir Gudang, Johor as well as in Pandamaran, Selangor. A total of 200 informants who were randomly selected from the Bugis community participated in this study. Data analysis was carried out based on the Fishman's (1972) domain analysis. The results of the study reveal that most of the bilingual Bugis community prioritize Malay as the main language in their daily communication. This study provides information on the language choice of the bilingual Bugis community in Peninsular Malaysia, which has adapted to the local language. This study might be beneficial to nation building through the mastery and use of Malay language among minority communities in Malaysia.

Keywords: bilingual, language choice, Bugis community, Peninsular Malaysia, Domain

Introduction

Bugis homeland is from Sulawesi, Indonesia. Nowadays, the Bugis people, however, can also be found in other neighbouring countries, particularly in Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei. They were known as successful sailors and traders who had developed a maritime culture over the past several centuries. The Bugis people have migrated to Tanah Melayu (Malay Land) and now is known as Malaysia before the country achieved independence from the British. The massive migration of the Bugis community to the

Malay Peninsula happened during the colonial period until the last quarter of the 19th century. They have already started to establish new settlements along the Coast of the Malacca Strait at the end of the 17th century. The majority of them could be traced in two states in the Malay Peninsula, namely Johor and Selangor (Rahilah *et al.*, 2012). However, the Bugis community in Malaysia is a minority community surrounded by the local community, which is more dominant that holds the most power in the society.

As a minority community in Malaysia, Bugis people have to adapt with the local community which majority of them are Malay. Surrounded by Malay has made the Bugis people in Malaysia assimilate to the local culture and lifestyle in order for them to be part of the society. Bugis people who migrated from Indonesia to a few places in Malaysia such as in Johor and Selangor at the end of the 17th century had to undergo adaptation and assimilation in terms of language, culture and tradition. As a consequence, Bugis people in the peninsula have started to absorb and speak the local language, namely Malay language (bahasa Melayu) in their daily communication. This is supported by Grenoble (2006: 138) who had stated that immigrants may give way to an already established language in a new territory.

Sociolinguists have long been fascinated by the phenomenon of language choice in multilingual communities. People living in a multilingual community need to choose which language or variety of language to be used when communicating with others so that most of the people in the community can understand them. Determining which language is suitable for daily communication is common in multilingual communities. In Malaysia, language choice occurs among both, the majority and minority communities. However, the phenomenon of language choice among the minority communities is rather unique compared to the majority communities, as they have to assimilate to the local language, which is more dominant than their mother tongue.

The Bugis community is one of the minority groups in Malaysia, as well as Javanese (Nurul Aznina Mohd Salleh & Sharifah Raihan, 2017b), Portuguese (Sa'adiyah Ma'alip & Rahilah Omar, 2017), Banjar, Minangkabau (Idris Aman, Mohammad Fadzeli Jaafar & Norsimah Mat Awal, 2019), and many others, which have assimilated into the local society. As a minority community, the Bugis people need to adapt to the local environment, which has a different language, culture and tradition to survive in a new place. Therefore, the Bugis community in the Malay Peninsular has adapted the local language, culture and practices. In the context of language, these people started to speak the local language that is more dominant and powerful. This is the Malay language. Hence, the Bugis people had to switch to Malay language as the primary means of communication within the community. As the consequence, the native language of the Bugis community has become less significant.

As far as it is concerned, the use of the language among the Bugis community has been understudied. Living as a minority community certainly affects the mother tongue of the Bugis. Furthermore, after a long period of assimilating with the local community, it becomes a question of whether the Bugis native language is still spoken here in Malaysia. Hence, this study intends to examine the language use of the Bugis community in Peninsular Malaysia, namely, Johor and Selangor, which were among the largest settlements of this minority community (Rahilah *et al.*, 2012).

Review of the Literature

The Bugis community in Malaysia originates from South Sulawesi, Indonesia. A massive migration of the Bugis to the Malay Peninsula occurred as early as the days of the Malacca Sultanate until the last quarter of the 19th century. Their migration to the Malay Peninsula led to the opening of Bugis settlements along the Malacca river valley in the late 17th century. To this day, the Bugis community settlements can be widely found in two states in Peninsular Malaysia, namely Johor and Selangor (Rahilah *et al.*, 2012).

There are many studies related to the Bugis community done on various aspects such as history, culture, language, politics and so forth. Among the previous studies are, Herianah (2009), Tuti Bahfiarti (2013), Nispa (2013), Musayyedah (2014), Andi Fatimah (2016), Johar Amir and Ambo Dalle (2017), Nurul Wahyuni (2017), and Ismail Suardi, Suyatno and Reevany (2019). It should be mentioned that these previous studies have focused on the Bugis community in Indonesia. However, studies on the Bugis community in Malaysia have not yet received serious attention from researchers. Among the previous studies done on the Bugis community in Malaysia are Rahilah Omar *et al.* (2009), Herianah (2009), Juanda (2018) and Andi Fatimah (2016). Based on the focus of previous studies related to the Bugis in Malaysia, their works could be classified into two groups, namely linguistic and non-linguistic studies. However, most of the previous studies conducted were focused more on non-linguistic aspects. Non-linguistic study means that the discussion of the study does not cover the language aspect of the community. Among the previous studies classified under this group are studies done on the historical aspect. Studies on the historical aspect have discussed the early arrival of the Bugis community to Sumbawa, Java, Bali, Sumatera, Borneo and Peninsular Malaysia (Soehartoko, 1971 and Rahilah *et al.*, 2009). The Bugis people who migrated from Indonesia had stopped by and settled in Klang and Selangor during the early arrival (Dedi Zuraidi, 2012). Also, studies by Rafiuddin Afkari & Md. Akbal (2011) and Muhammad Naim (2016) have also discussed the historical aspect of the arrival of the Bugis community to Peninsular Malaysia.

As well as the historical aspect, previous studies have also focused on the political aspect of the Bugis community as they entered the Malay world. The political aspect discussed in previous studies is related to the involvement of the Bugis community in the politics of Johor-Riau in the 18th century during the power struggle between Raja Sulaiman and Raja Kecil. During this power struggle, the Daeng Bugis brothers who were trying to maintain position, power and finding a better place in Johor; helped to place conditions on Raja Sulaiman who was fighting for the Johor-Riau kingdom (Dedi Zuraidi, 2012). From this point on, the Bugis settlements in Johor were widespread. Studies on the cultural aspect of the Bugis community have been discussed by Raziah Ahmad (2013), Wan Hashimah Wan Ismail (2012 & 2018) and Andi Adijah *et al.* (2017).

It is clear from the discussion above that previous studies on the Bugis community in Malaysia have focused on the aspects of history, culture and politics of the community. However, little attention has been given to the language aspect of the community. A few works concerning the language aspect of the community can be seen from the works done by Sharifah Raihan *et al.* (2020) and Sharifah Raihan (2021, forthcoming), which have discussed various aspects of the Bugis language such as phonology, morphology, language shift and maintenance and language endangerment. Therefore, more studies focusing on the language aspect of Bugis are needed, as the Bugis language has lost its power due to the more dominant language, the local language that is used by the majority in Malaysia. This means that the

Bugis community needs to adapt to the local language of the place where they stay. As a result, the Bugis language is no longer their main language of communication. The decreasing number of speakers and the use of language in limited situations and domains have resulted in the language being slowly disappearing and will eventually become extinct (Grenoble, 2006). The loss of the language power of the immigrant community to a more dominant language has already been mentioned by Grenoble (2006: 138) but the existing studies have not been able to overcome this problem due to lack of studies on the language aspect. Hence, this study attempts to look at the language aspect of the Bugis community. In this case, the language aspect refers to language use among the Bugis community in Peninsular Malaysia in the perspective of sociolinguistics based on domain analysis by Fishman (1972).

Study Procedure and Methods

The focus of this study is to examine the language choice of the Bugis minority community in Peninsular Malaysia based on the three selected domains, namely family, employment and marriage as well as to describe the factors of language choice in these three domains. The data collection process involved several instruments such as a questionnaire using forms, semi-structured interviews and field observations.

Field studies were conducted in several Bugis community settlements in Pontian and Pasir Gudang, located in Johor state of Malaysia. Among the villages visited, include Kampung Batu Hampar, Kampung Belokok, Kampung Sungai Kual, Ayer Baloi, Kampung Parit Jerman, Jelutong Laut, Parit Archong and Pekan Nenas in Pontian, and Kampung Pasir Putih in Pasir Gudang, Johor. Those two places located in Johor state of Malaysia, namely Pontian and Pasir Gudang are presented in Map 1 below:



Map 1: The location of Pontian and Pasir Gudang, Johor. Source: Johor map collection [at:] https://www.malaxi.com/map_johor.html [date of access: 10.08.2022]. The image is a public domain work.

Apart from Pontian and Pasir Gudang in Johor, a fieldwork was also conducted in Pandamaran, Klang, which is located in Selangor state of Malaysia. Pandamaran, which is located in Klang, in Selangor state is shown with the arrow in Map 2 below:



Map 2: The location of Pandamaran, Klang, Selangor. Source: Vectorstock [at:] <https://www.vectorstock.com/royalty-free-vector/administrative-map-selangor-malaysia-vector-32919946> [date of access: 10.08.2022]. The image is a public domain work.

A total of 200 informants consisting of Bugis native speakers were involved in answering the questionnaire, which was prepared in Malay upon the fieldwork trips. Informants were asked to provide some information about their backgrounds such as name, age (selection of three age groups were given in the questionnaire, namely the adolescence (aged 15–25 years), the adult (aged 26–55 years) or the elderly (aged 56 and above), origin, lineage (both sides), occupation, marital status, language used at home with family, relatives, friends and officemates. If the informant is married, then the same information was also required from their spouse. All questions in the questionnaire were open-ended. In addition, semi-structured interviews that were not based on the questions in the questionnaire were also conducted during our visit to the villages. Among the questions asked through this method was about the language that the informants used in daily life activities. The interviews were conducted in a relaxed and less formal manner to create comfort for the informants. The actual language use was recorded.

The observation method was done by observing any form of language used by the informants. This was a naturalistic observation which were made spontaneously in several contexts, such as when the informants talked with their families, friends, visitors to their homes, as well as in social gatherings such as weddings, open days held at a school in Kampung Belokok, Pontian, dinner events as well as on the Bugis

arts and culture day held in Pandamaran, Klang. The duration of the observations was various depending on the events or current situations.

The process of gathering data and semi-structured interviews were conducted by the researchers who were assisted by Linguistics graduate research assistants. The data collection process started with an informal introduction to the purpose of this study, which was given to the informants. Then, the researchers and the research assistants requested the informants to answer the questionnaire. After completing the questionnaire, semi-structured interviews and observations began. Based on the completed questionnaire, three respondents were selected randomly from the three age groups, respectively, at the three places we visited. The semi-structured interviews were very helpful in terms of providing valuable and pertinent data as the interviews allow two-way communication and comprehensive discussion about what the research was looking for.

Data analysis started by analysing the information collected through the questionnaire. This was then followed by counting the information items, for example, language use when communicating with family members. There were 200 informants involved, and the total number of informants who use the Bugis language when communicating with family members was 83. This number comes from three different age groups. There were 4 from adolescents, 35 from adults and 44 from elderly informants. Hence, 4 was divided by 200 and multiplied by 100%, which equalled to 2%, as shown in Table 1. This method of calculation was applied to all language use among the Bugis community. Finally, the findings of this study are discussed based on domain analysis by Fishman (1972) and the objectives highlighted.

Results and Discussion

This section discusses three domains that have been selected, namely family domain, marriage domain and employment domain to see the language choice of the Bugis bilingual community in Pontian and Pasir Gudang, Johor, as well as in Pandamaran, Klang, Selangor. Data from these places were analysed together as they exhibit the same phenomena of language choice. This is predictable as the Buginese people in Malaysia are a minority community. They have lost their authority in many aspects and language is one of them.

Family Domain

In the family domain, the language used to communicate with family members, either with parents, children, siblings, grandparents or relatives was identified. The language choice when communicating with family members in the Bugis community in Peninsular Malaysia is shown in Table 1:

Table 1: Language Choice When Communicating with Family Members

Language	Age group	Number of informants	Total
Bugis	Teenagers	4 (2%)	83 (41.5%)
	Adults	35 (17.5%)	
	Elder	44 (22%)	

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Language	Age group	Number of informants	Total
Malay	Teenagers	27 (13.5%)	117 (58.5%)
	Adults	80 (40%)	
	Elder	10 (5%)	
Total		200	

Table 1 shows the data of the percentage of language use when communicating with family members in daily life. Table 1 above indicates that, the language that dominates the Bugis community when speaking with family members is Malay. This is opposed to Bugis language. Bilingual speakers do not speak one language at a time. They switch continuously. This was also admitted by the informants during the interviews. Informants claimed that they switched language when communicating for example; they used Bugis language with their wives and Malay with their children. The data presented in Table 1 are based on language that the speakers thought they used the most in their daily life. Hence, the number of informants who use Malay the most when interacting with family members is 117, which comes from three age groups, namely, teenagers (27 informants), adults (80 informants) and the elderly (10 informants). The number of each age group then was divided by 200 and multiplied by 100%, which equalled to 58.5%. Meanwhile, the number of informants who use Bugis language the most when communicating with family members is 83, which is less than Malay. From this total number, only 4 teenagers, 35 adults and 44 elderly speak Bugis. From these numbers, we can see that elderly informants speak Bugis the most, not Malay, compared to other age groups.

Language use when communicating with family is also influenced by marriage. Bugis speakers who were married to their spouses who are of similar Bugis background, or those who married someone from a different background (mixed marriage) have influenced their language choice. According to Gill (2001), mixed marriage is a marriage that involves different backgrounds, ethnicities, religions, cultures, citizens, languages, etc. In this study, there were five types of mixed marriages observed in the Bugis community. These were Buginese and Malay, Buginese and Bruneian, Buginese and Javanese, Buginese and Kelantanese, and Buginese and Makassar, as shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Language choice when communicating with spouses

Marriage (Ethnic) Informant (Buginese) + spouse	Language Choice (people)		Total
	Buginese	Malay	
Buginese + Buginese	75 (69.4%)	33 (30.6%)	108
Buginese + Malay	8 (30.8%)	18 (69.2%)	26
Buginese + Bruneian	3 (27.3%)	8 (72.7%)	11
Buginese + Makassar	0	5 (100%)	5
Buginese + Javanese	3 (18.75%)	13 (81.25%)	16

Marriage (Ethnic) Informant (Buginese) + spouse	Language Choice (people)		Total
	Buginese	Malay	
Buginese + Kelantanese	0	3 (100%)	3
Total	89 (52.7%)	80 (47.3%)	169

Table 2 shows that language choice when informants (Buginese) communicate with their spouses. The data showed that only 169 out of the total number of 200 informants were married. This means that 31 of the informants involved in this study are not married, hence, they are not counted in the data for language choice used when communicating with spouses. From the total number of married informants, they were grouped based on their types of marriage, either Buginese-Buginese, Buginese-Malay, Buginese-Bruneian, Buginese-Makassarese, Buginese-Javanese or Buginese-Kelantanese. The data showed that 108 out of 169 informants were married with a Buginese partner. From this number, 75 informants used Bugis language when communicate with their spouses, while 33 informants used Malay. Therefore, the total of informants who spoke Bugis language was divided by 169 and multiplied by 100%, which equalled to 69.4%. This method of calculation is applied to all the data of language choice when communicating with spouses.

Data in Table 2 presents the language that is most commonly used by the Bugis informants when communicating with their spouses. This means that, other languages may be used by the informants, though the use of such languages is very little. For example, a Bugis informant who married a Bugis partner tends to use Bugis language more often when communicating to each other in their daily life. This is because they both have the same native language. Therefore, the number of couples who speak Bugis language (75 informants) is higher than those who speak Malay (33 informants). It is quite interesting when Buginese-Buginese couples speak Malay more often, than they speak Bugis with their partners. From the data gathering carried out, this situation occurs because informants' children only know Malay, hence, their parents have to use Malay with them. The most common language used with their children has affected their language choice when communicating with their partners. Since Malay is used more often when communicating with their children, hence, this language becomes their main language for communication in the family.

In contrast, the data show that 13 out of 16 of Buginese-Javanese couples use Malay when communicating to each other, while only 3 couples use Bugis language. It was observed that couples who stay with their parents-in-law tend to speak Bugis more often rather than Malay when communicating due to the exposure to the language at home. In this mixed marriage case, the couples do not have many choices of language to use because their partners do not speak either Javanese or Bugis language; hence, Malay is the best option. From the above observations however, none of the Bugis-Javanese couples speak Javanese. The similar situation occurs to Buginese-Bruneian couples. As for Buginese-Makassarese and Buginese-Kelantanese couples, Malay is the only option they have, as their partners could neither speak Makassarese language nor the Kelantanese dialect.

Overall, Bugis language seems to be the main language choice among the Bugis bilingual community when speaking with their spouses. Data show that 89 out of the total number of 169 (52.7%)

Bugis informants use Bugis, compared to only 80 (47.3%) of them use Malay to communicate with their spouses.

Employment Domain

Language choice in the employment domain looked into the language used by the Bugis informants in their workplace. Communication in the workplace involves two types of participants, that is, customers and colleagues. Language use to these two types of participants depends on the employment sector where the informants work. In this study, the Bugis informants involved in three employment sectors, namely, government and private sectors, as well as self-employed. The number of employments in these sectors is displayed in Table 3.

Table 3: Language Use at Workplace

Employment sector		Language use		Total
		Bugis	Malay	
Government	Colleagues	8 (21.1%)	30 (78.9%)	38
	Customer	0	38 (100%)	
Private	Colleagues	9 (29%)	22 (71%)	31
	Customer	12 (38.7%)	19 (61.3%)	
Self-employed	Colleagues	30 (60%)	20 (40%)	50
	Customer	38 (76%)	12 (24%)	
Total				119

As shown in Table 3, the Bugis informants were involved in three types of employment, namely government, private and self-employed. As can be seen, there are 38 out of the total number of 119 Bugis informants who work in the government sector. The data show that informants who work in this sector use Malay only when communicating with customers at their workplace. Communication with colleagues however, shows some slight difference whereby only 21.1% of them use Bugis as it happens to be that their colleagues also use Bugis, while the other 78.9% use Malay. This is obviously relevant as Malay is an official language of the country and is the main language used in the government administration.

On the other hand, Bugis informants who work in the private sector are not as many as those in the government sector. Data show that only 31 out of the total number of 119 Bugis informants work in the private sector, whereby more than half of this number use Malay to communicate with their colleagues (22 out of 31 informants) and customers (19 out of 31 informants). Communication in Bugis in this sector, however, shows a small number, both with colleagues (9 out of 31 informants) and customers (12 out of 31 informants).

As for the self-employed Bugis informants, farming and owning small businesses were observed as the main occupations among them. Table 3 shows that the Bugis language is commonly used among self-employed workers when communicating with colleagues (30 out of 50 informants) and customers (38 out of 50 informants). As self-employed workers, Bugis informants earn a living by working for themselves just around their village with the help of family members and meeting with local people most of the time, hence, the use of Bugis language is more dominant. It is worth noting that the other Bugis informants, who were not in one of the employment sectors above, were all unemployed as they were still in schools; some were housewives. This means that 112 out of the total number of 200 Bugis informants were unemployed, whereby 31 and 50 of them were in schools and housewives, respectively.

The language use in the employment domain by the Bugis informants when communicating with both colleagues and customers as a whole is dominated by Malay language, except for self-employed workers. The involvement of the Bugis community in various types of jobs that cause them to interact with outsiders has further encouraged the use of Malay language among them.

Factors Influencing Language Choice

The discussion above has discussed two major domains. These are family and employment domains. These domains have influenced the language use of the informants. In this study, we also discuss the factors that also influence the language use of the informants. The findings identified that age, education level, workplace and marriage are the factors that influenced the language use among the Bugis informants. Each of these factors is discussed below.

Age Factor

Age has influenced much the choice of language among the informants. The data analysis found that Malay is more dominant among teenagers and adults of the Bugis community compared to Bugis language. This is because these two groups of speakers interact more with the public who do not live locally. Among them are those who work or were educated at institutions or schools which are far away from the place they reside, thus requiring them to interact with people of different backgrounds and race. It is common knowledge that ML is the means of interaction among people regardless of their background. This scenario is known as 'language shift' whereby one needs to use a language, which is understood by all.

There are circumstances where the Bugis teenagers and adults who know and understand Bugis language, but do not know how to speak it. They understand what is conveyed in Bugis, but respond to it in Malay. Table 4 below presents language ability among teenagers and adults:

Table 4: Language ability among teenagers and adults

Group	Understand (√) Speak (√)	Understand (√) Speak (X)	Understand (X) Speak(X)	Total
Teenagers	4 (12.9%)	10 (32.3%)	17 (54.8%)	31
Adults	35 (30.4%)	59 (51.3%)	21 (18.3%)	115

Table 4 shows language ability among Bugis teenagers and adults. The data reveal that these two groups of speakers are not mastering the language. Based on Table 4, the number of teenagers who could not both understand and speak the language is considered high. The data show that 54.8% of the teenagers could not understand and speak Bugis, while only 12.9% could understand and speak the language. On the other hand, language ability among adults shows somewhat different. The data indicates that 30.4% of adults group could understand and speak the language, while 51.3% could only understand the language but could not speak it and the rest of them could not understand and speak the language.

Some speakers could speak Bugis well given that they were exposed to the language from a young age. Their parents or great grandparents had enforced the use of the mother tongue in their interactions, particularly with family members. Some of the teenagers used Bugis language as a means of communication among family members who know how to speak the language. This situation is known as ‘language maintenance’, where one does not need to shift to Malay to understand one another. Table 5 presents language use among teenagers when interacting with family members.

Table 5: Language use among teenagers when interact with family members.

Family members	Language use		Total
	Bugis language	Malay language	
Parents	5 (16.1%)	26 (83.9%)	31
Siblings	2 (6.5%)	29 (93.5%)	
Grandparents	7 (22.6%)	24 (77.4%)	

Table 5 shows the language use among teenagers when communicate with their family members. Based on the figure, Malay language is the main language used among teenagers when interaction with their parents, siblings and grandparents. The total number of Bugis teenagers involved in this study is 31, out of this total number, 26, 29 and 24 of them used Malay with their parents, siblings and grandparents, respectively. The rest of them used Bugis.

Housewives often use Malay when communicating with family members. They use Malay as a means of communication at home so that their children are exposed to the language at a very young age. This is because their children will not only interact with people of a similar race using Bugis language but also interact with people of different races. The elderly use Bugis language more often in their communion. They are more inclined to use BL because they only communicate with the locals and are rarely exposed to people outside their community. The elderly also communicate with their grandchildren despite knowing they do not use BL anymore. This is possibly because the present generation do not realise the importance of using Bugis language. The elderly communicate using Bugis language because they are concerned in the future, there will no longer be speakers of this language anymore. Some elderly people teach Bugis language to their children and grandchildren. They are in the opinion that they must pass their ancestral language, hoping that this language will not die. In addition, Bugis language is a symbol of identity to the Bugis community, which needs to be retained.

EducationLevel

Bugis language is frequently used by those who are less educated, namely those with primary and secondary school education. Those in the Bugis community who received primary education are more inclined to use Bugis language, whereas the rest of them use Malay when interacting with one another to ensure understanding. Those who are educated at the primary school level are from the elderly. Only one person from the Bugis community who received secondary education uses Bugis language. This is probably because the majority of his friends and teachers in school mainly come from the Bugis community. Hence, he/she is not required to use Malay when interacting with others. In contrast, those who are educated at religious schools use Malay and Bugis language in their interaction in their daily affairs.

Those who are more educated use Malay in communicating with others because they are aware that this language is a national language. In addition, the use of Malay facilitates interactions across cultures. All the ethnic groups in Malaysia understand the language, therefore misunderstanding would not occur if Malay is used in their interaction. Malay speakers who resume their studies overseas would opt for another language which is more important when interacting with speakers of different languages. If a speaker were to retain his/her mother tongue in such interactions, particularly when his/her mother tongue is a minority, or less important language, miscommunication would take place.

Those who receive primary education at the primary level or attend school within the settlement of a particular race, tend to use their own language. This phenomenon is because, interactions will only occur among themselves. Thus, there is no any necessity for them to shift to another language given that the one they are using can be understood by others and they are comfortable using it. More information on language use based on the education level of the Bugis community is summarized in Table 6.

Table 6: Language use based on education level

Level of education	Language use		Total
	Bugis	Malay	
Primary school	21 (56.8%)	16 (43.2%)	37 (100%)
Religious schools	3 (60%)	2 (40%)	5 (100%)
Adult school	3 (100%)	0 (0)	3 (100%)
PMR	13 (37.1%)	22 (62.9%)	35 (100%)
SPM	19 (27.5%)	50 (72.5%)	69 (100%)
STPM	4 (25%)	12 (75%)	16 (100%)
STAM	3 (33.3%)	6 (66.7)	9 (100%)
Diploma	2 (11.8%)	15 (88.2%)	17 (100%)

Level of education	Language use		Total
	Bugis	Malay	
Degree	2 (22.2%)	7 (77.8%)	9 (100%)
Total			200

Based on language shift, a Bugis language speaker will opt for another language when the other interlocutor cannot speak his mother tongue to ensure smooth communication. For example, speaker A who is a proficient Bugis speaker wants to interact with another speaker, speaker B who is Javanese and does not know Bugis. Therefore, speaker A needs to shift from Bugis to Malay to communicate with speaker B. Hence, it improves understanding among them. If interlocutor A does not shift to another language, the other interlocutor (speaker B) will not understand him, resulting in problems in communication. The language maintenance phenomenon takes place when speaker A who is a proficient Bugis language speaker communicates with another proficient BL speaker (interlocutor B) who uses Bugis as a common language in their interaction. In this situation, both speakers understand one another without shifting to another language in their interaction.

Workplace Factor

Malay is widely used among the Bugis community at the workplace. Bilingual Bugis who are government servants or work in private sectors widely use Malay in interaction with their employers, colleagues, and clients more than using the Bugis language. Moreover, more Bugis staffs who are private-sector employees opt to use Malay whereas the rest of them would use the Bugis language as a language of communication at the workplace. The choice of using Malay is because it is the national language of Malaysia given that not all their customers or colleagues come from a similar racial background. Therefore, the use of Malay is essential at the workplace. In addition, Malay is the language of interaction when one needs to communicate with another person of a different race. A good example is the situation when a Chinese needs to speak with an Indian. This phenomenon is described as 'language shift', a situation when a speaker needs to shift to a language known and understood by the other interlocutor. The use of Bugis language in business is because they only must communicate with clients or colleagues who are Bugis and thus can speak Bugis.

However, the bilingual Bugis community who are self-employed, such as farmers and businessmen, prefer to maintain using their native language in their business transactions compared to using Malay. Nevertheless, several of these people use Malay in dealing with the public. Those who have the tendency of using Bugis language, tend to spend time and work in their own locality. As a result, their interactions are confined to local customers. This is very much different when they must interact with outsiders whereby, they have to use Malay to ensure understanding given that not everybody understands BL in view that it is a minority language in Malaysia. This scenario reflects the concept of language shifting.

Marriage Factor

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The Bugis community tends to marry someone of a similar race, specifically a Bugis rather than someone from a different race. Marrying someone from a different race is known as intermarriage, which is marrying someone from a different race, religion, language, etc. Intermarriage is another factor that influences the language choice of the bilingual Bugis community. This is because there are different languages spoken within a race. In other words, language is the identity of a community.

As for a member of the bilingual Bugis community whose spouse is from a different race, they must change or shift the language when communicating with their partners who do not understand BL. This phenomenon is known as 'language shift' where one needs to change the language understood by the other party. For instance, a Bugis who marries someone who is a Malay, Javanese, Makasar, Bruneian or Kelantanese must shift to a language that is known and understood by both of them to ease their communication. However, it is also feasible that one learns the language spoken by their spouses.

A Bugis speaker who marries someone from a different race is more inclined to communicate using Malay in speaking with their spouses. The reason is that both know Malay given that it is the national language, and it is the means of communication in the country. Besides, those who marry within their race (a Bugis) maintain communication by using Bugis language since it is understood by both.

The Bugis community who marries someone of a similar race tends to maintain the use of the Bugis language as the heritage language if their spouse speaks the Bugis language well. This is because they understand one another well and this is in line with the concept of language maintenance. This phenomenon occurs when the interlocutors use the language, they are proficient in for effective communication. However, there are also instances where couples use Malay despite their ability to speak Bugis language well. This is possible because they like to maintain their status or being influenced by their occupation. Inter/mixed marriage is a clear factor that influences the language choice of the bilingual Bugis community.

Conclusion

It can be concluded that most of the bilingual Bugis community in Pontian and Pasir Gudang, Johor as well as Klang, Selangor prioritize the use of Malay as a language of interaction in their daily lives. The high usage of Malay is induced by the fact that it is the national language of the country. The high usage of Malay can be observed in the two domains investigated, namely, family and employment domains. This is explained by the fact that the interactions in these domains do not only involve communication within a race but also communication involving different races and ethnicity.

Despite this, the bilingual Bugis community does not abandon their mother tongue or heritage language which is Bugis. Given that Bugis is a minority language and is not widely spoken in Malaysia, it is commonly used within the family domain only. Besides, not all Malaysians know how to speak in this language. In maintaining this language as the language of heritage, parents and grandparents must introduce and teach this language to their children from a very young age. Moreover, they also need to speak to their children in Bugis language. Hence, Bugis language will not vanish with time since it is not vital to learn the minority language at present.

Furthermore, this article discusses several factors that influence the choice of language used by the bilingual Bugis community such as age, education level, occupation, and marriage. These four factors play a very important role in one's language choice in communicating with a particular person at a specific place and situation. This supports Fishman's (1972) claim that one's language choice depends on who speaks what language to whom and when. This phenomenon is similar in the situations of language shift and language maintenance. Impoliteness and misunderstanding will take place if one were to use the incorrect language in their interaction.

In conclusion, Malay is the primary language spoken by the bilingual Bugis community in this research. The evidence is displayed by the dominant use of Malay compared to the lesser use of Bugis language in the three domains discussed above. The little exposure to the mother tongue specifically Bugis language has resulted in the vast use of Malay, instead. Nevertheless, among the elderly bilingual Bugis community, Bugis language is used as the means of communication in their daily lives.

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