

The Ethnolinguistic Vitality of Konjo in Bulukumba Regency of South Sulawesi, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

The maintenance of an ethnic language in a multilingual setting depends on many factors, and it is including language vitality. This study examines the vitality of the Konjo language in South Sulawesi. By demonstrating the ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) theory, this descriptive study examines Konjo language vitality in two contexts: ethnically homogeneous and ethnically heterogeneous areas in Bulukumba Regency. In the homogenous area, status, demographic, and institutional support are factors to contribute to the EV of Konjo. However, in the heterogeneous area, demographic factors contribute little while status and institutional support contribute to the maintenance of the language. The result of this study shows that the sheer number of Konjo community members distributed throughout the heterogeneous area is not sufficient for language maintenance. Nevertheless, Konjo EV remains high overall because of the community's strong cultural and ethnic identification with their heritage language..

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1. Introduction

Indonesia is a large, multi-ethnolinguistic archipelagic country in South East Asia. "Roughly 10 percent of the languages of the world are spoken in Indonesia, making it one of the most multilingual nations in the world" (Cohn & Ravindranath, 2014, 132). One of ethnic in South Sulawesi is Kajang Ethnic which one of the ethics that live privately in South Sulawesi, precisely in Bulukumba Regency (F Rahman et al., 2019). Customary forest of Ammatowa community can be conserved and maintained is caused by the strength of tradition or oral tradition (Sahib, et al. 2019). Moreover, Adelaar (2010) states that "Indonesia is home to the largest concentration of Austronesian languages in the world". In 2010, the Indonesian Central Statistics Agency enumerated 1,211 local languages, 633 ethnic groups, and 1,331 sub-ethnic groups in the archipelago. However, many local languages in Indonesia are now endangered, and documentation is urgently needed to preserve them. Using the EGIDS (Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale), Anderbeck (2015) summarised the state of Indonesian languages as follows: 1) Slightly less than two of every four Indonesian languages are currently vital and maintaining speaker numbers (EGIDS 1-6a). In these groups, the current generation of speakers consistently teaches their language to their children. Speakers may be bilingual but they have an instinctive sense of when they use their local language and a dominant language like Indonesian, 2) One of every four Indonesian languages is vulnerable (EGIDS 6b *Threatened*), with shrinking speaker numbers. Usually most children still learn the language from their parents, but... the pressures of a globalizing world mean that an often substantial subset is turning its back on the mother tongue, and 3) The remaining one of every four Indonesian languages seems to be dying (EGIDS 7-8b) or may be already extinct. Some, like Marori [in Papua], may be within a generation of being lost. Others may last two or three generations, or even confound expectations indefinitely.

There are three local minority languages in South Sulawesi (Fathu Rahman, 2018). The situation of language endangerment for the local minority languages in Indonesia is different from other multilingual settings as it is threatened by the pressures of an official national language, Bahasa Indonesia (or informally, merely "Indonesian"). Cohn and Ravindranath (2014) state that "since independence, Indonesian has increasingly been spoken as a second language by most of the population and more recently increasingly as a first language as well, coexisting alongside other native

languages in the archipelago.” Research now reports Bahasa Indonesia's use in an increasing number of domains, including in areas of local languages in South Sulawesi (Madeamin, 2015; Maricar, 2016; Masruddin, 2011). Many people abandon their local languages, leaving them to become moribund and on occasion, unfortunately, dead languages (Machmoed, 2008). Many in the younger generation feel the need to use the national language as a commitment as Indonesians.. This phenomenon is also true for robust local languages such as Javanese with over 80 million speakers, a vast majority over other local languages. It cannot be denied that Indonesian is now seeing its own long-delayed period of linguistic homogenization, not unlike what has happened over the past few centuries in the Americas and Australia (Anderbeck, 2015).

Considering this situation, the need for language documentation and revitalization has become urgent, even though a local language may still be assumed to be a “safe” language (for example, it has not yet reached EGIDS stage 6a). The number of language users can be seriously reduced by catastrophic natural causes, such as earthquakes, hurricanes, tsunamis, floods, volcanic eruptions, and other cataclysms. In addition, research on the vitality of existing local languages is also needed to document current situations and be useful for making future language policy in Indonesia. According to Ibrahim (2011), Indonesia still does not have accurate maps of all the local languages' language vitality. Anderbeck (2015) has attempted to account for approximately 700 languages from available published sources to provide a portrait of Indonesian language vitality. He found substantial differences in vitality profiles among the Indonesian macro regions of Sumatra, Java/Bali, Sulawesi, Maluku, and Papua (see Figure 1) by grouping the languages using the EGIDS scale. Unfortunately, this portrait of language vitality still does not include all ethnic languages, and many remain incompletely documented.

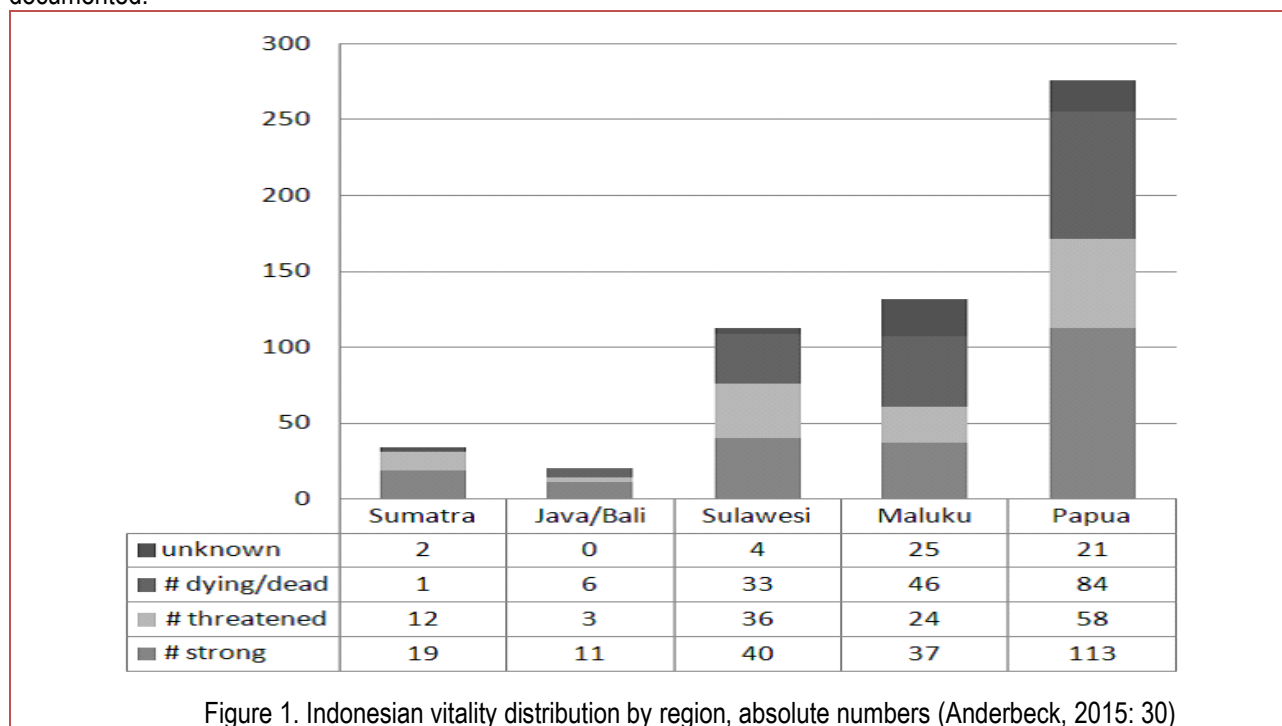


Figure 1. Indonesian vitality distribution by region, absolute numbers (Anderbeck, 2015: 30)

Figure 1 suggests the number of endangered languages (threatened and dying) is far higher than the number of safe languages in Indonesia. The greatest concentration of endangered languages is found in eastern Indonesia. It is notable that the diversity, and endangerment, increase along with geographical distance from the administrative center of Java. To take Sulawesi as an example, we note that the diversity picture is radically different from that in Sumatra or Java/Bali. Several languages in Sulawesi are generally stronger—an exception being in North Sulawesi where Manado Malay has nearly completed its takeover of domains previously occupied by local languages (Anderbeck, 2015) - but are gradually losing ground to Bahasa Indonesia. Florey (2005) also provides an overview of endangered languages on this island, but from a typological rather than a genetic perspective.

South Sulawesi's linguistic diversity differs widely from that of, for example, Java; while the languages found in East Java, Yogyakarta, and Central Java differ, they are all considered members of the same language family and dialects of Javanese. In South Sulawesi, there are 4 recognised ethnic groups: Makassarese, Buginese, Torajan, and Mandar. However, a recent reclassification, relying on the complete data set of the 2010 census and earlier pioneering work using

the 2000 census, has expanded the ethnic group composition in South Sulawesi to include Buginese, Makassarese, Torajan, Mandar, Luwu, Duri, and Selayar (Ananta, Arifin, Hasbullah, Handayani & Pramono, 2015). Although this recent classification bears further analysis, Ananta, et.al assert that “the people of Indonesia are free to determine their own ethnic groups and they may even change their ethnic groups as frequently as they wish, as the change does not have any consequences. This is different with other countries such as China, whose government officially recognises fifty-six ethnic groups, and Singapore, who categorises its population into four major groups” (2015, 39). Various factors may influence the shifts in ethnic identity for Indonesians. For example, in exogamous marriages between members of different ethnicities, individuals are likely to follow the pattern of traditions based on location of residence and unconsciously develop multiple ethnic identities or even shift identity with changes in traditions and language use. If they feel comfortable with a new identity, this ethnic identification continues to their descendants with aspects of one, both, or a blend of traditions and behaviors. This notion is supported by Fishman (1977: 30-31) who states that ethnic identity, like other statuses, is negotiable. Fundamentally, modern man's peculiar capacity for multiple loyalties, multiple identities, and multiple memberships permits ethnicity to exist and coexist without being noticed either by actors, observers, or analysts.

2. Ethnolinguistic Vitality

To systematically investigate the vitality of an ethnic minority language, various taxonomies have been developed based on studies conducted over the past 40 years worldwide (Smith, Ehala and Giles, 2017). One of these is the taxonomy of *Ethnolinguistic Vitality* (EV). The EV theory is derived from Tajfel's (1981) theory of intergroup relations and Giles' theory of speech accommodation as “that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations” (Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977, 308). Several models of ethnolinguistic vitality have been expanded and used in studies of different ethnolinguistic groups and contexts (Allard and Landry, 1986; Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal, 1981; Ehala, 2009; Ehala and Zabrodskaja, 2013; Yagmur and Ehala, 2011). Variably, the EV concept is implemented for investigating the role of socio-structural variables in intergroup relations (Allard and Landry, 1986; Bourhis and Sachdev, 1984), language maintenance and shift (Finocchiaro, 2004; Hudyma, 2012; Kasatkina, 2011; Wang and Chong, 2011), and language revitalization (Yagmur and Kroon, 2006). Even though an implementable model of EV was proposed over two decades ago, and despite some criticism of this model (Husband and Khan, 1982; Yagmur and Ehala, 2011), as Rudwik (2004) claimed that the concept of EV found widespread recognition among scholars investigating specific aspects of sociolinguistic behavior amongst ethnolinguistic groups in multilingual settings.

Despite the Indonesian nation's linguistic diversity, studies of local language maintenance and shift using the EV model have not yet been developed. Studies of language maintenance and shift using other sociolinguistic frameworks have been published, looking at, for example, language use in various of domains and situations in which the language is no longer used or is gradually replaced by another language. Arba'i (2016), for example, presents a study of Buginese language use by Buginese students in Yogyakarta based on domain and situation of language use. He found that, in formal situations, Buginese students do not use their local language; rather, they switch to Bahasa Indonesia when they interact with lecturers or friends from other backgrounds. Nevertheless, they revert to Buginese in informal situations such as talking with Buginese friends in or in phone conversations with family in South Sulawesi. Djamereng (2012) examined the Balinese language maintenance in Sukamaju, North Luwu, among members of a trans-migrant community. She found that culture and religion are the main factors that contribute to the maintenance of Balinese language in the area.

The EV model has most commonly been applied in immigrant settings. As an effect of globalization in the contemporary world, many communities migrate to improve living standards, and more dominant languages will certainly influence their native language. Yagmur and Ehala (2011) also state that “increased mobility has made a large number of traditional ethnolinguistic groups vulnerable through the invasion of dominant languages, culture and infrastructures into their previously well-bounded territories. In connection with the point, the issues of heightening EV have gained more attention. It could be expected, then, that EV will be a factor in the use of a native language in the environs of a different, dominant language, and a model of EV measurement could be adapted for further research.

In this study, a model of EV is applied to evaluate the maintenance of Konjo in two different demographic settings. Some studies (Fomina and Manty, 2011; Joosten, 2008; Rudwik, 2010; Yagmur and Kroon, 2006) suggest this concept is useful for language vitality documentation. Giles et al. (1977: 308) state that “their structural analysis focuses on three variables which may combine to at least permit an ethnolinguistic community to survive as a viable group.

Futhermore, in examining EV, Giles et al (1997: 309) proposed three relevant sets of variables. Status variables are related to prestige and include economic status, social status, socio-historical status, and language status. The more status a linguistic group is recognised to have, the more vitality it can be said to possess as a collective entity. Demographic

variables are those related to the sheer numbers of group members and their distribution throughout the region under study. Ethnolinguistic groups whose demographic trends are favourable are more likely to have vitality as distinctive groups than those whose demographic trends are unfavourable and not conducive to group survival. Institutional support refers to the extent to which a language group receives formal and informal representation in the various institutions of nation, region, or community such as mass media, education, government services, industry, religion, and culture. (p.309)

Giles et al. (1977) further noted that “linguistic minorities can be meaningfully grouped according to this three-factored view of vitality” (30). By carefully evaluating the combination of the three main factors of EV, a group’s strengths and weaknesses in each of the variables can be assessed to provide a rough classification of ethnolinguistic groups as having low, medium, or high vitality. Each variable may indicate a different level of vitality for one language community. Then, the overall vitality of the community language can be measured based on the interaction of the three variables. The taxonomy for this EV model is presented in Figure 2.

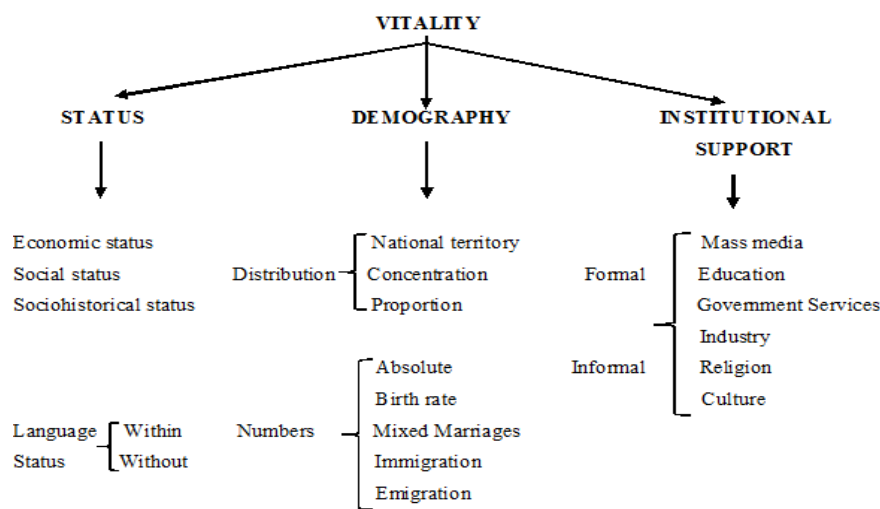


Figure 2. A taxonomy of the structural variables affecting ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles, et. al, 1977, 309)

Notably, the variables described above are held to be measures of objective ethnolinguistic vitality. Ehala (2009) stated that “the accounts of objective ethnolinguistic vitality are basically systematic descriptions of the relevant aspects of the demographic and broad social factors which characterise the ethnolinguistic group and the usage of their language” (125). Indeed, Giles et al. (1977) suggest that “a group’s subjective assessment of its vitality may be as important as the objective reality” (318). Accordingly, Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal (1981) developed their model of EV with the notion of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality which is assumed to be as important as objective ethnolinguistic vitality in determining interethnic behavior. They designed a subjective vitality questionnaire (SVQ) to measure community members’ perceptions of each variable that constitutes the model of objective ethnolinguistic vitality. Many scholars have applied the questionnaire since it was proposed. Smith, Ehala, and Giles (2017: 3) state that “no other facet of vitality theory has received as much scholarly attention as the SVQ; by our estimates, about 45% of all vitality studies utilise some version of this questionnaire, thus indicating that the SVQ is a powerful instrument for studying the dynamics of ethnic group relations in multilingual and multicultural societies. Moreover, Bourhis, et.al (1981: 147) earlier noted: “In the absence of up to date ‘objective’ vitality information (e.g., between census years) ‘subjective’ vitality data could even be used to monitor the position of minorities as distinctive collective entities in intergroup settings”. As a result, as in the study reported here, the SVQ is used to gather information which is not objectively available in community under examination.

3. Objectives of study

The objectives of this study are as follows:1) To describe the current condition of Konjo language in terms of language maintenance, 2) To find out the social factors that influences the language maintenance of Konjo in Bulukumba regency, and 3) To justify the vitality of Konjo language in Bulukumba regency.

4. The Scope of Study

4.1 Regional Context

Bulukumba is a regency in South Sulawesi's province where two main ethnic groups, Bugis and Konjo, have lived side by side for generations. The Bulukumba regency was a territorial seizure between the Kingdoms of Gowa and Bone in South Sulawesi. This area was originally called "*Bulukumupa*" meaning "this is still my mountain" because each kingdom claimed this as their area. Over time, the word "*Bulukumupa*" became "*Bulukumba*," and the area was inaugurated as an official regency on February 4, 1960. In this area, two language and ethnic groups interact with each other on a regular basis, but each group maintains its own culture and traditions; they mix but do not assimilate. The Konjo language grew as a dialect of Makassarese, and the Bugis Bulukumba language as a dialect of Buginese (Tahir, et al, 2018). While Bugis and Konjo are referred to here as ethnic groups, this ethnic identity is often expressed as a linguistic identity, with a longstanding history of integration between the linguistic groups. In this paper, reference to "Buginese" or "Konjo" alone should be read as referring to the language. References to ethnicity or community will be so designated (e.g., "the Konjo community" or "Buginese ethnicity").

The present study focuses discussion on the Konjo situation since this language has been rarely documented, while the Buginese variety is one of the major ethnic languages in South Sulawesi and well documented.



Figure 3. Map of Bulukumba in South Sulawesi Province

Located in the end of the southern part of South Sulawesi Province, Bulukumba is adjacent to Bantaeng regency to the west, Sinjai regency to the north, Bone Bay to the east, and the Flores Sea to the south (see Figure 3). Officially, 410,485 people reside in the regency, distributed into 10 sub districts, 24 villages, and 126 rural areas. Its local commerce is tree plantation, various agricultural crops, fishery, tourism, and service (Government of Bulukumba, 2016).

4.2 Homogeneous and Heterogeneous Setting

The purpose of this study is twofold. First, the socio-structural variables (status, demography, and institutional supports) of objective ethnolinguistic vitality are measured to determine any relationship to the language maintenance of Konjo in two settings in Bulukumba: homogeneous and heterogeneous areas. Rudwik (2004: 112) states that sociolinguistic research data in this field is still scarce. The homogeneous setting includes rural areas as home areas of the Konjo community. This region of East Bulukumba extends along the coastal areas including four sub-districts in the regency. The heterogeneous setting is the multi-ethnic urban area where the Konjo community lives alongside a variety of other ethnic groups. Second, the overall vitality of the Konjo language is assessed by evaluating the contributions of EV variables. It is assumed that elaborating the vitality of a minority language in rural and urban settings is noteworthy. The more linguistic vitality is embedded within an ethnolinguistic group in different settings, the more indications there are for short and long-term maintenance strategies amongst the members of the group" (Rudwik, 2004: 103). Ultimately, the research will test the following hypotheses:

H1: There is no relationship between EV demographic factors and success in the maintenance of the Konjo language in the coastal areas of Bulukumba regency.

H2: There is no relationship between EV status factors and success in the maintenance of the Konjo language in the coastal areas of Bulukumba regency.

H3: There is no relationship between EV institutional support factors and success in the maintenance of the Konjo language in the coastal areas of Bulukumba regency.

5. Methods

5.1 Participants and Instruments

A mixed-methods quantitative-qualitative approach was employed using the results of questionnaires, interviews, and observations. The researcher also used socio-historical and demographic data provided by members of the Konjo community. Quantitative data was gathered via a written questionnaire administered to 155 participants who were selected using multi-stage sampling and taken randomly from five age groups as outlined in Table 1. Some of the participants were contacted through families and colleagues, others were contacted through their membership in a Konjo family group.

Table 1: Age distribution of respondent sample

Age range (years)	Number of respondents in heterogeneous area	Number of respondents in homogeneous areas	Total number of respondents
>60	3	3	6
36-59	29	46	75
20-35	20	35	55
13-19	5	7	12
<12	3	4	7
Total	60	95	155

The questionnaire combined an Indonesian translation of the SVQ (Bourhis et al., 1981) and the language use, language competence, and language choice questionnaires of Djamereng (2012). For impressionistic questions, responses were provided using a 4-point Likert scale with the following options: 1. Never, 2. Sometimes, 3. Usually, and 4. Always. Most participants completed the questionnaire in the researcher's presence who met with them at their home, office, school, or market. Responses other than the impressionistic were provided on a 1-5 Likert scale

In addition to the quantitative Likert-scale responses on the questionnaires, qualitative data was gathered through interviews with public figures in the community such as the village head, teachers, or the imam, all of whom were interviewed privately. The semi-structured interview questions were developed to follow up on questionnaire items. Some questions also sought confirmation about status and institutional support for the Konjo language. To support the qualitative interview data, the researcher also collected observational data, video- and tape-recording Konjo community activities in traditional markets, and cultural ceremonies such as weddings. Field notes were also taken during these recorded observations, especially to note specific situational factors in the daily use of Konjo.

5.2 Data Analysis

To analyze the data systematically, questionnaire responses identified the respondents' demographic characteristics and assigned respondents to either the heterogeneous area or homogeneous area groups to compare community distributions. Once assigned to one of these two comparison groups, the raw data from the Likert-scale responses were subjected to a bivariate regression analysis to investigate to what extent independent variables such as community cohesion contributed to the measure of EV.

Data from the interviews and observations were analyzed to look for relationships between questionnaire responses and semi-structured interview responses. For example, to evaluate the status of Konjo in Bulukumba, questions D19 and D20 in the questionnaire ask about Konjo use in traditional markets and businesses, while question C10 in the interview also asks about this same concept. Moreover, the result of participant observation in the traditional market by the

researcher is used as additional information. Ultimately, the results from quantitative and qualitative analyses are combined to triangulate the data. As a whole, the qualitative data supports the results of the regression analysis.

6. Finding and Discussion

6.1 Finding

This study hypothesized that status, demography, and institutional factors would contribute to the maintenance of Konjo in both rural (homogeneous) and urban (heterogeneous) settings. Accordingly, a correlational analysis was employed to examine these EV variables' relative contributions in both heterogeneous and homogeneous Konjo language use areas, as measured via the questionnaire.

6.1.1 Heterogeneous Area

The results of the bivariate analysis for the heterogeneous area in this study are presented in Table 2. There is no significant correlation between EV as measured by the questionnaire and demographic variables for the demography variable. Hypothesis 1 is thus supported and demography in the heterogeneous area has little influence on language maintenance. However, the status variable shows a significant correlation, indicating a relationship between factors such as economy and socio-history and language maintenance in this heterogeneous setting. The third variable, institutional support, also demonstrates a significant influence on Konjo language maintenance in this area.

Table 2: Correlation Analysis Result in Heterogeneous Area

Variable	Correlation coefficient	Significance (p ≤ .05)
Demography	r = 0.063	p= 0.741 n.s.
Status Factors	r = 0.462	p = 0.010
Institutional Support	r = 0.543	p = 0.002

6.1.2 Homogeneous Area

The results of the bivariate analysis for homogeneous area in this study indicate a significant correlation between all three variables and as presented in Table 3. In these primarily Konjo-speaking areas, it is not surprising that all three vitality factors are influential to language maintenance.

Table 3: The Results of Correlation Analysis in Homogenous Area

Variable	Correlation coefficient	Significance (p ≤ .05)
Demography	r = 0.258	p = 0.004
Status Factors	r = 0.426	p = 0.000
Institutional Support	r = 0.387	p = 0.000

6.1.3 Vitality of Konjo Language

Based on the analyses above, it is clear that EV factors play differing roles in Konjo language maintenance depending on the context (heterogeneous or homogeneous). In order to further measure the vitality of Konjo, the data from interviews and observations are pooled with the statistical measurements. Referring to metrics proposed by Giles et al. (1977, 317), the vitality of Konjo is Medium-High in heterogeneous areas and High in homogeneous areas. Overall, the vitality of Konjo language in Bulukumba is High, as noted in Table 4.

Table 4: Vitality configuration of Konjo community in Bulukumba

Area	Statu s	Demograph y	Institutiona l Support	Vitalit y	Overall Vitalit y

	Heterogeneous	High	Low	Medium-High	High	High
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6.2 Discussion

As conceptualized by Giles and others, each of the three components of ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) is discussed further as contributors to Konjo ethnolinguistic vitality in Bulukumba. High vitality measures are seen as key to language maintenance.

6.2.1 Demography

The results of the statistical analyses above indicate that the demography factor is influential in the homogeneous area. As the Konjo community's homeland, nearly 90% of the population speak Konjo as their home language, and the community's concentration in four sub-districts (Kajang, Herlang, Bonto Tiro, and Bonto Bahari) also contributes to the group vitality. This geographic factor encourages solidarity and loyalty in the community. The majority marry endogamously and have at least three children in each nuclear family. Konjo speakers report infrequent visits outside the region, but note that if they do relocate (for education or employment, for example) they find other Konjo speakers, resulting in the likelihood of daily Konjo language use.

In the heterogeneous area, the Konjo community is a minority within the larger Buginese environment. Consequently, the demography factor does not contribute to the measure of ethnolinguistic vitality (and would be less likely to contribute to language maintenance). The Bulukumba area was colonised by the Dutch who, after Indonesian independence in 1945, administered the Buginese Bone Kingdom, and the Konjo minority in the area are the result of immigration from homogeneous Konjo areas. The number of mixed marriages between Konjo and Buginese is also high in this area, but most families maintain some use of their ethnic language in what appears to be a diglossic situation with Buginese. However, Konjo children now tend to shift to Bahasa Indonesia. As the consequence of socio-political change, such as recent Konjo leadership in the regency, the number of Konjo speakers may be increasing, though it is still not overtaking the Buginese majority. As Giles et. al. (1977) note, "The proportion of speakers belonging to the ethnolinguistic ingroup compared with that belonging to the relevant outgroup is likely to affect the nature of intergroup relationship" (313). The expectation would be that a small linguistic community, residing widespread over a large area, results in low ethnolinguistic vitality. Joosten (2008) has noted this condition with the Sami's low EV who come into regular contact with Swedish speakers. However, in Bulukumba, despite non-significant quantitative evidence of demography affecting Konjo EV, we find other factors playing influential roles.

6.2.2 Status

Based on the result of quantitative data, we can see that status factor makes a significant contribution to the maintenance of Konjo in both the homogeneous and heterogeneous areas. In the homogeneous area, the Konjo community exert some control over language status by using the language in their daily lives as well as in public. Observations in these settings indicate Konjo use both in formal and informal settings, whether in the village office, at school, or in the health care center, even though national language policy promotes Bahasa Indonesia use in the public sphere. Even in the heterogeneous areas, Konjo is used widely because of an appreciation of ethnic heritage and identity. There is satisfaction in being recognised as Konjo by those outside of their ethnic group, and, irrespective of education level, heritage language use is prevalent and encouraged. This is not unlike what many immigrant communities have experienced. For example, Holmes (1992) discusses a Polish community which preserves its identity in a minority context, and the language has consequently been maintained for three to four generations. There is also a wealth of anecdotal evidence that, where language is considered an important symbol of a minority groups' identity, the language is likely to be maintained longer.

Although there is no historical survey of the status of Konjo, overwhelming responses from the interview data validates the belief that Konjo had long been considered of lower status than Buginese until well into the 1990s. Increasing cultural solidarity and community activism among Konjo speakers helped to modify this situation, ultimately with an ethnic Konjo regent's election in 2010. The elected regent chose mostly Konjo people for his staff and to occupy higher government positions in the regency. Indirectly, this additional power may affect the increasing use of Konjo in many government offices. With an enhanced social standing, many Konjo speakers use Konjo, and this shift has also influenced how Buginese speakers communicate with government officials, especially in the heterogeneous area: they frequently shift into Konjo when interacting with Konjo speakers, even though it may be the Buginese speaker's second or third language. Of course, this makes sense politically as the majority Buginese employ code-switching to demonstrate

community solidarity. It has also been observed that, particularly since the election of a Konjo regent, the Konjo community has gained economic status. Community solidarity is further enhanced through collaborative community events such as weddings or funerals where the majority of the Konjo community become involved in preparations and celebrations.

6.2.3 Institutional Support

The final variable of ethnolinguistic vitality is institutional support. This refers to the degree of formal and informal support given language users in the community's various institutions under study. Giles et al. (1977) refer to domains such as mass media, education, government services, industry, religion, and cultural domains in defining this factor. Language use in these spheres of life certainly has an influence on the ethnolinguistic vitality of a language. However, in the setting under study here, Indonesian national language policy's effect could make it difficult to use local/ethnic languages in formal or official settings.

Based on the quantitative data, institutional support factors' influence differs between the two contexts under study, with an expected diglossic language situation in the heterogeneous area. As noted earlier, Konjo is widely used in the homogeneous area even in official settings and at official events. While Bahasa Indonesia is also used in settings such as village administration and schools, Konjo is overwhelmingly preferred. In contrast, the Konjo community in the heterogeneous area initiate interaction for official services and in formal settings in Bahasa Indonesia, reverting to Konjo only if they know their interlocutor is proficient in Konjo. As Rudwick (2004) notes, "It may be noted that 'official' institutional support is often at odds with the unofficial language practices" (109).

With respect to the domains, Giles et al. (1977) described as features of institutional support, there is varying use of Konjo in the homogeneous contexts. For religious practices, Konjo is frequently used. As Muslims, prayer is undertaken in Arabic through the Quran, but Konjo will always be used for religious lectures, talks, or events. Konjo language mass media exists with some few radio or television programs which community members access from time to time. Because of the limited Konjo programming, the default preference has become to listen and view programming in Bahasa Indonesia. There are no Konjo language newspapers or magazines, and print media is in Buginese or Makassarese.

However, the Konjo community maintains their strong cultural solidarity, and it is indirectly to supports language vitality, through self-organised events in both the heterogeneous and homogenous areas. Through *arisan* – a kind of social gathering often organised around family connection or neighborhood – community members meet in a home for communal dining and an informal cash raffle. The subsequent *arisan* is held at the raffle winner's house. Alternately, raffle money may be used to purchase items the *arisan* members have mutually agreed upon. *Arisan* is family events, so children are expected and being encouraged to converse in Konjo. Such social gatherings reinforce respect for and continued use of Konjo.

The data derived from the questionnaire, interviews, and observations, demonstrate that the Konjo language is well established as the language of communication in several domains in Konjo communities in Bulukumba. Although other languages such as Buginese, Makassarese, and Bahasa Indonesia are widespread, Konjo is used in daily communication at home and in social interaction. Even in heterogeneous areas, the Konjo language is used generally as a result of an appreciation for ethnic heritage and identity as Konjo. As one respondent noted: I prefer to use Konjo language when I meet Konjo people both inside or outside area of Konjo language.

As has Fishman noted (cited in Djamereng, 2012), language sustainability is related to language change and language use on the one hand and to psychological, social, and cultural processes on the other in multi-language communities. One factor in language shift and sustainability is perceived helplessness of immigrant minority speakers in sustaining their language in competition with a dominant majority language (Sain, et al., 2020)

Evidence cited here indicates that the perceived strength and self-efficacy of the Konjo community circumvents many of the tensions of this linguistic competition. While the demography factors discussed above indicate no significant relationship between demography and EV in the heterogeneous setting, community members do note that their language behaviors differ in these settings, although they do not cite any sense of threat to their language's vitality.

Socio-economic status also contributes positively to the sustainability of Konjo. Irrespective of their income level, Konjo speakers prefer to use Konjo widely, and this use plays a role in the sustainability of Konjo. There is also the acknowledgement that language use is tied to economic as well as social well-being: for lower income communities, they tend to use Konjo language, because their mutual cooperation is still strong, so that they still use Konjo language in interacting with others.

7. Conclusion

The analysis of the many factors related to the ethnolinguistic vitality of Konjo in the Bulukumba regency is reassuring. Anecdotally considered to be in little danger, the Konjo language has also been demonstrated to generally experience high vitality in the region. As the Konjo community continues to use the language for their daily communication in numerous domains, whether public or private, official or informal, they validate its status in the face of a majority local language and a nationally language policy. Nevertheless, local governing bodies might consider efforts to promote Konjo more intensively through educational institutions or official documents. As Rustipa (2013: 64) notes, language is a tool for communication and knowledge and a fundamental attribute of cultural identity and empowerment, both for the individual and group.

The study reported here also suggests that the use of the objective ethnolinguistic vitality framework (Giles et al., 1977) and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality measures (Bourhis et. al., 1981) remain powerful models in analyzing EV even as applied to a domestic rather than migrant community. The EV model is valuable as a preliminary analysis of any sociolinguistic situation and provides a solid base for further empirical research. While this study employed the basic, original variables in its initial assessment of EV, there is room for expansion of categories. For example, this study noted that shifts in socio-political realities (e.g., changing governance) can quickly alter local perceptions of language status. In addition, it has been noted that simple demography does not fully illustrate the EV situation, and research that further distinguishes between, among others, rural or urban, homogeneous or heterogeneous, older or younger, or male or female speakers may be fruitful. Vitality measures cannot always capture the implementation of language use, nor can they capture diachronic change, especially in the face of national language policy (let alone any pressures from “global” languages such as English or Mandarin). Particularly among younger speakers, there may be pressures to focus on Bahasa Indonesia in everyday language use. Alternatively, there may be covert prestige in being able to code-switch among several languages. Further studies might focus on younger speakers’ perspectives on their linguistic environment. Ultimately, the picture drawn here is one of a kind of symbiosis, where appreciation for local linguistic diversity is non-controversial. Nevertheless, we should be cautious in predicting future linguistic stability without compelling quantitative and qualitative evidence such as that presented here.

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