

PRONOUN CHOICES IN BUGIS: THE ROAD TO ENCODE POLITENESS

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ABSTRAK

Artikel ini membahas pemakaian kata ganti benda untuk menunjukkan kesopanan dalam masyarakat Bugis. Pembahasan ini didasarkan pada penelitian yang dilakukan pada tahun 2005 pada dua komunitas Bugis di Awangpone dan di Parepare. Kata ganti bahasa Bugis seperti *idi'*, *ta-*, *-ki* dipergunakan oleh masyarakat Bugis untuk menunjukkan kesopanan mereka. Hal ini dipengaruhi oleh faktor-faktor, seperti tingkat familiaritas, perbedaan umur, status, dan gender, serta situasi formal dan informal.

Kata Kunci: kesopanan, orang Bugis, tata bahasa, kata ganti benda.

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the use of pronouns to express Bugis politeness. This is based on the research I conducted in 2005 in two different Bugis communities, one in Awangpone and the other in Parepare. Bugis pronouns such as *idi'*, *ta-*, *-ki* are used by Bugis speakers to express politeness. This use is influenced by factors such as familiarity, differences in age, status, and gender, and the formality and informality of the situation.

Keywords: politeness, Bugis people, grammar, pronouns.

INTRODUCTION

This paper aims at exploring the potential usage of pronouns as the road to encode politeness in Bugis society. It is partly based on the research that I conducted for my Ph.D. dissertation focusing on politeness practices in Bugis society, Indonesia (Mahmud 2008, 2010).

Recently, research on politeness has become an important issue in sociolinguistics since Brown and Levinson (1987) promoted the 'face saving view strategy of politeness'. Many experts have also conducted research on it either in western

countries or in non-western countries such as in Japan (Pizziconi 2003), Haugh (2003) in English, Chinese, and Japanese language, and Okamoto (2010) in East Asian languages.

In Indonesia, the study of politeness was pioneered by Geertz (1960), who refers to politeness as 'etiquette' in Javanese society. Studies on it are now developing such as by Rahardi (1999) in Indonesian language, Mahyuni (2004) in Lombok, and Anggraeni (2005) in Java. Other studies on politeness have also been conducted by Gusnawaty (2009) and Murni (2010).

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Like other societies, the Bugis people who dominantly occupy the South Sulawesi, Eastern Indonesia, have also high demand on practicing and maintaining politeness. These demands are influenced by Bugis cultural, religious, and hierarchical characteristics.

One of the important issues in Bugis culture is their demands to preserve their *siri* 'dignity; shame; honour'. The concept of *siri* requires Bugis people to maintain their politeness. In addition, Bugis people who have embraced Islam as their main religion since the beginning of the seventeenth century demand Bugis people maintain their politeness. Said (2004:12) notes that 'for the Bugis, holding ethnicity as the Bugis should also be coincident with the position of being Muslim'. Other aspects of social relations also influence the choices of Bugis politeness strategies such as the superiority of social status, age differences, and gender differences (Pelras, 2006, Idrus 2005; Baso and Idrus, 2002; Jayadi 2002:1-2, Mahmud, 2008, 2010).

These cultural, religious, and hierarchical concepts of Bugis society are essentially connected with the ideas of politeness from Brown and Levinson (1987:58), who say politeness essentially 'means satisfying communicative and face-oriented ends, in a strictly formal system of rational practical reasoning'. Central to this theory is the concept of 'face' (Goffman, 1967:5) in the sense of 'reputation' or 'good name'. The concept of *siri*, for example, relates to the concept of 'face' as proposed by Goffman above.

Studies show some strategies to express politeness. Anggraeni (2005) in her study on Javanese language states that 'linguistically, markers of politeness may be seen in the differences of long and short utterances, intonation and speech hierarchy'. In addition, Rahardi (1999) mentions four linguistic markers in Indo-

nesian language such the length of speech, the sequence of speech, intonation and kinesics and some other expressions of politeness.

In Bugis society, Mahmud (2009) mentions several linguistic features of Bugis politeness such as grammatical aspects, which can be seen in the use of pronouns, phonological alterations, participant avoiders, and some linguistic softeners. Other linguistic features of Bugis politeness are speech levels, address terms, and code-switching.

These politeness strategies are influenced by familiarity, differences in age, social status, and gender, and the formality and informality of the situation. This is in connection with Brown and Levinson's idea (1987:74) which stresses a number of variables affecting the level of politeness, such as power, which is 'the ability of one person to impose their will on another', social distance, which is 'the degree based on stable social attributes the reflex of social closeness' and also rank of imposition.

This paper explores the usage of pronoun choices as one aspect of grammatical expressions of Bugis politeness. Some Bugis pronouns are used to be more polite such as the use of *idi*, *-ki*, and *-ta*. Some Indonesian pronouns are also used to be more polite such as *kita*. This paper discusses how such factors as differences in age, social status, gender differences, familiarity, and situation affect the use of these pronouns by Bugis people.

PRONOUN SYSTEMS IN BUGIS CULTURE

In Bugis conversations, the pronouns used are mostly from Bugis, but some Indonesian pronominal terms are used as well. The Bugis pronouns can be seen in the following table:

Table 1: Pronouns used in Bugis society

Pronouns	Independent Pronoun	Ergative Pronoun	Absolutive pronoun	Possessive Pronoun	Meaning
1 st person sg	<i>lya'</i>	<i>-ka'</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>-ku'</i>	I/me/my/mine
2 nd person	<i>lko</i>	<i>-ko,</i>	<i>nu-, mu-</i>	<i>-mu/-nu</i>	You/your/yours
3 rd person	<i>Aléna</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>-na</i>	He/him/hisor She/her or It/its
1 st person pl incl	<i>Idi'</i>	<i>-ki'</i>	<i>ta-/i-</i>	<i>-ta'</i>	We/our/us/ours

Although the second person forms are sometimes used to address others, it is usually seen as more polite to address people using the first person plural inclusive forms (*idi'*, *-ki'*, *ta-/i-*) rather than the plain second person forms (*lko*, *-ko*, *nu-/mu-*). The use of the first person plural inclusive possessive pronoun (*-ta'*) is also more polite than the second person possessive pronouns (*-nu/-mu*). The use of polite pronouns (*idi'*, *-ki'*, *ta-/i-*) are more distant or formal whereas the less polite pronouns (*lko*, *-ko*, *nu-/mu-*) are more familiar and informal.

The first person plural inclusive agent marker can also be used as a generic marker, where no direct reference to an agent is entailed. What is formally the first person plural inclusive marker can be used to refer to either a second person or a third person agent. A language like English allows some potential for using first person plural forms like this, e.g. 'let's play' can be used as an exhortation by a coach to a football team to play even though the coach will not be playing him/herself. Bugis, though, allows a more extended version of this strategy. Like English, a Bugis speaker can use first person plural marking in a polite request, as in (x) and (y) below.

- (x) *lariki'* (y) *talari*
lari-ki' *ta-lari*
run-1pl.incl 1pl.incl-run
'we run [i.e. you run] 'we run' [i.e. you run]

In addition to examples like these, Bugis also allows non-specific agents or third person agents to be referred to with first person morphology. Some examples of this are given below.

- Aga i-taro kué*
what 1pl.incl-put here
'what should be put here? [i.e. what do we put here?]
- iolli'ka' ku Puang Aji*
i-olli-ka' ku Puang Aji
1pl.incl-call-1ps by ADD ADD
'Puang Aji is calling me'

Bugis speakers may also use Indonesian pronouns. The most frequently used is *kita* and *kami*. The pronoun *kita* is the first inclusive plural pronoun and means 'we' where the person being spoken to is included, that is 'I and you'. The other is the first exclusive plural pronoun *kami*, which means 'we' where the person being spoken to is excluded, that is 'I and others but not you' (Sneddon, 1994:160).

Due to the influence of bilingualism, Bugis speakers, especially in the urban area may use these Indonesian pronouns, especially *kita*, to which Bugis has equivalents. This pronoun *kita* has the same meaning as the first Bugis plural inclusive pronoun *idi'*. *Kita* is used to mean 'you' by many speakers in South Sulawesi, not only by Bugis, but also by other ethnic groups such as Makassar, Mandar, and Toraja. When speaking Indonesian, speakers sometimes used

kita to address other people in order to be more polite. Indonesian pronouns such as *kamu/kau* to mean 'you' are considered impolite and familiar. Using *idi* in Bugis or *kita* in Indonesian to address people is more polite than saying *iko* or *kamu* 'you'.

PRONOUN CHOICES FOR BUGIS POLITENESS

In this part, I will show some extracts of conversations that I recorded in the field showing different ways of using pronouns by different people in different communicative situations.¹ The first example can be seen in the conversation of Puang Aji Masi (PAM, 50)², a woman of nobility and hajj.

Extract 1: Suggestion to talk³³

Puang Aji Masi was talking to Puang Aji Semma (PAS, 50). Both of them are hajj and noble. PAS did not know what to talk about as I recorded them and PAM suggested talking about the time she went to Cempalagi, a hamlet in Awangpone.

PAS : *aga lo' ubicara?*
'what should I talk about?'

PAM : *awwé, akkedako poléna' Cempalagi* 'awwé, you say I have just come from Cempalagi [a hamlet in Awangpone]'

PAM used the second person pronoun *-ko* in *akkedako* instead of the first plural inclusive pronoun *-ki* in *akkedaki*'. This direct use of the second person *-ko* by PAM to PAS is acceptable because the interlocutors are of similar status and are close relatives and neighbours. This familiarity encouraged PAM to use the familiar pronoun *-ko*. Compare with the following extract when she was talking to Hunaeda (50), a woman selling fish with no hajj and noble status in rural area.

Extract 2: Asking a female fish seller

PAM was talking to a female of similar age but different social status, Hunaeda (H, 50), a commoner without any hajj or noble status.

Hunaeda was selling shrimps and prawns to PAM.

- PAM : *magi Hunaeda?*
'what's the matter with it [i.e. you], Hunaeda?'
- H : *nulléna*
'how can this be'
- PAM : *nulléna@@. Balaceng ibalu'*
'how can this be? [We] sell shrimps'
- H : *lo'ki' melliwi?*
'are we [i.e. you] going to buy some?'
- PAM : *tassiawaé' loppanutu?*
'how much is a cup of those prawns of yours anyway?'
- H : *duwa sitengnga, Aji*
'two and a half [two thousand five hundred rupiahs], Aji'

Although they are familiar as close neighbours, are of similar age and have been friends since a young age, the different status PAM has as a hajj and noble person encourages the non-reciprocal use of pronouns. PAM used the familiar possessive pronoun *-nu* when she was asking about the price of the prawns, *tassiawaé' loppanutu?* 'how much is a cup of those prawns of yours?'. Conversely, Hunaeda used the distant pronoun *-ki* in *lo'ki' melliwi?* 'are we [i.e. you] going to buy some?'. This shows the asymmetrical relations among the interlocutors are influenced by their status differences. To male interlocutors, PAM show different ways of using pronouns as seen in the following extracts:

Extract 3: Asking an older fisherman

PAM was talking to Mardi (M, 65), an older fisherman without any hajj or noble status. She was asking about Mardi's daily activities as a fisherman.

- PAM : *dé' muno' tasi'é?*
'didn't you go to the sea [fishing]?'
- M : *ba, polémuwa..'*
'yes, I have been..'
- PAM : *dé'ga muwala?*
'didn't you catch anything [fish or any other seafood]?'
- M : *kamuwa na..*
'yes [there are] some but..'

PAM asked Mardi using the familiar pronoun *mu-* in all of her questions above: *dé' muno' tasi'é* 'didn't you go to the sea [fishing]?' and *dé'ga muwala?* 'didn't you take anything [fish or any other seafood]?' Like extract 2 above, this extract also shows an asymmetrical relation between the speakers influenced by their status differences. Although Mardi is older, and male, because of the high status of PAM, Mardi was addressed using the familiar pronoun. Compare this with extract 4 below:

Extract 4: The mosque donation

PAM was talking to an older male with high status since he is a hajj and noble, Puang Aji Akil (PAA, 64), who is also a close relative and neighbour. At the time, they were talking about the money owned by the mosque.

PAA : *ko mabbicara makkeda iya' mala-manengngi, tappa uti' maneng lao masigi'é*

'if [someone] accused me of taking all [the money], then I would take [the money] directly to the mosque'

PAM : *iti' maneng lo'ka masigi'é?*
'we [i.e. you] took all [the money] to the mosque, didn't we [i.e. you]?'

PAM used a polite device *i-* in *iti'* instead of using *mu-* in *muti'* which would have been expressed in the utterance: *muti' maneng lokka masigi'é*. This extract shows the use of the first person plural inclusive agent marker as a generic marker, where no direct reference to a first person agent is entailed. It is used to refer to a second person agent, PAA, and it made her more distant and polite. This extract also shows that although both speakers are familiar, being close relatives and neighbours and have similar status as hajj and noble, pronoun choice is influenced by age and sex differences.

Therefore, based on the four extracts above, PAM used familiar pronouns and distant pronouns to different interlocutors. The first important aspect is familiarity. Talking to a speaker who is closely

related and a neighbour as well as being a similar age and status encouraged her to use familiar pronouns. With Hunaeda in extract 2, PAM also used a familiar pronoun. In her conversation with Mardi in extract 3, status seem the main determinant because Mardi is older and a male. When she was talking to PAA in extract 4, she used different pronouns. Although PAA was also her close relative and neighbour and has a status as high as PAA as hajj and noble, she uses the more distant pronoun because PAA was an older male with high status.

The influence of familiarity, differences in age and social status on either symmetrical or asymmetrical relations among speakers can also be seen in the extracts below in the conversations of Aslinah (A, 30), a woman with educational background with several interlocutors in rural area:

Extract 5: Asking to buy something

Aslinah was asking her younger brother, Adil (Ad, 25) to buy some crepe paper but he did not know what she meant. Aslinah wanted to show him an example to help him understand.

A : (asking his brother to buy something)
dé' misseng melliakka' anu Ndi'?
kertas krep!

'don't you know how to buy that for me, Ndi'? crepe paper?'

Ad : *aga diaseng?*

'what kind of paper?'

A : *yétu diébbu' bunga-bunga. Pakkurohé. Walakko conto*

'the one that is used to make flowers. Like that. I will give you an example'

When responding to her brother's question, Aslinah pointed to an example of crepe paper. She was using the familiar pronoun *-ko* in *walakko conto* 'I will give you an example'. This is influenced by many factors. Besides the informality of the situation, Aslinah's familiar speech was influenced by her older age and the fact that they are siblings. Compare this with extract 6 below:

Extract 6: Aslinah and her husband

Aslinah was asking her husband, Pak Sulfikar (S, 36) why he had not come to pick her up from the school:

- A : *jadi, wenni' disikolaé, nappaki' ménré'?*
'so, yesterday at school, we [i.e. you] had just gone [to Bone], hadn't we [i.e. you]?'
S : *aga?*
'what?'
A : *di- di Bone?*
'in- in Bone?'
S : *silalokku' ménré' Bone muengka*
'I had just gone to Bone when you arrived'
A : *maipaé' dé' talokka jempu'ka'*
'why didn't we [i.e. you] come to pick me up instead?'
S : *awissengngi? Wasengngi lokkako bolana I Nu', pa' ka acarana*
'how did I know? I thought you went to Nu's house, because she had a party'

Pak Sulfikar is older than his wife. But, Aslinah also can claim higher status than him as a teacher and a graduate from university. However, she mostly used formal expressions with her husband, that is the use of the first plural pronoun *-ki'* and *ta-* as seen in her expressions: *nappaki'* 'we [i.e. you] had just' and *dé' talokka* 'why didn't we [i.e. you] come'. She could instead say *nappako* and *dé' mulokka*, which would be less formal and more familiar and tends to be less polite and less distant. Conversely, her husband just used very familiar pronouns *mu-* in *muengka* 'you arrived' and *-ko* in *lokkako* 'you went'.

Extract 7: The school evaluation

Aslinah was arguing with her male colleague, Pak Mahmuddin (M, 35) who is older than she is, about the evaluation system in the school. Despite their similar status as teachers, the male speaker has higher status because of his noble background and his experience as a religious leader in Awangpone.

- A : *di akhir evaluasi, itumi ujian praktek, yénaro..*

'at the end of evaluation, that is the practical test, that is..'

- M : *tapi...*
'but...'
A : *na idi' nappaki' makkukkué talang soal*
'but we [i.e. you] have just given a test now'

Aslinah employs the distant pronouns *idi'*, *-ki'*, and *ta-* to address Pak Mahmuddin in the last turn. This use was influenced by the setting as well as the differences in age, gender, and status between the interlocutors. The importance of the last three factors can be seen in the following extract 8:

Extract 8: On the way home

Aslinah met Pak Mahmuddin on the way home asked where he had been with me.

- A : *tégaki' polé?*
'where have we [i.e. you] been to?'
M : *poleka' bolana Bapa'na Ide'*
'I have been to Ide's father'
A : *Bapa'na Ide?*
'Ide's father?'
M : *Bapa'na Ide, anunna anu..*
'Ide's father, the [father of..'
A : *semmi? oh, aga parellutta'?*
'Semmi, oh, what did we [i.e. you] do there?'

Aslinah used the formal pronoun *-ki'* in *tégaki'* and *ta-* in *parellutta'*. This extract shows that besides the influence of status differences, the distant pronouns leading to the high politeness of Aslinah to Pak Mahmuddin was influenced by their formal relations as teachers in the school, although the situation is not as formal as it was in extract 7.

From the above extracts, it can be seen that the female speaker Aslinah used different pronouns with different interlocutors. Her familiarity with her interlocutor, older age, and the informality of the situation influenced her to use the familiar pronoun as seen in extract 6 above. To her husband, and her fellow teachers, either at school or in the neighbourhood, she used the

more distant pronouns. This was influenced by the setting, age and status differences, and gender differences. Conversation at home with her husband led to the use of the more distant pronouns influenced by her status as a wife regardless of her high status and familiarity.

Beside the use of Bugis pronouns as indicators of politeness, Bugis people also use Indonesian pronouns due to the fact that Bugis people are bilingual. These are mostly found in urban area, in which Bugis speakers mostly use Indonesian, although it is a type of Indonesian influenced by regional dialect. The examples can be seen in the following extracts:

Extract 9: A husband and a wife

A husband and a wife in a family in Parepare were speaking to each other. The wife, Wardah (49) asked her husband, Gaffar (G, 52) why he hadn't gone to school. At the time, it was already 10 o'clock in the morning.

W : *iih..Pak! kenapa kita tidak, tidak pi sekolah?*

'iih [how come], Pak! Why didn't we [i.e. you], didn't we [i.e. you] go to the school?'

G : *ndak-ndak aktif tonji juga sekolah*
'not- the school is not active yet'

The wife used Indonesian, and to be polite, she used the first plural inclusive Indonesian pronoun *kita* to address her husband *kenapa kita tidak* 'why didn't we [i.e. you]'. She did not use *kamu/kau* as these pronouns are less polite. As we saw in extract 6 above, Aslinah's status as a wife encourage her to be more polite to her husband, Pak Sulfikar. These pronouns can also be used in formal settings, as seen in extract 10:

Extract 10: A visit to Sub-District office

Pak Haris (H, 54) was talking to the head of sub-district office, Pak Latif (L, 55) in a formal setting. He was asking if Pak Latif could accompany him to Bulu Aroang, an important historical location in Parepare, which is under Pak Latif's authority. At the time, Pak Haris came with me and Marwiah, one of my research assistants.

H : *ada yang menemani kita ke sana*
'there is [a person] accompanying us to get there'

L : *iyé', siapa tahu Pak, kalau anu kita, hubungan juga anu POM di sana*
'yes, who knows Pak, if we [i.e. you] contact with POM [Polisi Militer—Military Police] there?'

Pak Haris asked using *kita* instead of *kami* to include all of the speakers, which is more polite and formal. In responding his request, Pak Latif also used *kita* instead of *kau/kamu* to be more polite in his response to Pak Haris. The formality of the situation and their distant relationship led both speakers to use formal and more polite pronouns.

Therefore, in Bugis society, the use of *kita*, instead of other pronouns: *kau, kamu, or kami* are widely used to refer to the first, second, and the first plural exclusive categories and these can become a means of politeness.

In addition, Bugis speakers, in both areas, may use Bugis pronouns within Indonesian utterances. This may also indicate level of politeness, as can be seen in the conversation of Haji Erna (HE, 29) below. HE to some extent has higher status as hajj and is senior in her teaching activities in Parepare as well as having a high educational background due to her Masters Degree from a university in Australia.

Extract 11: Agreeing to swap classes

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

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

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

B : *karena atletik kalau dengan lari jam-jam sembilan bah- resikonya besar, (bisa-bisa dia..)*

- 'because [for] athletics, running at nine o'clock carries a huge risk, they can [get hurt]'
- HE : (*éh, iya-iya*), *oh, jadi pariwisata dua olahraga, jam olahraga itu?*
'yes, yes! oh, so, class two tourism has sport class, is it time for sport?'
- B : *iya jam pertama*
'yes, the first hour'
- HE : *bisa-bisa*
'okay'
- B : *supaya langsung saja, lagi pula materinya ndak (terlalu anu)*
'so it can be done directly [I can teach them sport directly], and also the materials are not too much'
- HE : (*oh iya*), *udah selesaimaki'*
'oh, yes, have you finished it?'
- B : *iyé' saya tinggal itu*
'yes. I have left [the students] there'
- HE : *kalau mauki' ambil waktu agak lama bisaji*
if we [i.e. you] are going to take more time, it is okay too'

HE uses a distant Bugis pronoun *-ki*' in addition to her Indonesian to be more polite despite her higher educational status and her hajj status as can be seen in *udah selesaimaki'* 'Have you finished it?' and in *kalau mauki'* 'If we [i.e. you] are going'. She uses either Bugis pronouns in addition to her Indonesian to show her high politeness, regardless of her high status compared with her interlocutors. Conversely, the Bugis pronoun *-ko* can be added to Indonesian, which indicates the more familiar relations of speakers. This can be seen in the following extract 12:

Extract 12: A husband and a wife

Haji Ros (HR, 42) and her husband, Aswar (A, 45) were talking at home. HR made a request to her husband, Aswar to accompany me to one of the schools. Her husband said that he did not need to accompany me because there was public transport there.

- HR : *oh, Bacukiki itu dekat SMA 2, bagusmi kalau dari SMP 11 to, bawami*
'oh, Bacukiki is near SMA '[Sekolah Menengah Atas—Senior High School] 2', it is good if you go with her from SMP [Sekolah Menengah Pertama—Junior High School] 11'
- A : *bisa dari cama'é, jalur pété-pété cama'é okkoro*
'[she] can [go there] from the district office, [because] that is the public transport route over there'
- HR : *saya kira pereikoji hari rabu*
'I thought you were free on Wednesday'

Hearing her husband's comment, HR said, *saya kira pereikoji hari rabu* 'I thought you were free on Wednesday'. This implied that she wanted her husband to accompany me as she knew that her husband was free on that day. She showed her feeling of unease for her husband's reason through the use of a less polite pronoun—*ko* in *pereiko* 'you were free'.

This extract shows that the different status can influence the level of politeness between husband and wife. HR's status as hajj and as a teacher influenced her level of politeness to her husband. This is different from the conversation between the husband and wife in extract 6 above, where a wife's politeness was not influenced by her educational status.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have discussed the important roles of pronouns as a strategy to encode politeness in Bugis society. Analysis of the conversations shows that the more polite pronoun takes the plural form (the first inclusive pronouns such as *idi'*, *ta-*, *-ki'*) rather than the singular form (the second person pronouns *iko*, *mu-*, and *-nu*). Indonesian pronouns can be used when speaking Bugis, but to be more polite, the second person Indonesian pronoun *kamu/kau* are avoided, and the Indonesian pronoun *kita* which is inclusive is used instead.

Many factors influence the choices of these pronouns. In both areas, familiarity encourages the use of less polite pronouns. There is also a high tendency to use formal and polite pronouns among speakers of different ages, status, and gender. Due to the influence of power in the form of hierarchical social status, the use of different pronouns to address different people in Bugis society is also heavily based on social status. The lower the status of the speaker is, the greater their tendency is to use very formal and polite pronouns. This is similar to the use of pronouns of 'power and solidarity' as proposed by Brown and Gilman (1972:255-277). According to them, there are two types of pronouns as politeness devices. The first type is pronouns of power which is non-reciprocal or asymmetrical, with the greater receiving solidarity and the lesser intimacy. The second type is pronouns for intimacy and solidarity, which is reciprocal or symmetrical. In other words, reciprocal use of pronouns implies solidarity and mutual respect while non-reciprocal relates to power and status. The use of pronouns in Bugis society contributes to the needs to maintain power in one hand, as the basic needs of hierarchical society, and to promote solidarity, on the other hand, as demanded in the concept of Bugis' *siri* 'honour and self esteem'.

Apart from differences in Bugis, e.g., social status and age, gender differences may influence the basic usage of pronouns. The most striking differences can be seen in the ways husbands and wives use the pronouns in which high status wives are more likely to apply more familiar pronouns which sounded less impolite. This is particularly relevant in urban area, whereas in rural area, wives apply polite pronouns to their husbands regardless of their status.

¹ The different languages used by the Bugis people are identified using different fonts in the extracts taken as examples: *Times New Roman* for Bugis and *Garamond* for Indonesian. Both are represented in italics.

² I use initials for names of speakers mentioned for the first time followed by the age, such Puang Aji Madi (PAM, 50) or Ibu Wahyuni (W, 36).

³ Some symbols for transcriptions used for conversations are as follows:

- Final intonation contour (usually a low falling pitch).
- , Continuing intonation contour (level, or slight rise).
- ? Appeal intonation contour (sharp rise in pitch).
- Truncated word.
- @ One pulse of laughter.
- .. Short pause (less than roughly 0.8 seconds)
- ... Long pause (longer than roughly 0.8 seconds)
- <@ words @> Words are spoken while laughing; can also be written @word @word @word.
- (text) explaining what the conversation/the turn is about.
- [text] giving the literal meaning of the conversation (text).
- (text) indicating interjections.

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