Linguistic Adaptation among Transmigrants: A Case of Balinese

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Abstract

This research describes the linguistic adaptation of Bali transmigrants on the mainland of Southeast Sulawesi, specifically in relation to phonological, morphological, grammatical, loanword, and language proficiency aspects. To address these issues, data collection methods such as interviews, observations, and surveys were employed. The results of the research indicated that the linguistic adaptation of Bali transmigrants can be observed phonologically, with the disappearance of retroflex sounds /t/ and /d/ among the younger generation. Generally, Bali transmigrants have limited knowledge of standardized Bali vocabulary, as evidenced by imprecise word usage. Morphologically, the formation of words combines Indonesian root forms with Balinese affixes. In terms of syntax, the use of Indonesian sentences is often accompanied by particles such as *ji*, *mi*, *toh*, and *ki*, along with the distinctive intonation of the local ethnic group. Vocabulary borrowing, particularly related to agriculture, was also commonly observed. Proficiency in colloquial language was more dominant than in formal language. Most participants were unfamiliar with formal Balinese vocabulary.

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1. Introduction

The Indonesian government implemented a program known as the Transmigration Program in an attempt to regulate the composition and dispersion of the population in an intentional manner. The original transmigrant culture, with its social norms, value systems, and material culture, was brought with the population movement. As a result, this policy encourages cross-cultural and linguistic interaction, integrates resources with local communities and other transmigrants, and strengthens the unity of the Indonesian country (Malini, 2011; Yadnya et al., 2010).

In the colonial era, the transmigration program was one of the efforts to balance the demographics because Java, Bali, and Madura were considered to have excessive populations. Other islands, such as Sumatra, Sulawesi, and Kalimantan, on the other hand, not only had a shortage of population but also lagged in development. Additionally, population redistribution during the colonial era was also a form of increased surveillance due to their distance from the centres of power (Aswan et al., 1995; Hoey, 2003; Martinez & Hudayana, 2023). This has been the underlying principle of the Indonesian government's transmigration program up to the present day.

Balinese is one of the ethnic groups targeted by the transmigration program. The Balinese community has been dispersed to various major islands in Indonesia through the transmigration program, including Southeast Sulawesi. They bring their native culture, including language and religion, with them. Balinese transmigrants have been living in Southeast Sulawesi for about 54 years. They have been able to adapt to the local communities, both in cultural and social aspects, and have been well-accepted by the local communities (Silda & Arifin, 2021; Sirajuddin, 2018; Sutrisno et al., 2019).

The existence of transmigration programs causes language contact or cross-cultural communication, which is defined as interaction (both orally and in writing) between participants who have different cultural and linguistic backgrounds (Saville-Troike, 2003). One of the interesting aspects to discuss in relation to cultural contacts and language contacts of Balinese transmigrants with other ethnicities in Southeast Sulawesi is linguistic adaptation.

Hence, this research aims to explore linguistic adaptation, including phonological, morphological, grammatical changes, and vocabulary borrowing. It also elucidates the language proficiency of Balinese transmigrant communities who have long interacted with different ethnic groups. Linguistic adaptation carried out by ethnic Balinese is an effort to build effective communication patterns to create harmony wherever they are. The description of the linguistic adaptation phenomenon undertaken by the Balinese ethnic group in their efforts to interact and because of their interactions with other ethnic groups in the transmigration areas is an important contribution of this research.

2. Theoretical Framework

Culture and language will continue to undergo changes. Sometimes, these changes occur due to internal factors, such as conflicts of interest among different groups, and they can also arise from contact with other cultures and languages (Foley, 1997). In the context of interactions between local communities and migrants, or between majority and minority groups, language change often occurs because of the linguistic adaptation abilities of the groups involved. The essence of cultural adaptation is change (Gudykunst & Kim, 1992). Language changes occur when there is contact between two or more different languages (Foley, 1997). Linguistic adaptation, in relation to this topic, refers to the process of adopting linguistic features from one language to another or both languages mutually adopting each other's features. In linguistic adaptation, the adoption of linguistic features by one language from another, or both languages, can take various forms: adjusting language rules or sounds, replacing language elements through borrowing, and the occurrence of code-switching and code-mixing (Mahsun, 2006; Mahsun et al., 2012). A similar concept to linguistic adaptation is commonly known as language change (Chaer & Agustina, 2004; Crystal, 1987; Labov, 1994; McMahon, 1994). Language change also encompasses the discussion of how individuals or groups modify their language across various linguistic levels, such as changes in phonetics, morphology, syntax, and semantics, as well as borrowing between different languages (Haviland, 1999).

Speaking of language contact, particularly in multilingual and multicultural societies, besides

language change, there can also be instances of interference. Interference refers to deviations that occur in the speech of bilingual individuals as a result of their exposure to or proficiency in another language (Weinreich, 1968). Meanwhile, Haugen argues that the scope of interference is not limited to spoken language but also extends to written language (as cited in Malini, 2011). The language shifts also possibly occur in language contact situations, whereby migrant groups adapt by abandoning their own language and adopting the local language (Chaer & Agustina, 2004). This is partially because speakers who believe their language has less prestige
than other languages lack confidence in their a bilities (Hariyanto et al., 2023). For this reason, Gupta and Sukamto (2020) assert that potential gaps between members of different cultures can be bridged by promoting intercultural acceptance.

Several studies have examined the general adaptation of the Balinese ethnic group in transmigration areas. Aswan et al. (1995) examined the patterns of Balinese ethnic adaptation in terms of natural and sociocultural environments in South Sumatra; Candrasari (2011) studied the adaptive strategies of Balinese ethnic groups in the agricultural sector in South Sumatra; Parasit (2023) explained the patterns of Balinese ethnic adaptation from a social perspective in Buton, Southeast Sulawesi; Ata and Ekomadyo (2018) explored the adaptation of traditional Balinese architecture in Lampung; Hamzah and Cangara (2018) researched the integration of Balinese ethnic groups with the local ethnic groups in East Luwu, South Sulawesi. From these studies, it can be assumed that the Balinese are open-minded and capable of adapting well to diverse ethnic regions throughout Indonesia. However, according to Mertayasa (2014), it is worth noting that the Balinese, who predominantly practice Hinduism, face certain obstacles in adapting to the transmigration areas of Central Sulawesi, such as communal behavior, traditional village activities, and language differences.

Studies on linguistic adaptation have been conducted by Mahsun (2006) and Mahsun et al. (2012), who examined the correlation between linguistic adaptation, social adaptation, and verbal and nonverbal behavior patterns of migrant communities in West Nusa Tenggara. Syarifuddin's (2009) study focused on the

adoption of Arabic and Makassar languages in the linguistic features and sentences of the Bajo ethnic. Tamrin and Nursyamsi's (2021) research on adaptation primarily delved into code-switching and code-mixing among different ethnicities, namely the Kaili, Bugis, Bali, and Javanese, in Parigi Moutong. Meanwhile, Lateh and Ahmad (2014) specifically discussed the phonological adaptation of loanwords from Thai in the Patani Malay dialect. However, these three studies did not comprehensively address the linguistic aspects of the phenomena they examined.

Studies on linguistic adaptation in relation to migrant populations have been conducted by researchers from different countries. Kamalova and Zakirova (2017) examined the creation of necessary conditions for effective language adaptation among migrant elementary school children in Tatarstan, Russia, through the development of integrative methods for teaching the Russian language. Otherwise, Valieva et al. (2019) explored that Oralman students in Kazakhstan face difficulties in socio-linguistic adaptation, affecting motivation and language instruction effectiveness. Integrative methods can enhance proficiency. Kirby et al. (2004) wrote that The Iterated Learning Model (ILM) addresses linguistic adaptation biases in Universal Grammar (UG) learning, emphasizing the importance of UG and language structure in addressing learning biases. Cycyk et al. (2021) examined language adaptation in the speech-language pathology context. The study reviews early language intervention adaptation for diverse populations, including Spanish-speaking immigrant families in Mexico.

From these studies, it can be observed that research on linguistic adaptation generally focuses on language learning and teaching, particularly among migrants who are adapting to a new cultural environment. One's linguistic adaptation ability can be observed, in part, through their capacity to learn and comprehend another language.

3. Methodology

3.1. Participants

This research was conducted in the transmigration areas of the Balinese ethnic in the Southeast Sulawesi Province. Four villages

were selected, namely Jati Bali and Lalonggapu villages in South Konawe Regency (indigenously Tolaki language-speaking area) and Marga Jaya and Anugrah villages in Bombana Regency (indigenously Moronene language-speaking area). In addition to the local ethnicities, there are also other migrant ethnic groups, such as Buginese, Javanese, Sundanese, and Sasak, who interact with the Balinese. The selection of these villages considered the diversity of the population's ethnic backgrounds.

The interview was performed in a nonformal setting, taking place in informants' houses or village public spaces. The informants involved were 22 persons, comprising 8 from the younger generation and 14 from the older generation. Additionally, 66 participants took part in the Balinese language proficiency survey by answering a question list in the survey questionnaire. The survey participants consist of 47 males and 19 females. These participants were distributed across different age groups: 10 were between 16 and 25 years old, 11 were between 26 and 35, 16 were between 36 and 45, 21 were between 46 and 55, and 7 were over 56 years old. The sample also represented diverse educational backgrounds, with 9 elementary school graduates, 6 junior high school graduates, 30 high school graduates, and 21 diploma holders. Observations involved attending traditional events like priest inaugurations, Hindu Sunday school sessions (*pasraman*), and mingling with students after school to assess the fluency of the younger generation in speaking Balinese.

3.2. Instrument

To ensure the validity and reliability of the data and maintain alignment with the research objectives, triangulation was utilized, involving a survey questionnaire, interview guides, recording devices, pictures as visual displays, and note-taking tools. The questionnaire was crafted with precise and context-relevant questions. The interview guide included both written and spoken questions directed at the participants. These inquiries delved into linguistic situations, demographic and geographic details about the region, sociocultural factors, and the community's perspectives on their language and other ethnic languages.

The questionnaire contained questions about participants' knowledge of and comfort level with the Balinese language and its script at the "*sor singgih*" (speech level). Participants responded to these questions in writing. The questionnaire also collected data about the participants' identity as individuals. Additionally, observation sheets were used to record observations of Balinese transmigrants' socio-cultural and linguistic characteristics. Notably, the researchers served as the main tool (human tool) for data gathering and natural inquiry. The ethnographic nature of the research, which is defined by participant observation, makes this position necessary. The fact that certain members of the research team are fluent in Balinese lends more evidence to this.

3.3. Procedure

3.3.1. Data Collection

This research adopted a qualitative approach and employed interviews, surveys, and participatory observation as the data-collecting methods. The interview involved engaging in conversations with informants, including village and district officials, local leaders, and members of the younger generation. Recordings were made during these interviews to evaluate the informants' proficiency in both the Balinese and Indonesian languages, which were used as research data. The interview content predominantly revolved around topics related to research objectives. Moreover, the results of interviews conducted in the Balinese language were crucial for gaining insights into the nuances of Balinese language usage among the participants.

Surveys were carried out to gather information regarding the participants' proficiency in speaking Balinese. The survey encompassed a total of 66 participants across different age groups. Consequently, their proficiency in Balinese language, spanning aspects like formal and informal language, accurate word usage, and knowledge of Balinese script, could be evaluated. The data was presented descript-tively through narratives and tables. The research also included examples of sentences or dialogues collected during the data collection process. For the language proficiency survey data, a table was provided, showcasing the participants' proficiency levels in formal and informal language registers as a percentage comparison.

Observations involved actively participating in various social interactions among Balinese and with individuals from other ethnic backgrounds. The researchers also attended traditional and social events in the research area. To assess the language proficiency of the younger generation in speaking Balinese, conversations were initiated with them on language usage and other topics.

3.3.2. Data Analysis

The data analysis process involved several stages. Initially, recordings were transcribed into text form, and questionnaire data were inputted. Following this, identification was performed to select relevant data in the form of linguistic units. Subsequently, data sorting was carried out based on data relevance. The data from the survey on Balinese language proficiency was processed by entering the data into Excel. Subsequently, the calculation of the percentage of proficiency in common language (*basa lumrah*) and high language (*basa alus*), including knowledge of Balinese script, was performed. Data were grouped according to the research questions, followed by data organi-zation as required for analysis. Data were presented in descriptive form, including linguistic units and tables, with each data point assigned a number. This was followed by data examination (data analysis) and drawing conclusions regarding the linguistic adaptation of Balinese transmigrants in Southeast Sulawesi. This systematic approach ensured that the research data was appropriately processed and analyzed to draw meaningful insights and conclusions.

4. Results

For analytical purposes, all forms of data, including interviews, observations, and surveys, were integrated. These data complemented and supported each other. The analysis was conduc-ted based on organization according to the needs of the research questions and the developed theory.

4.1. Linguistic Adaptation Forms of Balinese Ethnic Transmigrants

The Balinese transmigrants in the research areas are fluent in Indonesian and Balinese and are also conversant in Tolaki, Buginese, Moro-nene, and Javanese. Balinese people typically speak two or more languages. Language interference is often the result of this linguistic circumstance. Phonological and morphological interference can be heard in the speech of Balinese transmigrants.

4.1.1. Linguistic Adaptation through Phono-logical Adjustments

Based on the oral speech observation and the questionnaire responses, it was found that phonological adaptations have occurred in spoken and written language. In written language, differences in vowel letters were found in the directly written questionnaire responses. The letter /a/ in standard Balinese was written as /e/ or /o/; for example, the word "*toya*" [tɔyə] was written as "*toye*" [tɔyə] and "*toyo*" [tɔyɔ], "*təka*" [təkə] became "*teke*" [təkə] and "*teko*" [təko], "*ia*" [iyə] became "*iyo*" [iyo]. The letter /i/ was written as /e/; for example, "*jait*" [jaIt] became "*jaet*" [jaIt]. The letter /u/ was written as /o/; for example, "*belus*" [bəlUs] became "*belos*" [bəlUs], "*ikuh*" [ikUh] became "*ikoh*" [ikUh], "*luung*" [luUng] became "*luong*" [luUng], and "*cegut*" [cegUt] became "*cegot*" [cegUt].

Based on the theory of sound change, such adjustments can occur due to the proximity of sounds of different heights. For example, the low-vowel sound /a/ can change to the mid-vowel sound /o/, the high-vowel sound /i/ can change to the mid-vowel sound /e/, and the high-vowel sound /u/ can change to the mid-vowel sound /o/. Therefore, it can be concluded that the vowel sound changes in the Balinese language among Balinese transmigrant partici-pants occur from low to mid-vowel sounds and from high to mid-vowel sounds.

Orally, the loss of retroflex sounds [t] and [d] in the Balinese transmigrant third generation has changed the Balinese linguistic characteristics in transmigration areas. The high intensity of interaction with other ethnic groups has influenced this change. In schools, Balinese children, often a minority, interact with various ethnicities. They must adapt to communicate smoothly. Consequently, the Balinese language is rarely used, except for discussing specific and confidential matters among Balinese students. Their proficiency in the Indonesian language directly follows the conversational style commonly used by their schoolmates.

4.1.2. Linguistic Adaptation Based on Morphophonemic Phenomena in Word Formation

Based on observations of Balinese transmigrants' speech in the two research locations, a pattern of new word formation was identified. This process involves the combination of Indonesian and Balinese base forms along with Balinese affixes. These morphophonemic processes refer to changes in morpheme forms, including the alteration, deletion, or addition of phonemes, which occur when morphemes interact with each other. These processes play a significant role in shaping the linguistic adaptations of Balinese transmigrants.

The gained data revealed the presence of words that follow certain patterns, including prefix + base, base + suffix, and combinations of affixes + base. These patterns are observed in the process of nasalization, specifically <ŋ- + base>, <base + -ne>, and <ŋ + base + -a ŋ>. The process of nasalization found in the data is characterized by changes, deletions, and phonemic alterations resulting from the interaction of morphemes.

4.1.3. Process of Phoneme Change

The Balinese language exhibits the morpheme of nasal affix {ŋ-}. The concrete realization of this affix in the word formation process always changes depending on the initial phoneme of the base form. Phonemic changes resulting from the interaction of this morpheme with other morphemes are marked by the formation of allomorphs, namely /n/, /m/, /ŋ/, and /~n/. These allomorphs are formed due to the influence of the nasal affix in Balinese morphology.

- {ŋ-} + base

Phonemic changes observed in the Balinese transmigrants' speech involve the process of phoneme elision. This phoneme elision corresponds to the membership of nasal phonemes, and the morphophonemic process can be observed from the disappearance of the initial phoneme in the base form rather than in the affix morphemes. This can be seen in the following data.

(1) "… liunan bahasa Indonesiané, yén tiang nganggo basa Baliné, iyo *nyawab* bahasa Indonésia."

'… mostly Indonesian, when I speak Balinese, she answered in Indonesian.'
(2) "Bagus padinné Mak Dirga. Nyén *nyaga* kedisé di sawah?"
'Is the rice well, Mrs. Dirga. Who keeps the birds out at the rice field?'

The words *nyawab* and *nyaga* in data (1) and (2) are derived from the combination of /ŋ-/+ *jawab* and /ŋ-/ + *jaga*, where the initial sound is a voiced palatal consonant /j/. The addition of the prefix /ŋ/ results in the formation of *nyawab* and *nyaga*. The words *jawab* and *jaga* are vocabulary in the Indonesian language. The elision of Balinese obstruent consonants, such as stops, affricates, and fricatives (/p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /c/, /j/, /k/, /g/, and /s/), occurs through the assimilation of the nasal /ŋ/. This can be observed in data (1) and (2). The change in the forms of these words is due to the disappearance of the initial phoneme in the base forms *jawab* and *jaga*. This is a result of the combination of the base forms with the prefix {ŋ-} when the base form begins with a voiced palatal consonant /j/. Thus, the morphophonemic process of these words can be represented as follows.

{ŋ-} + jawab → nyawab 'to answer'
{ŋ-} + jaga → nyaga 'to keep'

- Base + {-né}

The use of the suffix (-né) in the process of word formation is also found, which applies to both verbs and nouns. Here are some examples:

(3) "Yén nganggén *konsepné* uning, tiang kan anak sampun tuo, engsap berarti tiang kan ampun pikun tiang."
'If I use *konsepne* (that concept), I am already old, *engsap* means I am already senile.'
(4) "Yen cara tiang kan jabo *istilahn*é. Kadang-kadang nak Déwo tekén cucu-cucuné bahasa Indonésia yo."
'I am the low casta (*jaba*) *istilahne* (the term). Sometimes Dewa clan with his grandchildren speak Indonesian.'
(5) 'Yan menurut *normalné*, kawéntenan ring carik, yaning ten telasang tikus, wantah kepala empat, kepala lima kénten, séket karong ato petang dase karong nika sané normal."
'*Normalne* (normally), in the ricefield, if not eaten by the rat, there will be four or five heads or fifty or forty sacks, that's normal.'

(6) "Mool niké *biayané*. Yén aektar nike sapun napi nike *biayané*, *produksiné*, kéntenlah."
The *biayane* (cost) is expensive. How about in 1-hectare *biayane* (production cost), the yields will be?

The words *konsépné*, *istilahné*, *normalné*, *biayané*, and *produksiné* are derived from the Indonesian words *konsep* 'term', *istilah* 'term', *normal* 'normally', *biaya* 'cost', and *produksi* 'yields', respectively. They have been modified by adding the Balinese suffix {-né}.

The words *konsépné*, *istilahné*, and *normalné* are derived from the base words *konsep*, *istilah*, and *normal,* which end in a consonant. Otherwise, the words *biayané* and *produksiné* are derived from the base words *biaya* and *produksi* that end in the vowels /a/ and /i/ respectively.

The addition of the Balinese suffix {-né} adds a possessive or attributive meaning to the base words, indicating possession or association. These modified words are commonly used in the Balinese language to express ownership or association with the respective *konsep*, *istilah*, *biaya*, and *produksi*.

The word formation, as seen in the given data, reflects their openness and absorption of influences from other languages, especially Indonesian. The formation of these words also indicates interference at the grammatical level of words. In the process of word formation involving the base forms from Indonesian, both morphologically and morphophonemically, the applied rules are Balinese language rules. In terms of meaning, the base originates from the Indonesian language, specifically the suffix {-~na}. In Indonesian, {-~na} is a pronominal variant for the third-person pronoun 'he/she'. In spoken language, {-na} is used as a pronoun to indicate a specific known object or thing based on the conversation context.

The phonemes added in the Balinese language also occur through the combination or encounter of affix morpheme {ŋ-} with base forms that begin with nasal phonemes /ɲ/, /n/, /m/. The encounter of affix morphemes with base forms ended with a vowel phoneme often results in the addition of phoneme /n/ at the beginning of the affix morpheme. Additionally, if the prefix {ŋ-} is attached to a base morpheme that begins with any vowel, it will remain as {ŋ-}, as shown in the following example.

{ŋ-} + arit → ŋarit 'to pluck'
{ŋ-} + idih → ŋidih 'to ask; to request'

However, in the following data, there is a process of adding phonemes as the realization of the combination of prefix {ŋ-} with the initial phoneme of the base form, which also undergoes a combination with suffixes {-in} and {-aŋ}. The function of both suffixes in the formation of words in standard Balinese is to form transitive verbs. Verbs formed with the suffix {-in} require a patient object, while suffix {-aŋ} requires a recipient object. Both suffixes have meanings of expressing the action mentioned in the base form, expressing the action done to make it more or multiplied as in the base form, and causing or resulting in what is mentioned in the base form (Sulaga et al., 1996). In the following data, the function of suffix {-aŋ} does not have the meanings mentioned above.

(7) "Ritiosan punike pare déwe taler *nginginang indik* tirte kamandalu punike."
'In another words, Déwe (the Goddess) desire the *kamandalu* (holy water) also.'

The word *nginginang* is derived from the base form *ingin* with prefix {ŋ-} and suffix {-aG}. In this case, there is a process of adding phonemes in the combination or encounter of the morpheme {ŋ-} with the base form that begins with a vowel and is combined with the suffix {-aG}, which is assumed to be similar and follows the rules of the affixes meaning that occur in Indonesian with the nasal from the base form undergoing word formation processes. The most suitable meaning assumed is the meaning that appears in the derivation of transitive verbs in Indonesian with the suffix {-kan} (Alwi et al., 2003).

In its active form, the suffix {-kan} can combine with the prefix {meŋ -} to form a combination affix {meŋ -…-kan}. The base used can be a verb base that has the prefix {ber-}, a noun, an adjective, a function word, or a pre-positional phrase. The meaning of the derived verb with suffix {-kan} varies depending on (a) whether this suffix is obligatory or not as a verb-forming element, (b) the syntactic category of the base word used, and (c) specific semantic features. Thus, the combination of prefix {ŋ-} and suffix {-aŋ} in the word

{ŋiŋinaŋ} is assumed to be a verb in Indonesian with the morphophonemics *meŋ +iŋin+kan.*

4.1.4. Borrowing Vocabulary from Other Ethnic Languages

In farming activities, Balinese transmigrants mostly use the Balinese language. The mixture of Balinese and Indonesian languages is only used as a complement, along with several borrowed vocabularies, particularly from Javanese and Buginese. Here are some of these vocabulary terms.

> (8) *Grandong*: 'tractor used for harvesting rice'
> (9) *Dompeng*: 'tractor used for plowing fields'
> (10) *Tangki*: 'sprayer for rice or grass'
> (11) *Nabela*: 'activity of sowing seeds using a tool made of plastic pipes'
> (12) *Pacul*: 'hoe'
> (13) *Legowo*: 'making paths near rice plants'
> (14) *Cacingan*: 'small water channels for irrigating rice fields'

The vocabulary mentioned above is used by the Balinese for farming activities. They often hear terms 8-11 being used by Buginese farmers, so over time, they have become accustomed to using those terms as well. Meanwhile, terms 12-13 originate from the Javanese language. The term *pacul* (hoe) in the Balinese is *tambah.*

They also use vocabularies related to fruits and agricultural products, such as *coppeng* (Java plum), *kaluku* (coconut), *baka* (breadfruit), *tawaro* (sago), and so on. Familiar with the terms, they use them more frequently for interacting with farmers and collectors from other ethnicities.

4.1.5. The Grammatical Characteristics of Balinese Transmigrants

The ethnic diversity in both research areas has resulted in the prioritization of using Indonesian to communicate with other ethnic groups. Consequently, Balinese transmigrants are more fluent in Indonesian than in Balinese. However, the Indonesian language used by Balinese transmigrants tends to adopt the local dialect, namely Tolaki, and other migrant ethnic dialects, such as Bugis, which use particles like *mi*, *ji*, *toh*, *kah*, and *ki*, as shown in the following conversation excerpt from the participants.

(15) Researcher: "Dulu ketika ke sini dapat apa saja?" What did you use to get when you came here?
Informant: "Ketika ke sini dapet lahan, lahan 1 lahan 2. Rumah bikin sendiri dengan kayu tabasan **toh**, yang dapatnya, atep." 'When I came here, I got land, land 1, land 2. I built my own house with *tabasan* wood, and what I got was the roof.'
Researcher: "Atap daun?" 'A leaf roof?'
Informant: "Iyo atep daun rumbia, pakunya katanya dapet, katanya tapi **toh**…" 'Yes, a roof made of *rumbia* leaves; they said the nails were available, but...'
Researcher: "Bu Masjid terdekat di mana?" 'Ma'am, where is the nearest mosque?'
Informant: "Oh, deket **mi**. Mau ke sana? Deket **mi**, deket Indomaret, mau antar**kah**? Baru tadi malam belajar gambelan tari pendet, 4 tabuh **mi** kita pelajari, ini yang ke 5, Bu. Maaf Bu, begini **mi** bahasa *tyang* campuran bahasa Kendari." 'Oh, it's close by. Do you want to go there? It's close by, close to Indomaret. Shall I take you there? We just learned *gamelan* and *pendet* dance last night, we learned four *tabuh* (rhythmic patterns), this is the fifth one, Ma'am. Sorry, Ma'am, like this is my language, a mix of Kendari dialect.'

(16) Paricipant 1: "Iya, itu **mi** karna rimbun *padangne anune menek* (rumputnya yang itu naik) **toh**, jadi pertumbuhan waloh **toh** (itu) terganggu jadinya" 'Yes, that's because of the grass grows densely, so they disturbed the growth of plants.'
Participant 2: "Sudah **ko** makan itu kue?" 'Have you eaten the cake?'
Participant 1: "Sudah **ji**" 'Yes, I have.'
Participant 2: "Bagus **toh** sambil tunggu Pa Yus kembali, kita olahraga di dalam, Ada **ji** Bu Her, Bu Nani yang *hendel*." 'Great, while waiting for Mr. Yus to come back, let's do exercise indoors. Mrs. Her and Mrs. Nani are handling.'
Participant 1: "Ibu, adakah Ibu punya sodara di Bali?" 'Ma'am, do you have any relatives in Bali'
Participant 2: "**Iye ki**, Bu, ada **ki**" 'Yes, I do, Ma'am'

The particles *mi, ji, toh, kah, ki* used in the above sentences only serve as emphatic particles without any specific meanings. The use of the element *ki* in the dialogue above has

also undergone changes. The element *ki* is usually used as a second-person pronoun in a polite form, in contrast to *ko*. In the case above, *ki* does not function as a pronoun, rather than as a politeness marker. Meanwhile, the word *iye* is equivalent to *iya* in Indonesian, which means "yes". The element *iye* is a polite form in the Buginese commonly used in Southeast Sulawesi, in contrast to *iyo,* the less polite form.

The spoken Indonesian language used by the participants also largely adopts the sentence structures of Tolakinese and Buginese, as seen in the following sentences.

> (17) "Lalu, saya bilang ke anak *toh,* jangan sampe lupakan itu bahasa, Bapak pake bahasa Bali, kenapa kita pake bahasa Indonesia?" 'Then, I told the child, 'Don't forget that language, Father uses Balinese, why do we use Indonesian?'
> (18) "Tapi masalahnya kalo ijo begitu, jarang dia pake urea, NPK dia pake, ada juga TSP." 'But the problem is, if the growth is green like that, he rarely used urea, he used NPK, and also TSP.'
> (19) "Kalo disemprot kena ujan *ndak* mati juga rumput." 'If it's sprayed and it gets rained on, the grass doesn't die either.'

The data (17-19) above provides an overview of the sentence structures used by participants, where they adopt the sentence structures of the Tolaki language when communicating in Indonesian, both among themselves and with other ethnic groups in the research locations. The word "*ndak*" (not) is also a characteristic feature of the local Indonesian language. An informant describes his experience as being considered strange because of his accent when he visited his family in Bali.

> (20) "Waktu ke Bali tahun kemarin, saya bahasa Bali. Tapi mereka bilang, ih, kok beda bahasanya. Kayak logatnya beda gitu. Jadi, mereka bilang, oh, begitu, ya. Apalagi kalo pake bahasa Indonesia, misalnya (kata) *tidak ji, ambilkan pi dulu itu.* Hah, bahasa apa itu? Begitu. Saya sering pake bahasa Indonesia, sering diketawai karena logatnya beda." 'When I went to Bali last year, I spoke Balinese. But they said, 'Oh, the language is different. It's like a different accent.' So, they said, 'Oh, okay, I see. Especially when using Indonesian, for example, instead of saying 'tidak' (no), they

say 'pi' (go) first. What language is that? How it is come. I often use Indonesian and people often laughing at my language because the accent is different.'

4.2. The Ability to Speak Balinese among Balinese Transmigrants

Balinese is the mother tongue of the Bali community. In general and broadly speaking, the Balinese has two dialects: Bali Daratan and Bali Aga dialects (Bawa, 1983; Sulaga et al., 1996; Warna, 1993). Additionally, Balinese also has language registers known as *sor singgih basa* (*unda usuk*), which can be divided into two main categories*: basa lumrah* (common language) and *basa alus* (refined language). *Basa alus* has further subdivisions, including *alus mider*, *alus sor*, and *alus singgih*. The grammatical rules of *basa alus* are based on the everyday Balinese language, which is known as Balinese *kepara* or *lumrah*.

Based on the observations and in-depth inter-views, it can be concluded that communication among Balinese individuals tends to use the *basa lumrah*, as expressed by an informant as follows.

> (21) "Kalau untuk di daerah di sini Lalonggapu ini khususnya, karena hampir 90% orang Bali jadi bahasanya itu lebih banyak bahasa daerah Bali. Tapi bahasa Balinya itu bahasa Bali biasa *manten* (saja), *ten wenten* (tidak ada) *sor singgih*-nya". 'In this area, especially in Lalonggapu, because almost 90% of the people are Balinese, the language used is mostly the Balinese language. But the Balinese language here is just the regular Balinese language, there are no special terms or expressions.'

The statement is supported by the results of the questionnaire regarding proficiency in Balinese. Most of the Balinese vocabulary could still be expressed by the participants. The questionnaire consisted of 40 basic Indonesian vocabularies, requesting the participants to write the equivalent words in *basa lumrah*, *basa alus*, and Balinese script in the provided columns. These vocabularies were randomly selected from the Swadesh word list, including various categories such as plants, animals, nature, body parts, activities, and conditions. The data collected regarding the participants' proficiency in the Balinese language showed that all participants were familiar with the vocabulary

in *basa lumrah*, only a small portion of the participants was knowledgeable about the vocabulary in *basa alus*, and none of the participants was able to write them in the Balinese script.

The participants' ability to translate Indonesian vocabulary to Balinese (both in *basa lumrah* and *basa alus*) yielded the following percentage results in Table 1.

Table 1
Mastery of basa lumrah and basa alus by Balinese Transmigrants

Vocabulary	Bali Language (BL)				Script
	Lumrah		*Alus*		
water	98%	Yeh	88%	toya	0%
root	94%	Akah	5%	Akah	0%
child	92%	Pianak	35%	Oka	0%
dog	98%	Cicing	70%	Asu	0%
fire	95%	Api	71%	Geni	0%
how	98%	Kenken	83%	sapunapi	0%
good	59%	Lung	73%	becik	0%
many	98%	liu, bek	74%	Akéh	0%
wet	98%	Belus	19%	belus	0%
swollen	100%	Beseh	10%	beseh	0%
(to) kiss	98%	Diman	8%	diman	0%
(to) smell	92%	Ebonin	29%	ambunin	0%
(to) wash	98%	umbah, baseh	14%	wajikin	0%
meat	97%	Be	36%	Ulam	0%
blood	100%	Getih	36%	Rah	0%
(to) come	97%	Teka	72%	Rauh	0%
(to) push	95%	Sogok	11%	sogok	0%
(to) sit	100%	Negak	61%	melinggih	0%
four	98%	Patpat	39%	catur	0%
tail	100%	Ikut	29%	ikut	0%
salt	100%	Uyah	53%	tasik	0%
fat	98%	Mokoh	17%	ebuh	0%
(to) bite	97%	Cegut	6%	cegut	0%
(to) smash	92%	Antem	3%	antem	0%
(to) erase	92%	Apus	3%	basmi	0%
green	92%	Ijo	3%	wilis	0%
black	97%	Badeng	38%	ireng	0%
forest	100%	Alas	27%	wana	0%
mother	98%	Meme	40%	biang	0%
He/She	88%	Ia	21%	ragané	0%
fish	100%	Be	35%	ulam	0%
(to) sew	97%	Jait	6%	jarit	0%
(to) fall	98%	Ulung	33%	runtuh	0%
dirty	98%	Daki	4%	kotor	0%
short	97%	Bawak	6%	bawak	0%
stomach	100%	Basing	41%	waduk	0%
grass	97%	Padang	4%	padang	0%
soil	88%	Tanah	21%	lemah	0%
thick	97%	Tebel	1%	tebel	0%
snake	98%	Lelipi	9%	ula	0%

Table 1 reveals that the colloquial form (*basa lumrah*) is predominantly mastered, contrasting with the formal form (*basa alus*). Proficiency in *basa alus* is high (above 70%) only for

vocabulary items such as *toya*, *asu*, *geni*, *sapunapi*, *becik*, *akéh*, and *rauh*. The inability of the participants in *basa alus* is evident in their blank responses or incorrect answers for these vocabulary items.

Most of the vocabulary items were written with some phonetic variations. For the *basa alus*, the word *toya* was written as *toye* and *toyo* by different participants. Similarly, for the *basa lumrah*, *yéh* (water) was written as *iyéh* by some participants; the word *geni* had variations such as *agni*; the word *patpat* had variations as *papat* and *pat*; the word *kenken* was written as *kénkén* and *éngkén*; the word *cegut* had variations as *gugut* and *anggut*. Out of the 40 vocabulary items filled in by the participants, there were variations in the written form of the words, both in *basa alus* and *basa lumrah.*

Basa lumrah is dominantly used in the four research areas, even though they are also inhabited by the Triwangsa caste. However, the use of *basa alus* is not prioritized. This is logical, considering that *basa alus* is too complex and may cause communication gaps, especially for ones born in the area, as expressed by an informant as follows.

(22) Researcher: *Driki wénten anak* Ida Bagus, Gusti ,..? Is there the highest clan (Ida Bagus, Gusti) here?
Informant: *Wénten*, Déwo *wénten* … dalam catur warna kan ada Brahmana, Ksatriya, Wéisya, Sudra. *Yén care tiang kan jabo istilahné*. Kadang-kadang *ngajak anak agung, basa Bali biaso, tapi iyo sing je tersinggung yo, kan be tawange pelekadan dini*. Kadang-kadang *nak Déwo tekén cucu-cucuné bahasa Indonésia yo*. 'Yes, there are, like Dewo clan. In the four clan/caste system, there are Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Shudras. Such as me *Jabo* (Shudra). Sometimes, with the "Anak Agung" (highest caste), we speak general Balinese, but they may not get offended because they know that we are origin in this area. Sometimes, the Dewa clan and their grandchildren speak Indonesian. (If it's like me, they follow the terms ... with Anak Agung, we speak regular Balinese, but they are not offended because they were born here ... people from the Dewa caste and their grandchildren speak Indonesian.'

However, during conversations between speakers in the *basa alus*, communication naturally occurs. This can be seen in the dialogues between participants, despite not being from the Triwangsa caste, as shown below.

(23) P. Kt: "Om Swastyastu. *Punapi gatre* Pak Nyoman?" 'Om Swastyastu. How are you, Mr. Nyoman?'
P. Nyo: "Om Swastyastu Pak Ketut. Sehat-sehat *manten*." 'Om Swastyastu Mr. Ketut. Very well.'
P. Kt: "*Nggih becik. Punapi* kabaré *ring carik, sapunapi mangkin*? *Sampun nampadin*?" 'That's very well. How is the rice field now a days? Is it yield already?
P. Nyo: "*Tiang ring carik* saat niki *sampun* nukup satu kali." 'I already yielded once in this season.'
P. Nyo: "*Kudang* hektar *niki medué* tanah?" 'How many hectares of land do you have?'
P. Kt: "*Yéning mekarye ring carik niki wénten kirang langkung telung hektar*." 'If work in this rice field, probably three hectares.'
P. Nyo: "Pih, telung hektar Bapak *polih*? *Akéh nika, yén* di Bali miliaran *mangkin*." 'Wow, you have three hectares? That is so much. In Bali, it will be billions.'
P. Kt: "*Napi nika* parietasné?" 'What kind of variety is it?'
P. Nyo: "Paritas *sané katandur mangkin sané sampun becek ring sawah, paritas nike mawasta* 42." 'The variety which is sown in the rice field is the good one this time, it is called 42.'
P.Kt: "Pari 42?" 'Pari 42?'
P.Nyo: "*Nggih,* Pak Tut." 'That's right, Mr. Tut.'
P. Kt: "*Akudé biasané yén panén niko?*" 'How much usually produce will be?'
P. Nyo: "Ya, yan menurut normalné, *kawéntenan ring carik, yaning ten telasang* tikus, wantah kepala empat, kepala lima kenten, *séket* karong ato *petang dase* karong *nika sane* normal." 'If normally, based on the condition in the field, if there is no rat pest, only four, five sacks, fifty or forty sacks normally.'
P Kt: "Care di Jawe *nika akedik nike wastané* Pak Nyoman." 'In Java, it means a little, Mr, Nyoman.'

P. Nyo: "*Sampun napiang, toyoné ten wénten* Pak Ketut." 'How is it, there is no water, Mr. Tut.'

P. Kt: "Toyo? Yeh kenten?" 'Water? The problem is water?'

P. Nyo: "*Nggih. Nike tiyos ring* Bombana *niki ring* desa Marga Jaya niki nganggon sumur bor, Pak Ketut. *Nike ané mewehang tiang*. Dana terutama *sané akéh* Pak Ketut. 'Right. It is different in Bombana, this is Marga Jati village. Here we use bore wells. That make me hard. Especially for the cost, Mr. Tut.'

In the dialogue, the words, phrases, and sentences in italics represent the *basa alus* form that both adult participants can express. This suggests that *basa alus* is still employed in daily communication, depending on the participants and who starts the conversation using it.

At the phrase level, most participants understood the five phrases provided in the questionnaire. The five Indonesian phrases in the questionnaire were answered by participants using *basa lumrah*. For example, for the phrase *orang pintar* (smart person), their answers are *anak duek, jelemo ririh*; for *lima hari* (five days), most participants answer with *limang dine* and *limang dino*; and for *adik ayah saya* (my father's younger sibling), most participants answer with *rerame, paman pak dé, pak man, pak tut, pak nik,* and *adin bapan tiang*. None of them was able to answer using *basa alus*. In *basa alus*, these three phrases are categorized as *basa alus madya* (middle formal language), which are (1) *anak sane wikan*, (2) *limang rahina*, and (3) *adin bapan tiangé*.

Similarly, at the sentence level, the participants mostly wrote the provided Indonesian sentences in *basa lumrah*. Here are some examples of the sentences:

(24) "Saya membelikan adik baju." (I bought my younger sister a dress) is answered with "*tiang meliang adi baju.*"
(25) "Ayah sedang mencangkul di sawah." (Father is hoeing at rice field.) most is answer with "*bape sedeng numbeg di carik*"
(26) "Buku-buku saya tertinggal di meja." (My books were left on the desk.) participants answer with variation of verbs "tertinggal" (were left) with the words *kecang, mekutang*, dan *engsap* which are categorized as *lumrah* Balinese. Most

answers are *"bukun tiang kejag/mekutang di duur meja."*

5. Discussion

Linguistic adaptation in the context of minority transmigrant groups refers to the process in which members of these groups interact with the majority or dominant language in a particular region or society. Minority groups can consist of individuals or communities that have a language, culture, or ethnic background that differs from the majority population in each place. Based on data analysis, the process of linguistic adaptation in ethnic minority groups is influenced and related to several factors, including ethnolinguistic vitality, ethnic identity, language change, oral interaction, vocabulary borrowing, and the openness of ethnic communities, interference, and language kinship relationships.

Even though they are a minority and culturally and religiously different, the Balinese ethnic group can engage in various social and cultural activities and even participate in the religious practices of other ethnic groups. Moreover, they also interact and intermarry with people of other ethnicities. Their solidarity remains strong and well-preserved. The primary supporting factor that enables this minority group to have such characteristics is their hard work for economic improvement. A stable economic factor enhances their self-confidence, provides employment opportunities to individuals outside their ethnicity, and expands their cross-ethnic social networks. Therefore, the current minority group can no longer be characterized in terms of inequality, exclusivity, and subordination, as proposed by Schaefer (as cited in Gudykunst & Kim, 1992).

The current conditions and situations have an impact on strengthening their ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles et al., 1977, as cited in Gudykunst and Kim, 1992), which can be observed through three factors: the social group's status, demographic characteristics of the group, and institutional support. Regarding social group status, Balinese transmigrants have progressed from being laborers and farmers with limited land to holding diverse roles like government officials, educators, entrepreneurs, and landowners. In other words, the economic stability of the ethnic group has a significant impact. Despite their small population,

they are spread throughout Southeast Sulawesi, forming communities across districts and cities. As for institutional support, the local government has actively backed Balinese cultural and religious activities, such as *pasraman* (Hindu Sunday school).

Adaptation in language performed by the minority ethnic group is an effort to adjust to the language situation around them. Through this process of adaptation, various language changes occur. Therefore, the terms "linguistic adaptation" and "language change" in the context of this research essentially refer to the same thing. The concept of language change has been modified into the term "linguistic adaptation" (Chaer & Agustina, 2004; Crystal, 1987; Labov, 1994; Mahsun, 2006; Mahsun et al., 2012; McMahon, 1994). Linguistic adaptation and language change are discussed in relation to phonology, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary borrowing. Individuals who engage in linguistic adaptation can modify their language proficiency and speaking style to fit the speech situation at hand.

The use of the term "linguistic adaptation" rather than "language change" was chosen because, in the context of Balinese transmigrants in Southeast Sulawesi, the adjustments made by Balinese transmigrants are mainly at the level of using the Indonesian language, which may differ from the Indonesian dialect in their origin place. Essentially, they do not replace or switch from the Balinese language to another regional language. They still use the Balinese language, but it adapts to the distinctive characteristics or specific dialect of the local language in Southeast Sulawesi, which is different from the Balinese dialect in their place of origin. This also includes modifications to the morpho-phonemic process and sound assimilation in linguistic adaptation. Generally, the Balinese ethnic group tends to write what they frequently hear when interacting with fellow Balinese. They are less knowledgeable about and familiar with the standard Balinese language as it exists in their home region, Bali Province.

Therefore, it can be said that linguistic adaptation among transmigrants tends to occur at the level of oral situations or listening habits. Their language adaptation skills are acquired through interactions within their environment, both among their own ethnicity and with other ethnic groups, which influence their language knowledge. This language knowledge has shaped their linguistic characteristics in both Indonesian and Balinese languages, which differ from their places of origin. For instance, the use of local language markers like particles "ji", "mi", and "toh" is quite common. Similarly, the use of second-person address forms, whether singular or plural, using "ko", which means "you". This also includes variations in politeness markers in language, such as "ki" (second-person pronoun) and "kita" (first-person pronoun). When comparing the use of Indonesian among all Balinese ethnic groups throughout Indonesia, distinct characteristics specific to each group will undoubtedly be found.

Vocabulary borrowing is also a form of linguistic adaptation and a manifestation of the language change process (Haviland, 1999). Therefore, the language borrowing undertaken by minority migrant ethnic groups adapts to the environment and culture of the place they are in. As evident in this research, which is situated in agricultural and plantation areas, they generally become familiar with and use local vocabulary when interacting with fellow farmers. This includes terminology related to fruits and harvests.

Linguistic adaptation can influence ethnic identity, and ethnic identity can differ between the older and younger generations. The older generation (first generation) of Balinese transmigrants, often associated with farming and plantation work, tends to be left behind by their successors (third generation). This change reflects the social and cultural changes occurring in various societies worldwide as the younger generation becomes involved in broader aspects of life. The younger generation loses some of their Balinese identity at the local level to integrate into a different local culture. Therefore, it has become challenging to identify the younger Balinese generation as Balinese in terms of language. Besides having passive Balinese language abilities, they have also lost the linguistic characteristics of the Balinese language, such as retroflex /t/ and /d/. This aligns with the research by Ting and Ting (2020), which suggests that parents had a stronger ethnic identity than their children. Currently, language is no longer a marker for identifying Balinese transmigrants.

One of the factors that supports the linguistic adaptation ability of a community is openness

to external cultural influences. Openness is the key to absorbing various forms of knowledge and other cultures, including adaptation to the environment, social structures, culture, agriculture, architecture, and overall interaction. This statement aligns with several studies from various perspectives on the adaptation patterns and abilities of the Balinese ethnic group in several provinces in Indonesia (Aswan et al., 1995; Ata & Ekomadyo, 2018; Candrasari, 2011; Hamzah & Cangara, 2018; Parasit, 2023; Silda & Arifin, 2021, Sirajuddin, 2018).

Linguistic events that can be discussed in the context of linguistic adaptation include interference (Haugen, as cited in Malini, 2011; Weinreich, 1968). The blending of two elements from two different languages, Indonesian and Balinese, can be observed in aspects such as pronunciation, grammar, word choice, and terminology. Similarly, in writing, some vocabulary from formal or informal Balinese language is filled with elements from Indonesian or Javanese.

From the perspective of language shift (Chaer & Agustina, 2004), the Balinese do not completely replace their Balinese language with another language. They adjust their proficiency in the Indonesian language to adapt to the local accent. They do not abandon their Balinese and Indonesian languages. What they discard is the typical Balinese characteristic retroflex sounds /t/ and /d/ when speaking Balinese or Indonesian.

This research also suggests that *basa alus* as the high register language tends to be abandoned and less frequently used than *basa lumrah,* as the common register language. The imbalance between the use of these two language registers is a clear indication of this. Informal language is more mastered and used in everyday life, while formal language is less known and, therefore, not utilized in daily activities.

The differences or variations in writing, vocabulary, phrases, and sentences indicate that the use of the Balinese language in transmigration areas develops according to personal preferences. This is directly related to the proficiency in the Balinese language acquired in the transmigration location. The lack of knowledge among the Balinese community about the Balinese language can also be seen in the absence of participants who

were able to write in the Balinese script. Language development activities in the transmigration areas through *pasraman* have not been able to overcome the knowledge gaps in the Balinese language. There are many obstacles faced, including a lack of teachers, limited locations or facilities, and difficulties in reaching students scattered in remote villages.

Linguistic adaptation ability is also influenced by proximity based on language kinship and geographical proximity. The convergence of the Balinese ethnic group toward the Javanese language is influenced by these factors (Dhanawaty, 2012; Malini & Indrawati, 2014). Some elements of the Balinese high-register language (*basa alus*) have their origins in Javanese. Consequently, younger generations of the Balinese ethnic group tend to acquire proficiency in Javanese more quickly than in other regional languages.

Linguistic adaptation takes the form of language changes that are made to blend in and adjust to the linguistic conditions and situations in the region. The adaptation process has involved phonemic adjustments, modifications in word formation, syntactic adjustments (grammar), vocabulary borrowing, competence in using the mother tongue, as well as changes in pronunciation and intonation. The process of linguistic adaptation occurs naturally as a response to the evolving communication needs of the community.

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