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Research article

Strategy of kinship terms as a politeness model in maintaining social interaction: local values towards global harmony

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A B S T R A C T

Current research on kinship terms shows that variants of kinship terms used in the Bugis speech community interactional discourse show the difference in social status between speakers and listeners. However, only few studies have investigated the role of kinship terms, especially in promoting social harmony. This study aims to find the kinship terms of the Bugis speech community that are dominantly used in interaction, to identify the role of the kinship terms in creating unity and showing identity. This study focuses on the speaker's utterances toward the listener based on their power and solidarity. There were 120 native speakers who lived in Barru and Pinrang regencies participated in this study. The participants were classified into three age groups: 11–21, 22–43, and 44–65. The data collection was carried out using the Discourse Completion Tests (DCT). The DCT consists of five contexts that required participants to provide written utterances for two requests, one invitation, one suggestion, and one rebuking. Each of the context described the speaker's statement to older, coeval, and younger listeners with familiar or unfamiliar social distances. Data analysis used the AntConc 3.5.8 program whereas the interpretation used a sociopragmatic approach. The result shows that (1) There are five kinship and two address terms that are often used to extend the social interaction, namely: a) *Ndi*, b) *Daéng*, c) *Sappo*, d) *Emma*, e) *Sillessureng*, then the address terms *Puang*, and *Silong*. (2) Bugis speech communities achieve harmony and define self-identity through the strategy of choosing and placing the kinshp terms in their utterances. 3) The use of kinship terms based on the power and solidarity of speakers and listeners show the characteristic behaviour of *Sipakatau, Siri na Pesse*, and collectivity as Bugis identities. In conclusion, these findings help better understand the function and role of kinship terms in promoting social harmony and need significant support in the context of local language teaching and learning.

1. Introduction

Current research on kinship terms shows that variants of kinship terms used in social interaction tend to indicate shifts and differences in the level of a user's power and solidarity. In Indonesia, the shifts and differences occur within several speech communities, such as the Bugis (Agus, 2014), Javanese (Krisnanda, 2014; Muryanti, 2015), Makassar (Tamrin, 2015), Balinese (Suwija, 2018), in Bandung society in which there is a shift in function from use-value to sign-value or symbol-value (Rahayu, 2019), and also other groups of people from other parts of Indonesia (Ismiyani, 2014). Furthermore, these shifts and differences can also be found in different regions of the world, for example in Savelugu in Northern Ghana where power and solidarity (Salifu, 2010) are influenced by social and geographical conditions of Africa (Fashola, 2014). The same influence has also taken place in China and England (Miao, 2019). Meanwhile, in Korea, differences in kinship terms are used in religious settings (Harkness, 2015). Moreover, shifts and differences of kinship terms cannot be avoided in world politics (Jansen and Zobel, 2019). The dynamics and everchanging state of kinship terms make them a rich source for an interesting analysis.

Kinship terms about power and solidarity have been well researched. For example, Salifu (2010) examines the form of address terms in Dagbanli language (in Ghana) which signifies power, solidarity, and politeness. Fashola (2014) found that African people use kinship greetings to non-direct relatives for the purpose of keeping each other's faces. Moreover, Kinnison (2017) also found the use of kinship terms in order to protect the face of others in Chinese society. However, there is a scarcity on the research on kinship terms functioned as the manifestation of dignity and the preservation of harmony among people.

Kinship terms is one of the notable aspects of Bugis identity since the representation of the identity of the Bugis community can be seen through kinship greetings to their partners in social interactions. The Bugis has an expression confirming the use of kinship terms *Ada emmi nariyasekki tau* 'the words spoken by one show the degree of one's humanity'. Therefore, a good understanding of kinship principles is essential to comprehend how people are connected (Pelras, 1996:152). Thus, the identity of the Bugis community can be seen from the choice of using their kinship terms.

The fundamental purpose of using kinship terms is to gain responses from the listener. Also, Bugis people in the island of Sulawesi in Indonesia use kinship terms to show respect and save the faces of both the speaker and the listener. This is important as the Bugis believe that people's dignity and pride are reflected through their words (Darwis, 1995; Gusnawaty, 2011). Accordingly, using the kinship term in the Bugis speech community naturally becomes a necessity to get a good response from listeners and represent identity.

The kinship terms have their strategic roles and social principles of the cultural representation in power, solidarity, and politeness. One way for Bugis to show power, solidarity, and politeness is through the use of a kinship term. The kinship term is not only used as a conversation starter (Braun, 1988), but the term is also aimed to achieve goals, to recognize strata, and to promote harmony between the speaker and the listener (Gusnawaty, 2013; Suwija, 2018). Janet Holmes (2013) considers this role as a practical function of a language, that is to maintain social relations. Unlike in Japan where the use of kinship terms consistently indicates a social hierarchy (Fukada and Asato, 2004), in Indonesia, the kinship terms are generally used to show politeness and affection to each other (Ismiyani, 2014). In order to explore the use of kinship terms in the Bugis speech community, we constructed the following research questions.

1. What is the form of kinship terms of the Buginese that is dominantly used in the social interaction?
2. How do Bugis people create harmony in social interactions?
3. How does the Bugis community represent their identity using kinship terms?

2. Literature review

2.1. Western kinship term vs. Asian and Arabic

Comparison of kinship terms between the West and East is not a straightforward task since there is no clear border between the two sides. These two sides or regions are usually understood to refer to Europe and Asia. However, Morgan's (1870) typology of kinship systems and terms was not based on region. Instead, it was built upon the genealogical ties of an individual with others. For example, Eskimo typology, which focuses on the nuclear family, emphasizes differences in kinship distance, meaning the closer the relative is, the more distinctions are made. Thus, all other relatives are grouped into these categories, and no differences are made between relatives based on patrilineal or matrilineal. German and English kinship belongs to the typology in which the kinship is linear and does not make any difference between the relatives from the other's or father's side (Ulanska et al., 2021, p. 57). Their sex only distinguishes siblings of the parents, i.e. aunt and uncle in English and *onkel* and *tante* in German, whereas there is only one term for their children, i.e., cousin.

Kinship terms used in Slavic languages are more complex than those used in English and German even though Slavic people primarily reside in Europe, a region usually referred to represent the West. In Macedonian language, kinship terms are defined based on three aspects, namely (1) relationship, (2) matrilineal or patrilineal, and (3) gender. In addition, relationships based on consanguinity (blood) and affinity (marriage) are distinguished (Ulanska et al., 2021, p. 56). According to Morgan's (1870) typology, Macedonian kinship falls into Sudanese typology, which is descriptive and most likely the most complex. In the Macedonian language, the term uncle differs either he is the brother of a mother (vujko/вуукo), the brother of a father (čičo/striko чичo/стрикo), or the husband of the parent's sister (tetin/тетин). The last term can even be used metaphorically to address the parents of close friends. Ulanska et al. (2021, p. 57) also argue that this use describes the mentality and the social relationship within the Macedonian culture where closeness can go beyond the family relationship. In contrast, English and German people rarely address the parents of close friends by the term uncle. The use of Mr. or Mrs., or of the last name is more common among English and German society.

A wide range of kinship terms can also be found within the Arabic language. Arab societies are patrilineal, meaning that descendants are determined based on the father's side. Moreover, the Arab is also patriarchal, which signifies that the power, responsibility, and privilege of the male are granted (Dhayef, 2010, p. 720). Dhayef (2010, p. 721) adds that an Arab tribe is usually composed by one patrilineal landholder and all the people from this tribe are descended from one father. The tribalistic life of Arab is also exhibited in the Arab community in Medan, Indonesia. An in-tribe marriage is carried out to keep the group's lineage, class, or family status. In contrast, a marriage between different ethnicities tends to receive patrilineal kinship, which pays much attention to the male's lineage. Accordingly, the father's relatives are included within the limits of this kinship, but female relatives were put outside these limits (Suri, Nursukma, Silvana Sinar, & Zuska, 2016, p. 52). Regarding the kinship terms in the Arabic language, the kinship terms are based on gender and differences between patrilineal and matrilineal. In addition to many terms to refer uncle and aunt, there are also varied terms for cousins since marriage is sometimes preferred (Dhayef, 2010, p. 710). For example, *aleamu abn* ابن العم 'son of father's brother', *aleamu bint* بنـت العـم 'daughter of father's brother,' *aleamat abn* ابن العمة 'son of father's sister,' *aleamat bint* بنت العمة 'daughter of father's sister,' *alkhal abn* ابن الخال 'son of mother's brother,' *alkhal bint* بنـت الخال 'daughter of mother's brother,' *alkhalit abn* الخالـة ابـن 'son of mother's sister,' and *alkhalat bint* بنت الخالة 'daughter of mother's sister' (Dhayef, 2010, p. 722). Meanwhile, in English and German, all these terms are rounded into one term, i.e., cousin. Similar to Macedonian, Arabic kinship terms, such as *amm* عم or *khaal* خال 'uncle' and *ammah* عمة or *khaalah* خالة 'aunt,' may also be used to address parents' friends. Children and young people usually do this to indicate respect for the elder persons (Dhayef, 2010, p. 723).

Chinese cultures exhibit a more complicated kinship system. Besides the gender and mother's and father's line distinction, Chinese kinship terms are also based on blood affinity or in-laws, differences among the clan, and age since Chinese people focus on moral views of respecting the older (Miao, 2019, p. 214). An example of the term is *bofu* 伯父 'uncle', an older male sibling of one's father line (meaning he has blood affinity) who is a clan member, or it can be shortened as father's elder brother. Father's younger brother is called *shufu* 叔父 'uncle', while *gufu* 姑父 is for father's sister husband. *Bofu* and *shufu* are families related by blood, whereas *gufu* is a relation by marriage. Cousins are also very detailed in Chinese kinship terms, for example, *tangge* 堂哥 is used to address the elder male child of the brother of one's father, whereas *tangdi* 堂弟 is the term for the younger ones. The words are categorized further if the cousin is an elder or younger child of the father's or mother's brother or sister. Chen (2019, pp. 1239–1240) argues that there are four causes of the complicated Chinese kinship system; (1) emphasis on patrilineality making maternal line to be less close than paternal ones, (2) economic factor as a result of thousand years of feudal society, (3) respect for seniority making Chinese to attach

much importance to etiquette, and (4) the commonality of extended family sharing household and economic resource, as compared to a nuclear family in the West. In addition, Chinese collectivism also plays a role in which collective interests are more important than individual ones. This makes the Chinese accustomed to extend the scope of using appellations to the social relationship (Miao, 2019, p. 215). On the other side, as the result of the Industrial Revolution, Westerners pay more attention to freedom and independence, and they focus more on the pursuits of equality and the personal value reflection on their use of fewer appellations.

2.2. Kinship terms based on power and solidarity in Bugis speech

2.2.1. Bugis culture

The Bugis society is a collective or cooperative society with the principle of *assédingeng* 'unity in solidarity' (Mahmud, 2013; Sidin et al., 2020). This principle is displayed in some activities, such as planting or harvesting, or in more complex tasks like weeding rice, where women also take part (Pelras, 1996, p. 162). This collective principle is derived from the value of social wisdom of the Bugis community, namely *Siri na Pessé*. *Siri* is an essential element in Bugis' lives, self-respect, and dignity (Abdullah, 1985), whereas *pessé*, or in its complete form *pessé bebua* 'feeling the pain [of others] in the stomach', shows the deep feelings of compassion towards neighbors, relatives, or fellow members of a social group. The understanding of the wisdom signifies solidarity, not only to someone who has been humiliated, but also to anyone in the group who is in need and suffers from severe misfortune or illness. Moreover, *pessé* is also perceived as an identity, especially for Bugis people living in other region and in contact with other ethnic groups. *Pessé* is rooted in the concept of *sempugi* 'sharing one feeling as Bugis' or 'becoming a fellow Bugis' (Yatim, 1983). There is one Bugis saying, "If a Bugis friend [*sempugi*] doesn't feel *siri* for me, s/he at least will get *pessé*." Thus, togetherness among group members is a vital force of bonding, especially between people experiencing the same difficulties in non-native region or even in war, and the members are expected to help whenever necessary. The mutual promise between two Bugis individuals and the awareness of belonging to the same community becomes an implicit obligation that Bugis people should never fear of losing honor.

Furthermore, according to Mattulada (2015); Rukayah and Thaba (2018, p. 262) the interaction of the Bugis is an integral part of the implementation of the *pangaderrang*. *Pangaderrang* is a set of norms about how a Bugis person should behave towards others in the social institutions. These norms shape the pattern of behavior and perception of life of Bugis people. The behaviors of the Bugis society are based on several aspects, they are *Ade* 'custom', *Rapang* 'model of good behaviors', *Wari* 'hereditary rules and hierarchies', *Sara* 'Islamic laws', and *Bicara* 'people's consensus' (Mattulada, 2015; Rukayah and Thaba, 2018). Abdullah (1985, pp. 26–27) also adds four principles in the application of *pangaderreng* as a life philosophy of Bugis people. First, *mappasilasaé* demands harmony of life. Second, *mappasisaué* provides rewards or punishments according to the appropriate customs, and also point outs some guidelines for legality that should be carried out consistently. Third, the focus of *mappasenrupaé* ensures the preservation of the application of good behaviors. Finally, the fourth principle is *mappalaiseng*, which is about the recognition of boundaries of the relationship between each other to avoid problems and other instabilities.

2.2.2. Bugis speech community and Kinship terms

The Bugis community belongs to the Austronesian family, which has a bilateral or cognate kinship system. This means that an individual's status is from both sides of the family, the paternal and the maternal sides. The mother and father play an equal role in determining kinship. Although women and men are considered equal, they are expected to have different roles in the society.

According to Pelras (1996, p. 153), the terminology of Bugis kinship is quite simple and based on generation. All the relatives, whether male or female, brothers, sisters or cousins, are put under one category of *séajing* lit.

from one origin 'brothers or sisters'. The distinction is made based on age, where *kaka* or *daéng* is to refer an older brother sister, while *anri* is for a younger brother or sister. The descendant of parents is called *ana* 'child, son/daughter'. The siblings of the parents are referred to *ama-uré* 'uncle' or *ina-ur*é 'aunt', and their descendant of is called *ana-uré* 'niece/nephew'. Furthermore, the descendant of *ana* or *ana-uré* is addressed using the term *eppo* 'grandchild'. The kinship terms are also determined according to the common ancestors, for example *sappo siseng* 'first cousin' used for a person with common grandparents, *sappo wékka dua* 'second cousin' used for a person with common great-grandparents, and so on. Finally, the kinship term for a person outside the nuclear family is rounded up using the term *asséajingeng* 'those who share the same origin' and a person inside the nuclear family is reffered with the term *tau laéng* 'inside people'.

2.2.3. Power and solidarity in Bugis speech

There are three forms of social interaction where the social power of the listener and the context of the speech are put into consideration (Mahmud, 2013, p. 59). The forms are named *cuku* 'speaking down', *sanraa* 'speaking equally', and *conga* 'speaking up' (Darwis, 1995, pp. 33–36). As the names suggest, speaking down indicates that the speaker has more power than the listener whereas speaking up refers to the speaker having less power than the listener, and speaking equally shows that both the speaker and the listener have an equal social power. Brown & Gilman (1970) consider this distinction as a power and solidarity or social distance between speaker and listener. Wardhaugh (2006) suggests that social space and conversation topics can determine the choice of the spoken language in the interaction of speech communities. From a politeness perspective, social distance is one of the critical sociological factors in establishing the speaker's level of politeness to the listener (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 15). That is, the social distance between interlocutors determines the courtesy level of interaction. When two interlocuters are socially close, they tend to be disrespectful towards each other (Mahmud, 2013, p. 59).

In the context of the Bugis speech community, power and solidarity are indicators of politeness. Gusnawaty (2011) finds that the kinship terms in Bugis are used for three different situations. First, interlocutors with a far distant social status use either titles describing the noble class or the occupation, or both. This is considered the highest form of greeting. There are two choices of noble titles that indicate the social distance, they are *Petta* or *Puang*. These titles show the power of nobility and status of Bugis people. The speech pattern in this context uses the formula of the third person sentence pattern + nobility greeting + job title, for example the sentence *Wettunani Alena mabbicara Petta camat* 'It's time for him/her, sir/madam head of district, to give a speech' is actually a sentence directed to the hearer who has a higher social status. Second, interlocutors with a relatively distant social use the noble term *Puang*. As in this second situation, the formula is less complicated, where a sentence should be ended with the noble title. For example, in a situation where one person calls the neighbor with higher status to stop for a visit, the sentence would be *Leppaki maé Puang* 'Stop by and come, sir/madam'. Lastly, a less distant social status between two interlocutors is manifested through an honorific enclitic -*ki*. This enclitic is generally used for a third person but can be extended to show politeness and respect for the listener. By using any of the formula, the listener would feel respected as human beings. The Bugis people acknowledge this through a principle of *Sipakatau*, meaning the speaker should respect the listener as one respects oneself since Bugis people also believe that words reflect one's identity.

3. Materials and methods

3.1. Procedures and participants

The research was undertaken during the COVID-19 pandemic, so all the activities have met COVID-19 related regulations. The research has been approved by the Health Ethical Committee of University of Hasanuddin, Makassar, Indonesia.

Before conducting the research, ten field informants were recruited to assist the in-field work. All these informants were Bugis-speaking natives of the research location, either Barru or Pinrang Regency, Indonesia. The informants managed to have 120 participants to take part in the research. The gender of the participants is balanced, and the age is from 11 to 65 years old. The participants were then classified into three categories based on age. The first category is the younger category for those between 11–21 years old. The second category is the adult category for participants between 22–43 years old. And the third category of participants is the elder category for those between 44–65 years old. The study informants provided information regarding the research. The participants were asked to sign a consent, answer the questionnaire, and give authorization to the researchers to use the answers.

3.2. Data collection and extraction of kinship terms via the linguistic corpus AntConc analyses

3.2.1. Data collection and preprocessing

The questionnaire was distributed using Google Form and contained Discourse Completion Tests consisting five contexts (C1–C5). These contexts are to trigger word choices of a speaker (Stern, 1991). The participants were required to provide written utterances for the five contexts: two requests (asking for help and direction), one invitation for dinner, one suggestion, and one rebuking. Each of the contexts described the speaker's statement to older, coeval, and younger listeners, either with familiar or unfamiliar social distances.

3.2.2. The extraction of kinship terms via the linguistic corpus AntConc analysis

Data was interpreted with socio-pragmatics approach in order to obtain linguistic features functioning as kinship terms. Before data analysis, utterances from the participants underwent two parts of coding as suggested by Miles et al. (2014). The first coding is based on the social power and distance, and the second coding is based on the categories of age differences of the speaker and the listener in the contexts.

The utterances were put into *AntConc 3.5.8* application to be analyzed. There are seven tools in this application: word list, concordance, clusters/N-Grams, file view, concordance plot, collocates, and keyword list. However, only the first four tools were utilized for the data analysis. First, the word list was used to obtain frequently used politeness words. Based on this result, the concordance was applied to categorize the politeness words according to the five contexts mentioned in the procedure. Then, the clusters/N-Grams were employed to get the pattern of politeness words in the given contexts. Lastly, the file view was used to see examples of politeness words used in files that have been coded according to their categories. Politeness words were processed based on their meanings, while politeness word use was based on their contexts and types. To validate the data, the research team who are native Bugis discussed the utterances.

4. Results

4.1. The most frequently used kinship terms in social interaction

The analysis shows that the Bugis speech community most commonly used five kinship *terms* and two address terms. Table 1 *below* shows these results.

4.2. The relationship between the participants' age groups and the choice of kinship terms

Table 2 below shows the age groups of the participants and their use of kinship terms in a directive speech act. According to the table, the participants from the age group of 22–43 years old use more kinship terms in any contexts, whereas the participants of the age group of 11–21 years old use fewer kinship terms in overall contexts.

Table 1. Kinship and address terms and the frequency of use in Bugis language.

Kinship Terms	Meaning	Frequency of Use	Percentage
(a) *Ndi*	younger sister/brother	963	46,59
(b) *Daéng*	older sister/brother	839	40,59
(c) *Sappo*	Cousin	124	6,00
(d) *Puang*	mister/madam	77	3,73
(e) *Silong*	Friend	31	1,50
(f) *Emma*	Mother	17	0,82
(g) *Sillessureng*	Sibling	16	0,77
Total		2067	100

The table above shows that there are only two more frequently used terms among Bugis society in interaction, they are *Ndi'* and *Daéng*. Moreover, terms such as *Sappo*, *Puang*, and *Silong* are less significantly used. In fact, the terms *Emma* and *Sillessureng* are barely utilized by the respondents.

Figure 1 below displays a clearer picture of the used kinship terms by different groups of age. As can be seen, kinship terms are used more for rebuking for adult and elder participants, whereas the younger participants use more kinship in the request for direction. On the contrary, less kinship terms by both older participants are utilized when giving suggestions, meanwhile the younger age group use less kinship terms for the request for help.

The following Table 3 shows the use of kinship terms by three different age groups based on a context where there are differences in terms of age and social distance between the speaker and the listener. Furthermore, the table also provides some examples of utterances made from the context. Table 3 gives the results for the following context (C1) of giving suggestion.

Your old friend comes to see you and s/he complains about their problem. As a good friend, you will give them a piece of advice and motivation. What will you say?

According to the tabe above, five kinship terms are frequently used in giving suggestion, they are *Ndi* 'younger brother/sister', *Daéng* 'older brother/sister', *Sappo* 'cousin', *Silong* 'friend', and *Sillesureng* 'sibling'. The kinship term *Ndi* is used by all three age groups. Moreover, the age group of 44–65 uses the kinship term *Ndi* for coeval and younger listeners, regardless the listeners' social distance. There are some variations of kinship terms position in a sentence. Kinship terms may be put at the beginning of the sentence as followed by the Bugis politeness words such as *tabék* 'please, excuse', *taddampengekka* 'you (hon.) forgive me', *iyék* 'yes', *wedding kapang* 'it might be possible', *makessing kapang* 'it might be better', etc. Furthermore, the kinship terms are also found after an adjective functioning as an instruction word, after negation words such as *ajak* and *dék*, or at the end of a sentence.

Table 4 below exhibits the results of the context of requesting for help. The context (C2) itself is based on the following situation (C2).

You are doing something important and you cannot just stop it. There is a thunder outside, and it is about to rain. You suddenly remember that you left your clothes/shoes in your yard to dry. What will you say to someone that happens to be around you to ask for help?

Based on the examples of Table 4, *Ndi* is the most frequently used kinship term in the context of requesting for help. This kinship term has other variants for example *Anri* and *Ndi*. *Daéng* is the second most frequently used term. Furthermore, the kinship term *Sillesureng* is used by the age group of 22–43 and 44–65 to a listener who has socially distant to the speaker. Regarding the position in the utterances, kinship terms for the context of requesting for help can be found at the beginning of the sentence, after the Bugis politeness formula, or after a direct imperative word/sentence. The last positioning tends to be done by participants of age group 44–65 to a coeval or younger listener.

An invitation for having some food is commonly practiced within Bugis society. Utterances for this context (C3) are from the situation below.

Table 2. Age groups and frequency of kinship terms used in different contexts.

Age Groups	Directive Speech Act										Total Freq.	Total %
	Forms of Utterances											
	Giving advise		Asking for help		Asking for direction		Inviting to eat		Rebuking			
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%		
11–21	33	*2,19*	27	*1,79*	62	*4,12*	60	*3,99*	38	*2,52*	220	15
22–43	90	*5,98*	103	*6,84*	175	*11,63*	184	*12,23*	216	*14,35*	768	51
44–65	79	*5,25*	86	*5,71*	97	*6,45*	117	*7,77*	138	*9,17*	517	34
Total	202	*13,42*	216	*14,35*	334	*22,19*	361	*23,99*	392	*26,05*	1505	100
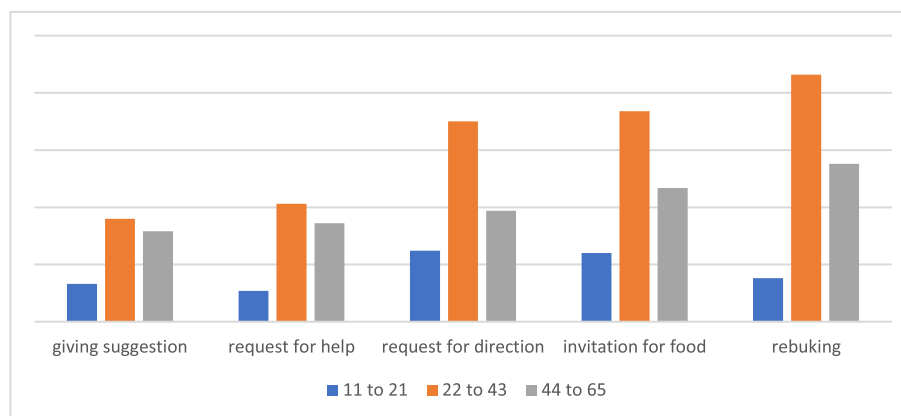
Figure 1. Age groups and frequency of kinship terms used in different contexts.

You have a guest. When the guest is about to leave, your mother asks you to request the guest to stay and eat (lunch or dinner) together. What will you say to invite the guest before the guest leaves the house?

As obtained in Table 5, there are five kinship terms used for the context of invitation for a dish, the terms are *Ndi*, *Daéng*, *Sappo*, *Silessureng*, and *Silong*, where the kinship term *Daéng* is the most commonly used for the context. *Ndi* has another variation, that is *Nri*. The kinship terms for an invitation are put at the end of a direct imperative sentence or after the politeness formula.

The next table are the results for the context of requestion for direction (C4), based on the following situation.

You are confused on the street because you are lost while looking for the house of your old friend. Luckily, there is someone you can ask for directions. What will you say to the person?

Based on Table 6, kinship terms *Ndi* and *Daéng* are used equally for the context of requesting direction. Furthermore, the kinship term *Silessureng* is used when the listener is considered socially distant. There are three common ways to position the kinship terms in a sentence; after a politeness formula, at the end of a direct question sentence, or at the beginning of the sentence.

The last table shows the results of utterances for rebuking (C5) which were obtained from the following context.

You are attending a seminar in a meeting room. You are paying attention to the presentation given by a speaker. At the same time, people sitting beside you are having a discussion, and this is distracting you. What will you say to rebuke them?

According to Table 7 above, kinship terms used for the context of rebuking are *Ndi*, *Daéng*, *Sappo*, and *Sillesureng*. *Daéng* and *Sappo* are used equally. *Ndi* is found to have another variant, that is *Anri*. The Bugis rebuke by using an indirect sentence. However, when direct sentences are used, it is quite common to utilize the kinship terms *Ndi*, *Sappo*, and *Sillesureng*. In regard to the position of the kinship terms in the sentence for rebuking, the terms are put in the beginning of the sentence, after politeness formula, or after a direct imperative word or phrase.

5. Discussion

Based on the results, there are three main points that will be discussed further here. The first point is in regards to the frequently used kinship terms in the Bugis society. After that, the discussion is about the strategy of the Bugis speech community in using kinship terms to create harmony in their interactions. The last point to be addressed is about the use of Bugis kinship terms to represent the Bugis identity.

5.1. The frequently used kinship terms in the Bugis society

The findings on Table 1 show that there are five dominant kinship and two address terms used in the Bugis speech community in social interaction, the terms are *Ndi*, *Daéng*, *Sappo*, *Emma*, *Sillessureng*, *Puang*, and *Silong*. Each of the term will be elaborated below.

The kinship term *Ndi'* is more common to be used as a term for a younger sibling in the family. This term has a variant *Nri* which is shortened from *Anrik*. Nowadays, the Bugis people use it to greet any younger listener, regardless the gender and social distance. The use of this kinship term shows attention, appreciation, and the sense of being closer to the listener. In addition, by using *Ndi'*, it shows some politeness in the interactoin. As Leech (2014, p. 172) states, kinship term serves as a sign of politeness to build and maintain social relationships. As for the kinship term *Daéng*, it is used by a younger sibling to address an older sibling. The term is not only used by the Bugis, but it is also quite commonly used among people of Makassar speech community. This term is an honorific term or title for certain people, for example, for people who have higher social status or are of a noble family. The term has also undergone some shift in use since the Bugis use it for anyone who is older, regardless their social strata. Just like *Ndi'*, *Daéng* is also used to show some respect and courtesy. *Daéng* is equivalent to the Javanese kinship term *Mas* or the Sundanese *Kang* in the island of Java, Indonesia.

There are three other familiar kinship terms obtained from the questionnaire, they are *Sappo*, *Emma'*, and *Sillesureng*. Kinship term *Sappo*

Table 3. The use of kinship terms in the context of giving suggestion.

Age Groups	Listeners	Social Distance	Examples
11–21	Older	Close	*(3a) Tabék, ajak tapettu rennuang **Daéng**. Sabarakki*
			'Sorry, don't give up older sister/brother. Be patient'
		Distant	*(3b) Taddampengekka maraja **Daéng** dé upagguruki tapi massélé pikirakki dé na weddikki putus asa*
			'So sorry, older sister/brother! I don't mean to teach you, but we should share ideas and don't give up!'
	Coeval	Close	*(3c) Sabbarakki **Silong**, makkua mémennitu iyasengngé attuo-tuongeng.*
			'Be patient, friend! That's life!'
		Distant	*(3d) Tabék sebelumna **Silong** koro makkutu masalata aja tamagatti putus asa atau menyerah... Tajadikangngi yaro masalahta sebagai semangatta sehingga nullékki tahang nakko nakennaki masalah sippada yédé*
			'Sorry, friend! If that is the problem, don't give up. Turn your problems into reasons for your enthusiasm, so you can survive if you face another problem!'
	Younger	Close	*(3e) Dékma na magaga **Ndi**, engkamak bantuki*
			'It's okay younger sister/brother! I can help you.'
		Distant	*(3f) **Ndi** aja ta magatti menyerah berusahaki sih*
			'Younger sister/bother don't give up easily! Keep it up!'
22–43	Older	Close	*(3g) Ajak tapettu rennu **Daéng**, dégaga masalah dégaga lalenna*
			'Don't give up easily older sister/brother! There is always a way out if you have a problem!'
		Distant	*(3h) Tabék **Daéng**, méllau dampekka maraja. Uparingngerangimikik makkeda makurankkanjak i narékko mappakkukik ro*
			'Sorry older sister/brother, I am sorry. I just want to remind you that it is worse if you do that.'
	Coeval	Close	*(3i) Ajak na mamasussa atita **Sappo**, insyaAllah madécéng mokiktu matu*
			'Don't feel bad cousin, God willing, everything is going to be fine.'
		Distant	*(3j) Makkomémessa yasengngé lino **Silessureng**, sabbarak pi najaji*
			'That's just how it is in the world, sibling! We have to be patient!'
	Younger	Close	*(3k) Sabbarakki **Ndi***
			'Be patient, younger sister/brother!'
		Distant	*(3l) Tabék **Ndi**, dék naweddikki mappakkuro paimeng*
			'Sorry younger sister/brother, you cannot do it again!'
44–65	Older	Close	*(3m) Tasabbarakengi **Daéng**, engkamo tu matu séua wettu na taruntuk i décéngé*
			'You have to be patient, older sister/brother. Someday, you will find what you dream of!'
		Distant	*(3n) Taddampengekka **Daéng**, dékro upangajarikik, uparingngerangimi makkeda dék naweddikki makkutu. Maéga tau liwekpa na idik.*
			'I am sorry, older sister/brother, I don't mean to advise you, I just want to remind you that there are people out there who face worse problems.'
	Coeval	Close	*(3o) Ajak tamasara wéggang **Ndi***
			'Don't be too sad, younger sister/brother.'
		Distant	*(3p) Sappani laleng madécéng **Ndi** iya pura laloé pakkuaniro engkamotu matu pawalekna*
			'Find a solution, younger sister/brother. What happened, there will be a reward for this.'
	Younger	Close	*(3q) Parellu tapakanjaki jolok ajak silalona tappa tapasalai **Ndi**. Iyako parallui tasapparengngi laleng makanja*
			'You need to fix this, younger sister/brother. Better find a way out!'
		Distant	*(3r) Sabbarakki **Ndi**, tapakkuaniro, ajakna tuli tapikiriki Insya Allah madécéng wassélékna.*
			'Be patient, younger sister/brother. Let it be. Don't overthink about it. God willing, the result will be good!'.

or *Cappo* comes from *Sapposiseng* 'cousin'. Although the term is literally applied to a family member, it can be used for close friends as well. *Emma* is another term that have also gone some shift use. *Emma* or *Indo* 'mother' is a kinship term applied for a female parent or an older woman of a noble family. Now, any older woman can be addressed with this term. For example, a middle-aged woman would say to another older woman, "Be healthy *Emma*'!" even though that older woman has no blood relation to the middle-aged one. The last familiar term is *Silessureng* which literally consists of three morphemes *si-* 'one', *essu* 'out', and the suffix *eng-* 'benefactive'. So, *silessureng* is a kinship term for someone from the same place, or in other words, the term is for someone born from the same mother. However, the use of the term also applied for anyone outside the family in order to create a family-like feeling between two interlocutors. Thus, a listener would consider her- or himself as a sibling when the speaker uses the kinship term *silessureng*. This consideration is supported by the fact that participants of the age group of 22–43 used this term in five different contexts to the coeval listener who is not socially close to them. The extended use of *silessureng* is also shown by the older age group 44–65 participants when they requested for help and for a direction.

Puang is an honorific address term to refer adults and nobles (Nuralamsyah, 2018). This term is used for members of noble families from generation to generation as a way of addressing each other. As previously mentioned, speaking to Bugis nobles is called *congak* 'talking up' (Darwis, 1995, pp. 33–36) since Bugis nobles are considered to have a higher power and social distance. Scollon and Scollon (1996) state this way of communication as a hierarchical politeness system. The system emphasizes the role of power in daily communication in which the person in the subordinate or lower position uses some strategies in speaking up. The person in the superordinate or upper position uses techniques in speaking down. This means that the power difference can determine how a person who is less powerful in society accepts the inequality.

Finally, *Silong* 'friend' is a term for listeners who have close social relationships, such as close friends or best friends. Nevertheless, the term has also been extended to address any unfamiliar person to show familiarity in the conversational situation.

The results on Table 2 exhibit that participants of the age group of 22–43 years old use more kinship terms compared to the other two age groups. The results are consistent in five different contexts. This shows

Table 4. The Use of kinship terms in the context of requesting for help.

Age Groups	Listeners	Social Distance	Examples	
11–21	Older	Close	(4a)	*Tabék **Emma**, taddampengekka maraja tatulukka jolok talai sessak é apak élok i bosi loppo gunturuk-gunturuk i na engka ujama*
				'Excuse me, mother, forgive me but please get my clothes outside. It seems like it's going to rain based on the sound of the thunder. I am doing something now.'
		Distant	(4b)	*Tabék **Daéng**, tatulukka jolok alakka caré-caréku ya uessoi é nasaba gunturuk-gunturuk i élok bosi loppo na engka ujama dé na wedding usalai*
				'Excuse me older sister/brother, please take the clothes that I left outside since it's thundering and it's going to rain. I am doing something I can't stop now.'
	Coeval	Close	(4c)	***Daéng** tapulungi jolok pakeangé*
				'Older sister/brother, collect my clothes (that are drying outside)!'
		Distant	(4d)	*Tabék **Silong**, méllau tulukka talakka céddé sessakku ya uessoi é*
				'Excuse me, friend, please help me get the clothes that I left outside to dry.'
	Younger	Close	(4e)	***Ndi** laoki pulungi pakeangé*
				'Younger sister/brother, go collect the clothes (that are drying)'
		Distant	(4f)	***Anri**, weddingngi idi malai sapatukku?*
				'Younger sister/brother, can you get my shoes?'
22–43	Older	Close	(4g)	*Tabék **Emma** tadampengekkak taullé ga massu malékka wajukku apana engka wessoi nasaba éloi bosi loppo witaé*
				'Excuse me, mother. I am sorry but can (you) go out and get my clothes because I left them outside to dry (on the line) and it seems like it's going to rain.'
		Distant	(4h)	***Daéng**, tabék… mélokka méllau tulung diyalang sessakku narékko tasempaki mui..apana engka kasi jama-jamangku dé nawedding usalai*
				'Older sister/brother, excuse me… I want to ask for your help to get my clothes if you can, because there is something I do that I can't stop'
	Coeval	Close	(4i)	***Daéng**...tatulung muna diyalang assessarengku diyolo bolaé.engka kasi uwessoi na dé ullei salai jama-jamangku hé*
				'Older sister/brother, help me to get my clothes in the front yard. I put them out to dry and I can't stop my work now.'
		Distant	(4j)	*Tabék taalakka jolok caré-caréku **Silessureng**, nasaba bosi*
				Excuse me, get my clothes, sister/brother, because it's going to rain.
	Younger	Close	(4k)	***Ndi**...tatulungka. talai sessaé diyolo bolaé. Engka tu uwessoi. Dé ulléi salai jamang-jamangku yahé*
				Younger sister/brother, please, get the clothes that I left outside to dry. I can't stop the work I am doing.'
		Distant	(4l)	*Tabék **Ndik**, méloka milau tulukung, angka sessaku okko halamangé mélo yala apana mélo bosi*
				Excuse me, younger sister/brother, please help me. There are clothes that I left in the yard to dry that need to be brought in because it's going to rain.'
44–65	Older	Close	(4m)	*Taddampengenga **Ndi**, méllautulungnga tapulungengka sessakku*
				'Sorry, younger sister/brother, please help me bring in my clothes.'
		Distant	(4n)	*Tabék **Daéng** taddampengenga tatulungsaka kasik jolok taampérengnga sepatuku yasékna pangngatek é urakkoi saba méloi wita bosi*
				'Excuse me, older sister/brother, sorry, please help (me) bring in the shoes that I left outside, next to the door, to dry because it seems like it's going to rain.'
	Coeval	Close	(4o)	*Alai jolok caré-caréku **Daéng**, mélo bosi*
				'Get my clothes, older sister/brother. It's going to rain.'
		Distant	(4p)	*Tabék **Silessureng**, taakkarengnga asessakekku engka ri saliweng bola*
				'Excuse me, my sibling, help (me) get the clothes I dried outside.'
	Younger	Close	(4q)	*Pulungessaka jolok caré-caréku **Ndi** mélo bosi*
				'Get my clothes, younger sister/brother. It's going to rain.'
		Distant	(4r)	*Tabék **Ndi'**, taakkarengnga asessakekku engka ri saliweng bola*
				'Excuse me, younger sister/brother, help (me) to bring in my clothes from the front yard.'

that this age group is in a period of self-actualization. Erikson's theory calls it the intimacy vs. isolation stage (Berk, 2010). According to Erikson (1977), the period of this age group is in the phase of intimacy and isolation and a step of developing awareness (Jung, 2014). Moreover, the use of kinship terms by this age group will raise the awareness to maintain the dignity of self and others (Mattulada, 2015). Respondents of this age group also exhibit more dominant uses of kinship terms in giving advice (5.98%) and rebuking others (14.35%). This result shows that respondents of this age group have been in their early adulthood and authority and complied the felicity condition (Searle, 1969, p. 66). This finding indicates the inheritance of community wisdom norms in this phase, or in other words, they still care about each other by giving advice and rebuking. Thus, the principles of *sipakatau* 'mutual humanizing' and *sipakaingek* 'warning each other' have been successfully passed down to the younger generation.

The study confirms that Bugis speech community builds awareness about the importance of using kinship terms to maintain harmony in this modern society. It is usually done by creating and using new words or terms (Rahayu, 2019, p. 146). However, Bugis speech community expands the use of kinship and addresses terms for the sake of harmony. This shows that the Bugis society is turning from a hierarchical society into a more egalitarian one.

5.2. The strategy of Bugis speech community in the use of kinship terms to create harmony in the interaction

The tables of the results of the five different contexts showcase the choice and placement of proper kinship terms for the particular contexts. The Bugis speaker always considers the difference of age and social distance when choosing the appropriate kinship terms. As an example,

Table 5. The use of kinship terms in the context of invitation for having some food.

Age Groups	Listeners	Social Distance	Examples	
11–21	Older	Close	*(5a)*	*Matupi talisu **Daéng**, onroki jolok manré, purani ipassadia gagaé ilaleng*
				'You can go home later, older sister/brother. Stay and eat with us. It has been already prepared.'
		Distant	*(5b)*	*Tabék, lokkaki yolo mabbura-bura nappa lésu **Daéng***
				Excuse me, let us eat a little bit first, then leave, older sister/brother.'
	Coeval	Close	*(5c)*	*Anréki yolo **Silo** nappa lisu.*
				'Eat first, friend, then leave.'
		Distant	*(5d)*	*Matupi talisu **Silessureng** maini manré*
				'Leave a little later, sibling, come, let us eat.'
	Younger	Close	*(5e)*	*Tamanréna jolok nappaki massimang **Ndi***
				'Let us eat first, then before you leave, younger sister/brother.'
		Distant	*(5f)*	***Ndi** manréki nappa lisu*
				'Younger sister/brother, let us eat then leave.'
22–43	Older	Close	*(5g)*	*Matupi taréwe **Daéng**, manréki yolo*
				'Leave later, older sister/brother, eat first.'
		Distant	*(5h)*	*Tabék **Daéng** ajana talésu yolo, na olliki emmaku létték manré*
				'Excuse me, older sister/brother, don't go home now yet! My mother asks you to stay and eat.'
	Coeval	Close	*(5i)*	*Purapi mulésu, manrénki yolo **Sappo***
				'Leave later. Eat first, cousin!'
		Distant	*(5j)*	*Tabék **Silessureng**, anréki jolok nappa lisu*
				'Excuse me, sibling, eat first, then return home.'
	Younger	Close	*(5k)*	*Tapada létték jolok mabbura-bura **Nri'***
				Let us move over and eat together, younger sister/brother!'
		Distant	*(5l)*	*Tabék, purapi manré tamaddék **Ndi***
				Excuse me, and you can leave after eating, younger sister/brother.'
44–65	Older	Close	*(5m)*	*Lettékki yolo mabbura-bura **Daéng**..cinappi taréwek*
				'Stay first to eat, older sister/brother. You can leave in a little while.'
		Distant	*(5n)*	*Tabék **Daéng**. Wedding kapang tapada manréna jolok nappaki lisu*
				'Excuse me, older sister/brother. Maybe we can eat together before you leave.'
	Coeval	Close	*(5o)*	*Cinappi mulisu **Ndi**, manréki jolok*
				'Leave later, younger sister/brother. Eat first!'
		Distant	*(5p)*	*Matupi taréwek **Sappo**, tamakni mai jolok manré sabak purani mappatala tomatowaé*
				'You should leave later, cousin, let us eat something because my parent has prepared some.'
	Younger	Close	*(5q)*	*Tamakni maihé **Ndi**, cinampepi mulésu, pimmali rékko sadiani na dék iyanréi*
				'Come, younger sister/brother, you can leave later. It's a bad thing when there is food prepared that is not eaten.'
		Distant	*(5r)*	*Anréni jolok **Ndi** lé. Nappaki lisu*
				'Eat first, younger sister/brother. Then go home.'

the kinship term *Silessureng* 'sibling' is to indicate that the speaker perceives the hearer as a family member, and the use is to show respect to the listener just like a relative. As for the placement of kinship terms, it depends on the context of the situation. For example, when requesting for help, the Bugis use the terms at the beginning of the sentence to indicate that the speaker wants to seek the attention of the speaker, or after the Bugis politeness formula to soften the request of the speaker. As for an invitation for having lunch or dinner, the Bugis put the kinship term at the end of a direct imperative sentence in order to soften or lessen the weight of the favor, or at the end of a politeness formula which is usually done when the speaker considers the listener older and unfamiliar.

By using the kinship terms, the Bugis speech community creates and maintains harmony in this current era. The strategy also illustrates that the Bugis people still practice the philosophy of *pangaderreng* (Mattulada, 2015; Rukayah and Thaba, 2018). Darwis (1995) refers this strategy as speaking etiquette, while other experts specifically call the strategy of using the kinship terms as a politeness strategy (P. Brown and Levinson, 1987; Leech, 2014; Mahmud, 2013) or as a communication strategy (Mills, 2003). Furthermore, Holmes perceives the strategy in terms of dimensions of formality and context (Holmes, 1995, p. 17); and others focus on the use of language in the social environment (R. Brown and Gilman, 2012; Wardhaugh, 2006), culture and language are interrelated in daily activities (Karamalak and Pozhidaeva, 2019), and one of the points of the kinship system of Chinese society system (Chen, 2019).

Kinship terms have a role and function in the social interaction (Leech, 1999, 2014). Bugis people maintain social interaction by acting and speaking politely, and showing high status or dignity (Mahmud, 2011). As mentioned in the previously mentioned Bugis saying, *ada emmi nariyasengki tau* 'only through words do we define our humanity', so the Bugis believe that the choice of words, especially kinship terms, is essential to show the mutual respect and dignity of the speakers (Darwis, 1995; Mattulada, 1997). That is, the choice of words in interaction with other people shows one's identity as a human being.

5.3. Bugis kinship terms representing identity

Bugis speech communities use kinship terms to represent three identities, namely *Sipakatau, Siri na Pessé*, and collectivity. *Sipakatau* 'mutual humanizing' acts as Bugis norms of social interaction. In practicing the norms, the Bugis apply the principle of *mappasitinaja* 'to match, adjust' and *mappalaiseng* 'to differentiate'. In order to manifest the principle of *mappalaiseng*, the Bugis need to know and understand their social strata so that speakers can produce *sitinaja* words and terms that are 'matched' or in other term 'appropriate' to their listeners (Gusnawaty, 2013, p. 2). For example, a 17-year-old child gives advice to a close friend of his, *Sabbarakki Silong, makkua mémennitu iyasengngé attuotuongeng.* 'Be patient, friend! That is life!'. The use of kinship terms in this example describes the speaker's identity through the principles of

Table 6. The Use of kinship terms in the context of requesting for direction.

Age Groups	Listeners	Distance	Examples	
11–21	Older	Close	(6a)	*Daéng, taita i gah iyé bola é...*
				'Older sister/brother, do you know where….is?'
		Distant	(6b)	*Tabék **Daéng**, i rissengngi iyedé alamak é?*
				'Excuse me, older sister/brother, do you know this address?'
	Coeval	Close	(6c)	*Muissengga kitéga yédé alamak é, **Silo**?*
				'Do you know where this address is, friend?'
		Distant	(6d)	*Tabék **Sappo** kéga tuju iyéhé alamak hé*
				'Excuse me, cousin, where is the direction of this address?'
	Younger	Close	(6e)	***Anrik**, kégi monro bolana la Rifki.*
				'Younger sister/brother, where is Rifki's house?'
		Distant	(6f)	*Tabék **Ndi**, méloka makkutana taissengga iyé alamat é?*
				'Excuse me, younger sister/brother, I want to ask if you know this address.'
22–43	Older	Close	(6g)	*Eloka makkutana **Déng**. Tégaro monro bolana iyanu*
				'I want to ask older sister/brother. Where is the house of …?'
		Distant	(6h)	*Méllo addampekka **Daéng** méloka makkutana*
				'I want to ask your forgiveness, older sister/brother. I want to ask you.'
	Coeval	Close	(6i)	*Taissega bolana iyéhé, **Silong***
				'Do you know this house, friend?'
		Distant	(6j)	*Méloka millau tulung **Silessureng**. Tégi tujunna monro yahé alamak é. Tabék mua tajellorekka*
				'I want to ask a favor, sibling. Where is the location of this address? Excuse me. Please show me.'
	Younger	Close	(6k)	*Muitaga kéga bolana iyaé **Ndi**?*
				'Do you see (know) where this house is, younger sister/brother?'
		Distant	(6l)	*Tabék **ndi**' maéloka makkutana kéga tuju bolana la Baco*
				'Excuse me, younger sister/brother, I want to ask, where is the location of this?'
44–65	Older	Close	(6m)	***Daéng** kégai monro yaé*
				'Older sister/brother, where does s/he live?'
		Distant	(6n)	*Taddampengnga **Daéng** méloka waseng makkutana kéga tujunna bola ....*
				'Forgive me, older sister/brother. I want to ask you, where is the location of the house of …?'
	Coeval	Close	(6o)	*Méloka makkutana iyé alamat na sibawakku **Sappo***
				I want to ask for my friend's address, cousin.
		Distant	(6p)	*Tabék **Silessureng** méloka makkutana iyé alamat na sibawakku*
				'Excuse me, sibling, I want to ask for the address of my friend.'
	Younger	Close	(6q)	*Mélo kajé makkutana **Ndi** kégapi tujunna bolana yanu.*
				'I want to ask, younger sister/brother, where is the location of this?'
		Distant	(6r)	*Tabék **Ndi**, mélokka makkutana, kégai monro yaé*
				'Excuse me, younger sister/brother, I want to ask you, where this is?'

mappasitinaja and *mappalaiseng*. The speaker positions the listener as a close person, so the kinship term of *Silong* is chosen. By using this term, the person gets a sense of closeness. At the same time, the use of the word *Silong* gives the meaning of *mappalaiseng* to distinguish the listener from the group of friends in general. This provides a positive value and motivation for listener.

According to results based on the age groups, differences in the frequency of use of kinship terms depend on the context. This finding supports the research from (Mahmud, 2013, p.59) that Bugis people of different ages will experience different levels of politeness in their conversations. This study also confirms Mardiha's (2012) finding in the Persian language. Age is a significant variable and has a role in determining the choice and use of address terms. Furthermore, the study also agrees to Wardhaugh (2006) who suggests that a topic change requires a change in the language. Even though the younger participants use fewer kinship terms, the importance of the kinship term use is still taken into consideration. It means that the younger Bugis still adhere the principle of *Sipakatau* 'mutual humanizing' where speakers respect the listeners as they respect themselves. In order to retain the understanding towards the Bugis identities and principles, there should be an integration of Bugis wisdoms in the local language teaching and learning, especially for the teenagers and young adults. Although teaching cultural heritages can be a challenging task to do, there are several strategies or methods that can

be applied, such as a pedagogical design of aesthetic experience (Lo et al., 2021), an application for semantic annotations (García-Zarza et al., 2022), or even peer-learning methods (Gamlath, 2021) to make younger generations learn the Bugis cultural heritage from one another.

Another representation of identity of Bugis through using kinship terms is *Siri na Pesse*, especially in the case of rebuking. Rebuking in Bugis society is an example of the concept of *Sipakaingek* 'warning each other'. It is another fundamental principle among the Bugis people. This principle is based on the lessons from elders in a book titled *Silasa* (Machmud, 1976) in which it is mentioned that Bugis people realize that any man might make a mistake and only God is perfect. Thus, *sipakaingek* acts as a moral responsibility and a way to indicate one's identity. If one makes a mistake in their interaction, either verbally or non-verbally, others have a responsibility and obligation to warn or even rebuke, and then give an advice (Rukayah and Thaba, 2018, p. 266). A similar principle in rebuking is also shown among Spanish Peruvian people (CarmenGarcía, 1996) and Malaysian Malay people (Maros, 2011; Najeeb et al., 2012). On the contrary, Brown & Levinson (P. Brown and Levinson, 1987) states that giving an advice and rebuking is a type of speech act in that a speaker puts pressure on the listener to do or refrain from doing something. Bugis people sometimes use a kinship term for advising because they consider the feeling of the listener. Moreover, it is also shown that Bugis people still value solidarity among others even in the current era that tends to be

Table 7. The Use of kinship terms in the context of rebuking.

Age Groups	Listeners	Distance	Examples	
11–21	Older	Close	(7a)	*Daéng, Tabék maloppo lanre saddatta*
				'Older sister/brother, excuse me. Your voice is too loud.'
		Distant	(7b)	*Tabék **Daéng** nulléki takurangi céddé saddatta*
				'Excuse me, older sister/brother, can you lower your voice.'
	Coeval	Close	(7c)	*Ajak yolo tamarukka **Sappo**, apana méloka maréngkalingai persentasié*
				'Don't be noisy, cousin, because I want to listen to the presentation!'
		Distant	(7d)	*Tabék **Silessureng**, maloppo ladde saddatta. Weddingngi dipabiccuki?*
				'Excuse me, sibling, your voice is too loud. Can you lower it?'
	Younger	Close	(7e)	***Ndi**, pabéccuki saddatta céddék*
				'Younger sister/brother, lower your voice a little bit!'
		Distant	(7f)	*Tabék **Anri**, weddingngi dipabiccuri saddatta?*
				'Excuse me, younger sister/brother, can you lower your voice?'
22–43	Older	Close	(7g)	*Tabék **Sappo**, dénamanessa uangkalinga.*
				'Excuse me, cousin, I can't hear clearly.'
		Distant	(7h)	*Tabék **Daéng**, ipammulani yasé, pada iyakkalingani yolo aga presentasina yasé*
				'Excuse me, older sister/brother, it has started, so let's listen to the presentation.'
	Coeval	Close	(7i)	*Weddigga, dék tamarukka maccarita **Sappo**?*
				'Can you be quieter when you talk, cousin?'
		Distant	(7j)	*Méllau addampengnga maraja **Silessureng**, yaku weddingngi sammetta tapabéccuki céddé nasaba maréngkalinga manengngi taué*
				'I ask for your forgiveness, sibling, can you lower your voice a little bit because people can hear you.'
	Younger	Close	(7k)	*Maloppo ladde saddammu mabbicara **Ndi**.. Dé uangkalingai taué mabbicara*
				'Your voice is too loud when speaking, younger sister/brother… I can't hear the person upfront speaking.'
		Distant	(7l)	*Ta pabiccuki céddé saddatta **Ndi'***
				'Lower your voice a little bit, younger sister/brother!'
44–65	Older	Close	(7m)	*Eh **Daéng**, ajakna kimaloppo ladde saddatta*
				'Hey, older sister/brother, don't raise your voice.'
		Distant	(7n)	*Tabék taddampangekka **Daéng**, makanjak kapang narékko topada riéngkalinga madécengngi aga napau tomabbicaraé riyolo*
				'Excuse me, forgive me, older sister/brother, it would be good if we all can listen to what the speaker up front says.'
	Coeval	Close	(7o)	*Mappamulani pematerié mabicara yase é ajakna tamarukka yolo **Ndi***
				'The speaker has started presenting so don't be noisy, younger sister/brother'
		Distant	(7p)	*Tabék **Sappo**, maloppo ladde saddatta*
				'Excuse me, cousin, your voice is too loud.'
	Younger	Close	(7q)	***Ndi**, ammekkonitu béla. Dék yangkalingai*
				'Younger sister/brother, shut up/be quiet! I can't hear.'
		Distant	(7r)	*Tabék **Ndi**, dék kasi uwangkalingai aga napau bapak é yasé*
				'Excuse me, younger sister/brother, I can't hear what the man is saying.'

more pragmatic and individualistic. This solidarity is quite common among what Hofstede (1986) refers to as collectivistic cultures. People of these cultures think of everyone as a family, as compared to people from individualistic cultures who focus more on their interests and those of their dearest families. As a more complex society (Pelras, 1996), Bugis people refer to a philosophical concept of *assédingeng* (Mahmud, 2013; Sidin et al., 2020), which is the ethical principal of *Siri na Pessé*. This ethical principle means that any Bugis person should be ready to contribute and support others whenever necessary (Abdullah, 1985; Pelras, 1996).

Finally, the collective identity of the Bugis community is shown by the use of the kinship terms of *Sappo* and *Silessureng*. As mentioned before, these two kinship terms are normally used for someone with blood affinity (Abdullah, 1985; Pelras, 1996). However, the findings of the present study exhibit the extended use of the terms. For example, in the sentence *Ajak namasussa atitta Sappo, Insya Allah, madécéng mokíktu matu.* 'Do not feel sad cousin, God willing, everything will be fine.' and *Makkomémessa yasengngé lino Silessureng, sabbarak pi najaji* 'That is how it is in the world, my brother! We have to be patient!' The choice of the terms indicates the intention to get closer (Brown and Levinson, 1987) and gives the message to the listeners that they are also part of the family (Abdullah, 1985; Pelras, 1996), at least in certain contexts or situations (Pablé et al., 2010). The use of these two kinship terms is included in the

category of speech *sanraa* 'talking with friends', signifying the same level between speaker and listener (Darwis, 1995).

6. Conclusion

This study investigates the use of kinship terms by the native Bugis speakers. The article aims to explore the frequently used form of kinship terms in Bugis language, strategies for using kinship terms to create harmony, and the representation of Bugis identity through the use of kinship terms. The study exhibits that there is an expansion of the meaning and form of Bugis kinship terms. To maintain the harmony of the social interaction, the Bugis speech community use a strategy of choosing and placing kinship terms in different contexts. The choice of kinship terms is based on the power and solidarity of the interlocutors, whereas the placement depends on the purposes that the Bugis speakers aim to achieve. The application of this strategy shows the representation of Bugis identity.

Regarding the concept of power and solidarity, the present research shows that kinship terms do not focus on intimidation but emphasize more for the harmony of the social interaction. This is influenced by the ideology of the Bugis people where the Bugis view people as a collectivistic society. Therefore, for the Bugis people, maintaining the image of others is just like maintaining the image of oneself. As Mattulada (2015)

suggests, sound represents the language, language represents the attitude, and the attitude represents humanity.

7. Recommendation and implication

There are some limitations in the writing of the present article that should be acknowledged, mainly regarding the number of participants of the research. The findings may not be generalized because the research was conducted only with three age groups of native Bugis speakers in specific areas of Bugis-speaking community. If the study had been conducted on more varied age groups of people covering a larger Bugis-speaking areas, there would have been different findings.

Several notable recommendations in order to elaborate the findings, such as the analysis of the factors causing the meaning expansion of the kinship terms, the analysis of correlation between the elements of power and solidarity and the strategy of using and placing kinship terms, and the analysis of the role and function of kinship terms to represent the Bugis identity. Future research is also directed to explore the topic with socio-pragmatic approach and how a conversational platform affects the use of kinship terms. It is also important to have a cross-cultural study of the topic, particularly regarding the response of the use of kinship terms by others.

Declarations

Author contribution statement

Gusnawaty Gusnawaty: Performed the experiments; Contributed reagents, materials, analysis tools or data; Wrote the paper.

Lukman Lukman: Conceived and designed the experiments; Performed the experiments; Analyzed and interpreted the data; Wrote the paper.

Andi Nurwati: Conceived and designed the experiments; Performed the experiments; Analyzed and interpreted the data; Wrote the paper.

Ahmad Adha: Analyzed and interpreted the data; Wrote the paper

Nurhawara Nurhawara: Performed the experiments, materials, analysis tools or data.

Arieska Edy: Conceived and designed the experiments.

Data availability statement

Data included in article/supp. material/referenced in article.

Declaration of interests statement

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

Additional information

No additional information is available for this paper.

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