

**FROM ULAMA, BAPUKONG, TO WADAI: BANJAR DIASPORA IN TEMBILAHAN,
INDRAGIRI HILIR, RIAU**

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Abstract

This study describes the language behavior of the Banjar diaspora in Tembilahan, Riau. For this reason, the problems to be discussed are: how is the behavior of the Banjar diaspora language in Tembilahan, Riau when interacting in various domains, and what is the form of accommodation of the Banjar diaspora language in intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic communication in Tembilahan, Riau. This research is qualitative descriptive research. Data were collected by using observation and interview methods with Banjar people with certain criteria. Observations were made on social domains, namely the realm of religion, the realm of custom, the realm of family, the realm of education, and the realm of friendship (friendship domain). The results of the analysis show that in the family domain, there are three languages used, namely Banjarese, Malay, and Indonesian. The three languages replace each other in communication. In the realm of religion, Indonesian is still maintained when performing religious rituals. In the realm of custom, family, and friendship, the Banjar language is maintained. While in the realm of education, especially in the teaching and learning process of religious education, the language used is Indonesian. The large number of Banjar communities in Tembilahan causes the Banjarese language to continue to be used in interaction so that the survival of the Banjar language is maintained. In interaction with ethnic Malays, Javanese, and Bugis, the three tribes tend to speak Banjarese.

Keywords: Diaspora, Banjarese, Tembilahan, Riau

Introduction

Research on diaspora has been done by many researchers. The term diaspora has been in use since the end of the 20th century. The word diaspora comes from the Greek word meaning 'to spread or sow seeds. In a broader sense, it is used to mean a nation or ethnicity that is forced or compelled to leave its traditional ethnic homeland and spread in various parts of the world. Then from this spread, various cultural developments have certain characteristics.

Indragiri Hilir during the Dutch colonial period was part of the Afdeeling Indragiri area, Riau Residency. This Afdeling has an area of 22,090.50 km which consists of three Onderafdeeling, namely Taluk Kuantan, Indragiri Hulu, and Indragiri Hilir. After Indonesia's independence, especially when Riau became a province in 1958, Indragiri Hilir became one of the districts in the region.

The Indragiri Hilir area is a stretch of lowland that is swampy with peat soil. Meanwhile, the Indragiri river

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delta empties into the East Coast of Sumatra, directly facing the Berhala Strait. There are several rivers in this area. However, the most important river in the Encyclopedia of the Dutch East Indies is the Indragiri river or also known as the Batang Kuantan river. The water flows into Afdeeling Indragiri. This river plays a very important role for the people of Indragiri Hilir to run the wheels of the regional economy, for example for the transportation of rubber, coconut, and other agricultural products. Before the opening of the Taluk Kuantan – Pekanbaru road in 1929, the river was the only connecting access to the West Coast of Sumatra (Hosen & Raharto, 2013; Potter, 2004; Reid, 1998; Tanjung, 2022).

With such natural conditions, indirectly, the Indragiri Hilir area is placed in a strategic position in the context of inter-coastal trade routes. It is not surprising that at that time the traffic connections through the rivers and the sea by using boats and sailing ships was the most effective means of transportation because it can be done easily.

Onderafdeeling Indragiri Hilir during the Dutch colonial administration was divided into seven districts, namely Tembilahan, Tempuling, Sungai Luar, Enok Dalam, Mandah, Gaung, and Retih. The population of Indragiri Hilir at the beginning of the 20th century numbered 100,000 people. The number comes from various ethnic groups. The largest number of these ethnic groups comes from the indigenous population consisting of the Malays and the Sea people. Their number is around 65,914 people, the rest are immigrants. Even the Malays who live in Onderafdeeling are not all natives. Some of them are immigrants from Indragiri Hulu. Especially those who live in Anak Serka in the Gaung district (Muthalib, 2008; Sari, 1984).

The Banjar people who live in Indragiri Hilir Regency are descendants of the earlier Banjar migrants who came from South Kalimantan. As it is known that on the island of Kalimantan itself, there are many tribes, including suku Dayak, suku Melayu, suku Banjar, and so on (Jamzaroh et al., 2021). The beginning of their arrival to the Indragiri Hilir area is still a debate among researchers. From various sources, it is stated that several tribes who migrated to the Indragiri Hilir area at the end of the 19th century were Banjarese, Bugis, Palembang Malays, Chinese, and Europeans. In the book "History of Riau" it is stated that during the reign of Sultan Isya Muddayat Syah in 1895, Banjarese settlements were found in this area. The arrival of the Banjarese nomads was due to the opening of large plantations in the Indragiri Sultanate at that time. They live along the Indragiri river from Kuala Cenako to Perigi Raja (Muthalib, 2008; Putra, 2019, 2021; Sabiham et al., 2016).

The arrival of the Banjarese to Tembilahan was in line with the entry of this ethnic group into Indragiri Hilir at the end of the 19th century (Naim, 1984; Raihani, 2018; Tanjung, 2022). Some sources disagree with this opinion, some say that the Banjarese had begun to enter Indragiri Hilir around the 1910s. For generations, the Banjarese who had existed and lived in Sapat before the 1910s migrated to this area. According to Van Vollen Hobven's notes as quoted by Juwono (Putra, 2019; Susrianto, 2016) revealed that the Banjar people had begun to enter and settle in Indragiri Hilir in 1900 around 1000 people. Fifteen years later (1915) their number increased dramatically, namely 18,798 people. At the end of World War I or the second decade of the 20th century, their number was estimated at 20,000. It is difficult to know since when the Banjarese began to come to Indragiri Hilir due to the vast area of Riau which consists of an archipelago in the Malacca Strait to the South China Sea and the mainland on the island of Sumatra, bordering North Sumatra, West Sumatra, and Jambi. It's a pretty wide area. Therefore, Banjar immigrants entering this area will be difficult to identify or record. The Banjar people at the beginning of their arrival in Indragiri Hilir settled in the Retih District area, then moved to the Pemymahan District, then from there they spread throughout Onderafdeeling Indragiri Hilir.

This population is more dominant living along the Indragiri river, from Kuala Cenaku to Perigi Raja. This migration illustrates that the Banjar people in their daily life are more familiar with the world of agriculture because the districts they live in are fertile agricultural areas, both for coconut plantations and rice fields. After several years of their presence in Indragiri Hilir, which was accompanied by hard work, resulted in encouraging results. In Indragiri Hilir, Banjar farmers pioneered tidal swamp areas to grow rice, coconuts, and various other crops.

The area of Indragiri Hilir which is occupied by many of the Banjar diasporas is Tembilahan. Some of the developments that occurred when the Banjarese formed the Banjar diaspora in Indragiri Hilir included the application of the same association models as in South Kalimantan such as the role of ulama, customs, and food. The dominance of Banjar culture over other cultures moved the Banjarese identity to a new area. Likewise, the communication model carried out, both inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic, this diaspora shows the acculturation model of the Banjar community and the surrounding community, especially the Malay community. This linguistic situation is very interesting to study further to find out the identity of the Banjarese diaspora in Tembilahan as Thorn-borrow (Sartini, 2015; Zalmansyah et al., 2022) say that one of the most basic ways to determine identity is language. As a community outside their homeland, is the Banjar language still a feature of the identity of the Banjarese people?

Therefore, the problem that will be discussed in this paper is how the behavior of the diaspora language of the Banjar people in Tembilahan. To find out the behavior, the theories applied are sociolinguistic, namely Fishman theory as a basic theory in sociolinguistics, namely who speaks, what language, to whom, where, when, and why to show who is speaking to whom, where, when, and why (Sartini, 2015). Certain social factors such as who is speaking, the social context of the conversation, the function, and the topic of conversation are very important in the consideration of choosing the language in different types of speech communities.

One of the determining factors in choosing a language is the domain. The realm is the context of the situation concerning the social environment in which the speech event occurs. In Dell Hymes's theory, the realm is the setting in which the utterance takes place. Meanwhile, Fishman in Pride and Holme (Sartini, 2015) says that there are five categories of domains related to people's lives, namely the family domain, the domain of neighbors or brotherhood (friendship domain), the domain of religion (religion domain), and the realm of education (education domain), and the domain of work (employment domain). According to Holmes, these domains are important factors in the use of language in addition to the speaker, situation, location, and time factors. A domain involves typical interactions among typical participants in a typical setting or conversation (da Costa et al., 2021; Hidayah, 2018; Sartini, 2015).

The situation of using language in a domain can be in the form of code mixing and code shifting. Code mixing is a situation of using language by mixing codes or words from other languages into the basic language used. These codes are the only pieces used in the main language. In other words, in a code-mixing situation, there is the main code or basic code that is used and has its function and autonomy, while the other codes involved in the speech event are only fragments without any function or autonomy as a code (Andriani et al., 2021; Chaer & Agustina, 2010; Praptiningsih, 2020). Meanwhile, code-switching is the transfer of the use of language variations to other language variations if the situation requires it (Trudgill, 1986).

Code-switching cannot be separated from bilingualism or even multilingualism. Code-switching occurs when a speaker uses two or more languages together to clarify or change something from one language to another.

Furthermore, code-switching is distinguished into two parts, namely situational code-switching and metaphorical code-switching. Situational code-switching occurs when the language used changes according to the situation where the speakers are. Speakers speak one language in situations where the speakers are and speak another language in other situations. A change in topic requires a change in the language used, so code-switching is called metaphorical code-switching (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2021). In this study, theories related to the domains of language use will be applied to determine the situation of using the diaspora language of the Banjarese in Tembilahan.

Apart from code-mixing and code-switching, the behavior of the Banjarese diaspora can be seen in the form of language accommodation. To find out the direction of language accommodation, the accommodation theory designed by Giles (Dhanawaty; Pambayun & Permassanty, 2021) will be applied. This theory departs from the fact that in two-way communication, speakers try to adjust to the speech partner, both verbally and nonverbally. Verbal adjustment is carried out by speakers by modifying the speech so that it becomes more similar to the speech used by the speech partner. However, in certain speech events, the opposite process can also occur, namely, the speaker modifies the speech so that it becomes less similar to the speech of the speech partner. Giles said that the two processes above are called linguistics convergence and divergence, respectively (Sartini, 2015; Tamrin & Nursyamsi, 2021; Wicaksana & Sudiatmi, 2021).

Method

This research was conducted in Tembilahan City. The choice of the city was based on the consideration that the Banjarese diaspora resided in the city. In addition, the Banjar people in the city often carry out activities so the intensity of gathering among Banjar people is very high. Data were collected by observation method or listening method assisted by recording technique and note-taking technique. To find out the behavior of the Banjarese diaspora language in Tembilahan, the domains that will be seen in the use of language are all the domains proposed by Fishman (Efendi; Hidayah, 2018) which include the family domain, the domain of neighbors or brotherhood (friendship domain), the realm of religion (religion domain), the realm of education (education domain), and the realm of work (employment domain). Observations (observations) on the use of language in the realm of religion are carried out in holy places in Tembilahan a city that represents Indragiri Hilir. To find out the use of language in the family domain, in-depth observations were made of several families who were considered to have represented the Banjarese diaspora in Tembilahan. This method is assisted by recording techniques and note-taking techniques, namely recording the speeches of the Banjar diaspora both in the family domain (family domain), neighborhood or brotherhood domain (friendship domain), religious domain (religion domain), educational domain (education domain), and work realm.

Results and Discussion

The Role of Language in Religious Activities

According to historical records, the Banjar people have started to enter and settle in the Indragiri Hilir area since the 19th century during the reign of Sultan Isa Mudayat Syah. The success of the Banjarese in Tembilahan in the early 1900s could not be separated from the role of a Banjar figure named Sheikh Abdurrahman Siddiq. Besides being a scholar, he is also an educational figure who contributed to changing the mindset of the Banjar people at that time. One of the informants in this study said Syekh Abdurrahman Siddiq is a scholar and Islamic

education figure in Indragiri Hilir. Sheikh Abdurrahman Siddiq was a Banjar migrant who came to Indragiri Hilir around 1908. His activities and role in the Banjar community at that time were very influential. In addition to acting as a cleric and interpreter of da'wah, he also founded a madrasa in Hidayat Sapat Village, which gradually developed into a pesantren. The move of Sheikh Abdurrahman Siddiq to Sapat has revived this area which was previously only known as the hinterland. Thanks to his efforts, this area became known, not only because of its da'wah activities but also because of its economic activities (Results of interviews with resource persons).

The success of Syech Abdurrahman Siddiq and these early migrants attracted the interest of the Banjarese in South Kalimantan to come to the Indragiri Hilir area following their relatives. They came to bring their family and relatives to join in farming and open coconut plantations in this area as well as explore the science of Islam.

In the next phase, the ulama played an important role in the spread of Islam in Tembilahan. The spread of this religion is carried out using the Indonesian language. When conducting religious lectures and commemorating religious holidays such as the Birthday of the Prophet and Isra 'Mi'raj of the Prophet Muhammad SAW. Due to the rapid growth of Islam in Tembilahan and Indragiri, this area has become one of the areas that can dispatch large numbers of pilgrims to Riau Province, even if they cross to Malaysia with Malaysian passports to perform this worship.

Language of the Banjarese in Tembilahan

From the Language Map published by the Language Agency, Ministry of Education and Culture, it can be seen that the Banjar language in Riau Province is spoken in Pekan Kamis Village, Tembilahan Hulu District; Simpang Gaung Village, Gaung District; Sungairaya Village and Sungaipiring Village, Batang Tuaka Sub-district; Telukjira Village, Tempuling District, Indragiri Hilir Regency. More than 70% of the population of Tembilahan are Banjarese speakers. The Banjar people in Tembilahan consist of several types of tribal children, which are named according to the name of their area of origin in South Kalimantan. The types of tribal children include Banjar Umuntai, Banjar Negara, Banjar Kalua, Banjarmasin, Banjar Barabai, Banjar Martapura, Banjar Alabio, Banjar Rantau, and Banjar Kandangan. Of the many types of children of the Banjar tribe found in Indragiri Hilir, the most dominant is Banjar Amuntai and Banjar Kandangan. Some of the children of the Banjar tribe in Indragiri Hilir create variants in their language so that it can be distinguished between the tribal children from their everyday language. It should be noted that the Banjar language found in Tembilahan has experienced a mixture of various Banjar language variants with a slight Malay color (Asnawi, 2020; Putra, 2019; Rasdana, 2013).

Before the opening of the Taluk Kuantan – Pekanbaru highway in 1929, the river was the only access link between the Indragiri area and the West Coast of Sumatra, thus indirectly placing this area in a strategic position in the context of trade routes between coastal areas. Therefore, it is not surprising that at that time the traffic connection through rivers and the sea using sailing boats was the most effective means of transportation because it could be done easily. This is certainly very influential on the dynamics of the movement of population mobility from various regions. The smooth flow of transportation has had a huge impact on mobility and trade in this area. Trade has progressed rapidly thanks to the opening of a port in Riau as a free port for export-import. Indragiri, as a hinterland located on the trade route, had a great interest in this process since

1828. This greatly affected the flow of trade and transportation from the interior of Indragiri to the coast, especially since the opening of direct links with Singapore as an international transit port. Existing traditional roads were widened and improved, making it easier to transport local products to urban centers. This can be seen in the connecting roads between the cities of Taluk Kuantan, Rengat, Kuala Cinaku, and Tembilahan. The roles of Indonesian, Malay, and Banjar languages as languages that grow and develop among the Tembilahan people allow for communication and social interaction between tribes in this region. In this case, the Indonesian language acts as a lingua franca when communication occurs among the people who live in this region furthermore, the role of language and religion also influences social attitudes in society, one of which is to behave with good language and speech by Islamic ways (Zalmansyah et al., 2018).

Along with the times, the Banjar people in Indragiri Hilir Regency have made a lot of social contact with various ethnic groups in Indragiri Hilir. The occurrence of social contact between Banjar people and residents can be done in various places and opportunities, such as markets, schools, offices, mosques, majelis taklim, and others. These social contacts include economic, socio-cultural, educational, and religious fields. One of the most important ways for the Banjar people in Indragiri Hilir is to master the Malay language and dialects in their daily interactions. This is what has contributed to the acceptance of ethnic Malay cultural elements by the Banjar people, and conversely, Malays and other ethnicities can also recognize and understand the traditions of the Banjar people in their daily lives. This good appreciation of culture and differences provides an opportunity for the Banjarese to live side by side with various existing cultures, not only Malay culture, but also Bugis, Minangkabau, Javanese, Madurese, Chinese, and others (Results of interviews with resource persons).

From the results of observations and interviews in the field, information is obtained that the interaction pattern carried out by the Banjar people, especially in the city of Tembilahan, is carried out in the form of trade transaction relationships. This also follows the narrative of one of the informants as follows; Banjar people who work as traders, always interact and communicate with other ethnicities almost every time they make trade transactions. They not only have intimacy in interacting but also establish close cooperation. The pattern of communication and interaction they do is not only limited to the interests between the seller and the buyer in the form of bargaining for an item. Conditions like this take place every day, although it does not rule out the possibility of interactions that lead to patterns of trade cooperation or become a relationship between traders and customers.

The success of this pattern of social interaction continues in the form of social interaction, for example, weddings, death events, cooperation, night patrols, and so on. The same social status and economic conditions among ethnic groups in the city of Tembilahan are bound by the same type of work that they are involved in, blurring the social gap that triggers socio-economic jealousy among various ethnic groups in Indragiri Hilir Regency. The similarity of socio-economic conditions and similarity in employment, especially at the lower middle level, suggests that there are similarities that illustrate the absence of gaps between the various ethnic groups that exist. Involvement in social activities is also one of the most important aspects in measuring the adaptation strategy of the Banjar people in Indragiri Hilir Regency. This can be used as a benchmark to see the extent of integration of migrants with the indigenous population. The interaction space in this social activity encourages the strengthening of interaction activities, not just greeting each other, but also strengthening the intensity of interaction in the form of cooperation in various fields of life.

Conclusion

The Banjar people in Indragiri Hilir are an example of immigrant ethnicities who have good social capital. Their success in adapting and interacting with the various ethnic groups in Indragiri Hilir has made the Banjar people successful and successful abroad. The success of the Banjar people in Indragiri Hilir is not only supported by a good work ethic, but also because of their success in building social networks and maintaining good relations between ethnic groups and with various ethnic groups in this area. Understanding the teachings of the religion adhered to makes a very large contribution to the process of social interaction. Religious teachings that prioritize compassion between people, and stay away from negative prejudices about what is done in other people's religious ritual activities will encourage and facilitate social interaction.

The roles of Indonesian, Malay, and Banjar languages as languages that grow and develop among the Tembilahan people allow for communication and social interaction between tribes in this region. In this case, the Indonesian language acts as a lingua franca when communication occurs among the people who live in this region.

Apart from that, one of the most important ways in which the Banjar people in Indragiri Hilir do this is to master the Malay language and dialects in their daily interactions. This is what has contributed to the acceptance of ethnic Malay cultural elements by the Banjar people, and conversely, Malays and other ethnic groups can also know and understand the traditions of the Banjar people in their daily lives. This good appreciation of culture and differences provides an opportunity for the Banjar people to live side by side with various existing cultures, not only Malay culture, but also Bugis, Minangkabau, Javanese, Madurese, Chinese, and others.

The role of language in religious activities for the Banjar people is considered a very important thing that cannot be ignored. The role of language and religious activities, as well as the strong and prominent Islamic cultural rituals carried out by the Banjar people, is an effective means of connecting communicating, and interacting with various ethnic groups. The religious traditions adhered to by the Banjar people make them easily accepted by various ethnic groups. In the view of other ethnicities, the Banjar ethnic is a person who is obedient in carrying out Islamic religious worship and rituals, not only by the Banjar people but Muslims in Indragiri Hilir Regency.

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