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Language Choice In Buying And Selling Interactions Of Ethnic Chinese Traders In The Context Of Multilingual Communities In Jember City

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ABSTRACT

In general, ethnic Chinese sellers in traditional markets master the Chinese variety of Indonesian, the Indonesian language, the ngoko variety of Javanese, and some master the ngoko variety of Madurese. In general, ethnic Chinese sellers do not speak Javanese krama well. Some ethnic Chinese sellers master several lexicons of krama, so that their mastery of Javanese at the krama level is also limited. In general, ethnic Chinese sellers in traditional markets master the Chinese variety of Indonesian, the Indonesian language, the ngoko variety of Javanese, and some master the ngoko variety of Madurese. In general, ethnic Chinese sellers do not speak Javanese krama well. In buying and selling interactions, ethnic Chinese sellers use all of their language repertoire according to the context of the speech components encountered. The buyers come from ethnic Javanese, Madurese and Chinese. The determining factor for choosing the dominant language is the participant factor. Participant factors include ethnic factors, social relations factors that are familiar or not familiar, age factors, and language mastery factors by the seller.

Keywords: language choice, transaction domain, ethnic Chinese, speech components.

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I. Introduction

Background of the problem

The people of Jember City are a multi-ethnic society as well as a multi-lingual society because the community consists of several ethnic groups, namely Javanese and Madurese as the majority, and Chinese and Arab as minorities. These four ethnic groups have their own ethnic languages. Ethnic Javanese use Javanese, ethnic Madurese use Madurese, ethnic Chinese use Chinese/Mandarin, and ethnic Arabs use Indonesian with a variety of Arab descent. These four ethnic groups live side by side in harmony, although the intensity and closeness of inter-ethnic socio-cultural interactions vary in level. Socio-cultural interaction between the Javanese and Madurese ethnic groups is very close, giving birth to a community commonly known as the Pandhalungan community. Meanwhile, the socio-cultural interactions between the Javanese and Madurese ethnic groups, on the one hand, and the Chinese and Arab ethnic groups, on the other hand, are less intimate. Even so, the four ethnic groups can live side by side in harmony.

At least since the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, ethnic Chinese have lived in the *Afdeeling area* of Besuki and its surroundings, including Jember (Winarni et al, 2015:22-25; see also Nawiyanto, 2018; Zoebazary, 2017; Kompasiana.com) . In general, ethnic Chinese are interested in and work in the economic sector. Since the end of the 18th century, ethnic Chinese have controlled many economic sectors in the Jember and Tapal Kuda regions. The Chinese are known as tenacious traders/entrepreneurs so that in general they can become successful traders/entrepreneurs. The Chinese are thrifty; this is one expression that can be put forward to show the characteristics of the Chinese in the economic field (Zoebazary, 2017:72; Ilham, 2022:7377).

From a socio-cultural perspective, in general, the 18th century Chinese ethnic generation and their descendants were able to interact with indigenous peoples, Javanese and Madurese ethnic groups. Chinese-indigenous socio-cultural contacts have existed since the beginning. Ethnic Chinese do not mind living according to local traditions even though they still maintain Mainland Chinese traditions (Winarni et al., 2015). The ethnic Chinese in general also master the indigenous languages, Javanese and Madurese.

Ethnic Chinese in Jember and in the Tapal Kuda area are multilingual communities. They master the Chinese variety of Indonesian, Javanese, Madurese, and Chinese (the language of their ethnicity). Language treasures in the socio-cultural context as described above have resulted in the emergence of language selection

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problems in Chinese society when they interact with other ethnic groups and with different ethnic speech partners.

Language choice is an old theme of study in sociolinguistics. Nevertheless, the theme of language choice remains current because the context of events is always changing and developing. Studies on language choice in ethnic Chinese society are rarely found in publications. One of the studies in the form of journal articles was put forward by Nasution and Ayuningtias (2020) (the term used is ethnic Tionghoa). The research location is Medan City. The study uses quantitative methods in the domain of family and work. The study reveals that within the domain of family, intra- and inter-ethnic among Chinese, Hokkien is dominant. The choice of Indonesian is dominant in the domain of work because in the domain of work they have to interact with various ethnicities outside the Chinese ethnicity.

There are several thesis works that study the Indonesian language of the Chinese ethnic variety (Kirana, 2010) and studies of language choice in ethnic Chinese society (Triska, 2018). The research subjects of the two studies were the Chinese ethnic community in Jember Regency. The issue of language choice in Jember Regency that has been published generally takes the subject of study of Javanese and Madurese ethnic communities. So far, only studies of language choice have been found among Javanese (Nurfadila, Sariono, and Hariyadi, 2019), and Madurese (Rochiyati et al., 2023; Agustin, Sariono, and Setyari, 2018; Purnomo, Sariono, and Sofyan, 2013; Wibisono and Sofyan, 2008). All of these studies explain the language choice event with the socio-cultural aspects of the Javanese and Madurese people in Jember Regency.

Studies on language choice in relation to local socio-cultural aspects are also carried out in various parts of the world. Jafar, Awal, Mis, and Lateh (2016) studied language choice on the Malaysia-Thailand border. Lubinska (2021) examines the language preferences of Polish migrants in Sweden. Fahmee and Fung (2016) studied language choice among Maldivian professionals. Ansah (2014) examines language choice by the Larteh ethnic in Ghana. Bouhmama and Dendane (2018) studied language choice by students in Algeria. Studies on language choice in the form of code switching in relation to social, cultural and educational aspects were carried out by Tuan (2021), Saputra (2018), and Syam, Sangkala, Syaiful and Syarif (2018).

The historical, social and cultural situation of ethnic Chinese in Jember City in particular and in the Tapal Kuda region (currently covering the districts of Pasuruan, Probolinggo, Lumajang, Jember, Bondowoso, Situbondo and Banyuwangi) is different from the historical, social and ethnic cultural situation that other ethnic. The context of the situation related to the existence of ethnic Chinese raises the problem of choosing a specific language. The specificity of the problem of language choice in the Chinese ethnic encourages the implementation of this study.

Research Question

This article examines the choice of language in the domain of transactions by sellers who are ethnic Chinese. The choice of the transaction domain is based on the fact that the dominant field of work chosen by ethnic Chinese in general and ethnic Chinese in Jember City is in the field of economics and trade. Chinese ethnic social interactions with people outside of Chinese ethnicity generally occur in the domain of transactions. The study in this article is focused on the forms of language choice and the determining factors for the language choice.

Theoretical Framework

According to Fasold (1984), language choice is a process in which speakers consciously or unconsciously choose to use a particular language or variety of languages in their social interactions. Included in this language choice event are code switching and code mixing events. Code switching is an event of transition from one code to another which is caused by a change in speech components in a speech event. Code mixing is an event of using linguistic elements from a language in the use of a particular language in a speech event.

Hymes (in Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015: 232-234) states that speaking and also language choice occur in the context of speech components which are detailed in the eight speech components. The eight speech components consist of: setting and scene, participants, ends, act sequences, keys, instrumentalities, norms of interaction and interpretation, and genre. The speech component is a determining factor in the choice of language varieties (the term language variety is used by following Hudson (2011) which distinguishes it from the term language variety) which must be used in a speech event. The speech component is related to historical, social and cultural, demographic and geographical aspects of the existence of the Chinese community in Jember City. The speech component is a factor that causes the choice of a language variety in a speech event.

II. Research Methodology

The method used is divided into two stages, namely the stage of data collection and the stage of data analysis. The data collection stage is carried out using the *Simak* Method (observation method) (Sudaryanto, 1993: 133-134). This method in the Social Sciences is equivalent to *participant-observation* and non-participant

-observation as well as the interview method. Data was collected from buying and selling interaction events between ethnic Chinese sellers and buyers in traditional markets in Jember City (Tanjung Market and Kepatihan Market).

The data analysis phase was carried out using descriptive, structural, comparative and contextual methods. The descriptive method is a method that is carried out solely based on existing facts that empirically live as they are (Sudaryanto, 1993:62). The Structural Method is an analytical method related to linguistic structure (Sudaryanto, 1993:13). The comparative method is an analytical method by comparing two or more linguistic units from different languages and has the same meaning, and the contextual method is an analytical method involving speech components which include who is the speaker, who is involved in the conversation, when, where, and in what situation (Sudaryanto, 1993:14). Regarding the speech component, this study uses the details of the speech component proposed by Hymes (in Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015: 232-234; see also its application in Sariono, 2020).

III. Results and Discussion

1.1 Language Choice between Ethnic Chinese Sellers and Ethnic Chinese Buyers

Context: A: the seller is a husband of Chinese ethnicity. B: the wife is of Chinese ethnicity, C: the buyer of Chinese ethnicity is a university student, younger than the age of the seller. Buying and selling interactions occur in stores that sell Chinese spices and between sellers and buyers are familiar and familiar.

A1: Gimana kabare? 'How are you'

C1: Baik-baik 'Fine'

A2: Kuliah ya? 'College huh'

C2: Yes seventh sem iya semester tuju ester 'yes, seventh semester'

A3: iya semester tuju 'Do you know Bayu?'

C3: Bayu sapa? 'Bayu who?'

A4: Anake....sapa tu...? 'His son...who is it...?'

C4: Jurusan apa? 'What major?'

A5: Teknik Elektro 'Electrical Engineering'

C5: Bawang putih piro? (while holding the garlic) 'How much garlic (the price)'

A6: Bawang poteh piro Pa? (asks her husband) 'How much garlic (cost), sir'

B1: Lho kok nggak tau? 'Oh, why don't you know'

A7: Lho kok nggak tau? 'O...four thousand four hundred, buy how much?'

C6: Aku nggak beli bawang putih, tapi kim cam 'I didn't buy garlic, but kim cam 'sedap malam flower', to sao ik ounce? 'how much is an ounce'?

A8: Jing go, sek lama kuliahe? 'One thousand five hundred rupiahs, how long do you study?'

C7 : Tinggal skripsi 'only (writes) thesis'

[...]

In data 1, both sellers and buyers use the Chinese variety of Indonesian. The form of Indonesian in the Chinese variety is marked by the mixing of linguistic elements from Chinese and Javanese. Elements of the Chinese language can be seen in the words *kim cam* 'sedap malam flower', *to sao* 'how much', *ik* 'one' (C6) and *jing go* '1,500 (rupiah)' (A8). Elements of the Javanese language can be seen in the -e suffix in the words *kabare* 'reportedly' (A1) and *anake* 'her son' (A4), piro 'how much' (C5; A6), and sek 'still' (A8).

Communication occurs in an intimate atmosphere so that the topic of conversation is also related to personal problems (buyers). The choice of Indonesian in the Chinese variety was due to the fact that all three of them were of Chinese ethnicity and the buyers were students. Student status is a status of higher education so that the choice of Indonesian is an option that is appropriate to the context of the social status of higher education.

Data 2:

Context: A: ethnic Chinese seller, a young mother. B: The buyer is ethnic Chinese, a young mother. Buying and selling interactions occur at the Tanjung Market which sells spices for Chinese food and food ingredients, between sellers and buyers who do not know each other.

B1: iki piro? 'This (cost) how much' (pointing to the meatball)

A1: San jien wu 'Rp 3,500'

B2: Iki, san jien wu? 'this, IDR 3,500?'

A2: Wis? Tahu alus gak? 'Enough? Soft tofu don't (buy)?'

B3: Gak wis, pan-kapan. 'That's enough, another time (just)'

A3: Iyo, suwun yo! 'Fine, thank you, yes'

In data 2, both sellers and buyers use Javanese. This form of Javanese is characterized by code mixing of linguistic elements originating from Chinese. The Chinese element is seen in the words *San jien wu* 'Rp 3,500' (A1) and (B2). There is also an element of code mixing that comes from partial reduplication in Madurese: *pan-kapan* 'another time' in (B3). Partial reduplication is a reduplication characteristic that is typical of the Madurese language.

The choice of Javanese was due to the fact that communication took place in a public place (Tanjung market) in an informal situation, between speakers who are familiar, have middle social status, and are both young. In situations like this, Javanese with mixed Chinese codes is commonly chosen by fellow Chinese.

Data 3:

Context: A: ethnic Chinese seller, a young man. B. The buyer is ethnic Chinese, an elderly mother. Buying and selling interactions occurred at Tanjung Market at stalls selling pork, between sellers and buyers of different ages and social status and did not know each other and were not familiar.

B1: Piro hargae tito? 'How much is pork tripe'

A1: Lima belas ribu. 'Fifteen thousand'.

B2: Kok larang se? Ndak iso kurang? Ini titipan lo, *sek wu jien* 'Rp 15.000' ya? Dia (yang titip) ngomongnya *jie jien wu* 'Rp 7.500'. Kalo gitu biar beli dhewek. Orange beli *jie jien wu* 'Rp 7.500' kok sak iki *sek wu jien* 'Rp 15.000'. Biasae orange beli gi orang Batak! Nek *baikut* ada?

'How expensive huh? Can't be less (the price)? Someone entrusted this, 1,500 rupiah, right? He said it was 7.500 (price). If so, let him buy his own. Usually he buys to the Batak people. Do you have pork ribs?'

A2 : Sek liuk jien 'IDR 16,000'

B3: Nek sam cam piro? 'How much is the price for pork covered in fat?'

A3: Forty 'IDR 40,000'

B4: Ini ...daging, daging piro? 'This... meat, how much meat (cost)'

A4: Thirty 'IDR 30,000'

B5 : Daging ae, seperempat (1/4 kg), mbek sam cam seperempat (1/4 kg). Ini ya uwange, jik jien wu mbek ol jien.

'(I bought) just meat, a quarter kilogram, also pork layered of fat a quarter kilogram. Here's the money, 7,500 and 10,000'.

A5 : Ya, kam sia 'yes, thank you'.

In data 3, the buyer actually initiates communication using the Javanese Chinese variety (B1). The use of the Javanese Chinese language continues in (B2): Kok larang se? Ndak iso kurang? 'Why is it expensive? Couldn't it be less?'. The next sentence in (B2) the buyer is talking about a third person; B switches to Indonesian in Chinese. Communication continues in Indonesian Chinese variety until the end of the communication. Meanwhile, from start to finish, the seller uses the Indonesian variety of Chinese. Indonesian with a Chinese variety accompanied by code mixing from Chinese: tito? 'pork tripe' (B1), sek wu jien 'IDR 15,000', jie jien wu 'IDR 7,500', baikut 'rib' on (B2), sam cam 'meat and lard layer' on (B3) and (B5). The Chinese variety of Indonesian is also accompanied by code mixing of Javanese elements: piro 'how much', larang 'expensive', iso 'could', and so on.

Data context 3 differs from data context 2 in terms of its social relations. In data 2, both sellers and buyers are young, already know each other, and are familiar. In data 3, the buyer is older than the seller, has never met, so the social relationship is not familiar. In the context of data 3, ethnic groups generally use the Chinese variety of Indonesian, although it is easier to switch the code to Chinese Javanese if the speech context allows it. Communication topics focus on buying and selling issues. There are no communication topics related to personal matters.

1.2 Language Choice between Chinese Ethnic Sellers and Javanese Ethnic Buyers Data 4:

Context: A: ethnic Chinese seller, a young mother. B: The buyer is of Javanese ethnicity, a young mother, middle to upper social status. Buying and selling interactions occur at the Tanjung Market which sells food ingredients (eggs, wet noodles, tofu, rice). The two know each other but still maintain social distance from each other, especially from the seller's side.

A1 : Selamat siang Buk, belanja ya! 'Good afternoon Ma'am, go shopping!'

B1: Selamat siang, iya belanja. 'Good afternoon, yes, shopping'.

A2: Anaknya sak kelas lagi sama anak saya. 'His child is in the same class as my child'.

B2: O iya, anak saya cerita! 'Oh yes, my child told me a story!'

A3: Beli apa Buk? 'Buy what ma'am?'

- B3: Telurnya berapa? 'How many eggs?'
- A4: Maaf Bu, naik tu, Sembilan ribu. 'Sorry ma'am, go up there, nine thousand'.
- B4: Nggak popo wis, tuku telung kilo, sing gedhe-gedhe lo, Cik.

'No problem, buy three kilos, the big ones, auntie'.

- A5: Apa lagi Buk? 'What else Mom?'
- B5: Tahune sing gedhe-gedhe dua puluh. 'The big tofu is twenty thousand (rupiah)'
- A6: Iya Buk, tak imboi satu ya. 'Yes ma'am, I added one, right'.
- B6: iya, terima kasih. 'Yes, thank you'.
- A7 : Anak e ndhak les Buk? 'Your child doesn't (take) lessons, right?'
- B7: Wah....ndhak,belum, masih nyarik, anak e les to?

'Oh, no, not yet, still looking. Aunt's son (took) lessons, right?'

A8: Iya Buk, sama temen-temene. Apa lagi Buk? Ini ada emping, kletikan...

'Yes, ma'am, with his friends. (Buy) What else ma'am? It has chips, snack...'.

- B8: Nggak kok, itu saja, berapa? 'That's enough, that's all, how much?'
- A9: Telure dua tuju, tahune empat ribu, semua tiga satu.

'The eggs are IDR 27,000, the year was IDR 4,000, all were IDR 31,000'.

[...].

In data 4, the seller uses Indonesian with a little code mixing from Javanese from the beginning to the end of the communication. The mixed Javanese code can be seen in the prefix ' se- 'one' (A2) and the phrase takimboi 'I add' (A6).

The choice of Indonesian by the seller shows an attitude of maintaining social distance. Even though the buyer 'invites' to use Javanese (B4-B5), the seller still uses Indonesian. The seller also tried to prevent code mixing from the Javanese language and it was proven that it only happened in two Javanese prefixes/words. The choice of Indonesian is caused by differences in social status felt by sellers and social relations that are not yet intimate, even though they already know each other.

Data 5:

Context: A: ethnic Chinese seller, a young mother. B: The buyer is of Javanese ethnicity, a mother, slightly older than the seller, middle to upper social status. The two had just met each other.

- A1 : Beli apa Buk? 'Buy what, ma'am?'
- B1: Mienya, Cik! 'Noodles, Auntie'.
- A2 : Mie saja Buk, nggak pakek bakso? 'Just noodles, ma'am, no meatballs?'
- B2: Piro baksone Cik? 'how much (price) meatballs?'
- A3: Macem-macem Buk, ini sepuluh ribu, kalok ini tuju setengah, kalok ini lima ribu.

"Miscellaneous ma'am, this is 10,000, this is 7,500, this is 5,000 rupiah"

- B3: Sing sepuluh ribu enak yo? 'The 10,000 is good, isn't it?'
- A4: Wah...ya enak Buk, kan paling mahal, biasanya kalok mahal itu enak Buk! Kok sendirian Buk?

'Wow...yes, it's delicious, ma'am, it's the most expensive, usually when it's expensive, it's delicious, ma'am! Why are you alone ma'am?

B4: Iyo, yo wis sing paling enak lo yo, piro kabehe?

'Yes, yes, you have the most delicious one, how much is it all?'

- A5: Enam belas ribu Buk! 'Sixteen thousand ma'am!'.
- B5: Iki 'this' (while handing over the money)
- A6: Iya Buk, terima kasih ya... 'Yes Mom, thank you okay.'

In data 5 sellers use Indonesian with a few non-standard varieties of Indonesian and Javanese. The non-standard variety of Indonesian can be seen in the words *pakek* 'use', *kalok* 'if', and *buk* 'mother'. The characteristics of the Javanese language can be seen in the word no 'no'.

Data 5 is similar to data 4 in terms of the form of the Indonesian language and the context of the speech. The choice of Indonesian in data 5 is caused by factors of differences in age and social status so that sellers tend to maintain social distance. The choice of Indonesian which is close to the characteristics of standard Indonesian shows that the seller wants to show that he pays attention to the buyer's older age and higher social status.

Data 6:

Context: A: ethnic Chinese seller, a young mother. B: The buyer is of Javanese ethnicity, a young mother. The two of them had never known each other.

- B1: Bakso Cik! 'Meatballs, auntie'
- A1 : Tuku piro? 'Buy how much?'
- B2: Limo! 'Five'

A2: Nggak kurang? 'No less?'

B3: Nggak, suwun yo. 'No thank you'

A3 : [smiles and nods]

In data 6 sellers and buyers both use Javanese. The Javanese language used is not accompanied by code mixing because the utterances are in the form of short sentences.

The seller uses Javanese because it adjusts the Javanese language used by the buyer when initiating communication (B1). This adjustment to the Javanese language used by the buyer is felt sufficient by the seller because the seller estimates that the buyer's age is approximately the same as the seller's age. Because the seller has never known the buyer, the norms applied are basic transaction norms, namely effective and efficient communication.

1.3 Language Choice between Chinese Ethnic Sellers and Madurese Ethnic Buyers

Data 7:

Context: A: ethnic Chinese seller, a young mother. B: The buyer is of Madurese ethnicity, a young mother. The two of them already know each other and are familiar.

B1: Cek 'Tacik's abbreviation, nickname for older sister', melle kobis [məllɛ kəbis] 'buy kobis'

A1: Ya, berempa [bərəmpa]? 'Yes, how much'

B2: Berempa sak killona [bərəmpa sa?kilona]? 'How much is a kilo'

A2 : Siya...mak enaña?, pon biasa melleh, ŋala? Dibhik. 'Wow...how come you use to ask, you're used to buying, just take it yourself'.

In data 7 sellers and buyers both use Madurese. The Madurese language used is the Madurese variety ngoko. Even so, buyers still use the word krama *pon* 'already' (A2).

Sellers and buyers already know and social relations between the two are familiar. The factor of familiar and familiar social relations is the factor used by the seller in choosing the Madurese variety of *ngoko*. Communication was brief as the buyer was in a rush. The seller adjusts to the situation of the buyer's rush, but still tries to show a friendly attitude. Throughout speech (A1-A2), the seller clearly shows that familiarity.

Data 8:

Context: A: ethnic Chinese seller, a young mother. B: The buyer is of Madurese ethnicity, a mother who is older than the seller.

A1 : Melle napa beq en [məllɛnapa bə?ən]? 'What did you buy?'

B1: Melle gengan [məllɛgənan]. 'Buy vegetables'

A2: gih..ngalaq [gih ŋala?]! 'Yes...take'

B2: Berempa? [bərəmpa] 'How much?'

A3 : Sebhu lemaratos [sebhu lemaratos]. 'IDR 1,500'

B3: Kesoqon gih [kəsə'ən gih] 'thank you'

A4: [Smiles and nods].

In the data, 8 sellers and buyers both use Madurese. The seller still uses the Madurese *krama* lexicon: *napa* 'apa' (A1) and *gih* 'iya' (A2).

The seller chooses to use the Madurese language because he expects the buyer to be of Madurese ethnicity. Often the face and appearance of the Madurese clearly shows their ethnic identity. In this context, the seller already has a good ability to identify the ethnicity of the buyer. Therefore, the seller initiated the communication in Madurese. Another factor used is the age factor. The seller perceives the buyer's age as older than his age. Coupled with the factor of not knowing each other, the seller still uses a few words in the Madurese *krama* to show respect to the buyer.

Data 9:

Context: A: ethnic Chinese seller, a young mother. B: The buyer is of Madurese ethnicity, the mother is older than the seller. Buying and selling interactions took place at a pre-made shop (a store that sells groceries) at the Kepatihan Market; between sellers and buyers do not know each other.

A1: Beli apa? 'Buy what?'

B1 : Bedhe kropok udhang? [bədə kropok odhən] 'There are prawn crackers'

A2 : Ada, beli berapa? 'Yes, buy how much?'

B2: Berempa sekilona? [bərəmpa səkilona] How much (price) per kilo?'

A3: Yang mana? 'Which one?'

B3: Neka [neka] 'this' (while pointing at the prawn crackers)

A4: Dua belas 'Twelve (Rp 12,000)'

B4 : Mon menyak se plastigen, badha? [mon meña? se plastigan, bhoḍhə]

'for plastic packaged oil, there is?'

A5 : Apa lagi? 'What else?'

B5: Berempa kabhina? [bərəmpa kabhina] 'How much is all'

A6: Dua empat. 'Two four (Rp 24,000)'.

In data 9 sellers use Indonesian from the beginning of the speech to the end of the speech. Buyers use the Madurese ngoko variety from the beginning of the story to the end of the story.

In data 9 sellers use Indonesian from the beginning of the speech to the end of the speech. This happened because the seller only passively mastered the Madurese language and mastered the Javanese variety of *ngoko*. He can understand speech in Madurese, but cannot speak Madurese. The buyer is of Madurese ethnicity and is older than the seller. If the seller chooses Javanese, then the Javanese language used should preferably be Javanese at the *krama* level which he is not good at and he is also not sure if the buyer understands Javanese *krama* or not. Therefore, the choice fell on the use of Indonesian.

IV. Conclusion

In general, ethnic Chinese sellers in traditional markets master the Chinese variety of Indonesian, the Indonesian language, the *ngoko* variety of Javanese, and some master the *ngoko* variety of Madurese. In general, ethnic Chinese sellers do not speak Javanese *krama* well. Some ethnic Chinese sellers master several lexicons of Javanese *krama*, so that their mastery of Javanese at the *krama* level is also limited. In buying and selling interactions, ethnic Chinese sellers use all of their language repertoire according to the context of the speech components encountered. The buyers come from ethnic Javanese, Madurese and Chinese.

The determining factor for choosing the dominant language is the participant factor. Participant factors include ethnic factors, social relations factors that are familiar or not familiar, age factors, and language mastery factors by the seller.

What is typical in buying and selling interactions in traditional markets is that situations often occur between sellers and buyers who are both busy or in a hurry. In situations like this, the interaction norm used is the basic norm in buying and selling interactions, namely the seller wants to be able to sell his wares immediately and the buyer wants to get the goods needed immediately and if possible at a lower price. In situations like this the language chosen depends on the seller's perception of the ethnicity of the buyer if the seller initiates the communication. If the buyer initiates the communication, the choice of language depends on the language spoken by the buyer.

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