Dwi Noverini Djenar, Michael C. Ewing, Howard Manns

Style and Intersubjectivity in Youth Interaction

Contributions to the Sociology of Language

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Style and Intersubjectivity in Youth Interaction

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We dedicate this book to our parents:
Widjanarko Djenar and Puji Yuanasari Kusumawardhani
Paul and Barbara Ewing
Howard Manns Sr. and Christina Myers

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Glosses

1SG	First person singular pronoun
1EXCL	First person plural exclusive pronoun
1INCL	First person plural inclusive pronoun
2SG	Second person singular pronoun
3SG	Third person singular pronoun
APPL	Applicative
MEN-	Standard nasal prefix
N-	Colloquial nasal prefix
NEG	Negative
PASS	Passive
PERF	Perfect
REL	Relative
(she)	Indicates text added to free translation that represents referents or other material not explicit in the original but necessary in the English free translation.

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Transcription Conventions

.	Final intonation contour
,	Continuing intonation contour
?	Appeal intonation contour
--	Truncated intonation unit
-	Truncated word
@	One pulse of laughter
=	Prosodic lengthening
..	Short pause
...	Long pause
(H)	In-breath
enjoy	Underlining for non-Indonesian elements (e.g., English, Javanese, Sundanese, Arabic)
[uh-huh]	Brackets for overlapping speech
XXX	Uncertain hearing

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Common Address Terms in the Data

Abang/Bang	Indonesian meaning 'older brother,' also used to address young adult males
Agan/Aganwati/Gan	From *juragan* 'boss'; used as address term among young people mainly in online interaction
Bapak/Pak/Pa	Indonesian for 'father' (originally Javanese); used as title and address term for adult males
Bro	Originally from English, used as address term among young people, for both female and male addressees
Ibu/Bu	Indonesian for 'mother' (originally Javanese); used as title and address term for adult females
Kakak/Kak	Indonesian for 'older sibling,' used to address people considered more senior than the speaker
Kakang/Akang/Kang	Sundanese kin term meaning 'older brother'; used to address young adult males
Man	Originally from English, used as address term among young people, both female and male
Mang	Sundanese kin term meaning 'uncle'; used to address adult males often from working class background; in some contexts can be used as respectful and endearing term
Mas	Javanese kin term meaning 'older brother'; used to address young adult males
Mbak	Javanese kin term meaning 'older sister'; used to address young adult females
Nak	Indonesian for 'child' (from *anak*), used as address term for a young child
Oom/Om	From Dutch meaning 'uncle,' used as a kin term and to address adult males of comparable age to one's father
Rek	Javanese meaning 'child' (from *arek*), used as address term among young people, both female and male
Sis/Sist	Originally from English, used as address term among young people, for female addressees
Teteh/Teh	Sundanese kin term meaning 'older sister'; used to address young adult females

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Common Discourse Particles in the Data

atuh	Sundanese particle; at the end of an utterance, indicating that the addressee is expected to have already known what the speaker is saying
deh	Indonesian particle; used to indicate indifference to common ground
dong	Indonesian particle; used to demand addressee recognises common ground
kan	Indonesian particle; used by speaker to confirm that speaker and addressee share common ground
kok	Indonesian and Javanese particle; used before an utterance to express surprise or disbelief; after an utterance used to show that addressee's assumption is not the case
lah	Indonesian particle; used for emphasis
loh/lho	Indonesian/Javanese particle; before an utterance used to indicate surprise, after an utterance used as an assertion of truth
mah	Sundanese and Jakartan Indonesian particle; contrastive topic
nah	Indonesian particle used to mark transition in discourse
sih	Indonesian particle; used to urge addressee to update common ground
ta/a	Javanese particle, used as question tag
tea	Sundanese particle; resumptive definite marker; marker of presumed shared knowledge
teh	Sundanese particle; marks given information
toh	Indonesian particle; from Dutch *toch*, used as concessive marker

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1 Style, intersubjectivity and youth sociability

1.1 Opening remarks

Young people today operate in a complex, fluid, and sometimes volatile society. In this book, we examine the ways they traverse this often difficult contemporary landscape by exploring how they interact with one another, negotiate relationships and engage with society. The ways they do this are often characterised as involving a high level of sociability – a kind of purposive liveliness and intense engagement with peers and others. The literature to date on youth language practices has provided valuable insights into youth culture, global flows, linguistic features of youth language, and society's stigmatisation of youth practices. We build on the wealth of this research to ask what underlies youthful sociability. To do this we investigate intersubjectivity and show how central it is to the creation and experience of young people's sociability. We explore young people's use of language and other semiotic resources to show how styles emerge from sociable interaction and are also used to maintain sociability.

Intersubjectivity, broadly conceived, concerns the human capacity for understanding relationships between self and others and the fundamental role this understanding plays in all aspects of human experience. The self does not emerge in isolation but rather through the sharing of "affective, perceptual and reflective experiences" with others (Zlatev 2008: 215). To have awareness of the self is thus simultaneously to have understanding of others. Style is understood broadly as ways of doing and being that contrast with other ways of doing and being (Hymes 1974), and language is a key locus in its construction. Style operates in a dialogic relationship to other styles and is as much about group identification as it is about individual distinctiveness. Thus, an individual's style never stands in relation only to itself but always speaks to the style of other individuals or groups. Youth provide a good case for the study of the relation between individuals and peer groups, and between these groups and larger sources of power and ideology, such as the state or popular media. Subscription or resistance to such sources entails entering into intersubjective experience, both with respect to those sources and in association with others whose endeavours are commensurable with one's own. The style with which such subscription or resistance is expressed is thus tied up with that of the other and style, then, is necessarily intersubjective. It is a dialogic process between individuals as subjects, and between subjects and ideological sources.

Indonesia provides a rich context for the study of style and intersubjectivity among young people. This country exists across an archipelago with a long history of shifting political, cultural, and linguistic allegiances. It is now a unified nation

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state where its national language, Indonesian, has been a key factor in uniting more than 600 ethno-linguistic groups. On several occasions in the nation's history, youth have played a critical and transformational role in defining what it means to be Indonesian and to speak Indonesian. However, for over three decades the authoritarian New Order government imposed standardisation across all aspects of society, including language use, thus discouraging innovations in youth language expressions. The end of this regime in 1998 marked the beginning of reform and democratisation in the country. New freedoms have flourished and the government is no longer perceived as the sole authority on language. People now have greater opportunities to tap into cultural flows from local, national, and global sources. All these developments empower Indonesian youth to explore new ways of using language and other semiotic resources to engage with society. They have once again come to the fore in the reproduction and contestation of Indonesian identities.

In this book, we explore language practices of twenty-first century Indonesian youth and demonstrate how the intensely personal ways in which young people engage with each other both reflect and transform the world they live in today. Youth is a time of intense sociability. This sociability is closely linked to young peoples' exploration of their sense of personal identity and their place in larger society. Language provides a vital resource for this sociable engagement and exploration of identity and social position. We develop the idea that exploiting the intersubjective possibilities of language is a particularly important way in which young people achieve intense sociability. We also explore how enacting affective and epistemic stances involves practises of intersubjective alignment and the development of youthful styles of interaction which help young people define their sense of self in society. In general, the linguistic resources that young Indonesians use are not particularly unique to youth. What is interesting is their creative use of the intersubjective affordances of language as they develop and deploy youthful styles. It is through this convergence of intersubjectivity and style that language becomes such an important part of how young people navigate the world of intense sociability and identity formation. As they do this, Indonesian youth draw on local, national and trans-national language resources and lend their own unique voice to how the Indonesian language is used. As the language of youth is taken up in the media and resonates across society, it is having a profound effect on the place of Indonesian in the nation at large.

1.2 Intersubjectivity

Intersubjectivity is the ontological condition that makes possible our subjective awareness of self, our capacity to grasp the external, objective world and

our ability to understand the propositional contents of others' minds (Davidson 1991: 165). That is, our subjectivity only emerges through joint activity with and experience of others (Mead 1934: 195; Zlatev 2008: 215). To have awareness of the self is thus simultaneously to have understanding of others. Yet such understanding does not mean others' perceptions are the same as our own, nor does it require direct access to others' mental processes (Malpas 1999: 142). We come to understand others' beliefs and desires by perceiving their embodied actions and behaviours in interaction, which we experience through joint activity and shared attention (Gallagher and Hutto 2008: 20–21). Indeed, joint activity and attention, for example to objects during play, is what provides a child's entry into the symbolic world of language and enables the development of subjectivity and cultural identity through shared narrative practices (Sinha and Rodríguez 2008). The signs and practices of language are thus grounded in human intersubjectivity and are "mutually shared solutions to coordination problems, rules that are followed because of the expectation that others will follow them and because one knows that others expect one to follow them" (Verhagen 2008: 307). To examine how linguistic conventions "emerge, change and are maintained" therefore provides "a special window on human intersubjectivity" (Verhagen 2008: 308).

Conventional signs are a product of shared communicative practices, including linguistic and other semiotic practices. Knowledge of these practices forms the basis of common ground, which in turn underlies interaction and social practice (Clark 1996: 92–93). "Everything we do is rooted in information we have about our surroundings, activities, perceptions, emotions, plans, interests. Everything we do jointly with others is rooted in this information, but only in that part we think they share with us" (Clark 1996: 92). Two people's common ground is, in effect, the sum of their mutual, common, or joint knowledge, beliefs, and suppositions. Common ground thus informs how, and the degree to which, speakers and communities can successfully interact. Shared cultural models informed by collective beliefs and values (what Verhagen 2005 refers to as "topos", after Anscombre and Durcort 1989) provide the common ground or reference point for interpreting an utterance in order to identify intended social actions (e.g., a request, a playful insult) from the semiotic resources used to accomplish those actions (e.g., person reference terms, interactional particles). At the same time, because individuals and communities experience differing trajectories of socialisation and because these influence the extent to which they may presume or negotiate common ground, social agents are continually learning new ways of communicating with other social agents (Hanks 1990). The extent to which interactants share common ground is relative and therefore open to negotiation (Ahn and Yap 2013). So while common ground provides a basis for interaction, it is also through interaction that common ground can be negotiated and expanded.

The development and maintenance of common ground then becomes an important point for intersubjective encounter.

The organisation of communicative encounters is fundamentally sequential, with the experience of communication unfolding progressively through time. The consequences of sequentiality for the organisation of language, social action and intersubjectivity have been particularly well demonstrated by researchers taking a usage-based approach to studying the language of conversation (Enfield 2011; Ford, Fox and Thompson 2002; Goodwin 1981; Kärkkäinen 2006; Ochs, Schegloff and Thompson 1996; Schegloff 2007). Enfield (2011) uses the term “enchrony” to identify the forward moving trajectory of sequentiality and demonstrates that enchrony is grounded in normatively and morally regulated social practices. Each contribution to interaction is both a response in that it looks back to the previous utterance and an action in that it looks forward to the response it elicits. Contributions are heard as relevant based on evaluations of effectiveness and appropriateness, and thus “the inherently normative nature of an enchronic system means that we cannot begin to examine human communication without entering a realm of morally governed social behavior” (Enfield 2011: 290). The normative and moral nature of enchronic behaviour relies on (partially) shared expectations and judgments about what is effective and appropriate in interaction, which form a crucial part of common ground. The regulatory, normative nature of this common ground provides “a bedrock of public, norm-governed accountability for each increment in a communicative sequence” (Enfield 2011: 290). An important consequence of the normatively regulated, enchronic nature of interaction is that interlocutors are constantly working towards alignment. As Du Bois and Kärkkäinen (2012) point out in their discussion of stance, alignment is key to understanding intersubjectivity. They also show that alignment is not equivalent to total agreement. Nor is alignment binary – either aligned or not aligned. Rather, alignment forms a continuous scale along which interlocutors negotiate different degrees of convergence as well as divergence. Importantly, alignment is not about commonality in the sense of “hegemonic sameness” but rather about “commensurability” (Du Bois 2007). This notion of commensurability is consistent with Verhagen’s insight that intersubjectivity as observed in verbal communication “involves partially shared and partially divergent experiential-conceptual content” (2008: 312), which interactants utilise as they engage in communicative actions, e.g., assessing and attempting to influence each other. Thus, the management of intersubjectivity – that is, any moment of aligning, stance-taking, assessing or simply informing – is “distributed action” (Du Bois and Kärkkäinen 2012) in that it depends not just on the speakers’ actions, but also on interlocutors’ responses across enchronically linked turn sequences. Du Bois and Kärkkäinen also point out that “intersubjective alignment becomes an integral part

of every act of evaluation and positioning, though it most often remains implicit, left for participants to infer from a comparison of the several evaluations made in sequence" (2012: 441). Although usually implicit, from time to time "intersubjectivity rises to focal prominence" (Du Bois 2007: 159) and is explicitly attended to by participants. At these points in the formation of communicative action and engendered response, we can observe how intersubjective understanding informs interactional practices and in turn is shaped by these practices.

1.3 Style

Style is a socially meaningful way of doing things. It crucially relies on access to shared semiotic resources and is grounded in common practices and experiences. Speakers and writers use stylistic resources in acts of distinctiveness (Irvine 2001). The meanings of these stylistic resources emerge in interaction and are informed by language ideologies, "the ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those understandings onto people, events and activities that are significant to them" (Irvine and Gal 2000: 35). For example, Hebdige (1979) investigates style as an act of distinctiveness among youth subcultures in Britain and finds that individual subcultures and their associated styles cannot be viewed in isolation. These groups and styles have a complex history of "dialectical interplay," drawing on one another's symbolic resources and constructing distinctiveness in agentive ways (Hebdige 1979: 57). Hebdige's work has led to a conceptualisation of style in terms of construction, creativity and "bricolage". The linkage between stylistic variation and social groups cannot be defined solely in terms of a single style, but must include multiple style elements, which stand in contrast to other stylistic choices (Eckert 2012). It is a dialogic process between individuals as subjects and between subjects and ideological sources, and is thus always constructed intersubjectively.

Stance has become an important focus in studies of style and stylistic variation (Jaffe 2009). Du Bois provides this useful working definition of stance: "a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positions, subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimensions of the sociocultural field" (2007: 163). Social categories are built around common stances through social practice (Eckert 2012). These stances are enacted locally in discourse through the use of linguistic and non-linguistic resources drawn from the wider community. It is through the repetition of stances that styles emerge as stabilised repertoires of ways of doing things linked to situations and social identities (Bauman 2004; Bucholtz 2015; Eckert 2012; Johnstone 2009; Ochs 1990). Thus, studying stance can reveal

the processes by which individual performances are indexically associated with social meanings (Jaffe 2009: 4). Indexicality refers to "the linking of semiotic forms, including linguistic forms, to context-specific social meanings" (Bucholtz 2015: 36). These links are not static, but rather emerge through the process of stance-taking (Ochs 1992). Speakers enact stances by drawing on the meaning potential of linguistic forms, which only arises within context and is influenced by "language users' beliefs and assumptions about temporal, spatial, and social settings; prior, ongoing, and future actions (verbal, non-verbal), and the state of knowledge and attentiveness of those participating in the social interaction at hand" (Ochs and Schieffelin 1979: 5). In this way, stance can be seen as "a mediating indexical level between linguistic form and stylistic or identity categories" (Bucholtz 2015: 37). Bakhtin (1981: 293–294) introduces the notion of ventriloquation – speakers articulating meaning through others' voices – to describe this process, and has noted that "part of the meaning of an utterance…is its social history, its social presence and its social future" (Ochs 1992: 338). Thus, an utterance never stands alone; it carries with it traces of different "voices". As Ochs also writes, "accounts of whose messages and whose intention are being communicated become highly textured, incorporating not only the speaker/writer but a range of social identities and relations" (1988: 20). Thus, linguistic styles are defined through their semiotic potential to "voice" social (e.g., regional, ethnic, class) and personal significances (Coupland 2007).

A number of scholars have sought to articulate the relationship between style, stance and dialogicity (Bucholtz and Hall 2004; Du Bois 2007, 2014; Kärkkäinen 2006, 2007; Kiesling 2009, 2011). Du Bois and Kärkkäinen link stance and dialogicity noting that "[t]he dialogic-sequential approach combines the examination of turn-sequential and dialogic dimensions of social action, ultimately offering new opportunities to work toward a unified and coherent picture of stance" (2012: 441). This is illustrated in example (1) taken from Du Bois (2007: 159).

(1)	1	SAM:	I don't like those.
	2		(0.2)
	3	ANGELA:	I don't either.

This dyad profiles a pair of individuals calibrating their subjective evaluations. In line 1, Sam engages in the public social action (or stance-taking) of "disliking". Angela joins Sam in "disliking" and the word *either* brings to focal prominence the intersubjective relationship between their individual stances. Du Bois (2014) uses dyads such as the one above to argue that traditional accounts of grammar do not accurately capture all facets of language structure and that "the structural organisation of language serves not only to communicate or to reason, but to engage" (Du Bois 2014: 360).

Kiesling (2011) develops stance and dialogicity by drawing on Du Bois's work and prior work on indexicality (e.g., Ochs 1992; Silverstein 2003) in order to highlight the social roles and identities of stancetakers. One of Kiesling's (2011) key points is that stance often involves contestation. Both Kiesling and Du Bois underscore the importance of "alignment" for understanding stance. Du Bois (2007: 144), drawing on Heritage (2002; Heritage and Raymond 2005), defines alignment as "the act of calibrating the relationship between two stances, and by implication between two stancetakers". Kiesling presents alignment as "achieved when interactants are cooperative in the project of creating an interaction", and points out that this is "not the same as saying interactants agree about denotational content, but only that they are on some level engaged in moving the conversation forward" (2011: 4). Taking dialogic sequentiality into account provides evidence for speech participants' attention to their intersubjective language practices and it offers a means for us to show how these intersubjective practices manifest in the intense sociability of youth. The relationship between stances and style, and how these contribute to youthful sociability will be developed in more detail in each of the chapters of this book.

1.4 Youth, sociability and language

The past two decades have seen a turn towards investigating the emergence of identity in the study of youth language practices. Interactional and sociocultural linguistic approaches have been at the forefront of this research, demonstrating that peer group interaction, whether face-to-face or mediated, is central to identity construction. Using language and other semiotic resources in the context of interaction, young people align with peers, forge friendships, and contest voices of authority and authenticity (Bucholtz 2006; Eckert 2000). Youth language, as Bucholtz states, is "a context-renewing and context-creating sign whereby social relations are both (and often simultaneously) reproduced and contested" (2002: 527–528). Pujolar (2001) points out that youth have been identified with the popularisation and spread of particular terms, phrases, and indeed varieties, and thus through language young people shape their participation in social life. "The use of particular speech varieties in the context of youth culture is an important part of the processes whereby young people construct their views about the world and their relationships amongst themselves and with other social groups" (Pujolar 2001: 7). Social life is thus the key site for innovating and reworking ways of speaking. Moreover, the recognition that identity emerges locally through interaction (Bucholtz and Hall 2004) serves as an important basis for investigating what constitutes the local, and how it connects to and interacts with the supra-local.

In his study of heteroglossia among adolescents, Rampton identifies this social group as having a "conspicuously relational identity, connected to 'all points of the sociolinguistic compass' but identical to none" and "a strong positivity of its own, linked to intense forms of sociability either in spite or because of its non-canonical positioning" (2011: 289). While much research on youth's language practices has underscored interaction as the important context for the emergence of identity, Rampton presents the notion of "intense sociability" – a high level of intensity in interaction – as a key dimension in youth interaction. Simmel and Hughes writing in the mid-twentieth century, used the term "pure sociability" for the situation when something being "said and accepted is not an end in itself but a mere means to maintain the liveliness, the mutual understanding, the common consciousness of the group" (1949: 259–260). Their notions of liveliness and mutual understanding resonate with the concepts of alignment, common ground and intense engagement that we develop in our analysis. We hope to also show in this book that what they describe as a "mere means" is in fact central to contemporary Indonesian youth interaction. The concept of sociability resonates closely with the Indonesian context in which young people explicitly identify their own styles in terms of being *gaul* "sociable". Indeed, contemporary Indonesian youth use the notion of intense sociability to differentiate themselves from the previous generations. Thus "sociability" is not simply an analytical concept; in Indonesia, it is something young people talk about and self-consciously aim to achieve.

In the early twentieth century, youth played a vital role in the formation of Indonesia as a nation, including through the declaration of the *Sumpah Pemuda* 'Youth Pledge' in 1928, which laid the symbolic groundwork for the future Indonesian state and proclaimed Indonesian as the national language (Anderson 1990; Errington 1998a). Youth also played significant roles in the revolution against the Dutch, the installation of Sukarno as the first president in 1945 and the establishment of the New Order regime in the mid-1960s, through their support of Suharto. As the New Order then consolidated power, the government became highly centralised and Indonesia's population was increasingly controlled through a combination of developmentalist nationalism and military authoritarianism (Bodden 2005; Heryanto 1995). During this time, youth were systematically depoliticised. For example, with the imposition of *Normalisasi Kehidupan Kampus* 'Normalisation of Campus Life' the government sought to prohibit political activism among university students (Lane 2008). Towards the last decade of the Suharto era however, young people became among the most vociferous critics of the government and participated in bringing about Suharto's resignation in May 1998 (Bodden 2005). With the

fall of the New Order government, Indonesia began a period of significant socio-political and structural reforms known as *reformasi* 'reformation'. This process of democratisation has included free elections, press freedom, and "one of the most radical decentralisation programs attempted anywhere in the world" (Aspinall and Fealy 2003: 9). This has ushered in a resurgent focus on local identities. In addition to the many dramatic social changes that have occurred since that time, Indonesians, particularly its middle-class youth, have also gained a sense of freedom to experiment with language. It also provided much wider scope for artistic and individual expression. Artefacts of popular culture such as films and television became spaces where experimentation with language could abound. Films about and aimed at youth began to be produced, such as *Ada Apa Dengan Cinta* 'What's Up With Love', where a serious attempt was made to faithfully represent the Jakartan style of Indonesian spoken by young people, thus drawing public attention to this new wave of youthful ways of speaking (Djenar 2006: 22.4).

Today, urban youth are a particularly salient group in Indonesian society, and this group increasingly values a post-reform identity associated with being upwardly mobile and having outward looking aspirations (Smith-Hefner 2007). As previously mentioned, this youthful identity has often been referred to as *gaul* 'sociable'. The term *gaul* emerged as a social phenomenon at the end of the twentieth century and was initially linked to middle class Jakartan youth. Young people wishing to be *gaul* often take their cues from local, national, and international artefacts of popular culture, including films, television, music, fiction, and social media. The popularity of this contemporary identity has coincided with a post-reform revaluation of ethnic and religious sensibilities. The *gaul* identity takes multiple overlapping forms. Whether one is from Jakarta or other parts of the country, whether one aligns with a local ethnic orientation or with heightened religiosity, what links these different identities is a movement away from the conventions of late twentieth century Indonesia which emphasised hierarchy and uniformity toward new ways of connecting within intersubjective space. Although the word *gaul* itself has long been part of Indonesian lexicon, this word was given a new sense in post-reform Indonesia by being equated with the new urban youth identity, including the *gaul* language style which was popularised early on by the publication of *Kamus Bahasa Gaul* 'The *Gaul* language dictionary' (Sahertian 1999). Since then, the term *bahasa gaul* 'language of sociability' has sometimes been used in popular discourse to refer to youth style as if it were a single language variety. But close investigation of youth language practices shows that rather than conceiving of "youth language" as a bounded category, it is much more productive to approach *gaul* in terms of the concept of youth

sociability – sociability that is enacted in various contexts of interaction using a range of semiotic forms, a central one being language.

In examining Indonesian youth practices, we consider their relationship with practices in wider society. Eckert (2000) has shown how youth practices can be viewed as local (micro) instantiations of wider (macro) social and sociolinguistic change and how these local practices may in turn influence wider societal change. Youth play a key role in challenging existing socio-cultural norms and hierarchy and language is instrumental in manifesting such challenges. Authority and "standard" language ideologies are often in the crosshairs of youth. For example, youth in Asian contexts have used non-standard language and other "anti-normative" social semiotic resources to reject perceived rigid traditions and hierarchies of prior generations (see Lee 2004, 2006 for Korea; Miller 2004 for Japan; Smith-Hefner 2007 for Indonesia). Authority figures regularly decry such behaviour and often focus on youth language practices in their critiques (Milroy and Milroy 1997). For instance, in Indonesia, academics and other authority figures lament the use of colloquial Indonesian by young people as a "crisis of youth" (Sabarini 2007) and a threat to the integrity of the Indonesian language (Djenar 2012). Yet, the relationship between authority and youth is paradoxical. Although youth language practices are often viewed negatively, figures of authority such as government officials and religious authorities have been known to adopt terms coined by youth in speaking to the wider public in order to create familiar and approachable personae and enhance popularity. And youth, for their part, often respond positively to these practices of authority. Thus, it would be misleading to view youth's language practices solely as acts of rebellion against authority and standards. Within this context, young people struggle to define themselves in terms of various, often times competing, identities. At the same time, as Smith-Hefner points out: "[s]ocial observers of the new Indonesian middle class have remarked that a striking characteristic of new middle-class culture is the conviction that the future of Indonesia depends on individuals shaping themselves through self-cultivation and self-fashioning" (2007: 190). A study of how young people use language for cultivating and fashioning the self provides a useful way to better understand this community in flux.

There are several terms commonly used to refer to youth in contemporary Indonesia: *pemuda* 'youth', *remaja* 'adolescent', and *anak muda* 'young people'. The term *pemuda* resonates with the historic political activism of Indonesian youth. *Remaja* on the other hand is a lighter term that "also references lifestyle and consumption patterns. It implies wearing fashionable clothes and appearing cool in language, hair-do (or headcovering) and image" (Parker and Nilan 2013: 15; see also Siegel 1986). *Anak muda* is more neutral and refers to both adolescents and post-high school youth. It is also the term used in radio broadcasts

aimed at youth, often in alternation with its English counterpart 'young people'. In this book, we use the term "youth" to refer to those who fall within the broad spectrum of individuals from their teens to late twenties. However, a conception of youth that is solely based on biology and cognitive maturation is problematic because young people's participation in society is not only determined by age but also crucially by the social and historical processes in which they are embedded (Wyn and White 1997). Therefore, we approach youth more in terms of the social practices that emerge from their engagement in shared activity. Crucial to these practices is the emergent sense of identity that young people experience and engage with during this time in their lives. In line with contemporary scholarship (e.g., Buckingham 2008; Burke and Stets 2009), we view identity as grounded in social roles but emphasise the complex contextual nature of these roles and the senses of self that emerge from them. In sociolinguistics, identity has been discussed in terms of the processes through which social agents actively construct their own senses of identity and the processes whereby identity is imposed on them by others (Bucholtz and Hall 2004).

Despite the importance of language to young people, it is not always clear how best to characterise the nature of youth language. Karlsson (1998) argues that it should not be viewed in terms of a language variety but rather as a kind of genre practice. Youth practices are regularly characterised by "heavy vernacular use" (Androutsopoulos and Georgakopoulou 2003: 4). At the same time, such vernacular language features are often not unique to youth but are rather drawn from a community's wider repertoire of non-standard regional or social dialects (Labov 2001). This is clearly the case for Indonesian youth. As we demonstrate in this book, the semiotic resources Indonesian youth tap into when constructing style are not uniquely theirs. Rather, they are largely part of the wider pool of style elements that all speakers of Indonesian can access and exploit. Yet the ways Indonesian youth use these resources in interaction are intimately tied to the strong sense of interpersonal connectedness associated with intense youthful sociability. We therefore approach the study of youth language practices by analysing what youth do in often "mobile and flexible sites" of interaction (Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 4), rather than by attempting to categorise their heterogeneous practices with labels that imagine language as a bounded object. Indonesian *bahasa*, like its English equivalent 'language', can imply a static object rather than a dynamic act of relating to others. Yet like 'language', *bahasa* can also mean something like 'register' or 'style', and this is closer to what we mean when we talk about "youth language". Our intention is not to proscribe the use of such terms, but rather, following Heller (2007: 1), to highlight the importance of moving away from viewing language as a bounded object and toward considering language as a social practice.

1.5 Language resources available to Indonesian youth

Indonesia is an intensely multilingual country. Language ideologies and the interaction between the standardised national language, diverse varieties of colloquial Indonesian, the hundreds of regional languages as well as foreign languages feed into the language practices of Indonesian youth. Today, more than 90% of Indonesians are able to speak the national language, Indonesian. Most of them also speak an ethno-local language which they use as a home language, but nearly 20% of the population now speaks Indonesian at home as their dominant language, compared to just 10% in 1990 (Na'im and Syaputra 2011: 12). However, these numbers do not do justice to the continued complex and shifting heteroglossic nature of Indonesia. While some regional languages remain strong, in many parts of the country, ethno-local languages continue to decline and many are endangered (Florey 2005). Despite this trend, much of the country remains highly multilingual and regional languages are often held in high esteem as markers of ethno-local identity.

Standard Indonesian stands in a complex relationship not only with the ethno-local languages of the archipelago, but also with colloquial Indonesian and other varieties of Malay. Standard language ideologies emerge from a society's concern to maintain purity in the face of perceived deviance and ideologies of standardness pervade Indonesian institutions in much the same way as elsewhere in the world. The Indonesian *Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa* 'Agency for the Development and Promotion of Language' or simply *Badan Bahasa* 'Language Agency' (previously known has *Pusat Bahasa* 'Language Centre'), like similar institutions around the world, is concerned with developing and maintaining the standard national language through campaign efforts in education and the mass media. It also develops strategies on how to deal with the influence of foreign languages. Standard language ideologies are intertwined with the assertion of power and authority and the concomitant suppression or even erasure of "the Other" (Irvine and Gal 2000). Foucault (1972: 216) points out, "[i]n every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures, whose role is to avert its power and dangers". Through *Badan Bahasa* programs of language planning and institutional dissemination, standard Indonesian became progressively associated with concepts of development, education, and authority. This association became particularly strong during Suharto's New Order, when the use of Indonesian increased dramatically across the country as a result of the government's education and media policies (Sneddon 2003). New Order policies were heavily focused on promoting an almost unattainable quality of standard Indonesian – one that was *baik dan benar* 'good and correct' – with the result that

few Indonesians could develop an emotional attachment to it (Errington 1986; Keane 2003; Sneddon 2003: 141). Indeed the name "Indonesian" is often equated with this government approved 'good and correct' standard. Indonesian understood in this way is often said to have no native speakers, as it only ever occurs in formal and institutionally sanctioned contexts (Errington 1998a, 2014; Heryanto 2007). In this view, the language that speakers actually use day-to-day is considered something other than (standard) Indonesian and is characterised as a range of different, often regionally identified, colloquial varieties. We agree that the officially sanctioned form of the language is seldom used in everyday spoken communication, yet features of standard Indonesian constantly occur in informal contexts. Conversely, features of colloquial Indonesian also occur in formal contexts. In this book we do not use the label "Indonesian" to refer exclusively to the standard, nor do we consider language displaying standard features to be separate from colloquial language. We will show that it is more productive to think of standard and colloquial varieties of Indonesian as different registers of the same, highly varied, language and that these registers are intimately linked as speakers fluidly move between a range of linguistic possibilities.

As well as promoting the unifying virtues of standard Indonesian, New Order discourse also acknowledged diversity but encouraged people to view themselves as Indonesians first and through an ethnic or religious lens second. Ethnic identity and regional languages were commodified, domesticated and relegated a secondary sphere associated with local regions, traditional customs and tourism (Pemberton 1994). Lindsay, writing at the end of the New Order, points out that "regional identity and culture remain deeply ambiguous to Indonesians" (1997: 122). On the one hand, ethnic identity, language and culture were portrayed as backwards and *kampungan* 'hickish', while on the other, regional identities, promoted with "safe" representations of difference such as traditional clothing, dance and architecture, were valorised as "diversity". Despite this ambiguous discourse at the national level, ethno-local languages remained a critical means for indexing intimacy and were sometimes local status symbols. They have thus always been and continue to be an important part of daily life for many Indonesians (Lindsay 1997; Meitzner 2014).

Colloquial Indonesian has been conceptualised as an informal social style, not necessarily identified with any particular social group (Englebretson 2003; Ewing 2005). However, increasingly in certain domains such as radio broadcasts (Jurriëns 2009; Manns 2014a, b), fiction (Djenar 2008, 2012), comics (Djenar and Ewing 2015; Ewing 2015), and computer-mediated communication (Manns 2010), colloquial language is strongly associated with youth practices. In the past three decades, there has been a shift from viewing colloquial Indonesian as simply a non-standard informal variety of the language to viewing it in generational

terms as falling in the particular prevue of young people. Older speakers may be described as using *bahasa sehari-hari* ‘everyday language’, while youth are users of *bahasa gaul* ‘the language of sociability’. The lifestyle and speech associated with Jakarta have long held some sway over youth in other parts of Indonesia. Since the 1960s, Jakartan elites have provided an alternative model for pan-Indonesian identity beyond the rigid and monologic vision propagated by the government (Tanner 1967). Where the government’s notions of “Indonesian-ness” have been viewed by ordinary people as lacking authenticity because they have no links to a tangible group, Jakarta and Jakartan Indonesian fill this gap by providing tangible and authentic reference points (Errington 1986). Jakarta evokes images of sophistication and modernity. It is the city where the richest, most attractive and “advanced” urbanites are perceived to live, and thus it becomes a reference point for many rural and urban Indonesians elsewhere (Oetomo 1990). *Gaul* is associated with this image of modern, sophisticated, and socially engaged urban youth who pursue upward mobility (Ibrahim 2007). As Smith-Hefner writes, “[*g*]*aul* … is oriented both ‘upward’, expressing aspirations for social and economic mobility, and ‘outward’, expressing an increasingly cosmopolitan, Indonesian youth culture” (2007: 184). Colloquial Indonesian has also made inroads into intimate intra-ethnic interactions which in the past would have been primarily the domain of ethno-local languages (Smith-Hefner 2009).

Indonesian youth have long borrowed style elements from counter culture communities such as gangsters and homosexuals. The language associated with Jakartan criminals and gangsters – known as *bahasa prokem* – contributed in the 1970s and 1980s to ways of speaking other than formal Indonesian. Its initial dissemination has been popularly linked to youth author Teguh Esha and his late 1970s novel series *Ali Topan Detektip Partikelir* ‘Ali Topan, Private Eye’ (Chambert-Loir 1984). In these novels, standard Indonesian is associated with formality and the protagonist Ali Topan prefers Jakartan Indonesian which, in his view, conveys a sense of intimacy that cannot be expressed in the standard register (Chambert-Loir 1984). The popularity of the *Ali Topan* novels has been attributed to the way in which Esha addresses the generation gap, not least through use of colloquial language in the novels. During this period many elements of *prokem* entered the language of middle class youth and have remained an important part of youth vocabulary today. *Bahasa gay* ‘gay language’ has also provided a rich source of style elements for contemporary Indonesian youth. Indonesian gay language likely emerged in the 1970s, but its popularity among young people gained traction as it was increasingly used by television presenters in the late 1990s (Boellstorff 2004). Like *prokem*, gay language and its associated counter-cultural styles were forged in a decidedly Indonesian, rather than ethno-local or global, space. Indonesian youth draw on the language styles of

gangsters and homosexuals, not only because they are useful for indexing stances of resistance but also because gangsters and homosexuals have provided some of the only distinctly "Indonesian" reference communities outside the official sense of Indonesian-ness propagated by the government.

In the post-reform era, diversity and pluralism are considered national assets. At the same time, localised accents can be considered old-fashioned or hickish. In contemporary Indonesian media, including sit-coms and films, standard Indonesian and colloquial Jakartan Indonesian are both presented as appealing while other varieties of Indonesian or regional languages are ethnically-marked and often presented as socially undesirable (Goebel 2015; Loven 2008). However, this dichotomising representation of ethnic voices is essentially an ideology projected from the capital outward toward the regions. Indeed, there has often been a re-valorisation of local identity in the post-reform era and regional languages can be an important source of style for youth. In reality, as we will show in the following chapters, young people have a nuanced appreciation of ethno-local languages in different interactional contexts and using elements from different languages when speaking Indonesian is a usual part of their construction of style and identity.

Elements from foreign languages are also adopted by Indonesian speakers. English has long been popular with young people in Indonesia, but its popularity has grown in recent years as young Indonesians become more educated. English use by Indonesians often mirrors that in other non-English-dominant parts of the world where it denotes cool, hip selves, connected to the wider world and full of fresh ideas (Ben-Rafael 2008; Stamou 2013). The common practice of incorporating English elements into Indonesian is recognised in the media as well. Editors of teen fiction at large publishing houses in Bandung and Jakarta encourage use of English elements in adolescent fiction to give a realistic portrayal of youth language practices in everyday life.[1] Arabic is another source of influence on some youth. Muslims globally are expected to know at least some Arabic in order to read the Qur'an and carry out various religious obligations (Haeri 2003) and Indonesian Muslims are no exception. Young people who identify as devoutly Muslim align themselves with the wider, international Islamic community and with the language of religious texts and thought, Arabic. Arabic terms are then incorporated into everyday Indonesian as part of constructing a religious identity. Identification with the international Islamic community enables these young people to "validate their sense of being part of the modern world without the

1 Interviews conducted by Djenar with two publishers, in Jakarta (2007) and Bandung (2011) respectively.

need to adopt a Westernized way of life" (Brenner 1996: 678). Yet, the assertion of an Islamic identity does not necessarily entail a total rejection of *gaul* identity or Western modernity. Youth from both secular and religious backgrounds often embrace the notion of a heterogeneous self that encompasses multiple subjectivities. In so doing they do not blindly adopt elements of foreign languages as part of some process of homogenising globalisation. Rather, as Pennycook (2003) has shown for places like Japan and France, these practices are very much tailored to local needs and contexts, and are more accurately described as processes of "glocalisation".

1.6 Youth interaction in context

We take an explicitly interactional approach in our study of style and intersubjectivity. This informs the data we examine, the specific language elements we investigate and how we develop our analysis. In regards to data, interactional approaches generally privilege the study of conversation, and understandably so due to the highly contingent nature of spontaneous face-to-face engagement. Conversational interaction between young Indonesians forms an important part of the language we study here, but we also explore the interactional nature of other discourse types that do not entail real-time interaction, and we show that, for example, taking into account the relationship between writers and readers is also crucial to understanding the construction and maintenance of intersubjective relationships. The specific language resources that we look at in detail include those which are fundamentally linked to the interactive nature of communication, such as discourse particles and person reference terms. But we also examine other linguistic elements such as grammatical structure and reporting others' speech (or in our term, voice presentation) and show that to understand the way young people use these resources also demands close attention to interaction. Crucially, an interactional approach informs how we conduct our analysis. In order to understand how youthful sociability is engendered, we have to look at the mechanisms by which young people fit their language to immediate needs at hand, how this language is taken up and responded to by others and what patterns of intersubjective language use emerge in this context. Interaction, whether in synchronous or asynchronous, face-to-face or mediated situations is crucial for understanding the context-dependent and context-generating nature of intersubjective engagement.

In this book, we explore the relation between style and intersubjectivity by examining four discourse types that provide insights into how young people in

Indonesia use language: conversation, online discussion forums, teen fiction and comics. Studies on youth interaction generally concentrate on one type of discourse, and for a good reason. Using different types of discourse as data, particularly if they are not parallel texts, is challenging. Analytically, it may be difficult to identify comparable features and thus heuristics designed for one type of discourse may not be applicable to another. Nevertheless, there is a compelling reason for including different types of discourse in the analysis of youth styles. By including youth conversation, we can examine the contemporaneous co-construction of style and the kinds of resources that speakers turn to in this process. Online interaction adds another perspective to how we can understand style construction when the participants are not co-present but intersubjective negotiation is nevertheless vital for ensuring the flow of interaction. The data from popular print media are not merely additional representations of youth styles but importantly, they are metadiscursive genres (Agha 2007) that typify and reimagine distinctive styles of youth interaction. Investigating patterns and variation of language use in these multiple discourse types provides a way of understanding the rich interconnection between macro-level discourse in society and micro-level interactional contexts in which young people are actively engaged with each other.

Conversation is often considered the most basic environment for language use (Schegloff 1996a), and it is through conversation that youth sociability is most immediately generated and conveyed. In our analysis, we use conversational data recorded among young people in the urban areas of Bandung and Malang, both on the island of Java. We include conversational data from two different regions in Java to demonstrate the richness of the styles we collectively refer to as youth style, its ethno-linguistically grounded variation, as well as individual variation. It is beyond the scope of the present study to include material from other parts of the country and we recognise that this is a limitation. Research on the languages of youth from outside Java would make an invaluable contribution to our understanding of youth culture and colloquial Indonesian and we look forward to future studies from across the archipelago.

Bandung is the third largest city in Indonesia, located approximately 150 kilometres southeast of the Indonesian capital, Jakarta. A major university city and an important centre of the creative industries, Bandung is also home to a thriving youth culture. Its proximity to Jakarta means that Bandung absorbs its cosmopolitan influences; however, Bandung also maintains its own identity as the central urban hub for Sundanese culture. Many youth in Bandung speak primarily colloquial Indonesian, characterised by the frequent use of language elements associated with Jakarta and Sundanese, such as person terms and discourse particles. The young speakers in our data often switch to primarily Sundanese but overall

their discourse is clearly Indonesian. The Bandung corpus consists of recordings and transcripts of naturally occurring conversations among young adults aged from 18 to 25 years, collected in Bandung in early 2014. Nine recordings have been used for this study, comprising 2 hours and 60 minutes of talk. The conversations involve from two to five speakers and include all-female and mixed female-male groups. During the same period the recordings were made, four focus groups were conducted with university students also aged from 18 to 25 years, with equal numbers of male and female participants. The discussions ranged around topics of youth, youth identity and language perceptions.

Malang is the second largest city in the province of East Java. Like Bandung, it is a university city with a thriving youth culture. However, unlike Bandung, Malang is geographically distant from Jakarta, located more than 600 km east of the Indonesian capital. Jakarta's cultural influence, when present, is usually associated with mass media or accommodation to Jakartans living in Malang. Like Bandung, Malang is a city with a strong sense of local identity, and external identities and their associated symbols are viewed with some suspicion. As with Bandung youth, the language used by Malang youth is heterogeneous, containing extensive code-switching between Indonesian and Javanese. The Malang data consist of recordings of conversations between young adults aged from 18 to late 20s, made in 2007–2009. Forty-two conversations of 13 hours and 25 minutes duration in total are examined. The conversations involve two to six speakers and consist of all-female, all-male and mixed gender groups. Most of the speakers are of Javanese ethnic background. The recordings are naturally occurring conversations, with the exception of two recordings which consist of conversation unfolding in an interview format, due to the participants' misunderstanding of the task. Also included in this study is metalinguistic commentary from interviews with 25 Malang youth, who were among the participants in the recorded conversations.

Social media, including online discussion forums, have become increasingly ubiquitous in people's lives, and Indonesian youth are among the world's most prolific users of technology. Online forums have provided a new domain in which youth participate in the negotiation of identity and political discourse in Indonesia's post-Reform era (Jurriëns and Tapsell 2017; Lim 2012; Sen and Hill 2006), and examining young people's online language practices can provide a nuanced understanding of how they do this (Birnie-Smith 2016; Manns and Musgrave 2016). We include data from Kaskus, a social networking site created by a group of Indonesian university students in 1999. In 2015, Kaskus was the largest Indonesian online community and Indonesia's third most popular social networking site (after Facebook and YouTube) (Alexa 2016). Kaskus operates as an online selling and review platform, not unlike eBay or Amazon; however, its function is actually much broader and includes a number of discussion boards in

which members raise a range of social, political, and personal issues. Like young Indonesians in Bandung and Malang, Kaskus members (known as "Kaskusers") use primarily colloquial Indonesian, and incorporate elements from local and foreign languages. And while identity can be a deceptive notion in the web (Jones 2004), the language used on Kaskus nevertheless bears the hallmarks of youth style in its heterogeneity and topics of concern to young people. Our data are taken from two discussion topics, Ask da Boys and Ask da Girls. In these topics, members post messages asking for, as well as offering, advice on relationships. A thread starts with a Kaskus user posting a question about a relationship issue and other members subsequently responding to it, with their responses often leading to lively discussions about norms and ideals in relationships.

We also examine two types of popular print media aimed at youth audiences. Fictional texts provide a valuable source for investigating ways in which youth styles are typified. As Agha (2007: 151) points out, literary representations are a form of metadiscursive genre in which typification of language use can be observed. We include data from Teenlit and comics to show how youth style is typified through representations that show creative exploitation of linguistic, graphic, and spatial resources. Fictional texts, whether Teenlit novels or youth comics, are the product of the author's imagination; nevertheless, authors do not work in isolation when producing their work but are intertextually linked to speakers and language use in real life. Fiction authors are exposed to youth styles through their own experiences as youth speakers, interaction with other youth, and exposure to media of all forms. Their work, in turn, is interpreted and responded to by youth audience (e.g., reviews and discussions in book forums, face-to-face book discussions), and their linguistic styles emulated, questioned, or shunned. In this sense, style is a multi-directional relationship between young people whose interactional styles are picked up and appropriated by authors, and authors whose works are responded to and re-circulated by youth. These become key sites in which various youth identities are recontextualised.

"Teenlit" is the name used in Indonesia for a genre of adolescent fiction introduced to the Indonesian audience in the late 1990s through translation of English language novels, predominantly from the US. Indonesian language Teenlit novels were introduced in the early 2000s and achieved an overnight market success. These are novels written by young Indonesian authors and aimed primarily at an Indonesian audience. While youth novels were not new to the Indonesian audience, this particular genre was. Many youth novels published during the 1970s through to the 1990s focused on male protagonists. Teenlit is different from its predecessors in that the protagonists are invariably girls (Djenar 2012). Thus, although major publishers have insisted that the target audience for the genre is not limited to girls, adolescent girls are particularly attracted to it because the

stories reflect their interests and concerns (Simamora 2005). By 2005, Teenlit novels were the highest selling fiction genre in Indonesia, yet it has also attracted criticism from those who disapproved of its heavy use of colloquial Indonesian and urban-focused themes. Our data for this fictional genre comprise 17 novels, published between 2001 and 2012, written by established as well as little known authors (see Data Sources under References). By "established writers" we mean those whose works are well regarded by the target audience, as evident from online book reviews (e.g., Goodreads), the number of times reprinted (which indicates market demand), and in some cases, adaptation to a film or television series. Little known authors may publish only one novel in the period under study, and their novel is not widely discussed in public forums. Taking the works by both kinds of authors into consideration is necessary to ensure that a wide range of writing styles is considered. Some of the novels were written when the authors were in their mid-teens (e.g., *Dealova* by Dyan Nuranindya, written when the author was 16 years old; *Eiffel I'm in Love* by Rachmania Arunita, written when she was 15 years old), while others are by writers in their twenties to early thirties. Our analysis is based on the first 3,000 words of each novel. We consider this amount of data to be sufficient for ensuring that enough narration and dialogues between different characters are represented.

Comics first began to appear in the Dutch East Indies in the early twentieth century, and after Indonesian Independence there have been waves of popularity with comics based on traditional shadow puppet theatre, international superheros and romances. In the 1990s Japanese manga, followed by comics from China and Korea, began to be translated into Indonesian and became an immediate hit with young readers. At the same time there was a significant drop in the popularity of locally produced Indonesian comics. However, not long after manga were introduced, readers began imitating them as a form of fan tribute. This stimulated a renewed interest in Indonesian comics and many of today's comic artists are these "readers turned artists" (Ahmad, Koyama and Hibino 2012). In the twenty-first century, Indonesian comics have enjoyed increased popularity. There is now a plethora of genres available and significantly, the numbers of female readers and female comic artists has risen to the point of parity with male readers and artists (Tirtaatmadja, Nurvinana and Zpalanzani 2012). Our data for youth comics are taken from 13 comic books published between 2009 and 2013. These are "slice of life" comics, that is, comics containing sketches that take a humorous look at youth lifestyles or contemporary Indonesian society more generally. Berman (2001) noted that throughout the period from independence to the turn of the century, Indonesian comic books (unlike newspaper cartoons) rarely, if ever, featured daily life settings or plot lines that readers could relate to their own lives. The growth of slice-of-life comics can thus be seen as a feature of twenty-first

century comic art in Indonesia. These usually appear as compilations of short comics, rather than as extended narratives. They are also often created by teams or studios rather than being attributed to single artists, a production arrangement that has become particularly important in the Indonesian market (Tirtaatmadja, Nurvinana and Zpalanzani 2012). Today such slice-of-life compilations are the primary genre found among Indonesian comics in larger bookstores (though still immensely outnumbered by Indonesian translations of Japanese manga).

1.7 Summary

Socio-political reforms and globalisation have had important implications for the way different languages and language varieties are valued. Colloquial Indonesian, previously dismissed as being "non-standard", has now been reappraised and valued as a kind of prestige variety. This is due in no small measure to educated middle class youth who use this variety and give it their own stamp by drawing from a range of resources including Jakartan Indonesian, ethno-local languages, as well as non-Indonesian languages, as part of their youthful identity. In order to explore the role of style and intersubjectivity in this process of identity construction, we will closely examine how certain linguistic resources are used in the four discourse types outlined above. Chapter 2 explores the range of person reference options available to young Indonesians and how these are used to index multiple social roles and identities. In Chapter 3 we examine interactional particles – a type of discourse marker – to demonstrate how they are used to manage perspective and common ground. Chapter 4 analyses how different styles of grammatical structure are deployed by speakers and writers for stylistic purposes. Chapter 5 investigates various rhetorical resources that speakers and writers use to present voice, underscoring the importance of framing in indexing positioning. Chapter 6 examines different ways young Indonesians play with language to render even the most ordinary interactions light-hearted and sociable. We then provide concluding remarks in Chapter 7, highlighting how the investigation of language use in multiple discourse types can provide a way of understanding the rich interconnection between macro-level discourse in society and micro-level interactional contexts in which young people are actively engaged with each other.

Our analysis incorporates insights from interactional linguistics, stylistics, and conversation analysis to understand how language resources are used to bring intersubjectivity to the fore. In this way, we hope to achieve three things. We seek to demonstrate the importance of intense sociability in the study of young people in interaction. We also show that approaching sociability through style

and intersubjectivity is a valuable avenue for understanding the centrality of language in youth practices. Finally, we investigate youth practices in a particular context, namely contemporary urban Indonesia, to show how style and intersubjectivity are embodied in the social actions of young people as they pursue sociability and how, by actively engaging with each other and society in this way, young people also contribute to social, linguistic and ideological change.

2 Referring to self and other

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we examine how young people in Indonesia make use of the many forms for person reference available to them and the multiple social indexicalities that these forms afford speakers for constructing styles and mediating intersubjectivity. In this way, we show how acts of person reference contribute to the ongoing process of intersubjective alignment in the four discourse types we examine here: conversation, Teenlit, comics and online interaction. Analysing first and second person reference in particular contributes to our understanding of intersubjectivity. Schegloff (1996b: 441) points out that speaker and addressee roles are the most common reference to person in interaction, and forms that refer to them are fundamentally linked to the wider extra-discourse context, unlike third person reference which primarily relies on discourse internal linkages. Additionally, in Indonesian person reference, the greatest variety of forms are found among first and second persons (Sneddon 2006: 58). For these reasons, our discussion will focus particularly on acts of self and addressee reference.

As discussed in Chapter 1, since the fall of the New Order regime in 1998, state control over what is deemed appropriate language has loosened greatly, giving rise to a sense of freedom to explore different ways of using linguistic signs to communicate both individual and collective goals and preferences. Among Indonesia's educated urban youth there is a growing awareness of and participation in larger social networks that link them with groups cutting across geographically conceived ethno-local identities (Boellstorf 2002) that might have held greater meaning for their parents' or grandparents' generations. These networks might include broadly conceived religious affiliations, most notably of Islam. Alternatively, orientations to national or transnational trends in popular or consumer culture can affect modes of person reference. At the same time, a reassertion of place-based identities, to either complement or resist national Indonesian identities, can also provide resources for intersubjective stance work through the use of local person reference forms. The different person reference forms that young people employ in interaction can simultaneously index ethno-local allegiances and various subject positions linked to supralocal influences.

Indonesian has an open pronominal system (Enfield 2007; Thomason and Everett 2001) meaning that there are multiple forms for referring to speaker and addressee and that new forms are relatively easily adopted by speakers for first and second person reference. These referring expressions can include personal pronouns and non-pronominal forms such as kin-based terms, titles, and personal

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names. As we will see below, incorporating pronouns and kin terms from regional and foreign languages augments the repertoire of person reference forms participants can draw upon. The wide range of referential forms available to Indonesian speakers has long been noted, and earlier accounts have suggested that choice of terms is primarily dependent on a speaker's demographic characteristics such as age, sex or first language (Kaswanti Purwo 1984), coupled with an awareness of speech event context (Kridalaksana 1974). More recently, researchers have begun to recognise that there is much more fluidity in the way Indonesian speakers deploy person reference. Sneddon (2006: 61), writing about Jakartan Indonesian, notes that speakers with similar backgrounds, and even a single speaker in a single speech event, will use widely different pronouns in a seemingly "random" manner. However, when examined more closely, motivations for pronominal choices begin to appear. Englebretson (2007) analyses pronouns as markers of stance, noting that for Indonesian speakers in Yogyakarta pronoun choice "is dynamic, takes place at the local level of discourse, and is used in stance-taking to index the speaker's construction and expression of identities" (2007: 78).

In this chapter, we show how young people utilise and extend this rich and fluid inventory of person reference forms to create intersubjective meaning and heightened sociablity – both at a micro level in moment-by-moment interaction and by indexing shared socio-cultural concerns that perdure across contexts. In the following we also show that recurring patterns of pronoun usage and the social semiotic valuations indexed by these patterns can be found across face-to-face conversation, social media and fictional discourse types, such as the Teenlit and comics we examine here, and that these align with ideologies articulated through metalinguistic commentary. This recurrence of signs and meanings across genres is important evidence for the typification of language (Agha 2007: 151–153) and provides evidence for the importance of these forms and their use in the construction of young Indonesian speakers' identities.

2.2 Person reference, multiple indexicalities and intersubjectivity

Deictic forms, including personal pronouns, point to something in the context and have been called "shifters" (Silverstein 1976: 24) because their meaning shifts from moment-of-use to moment-of-use. Such forms have also been called "duplex" (Jakobson 1971) or "double mode" signs (Silverstein 1976) as the same sign unites both referential meaning and pragmatic meaning. Thus, the personal pronouns *I* and *you* have the relatively fixed semantic referential meaning of 'speaker' and 'addressee' respectively. Pragmatically, the actual person referred to depends on

context of use in any given interaction. As the roles of speaker and addressee shift, so the actual referent of each term also shifts at each moment of use. Agha (2007: 278) calls this indexical quality of denoting speaker and addressee based on context of speaking "participant deixis" and this is a crucial feature of personal pronouns.

By using participant-deictic first and second pronouns, speakers are defining their roles as participants in interaction and are thus in effect bringing into existence the interactional speech context in which they are operating (Silverstein 1976). Scheibman (2002: 167) states that English first person forms are prototypically used in expressing speaker's point of view and are thus closely associated with the linguistic expression of subjectivity, that is, "expressing perceptions, feelings and opinions in discourse" (Scheibman 2002: 4). For Benveniste (1971: 224), first person subjectivity is not an inherent feature of the first person pronoun, but rather arises contrastively: 'I' identifies the speaker as subject relative to addressee 'you' with which it contrasts. As Agha points out, second person reference also has a contrastive feature: 'you' assigns the role of addressee vis-à-vis the speaker and, crucially, the act of using a second person pronoun "invariably indexes *some* social relation between speaker and addressee" (2007: 208, emphasis in original). Minimally this is the relationship of co-participants in the interaction, but as we will see there is also the potential for expressing more varied and wide-ranging social meanings than just this.

Agha (2007: 278) uses the term "social indexicality" for the indexical qualities of person reference which go beyond the referential properties of participant deixis. Prototypical examples of social indexicality are the highly-developed speech levels and honorific forms such as those found in Javanese, a language closely related to Indonesian. Javanese has several forms which all share the participant deictic function of referring to second person, but which have differing social indexical qualities. For example, *kowe* '2SG' is stereotypically categorised by speakers as belonging to the familiar register known as *ngoko*, used among close friends or to children. *Sampeyan* '2 SG' is associated with a middle register called *madya*, used to indicate a certain degree of politeness in less personally significant settings, such as service encounters. *Panjenengan* is considered a high form from the *krama* register, indicating deference to honoured second persons. These forms signal different social relations between speaker and addressee and thus make explicit the "sociological relations of personae in the speech situation" (Silverstein 1976: 34). These relations are situationally contingent; that is, choice of term is based on the consideration of the speaker's social status relative to a particular addressee and may also shift according to context of use. It is important to keep in mind that in actual face-to-face usage the social indexicality of person reference is rarely as clear-cut as such stereotypical labelling might suggest. Errington (1985) points out subtle shifts in meaning that these and other

Javanese second person forms have undergone in Central Java. As well as varying through time, the social indexical meanings of such forms can vary geographically, by class, and by other demographics. As Agha points out, use of such social indexicals can say as much about the speaker as about the relationship between speaker and addressee. "When the expression used belongs to a distinctive register of deixis, the usage is stereotypically typified, society internally, as indexing a relation to addressee (e.g., deference), and a characterological figure of speaker demeanour (e.g., refined/vulgar, upper/lower class, female/male)" (Agha 2007: 280). Thus in the case of Javanese, self-conscious use of a full range of pronouns can index one's position as a member of the urban elite or as having aspirations to be associated with such an elite, whereas pronoun usage not considered appropriate by those elite may be construed as indexing one's lower class or rural background.

The discussion of person reference among Indonesian youth in this chapter will primarily focus on social indexicality, how this manifests in language use and how it is utilised by speakers and writers in building common ground and bringing intersubjective understanding to the fore. There are a number of pathways towards social indexicality and indeed it is not uncommon to find multiple indexicalities evoked in any given act of person reference. Much of the literature on indexicality in socio-cultural approaches to the study of language identifies two important and complementary ways language can be indexical: on the one hand by pointing to semiotic resonances that extend through place and time and are recognised (even if differentially) throughout large sections of society, and on the other hand by pointing to local meanings which can be ephemeral and emerge at the moment of interaction. Both of these modes of indexicality contribute to the creation and maintenance of common ground and highlight for speakers that they share an understanding of the broad semiotic resonances at play in society, and that they are people who understand and can relate to each other in locally contingent moments of interaction.

Manning (2001) argues that indexicality should be conceptualised in terms of a continuum, moving from concrete and spatially based indexicality, through a middle ground of socio-spatially based indexicality, to purely social indexicality. Thus, in addition to situational deixis, which is anchored in the immediate situation, there are also indexical relations that transcend situational contingencies. These relations are evidenced in an "empirically observable, differentially encoded, and typologically identifiable variety of deixis that depends not so much on emergent relations of context (as with situational deixis) but on ... perduring social relations" (Manning 2001: 63). They are "constant, stable, social relations shot through with idealization and grasped with typification, but nevertheless founded on a real indexical basis" (Manning 2001: 63). Social deixis is

thus doubly-grounded: in the immediate situation as well as in perduring cultural concepts. The relation between situational and perduring meanings is necessarily bi-directional: perduring meanings arise from recurrent linking between form and meaning in interaction; conversely, recurrent linking between a certain form and a particular situational meaning may become pragmatically salient such that over time that meaning becomes relatively stable and can be applied across contexts. An example of perduring social deixis, which will be discussed in more detail below, is the indexicality of first and second pronouns *gue* and *lo* (and their variants). These forms are commonly used in Jakartan Indonesian and for many people in Jakarta, they are the default personal pronouns of informal everyday interaction. This perduring association with the Indonesian capital is thus invoked when speakers from other parts of Indonesia encounter or use these forms.

At the same time, the relation between linguistic signs and interactionally meaningful social identities is often also indirect. This is an important insight from Elinor Ochs's (1992) study of language and gender, in which she shows that linguistic expressions do not directly index gender. Rather, our understanding of gender is mediated by stances, such as assertiveness and submission, and by language which directly indexes such stances and which over time is understood to indirectly index gendered subjectivities stereotypically associated with such stances within society. In the case of Jakartan *gue* '1SG', it directly indexes the speaker role in interaction – in Silverstein's (1976) terms, its referential or semantic value. *Gue* also indexes the perduring social association with Jakarta, which then indirectly indexes stances and subject positions stereotypically associated with the inhabitants of the capital, such as assertiveness or coolness.

According to Ochs (1992), stances, as indirect indices, may also acquire a connection to something else. Thus, when a speaker uses *gue* to enact a stance in interaction, they may be linking it to the typified Jakartan identity (e.g., toughness) and may also use it to accomplish specific interactional goals (e.g., winning an argument). Kiesling (2004, 2009) refers to these two kinds of indirect indexical relations as exterior and interior indexicality. Exterior indexicality is grounded in shared meaning "that is transportable from one speech event to another, and connects to social contexts that perdure from one speech event to another, or at least change very slowly" (Kiesling 2009: 177), like the perduring social indexicalities discussed by Manning (2001). Interior indexicality points to situation-based indexical relations which convey "indexical meaning created within, and particular to, the speech event" (Kiesling 2009: 177).

We are concerned with how intersubjectivity is observable in the language used by young people to build and maintain common ground. In the remainder of this chapter we investigate how these young speakers utilise the plethora of person

reference forms at their disposal. Person referring expressions, as discussed above, are particularly rich in the externally indexed, perduring meanings that they can bring to interaction, and also the range of ways these perduring meanings can be deployed to create internally indexed, emergent meanings for speakers. Accessing shared understanding of the social semiotics of person reference and mutually appreciating the creative use of these semiotic resources in interaction establishes and maintains common ground between participants. These person reference forms are thus key elements in understanding the expression of intersubjective awareness between speakers of Indonesian. We look first at the contrasts between public and private selves indexed by person reference forms associated with standard Indonesian. We then look at how young people outside Jakarta can utilise informal forms associated with the national capital to construct a variety of different stances. We then examine ethno-locally based identities as they are expressed through use of pronominal forms that are stereotypically associated with certain language varieties, such as Jakartan Indonesian, Sundanese or Javanese. Examination of non-pronominal forms also includes ethno-local practices and introduces the importance of vocative uses of person terms in addition to their referential functions. We finally move out from ethno-locally informed usage to examine how young people tap into the semiotic opportunities afforded by accessing supra-local and even supra-national identities associated with modernity – in particular contemporary Muslim identities and interactions in cyberspace.

2.3 Indexing private and public selves

Young speakers of Indonesian make use of a wide range of person reference forms, including pronominal and non-pronominal forms. Pronouns include those stereotypically associated with both standard and colloquial varieties of Indonesian, as well as pronouns that are associated with other languages – both regional and international – that inform the speech of Indonesian youth. Non-pronominal forms include personal names, kin terms, titles derived from social roles, or combinations of these. Again, many of these terms may be considered part of the national language while others have regional connotations. In this section, we focus specifically on the first and second person pronouns most closely associated with standard Indonesian, looking at ways that young people manipulate the register differences among these various forms.

The inventory of personal pronouns associated with standard Indonesian is shown in Table 2.1. Many of these pronouns are regularly used by young people, while others are more restricted to formal contexts particularly suited to fully

Table 2.1: Personal pronouns in standard Indonesian.

Person	Singular	Plural
First	*saya*, *aku*[a]	*kami* (exclusive), *kita* (inclusive)
Second	*kamu, anda, engkau, kau*	*kalian*
Third	*dia, ia, beliau*	*mereka*

[a] In addition to these, the short forms -*ku* (from *aku* 'I') and -*mu* (from *kamu* 'you') are used in possessive constructions. *Kau* is included in this list as a full form although it derives from *engkau*. Unlike the possessive forms -*ku* and -*mu* which are bound pronouns, *kau* is a free form.

standard usage. The default first person pronoun in more standard contexts is *saya*, which actually derives from Sanskrit *sahāya* 'assistant, follower, servant'. In standard usage, the inherited Austronesian form *aku* is generally limited to literary uses or very intimate contexts. Among second person reference forms *engkau* and *kau* are inherited Austronesian forms, which mainly occur in written texts (particularly literary and religious texts) and pop songs (although in some parts of Indonesia such as North Sumatra *kau* is also used in informal spoken exchanges). *Kamu* is also an Austronesian form and is usually used between intimates or to young children. There are no pronominal forms in Indonesian that explicitly index deference towards addressee. Such deference can only be indicated by non-pronominal forms discussed later in the chapter. The second person singular *anda* is a term coined in the 1950s and intended to be status-neutral. However, in contemporary Indonesian, this pronoun is mainly used to index social distance and occurs primarily in formal, non-personal contexts such as lectures, advertisements, and television broadcasts. Indeed, there are no truly "neutral" forms for either first or second person reference in Indonesian. The form chosen to express reference to self or other always implies some degree of attention to social relations and context of speech. The first person plural forms *kami* and *kita* are distinguished in terms of an exclusive-inclusive contrast, although in contemporary usage, this distinction is often not maintained. In addition to first person inclusive plural, *kita* can also be used in exclusive and generic contexts and can have a range of other meanings, while *kami* can index formality and distance rather than simply exclusive plural (Ewing 2005). The second person plural *kalian* is rather informal. The third person singular forms *dia* and *ia* are distinguished syntactically. *Ia* can only occur in subject position, whereas *dia* can occur either in subject or object position. *Beliau* is an honorific term for third person. Like *ia*, it rarely occurs in informal youth conversation. As our focus is with speaker and addressee roles, the ensuing discussion is mainly concerned with the first and second person forms.

Complex patterns emerge in how young speakers of Indonesian use first and second person reference. Looking at *saya* and *aku*, first person pronouns generally accepted as part of the standard Indonesian repertoire, we see in the data examined here that many young people use *aku* as their default first person. This is particularly true for those who come from areas outside of the capital Jakarta (the forms associated with Jakarta, *gua* and *lu*, will be discussed below). *Aku* is used among friends and is also used more broadly in informal contexts among people who have first met. Increasingly – and to the consternation of older speakers – young speakers often use *aku* even towards adults in positions of power, such as lecturers and parents. *Saya* or *aku* 'I' and *kamu* 'you' are the preferred forms among speakers in our corpus who are not from Jakarta, that is, in the data from Bandung and Malang. This is consistent with other findings, including Englebretson (2007) for young people in Yogyakarta, and Ewing (2005) for informal speech among Indonesians from mixed backgrounds when speaking to each other. Example (2) illustrates reciprocal use of *aku* as the default form of self-reference for two young women, close friends of Sundanese background, who are chatting and commenting on their activities as they play with their mobile devices, downloading apps and so forth. They also regularly use *kamu* for addressee reference (line 1).

(2) Bandung: K-Pop

1	FEBRI:	***Kamu*** *tadi yang mana?*
		Which one did **you** (get) before?
2		***aku*** *pengen yang ada* <u>*Beautiful*</u> <u>*Plus*</u>.
		I want the one with Beautiful Plus.
3		... (3.1)
4		*Ini yang tadi bukan?*
		This is the one from before right?
5	DINDA:	*Iya itu* ***aku****.*
		Yeah that's the one **I** (got).
6		... *Eh itu* ***aku****.*
		uh that's the one **I** (got).
7		*Ya* ***aku*** <u>*download*</u> *itu.*
		Yeah **I** downloaded that.
8	FEBRI:	... *Bagus gak?*
		Is (it) any good or not?
9	DINDA:	... *Bagus tuh.*
		It's good.

The use of *saya* is illustrated in (3). Asmita, of Sundanese background, appears in several of our recordings speaking to her friends, where she regularly refers to

herself with *aku*. In "Just Met" she has been working on her computer in a public space on campus. Fakri, originally from Makassar but living in Bandung for five years, is a stranger who sits down near her to work and they start up a conversation.

(3) Bandung: Just Met

1	ASMITA:	*Kalau butuh internet,*
		if (you) need the internet,
2		*gak apa-apa.*
		it doesn't matter,
3		... *E = h,*
		uh,
4		***saya*** *yang nge-log-,*
		I'll log-,
5		... *logou = t,*
		logout
6	FAKRI:	*Oh gak* [*apa-apa*]?
		Oh it doesn't matter?
7	ASMITA:	[*Jadi pake*] *ID* ***saya,***
		So use **my** ID,
8		*gak apa-apa.*
		it doesn't matter.
9	FAKRI:	*Udah selesai?*
		(you) are already finished?
		[During 72 lines of further discussion, Asmita succeeds in logging Fakri onto the internet. A 1.5-minute break in conversation then follows before Asmita speaks again]
82	ASMITA:	*Dari jurusan mana* <u>*mas*</u>?
		What department are (you) from *mas*?
83	FAKRI:	... *Kalau* ***saya,***
		... as for **me,**
84		... *lingkungan* <u>*mbak.*</u>
		environment *mbak.*[1]

Here both speakers use *saya* rather than *aku* to refer to self. (*Mas* 'older brother' and *mbak* 'older sister', used as vocatives here, will be discussed further below.)

1 Kinship terms used as titles and vocatives, such as *mbak* 'older sister' here, are usually not translated in free translation line. A list of common address terms appearing in the data, with translations, is provided after the list of glosses and transcription conventions.

For many older speakers, *saya* is simply the most appropriate form to use conversationally except in some cases of very close intimacy. For many younger speakers like Asmita, *aku* is the default for most interaction with people she knows, even if she is not overly intimate with them. *Saya* thus contrasts with the familiarity of *aku* and can evoke various social indexicalities including distance, formality or deference. This would in part have to do with the association of *saya* with more standard styles of Indonesian usage linked to the language of education and government. In (3) *saya* indexes the co-participants' status as having just met and, crucially, not (yet) having any social connection. That is, they were not introduced by a mutual friend nor are they participating in some planned joint activity that has brought them together. Rather, with no prior connections they are aware of, they have ended up together in the same public space and have begun to chat. From a base of no social connection, they are working together to construct a relationship (albeit one that will likely be ephemeral) and it is this sense of social distance that is indexed by the use of *saya*. However, use of *saya* should not be taken as necessarily indicating the use of a more formal register. Several linguistic resources are deployed that signal this as an informal interaction, including use of *gak* 'NEG' rather than standard *tidak*, the *nge-* prefix on *nge-log*(*out*) rather than *melogout* and *udah* 'PERF' rather than standard *sudah*. Thus, these young people can evoke friendliness and casualness through the use of informal language and at the same time signal a certain amount of social distance through the reciprocal use of *saya* for first person reference.

Examples (2) and (3) have illustrated consistent and reciprocal uses of *aku* and *saya* and thus the perduring indexicalities associated with these forms: familiarity or intimacy in the case of *aku* and public personae and social distance in the case *saya*. Manns (2011, 2012) shows that *saya* is also associated with adult, as opposed to young, speakers. Young speakers can also tap into these perduring indexicalities and shift pronominal usage to produce localised, often stylised effects. Key to these effects is the fact that using a referential form other than the default will alert interlocutors that some special attention is warranted. According to Sacks and Schegloff (1979) this would be something special beyond simply referring, and that with the default form "nothing but referring is being done" (Schegloff 1996b: 439). But as we have pointed out above, there are in fact no neutral forms of first and second person reference in Indonesian and we agree with Enfield (2007) that, while default forms may not be doing anything "special", their use can still have real social significance beyond simply referring. The next two examples illustrate shifts in stance that can be produced by moving between *aku* and *saya*. These demonstrate that there are social implications with whatever form is used and intersubjective (re)alignment can be achieved with both default and marked forms.

Example (4) is from a conversation among Malang youth on the topic of dating. Here Keto is telling other participants about his take on girls, dating, and his strategy for choosing the right girl to marry.

(4) Malang: Moral Dilemma

1	KETO:	*Jadi.*
		So.
2		*... Alhamdulillah hampir semua temen cewek**ku** tuh.*
		Thank God almost all **my** female friends,
3		*... Kayak tadi **tak** ceritain ke kamu tadi Tur.*
		Like what **I** told you before Tur.
4		*Jadi.*
		So.
5		*... **Aku** bisa balance di depannya dia.*
		I can be balanced in front of her.
6		*Ya gitu.*
		It's like that.
7		*Banyak-banyakin dulu temen cewek.*
		(I should) increase the number of female friends,
8		*Jadi nanti tuh biar,*
		So that later on,
9		*o=h ... cewek kayak gini,*
		(I understand) oh girls who are like this,
10		*kayak gini.*
		are like this.
11		*... Cewek kayak gitu.*
		Girls like that,
12		*kayak gitu.*
		are like that.
13		*Jadi ntar tahu.*
		So (I) will know later on,
14		*O=h pilihannya yang pas tuh kayak gini.*
		Oh the best choice is like this.
15	CANDRA:	@.
16	KETO:	*Gitu=.*
		See.
17	CANDRA:	<@ *Sok buanget* @>.
		Such a know-it-all.
18	KETO:	@ *Ya dewasa lah.*
		Quite mature,

19 ... ***Saya*** *dewasa ya.*
I'm quite mature.
20 HENNY: ***Aku****,*
I'm,
21 *me=nutupi kuping***ku** *agar tidak tercemar.*
covering **my** ears so they won't get polluted.
22 CANDRA: [@@@].
23 KETO: [***Saya*** *dewasa*].
I'm mature.
24 *Pikiran ... pikiran* ***saya*** *tuh dewasa.*
My thinking is quite mature.
25 *Jadi ya.*
So yeah.
26 ... *Alhamdullilah* ***saya*** *dikaruniai,*
Think God **I**'m blessed,
27 ... *otak yang,*
with a brain that,
28 ... *nggak pinter sih* [*nggak pinter*].
is reasonable.
29 CANDRA: [<@ *Ini kok*] *memuji* [*diri sendiri sih.*
(I) can't believe (you're) praising yourself.
30 KETO: [@@].
31 CANDRA: *Narsis bua=nget* @>].
(You're) really narcissistic.
[Henny and Candra continue to tease Keto for several more lines.]
40 KETO: ... ***Aku*** *langsung pedes rek.*
I'm feeling hurt *rek.*

Young speakers who routinely use *aku* will move to using *saya* in public situations such as calling into talk-back radio (Englebretson 2007) or when speaking in contexts construed as interviews (Manns 2011). Speakers will also manipulate this contrast in the same interaction in order to construct social distance or formality at particular points in the discourse, as Keto does here. Keto has been using *aku* and its enclitic variant *-ku*, as well as the passive form *tak*[2] to refer to himself

2 *Tak* indicates first person agent of a passive clause. It is derived from Javanese, but can occur in informal Indonesian. Its social indexicalities are similar to *aku*, although it is more strongly associated with speakers of Javanese background than *aku* is.

when he is describing the actions he takes in getting to know many different girls in order to understand what kind of girl he would like to marry. When Chandra laughs and teases him (line 17), Keto responds that he takes this strategy because he is a mature person (18–19). At this point Keto switches from *aku* and related forms to *saya*. With this switch, Keto also shifts to a more performative stance. The use of *saya* evokes a public persona, the kind of authority such a persona can imply and, by extension, a certain style of mature, adult speech. Keto is thus able to perform maturity through the use of "proper" standard Indonesian, at exactly the moment he explicitly claims that he is a mature person.

We can see that Keto's co-participants are keenly aware of this performative shift. In lines 20–21, Henny laughingly says she needs to cover her ears. She in fact continues to use *aku* for self-reference, thus highlighting that the overall informality of the situation and the relationship that holds between herself and Keto have not actually changed. It is Keto's own exaggerated performance of claiming a kind of objectivity by use of a public voice, that causes Henny to complain about what he is saying. Keto continues along this line, and in line 29 Candra criticises Keto for praising himself. Candra's use of *ini* 'this' in line 29 is ambiguous. It could be read as referring to Keto, more generally to the situation as a whole, or indeed as referring to both the actor (Keto) and the action (his public soliloquising) simultaneously. Keto's own laughter in line 30 suggests that he recognises that the other participants are aware of his performance and, after several more lines of teasing by his female interlocutors, Keto then retreats back to his default use of *aku*. This occurs exactly at the point where he is no longer trying to present an objective rational justification for his actions, but is now complaining (jokingly) from a personal, subjective position that he is being hurt by the cutting comments the women are making. These locally performed shifts in stance are linked by way of exterior indexicality to public formality and associated with this is the kind of "interview" speech identified by Englebretson (2007) and Manns (2011). The shifts Keto makes in first person pronoun use are not simply his subjective presentation of self-image. Rather they follow a close intersubjective alignment with his co-participants. While he begins presenting his "woman strategy" with a default familiar stance, the teasing he experiences prompts him to jokingly take on a faux subjective stance to justify his actions. This "adult" persona in fact just increases the teasing, and Keto then takes a different approach, returning to a personal style of presentation to let his co-participants know (again jokingly) how their comments have hurt him.

The contrast between *saya* of the public self and *aku* of the private self is exploited for humorous effect in the comic reproduced in Figure 2.1 and translated in (5). The reporter uses standard *saya* to refer to herself in panels 1 and 2, which, as discussed above, befits a broadcast interview situation. Rather than acknowledging this interview schema through reciprocal use of *saya*, the passenger being

Figure 2.1: Contrasting public *saya* and private *aku* (Bijak 2011: 96)

interviewed personalises the event with private *aku* in panels 3 and 4. As well as using *aku*, the passenger grabs the microphone and speaks directly to a growing list of family members, at the same time the other passengers crowd in to perform for the camera. This clustering of semiotic elements thereby derails the tone of the interview. The humour of the comic, encapsulated in the reporter's exasperation in the last panel, derives from the contrast between her expectations for an interview (consistent with *saya*) and the passenger's hijacking of the event for his own personal purposes (consistent with *aku*).

(5) *Mudik* 'Home for the Holidays'

1	REPORTER:	Viewers ... A live report on this year's flood of people returning home for the holidays with **me** (***saya***) Yohanna, Metrol TV.
2	REPORTER:	With **me** (***saya***) is ... what's your name?
3	PASSENGER:	**I** (***aku***) am Bejo!! Hello to dad ... mum ... YOUR SON IS COMING HOME!!
4	PASSENGER:	To Surti, wait for **me** (***aku***)! To Uncle, Sumi, Grandpa Marijan ...
	REPORTER:	Uh ... viewers ...

2.4 Ethno-local indexicality

2.4.1 *Gua* and *lu*

The pronouns *gua* '1SG' and *lu* '2SG' are important elements in the informal style of Indonesian that informs much of youth language. This is not to say that all young people use them. Indeed, as we will see, many young people have a strong aversion to these pronouns. But they are ubiquitous in contemporary Indonesian pop media and their use has spread beyond the capital Jakarta, with which they are associated. This means that many young speakers have very strong opinions about these pronouns and what it means to use them. *Gua* and *lu*, with several variants such as *gue* and *lo, elu* or *elo*, derive from Hokkien Chinese. These forms were introduced into the Malay spoken by Chinese immigrants to Batavia, the colonial capital of the Dutch East Indies which would become the Indonesian capital Jakarta after independence. These Chinese communities developed in size and influence during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and accounted for at least a quarter of the population of Batavia in 1812 (Milone 1966: 190). Through extensive economic and social interactions between Chinese and local populations, *gua* and *lu* entered into Betawi Malay, the language spoken locally in Batavia (Ikranagara 1975a; Tadmor 2007). In modern Jakarta, Betawi Malay is only spoken among the fairly small population who identify as Betawi – the people now considered the indigenous inhabitants of Jakarta – yet it has had a very strong influence on the colloquial Jakartan Indonesian currently spoken in the capital. Today *gua* and *lu* and their variants are the most common informal pronouns for Indonesian speakers living in the national capital. Indeed, as will be shown below, this association with Jakarta is one of the key perduring social semiotics of *gua* and *lu* which informs their use by speakers in other parts of the country. In this section, we first provide examples of pronoun usages of Jakartan speakers as presented in Teenlit, including *gua*/*lu* and contrasts with *saya* and *aku*/*kamu*. This is followed by discussion of *gua*/*lu* outside Jakarta, including metasemiotic insights that speakers have provided concerning their feelings about the use and meaning of these forms, together with examples illustrating the use of *gua* and *lu* in contrast with other forms.

2.4.1.1 *Gua* and *lu* in Jakarta

Gua and *lu* are essentially the default personal pronouns for informal interaction among young people living in the nation's capital (Sneddon 2006: 59), yet like other Jakartans, and Indonesians more generally, these young people also employ a range of other person reference forms. Some of this variation and its

motivations can be seen in how Teenlit authors use pronouns in their novels. Of course, fiction is the product of an author's imagination and so the language of fiction is essentially the language of the author. Nonetheless, an author generally writes within a particular genre and so the style that is adopted will also be reflective of that genre. In the case of the Teenlit genre in Indonesian, the colloquial style in which these novels are written reflects the fact that the target audience is adolescents and that authors are appealing to that audience through their choice of language (Djenar 2012). Choices authors make in pronoun usage can provide an important form of evidence for their awareness of the perduring and situational indexicalities of these forms, and how these indexicalities can be used to highlight changes and maintenance of intersubjective relationships between characters.

The default status of *gua*/*lu* is demonstrated by the novel *Dealova* (Nuranindya 2004), in which the siblings Iraz and Kara regularly use these pronouns with each other. In Paragraph 1 of (6) Iraz uses *gua* when speaking to his sister Karra (the protagonist) and Kara reciprocates with *gue* and *lo*, as seen in Paragraph 2.

(6) *Dealova* (Nuranindya 2004: 13)

1 *"Hehehehe... Nanti temen-temen* ***gua*** *pada mau ke sini. Biasa, pada mau ngeband," ucap Iraz. Teman-teman Iraz memang sering datang ke rumah, tetapi selama ini mereka belum pernah sekali pun bertemu Karra lantaran cewek itu selalu berada di kamarnya.*

2 *"****Lo*** *mau bawa satu kampus ke sini juga* ***gue*** *nggak peduli. Yang jelas, jangan rese, ya. Awas* ***lo****!" ancamnya.*

1 "Hahahaha... **My** friends are coming over later. Usual story, they want to have band practice here," said Irza. Iraz's friends did often come to the house, but in all this time they had never met Karra because she always stayed in her room.

2 "**You** want to bring the entire campus home, **I** don't care. The important thing is, don't be annoying. **You** just watch it!" she warned him.

As discussed previously, for speakers with Sundanese and Javanese backgrounds use of standard Indonesian *saya* '1SG' can be indexical of a public stance, and this also holds true for how *saya* is used among young Jakartan characters in Teenlit. In example (7) the pronoun *saya* is similarly used to index a public performance when Davi, the male protagonist of the Teenlit novel *Fairish* (Kinasih 2004),

uses it to introduce himself to his new classmates shortly after arriving at a new school.

(7) *Fairish* (Kinasih 2004: 7)

1 *“**Nama saya** Davidio Daniel Dharmawan. Tapi cukup panggil David **saja**, atau Davi,” ucapnya. Tegas tapi dingin. Dan sama sekali tanpa senyum. Sedikit pun!*

1 “**My name** is Davidio Daniel Dharmawan. But **just** call me David, or Davi,” he said. Firm but cold. And completely without smiling. Not even a little bit!

Here Davi’s introduction is highly performative of a public self. First, he provides all versions of his name beginning with the full version and moving to two short versions. This supply of detailed information injects a dramatic tone to the introduction. He also opts for the full introductory formula *nama saya* X ‘my name is X’ when the slightly less formal *saya* X ‘I am X’ is no less acceptable. Second, he uses the standard form *saja* ‘just’ rather than the colloquial equivalent *aja*. The impersonal and thus public quality of Davi’s delivery is also explicitly highlighted by the author’s description of Davi: “Firm but cold. And completely without smiling. Not even a little bit!”. By using *saya*, Davi presents himself with a polite (even aloof) public persona. As soon as the requirement for this public performance ceases, he shifts to a colloquial style of speaking, as shown in (8). This occurs when Davi, immediately after introducing himself, makes his way to sit next to Fairish, the girl protagonist. Fairish informs him that the seat is already taken. However, Davi responds that he does not mind sitting with two other people. Here Davi uses *gue* to refer to himself, though this is the first time he speaks to Fairish.

(8) *Fairish* (Kinasih 2004: 9)

1 *“Silakan,” jawab Davi tenang. “**Gue** nggak keberatan duduk bertiga.”*

1 “No problem,” David replied calmly. “**I** don’t mind if the three of us sit together.”

The contrast between public *saya* and personal *gue* is not simply a contrast between two different roles Davi assumes. By using *gue,* Davi claims for himself a position as a member of the group, presupposing acceptance by others. He asserts rather than negotiates intersubjective alignment and thus creates a shift in social status from newcomer to member of the group.

2.4.1.2 Romantic stance

Among the 17 Teenlit novels we examined, 11 are set in Jakarta. A broad pattern is evident among these: while *gua* and *lu* (and their variants) are the default first and second person forms for interaction between friends and same-generation family members, when a romantic relationship develops, *aku* and *kamu* become the pronouns of choice (also noted in Djenar 2015). Icha is the protagonist of *Online Addicted*, which traces her preoccupation with Facebook. Icha and her friends live in Jakarta and so routinely exchange Jakartan personal pronouns, as seen in example (9), where Icha and her close female friend Sasa chat and exchange the variants *gue* and *lo*. In contrast, when Icha talks with Edo, her boyfriend, they exchange *aku* and *kamu*, illustrated in (10).

(9) *Online Addicted* (Tjiunata 2011: 12)

1 *"**Lo** kok nggak dengerin **gue** sih?" Sasa pasang tampang manyun.*
2 *"Paling **lo** mau cerita soal Reza lagi. **Lo** sih, beraninya cuma ngeliatin doang. Sapa dia dong!" balas Icha.*

1 "Why aren't **you** listening to **me**?" Sasa pouted.
2 "Coz **you** probably want to talk about Reza again. That's **you** though, (you) only dare to look at him. Why not say hello!" replied Icha.

(10) *Online Addicted* (Tjiunata 2011: 16)

1 *"Besok sore **kamu** ada acara?" tanya Edo begitu mereka sudah memesan makanan dan duduk di kantin.*
2 *"Biasa deh, **aku** di Cakelicious sampai kira-kira jam empat. Habis itu sih nggak ada apa-apa lagi. Kenapa?" tanya Icha.*

1 "Do **you** have any plans for tomorrow afternoon?" Edo asked after they ordered food and both sat down in the canteen.
2 "Just the usual thing, **I**'m at Cakelicious until about four. After that nothing planned. Why?" asked Icha.

As represented in Teenlit and other media aimed at young people, such as teen romantic films, the switch between *gua*/*lu* and *aku*/*kamu* is not simply the result of a change in relationship between two people. As shown by Djenar (2006), the indexical association between pronoun choice and interpersonal relationship is more complex. In the film *Ada Apa Dengan Cinta* ('What's Up With Love?'), when the female protagonist, Cinta (whose name means 'love', thus setting up a play on words in the film title), addresses her erstwhile nemesis Rangga with *kamu* instead of *lu*, this signals to Rangga a shift in her attitude toward him and thus the beginning of their romantic relationship. But rather than simply

Figure 2.2: Indexing the romantic with *aku* and *kamu* (Seven Artland Studio 2011: 16)

both switching to more intimate pronouns, their use of *gua/lu* and *aku/kamu* modulates through the course of the film: when conflict arises, they return to *gua/lu* and when the conflict is resolved they once again shift to *aku/kamu*. The romantic implications of *aku/kamu* in the Jakarta context were also noted by Sneddon (2006: 60) and are consistent with results from focus groups we ran with young people in Bandung. One female focus-group participant who originated from Jakarta said that because she associates *aku/kamu* with intimacy, she feels uncomfortable using *aku* with male interlocutors in Bandung, even though she is aware that *aku* is commonly used among friends there, with no romantic connotations.

The romantic implications of *aku* and *gue* may be used for comedic effect as seen in Figure 2.2, translated in (11). Here the protagonist appears to be in the middle of a heated altercation with her boyfriend and threatens to break up with him – or so thinks her eavesdropping friend and, by extension, the reader.

(11) Diet & Beauty | It's all because of you!

1	WOMAN:	What do you want? **I** (***aku***) don't like **you** (***kamu***) anymore!
	FRIEND:	who's she talking to?
2	WOMAN:	It'd be better if **you** (***kamu***) go and don't come back again! **You** (***kamu***) make life hell for people in this house.
	FRIEND:	they're splitting up? good! good!
3	WOMAN:	All my struggles are for nothing, just because you taste too good.
	FRIEND:	HUH ~ ?!

4 Woman: There'll be no forgiveness for **you** (***-mu***) next time. Just this once **I** (***gue***) am going to eat you right now.
Friend: what a lunatic ...
- - - - - - - - -

In panel 1 the woman refers to herself with *aku* and to her interlocutor with *kamu*, indicating the romantic nature of the relationship. The woman continues to berate her unseen addressee (presumably her partner) in panels 2 and 3, where her speech continues to be displayed in traditional white speech bubbles as it was in panel 1. By the last panel, she has finally reached the end of her rope. Her speech bubble is now black and angular, indicating the combination of anger and despair that she feels. This emotional climax is also marked by a shift to *gue*. Use of *gue* can be seen to index a shift in the relationship to a point of heightened tension. It can also be read as simultaneously shifting the speaker's focus to self and her perspective where she expresses what she intends to do in that moment. And it is at this point that we the reader realise that she has been talking to a piece of cake, while the friend, who came to the same realisation in the previous panel, declares the protagonist crazy.

2.4.1.3 Metasemiotic awareness and othering

While *gua* and *lu* may be closely associated with colloquial Jakartan Indonesian, they are also familiar to Indonesians across the archipelago through television, film and other forms of mass media, and indeed are being used by more and more speakers outside Jakarta. Despite their increased presence across the country, these forms continue to have a strong perduring association with place. Jakarta – as the largest metropolitan area in Indonesia and the centre of government, media and economic activity for the nation – carries with it associations of modernity, opportunity and wealth, and with these also a sense of decadence and even arrogance. Language associated with Jakarta has the potential to evoke any of these qualities. Pronouns in particular are pragmatically salient in the sense that speakers are often explicitly aware of the social significance indexed by differences between pronouns as linguistic signs (Errington 1985; Woolard 2008). Pronouns are recognised by speakers as signs that mediate social relations and can thus become important loci for the construction of explicitly expressed language ideologies. During our research in Bandung and Malang, it was clear that speakers in these two urban settings drew a strong distinction between their own discursive practices when speaking informal Indonesian and the practices of speakers from Jakarta. Non-Jakartans often consider *gua* and *lu* to be coarse or

overly familiar and they tend to characterise speakers who are not from Jakarta but who nonetheless use these forms as arrogant or putting on airs. Similar findings have been reported from Yogyakarta (Englebretson 2007: 82) and Semarang (Tamtomo 2012: 16–20).

Avoidance of these forms and the disparagement of those who use them indicate both an allegiance to a (non-Jakartan) local identity and an act of "othering" those from elsewhere. Othering is a discursive process by which a group (or individual) is represented as different, thus creating an in-group – out-group boundary. While this representation of difference often carries a negative, pejorative evaluation of the other, it can also carry a positive assessment (Coupland 2010; Dervin 2015; Jaworski and Coupland 2005). We use the notion of othering to refer to two related phenomena as we examine the way young people perceive the collective style of speakers from another region as being significantly different from the style of speakers from their own region. The first phenomenon involves the ways in which young speakers reflexively talk about others' speech styles relative to their own. The second is the way in which speakers draw on others' styles for the purpose of self-styling. Thus, we see that although the other is perceived as linguistically different, there is recognition that their style can be accommodated, accessed, appropriated and even appreciated. In the following we provide examples that illustrate these two forms of othering: first explicit discussions of Jakartan style elicited during informal interview settings and focus groups, and second from examples of how young people who are not from Jakarta use Jakartan pronouns in acts of self-styling.

Pati, a participant in Manns's (2011) Malang study, illustrates how othering can be constructed through metalinguistic commentary. Malang youth predominantly use *aku* and *kamu* for self and addressee reference. Pati mentions that she would not use *gue* because she feels her tongue cannot pronounce this pronoun the way it should be pronounced. To her, *gue* is "closer, more intimate" (Manns 2011: 196–197), by which she means that the pronoun may not be appropriate for general use, similar to the characterisation in Ewing (2005) as being "too familiar".

(12) Malang: Pati/Metalanguage

1	PATI:	*Mungkin lu dipake tapi gue aneh sekarang.* Maybe *lu* can be used but *gue* is strange now.
2	HOWIE:	*Kenapa lu bisa dipakai tapi gue tidak?* Why can *lu* be used but not *gue*?
3	PATI:	*Mungkin gue lebih dekat, akrab.* Maybe *gue* is closer, more intimate.

However, Pati assigns different values to *gue* and *lu*. While she states that she would not use *gue* to refer to herself, she says she would use *lu* to accommodate to her addressee. Following Scheibman (2002: 63), who views first person singular as the prototypical site for expression of speaker point of view, and hence of subjectivity, we can understand Pati's reluctance to use *gue* as recognition that something higher is at stake in referring to oneself by using a form that "belongs" to someone else (in this case Jakartans). It is as if one identifies oneself as someone else. Using second person *lu*, by contrast, can be interpreted not so much as self-identification, but as an alignment, an empathetic gesture toward an addressee who uses Jakartan pronouns. Pati's othering is dual-faceted: there is an explicit expression of distancing from the other's (Jakartan) style via first person reference, but at the same time a willingness to accommodate to the other via second person reference.

Malang youth tend to lump Bandung speakers together with Jakartans and assume they also use *gua/lu* (Manns 2011: 137). Yet the conversational and focus group data show that this is in fact not the case. Young Indonesian speakers in Bandung are, like those in Malang, very conscious of the Jakartan association that *gua* and *lu* carry (Ewing 2016). During focus groups conducted in Bandung in 2014, participants generally self-identified as users of *aku/kamu* and the consensus was that use of *gua/lu* was not appropriate in Bandung. Use of the Jakarta pronouns was described as *angkuh* (haughty) and *sombong* (arrogant). Not surprisingly, focus group participants who were originally from Jakarta said that when in Jakarta they most often use *gua/lu*. For them *aku/kamu* could be seen either as distancing or, in specific contexts, as very intimate. As noted above, one female Jakartan participant said that because of this association with intimacy, even in Bandung she feels uncomfortable using *aku* with male interlocutors. Speakers from Bandung who do use *gua/lu* are perceived as *nggak menyatu* (not integrating with their friends) and it was pointed out several times that people should *menyesuaikan tempatnya* (adjust to the place where they are). One Bandung person reported that when he used *aku* in Jakarta he was told it was *kaku* (stiff, awkward) and he should use *gue*.

We have seen how *gue* and *lu* are used by Malang and Bandung youth as a means of othering people from outside these cities. There forms are also used for othering between groups within each of these cities as well. The participants in the Bandung focus groups were students from a national liberal arts university, a national education university and a private technical university. They all suggested that there was one community in Bandung who did actively use *gua/lu* – students from the national technical university. Students at that university were viewed stereotypically by those from other institutions as being particularly self-important and wanting to associate themselves with Jakarta, and this

accounts for their (perceived) use of *gua/lu*. Manns (2011) found similar localisation of *gua/lu* use in Malang, with students at a local state university linking use of these pronouns, and Jakartan Indonesian, to another university in the city, a national liberal arts university. Yet, at this national university, students linked use of *gua/lu*, and Jakartan Indonesian, to students in the economics faculty, a claim that some Malang students in economics rejected. What is interesting for us is not so much the degree to which one group of students actually does or does not use these pronouns, but rather the iconic way that these pronouns are used to express evaluations about others. It also points to the fractal recursivity (Irvine and Gal 2000) of othering that surrounds *gua* and *lu*. On the one hand, from the point of view of Malang, use of *gua/lu* takes on a scope broader than Jakarta and is seen to be within the purview of speakers throughout West Java. This, in turn, casts West Javanese speakers as easily seduced by the trendiness of nearby Jakarta, unlike young people from Malang who view themselves as maintaining a stronger sense of local identity. On the other hand, within Bandung, speakers who avoid *gua/lu* make fine-grained distinctions between themselves and other local communities who are perceived to regularly use *gua/lu*, and are thus associated with their semiotic indexicalities.

2.4.1.4 Bravado

The focus group participants from Bandung, similar to speakers from Malang, said that if they did use *gua/lu*, it would be to consciously achieve some kind of effect. It is clear that for speakers from Bandung and Malang – as also found in Yogyakarta (Englebretson 2007) and Semarang (Tamtomo 2012) – *gua* and *lu* maintain a perduring association with Jakartan identity and can thus indirectly index characteristics associated with Jakarta such as toughness, being outspoken or (possibly exaggerated or false) sophistication. Non-Jakartan speakers can exploit the semiotic resonances of the Betawi/Jakartan pronouns to achieve various effects, including humour and assertiveness. Examples of the comic effect achieved by using Jakartan pronouns are discussed in Chapter 6 on language play. Here we focus on how speakers deploy Jakartan pronouns to index a sense of assertiveness or bravado.

In example (13) Bayu describes *bakso* ‘meatball soup’ kiosks in one area of Bandung, claiming Balong Gede is the best. When he asks Asmita if she has tried it, Bayu uses Jakartan *lu* ‘2 SG’ combined with very blunt question structure. At this point in the conversation Bayu controls the direction of talk and his use of *lu* adds to the performativity of his question. When Bayu uses *kamu* in his next line, the shift corresponds with a shift from a personal reading of second person reference to a generic reading as he explains how to find Balong Gede. This continues

for several lines and includes three generic instances of *kamu*. As Bayu homes in on Balong Gede, his friends realise he is describing a kiosk known to sell pork (example (13) lines 30–32). These young people are Muslim and the friends begin to laugh at Bayu's ignorance. Bayu demands to know how they know it is pork, using *kamu* – no longer with a generic reading but as direct personal reference. Having been confronted with the possibility that he had eaten pork (and liked it), Bayu is on the defensive. His question in line 37 no longer has the bravado of his early question in line 2. In this context, he falls back on his default addressee reference term *kamu*. His dismay at the thought he might have eaten pork, and his attempt to deny this, mean he can no longer muster what it takes to achieve the stylising effects of deploying *lu*.

(13) Bandung: Cream Soup

1	BAYU:	.. *Yang paling enak tuh Balong Gede.*
		The best is Balong Gede.
2		... ***Lu*** *udah pernah nyobain belum?*
		Have **you** ever tried (it) yet or not?
3	ALMA:	*Apa?*
		What?
4	BAYU:	... *Jadi kalau misalnya* ***kamu*** *ke alun-alun=.*
		So if for example **you** go to the city square.
		[25 lines intervening]
30	ALMA:	*Itu kan babi Bayu.*
		That's pork Bayu.
31	ASMITA:	... <@ *Bayu tuh,*
		Bayu,
32		*babi=* [*makanannya* @>.
		eats pork. @
33	ALMA:	[@@@]
34	ASMITA:	@@@]
35	BAYU:	[[*Tahu dari mana* ***kamu***]]?
		Where do **you** know that from? (that Balong Gede *bakso* is pork).
36	ALMA:	[[@@@]]
37	ASMITA:	[[@]]
38		<@ *Iya beneran* @>.
		It's true. @
39	BAYU:	*Nggak=.*
		No.

In Bayu's deployment of *lu* and *kamu* we can see how indexical significance arises from the localised moments of interaction and how the quickly changing dynamics of conversation can mean equally quickly changing semiotic resonances of person reference, as he falls back on his default resources when put on the defensive. This can be read as reinforcing his core non-Jakartan – that is Bandung – identity, despite his frequent use of language associated with the capital. In this way we see the meaning of the pronouns arising from both the semiotic resonance of their perceived provenance in Jakarta and their moment-by-moment deployment by interlocutors.

2.4.2 Other ethno-local identities

Pronouns from a variety of ethno-local languages, in particular Sundanese and Javanese, are also used in the discourse types analysed here. In example (14), Bayu, Asmita and Alma, all from Bandung, are discussing their plans to sell cream soup as part of a project for a marketing class. In lines 1–2 Bayu calls out to a friend who is passing by, asking whether she would buy their soup if they go into business. Bayu primarily uses *aku/kamu* with the main interlocutors, but his call to Dian uses Jakartan *lu*. This evokes a strongly assertive stance, consistent with his use of Sundanese hortative *sok*, compressed grammatical structure, and blunt questioning style. After Dian answers that she cannot say because she does not know whether the soup is any good, Bayu further pushes her in lines 8–9 using Jakartan *gua* while reminding her that he has helped with her graphic design assignment. The (humorously) aggressive stance presented by Bayu is recognised by Alma in line 10, in which she laughingly says that Bayu is being threatening. By the time Dian responds line 19, she and Bayu are speaking almost entirely in Sundanese. Indeed, Dian uses coarse first person *aing* – usage that was almost exclusively associated with young men by focus group participants – saying she will be held responsible for the quality of Bayu's work. Bayu ignores this, making a self-deprecating response to Alma, softened by the familiar (rather than coarse) Sundanese *urang* in an otherwise entirely Indonesian clause. By the time the discussion has returned to the project at line 37, Bayu again uses *aku*. Throughout this example, the modulation between Indonesian and Sundanese incrementally builds and recedes as attention shifts between interlocutors, stances and topics.

(14) Bandung: Cream Soup

1 BAYU: … *Dian* ***gue*** *pangjualkeun,*
Dian if **I** go into business

2 *sok* ***lu*** *makan kagak?*
come on will **you** eat (some) or not?
(6 lines intervening)

8 BAYU: ***Gua*** *ngebantuin Gamdes lho ni=h.*
I'm helping with the Graphic Design [assignment] right.

9 *... Beli lah.*
Buy some.

10 ALMA: ... *<@ Ngancem @>.*
(He's) threating (you) @.
(7 lines intervening)

18 ALMA: *Emang bagus gitu?*
Is (the drawing) actually good?

19 DIAN: *Ke* ***aing*** *di=titah mempertanggung-[jawabkeun kan],*
I'll be required to be responsible (for it) you know.

20 BAYU: [*ulah gitu Alma mah*]
Don't be like that Alma.

21 DIAN: *.. bingung.*
Confused.

22 BAYU: *... Nggak deng.*
No it's not.

23 ***Urang*** *.. udah nggak jago gambar.*
I'm not any good at drawing.
(13 lines intervening)

37 ASMITA: *.. survai dulu?*
Will (we) do a survey first?

38 BAYU: ***Aku*** *mah emang udah.*
For **me**, that's it.

39 ASMITA: *Udah di-approve gitu,*
Has it already been approved,

Among Indonesian speakers of Javanese background in the conversation data collected in Malang, first person *aku* has a dual function. It is both the Indonesian informal pronoun for many young speakers outside of Jakarta and the Javanese first person pronoun associated with *ngoko*, the "low" or familiar speech level among Javanese social registers. On the one hand, for any given instance of use, *aku* cannot necessarily be differentiated – by either speakers or researchers – as either "Indonesian" or "Javanese" (see discussion of complementarity between Indonesian and Javanese in Errington 1998b: 107–110). Thus, use of *aku* among these speakers cannot be viewed as exclusively indexical of Javanese identity or Indonesian identity. And while *aku* may indirectly index Javanese ethnicity for

some of these Javanese speakers, this certainly would not be the case for *aku* as used by the Sundanese background speakers in the Bandung data. What is clear, however, is that there is a consistency and commensurability between the personal nature of *ngoko* Javanese *aku* and the familiarity of colloquial Indonesian *aku*. The situation is different when it comes to second person pronouns where Javanese possibilities exist which contrast with the Indonesian options. *Sampeyan* is a moderately polite second person pronoun in Javanese and it is often used by Javanese background speakers of Indonesian. The asymmetrical exchange of second person pronouns in response to status difference can be seen in example (15).

(15) Malang: Travelling

1	ITA:	*Iyo*,
		yeah
2		***sampeyan*** *ikut*?
		have **you** done it before?
3	VINI:	*Nggak.*
		No.
4		*Tadi* ***kamu*** *cerita sama* ***aku***.
		You told me about it before.

Ita and Vini are university students who are close friends and similar in age. However, Vini entered university a few years before Ita. Thus, Ita respects Vini's senior status by addressing her with the pronoun *sampeyan* in line 2. Vini, on the other hand, is free to use the Indonesian pronoun *kamu* with Ita (line 4). Selection of second person pronouns can be particularly sensitive to small nuances in status differences. Note that while Ita and Vini exchange asymmetrical second person pronouns, which index their difference in class standing within university, they use first person *aku* reciprocally.

2.4.3 Names, kin terms and titles

In addition to using pronouns, Indonesian speakers also use non-pronominal forms such as names, kin terms and titles to refer to self and other. Such terms can be used as arguments of clauses, objects of prepositions or as possessives, just as first and second person pronouns are. For example, in the conversation Chicken Foot Soup Rini often refers to herself using both *aku* and *saya*, but also sometimes refers to herself as Rini, illustrated in lines 1–3 of example (16).

(16) Bandung: Chicken Foot Soup
1 RINI: ***Rini*** *teh* *suka kangkung* *Teh* *Hana.*
I like water spinach *Teh* Hana
2 *Jadi kalau* ***Rini****=,*
So if **I**,
3 *kalau* ***Rini*** *ke rumah* ***Teh Hana****,*
if **I** (go) to **your** house,
4 *kasih kangkung aja=.*
just give (me) some water spinach.

Use of non-pronominal terms for first and second person reference is sometimes called pronoun substitution, since these forms are used in grammatical positions where a first or second person pronoun might also be found (e.g., Sneddon et al. 2010: 166–168). However, from the perspective of speakers' intersubjective language use, "pronoun substitution" may not be the most appropriate metaphor. The concept of "substitution" might be taken to imply that the pronominal form is basic and the speaker chooses to substitute it with a non-pronominal form in a given context. Here we take a performative, "polylanguaging" perspective (Jørgensen et al. 2011) when we examine how speakers use linguistic resources. Rather than imagining a process of substitution, we argue that speakers have access to a repertoire of linguistic forms and structures, along with other semiotic resources, from which they choose when producing language in context. For many (but not all) of the young speakers in our study, both pronominal and non-pronominal forms are among the resources they access for referring to self and other. The key difference is that the pronouns are deictic shifters dedicated to first and second person reference while the non-pronominal forms are items which can have third person referents, and which can also be deployed for first and second person reference. In all cases these forms (pronominal and non-pronominal alike) carry additional semiotic significances beyond simply referring, and their use can simultaneously reflect and construct intersubjective relationships between speaker and addressee.

Example (16) also introduces us to the use of kinship terms. These participants all have Sundanese-speaking backgrounds and the conversation takes place in Bandung, a predominantly Sundanese city. Although the interaction is predominantly in Indonesian, Rini uses *teh*, a short form of Sundanese *teteh* 'older sister', as a title before her friend's name, *Teh Hana* 'Older Sister Hana'. In line 1, *Teh Hana* functions as a vocative.[3] That is, it is outside the grammatical structure of the utterance and could be thought of as functioning to nominate who the addressee of the utterance is. As a vocative, *Teh Hana* does not function as a pronoun and

3 Note that the first *teh* in line 1 of example (16), is an unrelated homophonous definite marker.

it would sound odd had Rini chosen to use, for example, *kamu* '2SG' here. Name alone (without a title) as a vocative is also seen in line 3 of example (4). Vocatives are used frequently in Indonesian and are often repeated in close proximity, thus actually belying the function of nominating addressee – the addressee would often already be well aware they are being addressed. Instead, one of the primary functions of vocatives in Indonesian conversational interaction is to help reinforce social relationships, a function of vocatives also noted in other languages (Leech 1999). In Indonesian, choice of name, kin term or title in a vocative is always an expression of how a speaker views their relationship to an addressee, either as an established, perduring relationship, or as a characterisation of the relationship as it is being constructed at a particular moment in the interaction. Because of this important function of explicitly bringing the relationship of speaker and hearer to the fore, the frequent use of vocatives is one more way that the intersubjective nature of interpersonal relations is explicitly expressed through language use. The role of *Teh Hana* as a vocative is reflected in the free translation in line 1. In contrast, in line 3, *Teh Hana* functions as a possessive. In other circumstances, Rini may have chosen to use *kamu* in a similar construction and this second person referential function is reflected in the English free translation.

Across Indonesia, there are several different kin terms that can be used for first or second person reference. Some of these terms are considered to be Indonesian, for example *ibu*, literally 'mother', used to refer to an adult woman and *bapak* 'father', used in reference to an adult man. Many other kin terms, like Sundanese *teh*, have strong associations with one or another of the many regional languages spoken across the archipelago. For example, in Javanese speaking areas, the terms *mbak* 'older sister' and *mas* 'older brother' are frequently heard. These forms are understood by most Indonesians as having Javanese provenance and are stereotypically associated with speakers who have a Javanese language background. Their use is illustrated by example (17) from the Malang data. These speakers have Javanese language backgrounds and are interacting using Indonesian in a Javanese-dominant social context. In line 1, Radin first uses *mbak* as a vocative, thus nominating his addressee. (The use of 'sister' as a vocative in English would be much more highly marked than is *mbak* in [Javanese] Indonesian, and so it is left untranslated.) In line 2 Radin then directs a question to his addressee, using *mbak* as the second person subject of the verb *ikut* 'take, study', reflected in the use of 'you' in the English free translation.

(17) Malang: Looking for Experience

1	RADIN:	***Mbak***.
		Mbak.
2		.. *Kenapa* ***mbak*** *kok ikut SAP?*
		Why are **you** taking SAP? (type of business software)

3 Siska: *Hah?*
Huh?
4 .. *Aku ikut SAP.*
I'm taking SAP.
5 [*Widening*].
Widening.
6 Radin: [*Untuk*] *meningkatkan karir ya*?
In order to improve your career?
7 Siska: *Widening knowledge*.
Widening (my) knowledge.

The Javanese terms *mas* and *mbak* are now also being heard in non-Javanese-dominant areas. This is seen in lines 82 and 84 of example (3), recorded in the Sundanese-dominant city of Bandung. Asmita is a Sundanese speaker and identifies as ethnically Sundanese. Fakri originates from Makassar on the island of Sulawesi and does not have a familial tie, linguistically or ethnically, to Sundanese or Javanese. Why do these two young people address each other using Javanese kin terms? Agha (2007: 153–154) points out that the social stereotyping of indexical forms is rarely unified and can often exhibit what he calls "sociological fractionation", where the typifications associated with a particular linguistic form or register are not shared equally by all speakers. A generation ago these Javanese terms were rarely heard in Bandung, and if used, clearly marked a speaker as Javanese. Today, Sundanese speakers regularly use these terms, particularly in service encounters, such as in shops and with drivers of public transportation. A generation ago during service encounters in Bandung, one would hear Sundanese terms, such as *teteh* (discussed above), *kang* 'older brother', or *neng* and *jang* for younger females and males respectively. Today in the city these are rarely heard, in favour of the Javanese *mas* and *mbak*. During interviews conducted in 2014, Sundanese speakers reported that they used *mas* and *mbak* to show respect in service encounters and that this was because most people working in these positions were purportedly of Javanese background. This change – from Sundanese to Javanese filling service positions in Bandung – was claimed to have occurred during *Krismon*, the Asian financial crisis of 1997–1998, when many Javanese are said to have migrated to Bandung looking for work. But Asmita and Fakri in example (3) are not in a service encounter. They are young professionals (or in Asmita's case a professional in-training) at a design school, getting to know each other in a cordial work-study environment. Here we have evidence that in Bandung, *mas* and *mbak* have further evolved from being "Indonesian" terms of address for service encounters to becoming terms for use in non-Sundanese encounters in the public sphere – "Indonesian" in the sense of moving beyond

ethno-locality, both in that they are used to speak “across” ethnic differences, and in that they are no longer being associated directly with the speech of a particular ethnic group. It is the contrast between this public, Indonesian use of *mas* and *mbak* in Bandung and the localised, personal use of these terms in Malang that demonstrates the sociological fractionation that has been occurring in the semiotic indexicality of these forms.

2.5 Beyond ethno-local indexicality

We have seen that person reference with Sundanese or Javanese provenance can be used by people speaking Indonesian in Sundanese or Javanese regions, such as Bandung and Malang, in order to index a sense of ethno-local identity. We have also seen how place-based forms are also used outside their perceived place of origin. In such cases, these terms can still retain certain localised indexicalities associated with place – at least stereotypically and often only fractionally. For example, *gua*/*lu* are used in Bandung and Malang to evoke Jakartan bravado or humour, or *mbak*/*mas* are used outside of Javanese speaking regions, to evoke a sense of pan-Indonesian politeness, but one that is still conceptualised by some speakers in terms of Javanese economic migration to other parts of the country. In this section, we will examine supra-local person reference. Boellstorff (2002) has pointed out that historically, both for Indonesians and for researchers of Indonesia, identities have regularly been defined ethno-locally, by melding place, language and ethnicity into a single concept, such as Javanese or Makassar. Such ethno-local categories are politically reified by the conceptualisation of Indonesia as a unified whole made up of contrasting ethno-local parts. This reification of ethno-local categories is continuously reinforced by such means as the national motto, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* ‘Unity in Diversity’, school textbooks that represent each province with material culture attributes of its emblematic ethnic group, and the theme park *Taman Mini Indonesia Indah* (‘Beautiful Indonesia in Miniature’), which also associates each province with an ethnic identity (Pemberton 1994). In his analysis of homosexual identities in Indonesia Boellstorff (2005, 2006) then goes on to show that *gay* and *lesbi*[4] subject positions cut across ethno-local identities and are understood in national terms. These identities tap into key means of constructing national identity such as media, consumerism and discourses of

4 Boellstorff (2006) uses the Indonesian terms *gay* and *lesbi* in order to recognise that these concepts are constructed and deployed differently from other gay and lesbian identities elsewhere in the world.

national values, and at the same time are often associated with, but distinct from international gay and lesbian identities. In a similar way, young Indonesians tap into supra-local ways of being Indonesian that can inform language use. Here we look at person reference among young people whose identities are associated with public expressions of religious piety and involvement in a popular Indonesian online social networking site.

2.5.1 Religious identities

There has been an increase in the public display of piety among Muslims across all sections of Indonesian society over the past two to three decades (as there has been for followers of other religions in Indonesia as well). This is not some sort of return to "tradition", but rather the embracing of a modernist outlook linked into larger international developments among Muslim communities across the globe. For many young people in Indonesia, identifying as a pious Muslim often entails embracing a bricolage of styles including dress, modes of interaction and linguistic markers (see Eckert 2012 on bricolage; Manns 2012). One semiotic indicator of an *anak soleh* 'devout young Muslim' identity is the adoption of Arabic-derived personal pronouns when speaking Indonesian. Among pious speakers in Malang, the forms used for first person singular are *ana*, which follows standard Arabic pronunciation, or *ane*, which follows the Betawi pronunciation for the same form. For second person, *antum* – which is the plural masculine second person in Arabic – is used as a singular form for both women and men by pious speakers in Malang.[5] Some *anak soleh* choose to use these pronouns consistently, at least when speaking with other *anak soleh*, and those who do so will use both first and second forms; that is, speakers will never make consistent use of *ana* while regularly using *kamu*. Using Arabic-derived pronouns allows them to index the perduring meaning of Muslim piety associated with the Arabic language within the Indonesian context. This adoption of Arabic pronouns by some Indonesian speakers illustrates again both the openness of the Indonesian pronominal system and the important position of personal pronouns as sites for the intersubjective management of identity. In example (18), Mina and Aida have both integrated Arabic-derived pronouns into the bricolage of styles that they use

5 The Arabic masculine singular second person pronoun *anta* entered Betawi Malay as *ente* where it is a general second person pronoun, unmarked for gender. This form is, however, not used among *anak soleh* in Malang. See further discussion of *ente* in the following section on online communication.

to align themselves with the *anak soleh* social identity and they use these forms consistently when interacting with each other.

(18) Malang: Talking Madura

1	MINA:	*Terus **antum** ke situ?*
		Are **you** going straight there?
2	AIDA:	*He-eh. **Ana** tuh sempat.*
		Uh-huh. **I** have enough time.

Grammatically, these pronouns are used as full, free forms. Speakers who use the Arabic pronouns will still use indigenous bound forms such as *-ku* (related to *aku*) and *-mu* (related to *kamu*) in possessives, prepositional phrases and other constructions. This is illustrated by Mina's use of *padaku* 'at/by/with me' in (19).

(19) Malang: Talking Madura

1	MINA:	*Ya Allah mbak **antum** itu,*
		My God *mbak* **you**,
2		.. *kejam sekali pada**ku**.*
		are really stern with **me**.

However, the bricolage of styles used for the construction of a socially recognised identity need not be uniformly maintained by all individuals who identify with such a subject position. Some speakers who identify as devout Muslim may adopt certain stylistic indicators of this subject position through, for example, dress, but will still use Indonesian forms such as *aku* '1SG'and *kamu* '2SG' as their default informal pronouns. Choosing different styles of pronoun usage does not appear to cause any interactional difficulty for speakers. Mina's friend Belia also identifies as a devout Muslim but prefers to use Indonesian pronouns. When they converse, their pronoun usage is non-reciprocal, as seen in example (20), but there is no evidence that this has any adverse effect on the smooth flow and friendly tone of the interaction.

(20) Malang: Talking Madura

1	MINA:	*Ayo mbak,*
		Come on *mbak*,
2		*beliin **ane** ma'am=.*
		buy **me** something to eat.
3	FADILAH:	*Ya Allah.*
		Oh God.

4 Belia: *Harusnya kalian yang membelikan **aku** makan.*
You're the ones who should buy **me** some food.

While these pious speakers will choose particular pronoun usage as their default style, this usage will not be invariant. As with the other speakers discussed earlier in this chapter, pious young Indonesians who adopt a certain bricolage of characteristics may also turn to alternative semiotic resources to meet their immediate interactional needs. Example (21) is from the same conversation as extract (20). Mina is an *ana/antum* user while her friend Belia is usually an *aku/kamu* user. They have been discussing an upcoming seminar on women in careers that Mina has seen a brochure about and Mina asks Belia to attend with her. When Belia says that she cannot attend at line 7 of (21), she uses *ane*.

(21) Malang: Talking Madura

1 Mina: *Wanita karir atau karir wanita*?
Career women or women's careers?
2 [*Gitu=*].
Like that.
3 Belia: [*He=m*].
Hm.
4 *Maksudmu **kamu** mau nanya apa bedanya*?
You mean **you** want to know what the difference is?
5 Mina: *Bukan gitu.*
It's not that.
6 ***Antum** mau ikut nggak besok*?
Do **you** want to go (to the seminar with me) tomorrow or not?
7 Belia: (laughing) .. ***Ane** pulang*.
I'm going home.
8 Mina: *Ke Bangkalan mbak*?
To Bangkalan *mbak*?
9 Belia: Iya.
Yeah.
10 Mina: *Mbak iku=t.*
Mbak (I want) to go with (you).

Belia uses her preferred second person pronoun *kamu* when she asks Mina a question in line 4. As we saw in (20), the meeting of different patterns of pronominal usage does not need to be a problem for interlocutors. Similarly here Mina, a regular user of Arabic pronouns, counters Belia with her own question and she uses her preferred second person pronoun, *antum* in line 6. Belia responds to

the questions in line 7 and at this point accommodates Mina within this question–answer adjacency pair by using the Arabic-derived *ane*. This is likely to be linked to the dispreferred response that Belia gives here. The preferred response to Mina's question would be that Belia will join her for the seminar. Belia provides the dispreferred response that she cannot attend because she will be going to her hometown of Bangkalan on Madura island instead. At this point it is Mina who now aligns with Belia and says she'd like to join her on the trip to Madura. As the conversation continues, Belia returns to her preferred Indonesian pronoun usage.

2.5.2 Online personae

The online community of Kaskus has developed its own style of person reference, with Kaskusers regularly using pronouns *ane* '1SG' and *ente* '2SG' and the general vocative for fellow Kaskusers, *agan* or *gan*. The emergence of these forms, and the fact that they are extensively used and explicitly discussed online, are indications of both the pragmatic salience of person reference and the flexibility of the Indonesian pronominal system.

The pronouns *ane* and *ente* are etymologically related to the Arabic pronouns *ana* '1SG' and *anta* '2SG MASCULINE', but do not carry any of the semiotics of religiosity that are apparent with the use of *ana* and *antum* discussed in the previous section. Indeed, it appears that forms used on Kaskus did not come directly from Arabic but via Betawi Malay, which characteristically has an [e] pronunciation for many instances of historic /a/. They nonetheless retain resonances of their Arabic origin for users. This is evidenced through discussion of the pronouns on Kaskus, especially two discussions threads (listed as Kaskus 2011, 2013 under Data Sources). References to the Arabic source of *ane* and *ente* are consistently associated with the language of Arab-Indonesian traders rather than religious background. This link to commerce, through Arab traders in the Indonesian context, is relevant for some Kaskus users who suggest *ane* and *ente* (as well as the forms *agan* and *gan*, discussed below) entered Kaskus via the buying and selling forums on the site. These four forms are firmly entrenched as explicit markers of Kaskus identity. Posters generally highlight that *ane* and *ente* (along with *gan* and *agan*) are pleasing and cool, and enable Kaskus users to stand out from other online communities. These comments explicitly point out the indexicality of group membership that *ane*, *ente*, *gan* and *agan* engender.

It is not the case, however, that *ane* and *ente* are the only pronouns used on Kaskus. Table 2.2 compares the frequency of *ane* and *ente* to other first and second pronouns found in the Kaskus sample used for our analysis. *Ane* is by far the most frequently used form for first person reference on Kaskus. *Gue* (and

Table 2.2: Frequency of first and second reference forms in Kaskus data.

First person	N	%	Second person	N	%
ane	1,768	62.0	*ente*	275	29.4
gue	777	27.3	*lo*	426	45.5
aku	166	5.8	*kamu*	95	10.2
saya	140	4.9	*anda*	3	0.3
–			*agan*	137	14.6
Total	2,851	100	Total	936	100.0

variant spellings) comes in a distant second, with other forms only rarely used. For second person reference, *ente* is in fact only the second most frequently used form, despite the metapragmatic rhetoric which associates *ente* with Kaskus identity on a par with *ane*. In fact, Jakartan *lo* (and variant spellings) accounts for just under half the second person reference in the Kaskus data. The other second person reference form typical of Kaskus, *agan*, comes in as third most popular. Taking the two Kaskus forms, *ente* and *agan*, together accounts for 44% of the total second person reference, almost on a par with *lo* at 45.5%.

Examples (22) and (23) illustrate the use of *ane* '1SG' and *ente* '2SG' in Kaskus. While the Kaskus poster in (22) uses these forms fairly consistently, the poster in (23) varies his choice of person referring forms, using both *ane* and *gue* for first person reference. Here the poster alteizen_Riesse is actually telling his fellow Kaskuser, vlademir, what he thinks vlademir's response should have been when vlademir's friend took up with valdemir's ex-girlfriend. Were the contents of this voice presentation (see Chapter 5) to actually be spoken, it would presumably take place off line in 'real life', yet alteizen_Riesse mixes Kaskus pronouns with Jakartan *gue*. In this example, it appears that the Kaskus forms *ane* and *ente* are more outwardly or publicly oriented while use of *gue* is more personal. When discussing the status of the relationships between the two men and the woman in question, *ane* and *ente* are used. The poster then uses *gue* at the point where the discussion shifts from outward relationships to personal feelings between the two men: *ngerasa ga enak ama gua* 'feeling uncomfortable with me'.

(22) Ask da Girls #5780 – Furniland
ane *stuju banget nh ama saranna dzcntk.. pacaran bole.. tp jgn ampe bikin* ***ente*** *jd kurang pergaulan alias kuper.. klo* ***ane*** *bilang..*

I really agree with dzcntk's suggestion.. (you) can have a boyfriend.. but don't get to the point that **you** become *kuper* that is to say unsociable.. that's what **I** think..

(23) Ask da Boys #170 – alteizen_Riesse
"*Sobat, **ane** gagal ama cewe ini. Shit. Semisal **ente** ada niat untuk ngedeketin dia, silakan deh gan. Ga usah khawatir ngerasa ga enak ama **gua**.*"

"Friend, **I**'ve failed with this girl. Shit. If **you** have an interest in approaching her, go right ahead *gan*. (You) don't need to worry about feeling uncomfortable with **me**."

The forms *agan* and *gan* very self-reflexively index membership in the Kaskus community. They are shortened forms of *juragan*, which in Indonesian can mean skipper, captain or boat owner, merchant, manager or boss. The longer *agan* is used for second person reference and as a vocative. The use of *agan* as second person reference is illustrated in (24). Unlike the non-pronominal forms discussed in Section 2.4.3 above, which can be used with either first or second person reference, *agan* appears to only ever be used with second person reference in the Kaskus community. As noted in Table 2.2, *agan* is almost as frequent as *ente*. *Agan* can also be used vocatively, as seen in (25). The short form *gan* does not occur as a person reference form in the data set examined here and it would appear to only ever be used vocatively by Kaskusers, also illustrated in (24).

(24) Ask da Boys #441 – pall1
***Agan** uda red card **gan**... menurut ane **agan** terlalu aggresive bgt.. uda di black list ama dia **gan**... mending jgn di paksa **gan**...*

You've already had a red card* **gan** ... according to me **you**'re way too aggressive ... (you've) already been black-listed by her ***gan*** ... it's better not to force things ***gan*** ...
(* Red card – soccer metaphor, to be sent off the playing field)

(25) Ask da Boys #262 – ryomaru
kadang ada cwe yang suka CCP ama ane?*
apa artinya ya?
aneh, suka, bingung, atau ....
*tolong dijawab **agan** n **sis** ...*

sometimes there is a girl who likes to sneak a look at me?
what does it mean?
(she's) strange, likes (me), confused, or ....
please answer ***agan*** and ***sis*** ...
(*CCP acronym for *curi-curi pandang* 'sneak a look')

Although *agan* and particularly *gan* are frequently used vocatives on Kaskus, they are not the only forms to make an appearance with a vocative function. Other common forms are *sis* or *sist* from English 'sister' (in examples (25) and (26)) and *bro* from English 'brother'. The Javanese forms *mas* 'older brother' and *mbak* 'older sister' also occur, but are extremely rare. The hybrid form *mas bro*, often mentioned as contemporary slang in discussions with young people, also makes an occasional appearance, as in (27).

(26) Ask da Girls #5902 – ukhtivhiiy
*tp cwo aku mah ga jealous **sist** klo liat aku ma dya ... aku juga bingung **sist** ...*

but my boyfriend isn't jealous ***sist*** when (he) sees me with this other guy ... I'm confused ***sist*** ...

(27) Ask da Boys #29 – odenz
*jangan salah kapra **mas bro***

don't be mistaken ***mas bro***

Aganwati, a feminine variant of *agan*, is also used occasionally. It is a Kaskus neologism formed by adding the Sanskrit-derived Indonesian feminine suffix *-wati*. Despite the appearance of this feminine form, women, like men, are much more commonly referred to as *gan* and *agan*.

2.6 Summary

In this chapter, we have explored how young Indonesians utilise the wide range of options available to them for reference to self and other. These include pronouns usually associated with standard Indonesian usage, pronouns associated with the nation's capital, Jakarta, or other ethno-locally identified forms. Names, titles and kinship terms are also used for reference to self and other, and as vocatives that further link utterances and texts to their intersubjective context of use. More recently popularised forms such as Arabic-derived pronouns used to denote religious or online personae, also attest to the openness and flexibility of person referencing practices in Indonesian. Through this exploration, we have shown how these different forms can be used by young Indonesians to enact stances, to create stylised effects and thus to engage intersubjectively with each other and with wider contemporary society.

The primary mechanism used for this analysis has been the notion of indexicality, by which linguistic forms can point to something beyond their purely denotational meaning. Of particular relevance here is social indexicality, by which pronouns do not only indicate participant roles, such as speaker and hearer, but also point to the relationship between participants. Social indexicality can reflect perceived ongoing relationships – for example when young people reciprocally use familiar *aku* '1SG FAMILIAR' and *kamu* '2SG FAMILIAR'. Social indexicality can also be constitutive of a relationship, for example when Davi changes the social of dynamics between himself and his classmates by switching from officious *saya* '1SG STANDARD' to casual *gua/gue* '1SG JAKARTA' in example (7). The indexicality of person reference can also point to wider semiotic resonances within society beyond the relationship between participants. This process of indexicality can be direct. For example, the nation's capital Jakarta is directly indexed by the use of the pronouns *gua* '1SG JAKARTA' and *lu* '2SG JAKARTA' when used outside the capital. (Inside Jakarta they are simply default informal pronouns). Indexicality can also be indirect. In the case of *gua* and *lu*, qualities stereotypically associated with Jakarta such as trendiness or assertive behaviour can also be indirectly indexed by the use of these pronouns. Exactly what indexical semiotics are intended by a speaker or author – and how these are interpreted by a hearer or reader – will in fact vary from one encounter to another. This brings us to another important quality of indexicality. Linguistic forms can index perduring meanings that are understood to remain relatively constant across time and between speakers, and indexicality can also be exploited in different ways for very specific goals in particular contingent moments of interaction. For example, *gue* was used by Bayu to display a level of worldliness and bravado in the discussion of (possibly pork) meatball soup in example (13), but at other times Bayu can use this same pronoun for purely humorous effect in imitation of a particular style of Jakartan accent (discussed in the Chapter 6 on language play).

We have presented a range of semiotic resonances that can be indexed by use of different person reference forms and we have shown how these can be deployed by young Indonesian language users for a variety of interactional purposes. Notable among these are to differentiate public and private selves. These of course do not form a strict dichotomy. The public self that is indexed by first person *saya* can include social distance, seriousness or related qualities such as maturity and authority. In contrast, a variety of forms are associated with the private self and can index intimacy, casualness, youthfulness or any number of other meanings. The various indexicalities of these different forms thus create a network of semiotic resonances that may be accessed differently by different speakers. For young speakers from Jakarta, *gua* is the default casual form in contrast to *saya*,

while *aku* stands in contrast to *gua* (and *saya*) as an index of romantic involvement. For speakers outside of Jakarta, it may be *aku* that is the default casual form in contrast to *saya*, while *gue* can index an assertive or humours stance. Young Indonesian speakers can also evoke various identity positions through choice of personal reference terms. These can include an ethnicity- or place-based identity through use of ethno-local pronouns and kinship terms. Other identities that can be indexed through choice of pronouns are associated with religiosity or membership in online communicates. Such identity-based person reference terms are particularly useful for evoking a sense of shared group belonging.

In addition to the different semiotic resonances associated with person reference as summarised above, we have also identified both convergent and divergent patterns of usage across different text types and between different communities of young Indonesian speakers. We have shown, for example, that the contrast between public *saya* and various pronouns indexing private selves is found across different text types and thus represents a case of typification of certain styles of language. At the same time, we have shown that not all young speakers of Indonesian access the same semiotic significances associated with different reference terms. Through various processes of fractionation, different forms have different meanings for different speakers, such as the various associations ascribed to *aku* discussed above. Another example of fractionation are the Javanese kinship terms *mas* and *mbak*, which can index in-group solidarity among Javanese speakers, while outside Javanese speaking contexts these same forms can index distance and public selves. In other contexts of identity construction, we have shown how pronouns derived from Arabic can be associated with Islam and thus index religiosity for *anak soleh* speakers, but can also be associated with historic trading communities in Jakarta and come to index group identity for users of the (originally commerce-based) Kaskus online community. The differential indexicalities of person reference terms also mean that they form a pragmatically salient site for othering, or the enactment of in-group and out-group stereotypes. This was seen in the assumption by speakers from Malang that all young people from the western part of Java, including both Jakarta and Bandung, use *gua/lu*, while speakers from Bandung carefully distinguish the majority who do not use *gua/lu* from the few who do and are presumed to be thus associating themselves with the worldly appeal of the capital.

These patterns of indexicality and processes of typification and fractionation yield complex webs of meaning across communities of young Indonesian speakers. The key overarching characteristic of person reference seen in all these examples is how productive such forms are for young people in their quest for establishing common ground. A shared understanding of the semiotics evoked and effects produced by creatively deploying these forms is an important means

by which young speakers construct and maintain a sense of connectedness. The connectedness that can be produced by the use of person reference terms by young Indonesian speakers is pivotal in bringing intersubjectivity to the forefront of interaction, as these forms are used to take stances, to shape social relationships, and to express the quintessence of youth sociability.

3 Interactional particles and perspective management

3.1 Introduction

In Chapter 2 we highlighted the important role that reference to self and other plays in establishing and maintaining intersubjectivity and we also explored the perduring and contingent social indexicalities that person reference affords young Indonesian speakers. In large part, the intersubjectivity of person reference derives from what Rumsey (2003: 169) calls "perspective swapping", that is, the way in which addresser becomes addressee and vice versa during the course of interaction. Benveniste (1971) took the linguistic category of person – the coding of "I" and "you" in language – as central to the human ability to swap perspectives and thus as the origin of subjectivity, giving it priority in this regard over all other aspects of linguistic and non-linguistic communication. But much scholarship from the past three decades has shown that the ability to engage in perspective swapping emerges prior to language among infants, and that other language resources beyond person reference are also important in developing and maintaining intersubjective perspectives. Rumsey (2003) has shown that linguistic forms linked to mood and modality provide equally crucial insights into the emergence of intersubjectivity, and similarly, Hanks (1990) has shown that spatio-temporal deixis is just as central as personal deixis in managing perspective shifts. Errington (1998b: 100) points out that in Javanese-Indonesian interactions discourse markers play a critical, and perhaps understated, role in mediating the same kind of interactional dynamics as person reference. This chapter continues our exploration of the intersubjective positioning of self and other by moving beyond person reference and examining the discourse markers which are such a ubiquitous part of young Indonesian speakers' interaction.

Several researchers have pointed out that linguistic forms associated with intersubjectivity frequently appear at the right periphery of a sentence or clause (Haselow 2012; Morita 2012, 2015; Traugott 2010, 2012). Many of the most frequently used discourse markers in Indonesian also appear at the right periphery of intonation units in speech or at the right periphery of phrases, clauses and sentences in writing. Consistent with observations for other languages, these right-periphery markers are particularly linked to the managing of intersubjective positioning among participants. Following Morita (2015), we refer to this subset of discourse markers as "interactional particles"; these are particles which index ongoing stance-building and stance-display between social actors. We will show how Indonesian interactional particles enable social actors to invoke a series of

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shifting roles, with corresponding rights and obligations, which in turn, enable interlocutors to calibrate the perspectives of self and other, and manage the relationship between these perspectives. Moreover, the way in which interactional particles enable interlocutors to invoke jointly constructed displays of stance in unfolding discourse speak to the kind of intersubjective mood and modality concerns highlighted by Rumsey (2003).

Intersubjectivity provides a means through which one comes to know and measure the self's own beliefs and knowledge vis-à-vis those of the other, and by consequence develop a personal and social sense of self (see Benveniste 1971). By focusing on interactional particles in this chapter we move beyond the "I" and the "you" and bring the stance object or object of discourse into greater focus. However, including a focus on the discourse object in this discussion of discourse markers does not mean we are no longer interested in the "I" and the "you". For instance, Schiffrin (1987) notes that some discourse markers, like *well*, index a focus on both speaker and hearer (e.g., speaker acknowledges hearer's prior utterance, then provides their own modification) whereas other discourse markers, like *oh*, index a focus on speaker (e.g., speaker's recognition of prior utterance) rather than hearer. Building upon Morita (2012, 2015), we adopt an approach which proposes that discourse markers – and interactional particles in particular – invoke a relationship between speaker and hearer, who have particular complementary and communal responsibilities to each other and the ongoing discourse. Discourse particles are resources through which the self can position a discourse object as something the other should, must or might already know or feel. All the while, the "perspective swapping" nature of intersubjectivity means the self may expect the other to simultaneously engage in similar active calibration and manipulation of perspective. In this approach, the speaker and hearer are both entirely present. Moreover, the participation roles that interlocutors assume or assign through the use of discourse markers become central to explorations of interactional dynamics (Morita 2015).

A focus on the roles and interactional responsibilities invoked by discourse markers stands in contrast to traditional accounts of discourse markers that have often adopted a one form, one stance approach (e.g., Hayano 2011; Kamio 1997). For instance, Morita (2015: 93, 98) points out that many scholars of Japanese have posited specific meanings for the particle *ne*, such as "shared information or feeling", "agreement" or "elicitation of agreement". Similarly the discourse marker *yo* has been characterised as indicating "strong assertion" or "epistemic primacy" of one interlocutor over another. In Chinese linguistics, considerable attention has been given to the discourse marker *le*, which serves in a general sense as an aspectual marker. Van den Berg and Wu (2006: 3–4) acknowledge this aspectual meaning by citing the core meaning of *le* as projecting a new

situation but they also stress its polysemous nature (and that of discourse markers more generally) by noting seven sub-stances that derive from this core meaning (e.g., reporting deviation, signalling a threat). Wu (2004), who focuses her study on final *a* and final *ou* in Mandarin, shows that a true understanding of these discourse markers only comes from applying a Conversation Analytic approach and observing their use across conversational turns. Morita (2015) draws a similar conclusion for the Japanese discourse markers *ne* and *yo* and posits that understanding these discourse markers entails broadening the inquiry to include shifting participation frameworks. In fact, Morita (2012, 2015) argues that the modalities historically associated with discourse markers (e.g., epistemic assertion) emerge as a by-product of these participation frameworks. So, for instance, she proposes that the particle *yo* indexes the following: "a particular stretch of talk needs to be 'registered' for both talk progressivity and the joint accomplishment of specific interactional concerns to be acknowledged and acted upon" (Morita 2012: 1721). Consequently, the use of *yo* does not directly index any of the multifarious meanings which have been attributed to it, such as conviction, relevance, masculinity or femininity. Instead, the range of meanings attributed to *yo* can only be understood by examining joint stance display within a "dynamic interactional meaning-making process" (Morita 2012: 1734). In other words, in Morita's view, and the view we adopt here, discourse markers are imbued with perduring meaning which only fully becomes realised in situ. In contrast to the indexicalities of person reference, the key perduring function of the discourse markers discussed here is to provide handling instructions, as it were, for how a particular stretch of discourse is to be treated, and the expected uptake of this discourse by a recipient. In other words, discourse markers index the intersubjective rights and responsibilities of interlocutors with regards to a stretch of discourse, and in doing so enable the introduction of subjective evaluations, involving epistemic and affective modalities and stances.

An exploration of discourse markers in relation to this process enables us to develop a number of key theoretical points in relation to intersubjectivity. First, in a broad sense, we support Rumsey's (2003) contention that discussions of intersubjectivity need to move beyond discussions of person reference. Secondly, investigating discourse markers sheds light on the ways in which self and other are actively aware of one another and engage in joint interaction and meaning construction. Discourse markers foreground shared awareness and allow interlocutors to make appropriate inferences vis-à-vis the previous, current and upcoming discourse. Nuyts (2012) argues that such inferences may highlight culturally shared knowledge and schemas, or social moves and actions more immediate to unfolding discourse. The third theoretical contribution of this chapter is to move stance alignment beyond the related dimensions of epistemic and

affective stance. Drawing on Morita's work, we approach discourse markers as highlighting various participant alignments to what is said and to each other. It is this indexicality of participant alignment that perdures across contexts, while epistemic and affective stances emerge from the interactional management of these alignments. In this way discourse makers help interlocutors tend to common ground and to enact epistemic and affective stances. Such stances do not exist within individuals prior to speaking, but rather emerge dialogically in the linguistic and social context of language use.

This chapter begins by reviewing discourse markers with a particular focus on how they are used in youth interaction. The core of this chapter then focuses specifically on interactional particles, the sub-set of discourse makers whose particularised meaning only becomes manifest in moments of interaction. We begin this investigation by looking at how common ground is managed through interactional particles. We base this discussion on Wouk's (1998a, b) investigation of the most common interactional particle in casual Indonesian interactions, *kan* 'you know', and we expand the analysis by looking at how the use of *kan* invokes roles, rights and responsibilities and how various specific stances may emerge out of this. For the remainder of the chapter, we show how interactional particles invoke speaker/hearer responsibilities vis-à-vis a stretch of text and that these responsibilities evolve and shift from moment-to-moment. We also demonstrate how evolving responsibilities (and by consequence perspective-shifting) lead to joint stance displays, which in turn make intersubjective alignment public. We illustrate this dynamic by examining the use of three Indonesian interactional particles (*sih*, *deh*, *dong*). Most past work on Indonesian discourse markers has relied on listing a variety of specific meanings for each form. Here we are taking a very different tack by applying to Indonesian interactional particles the approach developed by Morita (2012, 2015) for Japanese. We believe that viewing their basic relational meaning as primary and seeing specific epistemic, deontic and affective meanings as only emerging interactionally allows us to produce a clearer description of these particles and a richer account of their role in intersubjective alignment.

3.2 Discourse markers and intersubjectivity

Discourse markers are defined here as "members of a functional class of verbal (and non-verbal) devices which provide contextual coordinates for ongoing talk" (Schiffrin 1987: 41). This definition broadly includes certain items which are labelled elsewhere as adverbs (e.g., *now*, *then*), interjections (e.g., *oh*, *well*), fillers (e.g., *uh*, *um*) and particles (e.g., *too*) (Schiffrin 1987). Discourse markers have

numerous functions but they have most frequently been characterised as indexing a speaker's attitude towards an utterance (Morita 2015; Sneddon 2006; Wu 2004) and thus forming "a link between the speaker and listener, functioning as intimacy signals or sharing devices, reinforcing the social links between speaker and listener" (Sneddon 2006: 117).

Cross-linguistically, discourse markers are also a common feature of youth styles. As such they are not only frequently studied by researchers but are also often cited by adult members of communities as evidence that youth are 'inarticulate' or 'destroying' their language (Kiesling 2004; Mendoza-Denton 1997; Roth-Gordon 2007). As Mendoza-Denton points out, "discourse markers in general suffer from an image problem" (1997: 138). Youth are often drawn to discourse markers when these forms are perceived to be new or trendy, or because they fill a functional gap in a sociolinguistic community. For example, Asian American youth have been noted using the clipped comprehension checks *aite* (from *alright*) and *na* (from *do you know what I mean?*), in part because they are associated with African American culture (Reyes 2005). Brazilian youth use discourse markers derived from the word *ligar* 'to connect' as a comprehension check (*tá ligado* 'are you understanding me?' but literally 'are you connected?'), but also to signify links to the wider global community (Roth-Gordon 2007). It has been shown that, rather than destroying a language, discourse markers often enhance it by filling functional gaps (Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004; Tagliamonte and Denis 2010). The spread of the American quotative *be like* to global youth cultures has been linked in part to the functions it fills in English, such as reducing speaker's commitment to what is being said (Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999). Discourse markers are also popular in youth culture because they often present an easily accessible and detachable item for borrowing the language styles of trendy, cool groups, due to these markers' position outside of the core grammatical or phonological structure (Auer 1998; Cutler 1999).

A rich body of research shows how discourse markers are used to negotiate intersubjectivity and accomplish intersubjective alignment (e.g., Haselow 2012; Kärkkäinen 2003, 2006, 2007; Morita 2015; Rauniomaa 2007). Yet, as Kiesling (2011) points out, the relationship between alignment and other stance dimensions (e.g., epistemic stance, affective stance) remains under explored. Work on intersubjectivity has shown that alignment may be consensual and collaborative or it may be contested, problematic or modified (Enfield 2013; Jaffe 2009; Kiesling 2011; see also Chapter 1). For instance, English discourse markers are often used at the end of an utterance to enact evaluative stances related to a prior utterance (Du Bois 2007; Haselow 2012). Example (28) from Du Bois (2007: 159) illustrates how *either* is used to enact stances of alignment.

(28) 1 SAM; I don't like those.
2 (0.2)
3 ANGELA; I don't either.

Here, Angela's use of the form *either* indexes that she shares the subjective evaluation (dislike) which Sam has presented in the prior utterance (Du Bois 2007). Discourse markers can also be used to contest or modify prior stances in a practice known as "accountive positioning" (Harré and van Langenhove 1991; Jaffe 2009). For instance, Haselow (2012) shows how a series of English lexemes (e.g., *then, though, even, anyway*) have gravitated toward the end of an utterance to assume more pragmatic and intersubjective functions – a process called "intersubjectification" (Traugott 2010, 2012; Traugott and Dasher 2002). Like in Du Bois's example above, these discourse markers establish a link between the current and a previous utterance and index the relationship between the utterances and interlocutors. Haselow (2012) further shows that discourse markers can function to provide handling instructions for the hearer and in order to change or seek to change the (ir)realis state of an utterance relative to interlocutors and their common ground. So, for instance, in the following example from Haselow (2012: 190), speaker B selects the discourse marker *then* to convert an earlier proposition into a non-hypothetical conditional:

(29) 18 B: and you were going apparently he would uhm (.) say choo choo choo choo or something (..)
19 A: I haven't the faintest idea what you're talking about
20 B: well you have to listen to the tape **then**

This example represents a process of alignment in so far as interlocutors are calibrating their perspectives and the interaction is felicitous. This calibration is more complex than that in example (28) in that B's utterance in line 20 does not simply respond to A, but essentially incorporates and reanalyses A's contribution. In line 18, speaker B discusses something speaker A has apparently said (perhaps to a child, though further context is not provided). Speaker A claims to be unaware of what Speaker B is talking about. Speaker B responds with the discourse marker *then*, and by doing this, B renders A's statement into a conditional protasis ("if you haven't the faintest idea what I'm talking about") and linking it to her/his own response as the apodosis ("then you have to listen to the tape"). We can see through this example that paying attention to sequentiality is important for understanding the role of discourse markers in the emergence of alignments within and across turns. Discourse markers provide instructions for how interlocutors are meant to tend to the current, prior and upcoming turns.

Stances indexed by discourse markers may be understood as "affective" or "epistemic" (Berman 2005; Du Bois 2007; Englebretson 2007; Jaffe 2009). For instance, as noted above, van den Berg and Wu (2006) found that the Chinese discourse marker *le* had a core meaning related to grammatical aspect but speakers could draw on this meaning to enact a range of affective stances, such as being friendly or annoyed with an interlocutor. Kärkkäinen (2007) examines the English discourse marker *I guess*, showing it as a productive epistemic framing device for stances towards prior or upcoming discourse. In colloquial Indonesian, Englebretson (2003, 2007) has shown how the clitic *-nya* may be suffixed to a number of stems to create an epistemic framing device for a clause. For example, this clitic may be attached to the stem *pokok* 'main, fundamental, basic' to create a discourse marker *pokoknya* which "serves as an epistemic evaluation of the interactional relevance of the utterance for the discourse at hand" (Englebretson 2007: 91). However, Englebretson (2003) also points out that some forms can convey both affective and epistemic meanings. For example, *sebenarnya* 'truly, actually' may be used to index a speaker's emotional or mental state (affective stance) but it can also be used to index a speaker's commitment to a proposition (epistemic stance). Such overlapping meanings, as we show below, are illustrative of the various stances that can emerge from the use of interactional particles.

The term "interactional particle" is used by Morita (2012: 1721) to refer to the subset of discourse markers that "demarcate an *interactionally relevant unit* by their attachment to a piece of talk. Interactionally relevant units, in turn, are interactionally meaningful bits of talk which highlight specific *conversational moves*" (emphasis in original). For Morita (2015: 91), interactional particles are public resources for negotiating positioning in unfolding interaction and their local meaning can be understood by considering multiple levels of stance. Such stance levels might include "local interactional agendas", "interpersonal concerns", "sociocultural preferences" and "linguistic ideology". The immediate use of an interactional particle can attend to micro-level contingency issues (e.g., how does the current utterance relate to or render meaningful a prior or following utterance?) or higher-level accomplishments (e.g., how does my current stance align me with a wider social membership category or refute such alignments?). The use of an interactional particle creates an "interactional opportunity space wherein participants can indicate, negotiate, and/or pre-empt actual or potential contingency" (Morita 2012: 1721). Like many if not most language features, an interactional particle provides some general guidance for creating meaning but this guidance is actuated differently across contexts, and in relation to the forward- and backward-looking nature of an utterance. So, for instance, Morita (2012: 1721) posits the semantics of the Japanese interactional particle *yo* as follows:

> *Yo explicitly* marks that the current action or move needs to be interactionally registered as an instance of *x* (e.g., reporting, opinion stating, answering a question, supposing) by *explicitly* creating a place for the recipient to display a response that appropriately completes the interaction, ratifying the original utterance as an instance of *x*.

The meaning of *yo*, as noted above, has traditionally been viewed as "strong assertion", "epistemic primacy" or a guarantee of relevance of an utterance. Morita (2012: 1721) proposes that it is none of these things in the first instance, but rather an interactional particle that demands that talk "be registered" before an interaction can continue. Therefore, *yo* may appear at the end of a suggestion and its function there is not necessarily to assert or emphasise. Rather it marks the utterance as an instance of "suggesting" and the recipient is obliged to respond in a way that ratifies the utterance as a suggestion.

In the remainder of this section we provide a general review of Indonesian discourse markers to set the stage for the more detailed discussion of four Indonesian interactional particles that make up the rest of this chapter. A complete survey of Indonesian discourse markers is beyond the scope of the current work, but a general introduction is useful for contextualising our discussion of interactional particles. Consider example (30) which highlights the dynamics of discourse markers in use. Wasat seeks to convince his friend Ika that Waterbom, a popular Indonesian waterpark chain, has opened a pool in his hometown of Blitar. Blitar is a rural town and the more cosmopolitan Ika enjoys teasing Wasat about his rural background.

(30) Malang: Computer

1	WASAT:	*Ntar kuajakin ke=,*
		Later I'll invite you to,
2		.. *Waterbom.*
		Waterbom.
3	IKA:	***Emang*** *ada*?
		There **actually** is (one)?
4	WASAT:	*A=da* ***lah.***
		There **really** is.
5		***Ya*** *a=da* ***lah.***
		Yeah there **really** is.
6	IKA:	[*Dimana*]?
		Where?
7	WASAT:	[***Masak***],
		Really (you don't believe me),

8		***ya*** *ada* ***dong***. **of course** there is, **I tell you (and you should know)**.
9	IKA:	***Masak*** *ada* **sih**? **Really** there is (one), **is there (I'm asking you)**?
10	WASAT:	[***Ya*** *ada* ***lah*****].** **Yeah** there **really** is.
11	IKA:	[*Sumpah lo*]. You swear (that's the case).
12		*Nggak mungkin* ***lah*****.** Not possible, **I say.**

This exchange includes the use of three particles placed on the right-periphery (*lah*, *sih* and *dong*) along with three other discourse markers (*ya*, *emang* and *masak*). Ika plans to visit Blitar in the near future and Wasat invites her to go to the new Waterbom (lines 1–2). This opens a line of mock surprise by Ika that a Waterbom park actually exists in Blitar, together with a line of annoyed insistence from Wasat that it does. Ika first questions the existence of the Waterbom in line 3 and Wasat responds by twice repeating *ada lah* 'there really is'. This retort is punctuated with the discourse marker *lah*, which generally serves as a marker of emphasis or indication that something is correct (in this case, probably both). Ika seeks clarification about where the waterpark might be (line 6), overlapping with Wasat who continues his protest, this time punctuating his insistence with *dong*. This particle indexes stronger emphasis, with the implication that the hearer is expected to have already known what is being said (Ewing 2005; Sneddon 2006). In line 9, Ika again expresses mock surprise. The discourse marker *masak* indicates disbelief, often implying a request for clarification, something like 'how could it be?', while *sih* in this case can be seen to slightly soften the comment. Wasat responds by repeating his emotional assertion *ada lah*; Ika responds by saying *nggak mungkin lah* 'Not possible, I say', *lah* being used to strengthen her assertion and also indicate her desire to have the final word in this exchange. Ika has implied she does not believe there is a Waterbom in Blitar throughout this exchange, but line 12 is the first time she explicitly states she does not think it exists. This example is particularly interesting because the same word with minimal referential content – *ada* '(it) exists' – is repeated six times (lines 3–5, 7–10), and the weight of the social action being undertaken is carried by the discourse markers.

A number of studies have described the meanings of Indonesian discourse markers (e.g., Ewing 2005; Sneddon 2006; Wouk 1998a, b, 2001). Wouk, in particular, demonstrates how the specific meanings of these discourse markers only emerge in the context of unfolding interaction. A list of discourse markers occurring in

our data, including several markers of Javanese and Sundanese provenance, is provided on page xvii. Some of the discourse makers from these ethno-local languages have similar meanings to Indonesian ones; indeed, as pointed out by Errington (1998b: 100–107), it is common for discourse markers to be borrowed across languages such as Indonesian and Javanese. Non-Indonesian discourse markers carry some shade of ethno-linguistic identity and can be used for building solidarity and showing accommodation when used by speakers from outside of the relevant ethno-local group (Goebel 2010). In the rest of the chapter, we focus on four of these discourse markers (*kan*, *sih*, *deh* and *dong*), all of which are considered part of the Indonesian (rather than ethno-local) youth repertoire. Following Morita (2015), we refer to these as interactional particles; we show that these particles primarily index a basic relational meaning involving the relationship and expectations that speaker and addressee have toward each other and towards a particular discourse object. We also show that specific epistemic, affective or other stances are not part of this basic meaning but rather emerge when the particles are deployed in situ. Using interactional particles enables interlocutors to engage in public stance displays and negotiate intersubjective alignment.

3.3 Invoking common ground with *kan*

The interactional particle *kan* plays an important role in the management of shared knowledge and functions similarly to English question tags like *isn't it?* or *right?*, or *you know* and their equivalents in other languages. *Kan* derives from *bukan*, which can also be used as a question tag (Sneddon et al. 2010: 321), but which is used much less frequently than *kan* for this function. Wouk (1998a), in her study of Jakartan Indonesian, also draws a parallel between *kan* and similar particles in other languages, such as the English *you know* and the Swedish *vet du* 'you know', but shows that Indonesian *kan* is much more frequently used in spoken Indonesian discourse than similar forms are in English and Swedish. She argues that the greater frequency of *kan* can be linked to the wider range of interactional functions it plays as well as differences in cultural values between Indonesian and western societies. Some of the interactional functions of *kan* include requesting agreement or verification, requesting or marking topic recognition, providing emphasis and creating solidarity or intimacy. Drawing on Östman (1981), Wouk posits that all of these functions derive from a basic, prototypical meaning of "shared presupposition". It is this emphasis on sharedness that propels Wouk to suggest that the high value placed on social harmony in Indonesia is one reason for the frequent use of *kan*.

Wouk's (1998a) study analyses the kinds of conjoint knowledge that is managed through *kan*. Similar to other work on *you know*-like particles (e.g., Nordenstam 1992), and based on work by Labov and Fanshel (1977), Wouk relates this to who has privileged access to knowledge – whether speaker, addressee, both speaker and addressee, whether knowledge is generally or culturally available, or whether speaker and addressee disagree about knowledge or beliefs. Wouk (1998a) finds that the majority of the uses of *kan* (77%) involve privileged knowledge shared by speaker and addressee, or knowledge that is generally available and therefore shared. In this way the use of *kan* indicates acknowledgment of the conjoint nature of this knowledge. Interestingly, in 22% of the cases, *kan* is used when only the speaker has access to the knowledge and the addressee does not. Wouk (1998a) shows that in these cases the use of *kan* indicates that the speaker is trying to influence the perspective of the addressee by treating privileged knowledge as if it is jointly held. In a few cases *kan* is used when there is disagreement about knowledge.

In the following we draw on Wouk (1998a) to show how Indonesian youth use *kan* to attend to or extend common ground. In particular, we explore how *kan* is used to influence the perspective of the other and to negotiate common ground despite (or indeed because of) its basic appeal to joint knowledge. We posit the basic relational meaning of this interactional particle as follows.

> *Kan* is used by speaker to confirm that speaker and addressee share common ground; responsibility for this confirmation is shared by speaker and addressee.

Example (31) illustrates both this basic meaning, and how different stances can emerge from this meaning as *kan* is deployed in specific instances. Here, Candra and Radin are discussing romantic films and *kan* appears twice. In both cases, it indexes conjoint knowledge, but this has a subtly different function in each case.

(31) Malang: Looking for Experience

1	RADIN:	*Dari segi cerita,*
		From the standpoint of story,
2		*Aku paling suka segi romantisnya.*
		I really like romantic ones.
3		[*Da- oh*] --
		Fro- oh --
4	CANDRA:	[*Romantis*] *lagi.*
		Romance again.
5	RADIN:	.. *Bukan dari segi,*
		Not from the standpoint,

6		.. *dari,*
		from,
7		.. *termasuk film apakah itu=.*
		including that kind of film.
8	CANDRA:	*He-em.*
		Uh-huh.
9	RADIN:	.. *Dan itu yang paling kusukai.*
		And that's what I like the most.
10	CANDRA:	*Iya.*
		Yes.
11		*Romantis-*[*romantis*] *gitu.*
		romantic (ones) like that.
12	RADIN:	[*Iya*].
		Yes.
13	CANDRA:	*Tadi kamu bilang* ***kan*** *suka* [*film ya*].
		You said before **right** (you) like films right.
14	RADIN:	[*O=h suka*].
		Oh (I) do like (them).
15	CANDRA:	*Dari,*
		From,
16		*suka film* ***kan*** *ya.*
		(you) like films **right**.
17	RADIN:	*Iya.*
		Yeah.
18	CANDRA:	*Lha teros kalo kayak radio musik?*
		Then what about music radio?
19	RADIN:	*Radio musik saya tidak terlalu in-,*
		As for music radio I don't really,
20		*suka ya.*
		like (it) that much.

Radin discusses how much he enjoys romantic films. In line 9, he makes a move to round off this discussion by saying 'And that's what I like the most'. Candra acknowledges this and thus contributes to rounding off the discussion in lines 10–11. In line 13, Candra then uses *kan* to link the current discussion of romantic films back to a comment made by Radin in the previous discourse that he likes to watch films in general. In this instance, Candra's use of *kan* carries the basic sense of "confirming common ground" and also serves as a reminder of the epistemic source of this common ground (*tadi kamu bilang kan* 'you said before you know'). Radin ratifies this in line 14. Interestingly though, he does this not by

confirming the source of common ground, but rather the content of that common ground (*oh suka* ‘oh, [I] like [films]’). Candra picks up on this in line 15, now using *kan* to form a chain of alignment and acknowledge the content of the statement – Radin’s liking of films (*suka film kan*) – as newly (re)confirmed common ground. Radin reaffirms this in line 17 and Candra then moves onto a new topic about music radio. Candra’s second use of *kan* is reminiscent of Morita’s characterisation of Japanese *yo*, in that it indicates a need to have a stretch of speech “registered” before talk can progress.

Example (32) shows how *kan*, more than simply highlighting shared knowledge, helps to make complex backward- and forward-looking links between contingent segments of discourse. Here, Wida is telling Amsita about a trip she took to a remote village. Amru, who is Wida’s boyfriend, also knows the story and is contributing to the telling. In line 1 Wida says that the village was nice, but she could not say anything while she was there. The conversation focuses on what was nice about the village for 16 lines until, in line 19, Wida reintroduces the language issue.

(32) Bandung: Plush Toys

1	WIDA:	.. *Enak tapi aku gak bisa ngomo=ng <@ di* [*sana*]= @>.
		(It) was nice but I couldn’t talk there.
2	AMRU:	[*Hm-hm*].
		Uh-huh.
		(16 intervening lines in which they discuss the pleasant, old fashioned feeling of the village.)
19	WIDA:	**.. *Cuman*,**
		It’s just,
20		*mereka nggak ada* [*yang*] *ngomong bahasa Indonesia=*.
		none of them spoke Indonesian.
21	AMRU:	[*XX*]
22		.. *Bahasa Sunda.*
		Sundanese.
23	ASMITA:	*Enggak.*
		No.
24		*Emang gak boleh kali?*
		(They) really couldn’t then?
25	AMUR:	.. *Boleh.*
		(They) could.
26	WIDA:	.. *Boleh.*
		(They) could.
27	AMRU:	*Bisa.*
		(They) could.

28 WIDA: ..***Cuman kan*** [*karena*] .. *mayoritas,*
It's just you know because the majority,
29 AMRU: [*XX*]
30 WIDA: *kayak mungkin* [*mereka .. suku pribuminya*] ***ka=n.***
it seemed were indigenous people **you know**.
31 AMRU: [*Suku asli=*].
Indigenous people.
32 .. *Iya* [=].
Yes.
33 WIDA: [*Aku mau*] *ngomong,*
I wanted to talk,
34 .. *ya udah,*
alright already,
35 *omong XXX Bahasa Indonesia.*
(I'll) speak XXX Indonesian.

In line 19 Wida says the people there did not speak Indonesian and Amru clarifies that they spoke Sundanese instead. Wida introduces this with concessive *cuman* 'it's just', to highlight that this was the one drawback of an otherwise interesting visit. In lines 23–24 Asmita asks whether this is because they actually were not able to speak Indonesian, and in lines 25–27 Amru and Wida explain this is not the case, and that in fact the villagers could speak Indonesian. In lines 28–30, Wida then reformulates her point, using two tokens of *kan*. As in line 19, she begins with *cuman* 'it's just' but this time she marks it with *kan*. By highlighting conjoint awareness of the concessive point she was previously trying to make, *kan* here serves as a kind of resumptive discourse topic marker. However, in reformulating her point, Wida now takes a different tack, pointing out that this was an indigenous Sundanese village. She uses *karena* 'because' without explicitly (re)stating the point for which she is now providing a reason. Her use of *kan* to indicate a resumptive topic thus also helps orient the addressee by indicating that she is now providing the reason for the point she made in lines 19–20. Her statement that this is an indigenous village is also marked with *kan*. This second token of *kan* invokes jointly held cultural knowledge. Previously Wida and Amru had only described the village as remote and old fashioned and line 30 shows the first use of *pribumi* 'indigenous' (or similar formulations like Amru's use of *suku asli* in line 31). *Kan* thus invokes the generally held understanding that remote and old fashioned locations will probably have a strong ethno-local, indigenous identity. At the same time this statement also invokes the additional cultural assumption that such indigenous communities would tend to use their local language, and this explains the reason why Wida (who is not a Sundanese speaker)

had problems. This provides further nuance by suggesting that it was this strong cultural identity, rather than inability to speak Indonesian, that motivated the villagers to prefer Sundanese. Wida, for her part, then has to admit that in the end all she could do was speak Indonesian.

As we have seen, *kan* often links to previously mentioned information as a source of conjoint knowledge. This point is highlighted by the fact that in the conversational data we analyse, the most frequent collocations with *kan* are *gitu kan* 'like that *kan*' and *itu kan* 'that *kan*', which are both often used to refer back to something earlier in the discourse. In example (33) *gitu kan* has the additional function of rounding off something that has been said (also see Chapter 5) while calling for an addressee to take note of this rounding off.

(33) Malang: Dilemma

1	KETO:	*Pinginnya tuh kerja di perusahaan sana dulu.*
		I wanted to work in that company there first.
2		[***Gitu kan****?*]
		Like that right?
3	CANDRA:	[*He-eh*].
		Uh-huh.

Here Keto is telling a story about his past and how he became a radio announcer. At various points in this story, he uses *gitu* 'like that' and *kan* as information checks. *Kan* functions throughout the text as (re)confirmation of information just presented by the speaker and thus newly acquired by the hearer. When used in this way, *kan* normally requires a recipient response and Keto receives this from Candra in line 3.

Example (34) illustrates the collocation *itu kan* in line 8.

(34) Malang: Dilemma

1	KETO:	**Kan** *itu juga modal bisnis juga* **kan***?*
		You know that's also a business model too **right**?
2	CANDRA:	[*He-eh*].
		Uh-huh.
3	KETO:	[*Mengamati*] .. *sesuatu.*
		(I) kept a lookout for something.
4		*O=h kalo ada keadaannya kayak gini nih.*
		oh if something like this comes up.
5	CANDRA:	*O=h.*
		Oh.

6		*Peluangnya gimana=.*
		What would the opportunities be.
7	KETO:	*He-eh.*
		Uh-huh.
8		***Kan itu kan**,*
		You know that is you know,
9		*.. arah filsafat banget* [***kan***]*?*
		really philosophical **right**?
10	CANDRA:	[*He-eh*].
		Uh-uh.

In line 1 Keto says that his approach to life, which is to always try and appropriately read situations, can also be used as a business model. (We return below to the use of *kan* in line 1.) Keto then explains how this works by essentially voicing what would go on in his mind when he notices something, namely that he would think, "oh if something like this comes up". Candra ratifies this by continuing, and thereby co-constructing, this voicing; that is, she says one would continue to think, "oh what would the opportunities be" (see Chapter 5). In line 7, Keto acknowledges that Candra understands this correctly. Keto now wants to add a further evaluation about this general approach to life by saying, "that (approach) is very philosophical". Here, the use of *kan itu kan* rather emphatically seeks confirmation that Candra understands that *itu* 'that' is referring to his approach to life and that this is now clearly conjoint knowledge. This use of *kan* may be viewed as enacting an epistemic stance, in that Keto uses it to emphasise the importance of Candra "getting it". This epistemic understanding emerges from the use of *kan* to mark conjoint knowledge at this point in the discourse.

We now return to the use of *kan* in line 1 of this same example. This is the first time Keto has mentioned that his approach to life is also like a business model and so cannot actually be conjoint knowledge, yet it is marked with *kan* twice. On the one hand, the notion that looking out for opportunities is important in a business model could be considered general world knowledge and *kan* could be marking this as shared common ground. At the same time, Keto's point is that his general life strategy is like such a business model. His use of *kan* is thus also sending the signal that while Candra may not have noticed this connection, she should notice it and accept it as shared knowledge. Wouk (1998a) has shown that this is in fact a frequent function of *kan* – to expand common ground by treating speaker's privileged knowledge as if it were shared speaker-addressee knowledge. This is what Keto is doing here. Candra responds with *he-eh* 'uh-huh' and the conversation can move on. After Keto and Candra

have jointly constructed a voicing of how Keto would respond to opportunities in lines 3–7, Keto then states that this way of dealing with life is in fact very philosophical (lines 8–9). As we saw above, Keto's use of *kan* helps to emphatically draw Candra's attention to the topic (Keto's life strategy) and indicates his strong investment in having her focus on what he is about to say. In line 9, Keto's comment about this topic – that it is very philosophical – is essentially new information for Candra, yet Keto marks it as conjoint knowledge with *kan*. As with line 1, here too Keto is drawing Candra in and getting her to acknowledge that what may not have been shared knowledge is (now) part of common ground. As in line 2, Candra again accepts this common ground with *he-eh* 'uh-huh' (line 10), and this renders Keto's statement enchronically effective as it has elicited the expected response.

As well as appearing at the right periphery, the interactional particle *kan* often appears at the start and in the middle of a stretch of language. In all positions, the form *kan* carries the perduring meaning of "presupposed conjoint knowledge", and, as we have seen, is mobilised for a variety of interactional purposes. This is particularly apparent in narratives in the written discourse types we examine – Teenlit, comics and online discourse. In (35) we see an example of *kan* positioned between a topic or subject element and the following comment or predicate. This position often corresponds with a topicalising function, as shown by Wouk (1998a). This position of *kan* is particularly frequent in the written discourse types we analyse, where it often functions simultaneously to topicalise and to introduce shared general knowledge. It is also noteworthy that in these written data, *kan* most commonly collocates with a first person pronoun. We see this in the following three examples, where *kan* is used with the first person to introduce accessible and interpretable social tropes. In (35) a Kaskuser opens a narrative about herself. The particle *kan* here arguably serves a topicalisation function but it also introduces social tropes, through which other Kaskus users may better understand the story.

(35) Ask da boys #287 – Jarudin
agan dan sista bantuin lah
ane ***kan*** *LDR (Long Distance Relationship) awal nya gak*
cuma karena ane pindah ke bekasi (dia di Bandung) jadi gitu deh

agan and *sista* please help me
I'm **you know** in an LDR (Long Distance Relationship)
but not at first
It's just that I moved to Bekasi (he's in Bandung) and that's how it happened you see

In this instance, the Kaskuser introduces the cultural trope within which her query can be understood, namely that she is in a long-distance relationship. The *ane kan* 'I'm you know' here in the first instance serves as a topicalisation device. It indicates that the poster's privileged knowledge will be transitioned to conjoint knowledge and consequently that common ground will be extended. However, the information that follows *ane kan* immediately positions the 'I' in relation to the familiar cultural trope of long distance relationships. We also see the invocation of familiar social tropes in Teenlit, given in example (36).

(36) *Jurnal Jo* (Terate 2009: 16)

*"Memang tulisannya Ally, tapi bacanya 'e' bukan 'a'," kata Sally muncrat-muncrat. Melihat reaksinya, aku merasa Sally tidak begitu suka nama barunya, tapi dia lebih percaya pada Novi Ovum. Yeah, aku **kan** memang bukan cewek gaul kosmopolitan (catatan: aku tidak tahu arti kata kosmopolitan meski namaku Jo).*

"It really is spelled Ally, but you read it as 'e', not as 'a'," Sally shot back. Seeing her reaction, I got the sense Sally didn't really like her new name, but she also had more faith in Novi Ovum. Well, **you know** cause I'm not really a cool cosmopolitan girl (note: I don't know what cosmopolitan means, despite my name being Jo).

The use of *aku kan* here appears towards the end of a journal entry in which Jo complains about how other girls are changing their names to be *gaul* 'trendy, cosmopolitan'. After complaining about Sally and Novi (the latter has been giving advice on how to be *gaul*), Jo uses *aku kan* to distance herself from a particular social type, the cosmopolitan *gaul* girl. The use of *kan* here invokes presupposed conjoint knowledge of such a social type. The reader of the journal (and the book) will be familiar with this social type, most likely from their daily life, but if not then from the discussion in the preceding discourse.

This section has shown how the interactional particle *kan* enables its users to position themselves as sharing common ground with the addressee. This basic relational meaning of *kan* can be seen across interactional contexts. At the same time, this meaning is mobilised, often in conjunction with other resources, in order to accomplish various social actions in local contexts. That is, the specific meaning of *kan* only emerges through its use for public and joint displays of stance-taking. *Kan* regularly marks knowledge that is shared by speaker and addressee, or knowledge shared by virtue of being generally known in society. In other contexts *kan* facilitates the transitioning of speaker's privileged knowledge to knowledge that is shared by speaker and addressee. In all cases, the user of

kan most commonly wishes the recipient to recognise and register something as "known", and so part of common ground, such that a conversation or narrative can continue. In order to register an event as known, *kan* marks an appeal to conjoint information that may have appeared earlier in the discourse, or may be known through the existing relationship or the wider socio-cultural sphere. The particle *kan* may also be used to render generally accepted knowledge relevant to the current discussion. So, for instance, the uses of *kan* in examples (35) and (36) show how social tropes could be invoked relative to the self and made relevant for local purposes. But what makes *kan* particularly useful for interactants is that it can be used to invoke a range of seemingly incongruent stances and social actions such softening, confirming or challenging a proposition, and topicalisations. These can be explained in the first instance by the basic relational meaning of *kan* and in the second instance by how this meaning comes to bear on, and is taken up in, the immediate context.

3.4 Modulating perspectives

The previous discussion of the interactional particle *kan* highlighted its role in indicating conjoint knowledge, that is common ground that is not only shared by speaker and addressee, but is also recognised as such by both. Interlocutors have, or are assumed to have, similar access and similar relationships to common ground. That is, *kan* confirms that speaker and addressee are on the same page, as it were. The next three interactional particles that we examine differ from *kan* in that they all indicate some kind of dissimilar relationship between interlocutors, and relative to common ground. The particle *sih* highlights a strong desire on the part of speaker that the addressee should respond to what is being said and update common ground accordingly. *Deh* on the other hand suggests a certain level of indifference on the part of the speaker: it is up to the addressee as to whether common ground is updated or not. Finally *dong* indicates the speaker strongly believes that addressee should already share common ground but for some reason has not attended to it, and so should immediately update common ground accordingly. In all cases there is an attempt, at some level, on the part of the speaker to modulate the perspective of the addressee in regard to what is being said. These represent the general relational meanings of these three interactional particles we examine in this section. As with *kan*, we will show that a range of stances can be put forward and social actions undertaken through deployment of these particles, and that particular meanings will emerge during interaction.

3.4.1 Registering speaker's desire with *sih*

The interactional particle *sih* appears in a number of structural positions. It can occur at the end of a statement, at the end of a question, or it can mark a topic. Researchers have posited a number of different functions for *sih*. Sneddon (2006) says *sih* functions as a conversational softener in both statements and questions. He finds that in questions in particular, *sih* can indicate detachment on the part of the speaker and this provides a softening effect similar to question-final *then* in English. In some cases, however, Sneddon notes that *sih* may emphasise a word. The Echols and Shadily (1989) dictionary provides a similar definition of *sih*, describing it as a particle that can varyingly soften or emphasise an utterance, but also one that acts as a topic-marker. As a topic marker, *sih* often indicates resumptive or contrastive information (Ewing 2005). Miyake (2015) suggests a range of specific functions for *sih*, including marking ironic questions, complaints, contrasts, emotion and justification. Sari (2009) links the differing functions of *sih* to prosody, asking whether it is used with a rising or falling intonation. She argues that falling intonation is indicative of speaker certainty while rising intonation indicates a sense of urgency or enthusiasm to receive a response. For Sari this sense of urgency is often associated with questions, yet this diverges from the sense of detachment (Sneddon 2006) or irony (Miyake 2015) that other researchers have attributed to the use of *sih* with questions. Our analysis of *sih* based on the youth data suggests that what underlies all uses of *sih* is a sense of urging the addressee to accept what is being said. We thus formulate the basic relational meaning of *sih* as follows.

> *Sih* is used by speaker to urge addressee to update common ground; this arises from speaker's desire for addressee to accept what is being said.

As with *kan*, the use of *sih* is both linked to this basic relational meaning and grounded in specific contexts, such that a variety of stances can emerge when it is used. It is the emergent nature of interactional particles that helps explain the range of sometimes conflicting meanings ascribed to *sih* by different researchers.

The following two examples illustrate *sih* being used in statements. In example (37) Mina has been talking about things she is tired of with her university studies. In doing so she has forgotten the acronym PKL, which stands for *Praktek Kerja Lapangan* 'Field Study Program', and just before the start of this segment a friend reminds her what the acronym is.

(37) Malang: Talking Madura

1 MINA: *Ya itu PKL.*
Yeah it's PKL.

2	*Ke mana itu nggak tahu lah.* (I) don't know where it will be.
3	*Penempatan apa itu.* What kind of placement it will be.
4	*Udah kita nggak usah ikutan aja ya.* What if we just don't join eh.
5	.. *Bosen* ***sih*****.** (I'm) bored (of it all) you know.

In line 1, Mina registers that she now remembers the term she had forgotten. She then goes on to explain that the reason she is not interested in joining the field study program is because it is not clear where the placement will be. At the point where she expresses how she feels in line 5, she uses *sih*. Following some of the standard statements about the meaning of *sih* mentioned above, one might say that *sih* acts as a kind of emphasis here. But simply labelling it "emphasis" does not explain what is being emphasised and how *sih* accomplishes this. The notion of emphasis might mean she is stressing the degree of boredom; however there is no indication that she is saying she is extremely bored. Rather, we argue that the basic relational meaning of *sih* has to do with how and why Mina wants her addressee to update common ground: she is highlighting her desire that this be done, and that it be done in relation to this point. In this case, Mina really wants her addressees to know how she feels. That is, she is indicating that the key point of her utterance is not so much about the details of the ineffectual bureaucracy associated with the PKL program which she alludes to in lines 2–4, but that she feels fed up with all these things.

Example (37) might be considered a prototypical case of *sih*, directly indicating how speaker (self) wants addressee (other) to update common ground. However, *sih* can also be used when people are speaking to themselves; that is, when speaker and addressee are both the self. This is represented in the extract from Teenlit in (38).

(38) *Online Addicted* (Tjiunata 2011: 21)
"Grrr!" Icha menggeram marah. Aneh banget ***sih*** *orang-orang itu! Minta maaf juga nggak. Keterlaluan!*

"Grrr!" Icha growled angrily. Those people are **really** very strange! They won't even say sorry. Outrageous!

Icha is feeling angry. Using a device called free indirect discourse (see Chapter 5), the narrator then presents an explanation for this anger as if it was being expressed by Icha rather than by an omnipresent narrator. We read this explanation

as if we are hearing what Icha is thinking. As with the previous example, *sih* is used at a point of evaluation, *aneh banget sih* 'really very strange'. This can be understood as the narrator urging the reader to understand what has caused Icha to be angry. It can also be read as Icha coming to this realisation herself. By updating for herself what she understands about these people, she can feel satisfied that her feelings are justified. A stance of (self-satisfied) realisation is being expressed and this comes from the basic relational meaning of *sih*, grounded in the current situation. A stance of realisation is, in a sense, the self consciously updating common ground with the self.

Example (39) contains three tokens of *sih*.

(39) *A Little White Lie* (Titish 2007: 18)

1 *"Kalo gitu, aku ganti pertanyaannya. Kok kamu nggak pake nama aslimu aja? Ocha! Tujuanmu SMS dia kan biar bisa kenal, Cha! Kamu emang jadi kenal dia. Tapi dia kan nggak kenal kamu. Yang dia kenal cuma kamu yang palsu. Mita! Kok mesti pake nama samaran segala* ***sih****?"*

2 *"Nggak berani," jawabku singkat.*

3 *"Kalo gitu kamu pengecut."*

4 *Hah? Pengecut? Bener juga* ***sih*** *... Tapi, kok Pia tega bilang aku begitu? Aku cuma diam, nggak berani membalas kata-kata Pia barusan.*

5 *"Cha ... Kok diem? Sori ... Marah ya, aku bilang gitu barusan?" Pia menghentikan makannya dan mendekat ke arahku.*

6 *"Nggak* ***sih****. Bener kok, aku pengecut!"*

1 "In that case, I'll change the question. How come you don't use your real name? Ocha! The reason you SMS-ed him was to get to know him, right? Sure you've got to know him. But he hasn't got to know you, has he? He only knows a fake you. Mita! Why do (you) have to use an alias and all, **can you tell me**?"

2 "(I'm) not confident," was my short answer.

3 "In that case you're a coward."

4 Huh? A coward? (That's) **really** kind of true ... but how could Pia say that about me? I was just silent, not confident enough to answer what Pia just said.

5 "Cha ... Why are (you) silent? Sorry ... (you're) angry about what I just said huh?" Pia stopped eating and moved toward me.

6 "No **it's not like that**. (It's) true, I'm a coward!"

In paragraph 4, *bener juga sih* '(that's) really kind of true' is a case of self-realisation presented through free indirect discourse, like that in (38). Ocha is

at first surprised, but then immediately accepts Pia's assessment that she is a coward, although she still wonders why Pia said it to her. In paragraph 6 Ocha is now speaking directly to Pia, responding to Pia's apology for making Ocha angry. Ocha says *nggak sih* 'no it's not like that'. She is in the first instance disagreeing with Pia by saying that she is in fact not angry when Pia has thought that she was. But ultimately Ocha is stressing the sincerity of what she is saying by using *sih* and with this, her desire for Pia to really understand that not only is she not angry but also that she in fact agrees and accepts Pia's evaluation that she is a coward. The immediate effect of using *sih* here is to effect realignment between the two friends. The sincere realignment that is happening with *sih* can also be seen as softening Ocha's reply, since *nggak* 'no' on its own might seem abrupt. "Softening" is one of main functions of *sih* often mentioned in literature, and we see here how this can emerge through use, but as we argue, this is not its basic relational meaning.

Paragraph 1 of example (39) illustrates the use of *sih* with a question, another of the three structural positions where this interactional particle can occur. Here the desire to urge acceptance of what is being said has to do with the question itself. The speaker is saying that they sincerely want to know something by asking the question. In the present context, this is consistent with Pia sincerely wanting to know what motivated her friend to take the silly action of pretending to be someone else when she texted a boy she likes. Pia is not being sarcastic or accusatory in asking this. She is showing real concern for her friend and this is indicated by the use of *sih*.

It has also been noted that *sih* marks subjects and topics. In this structural position, *sih* marks a kind of contrastive stress, indicating that the topic of the current utterance is this particular referent in contrast to some other referent, which may be either explicitly mentioned or implied. In terms of the basic relational meaning of *sih*, we can see that this also expresses speaker's strong desire that addressee attend to the particular stretch of discourse marked by *sih*, that is, the topic or subject. The speaker is essentially saying "at this point I want you to attend to this", and the implication is that addressee should attend to this rather than something else. In this usage, the most common collocation of *sih* is with a first person referent. A very explicit contrast is illustrated in example (40). The participants are discussing their pop-up business selling plush toys and are debating whether to buy new shelving to display their merchandise, and who should pay for it. In line 1 Amru suggests that they pay for the shelving as a group and later they can sell it and divide up the money. In line 4–7 Asmita disagrees, saying they would never be able to resell simple shelving of the type they plan to get.

(40) Bandung: Plush Toys

1	AMRU:	.. *oh iya modalin boneka tetep bisa kita jual berarti?* oh yeah that means by treating (it) as capital for the plush toys (we) can sell (it) later.
2		.. [*iya kan*]? right?
3	WIDA:	[@@@]
4	ASMITA:	*Enggak lah.* No.
5	WIDA:	@ (H)
6	ASMITA:	*Enggak akan mungkin bisa dijual,* We couldn't possibly sell it,
7		*kalau XX- rak kaya gini doang.* if it's a just shelving like this.
8	WIDA:	*Ya dah lah.* Yes we could.
9		[*Gimana Amru aja*]. Whatever Amru thinks.
10	AMRU:	[*Ini alat bantu kita buat*] – This is something to help us –
11		.. *buat usaha berarti.* meaning (it's) for (our) business.
12	ASMITA:	*Iyah.* Yes.
13		***Aku sih*** *ngarepnya gini.* **As for me** what I want is this.
14		*Aku kalau misalnya ada uang,* For example if I have some money,
15		*gitu.* like that.
16		*Jadi bagian aku yang beli rak satu lagi gitu.* Then I will buy additional shelving.
17	AMRU:	*Ah.* Oh.
18		*boleh=.* okay.

In lines 8–9 Wida, who is Amru's girlfriend, agrees with Amru, who reiterates his reasoning in lines 10–11. At this point, Asmita makes a practical suggestion for how to overcome the impasse. She introduces this in line 13 using *sih*: *Aku sih*

ngarepnya gini 'As for me, what I want is this', where the intent of *sih* is translated as 'as for ...' and its effect in context is to contrast Asmita's point of view with Amru's. The effect is built on the basic relational meaning of urging the addressee to attend to what one is saying at this point. The way Asmita wants her addressees to attend to what she is saying is by accepting her distinctive contribution to the discussion, in contrast to Amru's idea. Her plan is to buy the shelving herself, so that when the project is finished, it will simply be hers and they will not have to figure out how to divide it amongst them. And indeed, she is successful and Amru immediately agrees to the suggestion.

Example (41) is from Kaskus, showing a response from alishasepta to another Kaskuser who had asked how to get her boyfriend to understand her desires.

(41) Ask da Girls #5844 – alishasepta

Kalo menurutku, yang penting itu komunikasi. Cowo ngga suka cara ngomong cewe yang ribet dan ga to the point. Dan, sayangnya kadang kita kayak gitu. Haha

***Saranku sih**, kamu ngomong langsung apa yang kamu mau dan inginkan dari dia. Oke*

According to me, what's most important is communication. Guys don't like the way girls talk that is impractical and not to the point. And, unfortunately sometimes we're like that. Haha

My advice I say, is that you should say directly what you want and desire from him. Okay

Alishasepta has provided general background first, by saying that communication is important and that guys do not like it when girls are not direct. Then when she provides the answer to the poster's question, she introduces this with a phrase marked by *sih*: *saranku sih* 'my advice I say' or 'as for my advice'. In accordance with the basic relational meaning of *sih*, this highlights the key piece of information that alishasepta wants to get across. In so doing, this also sets up the kind of contrastive stress that is associated with the use of *sih* in this grammatical position: I am now giving you the advice, as opposed to the background information I just provided. This can also be seen to have the function of focusing on the key piece of information the writer is providing, and in that sense is consistent with the notion of emphasis that other researchers have proposed. The two latter points – focusing and emphasising – can be seen to arise out of the use of *sih* in this specific context.

We have shown that *sih* has a basic relational meaning of urging addressee to update common ground due to speaker's desire for addressee to accept what is being said. The use of *sih* highlights for an addressee that the speaker considers

the utterance important and believes it should be tended to. This indexes a certain immediacy and the need or desire for the hearer or reader to "do something" with the new information. Yet, notably, unlike *kan*, an addressee is not expected to explicitly acknowledge the utterance. Like other interactional particles, the specific stance that *sih* supports only emerges in interaction. Indeed the variety of specific stances that arise in actual language use accounts for the variety of meanings ascribed to *sih* in the literature on Indonesian discourse markers.

3.4.2 Registering indifference with *deh*

Like other interactional particles, *deh* is not easily translated into English, and a range of different meanings and functions have been attributed to it. Dictionaries and past research have suggested that *deh* can be used to urge someone to do something, emphasise the truth of an utterance, indicate information focus or soften imperatives (e.g., Ewing 2005; Ikranagara 1975b; Quinn 2001; Sneddon 2006; Stevens and Schmidgall-Tellings 2010). Yet our analysis of the data used for this book suggests that *deh* actually has a deemphasising function. We formulate its basic relational meaning as follows.

> *Deh* is used by speaker to indicate indifference to common ground; the onus is on the addressee as to whether common ground is updated or not.

The effect of *deh* is that the speaker/writer is just laying something out and it is up to the addressee what will be done with the information. This is reminiscent of the currently fashionable English phrase *I'm just sayin'* which does a kind of trivialising work that indicates a lack of investment by speaker in what is being said (Kiesling 2011: 10). However, as with *I'm just sayin'* or similar trivialisers like *whatever*, it is important to keep in mind that it is a stance of indifference that is being projected, but this does not necessarily mean that the speaker is actually indifferent to what they are saying. This stance of indifference may in fact do important interactional work which helps the speaker make their point.

The line in (42) from Kaskus nicely illustrates this sense of indifference. Kaskuser 1k4n_4s1n is responding to a question from another forum member who asked whether guys like girls who play online games. Note the contrast between the heightened commitment indexed by *sih* with the distancing effect of *deh*.

(42) Ask da Girls #5747 – 1k4n_4s1n
kalo g ***sih*** *engga, ga tau* ***deh*** *yang laen*
As for me (***sih***) no, (I) don't know (***deh***) about others

1k4n_4s1n makes the strong point in response to the poster's question that he does not like girls who play online games. At the same time he also makes it clear that he does not intend this to be a generalisation. *Sih* contributes to this interpretation because by using *sih* 1k4n_4s1n sets himself apart from others – he does not like gamer girls whereas others might. In addition, he also says that he does not know whether others do or not, and by using *deh* he suggests that he does not particularly care what others might think. Any further discussion, including determining whether this is a general trend among the guys on Kaskus, he leaves up to others.

The sense of casual indifference indicated by *deh* means that it is particularly useful with imperatives. Because it conveys a feeling that the speaker is not strongly committed to what is being said, it makes an imperative feel less demanding. This, we argue, is what gives rise to the sense of *deh* as a softener for imperatives which other researchers have mentioned previously in the literature. In the Teenlit excerpt in (43), Novi (nicknamed Ovie Ovum) has been explaining to Sally (nicknamed Ally) and Jo (the narrator) how to be cool (or *gaul*). Novi suggests that they wear mini-skirts, a suggestion Sally agrees with immediately.

(43) *Jurnal Jo* (Terate 2009: 17)

1 *Sally, eh, Ally langsung setuju. Kelihatannya ia sudah kebelet banget pakai rok mini. Masalahnya rok seragamnya sudah jadi dan panjangnya berapa meter di bawah lutut. "**Percaya deh**, Mama bakal marah-marah kalau rok itu kupotong."*

2 *"Memangnya ibuku tidak?" tanya Ovie Ovum santai. "Anak gaul harus kreatif. Lipat aja rokmu ke dalam, jepit pakai paper clip."*

3 *Sally langsung histeris, "Kamuuu memang genius sekali!!!!"*

1 Sally, I mean, Ally immediately agreed. It's clear she couldn't wait to wear a mini skirt. The issue was her school uniform was ready-made and it fell metres below her knees. **"Believe it or not**, my mum would get really angry if I cut this skirt."

2 "And my mother wouldn't?" asked Ovie Ovum calmly. "*Gaul* kids have to be creative. Just fold your hem up, and pin it with paperclips."

3 Sally fell into hysterics, "You are a true genius!!!!"

At the end of the first paragraph, Sally tells Novi to believe (*percaya*) her. She modulates this imperative with *deh*. This has a trivialising effect, something like saying 'believe it or not'. Sally wants Novi to know her mum will get mad if they cut her skirt, but at the same time she does not want to sound like she is making too big a deal out of it in order to show she is being laid-back. It turns out that it is the same for Novi (*Memangnya ibuku tidak?* 'And my mother wouldn't?') but

Figure 3.1: Uptake of *deh* in interaction (Seven Artland 2011: 56)

Novi does not need to modulate this, since she is already confidently cool. Rather, she offers the solution: pinning up their uniforms to make temporary miniskirts.

The particle *deh* often occurs with statements and it is frequently used when the speaker or writer knows or anticipates that the hearer or reader does not share their perspective and wishes to subtly influence the hearer's or reader's thoughts or actions in this regard. The form *deh* thus indexes a speaker's or writer's suggestion to (re)calibrate a misaligned perspective, but this is modulated by expressing minimal investment on the part of the speaker. In the comic example in Figure 3.1, translated in (44), the man says he is serious and wants to consider marriage. Rie however suggests that they wait four or five years.

(44) Dating | *Lima tahun lagi* 'Five more years'

1   [man, 33 years old]

MAN: I'm serious (about us) and am ready to get married: and we're the right age, Rie.

[woman, 26 years old]

RIE: What?! Uh ...

2 RIE: How about if we wait 4–5 more years?

[I don't want to rush things **actually (*deh*)**.]

MAN: I don't want to wait 4–5 years.

RIE: ...

3 MAN: In 4–5 more years my hair will start to get grey. My stomach will start to bloat. My face will start to get oily. Not to mention the threat of heart disease and high blood pressure.

RIE: [Err ...]

4 RIE: Well then if that's how you'll look in 4–5 years, it'd be better if we rethink this relationship.
MAN: ....
[withdraw ...]

Rie's suggestion in frame 2 is made in regular sized font. She then sets out her argument for waiting ('I don't want to rush things') but uses *deh* to downplay what she has just said: it speaks to her feelings and she does not want to make too big a deal about out of it. This point is also presented in a smaller font and at an angle. Although the line is produced within Rie's speech bubble, it has the quality of what Unser-Schutz (2011) calls "background lines" or thoughts which in comics are often "a mystery as to whether or not they were meant to be heard by other characters or simply personal remarks made only for the 'speakers' themselves" (Unser-Schutz 2011: 74; also see Chapter 5). The ambivalent quality of the background line perfectly matches and reinforces the minimalising stance expressed by *deh*. The man chooses to ignore Rie's point – either because it was downplayed with *deh* or because it was actually not heard – and he presses on with his reasons for not wanting to wait. As we noted above, the stance of indifference expressed by *deh* does not necessarily mean the speaker is in fact indifferent, and indeed we see in the final frame that the woman is quite serious as she withdraws her hand and suggests that they reconsider their relationship.

The word most frequently collocating with *deh* in the data is *aja* 'just, only, merely'. Like its English equivalents, *aja* can have a minimalising effect and so reinforces the sense of indifference indexed by *deh*. This is illustrated in (45) from Kaskus, the concluding summary of a longer stretch of discourse. Another forum user, pall1, who has said that he comes across as too serious, has asked how he can present himself as more interesting to girls. Dzcntk suggests talking about anything, including things that are not particularly important like hobbies. In the excerpt dzcntk then says talking to girls becomes easier once you find something in common.

(45) Ask da girls #5782 – dzcntk
Apalagi gan, kalo udah nemu kesamaan (exp: dlam hobi, kesenengan) makingampang ***aja deh***
Kalo menurut ane ***sih****, perbanyak aja obrolan yg gak penting gan ...*

Moreover *gan*, if (you've) already found enough similarities (exp: in terms of hobbies, happiness) (things) **just** get easier **you know**
According to me **then**, the most important thing is just to talk about unimportant things *gan* ...

The use of *deh* along with *aja* in *makingampang* [sic] *aja deh* '(things) just get easier you know' presents this information as nothing special, just the obvious direction things will naturally go. As in example (42), the information marked with *deh* provides general explanatory background, while the key point of the post – the actual advice from dzcntk to pall1 – is marked by *sih* to show that this is where the focus of attention should be.

Deh also often collocates with a range of epistemic framing devices. As shown by Englebretson (2003, 2007), Indonesian speakers have at their disposal a series of adverbials that index evidentiality (i.e., "source of knowledge"), assessment of interactional relevance (i.e., the value a speaker places on an utterance) and affect (i.e., the speaker's emotional or mental attitude). These epistemic adverbials are formed with the clitic *-nya* and include words like *pokoknya* 'the point is', *kayanya* 'it seems like', *soalnya* 'the problem is', *katanya* 'they say' and *misalnya* 'for example'. The use of *deh* together with a framing device can either downplay the stronger force of something like *pokoknya* 'the thing is', as in example (46), or reinforce the hedging quality of a framing device like *kayanya* 'it seems like', as in (47).

(46) Malang: Choosing a Major

1	KARINA:	*Oh jadi pengen anak cowok.* Oh, so they wanted to have a boy.
2	FEBY:	*Iya=.* Yes.
3		*Tadinya tuh aku tuh,* Back then I,
4		*udah sene=ng banget jadi anak terakhir.* was really happy being the last born.
5		*Eh gak tahunya.* But I had no idea.
6	KARINA:	@.
7	FEBY:	***Pokoknya** beda **deh** perlakuannya= adekku,* **The point is** my little brother's treatment was **sort of** different,
8		*sama kita bertiga tuh beda.* compared to the three of us (it) was different.
9		*.. Kelihatan gitu bedanya.* The difference was noticeably.
10		*Namanya dia anak cowok sendiri ya.* What else can you expect when he's the only boy you know.
11		*Beda **deh pokoknya**.* (It) was **kind of** different **is the point**.

In (46), Feby expresses her view of how her younger brother was treated, in comparison to her and her sisters. Because he was the last born after several girls, Feby's friend suggests the parents were hoping for a boy. Feby agrees this is the case and says that before her brother was born, she liked being the youngest child. She then goes on to explain that for her the issue is not that her parents wanted a boy, but that he is treated differently from the other siblings. In line 7, she introduces this with the adverbial frame *pokoknya* 'the point is', which rather emphatically highlights the centrality of what she is about to say. At the same time she marks this with *deh*, thus downplaying her comment. She is "just saying" her brother's treatment is rather different, but she does not want her interlocutors to think she is trying to imply anything by saying this. It is up to them to draw their own conclusions. As we have already noted, the stance of indifference that is indexed by *deh* displays how the speaker wants to present themselves but does not necessarily mean the speaker is actually indifferent to what they are saying. We can see that Feby is actually rather invested in this issue as she continues to talk about it for four more lines, ending by repeating *beda deh pokonya* '(it) was kind of different is the point'. She continues to try to have her cake and eat it too by strengthening her claim through repetition, while at the same time downplaying its significance though use of *deh*.

In example (47) *deh* reinforces the reduced epistemic investment expressed by *kayaknya* 'it seems like'. Asmita has been trying to find out about different English courses available to help improve her IELTS score. Her friends are not particularly sure, and Asmita wonders if Miss Euis, who teaches at Itenas, a university in Bandung, might know.

(47) Bandung: On the Verge

1	ASMITA:	... *(1.7) Bu Euis?*
		Miss Euis?
2	RINTO:	... *Ga tau* ***dah****.*
		(I) don't know **actually**.
3	FARID:	.. *Itenas,*
		Itenas,
4		*ada ya,*
		has (an English course) yeah,
5		*tapi teknik semua yang boleh ikut* ***deh***
		but only engineering students can join in **I'd say**.
6		***kayanya*** *ya.*
		it seems you know.
7	ASMITA	.. *Iya=h.*
		Yeah (ok).

In line 2 Rinto says he does not know, using *dah*, a variant of *deh*, which downplays even further his already rather non-committal answer. Farid thinks there is an English course at Itenas. However, it might not be appropriate for Asmita since it is only for students of the engineering faculty. But like Rinto, Farid wants to downplay his remark and uses both *deh* in line 5 and *kayanya* 'it seems' in line 6. Here the epistemic marker *kayanya* and *deh* reinforce each other. Asmita responds by saying *iya=h* 'yes' with a lengthened vowel. This suggests she is not particularly convinced by the non-committal responses of her two interlocutors and she goes on to present evidence that there might actually be some other opportunities to study English.

This section has shown that contrary to earlier suggestions in the literature that *deh* might be used to urge the addressee to do something, or otherwise provide some sort of emphasis, in fact the basic relational meaning of *deh* is to display a sense of indifference by the speaker as to how the addressee might attend to what has been said. This sense is similar to English discourse markers like *I'm just sayin'* or *whatever*. Again, as we have seen with other interactional particles, this basic meaning can contribute to different stance-taking moves in different interactional contexts. Using *deh* with imperatives to downplay one's commitment can have a softening effect. With statements, various stances might be reinforced by *deh*, including hedging due to lack of knowledge, claiming lack of emotional investment, or suggesting that what is said is simply normal, common knowledge. However, presentation of indifference should not be interpreted as actual indifference – a point we will see played out in example (54) in the following section.

3.4.3 Registering accountability with *dong*

The form *dong* has been described in the literature as an emphatic particle which strongly asserts the truth of an utterance (e.g., Djenar 2003; Ikranagara 1975b; Quinn 2001; Sneddon 2006). In particular, the form *dong* conveys the sense that the listener should already be aware of the information that has been provided. We posit the basic relational meaning of *dong* as follows.

> *Dong* is used by speaker to demand addressee recognises common ground; this arises from the sense that addressee should already have this knowledge.

Dong then invokes presupposed conjoint knowledge and in that sense may seem similar to *kan*, discussed in Section 3.3. But unlike *kan*, which may be used to gently expand common ground, *dong* invokes accountability to common ground:

the addressee is held to account because of the strong expectation that they should have already had this knowledge.

In example (48), the participants are discussing different computer programs used for design. Amru is explaining how different commands work in AutoCAD.

(48) Bandung: Plush Toys

1	AMRU:	*Terus kalau,* Then if,
2		*misalkan mau ... delete,* for example (you) want to delete,
3		*.. pakai E erase.* use E erase.
4	ASMITA:	*.. Iyah.* Yes.
5	AMRU:	*... E,* [*spasi*]. E, space.
6	ASMITA:	[*Sama kaya SketchUp* ***dong***]. That's **just** the same as SketchUp.
7	AMRU:	*He-he sp- -- Sama kaya SketchUp.* Uh-huh – the same as SketchUp.
8		*Cuman,* Only,
9	ASMITA:	[*Cuman*], Only,
10	AMRU:	[*agak*] *lebih,* rather more,
11	ASMITA:	*lebih kompleks ya?* more complicated right?

In line 6, Asmita interjects that what Amru is describing is the same as the commands in SketchUp, a program with which she is more familiar. Asmita's use of *dong* suggests that she thinks Amru should already know that the two programs are similar and that his explanation should take this into account. That is, Asmita takes what she considers to be generally available knowledge and demands that Amru take this into account in the current discourse context. Amru immediately concedes that Amsita is correct, but in lines 8 and 10 begins to justify what he has been saying by pointing out that there are differences. Interestingly, Asmita comes on board at this point and co-constructs the justification with Amru in lines 9 and 11, suggesting it is more complicated.

As with the other interactional particles, *dong* often collocates with other linguistic elements which help to create a composite meaning within context. In the following example *dong* occurs with *juga* 'also, too', a common collocation in the data. As with example (48), here the use of *dong* helps to make some information that the speaker believes should be common knowledge relevant to the current discourse. (See Scheibman 2007 for an analysis of the ways speakers construct stances in conversation through the use of generalisations.) In the comic frame in Figure 3.2, translated in (49), Lala talks to her husband about a song they hear on the radio.

(49) *Musik* 'Music'

	[Music: incommunicado...incommunicado]
AYI:	What kind of music is this? Can I change it?
LALA:	This is Marillion. Did you know, (know-it-all mode on) the band's name is taken from Tolkien's book, 'The Simarillion'. You're a fan of LOTR [Lord of the Rings] right, you **totally** have to **like** this, **too**!
AYI:	Being a fan of the books and movies might not mean having to **like** this kind of music **too** .... !!

Figure 3.2: *Dong* to make a generalisation relevant to current discourse. (Putri 2009: 23)

Lala and Ayi do not always agree about music. In (49) her husband is less than enthusiastic about the song currently playing and asks whether he can turn it off. Lala, on the other hand, likes the song and she is excited to tell her husband about what she believes to be the interesting origin of the band's name: a book by Tolkien. Most relevant to our current discussion, Lala asserts as general principle that if one likes *The Lord of the Rings* then one has to like the band too. In making this generalisation, Lala selects the form *juga* to update common ground between herself and her husband with regard to the discourse object, the music. The use of *juga* serves to expand the knowledge shared between interlocutors and creates alignment relative to the discourse object (see Du Bois 2007). In this case, Lala seeks to make a link between liking *The Lord of the Rings* and the music. In doing so, Lala enacts a strong deontic stance vis-à-vis this link by using *harus* 'must, have to' and this is reinforced with *dong* to highlight how obvious her remark is. Lala seeks, perhaps cheekily, to update a shared perspective by using *dong* to suggest that such a perspective existed before these words were uttered. Yet, in spite the implication that it should be obvious, a *dong*-enacted stance is not always taken up by an addressee. In this example, Ayi rejects Lala's attempt to expand the constellation of meanings associated with Lord of the Rings.

Dong is frequently used with imperatives. Unlike *deh*, which softens an imperative by indexing lowered involvement on the part of the person making the request, *dong* strengthens the imperative by suggesting it is something that should obviously be done. The precise stance taken by the speaker will, however, vary from case to case. In example (50), use of *dong* has the effect of presenting a stance of engagement and anticipation by the speaker. Candra really wants to hear Radin's story about going to a nightclub, and her use of *dong* suggests Radin had better tell her about it.

(50) Malang: Looking for Experience

1 CANDRA: .. *Kamu suka dugem nggak?*
Do you like nightclubs or not?

2 RADIN: *Dugem.*
Nightclubs.

3 *Saya hanya sekali saja pergi ke* [*duge=m*].
I've only gone to a nightclub once.

4 CANDRA: [*Gimana*].
How was (it).

5 *Ceritain* ***dong***.
Tell about (it) **right now**.

6 RADIN: *Oh=.*
Oh.

7 *Itu pengalaman yang sangat buruk sekali=.*
It was an extremely bad experience.

Example (51) is taken from the *101 Super Singles* comic (Seven Artland Studio 2011: 45). Veri's housemate is pounding on the bathroom door because Veri's date has already arrived to pick her up (and in the end it takes Veri another two hours to get ready). In this case, the emphatic quality of the imperative is not for the speaker's benefit as it was in (50), rather it is a reaction to the current situation and speaker's level of stress over having to deal with the waiting boyfriend.

(51) Seven Artland Studio (2011: 45)
Veri mandinya cepetan. ***Dong****!!! Cowok elu udah dateng. Nih!!*
Speed up your bath **already** Veri!!! Your guy is already here right now!!

As an aside, it is also interesting to note how the comic author has chosen to punctuate the right-periphery discourse markers *dong* and *nih* – the latter not discussed in our analysis, but at a basic level can be understood to simultaneously index a referent, a time or a location, in this case something like 'here and now'. (See Djenar 2014 for a more comprehensive analysis of this discourse marker.) As we have seen in conversational examples, such discourse markers are almost always produced as part of, and at the end of, the same intonation unit as the phrase they are marking. In most written texts they are also usually presented as part of the unit in which they occur, with any punctuation occurring after the discourse marker. Here the comic author has chosen to separate both discourse markers from their host phrases with a full stop. This allows for multiple exclamation marks to then indicate the intensity with which the illocutionary force of the discourse markers is being presented. This in turn reveals for us the extreme salience of such markers for users of colloquial Indonesian.

An example from Miyake (2015) is also instructive regarding specific stances indexed by imperative *dong*. Based on data from recent films depicting contemporary life in Jakarta, Miyake posits several meanings for *dong*, one of which is that *dong* can create a softening effect in imperatives. Example (52) is from Miyake (2015: 7), with a slightly modified translation, and which is said to illustrate this meaning.

(52) Imperative *dong* (Miyake 2015: 7)
Sayang, jangan pulang, ***dong****, ya?*
Darling, don't go home, **please** ok?'

We argue that here *dong* still has its basic relational meaning of demanding that addressee update common ground. The fact that it can be read as softening in this particular context has to do with the compositional nature of stance. *Dong* contributes an emphatic quality to the imperative. This quality is achieved by the use of *dong* in conjunction with *sayang* 'darling', and most importantly with the fact that asking one's partner to stay longer could, depending on circumstances, be considered something positive for both speaker and addressee. Adding the emphatic quality invoked by *dong* to a positive imperative could be seen as increasing a sense of closeness and thus providing a softening quality, which emerges from the context.

Dong can also be used by speakers or writers to take charge of a topic and instructs the addressee on how to orient to that topic. Thus *dong* not only manages interpersonal relations, it is also a powerful rhetorical device. In the Teenlit excerpt in (53), the girls Fani, Febi and Langen have realised that their boyfriends are lying to them. The boys have been telling the girls that they have been going off to boys-only events, such as playing sports with other guys. In the preceding discourse, Febi has asserted that enough is enough and she will not tolerate it any more. Now Fani and Langen wait for a lull in the conversation to deliver some *hot news*: one of the boys, Bima, has been caught red-handed with another girl. Febi uses *dong* to end Fani's *hot news* topic and re-orient the three of them to what Febi believes is a more important topic, that is, not tolerating the boys' lies.

(53) *Cewek!!!* (Kinasih 2005: 25–26)

1 *Langen berdecak. Saling pandang dengan Fani. Sudah waktunya mengeluarkan* hot news!

2 *"Gue dapet informasi yang bisa dipertanggungjawabkan kebenarannya, Feb," katanya, dengan nada sungguh-sungguh dan ekspresi muka sangat serius. "Katanya Stella sampe pernah ... bugil! Di depan Bima!"*

3 *"Siapa yang bilang begitu? Nggak mungkin itu. Pasti bohong. Isu, gosip."*

4 *"Bima sendiri yang ngomong, Feb. Dia cerita sama gue kok. Bener!"*

5 *"Bohong itu, Fan. Jangan percaya."*

6 *"Tapi Bima sendiri yang ngomong!" Fani ngotot. Kedua matanya sampai melotot.*

7 *Tapi Febi tetap cuma senyum-senyum. Tetap tenang. Tidak terbakar sama sekali. Benar-benar jauh dari perkiraan Langen dan Fani, bahwa dia bakalan shock berat terus pingsan. Ini boro-boro shock apalagi pingsan, percaya seuprit juga nggak!*

8 *“Itu udah pasti berita bohong. Kalian berdua mikir* ***dong****. Emangnya itu nggak menghancurkan nama dan harga diri?”*
9 *“Tapi ...”*
10 *“Udah. Udah,” potong Langen, menghentikan protes sahabatnya. “Okelah, kita anggap itu bohong. Tapi sekarang kita tau, ternyata setiap mereka pergi itu ada ceweknya!*

1 Langen chuckled. (She) looked at Fani. It was time to dish out the *hot news*!
2 “I have information that is guaranteed to be true Feb,” she said, earnestly and with a serious expression. “Stella apparently got ... naked! In front of Bima!”
3 “Who said this? It’s not possible. Clearly a lie. A rumour, gossip.”
4 “Bima said so himself, Feb. He told me I tell you. (It’s) true!”
5 “It’s a lie, Fan. Don’t believe (it).”
6 “But Bima himself said so!” Fani persevered, wide-eyed.
7 But Febi just kept smiling. (She) stayed calm. (She) wasn’t angry at all. (This) really wasn’t what Langen and Fani had thought, that she’d be shocked and pass out. Not only wasn’t (she) shocked or passing out, (she) didn’t even believe (it)!
8 “It’s got to be a lie. You two need to think ***dong*** **[this should be obvious to you]**. Don’t you have any self-respect?
9 “But ...”
10 “Enough, enough,” Langen interjected, cutting off her friends’ protests. “Ok, we’ll consider it a lie. But now we know, that every time the boys run off there are girls there!

The hot news was clearly meant to shock Febi but she did not react the way Langen and Fani had expected. When Febi dismisses the rumour and stays calm, Fani persists and emphasises that she heard it from Bima himself. This leads Febi to assert a stronger stance by demanding that Fani and Langen think about what they are doing and she does so using *dong*. This *dong* suggests that the others should already know this, but it also functions rhetorically. Here Febi uses *dong* to deactivate what she believes to be a useless topic. It successfully enables her to make her interlocutors refocus on the wider narrative of “standing up to the boys”. Example (53) illustrates another critical point about *dong*, namely that it is often used when dispreferred responses persist for multiple turns and other strategies have failed to produce the effect desired by the speaker.

Example (54), also from Teenlit, similarly illustrates this use of *dong* as a last resort, and at the same time provides an instructive contrast with *deh*. Here

Intan (Tan) asks Johan (Han) a series of questions, which he tries to ignore as he attempts to find a moment of peace.

(54) *Johan Playboy Kompleks* (Zaenal Radar T. 2007: 5)

1 *“Haan, denger dulu,* ***deh****! Tau nggak, kalo ....”*
2 *“Nggak tau!”*
3 *“Haannn ... Eeengggg ....”*
4 *Intan menggeser-geser kedua kakinya di rumput yang beralaskan koran. Seperti biasa, Intan lagi-lagi kumat manjanya.*
5 *“Udah* ***deh****, Tan ... tenang dikit ...”*
6 *“Denger dulu,* ***dong****!”*
7 *“Iya, iya. Kenapa?”*

1 “Haan, **just** listen now! Did you know that ...”
2 “No I didn’t!”
3 “Haannn ... Noooo ....”
4 Intan slid her legs across the grass where the newspaper was spread out. Like always, Intan was acting spoiled yet again.
5 “Enough **already**, Tan ... be quiet for a bit ...”
6 “Now listen ***dong*** **[why do I have to tell you again? you should do it]**!”
7 “Ok, ok, what?”

In line 1, Intan tries to get Johan’s attention by asking him to listen to what she has to say. She uses *deh* to soften the request by making it seem routine. Yet for Johan it is far from routine, as he just wants to sit quietly and not have to listen to Intan. Indeed he counters Intan by using *deh* in line 5 to ask her to be quiet for a while. This forms a chain of disalignment, in which interlocutors keep trying to take the interaction in a different direction. When Intan has had enough and needs to insist that Johan listen to her she uses *dong* in line 5. As in (53), this use of *dong* cuts off the current line of talk and is used to demand that the addressee pay attention to what the speaker has to say. It is in this way that *dong* directly complements *deh*: while *deh* projects a stance of low investment *dong* projects a stance of maximal investment with what is being said. This again illustrates that the disengagement that *deh* projects should not necessarily be read as actual disengagement. It was Johan’s mistake when he did not pay attention to Intan’s first request that he listen to her in line 1. And this mistake set him up for receiving *dong* in line 6, after which he felt he had no choice but to acquiesce and listen to Intan.

The use of *dong* assumes “conjoint knowledge” similar to that indexed by *kan,* but unlike *kan* it indexes an asymmetrical relationship between interlocutors:

the speaker is firmly holding the addressee accountable to this knowledge. By demanding that the addressee attend to common ground, speakers can deploy *dong* in different contexts for a variety of sometimes seemingly contradictory purposes. These may include using generalisations to make a context-specific point, strengthening – or at other times softening – an imperative, or putting an end to a topic or particular direction of talk. As with the other interactional particles discussed here, the exact purpose of *dong* only emerges within interactional context.

3.5 Summary

This chapter has shown how social actors use interactional particles to manage their perspectives vis-à-vis each other, relative to a particular stretch of discourse and in relation to the maintenance and updating of common ground. This allows social actors to calibrate their own and others' subjectivities, and consequently to publicly (re-)negotiate intersubjective alignment. As the label "interactional particle" implies, these discourse markers are particularly effective when used in face-to-face, real time interaction and so are particularly frequent in conversation. But we have also seen that they are important resources across all the discourse types we analyse here. Not surprisingly, interactional particles are important in dialogue in Teenlit and comics because they enable authors to present spoken language in a relatively natural sounding way. These particles also allow authors to convey the relationships and expectations that exist between characters relative to what they are saying. Interestingly discourse particles also occur in narrative portions of fiction and there they provide a way for authors to present a more direct and conversational style of communication with readers. Interactional particles are also used in the online data to create and reinforce a conversational quality within discussion forums despite their asynchronous nature. The use of interactional particles in Kaskus highlights important sequential links that are created by users as they respond to each other.

Each of the interactional particles analysed here has a basic meaning that invokes a particular kind of relationship between interlocutors and towards the joint maintenance of common ground. Moreover, particular stances invoked through the use of interactional particles can only be identified by observing how an utterance marked by such a particle sits within its discourse and interpersonal context. The interactional particle *kan* enables the user to position herself as sharing common ground with an addressee. In the case of *kan*, the addressee usually feels obliged to at least minimally acknowledge this common ground. Use of *kan* can indicate, among other things, softening, confirmation, challenge and

topicalisation, depending on its particular context. The particle *sih* has the basic relational meaning of urging the addressee to update common ground due to the speaker's desire for addressee to accept what is being said. *Sih* thus indexes a certain immediacy and the need or desire for a hearer or reader to "do something" with the new information. Secondary stances that can arise from the use of *sih* can be described as softening, topicalising and emphasising. Use of *deh* displays a sense of indifference by the speaker as to how the addressee might attend to what has been said. Depending on the context, this can soften an imperative, hedge a statement, or more generally indicates that something is simply normal, common knowledge. However, presentation of indifference should not be interpreted as actual indifference. The particle *dong*, like *kan*, assumes shared conjoint knowledge, but at the same time strongly holds the recipient accountable to this knowledge. By demanding that the addressee attend to common ground with *dong*, a speaker can strengthen, or in some cases soften, an utterance, can use a generalisation to make a context-specific point, and in particular can assert rhetorical control over the direction of an interaction.

Social actors engage in a dynamic process of attempting to influence or even manage the perspective of the other and interactional particles provide an important means for accomplishing this. Moreover, social actors generally expect, accept and understand that the recipient of an interactional particle is engaging in the same process, and this can be seen in the use of different interactional particles through discourse as interlocutors engage in chains of (re)alignment. By regulating shifting perspectives with the use of particles, interlocutors can measure and calibrate their own subjectivities against those of the other, in what Morita calls "interactional opportunity space" (2012: 1721). Thus these interactional particles provide a means for joint stance display vis-à-vis conjoint knowledge and for the renegotiation of common ground.

4 Grammar as style

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we examine how young Indonesian speakers and writers deploy modes of grammatical organisation for stylistic purposes and explore the role intersubjectivity plays in these practices. Consider the following extracts.

(55) Bandung: Just Met

1	FAKRI:	*Numpang ngecas.*
		(I'll) borrow and charge (my phone).
2	ASMITA:	.. *Iya=.*
		Yes.
3	FAKRI:	*Oh iya gampang.*
		Oh yes (that's) easy.

(56) *Cewek!!!* (Kinasih 2005: 13)

Kedua cewek itu tidak bisa mengetahui apa yang sedang terjadi di dalam ruangan, karena seluruh tirainya membentang, menutupi semua jendela yang ada.

The two girls could not find out what was happening inside the room, because all the curtains had been drawn, covering every window that there was.

The difference is striking. In conversational example (55), Fakri's first turn consists of two juxtaposed verbs with no explicit core arguments (e.g., subjects or objects) and no explicit grammatical material linking them. His second turn consists of one stative (adjectival) verb with the phrasal discourse marker *oh iya* 'oh yes' but no explicit arguments. Example (56) from Teenlit contains a 22-word sentence made up of several clauses with explicit arguments. These arguments include *kedua cewek itu* 'the two girls', *apa yang sedang terjadi di dalam ruangan* 'what was happening in the room', *seluruh tirainya* 'all the curtains' and *semua jendela yang ada* 'every window that there was'. It also has overt clause combining morphemes (the relative clause marker *yang* and adverbial clause linker *karena* 'because'). To a certain extent, the difference can be attributed to differences in modality. Written discourse has long been thought to incorporate more complex grammatical structures than spoken discourse, due to cognitive constraints on real-time language production and processing (Chafe 1982; Chafe and Tannen 1987). However, it has become increasingly clear that the relationship

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between the grammar of spoken and written language is more complex than this, and that the use of different grammatical structures has as much or more to do with register as modality (Scheibman 2014).

Biber (1986) has shown that for a range of English text types, grammatical differences vary on three dimensions: interactive engagement vs. edited texts, situated vs. abstract contexts, and reported (e.g., narrative) vs. immediate styles. Characterising written and spoken modalities becomes even more complex with the intensely multi-modal nature of online communication (Sindoni 2013). Another important factor that is particularly apparent in the Indonesian examples is the difference between colloquial modes of grammatical organisation and grammar according to the norms of standard Indonesian. But appeals to a simple differentiation between spoken and written language or between standard and colloquial language will not fully explain the different modes of grammatical organisation illustrated in (55) and (56). In Chapter 2 we have shown that young speakers and authors in the data use linguistic resources for person reference that are associated with both the standard language and informal styles, regularly shifting between them. In this chapter, we show how young Indonesians also shift between modes of grammatical organisation. We will explore the contexts and motivations for the use of more minimal structures like those illustrated in (55) and the more elaborate structures such as those illustrated in (56). These modes of grammatical organisation involve language that certainly has provenance in more interactional or more literary modes of production, and in more colloquial or more standard constructions. But in our discussion, we show that these different modes of grammatical organisation do not (simply) constitute different registers to be used in different functionally defined contexts. Rather, within the language practices of young Indonesian speakers, they constitute styles that employ a range of resources with differing indexicalities, that can be deployed in-the-moment, as needed, in the construction of stance and maintenance of intersubjectivity.

Section 4.2 of this chapter briefly explores how an interactional approach to understanding grammatical structure helps to elucidate intersubjectivity as we approach it in this book. Section 4.3 examines an interpersonal style of grammatical structure that indexes informality. Key features of this style include more minimal structures which often involve implied reference (so-called ellipsis or zero anaphora) rather than explicit reference. This section includes a detailed discussion of implied reference, which is complemented by a discussion of explicit reference, still within the context of informal, minimal constructions. Section 4.4 explores more elaborated structures that evoke an expository style. Speakers and writers employ this style to index authority and convey a sense of seriousness. The way that young language users move freely between interpersonal and expository styles of language is then explored among the four discourse types. We conclude the chapter with a summary of key findings in Section 4.5.

4.2 Grammar and intersubjectivity

Insights from Interactional Linguistics (Barth-Weingarten 2008; Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 2001; Lindström 2009) provide a productive approach for examining how speakers use grammatical structures to accomplish social actions and how they accomplish this within the context of social encounter. Interactional Linguistics utilises insights from Conversation Analysis, which places an emphasis on how speech participants manage interaction in real time, on a moment-by-moment basis. This provides a crucial context in which to understand how linguistic resources (including grammatical resources such as syntax, morphology and prosody) are used to accomplish particular social actions. We also examine the functions of language within discourse contexts – such as the need to manage new and assumed information in order to track referents through discourse. Although interactional approaches to the study of grammatical structure have primarily been applied to conversational data, several researchers have recognised that the insights of interactional linguistics are also relevant to other discourse types, including those that do not entail real-time interaction (Fox 2007; Raitaniemi 2010). We aim to demonstrate this relevance by applying an Interactional Linguistic approach in our analysis, not only for conversation, but also for the other discourse types we examine here.

In order to develop a more complete picture of how grammar works, it is imperative that grammatical practices be viewed as an integral part of broader social-cultural language practices, in which linguistic forms are deployed for socially-defined goals and their use is informed by a process of contextualisation. As Fox (1994) points out, because linguistic expressions are always underspecified to some degree, meaning can only be understood from such expressions when they are contextualised. This contextualisation "is inherently collaborative, requiring as it does active work on the part of both speaker and hearer to arrive at an interpretation that is shared (as Garfinkel would say, 'for all practical purposes')" (Fox 1994: 2). Ultimately, then, meaning does not reside in the linguistic expression itself, but is distributed across speech participants and the socially and culturally organised environment of which they are a part. "[G]rammar and context are mutually constitutive: they continually create one another, and hence cannot exist in any complete form without one another" (Fox 1994: 11).

The key focus of Interactional Linguistics has been language use in real-time interaction, particularly conversational interaction. One aspect of the way context and grammar mutually shape each other during conversation includes the constraints that temporality puts on how language unfolds. In particular, the enchronic effects related to sequentiality that we have discussed previously will also impact on the ordering of linguistic expressions within one speaker's turn, across different speakers' turns and through the turn taking process itself.

Enchronic temporality also influences how structures are produced in real-time and how any given linguistic element is interpreted in relation to what has gone before and what happens later (Auer 2007; Ford, Fox and Thompson 2002). Thus, it becomes clear that "all utterances are interactionally constructed, even if voiced by only one speaker, in that all utterances are fitted to a particular action, in a particular sequence, for a particular recipient, and the responses of the recipient, including silence and non-alignment, shape the emerging structure of the utterance" (Fox 2007: 308).

The production of language, including the choice of resources deployed and the grammatical structure of utterances produced, is always locally adapted, intimately linked to the recipients of the language, and is thus never the product of a single language user. In this sense, structure is always an interactional achievement (Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 2001). Linguistic structures are produced in, respond to, and help create the intersubjective context of interaction. By examining the various processes by which utterances are interactionally constructed we will be able see the impact of intersubjectivity on grammar, particularly in regards to indexicality and stance management, and thus ultimately in the construction of style. We show that interaction and intersubjectivity are important not only for conversation but also the other discourse types we examine, despite the very different temporal constraints that are imposed by asynchronous, non-face-to-face language.

As should be clear by this point, our approach to analysing grammar differs dramatically from more formal approaches that view grammar as autonomous and independent of its use, or what Hopper (1987) calls "a priori" grammar – grammar conceptualised as ideal forms residing in the head of an individual speaker prior to speaking. We do not view grammar as separate from speakers or acts of speaking, but rather inextricably connected to both. Because our focus is on language-in-use and the intersubjective quality of this language use, our approach to understanding language structure intersects with other approaches to grammar and intersubjectivity, such as Verhagen (2005) and Traugott (2010). However, our contribution differs from these earlier studies in that we view intersubjectivity as being located between language users, and potentially manifests in all aspects of language use. Through the examination of grammar in this chapter, we show how intersubjectivity both enables certain kinds of language practices and is brought out by the way young people use language.

4.3 More minimal structures

In Chapter 2 we examined resources that Indonesian youth use to refer to self and other, including pronouns of various linguistic provenance, names, and titles.

Different forms were shown to carry a variety of semiotic resonances and speakers deploy these both to index perduring social meanings and to accomplish social actions during moments of language use. These practices of referring to person regularly bring intersubjectivity to the fore and allow young speakers to participate in the highly sociable interactions that are a hallmark of youthful engagement. One common practice among Indonesian speakers that was not addressed in Chapter 2 is the extent to which terms of reference are not used. As will be shown, it is in fact common for the referents – people, entities and concepts – that speakers are discussing to not be explicitly mentioned in a given utterance.

A corollary of the frequent use of implicit reference in Indonesian is that utterances often consist of fairly minimal structures, frequently comprising only a verb or some other predicating element, sometimes with accompanying adverbials or discourse particles, but without explicitly produced nominal arguments, such as subjects and objects. Example (57) is a longer excerpt containing the lines first presented as example (55).

(57) Bandung: Just Met

1	ASMITA:	*Boleh=.*
		(You) can.
2	FAKRI:	*Numpang ngecas.*
		(I'll) borrow and charge (my phone).
3	ASMITA:	.. *Iya=.*
		Yes.
4	FAKRI:	*Oh iya gampang.*
		Oh yeah (that's) easy.
5		*Gampang.*
		(That's) easy.
		... (8.6)
6	FAKRI:	*Dari jurusan mana?*
		What department (are you) from?
7	ASMITA:	*E=h,*
		Uh,
8		*Desain Interior.*
		Interior Design.

In this conversational interaction, no pronouns, noun phrases or other reference terms are used. Here Asmita has been working in a public study space at her university when someone whom she does not know approaches and indicates that he also wants to use the space. The interaction that ensues consists of an auxiliary (line 1), verbs (lines 2 and 5), discourse particles (lines 3, 4 and 7), a

prepositional phrase (line 6) and a free predicating noun phrase (line 8). There is no explicit reference to self or other, although it is clear that the speakers are expressing actions and states that apply to themselves. Other entities or concepts, such as Fakri's phone that he wants to charge and the action of charging it, which is described as being easy, are also implied but not explicitly stated. Due to this minimal construction, even the structure and intent of line 2 is somewhat ambiguous between being a statement ('I will charge my phone') or a request ('May I charge my phone?'). Interactionally appropriate communication, that is clear enough for practical purpose, is nonetheless routinely accomplished with these very minimal structures. Minimal structures of this kind are often associated with a more interpersonal style of interaction.

Along with frequent minimal structures like those in (57), young Indonesian speakers also produce fairly elaborated structures that include explicit subjects, objects, complements and clause combining strategies. These are similar to the language in the Teenlit example in (56). Example (58) demonstrates that this kind of language is not exclusive to written genres and does appear even in very informal conversational interaction.

(58) Bandung: Plush Toys

1	ASMITA:	*Eh aku kan,* Um I you know,
2		*sebel yah,* feel irritated you know,
3		*ama=* .. *anak-*[*ana=k*], with kids,
4	WIDA:	[*anak-anak*]. kids.
5	ASMITA:	*yang* .. *rewel gitu ya,* that are fussy you know,
6		*tapi kayanya aku* .. *mulai menyukainya* <@ *ketika* @>, but it seems like I've started to like them since,
7		*kita jualan* <@ *boneka,* we're selling plush toys,
8		.. *gitu* @>. like that.

This excerpt is also produced by Asmita, but during a different speech event in which she is chatting with close friends about a joint project in which they sell plush toys at a weekend market. Line 1 contains a clause with an explicit subject (*aku* '1SG) and an explicit adjunct (*anak-anak* 'kids'), modified by a relative clause.

Wida indicates comprehension by repeating *anak-anak* in overlap. Asmita continues her turn with another clause conjoined by *tapi* 'but', with the same explicit first person subject and also an explicit object (suffix *-nya* on the verb *menyukai* 'to like'). This third person pronominal suffix refers to 'kids' mentioned in the first clause. Finally, an adverbial clause is linked with *ketika* 'when' at the end of line 6, with the clause content following in line 7. This clause has an explicit subject *kita* '1INCL' and a so-called complement, *boneka* 'doll, plush toy', of the detransitivised verb *jualan* 'to engage in commerce, to trade in'. Asmita completes her grammatically elaborated turn with the colloquial adverbial demonstrative *gitu* 'like that' (see Chapter 5 for a discussion of the framing functions of *gitu*). More elaborated structures of this type are often associated with a more expository style.

At least three grammatical characteristics differentiate more minimal structures, as exemplified in (57), and more elaborated structures, as exemplified in (58). These are the contrast between implied and explicit referents, the use of morphology (particularly verbal morphology), and clause combining (particularly embedded structures). Section 4.3.1 will closely examine implied reference, a phenomenon sometimes characterised as 'ellipsis' and one which, as we have seen, plays an important role in more minimal grammatical constructions. We will show how the successful use of implied referents assumes a certain level of intersubjective alignment, and when reliance on implied referents becomes problematic, intersubjective (re)alignment needs to be explicitly addressed. Use of implied referents will then be contrasted with the use of explicitly expressed referents, and some of the interactional motivations for using explicit forms will be discussed in Section 4.3.2. Section 4.4 looks at how the use of explicit reference, extensive morphology and embedded structures combine to create more elaborated structures. We then examine how elaborated structures constitute an expository style that can index authority associated with standard language, and we contrast this with how more minimal structures constitute a more interpersonal style that can index casualness and intimacy. An examination of the various social actions associated with more minimal and more elaborated structures will show how variation in the use of grammatical structure can respond and contribute to the intersubjective needs of interlocutors. We will also show that these styles interact with, but are potentially independent of other parameters such as formality and familiarity. At the same time, we are not claiming that minimal structures are unique to youth. They are indeed ubiquitous in the informal language of speakers from a range of backgrounds. However, the heightened interpersonal engagement and the social and sometimes rapid-fire styles that such structures contribute to are particularly salient in youthful interaction. Additionally, the potential for play that is created by juxtaposing different grammatical styles during interaction is also characteristic of young people's language practices (see Chapter 6).

4.3.1 When referents are implied

Sneddon, in his discussion of the "context-bound nature" of colloquial Jakartan Indonesian, defines ellipsis as "the omission from a sentence of a word when its presence is not necessary" because it has just been mentioned or "the person or thing referred to is clear from context" (2006: 109). While this characterisation of ellipsis captures the way that both speakers and analysts often conceptualise minimal utterances in Indonesian (and many other languages), we want to problematise it in two ways. First, the notion of omission implies that a specific word or referent existed as part of a "complete sentence" prior to a speaker uttering a stretch of language, but the word has been omitted at the moment of utterance, thus producing a "reduced form". We offer evidence that it is often impossible to reconstruct exactly what words or referents may have been part of a larger structure from which a minimal structure could be said to derive, and therefore there is nothing that has been "omitted". All utterances are dependent on the contexts in which they are produced, including their discourse context, the wider social-cultural context of a speech event and crucially the constantly renegotiated intersubjective relationship that exists between interactants. It is much more productive to analyse how the actual utterances produced by speakers are intimately linked to these real, experienced and embodied contexts of language use than to speculate about putative full forms from which minimal forms are derived through processes of omission. Second, we will examine what it means for a referent to be "clear from context". We show that different possible referents can often be inferred from one utterance, such that a specific "clear" referent cannot be determined. Despite such indeterminacy, interaction can often proceed smoothly.

One context where a referent is often implied rather than expressed is when two clauses that are grammatically linked share an argument. This is illustrated in (59) where Puji says she had forgotten that she wanted to tell something to Faizah (her co-participant). The verbs *lupa-lupa lagi* 'keep forgetting' and *mau cerita* 'want to tell a story' have the same referent, the speaker, as subject. In the example, the subject is explicitly expressed in the first clause while it is only implicit in the second clause; nevertheless, it is completely unambiguous. This is fairly straightforward and can easily be accounted for syntactically as a case of argument sharing in a clause combining construction.

(59) Bandung: Rapidograph Saga

1	PUJI:	.. *Gua udah lupa-lupa lagi,*
		I keep forgetting,
2		... *mau cerita ke elu.*
		(I) want to tell you something.

Most cases of unexpressed referents are not this straightforward. The excerpt in (60) provides a longer example that shows how the identity of referents can persist across speakers' turns and through discourse, so that once introduced, they need not be explicitly mentioned again. At the same time, other referents can be inferred from the context, such that they do not need to be explicitly mentioned in the first place.

(60) Malang: Computer

1	IKA:	*Eh piye laptopmu kemarin.*
		Oh how was your laptop yesterday.
2	WASAT:	... *E=h.*
		Um.
3		*Nggak tahu mbak aku.*
		I don't know *mbak*.
4		*Aku kemari=n,*
		Yesterday I,
5		*Baru .. dari .. itu,*
		Just (came) from there,
6		*tempat-e= .. komputer.*
		the computer place.
7		*Eh.*
		So.
8		*Ngomong-e,*
		They said,
9		*.. ntar=,*
		pretty soon,
10		*... kalo udah selesai,*
		when (it's) ready,
11		*dihubungi.*
		(we'll) contact (you).

Ika, apparently remembering that Wasat had said he was going to check on his computer yesterday, asks how his laptop is, thus introducing this referent into the discourse using the fully explicit noun phrase *laptopmu* 'your laptop'. In response Wasat says he went to the computer shop and then reports what he was told. This report is framed with *ngomonge*, literally 'the (his, her, their) speech' (see Chapter 5 for a detailed discussion of voice presentation and framing). That is, the verb *ngomong* 'to speak' is nominalised with the Javanese suffix *-e* (equivalent to Indonesian *-nya*) and at the same time *-e* (like *-nya*) indicates identifiability based on association with something in the discourse that is evoked by shared schematic knowledge. In this case, the schema Wasat and Ika share

about *tempate komputer* ‘the computer place’ is that it would have salespeople associated with it, along with the fact that those salespeople might say things. These are identifiable concepts and available as possible referents to be evoked in the discourse. Thus *ngomonge*, by association with *tempate komputer* evokes the referent ‘sales person’ without any explicit mention. The two lines at the end of the example each contains a predicate with no explicit arguments. Possible referents involved in the state and event mentioned can be inferred based on what has gone before. In line 10, *kalau udah selesai* ‘if already finished’ implies ‘if the computer is already finished’ or possibly ‘if they are already finished with the computer’. (This kind of indeterminacy of referents is discussed further below.) In line 11, *dihubungi* ‘will be contacted’ implies that Wasat will be contacted by the salesperson. Through contextualisation cued by shared schema (in this case associated with computer shops) and the preceding discourse, the intent of what is being said in lines 8–9 is clear although only predicates have been expressed, without recourse to explicit arguments. Minimal utterances like these have been described as “allusive” (Cough 1990: 194; Kim 2001), reflecting Goffman’s discussion of the role that allusion plays in producing economic language that both “affirms relationships [and] organizes talk” (1983: 42).

Several authors of the youth comic and Teenlit texts we examine present conversational interactions using extensive allusive reference, closely following the practice of natural conversation. This is illustrated with the comic in Figure 4.1, translated in (61). This episode is from a story told in first person by Lala, a comic artist, about a trip she took to East Java with her husband, Ayi. Lala speaks to us both as narrator and as a character in the comic. While explicit reference is used in the narration, when Lala and Ayi are speaking to each other in this short vignette they do not use explicit reference. The reader of the comic becomes privy to the common ground shared by the two characters and is thus able to recognise the intersubjectivity that must exist between them, such that natural-feeling communication can take place.

(61) Si Lala

1	NARRATOR:	We also had an ‘interesting’ experience with some beggars...
2	BEGGAR:	Thank you *mbak*...
	AYI:	(You) don’t need to give anything to beggars.
	LALA:	How come?
3	NARRATOR:	Later..
	BEGGARS:	Have pity *mas*.... Have pity *mbak*...
	AYI:	See. (I) told (you), (you) didn’t believe (me).
	LALA:	Yeah but..

Figure 4.1: Allusive reference in comics (Putri 2009: 94)

Contributors in the Kaskus online forum regularly use a conversational tone, as if speaking face-to-face, and the use of allusive reference can help to produce this feeling. In the following example, GoldWillz has asked what he can do about a woman he is interested in but who does not reply to his text messages. He knows her neighbourhood, but does not know exactly which house is hers. He concedes it would be stupid to hang out until he can figure out where she lives. In (62), xiaope, who is the moderator of the thread, provides GoldWillz with some advice (as she does for most of the Kaskusers who post here). Almost all of the predicates are without explicit subjects, creating a sense of informality and camaraderie that comes with allusive constructions.

(62) Ask da Boys #83 – xiaope
kalo ampe kerumah sih serem pasti dikira lo freak gan
mungkin emang bener2 ga interested sama cowo sekarang *dunno juga deh termasuk tertutup juga ya kalo gt*

if (you) go to (her) house, (that) would be weird of course (she'll) think you're a freak *gan*
maybe (she) really is not interested in guys right now dunno actually could be (she's) introverted in that case

In the previous examples, implied referents are used by single speakers. Allusive referents may also be picked up by different speakers. Prior to the excerpt in example (63), Firdaus has been describing how all her cousins are already married and here she says that, within her extended family, it is only she and her siblings who are not yet married. Karina asks a couple of questions (lines 3 and 5) and Firdaus confirms that her youngest sibling is a boy (note that Indonesian

adik 'younger sibling' in line 3, indicates an age relationship but not sex) and that he is still in school. In response Citra notes, laughing, that it would be impossible for him to already be married. When Karina then elicits the information that three older siblings are girls, she states her inference that the parents must have wanted a son, thus offering an explanation for why the youngest child is a boy.

(63) Malang: Choosing a Major

1	FIRDAUS:	*Yang belum kawin cuma anaknya ibuku.* The ones who aren't married yet are my mother's kids.
2		... *Cuma kita berempat.* Just the four of us.
3	KARINA:	.. *Lho adikmu kelas berapa Put?* So what grade is your younger sibling in Put?
4	FIRDAUS:	*SMP kelas dua.* Second year of junior high school.
5	KARINA:	.. *Cowok?* Is (he) a boy?
6	FIRDAUS:	[*Iya*]. Yes.
7	CITRA:	[*Terus*] *gak mungkin kawin kan mbak @.* So it's impossible (he) would be married right *mbak*?
8	KARINA:	*Ceweknya berapa?* How many girls are there?
9	FIRDAUS:	*Tiga.* Three.
10	KARINA:	*Oh jadi pengen anak cowok.* Oh so (they) wanted a son.
11	FIRDAUS:	*Iya=.* Yes.

In line 3 of example (63), Karina introduces the referent *adikmu* 'your younger sibling', who would have just been implied by Firdaus's mention of her mother's children, that is, Firdaus and her siblings. Leaving aside the response in line 4 for the time being, we see in line 5 that Karina then asks *Cowok?*, simply 'A boy?'. The characterisation 'a boy' is being made (or rather queried) in regards to the younger sibling. This is reflected in the English free translation where a pronoun is provided in brackets and is co-referential with 'your younger sibling' in line 3. In English, the use of a pronoun like 'he' creates cohesion (Bublitz 2011; Halliday and Hasan 1976) by linking back to a previously mentioned referent. Cohesion is similarly created by the use of an implied referent in Indonesian. It is precisely

the lack of an explicitly noun phrase to serve as an argument of the predicate *cowok* in line 5 that links this expression, via inference, back to the referent of *adikmu* in line 3. Tracking of a referent through discourse by means of implication can also occur across different speaker turns. In line 7, spoken by Citra, the verb *kawin* 'to be married' does not have an explicit subject, but is understood from context to again be Firdaus's younger brother. This is reflected by the bracketed 'he' in the free translation. Use of implied referents is thus an important mechanism for creating textual cohesion both within and across speaker turns in Indonesian conversation.

Line 10 contains the predicate *pengen anak cowok* 'wanted a son' with no explicit subject. If a speaker (or analyst) were to look back to explicitly mentioned referents in the previous discourse in order to understand who it is that 'wanted a son', the most likely candidate would be *ibuku* 'my (Firdaus's) mother'. Yet a cultural norm that would prevail in Indonesia, at least in Malang where this conversation was recorded, is that both the mother and father are likely to want a son; indeed, it may be the father who is even more desirous of a son after three daughters than the mother is. It is very likely that both the speaker and the hearer would understand the observation in line 10 as applying to both parents, as suggested by bracketed 'your parents' in the free translation. There are two points to consider in this case. First, the likely referent 'parents' is not explicitly mentioned in the previous discourse (neither in example (63) nor in the extended transcript), and the sense that line 10 is about both parents' desires comes from inferencing, based on text-external common ground, rather than text-internal cohesion between elements in the discourse. Second, although 'the parents' is the likely argument of the clause in line 10, it could also be 'the mother' as discussed above, or there could even be the understanding that this is specifically about 'the father'. The precise referent of a possible subject argument for *pengen anak cowok* is in fact indeterminate and this indeterminacy does not seem to be an impediment for the interlocutors who clearly understand each other to the point that they can carry on interacting. The contextualisation process described here is highly intersubjective in that it relies on inputs from Karina and Firdaus working together, shared (and unstated) access to the "parents want a son" cultural expectation, and the successful creation of reference, as evidenced by Firdaus replying *iya* 'yes' in line 11. Reference is thus cognitively distributed and interactionally co-constructed. That is, referring – like meaning creation more generally – "does not reside in the linguistic expression, or in the head of the speaker, or in the head of the hearer, rather, as Lave [1998: 1] suggests, the meaning is distributed across the participants, the linguistic expression, and other facets of the socially organized environment" (Fox 1994: 2).

The utterances in lines 4 and 9 of example (63) also contain predicating elements without explicit subject arguments. They are each a response, forming the second part of an adjacency pair. In both cases they are answers to questions. Thompson, Fox and Couper-Kuhlen (2015) note that in English, responsive actions to questions can have longer and shorter forms. When a question is what they call a “specifying question” (2015: 20) – that is, one that seeks a specific piece of information, as in the two cases here – a shorter, phrasal response indicates that the question is considered relevant or appropriate. These shorter responses are full-fledged constructions that respond appropriately to the initiating action and are not truncated or ellipted forms. More expanded responses that reuse material in the original question suggest that there is additional interactional work being done, for example signalling that the relevance of the question has not been fully understood. More minimal, phrasal responses to specifying questions “can be heard to embody the responsive action exactly as the question had specified” (Thompson, Fox and Couper-Kuhlen 2015: 48). We can see that very similar processes are at work in Indonesian. These minimal responses are the appropriate way to reply to relevant specifying questions and so are not usefully thought of as ellipted nor in any other way truncated. It is thus not useful to imagine response forms with explicit arguments as somehow forming the basis for shorter responses. Longer and shorter responses do different interactional work.

The free translations of lines 4 and 9 do not contain bracketed arguments (unlike those in lines 5, 7 and 10). On the one hand, these free translations have been produced with the primary aim of getting across the meaning and feeling of the Indonesian original. At the same time, the fact that the form of the original and the translation in lines 4 and 9 (minimal responses to specifying questions) are so similar is consistent with the observation in the previous paragraph that speakers of both Indonesian and English prefer minimal responses that do not repeat material from the specifying questions they are answering. Where patterns of usage diverge is in places like lines 5, 7 and 10. Here a minimal form without explicit arguments is completely acceptable in Indonesian, but could sound inappropriate in English, and thus pronouns have been supplied in the free translations to make them flow more naturally.

We argue that in Indonesian, the minimal structures in lines 5, 7 and 10 are as appropriately formed for their contexts as are the minimal responses in lines 4 and 9. This is equally true of the other minimal forms we have seen (i.e., in examples (57), (60), (61) and (62)), which are also fully formed, complete and interactionally appropriate for their contexts. They do not require an explanation based on a notion of truncation, ellipsis or parasitism. In short, one of the differences between English and Indonesian is that minimal forms are appropriate

for a small range of contexts and social actions in English, whereas they cover a much larger range of contexts and social actions in Indonesian. This fact about the structural form of Indonesian and its relationship to conversational interaction is key to our analysis of how intersubjectivity is brought to the fore by these minimal structures, and how these structures contribute to style formation and style shifting for young speakers of Indonesian.

Many referents in the preceding examples are easily inferred from context, yet we can see from these examples that there are degrees of "clarity". The syntactically and semantically tight relationship between the two lines in (59) help to link them through the shared referent of their subjects. In the initial lines of (63) a similar case can be made. Although there is not a similar syntactic linking between the lines, the direction of talk creates a continuity of identity across the lines. However, when it comes to line 10 of (63), a greater amount of inferencing is needed, and as we saw, the precise identity of the implied referent is potentially ambiguous.

In the remainder of this section we further explore why it is not useful to conceptualise implied reference in Indonesian in terms of ellipsis (from Greek for 'omission'). First, it is often impossible to reconstruct a specific pronoun or noun phrase that can be said to have been "omitted". In example (59) one might make the case that the occurrence of *gua* '1SG' in line 1 allows us to say that it is the pronoun *gua* that has been ellipted in the second line. However, such reasoning is not possible in the majority of cases. In line 2 of example (57), what pronoun or noun phrase is missing? These participants have just met and have not yet used pronouns with each other. Is Fakri "leaving out" *saya*, *aku* or any of the other possible options for self-reference that are available to him? What does he want to charge? Indonesian speakers have access to various terms for a mobile phone. Has he "left out", for example, *handphone*, *telpon genggam*, or *hp* – all variations of 'mobile phone'? From an analytical point of view, it makes much more sense to talk about referents that may be inferable from the context, rather than actual pronouns or noun phrases that have been omitted. In this example, Fakri is presumably displaying his mobile phone as he speaks and so both he and the phone have a fairly clear relevance to his utterance, *numpang ngecas*. The relationship between expressed predicates and implied referents is thus evoked through inference in the context of embodied social interaction. In our view, an utterance like *ngupang ngecas* is what it is: two verbs with nothing "missing". Such an utterance may very well encourage or require an addressee to make inferences about what is intended beyond what is explicitly said. In fact, this inferencing process is, we contend, part of what makes these structures interactionally contingent and thus highly sensitive to intersubjective alignment. There is no need to posit some larger (or in our terms more elaborated) construction that forms the basis of

an attenuated (or more minimal) construction. Grammatical structures emerge in interaction as speakers carefully attune their contributions to the social actions and contextual contingencies of talk-in-interaction.

Second, there are many cases where multiple possible referents can be implied by a minimal utterance. There are a number of cases that are ambiguous as to whether the intent is personal and specific or general and generic. In such cases, we cannot reconstruct whether an allusive referent is intended as specific (e.g., first person) or generic (e.g., one, anyone). As analysts, we cannot say which it is, but this would only matter if we think there is something that has really been left out and we want to reconstruct it. For speakers, this apparent indeterminacy usually does not seem to be an issue. Rather, based on the language produced in interactional context, speakers can make a close enough inference for the communication to be successful and for the interaction to continue. Consider example (64), taken from a segment where a group of students from Bandung are discussing a marketing project for their class in which they will sell cream soup. In the example, they are talking about ways to make cream soup.

(64) Bandung: Cream Soup

1	ASMITA:	*Nah itu=,*
		That's it,
2		*kalau= .. <u>urang</u> <u>mah</u> bikinnya gini=.*
		as for me the process is like this.
3		*.. Jadi pakai air dingin dulu.*
		So (I) use cold water first.
4		*.. Jadi misalnya <u>teh</u>,*
		So for example,
5		*.. masukin* [*dulu*].
		(I/you) put (it) in first.
6	ALMA:	[*Dilarutin*] *dulu.*
		(you) dissolve (it) first.
7	ASMITA:	*dilarutin dulu semuanya=.*
		(I/you) dissolve (it) first all of it.
8	BAYU:	*He=.*
		Huh.
9	ASMITA:	*Nah.*
		So.
10		[*Baru dipanasi=n*].
		Then (I/you) heat (it) up.
11		[*Baru di- ke- komporin*].
		Then (I/you) put (it) on the stove.

Asmita prefaces her explanation by explicitly saying this is her method, referring to herself with the Sundanese first person pronoun *urang*. Additionally, she highlights that it may be different from how other people do it by using the Sundanese contrastive topic particle *mah*, which indicates 'this is the way I do it, in (possible) contrast to how other people do it'. At this point it would seem unambiguous that she is talking about herself specifically rather than about a generic process. However, all of the steps that are then described in lines 3–11 are presented without explicitly expressed agents. What is particularly interesting is that lines 3–5 are presented in active voice constructions while all of the steps listed in 6–11, including Alma's contribution, are in passive voice. What is happening here? First "active" and "passive" are not the best terms for the two construction types, but they are convenient terms as long as we are not tempted to think that they necessarily translate to an equivalent form in English, particularly the so-called passive. It is the case that the agent is generally topical in an active construction and the patient is generally topical in the passive construction. However, unlike the English passive, the agent of an Indonesian passive is not necessarily "demoted" to a less topical position and may in fact continue to be identifiable and tracked through discourse. Additionally, there are two so-called passive constructions in Indonesian, exemplified in (65).

(65) Standard Indonesian Passives (Sneddon et al. 2010: 256–258)

a. Passive Type One: *Saya* *di-jemput* *oleh* *dia.*
1SG PASS-meet by 3SG
'I was met by him.'

b. Passive Type Two: *Dia* *kami* *jemput.*
3SG 1EXCL meet
'He was met by us.'

Passive Type One, with the verbal prefix *di-*, is typically used for third person agents, according to standard grammar. Passive Type Two, with the agent appearing immediately before the unprefixed verb, is typically used, according to standard Indonesian grammar, for agents that are first or second person, or for other pronominal (that is, highly topical) forms. Because these structures often have highly topical agents, as well as identifiable patients, they are often better translated with active clauses in English. That is, (65a) could be more appropriately translated 'He met me' and (65b) could be rendered 'We met him'. However, Passive Type One can also be used when the referent of the agent is unknown or unimportant, in which case it is more similar to a prototypical English passive. Following cues from standard Indonesian, we could postulate that the active forms in lines 3 and 5 have an unexpressed first person agent, linked to Asmita's

initial use of *urang* '1SG' (Sundanese) in line 2, and that this switches to a generic agent reading of the *di*-verb construction presented by Alma in line 6. That is, while Asmita's utterance in line 5 can be read as 'I put it in', Alma's utterance shifts this to 'It is dissolved' or 'One dissolves it'. We would then posit that Asmita, by dialogically mirroring the construction type used by Alma, is also picking up on the generic nature of the construction and the generic nature of the agent – a shift from unexpressed 'I' to unexpressed 'one'.

There are several reasons why such an explanation is too neat and cannot be sustained for an example like this. First, it is important to note that in informal conversational Indonesian such as that presented here, either passive form can be used with agents of any person or number. Alma's shift to the *di-* form does not need to be read as shift to a generic agent. One important function of the passive is to help track an identifiable patient referent through discourse. Thus, we can surmise that Asmita has mirrored Alma's use of the *di-* form in order to track the identifiable patient referent 'the instant soup mix'. In colloquial Indonesian, the *di-* form can be, and often is, used with first and second person agents, as well as specific third person and generic agents. Therefore, in this case, without explicit mention of the agent, it is indeterminate here as to whether either Alma or Asmita is intending to refer to Asmita herself (in first or second person perspective) or to present the instructions more generically. Ultimately, for the purposes of this interaction, it does not matter. The point is Asmita has said she is explaining her method, and it remains her method, whether explicated with her as agent, or with a generic agent, or, as we claim is actually the case, with an indeterminate agent. Indeed, this could be seen as one of the useful things that Indonesian affords its speakers: you can in fact have it both ways at the same time. It is both Asmita's way of cooking cream soup and a way of cooking cream soup that can be used by anyone. The nature of Indonesian grammar allows both to operate simultaneously. And because it is both, either and neither simultaneously, there is no specific, clear-from-context referent to be reconstructed and so nothing to be omitted through ellipsis.

A number of predicates in Indonesian (and the other languages used by our participants, such as Sundanese and Javanese) can express conditions which can be attributed to situations or to individuals who experience such situations. For example, the Indonesian *jijik* is defined in Stevens and Schmidgall-Tellings (2010: 422) as both 'disgusted' (a feeling or response) and 'disgusting' (charactering someone or something the elicits such a response). This can be seen in two excerpts from our Malang data: *aku jijik temenan* 'I'm really disgusted' and *jijik ih mbak itu tugas ya mbak*? 'Ugh it's disgusting, *mbak*, that task, isn't it, *mbak*?' The same double meaning holds with the Sundanese equivalent *geuleuh*, as seen in example (66).

(66) Bandung: K-Pop

1 Dinda: *Ih ngga mau deh.*
Yuck (I) really don't want (that).
2 *Alay.*
(It's) stupid.
3 *Geuleu=h* @@@ *euh*.
Disgust ugh.
4 [<@ *Geuleu=h* @>].
Disgust.
5 Febri: [@@@@@]
6 *Mendingan yang tadi atuh*.
The earlier one was way better.

Here Dinda is looking at pictures from the internet and makes a series of declarations, all of which are only expressed as predicates with no explicit subjects. The first in line 1 can fairly unambiguously be attributed to Dinda herself – she doesn't want this thing. The second in line 2 is clearly about what she has downloaded: the contemporary slang term *alay* is only used to evaluate people or things negatively as being stupid, unsophisticated, or trying too hard. When she laughingly says *geuleuh* in line 3 and repeats herself in line 4, she has set up two possible referents it could be applied to: herself, alluded to in line 1, and the downloaded image, alluded to in line 2. Thus she has used a predicate which could have as its subject either the experiencer of disgust or the source of that disgust. The question of which is "really" the subject of *geuleuh* is, in fact, indeterminate at this point. And as we have suggested for previous examples, we claim that it could be either or both simultaneously. Indeterminacy can in fact be used by speakers to communicate quite successfully and such allusive structures will usually be understood to the extent necessary for interaction to continue smoothly. And indeed this is what happens. Febri ratifies Dinda's observation by joining her in laughing and then affirming her alignment with what Dinda has said by noting that the picture they had been looking at previously was much better.

Allusive evaluations like that in (66) seem to be particularly susceptible to indeterminate readings. This is illustrated from a slightly different perspective in example (67). Here we return to the discussion of Cream Soup. Asmita is trying to explain what one does differently when one makes a thicker style of soup and comments on the role of corn starch. She finishes her turn with a request for agreement, asking in line 7 *Bener nggak sih*? '(Is that / Am I) right or not?'

(67) Bandung: Cream Soup

1 ASMITA: .. *Semakin dikentel-* --
The thicker --
2 *dikentelin itu,*
the thicker it gets,
3 *mengurangi berbahan das-* --
(you) reduce the ingredient --
4 *mengurangi bahan dasar sih* (H).
(you) reduce the basic ingredients you know.
5 BAYU: .. [XX *tepung*]?
XX flour?
6 ASMITA: [*Maizenanya itu*] *sendiri*=.
Just the corn starch.
7 .. *Bener nggak sih*?
Right or not?

Here the evaluation *bener* 'right, correct' is expressed without an overt subject. Because correctness can be predicated of either the situation (the statement about corn starch is correct) or about the person (Asmita is correct), when only the predicate *bener* is used, we cannot determine which may be intended. It is instructive here to compare this with English usage. While in English we would not normally ask "Right or not?", it would be completely appropriate to ask simply "Right?" after proffering an explanation. And here we can see an analogy for how allusive constructions operate in Indonesian interaction. When someone asks in English "Right?", this could be heard as either "Am I right?" or "Is that right?". For English speakers, this indeterminacy is generally unproblematic. Indeed, we might surmise that our hypothetical English speaker chose "Right?" as exactly the best way to pose this question, precisely because it focuses on neither their own correctness nor the truth of the proposition, but rather on the overarching correctness that includes both the proposition and the speaker's assertion of it. Such a general, situational evaluation is usefully made by choosing an allusive expression that does not include explicit referents or arguments, but is rather particularly linked to processes of contextualisation and intersubjectivity. English speakers are easily afforded this kind of flexibility of expression in only limited circumstances, due to the generally obligatory nature of explicit subject expression in English. We have aimed to demonstrate here that for Indonesian speakers the same kind of flexibility of expression is available in a much wider range of circumstances because allusive expressions without overt arguments are a fundamental aspect of colloquial Indonesian grammatical structure. And this

flexibility of both deployment and interpretation is possible precisely because such expressions do not involve a process of omitting a specific referent.

Indeterminate allusive reference also occurs in the other discourse types we examine here. Example (68) from Teenlit, which includes the extract given in example (56), illustrates this.

(68) *Cewek!!!* (Kinasih 2005: 13)

1 *Pintu dan semua jendela sekretariat Maranon, organisasi pecinta alam Universitas Sagarmatha, tertutup rapat saat Langen dan Fani tiba sore itu. Kedua cewek itu tidak bisa mengetahui apa yang sedang terjadi di dalam ruangan, karena seluruh tirainya membentang, menutupi semua jendela yang ada.*

2 *"Rapat lagi kayaknya nih!" desis Langen jengkel. "Gimana, Fan?"*

3 *"Tungguin ajalah," kata Fani. Tidak tega mau ngajak Langen pulang.*

1 All the secretariat doors and windows of Maranon (an organisation of nature lovers at Sagarmatha University) were tightly shut when Langen and Fani arrived that afternoon. The two girls could not find out what was happening inside the room, because all the curtains had been drawn, covering every window that there was.

2 "(They're) meeting again apparently!" whispered Langen annoyed. "What next, Fan?"

3 "(You/we'll) just wait," said Fani. (She) didn't have the heart to suggest Langen go home.

The girls Langen and Fani are looking for Langen's boyfriend, Rei, at the secretariat office of his mountain climbing society (called Maranon). In paragraph 2, Langen's first utterance contains the predicate *rapat* 'to have/attend a meeting', with no explicit subject argument. We cannot say whether the intended subject of *rapat* is Rei or the Maranon club. Alternatively, this utterance could also be interpreted to mean more generically 'there's a meeting going on'. All three interpretations converge on the same general intention and Langen communicates effectively, despite this indeterminacy of reference. In paragraph 3, Fani's first utterance contains the predicate *tungguin* 'wait'. Without an explicit subject, this is ambiguous between a command to Langen '(you) just wait' and a hortative suggestion 'let's just wait'. Again, this ambiguity does not cause any problem in communication: the girls are in this together and either way, they will be waiting together. This is the opening sequence of the novel, which begins *in medias res*. The indeterminacy of allusive reference is part of this literary device. It draws the

reader in and invites them to figure out what the girls are talking about and thus to partake of the same common ground they share.

We have seen that implicit reference can be indeterminate. The previous discussion was based on an analytical assumption that multiple referents are hypothetically possible in such cases. Example (69) provides evidence that different participants in an interaction can demonstrably have different referents in mind in relation to the same predicate, and that this difference need not cause interactional difficulty.

(69) Malang: Jenny's Saga

1	Jenny:	*Kok belum dewasa banget* [*ya*]. Gee not very mature right.
2	Henny:	[*Iya*]. Right.
3	Jenny:	[*Cara pikirnya*]. Her way of thinking.
4	Henny:	[*Mbak .. mbakku*] *gitu sih.* My older sister is like that you see.
5	Jenny:	*Kayaknya lebih dewasaan kamu sama Susi deh.* It seems you and Susi are more mature.

In (69) Henny has been talking about her older sister, Vida. In line 1 Jenny produces the evaluative comment *Kok belum dewasa banget ya* 'Gee not very mature right' without explicitly stating what referent is intended as the target of the evaluation. Jenny seeks confirmation for this evaluation by ending her utterance with the confirmation seeker *ya* 'yeah, right, huh?'. Henny affirms by saying *iya* 'yes, right' and she does this overlapping with the end of Jenny's contribution, at exactly the same moment Jenny asks for confirmation. Jenny's use of *ya* at this point marks her contribution, in Conversation Analytic terms, as a turn-constructional Unit (TCU) which has reached a transition-relevance place, a point of possible turn completion and thus possible speaker change (Ford, Fox and Thompson 1996; Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974). The fact that Henny times her contribution to exactly overlap at this point shows that she both recognises that the TCU is coming to a possible end and also that she has been able to precisely calculate the point at which it will likely finish. Henny then takes a turn in which she indicates her agreement with what Jenny has said. She does this by explicitly supplying her understanding of the referent Jenny has implied, stating that her older sister (*mbakku*) does indeed act this way. She then augments this by saying that Henny and Susi are more mature. Simultaneously

Jenny extends her turn with one more contribution in which she supplies a different referent to fill the subject slot of her previous statement, namely that it is her (Vida's) way of thinking that is immature. Thus the two women nominate different, though clearly related, referents to "fill" the empty subject slot in the clause produced in line 1. These two referents are produced simultaneously after the fact. They can only be said to fill that slot retrospectively and were not necessarily in mind specifically at the moment Jenny produced the clause in line 1. The two referents are related by metonymy but are nonetheless different and cannot be assumed to be equivalent. That is, one could imagine a scenario in which someone would want to make the point that she does not want to characterise her sister as immature in a general sense, but only that the way she thinks about things is immature.

Finally, despite the tolerance for indeterminacy that has been illustrated, addressees will sometimes feel that contextualisation and common ground are not enough for them to make an inference that is sufficient to understand their interlocutor's intent. Repair needs to be initiated and, in this context, Indonesian actually has a dedicated question form for the job: *apanya*, from the question word *apa* 'what' with the definite suffix *-nya*. *Apanya* is regularly used in contexts when a co-participant has just produced an allusive form, and it specifically means 'what is the thing that you are treating as common ground, but that I cannot yet figure out?' This can be contrasted with the use of bare *apa* 'what', which in the same context would simply mean 'what did you say? I missed what you said, could you please repeat it?'.

We take the existence of this dedicated reference-checking form to be evidence of the important role that these allusive structures play in Indonesian conversation. They are so constitutive of Indonesian interaction that a special form has evolved to take care of moments when the use of an allusive structure fails. This is illustrated in example (70). When Marta mentions a price in line 1, Weni does not know what this is referring to, so asks *apanya* in line 2, 'what (is a hundred and twenty)?'. Marta then supplies the previously implied referent, the hard disc. Now that the referent is clear, Weni then moves the conversation forward by saying she thought the hard drive was only forty.

(70) Malang: Pop Culture

1	MARTA:	*Seratus dua puluh.*
		(It's) one hundred twenty.
2	WENI:	*Apanya?*
		What is?
3	MARTA:	*Hard disk-nya.*
		The hard disk.

4 WENI: *Empat puluh kok kalo gak salah.*
Oh (it's) forty if (I'm) not wrong.

Another instance of *apanya* is seen in example (71). Amru and Wida, who are a couple, are talking about a village where Wida previously carried out a survey. This is in the presence of friends Asmita and Daud.

(71) Bandung: Plush Toys

1 AMRU: ... (1.9) *Dan itu enak ya sayang?*
And it's nice isn't it love?

2 WIDA: .. *Enak tapi aku gak bisa ngomo=ng di* [*sana*]=.
(It's) nice but I can't talk there.

3 AMRU: [*Hm-hm*].
Uh-huh.

4 WIDA: @@[@@ @@]

5 ASMITA: [*Enaknya apanya*]*?*
What's nice?

6 *Ada yang tempat rekreasi?*
Are there recreation places?

7 WIDA: *Engga=k.*
No.

8 *Cuman .. suasananya tuh enak.*
It's just the atmosphere is nice.

Amru taps into knowledge he shares with Wida, suggesting she had previously told him it was nice in the village where she had gone to do her study. Wida agrees it was nice and adds a comment that she could not talk while she was there, referring back to an early segment of the conversation when Wida, who is not Sundanese, said she had difficulty communicating with villagers in Sundanese speaking areas. Asmita then comes in at line 5 asking for clarification, since she is not privy to the shared knowledge about Wida's previous trip – 'what is it that was nice?'. She even goes on to supply a possible referent, recreation places. Wida explains that it is simply the atmosphere that is nice. Thus the use of allusive constructions can be supported by and in turn reinforce shared knowledge, in this case between Amru and Wida. It can also exclude those who do not have the shared knowledge. *Apanya* is a question which can be used to repair this breach in intersubjective understanding as it does here.

The comic in Figure 4.2, translated in (72), graphically illustrates the lack of common ground that can motivate the use of *apanya*.

Figure 4.2: *Apanya*: What is the referent you are alluding to? (Seven Artland Studio 2011: 81)

(72) Marriage | The Love of a Father

1	Daughter:	1 red pearl milk tea *mbak*.
		[sound of shaking]
	Narrator:	Every father certainly worries about his daughter...
		* For those who don't know, what's shaking is the bubble tea blender.
2	Girl:	[slurp ♡ a popsicle]
	Father:	. . . . .
3	Dog:	[Oo yeah....]
		CENSORED
	Father:	(swearing)
4	Father:	JUST DON'T!!!
	Daughter:	???? Huh ???? Don't what (***apanya***)???

In the first frame, the daughter has innocently ordered a bubble tea, which is being made in a blender. The word *kocok* means to shake, mix or blend. It is used here as onomatopoeia for the sound of shaking, as indicated by *cok kocok* written across the working blender. The note below the frame helpfully tells the reader that what is shaking (*ngocok*, i.e., *kocok* with the nasal verbal prefix) is the blender, or mixing/shaking machine (*mesin kocok*). *Kocok* is also slang for 'masturbate'. Apparently, this association has primed the father to see sex wherever he looks, implicitly in second frame and quite explicitly in the third. (Interestingly, not only is the 'censored' label in English, but the dog is also exclaiming *oo*

yeah in English, invoking a stereotype that all pornography is in this language). When the father turns to his daughter in the last frame and says emphatically 'Just don't!' we the readers share common ground with the father and know what he is referring to. All of this has been going on literarily behind the daughter's back as well as in the father's imagination. She has only been concentrating on enjoying her bubble tea. This lack of common ground between the daughter and the father produces a complete breakdown in intersubjective alignment and prompts her to ask *apanya gak boleh?* 'don't what?', that is 'what is it that you're saying I shouldn't do?'. Underlying the humour produced by this single instance of breakdown in intersubjectivity is the stereotypical expectation that cross-generational communication regularly lacks common ground, such that we are now witnessing one more manifestation of this phenomenon.

Goffman points out that central to all human interaction is the obligation "to render our behavior understandably relevant to what the other can come to perceive is going on. Whatever else, our activity must be addressed to the other's mind, that is, to the other's capacity to read our words and actions for evidence of our feelings, thoughts, and intent. This confines what we say and do, but it also allows us to bring to bear all of the world to which the other can catch allusions" (1983: 51). All languages are such that their users must regularly rely on contextualisation and inferencing in order to understand their interlocutors' intentions. Colloquial Indonesian, through the frequent use of implicit reference, affords its speakers a particularly rich set of interactional resources that heighten the need for intersubjective alignment, allowing users to "catch allusions". Goffman also states that "what we think of as a relationship is, in one sense, merely a provision for the use of cryptic expressions, a provision of what is required in order to allude to things economically" (1983: 42). From the examples we have explored, we can see that the reverse is also the case; the use of allusive, economical or cryptic language is also a way of recognising and reinforcing such a relationship.

4.3.2 When referents are explicit

Section 4.3.1 outlined the phenomenon of allusive constructions in which referents of core arguments are not explicitly mentioned. To get a sense of the prevalence of this phenomenon, a text count was conducted on a random selection of 250 intonation units from each of the eight conversational texts in the Bandung data. Within this selection of 2,000 intonation units there are 453 verbal predicates of main clauses. Of these 285, or 63%, are without explicit subjects. The remaining 168 verbal main clauses, or 37%, have explicit subjects. It has been argued for other languages that make extensive use of so-called zero anaphora,

that these allusive constructions might be best understood as the default or unmarked construction type. For such languages, including Japanese (Nariyama 2003), Korean (Oh 2007) and Javanese (Ewing 2014), it may be more productive to ask when referents are explicitly expressed, rather than asking when they are not expressed. As implicit referents are more common than explicit referents in the conversational data we are looking at, we will follow this line of thought by asking why arguments are explicitly expressed at certain points in discourse. These points include introducing referents, making contrasts, marking discourse boundaries and telling stories.

The introduction of a referent into discourse is a prototypical situation for explicit mention. This was previously exemplified in example (60), in which Ika introduces the referent 'Wasat's computer' with the noun phrase *laptopmu* 'your laptop'. In his following turn, Wasat talks about his computer by using minimal structures and without mentioning the computer explicitly. We have also seen situations in which referents are "introduced" without being explicitly mentioned. Sometimes this is successful and sometimes there are points where an interlocutor might ask *Apanya*? 'What is it that you haven't mentioned' as exemplified in (70) to (72). The choice of introducing a referent explicitly or not requires a delicate balance and is part of the constant intersubjective monitoring of interaction that people must attend to.

Explicit referents are used when a contrast is being drawn. In the excerpt in (73) Faizah is telling a story about an encounter she had with her former boyfriend, whom she and Puji have been discussing.

(73) Bandung: Rapidograph Saga

1	FAIZAH:	... *Kan* ***gue*** *dateng.*
		I arrive right.
2		*Kucluk kucluk kucluk kucluk.*
		[expressive sound of walking as Faizah arrives]
3		.. ***Dia*** *tuh ada di itu=,*
		He was there,
4		*depan= kelas apa sih?*
		in front of class?
		[5 lines describing the physical location]
10	PUJI:	... [*Hm*].
		Hm.
11	FAIZAH:	[***Dia***] *pengen nyapa,*
		He wanted to greet (me).
12		*kelihatan banget.*
		(it) was really obvious.

13 .. <@ *Cuma* ***guanya*** *langsung pergi* @>.
Only **I** just left straight away.

The scene is set with Faizah (first person *gue*) arriving (in line 1) and Abang (third person *dia*) sitting in front of the classroom (in line 3). After a few brief comments about the setting, Faizah and Abang, as the main protagonists in the narrative, remain topical, and so could be understood if not explicitly expressed. However, it is precisely the need to keep their identities and their actions individuated and separate that prompts Faizah to continue using fully explicit pronouns in lines 11 and 12. Without explicit pronouns at this point, there would be a very heavy demand on Puji's ability to access common ground in order to understand who was greeting and who walked away. Although these young women share some common ground about the event, the main reason they are (re)constructing the narrative together is that they have divergent knowledge about different aspects of the events and want to figure out what has really happened. This would be another motivation for Faizah to make reference as explicit as possible. The use of the definite suffix -*nya* on *gue* in line 13 is also a common way to show contrast, and so highlights the motivation for clearly differentiating the two referents.

Discourse boundaries, for example at a change of topic or the beginning of a narrative, are another common place where fully explicit forms appear. In part this is due to the convergence of two trends: new referents would tend to appear at the beginning of a new segment of discourse, and new referents tend to be introduced with explicit forms. Fox (1987) has shown in her analysis of reference in English written texts, that the opening of a new sequence is also a place where full forms are used, even for referents that are given and have just been mentioned with pronouns. That is, switching from a pronominal form to a full noun phrase helps to constitute the beginning of a new segment in discourse. A similar process occurs in the Indonesian conversational data. In this case, it is a shift from implicit to explicit reference, including to first and second persons. Example (74) illustrates use of explicit forms at the beginning of a new narrative sequence.

(74) Bandung: Plush Toys
1 Asmita: *Pake setrika aja* [*sisirnya*].
Just use an iron for combing (your hair).
2 Wida: [@@]@@
3 Asmita: <@ *Biar lurus* @>.
So (your hair) will be straight.
4 [@@@]
5 Wida: [@@@]

6 Asmita: *Dicatok jadi kering rambutnya.*
Use a curling iron on (it) to dry (your) hair.
7 Wida: @ .. *Siapa,*
Who,
8 ***aku** pernah liat **banci** juga yah?*
I once saw a ***banci*** right?
9 Asmita: .. *Apa.*
What?
10 Wida: *Kan?*
You know?
11 .. *Biasanya kan?*
Usually right?
12 .. *pake catokan gini yah.*
(they) use a curling iron like this.
13 *Dan banci itu,*
And that *banci*,
14 .. *rambutnya emang udah panjang.*
her hair was really long.
15 *seginilah.*
as (long) as this.
16 .. *Segini.*
As (long) as this.
17 [*Segini*].
As (long) as this.
18 Asmita: [*He-eh*].
Uh-huh.
19 Wida: @@ <@ *Dia gini disetrika* @>.
She ironed (it).

Wida, Asmita and Amru have been joking about Daud's hair and have been using allusive structures with no explicit personal pronouns or noun phrases for an extended period, as seen in lines 1 and 3. At line 7 Wida begins a story about a *banci* (semi-derogatory term for male-to-female transsexual, a commonly recognised identity in contemporary Indonesian society), whom Wida had seen use an iron on her hair. In line 8 Wida introduces the protagonist with the explicit noun *banci*. Wida also mentions herself explicitly with *aku* '1SG', despite the fact that it would be clear that she is indeed the narrator of the story and implicit reference would be possible. Using these explicit forms does two things. First, it helps to establish that she is starting a new segment of discourse, related to, but different from the topic of Daud's hair. Secondly, it is important for her epistemically to

establish that this story is something she herself has witnessed and the explicit use of first person pronoun helps to emphasise this narrative ownership.

Example (75) illustrates the use of explicit pronominal forms at a discourse boundary other than the beginning of narrative.

(75) Bandung: Cream Soup

1	ASMITA:	*Eh tapi gimana ya?* Uh but how about it?
2		... *Laku moal?* (Will it) sell or not?
3	BAYU:	*Laku lah* [*kayaknya mah*]. (It will) sell it seems like.
4	ASMITA:	[*target pasar*]. target market.
5	BAYU:	.. *Dian* ***gue*** *pangjualkeun,* Dian if **I** go into business.
6		*Sok* ***elu*** *makan kagak?* Come on will **you** eat (some) or not?
7	DIAN:	... *Ya nggak tahu.* Yeah (I) don't know.
8	ASMITA:	[*Kok nggak tahu*]. How could (you) not know.
9	DESTI:	[*enak ngga=k*]. does (it) taste any good or not.

Here there is a physical change of speaker configuration as well as a change in topic. Alma, Asmita and Bayu have been talking about the cream soup they are planning to sell as part of a marketing course. At line 5, Bayu turns his attention away from Asmita towards Dian, who was not previously part of the conversation. He calls out to her, asking whether she would buy their soup if they sell it. This is still on the larger topic of cream soup, but Bayu moves from the discussion of making and selling, to conducting some ad hoc market research with a passer-by. At this point he uses explicit pronouns *gue* '1SG' and *elu* '2SG'. Thus Bayu's shift of focus from Asmita and Alma as his primary addressees to Dian as his primary addressee is marked with use of pronouns. This corresponds with a shift in topic, and so we see again the importance of explicit reference in establishing a discourse boundary. Bayu also changes his pronoun choice. While speaking to Asmita and Alma, he has been using *aku* '1SG' and *kamu* '1SG'. As discussed in Chapter 2, these are the most commonly used personal pronouns among the young Indonesian speakers from Bandung in our data. This same

extract is discussed in Chapter 2 to illustrate how Bayu changes pronouns in an attempt to rather aggressively coax Dian into agreeing that their plan is a good one. (Later, when his plan backfires, he changes to solidarity-building Sundanese pronouns). Indeed, by using explicit pronouns at this point, Bayu provides himself the opportunity to choose pronouns that carry additional semiotic resonances that he can use to his advantage. Implicit reference does not allow this; only explicit referent forms afford the social indexicalities that make Indonesian pronoun usage so rich.

Narrative (stories) within conversation is a frequent location for extensive use of explicit nominal arguments, compared to non-narrative segments of conversation. Thus explicit forms occur not just at the beginning of the narrative, marking a transition into a new segment of discourse, they also occur throughout narrative segments to a much greater extent than elsewhere in interactional talk. In example (76), Henny is telling her friends about her older sister Vid, who regularly complains that her partner often looks at other women. Henny relates what she (purportedly) said to her sister, framing her words explicitly with *aku ngomong* ‘I said’ in line 1.

(76) Malang: Jenny’s Saga

1 HENNY: .. *Aku ngomong.*
I said.
2 *Aku yo sering nasehatin lho kakakku iku.*
I often give advice to that older sister of mine.
3 *Mbak Vid ya wajarlah* [*namanya*] *cowok.*
Mbak Vid (it’s) normal that’s how guys are.
4 X: [*eh*].
uh.
5 HENNY: *Itu.*
There.
6 *Mungkin dia.*
Maybe him.
7 .. *Kalo cowok mungkin kalo,*
If a guy maybe if,
8 JENNY: *Ya uda=h* [*mbakmu suruh*] *nyimpen Nicholas Saputra aja.*
Alright tell your sister to just keep (a photo of) Nicolas Saputra.
9 HENNY: [*nggak mungkin dia*],
no way would she,
10 ALL: @@
11 HENNY: *Nggak.*
No.

12 .. *Nggak ngefek cowoknya kayak-e.*
(It) probably wouldn't affect her guy.
13 *Babah-o.*
Forget about it.
14 .. *Mbak Vid itu sampai kayak gitu lho Jen.*
Mbak Vid is totally like that Jen.
15 JENNY: Hem=.
Hum.
16 HENNY: .. *Jadi sampai marah-marah.*
(She) gets to the point of being really mad.

As we show in Chapter 5 on the presentation of voice in discourse, explicit framing is both a way of identifying a speaker and also allows for subtle forms of positioning. In line 2 Henny shifts her frame, now claiming that she frequently offers this advice to her older sister. Here Henny presents herself as the one who understands the situation and presents her sister as being not as capable as we might expect, since she needs to be counselled by her younger sister. In doing so she is essentially reversing the expected roles of older and younger siblings. The subsequent voicing of what she said, as well as comments by her audience, consistently contain explicit references to the sister and her boyfriend. As discussed in Section 4.3.1, it is common ground shared between speech participants and the possibility of intersubjective contextualisation through interaction that provides speakers with the space in which to use allusive structures. During narratives, the audience does not have the same immediate connection to the characters whose speech and actions are being presented. Allusive constructions about events that are removed in space and time are more difficult to contextualise and this provides motivation for presenting referents more explicitly during storytelling.

In the lead-up to the segment presented in (76), Henny has used explicit referents to describe the situation between her sister (Vid) and her sister's boyfriend. She continues to use explicit referents when she relates what she said to Vid in line 3 and 5–7. Jenny also uses explicit referents when she makes the humorous suggestion in line 8 that Vid should carry the photo of a well-known Indonesian actor in order to annoy her partner. In line 12 Henny says this would probably have no effect on her partner, explicitly referring to him as *cowoknya* 'her guy'. Explicit reference ceases when Henny utters the East Javanese expressive *babah-o* 'whatever, forget it'. At the point Henny says this, it is not completely clear whose voice she is presenting or what it is in regards to. It could be Henny giving voice to what Vid's reaction would be to her partner's (hypothetical) nonchalance. It could also be Henny directly saying to Jenny, forget about trying

to come up with a solution for Vid. The latter appears more likely as Henny continues and says that her sister Vid remains very angry. What is interesting here is the way explicit reference is used to help build a narrative by relating the deeds and words of others, but then ambiguity appears at a moment of heightened emotional expression. This is reminiscent of the indeterminate expression of attitude discussed in example (66) *geuleuh* 'disgusted, disgusting' and (67) *bener nggak?* 'Am I / is it right or not?'.

A contrast between the use of explicit and implicit forms is also seen among verbs of speech and cognition. Stating that someone has said something will more likely have an overt subject while stating that someone has thought something will more likely to have an implied subject. A typical example of using a verb of speech is *Aku bilang gitu kan* 'I said it like that you see', whose larger context is given in example (110a) of Chapter 5. Typical of the verb *tahu* 'know' are *Ya nggak tahu* 'Yeah (I) don't know' and *Kok nggak tahu* 'How could (you) not know', seen in (75) above. In the conversational data from Bandung and Malang, there are 161 tokens of verbs of speech. These include, in order of frequency, *ngomong* 'say', *bilang* 'say', and *cerita* 'tell about'. Of clauses with these verbs of speech, 114 or 71% have overtly expressed subject referents. This is much higher than the overall proportion of overt subjects we saw in the sample of conversational data mentioned above, which was 37%. The high rate of overt subjects for verbs of speech also contrasts with verbs of cognition. In the conversational data from Bandung and Malang, there are 184 tokens of the verbs of cognition. These include, in order of frequency, *tahu* 'know', *ngerti* 'understand', *lupa* 'forget', and *mikir/pikir* 'think'. Of clauses with these verbs of cognition, 68 or 37% have overt subjects. This is similar to the proportion of overt subjects overall and is substantially lower than the frequency of overt subjects of verbs of speech.

Why are overt subjects associated with stating that someone has spoken, while expressions of cognition prefer no explicit subject? Chapter 5 explores ways people report speech, what we call "voice presentation". There we show that the practice of explicit framing of voice presentations with expressions such as *aku bilang* 'I said' or *ayah aku ngomong gini* 'My dad said this' functions to ground voice presentation within the discourse through an individuated voice. It is precisely the explicit use of subject referents that provides this individuation. In contrast, expressions using verbs of cognition express speakers' inner thought processes and feelings. Rather than being firmly grounded in the discourse, they appear more as a direct manifestation of mental experience. Example (77) nicely demonstrates how different motivations for expressing referents can interact.

(77) Bandung: Rapidograph Saga

1	FAIZAH:	@ ***Lu*** *gak bilang lagi Puj.*
		You didn't even say Puj.
2	PUJI:	*Lu=pa*[=].
		(I) forgot.
3	FAIZAH:	[*Ya* ***gua***] *juga lupa mau cerita.*
		Yeah **I** also forgot (I) want to tell (you about it).

In line 1 Faizah is laughingly chastising Puji for not telling her about something that happened recently. When she says 'you didn't tell me' she uses explicit *lu* '2SG' with the verb of saying. Puji then defends herself by saying she forgot. This is a direct expression of her state of mind, presented simply as *lupa* 'forgot' with no explicit subject. In the next line, Faizah reverses the trend we have just discussed, using an explicit subject *gua* '1SG' with *lupa* 'forget' and no subject with *cerita* 'tell about'. In this instance Faizah sets up a comparison, saying that she also forgot to tell about this event. In order to highlight the contrast between the two actors, who each have had the same experience, Faizah now uses an explicit subject with *lupa* "forget". But because the two clauses are closely linked and share the same subject argument, she does not repeat the subject with *cerita* 'tell about'.

This section has examined referential practices. Allusion to referents without explicitly expressing them is a common practice in colloquial Indonesian and is particularly salient in youth language. As we have seen, a heightened intersubjective attitude to the maintenance and augmentation of common ground is crucial to successful communication using minimal, allusive structures. Goffman points out that in intimate relationships, while speakers "can relax and communicate elliptically about 'anything' that comes to mind [hearers] may have to invest a certain amount of work in order to keep up with the changing contexts of reference" (1983: 46). As we see it, the work that needs to be done is in fact on both sides and in order to be successful, it depends on maintaining intersubjective common ground. It is precisely this heightened intersubjectivity which makes minimal, often rapid-fire, structures so compatible with youthful interaction. The heightened engagement and intense social monitoring that this requires synchronise well with the characteristics of youthful engagement and sociability. In this context, speakers regularly choose more explicit reference for particular interactional and discourse needs, and this choice interacts in interesting ways with allusive constructions, requiring on-going intersubjective negotiation and adjustment as common ground is continuously realigned. We will next look at more elaborated structures, their social meanings and how they interact with the minimal structures we have examined.

4.4 More elaborated structures and stylistic variation

Elaborated structures regularly involve explicit mention of arguments, but are more than this. They often involve morphology, lexicon and clause combining strategies more associated with the standard language. Section 4.4.1 below illustrates what these more elaborated structures look like in contrast to the minimal structures discussed previously. Section 4.4.2 then looks at how these elaborated structures are deployed by young people to create an expository style that contrasts with the more informal, interpersonal style we have been discussing.

4.4.1 More elaborated structures

Previously, example (58) illustrated some features of elaborated structures that occur in the conversational data. These include the use of explicit referents, standard verb morphology and clause combining. Other standard grammatical features which do not usually show up in conversational interaction can also make an appearance from time to time, as exemplified in (78). Here Ratih asks Hana to show her something. She uses the very formal question element -*kah*, suffixed to *boleh* 'may'. She also uses the transitive prefix *me*- with *lihat* 'see' and fully expressed subject and object (albeit with pronouns). The overall formality of the structure of this request is matched with her use of *saya* '1SG', which, as we saw in Chapter 2, indexes a distancing, public self. This style contrasts with Febri's question in (79). Here referents and verb are implicit and the model *bisa* is the only element in the predicate that is expressed. Rather than using the formal question element -*kah*, Febri chooses to mark her question with the informal particles *kan* and *ya*.

(78) Bandung: Chicken Foot Soup
1 RATIH: ... *Teh Hana,*
Teh Hana,
2 ***bolehkah*** *saya* ***melihat*** *ini?*
may I see this?

(79) Bandung: Rapidograph Saga
1 FEBRI: ***Kan bisa ya****?*
(It) can (be done) right?

Another characteristic of more elaborated structures is the use of abstract nouns built up with derivational morphology. In (80) we find *persampahan* 'waste collection' from *sampah* 'rubbish' and *pembuangan* 'disposal' from *buang* 'discard'.

These forms are involved in a complex noun phrase that includes nominal modification and an attributive relative clause: *jalur-jalur persampahan yang alternatif-alternatifnya pembuangan sampah di mana* 'waste collection routes that are alternatives for wherever there is waste disposal'.

(80) Bandung: Just Met

1	FAKRI:	.. *Kemudian,* Further,
2		*ada yang bagia=n,* there is the division,
3		*e=h,* uh,
4		***persampaha=n**.* for **waste collection**.
5	ASMITA:	[***Persampahan***]. **Waste collection**.
6	Fakri:	[*Jadi ada jalur-jalur*] ***persampahan*** *yang=,* So there are **waste collection** routes that,
7		.. *apa,* are what,
8		*alternatif-alternatifnya=,* are alternatives,
9	ASMITA:	[*Oh=*]. Oh.
10	FAKRI:	[***pembuangan***] *sampah di mana=.* for wherever there is waste **disposal**.

As discussed in Section 4.1, the relationship between more elaborated and more minimal structures is related to, but not the same as, the relationship between written and spoken language. As we would expect then, elaborated structures are very common in the three written discourse types we look at, and these typically occur during narration. Yet even when complex phrasing and clause structures are used, following the conventions of standard Indonesian, the authors can maintain a playful feel, which is essential to the youthful orientation of their work. This is illustrated in example (81) from Teenlit. In this extract, despite the very standard style of formal writing, playfulness arises, for example from the repetition of the Javanese word *molor*, which means to stretch, and in this case refers to stretching time so that something is late. There is irony as well in the description *sekolah kami tercinta* 'our beloved school', when the narrator and her friend are cold and waiting on the overgrown, wind-swept school grounds.

(81) *A Little White Lie* (AK 2007: 7)

Sayangnya, meskipun kami pulang ***molor*** *setengah jam dari jadwal yang seharusnya, mobil jemputan Pia ternyata datang lebih* ***molor*** *dari kepulang-an kami yang sudah* ***molor*** *itu. Akibatnya, aku dan Pia harus rela kedingin-an di halaman* ***sekolah kami tercinta*** *yang memang rimbun dan banyak angin kalau sudah sore begini.*

The sad thing was, although we were going home a half hour **later** than the normal schedule, Pia's ride was apparently coming **later** than our departure which was already **late**. As a result, Pia and I had no choice but to wait in the cold in the front grounds of **your beloved school** which was actually overgrown and became quite windy in the evening like it was now.

We use the term expository style for language that makes use of these elaborated structures that involve elements of standard Indonesian. This style contrasts with the more interpersonal style discussed previously, with its allusive, minimal structures which rely heavily on contextualisation in order to be understood and accepted as relevant in interaction. The expository style often evokes standard Indonesian, especially as associated with formal written texts, but it is not the same thing as standard, written Indonesian. Note that in (80) there are still interactional elements that are present due to the real-time spoken mode and face-to-face context. In line 5 Fakri has to pause momentarily with the word search filler *apa* 'what' as he formulates the complex noun phrase he is presenting. Asmita also offers back-channelling in lines 5 and 9, which encourages Fakri to continue with his formulation. This expository style is often associated with more monologic delivery of information, rather than the involved interchange of thoughts and feelings more likely to be associated with interpersonal language. By accessing elements of "good and correct" Indonesian, this language style can also be used to index meanings associated with the standard, including a sense of distancing, official or weighty presentation. As we will see in the next section on the interplay between expository and interpersonal styles, often the humorous incongruity of this weightiness in contexts of youthful banter can be the very *raison d'être* for this way of speaking and writing.

4.4.2 Interplay between expository and interpersonal styles

The interpersonal grammatical style discussed above certainly has all the hallmarks of colloquial language, while standard features play an important role in the more expository style. Nonetheless, as discussed in the introduction of this

book, we view colloquial and standard Indonesian as part of a continuum of registers in the same language, Indonesian, and we are primarily interested in examining how they are used as resources for style construction, imbued with indexical resonances and deployed in actual language use. In this section we explore how young people deploy these styles and, despite admonishments from figures of authority, will often move fluidly between them during an interaction, rather than remaining within a certain defined register for particular speech activities.

We can see this fluidity in example (82), involving a group of young female university students who are sitting in a food court. They spend a lot of time talking about what they want to order, using a very informal, interpersonal style of language. At various points, they also discuss several other topics and this shift in topic can be accompanied by a shift in style. Prior to this excerpt, they have been discussing the importance of understanding one's social milieu in order to be successful in life. The somewhat academic nature of the topic means their language has been marked with several standard features. Ratih concludes by saying economics is the most important thing when talking about social dealings. Rini responds in lines 12–13, using rather formal language to say she understands this point. Elsewhere in this same recording Rini uses personal *aku* '1SG' and also her name for self-reference (see example (18) of Chapter 2). At this point in the conversation, however, she chooses public, distancing *saya* '1SG', which reinforces the standard feel of her utterance, along with standard *mengerti* 'understand' instead of colloquial *ngerti*. In line 15, Rini returns to the discussion about what they will order. At this point she continues the standard style she was using in line 13, but she also produces an even more elaborate, expository structure, echoing the elaborate formal style used by Ratih in line 1. Revealingly, Rini also laughs while she produces line 15, thus recognising the humorous incongruity of producing this particularly elaborated structure as she shifts to a much more personal topic. In lines 16–18, she quickly shifts back into a more colloquial, interpersonal style, using very informal *cuma* 'only' and *aja* 'just'. Ratih follows suit and also uses the same interpersonal style in her next turn (lines 20–21). This sequence creates what we call a chain of alignments (see Chapter 5), as Rini aligns her contribution to Ratih's expository style, then shifts to a more interpersonal style, to which Rini subsequently realigns herself.

(82) Bandung: Chicken Foot Soup

1	RATIH:	... *Ekonomi yang paling penting di .. di dunia ini.*
		Economics is the most important thing in this world.
2		... *Dengar itu?*
		Do (you) hear that?

3 ... *Catat.*
Take note.
[8 lines intervening]
12 Rini: ... *Ya.*
Yes.
13 ... *Saya mengerti sekarang.*
I understand now.
14 Diyah: @@
15 Rini: *<@ Saya belum menemukan apa @> yang mau saya makan.*
I have not yet discovered what it is that I want to eat.
16 *Ini=.*
Here.
17 ... *Hah.*
Hah.
18 *Itu teh cuma esnya aja?*
That's just with ice?
19 Diyah: @@
20 Ratih: *Minum aja Teh.*
(I'm) just having a drink *teh*.
21 ... *Tapi nggak tahu mau minum apa.*
But (I) don't know what (do I) want to drink.

As the conversation continues, Ratih says that she doesn't know what to order. These two utterances form something like a stylistic near minimal pair and are contrasted in (83) with interlinear glossing, in order to highlight the different grammatical resources that are being used.

(83) Grammatical resources used in expository and interpersonal styles

a.

Saya	*belum*	*men-(t)emu-kan*	*apa*	*yang*	*mau*	*saya*	*makan.*
1SG	not yet	MEN-meet-APPL	what	REL	want	1SG	eat

'I have not yet discovered what it is that I want to eat.'

b.

Tapi	*nggak*	*tahu*	*mau*	*minum*	*apa.*
but.INFORMAL	NEG.INFORMAL	know	want	drink	what

'But (I) don't know, what (do I) want to drink.'

(83a) is elaborated with two explicitly expressed tokens of first person *saya* '1SG', one per clause. It uses the verb *menemukan* (MEN-temu-kan) 'to discover' with standard morphology: the informal equivalent is *nemuin* (N-temu-in). Finally, the elaborated example makes use of an indefinite relative clause. Using an embed-

ded clause in this context has the feeling of written text, and the complex nature of this utterance comes from the fact that the indefinite relative clause can be analysed as an embedded complement clause functioning as the direct object of the verb *menemukan*. The expository feeling is further heightened by word order. The clause *yang mau saya makan* uses the prescriptively "correct" order MODAL-AGENT-VERB of Passive Type Two (see discussion of (65) above), while more common in colloquial usage is *yang saya mau makan* with the prescriptively "incorrect" order AGENT-MODAL-VERB.[1] Compare this with the interpersonal style of (83b). Here the language is contextualised through the use of implied referents. Without explicit referents, intersubjective alignment allows participants to know Ratih is speaking about herself rather than, say, Rini. Informal function words *tapi* 'but' and *nggak* 'NEG' are used. The verb has no morphology. Finally, rather than using an embedded indefinite relative clause structure, two clauses are simply juxtaposed: *nggak tahu* '(I) don't know' followed by the question *mau minum apa* 'what (do I) want to drink'. The latter clause (unlike the indefinite relative clause in (83a)) can stand alone as a question, with its question word in situ. This juxtaposition of clauses does not form an embedded structure. Englebretson (2003) argues that rather than involving complementation, a structure like this consists of a frame (*nggak tahu*) introducing the main clause (*mau minum apa*) (see Chapter 5 for a more detailed analysis of framing in the context of voice presentation). All of these features together imbue the two utterances with very different feelings. These differences index expository and interpersonal styles, and using the expository style in a more interpersonal context easily becomes a source of humour.

As we have seen in previous examples, there is a tendency for authors of comics and Teenlit to use informal styles of Indonesian in dialogue, including allusive structures and colloquial features. This creates a similar sense of casualness and intersubjective alignment between characters as would be experienced by speakers in natural conversation. At the same time, more elaborated and complex structures, including the use of more standard styles of language often occur in narrative sections. This is illustrated by the comic in Figure 4.3, translated in (84). This is from a series of comics about different kinds of ghosts found in Indonesia. The boys' interpersonal style contrasts with the expository style of the narrator. The boys use short clauses and interactional particles *deh* and *sih* (see Chapter 3). The narration uses more complex clause constructions

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1 Frequency was determined by a quick and pragmatic Google search. One May 1, 2017, Google returned 66.5K hits for the string "*yang mau saya makan*" compared to 92.4K hits for "*yang saya mau makan*"

Figure 4.3: Interpersonal and expository styles across dialogue and narration (Yudis, Broky and Waw 2010: 1)

with standard features. The choice of verb form is important: *muter-muter* 'circling around' uses the informal nasal prefix and spelling of <e> for a schwa pronunciation in the final syllable of the base *puter*; *berputar-putar* uses the standard middle-voice prefix *ber-* and standard <a> for the final syllable. Interestingly, the dialogue also uses the non-standard, but very common, informal convention of spelling the preposition *di* 'in, at' together with its head noun as a single word: *ditempat* 'in place'. This contrasts with the standard spelling convention, *di tempat*, seen in the narration. Thus the orthography of the boy's speech mirrors how they themselves might spell on social media.

(84) The Mimang roots – Java

BOY 1:	It feels like we've been circling around in the same place (***muter-muter ditempat***), you know ...?!
BOY 3:	I don't believe it! How can a king of the mall like you get lost?
NARRATOR:	No one knows exactly what its form or appearance is. Usually in the forest if one feels that one's way is circling around in the same place (***berputar-putar di tempat***), one can be sure that one has passed the *mimang* roots.

Djenar and Ewing (2015) have shown that the practice of using standard language for narrative and expository segments of written literature while reserving colloquial language for dialogue is no longer strictly followed among contemporary authors who produce youth-oriented work. The relatively rigid separation of standard and colloquial forms of language that was promoted during the New Order era has given way to an interplay between these different styles that creates very porous boundaries between them today. The following examples illustrate different ways these boundaries can be breeched.

First, a clear motivation for the flexibility that authors show in their manipulation of styles has to do with the circumstances that characters and narrators find themselves in. In the comic in Figure 4.4, translated in (85), Lala and Ayi are continuing their travels through East Java and they stop at a famous pilgrimage site called Gunung Kawi. Lala asks their guide about the site and he launches into a detailed explanation in standard expository Indonesian. (Only the first line of the guide's first speech bubble is translated. The next part continues with all the dialogue in the lower section.) Here the guide continues speaking while Lala

Figure 4.4: Si Lala at Gunung Kawi (Putri 2009: 93)

and Ayi take a selfie. The narrator box contains a comment that is directed at the guide, but was not spoken to him at the time. Rather, it feels like commentary Lala is presenting to the audience of her story, as if she is explaining back to the guide, after the fact, what had motivated them to take a selfie. This section is presented more informally, reflecting Lala's thoughts and feelings. While it still uses relatively standard morphology, it contains several informal elements, including laughter, colloquial spelling *maap* for *maaf* 'sorry', colloquial *gak* 'NEG', the English 'excited' and 'info', final particle *ya* 'okay?' and an emoticon. By staying true to the nature of these interactions – guide with his clients, and comic artist with her audience – this provides a case of fairly standard language in dialogue and relatively informal language in narration, in contrast to the common practice of using standard language in narration, which was mentioned above.

(85) Si Lala at Gunung Kawi

1	LALA:	So what kind of place is this Gunung Kawi?
	GUIDE:	Well, around 200 years ago, two respected clerics were buried here. [Guide continues describing the location in standard Indonesian.]
2	GUIDE	So as we have seen here, there is a mixing of Javanese and Chinese culture. Here we highly respect difference and multiculturalism... Hey, where did they go?
2	NARRATOR:	Ha ha, sorry Mr Guide, we got to excited so we didn't want to miss the chance to capture the moment in a photograph. Thanks for the info, ok!

Second, the Teenlit excerpt in (86) exemplifies the way authors flexibly use language styles to index shifting perspectives. This story is told in the first person, and as with the Si Lala comic, we can expect the narrator's personality to come out since this narrator is closely implicated in the events of the narrative as well. Paragraph 1, while using a more elaborated structural style, still contains colloquial elements, including informal *cuma* 'only' in the first sentence. The second sentence of paragraph 1 uses the particle *kok* 'how come?', informal orthography of *cepet* 'fast' (cf. *cepat*) and the question-final particle *ya* 'right?'. The girls had been waiting for some time in the evening in their empty school, which had a reputation for being haunted. Rather than simply reporting events, the first paragraph takes us into the narrator's experience of following quickly after Pia and feeling how she is walking faster. This personal perspective is reinforced by the more informal language. Indeed the last line of the first paragraph is presented as the narrator's thought, which she then expresses almost verbatim in the dialogue

in paragraph 2. Paragraph 3 then returns to their actions as they continue to almost run out of the building and sigh in relief when they see Pia's sister's car. This last paragraph, focused more on the characters' actions and their escape to the outside, is presented without colloquial characteristics.

(86) *A Little White Lie* (AK 2007: 10)

1 *Aku cuma mengangguk-angguk dan mengikuti langkah Pia dari belakang, melewati lorong-lorong kelas yang gelap menuju gerbang depan. Tapi kok lama-lama Pia jalannya cepet juga ya?*

2 *"Pi, kok cepet-cepet gitu sih jalannya? Tungguin dong!"*

3 *Pia hanya diam dan malah mempercepat langkahnya. Anehnya, tanpa sadar aku juga ikut-ikutan setengah berlari. Begitu sampai di luar dan melihat mobil kakak Pia, kami berdua langsung berhenti berlari dan sama-sama menghela napas lega.*

1 I only nodded and followed Pia's steps from behind, passing the dark hallways, headed to the front gate. But as we went along how come Pia was walking faster?

2 "Pi, how come you're walking faster? Wait up!"

3 Pia didn't say anything and just walked even faster. The weird thing was without being aware of it I was half-running to keep up with her. As soon as we got outside and saw Pia's sister's car, we both stopped abruptly and each sighed in relief.

In this section, we have explored interpersonal and expository grammatical structures. In the past, colloquial Indonesian has been associated with informal spoken interaction, while standard Indonesian has been considered appropriate for more formal contexts, especially written discourse. While government policy and the proscriptions of cultural commentators would try to keep these domains of use separate, we often see blending between these styles, particularly among young language users (Djenar and Ewing 2015). The highly contextualised and allusive structures of the interpersonal style continue to be associated with colloquial Indonesian features and thus index informality and close personal relationships. The more expanded grammatical constructions of the expository style continue to be associated with more standard language features, indexing distance and formality. Yet young speakers regularly shift between these styles and style selection is often more a matter of shifting immediate interactional contingencies than it is a matter of differences in modality or discourse type.

4.5 Summary

In this chapter, we have contrasted two styles of organising grammatical structure that Indonesian speakers and writers routinely access: a more interpersonal style and a more expository style. These styles are not unique to youth; virtually all contemporary Indonesian speakers will make use of both to a greater or lesser extent. However, the language practices of young people are characterised by rapid, fluid and frequent movement between these styles, whether during face-to-face conversation, in online interaction or through fictional genres, such as Teenlit and youth-oriented comics.

One prominent characteristic of the interpersonal style is the use of highly contextualised language with frequent allusive reference. We explored the phenomenon of allusive reference in some detail and suggested that "ellipsis", or the omission of some element, is not an appropriate way to characterise what language users are doing. From an analytic perspective, this is primarily because it is in fact often difficult to reconstruct what referent may have been omitted. Indeed, there are frequently multiple referents which could have the status of "missing element". In general, this indeterminacy is not problematic for interaction and can allow multiple, complementary meanings to be expressed at the same time. In line with Goffman (1983) and Fox (1994), we view allusive structures as particularly indicative of the co-construction that is necessary for language to be contextualised, and ultimately to have communicative effect. The ability to successfully use allusive structures is grounded in intersubjective common ground. It is both indicative and constitutive of the relationships that hold between language users.

The complementary expository style of grammatical organisation that language users also employ displays much more elaborated structures, often with explicit referents and morpho-syntax associated with standard language usage. This style can index authority and have a distancing effect. It can be deployed for a range of discourse and social purposes. Expository style may be used for narrative or other background information, often with a monologic feel, in contrast to more interactional and interpersonal dialogue. It may signal (mock) seriousness, in contrast to a freer and more relaxed mode of interaction. In all cases, communicative effect – in a word, meaning – only exists at the intersection of participants, the language they use and the context in which they use it. Intersubjective alignment is crucial to the successful deployment of grammatical structures and the styles that different structures evoke because of the distributed nature of language in use.

5 Presentation of voice in discourse

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter we focus on the different ways in which young speakers draw on others' words and those of their own from a past discourse for the purposes of a current interaction. This social practice, as Bakhtin (1981: 338) notes, is common in everyday life.

> The topic of a speaking person has enormous importance in everyday life. In real life we hear speech about speakers and their discourse in every step. We can go so far as to say that in real life people talk most of all about what others talk about – they transmit, recall, weigh and pass judgment on other people's words, opinions, assertions, information; people are upset by others' words, or agree with them, contest them, refer to them and so forth. Were we to eavesdrop on snatches of raw dialogue in the street, in a crowd, in lines, in a foyer and so forth, we would hear how often the words "he says," "people say," "he said ..." are repeated, and in the conversational hurly-burly of people in a crowd, everything often fuses into one big "he says ... you say ... I say ...."

The linguistic structures for indicating others' speech alluded to by Bakhtin here is what is widely known in the literature as "reported speech". According to Voloshinov ([1929] 1986: 116), reported speech is a case of "words reacting on words", and "reflects constant and basic tendencies in the *active reception of other speakers' speech*" (emphasis in original). To Voloshinov ([1929] 1986: 116), the questions in analysing this kind of language use are therefore concerned with how the other person's discourse is "received" and "manipulated", and "what process of orientation" the recipient of the discourse has undergone in regard to it. These questions hint at the idea that "reporting" someone's discourse is not simply a matter of repeating what has been said but rather is an "active" process of "reception" at the time the discourse was produced, and of interpreting and reformulating the discourse at a different time. Tannen (2007) goes further than this and argues that reported speech is not actually a "report" of what someone else said but rather a discourse constructed by the speaker for contingent purposes. In this sense, the "reported" discourse is never uttered by anyone other than the "reporting" speaker her-/himself, though it carries the resonances of another person's speech. Even if the "original" speaker did produce the discourse, the words would have been appropriated by the current speaker to suit the current context.

Our goal in this chapter is to show that reported speech – what we call "voice presentation" – is another important resource that young people make use of to manage intersubjectivity. Bringing in others' words or one's own past speech into one's current discourse can inject a sense of drama and sociable liveliness

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characteristic of youthful sociability. Through such lively engagement young social actors participate in stance building and stance display, invoking rights and obligations associated with different social roles as they do so. Intersubjectivity is brought to the fore not only by means of the grammatical forms used in marking the discourse, but crucially by a mixture of linguistic and non-linguistic elements of the "reported" discourse, the sequential positioning of that discourse and the addressee's response to it. We show that paying attention to framing – the way someone's discourse is presented – is key to understanding how speakers accomplish their goals intersubjectively. We also show that the importance of "reported speech" as an interactional resource can be demonstrated by examining the creative ways in which online interactants and fiction writers adapt the conversational practices of presenting voice to the print medium and different types of discourse.

This chapter is structured as follows. In Section 5.2 we discuss four dimensions that contribute to differences in voicing styles: the presence or absence of narrator, the use or absence of frames, voice embedding, and framing preferences in the four discourse types. We proceed from there to discuss the relation between framing and intersubjectivity in Section 5.3. We argue that the use of frames, whether to introduce a new referent or a main point, or to index stances of authority, serve the important function of establishing a shared object of attention. Establishing a shared object of attention, in turn, updates existing or creates new common ground. Frames are also a device a speaker or narrator uses to signal to the addressee that the voice being presented is of significance to the discourse that follows. The discussion in this section also underlines the interaction between framed and frameless presentation. We close the chapter by reiterating the point that voice presentation is an important interactional resource the use of which brings intersubjectivity to the fore, and that paying careful attention to framing is key to understanding how this is realised linguistically.

5.2 Voice presentation and the significance of frame

Studies on conversation have shown that drawing on the speech of others (or one's own) adds a dramatic quality to an utterance and encourages active participation or "involvement" from co-participants (Gumperz 1982: 1–2; Tannen 2007: 27).[1] Studies on reported speech have also demonstrated that quoting what others said is a means for evaluating others' views and stances, and for

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1 Tannen (2007: 27) defines involvement as "internal or even emotional connection with others, places, things, activities, ideas, memories, and words".

establishing one's own (Clift 2006; Holt 2000). Clift (2006) shows that reported speech is often deployed "fleetingly" (i.e., not as part of a narrative) as a non-grammaticalised form of evidential, or what she calls "interactional evidential marker" (Clift 2006). She also argues that examining sequentiality is crucial for showing that structural position is a resource that speakers can exploit but also one that can constrain what can be said. These approaches are insightful and relevant, but we also believe that the notion of framing, which has received less attention in the literature, is another useful dimension to further develop our understanding of reported speech.

In this chapter we examine the interaction between framed and frameless reported speech to show that frames provide an important resource for establishing a shared object of attention that can subsequently be oriented to and talked about. Reported speech therefore is not merely language that is used to relay what someone (or the speaker) said but is a resource for drawing the addressee's attention to what is being said. Establishing a shared object of attention, in turn, serves the purpose of accomplishing goals such as signaling the importance of a referent, introducing a key point of argument, and indexing stances and claims. The absence of frames, by contrast, indicates that the speaker/writer assumes the addressee knows the identity of the person whose discourse is being presented, or the speaker/writer is signaling to the addressee that the identity is to be treated as unimportant. It is in these senses that we consider framed and frameless instances of reported speech as particularly useful for managing intersubjectivity.

In this study, we use the term "voice presentation" rather than "reported speech" for the following reasons. First, we concur with Tannen (2007: 104–105) that the term "reported speech" is misleading as it implies a mere recall of information. As noted, drawing on a past discourse involves interpretation and reformulation of what was said. Furthermore, what is subsequently said is in essence the speaker's own construction rather than repetition of what was said. For this reason, Tannen prefers the term "constructed dialogue" to reported speech. We agree that it is ultimately the speaker or writer who constructs the discourse; however, the term "constructed" seems to imply that the discourse is a result of a conscious and intentful act. In his discussion of speech modelling, Errington (1998b: 132) suggests that, while some instances of reported speech may be relatively strategic, in the sense that the speech is mediated by broader sociopolitical contexts (which he refers to as extrinsic, "larger social projects"), others can be considered more as "shared attunements to indexical relations of talk and content", that is, as shared ways of speaking that are indeterminate in terms of strategic intent. Our use of the term "voice presentation" keeps open the possibility that an instance of speech may be interpreted as one way or the other. We use "voicing" to refer to the act of presenting one's own or another person's

voice. Tannen uses "dialogue" to highlight both the dialogic nature of voicing and the quality of vividness it gives to an utterance. In this study we use the term "dialogue" to distinguish a voice presentation from what is commonly known as "indirect reported speech", the rendering of a past discourse as a statement. Second, "voicing" rather than "report" also better conveys the idea of polyphony or multi-voicedness (Bakhtin 1981) and the dialogic nature of discourse. Third, following Semino and Short (2004), we use "presentation" rather than "representation". "Representation", as Semino and Short (2004: 3) point out, is often used by linguists to talk about distortions or misrepresentations of speech, and tends to be predominantly used in the analysis of written texts and graphic/image-based signs.

Voice presentations may be framed or frameless. Framing provides a particular angle or background to the framed material (a "grounding" function), whereas frameless voice presentations, as the term suggests, lack framing material. In conversation, frameless presentations may be demarcated from the rest of the discourse by various means such as pauses, prosody and hesitation markers such as *e* and *eh*. In fiction, graphological marking and sequential turns are used to differentiate dialogue from narration, and to distinguish one speaking turn from another. These graphological clues and shared knowledge of how speaking turns typically work enable readers to determine whose voice is being presented and in which dialogue line. In comics, speech balloons fulfill a similar function to frames (Saraceni 2003: 9), while frameless voices are often presented in the form of "floating language", that is, discourse that is not contained within a speech balloon or graphically linked (e.g., by means of a line) to a character, as illustrated later in the chapter. The floating language is often used to indicate a character's speech, thought, or a narratorial commentary on the event being depicted. In our data, frameless voice presentations are generally used to signal to the addressee/reader that the speaker/writer assumes the identity of the speaking voice is already known to the addressee/reader, or to signal to the addressee/reader that the referent is to be treated as unimportant. Teenlit authors often use this resource to foreground the voices of characters, contrasting it with framed presentations where the characters' voices are conveyed through the narrator.

In Teenlit, more than 61.5% of all instances of voicing are frameless. This is striking, especially when compared to some texts from "High" literature where framed presentations are generally preferred. For example, in the highly acclaimed Indonesian novel *Lelaki Harimau* 'Tiger Man' (Kurniawan 2004), only 27% of voice presentations are frameless, while the remaining 73% are framed. Without the name of the speaking character mentioned explicitly, frameless presentations allow the reader to have "direct access" to what the characters say (e.g., "Let's go to Novi's house" instead of "Jo said to Sally: 'Let's go to Novi's house'").

The absence of the narrator's voice in this type of presentation repositions the reader from being the person to whom the narrator tells the story to someone who is conceptually closer to the interacting characters, thus promoting a greater sense of immersion in the story world. It is as if the reader is present at the scene, witnessing the characters talk to each other. Characters whose voices are presented this way are no longer treated as those to whom the narrator gives voice but rather as, to borrow a term from Verhagen (2008: 307), "subjects of experience". This view resonates with McCallum (1999) who argues that characters that are allowed to speak for themselves are treated as "subjects", as individuals capable of entering into dialogue with others. Having the voices of the characters presented directly to the reader also creates verisimilitude, an impression of lifelikeness. The predominance of frameless presentations in Teenlit promotes a sense of liveliness and noisy chatter, approximating the "intense sociability" referred to by Rampton (2011: 189).

Our analysis is focused on instances of voice presentation that Tannen (2007) calls "dialogue", which is similar to what are traditionally referred to as "direct speech". However, where relevant, we include some instances in which the absence of framing gives rise to double-voicedness, that is, where the voice of a speaker or narrator is interlaced with that of an absent other or a character – a type of voice presentation commonly discussed under the rubric of free indirect discourse (for a thorough treatment of this type of discourse, see e.g., Cohn 1978; Eckardt 2014; Fludernik 1992; Maier 2014, 2015). We exclude those instances traditionally referred to as "indirect speech". By delimiting our scope of analysis we want to underline the point that voicing promotes youthful involvement through acts of intersubjective alignment that are based on a shared understanding of the enchronic nature of interaction and a concern for establishing and maintaining common ground.

5.3 Style of voicing in the four discourse types

Although voice presentation is found in all four types of discourse in our data, there are differences and similarities in the way it is deployed as an interactional resource. Examining these differences and similarities not only tells us about the different conventions associated with the discourse types but more importantly, it shows how young speakers and writers creatively adapt this resource to suit different contexts, varying the forms to achieve a range of purposes. Although some practices of voicing are shared between discourse types, others are more typical of one discourse type than another. For example, using

frames to both open and close a voice presentation – what we call “rounded” voice presentation – is a common stylistic practice in conversation among young people but rarely occurs in Kaskus online interaction, Teenlit and comics. In the following we discuss four dimensions that contribute to the similarities and differences in voicing style: framing preferences, the role of narrator in the construction of voicing, the absence of framing and indeterminacy of voice, and voice embedding.

5.3.1 Frames and framing preferences

The terms “frame” and “framing” in this chapter are not to be confused with framing in the sense of “schema” or “structures of expectation” associated with “situations, objects, people, and so on” (Tannen 1993: 6). Frame in our sense is understood more narrowly as the linguistic materials that a speaker or writer uses to introduce and close a voice presentation. A frame typically contains a term or terms that refer to the act of speaking and a mention of the referent whose voice is being presented. Among the most common framing materials are *kata* ‘word’ (e.g., *kata ayah aku* ‘(in) the words of my father’), *bilang* ‘say’, *ngomong* ‘say’, *tanya/nanya* ‘ask’ and *jawab* ‘reply’. In conversation, *gini* ‘like this’ and *gitu* ‘like that’ are commonly used in conjunction with a speaking verb (e.g., *Ayah aku tuh* ***ngomong gini*** *kan* ‘My dad **said** it **like this**, you see’) or the nominal form ***kata*** ‘word’ (e.g., ***kata****nya* ***gitu*** *kan* ‘her/his **words** were **like that** you see’). Speakers also use elements from ethno-local languages such as *takok* ‘ask’ (Javanese) and *ongkoh* ‘say’ (Sundanese). Some frames do not include a speaking verb (e.g., *kalau dia* ‘as for her/him’, *dia gini* ‘s/he (said it) like this’).

Frames, according to Englebretson (2003: 60) serve a grounding function; the “ground” (as opposed to “figure”), in Langacker’s (1991) terms, is “the vantage point from which a linguistically coded scene is viewed”. Applying this notion for explaining complementation, Englebretson states that frames “contribute a particular angle or background to the framed material” (2003: 39). This is illustrated in (87). This example consists of two clauses in a series. In the first clause, the speaker asks the addressee to remind her to do something before leaving home, while in the second, she specifies what it is she is to be reminded of. The first clause provides a frame that “describes a generic event, a nonspecific instance of ‘reminding’” (Englebretson 2003: 39), while the second clause gives specification of the reminding. Framing clause(s) may also provide grounding in the form of temporal and locative details, or material indicating the speaker’s vantage point (Englebretson 2003: 42–43, 60).

(87) *Pencuri* 'thief, robber' (Englebretson 2003: 39)

1	*ingatkan*	*dari*	*rumah*
	remember-APP	from	house
2	*jangan*	*bawa*	*duit*
	don't	bring	money

'Remind me at home not to bring any money'.

Frame and framing in our terms are more specific and refer only to the materials used to introduce and close voice presentations. Frames in voice presentations serve a grounding function in the sense that they orient the addressee's attention to the content of the voice by specifying the person whose voice is being presented. For example, the use of the frame *Ayah aku ngomong gini* 'my dad said (it) like this', directs the addressee's attention to the content of the father's voice, whereas in *Aku bilang gitu* 'I said it (it) like that', the addressee is directed to the speaker's own past discourse.

The four discourse types we study differ in terms of the range and forms of the framing materials, the degree of preference for framing and the way frames are used to style voice presentation. Table 5.1 shows the relative distribution of framed and frameless voice presentations in the data. We can see from this table that in conversation, framed and frameless presentation are used to a relatively comparable degree. Although the percentage of framed presentations is higher in the Malang conversation data compared to the Bandung data, the difference is not large. (This difference could also be due to a Malang participant misinterpreting the recording task as an interview and spoke in a predominantly formal style. In this style, voice presentation is typically framed.) We can also see that in the figures for comics, "framed voice" is predominant. This is because under this category we include speech presentations that appear in speech balloons. Speech balloons, according to Saraceni (2003: 9), are "equivalent to" speech/thought frames in reported speech. Under the category "frameless voice" for comics, we

Table 5.1: Frequency of voice presentation in the four discourse types.

Discourse type	Framed voice		Frameless voice	
Malang conversation	92	(58.2%)	66	(41.8%)
Bandung conversation	74	(44.6%)	92	(55.4%)
Kaskus online	33	(62.3%)	20	(37.7%)
Teenlit	340	(38.5%)	543	(61.5%)
Comics	3,048	(96.6%)	108	(3.4%)

include instances of "floating language", that is, discourse that is not contained in speech balloons but is nonetheless attributable to a particular character. Floating language that clearly indicates a thought presentation or narratorial commentary is excluded from the count.

The four discourse types we study are also different in the way frames are used to demarcate a voice. In conversation, frames are often used to both open and close a voice presentation – what we call a "rounded" style of voice presentation. This style of voicing is not found in the other types of discourse. In the example given in (88), the opening frame contains the colloquial speaking verb *ngomong* 'say' and discourse deictic term *gini* 'like this', while the closing frame contains the nominalised form *katanya* 'her/his word' and the deictic term *gitu* 'like that'. The discourse particle *kan* is used in the opening frame to extend common ground, and in the closing frame, to affirm it (see discussion on *kan* in Chapter 3).

(88) Bandung: Rapidograph Saga

1	FAIZAH:	... *Ayah aku tuh* ***ngomong gini*** *ka=n,* My dad you know, he **said** (it) **like this** you see,
2		... *E=h,* Hey,
3		... *Mana rapido=?* Where's the rapidograph pen?
4		*éh.* Hey.
5		... *éh rapido kamu mana=?* hey where's your rapidograph pen?
6		***katanya gitu*** *kan.* **his words** were **like that** you see.

The absence of rounded voice presentation in Kaskus, Teenlit and comics may be due to the fact that, unlike in conversation where the closing of voice presentation is used to explicitly demarcate the presentation from the discourse that follows, print-mediated discourse utilises graphological or graphic means for doing so, including double inverted commas, and as mentioned, speech balloons in comics. As will be discussed below, the absence of frame and graphological marking in these types of discourse sometimes gives rise to ambiguity.

Teenlit writers make use of a greater range of framing elements than speakers and writers in the other types of discourse. Semantically more specific verbs such as *desak* 'urge', *urai* 'elaborate' and *tekankan* 'stress, emphasise', for example,

are found only in this type of discourse and not in the other discourse types. This difference makes sense in light of the following. Conversation participants draw on linguistic elements as well as prosody to indicate emotion and attitudes, while comic authors have graphic resources in addition to linguistic ones, and Kask-users often use emoji in addition to linguistic resources to do so. Although emoji are also found in Teenlit, only two of the seventeen novels we examined contain representations of online communication. For the most part, Teenlit authors, like fiction writers generally, rely on grammatical, lexical, and graphological marking (e.g., exclamation mark, capitalisation) to indicate emotion. Thus instead of a more semantically general speaking verb such as *bilang* 'say', an author may use a more semantically specific verb such as *semprot* 'bombard', *tegur* 'reprimand, warn', and *berteriak-teriak* 'scream', as shown in example (89).

(89) *Dealova* (Nuranindya 2004: 9)
"KARRAAA! Lo jahat banget sih? Ntar gue nightmare nih!" ***Finta berteriak-teriak panik.***

"KARRAAA! You're so mean! I'll have a nightmare (because of you)!" **Finta screamed in panic**.

Frameless dialogue turns in Teenlit are typically marked with double inverted commas as in framed presentations, as shown in (90). In this type of voice presentation, the reader is left to infer from the dialogue what the characters' attitudes and stances towards the other character(s) are, aided by the graphological devices for indicating emotion, such as question marks and exclamation marks. This example is part of a longer dialogue in which the narrator recedes to the background after the characters have been introduced by means of framed presentations.

(90) *Dealova* (Nuranindya 2004: 8)
"Apa? Ayam? Binatang ayam?"
"Iya. Ayam!"

"What? Chicken? Chicken as in the animal?"
"Yeah. Chicken!"

The preference for frameless voice in Teenlit is significant in relation to the characterisation, style of storytelling, and the degree of involvement between the characters and between the reader and the characters. As pointed out, frameless presentations highlight the characters as subjects and social agents who position themselves dynamically in relation to others (McCallum 1999). The preference for frameless dialogue may also explain why some observers of Indonesian Teenlit

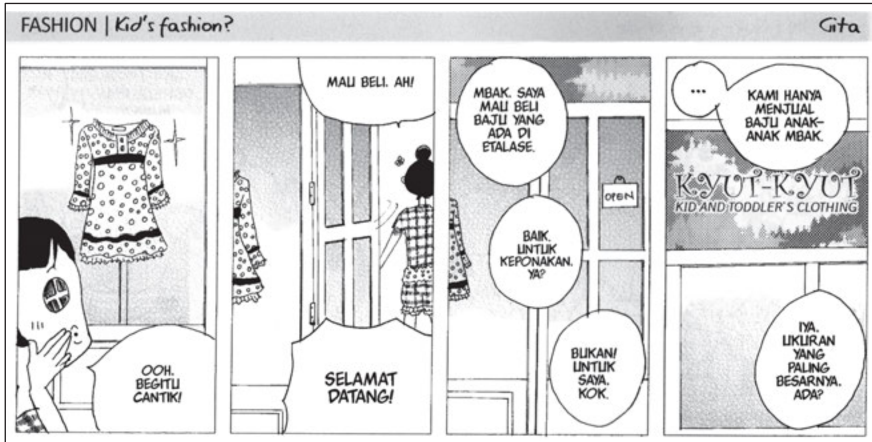

Figure 5.1: Linear and vertical ordering in comics (Seven Artland Studio 2011: 35)

refer to the language as "spoken language that is written" (see Djenar 2008) as the absence of the narrator's voice makes the dialogue appear more conversation-like.

Print-mediated discourse makes use of space ordering to indicate the sequentiality of speaking turns. In Teenlit this is mainly shown through linear ordering with turns rendered in separate lines, whereas in comics sequentiality is indicated through both vertical and horizontal ordering. Panels in youth comics represent event sequences, each panel capturing an event treated as a moment in time, with the panels generally to be read from left to right. In addition, the reader is expected to know the sequencing of speaking turns within each panel. Typically, a speech balloon containing an earlier turn is positioned higher in a panel than a subsequent one. For example, Figure 5.1 shows a vertical ordering of the speaking turns of the two participants (the girl and the shop assistant). In the second panel from left, the girl's thought is positioned above the shop assistant's voice. The same ordering of turns is given in the third panel, followed by another turn of the girl's voice in the lowest balloon. The shop assistant's response is given in the fourth panel, on the top balloon. This is followed by the girl's response in the lower balloon.

(91) Fashion | Kid's fashion

1	Girl:	Ooh so pretty!
2	Girl:	Ah (I) want to buy (it)!
	Shop assistant's voice:	Welcome!
3	Girl:	*Mbak*, I want to buy the dress on the window.
	Shop assistant's voice:	Okay. For your niece, is it?
	Girl:	No! For me actually.

4 Shop assistant's voice: ... We only sell children's clothes *Mbak*.
Girl: Yes okay. Do you have the largest size?

Of interest here is the use of dots to indicate a cognitive state (e.g., bewilderment) or undisclosed speech. Notice that the shop assistant's response in the last panel begins with three dots. The fact that these dots are positioned in a semi-detached manner to the rest of her speech is significant as it tells the reader that the bewilderment is the result of hearing the girl's speech in the bottom balloon of the preceding panel; the dots thus sequentially link the shop assistant's speech to the girl's speech in the preceding panel. So we can see here that spatial ordering is important for indicating sequencing in youth comics.

5.3.2 Narrator and the construction of voicing

The absence or presence of a narrator in fictional discourse has an important implication for how voicing is constructed. According to Toolan (2001: 64), three core roles can be identified in fictional narrative: author, narrator and reader. The narrator is an abstract entity created by the author and given the role of telling the story. The narrator thus mediates between the author and the reader. The author is the creator of the story and hence of all the voice presentations it contains; therefore, it is ultimately the author who makes the decision about whether or not to include the narrator's voice in a voice presentation. When the narrator is present, as in (92), the voice of the character is presented through narratorial voice. This contrasts with (93) where the narrator is backgrounded and the reader is allowed to "hear" the characters' voices more directly.

(92) *Dealova* (Nuranindya 2004: 8)
"Mikir? Mikir apaan?" ***tanya Karra*** *sambil membuka tutup botol minumannya dan meneguk airnya.*

"Thinking? Thinking about what?" **asked Karra** while opening her drinking bottle and taking a gulp.

(93) *Dealova* (Nuranindya 2004: 8)
"Apa? Ayam? Binatang ayam?"
"Iya. Ayam!"

"What? Chicken? Chicken as in the animal?"
"Yeah. Chicken!"

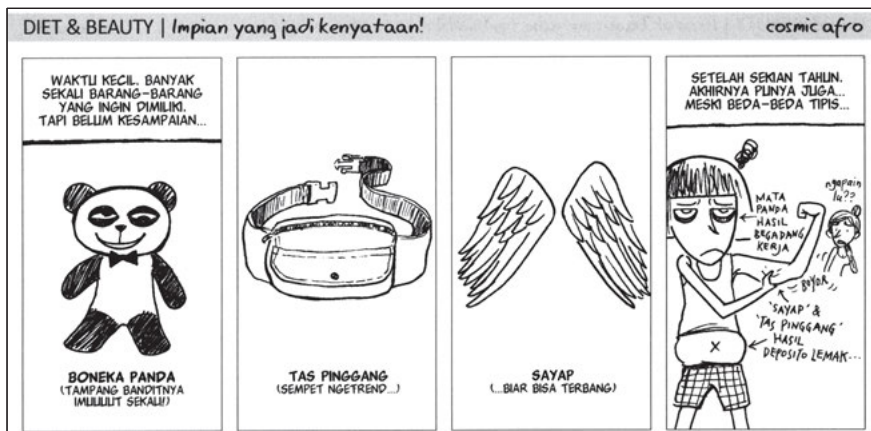

Figure 5.2: Narrator's floating comment in comics (Seven Artland Studio 2011: 5)

In comics, the narrator's voice is typically found in narration, not in dialogue. The narration is usually placed on the top or bottom of a panel (an individual frame containing graphic presentation of a situation captured as a "frozen" moment) while the dialogue between characters appears either in speech balloons or as graphically unbounded discourse linked to the speaking character by means of a line. According to Saraceni (2003: 10), the function of the narrator in comics is not to tell the reader who is speaking but rather "to add information to the dialogues contained in the rest of the panels". In the comics we study, this added information may appear in what Unser-Schutz (2011: 170–173) call "comments" and "background lines/thoughts" (see also the discussion in Djenar and Ewing 2015: 123–124), two techniques of presenting speech and thought common in Japanese manga. A comment is language that floats relative to the character and contains notes or information that is interesting or funny but not essential to the story. It is usually written in smaller and less formal font than regular narration. Background lines/thoughts also float on the image and may have lines connecting them to characters, and like comments, they are generally written in smaller or less formal font. As Unser-Schutz points out (2011: 174), it is unclear whether the floating speech/thought is intended to be heard by other characters or by the speaking characters themselves. In Figure 5.2, the narrator's floating discourse is shown in the far right panel. In the English translation this is shown in square brackets and underlined.

(94) Diet & Beauty | *Impian yang jadi kenyataan* 'Dreams that come true'
  1 Top: When (she was) a child there were many things (she) wanted to have but which (she) could only dream about.

Bottom: Panda soft toy (its devilish look is so cute!)
2 Waist money belt (which was trendy at the time)
3 Wings (... so (she) can fly)
4 After so many years (she) finally got those things ... although (what she's got are) very slightly different ...
Arrow to eye: [Eyes of a panda as a result of working all night]
Arrow to underarm ["flabby"]: ['wings']
Arrow to stomach: ['money waist belt' as a result of fat deposit]
WOMAN: What are you doing?

Narrator's comment is also common in Teenlit, as shown in (95) in brackets. This example is deictically anchored in the third person, as marked by the proper name *Vira*, third person pronoun *dia* 's/he', and the enclitic third person possessive marker *-nya*; therefore the entire discourse may be interpreted as being the words of the narrator. Yet the expressive language, indicated by the exclamation marks and the question mark, suggests that the reader is dealing with Vira's thoughts. This is an example of free indirect discourse, a type of speech and thought presentation in which the narrator's language is interwoven with that of the character (Toolan 1990: 78).

(95) *Lovasket* (Torashyngu 2007:9–10)
Dan kalau saja hari Senin ini nggak ada ulangan matematika, ***Vira*** *lebih milih bolos. Ulangan matematika! Jam pertama lagi! Kenapa sih harus ada pelajaran yang bikin kepala pusing seperti matematika, fisika, dan kawan-kawannya? Mana* ***Vira*** *nggak belajar tadi malam, lagi! (****Iyalah****, mana sempat* ***dia*** *belajar kalau dari pagi udah ngelayap bareng temen-temen****nya*** *dan baru pulang jam dua dini hari?)*

And if only this Monday there were no maths test. **Vira** would prefer to not go to school. A maths test! And in the first period! Why do we have subjects that give us headaches like maths, physics, and their associates? And **Vira** didn't study last night either! (**Well of course**, how could **she** study if she went out with **her** friends since early morning and only came home at two in the morning?)

Notice the material in brackets however. Though also containing expressive language (*iyalah* 'of course'), and also deictically anchored in the third person, this material is different from the rest of the discourse in that it represents the narrator's discourse. The brackets in this case signal a shift in perspective, from the dual perspective to that of the narrator, and the expressive language indexes the

narrator's sarcastic but playful stance towards the character. Thus by graphologically separating the comment from the rest of the excerpt, the author is signalling to the reader that the bracketed material is to be interpreted differently from the preceding discourse. The insertion of narratorial comment such as this promotes reader involvement (Djenar and Ewing 2015). Instead of merely telling the reader what happens and who speaks, the narrator is "talking" to the reader, inviting them to view the situation from the same perspective as the narrator.

Unlike in Teenlit and comics, the narrator in conversational narrative is the speaker who tells the story directly to co-participants. The contemporaneity between the speaker and the co-participants enables voicing to emerge and be responded to contingently, and the response in turn may become a prompt for further voice presentations. As will be shown, a speaker may begin a voice presentation by drawing on something that is said in the preceding discourse. Upon receiving a response from the co-participants, the speaker would continue with another voice presentation, repeating the same presentation with some variation, or moving to a different voice presentation. In this sense, voicing can be considered as jointly constructed and enchronic in nature; it arises as a response to a prior utterance, invites a response from co-participants, and based on the response, a further act of voicing may take place. An example of this is given in (96). Here Ika is presenting the voice of Bang Jek, a senior fellow student at her university. Ika's voicing is a repetition of the one she already presented in a previous discourse. Following this repetition, and upon a request by her addressee for confirmation, another repeat of the voicing is produced in the subsequent discourse. The example shows the first repeat of the initial voice presentation.

(96) Malang: Computer

1	IKA:	*Oh nggak.*
		Er no.
2		*Nggak mau,*
		(I) don't want to,
3		*nggak mau dateng.*
		(I) don't want to come.
4		***Katanya gi=tu.***
		His words were like that.

Authors of fiction and comics do not have the physical presence of others to provide an immediate response to the voice they construct. But they do not operate in vacuum either; authors are intertextually linked to others in their community of practice (e.g., other authors, editors, readers, critics) and look to others' speech styles to construct the speech styles of their characters. It is

not surprising therefore that voicing practices common in conversation are also found in fiction and comics. Thus stylistic practices emerge through interaction with others. As certain practices (e.g., heavy use of colloquial Indonesian, use of English terms) are shared within the community of practice and are recognised by others as practices of that community, they become associated with a particular genre.

In online communication such as Kaskus, the lack of narrator creates an interesting space for building "conversational" interaction. Our data for this discourse type consist of threads of postings on the topic of romantic relationships. Forum members pose questions about relationship issues, asking either the moderator or other Kaskusers for advice. A member's request for advice generally receives multiple responses, and a co-member may, in a single posting, respond to several postings; thus repeating the original posting is a way of interacting with the poster. It is as if the responder has just "heard" what the poster "said" and then responds to it, creating a sense of immediacy characteristic of face-to-face conversation. In this regard, Kaskus is more similar to conversation than to Teenlit or comics. We can see an example of this in (97); here member firemax is asking for help in making sense of his girlfriend's sudden request to be left alone. The voice presentation in line 2 is used to introduce the problem he is asking advice for.

(97) Ask da boys #57 – firemax

1 *gan ane mau tanya dong ...*
2 *klo cewek ane bilang* ***"maaf ya,aku pengen sendiri dulu"***
3 *itu kenapa ya?ane bingung ...*
4 *pdhl sblmnya baik2 aja smsan,tiba2 sms gitu,gak ada berantem atau apapun itu ...*
5 *apa yg harus ane lakuin ya?*
6 *hopeless banget nih takut end*

1 *gan* I want to ask a question, if that's ok ...
2 if my girlfriend says **"sorry, I just want to be alone right now"**
3 what does this mean? I'm confused ...
4 before that everything's fine, suddenly (she) sent (me) an sms like that, (we) didn't have any argument or anything ...
5 what should I do?
6 (I'm) hopeless and worry (the relationship will) end

The moderator or another member's repetition of some part of the questioner's posting is shown in the following response to firemax's posting by xiaope (the original response was given in a reposting by rikiyanto; here xiaope responds to

firemax by reposting rikiyanto's reposting of firemax's question). Lines 1–6 are a repeat of firemax's posting, while lines 7–8 are xiaope's advice to firemax. On Kaskus (as with many other kinds of online interaction), when a previous post is repeated, it is usually explicitly framed with attribution to the original post and is also physically marked off. In the case of Kaskus this is done by putting the quoted text inside a box, which we duplicate in the example.

(98) Ask da Boys #62 – xiaope

1	*Quote: Original Posted By firemax* *gan ane mau tanya dong ...*
2	*klo cewek ane bilang "maaf ya,aku pengen sendiri dulu"*
3	*itu kenapa ya?ane bingung ...*
4	*pdhl sblmnya baik2 aja smsan,tiba2 sms gitu,gak ada berantem atau apapun itu ...*
5	*apa yg harus ane lakuin ya?*
6	*hopeless banget nih takut end*

7 *wah ente harus nanya kedia atuh gan ...*
8 *ane sih ga tau kenapa dia tiba2 bilang begitu, tapi lo juga ga bisa nerima gitu aja kan*

1	Quote: Original Posted By firemax *gan* I want to ask a question, if that's ok
2	If my girlfriend says "sorry, I want to be alone right now"
3	what does this mean? I'm confused ...
4	before that everything's fine, suddenly (she) sent (me) an sms like that, (we) didn't have any argument or anything ...
5	what should I do?
6	(I'm) hopeless and worry (the relationship will) end

7 well you must find out from her *gan* ...
8 I have no idea why she'd say that, but you can't just accept it right

5.3.3 Frameless presentation and indeterminacy of voice

Framing, as noted, serves a grounding function. A frame grounds a voice by rendering explicit the referent whose voice is being presented. When the referent is not explicitly mentioned and other markings (graphological, lexical or syntactic) are not consistent with the rest of the voice presentation, it may give rise to ambiguity of voice. In what follows we discuss some factors that contribute to the ambiguity.

Example (99) from Kaskus shows a simple demarcation between a frame and the framed material, and it is clear whose voice is being presented. In the previous discourse, Kaskuser Psychocolate is telling fellow members that her boyfriend had posted a thread in which he picks on girls. When Psychocolate asked him why he did that, the boyfriend responded by admitting it was a mistake. The frame *Tapi dianya malah bilang* 'But then he said', along with use of inverted commas, makes it clear that the framed material is the voice of Psychocolate's boyfriend.

(99) Ask da girls #5550 – Psychocolate
Tapi dianya malah bilang "Iya2, aku salah ngasih trit itu.
But then he said "Okay okay, I made a mistake posting that thread."

In (100) graphological marking is not used but it is relatively clear from the frame and the use of person deictics that voicing is involved. Here questioner Lonely presents two voices in juxtaposition: his own voice which he frames with *gw tanya* 'I asked', and his girlfriend's voice which he frames with *dia jawab* 'she replied'.

(100) Ask da boys #39 – Lonely
gw tanya *ada apa* ***dia jawab*** *ga ada apa2 padahal gw tau lg ada apa2 dia dari sikap dia ...*
I asked what's wrong **she said** there's nothing wrong when in fact I know there's something wrong with her from the way she behaves ...

However, in another Kaskus example, shown in (101), it is unclear whether voicing is involved or not. In this example poster zakkiyman is asking for advice about inter-religious marriage. In the preceding discourse he describes himself as *seorang Muslim yang baik* 'a good Muslim' and mentions that he has just met a girl from a different religious background. He really loves her but he is also conscious that their religious difference may become a problem in getting parental permission to marry. In the first sentence, zakkiyman juxtaposes the girl's voice with his own using the frames *dia bilang* 'she said' and *ane bilang* 'I said' respectively, making it explicit whose voices are being presented. However, in the second sentence (in bold), it is unclear whether zakkiyman is simply posing his question to other Kaskusers, here addressed collectively as *gan*, or presenting his own voice talking to the girl.

(101) Ask da boys #43 – zakkiyman
dia bilang *yaudah kita jalanin aja dulu itumah gampang, terus* ***ane bilang*** *yaa kan kalo misalkan kita mau menikah gitu? nah kan pasti harus ada ijin orangtua gan,* ***pertanyaan nya gini apakah orangtua kita ngijinin*** *nah dia disitu diem gan*

she said alright let's just go along for now that (difference in religion) is no problem, then **I said** well what if we want to get married? well then you must have parental permission *gan*, **the question is will our parents allow us** (to marry) after that she went silent *gan*

5.3.4 Voice embedding

In conversation and Kaskus, a voice is communicated relatively directly from the speaker/poster to an addressee. In fiction and comics, voice presentation can be understood in two senses: (a) as voice mediated by the narrator in framed presentations or not-mediated by the narrator in frameless presentations, and (b) as a character's voice presented by one character to another character. We use the term "voice embedding" to refer to the latter. Embedding a character's voice within the voice of another character adds believability; by presenting the voice of another character, a speaking character is portrayed like a young person in real life who draws on others' voices to make their co-participants believe what they say. However, despite its mimetic quality, voice embedding does not occur often in Teenlit and comics. In these types of discourse, most of what the reader learns about what a character says is conveyed through the narrator or the characters themselves, rather than through a character voicing another character in speaking to an addressee-character. As shown in Table 5.2, voice embedding only occurs in 9.3% and 1.8% of the total voice presentations in fiction and comics respectively.

The use of voice embedding in fiction is exemplified in (102). In this excerpt, minor character Fani is talking on the phone to her close friend, Langen. Fani is informing Langen that Stella, a girl they know and dislike, gets to spend time with their boyfriends whenever the boys go hiking. The girls' boyfriends, Bima and Rei respectively, are part of an all-male mountaineering group called the Maranon boys. The boys frequently go hiking on weekends without inviting their girlfriends, but they allow Stella to go with them, and this has infuriated Fani and Langen. In the preceding discourse, Fani is annoyed at Bima for neglecting their

Table 5.2: Voice embedding in fiction and comics[a].

Discourse type	Total no. of voice presentations		Voice embedding	
Teenlit	883	(100%)	83	(9.3%)
Comics	3,048	(100%)	54	(1.8%)

[a] Note: the total number of voice presentations in comics is the total number of speech presentations in balloons.

relationship. Bima tries to appease her by telling her how much he loves her and promising to spend more time with her. When his attempt fails, he concocts a story about Stella always tagging along when he and the other boys go hiking, in an attempt to make Fani jealous. Bima's trick is successful. Fani is alarmed, and she tells Langen the bad news, trying to convince Langen that they should inform Febi, whose boyfriend is also in the Maranon group. The voice embedding occurs in line 3.

(102) *Cewek!!!* (Kinasih 2005: 22)

1 *"Oh, iya! Bilangin Febi, kalo setiap mereka pergi, Stella pasti ikut! Pasti Febi langsung panas. Nggak perlu dihasut lagi."*

2 *"Stella? Masa? Orang badannya kayak keripik gitu? Mana kuat naik gunung?"*

3 *"Tapi* ***katanya Bima gitu****, La.* ***Kalo anak-anak Maranon bikin acara, si Stella pasti ikut****."*

4 *"Hah?!" Sepasang mata Langen kontan melotot bulat-bulat. "Masa sih, Fan?"*

1 "By the way! Tell Febi, every time they go away, Stella always goes along! (I can) guarantee Febi will be mad. (She) won't even need convening."

2 "Stella? Really? With that skinny body? Where would (she) get the stamina?"

3 "But **those were Bima's words**, La. **When the Maranon guys organise an outing** (go on a hike)**, Stella always goes along**."

4 "Huh?!" Langen's eyes suddenly bulged. "Are you serious, Fan?"

This example begins with Fani informing Langen about Stella and asking her to pass on the bad news to Febi (line 1). Langen responds to the news with scepticism and this makes Fani repeat her words (*kalo setiap mereka pergi, Stella pasti ikut* 'every time they go away, Stella always goes along'), this time mentioning her boyfriend, Bima, as the source of the information (line 3). The sequential position of Fani's presentation of Bima's voice is significant enchronically. It is structurally built on the initial utterance in line 1 and is a response to Langen's initial response in line 2, thus orienting backward. By repeating the words she previously uttered and adding the source of those words, Fani makes a further assertion to the truth of her statement. Her voice presentation also orients forward as it projects the response it is likely to receive, namely a request for confirmation. As can be seen in line 4, Fani's utterance is no longer received as mere informing (unlike her initial utterance in line 1) but as an assertion and an invitation for Langen to take

notice. Langen's response is now no longer about the unlikelihood of Stella going hiking but rather is concerned with checking the truthfulness of Fani's statement (line 4). As Holt (1996: 242) points out, voicing in reported speech gives an "air of objectivity". By voicing Bima, Fani is trying to convince Langen that she is not making the story up. Voice embedding thus not only adds vividness as voice presentations do generally, but is also used to index epistemic claims, similar to what speakers do in conversation.

As mentioned, voice embedding does not occur frequently in teen fiction. In this type of discourse, talk about others is mostly conveyed through a character referring to and evaluating what others *do* rather than what they *say*, as illustrated in (103). In this excerpt the reader is presented with three voices: those of Alexa, Eva and Mel. Alexa (speaker of the frameless voice in line 1) and Eva are trying to get Mel to join in the gossip about classmate Candy. They are telling Mel that Candy always copies her way of dressing. Candy, the absent character, is thus being talked about in terms of what she does rather than what she says.

(103) *Canting Cantiq* (Nuranindya 2009: 11–12)[2]

1 *"Udah liat penampilan Candy pagi ini belum?"*

2 *"Kenapa?* Something wrong*?" Mel balik bertanya tanpa menghentikan langkahnya.*

3 *"Masa dia pake* paperboy bag Victoria Beckham *yang sama kayak yang elo pakai kemarin, Mel!" adu Eva, teman Alexa, setengah menjerit.*

4 *"Iya, Mel. Tuh anak emang fans elo banget deh, Mel. Setiap kali elo pakai barang baru, pasti deh besoknya dia* ***ikut-ikutan****.* Poser *banget nggak sih!" Alexa manas-manasin. Serasa dirinya punya style yang paling oke sejagat raya.*

5 *Mel menghentikan langkahnya. "Biarin aja kenapa sih? Mungkin dia cuma pengen tampil lebih* fashionable*," ucap Mel cuek.*

1 "Have (you) seen what Candy is wearing this morning?"

2 "Why? Something wrong?" Mel asked in return and kept walking.

3 "She's carrying a Victoria Beckham paperboy bag just like the one you had yesterday, Mel!" Eva, Alexa's friend, complained semi-hysterically.

2 English words in the Indonesian excerpt are italicised in the original but rendered in regular font here.

4 “Yeah, Mel. She is a big fan of yours, Mel. Every time you wear something new, I bet she’ll **copy** you the next day. What a poser!” Alex egged Melanie on. As though she was a girl with the coolest style in the whole wide world.

5 Mel stopped. “Why don’t (you) leave her alone? Maybe she just wants to look more fashionable,” Mel said casually.

In other cases, when a character mentions what another character said, it is usually framed as a statement to the reader rather than as a voice presentation communicated to a co-participant, as shown in (104) from a novel written in first-person.

(104) *Jurnal Jo Online* (Terate 2010: 12)

Jangan salahkan aku kalau menginginkan hal buruk buat Nadine. Habis dia sok banget. ***Mentang-mentang kulitnya putih susu dan matanya cokelat hazelnut. Itu dia sendiri yang bilang.*** *Yeah, siapa yang tahu? Aku nggak pernah tahu hazelnut itu kayak apa. Lagi pula, apa istimewanya sih? Wajar saja kalau warna matanya seperti itu, ayahnya kan orang Jerman.*

Don’t blame me if I wish for something bad to happen to Nadine. That’ll teach her for being so arrogant. **Just because she has milk-white skin and hazelnut-brown eye. That was what she herself said**. Yeah, but who knows? I don’t know what hazelnut looks like. Besides, what’s so special about it? Of course her eyes are that colour seeing as her dad is German.

In this example, the statement *Itu dia sendiri yang bilang* ‘That was what she herself said’ does not frame Nadine’s voice; rather, it is the narrator’s statement about Nadine’s act of speaking. Similarly, the preceding sentence *Mentang-mentang kulitnya putih susu dan matanya cokelat hazelnut* ‘Just because she has milk-white skin and hazelnut-brown eyes’ is the narrator’s evaluation of Nadine rather than a presentation of Nadine’s voice. Notice for example, the evaluative expression *mentang-mentang* ‘just because’, which belongs to the narrator, and not Nadine.

With regard to comics, the small percentage of voice embedding makes sense in light of the kind of comics we use as data, which mostly consist of short, humorous “slice-of-life” event sketches usually presented in four to six comic panels. Unlike conversational narrative or fiction in which references to what others say form part of a longer story, the comic sketches contain short dialogue designed to create a sense of immediacy and produce humorous effects. In this

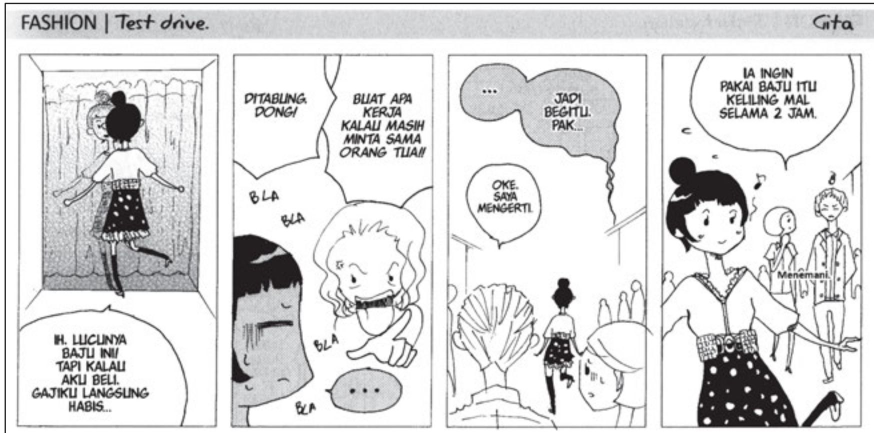

Figure 5.3: Voice embedding in comics (Seven Artland Studio 2011: 32)

regard, short dialogue between "co-present" characters are preferred over longer ones in which characters may present the voice of an absent character in their interaction with "co-present" others. Nevertheless, comic authors are creative in finding ways to capture this common conversational practice in a few panels, as shown in Figure 5.3, translated in (105). The voice embedding occurs in the third panel from left, in shaded balloon (rendered bold in the English translation).

(105) Fashion | Test Drive (Seven Artland Studio 2011: 32)

1	DAUGHTER:	Wow, this dress is so cute, but if I buy it it'll chew up all of my salary ...
2	MUM:	Why don't you save (your salary)! What's the use of working if you still ask your parents for money!! [bla bla bla bla]
	DAUGHTER:	**...**
3	MUM:	**... so it was like that *pak*.**
	DAD:	Ok I understand.
4	MUM:	She wants to wear that dress and walk around the mall for two hours.

In the first panel on the left, the daughter is shown talking to herself while trying on a new dress. In the second panel, the mother is berating the daughter for asking her for money even though she works and has a salary. The speech balloon linked to the image of the daughter is shaded and contains three dots, indicating undisclosed speech. The reader can infer, however, that the three dots represent

a lengthy explanation from the daughter about why she wants to buy the dress. This undisclosed information is revealed in the last (rightmost) panel through the speech of the mother. In the shaded balloon in third panel, the mother presents her daughter's voice to the father. The three dots and the shading of the mother's speech balloon are significant in indicating a link to the daughter's undisclosed speech in the preceding panel. As we saw earlier in Figure 5.1, placing dots in a smaller balloon positioned to the left of a larger balloon containing a character's undisclosed speech is a creative way of linking one speaking turn to the next in a space-efficient manner. Here shading is an important technique for indicating the sequentiality between the daughter's speech and the mother's voicing of that speech. Placing the mother's undisclosed speech in a semi-detached fashion next to the closing frame *Jadi begitu pak* 'So it was like that *pak*' is also a clever trick for presenting a voice.

5.4 Framing and intersubjectivity

In this section we examine the interaction between framed and frameless voice presentations and its relationship with intersubjectivity. Using a frame in a voice presentation is a way of establishing a shared object of attention. A frame individuates a voice by making it explicit with which person the voice is associated, and thus by using a frame, the speaker/writer draws the addressee's/reader's attention to the voice and invites them to associate it with the referent mentioned in the frame. Establishing a shared object of attention in turn is a way of creating common ground, which, once established, can be updated in the subsequent discourse by means of further framing. The absence of frame, on the other hand, indicates that the speaker/writer assumes the addressee/reader already knows whose voice is being presented, or signals that the identity of the referent is to be treated as unimportant. It is in these senses that we consider the use of voice presentations to be intersubjective. Framed voice presentations are thus typically deployed when the speaker/writer introduces a key referent in discourse or when they highlight a main point. They are also used in conjunction with frameless presentations to index acts of positioning.

5.4.1 Introducing a key referent through framing

Framed presentations are often used at the beginning of a story or a story episode to establish a new referent whose role is significant to the story. As pointed out by Ochs and Capps (2001: 118), details about an important referent usually form part

of a "story preface", or "orientation" in Labov and Waletsky's (1967) term. A story preface or orientation is the part of a narrative structure that introduces details about the setting (locative and temporal), and entities that figure prominently in the story. Introducing the referent early in the story through voicing not only creates a vivid entry to the story world and allows the reader to get acquainted with the referent early, but also provides the overall grounding for the unfolding events.

A speaker in conversation will often expend a considerable effort in introducing a referent through voicing. Repetition of voice is a common resource that speakers utilise to establish a shared object of attention that they and the co-participant can refer to in the subsequent discourse. This is illustrated in examples (106a)–(106c), taken from a conversation between two close friends, Faizah and Puji. A voice presentation is used in the preface of this complicated story involving Faizah's current boyfriend, Obed, and an ex-boyfriend referred to by the kin term *abang* 'older brother'. To facilitate the analysis, we provide the following synopsis. The story begins in the previous discourse (not shown here) with Faizah telling Puji that she had exchanged text messages with her ex-boyfriend *abang*, whom Puji also knows. Unbeknownst to *abang*, Faizah's messages were actually authored by her current boyfriend, Obed.[3] *Abang*, who had no reason to suspect anything out of the ordinary, had told Puji somewhat excitedly that Faizah had sent him text messages, which he interpreted as a signal that she wanted to get back with him. In the text messages, Obed (pretending to be Faizah) asked *abang* if he happened to have the rapidograph pen that Faizah's father had given her, and if so, she would like it returned as her father is asking for it. *Abang* had borrowed the pen when he and Faizah were still together, and Faizah had forgotten to ask for it when they split up.

Faizah begins with a pre-announcement in lines 1–3. She uses the discourse markers *kan* and *tuh,* and repetition, in this early part of the narrative to draw Puji's attention to what she is about to say next. As Ochs and Capps (2001: 120) point out, repetition is a common resource for establishing shared interest in storytelling. Following the pre-announcement, Faizah introduces her father's voice with a framed presentation in line 4.

(106a) Bandung: Rapidograph Saga

1 FAIZAH: *Jadi* ***kan*** *gini* ***kan,***
So **you see** it was like this **you see**,

3 This part of the story structure is referred to in Labov and Waletsky (1967) as the 'abstract', a summation of what the story is about.

2		*pertama kali* ***tu=h.***
		at the beginning **right**.
3		... *Jadi* ***kan,***
		So **you see**,
4		... ***Ayah aku ngomong [gini=],***
		My dad said this,
5	PUJI:	[*Coba liat*].
		Can I have a look.
6		@@@
7	FAIZAH:	*Masih ada kalau gak salah.*
		I still have them I think.
8		... ***Ayah aku tuh ngomong gini ka=n,***
		My dad you know, he said this you see,
9		... ***É=h,***
		Hey,
10		... *Mana rapido=?*
		Where's the rapidograph pen?
11		***êh.***
		hey
12		... ***êh*** *rapido kamu mana=?*
		hey where is your rapidograph pen?
13		***katanya gitu kan.***
		his words were like that you see.

Despite the discourse markers and the repetition, Faizah's first attempt to secure Puji's attention was not successful. Puji's attention was still focused on Faizah's informing in the preceding discourse (not shown) in which Obed is revealed as the author of the text messages that were sent to *abang*. Puji requests to see the messages, laughing in amusement at the thought of Obed playing a trick on *abang* (lines 5–6). Faizah grants Puji's request to see the messages on her phone but immediately draws Puji back to the story by repeating her initial voice presentation, this time emphasising the referent *ayah aku* 'my dad' by adding the particle *tuh* 'that' after the noun phrase and lengthening the discourse particle *ka=n* 'right' to secure Puji's attention (line 8).

The father's voice is presented in lines 9–12. In the framed material, Faizah repeats the question *mana rapido* 'where's (your) rapidograph pen' (line 10, repeated in line 12), with the question word *mana* 'where' now positioned clause finally and lengthened, emphasising the request for location and creating a sense of urgency. The hail-marker *éh* 'hey' occurs three times and almost successively (lines 9, 11, 12), highlighting the father's voice. The voice presentation is rounded off in line 13 with the closing frame *katanya gitu kan* 'he said that right'.

Faizah uses the discourse particle *kan* once again in this frame to maintain Puji's attention and to signal to Puji that her talk is not finished.

Faizah presents her father's voice with much emphasis, using *kan*, *tuh* and repetition. Her use of these resources indicates the importance she places on securing Puji's attention as she invites Puji to shift from the external world – the here-and-now world where Puji can see the text messages on Faizah's mobile phone – to the story world in which the father holds an important role as the person whose question (about the whereabouts of the pen) triggers the subsequent events. Although Faizah has made a considerable effort in presenting her father's voice, Puji's previous inattentiveness leads her to make an additional move to secure her co-participant's attention by adding a description about her father giving her the pen, shown in (106b). The sequential position of the description following the voicing is significant as it provides supporting material for securing the co-participant's attention when the framed voice presentation alone is not judged to be sufficient.

(106b) Bandung: Rapidograph Saga

14	FAIZAH	... *Ayah aku* ***kan,***
		My dad, **you see,**
15		*dulu pernah ngasih rapido.*
		once gave me a rapidograph pen.
16		*Tapi rapido klasik gitu lah,*
		But it was a classic rapidograph you know,
17		*jadul* [*gitu*],
		like it's vintage,
18	PUJI	**[*eh-eh*].**
		uh-huh.

The description can also be considered as an expansion of the voicing that comes before. The discourse particle *kan* is used once again after NP *ayah aku* 'my dad' (line 14) to establish the role of the father in relation to the referent *rapido*, thus confirming common ground. The value of the rapidograph pen is indicated through Faizah's use of evaluative terms *klasik* 'classic' and *jadul* 'vintage'. After Faizah both presents the father's voice and provides the description, acknowledgment of hearing finally comes from Puji in the form of the minimal response *eh-eh* 'uh-huh' (line 18). This response suggests that a new common ground has been established and that Puji's attention is now drawn to the story world.

Having secured Puji's attention, Faizah expands on her description, as shown in (106c). The particle *kan* is used again (line 19) to invoke common ground and maintain Puji's attention. Puji responds by indicating her recognition of the referent and confirming that she has seen it before (lines 20–21).

(106c) Bandung: Rapidograph Saga

19	FAIZAH:	*dikoperin gede* [*gitu* ***kan***]*?*
		(it) comes in a big box like that **you see**?
20	PUJI	**[*Iyah*],**
		Yes,
21		***Yang dulu.***
		The one (you had) before.

What is interesting in this early part of the rapidograph story is that the considerable effort that goes into establishing the father's voice is actually done for the purpose of linking that voice to a key referent in the story, namely, the rapidograph pen. The use of voicing in this case not only provides a dramatic quality to the father's utterance but more importantly, serves to introduce the referent object (rapidograph pen) relationally through the mention of the father and thus highlight the importance of retrieving it – the key motivation for the actions in the story.

A similar sequential pattern where voice presentation is followed by description is found in Teenlit, as shown in (107). The example is taken from a story written in first person, diary style. Teen protagonist Josephine Wilisgiri or "Jo" recounts how she was spending her afternoon sitting on a swing in the backyard when she heard someone calling her name. She tells the reader that the call she heard was from her good friend Sally. Like Faizah in the rapidograph pen story, Jo introduces the new referent "Sally" in a framed presentation. This is followed by a description that gives information about the relation between the newly introduced referent (Sally) and Jo the narrator (line 1).

(107) *Jurnal Jo* (Terate 2009: 11)

1 *"Jo, Jo,"* ***Sally berteriak*** *dari balik pagar. Oh, Sally, Sally temanku sejati, aku segera meluncur dari ayunan.*
2 *"Kau mau ikut?"* ***tanyanya****.*
3 *"Ke mana?"*
4 *"Rumah Novi."*

1 "Jo, Jo," **Sally shouted** from behind the fence. Oh, Sally, Sally my best friend, I quickly leapt off the swing.
2 "You want to come?" **she asked.**
3 "Where are (you) going?"
4 "Novi's house."

We saw earlier in the Rapidograph Saga how Faizah establishes the significance of the pen by voicing her father. Similarly in (107), Jo the narrator

establishes Sally's significance by highlighting their relationship (*teman sejatiku* 'my best friend') and by mentioning how eagerly she responds to Sally's call (*segera meluncur dari ayunan* 'immediately leapt off the swing'). Also like the rapidograph story where the father's voice is emphasised through repetition, repetition is also used in (107) to emphasise the close relationship between the narrator and Sally (repetition of the names in line 1). Further work is done by the author in line 2 to introduce Sally through her voice; this time she is referred to by the narrator using enclitic *-nya* (*tanyanya* 'lit. her question; she asked', line 2). It is only after the introductory voice presentations and the description that the dialogue between Jo and Sally is presented without a frame in lines 3 and 4. The absence of frames in these lines suggests that the referents have now been sufficiently introduced and the narrator can be backgrounded.

5.4.2 Framing and foregrounding a main point

In online communication such as Kaskus, where the purpose of the posting is to seek advice on some personal problem, voice presentation is often used for presenting that problem to co-members. Posters may present a voice at the beginning of a posting following a pre-announcement, as we saw in the posting by firemax in (97), repeated below as (108), or elsewhere.

Two devices are used in (108) to foreground the voice relative to the rest of the discourse, namely, double inverted commas and spacing that follows the voice presentation. These visually set the voice apart from the rest of the discourse.

(108) Ask da boys #57 – firemax

1 *gan ane mau tanya dong ...*
2 *klo cewek ane bilang* ***"maaf ya, aku pengen sendiri dulu"***
3 *itu kenapa ya?ane bingung ...*
4 *pdhl sblmnya baik2 aja smsan,tiba2 sms gitu,gak ada berantem atau apapun itu ...*
5 *apa yg harus ane lakuin ya?*
6 *hopeless banget nih takut end*

1 *gan* I want to ask a question, if that's ok ...
2 If my girlfriend says **"sorry, I just want to be alone right now"**
3 what does she mean? I'm confused ...
4 before that everything's fine, suddenly she sent me an sms like that, we didn't have any argument or anything ...

5 what should I do?
6 (I) feel so hopeless and worry that (the relationship) will end

The centrality of the voicing in the discourse can be seen from the responses from co-members. For example, as shown earlier in (98), xiaope responded to firemax's posting by saying that firemax should ask the girl what she meant when she said she wanted to be left alone, and that firemax should not just accept the girl's statement at face value. In a follow up posting, firemax mentioned that he had made further attempts to talk to the girl but to no avail. Firemax's posting is subsequently responded to by bujangkondang. Example (109) presents bujangkondang's response only.

(109) Ask da boys #60 – bujangkondang
1 *dia lagi pengen tenangin diri dulu.*
2 *gak mau berurusan sama hal2 yg terlalu berat yg bisa bikin beban pikiran ke dia.*
3 *tapi tidak untuk hal2 yg simpel tuk keseharian kan ...*
4 *smsin aja ke dia, apa aja yg dilakuin seharian, udah makan belom, jangan telat makan dan semacamnya ...*
5 ***"iya aku setuju kalo kamu pengen sendiri dulu. aku gak ganggu.***
6 ***tapi aku cuma pengen ingetin kamu biar gak telat makan ..."***
7 *cewek paling suka kalo diperhatikan meskipun itu hal kecil.*
8 *minimal komunikasi agan sama dia gak bener2 putus hanya karena* ***"maaf ya, aku pengen sendiri dulu"***

1 she wants to have a quiet moment to herself.
2 doesn't want to be bothered by things too serious that can weigh heavily on her mind
3 but this is not for simple everyday things right ...
4 just sms her, ask what's she's up to, has she eaten, don't forget to eat and stuff like that ...
5 **"yes I understand you want to be alone right now. I won't bother you.**
6 **but I just want to remind not to miss your meals ..."**
7 girls like you to pay attention to them even for small things.
8 at least that way your communication with her is not totally cut off only because of **"sorry, I just want to be alone right now"**

Notice that bujangkondang begins by giving his interpretation of what the girl's voice means (lines 1–2) before proceeding to advise firemax on what to do (lines 4–6). Notice also that in his advice, bujangkondang provides voice modelling (Errington 1998b: 117) to guide firemax on what to say (lines 5–6) before repeating the girl's voice in firemax's initial posting (line 8). This appeal to text is what Semino and Short (2004: 104) call "Narrator's Representation of Writing Acts" (NRWA), defined as "references to writing which specify the illocutionary force, or, more generally, the action performed by means of writing, and possibly the topic or content of the resulting text". The repeat of firemax's original voicing at the end of bujangkondang's posting serves to remind everyone what the point of firemax's initial posting was. This repetition and the voice modelling support the following points: first, voicing is a resource speakers and writers use to establish a shared object of attention that participants can subsequently attend to; second, voicing is a dialogic action involving co-construction, and examples of this can be found in both spoken and written interaction.

5.4.3 Framing and positioning

In this section we focus on the use of voice presentation for positioning (Du Bois 2007; Harré and Davies 1990; Harré et al. 2009). Positioning, in the sense of Harré and Davies (1990), is a discursive process of taking up or assigning moral positions to oneself or others in interaction. Positioning is a local act; it can be deliberate, inadvertent, presumptive, taken for granted, or ceremonial (Harré et al. 2009: 10). Moreover, it can be momentary and ephemeral. Du Bois (2007: 143) states that affective and epistemic stance acts are acts of positioning, that is, "the act of situating a social actor with respect to responsibility for stance and for invoking sociocultural value". Speakers/writers use voice presentation to index positioning inexplicitly. Although framing renders explicit whose voice is being presented, positioning is accomplished more subtly through repetition of voice and by contrasting different voices. An example of this is given in the following two examples from a Malang conversation. Ika and Wasat are planning a social gathering for new undergraduate students and are inviting Bang Jek, their senior, to join them. The excerpt begins with Ika justifying her claim that Bang Jek's dislikes social events. In the previous discourse Ika told Wasat that she is certain Bang Jek would not come to the event they are organising. In lines 1–4 Ika repeats what she said before giving evidence for her claim by telling Wasat about the SMS exchange she had with Bang Jek. The (constructed) content of Ika's text message is presented in lines 10–12, while her presentation of Bang Jek's voice is given in lines 15–17.

(110a) Malang: Computer

1 IKA: *Dia tuh,*
He,
2 *kalok kayak gitu-gitu,*
as far as that sort of thing is concerned,
3 *nggak.*
doesn't.
4 ... *nggak a=pa ya.*
doesn't what should I say.
5 ***Wes sudah tak SMS kok.***
I've already sent him an SMS.
6 *Mas ... mau nggak.*
Mas do you want.
7 ... *Dateng.*
To come.
8 *Ada Merlin lho.*
Merlin will be there you know.
9 ***Aku bilang [gitu] kan.***
I said it like that you see.
10 WASAT: [*Teros*].
so?
11 IKA: *Oh nggak.*
Er no.
12 *Nggak mau,*
(I) don't want to,
13 *nggak mau dateng.*
(I) don't want to come.
14 ***Katanya gi=tu.***
His words were like that.
15 *Ya udah de=h.*
So that's that I guess.

Ika uses the particle *kan* in her closing frame in line 9 to signal to her co-participant that her talk is not finished, similar to the use of *kan* we saw earlier in Faizah's closing frame in (106a). Wasat's response in line 10, inviting Ika to go on, indicates that he understands this. The frame thus works intersubjectively to alert the co-participant that further talk is coming and to invite them to signal attentiveness. Upon the response, Ika proceeds by voicing Bang Jek, rounding off her presentation with *katanya gitu* 'he said that' (line 14) and ending her turn with a coda (line 15).

It is interesting to examine how Ika's claim to knowledge is structured and how this structure is used in tandem with other elements to index positioning. As mentioned, Ika begins by claiming that she knows Bang Jek does not attend social events and proceeds to supply evidence for her claim by presenting her own voice (through a text message) in the form of a question to Bang Jek. Wasat's response in line 10 is significant not only as acknowledgement that Ika's talk is not finished but also because it shows his understanding of what Ika seeks to achieve through her voicing. Both Ika's use of *kan* and Wasat's response crucially mark a structural transition between one voice and another.

Through the presentation of her own voice (lines 6–8), Ika constructs herself as a generous and polite person. She voluntarily contacted Bang Jek to invite him to the gathering, frames her invitation as a question and offers additional information using particle *lho* to make it more persuasive (*Ada Merlin lho* 'Merlin will be there you know', line 8), and addresses Bang Jek with *mas* (line 6) in acknowledgment of his seniority. She presents Bang Jek's initial rejection also as polite but firm, in an *oh*-prefacing turn (Heritage 1984), *oh* being used to soften the negation *nggak* 'no' (line 11). However, following this initial softening, Bang Jek's rejection is subsequently presented as strong through the repetition of negative marker *nggak* in three successive turns. The repetition produces a chorus-like effect which gradually increases in intensity, as indicated through the build-up of wording in the clauses, each longer than the preceding one: *oh nggak* 'er no' (line 11), *nggak mau* 'I don't want to' (line 12), *nggak mau dateng* 'I don't want to come' (line 13). This strong expression of rejection contrasts with Ika's construction of her own voice. By using frames, Ika distinguishes her own voice from that of Bang Jek. Whereas she presents herself as polite and helpful, she presents Bang Jek as someone who is strongly assertive and unwavering in his stance. Framing is a key resource for indexing this contrastive positioning.

Claiming knowledge about someone, especially if that someone is one's senior, is interactionally precarious and open to challenge. For this reason, speakers often go to a considerable length to convince their co-participant of their knowledge of that person. Response from the co-participant, whether it is of non-attentiveness (as in Puji's response to Faizah's introduction of her father in the rapidograph story) or attentiveness (as in Wasat's request for Ika to continue in (110a)), becomes an opportunity for the speaker to repeat a voice in order to establish a shared object of attention. In Ika's case, establishing that object of attention is important in order to claim authority. In the preceding discourse (not shown here) Wasat had insisted that Bang Jek should be invited to the student gathering. Ika informed him that Bang Jek did not want to come, and mentioned that if they insisted on inviting him, he might get angry (*marah*). Ika then provides evidence for this claim with the two voice presentations we have just seen. Wasat

now begins to believe Ika, as shown in his initial turn in excerpt (110b) below. In an *oh*-prefacing turn (line 16) he repeats the word *marah* 'angry' which Ika used in the preceding discourse (not shown), indicating that Wasat now believes what Ika says and is aligning with her.

(110b) Malang: Computer

16	WASAT :	***Oh*** *marah,*
		Oh he was angry
17		*ngono iku.*
		like that (when he said that).
18	IKA:	*Heh?*
		Huh?
19		*Ya nggak.*
		Well no.
20		... *Ah.*
		Well.
21		*Nggak.*
		No.
22		*Nggak mau ikut.*
		(I) don't want to come.
23		***Katanya gitu.***
		His words were like that.
24		[*Ya sudah*].
		So that's that.
25	WASAT:	**[*O=h*].**
		Oh.

Ika responds to Wasat's assessment initially with a minimal *heh* 'huh' (line 18). This response is ambiguous between acknowledgment of the question and difficulty of hearing. She then downgrades her own assessment of Bang Jek (i.e., that he gets angry if pressured to come), using *ya nggak* 'well no' (line 19), *ya* being used here to qualify the negation *nggak*. Following this downgrading, she repeats Bang Jek's voice in lines 20–22.[4] The structure of the presentation is identical to the first, the difference being only in the lexical items used, as summarised below.

4 The discourse particle *ah* (produced with a short vowel and a glottal fricative), when placed at the beginning of a turn, expresses disagreement, disbelief, or a downgrade of an assessment (e.g., someone points to an object saying that it's very nice, and one responds by saying *ah, biasa aja* 'not really, it's pretty ordinary').

- The negation *nggak* 'no' in lines 11–13 is repeated in lines 21–22 with variation in the verbs (*dateng* 'come' in line 13, *ikut* 'come along' in line 22);
- the closing frame *katanya gitu* 'he said that' in line 14 is repeated verbatim in line 23;
- the coda *ya udah deh* in line 15 is repeated as *ya sudah* in line 24.[5]

Wasat's freestanding and lengthened *o=h* (see Heritage 1984: 32) in the final turn (line 25) is significant for two reasons. First, it confirms a change of state, from not believing what Ika said to believing it. Second, the lengthening indicates that Ika's informing is now treated as complete and that no further challenge is forthcoming.

In terms of affective strength, Ika's second voice presentation is more assertive than the first. In the first presentation (line 11), Bang Jek's rejection is rendered in an *oh*-prefacing turn (*Oh nggak* 'er no thanks'), while in the second, it is presented as a freestanding *ah* followed by the negative marking *nggak* (lines 20–21). The *oh*-preface followed by *nggak* gives an impression of a polite apology, whereas the freestanding *ah* followed by *nggak* creates a strong expression of rejection.[6] In terms of Ika's epistemic claim, the second voicing can be considered as reinforcing the first, and thus is indexical of increased assertiveness in her stance-taking.

In the next example, voicing is also used to contrast different positions, but unlike in the Computer example where repetition of voicing is used to index increased strength in the speaker's assertion, in the next example the speaker uses frameless presentation to reinforce her stance. By using this type of voice presentation, the speaker signals to the addressee that the identity of the referent is to be treated as unimportant. The example is taken from a conversation between two undergraduate students in Bandung, Rina and Wulan. In the previous discourse, Wulan mentions that her father stopped smoking because his doctor had diagnosed him with hepatitis. Since then, he has been eating more to compensate for smoking, resulting in weight gain. Rina responds to Wulan's information by saying that her older sibling also wants to quit smoking and that she has given him advice on how to deal with his withdrawal symptoms. She uses a rounded framed presentation to indicate her voice giving this advice (lines 3–10).

5 The first coda *ya udah deh* is rendered in colloquial Indonesian and contains discourse marker *deh* (see Chapter 4); the second (*ya sudah*) is expressed in standard Indonesian.

6 Golato (2012) shows that *oh* in German indicates emotional change of state, and *ach*, cognitive change of state. The distinction between *oh* and *ah* in Indonesian is not being pursued here.

(111a) Bandung: Just Chatting

1 RINA: ... *Nah,*
So,
2 *karena dia pengen berhenti merokok,*
because he wants to stop smoking,
3 ***Terus aku bilang gini.***
So I said like this.
4 ... (1.6) *Ya=*
Well
5 ... *gimana ya?*
how (should I say)?
6 ... *Jangan ingat gitu.*
Don't think about it, (I said it) like that.
7 ... *Jangan sampai ingat,*
Don't even think,
8 *kalau dia tuh,*
that he,
9 *punya kebiasaan merokok,*
has a smoking habit,
10 ***gitu.***
like that.

Rina then tells Wulan about a group of friends who are also trying to quit by going cold turkey. She mentions that they have all become oversensitive when asked about how they deal with their withdrawal symptoms. Example (111b) picks up several lines later as Rina launches into another voice presentation in which she presents herself in dialogue with those friends but does not reveal their identity. Unlike her brother who is portrayed as receptive to her advice, these friends are presented as hostile towards her.

(111b) Bandung: Just Chatting

38 RINA: ***aku cuma bilang gini,***
I only said like this,
39 *misalnya.*
for instance.
40 ... *Éh,*
Hey,
41 ... *Hari ini,*
Today,
42 ... *Ini ya?*

	You're (trying to quit)?
43	***Apa sih?***
	What?
44	**... *Nanya-nanya.***
	Why are you asking.
45	... *Ya nanya do=ang.*
	just asking.
46	*Kok gitu sih.*
	Why did you get (oversensitive) like that.
47	***Udah-udah,***
	Ok ok,
48	***dia lagi ini.***
	he's this way right now (having withdrawalsymptom).

The dialogue in this excerpt consists of three voices: Rina, a friend who is trying to quit, and another friend who mediates between them. Rina uses a framed presentation for her own voice (line 38) and a frameless presentation for the friends' voices (lines 43–44 and 47–48). Rina highlights her friends' hostility by using *cuma* 'only' in her frame (line 19), implying that she did nothing wrong to receive a negative reaction.

It is interesting to see the contrast between the way Rina presents her dialogue with her brother on the one hand, and that between her and her friends on the other. Unlike the dialogue with her brother (in previous discourse) where she presents an assertive stance, claiming knowledge of her brother's state of mind, in the dialogue with the friends, Rina's stance shifts into a cautious, unsure one. This is shown in the way she presents her voice as a question rather as a statement (line 40–42). The question form is significant as it suggests that Rina does not have privileged access to the friend's domain of knowledge and therefore cannot stake a claim to it. This and the frameless, hence non-individuated, voice of the friend (lines 43–44) creates an impression of distance. Voice presentations are therefore interactionally contingent, produced relative to the participants' domains of knowledge and their relationship with one another.

Although frameless presentations play down the importance of the person whose voice is being presented by not revealing their identity, this type of presentation is important for supporting a speaker's claims to knowledge. We have seen how Rina claims knowledge of her brother's state of mind by using a framed presentation. This claim is reinforced through a contrast with the frameless presentation she uses to convey her dialogue with the unnamed friends. By presenting her voice as a question, she positions herself as a considerate person who does not have the intention to upset those in a delicate state. Rina's framed and frameless

voice presentations thus index this self-positioning. Although the identity of the hostile friends is not specified and hence is treated as unimportant, their voice is nonetheless an important part of Rina's act of positioning.

5.4.4 Framed voice and epistemic claims

According to Clift (2006), reported speech is a non-grammaticalised form of evidentiality that orients to authority. Interactional evidentials, as Clift (2006: 583) claims, "work to index the relative authority (or indeed subordination) of the speaker over a co-participant with respect to what is said", whereas other forms of evidentials (grammatical evidentials; see Aikhenvald and Dixon 2003) are primarily used to index epistemic claims that orient to accountability. She adds that, although the truth and reliability of what one asserts can be explicitly conveyed through grammatical evidentials, a speaker who seeks to assert epistemic authority is "better served by being *in*explicit" (Clift 2006: 584 emphasis in original; see also Heritage and Raymond 2005: 36). A common way of making a claim inexplicitly is to present a dialogue between oneself and others. In this way claims are expressed relationally by positioning oneself in relation to others, and dialogically, by juxtaposing what one says with what others say. This is illustrated in the following example from a conversation between three friends living in Bandung. Amru, Wida and Asmita have just set up a business together, selling soft toys. Having received an order from someone in Lampung (a province in southern Sumatra), the three friends now have to find a way to send the goods cost-effectively. Asmita informs the others in the preceding discourse that based on her experience, she knows shipping cost is charged not only by weight but also by volume. As soft toys are more bulky than heavy, shipping can be costly. Amru agrees with Asmita and subsequently recounts his own experience in getting a quote from a company called Kramat Djati. He then informs the others that he knows someone working for that company who might be able to offer a cheap deal. That person is an assistant driver by the name of Asep, a Sundanese man. After introducing the name, Amru presents a dialogue between himself and Asep to show that knowing this assistant driver has been the key to getting the deal. He introduces the dialogue with a frameless presentation but closes his presentation with the frame *gitu* 'like that' (line 33).

(112a) Bandung: Plush Toys

1	AMRU:	*Terus aku-* –
		And then I

2 ... *Mulai yang=,*
Starting with,

3 ... *Eh.*
Hey.

4 *Mana sih orang yang bisa dihubungin.*
Where's the person can I speak to.

5 ... ***Ternyata aku tuh kenal sama keneknya=.***
It turns out I know the assistant driver.

6 ***Pa –***
Pa

7 ... ***Mang Ase=p.***
***Mang* Asep.**

8 ASMITA: [*Hm*].
Hm.

9 AMRU: **[*Eh*] *Mang,***
Hey *Mang,*

10 ... ***He= Pa Asep.***
Er *Pa* Asep.

11 ASMITA: [*Hm-hm*].
Uh-huh.

12 AMRU: **[*Pa Asep*] *namanya.***
***Pa* Asep is his name.**

13 WIDA: ... ***Banyak [juga*** *yang*] *namanya Asep.*
There are **many people** who are called Asep.

14 AMRU: [*Terus aku*],
and then I,

15 ... *Deketin,*
Approached him,

16 ... ***Pak.***
Pak.

17 *ieu* [*urang*] –
I

18 ASMITA: [***iyah namanya juga***] *orang Sunda.*
but of course, he's Sundanese after all.

19 AMRU: *Urang mau ke ieu ey.*
I want to go here.

20 *Rek mawa barang,*
Want to take this stuff,

21 ASMITA: *Hm-hm.*
Hh-huh.

22	Amru:	*ke Sumatra,* to Sumatra,
23		*ke* [*Lampung*]. to Lampung.
24	Asmita:	[*Hm-hm.*]. Uh-huh.
25	Amru:	... *Terus.* Then.
26		*kumaha yeuh.* how (can I) do it? (lit. ‘how, yeah?’).
27		*urang teh,* I,
28		*meunang charge.* got a quote,
29		*eh ... besar* ***gitu****.* er quite expensive, **like that**.
30	Asmita:	*Hm-hm.* Uh-huh.
31	Amru:	*Tujuh setengah.* Seven and a half.
32		*Jeung* ***Bapa*** *weh lah,* (I’ll go) with **you** (*Bapa*) instead,
33		***gitu****.* **like that.**
34		*Sabaraha?* How much?
35		*E=h.* Wow.
36		*Dikasih dua ratus,* (If he’s given) two hundred,
37		*dua ratus limapuluh juga <@ mau dia @>.* or two hundred and fifty he’d do it.
38	Wida:	*O*=[=*h*]. Oh.
39	AMRU:	*[Masuk] barang semua.* Including everything.

Amru’s narrative about Kramat Djati was constructed in response to Asmita’s information about the expensive cost of shipping. As Ochs and Capps (2001: 284) point out, in telling stories of personal experience, tellers tend to present

themselves as credible persons who take a higher moral ground relative to certain other persons in the narrative. Amru does this first, by showing that he is capable of getting a good deal, and second, that he achieved this by negotiating the deal in Sundanese (see the underlined elements in the example). It is crucial to note in this regard that Amru is born of a Javanese father and a Sundanese mother but was raised in Lampung, South Sumatra. Although he is fluent in Sundanese, his level of proficiency is not that of a native speaker. This background is significant in light of how he constructs his epistemic claim. In his voice presentations, Amru constructs a dialogue in which he and Asep interact in Sundanese. In styling himself as a Sundanese speaking person negotiating a deal with a Sundanese, Amru seeks to impress upon his co-participants that he is a skilled negotiator, a person who knows that extending a gesture of ethnolinguistic solidarity is crucial for getting a good deal.

Amru's solidarity stance is shown early in the excerpt when he attempts to establish Asep's identity. Like Faizah introducing her father in the Rapidograph Saga story in (106a) and (106b), Amru expends much effort in introducing Asep. He begins by uttering *Pa*, a polite term for an adult male, but abandons this term before the name Asep is mentioned (notice the truncated turn in line 6) and shifts instead to Sundanese *Mang* followed by the name *Asep* (lines 6 and 7). *Mang* is a Sundanese a term for an adult male, usually from a working class background (see Glossary of address terms). Interestingly, Amru returns to *Pa* (line 10) and settles for this term for the remainder of his talk. It is possible that Amru's decision to use *Pa* and *Bapa* is motivated by his perception that by using these forms he could present himself as polite and deferring, given that he needed Asep's help.

Wida, who is Amru's girlfriend, teases Amru by pointing out that *Asep* is a common Sundanese name. She uses *juga* in the formulaic expression *banyak juga* 'there are many as you/we know', implying that the referent Amru is trying to establish by name is not unique (line 13). Amru does not respond to Wida's teasing, opting instead to continue with his story. Meanwhile, Asmita aligns with Wida's comment about Asep being a common Sundanese name (notice the use of *iyah* 'yes' in line 18). Other than this, Asmita's responses are minimal (*hm, hm-hm*) but frequent. Wida's on the other hand, are much less frequent. This could be because she and Amru are a couple, so Amru might have told her the story previously. However, at the end of Amru's talk, she responds with a lengthened, free-standing *oh* in acknowledgment of Amru's voice presentation (line 38). However, this acknowledgment does not mark the end of her response, which continues in (112b). In line 42 Wida remarks that the reason Asep gave Amru a good deal is because Amru knows him. Asmita convergently aligns with Wida in line 44. Amru then follows in aligning with both Asmita and Wida (line 48). The three participants thus all align with each other, as indexed by the repetition of *iya*

'yes' and *kenal* 'know, acquainted' in lines 44–49. This dialogic resonance, i.e., "the process of alignment between subsequent stances" (Du Bois and Kärkkäinen 2012: 445) produces a chorus-like sequence of talk (lines 46–49) and creates an impression of heightened sociability.

(112b) Bandung: Plush Toys

40 WIDA: *Itu **kan**,*
That's **you see**,
41 *L- eh=,*
er,
42 *Sopir langganan Si Amru.*
The driver Amru usually goes to.
43 AMRU: [*Hm-hm*].
Uh-huh.
44 ASMITA: [***Ya iya kan***] –
Yeah of course
45 AMRU: ... [*Udah **kena=l***].
(I) **knew** him already.
46 ASMITA: [*Kan,*
Isn't it,
47 *Gara*]*-gara **kena=l**.*
Because you **know** each other.
48 AMRU: [***Iya** udah **kenal***].
Yes we **know** each other.
49 WIDA: [***Iya** gara-gara*] [***kena=l***].
Yes it's because (you) **know** (each other).
50 ASMITA: [*pemasalahan*][*nya*].
the issue is.
51 AMRU: [*jadi*] –
so
52 ... *Pengennya,*
Ideally,
53 *mungkin kalo kita cari kaya gitu,*
perhaps if we want to get (a good deal) like that,
54 *mungkin harus kenal-kenal du=lu.*
perhaps (we) have to know them first.
55 *Yang* –
Like the
56 *yang kenek-keneknya,*
Like the driver assistant,

57 *calonya.*
the middle man.
58 *Kita nego gitu.*
We negotiate, like that.

Wida's and Asmita's alignment with Amru's position are acts of convergence, and hence a positive acknowledgment of his claim to authority. Amru takes this as an opportunity to qualify his claim by proposing that the group proceed the way he did with Asep (lines 50–57). In this sense, both his voice presentation and his subsequent qualification can be considered as a "demonstration" (Clark and Gerrig 1990) of that claim.

5.5 Summary

In this chapter we have discussed voice presentation as a common social practice among young people. Following Tannen (2007) we have approached voicing in conversation as the act of drawing on words from a past discourse to accomplish contingent interactional goals. The analysis in this chapter has underlined the importance of framing in acts of voicing. By framing we include both the use and non-use of frames in a voice presentation. Frames serve to ground the framed material by orienting it in a particular way and individuating the voice, that is, identifying the voice as belonging to the person specified in the frame. We have argued that framed voice presentations are a resource that speaker/writers use to establish a shared object of attention and create common ground, which, once created, can be updated by means of another voice presentation or other means. Young speakers/writers use frameless voice presentations when they assume that the addressee/reader already knows the identity of the referent, and to signal to the addressee/reader that the referent's identity is to be treated as unimportant at the point in the discourse in which it occurs. Although the identity of the referent is not revealed in frameless presentations, this type of voice presentation is important interactionally. Frameless presentations are used to index positioning and epistemic claims, and in Teenlit, they create verisimilitude, allowing the reader to have a greater sense of involvement in the story world. Both framed and frameless voice presentations are therefore interactionally purposive, and because of this, framing holds an important role in managing intersubjective relations. We have thus argued that frames are not an obligatory structural element as most accounts on reported speech have taken for granted, but are rather a structural resource that can be deployed to establish and update common ground. They are hence a crucial part of how speakers/writers position themselves relative to others.

This chapter has also shown that there are similarities and differences in the style of voicing across the four types of discourse. The presence of co-participants, the presence or absence of narrator, and the graphic and spatial resources available, all contribute to differences as well as similarities in the style of voicing. The presence of co-participants in conversation enables a voice to be presented multiple times, one presentation being built on the one before, and in turn becoming the foundation for the next presentation. In Kaskus, participants co-construct voicing by repeating verbatim someone's voice presentation before adding their own. In Teenlit and comics, voice presentations are essentially the creation of the author. Nevertheless, in constructing voice presentations, an author builds on their own and others' knowledge of how voicing is used in everyday life. In this sense voice presentations in Teenlit and youth comics are dialogic and intertextual. We have discussed voicing in the different types of discourse to show the flexibility and creativity with which speakers and writers use linguistic, graphic, and spatial resources available to them for presenting voice.

Our analysis has taken into account the role of sequentiality in the construction of interactional meanings. In the conversation examples shown, affective and epistemic stance acts are built gradually by means of a range of resources including repetition of an initial voice presentation, its uptake by co-participants, and the chains of alignments that result from these. In Teenlit as well as conversation, we have pointed out that description is also used to support voice presentation. The position of the description following the initial voice presentation indicates that it is to be understood as reinforcing the identity of the referent whose voice is being presented. We have also shown how comic authors creatively use graphic and spatial resources such as shading, dots and the placement of speech balloons along the vertical axis to indicate sequentiality.

In the quote given at the beginning of this chapter, Bakhtin (1981: 338) describes reported speech as "speech about speakers and their discourse". In this chapter, we have underlined the idea, after Tannen (2007), that "reported speech" is more about the speakers who present the discourse of others rather than about others whose discourse is being presented. We have examined the different styles of voicing in Indonesian not to show that this social practice is unique to Indonesian youth but rather to point out that it is precisely because it is common that young speakers and writers tap into it to accomplish different goals. What is particularly noteworthy about voicing practices among these young social actors is the creativity with which they adapt voice presentation to different contexts and discourse spaces, bringing out youthful sociability as they deploy a range of rhetorical and graphic resources to manage intersubjective relationships.

6 Youth and language play

6.1 Introduction

Language play is generally understood as the creative manipulation of language that brings entertainment value to its users and, at the same time, enables users to accomplish interactional goals (Carter 2004; Chiaro 1992: 4; Haugh 2016; Norrick 1994, 2016). Language play is found in spoken or written modes and in different contexts of communication (Winter-Froemel 2016: 12). It can be conscious or unconscious, noticed or not noticed, humorous or serious and may also incorporate nonverbal communication, and in multilingual situations, may include elements from various languages (Sherzer 2002: 2). Sherzer defines language play (or "speech play" in his terms) as "the manipulation of elements and components of language in relation to one another, in relation to the social and cultural contexts of language use, and against the backdrop of other possibilities in which it is not foregrounded" (2002: 1). This definition underlines the crucial relationship between the structural and contextual dimensions of language play – that is, between the linguistic elements manipulated for play purposes on the one hand, and between linguistic elements and the extra-linguistic context in which they are used on the other. In this chapter we take this point further by considering language play as a common part of what young people do in interaction. By "common" we are not suggesting that it is not important; quite the contrary, it is precisely on account of its commonness that it is an important resource for youth.

Young speakers and writers take it for granted that they can engage in language play in a wide range of interactional contexts, with relatively little effort. Indeed, as the examples from conversation and Kaskus will show, language play occurs as youth engage in ordinary, seemingly meaningless talk. Authors of Teenlit and comics capitalise on the pervasiveness of language play in everyday discourse to highlight youthful sociability in fiction. In this chapter we examine several forms of language play to show how instances of language use are understood as playful through intersubjective acts of alignment. We discuss a range of resources speakers and writers tap into to promote intersubjective relations with co-participants, and in the case of Teenlit and youth comics, between the characters as well as between the narrator and the reader. Chiaro (1992: 11) points out that for language play to be successful, it has to "play on knowledge shared between sender and recipient". We show in this chapter that shared knowledge about social norms, as well as generational and language differences, are among the key resources for generating play in Indonesian. Playfulness, we contend, is characteristic of youthful sociability.

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Analysts have pointed out that playfulness and humour require a response to be counted as such (Ross 1998: 1). Winter-Froemel (2016: 15) also states that language play can be considered successful when it is recognised by the co-participants, and unsuccessful when it is not. Responses can be verbal or non-verbal. Laughter and feelings of pleasure and amusement may follow when the addressee finds someone's use of language humorous, while mocking and sarcasm may be received with hostility if interpreted as a personal attack. In Indonesian, for example, someone using language to enact jocular mocking may receive the response *Nggak lucu ah!* 'That's not funny!' if it is understood as an aggressive act. This kind of response is nonetheless an example of "successful" language play in Winter-Froeme's sense; the utterance is recognised as language play albeit responded to unfavourably. Such a hostile response can be understood as a form of divergent alignment (or "disaffiliation" in Haugh's (2016) term). Norrick (1994: 429) suggests that mocking and sarcasm can also be interpreted as solidarity depending on the history and nature of the participants' joking relationship. The potential for recognition and alignment is, in our view, what makes language play intersubjective. Intersubjectivity is brought to light in different ways when language play receives a response.[1] Thus an instance of language play is intersubjective to the extent that the participants treat it as such, regardless of whether their responses signal convergent or divergent alignment.

In Section 6.2 we discuss the relation between language play, sociability, and small talk. While language play is often considered part of "empty small talk" it nonetheless has an important role in intersubjectively promoting a strong sense of sociality and intimacy. At the same time the language play of Indonesian youth, for example through their creative coining of new words using abbreviation and acronym, clipping, and blending (Smith-Hefner 2007), can enter wider society's language practices, appearing in newspaper reporting, formal speeches, and social media. In Section 6.3 we analyse types of language play that are more commonly discussed in the literature, such as language games, metaphor and metonymy, play involving multilingualism and metalanguage awareness, and play that invokes norms of politeness and impoliteness. We also extend the scope of our analysis to include types of language play that are less commonly discussed in the literature, such as savouring language and child talk, to show how speakers and writers exploit a wide range of resources in creating a sense of light-heartedness. In Section 6.4 we discuss the role of emoji in providing emotional contours to online posts. Following Dresner and Herring (2010), we argue that emoji, like emoticons before them, should be considered

1 Though silence may also be considered as a response, we do not discuss it in this study as it would take us beyond our current focus.

part of text rather than separate from it. Taken together, the examples discussed in this chapter demonstrate the playful approach youth adopt in navigating their complex social worlds.

6.2 Small talk, sociability, ideology

Norrick (2016: 27) states that the main purpose of language play is to promote interpersonal rapport through "amusement and good feelings" rather than "serious topical talk", and therefore it "carries little weight or consequence for the factual content or goals of talk". Nonetheless, as Haugh (2016) points out, verbal play and small talk can also be purposive. While early formulations of small talk centre on its function as phatic communion – "language used in free, aimless, social intercourse" (Malinowski 1923: 149) – recent sociolinguistic studies have shown that what seems to be banal talk is nonetheless socio-culturally significant and interactionally meaningful (Coupland 2000: 1–25; Tannen 2007). Through language play participants in interaction seek to accomplish various goals such as indexing group membership, asserting individual identity, mocking someone, or getting someone to do something. There are, of course, other avenues for accomplishing these goals that do not involve verbal play; however, through verbal play participants can inject a sense of light-heartedness that is conducive to intimacy. The sociable – or what Sherzer (2002: 1) calls "nonpurposive" – and purposive functions of verbal play are therefore not mutually exclusive.

The function of language play in creating rapport through amusement closely approximates what Simmel and Hughes (1949: 259–260) call "pure sociability": "[t]hat something is said and accepted is not an end in itself but a mere means to maintain the liveliness, the mutual understanding, the common consciousness of the group." Carter (2004: 108) observes that, far from being an exceptional feature of everyday language use, language play is a common practice. By being verbally playful participants signal that they are "fun to be with" and are able to offer a new perspective on things (Carter 2004: 109). In this sense, even pure sociability in Simmel and Hughes' sense is purposive, and talk which may seem dull and even banal to non-participants (including analysts) is meaningful at some level to participants. As Justine Coupland (2000: 9) states, the fact that participants sustain small talk indicates that there is mutual agreement "that the topic and their sharing of it *matters*" (italic in original). She also observes that although small talk may give the impression of "nothing happening", it actually "subsumes an enormous amount of creative, collaborative meaning-making" (Coupland 2000: 9). For instance, shared laughter at a seemingly pointless topic (e.g., reference to an ill-fitting outfit) can indicate solidarity both through

the laughter itself and through a shared evaluation of that topic as humorous (Rogerson-Revell 2007), though laughter is not always linked to humorous talk (Vöge and Wagner 2010: 1470).

Pleasure sharing through verbal play, though not unique to youth, is a strong and noticeable part of youth interaction. This social practice cannot be separated from the broader context of a linguistic culture in which jocularity and word games are valued as part of sociability. As Smith-Hefner (2007: 191) perceptively observes in relation to youth sociability and the emergence of the urban *gaul* style in Indonesia (see Chapter 1): "*Bahasa gaul* has developed against the backdrop of a linguistic culture of multiple codes: elaborate social registers, honorific vocabularies, ritual languages, and extensive word games." Smith-Hefner is here alluding to word games associated with codes such as *prokem* (the language of Jakartan gangsters mentioned in Chapter 1), *bahasa gay* 'gay language' (also see Chapter 1), and *bahasa walikan,* 'backwards languages' known to youth in Malang and Yogyakarta (*walik* in Javanese means 'turn over'). *Walikan* is obtained by reading words back to front, and in the case of *walikan* in Yogyakarta, by assigning new pronunciation to Javanese syllabary and applying the pronunciation to the corresponding sounds in Indonesian (Smith-Hefner 2007: 191; Jackson and Rahmat 2013).

Indonesian urban youth also tap into other linguistic practices shared by the broader community of language users such as abbreviating and creating acronyms to generate a sense of playfulness and sociability. For youth, to be sociable is to know what the acronyms, particularly the most recent ones, stand for. Most interesting in this instance is the multidirectional process of coining and using these acronyms. Urban youth in contemporary Indonesia draw on the existing practice of abbreviating and creating acronyms to produce new terms. In turn, the terms they coin may enter public discourse and even become part of the vocabulary of standard Indonesian.[2] When youth subsequently use these co-opted terms, it is both the initial interpersonal meaning and the recent public use that serve as the basis for the interpretation of the current contextual meaning. In this sense coining and abbreviating form part of the broader multidirectional process of style – one that involves "resignification" (Bucholz 2015: 52–54). A good example of this is the acronym *baper* (from ***ba****wa* ***per****asaan* 'carried away with (one's) feelings'), coined by youth and initially used within the context of romantic relationships to describe someone who is easily hurt by the actions of their girlfriend or boyfriend, and who shows a propensity for indulging in self-pity.

2 For example, the word *cuek* 'indifferent', coined by Jakartan youth, is now listed in the Standard Indonesian Dictionary KBBI online (see http://kbbi.web.id/cuek).

This acronym was recently used in public discourse to mock former Indonesian president, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (2004–2014), for repeatedly complaining in public about being victimised by the media, the public, and the current Joko Widodo government (2014–). To describe the former president as *baper* is to suggest that he is behaving like a silly young person. This term is now commonly used by public officials, including high-ranking ones, to refer to others who hold opposing stances.

Youth are members of their communities, and like other community members, they are socialised into the ideologies that circulate within their communities. They may tacitly agree with such ideologies or overtly disagree by offering critiques when interacting with peers or the wider public. We pointed out in Chapter 1 that popular media can contribute to the stigmatisation of ethno-local languages by presenting stereotypes of personhood. An uneducated character is often a person speaking with a thick ethno-local accent, while a modern cosmopolite speaks in Jakartan Indonesian or “accent-less” Indonesian. As will be shown, youth subscribe to as well as subvert this stereotyping through playful sarcasm and self-deprecation. Playfulness provides a non-threatening and lively way for expressing critique and therefore promotes sociability in Simmel’s sense.

6.3 Language play in interaction

In what follows we discuss different forms of language play to show the kinds of resources used in constructing play. Our aim is not to provide an exhaustive list of language play but rather to demonstrate how the construction of playfulness crucially relies on intersubjective understanding of what counts as playful, which in turn is shown through acts of alignment.

6.3.1 *Dicari* language game

This language game is similar to the Knock-knock game in English in having a question-and-answer sequence as its conventional structure. In this section we discuss an example from a conversation between two high school students in Bandung to show the clever rekeying of the game, which involves multi-layered interactional contexts. The conventional *Dicari* game typically begins with a person (the initiator of the game) telling the addressee (the target of the game) that someone is looking for them. The person supposedly looking for the addressee is typically someone with whom the addressee does not want to be associated for various interpersonal and cultural reasons. The constructed example in (113)

shows the conventional structure of this game. In this example, the adult initiates the game by telling the child that *Pak* Amin, a *bakso* 'meatball soup' seller, is looking for him, wanting to take him as his child. The child does not want to be associated with someone whose occupation is perceived as low status.

(113) *Adult:* *Eh, kamu dicari Pak Amin itu lho.*
Child: *Emang kenapa?*
Adult: *Katanya mau diambil jadi anaknya.*
Child: *Bo'ong.*
Adult: *Lho bener, katanya disuruh bantuin jual bakso.*
Child: *Ih, nggak mau ah.*
Adult: *Kan enak tiap hari bisa makan bakso.*
Child: *Enggak mau.*

Adult: Hey, *Pak* Amin has been looking for you.
Child: Yeah, why?
Adult: He said he wants to adopt you as his son.
Child: (You're) lying.
Adult: No it's true, he said he wants you to help him sell meatball soup.
Child: Yikes, no thanks.
Adult: But you can eat meatball soup every day.
Child: I said no.

The *Dicari* game derives its humorous effects from the following: first, the untruth of the reported event (*Pak* Amin is *not* actually looking for the child); second, the unlikelihood of what the person referred to wants to do (it is unlikely that *Pak* Amin the *bakso* seller wants to adopt the child in order to have a helper); and third, the undesirability of being linked to the person referred to (to be the child of someone from a lower socio-economic stratum, such as the *bakso* seller, is not something most children would aspire to). As is typical of such games, the *Dicari* game follows a standard sequence and includes formulaic expressions. The opening move typically includes the construction *kamu dicari X* 'you are being looked for by person X'. The target of the game will ask why and the initiator's next move typically includes the voicing frame *katanya mau di-* 'they say (they) want to [verb] (you)'. The target of the game will then reject the idea. The initiator will often present a reason why the target should agree but the target repeats the rejection.

In the Bandung example, shown in (114), the actual game had occurred online prior to the talk and is being read out by Febri to her co-participant, Dinda. The retelling occurs within the context of an informal chat in which Febri and Dinda are looking for free songs to download from the Internet. The excerpt begins with

Febri telling Dinda that a person they both know (whose name is not mentioned in the conversation) had “liked” her online post but at the same time this person has pulled a *Dicari* joke on her, saying that *Om* Sooman is looking for her and wants to marry her. Febri expresses her annoyance in being made a target by uttering a mild swear word at the beginning of her talk. The person referred to as *Om* Sooman turns out to be 62-year old Korean entrepreneur Lee Soo Man, the founder of SM Entertainment, a leading industry agency that promotes K-Pop.[3] He is playfully referred to as *om*, a term for adult males roughly of a similar age as one’s father (from Dutch *oom* ‘uncle’). The likelihood of Lee Soo Man eyeing Febri, an 18-year old high school student from Bandung, as his potential wife is remote, particularly given the geographical and social distance between them. Unlike the constructed adult-child example in (113), which invokes the notion of the undesirability of being associated with those from the lower socio-economic class, this example invokes a cultural stereotype of older men seeking to marry younger women, and younger women willing to marry older men for their money. As in the conventional structure, Febri (the target of the joke) rejects the proposition advanced by the joke initiator. However, unlike it, the non-presence of the joke initiator provides an occasion for Febri and Dinda to rekey the game through a co-construction of an alternative proposition. Febri does not want to marry *Om* Sooman but expresses a desire to marry JYP – or Jin Young Park, a K-Pop singer-songwriter and also founder of another well-known entertainment business, who is 20 years younger than Lee Soo Man. Through this alternative proposition Febri thus plays up the stereotype of a younger woman willing to marry an older man for his money. In suggesting that she is not completely adverse to the idea of marrying someone older so long as she can choose whom to marry, Febri presents herself as an assertive young woman. Through convergent alignment and co-construction, the stereotype of an older man wanting to marry a younger woman is thus imaginatively subverted, and the conventional *Dicari* structure rekeyed.

(114) Bandung: K-Pop

1	FEBRI:	@ *Gembel.*
		What an idiot.
2		... *Masa di-* --
		I can’t believe (she) –
3		*di= di-like-nya.*
		(she) put ‘like’ on this.

3 Lee Soo Man was born in 1952; he was 62 years old at the time the conversation was recorded (2014).

4		... *Feb.*
		Feb
5		.. *Kamu dicari sama Om Sooman tuh.*
		Do you know *Om* Sooman is looking for you.
6		... *Hah?*
		Really?
7		.. *Kenapa?*
		Why?
8		*Katanya minta* --
		He said (he) wants to –
9		*minta dikawinin.*
		He wants to marry you.
10		*Sekarang juga.*
		Like, now.
11		.. *Gembel.*
		What an idiot.
12	DINDA:	@@@
13	FEBRI:	@@ *itu.*
		that person is.
14	DINDA:	*Biarinlah.*
		That's not so bad.
15		*kamu biarin.*
		you should go for it.
16		*Nanti warisannya kaya,*
		You'll have a lot of inheritance,
17		.. *turun temurun.*
		(enough to last) for generations.
18		*Ari kamu sama Om Sooman mah.*
		If you get together with *Om* Sooman, see.
19		@@
20	FEBRI:	*Ga mau ah,*
		No way,
21		*Ga mau sama Om Sooman ah.*
		No way (I) want to be with *Om* Sooman.
22		*Pengen yang .. agak muda,*
		(I) want .. a younger one,
23		*Kayak siapa,*
		Like who's that,
24		*Om JYP.*

		Om JYP.
25		.. [@@@]
26	DINDA:	[@@@]

Febri's telling of the *Dicari* game starts in lines 4–5 with the presentation of the sequences between her and the unnamed person, and ends in line 11 with the same mild swear word *gembel* 'idiot' (literally, 'tramp') which she used at the beginning, followed by laughter by her and Dinda. Thus the joke that was initially constructed online is now brought to the here-and-now world through Febri's telling. Following the laughter, Dinda extends the joke by goading Febri to take up Lee Soo Man's supposed offer. In doing so, Dinda shifts her role from being a listener to a co-constructor of the joke. Dinda ends her goading with a small laugh (line 19), signalling her convergent alignment with Febri. Dinda is aware that Febri is mildly annoyed by being paired with Lee Soo Man and attempts to lighten her mood by teasing her. This teasing, in turn, becomes an occasion for Febri to subvert the game. She does this by first confirming her rejection of the unnamed person's proposition (lines 20–21) and then expressing her own proposition (lines 22–24). The shared laughter that follows indicates mutual convergent alignment between her and Dinda. We can thus see here that one act of alignment gives rise to another alignment, forming a chain of alignments similar to those discussed in Chapter 5.

Apart from showing how a language game can lead to intersubjective alignment, the *Dicari* example offers other points of interest. First, it shows how youth share existing joking conventions and cultural stereotypes; second, it demonstrates the participants' creativity in reworking the conventional structure of the game. Both Febri and Dinda seamlessly bring a temporally distant online world to the here-and-now of the interaction, invoking cultural entities from their hobby world as they do so. By making a joke about two Korean celebrities that figure prominently in that hobby world, they transform a conventional language game into situated, sociable talk in which they share in the display of sociable selves.

6.3.2 Metaphor and metonymy

In this section we discuss examples that draw on metaphor and metonymy as sources of play. In the first example, the domain of sports, specifically soccer, is the source of metaphor. In the second example from a comic strip, metonymy and punning are used concurrently to create a humorous effect.

Soccer has long been an enormously popular sport in Indonesia and following local, national and international soccer teams is one of the leisure preoccupations

of Indonesians, including the urban youth in our study. In the Bandung example in (115), soccer terminology for positions in team ranking is used as a metaphor for positions in academic ranking. Rinto and Farid are talking about who among their friends are at the top of the class. Rinto says with jocular self-deprecation that he is in the 'degraded' zone, i.e., not among the top students. He actually says *gregradasi*, a mispronunciation of *degradasi* 'degradation', alluding to the soccer term, *zona degradasi* 'degradation zone', which refers to a team's low ranking. By laughing in line 5 Rinto signals to his co-participants that he is joking. Farid uses this occasion to drive the joke further by teasing Rinto, saying that Rinto is not only in the downgraded zone but is in fact on the verge of being kicked out. The phrase *di ambang zona* 'on the zone boundary, on the verge' used by Farid is another term from soccer that refers to a critical point in a team's ranking where the team needs to do better or it will be further downgraded.

(115) Bandung: On the Verge

1	RINTO:	.. *Gua,*
		Me,
2		***gregradasi***.
		(I'm in the) **degraded** (zone).
3	FARID:	.. *Lo,*
		Really,
4		*Nah.*
		There you go.
5	RINTO:	@= @
6	FARID:	*Lo tuh* ***di ambang zona***.
		You're **on the verge** I'd say.
7	ASMITA:	@@@[@@] @@[@@]
8	FARID:	[@@]
9		[@@]
10	RINTO:	<@ ***Tai= anjing*** @>.
		Dog shit.
11	ASMITA:	[@@@]
12	FARID:	[@@@]
13	RINTO:	... ***Ambang zona***.
		(I'm) **on the verge** (did you say).
14		.. *Siapa lagi?*
		Who else?
15		... *Asmita ya?*
		Is it (you) Asmita?

What makes the interaction between Rinto and Farid humorous is the unexpectedness of Farid's response to Rinto's self-deprecation. Instead of acknowledging Rinto's self-deprecation as a show of modesty, Farid plays on it by upping the deprecation. The shared laughter from Asmita and Farid that follows (lines 7–9) indicates their intersubjective understanding that Farid flouts the expectation by exaggerating Rinto's situation. Rinto ripostes by swearing *tai anjing* 'dog shit', accompanied by laughing (line 8). This swearing, in turn, elicits more laughter from Asmita and Farid (lines 11–12). Meanwhile, Rinto continues his riposte by repeating Farid's phrase (*ambang zona*, line 11) before continuing to list the names of top students.

Unlike Febri who plays along with the *Dicari* joke before subverting it, in this example Farid immediately flouts expectations by using Rinto's self-deprecation to jokingly put him down. The put-down can be interpreted either as a way of acknowledging the truth of Rinto's self-deprecatory statement or a rejection of it. The borrowing of terms from sports such as soccer to create humour speaks to the multi-layered nature of social indexicality. Rinto's and Farid's use of terms from a sport widely liked by youth suggests not only their familiarity with the language of soccer reporting but also their membership in the group of avid followers. To be able to exploit this language is to have the social capital required to claim that membership.

In the next example, a comic author uses both metonymy and punning to derive a humorous effect. Norrick (2016: 23) states that puns "frequently revolve around double meaning for some linguistic unit", either a single word with two senses (e.g., English 'beat' in 'A boiled egg in the morning is impossible to beat'), or a phrase with a literal and idiomatic meaning (e.g., English 'ups and downs' in 'The elevator business has its ups and downs'). In the comic in Figure 6.1, the author plays on two referential meanings of the word *kambing*, either an animal 'goat' or an area in the city of Bogor named *Bantar Kambing*.

(116) Passenger = *Kambing*/Goat

1	MINI BUS CONDUCTOR:	Kambing!! Kambing!! Kambing!!!
	BACKGROUND VOICES:	Sukasari!!! Sukasari!!! Parung!! Parung!!
2	MINI BUS CONDUCTOR:	Ma'am are you Kambing?
	WOMAN:	Er ... yes ...
3	MINI BUS CONDUCTOR:	Kambing this way!! Kambing!!
	BACKGROUND VOICE:	Parung!! Parung!!
4	MINI BUS CONDUCTOR:	Kambing!! Kambing!! Another (bus) about to depart!!!

Note on bottom of strip: Bantar Kambing = Name of an area in Bogor

Figure 6.1: Metonymy and punning (Bijak 2011: 14).

In this comic strip, the name *Kambing* is used as an abbreviation of the place name and a metonym for a person heading for that place. The conductor is shouting this name to direct passengers heading for Bantar Kambing to board his mini bus. In the second frame, he asks the woman if she is a passenger going to Kambing, to which the woman gives an affirmative answer. As the word *kambing* also means 'goat', the conductor's question can be interpreted as asking if the woman is a goat, and her affirmative answer as confirming that she is indeed a goat. The joke is stretched further in the third panel, showing the conductor "herding" the woman to the bus for Kambing.

Of particular interest here is the presence of a young man wearing a cap and carrying a messenger bag and papers, looking like a university student. He is listening to the conductor and observing what is happening. This character is initially placed in the background (in the first, top left panel) but is brought to the foreground in the subsequent panels. He looks puzzled in the second and third two panels, but in the last panel, he is shown giggling while the woman sits in the mini bus looking angry (presumably for being identified as a goat and subsequently herded onto the bus). The fact that the author places him in a graphically prominent position in the second, third, and fourth panels is significant. First, it tells us that the funny situation is viewed from the perspective of youth, the young man being assigned a function similar to a narrator who tells the reader to

pay attention to what is happening. Second, by showing this young man giggling in the last panel, the author wants the reader to interpret the situation the way the author intends it, namely as a funny one. The note on the bottom of the cartoon strip informs the reader that Bantar Kambing is the name of an area in Bogor, thus having this note without placing the giggling young man in a spatially prominent position would already enable Indonesian speakers to understand the joke. But having the young man foregrounded is important in signalling to the reader that the author wants the situation to be interpreted as it is intended, encouraging the reader to convergently align with the author's position (see Djenar and Ewing 2015: 120 for a similar example). It is also significant that the young man is presented initially looking puzzled but gradually smiling. The change in countenance is similar to one's experience listening to a joke, not laughing at first but then laughing at the end when one "gets" it. The young man in Figure 6.1 thus mediates between the author and the reader.

6.3.3 Savouring language

One of the important rhetorical resources used for generating humour is repetition. Tannen (2007: 72) points out that as well as creating humour, repetition is also a display of the appreciation of humour. Appreciation can be shown, for example, by what she calls "savoring" – repeating a word or phrase in order to savour it. In Indonesia, as in many parts of the world, knowledge of English is valued for its function as social capital. English facilitates access to respectable employment and global resources. Among Indonesian urban youth, it is also a source of verbal play. In the following two examples participants savour language by "indigenising" English words.

Giving English words an Indonesian pronunciation or subjecting them to Indonesian grammar rules is a common joking practice in Indonesia. Numerous posts on social media of "indigenised" terms are shared among friends, providing much amusement to those who receive them. Indeed, drawing on language differences, such as between English, Indonesian, and ethno-local languages, is a major source of humour for many people. Humour can be created through such a simple act as intentionally mispronouncing an English word, as shown in the Bandung example in (117). Here the English loan *selfie* is repeated as *selpi*, alluding to the tendency among Sundanese speakers to pronounce /f/ as /p/.[4]

4 This tendency is not unique to Sundanese speakers. As noted by Sneddon et al. (2010: 10), /f/ is a recent acquisition in Indonesian and only occurs in loanwords.

(117) Bandung: Just Chatting

1 RINA: *Jangan-jangan kamu **selfie** ya?*
Who knows, maybe you were doing a **selfie,** were you?
2 DIDI: ... *Aku **selpi**,*
I did a **selpi**,
3 *pake P.*
with a P.
4 *aku mah.*
I did.
5 FITRIA: *Cie=a.*
Wow.

In this example Didi purposely pronounces /f/ as /p/ both to savour the different pronunciations and to possibly detach herself from the English word 'selfie' which can connote obsession with self-image. When Rina uses *jangan-jangan* 'maybe, who knows' she is not actually asking Didi whether she did a selfie but rather is accusing her of doing so. By saying that she did a *selpi*, Didi signals to Fitria that she understands what the question implies, and turns a non-play question into language play in an intersubjective act of divergent alignment from the potential negative connotation. This is an example of what has been called "frame shifting" (Knospe, Onysko and Goth 2016: 4) – a shift from non-play to play mode. Didi's word play is also designed to accomplish another goal. The tendency to pronounce /p/ for /f/ is stereotypically associated with the speech of uneducated hicks, and in the context of Bandung where this conversation took place, it is characteristic of a strong Sundanese accent. By saying *selpi* rather than *selfie*, and explicitly mentioning the sound difference, Dinda subverts this stereotype.

In another example, shown in (118), humour is generated by subjecting English words to Indonesian grammar. Here the verbs 'speak' and 'talk' are given an iterative-durative meaning through reduplication rather than tense marking. The excerpt is taken from the same stretch of conversation as (114). The participants are chatting idly while looking for songs to download from the Internet.

(118) Bandung: K-Pop

1 RATNA: ***Speaking-speaking?***
2 DINDA: *Ya.*
Yeah.
3 .. ***Talking-talking.***
4 ... (3.4)
5 FEBRI: *Sweet cupcake.*

6 RATNA: ... (3.1)
7 *O=h.*
8 ... *Ngobrol aja itu teh?*
Are we just chatting?
9 DINDA: .. *Ngapain kek gitu.*
Let's do something.

Ratna starts the language play by reduplicating 'speaking' in line 1, and Dinda joins in by reduplicating 'talking'. After a short silence, Febri utters 'sweet cupcakes', presumably commenting on what she is seeing online.[5] This stretch of conversation does not seem to serve any particular purpose other than creating amusement and is thus a good example of "pure sociability" in Simmel and Hughes' (1949) sense. By reduplicating the English verbs the participants display the enjoyment of playing with words. That the interaction is purely sociable is indicated, for example, by Ratna's remark in lines 7 and 8 and Dinda's suggestion in line 9 that they do something else rather than just chat idly.

A similar play with English is shown in (119) from Kaskus. 'Happy' is written here with Indonesian spelling *hepi* and reduplicated using the number '2' instead of following the standard convention of writing the word twice and insert a dash in between (*hepi-hepi*). The English word 'update' is also used in this example but with no grammatical or spelling adaptation.

(119) Ask da boys #85 – nu7z
jaman sekarang, fb malah bikin orang semakin gampang galau yah
*padahal yang **update** status malah **hepi2** aja tuh*

these days, fb (facebook) actually makes people feel depressed so easily
although those who **update** their status seem **pretty happy**

Although grammatical adaptation occurs in *hepi2* as well as *speaking-speaking* and *talking-talking* we saw in the previous example, there is a difference in the way the notion "savouring language" should be interpreted. The sense of play in *hepi2* derives not only from its grammatical adaptation but also its orthographic presentation. Writing *2* instead of writing the word twice requires less effort and the result looks more expressive and playful. This way of writing sits well in Kaskus where sentiments are regularly communicated not by words alone but in conjunction with emoji. Section 6.4 below discusses this in more detail.

5 It is unclear what Febri was actually doing as only audio recording of the conversation and the research assistant was not present during the recording.

6.3.4 Child talk and positioning

In the following we examine a type of language play common among Indonesian youth but which has received little attention in the literature. Positioning oneself as a child is a way of establishing intimacy and getting a point across in a friendly, non-threatening manner. Speaking like a child evokes a sense of light-heartedness that has the potential to mitigate rebuff from the addressee. The Indonesian word *manja* – which translates into English as 'spoiled, pampered (of child, young woman)', 'attached (emotionally)', and also 'intimate, familiar, confidential' (Stevens and Schmidgall-Tellings 2010: 615) – is sometimes used to describe this way of talking. Child talk may be realised in the pronunciation of words and phrases or in the topic and content of talk. A person's child-talk may be responded to in a similar manner or brushed off as unimportant and childish. But child talk can be enacted not only for self-positioning. A person may talk like a child in order to enact a parental stance and position the addressee as a child. We refer to this as "asymmetrical positioning". These two dimensions of positioning can be seen in the following two examples from Bandung, taken from the same conversation as the *Dicari* joke in example (114). The examples also show how an instance of child talk can be responded to in a like manner, and the response in turn can be used as the launch pad for further child talk, thereby creating a chain of alignments.

In (120), Dinda is instructing Febri to quickly find songs to download. Her laugh in line 1 suggests that she intends the instruction to be interpreted as a friendly one. Febri responds by telling her that she is indeed doing what Dinda has asked her to do, and ending her response with *cayang*, the child pronunciation of *sayang* 'darling, love', lengthening the second syllable to mimic a parent appeasing an impatient child. By using a child-like pronunciation, Febri is positioning herself as an adult and playfully treating Dinda like a child, promising to give her something she has requested. Febri is thus engaging in asymmetrical positioning, enacting a parental stance towards Dinda. Dinda convergently aligns with this positioning by also engaging in child talk. When Febri tells her that she has found her a song from the South Korean boy band *Infinite*, Dinda protests in a child-like intonation, saying that she does not like *Infinite*. Thus we can see here that acceptance of positioning assigned by another indicates alignment.

(120) Bandung: K-Pop

1 DINDA: @@ *itu cari* <u>*geura*</u>.
go on find it quickly

2 FEBRI: .. *ih ini* <u>*teh*</u> *lagi dicari*.
gee (I'm) looking right now you know.

3		***caya=ng.***
		darling.
4		... *Ini adanya.*
		Here it is.
5		*Infinite.*
		Infinite.
6	DINDA:	... ***Ga mau infinite mah,***
		But (I) don't want Infinite,
7		***Ga suka.***
		(I) don't like (it).
8	FEBRI:	*Ga tahu @.*
		Don't know.
9		*Ini infinite apa.*
		Which Infinite this is.
10		*Ini kayanya udah buka.*
		It's already opening.
11		@@@

Dinda's alignment with Febri's positioning of her can be considered as simultaneously convergent and divergent – convergent in that she accepts being positioned as a child and therefore speaks like one, and divergent in that she rejects Febri's offer of music. Febri's laugh at Dinda's protest (lines 8 and 11) suggests that she recognises Dinda's child talk as a playful stance. At the same time, her response to Dinda also plays down her previous assertion (lines 4–5) that *Infinite* was all she could find. Notice that Febri uses *ga tahu* 'don't know' (line 8) and *kayanya* 'it looks like' (line 10) to hedge her response. By doing this, she signals her convergent alignment with Dinda. Thus here, as with some examples discussed in Chapter 5, one alignment gives rise to another alignment, resulting in a chain of alignments.

Positioning is, however, highly dynamic; within the same interaction, the same participant may shift between enacting a parental or child's stance relative to their co-participant. Following the interaction in (120), Dinda and Febri return to "normal" talk, discussing different songs they could download, as shown in (121) below. Dinda then mentions that a song she saw earlier is now listed on the bottom (of the screen) and she cannot see it. In response to this, Febri engages in a short pretend cry. She produces this cry by lengthening her syllable as she utters *e=h-he* (line 14), followed by the interjection *dih* and the Sundanese particle *mah* (line 15). So this time, instead of continuing to position herself as an adult, Febri shifts to positioning herself as a child. The key point here is that child talk, regardless of whether it involves asymmetrical positioning or not, is an intimate way of engaging with peers.

(121) Bandung: K-Pop

12 DINDA: *Aduh di bawah banget,*
Aww it's down the bottom,
13 *lagi tadi <@ jadi @>.*
that one now.
14 FEBRI: **.. *E=h-he ga ada,***
Aww it's not,
15 ***di=h aku ma=h.***
with me.
16 *Kirain aku Super Junior,*[6]
I thought it was Super Junior,
17 *tahunya Super Simple.*[7]
Turns out it's Super Simple.
18 *Parah banget.*
So annoying.

Another example of child play involving asymmetrical positioning is given in the following three excerpts from the Teenlit novel, *Dealova*. The excerpts show minor character Finta speaking in child style on a banal topic – one that even her friend Karra (the protagonist) finds too childish. The first excerpt in (122) shows Finta urging Karra to stop playing basketball under the midday sun, warning her that she will turn into a 'chicken face' if she disregards the advice. Karra dismisses Finta's warning but continues engaging in Finta's "nonsense" talk. This suggests that Karra interprets Finta's child talk as a form of play rather than a stern warning. This child talk is indicated both by the content of the talk (i.e., comparing the look of burnt skin to a chicken's face) and the rhetorical devices used by the author, such as vowel lengthening (*Karraaa*, *dooong*, and *niiih* in line 1, *masiiih* in line 4, *hiii* in line 6), and repetition of the verb *mikir* 'think' by both Finta and Karra.

(122) *Dealova* (Nurandindya 2004: 8)

1 *"**Karraaa** ... elo ke sini **dooong**! Gue mau ngomong **niiih**!" teriak cewek itu dengan nada lebih tinggi.*

2 *Karra menghentikan dribelan bolanya, lalu bersiap-siap memasukkan bola ke dalam ring dan ... MASUUUK! Karra menghentikan permainan*

6 Super Junior is a South Korean boy band formed in 2005 by entertainment producer, Lee Soo Man, the same person as that mentioned in the *Dicari* joke.

7 Super Simple is an online sing-along learning platform for kids.

basketnya. Sambil mendribel bola, ia berjalan mendekati cewek yang sejak tadi menunggunya di pinggir jalan. Kemudian ia duduk di sebelah cewek itu.

3 *"Apaan sih, Fin? Ngeganggu orang lagi latihan aja!"*

4 *Cewek yang ternyata bernama Finta itu melihat wajah sahabatnya dengan bingung, kemudian berkata, "Lo ternyata gila beneran ya, Karr? Udah jelas-jelas panasnya kayak gini, eh elo* ***masiiih*** *aja main basket. Lo nggak* ***mikir****, ya?"*

5 *"****Mikir****?* ***Mikir*** *apaan?" tanya Karra sambil membuka tutup botol minumannya dan meneguk airnya.*

6 *"Ya elo nggak* ***mikir****, kalo panas-panas begini elo main basket, bisa-bisa muka lo nggak kalah serem sama ayam****. Hiii …"***

1 "**Karraaa** … come here will you **pleease**! I **really** want to say something!" the girl yelled even more loudly.

2 Karra stopped dribbling then aimed the ball at the ring and … IT'S IN! Karra stopped her practice. While still dribbling the ball, she walked toward the girl who had been waiting for her by the roadside. She then sat next to her.

3 "What is it, Fin? You're not happy seeing someone practice!"

4 The girl who turns out to be called Finta looked at her close friend puzzled, and then said, "You're just crazy, aren't you Karr? You can see how hot it is, yet you're **stiiill** playing basketball. You're not **thinking**, are you?"

5 "**Thinking**? **Thinking** about what?" asked Karra while opening her water bottle and taking a sip.

6 "Yeah you're not **thinking**, that when it's really hot like this and you're playing basketball, your face will turn scary like a chicken face. Whooo …."

The illogical connection between a chicken and a sunburnt face is indicated through Karra's responses in the next excerpt given in (123). This example shows Finta and Karra both participating in the construction of the chicken story through banter. As in the previous excerpt, the author uses lexical repetition, interjection, and vowel lengthening to index child speech, and this creates an impression of chattiness and heightened engagement. The noun *ayam* 'chicken' is repeated several times by both participants, and its meronym *paha ayam* 'chicken thigh' is also used. Similarly, the adjective *serem* 'scary' occurs multiple times and the derivation *menyeramkan* 'scary, fearsome' also occurs. Use of expressive markers, including paralinguistic cues (laughter *hahaha*, expression of scariness *hiii*) and interjection (*ih,* line 5) creates a sense of liveliness and mutual alignment.

The banter continues as a repartee, with Finta capitalising on her friend's childish fear to assert her dominance. She keeps teasing Finta about eating the very animal she admits to have fear of, namely chicken. In the following excerpt, as in the ones before, repetition is a key device used to indicate alignment between the two characters.

(123) *Dealova* (Nurandindya 2004: 9)

1 *"Apa? **Ayam**? Binatang **ayam**?"*
2 *"Iya. **Ayam**!"*
3 *"Hahahaha ... **Serem** kayak **ayam**? **Ayam** mah apa **seremnya**, Fin?"*
4 *Karra tertawa, bingung mendengar ucapan Finta.*
5 *"Ih, **ayam** tuh **serem** banget, lagi, Karr."*
6 *"Hahahaha ... Bukannya yang elo makan tadi di kantin itu **paha ayam**? Apa buktinya kalo **ayam** itu **menyeramkan**?"*
7 *"Buktinya, dari gue kecil sampai sekarang ini, gue udah lima kali dikejar-kejar **ayam**. Udah gitu, waktu kecil gue pernah berkali-kali dipatok **ayam**. Sampai sekarang pun kalau ngeliat **ayam**, gue suka gimanaaa gitu. Gue ngerasa tuh **ayam** melototin gue terus! Gue pernah sampai kebawa mimpi lho, Karr. Hiii ... **serem** banget deh!" Finta menggerakkan bahunya.*

1 "What? **Chicken**? **Chicken** as in the animal?"
2 "Yes. **Chicken**!"
3 "Hahahaha ... **Creepy** like a **chicken**? What's so **creepy** about **chickens**, Fin?" Karra laughed, baffled by what Finta said.
4 "Whoo, **chickens** are really **creepy**, you know, Karr."
5 "Hahahaha ... Didn't you eat a **chicken thigh** just then at the canteen? So what made you say that **chickens** are **scary**?"
6 "Cause, from when I was a kid until now I've been chased by a **chicken** five times. And then, when I was little I was pecked at by a **chicken** so many times. So until now if I see a **chicken**, I feel like, I don't know how to describe it. I feel like the chicken's just staring at me! I was even dreaming about it, Karr. Whooo ... so **creepy**!" Finta shuddered.

In the final excerpt in (124) Finta returns to the point she made at the beginning, namely that Karra should stop playing basketball at midday. The shift from the talk about chicken to this is indicated in line 1. Here Finta is indicating that her chicken talk was just play, and that what she said before is serious. But instead of aligning with Finta's serious tone, Karra continues to engage in playful talk.

Unlike Finta who engages in play through the chicken talk, Karra draws on a cultural stereotype to enact playfulness.

(124) *Dealova* (Nurandindya 2004: 9)

1 ***"Eh, Karr, gue serius nih!*** *Kalo setiap hari elo main basket siang-siang, bisa-bisa kulit lo item. Elo kok nggak sayang banget sih sama muka lo?"*
2 *"Bodo amat! Gue kan keturunan bule, sukanya berjemur!" jawab Karra sekenanya.*
3 *"Hah! Bule? Bule dari mana?"*
4 *"Aduuuuh, Fin, daripada elo ngoceh mulu, mendingan lo pijitin gue aja deh!"*
5 *Finta memandangi tubuh sahabatnya yang penuh keringat dengan jijik. "Iiih ... yuck! Jorok banget sih lo, Karr!" Karra tersenyum meremehkan.*

1 **"Hey, Karr, I'm serious you know!** If you play basketball every day in the middle of the day, your skin will turn dark. Don't you want to preserve your complexion?"'
2 "I don't care. I have *bule* blood in me, which is why I like sunbathing!" replied Karra casually.[8]
3 "Huh? *Bule*? Which *Bule*?"
4 "Oh my god, Fin, instead of carrying on, why don't you give me a massage!"
5 Finta looked at her friend's sweat-drenched body with disgust. "Aww ... yuck! You're disgusting, Karr!" Karra smiled as if she couldn't care less.

Sociability, according to sociologists Simmel and Hughes (1949: 259), is the art of interacting between people who are "sociably equals". In the *Dealova* excerpts, Karra is presented as a person capable of logical thinking and more mature than Finta. She laughs at Finta's story and teases her for having childish fear. However, Finta is also presented as someone capable of logical thinking, shown by her awareness of the risks of overexposing one's skin to sunlight. Both actively participate in the construction of the small talk and seem to derive enjoyment from the banter. In this sense they are "sociably equals" and enjoy the talk "not for the sake of its content but in the interest of sociability" (Simmel and Hughes 1949: 259). But Finta's talk is also purposive; it is enacted in order to do something. Playing the role of a child provides a non-threatening way for accomplishing this goal. Karra's playful but belligerent responses suggest that she is aware of what Finta's point is. Thus here, as in examples (120) and (121), engaging in asymmetrical self-positioning is a way of intersubjectively negotiating relationships.

8 *Bule* is an informal term used by Indonesians to refer to white people.

6.3.5 Multilingualism and metalanguage

In a multilingual context like Indonesia, speakers often exploit metalinguistic awareness to engage in playful interaction. This is illustrated in the following example from Malang where comments by the participants about the languages they speak show the different social values they place on these languages, and where shifting from one language to another is part of the construction of humour. The participants identify different languages with different social activities and places: Javanese is the language of the current interaction, Indonesian is the language participants can exploit for performative purposes, and English, the language of a world they dream about. The conversation took place at a university canteen where the participants were waiting for their food to arrive. In the previous discourse, Putri the research assistant informed the others that their conversation would be recorded and that the purpose of the recording is to collect data for a research project on Indonesian. The participants converse in Javanese despite Putri's request to speak Indonesian. The excerpt begins with Beni picking up on Putri's request, asking the others in playful sarcasm whether the reason they are not speaking Indonesian is because they do not know this language (ironically, Beni's question is expressed in Indonesian). Risky takes up Beni's play by giving an affirmative response (line 3).

(125) Malang: Secret language

1	BENI:	*Emang kenapa,*
		What's going on,
2		*nggak ada yang bisa bahasa Indonesia?*
		can't anybody speak Indonesian?
3	RISKY:	*Ho-oh.*
		Yeah.
4	RIRIN:	***Sudah terbiasa pakek bahasa Jawa,***
		(We're) used to speaking Javanese,
5		*soalnya* [*disini*] *kan reflectionist-nya seperti ini.*
		because here you see this is how it is.
6	RISKY:	[*Na=h*].
		So.
7		*Bahasa Indonesia seperti ini.*
		Indonesian is like this.
8	VENI:	*Harusnya sebagai- --*
		Actually as- --
9	PUTRI:	***Sudah terbiasa bahasa Inggri=s.***

(We're) used to speaking English.
10 .. *Halah.*
C'mon.
11 NILA: *Mari ngene Putrinya,*
After this it's the Princess,[9]
12 *lek ngomong onok sumbok'o sumbok'o.*
when (she) speaks (she) often uses *sumbok'o*[10]
13 VENI: ***Kan kita hidup di London gitu lho.***
We're living in London, aren't we?
14 YANI: *Heh,*
Hey,
15 ***bakso-e gak teka-teka.***
the meatballs are taking so long. (Javanese)
16 *Eh salah.*
Oops (I) was wrong.
17 *Eh,*
Er,
18 ***baksonya nggak dateng-dateng deh.***
the meatballs are taking so long. (Indonesian)
19 ALL: @@@@ .. *Sst-* --
ssh
20 RIRIN: ... <@ *Gilo* @> @@
(You're) disgusting

In line 4 Ririn responds to Beni's question by saying that they speak in Javanese because of habit. The awareness of what Ririn's statement implies – i.e., that they can speak Indonesian but this is not the context for it – spurs Risky to respond by modelling standard Indonesian. This prompts Veni to continue the play also in standard Indonesian (line 8). Putri ups the ante in line 9 by continuing the use of standard Indonesian to boast that they are not speaking in Indonesian because they are used to speaking English (line 9). She does this by repeating the syntactic frame used by Ririn in line 4 (*sudah terbiasa* '(we're) used to'). She then momentarily cancels the play by using the interjection *halah* 'c'mon' (line 9). These turn units (lines 1–10) are of interest for the two reasons. First, they show how

9 Nila is teasing Putri by punning. *Putrinya* can be interpreted as 'the Putri we know' or 'the Princess'.
10 *Sumbok'o* is from East Javanese dialect, and is equivalent to *sumunggahna* 'supposing' in standard Javanese.

play is creatively co-constructed (Carter 2004: 81). What begins with Putri, in a non-play tone, asking her co-participants to speak Indonesian leads to the co-participants making fun of her request and of themselves, and to Putri herself joining the play. Second, these turn units also show the participants' awareness of their own language practices. For them, to speak Indonesian with each other for the sake of the recording would require a conscious effort. This is indicated in their playful use of standard Indonesian, implying that if they were to speak Indonesian with each other, they would sound as formal as the standard Indonesian they are modelling. Again, the irony is that by modelling standard Indonesian, they are showing that they do use Indonesian when interacting with each other, albeit for playful purposes in this instance.

Nila recognises that Putri's interjection in line 10 signals the end of play. She indicates this in her comment in line 11 and 12 where she states that, as Putri has stopped speaking in a formal style, one can expect to hear her speak in her usual style. In line 13 Veni attempts to continue the play by expanding on Putri's earlier comment (line 9) on speaking English. In line 14, another participant, Yani, extends the play further by demonstrating what everyone should be doing. Yani starts by saying in Javanese that the meatball soup she ordered is taking a while to arrive (line 15). She subsequently corrects herself by repeating the same utterance in colloquial Indonesian. However, her use of the particle *deh* (line 18) is somewhat odd. As discussed in Chapter 3, the use of *deh* indexes the speaker's indifference to whether common ground is updated or not, but here Yani is using it to draw attention to the colloquial Indonesian she is using. The shared laughter from the other participants hints at the performative nature of Yani's Indonesian utterance. Apparently it sounds uncomfortably unnatural, as indicated by Ririn's response in line 20.

These conscious attempts to speak Indonesian only serve to show that for the participants in this group, Javanese is the default conversational language through which they could perform their Indonesian selves. In the rest of the recording, the participants not only continue to converse in Javanese, but talk about when one speaks Indonesian and to whom, becomes one of the overriding topics. The participants, particularly Putri and Ririn, make several more attempts to provide modelling of Indonesian, but ultimately they too seem more comfortable interacting with their peers in Javanese. In this interaction, the social value of languages is commented upon in terms of function rather than prestige. The participants tacitly agree on the different statuses of the languages by recognising their relevance in daily activities. Among these particular participants in the current context of interaction, Javanese is clearly the preferred language, and the performative use of other languages is intersubjectively recognised as play.

6.3.6 Mocking foreignness

In this section we discuss language play used to mock a sense of self-importance some Indonesians derive from their experience of, or orientation towards, foreign lands and cultures, particularly the West. This stance is not based on a dislike for foreignness per se, but rather for displays of self-importance that index distance from the local context, and may involve use of foreign languages. For example, there is a certain degree of ambivalence among Indonesians toward people with mixed Indonesian and European ancestry, otherwise known as *Indo*. While popular media tend to idolise the *Indo* and present them as exotic, there is also a perception that deriving self-importance from being *Indo* is undesirable. Comedy skits on television, particularly in the 1970s through to the 1990s, regularly parodied foreignness by presenting characters who looked foreign and spoke in a foreign sounding language but who turned out to be Indonesians from a lower social stratum. The character who discovers the truth about them is usually a naïve Indonesian from a humble background. This parody illustrates a cultural model in which humility is valued and people are discouraged from elevating themselves above others based on claims to European ancestry and knowledge of a European language.

Example (126) similarly mocks such a dispreferred personae through a contrast between an *Indo* and an indigenous Indonesian of humble background. The example is taken from *Jurnal Jo Online*, a Teenlit novel written in first person, diary style. The protagonist, Jo Wilisgiri, is a 13-year old Javanese girl from Yogyakarta – a city which, along with Solo, is known as a seat of high Javanese culture. Meanwhile, her friend Nadine is part European and comes from a wealthy family. Unlike Nadine's father who has the means to take his daughter overseas for a holiday, Jo's father earns a modest income from being a Javanese language teacher at his daughter's school.

(126) *Jurnal Jo Online* (Terate 2010: 12)

1 *Jangan salahkan aku kalau menginginkan hal buruk buat Nadine. Habis dia sok banget. Mentang-mentang kulitnya putih susu dan matanya cokelat* **hazelnut**. *Itu dia sendiri yang bilang. Yeah, siapa yang tahu?* ***Aku nggak pernah tahu*** **hazelnut** ***itu kayak apa***. *Lagi pula, apa istimewanya sih? Wajar saja kalau warna matanya seperti itu, ayahnya kan orang Jerman.*

2 *Oya, karena ayahnya orang Jerman, cerita bahwa dia diberi hadiah libur ke Jerman itu tentu saja benar. Woah, dia berkoar-koar ke seluruh dunia. Padahal sebenarnya dia kan nggak liburan, tapi* ***pulang kampung****, kayak mudik lebaran. Ya, kan? Tau nggak, dia bahkan nggak tinggal di Berlin atau di Frankfurt tapi di* ***Hegdrof eh dorf apa gitu,***

> ***susah banget diucapin**. Percaya deh, itu cuma desa di sana, kayak mungkin **desa Cebongan di Sleman**, **ya kan?** Tempat ada kandang sapi di perkampungan dan lampu bohlam pelak pelik setiap beberapa ratus meter.* ('hazelnut' is italicised in original.)

1 Don't blame me if I wish the worst for Nadine. Who told her to be so stuck up! Just because her skin is milky white and her eyes are **hazelnut** brown. So she said herself. Yeah, but who knows? **I don't even know what hazelnut looks like.** And besides, what's so special about it? Of course her eyes are that colour, since her dad is German.

2 By the way, because her dad is German, the story that she was given a holiday to Germany as a present is obviously true. Whoa, she broadcast this story to the world. Truth is, it wasn't really a holiday, but a ***pulang kampung***. Just like going home at the end of the Ramadhan. Don't you think? Did you know, she's not even from Berlin or Frankfurt, but **Hegdrof or something dorf, I don't know, it's difficult to pronounce. Believe me**, it's only a village, sort of like **the village of Cebongan in Sleman**, **don't you think?** It's a place where you see cows in their pens and flickering light globes every few hundred meters as you enter the village.

The author relies on a range of linguistic and rhetorical resources to convey the protagonist's dislike for those who idealise whiteness. Among these are at least two instances in which Jo is playing with words, their meanings and cultural associations. First of all, she describes her school friend Nadine as half-German, but the word used by the author to describe the colour of Nadine's eyes is English – 'hazelnut' instead of German *haselnuss*. Jo's naivety is also highlighted by the author's use of 'hazelnut brown' to describe Nadine's eyes when in English one usually speaks of 'hazel eyes'. This is pushed even further when Jo self-deprecatingly admits she does not really even know what this means. The second instance of language play is found in the series of comments she makes about Nadine's holiday destination. Jo mocks the tendency among many Indonesians to associate Europe with prestige by referring to Nadine's holiday in Europe as *pulang kampung* 'returning to the village'. This is a common cultural trope meaning to return to one's (family's) place of origin – with all its associated homeliness and family obligations – rather than a glamorous vacation. Jo's dislike for Nadine's boastfulness is further indicated in her own apparent inability to spell the name of Nadine's birthplace correctly. To name a place correctly is to accord it significance. Jo's mispronunciation of Herdorf (a town in Germany) and repetition of *dorf* 'village' in German, downplays its perceived social status. She further amplifies this by equating the German 'village' with Cebongan village in Sleman, a rural area on the northwest periphery of Yogyakarta. To liken a German town to

a village in this district is to suggest that it is a forgettable rural location. This play with words and meanings is given a friendly interactional style by use of phrases like *ya kan* 'don't you think?', *tau nggak* 'did you know' and *percaya deh* 'believe me' to address the reader. It is as if the protagonist is talking to a sympathetic young reader and inviting convergent alignment, similar to the comic example in (116) where the author uses the image of a young man to invite the reader to laugh at the joke.

In the second example, also from Teenlit, a stance against arrogant foregrounding of foreignness is indicated through the conduct of the character Ucup in contrast to that of Udin. Both Udin and Ucup are Betawi but have very different aspirations and different attitudes towards their cultural background. Both boys come from modest family backgrounds. While Udin is academically diligent, Ucup is lazy but dreams of something he is unlikely to achieve. And while Udin promotes his cultural and linguistic heritage by speaking Betawi to classmates, Ucup shuns his cultural heritage and dreams instead of being an American. The focus on language comes to the fore when he wants his name to be pronounced the English way as 'You-cup' (written in the novel as 'Yuwkap', following the Indonesian pronunciation) and refuses to speak Betawi. The misguided nature of his cultural orientation is indicated not only through his preference for an English pronunciation of his name but also his habit of causing irritation in class. Ucup is constructed as someone who is socially inept and invites little sympathy from his peers. The other characters' hostile stance toward him is shown through the narratorial commentary and also Udin's utterance in (127).

(127) *Fairish* (Kinasih 2005: 16–17)

Perlu diketahui, Udin memang cuma melayani pemesan yang memakai bahasa Betawi. Untuk meredam arus globalisasi, ***katanya, eh, katenye****. Juga supaya nilai nilai tradisional tidak tergusur. Yang kebarat-baratan kayak* ***Yuwkap****, so pasti tidak dilayani! "Elo pesennya ke Amrik aje gih sono!" begitu kata si Udin waktu Ucup minta sebungkus.*

Just so you know, Udin only takes orders from those who do it in Betawi. To slow down the wave of globalisation, **he said (*katanya*), oops, he said (*katenye*)**. It's also to preserve traditional culture. Those western-minded people like **Yuwkap** will definitely be ignored. "Just order yours in America!" said Udin when Ucup made his order.

Udin's mother makes a modest living from food catering, so Udin is helping her by taking lunch orders from his friends. He refuses to take an order from Ucup because he knows Ucup hates his Betawi heritage. The author highlights Udin's

allegiance to Betawi by switching to the Betawi pronunciation *katanye* rather than Indonesian *katanya* 'he said'. Thus here, as in (126), mockery of those who elevate themselves by orienting to the West is revealed through a contrast between two characters with divergent cultural orientations. Humour is generated in this case through the idea that a Betawi named Ucup – a name typical of hicks – wants to have an English name. We can see that here too, drawing on English is a common practice for constructing jokes.

6.3.7 Playing with person terms

Chapter 2 demonstrated that person reference is a key resource for enacting stances. The discussion there included examples of non-Jakarta speakers using the Jakarta forms *gua* '1SG' and *lu* '2SG' to index stances of bravado and assertiveness. In example (128) we illustrate use of these Jakartan self-referring terms for deriving a humorous effect. Here the Bandung participant Bayu performs a playful stance that taps into ethnic stereotypes associated with the older, original Jakartan identity of Betawi, rather than meanings linked to contemporary cosmopolitan Jakarta. The example begins with Alma correcting Bayu's mistaken suggestion about how to cook macaroni. She displays a slightly humorous stance using exaggerated lengthening on final syllables of intonation units and the vocative *nak* 'child', not normally used between university friends. *Nak* is used in this case to index self- and other-positioning; by calling Bayu *nak* Alma positions him as a child and herself as an adult. Bayu rejects this positioning by raising the humour level, saying with an exaggerated imitation of a Betawi accent that he has no culinary skills. The use of 'p' in *ma'ap* 'sorry' (standard *ma'af*) and the Jakartan *gua* '1SG' are an integral part of this humour. The 'p' in *ma'ap* plays upon the tendency of Betawi speakers to pronounce 'f' as 'p', similar to the example with *selpi* (for 'selfie') we saw in (117).

(128) Bandung: Cream Soup

1	ALMA:	*Makroni teh direndem dulu=,*
		The macaroni should be soaked first
2		*baru direbu=s.*
		and then boiled,
3		***Na=k.***
		(my) child.
4	BAYU:	***Ma'ap*** *deh,*
		(I'm) so **sorry**,
5		***gua*** *nggak tahu=,*
		I didn't know,

6 ***gua** bukan tukang peda=.*
I'm not a salt fish peddler.

The performative nature of Bayu's speech was noted by the research assistant who transcribed the recording. She wrote that Bayu *meniru logat Betawi* 'imitates the Betawi/Jakartan dialect', indicating that use of Betawi lexicon and pronunciation by a Bandung speaker is marked. This markedness derives from the fact that Bayu is a Sundanese speaker and that he is speaking Indonesian to another Sundanese speaker in Bandung but is using a Jakartan style. However, for Bayu, the Jakartan forms *gua*, *gue* and *elu* are among the many forms he readily accesses as part of his style. By using them, he is calling on the indexicality of non-local forms to enhance a performance in a local interactional context.

Though Bayu's rendition of *gua* is playful because of its performative value, it is crucial to note that the humorous effect is generated not by his act of using of this form alone but rather by his act in response to Alma's playful attempt to position him as a child. Unlike Dinda in (120) who plays along with Febri when the latter positions her as a child, Bayu undermines Alma's asymmetrical positioning by asserting a Betawi/Jakartan identity. In other words, the humorous effect emerges from the interaction between one playful act and another.

6.3.8 Polite and impolite ways of speaking

Indonesian has several terms that refer to norms of social conduct. Among these are *halus* 'smooth, refined, soft, gentle, polite' and *kasar* 'rough, coarse, loud, rude'. These terms literally describe the texture of physical surfaces. By metaphorical extension they also describe idealised measures of social conduct, including ways of speaking. *Halus* is equivalent to politeness and *kasar* to impoliteness.

The following two examples from Teenlit and Bandung conversation respectively, present different interpretations of what constitutes polite behaviour. The excerpts from Teenlit in (129) and (130) build on the general perception of youth as members of society who value frankness above politesse, while the conversation example in (131) reveals that politesse in fact remains an important consideration for youth. Crucially, this difference has to do with who the audience is. The Teenlit example shows that being overly polite to one's peers could be interpreted as insincerity, while the Bandung example suggests that speaking too informally to an unknown audience could be perceived as bad manners.

The Teenlit example in (129) is written from the point of view of the girl protagonist, Langen. Here Langen's friend, Febi, is described as someone who displays indices of *halus* quality, such as walking slowly and speaking softly.

Langen makes a mockery of these indices by describing them in an exaggerated manner. The author uses syllable lengthening as a rhetorical resource for injecting humour. The image of an educated urban youth who walks and talks slowly runs counter to the stereotypical image of contemporary urban youth as chatty and energetic, and it is this contrast that creates humorous effect.

(129) *Cewek!!* (Kinasih 2005: 15)

Raden Ajeng Febriani Kesumoningrat atau yang biasa dipanggil "Febi" itu ceweknya Rangga. Rangga itu ya masih komplotannya cowok dua tadi. Febi termasuk cewek antik. Masih trah bangsawan atau ningrat. Katanya sih dia dan keluarganya masih keturunan langsung prabu siapa, gitu. Dibilang antik, soalnya itu cewek lembutnya minta ampun. Jalannya ***luamaaa****. Ngomongnya juga* ***pelaaan****. Dan yang paling aneh, kalau ketawa nyaris tanpa suara! Itu juga jarang. Paling sering Febi cuma senyum-senyum doang.*

Raden Ajeng Febriani Kesumoningrat aka "Febi" is Rangga's girlfriend. Rangga is in the same gang as those two guys. Febi is a strange girl really. She comes from a line of royals or nobility. Apparently she and her family are the direct descendants of some *prabu*.[11] You can tell she's weird, cause she's so soft and gentle. Walks **sooo slowly**. And talks **sooo softly**. And the weirdest thing is, when she laughs you can hardly hear it! And laughing is pretty rare for her. Most of the time Febi just smiles.'

Langen's dislike for politesse is further conveyed in the dialogue that follows, shown in (130). In this excerpt Febi is presented as someone who conducts herself politely, as indicated in the speech frame and the following description in line 2. She uses *aku* '1SG' to refer to herself, in contrast to Langen and Fani who use Jakartan *gue* '1SG' and *lo* '2SG' (see Chapter 2). In addition, the way she declines Langen's offer is described as *halus*. The author also describes Febi's way of excusing herself as *dengan santun* 'politely, in a civilised manner'.

(130) *Cewek!!* (Kinasih 2005: 15)

1 *"Mau ikut jalan, Feb? Mending malem Minggu-an sama kami, daripada bengong sendirian."*

2 *"****Aku*** *mau kursus nih. Maaf ya," tolak Febi* ***halus****. Lalu* ***dengan santun*** *dia mohon pamit.*

11 *Prabu* is a title for Javanese kings.

3 *“Sebel banget* ***gue*** *sama tuh cewek. Sok bangsawan banget!” dengus Langen.*
4 *“Iya emang!” Fani mengangguk.*
5 *“Tau gitu kenapa juga* ***lo*** *ajak dia tadi?”*
6 *“Basa-basi doang. Nggak bakalanlah dia mau. Ntar bisa turun dia punya kasta!”*
7 *“Lagian juga pasti dia* ***bohong****. Kursus apaan malem Minggu gini?”*
8 ***“Kursus masang konde, kursus pake kebaya, sama kursus ngeracik jamu-jamuan,” dengus Langen lagi. Fani terkekeh geli.***

1 “Want to come with us, Feb? Better to spend this Saturday night hanging out with us than being on your own with nothing to do.”
2 “**I** have a class right now. So sorry,” Febi declined **politely**. Then **politely** she excused herself.
3 “**I**’m so annoyed with that girl. She acts like she’s a royal!” Langen snorted.
4 “Yeah you’re right!” Fani nodded.
5 “So why did **you** ask her to come with us in the first place?”
6 “Just to be polite. I knew she won’t say yes. Cause if she does she’ll be demoted to a lower caste!”
7 “And she **lied** too. What class would be held on a Saturday night?”
8 **“Classes on traditional hairdos, classes on traditional dressing, and classes on traditional herbal medicine,” Langen snorted again. Fani chuckled in amusement.**

What is interesting here is that Febi’s supposed exemplary conduct is interpreted by Langen and Fani as hypocrisy. When Febi tells Langen that she has a class to attend, Fani does not believe she is telling the truth. Langen’s and Fani’s dislike for what they perceive as pretentious behaviour culminates in a sarcastic comment by Langen in line 8 where she lists possible courses that Febi might be attending but snorting as she does so, indicating mockery. The content of Langen’s utterance highlighting the unlikelihood of a teen girl from metropolitan Jakarta attending a class on traditional customs on a Saturday night – the night when youth usually go out socialising with peers – works jointly with the listing and the repetition of the word *kursus* ‘course, class’ to create a humorous effect. The intersubjective nature of the humour is textually indicated in the final clause in line 8 through Fani’s response. Her chuckle is a signal of convergent alignment with Langen’s mocking stance.

These excerpts suggest that, while being *halus* is not necessarily unvalued by young people, within the context of peer interaction, traditional indices of

this social ideal are not the preferred model of social conduct. Also of interest is that despite the revalorisation of ethnicity that has occurred as part of the democratisation process in Indonesia, many of the prior generation's core concepts of ethnicity are not among the concerns of this generation. Nevertheless, youth are also concerned that they do not appear or sound *kasar* 'rough, coarse, loud, rude' when speaking to strangers and others outside their immediate social group. As illustrated in (131), uncertainty about whether or not one is being sufficiently polite can be taken up and turned into humour by others. In this Bandung example, Farhan is approaching Dinda and Febri (the participants in examples (120) and (121)) but does not at first realise that a recording was taking place. He subsequently apologises that his voice was in the recording. Fourteen minutes lapsed before Farhan asks Dinda if he sounded *kasar* 'rough, impolite' when he spoke. Dinda responds by making a joke out of Farhan's self-consciousness.

(131) Bandung: K-Pop

1	FARHAN:	*Ini rekaman apa?*
		What kind of recording is it?
2	X:	XXX
3	FARHAN:	*Naha?*
		What is it for?
4	X:	XXX
5	FARHAN:	*Ya ampun tadi aku ngomong.*
		Oh my god I was talking just then.
6	DINDA:	*Ya ga apa-apa.*
		Don't worry about it.
7		*puguhan disuruh.*
		of course we were asked to do it.
8	FARHAN:	**... (1.2) *Kasar gak tadi?***
		Did I sound rough?
9		***Kasar gak?***
		Was I rough?
10		***Nggak ya?***
		I wasn't, was I?
11	DINDA:	***Kasa=r banget.***
		Real=ly rough.
12	X:	@@@[@@@]

Farhan's concern about his performance stems from his knowledge that an external, non-present audience would be listening to the recording. By repeating his question twice Farhan is seeking reassurance from Dinda that he has presented himself as a polite person. Instead of providing that reassurance, Dinda plays up to him by giving the opposite of the expected answer, lengthening her second syllable to emphasise her response. The humorous effect of this response is indicated by the laughter of those present.

Halus and *kasar* are conceptual metaphors for norms of social conduct. In the Teenlit examples, Febi embodies the idealisation of a traditional Javanese woman of nobility. Both cases suggest not only that youth are aware of these social norms but also that these norms are relevant to situations and relationships that lie outside of the context of peer interaction. Langen and Fani's mockery of Febi's conduct is driven by their judgment that being overly polite is socially distancing. Similarly, Farhan's concern for his speech comes from the realisation that politeness is the norm when the addressee is not a member of one's peers.

6.4 Words and emoji

Emoji are graphic signs used in text messages, emails, online chat, and social media, either on their own or in conjunction with verbal language. Like emoticons and the smiley faces before them, emoji are expressive signs that function to "enable sociality in digital networks" (Stark and Crawford 2015: 1). In their study of the pragmatic functions of emoticons, Dresner and Herring (2010: 264) argue that these images should be considered as part of text because people use them to perform a range of speech acts. Emoticons, in their view, are "indicators of illocutionary force" in a similar way that question marks and exclamation marks are. However, unlike punctuation, emoji have evolved into marketable icons that are created and regularised by the digital industry. As Stark and Crawford (2015: 8) point out, digital platforms are increasingly interested in using emoji as data to track people's sentiments and patterns of behaviour and exploit them for business purposes (e.g., to pitch advertisements at particular groups and lure customers to a platform). Nevertheless, they also note that emoji continue to evolve and offer new possibilities for affective expressions in the digital world, including as a productive tool in communal cultural production (Stark and Crawford 2015: 9).

We follow Dresner and Herring (2010) in viewing emoji (like emoticons) as part of text rather than separate from it. Kaskus has its own set of unique

emoji, and in our data these occupy an important position in the overall construction of playfulness. Emoji function intersubjectively in promoting solidarity through shared light-hearted attitudes. They can be used to "instruct" the addressee on how to interpret a particular message, to indicate contrast between different sentiments, and to convey different degrees of affect. The first two of these functions are exemplified in (132), repeated here from (119). In this example poster nu7z uses two emoji: a grinning adult face and the face of a child looking upwards. The grinning face tells the addressee that the poster intends the statement in line 1 not to be taken literally as being about the impact of Facebook on people's behaviour. Rather, the face suggests mockery of some people's propensity to react negatively to others' posts when the posters themselves are happy with what they are doing. As mentioned earlier, use of the indigenised English word *hepi2* in this post injects a jocular tone to the post. But this is only one aspect of what makes this post playful. Particularly amusing is the use of the two emoji in consecutive lines. The shift from the grinning face in line 1 to the wide-eyed and rosy-cheeked child in line 2 indexes a shift in stance, from a mocking stance to a meek, non-confrontational one. It is as if the poster quickly changes from being a flippant adult to a lamb-like child. The wide-eyed, rosy-cheeked face, invoking a sense of innocence, is deployed here to mitigate a potential backlash from those who feel offended by the mocking.

(132) Ask da boys #85 – nu7z
jaman sekarang, fb malah bikin orang semakin gampang galau yah
padahal yang update status malah ***hepi2*** *aja tuh*

these days, fb (facebook) actually makes people feel depressed so easily
although those who update their status seem **pretty happy**

The next example shows different emoji employed to indicate different degrees of emotion. GoldWillz posted a message asking for advice on how to get the phone number of a girl with whom he has been in contact, saying that when he chats with her on Facebook and asks for her number, the girl refuses and insists instead on continuing contact via Facebook. Responding to the post, xiaope writes that GoldWillz should not be too bothered by that, advising him that later, when he has established a close relationship, he can move to a different platform such as Yahoo Messenger or BlackBerry Messenger, and there he will be able to get her number. Lines 1–4 are from the original post by GoldWillz, while xiaope's response is given in lines 5–8.

(133) Ask da boys #69 – xiaope

1	Quote: Original Posted By GoldWillz *ya gagal tuh tiap gw minta dijawab nya lewat fb aja ngobrolnya*
2	*gmn mau pdkt kalo nomer nya ga punya*
3	*biasa cwek yang sdkit special kagak pernah nyantumin no.hp d fb*
4	*gw pun d fb ga nyantumin*

5 *ya kalo dia ga mau kasih ngapain ente paksain*
6 *gw juga ga perna nyaman kasi nomor ane ke orang kok*
7 *kalo emang dia nyamannya di fb, terusin aja*
8 *terus ke YM or BBM, nanti juga kalo da akrab, no hape dan alamat rumah tau kok*

1	Quote: Original Posted By GoldWillz I failed cause whenever I ask (for her number) she says let's just chat via facebook
2	how can I have a relationship with her if I don't even have her number
3	you know girls that are a bit special never put their phone number in facebook
4	I don't put my number in facebook either

5 well if she doesn't want to give her number why do you insist then
6 I never feel comfortable giving my number to people either
7 if she's comfortable with facebook, then just keep going
8 later you can move on to YM (Yahoo Messenger) or BBM (BlackBerry Messenger), and when you're close to her, surely you'll find out her mobile number and home address

GoldWillz uses four different emoji to index different emotions. In line 1, he employs an emoji showing a head flattened by a hammer to convey his frustration that the girl only wants to chat with him via Facebook. The following emoji in line 2 shows a crying face, deployed to playfully convey his disappointment at not being able to get the girl's phone number. This is similar to the pretend cry performed by Febri we saw in (121), but in graphic form. In line 3 GoldWillz uses a grinning face when he makes a sarcastic remark about girls who are 'special'. We saw this emoji in (132) when nu7z made a sarcastic remark about people's tendency to respond negatively to others' posts in Facebook. In both cases the grinning face indexes a mocking stance. GoldWillz's post culminates in line 4 with the largest emoji showing a bald child with an innocent (albeit a little puzzled) look. (In the original Kaskus post, this emoji is actually a moving gif image, in which the child changes expression from an unsmiling look to a grinning one.) The shift from the flattened face to a crying one, followed by a grinning face, and finally by the wide-eyed child, is indexical of changes in emotion and stance, from disappointment to despairing, followed by a mocking stance, and finally, a meek, accepting stance. The shift from mocking others to being meek is also similar to the shift of stance in nu7z in (132). In her response to GoldWillz, xiaope uses two grinning face emoji in lines 5 and 6 to enact a playful mocking stance. This stance is followed by matter of fact advice in line 7, to which a smiley emoji is attached to indicate the sincere tone in which the advice is given. Xiaope's playful mocking culminates in line 8 where she assures GoldWillz that he will get the girl's number if he lets things run their course. This statement is accompanied not by a grinning face, as in the initial two lines, but by a hard laughing face.

Similar to GoldWillz's post, xiaope uses different emoji to indicate emotions, and also like in Goldwillz's post, xiaope's playful mocking culminates in the final line (line 8) with the laughing face. Here we see a mirroring between GoldWillz's pattern of emoji use and that of xiaope's; in both cases, affect is built up gradually through different emoji and reaches its peak in the final emoji. This suggests that the use of emoji relies on intersubjectivity as well as bringing it to prominence; although xiaope takes a mocking stance towards GoldWillz's post, her mocking strategy actually aligns with that of GoldWillz's. The use of emoji is also intersubjective in another sense. When a poster uses an emoji to enact a particular stance, that practice may be picked up by others and thus lead to recurrent linking between that emoji and the speech act it indexes. As shown, all three posters – nu7z, GoldWillz, and xiaope – use the grinning face to make a sarcastic statement about something. The sarcasm can be upped by using the laughing face emoji or toned down (for mitigating purposes) with the wide-eyed child emoji. In this sense, we can see an emerging pattern of pairing between

speech acts and emoji. In all cases, emoji are an inseparable part of the overall message that a post is intended to communicate. They add an emotional contour to a message and inject a sense of playfulness that epitomises youth sociability in online interaction.

6.5 Summary

We began this chapter by contextualising language play within the notion of small talk and sociability, pointing out that youth engage in small talk not only for the sake of maintaining sociability, but also to make a point about something. As Coupland (2000) has argued, the fact that people participate in small talk shows that it matters to them. We explored several ways young Indonesians play with and savour language. Such playful use of language is clearly produced for enjoyment, but we have also discussed the important role language play has in creating intersubjective alignment between interactants, be they friends engaging face-to-face, users communicating on-line, fictional characters or authors and readers. The uptake and re-keying of humorous comments frequently produce chains of alignment that continue for extended stretches of interaction. Shared enjoyment and the sense of camaraderie produced by "getting" why things are funny contribute to building the kind intense sociability that is so important to young people's interactions.

Humorous effect is produced by various means, verbal and non-verbal. In several examples of conversation, the effect results from the flouting of expectation. The flouting indicates that the speaker is aware of the kind of response expected of them. For example, a Bandung participant who engaged in self-deprecation expected a sympathetic response from the co-participants, but as shown, the response instead humorously affirmed the deprecatory content of the talk. Similarly, a concern for one's speech performance can be used by a co-participant to exaggerate that concern. In another example, an expectation is met but an additional action subsequently flouts it. In the *Dicari* example, Febri rejects the idea of being married to Lee Soo Man, as is expected of the game, but she then flouts the convention by saying that she is willing to marry an older man but one younger than Lee Soo Man.

We have discussed child talk as a resource for enacting positioning. A participant engaging in child talk may model the speech of a child to position herself as an adult and the co-participant as a child, in order to promote intimacy. We have pointed out that roles are dynamic; a participant who positions herself as an adult may shift later in the talk to that of a child, and in both cases, the positioning is enacted through child talk. But child talk is not the only resource that

youth use for positioning. Person terms, such as the vocative *nak* 'child' can also be used to position someone as a child. The addressee can reject this positioning by asserting "equal" status, for example through the use of Betawi/Jakartan *gua* '1SG'. In all cases, our discussion has highlighted the relational and negotiated nature of positioning; someone is or is not an adult or a child to someone else in so far as that positioning is negotiated in interaction through acts of alignment.

Language play often reveals the kinds of ideologies that members of a community subscribe to or reject. We have shown that youth are aware of the idealised norms of social conduct conveyed through terms such as *halus* 'smooth, polite, refined' and *kasar* 'rough, impolite' but these notions are understood contextually. Within peer interaction, traditional indices of politeness are dispreferred for their distancing effect. However, youth are concerned with presenting themselves positively to an external audience and this means some attention is paid to these traditional indices of politeness. Social norms also underlie the way youth form an opinion about how others conduct themselves. Display of self-importance that is derived from being of a particular heritage or a rejection of that heritage can become a cause for playful sarcasm and ridicule.

Laughter is one of the signs that an instance of language play is understood as humorous. In online interaction emoji are a key resource for indexing playful stances and signalling different degrees of affect in online interaction. This chapter has shown that juxtaposing contrasting emoji provides a way of creating humour in this kind of interaction. We have also demonstrated that emoji can serve an intersubjective function by showing how a poster's use of different emoji can be taken up and mirrored by another, and that mirroring constitutes an act of alignment. In print genres such as Teenlit and youth comics, humour is constructed either verbally through narratorial description and character discourse, or graphically. Teenlit authors look to expressive devices such as discourse particles, rhetorical questions, repetition, and syllable lengthening to mimic youth speech styles and present humour from youth's point of view. The technique of presenting humour from youth's perspective is also seen in the comic example we have discussed where the presence in an event of a laughing bystander is a technique for ensuring that the reader aligns with the author's perspective. The mediating role of the young bystander is important for showing not only what counts as a humorous event but also that, for youth, something ordinary can be viewed in a humorous way.

7 Concluding remarks

7.1 Understanding youth sociability through intersubjectivity

Like many scholars who conduct research on youth language practices, we have been fascinated by young people's use of semiotic resources in engaging with each other and society. The way youth talk, dress, write (online or otherwise), and communicate through music and lyrics, are among aspects of their social practices that have been widely discussed in the literature and noted as particularly revealing in showing young people as creative social actors. Youth's social practices often depart from societal norms and young people are often criticised for this perceived "deviance". What is particularly striking for us when we observe youth in interaction is the high degree of liveliness they generate. Rampton (2011: 289) has described this in terms of "intense forms of sociability". In this book we set out to understand what underlies this sociability and what role language plays in this. In taking this perspective, we sought to contribute to current research on youth practices from a different angle; rather than asking, "What do these language practices say about youth?" we have taken it for granted that such practices are indexical of young people's sociability. We ask instead, "What makes this sociability possible?" and "How do youth 'do' this sociability through language?".

We began with the general premise that the human capacity for intersubjective understanding forms the basis of sociable interaction and enables communication to flow. Viewing intersubjectivity as an ontological condition poses a challenge for linguists who want to show how it is manifest in language. In this book we have taken an interactional approach to intersubjectivity. Following Du Bois (2007) and Du Bois and Kärkkäinen (2012), we show that intersubjectivity can rise to focal prominence through acts of stance-taking and alignment. Taking this interactional approach entails paying careful attention to both the speaker's actions and the interlocutor's responses, and their relationship across enchronically linked turn sequences. We use the term "turn" here in a broad sense to refer to conversational turn units, dialogue turns in fictional interaction, and the linear organisation of posts in online interaction. By paying attention to turns and responses to those turns we thus side with researchers who argue that we understand others' intentions not by virtue of our having direct access to others' minds that enables us to "read" what others think, but rather from observing their actions.

Stance-taking, as an embodied public act involving the use of language and non-linguistic resources, makes visible a social actor's subjective evaluations relative to those of another actor. Responses to evaluations in turn constitute acts of alignment and such acts may be convergent (i.e., indicating agreement with

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the speaker's position with regard to the object of stance), or divergent (indicating disagreement with the speaker's position with regard to the object of stance). As Du Bois (2007) asserts, alignment should be viewed in terms of commensurability rather than sameness. We have shown that alignment is often not a one-off act. It is common, especially in conversation, for an actor's alignment to serve as a springboard for another actor's alignment, and this in turn encourages further calibrated alignments from the actors, thus forming a chain of alignments. Such chains are enchronically based, one alignment being built on the one before and providing the foundation for what comes after. Chaining of alignments, we argue, is one among many stylistic practices that contributes to and reflects highly sociable interaction.

7.2 Youth sociability through stylistic practices

We have examined youth interaction in four types of discourse: conversation, online discussion forum, Teenlit and comics. Our purpose in doing this has not been to conduct a comparative analysis of the different types of discourse but rather to show how youth sociability emerges in ordinary interaction (both face-to-face or online) through stylistic practices, and how such practices are imaginatively rekeyed in fictional genres. Examining the different types of discourse has enabled us to understand how youth tap into a wide range of resources in creating style. Fiction is a type of metadiscursive genre (Agha 2007) in which personae and social conduct are typified. Teen fiction and comics typify the kinds of personae and social practices (including in using language) that are perceived as typical of youth. At the same time, it is also discourse that is responded to by youth in face-to-face encounters as well as online communication. In this way, we hope to have shown that young people's stylistic practices become associated with sociability through a multi-directional process of style construction and recontextualisation.

Several key points have emerged from our study of the stylistic practices of young people in Indonesia. Our investigation of person reference in Chapter 2 has underlined the usefulness of the concept perduring social indexicality – the continuing linking between person forms and social meanings relevant to a community of speakers. The indexical linking of person forms to salient social meanings and the creative deployment of different forms can reflect perceived, ongoing relationships, and can also be constitutive of relationships or changes in social positioning. Among the social resonances associated with person reference forms are a more public self – which can index social distance, seriousness, maturity and authority – and a more private self – which can index intimacy, casualness and youthfulness. Person reference can also evoke associations with socially salient

groups, such as those associated with notions of ethnicity or religiosity, or those associated with particular communities. The array of social indexicalities available through person reference means these forms are useful for evoking a sense of shared group belonging, as well as othering those perceived to be different.

Interactional particles are ubiquitous in youth interaction. Our analysis in Chapter 3 has highlighted their important function in invoking shifting roles with corresponding rights and obligations, which in turn enable participants to calibrate their perspectives of the relationship between self and other. Although the label "interactional particle" might suggest that these forms are primarily restricted to conversation, we saw them being regularly deployed across all the discourse types we analysed. Each of the interactional particles analysed was shown to have a basic meaning that invokes a particular kind of relationship between interlocutors and towards the joint maintenance of common ground. At the same time a range of particular stances can also be invoked, but these can only be identified by observing how an utterance marked by a particle sits within its discourse and interpersonal context. Our discussion has also highlighted the orientation to common ground that is ever-present in unfolding discourse, and is realised and renewed through joint stance-taking and stance-display.

In our discussion on grammatical structure in Chapter 4, we contrasted two styles that young people regularly deploy in interaction: a more interpersonal style that uses highly contextualised language with frequent allusive reference and a more expository style that utilises more explicit referents and elaborate morpho-syntax associated with the standard language. We explored allusive reference in some detail, showing the important role common ground plays in making such highly contextualised language meaningful. At the same time, we saw that this highly contextualised, interpersonal style can often give rise to indeterminacy. This indeterminacy is, however, rarely problematic for interaction and can allow for the simultaneous expression of multiple, complementary meanings. We view allusive structures as an important characteristic of the co-construction that is necessary for language to be contextualised and ultimately to have communicative effect. The complementary expository style uses more elaborated grammatical structures and can index authority, distance or seriousness. In all cases, the communicative effect of different styles of grammatical structure occurs at the intersection of participants, the language they use and the context in which they use it.

Our analysis of voice presentation in Chapter 5 gave careful consideration to the role of framing in acts of voicing, showing that speech frames are not merely a structural element of voice presentation that provides information about the identity of the person/character whose voice is being presented. Frames, we contend, are an important resource that young people use to position themselves relative to others in interaction. Frames are used to establish a shared object of

attention, and once established, can be invoked and re-established as required. We have shown how framed voice presentations contrast with frameless ones in terms of individuating voices. Speakers and writers use frameless presentations to signal to the addressee that they assume the addressee already knows the identity of the person/character whose voice is being presented, or that they want the addressee to treat the identity of the person as unimportant. Drawing on these different types of voice presentation enables speakers and writers to indicate to the addressee the relative importance they place on the voice of a person relative to another. We can see therefore that frames play an important role in managing intersubjective relations.

Youthful sociability is frequently demonstrated through playful interaction. We saw some of the examples of this playfulness in our discussion on person reference, grammatical structure, interactional particles, and voice presentation. In Chapter 6 we brought this out in more detail by showing, through an analysis of different types of language play, how young people invoke shared knowledge about socio-cultural, generational, and language differences in creating lighthearted interaction. We noted that youth engage in language play for different reasons, some more purposive than others, and that they often invoke conventional forms of play and rekey them in creative ways. Investigating how young people participate in language play has enabled us to understand how acts of positioning – whether self-positioning or the positioning of others – are linked to playfulness. Our analysis highlights positioning as a relational and dynamic process that involves constant recalibrating of stances. We showed in Chapter 6 that young people's playful use of language and the humorous effect it generates tells us that lighthearted styles of engagement are a salient part of youth sociability.

7.3 Final thoughts

We have discussed in detail the different resources that go into the construction of youth styles, including person reference forms, interactional particles, allusive and elaborate grammatical structures, framed and frameless voice presentations and different types of language play. We have pointed out that these resources are not exclusive to youth and we have argued that it is precisely because they are common and accessible to Indonesian speakers/writers generally that young people regularly tap into them. What makes young people's use of them particularly interesting is the way they deploy ordinary resources and rework them in inventive ways, creating an impression of strongly sociable engagement.

We found the styles of language young people used across discourse types to be heterogeneous, incorporating elements from colloquial Indonesian and

standard Indonesian, and ethno-local as well as foreign languages. The styles we have described are indicative of the changing relationship between these different varieties and languages. We have shown that standard Indonesian, a variety some have described as stilted and impersonal, is used by youth for performative purposes and to create a sense of playfulness. We have also shown that even as standard Indonesian is used in fictional narration, it is common for elements from colloquial Indonesian to be incorporated within it, thus blurring the boundary between the standard and colloquial varieties. These practices on the whole suggest that youth are aware of the ideologies associated with the different varieties and that they capitalise on them to accomplish different goals in interaction.

Our study of conversation has focused on the stylistic practices of youth in Bandung and Malang. Indonesia's vast geographical spread and linguistic diversity means that the conversational practices we examined in this book may or may not resonate with young people's practices in other areas. Nevertheless, we hope that this study can serve as a foundation for further investigations into language practices in other parts of Indonesia. We also hope that our analysis of how sociability is played out provides a useful conceptual direction for looking at other kinds of interaction beyond Indonesia.

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