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# PROCEEDINGS

## International Seminar

LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT IV

November 18, 2014



Master Program in Linguistics, Diponegoro University  
in Collaboration with  
Balai Bahasa Provinsi Jawa Tengah



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### EDITORS’ NOTE

This international seminar on Language Maintenance and Shift IV (LAMAS IV for short) is a continuation of the previous international seminar with the same theme conducted by the Master Program in Linguistics, Diponegoro University on 18 November 2014.

We would like to extend our deepest gratitude to the seminar committee for putting together the seminar that gave rise to this collection of papers. Thanks also go to the Head and the Secretary of the Master Program in Linguistics Diponegoro University, without whom the seminar would not have been possible.

The table of contents lists all the papers presented at the seminar: The first four papers are those presented by invited keynote speakers. They are Dr. Sugiyono (Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa, Jakarta, Indonesia), Dr. Zane Goebel (La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia), Prof. Yudha Thianto, Ph.D. (Trinity Christian College, Illinois, USA), Dr. Deli Nirmala, M.Hum (Diponegoro University, Semarang, Indonesia).

In terms of the topic areas, there are 21 papers in applied linguistics, 20 papers in sociolinguistics, 14 papers in theoretical linguistics, 18 papers in discourse/pragmatics, and 13 papers (miscellaneous).



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	Dr. Zane Goebel	UNDERSTANDING SHIFTING LANGUAGES ON INDONESIAN TELEVISION: UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL VALUE IN LATE CAPITALISM	29-42		
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	Akmal & Maria Yosephin WI & Sri Wahyuni	THE CHARACTERISTICS OF ENGLISH ADVERTISEMENTS CREATED BY STUDENTS OF BUSINESS ENGLISH CLASS AT PGRI UNIVERSITY SEMARANG. LEMBAGA PENELITIAN DAN PENGABDIAN PADA MASYARAKAT, UNIVERSITAS PGRI SEMARANG		336-340		
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## UNDERSTANDING SHIFTING LANGUAGES ON INDONESIAN TELEVISION: UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL VALUE IN LATE CAPITALISM

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### **Abstract**

*The work of Bourdieu (1991), Hobsbawm (1990), Wallerstein (2004), and Bakhtin (1981), among others, have become a cornerstone for understanding valuation processes attached to language as well as their relationships with political economy and processes of globalization in a period referred to as “late capitalism” (e.g. Blommaert, 2010; Goebel, 2010, In press; Heller, 2011; Heller & Duchene, 2012b). In this paper, I draw upon this work to offer an interpretation of the ongoing revaluation of languages in Indonesia, including the ideology of Indonesian as the language for doing unity in diversity. My empirical focus will primarily be material I have gathered from television in 2009. Central to my argument will be that as the Indonesian state has moved between centralized and decentralized regimes (often pushed by market forces) these processes have helped regiment multiple centres of normativity around language in Indonesia.*

*With changing political and economic conditions in the early 1990’s local content became increasingly valued in the media. Some languages (and the ethnic groups associated with them) were increasingly commodified, as in the case of Si Doel (e.g. Loven, 2008; Sen & Hill, 2000). As it became clear that local content sinetron was a “sell well” genre, this genre was copied by many other producers of television content (Rachmah, 2006). At the same time, these market forces – and the decreasing influence of the state in determining how language was modelled on television – helped increase the social value of local languages and mixed languages (Goebel, In press). These processes effectively drove language change in the social domain of television.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

This paper seeks to understand how televised representations of language in social life have helped produce ideologies about language and personhood and how this relates to broader sociolinguistic discussions around ideas of late capitalism, globalization and superdiversity.

The use of terms such as “late capitalism”, “globalization”, and “superdiversity” have now taken their place in the vocabulary sets of many sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists (Blommaert, 2010, 2013; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Heller, 2011; Heller & Duchene, 2012b). Sharing many intellectual debts to scholars such as Wallerstein (2004), Bourdieu (1991), Hobsbawm (1990), Bakhtin (1981), and others, late capitalism refers to the ways people, businesses, institutions, and governments respond to the mobility of money, people, and ideas at seemingly ever increasing rates. All of this is tied to language through another common theme to this work; that of markets. Bourdieu (1991) points out that for social and political reasons not all varieties of a language have the same value with ‘standard’ versions having more symbolic value than other varieties. Hobsbawm (1990) and Wallerstein (2004) talk more loosely about markets through their discussion of its relationship with states and nation building activities (nationalism) align with Bourdieu’s insights.

After drawing out some of the common themes of work in these three areas (late capitalism, globalization, and superdiversity), I go on to argue that the well-known nation building activities of language standardization and/or the building of unitary languages (Bakhtin, 1981), inevitably produces fragmentation. While I give a number of examples of this process from Canada, my main focus is Indonesian television in 2009. I show how the ideology of unitary languages belonging to a nation (i.e. a group associated with a territory), in this case ethnic ones, are reproduced through the use of semiotic features that anchor dialogue to territory. Building upon Loven’s (2008) and Rachmah Ida’s (2006) work – which points to the relationships between markets, language and television – I also

show that these dialogues are never in a unitary language but rather are made up of mixed languaging practices. I argue that this paradox helps to erode the ideology of unitary language and the associated ideology that a unitary language is for doing unity in diversity. A focus on this process illustrates how the social value of languages change and how new normative language orders come into being in powerful one-to-many participation frameworks, such as television.

## LANGUAGE MARKETS AND MOBILITY

A common theme in work on language and late capitalism, globalization, and superdiversity is that the need to make money is one driving force behind both mobility and the emergence of infrastructures that facilitate this mobility. In this work, the inability of a person, business, institution or government to make enough income or profit to continue to sustain their needs leads to “saturation”. People, businesses and governments thus need to find jobs, new markets, and make policies to meet these shortfalls and in doing so they become mobile. This response to saturation is talked about as “capital expansion” (Heller & Duchene, 2012a: 6-8).

Another commonality in this new wave of work is that mobility and capital expansion help revalue particular languages by moving their speakers outside the domains where they were formally valued. For example, within a nation-state schooling, other forms of credentialism, and the mass media helped to assign value to a particular language, say Language A, but as speakers of Language A travel into another nation-state where a different language is considered normative or standard, then the value of Language A changes. This change in value is typically in the form of depreciation in the value of the language and by indexical extension of those who speak this language. There are many ways in which this devaluation occurs. Heller (2011) shows how a formerly valued variety of French spoken by tertiary educated Canadians became less valued when it was offered to speakers of French from France via a call centre. Negative feedback by customers in France reduced the value of the Canadian variety of French and by extension its speakers. Capital expansion is not always about devaluation, however, and there are other cases where an increase in the value of particular languages occurs (Evans, 2010; Leppänen & Pietikäinen, 2010).

The deregulation of Indonesian television from 1990 onwards (Kitley, 2000; Sen & Hill, 2000) offers another case that exemplifies three of the processes described by Heller and Duchene (2012a). To brutally summarize this important period, we can say that allowing four new commercial television stations (ANTEVE, RCTI, SCTV and TPI) to compete with the two existing government broadcasters, TVRI (Kitley, 2000: 226), was an example of the concept of “market expansion” (Heller & Duchene, 2012a: 8). In this case, market expansion seemed to be driven by a few economically and politically powerful people (Kitley, 2000: 230-231). This expansion, together with ongoing foreign currency fluctuations and negative evaluations about programming by audiences (Loven, 2008; Rachmah, 2006), produced a type of “market saturation” whereby these companies were faced with decreasing profits. In turn, the need to get market share, that is, new niche audiences, generated the need for ‘new’ but familiar programming that could attract audiences and potential consumers of goods advertised via this programming. This process represents another example of market expansion. The need for creating new or distinct material helped usher in a period of local content programming, which included the use of fragments of local languages, as in the now famous *si Doel Anak Sekolah* “Doel an educated lad” (Goebel, 2008; Loven, 2008; Rachmah, 2006; Sen & Hill, 2000). Following Bourdieu (1984, 1991), this creation of new distinct language products is described as part of a process of “distinction” (Heller & Duchene, 2012a: 9).

The example of Indonesian television is one where pursuit of profit seems to offer positive outcomes for some otherwise marginalized languages, a situation we find elsewhere too (Evans, 2010; Leppänen & Pietikäinen, 2010). The success of local content programming in Indonesia encouraged other producers to copy the format of local content (Loven, 2008; Rachmah, 2006) and by 2009 fragments of local languages could be found across most television genres and commercial stations (Goebel, In press). This case represents a good example of Heller and Duchene’s (2012a: 6) point about a type of expansion which nation-states simply can no longer regulate. The modelling of mixed languaging practices helped raise the value of practices that had been stigmatized during the New Order period, while the pursuit of profit overlapped another familiar ideology, that of pride. Pride

essentially relates to pride in a particular language that is geographically anchored to a territory. In short, pride is tightly associated with what is commonly referred to as nationalism.

### INEQUALITY AND ORDERS OF INDEXICALITY

As Blommaert’s (2010) and Heller’s (2011) work reminds us, nation building efforts that involve the standardization and spread of a national language create inequalities, especially for those who do not have access to the domains where they can learn the standard. Drawing on the earlier work of Hymes (1996), Wallerstein (2001, 2004), Bourdieu (1990), Silverstein (2003), and so on, Blommaert (2010, 2013) points out that in settings characterized by diversity standardization helps create different centres of normativity that are hierarchically organized into what he calls “orders of indexicality”. I will illustrate this processes by again drawing upon Canadian and Indonesian examples.

In the case reported by Heller (2011), we see social activism by a group of ‘French’ speaking Canadians pushing for recognition of a variety of French in educational and bureaucratic domains. Over a period of around thirty years involvement in these domains enabled large numbers of middle class Canadians to become familiar with fragments of what was considered standard French. This same process produced another stratum of French Canadians, say a working class stratum, who had limited schooling. Typically, they only had access to fragments of the standard and thus to the fragments of the benefits that having full control could bring (e.g. more stable and better paying jobs in the bureaucracy). By the 1990s, the order of indexicality that existed in French Canada had an educated variety of French at the top of the hierarchy and everyday vernacular varieties at the bottom.

To brutally summarize the emergence of orders of indexicality in Indonesia during the New Order Period, we can say that massification of education, the bureaucracy, and the media helped Indonesian reach the top of a hierarchy. Below *bahasa baku* (Standard Indonesian), vernacular varieties of Indonesian had co-equal value with some ethnic languages (e.g. Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese). These were followed by other increasingly marginalized or dying ethnic languages (e.g. Florey, 1990; Kuipers, 1998). Finally, at the bottom of this hierarchy are stigmatized mixed languages (Errington, 1998). The changes in media programming noted earlier, together with decentralization and the revaluing and reinvention of tradition (Davidson & Henley, 2007) helped to increase the social value of regional languages (Moriyama, 2012; Quinn, 2012), effectively reconfiguring orders of indexicality, while also creating new inequalities.

### (DE)CENTRALIZATION, DISTINCTION, AND UNITY IN DIVERSITY

As noted above, orders of indexically never remain exactly the same with a constant backward and forward movement between centralization/standardization and decentralization/fragmentation, a phenomenon observed in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century by the Russian scholar Mikhail Bakhtin (1981: 270-272). In addition to market forces, the forces of nationalism create more educated populations who became aware of inequalities, and through increasing political enfranchisement, lobby for language rights (Hobsbawm, 1990). For example, in Canada economic inequality between English and French speakers resulted in a series of small-scale movements lobbying for French language rights (Heller, 2011). Small scale but fragmented success eventually became large scale centralization. This was achieved through the incremental introduction of bilingual schooling and language policies relating to the conduct of social life in government offices and businesses (Heller, 2011).

Thus, a fragmented phenomenon about language rights became a larger one which helped increase the social value of a particular variety of French spoken by a particular segment of French Canadian society. In doing so, a particular variety of French was becoming associated with a particular group of people and a particular territory. The end result of these processes was “pride” in Canadian French, Canadian Frenchness, and the territories that were populated by these social types, or, more succinctly, nationalism of the type described by Hobsbawm (1990). This process led to calls for autonomy with decentralization a common solution in Canada, as elsewhere in the world (Hobsbawm, 1990: 187). Note, however, that typically the relationship of language to processes of decentralization continue to follow older patterns of association between territory, group and language, as can be seen in contemporary Canada (Heller, 2011), Europe (Gal, 2012; Moore, 2011), and Indonesia (Goebel, In press).

Yet, this is not the end of the process because participation in education helps engender unity and ideas of nationalism, while also creating further variation in access to and ability to use different language models which cut across the types of class divisions noted earlier. Typically, these domains involve cohorts of people separated by time and space, creating multiple local groups who, through their uptake and re-use of these fragments tend to create new local varieties that are perceived to be “the standard”. The emergence of multiple standards – i.e. fragmentation - is thus a logical and unavoidable outcome of centralization processes. This process creates multiple centres of normativity where members of these centres claim to use and be exemplars of standard language users. In short, the unintended outcome of centralization processes can be and often is both decentralization and a more complex order of indexicality, often with one nested within another. The existence of these orders of indexicality also enables people who have been socialized in one order to make distinctions between those who have been socialized in a different way. That is, they can hear and see multiple accents, or in the case of Indonesia, *logat*.

Process and practices of distinction, whether evaluative, part of niche marketing, or part of nation-building activities always mark and maintain social boundaries (Barth, 1969). This creates a paradox for nation-building. Processes of achieving unity in diversity, through the centralization of schooling, bureaucratic and media apparatus, need to propagate a unitary language, but inevitably this facilitates fragmentary forces and the marking of all types of boundaries. Indonesia is a great example of this paradox, where we can see this happening at several different scales, from neighbourhoods to the mass media (Goebel, 2010, 2013b, 2014, In press). In the following section I take up on how this has played out on Indonesian television in 2009.

### CENTRALIZATION THROUGH MODELLING ETHNIC LANGUAGES

In the previous sections, I talked of the market success of local content on Indonesian television, which is one of a number of forces helping to simultaneously increase the social value of regional languages and mixed language practices. In this section, I will develop this argument by providing some examples of local content drawn mainly from a large data base of recordings I made in 2009. In doing so, I want to show that the sell-well genre of local content soaps of the early nineties onwards has been copied across a wide range of genres. I show that through the use of various semiotic features we can also see a continuation of the formula of linguistic form plus territory plus place plus person equals nation, in this case ethnicity. Some of the mechanisms that help reproduce ideas of language as emblematic of ethnic identity are explicit commentaries about place by a narrator or newsreader, the use of subtitle-like texts that state place, the subtitling of talk, the presence of a community of speakers whose speech also requires subtitles, and the use of maps.

The first extract I look at is drawn from a children’s shows, *Cita-Citaku* “my dreams” (Extract 1). This show was screened in the 1pm to 3pm slot on Trans7. At the start of Extract 1, the narrator, Bambang, is shown lying down on the front porch of his house while drawing. My initial classification relies upon my own judgments, those of my research assistant and sometimes dictionaries.

#### Extract 1 Anchoring medium through story introduction

##### Bambang

1	aku sedang melukis pemandangan di desaku	I’m drawing the scenery in my village, oh yes,
2	(0.8) oh ya . namaku bambang (0.8)	my name is Bambang, [my] full name [is]
3	lengkapnya . bambang nuriswanto (0.4) saat ini	Bambang Nuriswanto. At the moment I’m in
4	. aku duduk di kelas enam . sd jati sari .	Grade 6 at the Jati Sari primary school in
5	semarang jawa tengah	Semarang, Central Java.

Source: Trans7, Cita-citaku, Thursday 6 August 2009, (2–3pm)

As can be seen in Extract1 the narrator, Bambang, anchors his story and the interactions within it to place by naming where he goes to school “Jati Sari Elementary School, Semarang, Central Java” (lines 4–5). This narration, which is in Indonesian (plain font), is contrasted with interaction between Bambang and his friend (Eko), who is introduced as a local via reference to him attending the same school as Bambang (lines 7-8 in Extract 2). The talk in extract 2 occurs immediately after that represented in Extract 1.

**Extract 2 Interacting with locals and codeswitching****Eko**

6 he bang .

Hi Bang (shortened form of Bambang).

**Bambang**7 hou . **RENÉ** ko . eh . itu kan eko . temanHi. **COME HERE** Ko (shortened form of name, Eko). He, that [person] you know, is Eko my school friend.

8 sekolahku .

**Eko**9 *lagi* **OPO KOWÉ** =**WHAT ARE YOU DOING** *at the moment?***Bambang**10 = *nggambar* =*Drawing.***Eko**11 = *nggambar***WHAT ARE YOU** *drawing?*12 **OPO** =**Bambang**13 = *nggambar* **OPO KI** =**WHAT AM [I]** *drawing?***Eko**14 = **KOWÉ WIS**Wili **AND** Eki [**are**] **WAITING FOR YOU**15 **DIENTENI** eki **BAI** wili . **NING** *lapangan***AT** *the field.*

16

Source: Trans7, Cita-citaku, Thursday 6 August 2009, (2–3pm)

In Extract 2 the two friends are interacting in a local medium, in this case a local Javanese medium (bold caps). This localness is signalled through the use of subtitles (Figure 1), which point to the talk being in a different medium to that which has just occurred (e.g. lines 1-5 in Extract 1 and lines 7-8 in Extract 2). We can also see that from lines 9 to 16 Bambang and Eko alternate between ambiguous forms, that is forms that can be either classified as Indonesian or Javanese (italics) and Javanese. I will return to the mixing later in the paper. Of importance here is that the use of fragments of Javanese from line 7 onwards together with the subtitling and earlier mention of place help to reproduce links between place, person and linguistic form.

**Figure 1 Subtitles as pointing to localness**

Source: Trans7, Cita-Citaku, 6 August 2009 (1–2 pm)

The practice of using local languages and subtitling them was common in other children's programs, including *Si Bolang Bocah Petualangan* (Bolang [person's name] the adventurous child). At the end of this first story, a series of maps are shown. Figure 2 is of the map before the island of

Maluku starts to turn red and then grow. The map represented in Figure 2 is then followed by a large shot of the island with the cartoon character in a glider superimposed over the island which also has the text “Maluku”. Si Bolang is then shown flying across the archipelago to a new place, this time Petir Village, in the Darmaga district of Bogor, West Java (Fig. 3). There are then a number of shots of a rural setting before Bolang introduces the place and a new set of children, who are again shown interacting in a local language, while catching birds and playing tug-o-war in agricultural land. Many of these exchanges are also accompanied by subtitles.

Figures 2 and 3 Anchoring place through the use of a maps



Source: Trans7, Si Bolang Bocah Petualang, 6 August 2009 (1–2pm)

In the children’s shows discussed thus far, a further mechanism that helps reproduce associations between linguistic signs and place is the movement from one story to the next. Often, each story occurs in a different part of Indonesia and is inhabited by local language speaking people whose language is different from one setting to the next, as are the social practices engaged in by each group of children. These contrasts thus also help to indirectly reproduce ideas that these local languages are also spoken by local social types from a particular territory or region. The mechanisms described so far for linking linguistic signs to place and person could also be found in other genres, such as human interest shows, and on-the-spot news reports. For example, human interest stories that looked at the life of impoverished young and elderly Indonesians often grounded the story to place in introductory narratives (which were subtitled), or by highlighting that the person had lived in a particular place all of their life. In the series *Minta Tolong* “Asking for help” (RCTI) and *Dengarkan Aku* “Listen to me” (Trans7), interviews were subtitled, which also helped to associate this local medium with the place where the interaction occurred.

On-the-spot news reports were also another common language practice which helped reproduce links between linguistic signs and territory. Extract 3 is a report about a public transport minibus that caught fire. This talk occurs after shots of a burning public minibus, and the news reader’s report, which notes that the bus caught alight after breaking down. Here the driver, who appears to be in his late fifties or early sixties, is being interviewed by a series of reporters.

### Extract 3 Sign alternation as the medium and linking medium to ideology

#### Reporter 1

1 *mati* **TEKO KENÉ** *pak . mati* = [It] *broke down* **HERE** Sir?

#### Minibus driver

2 = *mati* . [It] *broke down* [here].

#### Reporter 2

3 **ONO:: . ONO** *punumpangÉ* *pak* = **WERE THERE, WERE THERE**  
*passengers, Sir?*

Minibus driver

4 = **ORA** **THERE**  
5 **ONO RA** *pak* = **WEREN'T, NONE** *Sir*

Reporter 2

6 = **ORA ONO** . **THERE WEREN'T.**

Reporter 3

7 **OPO** *pak gara gara***NÉ** *pak* = **WHAT** *Sir* **WAS THE** *cause, Sir?*

Minibus driver

8 = **RA** *ngerti* **I DON'T** *know Sir, THE* *cause Younger*  
9 *aku pak . gara gara***NÉ** **IKU** *mas* **Brother.**

Source: GlobalTV, Berita Global, Friday 14 August 2009 (4–5pm)

In this extract we again see fragments of Javanese being used and as with the previous extract, the presence of signs of place not only anchor this local medium to place, but they also suggest the provenance of this local medium. For example, the presence of a number of reporters who all seem to speak the same language as the bus driver suggests they are from the same place and are part of the same community of speakers. Just as importantly, as with the majority of these types of news story, the story is introduced by the news reader as occurring in a particular place. In the case at hand, this is Probolinggo, East Java. The place is again repeated through the appearance of a bullet point subtitle-like text at the bottom of the screen that reads *Probolinggo, Jawa Timur* “Probolinggo, East Java” (see Figure 4) followed then by two more mentions of place by the on-the-spot reporter.

Figure 4 Anchoring place through text in news reports



Source: GlobalTV, Berita Global, 14 August 2009 (4–5pm)

As with the 1990s, representations found in a number of the 2009 soap operas also reproduced links between linguistic signs and regions. Unlike the subtitled interactions in children’s programs or between reporter and victim in on-the-spot news stories, however, typically these links were less explicit and relied on other the use of other semiotic features. For example, the use of vehicles and their number plates often linked the story and thus the dialogue to a certain territory. On other occasions, this type of sign of place is reinforced by the representation of all the cast speaking a local medium or through other narrative devices that help establish a characters’ background. Typically, and in line with Richardson’s (2010) observations about television dramatic dialogue in general, these signs are scripted to occur in the early part of the story to help quickly create a setting.

Extract 4 is taken from Episode 1 of the soap *Jiran*, which was produced by Sorayaintercine films and broadcast on Indosiar. Sundanese is in bold, Indonesian is in plain font, and italics indicates

ambiguous forms that can be classified as either Sundanese or Indonesian. This particular interaction occurs at the very start of this episode and is set in a market place surrounded by greenery and mountains, all of which point to a rural setting. Jiran is working carrying the shopping of wholesalers and customers in the market.

#### Extract 4 Soaps, signs of place and local languages

##### Male client 1

1 *atos rapih neng* .

[You're] **already done** Younger Sister?

##### Jiran

2 *iya* .

*Yes*.

##### Male client 1

3 **tah ieu nya** (giving Jiran money) (5.0)

**Here is** [your pay].

##### Jiran

4 **nuhun** (16.0) (while walking towards next  
5 customer who arrives in a van with a D number  
6 plate visible)

**Thanks**.

##### Jiran

7 **akang** (0.5) mau dibawakan . barangnya =

**Older brother**, can I carry your goods for you?

##### Male client 2

8 = oh

9 **tiasa atuh neng tiasa** . eh **antosan nya** . **yeuh**  
10 **bayaran anu ayeuna neng** . (gives money) *dua*  
11 **rebu** . **tah ku akang ditambihan deui sarebu**  
12 (0.5)

**Oh of course** [you] **can** Younger Sister, **yes** [you] **can**. Eh, **wait a moment OK**, **Here is the payment for now** Younger Sister, **two thousand** (rupiah). **Here, Older Brother will give you one more thousand**.

##### Jiran

13 **nuhun kang** =

**Thanks Older Brother**.

##### Male client 2

14 = **neng** . **tong hilaf enjing ka**  
15 **diu deui nya** . **sok atuh** angkut *barang*  
16 *barangna* . hati hati **nya neng nya**

**Younger sister, don't forget to come back here tomorrow OK**. Please take *the goods*, be careful **OK** Younger Sister **OK**.

Source: Jiran, Sorayaintercinefilms, broadcast on Indosiar

This talk is subtitled in the actual soap helping to signal localness, as is the rest of the interaction that occurs in this market. The talk is linked to region by the presence of a number of small vans and trucks that all have a highly visible "D" preceding a series of numbers on their vehicle's number plate. This prefix is the one used for Bandung and surrounds. The anchoring of this dialogue to region and implicitly to Sundaneness is also reinforced through the occurrence of other dialogues in this setting which are also subtitled. This suggests a community who all speak the same local medium.

Thus far, I have pointed to a range of semiotic features that co-occur with interactions in a way that helps reinforce old ideologies of territory plus person plus language equals nation, in this case ethnicity. What is also interesting with all of the extracts above is that the language used is never all Indonesia or all in a regional language, but typically a mixture. While this was certainly something to be avoided in the early days of Indonesian television (Sen & Hill, 2000: 119), what we see above is move away from the ideology of a unitary language. In the last abstract for this section we see more mixing though a minimal use of a regional language. This extract is taken from the soap *Inayah* produced by Sorayaintercine films and broadcast on Indosiar. The story revolves around a main character, Kadjeng Doso, his many wives, and the family intrigues that occur as part of some of his wives attempts to get their hands on his gold treasure. In this clip one of his wives, Shinta, and her brother, Tedi, have just located Kadjeng Doso's treasure, which they plan to steal. As with the previous extracts, Javanese is in bold caps, ambiguous forms (i.e. those that are both Indonesian and Javanese) are in italics, and Indonesian is in plain font.



**Ipul**

6 eh . *gantiin naon teh* .

Eh *replace what Older Sister?*

**Susi**

7 ndak jangan kebanyakan nanya (while  
8 grabbing shirt and moving around Ipul and  
9 pushing him in front of toilet door) nah LU  
10 diam aja di sini . berdiri di sini . ya =

Stop, don't ask too many questions.

Now, **YOU** just stay  
here, stand here, OK?

**Ipul**

11 = (doesn't  
12 say anything and looks at Susi with confused  
13 expression) =

(No affirmative response)

**Susi**

14 = ntar kalau  
15 misalnya ada cewek yang mau masuk . jangan  
16 dikasih . ngerti **KAGAK** . ya itu pun kalau LU  
17 **KAGAK** mau *dimarahin* . ngerti nggak (0.5)

Later, if for example a  
woman comes to use the toilet, don't let them  
in. Understand or **NOT**? That is if **YOU DON'T**  
want to get in *trouble*. [Do you] understand or  
not?

**Ipul**

19 **enya enya atuh enya =**

**Yes, yes, OK, yes.**

**Susi**

20 = bagus (puts up thumb  
21 and walks off) (0.6)

Great.

**Ipul**

22 (puts up thumb) **alus enya** (3.9)

Ok, **great yes.**

**Saodah**

23 (exits a door located nearly opposite the toilet  
24 door guarded by Ipul)

(exits a door located nearly opposite the toilet  
door guarded by Ipul)

**Ipul**

25 wah ah (puts up two hands) **punten teh** . kata  
26 **teh** susi nggak ada yang boleh masuk (0.7)  
27

Gee, **I'm sorry Older Sister, Older Sister**  
Susi said that no one is allowed to go in.

**Saodah**

28 e:: siapa juga yang mau masuk . **GUÉ** justru  
29 mau minta LU *pijitin* **GUÉ** . badan **GUÉ** udah  
30 pegel semua nih

What? Who wants to go in? **I** actually want  
**YOU** to give **ME** a *massage*. **MY** whole body is  
very stiff.

**Ipul**

31 e:: tapi kata **teh** Susi (while pointing)

Oh, but **Older sister** Susi said.

**Saodah**

32 (Grabs Ipul and pushes him in front of her  
33 through the door into the common room.)

(Grabs Ipul and pushes him in front of her  
through the door into the common room.)

Source: RCTI, *OB (Shift 2)*, Monday 10 August 2009, (3–4pm)

In the above talk we see that all actors use and expect each other to understand linguistic fragments that are associated with particular imagined ethnic communities. Susi and Saodah are represented as communicating across lines of difference while understanding Sundanese forms. For example, Susi is represented as understanding Ipul's use of Sundanese interrogatives (*naon*), kin terms (*teh* the shortened form of *tete*), and the word *enya* “yes” on lines 7–10 and 19–20. Similarly, Saodah is shown as understanding Ipul's Sundanese usage on lines 28–30. In short, Susi and Saodah are represented as able to engage in a form of knowledging; that is, to have competence to comprehend fragments of languages one would not normally associate with that person (Goebel, 2013a). On the other hand, Ipul is represented as understanding forms associated with Betawi. For example, on lines 6 and 16-17 Ipul is shown to understand local terms for self and other reference (*lu* and *gué*) and

negation (*kagak*), while he is also represented as understanding Sodah’s use of terms for self and other reference on lines 28–29.

The last example is drawn from an episode (*Banyak orderan banyak masalah* “plenty of orders plenty of problems”) from the comedic soap *Bukan Romeo Juliet* “It’s not Romeo and Juliet”, which was broadcast on ANTV. This comedy is geographically anchored to Jakarta via shots of the multiple elevated highways only found in Jakarta, the skyscrapers lining the skyline and streets full of cars with B number plates. There are also other signs that anchor this story to place. These include the occasional appearance of *bajai* “a two person taxi powered by a motorcycle engine” (which are only found in Jakarta), music that has interdiscursive links with ethnic comedies anchored to Jakarta, such as *Si Doel* and *Bajai Bajuri* “Bajuri’s Bajai”, and of course the representation of multiple unrelated people all using linguistic forms stereotypically associated with Betawi ethnic social types. The talk in Extract 6 occurs as Sutini is attending her coffee shop and Melani arrives. Sutini remembers that Melani is the ex-girlfriend of the boy next door and the following talk ensues. As with the previous extracts, Javanese is in bold caps, ambiguous forms (i.e. those that are both Indonesian and Javanese) are in italics, English is in upper case bold italics, and Indonesian is in plain font.

### Extract 7 Representing unity in diversity in the neighbourhood

**Melani**

1 **MORNING** mbak sutini (while smiling) = **MORNING** Sister Sutini.

**Sutini**

2 =  
3 (while smiling) e::: **GOOD MORNING** . (while Oh, **GOOD MORNING**, um [you are] Sister  
4 pointing) u:::m mbak melani kan = Melani right?

**Melani**

5 =  
6 (while putting two thumbs up and smiling)  
7 betul (0.5) Yes.

**Sutini**

8 lah . (while smiling) mesti ke sini cari mas So, [you] must have come here looking for  
9 alung = Brother Alung.

**Melani**

10 = iya dong (while smiling) . habis aku [ Of course. I miss [him] so much, you know,  
11 kangen sih mba::k = Sister.

**Sutini**

12 [ (stops smiling) = lo::h mba::k . **YOU** What Sister? **YOU** already know right, that  
13 kan udah tahu . kalau **MISALÉ** mas alung **FOR EXAMPLE** Brother Alung already has a  
14 dah ada **GIRLFRIEND**nya . [ nanti **GIRLFRIEND**. Later if **FOR EXAMPLE**,  
15 **MISALÉ** rebut lagi kaya waktu itu **PIYÉ** [you both] fight again like before, **THEN WHAT?**

**Melani**

16 [ (smile (Is represented as being upset about what  
17 turns to sad face as she turns body away from Sutini has said.)  
18 Sutini and sits down) (2.0)

**Sutini**

19 (confused look) aduh mbak . maksud **I AM** Gee Sister, **I** didn’t mean  
20 nggak gitu loh . a:: ndak usah = it like that. Um [you] don’t need

**Melani**

21 = udah udah . [It’s] ok . [It’s] ok, [it’s] alright Sister, [it’s]  
22 ndak apa apa mbak . ndak apa apa (1.1) alright

Source: ANTV, *Bukan Romeo Juliet*, Sunday 16 August 2009, (8–9pm)

The talk in Extract 6 is striking for a number of reasons. First we see that both Melani and Sutini are represented as using and understanding fragments of English (e.g. lines 1, 3, 13–22). Second, Sutini also uses fragments that are stereotypically associated with Javanese (bold caps) on

lines 13 and 15. As with her use of English, her usage is represented as being understood by Melani. As Sutini continues she uses other Javanese forms as well as some English with another neighbour, who also works as the local neighbourhood security guard. Sutini continues to interact with the rest of the cast, including Wan Abud and Babah Liong who are both keen to date Sutini. In her talk with Wan Abud, Wan typically uses Indonesian mixed with a few Betawi terms of other reference (e.g. *enté* "you"). Sutini is represented as understanding such usage, although she does not use these forms.

## CONCLUSION

In this paper I have explored how representations of language on Indonesian television can be accounted for with reference to scholarship on language and late capitalism, language and globalization, language and superdiversity, and Bakhtin's (1981) ideas around the centralization and decentralization of languages. There are two key points that come out of a synthesis of this work. First, the processes and practices that go with standardizing a language and/or a unitary language create fragmentation. Second, languages are tied with markets and capital expansion, e.g. seeking new markets through offering distinct products, and that this process helps to drive language change or the fragmentation of a unitary language.

Taking the second point as my point of departure I looked at some segments of television programming taken from a larger data based that I recorded in 2009. I argued that the "sell-well" technique of localizing content through the use of fragments of regional languages has continued and, indeed, expanded to most television programming. In looking at this material I showed how the use of regional languages together with the use of various other semiotic features helped to reproduce an old formula of language plus territory plus place, plus person equals ethnicity. Some of the semiotic features used to reproduce ideas of language as emblematic of ethnicity were explicit commentaries about place by a narrator or newsreader, the use of subtitle-like texts that state place, the subtitling of talk, the presence of a community of speakers whose speech also requires subtitles, and the use of maps.

Typically, televised dialogues were never solely in a regional language or in Indonesian and I argued that this paradoxically started to erode ideologies around a unitary language. The representation of mixed language practices was not just found in interactions among those who shared the same ethnolinguistic backgrounds, but often it was across lines of difference as in the last two extracts. I suggested that the representation of these Indonesians doing unity in diversity also further eroded a related ideology that unitary languages are for creating unity. In concluding I should also point out that the description of programming raises some interesting questions which could be answered through the type of study conducted by Loven (2008) and Rachmah Ida (2006). For example, we know little about audience reception, how producers, financiers, editors and so on make decisions about this type of local content in an Indonesia where language seems to be increasingly emblematic of ethnic identity (Goebel, In press).

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