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NUSA Vol.58

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About NUSA

NUSA is the product of a joint cooperation agreement between the PKBB (Pusat Kajian Bahasa dan Budaya 'Centre for Culture and Language Studies') of Atma Jaya Catholic University of Indonesia in Jakarta, Indonesia, and ILCAA (Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa) at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies in Tokyo, Japan.

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Although our main interest is the area of Indonesia, we welcome works on general linguistics that can throw light upon problems that we might face. It is hoped that NUSA might be relevant beyond the range of typological and area specializations and at the same time also serve the deoccidentalization of linguistics.

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The push and pull of languages: Youth written communication across a range of texts in Central Java

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Youths' multilingual literacy practices constitute sites in which their language use can be pushed and pulled in different directions. This article will investigate how the way youth groups from two vocational high schools in Semarang, Central Java use Javanese, Indonesian and English across different genres of texts reflect the way they negotiate the push and pull of the various language ideologies associated with these languages. In analyzing these texts, the article will adopt a social practice approach to literacy and will also emphasize that there are orders to the indexical meanings of languages. The youths' language use shows that the range of texts form a continuum, in which the more formal texts tend to highly regulated around Indonesian as the monolingual center whereas less formal texts are more open to the use of Javanese and English, including the playful combination and juxtaposition of languages that enable youth to recontextualize and even subvert the dominant indexical meanings associated with these languages.

1. Introduction¹

Youths are often at the cutting edge of multilingualism as agents of linguistic change through their propensity to adopt hybrid genres, their affinity with trans-local cultural genres, and their embrace of new digital media (e.g., Alim, Ibrahim and Pennycook 2009; Bucholtz and Skapoulli 2009; Rampton 2005; Leppanen et al. 2009). In their language use, youths also have the tendency to use novel language varieties (styles, registers, dialects, multiple languages) in their practices of identity construction (Bucholtz 1999, 2001; Eckert 2000; Bailey 2001) even using and adopting language forms normally not associated with their own specific social or ethnic category (e.g., Cutler 1999; Rampton 2005).

Studies of youth language have often taken a social constructivist approach in their interpretive and analytical efforts. These studies connect youths' use of language to issues of "social identities and on the formation of identity-based social groupings in which gender, class, ethnicity and other salient categories are constituted and indexed through both discursive and non-discursive practices" (Garret and Baquedano-Lopez 2002: 349). Various studies have shown the way youths have used language as part of how they align themselves with certain social groups (Mendez-Denton 2008; Eckert 2000) or 'communities of practice' (Bucholtz 1999); how youth strategically use language to perform ethnic or racial identities (Bucholtz 2001; Bailey 2000) even ones that are not their own (Bucholtz 2004; Cutler 1999) through communicative practices such as "adequation" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 599) or "crossing" (Rampton 1995); and how youths adopt trans-local language practices (Alim, Ibrahim and Pennycook 2009; Luvaas 2009) that allow them to adopt or at least attempt to access "transnational social fields and ways of belonging" (Glick-Schiller 2004). In the process of using language to

¹ I would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their comments and suggestions, which I have tried my best to address. Any errors remaining are my own.

formulate and express their social identities, they are often following, negotiating or reacting against the prevalent ideologies of language and social categories of their societies (e.g., Bailey 2000; Eckert 2000; Bucholtz 1999, 2004; Cameron 2006; Smith-Hefner 2007). Thus, youths' communicative practices are often the sites of the intersection of language ideologies and the sites of hybrid and multiple language practices.

Within these communicative practices, youths' use of written language constitutes practices that are also socially significant. For example, educational studies on youth literacy have focused on various topics around the significance of out-of-school literacy for youths. These literacy practices often have the practical value of enabling youths to connect to their peers, or build relationships with adults or to participate in the community in general (Brandau 1996; Moje 2000; Shuman 1993). Out-of-school literacy practices are also credited as ways in which youth express themselves and develop their identity, something which they may not always be able to do using classroom literacy, leading researchers to study out-of-school (or un-sanctioned) literacy and cultural forms, such as rap, graffiti, journals and recreational reading (Morrell and Duncan-Andrade 2000; Moje 2000; Skilton-Sylvester 2002; Kramer-Dahl 2005). The exposure of these alternative forms of literacy lead to an appreciation that these forms are legitimate practices of communication and can often be sophisticated texts (Knobel 1999; Moje, Overby, Tysvaer, and Morris 2008).

Other studies on youth literacy have linked to broader issues that have also been addressed by studies on youth language, such as the hierarchical evaluations of languages and the localization of global language forms (Blommaert, Muyliaert, Huysmans, and Dyers 2005), the shifting values from tradition towards modernity (Ahearn 2001), and youth language as expressions of social meaning that can either be affiliated with or opposed to standard norms of languages (Sebba 2003). These studies show that youth literacy, as a part of youths' communicative practices, is also often a site where various language ideologies intersect.

In this paper, I will look at the use of Indonesian, Javanese and English in the written communication of youths from extra-curricular groups of two vocational high schools in Semarang, Central Java. My main aim here is to show that youths' use of these three languages for their communicative purposes represents the way youths negotiate the "push and pull" (Blommaert 2010: 42) of the various language ideologies associated with these languages. I will look at their written communication across a range of texts, in which they seek to fulfill various communicative purposes, such as dealing with the demands of school bureaucracy, attracting the interest of their peers, presenting their group identity, indexing certain social meanings in the language market, and using languages in a playful manner to interact and joke with their peers. In using multiple languages in these texts, the youths show that they not only use colloquial forms that are popularly associated with youth language (e.g., Smith-Hefner 2007; Djenar 2008, 2012) but they also use standard language forms that conform to dominant language ideologies. Also, by looking at various genres of texts, ranging from official and monolingual texts to informal and interpersonal multilingual texts, I will show that youths' use of multiple languages is interconnected. This interconnection is also apparent when we look not only at the texts themselves but also the "voices around the text" (Boyarin 1993) during the process of textual production.

The interconnections between languages have important implications on the notion of multilingualism. In this paper, I will follow a definition on multilingualism that is based on youths' use of multiple languages and not one that is based on their competence in

these languages. This is a shift from the general mainstream idea that multilingualism consists of "multiple monolingualisms" (Juffermans 2011: 166) to more of a notion of "truncated multilingualism" (Meeuwis and Blommaert 1998: 77) in which speakers may have varying levels of competency in the multiple languages that they use, often with specific competencies in certain topics or domains. In fact, I would even go further and say that the multilingualism of the youths in their literacy practices can sometimes be considered as "polylingualism" (Jorgensen 2008; Moller and Jorgensen 2009) in which youths use linguistic elements from various languages primarily to meet their communicative purposes regardless of their competence in these various languages. To that effect, Moller and Jorgensen (2009: 148) propose the term "languaging" or "to language" in order to emphasize that people "do not primarily use 'a language' or 'some languages'" but instead they "use language, linguistic features" and they "do so to achieve [their] aims."

2. Sociolinguistic background of language use in Central Java

The data that I will discuss in this paper was collected as part of a seven-month ethnographic study among extra-curricular youth groups from two vocational high schools in the city of Semarang, the largest city and capital of the Central Java province. However, due to its location on the north coast of Central Java, Semarang is often not considered as the cultural center of the province. Instead, the cities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta (or Solo) are often considered the "principalities" or the centers of Javanese language and culture.² In contrast, Semarang is known more as a city of industry and commerce. As such, it has not attracted the attention of youth culture researchers compared to other cities in Java such as Jakarta, Bandung or Yogyakarta (e.g., Wallach 2002; Luvaas 2009; Smith-Hefner 2007; Slama 2010).

Since most of the youths in the study are ethnically Javanese and are residents of Central Java, they tend to use both Javanese (their local language) and Indonesian (the national language) as their two main languages of communication. In understanding the social significance in the way these youths use multiple languages, I will follow the way paved by previous studies on multilingualism and language ideology in Indonesia (e.g., Keane 1997; Errington 1998a, 1998b, 2000; Kuipers 2008; Goebel 2010), especially on the politics of language regarding the different social roles of national and local languages. These studies highlight that the state-backed national language program and state ideology, wherein Indonesian is the official language of various formal social domains such as law, government administration, mass media and communication, formal education, and interactions in formal public places (Lowenberg 1992: 65-66; Sneddon 2003: 206-207), have positioned Indonesian as a "referentially transparent" language that indexes state authority, formality, objectivity, and a national unifying context (Errington 1998a, 2000; Kuipers 2008: 317). In contrast, local languages are often positioned by the state as indexing informality, subjectivity and local/regional ethnic identity and contexts (Errington 1998b; Darjowidjojo 1998: 45; Steinhauer 1994: 772; Boellstorff 2002; Kuipers 2008). The diglossic distinction also extends to the position of local languages as being predominantly oral with limited use in written

² A number of linguists (e.g., Uhlenbeck 1964: 64; Mardjana 1933) and the Javanese people in general regard that the Javanese spoken in the principalities as the purest and richest variety of the language. In contrast, Javanese speakers view that the dialect spoken in coastal areas (such as Semarang) and other regions far from the principalities as not quite refined as it is in the principalities (see Hardjowirogo 1989; Hatley 1984).

communication, especially in formal documents. One of the primary reason for this is that most Indonesians in learn to be literate through formal schooling which is conducted in Indonesian. The success of public schooling, particularly in the near universal coverage of primary education, has meant that literacy in Indonesian has overtaken traditional forms of literacy in various local languages and traditional orthography (such as the Javanese script), which historically tend to be limited to the elite or noble members of society (Lowenberg 2000). In addition, the official position of Indonesian as the language of formal schooling, government, law and economy makes it the dominant language in which alphabetic literacy is commonly used in public. The seemingly diglossic regime of language regarding the role of Indonesian and local languages is often manifested and constructed in mass media and formal education (Nababan 1991; Darjowidjojo 1998; Goebel 2010) and also in daily social interaction in which Indonesians often alternate between Indonesian and local languages to index differing social meanings (Lutz 1998; Errington 1998b; Goebel 2005, 2007).

In the context of Central Java, a number of studies (e.g., Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo 1982; Errington 1998b; Goebel 2005, 2007, 2010) have described the way local speakers alternate between Indonesian and Javanese in their communicative practices. Similar to the notion of diglossia between national and local language, the use of Indonesian is often associated with an official, group oriented, authoritative and objective voice while the use of Javanese is associated with a personal and subjective voice (Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo 1982: 54-55; Errington 1998b: 173-178). Goebel (2005) has argued that the basic and non-honorific *ngoko* speech level of Javanese is often used to specifically index familiarity and solidarity, even with non-Javanese migrant. This is of course congruent with the predominant Javanese language ideology in which *ngoko* is viewed as a coarse and basic speech level fitting to be used with familiar interlocutors of equal status or with those of lower status whereas *basa* or *krama* is viewed as expressing deference and politeness in order to address those with superior status or strangers whose social status may not yet be clear (Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo 1982; Errington 1998b). In contrast, Indonesian is perceived as not having this status and politeness oriented language ideology and is instead an objective and transparent language.

However, Goebel (2007) has also argued that the relations between language forms and contextual meanings are not necessarily "fixed" but instead "present constituting possibilities for participants" (2007: 528). In his study of state workers in Semarang, Goebel shows that certain persons in positions of authority are able to use Indonesian and Javanese yet in ways that "appropriate and recontextualize an enregistered variety to bring about a context in situated talk" (2007: 526). With the youths in this study, I will show that in more formal genres of texts their use of Indonesian and Javanese tend to follow along the lines of the dominant indexical meanings associated with the two languages. However, the youths have more leeway to playfully recontextualize the dominant indexical meanings of these languages in less formal texts.

English as a global language is increasingly becoming an integral feature of Indonesian public life in post-Soeharto Indonesia. While English has once been regulated for public use in the 1990s, English borrowings, phrases and terms have nevertheless been widely used by mass media and businesses as a socio-economically prestigious language (Sneddon 2003: 173-177). English is also the main foreign language in formal schooling (Nababan 1991; Darjowidjojo 1998) because it is seen by the state as an instrumental language for modernization and transfer of technology (Darjowidjojo 1998: 45; Nababan 1991: 123). Hence, for the youths in this study, the demand for the use of

English comes not only from popular youth culture but also from formal educational institutions and the various industries associated with their vocational training.

3. Data collection and youth groups

I conducted the fieldwork with youths from two state vocational high schools (*Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan Negeri* - SMKN): SMKN Bebengan, located in the town of Bebengan on the south-western periphery of the Semarang metropolitan area, and SMKN Pandanaran, located in the central *Simpang Lima* ('Five Intersections') district of the city. I mainly worked with youths who were affiliated with the various school and state sanctioned extra-curricular groups that are generally present in high schools, mainly the Student Parliament (*Organisasi Siswa Intra-Sekolah* - OSIS) and the Scouts (*Pramuka*). With these youth groups, I collected data through participant observation of their routine activities and meetings in which I recorded conversations and photographed texts. I also interviewed the youth groups, asking them about their evaluations of their language use based on excerpts from recordings and written texts.

The *Organisasi Siswa Intra-Sekolah* or OSIS acts as the student parliament in all junior and senior high-schools in Indonesia. This is a state mandated organization: it is present in all high schools and the emblem of the OSIS is prominently attached to the left breast-pocket of the national high school uniform. The group membership is often the result of applications from junior students of both genders (usually from grade X³) which are then further selected by the previous OSIS administration with the deliberation and approval of a supervising teacher. The core administrative posts, such as President, Secretary and Treasurer, are then decided through a school-wide election based on the candidates that have passed the school selection process. The various sections of the OSIS reflect the state ideology of *Pancasila* as well as the expectation of youths as being cadres of national development and the state. Nevertheless, the main core of what students do and learn in the OSIS is that of managing an organization including writing the various necessary administrative documentations, such as proposals, budgets, and reports, as well as planning and organizing social events.

The *Pramuka* is the Indonesian national Scout movement. While the Scout movement in Indonesia has its origins in Dutch created scout groups, the establishment of the *Pramuka* in 1961 as the unifying national scout organization meant that the structure, values and activities of the *Pramuka* were more or less under government control, so that they could symbolically be seen as the "cadres of the nation" (Semedi 2011: 30-34). The scout group features a core Working Council (*Dewan Kerja*) whose membership is based on selection of junior candidates (again from grade X) by the previous Council (grade XI students), *Pramuka* seniors, and a teacher supervisor. The selected members then elect the leaders of the Council, one for the female scouts and one for male scouts, thus resulting in a co-leadership shared between both genders. While the *Pramuka* is structurally segregated by gender (into two troops, similar to the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts differentiation in the West), in practice male and female members of the Work Council freely interact and conduct activities together. Despite the nationalist form of the organization, the actual practice routine activities of the *Pramuka* are oriented towards more practical goals, namely to give students organizational experience,

³ Vocational high schools are three year secondary schools structured the same way as general high schools (*Sekolah Menengah Atas* - SMA) in Indonesia. The three years of classes are usually referred to as grade X, grade XI and grade XII (equivalent to Years 10, 11, 12 respectively).

particularly in planning events, going out on camping trips, interacting with the local community, working together as a groups, and give them opportunity to obtain non-academic achievements in various *Pramuka* competitions.

In addition to these official extracurricular groups, I also worked with school sanctioned hobby or interest groups that were specific to each school, such as the Web-Design group of SMKN Bebengan and the Multimedia group of SMK Pandanaran.

4. The notion of youth in Indonesia

The choice of studying youths from vocational high schools is motivated by the notion that youth as an age category needs to be understood as both a period of "being" youth and as a period of "becoming" adults (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2005: 117). In the study of youths, the "mainstream perspective" (Griffin 2004: 13) views youth and adolescence as a problematic period – both psychologically and socially – of becoming adult (Cote and Allahaar 1996; Finn 2001; Wyn and White 1997). The problem here is that the "pathologizing" of adolescence (Cote and Allahaar 1996: 10) and the emphasis of becoming adult undermines the cultural values, social activities and experiences of "being" youth. As a reaction, the "youth culture" approach emerged from the field of cultural studies as a perspective that views the "here-and-now" aspect of youths' experience (Bucholtz 2002: 532) particularly in the form of social and institutional relations, cultural ideas and values, media consumption, and issues of agency and identity (Wyn and White 1997: 82-86). Using the concept of "subculture" (Hebdige 1979), the youth culture approach looks at the visible social practices of certain youth groups (such as working class youths, motorcycle gangs, music fan clubs) and broadening to include attention to various forms of popular culture (such as music, fashion, media consumption, hobbies, and youth lifestyle in general) that are seen as either forming specific youth subcultures or as being part of a general (and even global) youth culture. In Indonesia, the youth culture approach is well represented in studies of youth as Naafs and White (2012: 4) point out in a recent literature review:

Indonesian youth studies have in many ways followed the general pattern and trends of the broader field of youth studies. They have tended to focus largely on urban youth, and particularly in the capital and larger metropolitan cities... in recent years, they have shown great interest in youth cultures and lifestyles, and much less in young people's practical and material activities and interests.

The predominant interest in youth culture studies on aspects of lifestyle and popular culture can run the risk of undermining youths' activities and concerns with gaining a livelihood and entering adulthood (Wyn and White 1997: 84). Since vocational high schools emphasis the training of students to be ready to enter to job market upon graduation,⁴ I hope to show that the use of languages in their written communication reflect not just their youth culture activities but also their efforts in learning vocational skills as part of "becoming" adults.

Another reason for choosing a more balanced perspective between the aspects of "being" youth and "becoming" adult is the way youth has historically been defined in Indonesia through the terms *pemuda* and *remaja*. The term *pemuda* ('youth') is the more prominent of the two and it is associated with the idea of "nationalist youth". It developed from the names of nationalist youth groups that emerged in the early 1900s,

⁴ This contrasts with general high schools (*Sekolah Menengah Atas* - SMA) that aim to prepare students to continue to tertiary education.

mostly made up of youths from local upper-class families who had received post-secondary education in Java, such as *Jong Java*, *Jong Sumatran Bond*, *Jong Celebes*, *Jong Minahasa*, *Jong Indonesia* and later *Pemuda Indonesia* (Foulcher 2000: 379). This youth-driven nationalist movement culminated in the famous Second Youth Congress of 1928, where these youths declared the Youth Oath or *Sumpah Pemuda* in which they professed as being part of one country and one nation of Indonesia and upholding the language of unity, *Bahasa Indonesia*. The term *remaja* ('teenager') emerged more recently and points to a youth identity based on lifestyle, consumption and popular culture. James Siegel first took note of this identity, writing of the "emergence of a new social type, the *remaja*, perhaps best translated as 'teenager', perhaps as 'adolescent', on the Indonesian scene" (Siegel 1986: 203). Siegel suggests that this new youth identity is based on specific tastes oriented around non-traditional and non-national cultural items such as Western influenced popular music and fashion. These foreign items help youth to create new forms of expressions that are different from those already present within the national or traditional hierarchy.

While the term *remaja* can be argued as constituting an opposing non-political youth identity and consciousness to the nationalist and thus political *pemuda*,⁵ the youths that I will discuss here can be said to belong to both notions of *pemuda* and *remaja*. Many of the youths are part of social groups, such as the School Student Parliament (OSIS) and the Scouts (*Pramuka*) are state formulated and sanctioned, meaning that there is still much emphasis for them to be state-oriented nationalist *pemuda*. At the same time, however, these youths are also familiar with and often make use of various cultural forms and symbolic consumptions related to youth popular culture that are emblematic of *remaja*, since as high-school students, they are also in fact still teenagers. Indeed, these two notions of youth in Indonesia are often not mutually exclusive and Indonesian youths will often take a position that combines these two notions of youth identity in their daily activities.

5. Written language as a social and language ideological practice

Sebba (2012) has pointed out that in order to incorporate the analysis of multilingual writing, analytical frameworks on multilingualism need to be modified to deal with the often asynchronous and un-sequential nature of written communication. The first step is to adopt a perspective that views literacy and writing as a social practice (Street 1993, 2000, Barton 1994, Baynham 1995). According to Barton and Hamilton (1998: 6-7), the social practice approach entails: (a) viewing literacy as a social practice inferred from events mediated by written texts; (b) identifying and acknowledging different or multiple types of literacies⁶ associated with different domains of life and that have unequal evaluations; (c) seeing literacy practices as being patterned by various contexts such as social institutions, social relations and power; (d) viewing literacy as purposeful and embedded in people's broader social goals and cultural practices; and (e) paying

⁵ For example, Nilan (2004: 190) writes: "we could argue that since 1998, the generation of young people in Indonesia has lost that definable sense of generation "for itself" (*pemuda*), and has become more of a generation "in itself" (*remaja*, *ABG*), linked mainly by temporal similarity rather than by shared political knowledge and purpose."

⁶ Barton and Hamilton (1998: 9) use the plural "literacies" to point out that "literacy is not the same in all contexts; rather, there are different literacies". The notion of "literacies" can refer to two senses: (a) literacy practices "which involve different media and symbolic systems" and (b) literacy practices "in different cultures and languages".

attention not just to the practice of literacy but also to people's awareness, ideologies, and discourses on literacy. The notion of multiple literacies can also mean that different domains or spaces of writing can have their own regulations or regimes of orthography and language, ranging from "regulated" spaces that focus on standard language to "unregulated" spaces that are more open to non-standard or colloquial languages (Sebba 2007: 41). Collins, and Slembrouck (2005b: 214) argue that these spaces or domains of literacies can be "monologic" or have a singular dominant regime (usually also monolingual) or they can be "dialogic" or have multiple regimes, though they can be scaled/stratified. Another aspect of looking at the social context of literacy is to pay attention to the connections of written language to other forms of communication, including spoken interaction or what Boyarin (1993) calls the "voices around the text".

Since the concept of "literacy practices" is formulated within Street's (1993, 2000) ideological perspective on literacy, this fits well with the study of language ideology since both perspectives highlight the connection between language use and the socio-cultural evaluations of language. In interactional sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology, scholars have emphasized that the significance of language lies not just in the referential meaning it denotes but also the way linguistic form can index broader "social meanings" (Silverstein 1976; Gumperz 1982; Hymes 1986). The notion of social or indexical meaning (Duranti 1997: 203) can pertain to non-referential information regarding the communicative context (e.g., Gumperz's (1982) "contextualization cues") or to the way language forms can evoke social information such as social status, ethnic identity, and other cultural meanings.⁷ The study of language ideology builds upon this notion of indexical meaning by pointing out that there is often an additional level of social evaluation of language form, or what Irvine (1989: 267) considers as the "loading of moral and political interests." In talking about this level of language evaluation, I follow Blommaert's (2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2010) framework based on the concepts of orders of indexicality and sociolinguistic scales because they explicitly view that the indexical meaning and evaluation of languages can be layered and stratified.

Blommaert's (2007a) notion of orders of indexicality argues that patterned forms of indexical relations between language and pragmatic meaning, such as registers (Agha 2005), social language and Discourses (Gee 1996), often occur within stratified general repertoires. Orders of indexicality point to how these forms of semiosis are "systematically perceived as valuable, others less valuable, and some are not taken account at all" (Blommaert 2007a: 117). As such, order of indexicalities can also be considered as "norms or rules of language" (Blommaert 2005: 73) about what is considered either "right", "good", or "marked" and "unexpected" semiotic behavior (Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck 2005b: 207). The hierarchy of evaluation is often tied to "centring institutions" (Silverstein 1998 via Blommaert 2005: 75) which can be in the form of real institutions and social groups such as schools, governments, or abstract norms and ideals such as democracy, national identity, modernity, or standard language. These authoritative centers of cultural and linguistic evaluation have power over "clusters of semiotic features, including thematic domain, places, people (roles, identities, relationships) and semiotic styles (including linguistic varieties, modes of performance, etc.)" (Blommaert 2007a: 118) and impose the stratification of value of these indexical meanings. Since we are dealing with youths who use multiple languages

⁷ For example, honorifics convey indexical meanings of deference, politeness, and difference in social status in addition to their referential content (see Irvine 1998). Another example is the correlation between language varieties and social categories such as social class and ethnic/racial groups shown by variationist studies in sociolinguistics (e.g., Labov 2006 [1966]; Trudgill 1974; Milroy 1987).

and language varieties, this means that they can have “polycentric” (Blommaert 2007a) orientations to multiple centers of linguistic authority.

Blommaert's (2007b) notion of sociolinguistic scale helps to understand how context can be layered, both through the way different layers can be presupposed/performed through language and through the way various layers of contexts can impose their norms and regimes of language (in other words, their orders of indexicality) on people and the conversations/texts and language repertoires they bring to these contexts. The notion of scale involves the idea that social context and space are often "ordered and organized in relation to one another, stratified and layered, with processes belonging to one scale entering processes at another scale" (Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck 2005a: 203). Hence, contexts and spaces can be related or connected to one another in a stratified and scalar manner where some contexts are evaluated as more limited in scope and value compared to other contexts. Scales can be indexed by statements or certain grammatical, stylistic or generic operations of utterances, e.g., through things such as register, style, dialects, and various forms of social language. In this sense, then, scales are not just characteristics of social context and social space but also something that can be evoked, performed or enacted through discursive means. The ability to move between scales or "scale-jumping" is dependent on "access to discursive resources that index and iconize particular scale levels" (Blommaert 2007b: 7).

6. The range of youth texts

6.1 Formal group texts

The most formal and most regulated or regimented texts that these youths produce in the out-of-classroom communication of their school-based youth groups are generally in the form of organizational documents, such as proposals, group announcements, letters, and group rules and bylaws (*Anggaran Dasar/Anggaran Rumah Tangga* -AD/ART). These documents are usually exclusively written in standard Indonesian and are treated as the groups' official documents. These documents usually represent the institutional voice of the whole group, which is reflected not just by the use of standard Indonesian but also by the use of various other graphical symbols such as the group or school letterhead, signatures of group administrators and teachers, as well as group or school stamps (Figure 1). The use of standard language and official symbols are also the result of the institutional demands of the school since many of these documents are also addressed to teachers and school staff who have the authority of approving these documents.

Official documents are thus part of the regulated space where the regime of language and orthography is largely "monologic" or monolingual and centered on standard Indonesian as the linguistic authority. The youths pick up the generic formats of official documents through a process of socialization either with school staff and teachers or with senior students. The current administrators of these groups rely on copying and modifying documents made by previous administrators to learn the format of this official genre. While the language within the documents themselves are regulated and standardized, the process of producing these texts often involves the spoken use of languages in the manner of unregulated spaces. This is shown in Extract 1 below,⁸ in which youths from the OSIS of SMKN Bebengan are talking about the proposal they

⁸ I will be using the following transcription methods for languages: Javanese is in normal text, Indonesian is in **bold text**, and English is in *italics*.

are preparing for a school celebration of a religious holiday. RA and MY are two male OSIS members tasked with being the steering committee of the celebration. They are working on RA's laptop computer in the OSIS room and are discussing corrections they need to make based on the input of their supervising teacher. The text that they ultimately produced is of course fully in Indonesian.

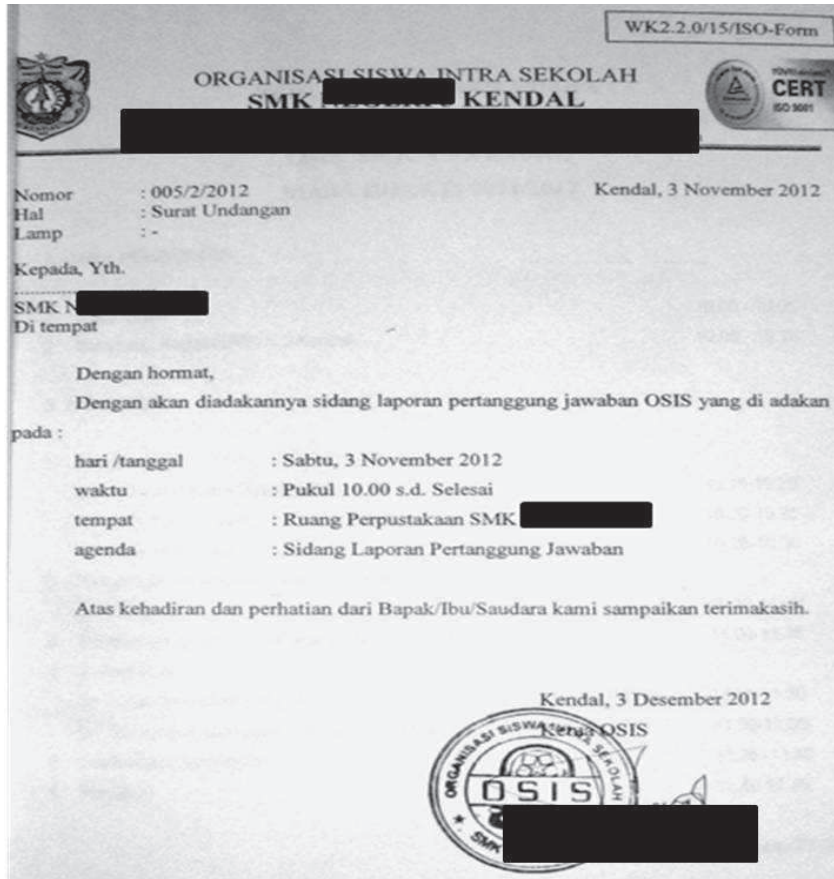


Figure 1

Extract 1

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1) RA: Hari, waktu, kegiatan, koordinator, pendamping. Kurang lokasi thák tá? | 1) RA: Day, time, activity, coordinator, supervisor. Just missing location , right? |
| 2) MY: Trus ora sisan? | 2) MY: Then why not all at once? |
| 3) RA: Lèk kéné tulis néh ndha. Iki jaréné pak LT siji-siji ák. | 3) RA: Have to write this again here. This, according to Mr. LT, has to be one by one. |
| 4) MY: Ápáné? | 4) MY: What? |
| 5) KT: Per lomba siji-siji | 5) KT: Each competition , one by one. |
| 6) MY: Tiap lomba siji ngono? | 6) MY: Every competition , you write one, like that? |
| 7) RA: ((to KT)) Tiap lomba satu ya? | 7) RA: ((to KT)) Every competition one, yes? |
| 8) KT: Hm. ((nods)) Yá gari mbák <i>copy paste</i> ping telu tá. | 8) KT: Hm. ((nods)) Well, you just have to <i>copy paste</i> three times then. |

In the recorded conversation, the talk or "voices around the text" between RA, MY and myself (KT) is conducted mostly in a mix of Javanese and Indonesian. RA uses Indonesian when he was referring to the text in the first part of turn 1. He then switches to Javanese when conversing with MY, which is often the preferred language of informal conversation among equal peers in Java. In turn 6, I comment in a mix of Indonesian and Javanese, which is not out place in this conversation.

While the use of Javanese is quite common in personal spoken interaction among youths in Semarang, what I intend to highlight here is that there is a connection between the use of Javanese in the verbal process of textual production and the Indonesian monolingual text that is produced. It shows that youths use the multiple languages in their repertoire in an interconnected manner: youths are using a combination of languages (Javanese and Indonesian) in order to produce a text that is exclusively in one language (Indonesian). Of course, it is a common occurrence that the talk surrounding the text, often in multiple languages or language varieties, tends not to make it into the final text in such collaborative forms of writing and literacy (Shuman 1993; Kalman 1999). Hence, the interconnections between languages are ultimately put under language ideological "erasure" (Irvine and Gal 2000: 38) behind the visible formal text. This "erasure" is also a result of the institutional demands that genre of formal text must only be in Indonesian. While we may consider that the mixed use of Javanese and Indonesian in Extract 1 is due to the spoken nature of conversation, I will show later that youths can use Javanese as part of their written communication in less formal texts where there are less institutional restrictions on language use and orthography.

The monolingual and highly regimented nature of these formal and official documents represents one form or mode of the continuum of linguistic behavior in which youths can deploy their multilingual repertoires. While we may generally view that the language of multilingual youths is often hybrid and fluid (e.g., Cutler 1999; Bucholtz and Skapoulli 2009; Jorgensen 2008; Lepannen et al. 2009) we must also understand that there are instances where these youths both use and define languages as fixed, separate entities meant to be performed in a monolingual manner. In the case of these formal documents, this monolingual use of Indonesian is a result of the communicative demands of adult institutions such as the school administration.

6.2 Semi-formal group texts

The semi-formal texts observed in both research locations include documents such as youth/student made posters, announcements, class t-shirts and sports uniforms. These documents are semi-formal because while they still represent the various youth groups that produce them and because they are still generally monitored and regulated by teachers and school staff, these texts are not taken as official group texts and are generally oriented to other youths instead of teachers or school staff. For example, DP and AN from the OSIS group of SMKN Bebengan explain in Extract 2 the way in which some of these documents and written products are regulated by the school. They state that the school permits the use of multiple and even mixed language other than Indonesian but regulates the contents of these texts based on norms of appropriateness and politeness. This is illustrated with an example of a class sports shirt that was ultimately censored because the school administrators deemed that the acronym (Aborsi - 'Abortion') was not socially acceptable and not because of the mixed use of Indonesian and Javanese in the long form of the acronym (**Armada** Bocah **RPL** Siji - Armada of RPL One Kids), which DP and AN though was quite good.

Extract 2

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1) KT: Tapi boleh pakai bahasa campuran?</p> <p>2) DP: Ndak papa. Basa Inggris, basa apa, yang penting kan masih wajarlah. Tidak harus bahasa Indonesia yang baku. Pemilihan tema pun kan tidak harus bahasa Indonesia.
<i>Always with me, always with you. Trus... one... story of the year.</i>
Ndak masalah, yang penting masih konteks wajar.
[...]
Yang penting... kalau kaos olah raga, memang itu dikoreksi. Disaring lah. Sebelum dicetak, desainnya disodorkan dulu. Apakah sesuai atau tidak? Karena kejadian juga, sudah kadang dicetak semua tidak sesuai dengan sekolah. Tidak boleh dipakai.</p> <p>3) AN: Aborsi.</p> <p>4) DP: Ada kata-kata yang kurang pas.</p> <p>5) AN: Aborsi.</p> <p>6) DP: Padahal itu singkatannya baik sebenarnya. Cuman kan...=</p> <p>7) AN: = Abor...eh ápá, Armada Bocah RPL Siji.</p> <p>8) DP: Disingkat Aborsi. Gede banget itu. Makanya itu contoh kaos olah raga yang disaring dulu.</p> | <p>1) KT: But you're allowed to use mixed language?</p> <p>2) DP: No problem. English, whatever language, as long as it is still acceptable. Doesn't have to be standard Bahasa Indonesia. The choice of theme does not have to be Bahasa Indonesia.
<i>Always with me, always with you. Then...one... story of the year.</i>
No problem, as long as it is still acceptable.
[...]
As long as... if it's a sports shirt, then it's corrected. Filtered, so to speak. Before it's printed, the design is submitted. Is it acceptable or not? Because it happens, it's already printed but wasn't acceptable with the school. They weren't allowed to wear it.</p> <p>3) AN: Aborsi [Abortion]</p> <p>4) DP: There were words that were considered unfit.</p> <p>5) AN: Aborsi</p> <p>6) DP: Even though it was a good abbreviation. It's just that...=</p> <p>7) AN: = Abor...eh what, Armada Bocah RPL Siji [Armada of RPL One Kids].</p> <p>8) DP: Abbreviated into Aborsi. In large letters. That's an example of a sport shirt that was filtered first.</p> |
|---|--|

Hence, there is no strict monolingual, generic or orthographic regimentation for these documents such as those that operate in official documents. This category of texts and written products feature the use of not just Indonesian, but also English and Javanese, either in a parallel or a complementary manner. Nevertheless, Indonesian is still the language that is predominantly used, especially to deliver the main message and details (i.e., the "body copy" in Huebner 2009: 77-78) because many of these texts are written with an orientation to the general public within both school locations and because Indonesian is the main language that is used to present referential information.

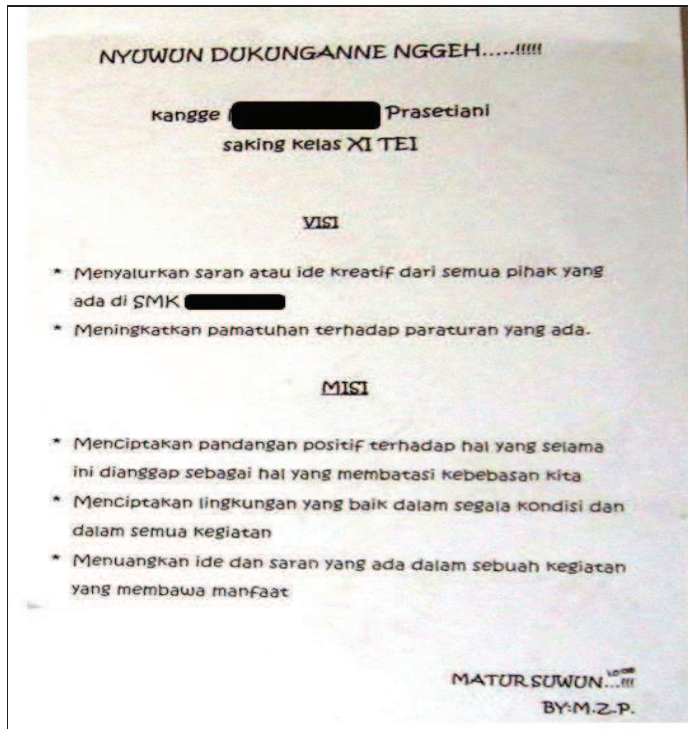


Figure2

For example, Figure 2 above is a campaign poster for the student parliament (OSIS) elections in SMKN Bebengan, it is clear that Indonesian is still the language of the main body of the text. The figure presents the complementary⁹ use of Javanese and Indonesian. The text uses Javanese -in the low *basa/krama* or *madya* speech level- in the heading in order to appeal for support (*nyuwun dukungane nggeh* - '[I] request [your] support') for a certain OSIS candidate. On the other hand, Indonesian is used to outline the details of candidate's vision and mission in the body copy portion of the text.

The youth candidate's use of Javanese indexes a personal voice in addressing fellow youths and students. In particular, her use of elements from the honorific *basa*¹⁰ speech level (the verb *nyuwun*, the tag question *nggeh*, the preposition *kangge* - 'for', the preposition *saking* - 'from', and *matur nuwun* - 'thank you') evokes the subjective expression of deference to the readers as part of her effort in requesting support. This contrasts with her use of Indonesian to objectively detail her vision and mission as a candidate in the main body of the text. The use of Javanese here can also be seen as a way of evoking a local/regional (*daerah*) Javanese scale to project familiarity and closeness to potential voters, something which is commonly done in political campaigns.

⁹ Sebba (2012) describes two ways in which multiple languages can be used in a single written text. Languages can be used in a "parallel manner," in which multiple languages are used to repeat the same message, such as in the directional signs commonly encountered at international airports. In reading these signs, readers need to only understand one of the languages being used (Sebba 2012: 14). Multiple languages can also be used in a "complementary manner," in which two or more languages are used in different parts of the text to convey the main message. This type of multilingual text implies that the readers can decipher all of the languages that are used in the message (Sebba 2012: 15). As I have argued, this does not necessarily mean full competence in all the languages. In fact, a form of "truncated multilingualism" is what is usually minimally required to understand these complementary multilingual texts.

¹⁰ I use Errington's (1998b: 37) and Siegel's (1986: 20) broad differentiation of Javanese speech levels into the two categories of *basa* (comprising *krama* and *madya*) and *ngoko*, based on Javanese speakers' practical perspectives on deference in conversations.

Other texts use English in a complementary manner, using it in the heading while the rest of the main body of the text is in Indonesian. For example, Figure 3 below is a recruiting poster for the *Pramuka* troop of SMKN Pandanaran with the English heading "Come join us with Ambalan Budi Utomo" [sic]. The main details of this poster, such as when and where the *Pramuka* practice every week, are given in Indonesian and so is the slogan/motto of the poster (*Satu Pramuka untuk Satu Indonesia* - 'One Pramuka for One Indonesia').



Figure 3

The youths' use of English in these types of text can be seen as serving a dual function of indexing both the technical jargon of the industries related to vocational education and the symbolic value of English as a language of the lifestyle of the urban middle-class. The use of English to index symbolic values of lifestyle is similar to the notion that English is used for its symbolic value as a linguistic fetish in much of international advertising (Kelly-Holmes 2005). For example, in the class t-shirt in Figure 4, youths from SMKN Bebengan are using English in a symbolic manner since there seems to be no clear referential message in the various individual words and phrases arranged haphazardly on the shirt (such as "like", "good", "be a", "are", "legion of", "obvious", "we valu", "ables" [sic], etc). The main point here is that the use of English itself, in the form of bits and pieces of linguistic features identifiable as English, is symbolic of how the youths of this class from SMKN Bebengan seek to present themselves since they perceive English as the "cool" and fashionable social language (see Extract 3 below).



Figure 4

Youths also use English as part of the technical jargon of their vocational schooling. The poster in Figure 5 below, made by the Multimedia Study Group of SMKN Pandanaran, features the use of English to state the three main technical activities that the multimedia community is involved in: "graphic design", "videography" (a blending of video and photography) and "web design". A short description in smaller print is presented in Indonesian below the main text, explaining the members of the community and what they are interested in. The use of English in this poster reflects the importance of the language as the register for technology, especially in the engineering and computer oriented vocational programs. English in the form of these terms and jargons is thus an important part not just of the technical register used in vocational schools but also of the potential job market in the broader industries that these students are being trained for.



Figure 5

I will argue that the uses of English in Figure 5 above also represent the commodification of language, in which certain languages have a "market value" (Coulmas 1992: 77-79), in the sense that the exchange value of a language means it is a

"marketable commodity on its own" (Heller 2003: 474). Heller (2010) has argued that this commodification of language is a result of the expansion of capitalism both into new geographical areas and through the development of niche markets and symbolic forms of added value. This has led not just to the expansion of communication networks involving a wider repertoire of languages, but also the use of language and other semiotic forms as either a commodity or an important means of production for various industries in the new "knowledge economy".

The poster by the Multimedia study group in SMKN Pandanaran can be seen as a typical example of the use of language, especially English as a global lingua-franca, as both a commodity and a means of production. Much of the work of the Multimedia study group involves learning to make various multimedia products, such as posters, photographs and advertisements, of which the use of language (in combination with images) is often an important part. Of the three languages that youths have used in their spoken and written communication, English plays an important role as a linguistic commodity in the written products of the Multimedia group. The youths consciously use English as a way to add symbolic value to the products that they aim to promote through the poster and advertisements that they make. As the Multimedia youths explain in Extract 3 below, using English adds symbolic value and increases the "level" of the product depicted in their advertisements. Youths use English in the names of their businesses as well as in the body copy of their advertisement in order to add symbolic value or to perform "scale-jumps" (Blommaert 2007b) so as to index a higher and broader scale for their message. Using English is also part of a wider form of "commodification practices" (Coupland 1996 in Piller 2001), in which the use of English in combination with Indonesian is now a common and even expected form of linguistic practice in texts associated with advertising and promotion.

Extract 3

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1) KT: Kalau yang foto produk itu, label-label kalian sebagian besar bahasanya apa saja? | 1) KT: In the product photos, in what language are most of your labels? |
| 2) AD: Inggris biasanya. | 2) AD: Usually English. |
| 3) FN: Inggris, Indonesia. | 3) FN: English, Indonesian. |
| 4) KT: Memang produknya produk luar atau gimana? Kenapa kok membuat labelnya paké bahasa Inggris? | 4) KT: Are the products foreign or what? Why do you use English labels? |
| 5) AD: Bahasa Inggris itu terkesannya lebih <i>elegant</i> gitu, <i>levelnya</i> tinggi.. ((laughs)). Kalo dibaca kan, "wuehh bahasa Inggris." | 5) AD: English seems more <i>elegant</i>, you know, the <i>level</i> is higher ((laughs)). If you read it, it's like, "wow English." |
| 6) KT: Apa memang ada tuntutan atau aturan atau kebiasaan menggunakan bahasa-bahasa tertentu? | 6) KT: Is there a demand or rule or habit of using a certain language? |
| 7) TH : Ya ndak juga sih. Cuman kalo produk itu biar produknya lebih tinggi, misal bahasa Inggris kan bisa naikin <i>level</i> atau apa gitu. | 7) TH : Well, not really. It's just so that a product is higher, for example, English can increase the <i>level</i> or whatever it is. |

English is also an important language in the means of production of these multimedia products since most of the software and hardware that youths use are often encoded in English. Partly because of this, most of the jargons and terms of the industry that these youths learn and use are in English. The mastery and use of English jargons are also an important aspect of the vocational training for students to be part of the industries associated with their vocational programs. The use of these English jargons is also symbolic of being a member of the "community of practice" (Wenger 1998) of not only the Multimedia vocational program but also of the broader Multimedia industry and job market. A sign of learning to be a web designer or computer technician involves the mastery of the technical skills which often includes the ability to use the largely English-based technologies and jargons of their industry. Hence, the use of English as technical jargon also dovetails into its symbolic use since it is part of both the commodity and means of production of these industries and vocational programs.

The youths also generally use English in the form of fragments of linguistic features such as individual words and phrases that are considered as belonging to English. It is these pieces of linguistic features of English that these youths often have as part of their multilingual repertoire and thus it is with these linguistic features that youths evoke the symbolic social meaning of English. Of course, English is also used in this fragmentary manner because of the limitations of these youths' repertoire in the language. The use of English in this fragmentary manner, often alongside Indonesian, is a "polylingual" (Jorgensen 2008) form of multilingualism in which language users make use of any linguistic features they can get hold of in order to fulfill their communicative needs, including evoking social and indexical meaning. In the case of using a global language such as English, the youths' language use is oriented not towards a global, ideal and standard version of English but more towards appropriating it in fragments in order to communicate with other local actors for local purposes.

The youths' use of multiple languages in a complementary manner in these semi-formal texts are not just the result of the demands of being youth but also the demands of becoming adult through vocational education. As the examples in Figures 2, 3 and 4 show youths can combine languages to either present a personal voice or a cool and fashionable image for the purpose of communicating with other local youths. On the other hand, Figure 5 and Extract 3 show how youths combine languages to present not only industry jargon but also the commodification practices of these industries in using English as a marketing language.

The examples of the semi-formal texts above highlight that this genre of texts is less regulated and thus more "dialogic" compared to formal texts, hence the use of Javanese and English in addition to Indonesian of the main body of the text. However, the way these languages are being used points to an overarching order of indexicality regarding the hierarchy and sociolinguistic scale these languages index. In these texts, Indonesian indexes the referential and objective voice often associated with its position as a national and official language; Javanese indexes a local scale and personal voice; whereas English is used to index a global scale that is instrumental to learning technology as well as being socio-economically prestigious and esoteric.

6.3 Inter-personal group texts: Wall magazines

In this section I will discuss what I will call here as inter-personal group texts. I characterize them as inter-personal because although these texts are produced by the youth groups, they are often intended to as a means of the group members to personally

and informally address fellow youth and students, particularly through the use of colloquial registers, such as colloquial Indonesian and *ngoko* Javanese, as well as innovative use of orthography. This form of language use contrasts with the official and authoritative nature of monolingual Indonesian formal texts. Since these texts are not entirely focused on presenting a formal group message and they are less scrutinized by the school administration due to their personal nature, they often exhibit the broader range in which youths use multiple languages and language varieties.

Mading (*majalah dinding*) or wall magazines are made either as a form of class assignment or as a way for certain youth groups to share their activities with the rest of the school. As a result, *madings*, just like magazines in general, can be made up of multiple genres. For example, *madings* can have content in the form of articles in which Indonesian is usually the main language of the text body, though headings can often be in English. The type of *mading* that I will focus on here, however, often features the use of all three languages (Javanese, Indonesian and English) that youths have been using in their communicative activities. In both school locations, this type of *mading* is usually in the form of a series of captioned photographs about a recent youth group activity. For example, Figure 6 below shows a *mading* from SMKN Pandanaran reporting on students' participation in an annual city carnival. Here, the title of the *mading* is in English, based on the English name of the event, Semarang Night Carnival. The captions underneath the photographs, however, often feature the mixed use of Indonesian, Javanese and English.

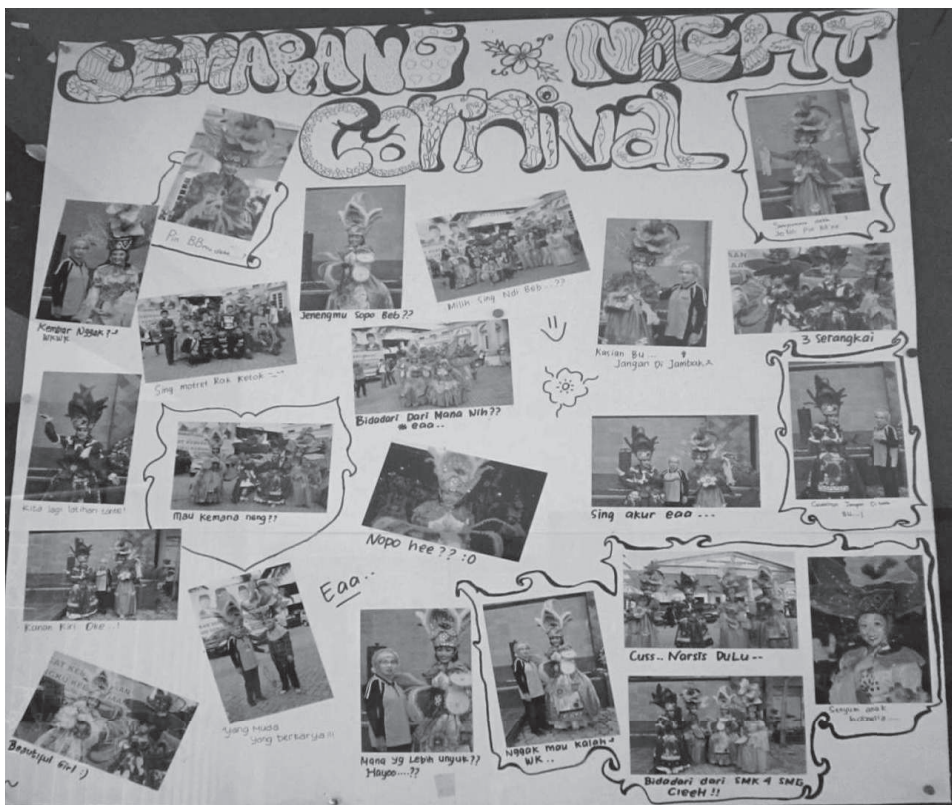


Figure 6d

The main feature of these *madings*, then, is the way youths use the three languages in the photograph captions. While Indonesian is still used in the photo captions, it is sometimes combined with Javanese or with English. The use of Javanese in particular indexes an inter-personal voice for the youths. They make use of the language to make

jokes and comments that are of a personal and playful tone, especially since the variety of Javanese used in these captions is mostly in the *ngoko* speech level, which is the speech level youths commonly use to address peers who are familiar and of equal social status. In these captions, Javanese re-emerges as a language of inter-personal written communication alongside the other two languages. For example, Table 1 shows the use of Javanese alongside Indonesian and English in the captions of the *mading* in Figure 6. The examples (Table 1) also show the creative use of punctuation marks as a way to represent facial expressions (otherwise known as "emoticons"¹¹), such as the -_- symbol used in caption 1 and the :) symbol in caption 3, and as a form of written prosody to convey para-linguistic information. Additionally, youths also use colloquial varieties of Indonesian, such as the colloquial adjective *unyu* ("cute") in caption 2.

(1) Sing motret rak ketok -_-	(1) The photo taker is not visible -_-
(2) Mana yang lebih unyu?? Hayoo...??	(2) Which one is cuter?? Hayoo...??
(3) Beautiful girl :) 	(3) Beautiful girl :)

Table 1. Examples of captions from *mading* in Figure 6

These *mading* captions also show how youth can juxtapose languages in order to make humorous and playful jokes. The playful juxtaposition generally relies not just on the contrast of referential meaning but also on the contrast of languages and their indexical meanings. In Figure 7, an example from a *mading* made by the Paskibra in SMKN Bebengan shows the juxtaposition of Indonesian and Javanese.

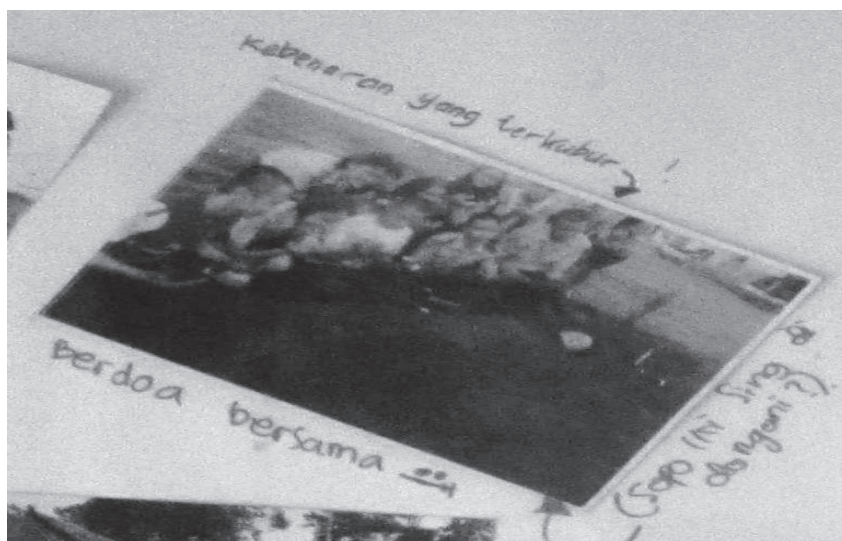


Figure 7

**Kebenaran yang terkubur. Berdoa bersama. Sopo iki sing didongani?
A buried truth. Praying together. Who is this [we're] praying for?**

¹¹ See Crystal (2006: 39-40) for a list of various commonly used emoticons. See Dresner and Herring (2010) for a discussion of their communicative functions, in which they argue that emoticons do not necessarily have a one-to-one connection to particular speech acts and that other textual markers in the message contribute to the contextual interpretation of the communicative meaning of the particular use of an emoticon.

In the caption, the seemingly serious statement regarding a 'buried truth' and 'praying together', written in Indonesian, is juxtaposed with the irreverent Javanese question (and punch line) 'who is this we're praying for?' (*sopo iki sing didongani?*). The humor here lies not just in the juxtaposition of referential meaning but also in the juxtaposition of the indexical meaning of languages, in which the authoritative and objective voice associated with Indonesian is contrasted with the personal and subjective voice associated with Javanese.

The playful juxtaposition of languages also occurs between Javanese and English. Figure 8 shows an extract from a *mading* by the Pramuka of SMKN Bebengan, which features the seemingly English clause "The Laden of scout" [sic]. The word *laden* (phonetically [ladèn]) is actually Javanese and refers to the traditional activity (usually done voluntarily by youth) of helping to serve guests during social activities in the community such as weddings or neighborhood gatherings. Hence, the joke refers to the way the youths in the figure are dressed in traditional *batik* shirts for the *Pramuka* competition just like they would be dressed if they were *ladèn*, yet the joke is stylishly rendered in the socially prestigious and "cool" language of English.

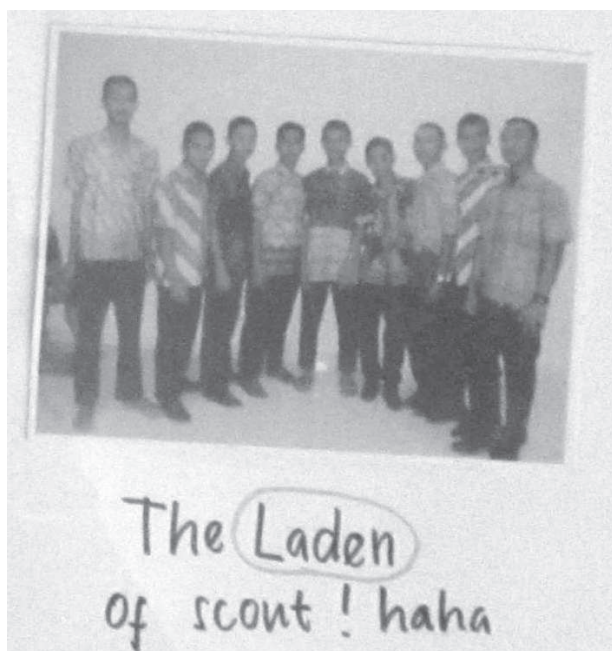


Figure 8

The joke in the caption relies on the juxtaposition of the Javanese noun (*ladèn*), which acts as the head of the noun phrase, with the other elements of the clause which are in English (the determiner 'the' and the prepositional phrase/adjunct 'of scout'). It is a bilingual joke in which the use of English is ironic¹² since the crucial referential element

¹² The use of English here can be interpreted along the lines of what Rampton (1998: 305-306) calls "ironic code-switching." Ironic code-switching is based on the Bakhtinian notion of "double-voicing" in which "speakers use someone else's discourse [or language] for their own purposes" (Rampton 1998: 304). This double-voicing, then, can either be "uni-directional", in which a speaker "uses someone else's discourse in the direction of its own particular intentions" and this can result in the diminishment of the "boundary between the speakers and the voice they are adopting" (Rampton 1998: 304). Rampton equates uni-directional double voicing with the Gumperzian notion of "metaphorical code-switching." Ironic code-switching, on the other hand, is based on "vari-directional double voicing," in which the speaker uses someone else's discourse/language but "introduces a semantic intention directly opposed to the original one", so that "the two voices are much more clearly demarcated" (1998: 305).

and punch-line is encoded in the Javanese. The use of the Javanese noun also ironically negates the "cool" indexical meaning associated with English, because servant roles, such as *ladèn*, are not considered "cool" or prestigious in Javanese culture and because Javanese as a local language is not perceived as "cool" or prestigious compared to English as a global language.

To read the caption only in English would render it meaningless and would be completely missing the point since it is written in a *mading* that is directed at other bilingual Javanese youths who would not interpret it as such (the circle around *laden* provides an additional graphical cue to direct the interpretation). As another example of "polylingualism" (Jorgensen 2008), the caption does not require full competence in both languages. Instead, it requires using an understanding of both languages at the same time and having additional socio-cultural indexical knowledge regarding the Javanese practices of *ladèn* in order to fully understand the joke.

In these *madings* we thus see the emergence of Javanese, especially the *ngoko* speech level, in written communication, which the youths use to address their peers on a personal and informal level similar to the way youths commonly use Javanese to talk to each other in day to day interaction. The informal nature of these texts also enables youths to playfully combine and juxtapose Javanese with Indonesian and English. In doing so, they can recontextualize and even subvert the indexical meanings of these two languages by juxtaposing them with the personal, informal and playful social indexicality associated with *ngoko* Javanese.

6.4 Inter-personal group texts: Facebook posts

Studies on computer mediated written communication, especially those conducted on the internet, have highlighted that this medium has often been a site of dynamic language use. In this medium, language is often used playfully, featuring novel uses of spelling, orthographic symbols, acronyms, as well as the use of colloquial language styles that are often similar to verbal communication (Crystal 2006; Androutsopoulos 2006a; Tagliamonte and Denis 2008; Jones and Schieffelin 2009). These novel forms of spelling, vernacular language styles, and even multiple languages are often used as a means of increasing the expressiveness of written communication as well as a way to construct and express an on-line identity and community (Androutsopoulos 2006b; Jones and Schieffelin 2009). Written communication on the internet is also highly multilingual, due to the fact that most of the software and underlying infrastructure of the internet is in English while many of the users around the world are non-native speakers of the language (Danet and Herring 2007).

Of course, internet-based computer mediated communication spans a number of genres such as on-line forums or bulletin boards, chat-groups, e-mails, instant messaging, and blogs (Crystal 2006). In this section I will discuss Facebook posts since they are the prominent form of internet-based computer mediated communication that the youth groups use. Lee and Barton (2011: 40) have characterized Facebook as an example of "Web 2.0." where, in addition to sharing information, websites are also places in which users can collaborate and contribute content. Lee (2011) has also characterized Facebook status updates as a hybrid genre which combines features of instant messaging, texting and blogging, thus leading and enabling multilingual and multimodal textual practices. Indeed, Knobel and Lankshear's (2008) description and analysis of Facebook pages highlight the way in which most of the communicative symbols on Facebook (icons, apps, etc) are visual instead of textual. On the other hand,

my analysis of youths' Facebook posts will be more focused on the languages they use and how it is connected to the way they have used languages in other forms of written texts that I have discussed.

The Facebook postings that I will discuss below are taken from the group page of the *Pramuka* youth group of SMKN Bebengan. The main function of this Facebook page is to enable the *Pramuka* Working Committee (*Dewan Kerja Ambalan - DKA*) to communicate with the junior participants from grade X. Nevertheless, the way this Facebook page is set up enables various members, either from the DKA, from grade X, and even from alumni of the *Pramuka*, to post on the page either to the whole group or in response to individual posts.

Youths generally use Indonesian as the "forum/group" language in announcements addressed to the whole *Pramuka* group, especially for topics associated with the activity of the *Pramuka*. In the comments section below these posts, however, youths tend to use either Indonesian or Javanese depending on who they are addressing. For example, in Extract 4 below, GN (a junior school staff member who supervises the *Pramuka*) posts a congratulatory message in Indonesian directed to potential members of the *Pramuka* working committee (*Calon Bantara - CABA*), who are mostly students from grade X. GN's Indonesian can still be considered close to standard, despite the overt use of capitalization, which in this case functions as an indicator of emphasis.¹³ His status only has a few abbreviations - notably "yg" for *yang* - and one spelling mistake in *mengikutio* (*mengikuti* - "take part"). As such, it reflects the official voice of both GN as the supervisor of the *Pramuka* and also as an address directed both to the CABA and to the whole *Pramuka* group.

The comments, on the other hand, feature the use of Indonesian and Javanese. Comments 1-6 are in Indonesian, though the commenters¹⁴ also use some colloquial forms, such as the use of *narsis* (from the term narcissist) as a verb, meaning to pose (narcissistically) in photographs (line 2), and the term *culun* to mean 'innocent' (line 5), as well as numerous abbreviations of words through vowel deletion.¹⁵ After line 6, commenters LLP and LS, both from grade X and thus in the same age level, reply to one another in *ngoko* Javanese, though the language is written in a form that may not be considered as proper Javanese due to various forms of abbreviations, clippings and alternative spelling. LS in particular uses various forms of abbreviations, such as the use of *q* to symbolize the word *aku* (I/first person singular) and the use of quotation marks (") to mark reduplications.

¹³ I will not employ the use of different fonts to indicate changes in language in the Facebook transcripts in this section since I want to present the orthography that the youths use on Facebook in verbatim.

¹⁴ People commonly use the term "commenters" to refer to those who post comments in the comment sections of websites. While this is an informal term, I will use it here to refer to the youths posting comments on Facebook since it better reflects what they are doing compared to other terms such as "commentator" (since the youths are not providing commentary) or "speaker" (since the youths are technically not speaking).

¹⁵ One reason for the abbreviations is that these youths are accessing Facebook through their cell phones. The smaller screen and graphical interface lead them to abbreviate their words similar to text messages.

Extract 4**GN Status:**

CABA.....KALIAN BISA JADI
YANG TERBAIK...SUKSES
BUAT KALIAN.. hanya yg punya
mental dan jiwa sosial tinggi yg
berani mengikutio kegiatan
ini,,,"SALAM PRAMUKA"

Komentar

- 1) GY: SALAM !
- 2) LLP: emmb event lain
mungkin bisa ikut narsis
- 3) GY: hehehe belum saatnya
- 4) LLP: gpp , mnkin lain wktu
- 5) BG: masih lucu" dan culun"
wkwkwk
- 6) GY: oke oke
- 7) LLP: seng sebelae HN n
PL ,paling cilik tp unyu ,. hehe
- 8) LS: op to op ??ah q gwo 0.fb
dadi rk ngrti photo.e
- 9) LLP: hah foto ceng caba kae
loh nek nenek
- 10) LS: oh iyo" q ngerti...hmmm,
kangen watulawang
- 11) LLP: podo
- 12) LS: sneng.e pdo"i, ckck
- 13) LLP: mm tdsj jg
- 14) MTA: itulah awal kbersamaan
kalian.
- 15) LS : he.em kak,,brkat i2 q
smakin mrasakan rsa
ke"luargaan yg sngat erat d dlm
pramuka

GN Status:

CABA.....YOU ALL CAN BE
THE BEST... SUCCESS TO ALL
OF YOU..only [those] who have a
high social mentality are brave to
take part in this
activity,,,"PRAMUKA
GREETINGS"

Comments

- 1) GY: GREETINGS !
- 2) LLP: emmb maybe [I can] join
in the posing at other events
- 3) GY: hehehe not yet time
- 4) LLP: it's ok , maybe some
other time
- 5) BG: still funny" and innocent"
wkwkwk
- 6) GY: oke oke
- 7) LLP: the one next to HN and
PL,. smallest but cutest,. hehe
- 8) LS: what, what??ah I use
0.Facebook so I can't see the
photo
- 9) LLP: hah it's that CABA photo
grandma
- 10) LS: oh yeah" I know ...hmmm,
miss watulawang
- 11) LLP: same
- 12) LS: I also like the same, ckck
- 13) LLP: mm tdsj too
- 14) MTA: that is the beginning of
your togetherness.
- 15) LS: he.em kak,,because of that I
feel more of the strong family in
pramuka

One particular abbreviation, in line 15, is *i2* which is an alpha-numeric combination that is to be read with a combination of the Indonesian and English pronunciation of each character. The abbreviation *i2* combines the Indonesian pronunciation of the letter 'i', which is read as phonetic [i], with the English pronunciation of the numeric '2', phonetically read as [tu] (and not in the Indonesian pronunciation of this symbol, which is *dua* [duwa]). This alpha-numeric and bilingual combination *i2* thus spells out the Indonesian demonstrative *itu* (phonetically [itu], meaning 'that' in English). The *i2* abbreviation is thus a hybrid form of written language which combines not only numeric and alphabetic symbols but also combines two languages in the pronunciation of the graphical symbols. It is in these playful forms of writing (including the example in Figure 8) that we can see how youths fully make use of the interconnections between

the multiple languages in their repertoire: they can use and combine multiple languages in order to construct messages that need to be contextually understood in one language.

Posts made by individual *Pramuka* members further illustrate the variety of registers and orthography that youths use in this medium. In Extract 5 below, a *Pramuka* member (WN) from grade X posts a quote from a senior member in Indonesian. In the same status, she comments on this quote by using a "hashtag"¹⁶ involving the English word "like" and by using punctuation symbols to create an \ (^ _ ^) / emoticon expressing an excited smiling face. While the comments on this status by other youths, all seniors from grade XI, are all in *ngoko* Javanese (lines 1, 3, 5 and 7), WN replies to them using a mix of colloquial Indonesian and *ngoko* Javanese (particularly line 8). In line 2, she uses the colloquial Jakartan-Indonesian discourse particle *dong* which she writes as *dund* (she repeats this in line 8) as well as the colloquial *ciyus* ('serious'). In line 6, she uses the acronym "I.D.L" (*Itu Derita Lu* 'That's your problem') which contains the colloquial Jakartan *lu* (second person singular) pronoun.

Extract 5

WN Status:

Kata mbak ND,, "PRAMUKA itu sulit di ungkapkan dengan kata-kata"..hahaha #like \ (^ _ ^) /

Komentar

- 1) ND: hmm d gwe tnan og
- 2) WN: iya dund, aku ciyus lho,,
- 3) NZ: tenane ah?
- 4) WN: ciyus mas
- 5) NZ: ra mudeng
- 6) WN: jyahh.. I.D.L °-°
- 7) MTA: hehhe WND @ adik'e mbk ND owk ya
- 8) WN: iya dund,, msok adek'e mbak MTA #uups

WN Status:

According to mbak ND,, "PRAMUKA is difficult to express in words"..hahaha #like \ (^ _ ^) /

Comments

- 1) ND: hmm did you make this real
- 2) WN: of course, I'm serious y'know
- 3) NZ: really ah?
- 4) WN: serious mas
- 5) NZ: don't get it
- 6) WN: jyahh.. I.D.L [That's Your Problem] °-°
- 7) MTA: hehhe WN @ is Mbak ND's younger sister right
- 8) WN: of course,, you think i'm mbak MTA's sister #uups

The interaction between WN and the other commenters highlight that these Facebook posts are "dialogic" (Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck 2005b) spaces of interaction where commenters can have "polycentric" (Blommaert 2007a) orientations to multiple centers of linguistic authority. In the exchange, the other commenters are using *ngoko* Javanese, orienting towards an order of indexicality in which it is the main language of inter-personal communication, especially when older youth address their juniors. In contrast, WN uses colloquial Indonesian, emoticons and English hashtags. In doing so, she is orienting towards a more colloquial Indonesian order of indexicality similar to what Smith-Hefner (2007) calls as "*gaul* language" and middle-class sociability.¹⁷

¹⁶ Hashtags are "words or phrases preceded by the # symbol" which function to organize texts and messages based on topics or mentioned in those words or phrases" (Parker 2011). In other words, the hashtags function to indicate "keywords" in internet-based social media.

¹⁷ Smith-Hefner has argued that in using *gaul* language, youths index a contemporary middle-class sociability that emphasizes (in contrast to standard Indonesian and traditional notions of local language)

These two different orders of indexicality thus can co-exist in these Facebook texts and youths can use them against one another in interaction.

The use of emoticons, acronyms, combination of symbols and numbers can also be considered as constituting a form of internet written argot called "*Bahasa Alay*" (e.g., Kuswandini 2009, Jukes 2013) which is similar in principle to other forms of internet argot that occur in other languages such as *leet* in English (Blashki and Nichol 2005), internet Arabic (Palfreyman and Khalil 2007), *Greeklisch* in Greek (Tseliga 2007), and *Jejemon* in the Philippines. As I have mentioned previously, these alternative spellings and orthography are common features of internet mediated written communication and are often used as media for expressing various layers of extra-linguistic meaning. This ranges from the use of punctuation marks, fonts and capitalization as a way to convey prosody and paralanguage or the use of emoticons as a way of expressing gestures, facial expressions and various other forms of contextual cues that are often present in spoken communication (Crystal 2006).

The extra-lingual functions of creative orthography, in addition to the combination of Indonesian and Javanese, particularly the *ngoko* speech level, also renders the written communication in these inter-personal texts more speech-like than the other genres of written texts. The re-emergence of Javanese in these Facebook comments mimics the way these youths use this language with one another in spoken communication at the inter-personal level. Yet, the creative use of orthography, as well as the use of English, means that these inter-personal texts represent a mode of language use that is nonetheless different than speech.

As youth produced inter-personal group texts, the *madings* and group Facebook posts show that they are texts which are in a less regulated space compared to the other forms of texts we have discussed. As a result, in addition to the continued use of Indonesian, we can also see the re-emergence of Javanese as the language of interpersonal communication, the creative and expressive use of informal orthography, as well as the playful juxtaposition of languages. These texts can also be considered as being hybrid texts, combining speech-like features with written language, such as the use of Javanese (especially *ngoko*) and the use of punctuation marks and emoticons to express aspects of prosody and gestures. The hybrid nature of this text genre, in addition to broader use of multiple languages, indicates that these interpersonal group texts are "dialogic" in the sense that it is open to more than one order of indexicality. The youths' playful juxtaposition of languages in the *madings* and their use of different languages with one another in the Facebook comments show that they can have a polycentric orientation to multiple centers of linguistic authority in this genre of text, where different orders of indexicality of languages can co-exist and compete.

7. Implications on youth language, literacy and multilingualism

The range of multilingual texts that we have discussed leads to a number of implications that can be said about youth literacy and language use. First, is that the youths' literacy practices in their school-based social groups cover a wide range of texts. Their official

values of informality and commonality as well as an attitude of confident metropolitan cosmopolitanism (2007: 196). As such, this variety of Indonesian indexes a sociolinguistic scale that is non-local but distinct from the national scale of standard Indonesian. See also Djenaar (2012) on the use and rhetorical functions of colloquial Indonesian in contemporary "teenlit" novels.

group texts are "monologic" and the order of indexicality is centered on the use of standard Indonesian, especially since these texts have to be institutionally vetted by the school administration. The school administration pays less scrutiny on the youth groups' semi-formal texts, focusing more on appropriateness and politeness instead on the actual languages being used. As a result, these semi-informal texts are more "dialogic" and involve the use not just of Indonesian but also Javanese and English. The different languages are also used to index different scales of interaction, with Indonesian as the national language indexing the formal referential scale, Javanese as a local language indexing the inter-personal scale, and English is indexing a global and socio-economically prestigious scale but one that is nonetheless aimed at other local youths. Finally, inter-personal group texts show an unregulated space of language use in which youths continue the pattern of the semi-formal texts but have more freedom to use colloquial forms of Indonesian and Javanese as well as more freedom to playfully alternate and juxtapose languages and their associated indexical meanings.

The range of ways in which youths use multiple languages in the different texts leads to the second implication: youths use languages in multiple ways, ranging from using standard language in formal texts to using colloquial registers and playfully combining languages in inter-personal texts. While youth language is often associated with slang, colloquialism, and hybrid registers, the data shows that youths use both standard and colloquial registers in order to fulfill their communicative purposes, which may involve complying with institutional demands for the monolingual use of standard language, using English to improve the status and appeal of certain messages, using Javanese to evoke a more personal voice, or playfully juxtaposing languages for humor.

The third implication of the youths' use of multiple languages across text genres is that their multilingual repertoires do not consist of distinct multiple monolingual competences. Instead, youths' repertoire can be characterized as being a "truncated" form of multilingualism. This notion of multilingualism fits better with the polylingual practices exhibited in some of the texts, especially involving the use of English, in which youths tend to use fragments of English (such as words and phrases), sometimes combined with Indonesian, for both referential and social indexical purposes. Furthermore, the playful combination of languages in the hybrid texts examples shows that these youths make use of the interconnections between the multiple languages of their repertoire.

The fourth implication is that the youths' multilingual literacy is not only influenced by the communicative demands of youth culture and identity expressions but also by the demands of vocational education and the job market, which are also increasingly multilingual. Certain languages, such as English, have become commodified as an instrumental part of vocational training and as a symbolic status-language of marketing. Of course, the way these youths use English must be understood within their local context and purpose of communicating with other local youths.¹⁸ This is especially the case regarding their use of English as a status language and their playful use of the language in jokes. Nonetheless, the main point here is that youth multilingualism can be influenced by both the communicative practices of being youth and the communicative demands of becoming an adult.

¹⁸ Of course, there are youth populations (mainly urban, middle-class, university educated youths and young adults) in Indonesia whose use and mastery of English can either practically or theoretically enable them to truly address transnational audiences beyond local contexts (e.g., see Luvaas 2009).

8. Conclusion

The youths' multilingual literacy practices across a range of texts are sites in which their language use is pushed and pulled in different directions, by either the institutional demands of vocational education in becoming adults or by the demands of youths' own culture and identity practices. By looking at youths' actual language use in written texts, we can highlight that their language use encompasses not just the colloquial, informal forms usually associated with youth language, but also standard forms of Indonesian normally associated with formal domains. The range of texts discussed in the article show the different orders of indexicality that operate in each type or space of texts. Across the range of texts there is nonetheless a broad ordering of the indexical meanings associated with each language: Indonesian as the formal, objective language of authority, Javanese as the personal local language, and English as the prestigious, global status language. While formal texts tend to comply with this broad ordering, the more informal texts provide space for the youths to play with and subvert the order. The youths' playful combination of languages in these informal texts illustrate the way they can deploy their multilingual repertoires by using languages in an interconnected manner, sometimes doing so to appropriate and recontextualize the indexical meanings of languages for their own communicative purposes.

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